

## CULTURAL EXCHANGE AND IDENTITY IN LATE MEDIEVAL IRELAND

Irish inhabitants of the ‘four obedient shires’ – a term commonly used to describe the region at the heart of the English colony in the later Middle Ages – were significantly anglicized, taking on English names, dress, and even legal status. However, the processes of cultural exchange went both ways. This study examines the nature of interactions between English and Irish neighbours in the four shires, taking into account the complex tensions between assimilation and the preservation of distinct ethnic identities and exploring how the common colonial rhetoric of the Irish as an ‘enemy’ coexisted with the daily reality of alliance, intermarriage, and accommodation. Placing Ireland in a broad context, Sparky Booker addresses the strategies the colonial community used to deal with the difficulties associated with extensive assimilation, and examines significant shifts in what it meant to be ‘English’ or ‘Irish’ in the face of these challenges.

Sparky Booker is a lecturer at Queen’s University Belfast and specializes in medieval Irish social, cultural, and legal history. Her publications have examined the interactions between the English of Ireland and the Irish in the later Middle Ages, and explored intermarriage, sumptuary law, ecclesiastical patronage, and the Irish in urban society. Recent work examines female litigants in medieval Ireland, and analyzes litigant strategies and the influence of wealth, status, ethnicity, and gender on women’s legal activities. Booker is keenly interested in public history, and as a member of the Friends of Medieval Dublin, she was co-founder and co-editor of the *Tales of Medieval Dublin* lecture series and accompanying book.

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CULTURAL EXCHANGE AND  
IDENTITY IN LATE MEDIEVAL  
IRELAND

*The English and Irish of the Four Obedient Shires*

SPARKY BOOKER  
*Queen's University, Belfast*



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*For my mother and father*

## CONTENTS

<i>List of Maps and Tables</i>	page viii
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	ix
<i>List of Abbreviations</i>	xi
INTRODUCTION: CULTURAL EXCHANGE AND IDENTITY IN LATE MEDIEVAL IRELAND	I
1 DEFINING THE REGION: THE FOUR OBEDIENT SHIRES	24
2 MIGRATION, ASSIMILATION, AND STATUS: THE IRISH OF THE FOUR SHIRES	45
3 MEDIATION AND COOPERATION: THE ‘TWO NATIONS’ IN THE CHURCH	97
4 INTERETHNIC FAMILY TIES: INTERMARRIAGE AND FOSTERAGE	143
5 IRISH CUSTOMS IN THE FOUR SHIRES	178
6 THE IRISH LANGUAGE AND THE ENGLISH COMMUNITY	214
CONCLUSIONS: IDENTITY AND THE LIMITS OF ASSIMILATION	249
<i>Bibliography</i>	259
<i>Index</i>	292

## MAPS AND TABLES

## MAPS

- |    |  |                |
|----|--|----------------|
| 1: | Key settlements of the four shires (with modern county boundaries) | <i>page</i> 38 |
| 2: | Topographical map of the four shires region                        | 39             |

## TABLES

- |    |  |     |
|----|--|-----|
| 1: | Anglicized Irish names and surnames                | 53  |
| 2: | Louth ordination list (Irish names are in italics) | 114 |

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## ABBREVIATIONS

<i>10th Report</i>	<i>10th Report of Historical Manuscripts Commission, appendix v</i> , ed. J. T. Gilbert (London, 1885).
<i>AFM</i>	<i>Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland by the Four Masters</i> , ed. J. O'Donovan, 7 vols (Dublin, 1848–51).
<i>AH</i>	<i>Archivium Hibernicum</i>
<i>AHR</i>	<i>American Historical Review</i>
<i>Alen's Reg.</i>	<i>Calendar of Archbishop Alen's Register</i> , ed. C. MacNeill (Dublin, 1919).
<i>AU</i>	<i>Annála Uladh, Annals of Ulster</i> , eds W. M. Hennessy and B. MacCarthy, 4 vols (Dublin, 1887–1901).
<i>Cal. Carew</i>	<i>Calendar of Carew MSS</i> , eds J. S. Brewer and W. Bullen, 6 vols (London, 1869–73).
<i>Cal. Pat. Rolls Ire., Hen VIII–Eliz,</i>	<i>Calendar of the Patent and Close Rolls of Chancery in Ireland in the Reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary and Elizabeth</i> , ed. J. Morrin, 2 vols (Dublin, 1861–2).
<i>Cal. State Papers Ire.</i>	<i>Calendar of State Papers relating to Ireland, 1509–1573</i> , ed. H. C. Hamilton, et al., 23 vols (London, 1860–1903).
<i>CARD</i>	<i>Calendar of the Ancient Records of Dublin</i> , ed. J. T. Gilbert, 18 vols (Dublin, 1889).
<i>CCD</i>	<i>Christ Church Deeds</i> , eds C. MacNeill and A. J. Otway-Ruthven (Dublin, 1960).
<i>CCR</i>	<i>Calendar of Close Rolls, Edward III</i> , 14 vols (London, 1910).

*List of Abbreviations*

- CDI *Calendar of Documents Relating to Ireland, 1171–1307*, eds H. S. Sweetman and G. F. Handcock, 5 vols (London, 1875–86).
- CELT *Corpus of Electronic Texts*, [www.ucc.ie/celt](http://www.ucc.ie/celt) (1997–2015).
- CIRCLE P. Crooks (ed. and trans.), *A Calendar of Irish Chancery Letters c. 1244–1509*, <https://chancery.tcd.ie>.
- CJR *Calendar of the Justiciary Rolls of Ireland*, ed. J. Mills et al., 3 vols (Dublin, 1905–56).
- Colony and Frontier* T. B. Barry, R. Frame, and K. Simms (eds), *Colony and Frontier in Medieval Ireland: Essays Presented to J. F. Lydon* (London, 1995).
- Conway, Henry VIII's Relations A. Conway, *Henry VIII's Relations with Scotland and Ireland, 1485–1498* (New York, 1971).
- CPL *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland: Papal Letters*, eds W. Bliss, J. A. Tremlow, et al., 20 vols (London and Dublin, 1893–2005).
- CPR *Calendar of Patent Rolls, Edward III*, 16 vols (London, 1893–1916).
- Crooks, *Government, War and Society* P. Crooks (ed.), *Government, War and Society in Medieval Ireland: Essays by Edmund Curtis, A. J. Otway-Ruthven and James Lydon* (Dublin, 2008).
- Davies, *Age of Conquest* R. R. Davies, *The Age of Conquest: Wales, 1063–1415* (Oxford, 2000).
- DIB *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, eds J. McGuire and J. Quinn, <http://dib.cambridge.org/> (Cambridge, 2009).
- Dowdall Deeds* *Dowdall Deeds*, eds C. MacNeill and A. J. Otway-Ruthven (Dublin, 1960).
- Dryburgh and Smith, *Handbook* P. Dryburgh and B. Smith (eds), *Handbook and Select Calendar of Sources for Medieval Ireland in the National Archives of the United Kingdom* (Dublin, 2005).
- Dryburgh and Smith, *Inquisitions and Extents Dublin City Franchise Roll* P. Dryburgh and B. Smith (eds), *Inquisitions and Extents of Medieval Ireland* (Kew, 2007). *The Dublin City Franchise Roll, 1468–1512*, eds C. Lennon and J. Murray (Dublin, 1998).

*List of Abbreviations*

eDIL	<i>Electronic Dictionary of the Irish Language</i> (Dublin, 2007), <a href="http://www.dil.ie">www.dil.ie</a> .
EHR	<i>English Historical Review</i>
Ellis, <i>Ireland in the Age of the Tudors</i>	S. G. Ellis, <i>Ireland in the Age of the Tudors, 1447–1603</i> , 2nd edn (Harlow, 1998).
Ellis, <i>Tudor Frontiers</i>	S. G. Ellis, <i>Tudor Frontiers and Noble Power: The Making of the British State</i> (Oxford, 1995).
Frame, <i>English Lordship</i>	R. Frame, <i>English Lordship in Ireland, 1318–1361</i> (Oxford, 1982).
<i>Gormanston Reg.</i>	<i>Calendar of the Gormanston Register</i> , eds J. Mills and M. J. McEnery (Dublin, 1916).
Griffith, <i>Calendar of Inquisitions</i>	<i>Calendar of Inquisitions Formerly in the Office of the Chief Remembrancer of the Exchequer</i> , ed. M. Griffith (Dublin, 1991).
Gwynn and Hadcock, <i>Medieval Religious Houses Ireland</i>	A. Gwynn and R. N. Hadcock, <i>Medieval Religious Houses: Ireland, with an Appendix to Early Sites</i> (Harlow, 1970).
Hand, <i>English Law in Ireland</i>	G. Hand, <i>English Law in Ireland, 1290–1324</i> (Cambridge, 1967).
HI	<i>History Ireland</i>
Hore and Graves, <i>Southern and Eastern Counties</i>	H. Hore and J. Graves (eds), <i>The Social State of Southern and Eastern Counties of Ireland in the Sixteenth century</i> (Dublin, 1870).
IER	<i>The Irish Ecclesiastical Record</i>
IHS	<i>Irish Historical Studies</i>
IG	<i>The Irish Genealogist</i>
IHTA	<i>Irish Historic Towns Atlas</i> , 27 vols (Dublin, 1986–2015).
IJ	<i>The Irish Jurist</i>
JCLAHS	<i>Journal of the County Louth Archaeological and Historical Society</i>
JCKAS	<i>Journal of the County Kildare Archaeological Society</i>
JMEMS	<i>Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies</i>
JMH	<i>Journal of Medieval History</i>
JRSAI	<i>Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries Ireland</i>
Lydon, <i>The Lordship of Ireland</i>	J. Lydon, <i>The Lordship of Ireland in the Middle Ages</i> , 2nd edn (Dublin, 2003).

*List of Abbreviations*

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|---|---|
| Lydon, <i>Law and Disorder</i>                          | J. Lydon (ed.) <i>Law and Disorder in Thirteenth-century Ireland: the Dublin Parliament of 1297</i> (Dublin, 1997).                             |
| MacLysaght, <i>Surnames</i>                             | E. MacLysaght, <i>The Surnames of Ireland</i> , 4th edn (Dublin, 1997).   |
| MacLysaght, <i>Irish Families</i>                       | E. MacLysaght, <i>Irish Families</i> , reprint 4th edn (Dublin, 1991).  |
| MacNiocaill, <i>Crown Survey</i>                        | <i>Crown Survey of Lands 1540–41 with the Kildare Rental begun in 1518</i> , ed. G. MacNiocaill (Dublin, 1994).                                 |
| Maginn and Ellis, <i>The Tudor Discovery of Ireland</i> | C. Maginn and S. G. Ellis (eds), <i>The Tudor Discovery of Ireland</i> (Dublin, 2015).  |
| Murphy and Potterton, <i>The Dublin Region</i>          | M. Murphy and M. Potterton, <i>The Dublin Region in the Middle Ages</i> (Dublin, 2010).   |
| NAI   | National Archives of Ireland  |
| NLI   | National Library of Ireland   |
| NHI   | F. X. Martin, F. J. Byrne, et al. (eds), <i>A New History of Ireland</i> , 9 vols (Oxford, 1972–2011).  |
| Nicholls, <i>Gaelic and Gaelicised Ireland</i>          | K. W. Nicholls, <i>Gaelic and Gaelicised Ireland in the Middle Ages</i> , 2nd edn (Dublin, 2003).   |
| ODNB  | <i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i> , online edition, <a href="http://www.oxfordnb.com">www.oxfordnb.com</a> (Oxford, January 2008). |
| OED   | <i>Oxford English Dictionary</i> , online edition, <a href="http://www.oed.com">www.oed.com</a> (Oxford, 2016).                                 |
| <i>Ormond Deeds</i>                                     | <i>The Calendar of Ormond Deeds, 1172–1603</i> , ed. E. Curtis, 6 vols (Dublin, 1932–43).   |
| Quinn, ‘Bills and statutes’                             | D. B. Quinn, ‘The Bills and Statutes of the Irish Parliaments of Henry VII and Henry VIII’, <i>Analecta Hibernica</i> , 10 (1941), 71–169.      |
| ‘Reg. Cromer’   | ‘Register of Archbishop Cromer’, eds L. P. Murray and A. Gwynn, <i>JCLAHS</i> , 7:4, 8:1–4, 9:1–2, 10:2–3 (1932–43).                            |
| <i>Reg. Fleming</i>                                     | <i>The Register of Nicholas Fleming: Archbishop of Armagh 1404–1416</i> , ed. B. Smith (Dublin, 2003).  |
| <i>Reg. Mey</i>   | <i>Registrum Iohannis Mey</i> , eds W. G. H. Quigley and E. F. D. Roberts (Belfast, 1972).  |

*List of Abbreviations*

<i>Reg. Octavian</i>	<i>The Register of Octavian de Palatio, Archbishop of Armagh 1478–1513</i> , ed. M. A. Sughy, 2 vols (Dublin, 1999).
<i>Reg. Prene</i>	TCD MS 557 ( <i>Register of Archbishop Prene</i> , 2 vols, transcribed by Bishop Reeves).
<i>Reg. Swayne</i>	<i>The Register of John Swayne, Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of Ireland, 1418–1439</i> , ed. D. A. Chart (Belfast, 1935).
PP	<i>Past and Present</i>
PRLA	<i>Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy</i>
Richardson and Sayles, <i>The Irish Parliament</i>	H. G. Richardson and G. O. Sayles, <i>The Irish Parliament in the Middle Ages</i> (Philadelphia, 1952).
RnM	<i>Ríocht na Midhe</i>
<i>Rot. Pat. Hib.</i>	<i>Rotulorum Patentium et Clausorum Cancellariae Hiberniae Calendarium</i> , ed. E. Tresham (Dublin, 1828).
SA	<i>Seanchas Ardmhacha</i>
s.a.	<i>sub anno</i>
SHR	<i>Scottish Historical Review</i>
Smith, <i>Colonisation and Conquest</i>	B. Smith, <i>Colonisation and Conquest in Medieval Ireland: the English in Louth, 1170–1330</i> (Cambridge, 1999).
Smith, <i>Crisis and Survival</i>	B. Smith, <i>Crisis and Survival in Late Medieval Ireland: the English of Louth and Their Neighbours, 1330–1450</i> (Oxford, 2013).
<i>Stat. Ire., John-Hen. V</i>	<i>Statutes, Ordinances, and Acts of the Parliament of Ireland: King John to Henry V</i> , ed. H. F. Berry (Dublin, 1907).
<i>Stat. Ire., 1-12 Edw. IV</i>	<i>Statute Rolls of the Parliament of Ireland: King Edward the Fourth</i> , ed. H. F. Berry, vol. i (2 vols, Dublin, 1914).
<i>Stat. Ire., 12-22 Edw. IV</i>	<i>Statute Rolls of the Parliament of Ireland: King Edward the Fourth</i> , ed. J. Morrissey, vol. ii (2 vols, Dublin, 1939).
<i>Stat. Ire., Hen. VI</i>	<i>Statute Rolls of the Parliament of Ireland, Reign of King Henry VI</i> , ed. H. F. Berry (Dublin, 1910).
<i>Stat. Ire., RIII – Hen. VIII</i>	<i>Statute Rolls of the Irish Parliament Richard III to Henry VIII</i> , ed. P. Connolly (Dublin, 2002).

*List of Abbreviations*

<i>State Papers Henry VIII</i>	<i>State Papers of Henry VIII</i> , 11 vols (London, 1830–52).
<i>Studies</i>	<i>Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review</i>
TCD	Trinity College Dublin
THSC	<i>Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion</i>
<i>Topic</i>	<i>Topic: Studies in Irish History</i>
TRHS	<i>Transactions of the Royal Historical Society</i>
White, <i>Extents</i>	<i>Extents of Monastic Possessions, 1540–1</i> , ed. N. B. White (Dublin, 1941).
WHR	<i>Welsh History Review</i>
<i>Wills Tregury and Walton</i>	<i>Register of Wills and Inventories of the Diocese of Dublin in the Time of Archbishops Tregury and Walton 1457–1483</i> , ed. H. F. Berry (Dublin, 1896–97).