Government, war and society in English Ireland, 1171–1541:

a guide to recent work

Peter Crooks

Late medieval Ireland is a small but dynamic research area. The following is a selective guide designed to direct the reader to some of the more significant developments of recent years in subjects addressed by the Lecky professors in this volume. Where the Irish material is particularly exiguous, I have made some suggestions from the secondary literature further afield, which I hope may help stimulate comparative ideas on the Irish evidence.[1]

Bibliographies and guides to sources

The essays printed in this volume represent merely a fraction of the published output of Curtis, Otway-Ruthven and Lydon. For comprehensive bibliographies of their work, see T.W. Moody, 'The writings of Edmund Curtis', *IHS*, 3:12 (1943); P.W.A. Asplin, 'The writings of Prof. A.J. Otway-Ruthven to 1980' in Lydon, *Eng. & Ire.*; P.W.A. Asplin, 'Bibliography of J.F. Lydon [to 1993]' in *Colony and frontier*. For general purposes, P.W.A. Asplin, *Medieval Ireland, c. 1170–1485: a bibliography of secondary works* (1971), with its excellent index, is a useful starting-point despite being over three decades old. Indeed, its value today lies chiefly in the fact that it reflects the fashions of a former era. It must, however, be read alongside the magnificent bibliography Asplin prepared for *NHI*, vol. 2, the second impression of which includes a supplement listing secondary works mostly published between 1986

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[1] Unless otherwise indicated, the place of publication is Dublin.

and 1993. Recent developments can be traced through the Royal Historical Society online bibliography.[2]

Approaching primary sources has become less daunting due to the publication of a number of valuable research guides. Philomena Connolly, *Medieval record sources*, Maynooth Research Guides for Irish Local History, no. 4 (2002), is indispensable. Its counterpart – *Medieval Gaelic sources* by Katharine Simms – is soon to be published in the same series. For invaluable guides to manuscript material in Britain, see B.C. Donovan and D. Edwards, 'British sources for Irish history before 1485: a preliminary handlist of documents held in local and specialised repositories', *AH*, 37 (1998); and P. Dryburgh and B. Smith (eds), *Handbook and select calendar of sources for medieval Ireland in the National Archives of the United Kingdom* (TNA, 2005).

Part 1: Government

Chapter 1: Ireland and the English crown, 1171–1541

This essay would once have been described as an exercise in 'Anglo-Irish' history; today, it is more likely to be characterized as a contribution to the 'new' (now decidedly mature) British history, a sparkling historiographical introduction to which is S. Duffy, 'The British perspective' in S.H. Rigby (ed.), *A companion to Britain in the later Middle Ages* (Oxford, 2003). Among Irish medievalists, the 'British' approach is the distinctive calling card of Robin Frame, many of whose essays (collected in Frame, *Ire. & Brit.*) explore the interwoven histories of the two islands. Of these, 'England and Ireland, 1171–1399' in Frame, *Ire. & Brit.*, is closest in theme and scope to this chapter. For the end of the medieval period, the work of S.G. Ellis is

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[2] RHS bibliography: http://www.rhs.ac.uk/bibl/bibwel.asp.

fundamental: 'Crown, community and government in the English territories, 1450–1575', *History*, 71 (1986); idem, 'Tudor state formation and the shaping of the British Isles' in Ellis and S. Barber (eds), *Conquest and union: the fashioning of a British state, 1485–1725* (London, 1995); 'From dual monarchy to multiple kingdoms: unions and the English state, 1422–1607' in A. McInnes and J. Ohlmeyer (eds), *The Stuart kingdoms in the seventeenth century: awkward neighbours* (2002).

Revisionist interpretations of Ireland's relationship with the English crown have themselves been extensively revised in recent years. J. Gillingham, 'The English invasion of Ireland' in idem, *The English in the twelfth century: imperialism, national identity and political values* (Woodbridge, 2000), argues persuasively that 'English' is the adjective that distorts our understanding of the invasion least; how and why the invaders were repackaged as 'Norman' by historians is a subject Gillingham investigates in 'Normanizing the English invaders of Ireland' in H. Pryce and J. Watts (eds), *Power and identity in the Middle Ages: essays in memory of Rees Davies* (Oxford, 2007). W.L. Warren's sympathetic account of the English crown's dealings with Gaelic Ireland – first glimpsed in his readable biographies of *King John* (1961) and *Henry II* (1973), and later elaborated in an accumulation of essay-length studies[3] – is systematically demolished by Seán Duffy in 'King John's expedition to Ireland, 1210: the evidence reconsidered', *IHS*, 30:117 (1996); 'John and Ireland: the origins of England's Irish problem' in S.D. Church (ed.), *King John: new interpretations* (Woodbridge, 1999); and 'Henry II and England's insular neighbours' in C. Harper-

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[3] W.L. Warren, 'The interpretation of twelfth-century Irish history' in J.C. Beckett (ed.), *Historical studies VII* (London, 1969); 'The historian as "private eye"' in J.G. Barry (ed.), *Historical studies IX* (Belfast, 1974); 'John in Ireland, 1185' in J. Bossy and P. Jupp (eds), *Essays presented to Michael Roberts* (Belfast, 1976); 'King John and Ireland' in Lydon*, Eng. & Ire.*

Bill and N. Vincent (eds), *Henry II: new interpretations* (Woodbridge, 2007). Warren also takes hard knocks for his centralist portrayal of the workings of English political society in R. Frame, 'Historians, aristocrats and Plantagenet Ireland, 1200–1360' in C. Given-Wilson, A. Kettle and L. Scales (eds), *War, government and aristocracy in the British Isles, c.1150–1500* (Woodbridge, 2008).

A clutch of recent works re-examine relations between the king and his English lieges in Ireland. The period *c.*1171–1315 is now relatively well served: C. Veach, 'Henry II's grant of Meath to Hugh de Lacy in 1172: a reassessment', *Ríocht na Midhe*, 18 (2007); R. Frame, 'Henry III and Ireland: the shaping of a peripheral lordship' and 'Ireland and the barons' wars', both in idem, *Ire. & Brit.*; B. Smith, 'Irish politics, 1220–1245', *Thirteenth Century England*, 8 (2001); P. Crooks, '"Divide and rule": factionalism as royal policy in the lordship of Ireland, *c.*1171–1265', *Peritia*, 19 (2005); B. Hartland, 'The household knights of Edward I in Ireland', *HR*, 77 (2004); B. Hartland, 'English landholding in Ireland', *Thirteenth century England*, 10 (2005); B. Hartland, 'English lords in late thirteenth and early fourteenth century Ireland: Roger Bigod and the de Clare lords of Thomond', *EHR*, 122:496 (2007). The later fourteenth and fifteenth centuries await sustained scrutiny: for an overview, see P. Crooks, 'Factions, feuds and noble power in the lordship of Ireland, *c.*1356–1496', *IHS*, 35:140 (2007).

Chapter 2: The chief governors of medieval Ireland

The chief governorship of Ireland continues to generate scholarly interest, though sadly much of the best work remains unpublished. For specific chief governorships (listed here by the date of tenure), see P. Dryburgh, 'The career of Roger Mortimer, first earl of March (*c.*1287–1330)' (PhD, University of Bristol, 2002); R. Frame, 'The

justiciarship of Ralph Ufford: warfare and politics in fourteenth-century Ireland', *Studia Hibernica*, 13 (1972); R. Frame, 'Thomas Rokeby, sheriff of Yorkshire and justiciar of Ireland', *Peritia*, 10 (1996); P. Connolly, 'Lionel of Clarence and Ireland, 1361–1366' (PhD, University of Dublin, 1977); S. Harbison, 'William of Windsor and Ireland, 1369–76' (MLitt, University of Dublin, 1977); B. Blacker, 'Thomas of Lancaster, duke of Clarence, 1388–1421: the consolidation of the Lancastrian dynasty' (PhD, University of Dublin, 1996). For an intensive examination of the office in first half of the fifteenth century, see E.A.E. Matthew, 'The governing of the Lancastrian lordship of Ireland in the time of James Butler, fourth earl of Ormond, *c*.1420–52' (PhD, University of Durham, 1994), ch. 1, 'The crown and the chief governorship'. For a slightly earlier period, the work of Dorothy Johnston is useful, esp. 'Chief governors and treasurers in the reign of Richard II' in *Colony and frontier*, which includes an edition of Edmund Mortimer's indenture of 1379 (KR, memo. roll, E 159/194, Trinity *communia*). A glimpse of the horse-trading that underlay appointments to office is provided in D. Johnston, 'The draft indenture of Thomas, duke of Gloucester, as lieutenant of Ireland, 1391', *Journal of the Society of Archivists*, 7:3 (1983). It is no coincidence that the intellectual lineage of each of these authors can be traced back to either Otway-Ruthven or Lydon (or both).

For the holders of the office in its earliest days, see M.T. Flanagan, 'Household favourites: Angevin royal agents in Ireland under Henry II and John' in A.P. Smyth (ed.), *Seanchas: studies in early and medieval Irish archaeology, history and literature in honour of Francis J. Byrne* (2000). The judicial activities of chief governors can be followed using P. Connolly, 'Pleas held before the chief governors of Ireland, 1308–76', *Ir. Jurist*, 18 (1983). The difficulties faced by English-born chief governors in negotiating the divisive internal politics of the colony is the theme

of P. Crooks, 'The "calculus of faction" and Richard II's duchy of Ireland, *c*.1382–9' in N. Saul (ed.), *Fourteenth Century England V* (Woodbridge, 2008). S.G. Ellis has demonstrated that the near-monopoly on the office held by the earls of Kildare in the last phase of the medieval lordship was a pragmatic solution to the problem of governing Ireland that allowed the area administered directly by the central government to expand: Ellis, *Reform and revival: English government in Ireland 1470–1534* (Woodbridge, 1986); idem, *Tudor frontiers and noble power: the making of the British state* (Oxford, 1995). Dublin castle – the seat of English governance in Ireland, whose history was first exposed in snapshots in Gilbert, *Viceroys* – is examined in J.F. Lydon, 'Dublin castle in the Middle Ages' in S. Duffy (ed.), *Medieval Dublin III* (2002).

Chapter 3: William of Windsor and the Irish parliament

Military interventions funded after 1361 primarily by the English exchequer form the background to this essay. An excellent analysis from an administrative viewpoint is P. Connolly, 'The financing of English expeditions to Ireland, 1361–1376' in Lydon, *Eng. & Ire.* Ireland receives an honourable mention in Holmes, *Good parl*, ch. 4. The interconnection between affairs at court and Ireland is further elaborated in S. Harbison, 'William of Windsor, the court party and the administration of Ireland' in Lydon, *Eng. & Ire.* P. Crooks, 'Negotiating authority in a colonial capital: Dublin and the Windsor crisis, 1369–78' in S. Duffy (ed.), *Medieval Dublin IX* (forthcoming) is less sympathetic to Windsor's policies. New evidence concerning Windsor's notorious wife is brought to light in W.M. Ormrod, 'Who was Alice Perrers?', *Chaucer Review*, 40:3 (2006).

The chief governorship of Sir William Windsor is merely a prism through which Lydon views the development of the Irish parliament. This field has been left fallow in the decades since. The chapters on the medieval parliament by F.X. Martin and A. Cosgrove in B. Farrell (ed.), *The Irish parliamentary tradition* (1973) are insubstantial and derivative. For a more sophisticated analysis, see A. Cosgrove, 'Parliament and the Anglo-Irish community: the declaration of 1460' and S.G. Ellis, 'Parliament and community in Yorkist and Tudor Ireland', both in A. Cosgrove and J.I. McGuire (eds), *Parliament and community: historical studies XIV* (Belfast, 1983). The anniversary of the famous Dublin parliament of 1297 was marked by a symposium, but, of the participants, only Lydon specifically addressed parliament as an institution. His essay, 'Parliament and the community of Ireland' in Lydon, *Law & disorder*, advances an interpretation first put forward in his work on Sir William Windsor, which in turn was indebted to the views of J.G. Edwards. Thus, the starting-point for all research on the medieval Irish parliament remains Richardson and Sayles, *Ir. parl.*

By contrast, English parliamentary studies are in the midst of a renaissance. The essays in R.G. Davies and J.H. Denton (eds), *The English parliament in the Middle Ages* (Manchester, 1981) provide crucial reassessments, but research has advanced rapidly since the appearance of J.S. Roskell, L. Clark and C. Rawcliffe (eds), *The house of commons, 1386–1421*, 4 vols (Stroud, 1993), while the monumental new edition and translation of the medieval rolls of parliament – C. Given-Wilson (ed.), *The parliament rolls of medieval England, 1275–1504*, 16 vols (Woodbridge, 2005) – will doubtless provoke an avalanche of monographs.

Some recent work has taken account of Irish evidence. A critical edition of the much-controverted Irish version of the parliamentary treatise, *Modus tenendi*

parliamentum, is provided in N. Pronay and J. Taylor (eds), *Parliamentary texts of the later Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1980). Both the English and Irish versions of the *Modus* are considered in a stimulating article by K. Kerby-Fulton and S. Justice, 'Reformist intellectual culture in the English and Irish civil service: the *Modus tenendi parliamentum* and its literary relations', *Traditio*, 53 (1998). The authors dismiss the controversial view of G.O. Sayles that the 'Irish *Modus* lay behind the English *Modus*' (Sayles, 'The *Modus tenendi parliamentum*: English or Irish?' in Lydon, *Eng. & Ire.*). An important addition to our knowledge of parliamentary procedure was made with the discovery of a document (E 163/7/12) published by A.J. Otway-Ruthven under the title, 'The background to the arrest of Sir Christopher Preston in 1418', *AH*, 29 (1980). A stray membrane of this same document is appended to P. Crooks, 'The background to the arrest of the fifth earl of Kildare and Sir Christopher Preston in 1418: a missing membrane', *AH*, 40 (2007): the accompanying commentary suggests that Otway-Ruthven's reading is overly pessimistic and argues that the document provides striking evidence of the sophistication of English political culture and the vibrancy of 'parliamentary traditions' in early fifteenth-century Ireland, an interpretation earlier recommended by the sketch of parliament in R. Frame, 'English political culture in later medieval Ireland', *The History Review*, 13 (2002).

Chapter 4: The medieval Irish chancery

This remains the standard account of the development of the Irish chancery, although reference should also be made to S.G. Ellis, *Reform and revival: English government in Ireland 1470–1534* (Woodbridge, 1986), esp. ch. 6, 'The seals and the secretariat'; and idem, 'The privy seals of chief governors in Ireland, 1392–1560', *BIHR*, 51

(1978). Otherwise, the literature on the Irish chancery is limited in the extreme. In this respect, the most positive development of recent years is the award of funding in 2007 to the TCD-based 'Irish Chancery Project' by the Irish Research Council for the Humanities and Social Sciences. The 'Chancery Project' was the brainchild of Otway-Ruthven, who intended to spend her retirement working on a new calendar of the medieval Irish chancery rolls that would supplant the inadequate Latin calendar published by the Irish Record Commissioners in 1828 (*RCH*). Illness intervened, but the project proceeded slowly throughout the 1980s under the direction of James Lydon,[4] and a trial reconstruction of a single close roll was published in 1992: E. Dowse and M. Murphy (eds), 'Rotulus clausus de anno 48 Edward III: a reconstruction', *AH*, 35 (1992). The new phase of the project – also based at TCD and directed by Katharine Simms – seeks to produce an electronic calendar of the Irish chancery rolls by June 2011, as well as new lists of the personnel of the Irish chancery.

As well as making accessible in English an invaluable corpus of primary material, the new calendar of Irish chancery rolls will allow researchers to examine the institutional development of the Irish chancery in light of the most recent research on its counterparts elsewhere. The development of medieval chanceries in Britain and France was the theme of a conference held at Montréal in September 1995, the proceedings of which have been published as K. Fianu and D.J. Guth (eds), *Écrit et pouvoir dans les chancelleries médiévales: espace Français, espace Anglais* (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1997). The essays contained therein on the English royal chancery are particularly relevant to Irish administrative developments, esp. D.A.

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[4] See Elizabeth Dowse and Margaret Murphy, 'The chancery project in the medieval history department, Trinity College, Dublin', *Humanities Communication Newsletter*, 11 (1989).

Carpenter, 'The English royal chancery in the thirteenth century'; W.M. Ormrod, 'Accountability and collegiality: the English royal secretariat in the mid-fourteenth century'; T. Haskett, 'The juridical role of the English chancery in late-medieval law and literacy'. Lists of administrative officers are relatively complete for the period up to 1377 (see *Admin. Ire.*) and have stimulated some innovative work on the character of royal government (see esp. Frame, *Eng. lordship*, ch. 3). Updated lists for the post-1377 period will facilitate further prosopographical studies. The rich returns that should result from such an approach are suggested by C.W. Smith, 'Some trends in the English royal chancery, 1377–1483', *Medieval Prosopography*, 6:1 (1985); D. Biggs, 'A Plantagenet revolution in government? The officers of the central government and the Lancastrian usurpation of 1399', *Medieval Prosopography*, 20 (1999); M. Richardson, *The medieval chancery under Henry V*, List and Index Soc., special ser., vol. 30 (1999).

Chapter 5: Anglo-Irish shire government in the thirteenth century

The most accessible review of the development of the shire system is now G. McGrath, 'The shiring of Ireland and the 1297 parliament' in Lydon, *Law & disorder*, which complements, but does not supplant, Otway-Ruthven's account. A number of good studies of individual counties exist, but none is better than Otway-Ruthven's examination of 'The medieval county of Kildare', *IHS*, 11:43 (1959). See also C.A. Empey, 'County Waterford, 1200–1300' in W. Nolan and T.P. Power (eds), *Waterford: history and society* (1992). On the development of the cantred, see P. MacCotter, 'Functions of the cantred in medieval Ireland', *Peritia*, 19 (2005). The cantred boundaries within certain regions are delineated in C.A. Empey, 'The cantreds of medieval Tipperary', *North Munster Antiquarian Journal*, 13 (1970);

idem, 'The cantreds of the medieval county of Kilkenny', *JRSAI*, 101 (1971); and P. MacCotter, 'The cantreds of Desmond', *JCAHS*, 105 (2000).

Astonishingly little work has been done the men who served as sheriff: an exception is C. Parker, 'Local government in county Waterford in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, I: the office of sheriff, *c.* 1208–1305', *Decies*, 50 (1994); idem 'Local government in county Waterford in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, II: the sheriffs of Waterford in the early fourteenth century, 1304–1350', *Decies*, 51 (1995). The subject of commissioners of the peace may be pursued through an early essay by R. Frame, 'The judicial powers of the medieval Irish keepers of the peace', *Ir. Jurist*, 2:2 (1967), revised in Frame, *Ire. & Brit.* The same author has published comprehensive lists of keepers of the peace: 'Commissions of the peace in Ireland, 1302–1461', *AH*, 35 (1992). The untapped potential of these lists to open up the subject of the growth of a lesser nobility, or 'gentry', in certain regions of English Ireland is clearer than ever in light of P. Coss, *The origins of the English gentry* (Oxford, 2003), esp. ch. 7, 'The explosion of commissions and its consequences'. Another approach to county histories that has been co-opted successfully from English historiography is B. Smith, 'A county community in early fourteenth-century Ireland: the case of Louth', *EHR*, 108 (1993); and, in more detail, idem, *Colonisation and conquest in medieval Ireland: the English in Louth* (Cambridge, 1999).

The importance of liberties to the governance of the English king's dominions in the later Middle Ages is demonstrated in S.G. Ellis, 'The destruction of the liberties: some further evidence', *BIHR*, 54:130, (1981). For individual Irish liberties, see C.A. Empey, 'County Kilkenny in the Anglo-Norman period' in W. Nolan and K. Whelan (eds), *Kilkenny: history and society* (1990); 'The Norman period, 1185–1500' in W. Nolan and T. McGrath (eds), *Tipperary: history and society* (1985); 'The Butler

lordship', *Journal of the Butler Society*, 3 (1970–1). The liberty of Kerry receives some attention in P. MacCotter, 'Lordship and colony in Anglo-Norman Kerry, 1177–1400', *JKAHS*, 2nd ser., 4 (2004). Both documents and artefacts are used to good effect in M. Potterton, *Medieval Trim: history and archaeology* (2005), which includes chapters on the liberties of Meath and Trim, as well as appendices with lists of liberty officers. For Trim as a prized facet of a wider aristocratic network of estates, see B. Hartland, 'Vaucouleurs, Ludlow and Trim: the role of Ireland in the career of Geoffrey de Geneville (*c*.1226–1314)', *IHS*, 32:128 (2001). The unique arrangements for the governance of the Butler lordship are explored in C.A. Empey and K. Simms, 'The ordinances of the white earl and the problem of coigne in the later Middle Ages', *PRIA*, 75:C8 (1975); and, for a later period, D. Edwards and C.A. Empey, 'Tipperary liberty ordinances of the "black" earl of Ormond' in D. Edwards (ed.), *Regions and rulers in medieval Ireland: essays for Kenneth Nicholls* (2004). R. Frame, 'Lordship and liberties in Ireland and Wales, *c*.1170–*c*.1360' in Pryce and Watts (eds), *Power and identity in the Middle Ages*, is a refreshing attempt to move beyond the institutional approach pioneered by Otway-Ruthven and to interrogate the Irish evidence *à la* Davies: cf. R.R. Davies, *Lordship and society in the March of Wales, 1282–1400* (Oxford, 1978); and idem, 'Kings, lords and liberties in the March of Wales, 1066–1272', *TRHS*, 5th ser., 29 (1979).

Chapter 6. The native Irish and English law in medieval Ireland

On the extension of English law to Ireland, see P. Brand, 'Ireland and the literature of the early common law', *Ir. Jurist*, 16 (1981). Otway-Ruthven's views on the status of the native Irish sparked considerable debate: G.J. Hand, 'The status of the native Irish in the lordship of Ireland, 1272–1331', *Ir. Jurist*, 1 (1966); Hand, *Eng. law*; B.

Murphy, 'The status of the native Irish after 1331', *Ir. Jurist*, 2 (1967); R. Frame, 'The immediate effect and interpretation of the 1331 ordinance, *Una et eadem lex*: some new evidence', *Ir. Jurist*, 7 (1972); G. Mac Niocaill, 'Aspects of Irish law in the late thirteenth century' in G.A. Hayes-McCoy (ed.), *Historial Studies X* (Galway, 1976); and K.W. Nicholls, 'Anglo-French Ireland and after', *Peritia*, 1 (1982). On the proposed 'purchase' of English law, see A. Gwynn, 'Edward I and the proposed purchase of English law for the Irish, *c.*1276–80', *TRHS*, 5th ser., 10 (1960); and, more recently, J.R.S. Phillips, 'David MacCarwell and the proposal to purchase English law, *c.*1273–*c.*1280', *Peritia*, 10 (1996). A different aspect of the relationship between Gaelic and English law is examined by Gearóid Mac Niocaill in his studies of the cross-fertilization between the two legal cultures, esp. 'The contact of Irish and common law', *Northern Ireland Legal Quarterly*, 23 (1972), and 'The interaction of the laws' in Lydon, *Eng. in med. Ire*.

The development of the judicial institutions in the English colony is a subject that Paul Brand has made his own: 'The early history of the legal profession of the lordship of Ireland, 1250–1350' in D. Hogan and W.N. Osborough (eds), *Brehons, serjeants and attorneys: studies in the history of the Irish legal profession* (1990); 'The birth and development of a colonial judiciary: the judges of the lordship of Ireland, 1210–1377' in W.N. Osborough (ed.), *Explorations in law and history: Irish Legal History Society discourses, 1988–1994* (1995); 'English royal justices in the lordship of Ireland, *c.*1300' in H.B. Clarke and J.R.S. Phillips (eds), *Ireland, England and the continent in the Middle Ages and beyond: essays in memory of Friar F.X. Martin, o.s.a.* (2006).

Part 2. War

Chapters 7–8: Knight service and royal service in medieval Ireland

S.G. Ellis, 'Taxation and defence in late medieval Ireland: the survival of scutage', *JRSAI*, 107, (1977), adds to the evidence presented by Otway-Ruthven for the late medieval period. Two key essays on knight service in England whose findings are pertinent to the Irish experience are J. Gillingham, 'The introduction of knight service into England', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 4 (1981), and J.C. Holt, 'The introduction of knight-service in England', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 6 (1983). Robin Frame adopts a less overtly institutional approach to the militarism of colonial life in 'War and peace in the medieval lordship of Ireland' and 'Military service in the lordship of Ireland, 1290–1360: institutions and society on the Anglo-Gaelic frontier', both in Frame, *Ire. & Brit.*; and Frame, 'The defence of the English lordship, 1250–1450' in T. Bartlett and K. Jeffery (eds), *A military history of Ireland* (1996). The patterns of Gaelic warfare are brought to life in K. Simms, 'Gaelic warfare in the Middle Ages' in Bartlett and Jeffery (eds), *Military history of Ireland.* Critical editions of a number of seigneurial instruments of Irish provenance – by means of which English lords retained men (both English and Gaelic) in their service – appear with a useful commentary in M. Jones and S. Walker (eds), 'Private indentures for life service in peace and war, 1278–1476', *Camden Miscellany XXXII* (Camden Soc., 5th ser., 3, 1994).

Any discussion of feudalism – whether combined with the qualifier 'military' or otherwise – must now take account of debates on the supposed 'tyranny' of that construct. The key works are E.A.R. Brown, 'The tyranny of a construct: feudalism and historians of medieval Europe', *AHR,* 79:4 (1974); and S. Reynolds, *Fiefs and vassals: the medieval evidence reinterpreted* (Oxford, 1994). The latter tome is heavy in every sense and, seemingly, more discussed than read; a convenient crib is S.

Reynolds, 'Fiefs and vassals in Scotland: a view from outside', *SHR*, 82:214 (2003), whose views on the Scottish evidence are especially relevant to Ireland. As Otway-Ruthven's approach is undoubtedly Stentonian, D. Bates, 'Re-ordering the past and negotiating the present in Stenton's *First century*' (The Stenton lecture, 1999: Reading, 2000), is useful in providing an appraisal of the work of the great man. Otway-Ruthven's cool analysis of 'military feudalism' is relatively unproblematic on its own terms; more insidious are underlying assumptions (characteristic of her generation) about feudalism's supposedly illegitimate successor. Aspects of the enormous secondary literature on 'bastard feudalism' are discussed, with reference to Ireland, in P. Crooks, 'Factions, feuds and noble power in the lordship of Ireland, *c.*1356–1496', *IHS*, 35:140 (2007), but see also D. Crouch, 'From Stenton to McFarlane: models of societies of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries', *TRHS*, 6th ser., 5 (1995); and P. Coss, 'From feudalism to bastard feudalism' in N. Fryde, P. Monet and O.G. Oexle (eds), *Die Gegenwart des Feudalismus* (Göttingen, 2002).

Chapters 9–12: Ireland's participation in English military activities[5]

Edward I's campaigns in Scotland are discussed in M. Brown, *The wars of Scotland, 1214–1371* (Edinburgh, 2004); and M. Prestwich, *Plantagenet England, 1225–1360* (Oxford, 2005), ch. 9. Among more detailed studies, James Lydon has made another valuable contribution to the history of military logistics in 'The Dublin purveyors and the wars in Scotland, 1296–1324' in G. Mac Niocaill and P.F. Wallace (eds), *Keimelia: studies in medieval archaeology and history in memory of Tom Delaney*

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[5] Chapters 9 to 12 are considered here together because of the overlap in subject matter. The title I have chosen for this section of further reading is suggested by the thesis from which much of the material is drawn: James Lydon, 'Ireland's participation in the military activities of English kings in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries' (PhD, University of London, 1955).

(Galway, 1988); while, Edward I's campaign of 1303–4 is re-examined in M. Haskell, 'Breaking the stalemate: the Scottish campaign of Edward I, 1303–4', *Thirteenth Century England*, 7 (1999).

A goodly proportion of the recent literature on Ireland and Scotland has focussed on the Bruce invasion. Robin Frame has made some revisions to his classic essay, 'The Bruces in Ireland, 1315–18' in Frame, *Ire. & Brit*. J.R.S. Phillips subjects the famous 'remonstrance' of the Irish princes to acute analysis in 'The Irish remonstrance of 1317: an international perspective', *IHS*, 27:106 (1990), and 'The remonstrance revisited: England and Ireland in the early fourteenth century' in T.G. Fraser and K. Jeffery (ed.), *Men, women and war: historical studies XVIII* (1993). The sequence of events during the Bruce invasion is revised in S. Duffy, 'The Bruce invasion of Ireland: a revised itinerary and chronology' in idem (ed.), *Robert the Bruce's Irish wars: the invasions of Ireland, 1306–29* (Stroud, 2002). The latter volume reprints articles by G.O. Sayles and Ranald Nicholson, as well as three essays by James Lydon: 'The Bruce invasion of Ireland: an examination of some problems' [1st pr. G.A. Hayes-McCoy (ed.), *Historical Studies IV* (London, 1963)]; 'The Scottish soldier abroad: the Bruce invasion and the galloglass' [1st pr. G.G. Simpson (ed.), *The Scottish soldier abroad, 1247–1967* (Edinburgh, 1992)]; 'The impact of the Bruce invasion, 1315–27' [1st pr. *NHI*, vol. 2]. The same volume also includes Seán Duffy's essay, 'The Bruce brothers and the Irish Sea world, 1306–29', whose reconstruction of the links between Ulster and Scotland departs markedly from the account in A.A.M. Duncan, 'The Scots' invasion of Ireland, 1315' in R.R. Davies (ed.), *The British Isles, 1100–1500: comparisons, contrast and connections* (Edinburgh, 1988). Much of this literature is synthesized and amplified in C.

McNamee, *The wars of the Bruces: Scotland, England and Ireland, 1306–1328* (East Linton, 1997).

All this work can be seen as contributing to the history of the irruption of the English state across Britain and Ireland and indigenous reactions to that process – a subject that has been surveyed with unparalleled insight and eloquence by R.R. Davies, esp. *Domination and conquest: the experience of Ireland, Scotland and Wales, 1100–1300* (Cambridge, 1990), and *The first English empire: power and identities in the British Isles, 1093–1343* (Oxford, 2000). The limits of English expansion are revealed in M. Prestwich, 'Colonial Scotland: the English in Scotland under Edward I' in R. Mason (ed.), *Scotland and England, 1286–1815* (Edinburgh, 1987); R. Frame, 'Overlordship and reaction, *c.*1200–*c.*1450' in idem, *Ire. & Brit.*; and, more recently, B. Smith, 'Lordship in the British Isles, *c.*1320–*c.*1360: the ebb tide of the English empire?' in Pryce and Watts (eds), *Power and identity in the Middle Ages*. P. Crooks, 'State of the Union: perspectives on English imperialism in the late Middle Ages' (forthcoming), argues that the political and cultural infrastructure of the medieval English 'empire' was more durable than has been allowed and that the story should be extended geographically to include the continent and chronologically to (at least) the fall of Bordeaux in 1453.

Chapter 13. Richard II's expeditions to Ireland

In this article, Lydon plugs a hole in Curtis' account of Richard II and Ireland, which T.F. Tout criticized for its neglect of the wardrobe accounts that shed light on the military side of the first royal expedition.[6] On the English interventions of the later

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[6] T.F. Tout, review of Curtis, *Ric. II & Ire.*, in *EHR*, 43:169 (1928): 'His [Curtis'] subject is not really "Richard II and Ireland" so much as Richard's relations to the Irish chieftains, up to

fourteenth century that form the backdrop to this essay, see now D. Green, 'Lordship and principality: colonial policy in Ireland and Aquitaine in the 1360s', *Journal of British Studies*, 47 (2008); and S. Harbison, 'William of Windsor and the wars of Thomond', *JRSAI*, 119 (1989). These enterprises reached a climax with Richard II, whose two expeditions have been exhaustively examined in a series of articles by D. Johnston: 'Richard II and the submissions of Gaelic Ireland', *IHS*, 22:85 (1980); 'The interim years: Richard II and Ireland, 1395–1399' in Lydon, *Eng. & Ire.*; 'Richard II's departure from Ireland, July 1399', *EHR*, 98:389 (1983). Robin Frame takes issue with Lydon's portrayal of the first expedition as a 'military triumph' in Frame, 'English officials and Irish chiefs in the fourteenth century' in idem, *Ire. & Brit.*; and Frame, *Eng. lordship*, 'Conclusions: past and future'. See also the same author's analysis of the relationship between the crown and the Irish of Leinster: Frame, 'Two kings in Leinster: the crown and the MicMhurchadha in the fourteenth century' in *Colony and frontier*. The most insightful discussion of the 'diplomatic triumph' (the phrase is Lydon's) represented by the submissions of the Gaelic chiefs will be found in R.R. Davies, 'Lordship or colony?' in Lydon, *Eng. in med. Ire.*

Of late, English historians have begun to take heed of Ireland's role in the events of Richard's reign and his evolving ideas of kingship. M. Bennett, 'Richard II and the wider realm' in A. Goodman and J.L. Gillespie, *Richard II: the art of kingship* (Oxford, 1999), opens up the subject in a stimulating way that has influenced the chapter on Ireland by Richard's most recent biographer: N. Saul, *Richard II* (London,

and during the period of his first Irish expedition. Beyond this his curiosity does not seem to extend. Neither the military details of the expedition, nor the extensive wanderings of the king, nor the personnel of Richard's following are brought out so exhaustively as the texts would have allowed. And beyond those texts our editor has refused to go. There are sources in the Record Office [PRO] which would have helped to answer questions which he dismisses as hopeless.'

1997), ch. 12. Richard's policy of knighting Gaelic chiefs is discussed in the context of more general chivalric ideals in J.L. Gillespie, 'Richard II: chivalry and kingship' in idem (ed.), *The age of Richard II* (Stroud, 1997); and idem, 'Richard II's knights: chivalry and patronage', *Journal of Medieval History*, 13:2 (1987). N. Saul, 'Richard II and the vocabulary of kingship', *EHR*, 110:438 (1995), argues that the terms of the Gaelic submissions encouraged the king's exalted conception of his own 'majesty', something that came to the fore during his final years of tyranny. The knighting ceremonies and other 'civilizing projects' colourfully recounted by Jean Froissart are analyzed in C. Sponsler, 'The captivity of Henry Chrystede: Froissart's *Chroniques*, Ireland, and fourteenth-century nationalism' in K. Lavezzo (ed.), *Imagining a medieval English nation* (Medieval Cultures ser., no. 37, Minneapolis, 2004). Richard II's tyranny and his disastrous final expedition to Ireland are now best approached via M. Bennett, *Richard II and the revolution of 1399* (Stroud, 1999). The impact in Ireland of the Lancastrian revolution of 1399 requires further study, but the work of Alastair Dunn touches on Ireland and particularly the vast transmarine estates of the Mortimer family, a subject that is otherwise strangely neglected for this period: see A. Dunn, 'Richard II and the Mortimer inheritance' in C. Given-Wilson (ed), *Fourteenth century England II* (Woodbridge, 2002), and idem, *The politics of magnate power: England and Wales, 1389–1413* (Oxford, 2003).

Chapter 14. Richard, duke of York, as viceroy of Ireland, 1447–1460

The standard account is P.A. Johnson, *Duke Richard of York, 1411–1460* (Oxford, 1988), but, on the duke's career in Ireland, see also J.L. Gillespie, 'Richard, duke of York as king's lieutenant in Ireland: the white rose a-blooming', *The Ricardian: Journal of the Richard III Society*, 5:69 (1980); V. Gorman, 'Richard, duke of York,

and the development of an Irish faction', *PRIA*, 85:C6 (1985); and T.B. Pugh, 'Richard Plantagenet (1411–60), duke of York, as the king's lieutenant in France and Ireland' in J.G. Rowe (ed.), *Aspects of late medieval government and society: essays presented to J.R. Lander* (Toronto, 1986). E.A.E. Matthew, 'The financing of the lordship of Ireland under Henry V and Henry VI' in A.J. Pollard (ed.), *Property and politics: essays in later medieval English history* (Gloucester, 1984), presents a picture of the administration of Lancastrian Ireland that is more optimistic than the gloomy accounts in Otway-Ruthven, *Med. Ire.*, and Lydon, *Lordship*. The interface between the archdiocese of Armagh and the Uí Néill – which was crucial to York's success in Ireland – is analyzed by K. Simms in 'The archbishopric of Armagh and the O'Neills, 1347–1471', *IHS*, 19:73 (1974); 'The concordat between Primate John Mey and Henry O'Neill (1455)', *Archivium Hibernicum*, 34 (1976); and '"The king's friend": O Neill, the crown and the earldom of Ulster' in Lydon, *Eng. & Ire*. See also J. Watt, '*Ecclesia inter Anglicos et inter Hibernicos*: confrontation and coexistence in the medieval diocese and province of Armagh' in Lydon, *Eng. in med. Ire.* On the events of 1460, see A. Cosgrove, 'Parliament and the Anglo-Irish community: the declaration of 1460' in Cosgrove and McGuire (eds), *Parliament and community*; J. Moore MacDowell, 'The devaluation of 1460 and the origins of the Irish pound', *IHS*, 25:97 (1986); J. Lydon, '"Ireland corporate of itself": the parliament of 1460', *HI*, 3:2 (1995).

Much of Curtis' account is taken up with a recital of events in England before and during the Wars of the Roses. Consequently, there is an ocean of relevant literature available, much of which is usefully synthesized and surveyed in C. Carpenter, *The wars of the roses: politics and the constitution in England,* c. *1437–1509* (Cambridge, 1997). Insightful chapters on Ireland punctuate R.A. Griffiths'

magisterial *Reign of Henry VI* (2nd ed., Stroud, 1998), although his picture of aristocratic violence and disorder is unduly negative. One aspect of English affairs that impinged directly on Lancastrian and Yorkist Ireland was the question of the Mortimer claim to the English throne, a matter that has received a good deal of notice due to the publication of a hitherto-unknown document in M. Bennett, 'Edward III's entail and the succession to the crown, 1376–1471', *EHR*, 113:452 (1998). Further to this, see C. Given-Wilson, 'Legitimation, designation and succession to the throne in fourteenth-century England' in I. Alfonso, H. Kennedy and J. Escalona (eds), *Building legitimacy: political discourses and forms of legitimation in medieval societies* (Leiden, 2004), and I. Mortimer, 'Richard II and the succession to the crown', *History*, 91:303 (2006).

Part 3. Society

Chapters 15–16. Norman settlement and Anglo-Irish agriculture

Otway-Ruthven's pioneering contribution to the historiography of European colonization is assessed in J. Gillingham, 'A second tidal wave? The historiography of English colonization of Ireland, Scotland and Wales in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries' in J.M. Piskorski (ed.), *Historiographical approaches to medieval colonization of east central Europe: a comparative analysis against the background of other European inter-ethnic colonization processes in the Middle Ages* (New York, 2002). Robert Bartlett integrates the peripheries (sometimes at the expense of the core) into his stunningly original analysis of Europe's 'Europeanization': *The making of Europe: conquest, colonization and cultural change, 950–1350* (London, 1993). That he could draw so heavily on Irish evidence is in no small part a tribute to Otway-Ruthven, whose work on settlement has been highly influential and embraced by many disciplines, among them archaeology and historical geography. A notable

success-story in interdisciplinarity is K.J. Edwards, F.W. Hammond and A. Simms, 'The medieval settlement of Newcastle Lyons, County Dublin: an interdisciplinary approach', *PRIA*, 83:C14 (1983). The historical geographer's approach to manorial settlement is nowhere better summarized than in A. Simms, 'The geography of Irish manors: the examples of the Llanthony cells of Duleek and Colp, Co. Meath' in J. Bradley (ed.), *Settlement and society in medieval Ireland* (Kilkenny, 1988). Among records-historians of settlement, Otway-Ruthven's pupil, C.A. Empey, is pre-eminent: 'Medieval Knocktopher: a study in manorial settlement', *Old Kilkenny Review*, 2:4–5 (1982); 'The settlement of the kingdom of Limerick' in Lydon, *Eng. & Ire.*; 'Conquest and settlement: patterns of Anglo-Norman settlement in north Munster and south Leinster', *Irish Economic and Social History*, 13 (1986); 'The Anglo-Norman settlement in the cantred of Eliogarty' in J. Bradley (ed.), *Settlement and society in medieval Ireland*. T.B. Barry, *The archaeology of medieval Ireland* (London, 1988) is a standard introduction to the archaeological evidence, but account must also be taken of K.D. O'Conor, *The archaeology of medieval rural settlement in Ireland* (RIA, 1998); T. O'Keeffe, *Medieval Ireland: an archaeology* (Stroud, 2000); and the essays collected in T.B. Barry (ed.), *A history of settlement in Ireland* (London, 1999), and J. Lyttelton and T. O'Keeffe (eds), *The manor in medieval and early modern Ireland* (2004).

The most thorough examination of the manorial economy in Ireland is M.C. Lyons, 'Manorial administration and the manorial economy in Ireland, *c.*1200– *c.*1377', 2 vols (PhD, University of Dublin, 1984), which sadly remains unpublished. The best (albeit rather dry) survey in print is K. Down, 'Colonial economy and society in the high Middle Ages' in *NHI*, vol. 2, which is complemented by K. Nicholls, 'Gaelic society and economy' in the same volume. These surveys are

brought up to date by Brian Graham in his précis of the principal issues, 'Ireland: economy and society' in Rigby (ed.), *Companion to Britain in the later Middle Ages*; while Richard Britnell includes chapters on Ireland in his broad-brush survey of insular economic and social developments across half a millennium: *Britain and Ireland, 1050–1530: economy and society* (Oxford, 2004). Of more detailed work, H. Jäger, 'Land use in medieval Ireland: a review of the documentary evidence', *Irish Economic and Social History*, 10 (1983), is useful; while for an excellent localized analysis, see D.N. Hall, M. Hennessy and T. O'Keeffe, 'Medieval agriculture and settlement in Oughterard and Castlewarden, Co. Kildare', *Irish Geography*, 19 (1985). M. Murphy. 'The profits of lordship: Roger Bigod, earl of Norfolk, and the lordship of Carlow, 1270–1306' in L. Doran and J. Lyttleton (eds), *Lordship in medieval Ireland: image and reality* (2008), throws a flood of light on estate management in a profitable English lordship at the height of the agrarian boom, using the unpublished accounts of the Bigod lordship of Carlow referred to by Otway-Ruthven. Generally speaking, Otway-Ruthven's anatomy of the colony's social strata has not been superseded, but G. Mac Niocaill, 'The origins of the *betagh*', *Ir. Jurist*, 1 (1966), is now the definitive study of its subject. The subject of demography remains in its infancy, but see Gearóid Mac Niocaill's 1981 O'Donnell lecture, 'Irish population before Petty: problems and possibilities' (1981).

The pace of work is inevitably faster further afield, where an abundance of evidence and a labour surplus make for a plentiful historiographical harvest. Demesne cultivation in England is discussed in forensic detail in B.M.S. Campbell, *English seigniorial agriculture, 1250–1450* (Cambridge, 2000). For the crises of the fourteenth century, see the same author's substantial essay, 'The agrarian problem in the early fourteenth century', *P&P*, 188 (2005). Developments in economic theory

can been followed in J. Hatcher and M. Bailey, *Modelling the Middle Ages: the history and theory of England's economic development* (Oxford, 2001); while those with a Marxian bent (a rare breed in medieval Irish studies) may wish to consult C. Wickham, 'Memories of underdevelopment: what has Marxism done for medieval history, and what can it still do?' in idem (ed.), *Marxist history-writing for the twenty-first century* (Oxford, 2007).

Chapter 17. The English and Ostmen in Ireland

Curtis returns to the subject of the Norse population of Dublin in 'Norse Dublin', *Dublin Historical Record*, 4 (1941–2), repr. H.B. Clarke (ed.), *Medieval Dublin: the making of a metropolis* (1990); the latter edition includes a bibliographical note by H.B. Clarke on the literature to 1990. After nearly a century's silence, a spurt of new essays on the Ostmen of Dublin from the pen of Emer Purcell is extremely welcome: 'The expulsion of the Ostmen, 1169–71: the documentary evidence', *Peritia*, 17–18 (2003–4); 'Land use in medieval Oxmantown' in S. Duffy (ed.), *Medieval Dublin IV* (2003); 'The city and the suburb: medieval Dublin and Oxmantown' in S. Duffy (ed.), *Medieval Dublin VI* (2005). The development of Dublin as an 'English' city is traced in S. Duffy, 'Ireland's Hastings: the Anglo-Norman conquest of Dublin', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 20 (1998); J. Lydon, 'Dublin in transition: from Ostman town to English borough' in S. Duffy (ed.), *Medieval Dublin II* (2001); and S. Duffy, 'Town and crown: the kings of England and their city of Dublin', *Thirteenth Century England*, 10 (2003). For the Ostmen further afield, see J. Bradley, 'The interpretation of Scandinavian settlement in Ireland' in idem (ed.), *Settlement and society in medieval Ireland*; B. Colfer, 'Medieval Wexford', *Journal of the Wexford Historical Society*, 13 (1990–1); J. Bradley and A. Halpin, 'The topographical development of

Scandinavian and Anglo-Norman Waterford' in Nolan and Power (eds), *Waterford: history and society*.

Chapter 18. The clan system among English settlers in Ireland

The first serious consideration of the lineages of south Dublin appeared nearly a century after this study by Curtis: C. Maginn, 'English marcher lineages in south Dublin in the late Middle Ages', *IHS*, 34:134 (2004). On lineages in Ireland more generally, see R. Frame, 'Power and society in the lordship of Ireland, 1272–1377' in idem, *Ire. & Brit.*; Frame, *Eng. lordship*, ch. 1; and K.W. Nicholls, 'The development of lordship in county Cork' in P. O'Flanagan and C.G. Buttimer (eds), *Cork: history and society* (1993). C. Parker, 'Paterfamilias and *parentela*: the le Poer lineage in fourteenth-century Waterford', *PRIA*, 95:C2 (1995), provides a full-scale analysis of one lineage, although his genealogical reconstruction of the le Poer family must be treated with caution; cf. P. MacCotter and K.W. Nicholls (eds), *The pipe roll of Cloyne: Rotulus pipae Clonensis* (Cork, 1996), index, s.n. 'Power'.

The pre-conquest Welsh community of Dublin is a subject that Curtis investigated further in 'The Fitz Rerys, Welsh lords of Cloghran, Co. Dublin', *JLAHS*, 5:1 (1921). Building on these foundations, see M.T. Flanagan, '*Historia Gruffud vab Kenan* and the origins of Balrothery, Co. Dublin', *Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies*, 28 (1994), whose conclusions are modified in S. Duffy, 'The 1169 invasion as a turning-point in Irish–Welsh relations' in B. Smith (ed.), *Britain and Ireland, 900–1300: insular responses to medieval European change* (Cambridge, 1996). See also the penetrating review article, S. Duffy, 'Ostmen, Irish and Welsh in the eleventh century', *Peritia*, 9 (1995).

A quarter-centenary celebration and the wanton destruction of Carrickmines

castle have together conspired to make the Dublin marchlands a hot topic during the last decade: see K.W. Nicholls, '*Crioch Branach*: the O'Byrnes and their country' and E. O'Byrne, 'The rise of the Gabhal Raghnaill', both in *Feagh McHugh O'Byrne: the Wicklow firebrand. A volume of quartercentennial essays* (Rathdrum Historical Society, no. 1, 1998); E. O'Byrne, 'A much disputed land: Carrickmines and the Dublin marches' in S. Duffy (ed.), *Medieval Dublin IV* (2003); E. O'Byrne, 'Cultures in contact in the Leinster and Dublin marches, 1170–1400' in S. Duffy (ed.), *Medieval Dublin V* (2004); and L. Simpson, 'Dublin's southern frontier under siege: Kindlestown castle, Delgany, County Wicklow' in Duffy (ed.), *Medieval Dublin IV*. In more general terms, see E. O'Byrne, *War, politics and the Irish Leinster, 1156–1606* (2003); J.F. Lydon, 'Medieval Wicklow: "a land of war"' and L. Simpson, 'Anglo-Norman settlement in Uí Briúin Chualann', both in K. Hannigan and W. Nolan (eds), *Wicklow: history and society* (1994). E. Curtis, 'Janico Dartas, Richard II's "Gascon squire": his career in Ireland, 1394–1426', *JRSAI*, 63 (1933), narrates the career of a soldier who became entrenched in Ireland after receiving lands in the march of Leinster by royal grant; the essay should now be read alongside S. Walker, 'Janico Dartasso: chivalry, nationality and the man-at-arms', *History*, 84:273 (1999). Further to Curtis' closing point, K. Simms, 'Relations with the Irish' in Lydon, *Law & disorder*, shows that 'double chieftaincies' were already characteristic of relations with Gaelic Ireland in the final decades of the thirteenth century, when the English colony was at its height.

Chapter 19. The spoken languages of medieval Ireland

This chapter is a product of its time, but its significance is clear from the fact it was still deemed worthy of attack in the 1980s. See A. Bliss, 'Language and literature' in

Lydon, *Eng. in med. Ire*, and also the chapter by Bliss and J. Long, 'Literature in Norman French and English to 1534' in *NHI*, vol. 2. The latter volume also includes a useful introductory chapter on Gaelic literature by J. Carney, 'Literature in Irish, 1169–1534'. E. Bhreathnach and R. Ó Floinn, 'Ireland: culture and society' in Rigby (ed.), *Companion to Britain in the later Middle Ages*, provides a valuable overview of cultural developments in Irish, French and English. For the spoken languages of Ireland in a later period, see V. Carey, '"Neither good English nor good Irish": bilingualism and identity formation in sixteenth-century Ireland' in H. Morgan (ed.), *Political ideology in Ireland, 1541–1641* (1999); and A. Bliss, *Spoken English in Ireland, 1600–1740* (1979).

On the literature in French, see J. Long, 'Dermot and the earl: who wrote the *Song*?', *PRIA*, C (1975); W. Sayers, 'Anglo-Norman verse on New Ross and its founders', *IHS*, 28:110 (1992); E. Mullally, 'Hiberno-Norman literature and its public' in Bradley (ed.), *Settlement and society in medieval Ireland*; and E. Mullally (ed.), *The deeds of the Normans in Ireland: La geste des Engleis en Yrlande. A new edition of the chronicle formerly known as* The Song of Dermot and the Earl (2002). Katharine Simms has been instrumental in unlocking the mysteries of bardic poetry for historians: 'Bardic poetry as historical source' in T. Dunne (ed.), *The writer as witness: literature as historical evidence. Historical Studies XIV* (Cork, 1987); 'Literary sources for the history of Gaelic Ireland in the post-Norman period' in K. McCone and K. Simms (eds), *Progress in medieval Irish studies* (Maynooth, 1996); 'Literacy and the Irish bards' in H. Pryce (ed.), *Literacy in medieval Celtic societies* (Cambridge, 1998). For a later period, see M. O Riordan, *The Gaelic mind and the collapse of the Gaelic world* (Cork, 1990). Our knowledge of the Latin annals produced within the English colony has made strides forward of late due to the work

of Bernadette Williams, esp. 'The "Kilkenny chronicle"' in *Colony & frontier*, and 'The Dominican annals of Dublin' in S. Duffy (ed.), *Medieval Dublin II* (2001). B. Williams (ed.), *The annals of Ireland by Friar John Clyn* (2007), contains not only a new edition with translation of this chronicle (cf. *AClyn*), but also a substantial introduction. A new edition and translation of 'Pembridge's annals' (formerly ed. J.T. Gilbert in *CStM*, vol. 2) is in preparation by Dr Williams and is eagerly anticipated. As long ago as 1967, Otway-Ruthven noted that 'we have no critical edition of the chronicle of Henry Marlborough'.[7] That situation, alas, remains unchanged.

Of the literary evidence for the languages he discusses, Curtis devotes least attention to English, but the subject is well served elsewhere. J.L. Kallen, 'English in Ireland' in R. Burchfield (ed.), *The Cambridge history of the English language,* v: *English in Britain and overseas: origins and development* (Cambridge, 1994), may be consulted by way of introduction and for its substantial bibliography; but the literature continues to grow. Of recent works, R. Hickey, 'The beginnings of Irish English', *Folia Linguistica Historica*, 14:1–2 (1993), and idem 'Dublin and Middle English' in P.J. Lucas and A.M. Lucas (ed.), *Studies in English medieval language and literature* (Frankfurt, 2002), are of particular importance. On the dialect of Co. Wexford, see R. Roche, 'Forth and Bargy: a place apart' in Whelan (ed.), *Wexford: history and society*; and J. Poole, *The dialect of Forth and Bargy, Co. Wexford, Ireland*, ed. T.P. Dolan and D. Ó Muirithe (1996). The English verse produced in the colony is translated in A.M. Lucas (ed.), *Anglo-Irish poems of the Middle Ages* (1995); while T. Turville-Petre, *England the nation: language, literature, and national identity* (Oxford, 1996), ch. 5, offers a stimulating analysis of these poems in the context of

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[7] A.J. Otway-Ruthven, 'Thirty years' work in Irish history (I): medieval Ireland (1169–1485)', *IHS*, 15:60 (1967), 362.

burgeoning national sentiment in fourteenth-century England. Appreciation of the changing status of English as a spoken and written language in the metropolis is crucial for an understanding of the role of the language in the colony. On this question, see W.M. Ormrod, 'The use of English: language, law, and political culture in fourteenth-century England', *Speculum*, 78:3 (2003); J. Catto, 'Written English: the making of the language, 1370–1400', *P&P*, 179 (2003); A. Ruddick, 'Ethnic identity and political language in the king of England's dominions: a fourteenth-century perspective' in L. Clarke (ed.), *The fifteenth century VI: identity and insurgency in the late Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, 2006). The relevance of these works to the colonial situation is clear from recent studies of cultural transmission across the Irish Sea in the later fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries: K. Kerby-Fulton and S. Justice, 'Langlandian reading circles and the civil service in London and Dublin, 1380–1427' in W. Scase, R. Copeland and D. Lawton (eds), *New Medieval Literatures*, 1 (1997); R.R. Davies, 'The life, travels, and library of an early reader of *Piers Plowman*', *The Yearbook of Langland Studies,* 13 (1999); K. Kerby-Fulton and D. L. Despres, *Iconography and the professional reader: the politics of book production and the Douce* Piers Plowman (Minneapolis, 1999).

Chapter 20. The problem of the frontier in medieval Ireland

Lydon's seminal contribution to the idea of the medieval frontier in Ireland explains the choice of 'frontier' as one of two key themes for the *Festschrift* presented to him upon his retirement (*Colony & frontier*). It would be interesting to revisit Lydon's invocation of the American 'frontier thesis' in light of the enormous literature that was generated around the centenary of Frederick Jackson Turner in 1993: see, for instance, W. Cronon, 'Revisiting the vanishing frontier: the legacy of Frederick

Jackson Turner', *Western Historical Quarterly*, 18:2 (1987); and J. Adelman and S. Aron, 'From borderlands to borders: empires, nation-states and the peoples in between in North American history', *AHR*, 104:3 (1999). The relevance of Turner's thesis to medieval Europe is explored in R.I. Burns, 'The significance of the frontier in the Middle Ages' in R. Bartlett and A. MacKay, *Medieval frontier societies* (Oxford, 1989). The latter volume is now a classic; two comparative studies therein that draw on Irish evidence (though written by 'outsiders') are particularly outstanding: R. Bartlett, 'Colonial aristocracies in the high Middle Ages', and R.R. Davies, 'Frontier arrangements in fragmented societies: Ireland and Wales'. R. Bartlett, 'Heartland and border: the mental and physical geography of medieval Europe' in Pryce and Watts (eds), *Power and identity in the Middle Ages*, pursues the theme of periphery and core with all the author's customary panache.

Among Irish historians, too, the idea of 'frontier' has played well. For regional case studies, see B. Smith, 'The concept of the march in medieval Ireland: the case of Uriel', *PRIA*, 88, C (1988); idem, 'The medieval border: Anglo-Irish and Gaelic Irish in late thirteenth and early fourteenth century Uriel' in R. Gillespie and H. O'Sullivan (eds), *The borderlands: essays on the history of the Ulster–Leinster border* (Belfast, 1989); and C. Ó Cléirigh, 'The problems of defence: a regional case study' in Lydon, *Law & disorder*. The subject has also been taken up by archaeologists and historical geographers, most successfully in P.J. Duffy, 'The nature of the medieval frontier in Ireland', *Studia Hibernica*, 22–3 (1982–3). J. Morrissey, 'Cultural geographies in the contact zone: Gaels, Galls and overlapping territories in late medieval Ireland', *Social and Cultural Geography*, 6:4 (2005), seeks to update frontier studies by exporting the idea of a 'contact zone' to medieval Ireland through a brief case study of Kilnamanagh, Co. Tipperary. For a more traditional archaeological perspective, see

T.B. Barry, 'The last frontier: defence and settlement in late medieval Ireland' in *Colony & frontier*.

Lydon's essay is broad in thematic content and touches on many factors that have become closely associated with the decline of the colony from the fourteenth century. The impact of famine and plague is now treated in M. Lyons, 'Weather, famine, pestilence and plague in Ireland, 900–1500' in E.M. Crawford (ed.), *Famine: the Irish experience* (Edinburgh, 1989); and M. Kelly, *A history of the black death in Ireland* (Stroud, 2001). On the Scottish mercenaries who played a key role in the military resurgence of Gaelic Ireland, see a new collection, *The world of the galloglass: kings, warlords and warriors in Ireland and Scotland, 1200–1600*, ed. S. Duffy (2007): the contribution of Kenneth Nicholls to that volume ('Scottish mercenary kindreds in Ireland, 1250–1600') is of particular importance. Robin Frame queries whether tracking 'decline' is the most useful approach to the history of the later medieval colony in Frame, 'The "failure" of the first English conquest of Ireland' in idem, *Ire. & Brit.* A case in point is absenteeism. The first serious study was Frame, *Eng. lordship*, ch. 2; recent work by Beth Hartland has followed this in adopting a less fatalistic approach than was hitherto traditional: 'Reasons for leaving: the effect of conflict on English landholding in late thirteenth-century Leinster', *Journal of Medieval History*, 32 (2006), and 'Absenteeism: the chronology of a concept', *Thirteenth Century England*, 11 (2007). On that iconic, if under-studied, frontier – the Pale – see S.G. Ellis, *The Pale and the far north: government and society in two early Tudor borderlands* (Galway, 1988); idem, 'An English gentleman and his community: Sir William Darcy of Platten' in V. Carey and U. Lotz-Heumann (eds), *Taking sides? Colonial and confessional* mentalités *in early modern Ireland: essays in honour of Karl S. Bottigheimer* (2003); and, from an archaeological

perspective with a whiff of Turner, T. O'Keeffe, 'Medieval frontiers and fortification: the Pale and its evolution' in F.H.A. Aalen and K. Whelan (eds), *Dublin city and county: from prehistory to present* (1992).

Chapter 21. The middle nation

The identity of the English colonists in later medieval Ireland is perhaps the most contested issue in the historiography of recent decades. Lydon further elaborates his ideas in 'Nation and race in medieval Ireland' in S. Forde, L. Johnson and A.V. Murray (eds), *Concepts of national identity in the Middle Ages* (Leeds, 1995). This post-dates a vigorous debate on colonial identity that became ensnared by a controversy concerning 'historical revisionism' in Ireland (for which, see Brady, *Revisionism*). The key essays are S.G. Ellis, 'Nationalist historiography and the English and Gaelic worlds in the late Middle Ages', *IHS*, 25:97 (1986), and B. Bradshaw, 'Nationalism and historical scholarship in modern Ireland', *IHS* 26:104 (1989);[8] and Ellis, 'Historiographical debate. Representations of the past in Ireland: whose past and whose present?', *IHS*, 27:108 (1991). Art Cosgrove's entry into the fray is less constructive due to its recapitulation of the familiar: 'The writing of medieval Irish history', *IHS*, 27:106 (1990). Subtleties are sometimes lost when arguments are tailored for a popular audience; consequently, a spat between Steven Ellis and Kenneth Nicholls from 1999, though it makes for good reading, should be handled charily, since the impression of extreme polarization is typical neither of the authors, nor of historical opinion more generally: S.G. Ellis, 'More Irish than the Irish themselves? The "Anglo-Irish" in Tudor Ireland', *HI*, 7:1 (1999); K.W. Nicholls, 'World's apart? The Ellis two-nation theory on late medieval Ireland', *HI*, 7:2 (1999).

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[8] Both repr. Brady, *Revisionism*.

The combatants in this debate restricted their discussion for the most part to the late medieval and early modern periods. R. Frame, '"Les Engleys nées en Irlande": the English political identity in medieval Ireland' in idem, *Ire. & Brit*, traces the sharpening sense of Englishness among the colonists 'in the century and a half between Magna Carta and the Statutes of Kilkenny'. A contrasting picture of English lords immersed in Gaelic culture emerges from K. Simms, 'Bards and barons: the Anglo-Irish aristocracy and the native culture' in Bartlett and MacKay (eds), *Medieval frontier societies*. The two interpretations are probably consonant with each other. Whereas Frame's concern was with the *political* identity of the colonists, Simms explored *cultural* identity as revealed in bardic poems commissioned by English lords. To some extent the gap has been narrowed by Frame's recent foray, 'Exporting state and nation: being English in medieval Ireland' in L.E. Scales and O. Zimmer (eds), *Power and the nation in European history* (Cambridge, 2005), which reaffirms the resilience of 'Englishness' in Ireland, but does so by mustering evidence from (among other things) bardic poetry. He thereby allows for considerable cultural variegation among those settlers who described themselves as 'English'. An attempt to break the deadlock from a different angle is P. Crooks, '"Hobbes", "dogs" and politics in the Ireland of Lionel of Antwerp, *c.* 1361–6', *Haskins Society Journal*, 16 (2005), which explores the discrepancies between what political actors *said* and what they *did*.

Some of the most exciting work of recent years has been in answer to Seán Duffy's plea for a study of 'English and Anglicized Ireland' (S. Duffy, 'The problem of degeneracy' in Lydon, *Law & disorder*). Acculturation is a cardinal theme of Simms, *Kings*, but more detailed studies of how English culture (in the broadest sense) operated upon Gaelic lordship are now appearing as a result of the research of

Freya Verstraten: 'Both king and vassal: Feidlim Ua Conchobair of Connacht, 1230–65', *JGAHS*, 55 (2003); 'Naming practices among the Irish secular nobility in the high Middle Ages' *Journal of Medieval History*, 32:1 (2006); 'Images of Gaelic lordship in Ireland, *c.*1200–*c.*1400' in Doran and Lyttleton (eds), *Lordship in medieval Ireland.*

'Identity' is a master concept that will continue to be theorized. Many 'theoretically-informed' studies suffer from a lack of empirical grounding. James Muldoon, *Identity on the medieval Irish frontier: degenerate Englishmen, wild Irishmen, middle nations* (Gainesville, 2003), is a case in point, although it presents some fascinating comparative ideas that deserve to be properly worked out. For sound judgments and useful reviews of the term (and related concepts) in an extended chronological framework, see K. Stringer, 'Social and political communities in European history: some reflections on recent studies' in C. Björn, A. Grant and K. Stringer (eds), *Nations, nationalism and patriotism in the European past* (Copenhagen 1994), and R. Bartlett, 'Medieval and modern concepts of race and ethnicity', *Journal of Medieval and Modern Studies*, 31:1 (2001). R.R. Davies, 'The peoples of Britain and Ireland, 1100–1400 [pts I–IV]', *TRHS*, 6th ser., 4–7 (1994–7), is an exhilarating whirlwind tour of insular identities. A similar approach to the period after 1400 is R. Griffiths, 'The island of Britain in the fifteenth century: perceptions of the peoples of the British Isles', *Journal of Medieval History*, 29 (2003); and (somewhat derivatively) A. Goodman, 'The British Isles imagined' in Clarke (ed.), *The fifteenth century VI.* There is little to suggest that scholarly fascination with the subject is subsiding. For the latest crop of articles, see S.G. Ellis, 'Frontiers and identities in the historiography of the British Isles' in idem and L. Klusáková (eds), *Frontiers and identities: exploring the research area* (Pisa, 2006); idem, 'Integration,

identities and frontiers in the British Isles: a European perspective' in H. Gustafsson and H. Sanders (eds), *Vid gränsen: integration och identiteter i det förnationalla Norden* [*At the border: integration and identities in the pre-national Nordic countries*] (Göteborg [Gothenburg] 2006); R.A. Griffiths, 'Crossing the frontiers of the English realm in the fifteenth century' in Pryce and Watts (eds), *Power and identity in the Middle Ages*.