IRELAND UNDER THE NORMANS

ORPEN

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS
LONDON EDINBURGH GLASGOW NEW YORK
TORONTO MELBOURNE CAPE TOWN BOMBAY
HUMPHREY MILFORD
PUBLISHER TO THE UNIVERSITY

IRELAND
UNDER THE NORMANS

1216–1333

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VOL. III

OXFORD
AT THE CLARENDON PRESS
1920

FOREWORD

TO VOLUMES III AND IV

ENCOURAGED by the reception given to the first two volumes of this work, I lost no time before commencing to fulfil the promise held out at the close of Volume II, and endeavouring to complete my study of what may be regarded as the Anglo-Norman period of Irish history. Some explanation then seems to be required to account for the lapse of time before my self-imposed task was done.

In the first place, these new volumes are to an increasing extent pioneer work. Most of the ground now covered has never been properly surveyed before. It was necessary to examine more systematically many fields of inquiry which had been at best hastily run over, and to explore for the first time others which had been entirely ignored or left unnoticed. The recent publication of various calendars of public records has rendered available many authentic sources of our history which were practically beyond the reach of previous writers. These had to be examined and compared with the bald and isolated entries in Irish and Anglo-Norman annals. In result, the records and annalistic entries were often found to explain each other and bring both into relation with preceding and subsequent facts. There were still, however, many documents and some

collections of documents which had to be examined in the original. Among the most important of these collections were the 'Red Book of the Earl of Kildare', which, by the courtesy of Lord Frederick Fitz Gerald, I was enabled to study at leisure, and the 'Gormanston Register', then lying in manuscript in the Public Record Office at Dublin, but since (in 1916) calendared. These collections not only add to our knowledge of the history and possessions of some great Irish families, but incidentally help to determine the extent and progress from time to time of Anglo-Norman domination. For the episode of the Normans in Thomond it was essential to consult the *Caithréim Toirdelbaig*, a fourteenth-century tract recounting from an Irish point of view the wars of Thomond in the times of Thomas de Clare and his son Richard (1275–1318). To the kindness of Dr., now Sir Norman, Moore, I was indebted for the loan of the scholarly rendering (still unpublished) of this MS. by the late Standish Hayes O'Grady. For the important period of the invasion of Edward Bruce, which proved to be the turning-point of Anglo-Norman influence, the entries in the Annals of Loch Cé and in some Anglo-Norman annals are unusually full. These last-mentioned annals are now known as Additional MS. 4792 in the British Museum and Laud MS. 526 in the Bodleian Library, and they have been published by J. T. Gilbert in his Chartularies of St. Mary's Abbey, Dublin. The accuracy of the dates supplied by these annals, as shown, whenever they can be

verified, points to a contemporary source. The Scottish tradition as preserved by Archdeacon Barbour, and the Irish account in the late tract entitled *Cath Fhochairte Brighite*, were also consulted, and though these were found to be often inaccurate and unhistorical, they supply some details which may be regarded as authentic. The above sources taken in connexion with the public records of the time have enabled me to give a much fuller and more coherent account of this fateful period than any that has hitherto appeared. To Mr. H. T. Knox I owe the gift of careful transcripts of the lengthy inquisitions concerning the lands of the Earl of Ulster, who was murdered in 1333. Abstracts of the inquisitions relating to Connaught had already been made and annotated by Mr. Knox, while those relating to Ulster were similarly handled by me in a series of papers contributed to the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland. These inquisitions throw much fresh light on the dominant position of the Norman barons in these two provinces in former years, as well as on the extent to which that position was lost owing to the disturbances following on the murder of the earl. It is unnecessary to specify here other sources of Irish history for the period covered, as I have thought it right to give throughout the work precise references to the principal authorities on which I rely; but as further accounting for the delay in publication I may add that when these and other preliminary studies were completed, and the results from all

sources compared and welded, as far as might be, into a coherent whole, the outbreak of the World-War diverted and absorbed all energy and attention, and the final revision and publication of the work was necessarily postponed to happier times.

Of the defects of these volumes no one can be more conscious than myself. One obvious imperfection is perhaps inherent in the subject. Writers of history have always had to compromise between observing the strict chronological order of the events within their purview and following out the course of particular movements to their ultimate issues, or at least to some convenient stage, but they are generally enabled to find a sort of epic unity in the influence on events of successive kings or their chief ministers. The history of mediaeval Ireland, however, presents the difficulty in an aggravated form. Not only was the influence of the English kings and their justiciars in Ireland, though far from negligible, often entirely overshadowed by that of the local magnates, whether Anglo-Norman or Irish, but the course of events in one province or sometimes even in smaller districts was in general unaffected by what happened in others. I have therefore frequently found it advisable to treat such districts separately, though such treatment has inevitably involved serious anticipations of the general chronological arrangement, as well as occasional repetition due to the need of recalling to mind relevant facts more conveniently mentioned in detail elsewhere.

Another difficulty presented by Irish as contrasted with English history in the thirteenth century is that there were no contemporary historians in Ireland, such for example as those connected with the school of St. Albans in England, who aimed at supplying a connected narrative of events, exhibiting them in the relation of cause and effect, and explaining their significance. It was impossible, therefore, without an undue exercise of the imagination to unfold in any detail a continuous drama of Irish history. The story has to be laboriously pieced together from isolated annalistic entries, from various public records and other documents, and from scattered indications of facts gleaned from many quarters, far and wide—and there remain inevitable gaps. It is as if there were intervals of time between the acts of our drama without any obliging chorus or messenger to tell us what has happened in the interludes. As some compensation the writer is exempt from the risk of accepting too readily what may be only a distorted view of facts as seen by a prejudiced contemporary, or one designedly coloured with a view to influence opinion. While if due care be taken and a ripe judgement exercised, the narrative pieced together as above indicated, however imperfect, is at least so far as it goes based for the most part on the best and most easily-tested evidence, that is to say, on documents not designed to influence posterity, but intended for immediate use in the ordinary course of administration or business.

In the immediate future Ireland is likely to focus upon herself a large share of political attention, and many ill-founded assertions regarding her past history as well as her present condition will doubtless continue to be made by politicians of all parties. It might indeed be thought that what happened upwards of seven centuries ago can have no practical bearing on our present-day problems. Nevertheless the appeal to history will inevitably be made, and as a matter of fact the Anglo-Norman occupation of Ireland is by many regarded as the 'fons et origo mali'. It certainly had far-reaching effects. Now it has been my aim to examine the Anglo-Norman period from a mediaeval standpoint, and not to allow any modern political nostrum to colour the presentation of the picture drawn. All those who are sincerely desirous of understanding the Irish problem with the single-minded object of arriving at the best solution for all concerned, should therefore welcome an endeavour to set forth the facts of that occupation with as much exactness of statement and indifferency of judgement as is humanly possible.

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VOL. IV

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DURING THE REIGN OF HENRY III

Geoffrey de Marisco, who had been appointed justiciar by King John on July 6, 1215, was retained in that office under the Regency up to July 1221: Rot. Claus., 5 Hen. III, p. 476 b.

Henry de Londres, Archbishop of Dublin, appointed July 3, 1221: Pat. Roll, 5 Hen. III, m. 3.

William Marshal the younger, Earl of Pembroke, appointed May 2, 1224: Pat. Roll, 8 Hen. III, m. 8. During William's absence in England in the winter of 1224–5 Geoffrey de Marisco was his deputy: Rot. Claus., 9 Hen. III, vol. ii, p. 69 b.

Geoffrey de Marisco, reappointed June 25, 1226: Pat. Roll, 10 Hen. III, m. 4.

Richard de Burgh, appointed February 13, 1228: Pat. Roll, 12 Hen. III, m. 6.

Hubert de Burgh, Earl of Kent and justiciar of England, on June 16, 1232, was granted the office of justiciar of Ireland for life with power to appoint a deputy, and Richard de Burgh, as Hubert's deputy, was ordered to be intentive to Hubert: Pat. Roll, 16 Hen. III, m. 4. Hubert, however, was dismissed in disgrace on July 29, 1232, and there is no evidence that he ever acted as justiciar of Ireland.

Maurice Fitz Gerald, second baron of Offaly, appointed September 2, 1232: Close Roll, 16 Hen. III, m. 4.

John Fitz Geoffrey, appointed November 4, 1245: Cal. Pat. Rolls, 30 Hen. III, p. 465. He had previously acted during the absence of Maurice Fitz Gerald on the king's expedition to Wales from September 1245: Close Roll, 29 Hen. III, m. 2. On February 14, 1254, the king made a grant of Ireland to his eldest son Prince Edward: Charter Roll, 37 & 38 Hen. III, Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. ii, nos. 326, 371. John Fitz Geoffrey, though absent with the king in Bordeaux and

afterwards with the prince, was seemingly continued as justiciar, with Richard de la Rochelle, seneschal of Prince Edward, as his lieutenant, until the appointment as justiciar of Alan de la Zuche. From 1254 to 1276 the appointments of justiciars do not appear on the rolls, and the precise dates cannot be fixed.

Alan de la Zuche, justiciar from shortly before June 27, 1256: Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. ii, no. 506.

Stephen Longespee, justiciar from before October 21, 1258: Ibid., no. 600.

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Richard de la Rochelle, justiciar by October 28, 1261: Ibid., no. 715. He was imprisoned by the Geraldines on December 6, 1264. In consequence of the caption of the justiciar, and during the confusion caused by the Barons' War in England, the king, ostensibly on behalf of his son, committed the custody of Ireland to several persons in succession, namely on February 26, 1265, to Fulk de Saunford, Archbishop of Dublin: Ibid., nos. 758, 766; on or before May 6, 1265, to Roger Waspail: Ibid., no. 771; and on June 10, 1265, to Hugh de Taghmun, Bishop of Meath. On April 23, 1266, however, the king again addressed a writ to Richard de la Rochelle as justiciar or his deputy.

David de Barry, justiciar from Michaelmas 1266: Pipe Roll (Ireland), 51 Hen. III, 35 Rep. D. K., p. 48; and Laud MS. Annals, Chart. St. Mary's, vol. ii, p. 316.

Robert d'Ufford, justiciar from c. Michaelmas 1268: Laud MS. as above, and cf. Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. ii, nos. 849, 970. On his returning to England in March 1270 Richard of Exeter performed the functions of justiciar: Annales de Monte Fernandi, and cf. 36 Rep. D. K., p. 54.

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Maurice Fitz Maurice, younger son (eldest surviving) of Maurice Fitz Gerald II, deputed by the lieutenants of Prince Edward as justiciar from c. August 1272: Cal. Pat. Rolls, 56 Hen. III, p. 674.

CHAPTER XXIV

THE MINORITY OF HENRY III

1216–26

'John, King of the Saxons, was deposed by the Saxons in this year, and died of a fit. The son of the King of France assumed the sovereignty of the Saxons and obtained their pledges.'[1] Such is the literal rendering of an entry in one of the older Irish annals under the year 1216. Couched in the phrases usually employed by native writers to record dynastic changes in Ireland, it expresses the view of contemporary events in England taken by an Irish onlooker. As it turned out indeed there was no dynastic change, but at the moment the statement seemed to be warranted by the facts. Death of King John.

At the time of King John's death, England was in a state of anarchy recalling the worst days of King Stephen. The greater number of the earls and barons of England were in arms against the Crown, and had called to their aid the Dauphin of France. Louis had landed in England with a formidable army, the citizens of London had opened their gates to him, and most of the barons had done him homage. Alexander of Scotland and Llewelyn of Wales had taken the opportunity of throwing off their allegiance, and both of these princes, from motives of their own, favoured the barons' cause. Of the earls of England, Randolph Perilous state of England.

[1] Ann. Loch Cé, 1216.

of Chester, the earls of Derby and of Albemarle, and William Marshal alone supported the royal cause. The lords of the Welsh March were on the same side, and many of the royal castles were garrisoned for the king, but the northern, eastern, and south-eastern counties were all in the hands of Louis and the revolted barons. Throughout one half of England the king's writ no longer ran.

The royal cause had indeed benefited by the moral support of the Pope, who had annulled the Great Charter, excommunicated Louis and all his adherents, and sent Cardinal Gualo as legate to support the Crown with all the authority of the Church. The papal prohibition, however, had been ineffectual to prevent the French invasion, and though all clerical opposition had been silenced, the immediate effect was to remove from the conflict a moderating influence and to exasperate the barons still more.

It was indeed a time of great peril for England and for the boy-king, who was only nine years old. King John, on his death-bed at Newark, was well aware of the danger impending over his house. With unerring instinct he pointed out the only man who could save the situation. 'For God's sake,' cried the dying king to those around him, 'pray the Marshal to pardon the wrongs I have done him. He has always served me loyally and has never requited me ill for the ills I have done to him. And because I am more sure of his loyalty than of that of any living man, I pray that he may always take charge of my son, for the lad will never be able to hold his own without the Marshal's aid.'[1] The great Earl Marshal was full of years, but by his character

[1] L'Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal, ll. 15170–90.

and antecedents he was clearly marked out as the fittest person to undertake the regency. Urged by the unanimous voice of the king's Council, he took up the perilous task and carried it through to a successful issue. As *Rector regis et regni*, by his conciliatory policy, he gradually won over many of the revolted barons to the young king's side. Then by his energy, courage, and military skill he succeeded, in spite of scanty resources, in inflicting damaging defeats upon his foreign opponents. Finally, by the moderation of his conditions,[1] he induced the French prince to give up his great undertaking and depart with his army whence he came.

Quiet in Ireland.

During all this period of disturbance and danger in England peace and comparative quiet seem to have reigned in Ireland. In after times, as has often been said, 'England's difficulty was Ireland's opportunity.' Now if ever was the moment for Ireland to throw off the yoke if she found it galling. But it is a clear indication of the strength of the Anglo-Norman position in Ireland at this early period, and of the general acquiescence in Anglo-Norman rule, that, at a moment when the Regent was summoning every man he could obtain from the castles and garrisons far and near to aid the child-king, there was no rising of native tribes to expel the foreigner from Ireland, no attempt by the native chieftains to recover the independence they had lost.

[1] Among these conditions was an indemnity to Louis of 10,000 marks. Towards finding this sum the king's advisers borrowed 6,000 marks from two merchants of St. Omer, and the Earl Marshal pledged all the lands he held of the king of France for the repayment of the debt due to them. For fuller particulars see Minority of Henry III (Norgate), pp. 83–4.

Irish policy of the Regency.

The Irish policy of the new government is outlined in a letter to Geoffrey de Marisco, the justiciar, written (probably, as the phraseology indicates, by the legate Gualo) in the name of the young king soon after the Council of Bristol (November 11). After announcing the death of his father and his own coronation, the king proceeds to state that it was his wish to remove for ever and forget the angry feelings which formerly arose—whether with or without cause he knew not—between his father and some of the nobles, and if any such feelings existed against himself he was ready and anxious to purge them away, and by giving to every one by the advice of his subjects what reason should dictate, by uprooting evil customs, and by the introduction of liberties to restore the gracious days of his noble ancestors. Then, after alluding to the reissue of the Great Charter, the king promised that his subjects in Ireland should enjoy the same liberties as had been granted to his subjects in England.[1] This promise was soon fulfilled by the extension of the Great Charter to Ireland.[2] It must be remembered that the Charter had been repudiated by John and denounced by the pope. Its re-enactment in England and its extension to Ireland at this moment—in each country in a somewhat curtailed

[1] Foedera, vol. i, pt. 1, p. 145. It further appears from this letter that the Irish Council had prayed that either the Queen-Mother or the king's brother might be sent to Ireland, thus early intimating a desire, often since vainly repeated, for the establishment of a royal residence there.

[2] Early Statutes (Berry), pp. 5–19. The charter was apparently sent to Ireland on February 6, 1217, with a covering letter to the archbishops, barons, &c., commending the loyalty which they had shown to the king's father and would show to the king: Patent Roll, 1 Hen. III, p. 31.

form, it is true—must have been mainly due to the political sagacity of William Marshal, who, with the earls of Chester, Derby, and Albemarle, alone represented the nobility. The presence of the papal legate and eleven bishops, however, proves that the Church had come round to the liberal policy. Among the other magnates present were Walter de Lacy, lord of Meath, John Marshal, Earl William's nephew, and several of the lords of the Welsh border.

Notwithstanding preoccupations in England the Regency during this period devoted much attention to Ireland. The work of undoing John's confiscations, already commenced under the influence of William Marshal in John's lifetime, went on under the same influence with quickened pace in the early years of the new reign. The injury done to William himself was now redressed. The service which Meiler Fitz Henry owed for the earl's lands in Leinster, and which King John had taken into his hand as security for the earl's service, was once more ordered to be restored to the earl, 'who', say the king's advisers in a memorable phrase, 'had proved himself in time of need like gold in the furnace.'[1] These were apparently the lands in Leix and Offaly, which, as we have seen, Meiler, with King John's concurrence, had held adversely to the earl and about which disturbances had arisen.[2] The fief

Reparation and restitution.

[1] Pat. Roll, 1 Hen. III, m. 16, pp. 9–10: *tanquam aurum in fornace, sic se in necessitate probavit.* It is noteworthy that these two mandates are addressed by the young king himself to Geoffrey de Marisco and Meiler Fitz Henry and are sealed not, as usual, with the seal of William Marshal (who was an interested party), but with the seals of the Legate and the Bishop of Winchester, who take the opportunity of expressing their high estimation of the Marshal.

[2] *Ante*, vol. ii, pp. 210, 317–18.

of Leinster was now once more restored to its original extent. To Walter de Lacy, whose personal loyalty was unquestioned, the king provisionally restored the castle of Drogheda and the land of Ardmayle (Co. Tipperary) to hold to the king's fourteenth year. Meanwhile a jury was to determine whether the castle of Drogheda belonged to the king or to Walter.[1] Geoffrey de Marisco delayed to perform the mandate for livery. It was repeated more than once, and livery of the castle of Blathach near Limerick was also ordered.[2] Ultimately, in August 1220 an arrangement was made by which the castle and vill of Drogheda (which presumably had been found to belong by right to Walter [3]) were to be retained by the king, while Walter was to receive £20 a year as compensation.[4] Similarly, twenty marks a year were to be paid to Walter for the castle of Blathach, which it appears, when in the king's hand, had been granted to Archbishop Henry, and by him conferred on his niece Matilda before her marriage with William de Marisco.[5] In Uriel or Louth the castle of Dundalk was restored to Nicholas de Verdun, and seisin was also given to

[1] Pat. Roll, 1 Hen. III, m. 13 (p. 26).

[2] Ibid., 2 Hen. III, pt. 1, m. 3 (p. 157): *Castrum de Blathac iuxta Limeric.*

[3] An inspeximus of Walter de Lacy's grant in 1194 of the law of Breteuil to his burgesses of Drogheda next the castle, i. e. *ex parte Midie*, will be found in Pat. Roll, 14 Edw. III, p. 2, m. 26.

[4] Close Roll, 4 Hen. III, p. 427 b.

[5] These compensatory payments were continued to Walter and his heirs for upwards of a century, before which time the true site of the castle of Blathach was forgotten and it was confused with the castle of Drogheda: see my notes in Journal R. S. A. I., vol. xxxix (1909), p. 40, and vol. xliv (1914), pp. 167–70.

him of half the cantred of Ferrard.[1] Reginald de Braose, son and (since the death of his brother Giles, bishop of Hereford) heir of the ill-fated William de Braose, became reconciled to the new king, and in June 1217 the justiciar was ordered to give him the custody of the castle and city of Limerick and seisin of all the lands which belonged to his father in Munster.[2] It is very doubtful, however, if anything was done in pursuance of this order. It was repeated six months later. The original grant to William de Braose had been bitterly opposed by the Munster feoffees of whom Geoffrey was one, and now they would be equally opposed to its revival in favour of William's son. Certainly no restoration of the honour of Limerick was effected.[3] Lastly, within a month of the death of King John, an attempt was made to induce Hugh de Lacy, whom King John had hunted out of Ulster, to return to his allegiance.[4] But this had no effect, and though

[1] Patent Roll, 1 Hen. III, p. 74. [2] Ibid., pp. 72–3.

[3] I have found no subsequent trace of the De Braoses in Munster. Limerick Castle was one of those surrendered to the king by Geoffrey in 1221, and was committed to the custody of Richard de Burgh as seneschal of Munster in 1223: Pat. Rolls, 6 Hen. III, pp. 316, 375. The principal lands in question were in southern Tipperary, and had been regranted to Philip of Worcester (*ante*, vol. ii, pp. 175, 318). In 1218 they were taken into the king's hand, and eventually, in 1225, four of the five cantreds were granted to Philip's nephew, William of Worcester: Close Roll, 9 Hen. III, p. 35 b. Irish officials viewed with apprehension the recognition of the heirs of William de Braose: Royal Letters (Shirley), vol. i, p. 60, c. 1219.

[4] Pat. Roll, 1 Hen. III, m. 16, p. 4, dated November 18, 1216, where the following remarkable admission of John's wrongdoing occurs: 'licet vero bone memorie I. pater noster in aliquo erga vos deliquerit, ipsius delicti debemus esse immunes nec delictum suum aliquatenus nobis debet imputari'.

some of the subordinate tenants were restored to their lands in Ulster, the lordship was for many years administered by royal seneschals, who held in the king's name the castles of Carrickfergus and Dundrum. Hugh de Lacy appears at this time to have been taking part in the crusade against the Albigenses,[1] and perhaps had more attractive booty in view than any to be found in Ireland; but the failure to undo King John's work here was the cause of the first disturbance to the peace of the colony in the new reign.

Geoffrey de Mareis, justiciar.

Geoffrey de Marisco or de Mareis (Marsh), whose appointment as justiciar dated from 1215, was left undisturbed in his office under the new king. He was now one of the principal figures in Irish history. He held lands in County Limerick under the Crown,[2] and by his marriage with Eva de Bermingham, heiress of Offaly and widow of Gerald Fitz Maurice, he held that barony for his life under the lords of Leinster.[3] He was a strong supporter of the de Burghs and of all who had least

[1] He can be traced in this crusade at intervals from 1211 to 1219; Recueil des Historiens de la France, vol. xix, pp. 145, 170, 181, and cf. Ann. Mon., vol. iii, p. 75. William de Lacy, Hugh's half-brother, appears to have taken possession, presumably on Hugh's behalf, of the castles of Rath and Carlingford, but early in 1217 he was ordered to deliver them to Geoffrey de Marisco, the justiciar (Pat. Roll, 1 Hen. III, m. 13, p. 26), and this appears to have been done.

[2] See *ante*, vol. ii, p. 169.

[3] For the evidence as to the marriages of Eva de Bermingham and the devolution of the barony of Offaly see the writer's paper on 'The Fitz Geralds, Barons of Offaly', in Journal R. A. S. I., vol. xliv (1914), pp. 99–105. Geoffrey also held Holywood in Wicklow and Killorglin in Kerry; Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. i, no. 2228. There was a dispute with the Crown as to Holywood ('Seinbois' or 'de Sancto Bosco'); ibid., nos. 139, 276.

scruple in their methods of extending English rule over Ireland, but he was jealous of the power in Ireland of the great lords of the Welsh March. He seems to have been a crafty but plausible man, who generally succeeded in getting his way with the king and council even after their doubts as to his policy and suspicions as to his integrity had been aroused. It is clear that the Regency was not altogether satisfied with Geoffrey's administration, and it endeavoured to provide a check on his action and to secure a better control over the revenue of Ireland, all of which passed through his hands. There is, indeed, evidence that he gave some of the escheats of the Crown to his own friends, and that he delayed to execute and even ignored some of the direct mandates of the distant English Government. In April 1217 it was ordered that the rents and fines of Ireland should be received only at the Exchequer, and should be safely kept by the treasurer until the king otherwise directed,[1] and about the same time Henry de Londres, Archbishop of London, was sent to Ireland 'to expedite the king's business there', and Geoffrey was ordered 'to abide by the archbishop's counsel, without whose assent nothing was to be done'.[2] As may be easily understood, relations between the justiciar and the archbishop soon became strained. A year later Geoffrey was reprimanded for not coming to England as required 'to render homage and certify concerning the state of Ireland', and he was again bidden to come and bring as much money as possible towards liquidating the debt owed to the dauphin and the arrears of tribute due to the Pope.[3] Geoffrey,

[1] Rot. Claus., 1 Hen. III, p. 306.
[2] Patent Rolls, 1 Hen. III, m. 8, p. 57.
[3] Rot. Claus., 2 Hen. III, p. 376 b. In July 1218 a sum of

however, on one excuse or another, seems to have postponed going to England until August 1220, when a stringent agreement was entered into between the king and Geoffrey for the future regulation of his office.[1]

By this convention, which was made in the presence of Pandulf, the new papal legate, Henry de Londres, Peter des Roches, and others of the King's Council, account was to be made in future at the Exchequer for the escheats, wards, fines, gifts, tallages, reliefs, and aids accruing in Ireland, and the proceeds thereof were to be rendered to the king at his mandate. Out of the assessed revenue and other profits of Ireland Geoffrey was to maintain the custody of the king's land and castles there, under the surveyance and by the counsel of the Archbishop of Dublin, Thomas Fitz Adam, and Richard de Burgh, and account at the Exchequer for any surplus revenue and profits; and the clerks of the king appointed for the purpose were to keep a counter roll of all these things. The constables, appointed by the justiciar to the king's castles, were to swear fealty to the king, and to give hostages into the hands of the archbishop and the Earl Marshal; while the justiciar gave his two sons as hostages, and pledged all his lands as security for his observance of the stipulations.

Geoffrey dismissed, 1221.

Geoffrey, however, failed to perform his part of these stipulations, and within a year he was

nearly £500 was sent to the English exchequer by Thomas Fitz Adam and Richard de Felde, Crown officials in Ireland, Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. i, no. 843. This probably represented the proceeds of the special aid imposed in the previous November on the kings of Ireland and the tenants in chief; ibid., no. 810.

[1] Rot. Claus., 4 Hen. III, m. 3 d, pp. 463–5.

superseded by Archbishop Henry. On July 17, 1221, the king, or rather the regency, still dominated by Pandulf, the papal legate, announced to the Irish kings and tenants in chief Geoffrey's dismissal and the appointment of the archbishop in a remarkable letter containing the following statements: that since the death of King John the king had received nothing from the demesne-lands or assessed rents or escheats of Ireland; that Geoffrey had failed in his undertakings to restrict the expenditure of the keepers of the king's castles and to give security for their fidelity; and that instead of the revenue of Ireland being paid into the exchequer to be dealt with as the king should order, Geoffrey had caused it to be received in his chamber and had disposed of it more at his own will than according to the king's commands.[1]

That it should have been thought necessary to give such justificatory reasons for Geoffrey's supersession suggests that some opposition was apprehended in Ireland. In England at this time the regency experienced considerable difficulty in recovering the king's castles from the custody of those to whom they had been entrusted by King John, and a similar opposition may have been anticipated in Ireland. None however occurred. Before the end of October, Geoffrey, by his agents, formally surrendered to the king the following castles: Dublin, Limerick, Roscrea, Clonmacnois, Athlone, Drogheda, Dundrum, Carlingford, Dundonald, Balimichgan (Ballymaghan?),[2]

[1] Rot. Claus., 5 Hen. III, p. 476 b.

[2] This castle was presumably near the ecclesia de Balimichgan in the deanery of Blaethwyc (Newtownards): see Reeves, Eccl. Antiquities, p. 12, where the editor says that the church, of which there are no remains, is known to

Carrickfergus, and Antrim, and the king, on the other hand, 'for the faithful service which Geoffrey rendered to King John and himself', quit-claimed to Geoffrey the sum of 1,080 marks and all quest touching his office.[1] Geoffrey was, in fact, absolved from any supposed reflection on his loyalty, but his supersession marks an attempt to obtain a better control over the revenue of the Crown, and in particular, through a reformed exchequer, a more adequate account of receipts and expenditure.

Archbishop Henry, justiciar.

To this task the new justiciar set himself with inconvenient energy. He was immediately ordered to take into the king's hand all the king's demesnes and escheats, both new and old, unless the holders had special letters of the king or charters of his predecessors.[2] It was perhaps owing to his efforts to perform this mandate that the archbishop received the nickname 'Scorchevileyn' or 'Flay the Serf', by which he was known to contemporaries in Ireland. According to the story, as we first have it in a fifteenth-century compilation, the archbishop summoned his tenants to answer by what tenure they held of him. They accordingly produced their letters and charters, which he straightway threw into the fire. Hence the freeholders used always to call him Scorchevileyn.[3]

have 'occupied the ground at present under the orchard which belongs to the Moat House'. This is two miles south of Holywood. The castle was probably a 'mote-castle'.

[1] Pat. Roll, 6 Hen. III, m. 6, p. 316.

[2] Rot. Claus., 6 Hen. III, p. 478 b.

[3] Laud MS. Annals, Chart. St. Mary's Abbey, vol. ii, p. 312. The sobriquet has been written by later writers 'Scorchvillaine' and 'Burnebill' from a supposed literal reference to the burning of the deeds, but the first element in the name is clearly the Old French *escorcher* (*excorticare*, 'to flay'), and it was the tenants who were metaphorically

To Archbishop Henry is ascribed the building of Dublin Castle. He was certainly compensated for the loss of some churches, the sites of which were included in the castle-area, but, as we have seen, Meiler Fitz Henry was ordered to build the keep of a strong castle in Dublin in 1204, and the custody of the castle of Dublin was given to the archbishop on his first taking office in 1213. Probably the building of the *enceinte* occupied several years.[1] Archbishop Henry's charter (to which we have already referred), founding and endowing the offices of dean, precentor, chancellor, and treasurer, at the collegiate church of St. Patrick, thus giving it the status of a cathedral, must be ascribed to the year 1219.[2] The archbishop was a zealous upholder of clerical privileges and, in particular, of those appertaining to his own See. He endeavoured to extend the jurisdiction of his Ecclesiastical Court and his liberty of St. Sepulchre, and in doing so, both before and after he was made justiciar, infringed the liberties of the citizens of Dublin.[3] For this, in 1223, he was severely reprimanded by the

flayed or despoiled. Curiously enough the archbishop's niece Matilda, wife of William de Mariscis, is called in a Plea Roll of the time of Edward II 'Matilda Scorchevyleyn', thus showing that the nickname was not confined to the archbishop personally. See Chart. St. Mary's Abbey, vol. ii, Preface, p. cxxii, rote 4. Dr. Berry would connect the sobriquet with the Old French *vent escorchevel*, 'a wind which would skin a calf' (Journ. R. S. A. I., vol. xxii, p. 178); but the second element would seem to be 'vilein' (*villanus*).

[1] *Ante*, vol. ii, p. 306. From the sheriff's account for 1228–9 it appears that works of construction at the towers of Dublin Castle were still going on; 35th Rep. D. K., p. 30.

[2] *Ante*, vol. ii, p. 63. The cathedral establishment was confirmed by Honorius III in 1221; Theiner's Vetera Monumenta, no. xlv, p. 18.

[3] Royal Letters (Shirley), vol. i, p. 108.

king,[1] and the matters in dispute were settled next year by agreement between the archbishop and the citizens, mainly in accordance with the contentions of the latter.[2] He was also very tenacious of the property of the See, which he left much richer than he found it. He came into conflict with Thomas Fitz Adam, the king's forester, concerning the forest of Coillacht, a mountainous region on the southern border of County Dublin, which the archbishop claimed against the king and eventually succeeded in retaining for his See.[3] Indeed, nearly the whole mountainous district from the border of County Dublin to the lands attached to the fiefs of Wicklow, Arklow, Imaile, Naas, and Rathmore, was afterwards, in 1229, freed from the forest laws and acknowledged to belong to the archbishopric.[4] The possessions of the united Sees of Dublin and Glendalough were very extensive, and during the thirteenth century of increasing value. At the death of Archbishop Henry in 1228 the income of the See-lands seems to have been about £600,[5] while at the commencement of the reign of Edward I it averaged about £1,250.[6] The principal manors at the earlier period were Swords,

[1] Close Roll, 7 Hen. III, p. 570.

[2] Chartae Priv. et Immun., p. 20.

[3] Cal. Docs. Irel., vol. i, nos. 892, 926, 932–3 and 1317. The land of Coillacht had been expressly granted to the archbishop by King John in 1213 *in baroniam*, on condition 'that the king, when he goes to Ireland, may exchange it for land of the same value'; ibid., no. 475, and see *ante*, vol. ii, pp. 71–3.

[4] Ibid., vol. i, nos. 1757, 1769. The king, however, retained the park or forest of Glencree, which was part of the territory of Obrun (*in Briuin*)

[5] Irish Pipe Roll, 13 Hen. III, 35th Rep. D. K., p. 32.

[6] Ibid., 36th Rep. D. K., pp. 36, 41.

Finglas, St. Kevins (afterwards called St. Sepulchre, near the city), Shankill, 'Salvum Keyvini' (afterwards Castlekevin, near Glendalough), Tallaght, Clondalkin, Newtown, Ballymore, 'Bretaschia' (now Brittas), and Rathcoole.

William Marshal and the Bishop of Ferns.

Meanwhile up to the death of William Marshal no serious trouble anywhere arose. The earl himself, indeed, had a dispute with Albin O'Mulloy, bishop of Ferns, concerning some lands alleged by the bishop to have been wrongfully appropriated by the earl. The bishop prosecuted his claim at Rome, whither he went to attend the Fourth Lateran Council, and he obtained from Innocent III, shortly before his death, a letter directing the archbishops of Tuam and Dublin to warn the earl and his accomplices to restore the possessions and property of the church of Ferns under threat of excommunication.[1] We are nowhere directly told where these lands lay, but it appears probable that they included the lands which, in 1227, Philip de Prendergast, 'in pursuance of a decree of the ecclesiastical court and compelled by the authority of the Apostolic See, resigned for peace's sake' into the hands of John de St. John, successor of Albin O'Mulloy in the bishopric of Ferns. These lands were in the neighbourhood of Templeshanbo and Ferns, where two of the (subsequent) episcopal manors lay.[2] For the moment the suit against Earl

[1] See the archbishops' letter reciting that from the Pope, preserved amongst the evidences of the monastery of Reading and transcribed in Journ. R. S. A. I., 1864–6, p. 138. Honorius III, in 1218, bade the parties come to an agreement: Theiner Vetera Monumenta, p. 6; and probably the papal excommunication was never pronounced.

[2] A deed by Gerald de Prendergast confirming his father Philip's agreement was enrolled by Sir H. Wallop in 1595 (Pat. Roll (Ireland) 37 Eliz.). For a full translation see

William was respited on the ground that the king, who would be called to warrant the earl's title, was under age.[1] Many years later, however, after the death of the earl, and the death without issue of all his five sons, Matthew Paris tells a story which attributes the extinction of the family in the male line to the maledictions of the defrauded bishop. While, therefore, we must regard some of the details of the story as an *ex post facto* invention, the story is so characteristic of a mediaeval Irish ecclesiastic, and fits so well into authentic facts, that it seems worth repeating.

Under the year 1245, when all the sons of William Marshal were dead without issue, Matthew Paris writes that after the death of the earl [1219], the Bishop of Ferns came to the king and complained of the injury done to him by the earl in unjustly depriving him of two manors. For this he had excommunicated the earl, and he now begged the king to restore the manors to him, so that the deceased might obtain absolution. The king then asked the bishop to go to the earl's tomb and absolve him, promising that he would himself see that satisfaction was given to the bishop. The bishop then went to the tomb, and, as though addressing a living person, said: 'O William, who doth lie buried here bound in the bonds of excommunication, if what thou hast wrongfully taken from my church be restored to me by the king or by thy heir I absolve thee. If not, I confirm thy sentence, so that, wrapt up in thy sins, thou mayst for ever remain damned in hell.'

Journ. R. S. A. I., 1864–6, pp. 147–8 note, and for the present writer's comments thereon see Hore's Hist. of Wexford, vol. vi, pp. 342–5.

[1] Pat. Roll, 2 Hen. III, pp. 148–9.

The king was angry at the bishop's severity, but nevertheless endeavoured to induce the earl's eldest son and heir to restore the manors. He and his brothers, however, proved obdurate. Whereupon the bishop, enraged all the more, confirmed the sentence, and prophesied the extinction in a single generation of the earl's name, and the scattering of his inheritance within the king's lifetime.[1]

The death of the five sons of the earl, one after the other, without issue, was indeed such an unexpected event, and one so fraught with bad consequences to the English in Leinster, that we cannot wonder if it was regarded as having been brought about by supernatural means.

Walter de Lacy in Ireland, 1220.

In August 1220, Walter de Lacy, who had now been re-seised of substantially all his lands and castles, came once more to Ireland. The castle of Trim, the principal seat of his liberty, is stated to have been built in this year, and it seems possible that the great stone keep still standing there, though afterwards extensively remodelled, dates from this time.[2] The gateway, towers, and enclosing walls, however, are clearly of later construction. But the lord of Meath did not confine his activities to strengthening his position in Meath. He also made an attempt to dominate Breffny, where it appears his vassals had already effected some settlements. This district, comprising the present counties of Leitrim and Cavan, at the time of the invasion was the principality of Tiernan O'Rourke, Dermot

[1] Matt. Paris, Chron. Mai., vol. iv, pp. 493–4.

[2] See *ante*, vol. ii, p. 249. The keep of Warkworth Castle, however, the plan of which is there compared to that of Trim, is referred by good authorities to about the year 1400 or even later: 'Border Strongholds' by Cadwalader Bates; and see Early Norman Castles (Armitage), p. 377.

Mac Murrough's arch-enemy, but afterwards it was divided between the ruling septs of O'Rourke and O'Reilly. The territory of the former comprised County Leitrim and the two adjoining baronies of County Cavan, while the remainder of County Cavan was O'Reilly's country. In the past the chieftains of Breffny sometimes gave hostages to O'Conor and sometimes to O'Donnell, but more often were practically independent.

The Nangles in Breffny.

Now it seems that from an early period some of the Normans of Meath had a footing in Breffny. Before 1196, Gilbert de Angulo, or de Nangle, to whom the elder Hugh de Lacy had granted Nobber in Meath, held some land 'beyond the lakes of Therebrun' (*Tirbriúin*), meaning probably Lough Oughter in Cavan, and on his outlawry in that year John, Count of Mortain, gave the same to Walter de Lacy.[1] In the same year the English of Meath made a hosting into Breffny, but were defeated by Ualgharg O'Rourke.[2] In 1214, after the death of Gilbert de Nangle, we find his nephew Phillip, now lord of Navan, established in the south of Breffny, where his lands were plundered by O'Rourke.[3] Also the castle of Kilmore in Cavan was one of those restored to Walter de Lacy after the confiscation of 1210.[4] At that period it must have been a seignorial castle of some importance, but its origin is obscure.[5] It was near Lough Oughter, and its

[1] Gormanston Register, f. 5 dors. [2] Ann. Loch Cé, 1196.

[3] Ibid., 1214. The Four Masters in the parallel entry call this territory Crich Cairpri, which O'Donovan takes to be Carbury in Co. Sligo, but it was clearly Crich Cairpri in Tethba, the region about Sliabh Cairpri on the border of Counties Leitrim and Longford.

[4] Rot. Pat. 17 John, p. 148 b.

[5] O'Reilly of Tirbrun, having been dispossessed by Tiernan O'Rourke, consistently supported Strongbow (Song of Dermot,

site is probably marked by the mote—exceptional in this territory—in what was afterwards the episcopal demesne at Kilmore.[1] In 1219 O'Donnell led an army into Breffny and took hostages from both O'Rourke and O'Reilly,[2] and it was probably in consequence of the submission of these chieftains to O'Donnell and to support the settlers in Breffny that the lord of Meath now interfered there.

O'Reilly's crannog.

According to the Irish annals, Walter de Lacy in 1220 'performed a great hosting to the crannog of O'Reilly. He went upon it and obtained hostages and great power'.[3] A crannog was, properly speaking, an artificial island, and it was usually formed by driving one or more circles of piles into the bed of a shallow lake and filling up the interior with layers of stone, marl, and rods, until a solid platform arose over the surface of the water. O'Reilly's crannog appears to have been in Lough Oughter in County Cavan, where the ruins of an early castle known as Cloch Oughter still stand. This castle is described as 'circular in plan, the internal diameter being 35 feet and the thickness of the outer wall 7 feet'. The principal entrance 'was at a height of 15 feet from the ground', and appears to have been defended by 'the usual corbelled projection' above. The island on which the castle stands is an artificial island or ancient crannog, 190 by 140 feet—that is to say, 'stakes or small piles are visible all round its margin, and even some of the horizontal beams are exposed to view when the

ll. 1750 and note, 1788, 1909). He was probably reinstated, and it may have been through his influence that the Normans first got a footing in Breffny.

[1] See English Historical Review, vol. xxii (1907), p. 342.

[2] Four Masters, 1219. [3] Ann. Loch Cé, 1220.

water is at summer level'.[1] Of course there may be, and probably is, a rock or other solid foundation beneath the castle. The ground at the base of the walls is about 10 feet above the water. As we shall see this castle comes prominently into notice (together with the castle of Kilmore) in 1224, and is mentioned on several subsequent occasions.[2] It seems probable that it was erected by the de Lacy's at about this time, in connexion with the movement to dominate Breffny.

Attempt against O'Rourke.

That nothing less was intended is evident from a deed made by Walter de Lacy next year (1221), by which he purported to grant to Philip de Nangle all the land which Ualgharg O'Rourke held in Breffny from Lough Oughter to the Shannon, and (apparently) from some place on Lough Erne (presumably the southern end of the Upper Lake) to Slieve Carbury in the northern extremity of County Longford.[3] This included at least the southern half of County Leitrim with the barony of Tullyhunco in County Cavan. This was no

[1] For plan and description see Journ. R. S. A. I., vol. xxi (1890–1), p. 294.

[2] It is usually called *Cloch locha uachtair*, or 'the Stone keep of Lough Oughter'. It is mentioned in 1327 (Four Masters), in 1369 and 1390 (Ann. Loch Cé), and in 1487 (Ann. Ulst.). It was the castle in which Bishop Bedell was confined in 1641. It was no doubt more than once restored.

[3] This deed was enrolled in 32 Elizabeth: Cal. Pat. and Close Rolls, Ireland (Morrin), p. 197. It was witnessed by James, Legate and Penitentiary of the Apostolic See, then in Ireland, Geoffrey de Marisco, justiciar, &c., which fixes the date (1221). See Ann. Ulst. 1221 and note. The names of the extreme boundaries and of the included territories are given. As printed, they are corrupt, but the territories included Muinter Eolais (barony of Mohill), Magh Nissi (in barony of Leitrim), Muinter Cinaith (in Drumahaire), Cenel Luachain (in Carrigallen), and Tellach Dunchadha (Tullyhunco in Co. Cavan).

doubt a 'speculative grant' to induce the lord of Navan, who had hereditary claims in part of this region, to endeavour to substitute Norman for Celtic domination over the whole of it. It was provided by the same deed that William de Lacy should build three stone castles for Philip, and that when the lands should be let to farm, Philip should render the service of three knights. As we afterwards hear of 'Mac Costello's castle in Breffny'[1] we may infer that this undertaking was in part at least accomplished.

To complete, so far as our scanty materials allow, the story of this attempted settlement in Breffny by 'the sons of Jocelin', we may here mention that Philip de Nangle was followed in this district by his son Miles, who married a daughter of Hugh de Lacy, Earl of Ulster.[2] In 1245 Miles built a castle at Ath-an-chip, a ford on the Shannon somewhere near Carrick. In 1247 he expelled Cathal Mac Rannell from the woods of Conmaicne in the south of Leitrim, but with the whole clan Costello was himself expelled in the same year by the sons of Aedh O'Conor. We hear no more of the Mac Costellos in County

[1] Ann. Loch Cé, 1242. Members of this family were called by the Irish *Mac Goisdealbh*, anglicized Mac Costello, i. e. son of Jocelin. The eponymous Jocelin came from Nangle or Angle in Pembrokeshire and was enfeoffed in lands at Navan (*ante*, vol. ii, p. 84), where the name Nangle (in Latin documents *de Angulo*) survived.

[2] Ann. Loch Cé, 1253. The relationship of the various early members of this family is rather obscure, but from Plea Roll, 16 Edw. II (see Betham's Excerpta, vol. ii, p. 224, in Ulster's Office), it would seem that this Miles de Nangle and his father Philip, son of William, son of Jocelin, were on the senior line of the lords of Navan, and that the line of Castlemore Co. Mayo separated from that of Navan in the sons of Miles.

Leitrim,[1] but they had already been enfeoffed in County Mayo, where they held their own for three centuries and gave their Irish name to the barony of Costello in that county.

Athleague Castle.

In the same year (1221), Walter de Lacy attempted to build a castle at Athleague, where there was a ford across the Shannon just above the entrance of the river into Lough Ree. The name is partly preserved in Ballyleague, as the western suburb of Lanesborough is called. A castle here would have been a protection to the southern part of Annaly (County Longford), where some Norman settlements had been made. The Connaught men, however, with whom there were at this time peaceful relations, naturally resented the presence of another castle on the Shannon. They marched into Annaly and obtained the abandonment of the castle as the price of peace.[2]

[1] Nevertheless three centuries later Sir Thomas Nangle, baron of Navan, in a plaint before the king's council stated that Mc Rannell refused to pay him '100 kyne yearly, with a knight's fees', which the baron's ancestors claimed out of Muinter Eolais, and ultimately a decree was made by consent that Mc Rannell should pay to the baron a yearly rent of £6 out of the lands: Pat. Roll (Ireland), 5 Edw. VI (Morrin), p. 259.

[2] Ann. Loch Cé, 1221. A castle was, however, erected at Athleague by William de Lacy and the English of Meath in 1227: Ann Clon. It was broken in 1271: Ann. Loch Cé. Lands, now represented by Keel and Clooncallow in the barony of Shrule, were granted by the elder Hugh de Lacy to William le Petit: see the charter transcribed Song of Dermot, p. 310. Here was built the *Caislén nua*, now Newcastle, mentioned in this very year 1221, Ann. Loch Cé. We also hear of the castle of *Ard abla*, now Lisardowlan, a few miles east of Longford: see Journ. R. S. A. I. (1910), p. 223, for the mote site here. Annaly (*Anghaile*) was undoubtedly part of the ancient kingdom of Meath. The castle of Moybrachry or Street, built by Herbert de la Mare, was also in existence. For the site and remarkable key found there: see ibid., pp. 214–22.

Meanwhile no restitution had been made to Walter de Lacy's brother Hugh, the dispossessed Earl of Ulster. Negotiations went on from time to time, but without result. In September, 1221, a safe-conduct was given to Hugh and his retinue in coming to England to the king.[1] Fifteen months later the terms offered to him by 'the majority of the king's council' were that he should have the lands which Walter his brother gave to him (Nobber and Ratoath), and the lands which formed the marriage portion of his wife, Lesceline de Verdun (in the north of Co. Louth).[2] Hugh, however, was not satisfied with these terms, and demanded the restoration of Ulster as well. The king in council offered to commit the land of Ulster and its castles to the Earl of Chester, Walter de Lacy, and others for five years, provided they would pledge their lands to restore them to the king at the end of the term, if the king so pleased. The proposed guarantors, however, were unwilling to take the risk, and nothing was done. By this time, June 1223, Hugh had lost patience and was plotting to invade Ireland. The king sent to the Archbishop of Dublin the Pope's letter of excommunication against Hugh and his accomplices if he should invade the land, and, what was more useful, gave orders to victual and man the castles of Ulster.[3]

Negotiations with Hugh de Lacy.

[1] Pat. Roll, 5 Hen. III, p. 301.

[2] Rot. Claus., 7 Hen. III, p. 527 b, and see *ante*, vol. ii, pp. 121–3.

[3] Ibid., p. 549 b. William de Serland was given the custody of Carrickfergus and appointed seneschal of Ulster: Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. i, 1124. John de Tiwe was given the custody of Dundrum (Rath) (ibid. 1128), but was afterwards taken prisoner: ibid. 1162. In October 1223, John Marshal, cousin of Earl William Marshal, was given the custody of Ulster with the king's castles therein: ibid. 1140.

Hugh uses force, 1223.

It was soon after this, in the latter half of the year 1223, that Hugh de Lacy crossed over to Ireland to assert his claims by the strong hand.[1] He seems to have gone to Meath, where, aided by William de Lacy and other local lords, he ravaged the country and even threatened Dublin, so that, it is said, Archbishop Henry was obliged to purchase a truce to the following summer.[2]

Cathal's letters to the king.

About this time, when Hugh de Lacy was active in Meath, Cathal Crovderg O'Conor, King of Connaught, wrote a remarkable letter to King Henry, which has been calendared as follows :— 'Hugh de Lacy, enemy of the king, of the king's father, and of Cathal, whom King John by Cathal's advice expelled from Ireland, has without consulting the king come to that country to disturb it. Against Hugh's coming Cathal remains, as the Archbishop of Dublin knows, firm in his fidelity

In March 1224 Roger Waspail was made seneschal of Ulster : ibid. 1158.

[1] Ann. Mon., vol. iii, p. 85. There is confusion in the Irish annals as to the date of Hugh's arrival and some consequent uncertainty as to the order of his proceedings. The entry in Ann. Ulst. 1222 (which is copied in Ann. Loch Cé and Four Masters, 1221) is clearly misplaced and relates to the events of 1223–4. It is the only entry in Ann. Ulst. and Four Masters touching the war. The entry is virtually repeated in Ann. Loch Cé at the true date, 1224, and refers to the close of William Marshal's campaign, the date of which is fixed to the summer of that year. Hugh can hardly have landed until after June 1223, when orders were given to resist his coming : Rot. Claus., 7 Hen. III, p. 549 b. There is no earlier mention in the records of Hugh's activity in Ireland.

[2] The statement in the Annals of Dunstable (Ann. Mon., vol. iii, p. 85), that the archbishop purchased a truce in 1223, is perhaps supported by entries in the Close Rolls to the effect that the archbishop borrowed £366 from the citizens of Dublin 'to maintain the war against Hugh' : Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. i, nos. 1265, 1463.

to the king. But the closer Cathal adheres to the king's service, the more he is harassed by those who pretend fealty to the king, and, as the justiciar knows, shamefully fail against the enemy; so that between Hugh de Lacy on the one hand and those who pretend to be faithful on the other, Cathal is placed in great difficulty. Wherefore, unless it is better that the peace of Ireland should be subverted by this disturber and by default of some of the king's subjects, Cathal prays the king to send a force thither to restrain Hugh's insolence.'[1]

By 'those who pretend fealty to the king', but who nevertheless harassed Cathal, the King of Connaught may perhaps have had in view Richard de Burgh and his supporters. Cathal had indeed good reason to regard Richard de Burgh as his enemy. At this time Richard was again urging his claim to Connaught under his charter of 1215, or at least seeking compensation from the king in lieu thereof, and the king, to satisfy Richard, had ordered the justiciar to press Cathal for an increased rent.[2] But, as another letter to be presently mentioned shows, Cathal also viewed with apprehension the attempt on behalf of Walter de Lacy to annex Breffny, the overlordship of which the kings of Connaught had disputed with the O'Donnells. The immediate answer to Cathal's

[1] Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. i, no. 1174, where the letter is ascribed to 'about March 1224', also Royal Letters, vol. i, p. 183 (Shirley), where the editor, probably relying on the Annals of Ulster, dates the letter May 1222. It must, however, be dated after June 1223, when the first intimation appears on the Rolls that Hugh was plotting to invade Ireland.

[2] Rot. Claus., 8 Hen. III, p. 584. For the two inconsistent grants of Connaught of 1215 see *ante*, vol. ii, p. 285 and note.

letter was a renewed grant of protection 'to endure so long as the King of Connaught should faithfully serve the king'.[1]

Early in 1224 Cathal, evidently feeling his end approaching, sent another letter to the king, accompanied by a recommendatory letter from Archbishop Henry. In this letter, after reaffirming his fidelity, Cathal prays for a renewal of the charter of Connaught to his son Aedh in fee. The dying king was evidently desirous of securing the land to his own line on feudal terms, foreseeing, no doubt, that Aedh's succession would meet with opposition, from different motives, at the hands of both English and Irish. He further prays 'that the king will deliver to his son the land of Ui Briuin, Conmaicne, and the Caladh (Breffny and part of County Longford), detained by William de Lacy, Cathal's enemy and kinsman of the king's enemy'.[2] On June 14, presumably on the advice of William Marshal, now justiciar, the king ordered seisin of these lands to be given to Aedh 'for his maintenance on the king's service',[3] but this order was certainly not carried out, and in all probability was not communicated to Aedh.

Meantime, on May 28, 1224, Cathal died[4], and

[1] Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. i, no. 1164 (March 5, 1224).

[2] Ibid., no. 1184 ; Royal Letters (Shirley), vol. i, p. 223. Ui Briuin was the generic name for O'Rourke's and O'Reilly's territory ; Conmaicne (Maighe Rein) seems to have been another name for Muinter Eolais, or Mc Rannell's country ; and the Caladh was co-extensive with the barony of Rathcline, Co. Longford.

[3] Rot. Claus., 8 Hen. III, p. 604 b.

[4] Ann. Loch Cé, 1224, where there is an extraordinary eulogy on Cathal. But even this is surpassed in a tract ascribed to Torna O'Mulcoury, where, among many other things, it is said that 'he was a man who burned the greatest number of homesteads and took the greatest number of preys

his son Aedh assumed the government of Connaught. One of Aedh's first acts was to lead a hosting into Annaly, take and burn the castle of Ard-abhla, and 'kill every one whom he found in it, both Foreigners and Gael'. The site of this castle is marked by a mote and bailey earthwork called Lisardowling, about five miles east of the town of Longford.[1] It was in O'Farrell's country, or Annaly, and may have been recently erected by the English. By this action, characteristic of a newly-made Celtic chieftain not quite certain of his popularity, Aedh put himself in the wrong with the English crown and gave his enemies a handle against him. Aedh, son of Cathal.

To deal with the transgressions of Walter de Lacy's men of Meath 'in harbouring Hugh de Lacy, pillaging and burning the king's land, killing and holding his men to ransom', the king's council at first adopted the strange expedient of employing Walter de Lacy against his kith and kin. In March 1224 it was agreed that Walter should deliver to the king Ludlow Castle in England and Trim Castle in Ireland to hold for two years, that Walter should go to Ireland and with the king's force fight the transgressors in Meath, that the king should hold their lands when recovered for a year and a day, and that afterwards it should be done to Walter as the king's court should decide. For the purpose of fighting the king's enemies Walter was to have free access to the castle of Trim.[2]

from both the English and the Irish who opposed him. . . . It was he who blinded, killed, and chastised the greatest number of rebels and enemies. He was the most gentle and peaceable of all the kings that ever reigned in Ireland'.

[1] Journ. R. S. A. I., vol. xl (1910), p. 223.

[2] Pat. Rolls, 8 Hen. III, p. 483.

William Marshal II, justiciar, 1224.

Before any important steps were taken to carry out this agreement the conduct of operations was placed in abler and more independent hands. On May 2 William Marshal the younger, Earl of Pembroke, one of the foremost commanders of the time, was appointed justiciar in the place of the aged Archbishop of Dublin, and on June 19 he landed at Waterford. Among the followers whom he brought with him from England was John d'Erlee, his father's faithful vassal and virtual biographer. On August 5 the earl sent a military dispatch [1] to the king, which has happily been preserved, and from it, supplemented by some other records, we can form an authentic and fairly adequate idea of the campaign.

His dispatch.

From Waterford the earl proceeded to Dublin, collecting no doubt on the way his Leinster vassals. At Dublin he was invested with the office of justiciar by the archbishop. His first difficulty was to provide for his army. Twelve citizens of Dublin had already lent the archbishop £366 to aid the king in defending Ireland against Hugh de Lacy,[2] and the archbishop had also taken 300 marks which had been deposited in the cathedral of Dublin.[3] These sums, however, appear to have been already spent. The earl got 600 head of cattle and 40 marks from the Cistercians of Mellifont and £200 from the same Order in Dublin,[4] but as he says that he spent during the siege of Trim upwards of £16 a day these items did not go very far.

[1] Royal Letters (Shirley), vol. i, pp. 500–3.

[2] Orders were given in 1225 and 1226 to repay this sum (Cal. Docs. Irel., vol. i, nos. 1265 and 1463). In 1229 the citizens quit-claimed to the king £312, part of this loan in return for licence to elect a mayor annually: ibid., no. 1689.

[3] Royal Letters (Shirley), vol. i, p. 325.

[4] Cal. Docs. Irel., vol. i, nos. 1245, 1266.

The earl lost no time in Dublin, but rode to Trim, where he found the castle held by certain knights and others against the king. Aided by Walter de Lacy, who accompanied him, he straightway besieged the castle.[1] On hearing of the earl's arrival, the barons who were holding a parley with the King of Connaught in the west of Meath, came to the earl and rendered their service; and the earl, quite in the manner of a modern general, requested the king to commend Geoffrey de Marisco and the other Irish barons as well as the citizens for their prompt service. While at Trim the earl dispatched his cousin, William le Gras, the elder,[2] with a small force to relieve Carrickfergus, which was being besieged by Hugh de Lacy. The party safely reached the castle by water, though Hugh sent eight boats to harass them on the way. Hugh then raised the siege and retired, probably to seek assistance from O'Neill. Meanwhile the earl sent a party of horse against William de Lacy, who with difficulty escaped to the moors and had to throw himself on the mercy of the Irish. At this time O'Reilly, chieftain of Cavan, who had recently come to the king's peace, was besieging the castle called Crannog O'Reilly[3] in Lough Oughter

[1] 'Et dictum castrum una cum domino W. de Lascy, qui nobiscum venit, dedimus obsidioni.' Sweetman's rendering would lead one to suppose that William de Lacy was besieged in the castle, whereas the meaning clearly is that Walter de Lacy assisted the earl in the siege: Cal. Docs. Irel., vol. i, no. 1203.

[2] 'Misimus dominum W. Grassum primogenitum, consanguineum nostrum'—not 'W. le Gros, his eldest cousin', as rendered by Sweetman. He was called *primogenitus* to distinguish him from his brother of the same name. He was the earl's seneschal in Leinster at this time: *infra*, p. 50.

[3] See *ante*, p. 33.

(already mentioned), where William de Lacy had placed for security his wife (daughter of Llewelyn), his mother (daughter of Rory O'Conor),[1] and the wife of his half-brother, Thomas Blund. O'Reilly applied to the earl for succour, and in reply the earl sent some soldiers with Walter de Ridelsford and Richard de Tuit, who took the castle. The ladies were taken into custody, and Rory O'Conor's daughter appears to have been employed to induce her nephew, Aedh O'Conor, now King of Connaught, to return to the king's peace. As we have seen he had taken advantage of the disturbance to enter Annaly and burn the castle of Ardowlan. His aunt's intercession, however, seems to have had effect, as we find him soon afterwards joining the army against Hugh de Lacy in the march to Dundalk. The earl's knights then besieged and took the castle of Kilmore, which was held by Henry Blund, another half-brother of William de Lacy. Three or four castles in Meath, including the de Lacy castles of Ratoath and Rathfeigh, had been taken before the earl's arrival, and at the date of his dispatch Trim Castle was to be surrendered after a six weeks' siege on the following August 11.

Hugh de Lacy in Ulster.

The disaffection in Meath was thus quickly suppressed with little bloodshed and, incidentally, a check was put upon the aggressive movement into Breffny, but Hugh de Lacy was still at large in Ulster, and had obtained the powerful support of Aedh O'Neill. Together they demolished the castle of Coleraine,[2] which belonged to the Earl of

[1] She was the elder Hugh de Lacy's second wife whom he married in 1181; see *ante*, vol. ii, p. 54. She must have afterwards married a Blund.

[2] See the misplaced entry Ann. Ulst. 1222 and note *supra*, p. 38. The castle of Coleraine was rebuilt in 1228: Ann. Ulst.

Athol, and deprived Duncan of Carrick of his land.[1] Here were the elements of a bargain between Hugh and O'Neill, for these Scottish nobles had also been given land in O'Neill's territory.[2] Hugh would aid O'Neill in ousting the Scots from Ireland, and O'Neill would assist Hugh in recovering his earldom from the Saxon king. Unfortunately we have no further dispatch from the Earl Marshal to elucidate what followed, but from the Irish annals it appears that, supported by the Kings of Connaught, Thomond and Desmond, he led an army to the borders of Ulster at Dundalk.[3] Here Hugh de Lacy had ravaged the lands of his brother-in-law Nicholas de Verdun,[4] and now with O'Neill he held the passes, always difficult to force, into Ulster. Neither side, however, wished to push matters to extremities and there was no fighting. It was obviously important to detach Hugh from his Irish ally, and probably the Marshal was able to assure Hugh that no very severe terms would be imposed. At any rate Hugh surrendered to the Marshal, and was sent to the king to abide by his award.[5] This was probably in October. Early in November, William Marshal was summoned to the king, and the management of affairs in Ireland was temporarily entrusted to Geoffrey de Marisco.

Though we have described the disturbance caused by Hugh de Lacy at some length its

[1] Close Rolls, 8 Hen. III, pp. 615, 640.

[2] See *ante*, vol. ii, pp. 290–3. The grants to Alan of Galloway and Duncan of Carrick had been confirmed by Henry III : Rot. Claus., 4 Hen. III, p. 420 b and 8 Hen. III, p. 587.

[3] Ann. Loch Cé, 1224.

[4] Rot. Claus., 8 Hen. III, p. 618.

[5] Ann. Loch Cé, 1224 ; Ann. Dunstable, pp. 91–2, and cf. Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. i, no. 1219.

importance should not be exaggerated. It did not affect adversely the mutual relations of English and Irish. Indeed the circumstances show the strength of the Anglo-Norman position at this period. Not only was Hugh unable to get any support from the Irish except from O'Neill, but the other provincial kings all actively supported the Crown against him. There was no serious split among the barons of Ireland. Even in Meath, with the exception of the junior branches of the de Lacys and some others, the principal tenants were loyal. It was essentially a personal quarrel between Hugh and the Crown, and should be regarded as an example, rare up to this time on Irish soil, of the struggle which had been going on in England for several years between the Crown and a section of the barons that championed an extreme form of feudal independence.

Terms made with the de Lacys.

Some time elapsed before terms were settled with the de Lacys. As regards Walter, it was arranged in May 1225 that he should make 'a fine with the king of 3,000 marks, to have seisin of the lands of his knights and free tenants in Ireland taken into the king's hand, because they went against the king in Hugh de Lacy's war'. The castles of Trim and Kilmore in Ireland, and Ludlow in England, were to be restored to him, but the king was to retain the castles of Ratoath, Nobber, and Drogheda.[1] He was held responsible for the transgressions of his tenants, but, with three exceptions, he was to keep the fines which these tenants should make with him to have their lands again, so that Walter's fine may be in part regarded as a convenient way of collecting these

[1] Rot. Claus., 9 Hen. III, p. 39 b.

fines for the king. Nevertheless, coming on the top of the fine of £4,000, imposed by King John in 1215, it was a heavy burden, and in 1234–5 Walter owed £2,747 1*s.* 10*d.* for the two fines,[1] and at his death he was still in debt to the Crown. About the same time, at the instance of the Earl Marshal, the king gave Hugh de Lacy 200 marks until he should further provide for him.[2] But it was not until a year later that an arrangement was made for Hugh's benefit, by which Walter received the custody of the castles of Carrickfergus, Antrim, and Dundrum, with all the land which Hugh formerly held in Ulster, also all the lands which Hugh held of Walter's fee, with the castles of Ratoath and Nobber, and also the lands which he held of the fee of Nicholas de Verdun and had in marriage with Lesceline his wife, with the castle of Carlingford—all these lands and castles to be restored to the king at the end of three years, unless meanwhile Hugh should obtain of the king's grace their restoration to himself.[3] These terms do not appear to differ in substance from those to which the king's council was ready to assent in 1223, but now the requisite sureties were forthcoming. Indeed, elaborate precautions were taken to insure fulfilment of the terms. Hostages were given, including Walter and Roger, sons of Hugh de Lacy, and many of the highest nobles of England became sureties that Walter and his son Gilbert would surrender the castles and lands, if the conditions were not fulfilled.[4] William Marshal himself was a surety both for this arrangement, and for the former one con-

[1] Pipe Roll (Ireland), 19 Hen. III, 35 Rep. D. K., p. 34.
[2] Close Roll, 9 Hen. III, p. 37 b.
[3] Pat. Roll, 10 Hen. III, p. 31. [4] Ibid., pp. 75–8.

cerning Walter's lands. Though Hugh de Lacy had joined Llewelyn against him in Wales, and though they had been opposed in Ireland, it is evident that William Marshal bore his opponent no ill will, but acted generously towards him, and even risked something to enable him to obtain restoration to favour. This generous conduct was ill repaid by Hugh de Lacy, in the part he took a few years later in bringing about the tragic death of Richard Marshal, the earl's brother and successor.

CHAPTER XXV

THE SONS OF WILLIAM MARSHAL

1219–45

William Marshal II.

William Marshal the younger, Earl of Pembroke, is prominent in Irish history as the commander who successfully curbed the turbulence of the supporters of Hugh de Lacy in Meath and Breffny, and as the statesman who removed the cause of disaffection by bringing about the peaceable restoration of Hugh to his earldom. These public actions have been sufficiently described in the preceding chapter. The latter action was forgotten by the de Lacys, while the former was remembered against the earl and his successors, as was also his unsuccessful protest against the policy of confiscation adopted with regard to Aedh, son of Cathal, King of Connaught, to be mentioned in chapter xxviii. Before telling the story of the fatality which befell the male members of his father's house and brought about the breaking up of Strongbow's great fief, we shall here notice some traces of his work as lord of Leinster.

The earl's seneschal in Leinster in 1223, when he granted charters to Carlow and Moone, and made an addition to his father's charter to Kilkenny, was Thomas Fitz Anthony,[1] who had

[1] Chartae Privilegia et Immunitates, pp. 34, 38; also charter to Moen, Justiciary Roll, vol. i, p. 371.

been his father's seneschal; but in 1224 his seneschal was William le Gras, called *primogenitus*, or senior,[1] to distinguish him from his brother William le Gras, junior. This family, from which descended the Graces of Tullaroan, has been strangely mishandled by our genealogists. On no better ground apparently than the supposed identity of the sobriquet, it has been alleged to have sprung from Raymond Fitz William, nicknamed 'le Gros', in spite of the clear evidence that Raymond left no children.[2] On a similar ground, and through an apparently mistaken interpretation of his nephew's charter to Sodbury in Gloucestershire, William le Gras, 'primogenitus,' has been identified with William 'le Gros', the Earl of Albemarle, who died in 1179.[3] From his charter to Bradenstoke, however, granted shortly before the death of the elder William Marshal (who with his son William witnessed it), it appears that William Grassus or le Gras, 'primogenitus,' was the eldest son of another William le Gras (Grassus), and that his brothers

Origin of the le Gras family.

[1] Gormanston Register, f. 209. This change of seneschal is important for the dating of many charters.

[2] Memoirs of the Grace Family, by Sheffield Grace.

[3] Journal R. S. A. I., vol. xxxii (1902), pp. 64–7. This Sodbury charter (undated) is apparently only known by an extract given in Rudder's Gloucestershire: 'Willelmus Crassus primogenitus [?] filius Willelmi Crassi iunioris salutem. [Sciant, etc.] nos concessisse . . . burgensibus nostris de Sobbur' [Sodbury] totum quod Willelmus Crassus primogenitus, avunculus noster, eisdem fecit [viz. the laws of Breteuil].' Possibly the first 'primogenitus' has crept into the text by error. At any rate it is pretty clear that the grantor was the son of the William, junior, and nephew of the William, 'primogenitus', of the Bradenstoke charter and of the Irish documents. William le Gras, primogenitus or senior, obtained a market at Sodbury in 1217: Close Roll, 2 Hen. III, p. 368.

were William le Gras, junior, Hamo le Gras, Anselm le Gras, then treasurer of Exeter, and Robert le Gras, then dead.[1] This Anselm le Gras was consecrated Bishop of St. David's in 1231, and is described as nephew of the elder William Marshal,[2] while the younger William Marshal, as we have seen,[3] calls William le Gras, primogenitus, 'his cousin'. From these facts we may conjecture with probability that William le Gras, father of the above-named brothers, married a sister of the elder William Marshal, which would account precisely for the stated relationships, and that in all probability he was the William le Gras who was appointed by King John seneschal of Normandy on August 19, 1203.[4] William le Gras, primogenitus, was still seneschal of Leinster

[1] This charter is given in Dugdale's Monasticon, vol. ii, p. 208 'Sciant, etc., quod ego Willielmus Grassus primogenitus Willielmi Grassi Deo et canonicis de Bradenstoke concessu Willielmi le gras iunioris et Hamonis Gras et Anselmi Gras Thesaurarii Exoniensis fratrum meorum et aliorum parentum meorum pro salute Roberti le Gras fratris mei ibidem requiescentis totam terram illam in villa de Wales quam dedi praefato Roberto le Gras fratri meo, etc. Testibus domino Willielmo Marescallo, comite Penbrochie, Willielmo Marescallo filio suo, Willielmo le Gras iuniore, Hamone le Gras, Anselmo le Gras Thesaurario Exoniae, fratribus meis, etc.'

[2] Annales Monastici, vol. iv, p. 422, and cf. Register St. Thomas's Abbey, Dublin, p. 137, where Anselmus nepos comitis [Penbrochie] is one of the witnesses to a grant by William Marshal I.

[3] *Supra*, p. 43.

[4] According to L'Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal, the elder William Marshal had two sisters who were 'richement mariées', l. 398. From ll. 7265 *et seq.* it would seem that one of the sisters was married to Robert del Pont de l'Arche and had five daughters then living (c. 1184), whom she was concerned to marry. William le Gras is mentioned (ibid., l. 4713) at a tournament at Lagny-sur-Marne.

in December 1224.[1] As he was succeeded in Sodbury by his nephew William, son of his brother William, junior, we may perhaps infer that he died without issue;[2] and that it was his nephew who appears in 1247 as holding lands of Richard, Earl of Gloucester, son of Isabel Marshal, in Offerlane, Queen's County, and at Tullaroan, County Kilkenny,[3] and who was, no doubt, ancestor of the Graces, barons of Courtstown near Tullaroan.

William Marshal II in Ireland.

The younger William Marshal was in Ireland in the winter of 1222–3, but left early in April 1223, on account of the aggressive action of Llewelyn on the English border.[4] He came again to Ireland as justiciar in June 1224, and was there nearly continuously[5] for two years, when he was superseded by Geoffrey de Marisco. He returned to Ireland in a private capacity

[1] Gormanston Register, f. 209.

[2] From Fine Roll, 4 Hen. III, p. 40, it appears that in December 1219 William Crassus, primogenitus, made a fine for having to wife Hawise, daughter and heir of Thomas de London, and that William Marshal II and others of his family and friends were pledges for the fine; but from an entry dated June 11, 1223 (Cal. Patent Rolls, vol. i, p. 376), it would seem that the marriage did not take place, and that Walter de Braose married Hawise with the king's consent.

[3] See Chart. St. Mary's, vol. ii, p. 405. The family of Welond had some claims to lands at Tullaroan, which in 1283 were released to William le Gras (who had previously held the lands of the gift of William Welond) in consideration of receiving from him Sodbury in exchange: Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. ii, no. 2158.

[4] A charter of his is dated at Kilkenny, April 5 a. r. 7 Hen. III (1223); Chartae Privil. et Immun., p. 34, and cf. inspeximus, p. 80. The earl appears to have landed in Wales on April 10; see Minority of Henry III (Norgate), p. 192 note.

[5] He went to the king for a short time in November 1224; Cal. Docs. Irel., vol. i, no. 1224.

about the end of August 1226, and seems to have remained there until about May 1227.[1] In his time (1219–31), and indeed ever since the settling of the dispute between his father and Meiler Fitz Henry in 1208, the peace in Leinster appears to have been quite unbroken. The younger earl followed in the footsteps of his father, building castles, encouraging the formation and growth of towns, endowing religious establishments, and developing generally his great fief. To assist him in the work of incastellation, the king granted to him the service which he owed for the year 1222–3, and again, when the earl was justiciar, the service which he owed for the year 1225–6.[2] Orders of this kind were not uncommon in Henry's reign, and they sometimes afford indications as to the dates of the first stone castles. It would seem, however, that the earl never got this latter service, as the order was afterwards postponed until after Richard de Burgh should have acquired the land of the King of Connaught.[3] The last of these orders was for his service of forty days, due to the king for one year to fortify the castle of Cumbre (Castlecomer), but this was shortly before William's death, and the first stone castle here was probably not erected until later.[4] Perhaps, however, to the younger earl should be ascribed the erection or completion of the first stone castles at Ferns and

[1] Cal. Docs. Irel., vol. i, nos. 1440, 1506.

[2] Ibid., nos. 1030, 1269.

[3] Ibid., nos. 1439, 1515.

[4] Ibid., nos. 1809, 1866. Cumbre was an important manor at the time of the partition of Leinster and went with Kildare. There was a stone castle here in the time of Edward I, but nothing now remains except the mote, which is partially revetted; see Journ. R. S. A. I., 1909, pp. 318–19.

Carlow. They are first mentioned in, or immediately after, his time, and the existing ruins seem to point to about this period.

Ferns Castle.

The castle somewhat hurriedly constructed at Ferns by the sons of Maurice Fitz Gerald in 1177 was, as we have seen, destroyed in the interest of the Mac Murroughs.[1] A seignorial manor was, however, subsequently formed here, probably by the elder William Marshal, and this seems to have been the subject of his dispute, to which we have already alluded, with Albin O'Mulloy the last Irish Bishop of Ferns.[2] The elder earl may have built or commenced to build the castle, and this supposition would harmonize with his dispute with the bishop, but the first time we hear of it is in 1232, when 'the manor and castle of Ferns' were offered by Richard Marshal as part of the dower of his brother's widow.[3] It may therefore have been built or completed by the younger Earl William. Albin O'Mulloy died in 1222, and John de St. John, who had been a trusted minister of the Crown in Ireland since 1212, and held the offices of Treasurer and Escheator, was appointed in his place. The dispute as to the church-lands was in part, at all events, settled or compromised between him and Philip de Prendergast in 1227,[4] but though the bishop had a manor at Ferns and was granted a fair there in 1226,[5]

[1] *Ante*, vol. ii, p. 8. [2] *Supra*, p. 29.

[3] Close Roll, 16 Hen. III, pp. 144–5. Eleanor's dower was, however, fixed at £400 a year, leviable in case of non-payment out of the earl's English lands: Cal. Docs. Irel., vol. i, no. 2041. From this it would seem that at this time the fief of Leinster was valued at £1200 a year.

[4] *Supra*, p. 29.

[5] Rot. Claus., 10 Hen. III, p. 127. £11 10*s.* 9¼*d.* was received from the episcopal manor of Ferns (including Clone) when in the king's hand for five months in 1282; Hore's

the manor attached to the castle of Ferns remained a seignorial manor, and until near the close of the century was the most lucrative manor of the lordship of Wexford.[1] There is indeed ample evidence that throughout the thirteenth century the greater part of the ancient kingdom of Okinselagh, and the subordinate territories in the present County Carlow, were extensively settled and the whole district normally peaceful and prosperous, though early in the succeeding century the Mac Murroughs, Kavanaghs, Kinsellas, and others of the Irish who had not been expelled, once more began to dominate much of the northern part of their ancient territories.

In plan the castle of Ferns was a rectangle of 90 by 65 feet, with three-quarter projecting round towers, 32 feet in diameter, at the corners. The walls of the towers are 8 feet thick, and the remaining south wall is 7 feet thick. The castles of Kilkenny, Carlow, Wexford, and Enniscorthy, though varying considerably in dimensions, seem all to have followed a similar ground-plan, and were probably all erected at about the same period.

The ruined chancel of the Anglo-Norman Cathedral at Ferns bears testimony to the skill

History of County Wexford, vol. vi, p. 191 ; and see Irish Pipe Roll, 10 Ed. I, 36th Rep. D. K., p. 61.

[1] At the partition of Leinster, Ferns was valued at £81 15*s.* In 1307 when an inquisition on the lands of Joan de Valence was taken there were 160 burgages in the town paying £8 0*s.* 4*d.*, free tenants paying formerly £18 0*s.* 3*d.*, and fifty-four carucates of land (no doubt largely let to Irish holders) formerly worth £59 9*s.* 2*d.* The total, however, had then depreciated to £38 16*s.* 6*d.* The inquisition taken after the death of Aymer de Valence in 1324 shows that the manor was then of little or no value 'owing to the war of the Irish'.

and taste of the age. It belongs to the early part of the thirteenth century, and was perhaps the work of John de St. John, who is said to have been 'one of the principal benefactors of his Church, as well for his structures as for the privileges obtained for his See'.[1] The church when complete must have been a stately structure of about 180 feet long. The present building was roughly formed in the time of Queen Elizabeth by walling up the central portion of the nave, without the side aisles, some of the original pillars of which are embedded in these walls. To this in 1816 a piece was added joining the building with the tower, which had previously stood separate.[2]

The younger Earl William granted an extended charter to the town of Carlow in 1223.[3] It mentions the castle, and follows closely the form of his father's charter to Kilkenny. He also granted a similar charter to the burgesses of Moone in County Kildare,[4] but both these boroughs were established earlier, as the rent of one shilling for each burgage was fixed by Geoffrey Fitz Robert, his father's seneschal.

Duiske monastery.

As regards religious foundations, the earl in 1227 confirmed his father's grant to the Cistercian monastery de valle Sancti Salvatoris, situated on the Barrow at Duiske, or Graig-na-managh as it is now called. A large number of documents relating to this convent are preserved at Kilkenny Castle,

[1] Ware, Bishops.

[2] Hore's History of Co. Wexford, vol. vi, pp. 165–9. These facts became manifest during the recent (1901–3) restoration, and some of the embedded pillars are now partially exposed to view.

[3] Chartae Privil. et Immun., p. 37.

[4] Justiciary Roll, 30 Ed. I, pp. 369–71 (Mills).

and have been edited by Dr. Bernard, now Provost of Trinity College, Dublin.[1] From these it appears that in 1227 the Abbot of Froidmont, acting on behalf of the general chapter of Citeaux, decreed that the neighbouring convent de valle Dei, or Killenny, on account of its poverty should be incorporated with that at Duiske. Killenny was a daughter house of Jerpoint, and owed its first endowments to a grant from Dermot O'Ryan, lord of Idrone, which was confirmed by Dermot Mac Murrough before the Normans came. Its absorption by Duiske, though confirmed by all the highest authorities spiritual and temporal (among the latter being William Marshal), was for a long period contested by Jerpoint, and the contest was not finally settled until the year 1289, when the sum of 1,300 marks was paid to Jerpoint by way of compensation. During the thirteenth century Duiske was a prosperous monastery, essentially Anglo-Norman in *personnel* and tone, but early in the next century it suffered from the disturbed state of the country. It became more and more Irish in character, and its last abbot was a son of Donnell Reagh Kavanagh, self-styled King of Leinster. To judge by such of the remains as have not been mutilated it must have been a fine example of Anglo-Norman architecture, the abbey-church resembling in plan that of Strata Florida. The earl also granted a new site to the Prior and monks of St. John the Evangelist at Kilkenny, and richly endowed the house.[2] Part of the ruined chancel of this church still stands on the site so granted, and contains some

[1] Proc. R. I. A., vol. xxxv (c), pp. 1-188.

[2] *Ante*, vol. ii, p. 229 note, where the charter is shown to belong to the younger Earl William and to have been executed in 1223.

beautiful early thirteenth-century work. It should be compared with that of the church of St. Mary at New Ross, which was appropriated by the younger Earl William to the Prior of St. John's, and must date from about the same time.[1] The choir and transepts of the stately cathedral of St. Canice already, perhaps, adorned the 'Fair citie by the Nore',[2] and now a new foundation, the convent for Dominicans, usually called the Black Abbey, was added by the earl to the religious foundations of the city.[3] The church, which is still used, has suffered much from violence and tasteless rebuilding, and little of architectural interest remains. Indeed, in all these churches in Leinster, Ferns, Graig-na-managh, St. Mary's, St. John's, the Black Abbey, and Gowran, as in many others throughout Ireland, it is humiliating to contrast the simple grace and beauty of the original thirteenth-century architecture with the clumsiness and want of taste displayed in the structures that have partially replaced them. In the cathedral of St. Canice alone has the pristine beauty of the edifice been worthily preserved or restored.

In May 1230 Earl William accompanied the king on his fruitless march to Bordeaux, and in October he was left behind at Nantes with Randolph, Earl of Chester, and a small force when the king returned to England. Early in April 1231 the earl was back in London and was present at the nuptial festivities of his sister

[1] See my pamphlet on New Ross in the thirteenth century (1911), p. 11. The Lady Chapel of St. John's, called by reason of its many lofty lights 'the Lantern of Ireland', was not completed until 1290: Liber Primus Kilkenniensis. It was finally demolished when the present church was built.

[2] *Ante*, vol. ii, p. 229. [3] Ware.

Isabel, Countess of Gloucester,[1] with Richard, Earl of Cornwall, the king's brother. A few days afterwards he died unexpectedly, in the flower of his age, and was buried in the New Temple beside his father.[2] Though twice married, first in 1214 to Alice, daughter of Baldwin de Betune, titular count of Aumale,[3] and again in 1224 to Eleanor the king's sister,[4] then only nine years old, he left no issue. Earl William's death, 1231.

The king immediately, on April 11, announced the death of the earl to the constables of his castles of Kilkenny, Odagh, Wexford, Old Ross, Dunamase, Carlow, Kildare, Carrick on Slaney, and the Island (in the parish of Kilmokea, County Wexford),[5] and ordered them to give up the custody of the castles to Walerand le Teys, or Teutonicus, the king's bailiff.[6] There was some

[1] Her first husband, Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester and Hertford, died in October 1230.

[2] Roger of Wendover (Coxe), vol. iv, p. 220; Ann. Waverley, 309. The tradition that he was buried at Kilkenny must be rejected.

[3] Alice de Betune's mother was Haweis, daughter and heir of William le Gros, Count of Aumale, who died in 1180. Baldwin de Betune was her third husband and an old companion of the elder William Marshal: L'Histoire de G. le Maréchal, l. 14968. Alice was betrothed to the younger William Marshal in 1203, when she was only about six years of age: Rot. Chart., vol. i, pp. 112 b, 113 a. The marriage appears to have taken place in 1214, and Alice died about a year afterwards.

[4] Rot. Pat., 8 Hen. III, vol. i, p. 426; Gerv. Cant., vol. ii, p. 113. Eleanor afterwards (1238) married Simon de Montfort, the victor at Lewes.

[5] Patent Roll, 15 Hen. III, p. 429. For the first seven castles see *ante*, vol. i, pp. 373–7. Carrick castle was on the site of Robert Fitz Stephen's earthen fort: ibid., pp. 232–3. The Island had been the *caput baroniae* of Hervey de Montmorency: ibid., p. 393; but had escheated to the lord of Leinster.

[6] Pat. Roll, 15 Hen. III, p. 429.

The king and Earl Richard.

opposition to the execution of this mandate which, seeing that the heir was not a minor, was somewhat unusual. On May 31 the king wrote to explain that his action was not directed to injure Richard Marshal, the earl's brother and heir, but as Richard was liege man to the King of France, the king's chief enemy, the king intended to hold in his hand the earl's land until Richard should come before him and do his duty in regard to the inheritance.[1] When, however, Richard came to proffer his homage, the king, by the advice of Hubert de Burgh, refused to accept it on the plea that his brother's widow might have a posthumous child, and on the more serious ground of his association with the king's enemies in France, ordered him to leave the kingdom within fifteen days. Thereupon Richard is said to have gone to Ireland, prepared to enter upon his inheritance without the king's consent.[2] Ultimately on August 8 the king took Richard's homage and ordered seisin to be given to him.[3]

Notwithstanding the ill turn done to him by Hubert de Burgh, Earl Richard Marshal was one

[1] Pat. Roll, 15 Hen. III, p. 435. Richard had been assigned his father's estates in Normandy: Magni Rot. Scacc. Norm., vol. ii, cxxxviii (Stapleton); Cartulaire Normand, no. 285 (Delisle). Apparently Henry expected Richard Marshal to renounce his allegiance to Louis of France 'a cuius ligancia si ipse Ricardus recedere velit, adhuc ignoramus'.

[2] Roger of Wendover (Coxe), vol. iv, p. 225.

[3] Close Roll, 15 Hen. III, p. 541. Earl Richard was in Ireland in 1233 when, on April 1 (his fatal day), at his castle of Old Ross, he restored to the Cistercians of Dunbrody the wood of Duncannon: Chart. St. Mary's, Dub., vol. ii, p. 160. About the same time he delimited his forests of Ross and Taghmon: ibid., p. 154. This deed is of great topographical interest and shows that the southern half of County Wexford up to the limits of these forests was well settled at the time.

of those who, after Hubert's fall in July 1232, saved him from the worst consequences which the malice of his enemies had prepared for him. He then became the leader of the opposition to Peter des Roches and the Poitevin counsellors of the king, who had taken all offices of trust and emolument into their own hands. In bold language he remonstrated with the king for having summoned these foreigners to his councils, to the oppression of the kingdom and of his native-born subjects, and to the subversion alike of laws and liberties. The Poitevins accordingly turned their animosity upon the earl and his supporters, and poisoned the king's mind against them. The story of their vengeance on the earl is told at great length and with righteous indignation by Roger of Wendover, and repeated with some literary embellishments by Matthew Paris.[1] As we shall see, this story, though true in the main, must be taken with considerable reserve. We shall first give a brief summary of the leading events as narrated by these writers, and while noting certain details which seem incorrect or incredible, reserve more general comments for the close.

Earl Richard leads the opposition to the Poitevins.

Intrigue against Earl Richard.

A conference was summoned at London for August 1, 1233, when Earl Richard, who had come to take part in it, was warned by his sister, wife of Richard, Earl of Cornwall, that his enemies were plotting to take him prisoner and serve him as they had served Hubert de Burgh. Accordingly at nightfall the Earl Marshal withdrew to Wales, where he was joined by others. The king, without trial, declared the fugitive barons to be exiled and

[1] See Roger of Wendover (Coxe), vol. iv, pp. 270–308; Matthew Paris, Chronica Maiora, vol. iii, pp. 246–79.

proscribed men, gave their lands to the Poitevins, and ordered their persons to be seized. Henry himself led a host into Wales, but the Marshal, now in open rebellion, with the aid of his Welsh allies not only eluded all attempts to overpower him, but, while avoiding direct conflict with the king, succeeded in inflicting great losses on the Poitevins. At last, about January 1234, the Bishop of Winchester, Peter of Rivaux, and others of the king's counsellors, finding that they could not gain their end by open fighting, had recourse to treachery. They induced the king to affix his seal to letters, of the purport of which (as he afterwards swore) he was ignorant, addressed to Maurice Fitz Gerald, the justiciar, Walter and Hugh de Lacy, Richard de Burgh, Geoffrey de Marisco, and others, the Marshal's sworn but faithless men,[1] bidding them seize Richard Marshal if he should come to Ireland and bring him dead or alive before the king, and promising that if they should effect this, all the Marshal's possessions in Ireland, now at the king's disposal, would be granted to them to be divided amongst them. Accordingly these Irish magnates, having first received from

[1] *Homines eiusdem Marescalli iuratos sed infideles.* But this sweeping statement is far from correct. Neither Walter de Lacy, Lord of Meath, nor Hugh de Lacy, Earl of Ulster, nor Richard de Burgh, whose lands lay in Munster and Connaught, held any lands of the Marshal. Maurice Fitz Gerald's principal lands lay about Croom in Limerick and in Imokilly, while his lands of Maynooth and Rathmore in Leinster were held directly of the barons of Naas (*ante*, vol. i, p. 380). Geoffrey de Marisco, indeed, at this time seems to have held the lands of Lea and Geashil in Offaly of the Marshal as tenant by the curtesy in right of his (late) wife Eva de Bermingham, but his principal lands lay in Munster, where he held the manors of Ainy and Adare in Limerick of the Crown (*ante*, vol. ii, p. 169), and Killorglin in Kerry (*infra*, c. xxvii).

the king's advisers a grant sealed with the royal seal (surreptitiously obtained from the chancellor), setting forth the possessions of the Marshal assigned to each, invaded the Marshal's territory, took some of his castles, and divided the booty amongst them.

When the earl heard that some of his castles in Ireland had been taken and his lands plundered, he at once sailed for Ireland with only fifteen knights. This was about February 2, 1234. He was met by Geoffrey de Marisco his liege-man, but now said to be faithless to him and in league with his enemies. He pretended, however, to adhere to the earl, and urged him to make war upon his enemies and to subdue Ireland, intimating, according to Matthew Paris, that Ireland belonged to him by hereditary right as the descendant of Strongbow.[1] This treacherous advice was adopted with such success, that not only were some of his own castles recovered, but Limerick[2] was taken after a four days' siege, some castles belonging to his enemies were captured, and the Irish nobles, not daring to meet the earl, retired to collect additional forces.

When they had collected a strong force, the Irish magnates sent some Templars to the earl to tell him that they could not without infamy suffer

[1] This sophistical argument was not one that would appeal to Richard Marshal, who, like his father, felt strongly the mutual obligations of the feudal relation. The passage does not appear in Roger de Wendover's account.

[2] It is quite certain that the Marshal never went to Limerick or outside his own fief. There is, however, some evidence that Limerick was attacked about this time, or more probably a little later, by Donough Cairbrech O'Brien, but he was acting in concert with Felim O'Conor against Richard de Burgh, and quite independently of Richard Marshal: *vide infra*, c. xxviii.

him to continue acting as a traitor towards the king, and to ask for a truce while they inquired whether the king meant to defend Ireland; for if the king determined to abandon it they would give up the whole country to the earl without opposition.[1] To this the earl replied that he was no traitor, 'for', said he, 'the king unjustly and without trial has deprived me of my office of Marshal, banished me from England, and burned and destroyed my property. Twice he has bidden me defiance, though I was always ready to appear in his court and abide by the judgement of my peers. Therefore I am no longer his man,[2] but have been absolved from allegiance to him, not by my own act, but by his'. As regards a truce the earl invited the magnates to meet him in colloquy on the morrow on a certain mead. (This was the Curragh of Kildare.) The Irish nobles agreed to this, knowing that they had superior forces and determined not to return without a battle. The Marshal was for granting a truce, but he was overborne by the treacherous counsel of Geoffrey de Marisco and of his own vassals, about eighty in number, who had all been bribed to deceive him.[3]

The battle of

On the morrow, the 1st of April, the parties met on the Curragh. The earl's opponents were

[1] It is incredible that such terms could have been proposed. The earl's reply, however, probably states correctly enough the defence of his attitude against the king.

[2] It would have been considered disgraceful for either lord or man to attack the other while there was affiance between them. Hence the king 'defied' the Marshal before waging war against him, and the Marshal argues that the feudal nexus has been broken. 'Rebellions and wars are conducted on quasi-legal principles': Pollock and Maitland, Hist. of Eng. Law, vol. i, p. 303.

[3] Again a reckless statement which can be proved untrue by the punishment afterwards meted out to his vassals.

attended by 140 picked knights chosen for the purpose of slaying him, while, with the exception of the fifteen knights of his household who had accompanied him from Wales, the earl's men only pretended to be his adherents. The Templars, as before, acted as intermediaries. The earl demanded the restoration of his castles before granting a truce. This was refused, and the Irish nobles prepared for battle, secure of victory. Then Geoffrey advised the Marshal to concede the truce, 'for', said he, 'my wife is sister of Hugh de Lacy and therefore I cannot fight against him with whom I am allied'.[1] The Marshal then knew that he was betrayed, but disdained to concede through fear what, by Geoffrey's advice, he had refused to grant for favour. 'I know', he said, 'that I am betrayed unto death this day, but it is better to die with honour in the cause of justice than to fly the field and incur perpetual infamy.' He then gave orders for his young brother Walter to be brought for safety to the castle (of Kildare?) hard by, so that all of his family might not perish, and exhorting his men to follow him, dashed bravely against the ranks of his foes. But his sworn men in whom he trusted, as had been

the Curragh, April 1, 1234.

[1] This excuse, futile even if true, was perhaps a mere invention of Roger de Wendover. Geoffrey's wife in 1218 was Eva de Bermingham (Rot. Claus., 2 Hen. III, p. 353), and she was still alive in 1223 (ibid., 7 Hen. III, p. 549 b), and died presumably shortly before December 1226. See Journ. R. S. A. I., vol. xliv (1914), p. 103. Seeing that even in 1226 the elder Hugh de Lacy had been dead for forty years, it is very improbable that Geoffrey afterwards married his daughter. Moreover, Geoffrey was specially commended by Earl William Marshal in 1224 for his services against Hugh de Lacy, 'whom he in no way favours': Royal Letters (Shirley). All this must have been known to Earl Richard, and the excuse can hardly have been made.

arranged by the conspirators, voluntarily, without a blow, surrendered themselves as it were to friends, or fled unwounded to churches and convents, and only the fifteen knights of his household remained to support the Marshal. An unequal combat followed in which the Marshal fought with desperate courage and consummate skill, so that for a long while no one dared to come near him. At length after fighting all day and performing prodigies of valour he was overwhelmed by a host of common people armed with lances, pitchforks, hatchets, and pole-axes, who succeeded in houghing his steed and thus bringing horse and rider to the ground. Then rushing on him they raised his hauberk and gave him a mortal stab in the back.

His nearly lifeless body was borne to the castle (of Kilkenny?) which Maurice the justiciar had recently taken, and there he was kept in custody. After a few days he so far recovered that he was able to eat and drink, play at dice, and walk about his room. His wounds, however, grew worse. A physician sent to him by the justiciar, 'rather', it is said, 'to kill than to cure him', probed them with a heated instrument and acute fever set in. On the 16th of April the ill-fated earl died.

Such in brief is the story of the tragic end of Richard Marshal, as told by Roger of Wendover. It is evidently coloured by a strong animus against the Marshal's enemies. It has been uncritically adopted by modern writers, and by some the ugly shadows have been even further deepened.[1] In substance we must accept the story as in the main true, but not only, as we have pointed out, is it

The above account accepted with reserves.

[1] See Gilbert, Viceroys of Ireland, pp. 95–9, and Stokes, Ireland and the Anglo-Norman Church (1889), pp. 297–306.

apparently incorrect in many important details which prove the writer's ignorant imagination, but as regards the worst features of the episode material modifications of the view presented seem to be warranted by attested facts.

The king's part.

In the first place, we cannot acquit the king of responsibility for what occurred on the plea that he was ignorant of the contents of documents to which he put his seal. On March 7 he gave orders that Maurice Fitz Gerald should have out of the king's treasure in Dublin whatever might be necessary and expedient to keep the peace of Ireland and maintain war against the king's enemies.[1] This can only refer to the earl's war. A word to the Marshal at this time that the king was meditating a change of counsellors would have stayed the war. On March 27 the king wrote to the Mayor and citizens of Dublin thanking them for what they told him concerning the arrival of the earl in Ireland, which, he says, was not unknown to him, and stating that he had convened a council for April 9 to treat concerning that and other matters touching the state of the realm, and would communicate to the mayor what might be done on that day.[2] Next day, March 28, he notified to his officers in Wales that he had granted a truce to Llewelyn and the Earl Marshal until the Sunday after Easter,[3] but no such notification appears to have been sent to Ireland. When on April 9 the king finally yielded to the counsel of the archbishop and sent him to Wales to make peace with Llewelyn and the earl, he well knew that the latter was in Ireland, and no doubt he had been kept informed of the struggle

[1] Cal. Pat. Rolls, 18 Hen. III, p. 40.
[2] Close Roll, 18 Hen. III, p. 395.
[3] Ibid., p. 555.

going on there. Moreover, we cannot believe in the sincerity of the king's lamentations at the news of the Marshal's death—perhaps Matthew Paris does not intend us to believe it—seeing that not only had he proscribed him and sought in person to compass his destruction in Wales, but after the horrid deed was done in Ireland he thanked and rewarded those who had had a hand in it, and punished by heavy fines those who had taken the earl's side. Nor does the king's grief and supposed contrition tally with the expressions put into his mouth five years later, when he called Earl Richard 'a bloody traitor', 'whom', he said, 'I took fighting against me in deadly war in Ireland, and who, deservedly disinherited, was kept wounded in prison until by the vengeance of God he ended his life'.[1]

Geoffrey's position.

Secondly, though we have formed no high opinion of his character it is impossible to believe that Geoffrey de Marisco played the false and despicable part assigned to him. Subsequent events show that he did not confederate with the earl's enemies. He himself, two of his sons, and three of his nephews were taken prisoners on the field, were ordered by the king to be securely guarded, and were heavily fined.[2] Moreover, next year William de Marisco, Geoffrey's son, was outlawed for avenging the earl by killing in

[1] Mat. Paris, Chron. Mai., vol. iii, pp. 523–4. This was said by Henry in one of his outbursts against Gilbert Marshal.

[2] Cal. Docs. Irel., vol. i, nos. 2119, 2222, 2300. Geoffrey was ultimately outlawed (ibid., no. 2683) and his lands confiscated. His manor of Adare appears to have been granted to Maurice Fitz Gerald, and was certainly held by his representatives for many generations. He died in 1245, 'exul miser et profugus, expulsus a Scotia, foris bannitus ab Anglia, exheredatus in Hibernia': Mat. Paris.

London one Henry Clement, clerk to Maurice Fitz Gerald, who had boasted that he had caused the earl's death.[1] This was not the act of a traitor to the earl.

Thirdly, we cannot on the mere statement of the chroniclers of St. Albans attribute the action of the earl's Irish opponents to the mean motives of cupidity and greed, or stigmatize it as stained with treachery. No portion of the Marshal's great fief was as a matter of fact obtained by any of them, and none of the leaders owed him feudal allegiance, except (indirectly) Maurice Fitz Gerald, and he was the king's justiciar, specially bound to execute the king's mandates. Richard Marshal was an outlaw in open war against the king, the feudal army was summoned against him, and the Irish barons must be credited with supposing that they were carrying out the king's order to take him alive or dead. Nor is there any good reason to suppose that he was killed otherwise than in fair fight. This was the view taken by the Irish annalist. 'Richard son of William Marshal raised a war against the King of the Saxons in Saxonland and came across from the east and went into Leinster; and the foreigners of Erin assembled against him on behalf of the King of the Saxons. . . . They all proceeded to the Curragh and fought a fierce obstinate battle against the Marshal; and Richard son of William Marshal was slain there, and Geoffrey Marshal (*recte*, de Marisco, Mareis, or Marsh) was taken prisoner. And there was no

Position of the barons who opposed the earl.

[1] Royal Letters (Shirley), vol. i, pp. 469–71; Mat. Paris, Chron. Mai., vol. iii, p. 327; Close Roll, 19 Hen. III, p. 180. William de Marisco and his followers fled to Lundy Island, where they maintained themselves as pirates for some years, but eventually in 1242 he was captured and hung: Mat. Paris, Chron. Mai., vol. iv, pp. 193, 195.

one fighting this battle towards the end but himself alone, after he had been abandoned by his own people. And this deed was one of the greatest deeds committed in that time.' We do not indeed suppose that no personal consideration weighed with the Marshal's opponents. Their names show that nearly all of them were barons who held lands outside of Leinster. There was the old jealousy, never quite extinct, on the part of the Geraldines and other descendants of the early conquerors against new-comers from France or England; and—probably the deciding factor—most of them were engaged in the conquest and partition of Connaught and had a grudge against the Marshal family touching their plans there, for the late earl had, as we have seen, opposed their movement. The de Lacys too had their special grudge against the brother of the man who had recently curbed and controlled them and thwarted their advance into Breffny. The desire to pay off old scores was more likely to have influenced them than the futile hope of uprooting the strongest settlement in Ireland.

The earl's vassals not traitors.

Lastly, the odious charge of treachery to their lord, levelled against the earl's men, seems to have but slender foundation. There is no evidence that, apart from the case of the justiciar and of Walter de Ridelisford,[1] both of whom were also tenants of the Crown, any of his Irish vassals turned against the earl. They did not by all

[1] Walter de Ridelisford seems to have been on the side of the king: Cal. Docs. Irel., vol. i, nos. 2139, 2253–5. He was tenant of the Crown of lands at Bray and in the vale of Dublin, and he was one of those interested in the expected division of Connaught, but he also held the manors of Tristeldermot and Kilkea in Leinster. One of his daughters was married to Hugh de Lacy.

accounts fight desperately to the death, as their lord did. They were not of his heroic mould, and they did not make his quarrel wholly their own; but the long list of those who were punished for taking his part refutes the charge that they were traitors in the pay of his enemies. Contemporary records show that the following leading feudatories of the Marshal sided with their lord and had to pay large fines before they were given back their lands: Roger de la Hyde (his seneschal), Hugh Purcell, David Basset, Matthew Fitz Griffin, Miles de Rochfort, Stephen de Hereford, Geoffrey de Norrach, Robert de Grendon, Robert Whittey, Maurice de Londres, John le Chenu (Canutus or le Hore), and Henry Walsh.[1] Moreover the Irish Pipe Roll for 19 Hen. III, in an account of the County and City of Limerick by Hugh de Barry then sheriff, contains a list of thirty-three names of landholders who were fined in large sums for 'being against the king in the war with the Richard Marshal'. These names include Geoffrey de Marisco and William his son 3,000 marks, three of Geoffrey's nephews, viz. William, son of Jordan de Marisco £200, Richard de Marisco £100, and John Travers £200, also David baron of Naas (he held lands in County Limerick) 300 marks, and others at fines varying from £10 to 400 marks. Also a list of two hundred names of persons fined half a mark or more 'because they did not come at the summons of the king to the army against Richard Marshal'. These facts show how coloured and exaggerated is the story of the affair given by the chroniclers of St. Albans. Yet when all is said to put this 'great deed' in its true light, the death of this fearless knight, fighting for justice

[1] Cal. Docs. Irel., vol. i, nos. 2129, 2139, 2201, 2224, 2236, 2345-6, 2362, and 2418. The list is not complete.

and the liberties of England against the autocracy of the Crown and its alien advisers, at the hands of men who, had they been true to the interests of their class, would have ranged themselves under his banner, cannot but be regarded as a cruel tragedy and a blot on the fame of the chivalry of Ireland.

Earl Richard is described as 'an excellent knight, well versed in letters, and graced becomingly by his manners and virtues . . . and one who so shone among the sons of men in the beauty of his person that Nature would seem to have vied with the Virtues in his composition'.[1] He was buried at Kilkenny, probably in the precincts of the Dominican Convent founded by his brother, where tradition long pointed out the tomb of 'the Knight of the Curragh',[2] and where to this day is preserved as a precious relic a skull ascribed by tradition to one of the Marshals.[3]

The cause for which he died won.

By an added touch of tragedy, while Earl Richard lay on his death-bed the cause for which he had fought was, without his knowing it, won. On the 2nd of February, about the time when the Marshal set sail for Ireland, Edmund Rich, Archbishop elect of Canterbury, and his suffragan bishops formulated a heavy indictment against the king's foreign advisers, and in plain terms

[1] Roger of Wendover (Coxe), vol. iv, p. 308; cf. Ann. Waverley, p. 313.

[2] Hanmer (ed. 1533), p. 174. Journ. R. S. A. I., vol. i, p. 457. Roger of Wendover says that Richard Marshal was buried 'in oratorio fratrum Minorum apud Kilkenni ubi ipse adhuc vivens sepulturam elegerat'; but on this point the authority of the Laud MS. Annals, supported by tradition, is preferable.

[3] On visiting the church I was told by the custodian that the relic was the skull of the second William Marshal, but he was buried in the Temple in London.

told the king that he was estranging the affections of his people, 'as was evident from the conduct of the Marshal, who', they said, 'was the best subject in his dominions'. Then they warned the king under threat of ecclesiastical censure to dismiss his foreign advisers and govern by the assistance of his own faithful subjects. The king postponed a decision for the moment, but at the next council, on April 9, when the archbishop, now duly consecrated, repeated his former warning, the king at once yielded to him in everything. In a few days the Poitevins were ignominiously dismissed, and the archbishop himself was sent to Wales to make peace with Llewelyn and the Marshal.[1]

The king's repentance.

It was not until May 12, when at Woodstock on his way to meet the archbishop, that the king heard the news of the Marshal's death and shed too late the tears of repentance. Influenced by the archbishop, he lost no time now in pardoning the proscribed nobles and in giving them the kiss of peace.[2] He at once invited Gilbert, Walter, and Anselm Marshal, the deceased earl's remaining brothers, to his presence to seek his favour, and on May 28 he restored to Gilbert his hereditary possessions, received his homage, and shortly afterwards girded him with the knight's belt, and delivered to him the wand of the marshalship. The reconciliation was, for the time, apparently complete.

About the same time, however, the king, whose

[1] Mat. Paris, Chron. Mai., vol. iii, pp. 269–72.

[2] Cal. Pat. Roll, 18 Hen. III, p. 48. On June 8, 1234, the king declared the sentence of outlawry against Hubert de Burgh, Gilbert Basset, Richard Seward, Philip Basset, and others who favoured the Earl Marshal, should be annulled, 'eo quod iniuste et contra legem terrae in eos fuit promulgata': Close Roll, 18 Hen. III, p. 567.

The earl's opponents rewarded.

double dealing and insincerity is manifest, thanked Richard de Burgh for his strenuous resistance to Richard Marshal, and declared himself ready to bestow an adequate reward after he had conferred with Maurice Fitz Gerald, Hugh de Lacy, and the Bishops of Ferns and Meath, whom he at the same time summoned to his presence.[1] This reward, as we shall see, took the form of the restoration to Richard de Burgh of his land of Connaught. Maurice Fitz Gerald was evidently apprehensive for his safety, for though summoned more than once he did not come until after he had obtained a safe-conduct from the Archbishop of Canterbury.[2] In September Maurice was with the king and fully retained his favour for many years. Peace was made between Gilbert Marshal and the Irish magnates, and the terms on which those who had sided with Richard Marshal should be restored to their lands were finally settled. The dismissal of the Poitevins and the closing of this episode were due to the wisdom and courage of Edmund Rich, Archbishop of Canterbury, who, in the historical temple of those who have striven for British liberty, merits a small niche between the lofty pedestals of Stephen Langton and Simon de Montfort.

But neither Archbishop Edmund nor Earl Gilbert had quite the qualities for leading successfully the baronial opposition or keeping the king to good resolutions, which were merely the outcome of the policy of the moment and not of any settled conviction. Upon the king's marriage with Eleanor of Provence new foreigners—Savoyards and Provençals—gained the king's ear,

[1] Close Rolls, 18 Hen. III, p. 561.
[2] Cal. Docs. Irel., vol. i, nos. 2146-8.

to be followed later on by a new invasion of Poitevins. More than once the king quarrelled with Earl Gilbert, and on the earl's death, which occurred through an accident at a prohibited tournament in 1241, the king refused for a time to grant seisin to the fourth brother, Walter. Earl Walter died on November 24, 1245, and eleven days later Anselm, the fifth and sole remaining brother, breathed his last at Strigul. The strange fatality that cut off all the male descendants of the great Earl Marshal was now complete.

Leinster partitioned.

The great fief of Leinster was now divisible among the five daughters of the elder Earl William Marshal or their representatives. These five daughters had all married great English lords, and by May 1247, when the partition was effected, only the eldest, Matilda, widow first of Roger Bigod, Earl of Norfolk, and then of William, Earl Warenne, was alive. Of the shares of the deceased daughters, one became divisible among seven co-heiresses, and another among three co-heiresses, so that the primary division into fifths became in two cases subject to a further subdivision. Herein was exemplified one of the weaknesses of the feudal system. That a great fief, viewed simply as property, should be parted among several proprietors, may seem to us no bad thing; but the feudal baron was much more than a mere landed proprietor. He was the head of a great organization, the representative and protector of a large social unit. Under the king, and within defined limits of law and custom, he was the virtual ruler of his domain. His courts were open to all his tenants for the settlement of their disputes, and in the great liberties, except so far as the pleas of the Crown were reserved

A weakness in feudal law of succession.

and appeals to the king's court were allowed, criminal jurisdiction was in the lord's hand. In short the lord of the liberty and his officials occupied in large measure the place of our modern civil service. Nay more in Ireland in the thirteenth century the social units depended on the barons' swords and the military power at their command for protection against the border clans, ever on the look out for a weak place to attack and plunder. This great power was no doubt often abused, but in practice it was almost the only barrier against anarchy. When, therefore, a great fief became divided among female heirs whose husbands were absentees with greater interests elsewhere, or when, during minorities, it was in the hands of the Crown and was administered by bailiffs or seneschals with no permanent interest in its welfare, the disruptive forces, whether internal or external, were apt to gather head and become difficult of restraint.

The burden of dower.

Another source of weakness was the extravagant provision made for the widow of the preceding feudal lord. One third of his lands of inheritance was normally assigned to her as dower. This greatly crippled the power of his successor. In the case of the partition of Leinster there were no fewer than three widows to be provided for. Firstly, Eleanor, the king's sister, widow of William Marshal, and now the wife of Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester. In 1233 Richard Marshal agreed to pay her £400 a year in name of dower.[1] In 1244 the king became surety for Walter Marshal, and undertook in case of default to pay this sum and raise the amount out of the earl's lands in Ireland.[2] The Countess of Leicester

[1] Close Roll, 17 Hen. III, p. 310.

[2] Cal. Pat. Roll, 28 Hen. III, pp. 415–16. In 1259–60

survived her second husband and died c. 1275–6. Secondly, Margaret, Countess of Lincoln and Pembroke, widow of Walter Marshal. To her was assigned in dower the whole county of Kildare, the manor of Forth in the county of Carlow, and lands of the value of £62 17*s.* 4*d.* in the manor of Oboy in Leix. To these were afterwards added the castles of Kildare and Carbury.[1] The seven daughters of Sibyl Marshal, to whom the county of Kildare was assigned on the partition, had now to be given compensation out of the shares of other heirs, so that the burden of the Countess of Lincoln's dower might fall equally on all the five shares.[2] This involved much litigation and expense. Thirdly, Matilda de Bohun, widow of Anselm Marshal and afterwards wife of Roger de Quency, Earl of Winchester. As her husband had not obtained seisin when he died she does not appear to have been entitled to dower, but, by some arrangement, to her belonged the new and the old vill in the County Kilkenny[3] (Jerpoint?). She died in 1252 when these lands became divisible among the co-heirs. Margaret of Scotland, widow of Earl Gilbert Marshal, died in 1244, and Earl Richard was unmarried.

Whatever disadvantages were inherent in the devolution of a Celtic chieftainship—and from the point of view of social order and progress they were many and grave—the system was at least free from these evils of feudal succession. Hence

most of the heirs were in arrear from the time of the partition: Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. ii, p. 104.

[1] Cal. Pat. Rolls, 33 Hen. III, p. 40.

[2] Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. i, nos. 2949, 2988. Margaret countess of Lincoln died between Michaelmas 1268 and March 1271: Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. ii, nos. 850, 896.

[3] Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. ii, no. 110.

it was that while the larger Norman fiefs sooner or later became divided to the point of weakness and, burdened with widows' dowers, devolved upon absentee lords, or became merged in the Crown, to be regranted in smaller parcels, the headship of a Celtic tribe or tribe-group passed unimpaired (it might be after a period of internal conflict) to the chosen or victorious agnatic successor,[1] and the allegiance of the undivided tribe or tribe-group would be given to an adult, resident, male protector.

[1] It was not until the next century that, with a view to avoiding the evils of a disputed succession, the custom of electing a tanist as successor in the lifetime of the ruling chief was gradually introduced.

CHAPTER XXVI

THE PARTITION OF LEINSTER

1247

In this chapter (which may be omitted without interruption of the narrative) I propose to give a detailed account of the partition of the great fief of Leinster among the five daughters of the elder William Marshal (or their representatives), and to trace the devolution of the several shares up to the opening years of the fourteenth century. I shall note the pedigree of the family[1] only so far as is necessary to indicate successive owners, and shall direct attention mainly to the division of the inherited lands, the situation and value of the various seignorial manors, and the names of the principal sub-feoffees.

The partition was finally made in the king's court at Woodstock on May 3, 1247,[2] each share was so arranged as to be of the estimated annual value of £343 5*s.* 6½*d.* The total annual value of Leinster must therefore have been estimated at £1,716 7*s.* 8½*d.* Each share included a chief borough, the future *caput baroniae,* to which

General scheme of the partition.

[1] The Marshal pedigree for this period has been elaborately examined by Mr. Hamilton Hall, F.S.A., in Journal R. S. A. I., vol. xliii, pp. 1–29, and to his paper, which I have found useful, I may refer my readers for further genealogical details.

[2] For a note on the MS. authorities see App. I to this chapter.

(except in the case of Dunamase) was appurtenant the *corpus comitatus* or 'body of the county'. The *comitatus* may be regarded as a tract of land, or as the community of landholders on it. The word was also commonly used as here for the county court at which those landowners owing suit of court were bound to attend. In these liberties the county or rather seignorial court was presided over, not by the king's sheriff, but by the seneschal or other officer of the lord of the liberty. The monetary value seems to have consisted of the estimated annual profits derived from court-fees paid, amercements imposed, fines made, feudal dues exacted, and other issues of the county. Then there were certain manors in demesne with the rents and services appurtenant thereto allotted to each share, and in several cases these were detached or outlying manors situated in what was topographically a different county. Finally, to make the shares exactly equal, the excess-value of those that exceeded the average was assigned out of some specified vill to make up the deficiency of those that fell below it. A further complication was introduced by the temporary readjustments which, as already mentioned, had to be made, owing to the assignment of dower to Walter Marshal's widow, mainly out of the county of Kildare. In fact, simply to say, as is generally done, that the five purparties consisted of the four counties of Carlow, Wexford, Kilkenny, and Kildare, and the territory about Dunamase, would be to give a very inaccurate conception of the actual complications of the partition.

Matilda's share Carlow, &c.

Matilda or Maud, the eldest and at the time of the partition the only surviving daughter, had been twice married, firstly in 1207 to Hugh Bigod, Earl of Norfolk, who died in 1225, and secondly

to William, Earl Warenne, who died in 1240. Her share was as follows:

	£	s.	d.
Katherlak burgus	24	12	4
Corpus comitatus cum assisis et perquisitis	24	1	11
Ballidunegan (Ballidongan *Babc*) .	11	17	2
Futhered (Fothyrd *Bbc*) . . .	53	5	2
Tamulyn (Thamolyn *Ba*) . . .	38	18	1
Castrum de Ros	72	3	4½
Burgus de Ros	52	13	4
Insula	43	6	0
Balisex (Balisax *Ba*) . . .	28	5	7
Total (correct)	£349	2	11½

To which is added a note to the following effect: This total exceeds the fifth part (viz. £343 5*s.* 6½*d.*) by £5 17*s.* 5*d.* [correct], which amount is assigned out of the vill of Balisax to the purparty of Dunamase.

The places mentioned are as follows:

The town of Carlow. Here the castle was probably built or completed by the younger William Marshal who granted a charter, which mentions it, to the town.[1] Opposite the castle in 1307 was a hall in which the pleas of the county and assizes were held.[2] The perquisites of assizes were then worth in common years, after deducting the fees of the seneschal and other ministers, £40,[3] and these formed the principal issues of the *comitatus*. There were 160 burgages in the town.

'Ballidunegan.' The name seems now to be represented by Dunganstown or Bestfield, a townland close to the town of Carlow on the north and adjoining Oak Park demesne, which was no

[1] *Ante*, p. 66. [2] Justiciary Rolls, vol. ii, p. 345.
[3] Ibid., p. 347. The serjeants of the county used to render 20 marks for their serjeancies.

doubt the park of the manor. The manor appears to have passed to Richard de Burgh, who held it in 1305,[1] and his successors in title held it of the Crown up to at least 1391.[2]

'Futhered', *Fotharta ui Nualláin*, included the barony of Forth and part of that of Rathvilly, Co. Carlow. The precise *caput* of the manor is marked by the mote of Castlemore, about two miles west of Tullow. It had been the principal manor of Raymond le Gros, but on his death without issue it had reverted to the lordship of Leinster.[3] In 1307 the town of Castle Fothered contained 79 burgages and 29 cottages. There is now no town or village there.

'Tamulyn', *Tech Moling*, now St. Mullins. The vill of Techmulin belonged to William de Carew, lord of Idrone, c. 1200, seemingly under a grant from his uncle Raymond le Gros to Odo de Carew, William's father.[4] It must have reverted to the lordship before 1247. In 1307 it was held of the Earl of Norfolk by Richard Talun. There is an important mote and long rectangular bailey at St. Mullins overlooking the Barrow near the head of the tideway.

'Castrum de Ros.' This was at old Ross, four miles east of New Ross. There is a mote in the

[1] Justiciary Rolls, vol. ii, p. 136. The manor was probably granted by the king to Richard de Burgh, c. 1302, when the Earl of Norfolk's lands were in the king's hand and before they were restored as estates tail (bound to terminate with his life): Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. v, no. 87. The king owed Richard de Burgh £4,000: ibid. no. 371.

[2] Cal. Pat. Roll (Ireland), 15 Richard II, p. 147 b (12). There are several previous references to Balydongan, Co. Carlow, in the same volume.

[3] *Ante*, vol. i, p. 387.

[4] Chart. St. Mary's Abbey, Dublin, vol. i, pp. 112–13, and cf. ibid., vol. ii, p. 98.

'castle field' near an ancient mill-race, but no remains of the stone buildings mentioned in the extent of 1307. It had probably been a seignorial centre from Strongbow's time.[1] It was surrounded by the forest of Ros, which, as delimited by Richard Marshal, embraced rather more than the present parishes of Old Ross, Kilscanlan, and Carnagh.[2]

'Burgus de Ros.' This was the *villa novi pontis* or de Rosponte, now New Ross, to which reference has already been made. In 1265 owing, it is said, to disturbances consequent on a feud between Walter de Burgh and Maurice Fitz Maurice, the town was hastily enclosed with a fosse and vallum,[3] and by 1279 it had walls and gates.[4] The rent paid by the burgesses was £25 6*s.* 8*d.*, and as the usual burgage rent was only twelve pence, this implies upwards of 500 burgages. A charter was granted to New Ross by Roger le Bigod, Earl of Norfolk, c. 1279, but it appears from it that the burgesses claimed to have received a charter from William Marshal, Earl of Pembroke (probably the first earl), granting them as full liberties as the burgesses of Bannow, or Kilkenny, or Wexford, or any burgesses of Leinster enjoyed. These liberties were set forth and confirmed to the burgesses of New Ross by Richard II on December 12, 1389.[5]

'Insula.' This is the place now known as the Great Island in the parish of Kilmokea, Co. Wex-

[1] *Ante*, vol. i, p. 374.

[2] Chart. St. Mary's, vol. ii, p. 154.

[3] See the old French poem, the text of which was printed in Archaeologia, vol. xxii, and again with L. E. L.'s (Mrs. George Maclean's) spirited rendering in Crofton Croker's 'Popular Songs of Ireland', pp. 277–304.

[4] See Hore's Hist. of Wexford, vol. i, pp. 142, 148.

[5] Chartae Privilegia et Immunitates, pp. 84–6.

ford. It, however, is no longer an island, the Barrow now flowing only on its western side. It was the *caput baroniae* of Hervey de Montmorency's fief, and much of the lands of the baronies of Shelburne and Bargy were held of it.[1]

'Balisex.' Ballysax, a parish in Kildare to the south of the Curragh. This was a detached manor.

Matilda Marshal died in 1248. She was succeeded by her son Roger, fourth Earl of Norfolk and Marshal of England. He died without issue in 1270, when his nephew Roger, the fifth earl, son of his brother Hugh, succeeded. Nearly 100 rolls of accounts of the bailiffs of his Irish manors have been preserved, and from them we can glean a great deal of rare information about the management and working of his lordship of Carlow.[2] In 1302 he surrendered his Irish lands to the king, receiving them back as an estate in tail, and he died without issue on December 11, 1306. According to the inquisitions taken in 1305 and 1307[3] his lands were worth beyond reprises and costs of custody £343 0*s.* 1½*d.*, so that up to this date there was no falling off in value.

In addition he held advowsons to the value of £38, and $35\frac{1}{20}$ knights' fees were held of him.

[1] *Ante*, vol. i, p. 393. In 1307 there were about 110 burgages in the town of the Island: Just. Roll, vol. ii, p. 349. Much of the original grant to Hervey de Montmorency had been alienated in 'free alms' to the monasteries of Dunbrody and Tintern; also to the Templars.

[2] See Hore's History of Old and New Ross, pp. 142–61, also my pamphlet on New Ross in the thirteenth century, and Mr. James Mill's paper, Journ. R. S. A. I., vol. xxii (1892), p. 50.

[3] Cal. Docs. Irel., vol. v, nos. 367, 617; and Justiciary Rolls, vol. ii, pp. 41, 344–50. Cal. Inquis. P. M., Ed. I, vol. iv, pp. 304–9.

His principal tenants by knights' service were (in Co. Carlow) Edmund le Boteller, who held 4 knights' fees at Tullow, Nicholas de Carew, who held 5 knights' fees in Idrone, William de St. Leger, who held 6 knights' fees in Obargy,[1] and Reginald de Dene, who held 2 knights' fees in Kellistown. In County Wexford there were a number of smaller tenants holding of the Earl of Norfolk by knights' service, of which the following were among the most noted: Maurice de Caunteton at Glascarrig, Nicholas Brown at Mulrankin, Nicholas Keating at Kilcowan, the heir of Reginald de Dene in the barony of Keir or Keyrey (*Cloch na g-caerach*, where the old manorial centre is, now called Wilton[2]), and John de Sutton at Ballybrazil.[3]

On the death of Earl Roger without issue his vast estates reverted to the Crown and, including the honour of Carlow or the greater part of it, were afterwards regranted to Thomas of Brotherton, son of Edward I, who was created Earl of Norfolk and Marshal of England. In his hands and those of his successors the lordship soon became much depreciated in value.

Joan's share Wexford, &c.

Joan Marshal, the second daughter, married (after 1219) Warin de Munchensi (Monte Caniso), but she was dead at the time of the partition and was represented by her son John de Munchensi. John died shortly afterwards, and his heir was his sister Joan, already married to William de

[1] Obargy, *ui Bairchi*. The manor here, with centre at Killeshin, would seem to have been formed by John de Clahull, Strongbow's marshal: *ante*, vol. i, p. 385. William de St. Leger married Joan, daughter and heir of Hugh Purcell.

[2] Inquis. Lagenie, Wexford, no. 16 Jac. I.

[3] For the inquisitions taken in 1307 see Cal. Justiciary Rolls, vol. ii, pp. 344–50.

Valence, the king's half-brother, and on August 13, 1247, seisin was ordered to be given to them.[1] This share appears to have been as follows:

	£	s.	d.
Weseford burgus	42	1	5
Corpus comitatus, ut supra . .	50	12	6
Odoch (Odogh in com. Kilken. *Bb*) .	42	10	4
Rosclar	68	19	11
Karrec (Carryk *Ba*)	23	15	0
Fernes	81	15	0
Banno[2]	31	0	10
In the vill of Taminie (Taghmone *Ba*) from the surplus of Kildare .	1	15	$2\frac{1}{2}$
Total of above items[3]	£342	10	$2\frac{1}{2}$

Of these places Wexford was a walled town of the Ostmen at the time of the Invasion. The mound on which the later castle stood just touched the southern extremity of the walls, and was probably the first addition to the defences thrown up by the Normans. We first hear of a (stone) castle at Wexford on the death of the younger William Marshal in 1231,[4] but it may have been erected by his father or earlier. A charter to the borough (known through an inspeximus) was granted by Aymer de Valence on July 25, 1317, but from it we learn that Geoffrey Fitz Robert, who was seneschal of the elder William Marshal, c. 1200, founded the borough and fixed the

[1] Cal. Docs. Irel., vol. i, no. 2900.

[2] This item omitted in *A* is supplied from *Babc*.

[3] The total given in *A* is £341 10*s*. $4\frac{1}{2}$*d*.; that in *Babc* is £343 5*s*. $11\frac{1}{2}$*d*., which is almost precisely the aliquot part of the whole, but neither total is made up by the items given.

[4] *Ante*, p. 59. In 1324 there was 'a stone castle at Wexford with four towers roofed with shingles', also a hall similarly roofed and two houses roofed with straw, all in bad state of repair: Inquis. P. M. (Aymer de Valence), July 26, 18 Ed. II. I quote from a transcript in my possession.

burgage rent at twelve pence.[1] In this respect it was like New Ross, Kells, and other boroughs.

'Odoch' (*ui Duach*), now Odagh on the Nore, about five miles above Kilkenny. The mote here close to the parish church probably dates from Strongbow's time.[2] The castle is mentioned in 1231. There were 110 burgages in 1307. This was the only detached manor of this purparty.

'Rosclar' (probably *Ros a(n) chláir*, 'the peninsula of the plank-bridge'), now Rosslare, Co. Wexford. From the high value of this manor and from the inquisition on the lands of Aymer de Valence it would seem that a large part of the barony of Forth, let to tenants at rents, was appurtenant to the manor.

'Karrec', now Carrick on Slaney or Ferry Carrick, two miles above the town of Wexford. The castle, which was built on the site of Robert Fitz Stephen's 'chastel sur Slani',[3] is one of those mentioned in 1231. It was still in existence in 1307, but was *vacuum et fractum*, with ruined hall and chapel, in 1324. There were about 112 burgages here in 1307, of which three were waste in 1324.

'Fernes': for the castle and seignorial manor of Ferns see *ante*, p. 54. The castle, which was still intact though needing repair at the death of Aymer de Valence, when the surrounding country was in

[1] Chartae Privilegia et Immunitates, p. 47. At the death of Joan de Valence (1307) there were 365½ burgages formerly worth £18 6*s.* 6*d.*, but then only £11 18*s.* 6*d.*, because 127 burgages were waste: Inquis. P. M., 1 Ed. II. At the death of Aymer de Valence there were only 110 burgages.

[2] *Ante*, vol. i, p. 232. 'A mote upon which are two houses roofed with straw' is mentioned at Odagh in 1324: Inquis. P. M., Aymer de Valence.

[3] *Ante*, vol. i, p. 376, and Hore's History of Wexford Town, pp. 22–35.

the hands of the hostile Irish, seems finally to have fallen into the hands of the Kavanaghs in 1359.[1]

'Banno': the Irish name for Bannow Bay was *cuan an bhainbh*, 'the harbour of the sucking-pig', a name probably to be connected with 'Banba', a bardic name for Ireland. This was the landing-place of Robert Fitz Stephen in 1169. The borough was seemingly formed here and granted privileges by Geoffrey Fitz Robert, seneschal of the elder William Marshal. In 1307 there were nearly 160 burgages here. In 1324 the manor was valued at about £26. In the middle of the seventeenth century there were a number of thatched houses here arranged along named streets and possessed and owned by people of English or Flemish name,[2] but now there are no visible remains of the town except the ruined church of St. Mary and a thirteenth-century stone coffin-lid.

'Villa de Taminie' (read Tamune): Taghmon (*Tech Munna*). This vill was assigned to the purparty of Kildare, but the sum of £1 15*s.* 2½*d.* out of it was assigned to the purparty of Wexford.

William de Valence was created Earl of Pembroke in 1264 and died in 1296.[3] Joan, Countess of Pembroke, died in 1307,[4] when her heir was Aymer de Valence, who died *s. p.* June 23, 1324.[5]

In the inquisition taken in 1307 after the death

[1] Cal. Close Roll (Ireland), 33 Ed. III, p. 77 b (31). For the interim history of the castle see Hore's Wexford (Ferns), p. 10.

[2] See Hore's History of Wexford (Duncannon, &c.), pp. 459–61.

[3] Pipe Roll (Ireland), 25 Ed. I, 38th Rep. D. K., pp. 41–2; Inquis. P. M., 24 Ed. I, Cal. Docs. Irel., vol. iv, no. 306.

[4] Inquis. P. M., 1 Ed. II, no. 56; Cal. Inquis., vol. v, p. 22.

[5] Inquis. P. M., 18 Ed. II, no. 518; Cal. Inquis., vol. vi, pp. 324–7.

of Joan de Valence her lands were valued at £324 10*s.* 9½*d.* The manor of Ferns, in the north of the county, had become reduced in value by more than one half, but on the other hand the manor of Roslare, which included the barony of Forth, had increased in value to £114 18*s.* 7*d.* There were tenants holding by military service 29¼ knights' fees, but their names are not given. At the death of Aymer de Valence in 1324 a marked depreciation had occurred, and his lands were valued at £214 15*s.* 10½*d.* In particular the seignorial manor of Ferns, which included 19,200 acres formerly yielding £80, was now waste on account of the war of the Irish. There were several tenants holding by military service in the southern half of the county belonging to families which for centuries were prominent there, e.g. D'Evreux or Deveroys at Adamstown, Whittey at Ballyteigue, Keating at Kilcowan, Stafford at Ballymacarne, Synnot at Ballybrenan, Lamport at Ballyhire, De la Roche in Shelmalier West, Codd at Carnsore, French at Tacumshin. The manor of Roscarlan (now Rosegarland), formerly belonging to Maurice de Londres, was held by George le Poer in right of his wife Matilda de Londres, from whom it passed to Matilda's son and heir (by a former husband), Thomas Lynet, and from him to his daughter Isabel, wife of Simon Nevill.[1] But most of the fiefs held on military tenure in the northern part of the county no longer rendered royal service 'because they were waste and destroyed by the war of the Irish'. Among these we may recognize the large fiefs held by Maurice de Rochfort in the Duffry in connexion with

[1] Close Roll (Ireland), 32 Ed. III, p. 68 (28), and 9 Rich. II, p. 128 b (19).

Enniscorthy Castle,[1] and by George de Roche in Shelmalier and about Courtown near Gorey.[2] Other fiefs were held by Gilbert, son of William Fitz Ely, at Cherlegonay (Killegny ?),[3] by Reginald de Nyvel at Gorey and Balyconewy (Ballycanew),[4] and by Hoel, son of Stephen, at Carrickbyrne,[5] and there were several others at places more difficult to identify.

Isabel's share Kilkenny, &c.

Isabel Marshal, the third daughter, married c. 1217 her cousin Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester and Hertford, and in 1231 Richard, Earl of Cornwall, the king's brother. Both she and her first husband were dead at the time of the partition and were represented by their son,

Enniscorthy Castle, after the death of John de Rochfort (before 1377), was in the king's hand and was held by Matthew Fitz Henry up to the close of the fourteenth century, when it seems to have fallen into the hands of the Mac Murroughs: Hore's Hist. of Wexford, vol. vi, p. 352.

[2] He held 4½ knights' fees 'in Schyrmal and Kynalo'. The former is perhaps Shelmalier, but the latter name is puzzling. 'Curtun in Kinelahun, or Kinelaon, in the County of Wexford' was held before 1281 by Christiana de Mariscis, and by her then granted to the king: Cal. Docs. Irel., vol. ii, nos. 1801, 2339, and p. 462. Adam John de Roche then applied for a grant of it: ibid., p. 561. This was probably the place, now Courtown near Gorey. For subsequent records see Hore's Hist. of Wexford (Ferns, &c.), p. 342.

[3] 'Kylaugy' (or better, Kylangy), Co. Wexford, was held for life by Maurice Fitz Maurice (died 1286) of the inheritance of Maurice de Rochfort: Cal. Docs. Irel., vol. iii, no. 463. There is a mote at Killegny.

[4] 'Ballyconnoe, alias Baronscourt, alias Nevelscort': Inquis. Lagenie (Wexford), no. 53 Car. I (anno 6), showing that after a lapse of three centuries the former ownership of the Nyvel or Neville family still left its trace.

[5] On the western slope of Carrickbyrne Hill is 'Courthoyle', where there are remains of a castle and also earlier earthworks. The *capella* and *domus* of 'Hoel of Karrothobren' are mentioned in the deforestation Charter of Richard Marshal: Chart. St. Mary's Abbey, Dublin, vol. ii, p. 155.

Richard, Earl of Gloucester and Hertford. His share is given as follows:

	£	s.	d.
Kilkenny burgus	73	3	10
Corpus comitatus, ut supra	130	16	3
Dunfert	37	16	3
Locmadran (Loghmethran *Ba*, Loghmera *Bbc*)	19	8	6½
Grenan (Brenan *Bab*, Brenam *Bc*)	10	8	11
Callan[1]	10	8	10
The total is given in all versions as	£346	7	4½

To which is added a note to the effect that this total exceeds the fifth part (£343 5*s.* 6½*d.*) by £3 1*s.* 10*d.* [which is correct], and this amount is assigned out of the vill of Callan to the purparty of Dunamase. But as the items given, even including the valuation of Callan, only amount to £282 2*s.* 7½*d.*, it is clear that there are important omissions. In the extent of the lands of Joan, widow of Gilbert, Earl of Gloucester and Hertford, taken in 1307, in addition to the above, the following seignorial property is included: the old and the new vill of Jerpoint, the manor of Palmerston (near Kilkenny), the boroughs of Coillauch (Coolaghmore? in the barony of Kells), and Kilmanagh (in the barony of Crannagh), the lands of Ballycallan, &c. (in Crannagh), and the vill of Rosbercon.[2] We may conjecture that some or all of these places have been omitted.

Of the places mentioned, the chief points of what is known of the origin of the town and

[1] 'Callan' omitted in *A* is supplied from *Babc*.

[2] Cal. Docs. Irel., vol. v, no. 653, &c. Besides the above, 'Hillyd', i. e. Ullid in Iverk, had reverted to the countess, and the manor of Fermaille, i. e. Fermoyle in the parishes of Durrow and Rosconnel, had been purchased by the earl from William de St. Leger: ibid. 668, 670.

castle of Kilkenny have already been noted.[1] In 1307 the castle consisted of 'una aula quatuor turres una capella una mota et alie domus diverse ad idem castrum necessarie'. There were then about 330 burgesses in the town, and the total value, including perquisites of assizes, was £136 4*s.* 0½*d.*

'Dunfert' (*Dún Ferta*, 'the dun of the cemetery'[2]), now corruptly Danesfort in the barony of Shillelogher. A natural esker-mound surrounded by a shallow ditch and low outer rampart seems to be the original Dunfert. In appearance as well as in name it suggests a pre-Christian burial site. But the extent of 1307 states that 'there are in the manor within the enclosure one hall, one chamber, one dairy, one grange, one bretage beyond the gate, and other wooden houses'. Further on a dovecot is valued. This description suits the remains at Danesfort Cross Roads better than the ancient Dunfert. If this was the site, as I think it was, the 'bretage' was built within a small circular fort fifty paces in diameter and artificially raised about ten feet, and the other buildings mentioned were in a very large circular enclosure close by, surrounded by a deep ditch and inner bank and containing traces of buildings. Between the small raised fort and this enclosure are the ruins of a columbarium fifteen feet in diameter and with seventeen tiers of pigeon-holes.[3]

[1] *Ante*, vol. ii, pp. 223–8.

[2] For *ferta* see the Book of Armagh, f. 12vo., where Tirechan tells the strange story of the conversion and death of the daughters of King Laeghaire and proceeds: 'Et sepelierunt eas . . . et fecerunt fossam rotundam in similitudinem *fertae*. Sic faciebant Scotici homines et Gentiles; nobiscum autem *rel*[*ic*] vocatur'. *Relic* (Latin *reliquiae*) = a cemetery.

[3] See Journal R. S. A. I., vol. xxxix (1909), p. 321. I have since visited and now distinguish the ancient *Dún Ferta*.

'Locmadran': now Loughmerans in the parish of St. John near Kilkenny. Here in 1307 there were a bretage, grange, stable, sheepfold on posts, in bad condition and ruinous. The earthworks of the bretage, easily discernible, look from the neighbouring railway like a mote, but may be more properly classed as a promontory fort, fully forty feet high, jutting out into the dried-up lake. It has a roughly triangular space, twenty-three paces by thirteen, on top, cut off by a wide ditch from a rectangular bailey.[1]

'Grenan': this is now the name of the townland on which the ruins of the castle of Grenan stand.[2] The neighbouring town on the Nore appears to have been at first called Grenan, but was for centuries known as Thomastown and called by the Irish *Baile mic Antáin*, both names referring to its founder, Thomas Fitz Anthony, who appears to have granted it a charter under the name of Grenan.[3] In 1307 the burgesses of a fifth part of the vill of Thomastown held their burgages of Joan, Countess of Gloucester and Hertford,[4] and it would seem that there were then about 215 burgesses in the town.[5]

'Kallan': Callan on the King's River above Kells. The elder William Marshal granted a charter to this town. There was a castle here in

[1] Ibid. Since writing this paper I have visited the site and identified the bretage.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid., vol. iv (1856–7), p. 85.

[4] Cal. Docs. Irel., vol. v, p. 191. Perhaps Thomastown was included in the New and Old Vill of Jerpoint, assigned as dower to Maltilda, widow of Anselm Marshal, and on her death in 1252 was divided into fifths among the co-parceners; cf. Cal. Docs. Irel., vol. ii, no. 110, and the grant by Humphrey de Bohun, Carew Cal. Misc., p. 369. 447.

[5] Chartae Privilegia et Immunitates, p. 68.

1247 and in 1307. A large mote in the demesne of Westcourt adjoining the town on the north side of the river probably marks the original site.[1]

Among the tenants by military service of Richard, Earl of Gloucester, in 1247, the most notable were the following:[2] Stephen of Hereford, presumably the son of that name of Adam of Hereford, at Rathdowny in the barony of Clandonagh in Upper Ossory; William le Gras, son of 'William Crassus, junior', and ancestor of the Grace family, at Offerlane and Tullaroan; William de St. Leger at Rosconnell and Tullaghanbrogue; William Fitz Maurice, 'baron of Kiltrany' or Burnchurch; John de Valle, a name which became Wale or Wall, at Tulachany; the heir of John Fitz Geoffrey, younger son of Geoffrey Fitz Robert and heir to his brother, William Fitz Geoffrey, at Kells; Raymond Fitz Griffin, brother and heir of Matthew Fitz Griffin, at Knocktopher; William de Dene, afterwards (1260–1) justiciar of Ireland, at 'Ogenty' in the parish of Columkille near Thomastown;[3] Theobald Butler III at Gowran; and Miles Fitz David, great grandson of David Fitz Gerald, Bishop of St. David's, in Iverk.

Richard, Earl of Gloucester and Hertford, son of Isabel Marshal, died in 1262 and was succeeded by his son Gilbert, who in 1290 married (secondly) Joan of Acre, daughter of Edward I. As part of the marriage-treaty Gilbert surrendered all his lands to the king, who regranted them to Gilbert

[1] Journal R. S. A. I., vol. xxxix (1909), p. 319.

[2] For the complete list see Chart. St. Mary's, Dublin, vol. ii, pp. 404–6.

[3] See Inquis. Lagenie (Kilkenny), no. 20 Jac. I.

and Joan and the heirs of their bodies.[1] Joan outlived her husband, married Ralph de Monthermer in 1296, and died on April 19, 1307, and from the inquisitions taken soon after her death it would seem that her lands in the liberty of Kilkenny had not decreased in value.[2] The heir of Joan and Gilbert was their son Gilbert de Clare, last Earl of Gloucester and Hertford. He was slain at Bannockburn in 1314,[3] when his heirs were his three sisters, namely, Eleanor, wife of the younger Hugh Despenser and afterwards of William la Zouche; Margaret, widow of Piers Gaveston and afterwards wife of Hugh d'Audley; and Elizabeth, widow of John de Burgh, eldest son of Richard de Burgh, Earl of Ulster.[4] It was this Hugh Despenser's namesake and successor in title who in 1391 sold Kilkenny Castle to James Butler, third Earl of Ormonde.

Soon after the death of Earl Gilbert, about 1317, a partition was effected between his three sisters. To Hugh Despenser and Eleanor were assigned the castle of Kilkenny, the borough of Rosbercon (which since the separation of New Ross from the lordship of Kilkenny had become a port of importance and had received a charter[5] from the late earl), the manors of Dunfert and 'Kyldermoygh',[6] some rents and lands at Callan, and the serjeancy of Iverk. To Hugh d'Audley and Margaret were

Further partition, 1317.

[1] Cal. Docs. Irel., vol. iii, nos. 620, 629.

[2] Ibid., vol. v, nos. 653–70.

[3] The issues of two-thirds of his Irish lands in the king's hand for about a year ending February 1316 amounted to £341: 42nd Rep. D. K., p. 50.

[4] See 43rd Rep. D. K., p. 44.

[5] Chartae Priv. et Immun., p. 39.

[6] Now the parish of Killermogh in Upper Ossory, adjoining the parish of Durrow.

assigned the boroughs of Kilkenny, 'Coyllagh',[1] Thomastown, and Newtown Jerpoint, the manors of Ballydowel[2] and Clontubbrid,[3] the pleas and perquisites of the manor of Callan, and the serjeancy of Odagh. To Elizabeth de Burgo[4] fell the castle of 'Offarelan' (i. e. Castletown, Offerlane, *ui Fairchellain*, in Upper Ossory), which was not extended or valued because it was in the march, the manors of Fermoyle (in the parishes of Durrow and Rosconnell), Ballycallan, Palmerstown, Loughmerans (all three not far from Kilkenny), and 'Shillercher',[5] the boroughs of Callan and Kilmanagh, 'with the capital messuage and park of Callan and the demesne lands of the manor there', and the serjeancy of Offerlane and Shillercher.

The services of the military tenants were distributed amongst the three parceners, and here we may note some new names afterwards famous in the history of the county. James Butler, soon to become first Earl of Ormonde, had superseded two

[1] Probably Coolaghmore in the barony of Kells.

[2] Probably Ballydowel in the parish of Ballinamara.

[3] Formerly a parish, but now a townland in the parish of Sheffin and barony of Crannagh.

[4] As no husband is mentioned we may infer that at the date of this partition Elizabeth de Clare was a widow. John de Burgh, her first husband, died in June 1313. She married Theobald de Verdun II in February 1316, but he died in the following July. Afterwards she married Roger d'Amory. See Journ. R. S. A. I., vol. xliii (1913), p. 16.

[5] Shillercher represents *Sil Faelchair* (Onom. Goed.), where the *f* would be silent and the *l* easily commuted with *r*. It is now, in the form Shillelogher, the name of a barony in Kilkenny. In 1358 it appears as the 'cantred of Sileyrthir', and perhaps included the barony of Crannagh as well as that of Shillelogher: Cal. Pat. and Cl. Rolls (Ireland), p. 74 (64 and 65). Where precisely the seat of the manor was is obscure to me.

Geraldine families which had become extinct in the male line, namely, the descendants of Miles Fitz David, who were barons of Iverk, and those of Griffin Fitz William, who were barons of Knocktopher. We also meet for the first time as holders of knights' fees the names of Forestall, l'Ercedekne (Archdeacon or Mc Odo), Cantwell, Shorthall, and Utlagh.[1] Some of these names indeed occur at a much earlier period, but not, I think, as military tenants in Ossory.[2]

Sibyl's share Kildare, &c.

Sibyl Marshal, the fourth daughter, who had married William de Ferrers, afterwards Earl of Derby, was dead at the date of the partition, leaving as her heirs seven daughters, viz. Agnes, wife of William de Vescy, Isabel, wife of Reginald de Mohun, Maud de Kyme, a widow, afterwards wife of William de Fortibus, Sibyl, wife of Francis de Bohun of Midhurst, Eleanor, wife of William de Vaux, Joan, wife of John de Mohun (son of Reginald de Mohun by a former wife), and Agatha, afterwards wife of Hugh Mortimer.

[1] The above notes on the partition of c. 1317 are taken from Add. MS. Brit. Mus. 4791, ff. 64–72, collated with Carew MS. 635, ff. 40–41.

[2] Odo Archiedekne witnessed the elder William Marshal's charter to Kilkenny c. 1208 : Chartae Priv. et Immun., p. 34. He was probably the eponym of the Mc Odos (later Cody), as the Archdeacons were called by the Irish. Stephen Ercedekne witnessed Walter Marshal's charter to Dunbrody (1241–5). He married Desiré, one of the daughters of Thomas Fitz Anthony.

G. de Kentewell (Cantwell) witnessed the charter of Theobald Walteri I to Wodeny : Chartae Priv. et Immun., p. 11.

Geoffrey and William 'Scortall' witnessed John Fitz Geoffrey's charter to Kells : ibid., p. 17 ; and the family appears at Ballylarkin before 1218 : see History of the Cathedral of St. Canice (Graves and Prim), p. 167.

The undivided share of these co-parceners was as follows:

	£	s.	d.
Kildar burgus	23	2	4
Corpus comitatus, ut supra . .	73	11	0
Karberie	60	19	8
Ballimadan	53	19	10
Mon	83	13	9[1]
Kumbre	32	1	6
Tamminie (Thaghmon, *Ba*) . .	7	16	2
Clumena (Clonmen, *Ba*) . . .	9	18	8
Total (as given in all versions)	£345	3	11

Then follows a note (*Babc*) to the effect that this total (viz. £345 3*s.* 11*d.*) exceeds the fifth part by £1 18*s.* 4½*d.* (correct), of which £1 15*s.* 2½*d.* is assigned out of the vill of Taghmon to the purparty of Wexford, and 3*s.* 1*d.* out of the vill of Mon to the purparty of Dunmas.

The partition of this fifth into sevenths was perhaps not made immediately. At any rate, as we have mentioned, the whole county of Kildare was assigned as (part) dower to Margaret Countess of Lincoln, widow of Walter Marshal, and in consequence a new (temporary) division of Leinster was ordered so that each of the earl's heirs should have his due portion.[2] We are nowhere given a connected account of this compensatory readjustment, but we can gather from various entries that Isabel and Reginald de Mohun, Joan and John de Mohun and Sibyl and Frank de Bohun were assigned manors out of the purparty of Wexford. Their interest in these manors was however bought out by William de Valence for an annual payment

[1] So in *Ba*. With these figures the items amount to 1*s.* less than the total given. *A* has £84 13*s.* 9*d.*

[2] Cal. Docs. Irel., vol. i, nos. 2949, 2988.

during the life of the countess.[1] Similarly Maud (de Kyme) and William de Fortibus received compensation out of the purparty of Kilkenny.[2] Of the other coheiresses Agatha de Ferrers (afterwards Mortimer) was assigned the manors of Taghmon and Clonmines in Co. Wexford,[3] and Eleanor de Vaux the manor of Castlecomer,[4] as part of their permanent shares, and presumably had no claim to compensation. Similarly Agnes de Vescy seems to have been given ten librates of land in Kildare before the manor of Kildare was assigned as dower to Walter Marshal's widow.[5]

With reference to the places to be divided among the seven daughters of Sibyl Marshal:

It is stated in a late inquisition that the castle of Kildare was built by the elder William Marshal on land belonging to the episcopal see, and that afterwards the earl (apparently the younger William), to make peace, gave to Bishop Ralph of Bristol and his successors ten marks a year by way of compensation.[6] The site consists of a raised platform, partly artificial, on the border of the town. One late tower remains.

After the death of the Countess of Lincoln (c. 1270) Agnes de Vescy became entitled to the castle and manor of Kildare and the principal share of the *corpus comitatus*, including profits of pleas and other issues of the county, but her

[1] Ibid., vol. ii, nos. 29, 103, 628. It was not a purchase of their original shares under the partition, as Mr. Hall seems to have thought (Journ. R. S. A. I., vol. xliii, pp. 19, 21, 23, 24), but only of their compensatory shares during the life of the Countess of Lincoln (Cal. Docs. Irel., ii. 139).

[2] Ibid., vol. ii, no. 30.

[3] Ibid., vol. ii, nos. 1109, 1330; vol. v, no. 538.

[4] 36th Rep. D. K., p. 31.

[5] Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. i, no. 2951.

[6] Ibid., vol. v, no. 132.

sisters Matilda, Eleanor, and Agatha, also shared in the *corpus* and there was litigation concerning their rights. This was settled in 1275, when the co-parcenary of the three surviving sisters (Eleanor had died without issue) was recognized.[1] Agnes was dead by June 1290, and was succeeded by her son William de Vescy, who was appointed justiciar in the following September. In 1297 William surrendered his lands, including the castle manor and county of Kildare, with all its liberties to the king.[2] By a parliament held in this year it was enacted that 'the county of Kildare, which was formerly a liberty intentive to the county of Dublin, be henceforth a county by itself' with a separate sheriff.[3] In 1316 Edward II granted the town and castle to John Fitz Thomas of Offaly on his creation as Earl of Kildare.

'Karberie': Carbury, a barony in the north-west corner of Co. Kildare. The cantred had been granted by Strongbow to Meiler Fitz Henry, but on his death had escheated to the Marshals.[4] The manor of Carbury was assigned to Matilda de Kyme,[5] but the Mohuns also had interests in lands in Carbury. Matilda died in 1299, when her share was again subdivided into four parts among her coheirs, each of whom accordingly obtained $\frac{1}{140}$ part of the lordship of Leinster.

'Ballimadan': the name survives as Maddenstown in the parish of Ballysax. The manor included the marchlands between the marches of Kildare and Reban.[6] It was assigned to Sibyl Ferrers and

[1] Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. ii, nos 935, 1096.
[2] Ibid., vol. iv, nos. 365, 373–5, and (extent) 481.
[3] Early Statutes (Berry), p. 199.
[4] *Ante*, vol. i, p. 378.
[5] Pipe Roll (Ireland), 31 Ed. I, 38th Rep. D. K., p. 81.
[6] Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. iii, p. 267.

Frank de Bohun.[1] Their son John sold it and his interest in Castlecomer to John de Saunford, Escheator of Ireland and afterwards Archbishop of Dublin. The archbishop died 1297, a bastard and without heirs, when the king seized the lands, but restored them in 1302 to James, son of John de Bohun.[2] At his death in 1306 the lands were worth £55 16*s.*[3] In 1323 John, son of James de Bohun, obtained seisin.[4]

'Mon' (*Moin Coluimb*): Moone, now the name of a barony united with that of Kilkea. The lands included Ardscull (where in 1282 there were 160 burgages), Mullaghmast, Belan, and Glassely. The younger William Marshal granted a charter to the town of Moone.[5] Near the town, in the demesne of Moone-Abbey House, are the remains of an ancient castle. William son of Isabel Ferrers and Reginald de Mohun held at his death in 1282 lands in the manor of 'Grange Mohun', or the grange of Moone, and also in Carbury and 'Aliwine' or 'Alewyn' (*Almu* g. *almhuine*, a name surviving in the Hill of Allen) in Co. Kildare, and at 'le Cumbre' (Castlecomer, Co. Kilkenny).[6] In 1297 his lands were partitioned between his daughters Mary and Eleanor, wives respectively of John de Merriet and John de Carew.[7] In 1299 John de Mohun, grandson of the John de Mohun who married Joan Ferrers,

[1] 36th Rep. D. K., p. 32.

[2] Justiciary Rolls, vol. i, pp. 272, 456; Cal. Docs. Ireland, ii, 1683; iii, 480; v, 361.

[3] Justiciary Rolls, vol. ii, p. 291; Cal. Docs. Ireland, v, 530; 39th Rep. D. K., p. 23.

[4] Pipe Roll (Ireland), 18 Ed. II, 42 Rep. D. K., p. 58.

[5] Justiciary Rolls, vol. i, pp. 369–71.

[6] Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. ii, nos. 1963, 2324; Pipe Roll (Ireland), 26 Ed. I, 38th Rep. D. K., p. 38.

[7] Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. iv, nos. 437, 499. Cf. the pedigree of the Carews of Idrone; *infra*, p. 155.

surrendered all his lands in Ireland to the king.[1] These lands seem to have been in the same manors as those of William de Mohun.[2] They were valued in 1305 at £58 9*s.* 8½*d.*

'Kumbre' (*an Comar*, 'the confluence'): Castlecomer, Co. Kilkenny. The mote which marks the castle-site remains.[3] The manor, as we have said, seems to have been originally assigned to Eleanor de Vaux, but after her death it was divided among the other heiresses.

'Tamminie' (we should probably read here and elsewhere in *A* Tam[m]une): *Tech Munna*, now Taghmon, Co. Wexford. A square tower of uncertain date remains. The manor, along with that of Clonmines, was assigned to Agatha Ferrers and Hugh Mortimer.[4]

'Clumena' (*Cluain mín*?): Clonmines, Co. Wexford. The form Clonmines only appears in quite late documents, and is probably due to a false etymology, as some lead and silver mines were worked here in the middle of the sixteenth century.[5] The site is now remarkable for a group of castles and churches, none of which, however, appears to date from the thirteenth century. A franchise or liberty appears to have been granted to the town by William Marshal, and was claimed by Agatha Mortimer as against the liberty of Wexford.[6] Besides Taghmon and Clonmines, Agatha held at her death in 1306 parcels of land in Carbury, Co. Kildare, and at Newtown-Jerpoint, Co. Kilkenny.[7]

[1] Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. iv, nos. 566, 677.
[2] Ibid., vol. v, 335; Justiciary Roll, vol. ii, pp. 28–30.
[3] *Ante*, vol. i, p. 376.
[4] Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. ii, nos. 1299, 1445.
[5] See Hore's Hist. of Co. Wexford (Tintern, &c.), pp. 233–62.
[6] Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. ii, no. 1330.
[7] Ibid., vol. v, no. 538.

The services due in respect of the twelve knights' fees held by the barons of Naas were divided into four parts. Three of these parts were rendered to William de Vescy, John de Mohun, and William de Mohun respectively, and the fourth presumably to one of the other coheirs. The most notable of the other tenants by knight's service of William de Vescy at the time of his death in 1297, were Ralph Pipard at Leixlip and other places, Waleran de Wellesley at 'Kynheygh' (Kineagh in the parish of Kilcullen?), Robert Percival, William's seneschal, and Geoffrey le Bret, who married one of the heiresses of the barons of Naas.

Eva's share Dunamase, &c.

Eva Marshal, the fifth and youngest daughter, married William de Braose, grandson of the William de Braose who was persecuted by King John. They were both dead at the partition, leaving three daughters as coheiresses, viz. Maud, wife of Roger Mortimer of Wigmore, Eva, wife of William de Cantilupe, and Eleanor, wife of Humphrey de Bohun, eldest son of the Earl of Hereford.

The share of Roger Mortimer and his parceners was as follows:

	£	*s.*	*d.*
Dunmas burgus	104	19	1
Obboy (Oboy *Bab*)	82	8	5½
Achkbo	72	6	5
Karnebo (Carneboth comitatus Weysford *Babe*)	74	8	3
In the vill of Balisex of the surplus of Katherlak	5	17	5
In the vill of Kallan of the surplus of Kilkenny	3	1	10
In the vill of Mon of the surplus of Kildar		3	1
Total (correct)	£343	4	6½

Of these places 'Dummas' (*Dun Masc*) is now written Dunamase. The ruins of a strong castle crowning a precipitous rock, with three walled baileys descending the hill-slope, are still to be seen, but the existing remains are apparently of later date than the thirteenth century.[1] The honour was assigned to Maud and Roger Mortimer, and the latter at his death in 1282 held lands in right of his wife valued at £171 7*s.* 6½*d.*, a sum which indicates an advance in value. At this period there were 127 free burgages in the New Town of Leix.[2] The very site of this borough has been forgotten, but it may, not improbably, have been on an adjoining hill, a little to the west of the Rock of Dunamase, where 'site of ancient village' is marked on the Ordnance Survey (Index) Map. The services due in respect of the twelve knights' fees held by the barons of Offaly were equally divided between the three daughters of Eva Marshal. Besides his share in these, to Roger Mortimer were assigned the services of Walter de Ridelisford at Castledermot and Kilkea, of Walter de l'Enfant in Allewyn (Allen), and of Robert de St. Michael in Reban.[3] Edmund Mortimer, son and heir of the above-named Maud and Roger, died in 1304. His son and heir was the Roger Mortimer who married Joan of Geynville, heiress of the liberty of Trim. He was created Earl of March in 1328, and met a traitor's doom

[1] See *ante*, vol. i, p. 375 ; vol. ii, p. 217.

[2] For the extent of Roger Mortimer's lands see Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. ii, no. 2028. 'Maimolieth', where there were betaghs, probably represents *Magh Muilchiath*, in Leix, where a battle was fought in 1042 (Four Masters). Many other place-names, hard to identify, are mentioned in the extent.

[3] For the early records of the manors of Castledermot and Kilkea see *ante*, vol. i, p. 386, and for the manor of Reban, ibid., p. 383.

in 1330, when the honour of Dunamase escheated to the king.

'Obboy' (*ui Buidhe*): the name of a deanery in the diocese of Leighlin, approximately the barony of Ballyadams, Queen's County. In the townland of Castletown near the church is a mote. This was the 'Balliscaslan O'Moy' or 'Castletown O'Moy' of later times,[1] and probably marks the manorial centre. William de Cantilupe (d. 1254) was succeeded by his son George, who died in 1273, soon after coming of age.[2] His heirs were John de Hastings, son of his sister Joan, and his sister Milicent, wife of Eudo la Zouche. A partition was ordered,[3] and in 1277 the custody of the manor of Oboy (where the lands of John de Hastings lay) was given to Miles of Down.[4] In 1283 John de Hastings obtained seisin.[5] He married a sister of Aymer de Valence, and in 1339 his grandson Lawrence Hastings was created Earl of Pembroke.

'Achkbo' (*Achadh-bó*): Aghaboe in Queen's County.[6] In 1278, Milicent (as heir of George de Cantilupe) and Eudo la Zouche successfully claimed the presentation to the church of Aghaboe against the Bishop of Ossory,[7] and from this we may infer that the advowson of Aghaboe was part of their share of the Cantilupe inheritance. Milicent's heir was her son William la Zouche, who did

[1] Fiants, Elizabeth, nos. 5147, 5424; Inquis. Lagenie (Queen's Co.), no. 22 Jac. I.

[2] Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. ii, no. 985, and cf. 956.

[3] Ibid., no. 1008.

[4] Ibid., no. 1401; cf. 38th Rep. D. K., p. 71.

[5] Ibid., no. 2107.

[6] For the site and early history of the manor of Aghaboe, see *ante*, vol. i, pp. 388–9.

[7] Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. ii, no. 1450.

homage for his mother's lands in March 1299.[1] In February 1300, however, Gilbert de Bohun, late seneschal of Kilkenny, held the manor of Aghaboe,[2] under grant from his brother Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford. So we may conclude that the Cantilupe lands were mostly confined to Oboy.

'Karnebo': this place more often written 'Carneboth', appears to have been within the liberty of Wexford and on the confines of the liberty of Carlow.[3] The Irish form of the name appears as *Carnbuada*, 'the Carn of Victory', in the grant by Donnell Reagh Kavanagh Mac Murrough, Lord of Leinster, to the Abbey of Duiske in 1473.[4] We need have little hesitation in identifying it with Carnew, a parish partly in Co. Wexford and partly in Co. Wicklow. It was assigned to Eleanor and Humphrey de Bohun.[5] Eleanor's son and heir Humphrey in 1274 succeeded his grandfather as Earl of Hereford and Essex, and granted his lands in Carneboth, Aghaboe, and Moone, to his brother Gilbert.[6]

Services of Leinster.

The 100 services originally reserved in the grant of Leinster were, in the reign of Edward I and previously, distributed as follows: $33\frac{1}{3}$ services ($\frac{1}{3}$ of the whole, or in money value £66 13*s.* 4*d.*) were due from the liberty of Kildare, and the remaining $66\frac{2}{3}$ services were divided evenly between the liberties of Carlow, Wexford, and Kilkenny, so that each owed £44 8*s.* $10\frac{1}{2}$*d.*[7] This

[1] Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. iv, no. 599.
[2] Justiciary Roll, vol. i, p. 397.
[3] See Justiciary Rolls, vol. i, p. 142.
[4] Proc. R. I. A., vol. xxxv (c), p. 149.
[5] Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. i, no. 2973.
[6] Cal. Carew MSS. (Miscellaneous), p. 447.
[7] See Exchequer Memoranda, English Historical Review, vol. xviii (1903), p. 505; and Irish Pipe Rolls, *passim*.

seemingly unequal arrangement appears to have originated as follows. When the partition was made, Margaret Countess of Lincoln, widow of Walter Marshal, held her dower lands (which as already mentioned consisted of 'the whole county of Kildare, the manor of Fothered, and lands of the value of £62 17*s.* 4*d.* in the manor of Oboy') subject to $\frac{1}{3}$ of the 100 services,[1] and the lords of the other three liberties were each subject to $\frac{1}{3}$ of the remaining $\frac{2}{3}$. After the widow's death this arrangement was continued, and the county of Kildare bore $\frac{1}{3}$ of the whole. Why the honour of Dunamase did not bear its share of the services is perhaps not quite clear, but for some reason it was not constituted a separate county, but was regarded as in the county of Kildare. In the inquisition taken in 1283, after the death of Roger de Mortimer,[2] 'Dumasek' (Dunamase) is described as 'in the tenement of Leys (Leix) in the county of Kildare'. For the same reason in the partition of 1247 there is no item 'corpus comitatus' in the purparty of Roger de Mortimer and his parceners. Nevertheless from the same inquisition it appears that Roger de Mortimer rendered to the king the service of $6\frac{2}{3}$ knights, i.e. $\frac{1}{3}$ of $\frac{1}{5}$ of 100 services, or his full proportionate share, and presumably his two parceners were each subject to a similar burden. Whether the services of the honour of Dunamase were all included in the $33\frac{1}{3}$ services of Kildare, or whether by some arrangement between the lords of the liberties they were so distributed that each of the five honours really bore only 20 services, I have not been able to discover.

[1] Pipe Roll (Ireland), 46 Hen. III, 35th Rep. D. K., p. 42.
[2] Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. ii, no. 2028.

APPENDIX I TO CHAPTER XXVI

NOTE ON THE AUTHORITIES FOR THE PARTITION OF LEINSTER

There are several versions of this partition, all of which may, I think, be referred to one or other of two originals. I group them as follows:

A. Chancery Miscellaneous Roll, no. 320, m. 3 dors., calendared by Sweetman, Cal. Docs. Irel., vol. ii, no. 933. This is undated, but referred to the time of Henry III.

An inspeximus of the same by Ed. III (1347–8), transcribed by Gilbert, Chart. St. Mary's Abbey, Dublin, vol. ii, App. 1, and 'Viceroys', pp. 516–18. In this version the honours are arranged in the order Kilkenny, Wexford, Kildare, Carlow, Dunamase, and are ascribed respectively to the daughters Isabella, Johanna, Sibilla, Matilda, Eva (or their representatives), but nothing is stated as to the seniority of the daughters.

B. (*a*) Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 4791, ff. 64–72 (a Clarendon MS.), headed 'In quodam antiquo rotulo'. The account of the partition is here preceded by some annalistic entries mainly concerning the Marshal family and substantially identical with those contained in the Register of Dunbrody (Chart. St. Mary's Abbey, Dublin, vol. ii, pp. 140–4), and is followed (1) by an entry giving the division of Kilkenny among the three daughters of Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, and Joan his wife (c. 1317), stated in the margin (by another hand) to be taken from the book of the Convent of the Friars Minors of Kilkenny; (2) by a transcript of the royal patents for Gilbert de Clare and Joan (1247), similar to that published in Chart. St. Mary's Abbey, Dublin, vol. ii, pp. 403–6; (3) by some biographical notes concerning the families of the daughters of William Marshal similar to those in the Register of Dunbrody, pp. 144–6, but including the family of the fifth daughter Eve.

(*b*) Carew MS. 635, ff. 140, 141 b. Here the account of the partition of 1247 is also followed by an account of the partition of 1317 between the daughters of Earl Gilbert and Joan, and this is followed by genealogical notes,

similar to those above-mentioned, touching the families of the daughters of William Marshal.

(*c*) Carew MS. 608, ff. 38 b, 39, calendared in the Miscellaneous volume, pp. 373–4.

All three B. versions (probably of monastic provenance) purport to give the partition made in the court of King Henry III at Woodstock, May 3, a.r. 31 (1247), and both the several shares and the genealogical notes are expressly arranged in the order of the seniority of the daughters, viz. Matilda (Carlow), Johanna (Wexford), Isabella (Kilkenny), Sibilla (Kildare), and Eva (Dunamase). Matilda is called primogenita filia, and the others, in the above order, secunda, tertia, quarta, and quinta. That Matilda was the eldest is also shown by Close Roll, 30 Hen. III, m. 7 (July 22, 1246), from which it appears that the Marshaley was assigned to her *que habet esneciam hereditatis*, and there is no valid reason to doubt the correctness of the order assigned in the B. versions to the other daughters. It is true that in the account of the daughters given in L'Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal (ll. 14916–56) the order observed is Maud, Isabel, Sibyl, Eve, Joan, but the order appears to be that of their marriages, and Joan (though the second daughter) was married last—after her father's death. Maud was married to Hugh Bigod a little before Lent 1207, when her father went to Ireland; ibid., 13349; cf. Cal. Docs. Irel., vol. i, no. 313.

Order of seniority of daughters of William Marshal.

I have dwelt on the evidence touching the order of the daughters' birth because Mr. Hamilton Hall in the paper to which I have referred (Journal R. S. A. I., vol. xliii (1913), pp. 1–29) expresses considerable doubt on the subject. But Mr. Hall seems to have been unaware of the above B. versions, and to have assumed without sufficient grounds that 'Carlow was the least considerable of the Irish Honours'. On this last point it may be remarked (1) that the Irish honours were all made of equal monetary value, and (2) that the honour of Carlow comprised a large slice of the present County Wexford, including the port of New Ross, while the great waterway of the Barrow connecting the town of Carlow with the sea may have given it an actual or prospective value over Kilkenny, notwithstanding the greater importance of the latter town. The order followed in the A. version

may have been arbitrarily adopted by the commissioners when making their valuations and adjustments before the several shares were allotted to the coparceners, and may have been afterwards followed by the court in the document which recorded the allotment irrespective of the order of birth which is not here given. Or again it may be that as Matilda got the *esneccia* of the whole inheritance in the castle of Strigul, she was not given first choice amongst the Irish honours.

I have not noticed all the MS. variations in the monetary values assigned to the items, but, except where otherwise stated, have followed the A. version as being the most authoritative and seemingly the most correct.

CHAPTER XXVII

THE GERALDINES IN MUNSTER

IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

The Geraldines.

From the time when Maurice Fitz Gerald and his kith and kin first set foot on the Wexford coast no family has so continuously played an important part in the drama of Irish history as the Geraldines. Sprung from the stock of Gerald of Windsor and Nest of Wales, they spread out in many branches and covered large tracts of the island in nearly all directions. The heads of the two principal branches became earls of Kildare and earls of Desmond respectively, but there were many important offshoots, such as the Fitz Williams, barons of Naas; the Fitz Maurices, barons of Kerry; the Carews, barons of Idrone; the Fitz Mileses, barons of Iverk; the Fitz Griffins, barons of Knocktopher; the Fitz Gibbons or white knights; the knights of Glinn; the knights of Kerry, and many others only less notable. The earlier members of the family, along with their kinsmen of the half-blood, took a pioneer's part in the first conquest, and to the literary productions of one of them, Gerald de Barry, we owe much of our knowledge of the early struggle. In the course of the centuries many members of the family have held the highest offices of state. In their respective districts the heads of some branches have ruled at times with almost regal authority. They exercised the right of private

warfare, and some of them with disastrous results to themselves even bore arms against the Crown. Like other families, they have had their ups and downs of fortune, and some lines have become extinct or indistinguishable, but it is hardly too much to say that there has not been a moment in the history of Ireland for seven centuries past when some descendant of Gerald of Windsor has not been conspicuous among Irishmen for his position, his power, or his abilities. To track out this great family through all its numerous ramifications is of course beyond the scope of this or of any purely historical work, if indeed it be within the power of man; but it is essential for the student of Irish history to keep these several lines distinct, and it is therefore more than a matter of mere genealogical interest to ascertain the precise starting-points of the main branches from the ancestral trunk.[1]

In Naas and Maynooth.

It will be remembered that Strongbow's grant to Maurice Fitz Gerald included the middle cantred of Offelan, a name which soon dropped out of use, but must be carefully distinguished from Offaly.[2] This cantred, lying in the northern part of the

[1] For some corrections in the heretofore received pedigrees of the Geraldines in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, see my papers on 'The Fitz-Geralds, Barons of Offaly', in Journal R. S. A. I., vol. xliv (1914), pp. 99–112; and on 'The Origin of the Fitz Maurices, Barons of Kerry and Lixnaw', in Eng. Hist. Review, vol. xxix (1914), pp. 302–15; and also a correction touching the Barons of Naas, in a review of the Gormanston Register, ibid., vol. xxxi (1916), pp. 488–9.

[2] Offelan, *Ui Faelain*, divided into three cantreds, included roughly the northern half of the County Kildare; while at this time Offaly, *Ui Failghe*, included the present King's County east of Tullamore, and the two northern baronies of Queen's County, but I think very little, if any, of the present baronies of Offaly in Co. Kildare.

present County Kildare, descended to Maurice's eldest son, William, who retained in his own hands the honour of Naas, of which he is reckoned first baron, while he gave half the cantred with centres at Maynooth and Rathmore to his brother Gerald.[1] This Gerald Fitz Maurice, who was ancestor of the earls of Kildare, was also entitled at his death in 1203 to the castles and lands of Lea and Geashill,[2] the principal Anglo-Norman centres in Offaly, and as such has rightly been regarded as first Geraldine, Baron of Offaly. The barony of Offaly, however, had been granted by Strongbow to Robert de Bermingham, and Gerald appears to have acquired it by his marriage with Eva de Bermingham, who was presumably daughter and heiress of Strongbow's grantee.[3] Gerald also held lands in Imokilly, County Cork, which he presumably derived, directly or indirectly, from his uncle, Robert Fitz Stephen,[4] and here later on

In Offaly.

In Imokilly.

[1] *Ante*, vol. i, pp. 379–80. The cantred of Wicklow was also included in Strongbow's grant, but the castle of Wicklow was resumed by the Crown after Maurice's death. The barons of Naas, however, retained lands there (Cal. Docs. Irel., vol. i, no. 1757), some or all of which David Fitz William, third baron of Naas, granted to his brother Maurice to be held by the service of one knight: Gormanston Register, f. 190 d. This grant was confirmed in 1234: Cal. Docs. Irel., vol. i, no. 2169.

[2] Rot. Pat., 5 John, p. 38, Cal. no. 195.

[3] For this marriage and presumed origin of the Fitz Gerald property in Offaly see my paper on 'The Fitz Geralds, Barons of Offaly', as above. Eva de Bermingham, Gerald's widow, afterwards married (1) Geoffrey Fitz Robert, lord of Kells in Ossory, and (2) Geoffrey de Marisco, who held Offaly in her right and, after her death, by 'the curtesy of England'. So I understand Patent Rolls, 11 Hen. III, p. 96, Cal. no. 1458; cf. Close Rolls, 25 Hen. III, p. 215, Cal. no. 2493, where Robert de Mariscis, Geoffrey's son, is called brother (of the half-blood) of Maurice, the justiciar, son of Gerald.

[4] *Ante*, vol. ii, p. 44, note 3.

we find his descendants lords of the manor of Inchiquin and with seignorial rights in the town of Youghal.

In County Limerick.

When dealing with the primary infeudation of the present county of Limerick,[1] we saw that three of the sons of the first Maurice Fitz Gerald obtained lands there. These in the order of birth were William, Baron of Naas, who obtained Carrickittle in the barony of Small County, Gerald, Baron of Offaly, who obtained Croom in the valley of the Maigue, and Thomas, who obtained Shanid, 'the most ancient house' of his successors, the earls of Desmond, in Connello. It is indeed a noteworthy fact that the extension of the Anglo-Norman settlement into the territory of the O'Briens, as indeed afterwards into the territories of the Mac Carthys and the O'Connors, was not brought about by new-comers, but was principally the work of those who had already obtained a foothold elsewhere in Ireland. In fact, the little band of kinsmen and neighbours that came from South Wales—Cambro-Normans and Flemings rather than Anglo-Normans—settled, increased, and multiplied principally in the province of Munster. From the very first it was their complaint, voiced with some exaggeration by Gerald de Barry, that they, who were the pioneers of the conquest, were given the remoter lands on the Irish marches, while the more profitable lands near the coasts of Leinster were reserved for new-comers. The grant of the kingdom of Cork in 1177 to Robert Fitz Stephen and Miles de Cogan determined many of them—Barrys, Carews, Cauntetons, Barrets, Fitz Geralds—to settle there, and they were soon afterwards

The Cambro-Normans.

[1] *Ante*, vol. ii, pp. 164–5.

followed by Prendergasts and Roches, who had been their Flemish neighbours about Haverford. It was the adventurers from South Wales that seemingly first penetrated under Meiler Fitz Henry into Kerry, and it was men of the same stock who in the kingdom of Limerick south of the Shannon ultimately secured the lion's share of the spoil. Even in Connaught the first permanent settlers in the beginning of the thirteenth century were Gilbert, son of Jocelin of Angle in Pembrokeshire, or Mac Goisdelbh (Costello), as he came to be called, and the 'Welshmen of Tirawley'; and though Richard de Burgh was the chief figure in the final conquest of that province, among his principal supporters, who obtained large grants of lands there, were Fitz Geralds, Prendergasts, Roches, Barrys, and others of half-Welsh extraction or provenance.

Wherever these semi-Cambrians went they retained racial characteristics distinct from both Anglo-Normans and native Irish. The long training which they and their ancestors had undergone in somewhat similar conditions among hostile Welsh tribes had taught them the best methods of coping with the Irish in war, while when peace was made their half-Welsh origin inclined them the more readily to intermarry with the families of Irish nobles and to conform to Irish modes of life. Though it is an exaggeration to say that they ever became as a body 'Hibernis ipsis hiberniores', yet even in the thirteenth century these Cambro-Normans were less removed from the Irish in habits and sentiments than were the newcomers of more purely Anglo-Norman origin, and to diverse racial characteristics may in part at least be ascribed the antagonisms which from time to time broke out between them and the

Marshals, lords of Leinster, the de Burghs, lords of Connaught, and the Butlers, lords of Kilkenny and Ormond.

Thomas of Shanid.

Hereafter we shall have occasion to mention other branches of the Geraldines, but we are now principally concerned with the descendants of Thomas, one of the younger sons of the first Maurice Fitz Gerald. This Thomas 'of Shanid', as we may call him, was one of the principal tenants of the Crown in County Limerick.[1] He is said to have married a sister of Geoffrey de Marisco, but for this marriage no good authority is forthcoming.[2] He was, however, closely connected with Geoffrey, who shared in the exploitation of Limerick, and soon after 1211 married Eva de Bermingham, widow of his brother Gerald. Along with Geoffrey he led a contingent from Munster to join King John's army in Ireland in 1210,[3] and in the same year he took part in the expedition led by Geoffrey into Connaught which resulted in the King of Connaught submitting to King John's will.[4] He was one of the magnates of Ireland who protested their loyalty to the king in 1211,[5] and he died about the close of 1213.[6]

[1] He appears as juror on two important inquisitions held in Limerick in 1201: 'Black Book of Limerick' (Mac Caffrey), pp. 27, 29.

[2] Burke, 'Extinct Peerages'. Lodge (Archdall) makes Thomas, father of John of Callann, marry Ellinor, daughter of Sir William Morrie, but the widow of Thomas Fitz Maurice is called Sabina (usually a latinized form of the Irish *Sadhbh*) in Fine Roll, 16 John (Hardy), p. 527, when she and Nicholas Fitz Leon fined for the custody of his land and heir. The custody was, however, given to Thomas Fitz Anthony in 1215.

[3] Rot. de Prest. (Hardy), pp. 188, 202; *ante*, vol. ii, p. 248.

[4] Annals of Clonmacnois, p. 223; *ante*, vol. ii, p. 284.

[5] Cal. Docs. Irel., vol. i, no. 448; *ante*, vol. ii, p. 310.

[6] Rot. Claus., 16 John, p. 186; Ann. Inisfallen (Dublin MS.) where he is called *Tomás Mac Muiris mic Geraild*, and this

The heir of this Thomas, as is well known, was John Fitz Thomas, often called by late writers 'John of Callann' from the scene of his death in 1261, to distinguish him from his namesake, but hardly contemporary, John Fitz Thomas of Offaly, afterwards first Earl of Kildare. It would be better, however, to speak of the former as 'John Fitz Thomas of Desmond', as he was ancestor of the earls of Desmond and was himself the first of the family to hold lands there. But Thomas of Shanid had another son Maurice, who was in all probability the real founder and eponymous progenitor of the house of Fitz Maurice of Kerry, as to the origin of which our professed genealogists have been strangely astray.[1] To these sons of Thomas Fitz Maurice we shall return by and by, but so much having been premised about the Geraldines up to this point, it will be necessary briefly to review the rival forces in South Munster, before piecing together, so far as our scanty authorities permit, the story of the Anglo-Norman attempt—for it was only partially successful—to gain control in Desmond.

John Fitz Thomas of Desmond.

Maurice Fitz Thomas of Kerry.

Early in the thirteenth century the eastern part of the present county of Cork, as well as the present county of Limerick, seems to have been in the hands of English landholders and to have been thickly settled by them. The original seignories granted to Robert Fitz Stephen and Miles de Cogan, so far at least as there had been

The settlers in Cork.

description confirms the position assigned to him in the more recent pedigrees of the line of Desmond.

[1] See my paper on 'The Fitz Maurices, Barons of Kerry and Lixnaw, afterwards Earls of Kerry', as above, where the alleged descent from Raymond le Gros is clearly disproved, and the true descent from this Maurice Fitz Thomas of the Geraldines indicated with reasonable confidence.

an effective occupation in pursuance of the grant, seem to have devolved upon a Carew and a de Courcy respectively, though the precise connexion of the new tenants in chief with the original grantees is matter of conjecture.[1] In 1207, however, Philip de Prendergast and Richard de Cogan received extensive grants from the Crown, the former in the district between Cork and Inishannon, where the important manor of 'Beuver' (Beauvoir) or Carrigaline was afterwards formed, and the latter in Muskerry, where his descendants long held the manors of Dundrinan and Carrigrohane More.[2] By these grants and some others of 1207 the lands were to be held of the king in chief, and the seignories of the heirs of the original grantees were ignored—perhaps because no effective settlement had been made in these districts.

From the inquisition taken on the death of Gerald, son of Philip de Prendergast, in 1251, we can gauge the importance of the manor of Beuver. There were eleven tenants who held by knight's service, besides many free tenants at rents, and there were two market-towns, Carrigaline and Douglas, each with a large district of burgage

[1] *Ante*, vol. ii, pp. 47–50. As regards Robert Fitz Stephen's moiety, further research has established other links in the chain, and the probable devolution in the line of Carews is given in an appendix to this chapter.

[2] Rot. Chart., 9 John, pp. 171 b and 173. Dundrinan is to be identified with Castlemore in the parish of Moviddy on the river Bride in East Muskerry: Cox's Description of Cork, c. 1685, in Journal R. S. A. I., vol. xxxii (1902), p. 363. It must be distinguished from the 'Castle of Mora', where John de Cogan, senior, had a grant of a fair in 1252: Cal. Chart. Rolls, Hen. III, vol. i, p. 412. The latter was near Mourne Abbey (*Mainister na Móna*), and lay on the direct line between Buttevant and Cork; cf. Cal. Docs. Irel., vol. iii, pp. 267, 275. 'Mora' is Latin for the Irish *móin móna*, 'a moor'.

lands.[1] In 1224 the Abbey de Albo Tractu was founded for Cistercians at a place about two miles south of Carrigaline. The monks came from Ty Gwyn or Alba Landa, now Whitland near Tenby,[2] and the foundation may confidently be connected with the settlers from South Wales. Gerald de Prendergast also held of David de Barry a large manor at Ballacha in Orrery in the extreme north of the county. This place, after passing to the de Cogans, was long known as Rathcogan. In 1662, however, the first Earl of Orrery changed what he called 'the heathenish name of Rathgoggan' to Charleville, which he thought more euphonious and more appropriate to the times.[3] The lands of Gerald de Prendergast passed through his daughters to John de Cogan, junior (son of John de Cogan, senior, and grandson of Richard de Cogan), and to Maurice de Rochford, the former obtaining the Cork manors,[4] and the latter those in counties Wexford and Limerick.

Among the numerous landholders in County Cork who were not at first regarded as tenants in chief, the Barrys stand out prominently. The senior line, descended from Philip de Barry, nephew and feoffee of Robert FitzStephen,[5] held

[1] Cal. Docs. Irel., vol. i, no. 3202.

[2] Brut y Tywys, 1224, and annals in Chart. St. Mary's Abbey, Dublin, vol. ii, p. 235.

[3] Smith's 'Cork', vol. i, p. 303. Thus do places run the risk of losing their historical associations. The Irish name 'Ballacha' seems to survive in the neighbouring parish of Ballyhay.

[4] Cf. Pipe Roll (Ireland), 10 Ed. I, 36th Rep. D. K., p. 62, 'Beuver'. In 1439, the representative of the de Cogans granted all his possessions in Cork, including the original Prendergast property, to James FitzGerald, Earl of Desmond: Cal. Carew Papers, Misc. 362.

[5] *Ante,* vol. ii, pp. 41, 43–4.

the manors of Castlelyons and Carrigtohill in the barony of Barrymore, and Buttevant in that of Orrery, while an offshoot, perhaps a little later, was seated at Rathbarry and Timoleague in the barony of Barryroe. Then there were the Roches in Fermoy, the Barretts and Cauntetons (Condons) in the baronies bearing their names, and the Fitz Geralds, the Carews, and others in Imokilly. In fact Eastern Cork became dotted over with small manorial towns, and in 1299 there were at least thirty-eight, the names of which are known, where markets were held.[1] There were, no doubt, many Irish *betaghs* distributed about the various manors and in some districts, as for instance in East Muskerry (which, however, belongs rather to West Cork) whole septs seem to have remained, subject to rent; but so far as appears no Irish chief exercised sway in Eastern Cork.

Movements of the Irish in Desmond.

The position was very different in West Munster. Here the Normans had hardly anywhere penetrated, but great movements had recently taken place amongst the Irish clans. We have already seen how the hereditary feud between the Dalcassians and the Eoghanachts manifested itself on the morrow of the battle of Clontarf, and how the conflict was for the moment averted owing to the quarrel which arose between the Eoghanacht leaders, Cian, son of Molloy, and Donnell, son of Duvdavorenn.[2] Now Cian's son Mahon was eponym of the O'Mahonys, and Donnell's son Donough was eponym of the O'Donoghues. Both families belonged to a powerful tribe-group whose original territory is now represented approximately by the baronies of Kinalmeaky and Kinalea near

[1] Justiciary Rolls, vol. i, p. 265.
[2] *Ante*, vol. i, pp. 32–4.

Cork.[1] In the course of the eleventh century the O'Donoghues were driven out by the O'Mahonys and migrated to the region about Killarney, whence they drove the O'Carrolls and other earlier occupants westwards to Iveragh. Here, in the barony of Magunihy, the O'Donoghues eventually formed two branches, whose chieftains respectively were O'Donoghue Mor, with centre at Ross Castle on the lower lake of Killarney, and O'Donoghue of the Glens, about the upper reaches of the river Flesk. The O'Mahonys would now appear to have been supreme in Kinalea and Kinalmeaky until extruded by the Prendergasts and Cogans, but even before the coming of the Normans the clan is said to have extended westward up the Bandon River to West Carbery, where they wrested some lands from the O'Driscolls, O'Cowhigs, and others. As we shall see, the O'Mahonys were eventually subjected to a branch of the Mac Carthys, and confined by them to the district between Bantry Bay and that known by the unhappy name of Roaring Water.[2]

In 1178 and subsequently the O'Briens expelled the O'Donovans from Croom and Bruree in the valley of the Maigue, and other Eoghanacht septs from different parts of County Limerick, and their expulsion paved the way for the Geraldine settle-

[1] For these clans consult 'The O'Mahonys of Kinelmeky and Ivagha', by Canon O'Mahony, in the Cork Historical and Archaeological Journal (1907).

[2] This district became known as Ivahagh, an anglicized form of *Uibh Echach*, the tribal name of the O'Mahonys; also as *Fonn Iartharach*, 'the western land'. According to Canon Mahony their tribe-lands were at one time coextensive with the Diocese of Cork, and extended from Mizen Head to Lough Mahon, but were cut in two by the O'Donovans and the Mac Carthys.

ment there.[1] The O'Donovans fled southward across Mangerton and settled in the northern parts of Carbery, where Castledonovan preserves their name and marks their principal centre. The O'Driscolls and their kinsmen, thus pressed by the O'Donovans and the O'Mahonys on the north-west, and afterwards by the Normans on the east, were eventually confined to the district between Ivahagh and Castlehaven, only a comparatively small portion of their ancient tribe-land, which is said to have been at one time conterminous with the diocese of Ross.[2]

To the forward movement of the Anglo-Normans through southern Tipperary in 1192[3] may presumably be ascribed the expulsion of the O'Sullivans from the valley of the Suir about Clonmel and Caher. They subdued the earlier occupants[4] of two of the great peninsulas in Kerry and Cork, and became divided into two main branches. O'Sullivan Mor held sway over a large district between Dingle Bay and Kenmare River, and O'Sullivan Bere eventually occupied most of the peninsula between Kenmare River and Bantry Bay. Similarly the O'Keefes of Fermoy, who settled in Duhallow, were presumably driven out of their former seat by the Roches, who seem to have been settled in Fermoy before the close of the twelfth century.[5]

The above is necessarily an imperfect outline

[1] *Ante*, vol. ii, pp. 160–1.

[2] Consult 'Genealogy of the Corca Laidhe' in Miscellany of the Celtic Society, App. E, and O'Donovan's remarks, pp. 141–2.

[3] *Ante*, vol. ii, p. 145, &c.

[4] These were O'Sheas, O'Moriartys, O'Connells, and others: Topographical Poems, p. 109.

[5] *Ante*, vol. ii, p. 45.

of the principal movements of the Irish clans into Desmond, and their positions there prior to the second decade of the thirteenth century. Contemporary authorities are few, and inferences from subsequent events more or less doubtful. It seems clear, however, that at the opening of the century the population-groups of Desmond were still in a state of flux. Septs that from of old had possessed the land were disappearing or becoming obscure. New and more vigorous ones had reduced them to subjection or driven them further afield. Over all, the Mac Carthys of the royal line of South Munster, which had been associated with Cashel, were recognized as overlords, and as such possessed demesne lands in different parts of Desmond and received dues of varying amount from the different clans.[1] Only in Kerry north of the river Maine, which properly speaking does not belong to Desmond, had some slight settlement been effected by Meiler Fitz Henry in pursuance of a grant made to him by King John in the year 1200.[2] The de Cogans had penetrated

[1] For a detailed account of 'The Lordship of Mac Carthy Mor', as disclosed by the Survey of Desmond with accompanying maps (1597) in vol. 625 of the Carew MSS., Lambeth Library, see the careful papers of Prof. W. F. Butler in Journal R. S. A. I., 1906–7.

[2] Rot. Chart., 2 John, p. 77 b, where the parcels are two cantreds in 'Kery', namely 'Akunkerry' (or better Akmikerry, i. e. *aicme Ciarraighe*, a name partly preserved in the thirteenth-century deanery of Hackmys and in the present barony of Trughanacmy), and 'Hyerba' (*Ui Ferba*, also anglicized Offerba and Offeriba about the coast of Tralee Bay), and a third cantred in Cork, namely 'Yoghenacht Lokhelen' (*Eoghanacht Locha Lein*, a district in the barony of Magunihy about the lakes of Killarney). This third cantred is stated in the same record to belong to 'Humeriedac', i.e. O'Moriarty. So we must conclude that the O'Donoghues had not yet effected a complete conquest.

into East Muskerry, the de Prendergasts were forming manors in Kinalea, and the de Courcys seem to have been established about Kinsale; but notwithstanding some earlier dealings by the Normans with land along the southern coast, it seems doubtful if they had made any effective settlements elsewhere in West Munster.

Of affairs in Desmond during the first half of the thirteenth century little is to be learned from the printed Irish Annals, but the manuscript Annals of Inisfallen preserved in Dublin, though a late compilation in Irish and not to be implicitly trusted, embodies some early sources of Munster history not to be found elsewhere.[1] Checked and supplemented by occasional entries in the records and such other contemporary sources as are available, these annals enable a slight outline, trustworthy as far as it goes, to be drawn.

After the death in 1206 of Donnell, son of Dermot Mac Carthy, there were from time to time rival claimants among the Mac Carthys for the position of head of the ruling family. The chieftain, though still sometimes called King of Desmond, may more properly be described by his Irish title of Mac Carthy Mor. Donnell left three sons who figure in succeeding years, namely, Dermot called 'of Dundrinan',[2] Cormac Finn or

The sons of Donnell Mac-Carthy.

[1] Writing on December 23, 1845, O'Donovan says with reference to the compilers of these annals: 'They had, however, some Munster annals which we have not, and from these they have extracted various passages relating to Desmond not to be found in any other compilation that I know of.' There are several copies of these annals. The best Irish text is T.C.D. MS. H. 1. 7. They are of course to be distinguished from the ancient Annals of Inisfallen preserved in the Bodleian Library (Rawlinson 503).

[2] So called apparently, as was the habit with this Munster annalist, from the place of his death. In these annals indeed

'the Fair', ancestor of the line of Mac Carthy Mor, and Donnell Got or 'the Stammerer', ancestor of the line of Mac Carthy Reagh. There was also an uncle, Fineen, who at first succeeded to the chieftainship, but he was deposed immediately by Dermot of Dundrinan, and slain by the O'Sullivans in 1209. Dermot of Dundrinan now became king, but in 1212 he was taken prisoner by the English of Cork, and his brother, Cormac Finn, stepped for the moment into his shoes. Dermot, however, seems to have come to terms with the men of Cork. He married an English lady of that county, Petronilla or Peronelle Bloet,[1] and the Cork people henceforth appear to have supported him against his brother, Cormac Finn.

The English enter Desmond, c. 1215.

An attempt was now made by the English to gain control over the whole of Desmond. The movement seems to have proceeded from the settlers in County Limerick aided by the Government, rather than from the settlers about Cork. First we are told, under date 1214, that 'Donough

his name is always written *Diarmaid dúna Dronáin*, but *dún draighnin* seems the proper form. It was anglicized Dundrinan, Eccl. Tax., Cal. Docs. Irel., vol. v, p. 321.

[1] In March 1217 a mandate was issued to Geoffrey de Marisco, the justiciar, to cause Petronilla Bloet, wife of Dermot Mac Carthy, King of Cork, to have her *maritagium* which Thomas her brother gave to her; Rot. Claus., 1 Hen. III, p. 302. The doubt probably arose because Dermot in this year took the newly-built castle of Timoleague: Ann. Inisfallen, 1217. Many writers have absurdly identified Petronilla's husband with the old King Dermot slain in 1185: see *ante*, vol. ii, p. 100. Thomas Bloet was an official of King John, and in 1211 he fined to have the lands of Milo de Cogan with his niece (or granddaughter) in marriage: Cal. Docs. Irel., vol. i, nos. 422, 1504. He was one of the magnates who joined in the declaration of loyalty in 1212: ibid., no. 448. His heirs held a knight's fee under the Prendergasts: ibid., no. 3203.

Cairbrech O'Brien and the sheriff, with the English of Munster and Leinster, marched to destroy Desmond on Dermot of Dundrinan'.[1] As usual the invaders supported one Irish claimant against the other, and Cormac Finn was in their host. 'Dermot, joined by the English of Cork, came at the head of an army to Durrus, where he encamped for twenty days against Cormac Finn, who was at the other side of Mangerton all that time.'[2] We do not hear of any collision between the two forces, but Dermot put to death the sons of Donnell Mor O'Sullivan, who, we may infer, supported his opponent. Then under date 1215 is a remarkable entry, including a record of castle-building in Desmond, which certainly was not all accomplished in one year, but was probably spread over a longer period of time. This entry may be rendered as follows: 'A great war broke out between Dermot of Dundrinan and his own brother Cormac Finn, the English assisting on both sides. In the course of this war the foreigners overran all Desmond and gained much territory and power, and built castles and strongholds for themselves against the Gael.'

Following this is the list of castles.[3] Giving

[1] Ann. Inisfallen, as above. Who was 'the sheriff'? If the date be correct he *may* have been Geoffrey de Marisco; but if, as is more probable, 1215 was the true date, 'the sheriff' was probably Thomas Fitz Anthony, the newly-appointed seneschal of Decies and Desmond.

Ibid. Durrus is the name of a parish in West Carbery, Co. Cork. It is twenty-two miles south of Mangerton. In July 1215 'Connac Lechaune', a corruption, I suspect, of Cormac le Chanu (*canutus*), i. e. Cormac Finn, made a fine of 100 marks to have land in Cork: Fine Rolls, 17 and 18 John, p. 556. This entry seems to point to 1215 as the true date, and at any rate throws light on the events recorded in the annals of Inisfallen.

[3] Compare O'Donovan's note (y) to Four Masters, 1215.

the places mentioned their modern names, we may group them as follows: (1) A string of castles was built along the valley of the river Maine in Kerry at Currans, Molahiffe, Clonmellane, Castlemaine, and Calanafersy, and the line was completed to the sea by a castle at Killorglin near the mouth of the river Laune. This was the line which for centuries separated Kerry proper from Desmond, and the castles were evidently intended to protect the settlement in Kerry to which we have referred from attacks of the Irish of Desmond. These castles seem to have been erected by John and Maurice, sons of Thomas of Shanid, and grandsons of the first Maurice Fitz Gerald, whom we soon find as the principal landowners in Kerry.[1] Castles built by the English.

(2) A castle was also built by the same Geraldines at Dunlo to the west of the lower lake of Killarney, and another by a Roche somewhere in the level district to the east of the lakes. These were also in territory formerly granted to Meiler Fitz Henry, which presumably was now given as an escheat to John Fitz Thomas, who held it at his death.[2]

[1] 'The castle of the Maine' (Castlemaine) and that at Killorglin are expressly ascribed to *Muiris mac Tomáis mic Gerailt*, and the others more vaguely to *mac Muiris mic Gerailt*, which must mean grandson of Maurice Fitz Gerald, as no son of his was alive in 1215.

[2] I identify the 'Yoghenacht Lokhelen' (*Eoghanacht Locha Léin*) of the grant to Meiler (Rot. Chart., 2 John, p. 77 b) with 'Ogenathy Donechud' (*Eoghanacht ui Donnchada*) of the inquisition touching the lands of John Fitz Thomas (Cal. Inquis. P. M., 11 Ed. I, no. 437). The district is now roughly represented by the barony of Magunihy, or part of it. Dunlo is written *dún lóich*, as in Four Masters, 1570. Roche's castle is said to have been in 'Airloch', a name hitherto unidentified. I think it represents the large district known as *Airluachair* or *Irlochir*, 'O'Keefe's Country' (Book of Rights, p. 75, note; Onom. Goed.), or more particularly the plain of

(3) Another group, consisting of the castles of Dunkerron Capanacush and Ardtully, was erected by a Carew about the head of the estuary of Kenmare, and he also erected another castle at Dunnamark near Bantry. The name of this Carew is not given, but he was presumably head of the branch of Carews that settled in Imokilly. As is shown in the appendix to this chapter, there was a Richard de Carew, possibly a younger son of Odo de Carew, eldest brother of Raymond le Gros, but more probably an illegitimate son of Raymond himself, who held lands in Imokilly about the close of the twelfth century. He married Raghenild, 'daughter of Mac Carthy,' and was father of Robert de Carew, who was one of the chief magnates of the county in 1221, and ancestor of the Carews who held the Fitz Stephen moiety of Cork in the last quarter of the thirteenth century. The Mac Carthy marriage would have facilitated the acquisition of lands in Desmond. This Richard de Carew, however, seems to have died in 1205, and his son Robert seems to have come of age shortly before 1216, so that probably the latter was the castle-builder about the heads of the estuaries of Kenmare and Bantry.

(4) Lastly, a number of castles were placed along the south coast of County Cork at important natural harbours or inlets, namely, one at Muntervary,[1] the tongue of land between Bantry Bay

Luachair belonging to O'Dunadhaigh (a name which, according to O'Donovan, was anglicized Denny): Topog. Poems, p. 114 and notes, and see *infra*, p. 138, n. 3. The particular Roche was probably Gerald de Roche, to whom was given in marriage another of the daughters of Thomas Fitz Anthony.

[1] This castle is ascribed to Mac Cuidighthe, evidently a name given by the Irish to some Anglo-Norman, as in the

and Dunmanus Bay, one at Baltimore, the ancient *Dún na séad*, and another on Ringarogy Island near by;[1] two in the neighbourhood of Glandore,[2] ascribed to a Barrett; and two more at Timoleague and Dundeady (or Galley Head) by Nicholas Boy (*buidhe*) de Barry. Hitherto the most westerly castles on the south coast would seem to have been the de Courcy strongholds at Ringrone opposite Kinsale, and at Oldernass or the Old Head of Kinsale.

From this account of the castle-builders in Kerry and Desmond, and of the places where the castles were erected, it appears that the settlers were mainly Geraldines; that the district in Kerry proper, the escheated lands of Meiler Fitz Henry, were now guarded by the castles on the line of the river Maine; and that the castles on the harbours of Desmond were seemingly placed with a view to the domination of that part of the kingdom of Cork originally granted to Robert Fitz Stephen and Miles de Cogan, but hitherto not brought under control.

Light from the records.

Considerable further light is thrown on this movement and on the persons who guided it by the public records of the period. In the summer of 1215, immediately after the Great Charter was wrung from him, King John, as we have already

cases of Mac Feorais, Mac Muiris, &c. Probably it represents Mac Odo, and refers to Stephen, son of Odo, l'Ercedekne (or Archdeacon). Like John Fitz Thomas and Gerald de Roche, he married one of the daughters of Thomas Fitz Anthony, and his descendants were often called 'Mc Odo', or later, 'Cody', by the Irish.

[1] These are ascribed to *Sleibhneach*, meaning perhaps the heir of Robert Fitz Stephen: cf. *infra*, p. 134, note 3.

[2] William Barrett held at his death 'Clardor' of Maurice de Carew: Justiciary Rolls, vol. i, p. 228. This was probably the district about Glandore.

noticed,[1] paid unwonted attention to the pacification of Ireland, and in particular made a number of grants to individuals, restoring to them the lands of which he had deprived them, and removing many possible causes of disaffection and disturbance. We have mentioned the most important of these grants and have attributed them to the influence of the great Earl Marshal, whose wisdom and fidelity the king in the time of stress and danger had at last learned to appreciate. We may perhaps further see the finger of William Marshal in the policy now pursued with regard to Desmond, where the peace was disturbed by the conflict between the rival Mac Carthys. Hitherto little or nothing had been done to bring Desmond, as distinguished from the rest of the ancient kingdom of Cork, under the effective control of the Crown. But now, on July 3, 1215, the king granted to Thomas Fitz Anthony and his heirs the custody of the counties of Waterford and Desmond and all the king's demesnes in those counties and all escheats therein for a rent of 250 marks; and it was provided that Thomas should guard at his own cost the said counties, castles, and the king's lands in the march and elsewhere, and should be reimbursed the expense of fortifying castles in any of the king's escheats of which he had the custody.[2] Now Thomas Fitz Anthony held the manor of Grenan or Thomastown (as it came to be called) in Kilkenny of the Earl Marshal, and he was one of his most

Grant to Thomas Fitz Anthony, 1215.

[1] *Ante*, vol. ii, pp. 313–19.

[2] Rot. Chart., 17 John, p. 210 b. In the king's *entourage* at this time were many Irish magnates, including William Marshal, Henry de Londres, Geoffrey de Marisco, Richard de Burgh, Roger Pipard, Ralph Petit, Walter de Ridelisford (the younger), and others.

trusted men. He was at this time seneschal of the earl's lands in Leinster.[1] The earl was one of the witnesses of the king's grant, and we may be sure that the selection of Thomas Fitz Anthony was due to the earl's counsel.

At the same time the king, for a fine of 600 marks, gave to Thomas Fitz Anthony the custody of the lands and heirs of Thomas Fitz Maurice,[2] and committed to Geoffrey de Marisco (who had just been appointed justiciar in place of Archbishop Henry) Maurice, younger son of Thomas Fitz Maurice, to be taken with him to Ireland. He had been a hostage for his father, but was now liberated.[3]

There can be little doubt that the forward movement resulting in the incastellation of the coasts of Desmond was directly connected with this comprehensive grant to Thomas Fitz Anthony, and that Geoffrey de Marisco was instructed to assist him in obtaining as full seisin as possible. To pacify the Mac Carthys and further the object, arrangements seem to have been made with Cormac Finn, who for a fine of 100 marks was to obtain a grant of lands in Cork from the king,[4] while his brother Dermot was recognized as king of the Irish of Desmond.

By the above grant Thomas Fitz Anthony and his heirs obtained only the custody of the counties of Waterford and Desmond (or Cork), and though great powers were given to him to reimburse

[1] Rot. de Finibus, 17 and 18 John, p. 551.

[2] Rot. Pat., 17 John, p. 147 (July 4).

[3] Ibid., p. 148 b (July 7), where he is called *Mauricius filius Thome filii Mauricii*. There can really be no doubt about his identity. There is no other Thomas, son of Maurice, of the Geraldines known to history at this time.

[4] Rot. de Finibus, 17 and 18 John, p. 556.

himself out of the king's escheats for the expense of fortifying castles, &c., yet it would seem to have been contemplated that, subject to such reimbursement, the escheats would inure for the benefit of the Crown. But Thomas Fitz Anthony, the custodian of Desmond, and Geoffrey de Marisco, the justiciar, seem to have made King Henry's grant of the kingdom of Cork to Robert Fitz Stephen and Miles de Cogan the basis of the new tenures now created. The obvious reason for so doing was to avoid subjecting the lands to the liability of increased rents and services to the Crown which would result if the lands were treated as escheats of the Crown. Accordingly, Robert de Carew and Patrick de Courcy were regarded as entitled to the benefit of Henry's grant, while the interest of the Crown was confined to the sixty services originally reserved. How their titles were made out has long been a moot point, and several untenable hypotheses have been from time to time put forward. For reasons given in the appendix to this chapter it seems probable that Patrick de Courcy married Margery de Cogan, granddaughter and heiress of Miles de Cogan (and seemingly widow of Thomas Bloet), and that Patrick in her right and his issue by her became entitled to the de Cogan moiety; while Richard, father of Robert de Carew, was either nephew or more probably illegitimate son of Raymond le Gros (who we are told succeeded to the inheritance of Robert Fitz Stephen), and was regarded by the barons from the motives above-mentioned as entitled to the Fitz Stephen moiety. In any case there was a flaw in his title, for if, as seems to have been the fact, Robert Fitz Stephen was a bastard and died without leaving legitimate issue, his moiety cannot have passed

The original seignories of Cork recognized.

by inheritance. In fact, as we shall see, more than a century later the Crown took advantage of this flaw in the Carew title to confiscate the castle and manor of Dunnamark and a moiety of the lordship of Desmond, then in the hands of the first earl.

New settlement in Kerry.

To this period, too, should be ascribed the acquisition by the sons of Thomas Fitz Maurice of their lands in Kerry. Meiler Fitz Henry, to whom these lands had been granted by King John (in apparent derogation of his father's grant of the kingdom of Cork from Brandon Head to Lismore), was now an old man without legitimate children, and about this time he entered the monastery of Old Connell in Kildare, founded by himself, and his lands in Kerry, as elsewhere, became escheats.[1] He had given the cantred of Offerba in Corcaguiny to John de Clahull, who was now confirmed therein by the Crown.[2] Here the family of de Clahull can be traced for some generations, and in their lands about Tralee Bay they enjoyed the right (often abused) of wreck of the sea.[3] Judging from later documents the distribution of other cantreds in Kerry seems to have been as follows: the cantred of Ossurys, the western extremity of Corcaguiny, was given to Robert, son of Geoffrey de Marisco,[4] the cantred of Acmikery, now

[1] Rot. Claus., 18 John, p. 272; Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. i, no. 691; and cf. no. 3082.

[2] Rot. de Finibus, 18 John, p. 598, and see English Historical Review, vol. xxix (1914), p. 307.

[3] In 1284 Geoffrey de Clahull was granted the sergeancy of Kerry and wreck of the sea in his land of Offerba: Cal. Docs. Ireland, nos. 2194, 2198.

[4] Rot. Claus., 33 Hen. III, m. 16; Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. i, no. 2976, where Ossuris is absurdly equated with Ossory. It represents the Irish *Aes Irruis*, 'people of the promontory': Onomasticon Goedelicum.

Trughanacmy, to John Fitz Thomas, and the cantred of Altry, afterwards known as Clanmaurice, to Maurice Fitz Thomas,[1] while Geoffrey de Marisco himself retained the Castle of Killorglin.[2] Even here, in spite of King John's grant to Meiler Fitz Henry ignoring the de Cogan seignory, there is evidence that some at any rate of Meiler's lands were not treated as escheats of the Crown, but that the former seignory was now revived. In the inquisition taken in 1282 as to the lands of which John Fitz Thomas was seised at his death in 1261, it was found that he held the cantred of Acmikery of Miles de Courcy (son and heir of Patrick de Courcy) by the service of two knights.[3] It was apparently for their dealings with these escheats in Kerry and Desmond to the prejudice of the Crown that Geoffrey de Marisco in 1221 was superseded as justiciar, and that Thomas Fitz Anthony in 1223 and later was reprimanded by the Regency, and eventually deprived of the custody of Decies and Desmond. It is at any rate clear that the sons of Thomas Fitz Maurice owed their first footing in Kerry to the influence and favour of Geoffrey de Marisco and Thomas Fitz Anthony. The former was married to their uncle's widow, Eva de Bermingham, and the latter was their guardian, and he gave one of his daughters in marriage to John

[1] See Inquis. P. M. as to the lands of John Fitz Thomas: Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. ii, p. 429, and Cal. Inquis. P. M., Ed. I, vol. ii, no. 437; also English Historical Review, 'Origin of the Fitz Maurices, Barons of Kerry and Lixnaw,' vol. xxix (1914), p. 312, where my map, p. 305, shows the situation of these territories.

[2] Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. i, no. 2228.

[3] The same inquisition states that John held half a carucate at Corleleye (*Corca Laidhe*) of [the heir of] Robert Fitz Stephen for the service of one knight: about Baltimore?

Fitz Thomas. Indeed, as already inferred, he seems to have made provision in Desmond for two of his other sons-in-law, namely, Gerald de Roche and Stephen l'Ercedekne (Archdeacon or Mc Odo).

Thus by putting together these various, but quite independent, sources, namely, the entries in the Annals of Inisfallen, the records as to the grants to Thomas Fitz Anthony, the evidence as to the recognition of the seignory of Desmond in the persons of Robert de Carew and Patrick de Courcy, and as to the dealings with the escheat of Meiler Fitz Henry's lands and the subsequent tenure of the same by John Fitz Thomas and his brother Maurice, we can obtain a trustworthy outline of when and how the Geraldines and others obtained lands in Kerry and Desmond. There was apparently no prolonged fighting, and certainly no considerable displacement of Irish septs, but the sites of these castles outside of Kerry, and no doubt considerable portions of land in their vicinity, were, as usual elsewhere, the rewards which the foreigners secured for their services to the chieftains whom they had assisted.

There were intermarriages, too, between the leading families of the two races, and these intermarriages are further indications that the settlement was effected with the consent and by the aid of some of the principal chieftains of Desmond. King Dermot, as has been mentioned, married a sister of Thomas Bloet, who was the first husband of Margery Cogan, and Richard de Carew married Raghenild, daughter probably of the same King Dermot by a former wife, and he is said to have given a daughter in marriage to Dermot O'Mahony, one of whose sons appears to

Dermot Mac Carthy.

have been named Richard.[1] Dermot Mac Carthy's position as chieftain of the Irish and quasi-tenant of the Crown was recognized, and for about thirty years amicable relations with the Mac Carthys seem to have been generally maintained. In 1221, when Archbishop Henry superseded Geoffrey de Marisco as justiciar, letters of credence were addressed to Dermot Mac Carthy and to other Irish chieftains in the king's peace, as well as to the principal feudal tenants,[2] and in 1224 Dermot accompanied the feudal host against Hugh de Lacy, then in rebellion.[3] In 1229 he founded a Franciscan Convent in Cork, and in the same or the next year he died.[4]

At about this time Thomas Fitz Anthony died, leaving heavy debts, and five daughters as co-heiresses.[5] The king, indeed, had been dissatisfied both with him and with Geoffrey de Marisco for their dealings with escheats. In 1223 he ordered the custody of Decies and Desmond to be taken into the king's hand, as Thomas had not come to him with his charter when summoned and 'had detained some of the king's escheats'; and in

[1] See Cork Archaeological Society Journal, 2nd ser., vol. xiv, p. 79.

[2] Rot. Claus., 5 Hen. III, p. 476 b.

[3] Ann. Loch Cé, 1224, where he is called Dermot 'Cluasach' Mac Carthy, from some peculiarity of his ears.

[4] Ibid., 1230, and Four Masters, 1229. In the Annals of Inisfallen he is said to have been killed by lightning at Dundrinan. Hence the distinguishing name given to him in that compilation.

[5] Before July 20, 1229: Cal. Docs. Irel., vol. i, no. 1714. His daughters were all married, and their husbands were Gerald de Roche, William de Cantilupe, Geoffrey de Norragh, John Fitz Thomas, and Stephen Archdeacon: Ir. Pipe Roll, 16 Hen. III, transcribed in Report of Record Commissioners, vol. i, pp. 333–5.

1226–7 he committed the said custody to Richard de Burgh.[1]

Dermot of Dundrinan was succeeded by his brother Cormac Finn, ancestor of the line of Mac Carthy Mor. In 1230 he took part in Richard de Burgh's campaign in Connaught when Felim, son of Cathal Crovderg O'Conor, was made king.[2] Taking advantage of the disturbances caused by the quarrel with Earl Richard Marshal in 1234, the Irish attacked Tralee, where they were defeated, seemingly by John Fitz Thomas, and Dermot, son of Cormac Finn, and others were slain.[3] About this time Cormac Finn imprisoned his brother Donnell Got, but soon afterwards liberated him, whereupon the latter 'committed an unneighbourly act' on O'Mahony by killing his sons and dispossessing him of his territory in Carbery.[4] This was the origin of the separate territory of Mac Carthy Reagh, or 'the Swarthy', a line descended from Donnell Got and in general independent of Mac Carthy Mor. In 1244 Cormac Finn was summoned by the king to join the intended expedition against the Scots,[5] and shortly before 1248 he died in the habit of a grey monk at his own 'longport' at Mashanaglass[6] near Macroom. Cormac Finn Mac Carthy

After the death of Cormac Finn there were

[1] Cal. Docs. Irel., vol. i, nos. 1001, 1108, 1462, 1502.

[2] Ann. Inisfallen, as above.

[3] Ibid. The presence of John Fitz Thomas may be inferred from Cal. Docs. Irel., vol. ii, no. 89.

[4] Bodleian Annals of Inisfallen, as quoted by O'Donovan, Celtic Miscellany, p. 142.

[5] Close Rolls, 28 Hen. III, p. 255; Cal. Docs. Irel., vol. i, no. 2716, where he is called Cormac lethan (*Liathánach*) Mac Carthy, as in the Bodleian Annals of Inisfallen; see Celtic Soc. Miscellany, p. 13, note.

[6] Ann. Inisfallen, R. I. A.

Donnell Got Mac Carthy.

renewed disputes between Donnell Got and his nephews about the chieftainship, and English settlers took part on different sides. Fineen, son of Dermot of Dundrinan, slew Geoffrey de Cogan, brother of John de Cogan, and some other settlers, and did great damage to the English until he was himself slain by his uncle Donnell Got and the Cogans in 1250.[1] Donnell Got, though under the protection of the King of England,[2] was slain next year by John Fitz Thomas,[3] who appears to have supported his rival Donnell Roe, son of Cormac Finn. This deed had serious consequences.

Fineen rebels.

Another Fineen, son of Donnell Got, described as usual from the place of his death as 'Fineen of Ringrone', now broke out in violence and rebellion. He burned to death O'Donoghue, his wife, brother, and three sons, in their house near Killarney. Then, assisted by O'Donovan, he slew Dermot O'Mahony near Enniskeen, thus consolidating and extending his possessions in Carbery. In 1259 he raided Kerry and there made 'great slaughters, burnings, and plunderings of the English'. Next year he burned the English castles at Dunnamark, Ringarogy Island, Dun-

[1] Ann. Inisfallen, and Four Masters, 1250; and see Cal. Docs. Irel., vol. i, no. 3145, and vol. ii, no. 129.

[2] Ibid., vol. i, no. 3160 (June 22, 1251).

[3] Ann. Inisfallen, according to which Donnell Got is said to have been treacherously killed in Roche's house at Bally O'Denny, *a m-baile hui Dionuighe a tig an Roistigh*. O'Dionuighe seems to be another form of O'Dunadhaigh (Denny), chieftain of the plain of Luachair, the level part of the barony of Magunihy; see Topographical Poems, p. 114, and notes. If so, this confirms the identification given above, p. 127, n. 2, of Airloch, where a castle was built in 1215 by Gerald de Roche. It would seem that while John de Cogan favoured the claims of Donnell Got, John Fitz Thomas supported his rival Donnell Roe, son of Cormac Finn, ancestor of the line of Mac Carthy Mor.

deady, Rathbarry, and others.[1] Clearly he had his own ambitions to serve as well as his father's death to avenge.

Up to the recent disturbances the attempt to control Desmond by building castles in favourable positions on the coasts and harbours had seemingly met with considerable success. The castles built in 1215 had become centres of English influence, and others had been built since. An unwonted peace had prevailed. In 1244 John Fitz Thomas had obtained a grant of free chase and warren in Kerry, Muskerry, Magunihy, and Iveragh, as well as in his lands about Shanid;[2] and in 1252 John de Cogan had got a grant of a market and fair at his castle of Mora in Desmond.[3] But the dispute about the succession to Cormac Finn, and especially the outbreak of Fineen, son of Donnell Got, threatened to ruin the whole settlement.

In 1261, however, a great effort was made to crush Fineen. William de Dene, late sheriff of Cork and now justiciar, led the feudal host into Desmond. It consisted mainly of the Munster barons who undertook to finance the expedition,[4] and conspicuous amongst them was 'Clann Gerailt' or the Geraldines. John Fitz Thomas was clearly

The battle of Callann, 1261.

[1] Ann. Inisfallen, as above, where the place-names are '*Dún-na-mbarc, Dún na n-Gall, Dún deide, Rath an bháraigh, Inis Eoghnain* (Inishannon?), and *Caislean uabhair* ("the fort of pride", perhaps Dunour in the parish of Kilcrohane?)'. In the Pipe Roll accounts for 1259–61, among the names of those owing fines is 'Fynyn, son of Dermot (?) Got Mac Karthy': 35 Rep. D. K., p. 37.

[2] Cal. Docs. Irel., vol. i, no. 2680, where these places appear as 'Okonyl, Muskry, Kery, Yonach, and Orathat', i. e. *ui Conaill, Muscraighe, Ciarraighe, Eoghanacht,* and *ui Ráthach.* It is not clear what *Muscraighe* is intended, probably *Muscraighe tri maighe* in the barony of Orrery.

[3] Ibid., vol. ii, no. 121.

[4] See Cal. Close Rolls, 3 Ed. I, p. 240.

the prime mover in the expedition. In November 1259 he had obtained a grant in fee from Prince Edward of the lands of Decies and Desmond, the custody of which had formerly been held by his father-in-law, Thomas Fitz Anthony;[1] and just as the forward movement of 1215 to gain control over Desmond followed close on the grant to Thomas Fitz Anthony, so the renewal of the grant to John Fitz Thomas was followed by an attempt to quell the growing turbulence of the Irish, who were not unnaturally chafing at their restricted bounds. Among the ranks of the English was Donnell Roe, son of Cormac Finn Mac Carthy, of the rival house of Mac Carthy Mor, with all the Irish he could muster—not very many perhaps, as 'the chiefs of the tribe of Eoghan' were with his cousin of Carbery. The opposing forces met on July 24, 1261, at a place called Callann of Glen Ruachtain (Glanarought) in the *tuath* of Kenmare. The site of the battle is still pointed out, where a mountain torrent called the Slaheny river rushes down through a narrow glen to join the Roughty, a little above Ardtully, where a castle was built about the year 1215 by a Carew.[2] We have no details of the battle, but it is probable that Fineen waited to be attacked in a position which he had chosen, where the enemy's cavalry could not

[1] Cal. Pat. Rolls (Ireland), 44 Hen. III, 'Antiquissime', no. 32, and cf. no. 17; also Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. ii, no. 629, and vol. iii, no. 1051. It appears that the justiciar, Stephen de Longespée, refused to give John seisin on the ground that he had deceived the Lord Edward, whereupon John took seisin on his own account: Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. ii, pp. 279, 426.

[2] There is an earthwork of the promontory-fort type near the reputed site of the battle which may perhaps mark the position of Carew's castle.

operate. In the result 'a great battle and unspeakable slaughter ensued between them, and the English were entirely defeated, and John, son of Thomas Fitz Gerald, seneschal of Munster, and Maurice his son, were slain, together with eight barons and twenty-five knights and many of the English besides'.[1]

Fineen made the most of his victory. The Annals of Inisfallen give a list of a dozen castles, including Macroom, Dunnamark, Killorglin, and Dunlo, and several on the southern coast, which he levelled and broke, killing most of the foreigners that were in them. This was the time when, in the expressive language of Dr. Meredith Hanmer, 'the Carties plaied the Divells in Desmond, where they burned, spoiled, preyed, and slue many an innocent; they became so strong and prevailed so mightily that for the space (so it is reported) of twelve yeeres the Desmonds durst not put plow in ground in his owne Country'.

Fineen, however, did not live long to enjoy the fruits of his victory. Emboldened by his success he now attacked Ringrone (*Rinn Róin*), the castle of the de Courcys, at the western side of Kinsale Harbour. The lord of Kinsale at this time was Miles, son of Patrick de Courcy. Miles de Cogan is said to have come to his assistance, and 'a great defeat and overthrow was given to Fineen's people, in which Fineen himself and a great number of the chiefs of Desmond were slain'.[2] Fineen killed.

[1] Ann. Inisfallen, as above. The entry in Annals of Loch Cé, 1261, is to the same effect. Among those slain was the 'Barrach Mór', i. e. David de Barry, grandson of Philip de Barry, and lord of Castlelyons, Carrigtohill, and Buttevant. For the precise date of the death of John Fitz Thomas, July 24, 1261, see Cal. Docs. Irel., vol. ii, p. 426. His account for Cork County covered a period up to July 22: Ir. Pipe Roll, 45 Hen. III, 35th Rep. D. K., p. 37.

[2] Ann. Inisfallen. A Miles de Cogan witnesses grants by

William de Dene, the justiciar, died soon after the battle of Callann, whether from wounds received in the fight or from natural causes does not appear. He was succeeded about October 1261 by Richard de la Rochelle, who had been Lord Edward's seneschal and lieutenant in Ireland under John Fitz Geoffrey. In 1262, joined by Walter de Burgh with a feudal army and 'a great number of the Irish', he advanced into Desmond to give battle to Cormac, Fineen's brother, and avenge the slaughter of Callann. The opposing forces met on the slopes of Mangerton, at a place henceforth known as Tuairin Cormaic. Here Gerald Roche, 'the third best baron in Erin', was slain, but this, we are told, was 'joy with sorrow to Desmond', for Cormac, son of Donnell Got, was slain on the same day, and great losses were suffered on both sides.[1]

In spite of such two-edged victories the battle of Callann, for good or for evil, effectually prevented the establishment of Anglo-Norman rule in Desmond. It is true that owing to dissensions among the Irish tribes the earls of Desmond eventually 'overtopped them all', but in the region from which they drew their title they had more of the character of a Celtic chief than of a feudal lord, and it

Gerald de Prendergast, c. 1230–50: Reg. St. Thomas's Abbey, pp. 186, 189. He was probably brother of Geoffrey de Cogan, slain by another Fineen as already mentioned.

[1] Ann. Loch Cé, 1262, and Ann. Inisfallen. Presumably the Gerald Roche who married one of the daughters of Thomas Fitz Anthony. Unfortunately we are not told who the first and second 'best barons' were. Perhaps John Fitz Thomas and the Barrach Mór. Irish writers had a great fancy for 'triads'. For a similar example see Ann. Loch Cé, vol. i, p. 391. Walter de Burgh was allowed 250 marks in his Connaught account for his expenses in this campaign; 35th Rep. D. K., p. 47.

was left for more resolute Tudor statesmen and more ruthless Tudor generals to break down the clan-system there. The settlement in Kerry, however, was not permanently affected. Maurice, son of John Fitz Thomas, left by his wife, Matilda de Barry,[1] a baby son named Thomas. Late writers have called him *Tomás an Ápa*, or 'Thomas of the Ape', a soubriquet which they say he obtained from an incident which occurred when news of the fatal battle of Callann reached the castle of Tralee. A panic seized the garrison, which was only allayed by the strange sight of a pet ape on one of the turrets of the castle carefully carrying the infant heir in its arms. This was hailed as a good omen—a sign from heaven that they should rally round their new lord. As a somewhat similar, but even more picturesque, ape-story is told of the infant John Fitz Thomas, afterwards first Earl of Kildare—a story which accounts for the ape-supporters on the family crest—it may be doubted to which branch of the family the legend really belongs.

Thomas *an Ápa.*

Thomas Fitz Maurice came of age early in 1282, and from the inquisition then taken[2] we learn many details about his grandfather's lands. His most lucrative property was in County Waterford, but he also held valuable manors at Shanid, Killeedy, and Glenogra, in County Limerick. His property in Desmond at the time of the inquisition was of little value, but, as we have mentioned, he held in Kerry the cantred of Acmikerry

[1] Inq. P. M., 28 Ed. I, p. 254. Her dower-lands were at Tralee and the New Manor in Kerry. One of the ignorant additions to the Annals of Inisfallen (Dublin) states that this Maurice's widow was a daughter of Geoffrey Mareis.

[2] Cal. Docs. Irel., vol. ii, no. 1912; Cal. Inquis. P. M., Ed. I, vol. ii, no. 437.

(Trughanacmy), worth in his time £100, where a little later[1] were the valuable manors of Killorglin, Castle-Island, and the New Manor near Tralee. John Fitz Thomas is said to have founded the Dominican convent at Tralee in 1243,[2] and here, after the disaster of Callann, he and his son Maurice are said to have been buried.

Donnell Roe Mac Carthy.

After a time relations with the Mac Carthys appear to have improved. About the year 1284 Donnell Roe Mac Carthy, 'lord of the Irish of Desmond,' who had fought on the side of John Fitz Thomas at Callann, wrote to Edward I, 'vehemently desiring to be subjected to the king's domination and wishing beyond measure to acquire the king's friendship by his service';[3] and in 1285 he obtained a safe-conduct to go to the king in England.[4] He seems, however, to have failed to carry out to the letter his vehement desire and measureless wish. In 1288 he and other Irishmen of Desmond were in a hostile state, when the Keeper of Ireland, Archbishop John de Sanford, held a parley with them and admitted them to the king's peace.[5] About this time his son Donnell Og Mac Carthy was outlawed for several robberies on the prosecution of William de Barry and Gilbert le Waleis, and was subsequently pardoned. Whereupon the prosecutors complained to the king that they had been prejudiced by the pardon and prayed a remedy; 'for if such things may be,' they said, 'law cannot avail

[1] Cal. Docs. Irel., vol. iv, nos. 551, 727; Cal. Inquis. P. M., Ed. I, vol. iii, no. 596.

[2] Ware, Dowling's Annals, 1261.

[3] Cal. Docs. Irel., vol. ii, no. 2362.

[4] Ibid., vol. iii, no. 61.

[5] Ibid., p. 266. Donnell Roe had to pay a fine: ibid., p. 277.

us'[1]—a complaint which has often found an echo since.

In 1292 the king granted to Thomas Fitz Maurice and Margaret his wife (described as the king's cousin) and their heirs the custody of the castle of Dungarvan and the homages, rents, and services of all tenants, as well English as Irish, belonging to the lands of Decies and Desmond.[2] Grant to Thomas f. Maurice.

Perhaps this was the king's answer to the complaint of William de Barry and Gilbert Walsh. It was a repetition with some modifications of the previous grants to Thomas Fitz Anthony and John Fitz Thomas, but its effect in establishing English law in Desmond was not conspicuous. In 1297 the sheriff of Cork returned that Donnell Og, who was appealed for the death of John de Courcy, tenant in chief, 'would not submit to justice and had nothing in the land of peace whereby he might be distrained,' whereupon the sheriff was ordered to attach him.[3] A few months later the sheriff returned that Donnell 'was not found, but was among the Irish in waste land where no serjeant or bailiff of the king dared go to attach him'.[4] In fact, neither Thomas Fitz Maurice nor his titled successors made English law of much avail in Desmond.

Of Maurice, younger brother of John Fitz Thomas, and ancestor of the long line of the Fitz

[1] Ibid., no. 817. Gilbert le Waleis was one of the pledges for Donnell Og: 37th Rep. D.K., p. 54 (account 1290–5).

[2] Ibid., no. 1051. Margaret, 'the king's cousin', was daughter of Sir Thomas de Berkeley by Joan, daughter of William de Ferrers, Earl of Derby. She was descended from King John's illegitimate son Richard: see 'Complete Peerage'.

[3] Justiciary Rolls, vol. i, p. 101. [4] Ibid., p. 143.

The Fitz Maurices of Kerry.

Maurices, lords of Kerry, we know little beyond what has been mentioned. He appears to have held the manor of Altry in the barony afterwards known as Clan-Maurice. The manorial centre was at Lixnaw. His son, Thomas Fitz Maurice, founded the Franciscan Friary of Ardfert in 1253.[1] Judging from architectural evidence the cathedral of Ardfert must have been rebuilt about the same time, when the builders had the good taste to preserve the earlier Romanesque doorway.[2] Thomas was succeeded, c. 1280, by his son Maurice,[3] who appears to have been tenant in chief of the Crown, but long afterwards the earls of Desmond of the senior line claimed to be lords of the Fitz Maurices—a claim which led to many bitter disputes. Throughout the thirteenth century—from 1232 at any rate[4]—Kerry was a separate shrieval county and was regularly visited by justices in eyre. At the close of the century its export trade from the port of Dingle was

[1] Four Masters, 1253.

[2] See a paper by Arthur Hill, B.E., Journal R.S.A.I., 1883–4, p. 294, and compare illustrations, ibid., p. 312.

[3] This Maurice, called second baron of Kerry, died at Moyflayth (Molahiff) in April 1305. He was then owner of Lixnaw: Justiciary Rolls, vol. ii, p. 422. For these early Fitz Maurices see my paper (above referred to), English Historical Review, vol. xxix (1914), pp. 302–15. I may here correct another error in the Fitz Maurice pedigree as given by Lodge (Archdall, vol. ii, p. 186). It appears from Plea Roll, no. 68 m., 29 P. R. O., Dublin, that the first wife of this Maurice, and mother of his son and heir Nicholas, was Elena, daughter and heir of William Fitz Elie, and that his second wife's name was Sibilla. So that the statement in the MS. pedigree referred to by Lodge, viz. that the mother of Nicholas, third lord of Kerry, was a daughter and heir 'to Sir John M'Cleod of Galway, chief of his name (whose kindred are since commonly called M'Eligott)', must be rejected.

[4] See Pipe Roll, 19 Hen. III, 35th Rep. D. K., p. 37.

appreciable, and seems to have exceeded even that of Limerick.[1] From the manors of the Bishop of Ardfert, when in the escheator's hands for thirteen months in 1288–9, the sum of £80 6*s.* 4*d.* was received,[2] and the diocese was valued in the ecclesiastical taxation of 1306 at £178 16*s.* 6*d.* The lords of Kerry are said to have often intermarried with the families of the O'Conors of Kerry, the O'Briens of Thomond, and the Mac Carthys of Desmond, but throughout the dark period of Irish history the English settlement in Kerry, though but slightly controlled by the central government, never lost its identity.

APPENDIX I

THE SEIGNORY OF CORK

When treating of the occupation of Cork in the twelfth century, we briefly considered the difficult question of the devolution of the moieties of the 'kingdom of Cork' granted by Henry II to Robert Fitz Stephen and Miles de Cogan respectively (*ante*, vol. ii, pp. 46–50). Further research has enabled me to add some links in the chain of descent of the Carews who are found in possession of the Fitz Stephen moiety in the latter part of the thirteenth century, and also to put forward more confidently the suggestion that Patrick de Courcy married a de Cogan heiress and thus acquired the de Cogan moiety.

The Carews, tenants in chief in Cork, were of a different line from the Carews of Idrone in County Carlow, though both had no doubt a common ancestor in William de Carew, eldest son of Gerald and Nesta, who died in 1173. The Carews of Idrone were identical with the

[1] See accounts of the 'New Custom', 37th Rep. D. K., p. 24, &c.

[2] Ibid., p. 34.

senior line, the lords of Carew Castle in Pembrokeshire, while the Carews of Cork, as will be shown, were descended from a Richard de Carew who held lands in Cork about the close of the twelfth century, but whose parentage is obscure. In both cases the land was held at an earlier period by Raymond le Gros, a younger son of the first William de Carew. He was enfeoffed in the Carlow lands by Strongbow, and we are told (Giraldus Cambrensis, v. 350) that he succeeded to the inheritance of his uncle Robert Fitz Stephen in Cork. As we have said (*ante*, vol. i, p. 387), Raymond appears to have enfeoffed his nephew William, eldest son of Odo de Carew (son of William, son of Gerald of Windsor), in Idrone. On Raymond's death without legitimate issue his Carlow lands reverted to Strongbow's heiress, Isabel de Clare, and henceforth Raymond's feoffees, including William de Carew and his successors, held immediately of the lords of Leinster, but as regards the Cork lands there was no superior lord except the Crown.

The clue to the descent of Maurice de Carew, who during the last quarter of the thirteenth century was recognized as holding the seignory of Fitz Stephen's moiety of Cork, is to be found in a suit recorded in the Justiciary Rolls (vol. ii, pp. 372–3). From this it appears that Maurice recovered by writ of right some tenements in Imokilly 'of the seisin of his *abavus* Richard de Carew'; that this Richard married Raghenild, daughter of Mc Carthy; and that his eldest son was named Robert. Richard de Carew who married Raghenild may with probability be identified with the Richard de Carew whose widow Regina (a latinized form of Raghenild) had dower out of her late husband's tenement in Leinster in 1205 (Rot. de Finibus, 7 John, p. 321); and also with the Richard de Carew who granted a burgage in the suburbs of Cork to the Abbey of St. Thomas before 1206, and is the first witness to the confirmations by M., Bishop of Cork, of several early grants of benefices in Cork to the same Abbey (Reg. St. Thomas's Abbey, Dublin, pp. 213, 220–1). This M., Bishop of Cork, was not (as supposed by the editor) Marianus O'Brien who was translated to Cashel, in 1224, but probably Murrough O'Hea who died in 1206: Ann. Loch Cé. Four of the principal witnesses were contemporaries of Miles de Cogan, who died in 1182. Richard's

son and heir was Robert, who fined £100 for his relief in 1216 (Rot. de Finibus, 18 John, p. 598) and was therefore a tenant in chief, and with Patrick de Courcy was one of the chief magnates of Cork in 1221–35 (Cal. Docs. Ireland, nos. 1001, 2285). Robert was then presumably born c. 1195, and Maurice de Carew, the recognized tenant in chief, who was a minor in the king's custody in 1273 and given seisin of Castlecor in 1276 (36th Rep. D. K., p. 31, and 38th Rep. D. K., p. 30), was born c. 1255. In view of these dates it seems probable that *abavus* in the Justiciary Roll means great-grandfather, and not, as in classical usage, great-great-grandfather. There is therefore only one link in the pedigree to be supplied, and this appears to be the Richard de Carew who, presumably as superior lord, confirmed to the Abbey of St. Thomas a number of churches in Co. Cork, including that of Castlecor (now Middleton), the principal manor of the Carews: Reg. St. Thomas, p. 200. This deed must be dated between 1240, about which time the first John de Cogan and Maurice Fitz Maurice came of age, and 1261, when the first David de Barry was killed at the battle of Callann, these persons being among the witnesses.

We also meet this Cork line of Carews in Connaught, and the references to them there confirm the above pedigree. It is probable that Robert de Carew, and perhaps his son Richard, joined in the conquest of Connaught under Richard de Burgh in 1235, as both names appear as witnesses to the deed by which Gerald de Roche granted to Maurice Fitz Gerald part of Conmaicne Culi in Connaught, not very long after the conquest (Red Book of the Earl of Kildare, f. vi d). In 1234 Robert de Carew sided with Richard de Burgh against Earl Richard Marshal (Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. i, nos. 2266, 2285), and he seems to have been enfeoffed by Richard de Burgh in lands in Southern Tirawley, as we find his son Richard, before November 1255, giving warranty to William Barrett of his lands in Bredagh in that district (Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. ii, no. 474). And again in 1300 'Maurice, son of Richard de Carew', summoned another William Barrett to do suit and service in Bac and Glen and Bredagh. The claim was admitted by Barrett, but was disputed by the Earl of Ulster (Plea Roll, 28 Ed. I, 47, m. 13 d, and see *infra*, vol. iii, c. xxix). This William

Barrett also held the land of Clardor (i.e. probably Glandore in Co. Cork, *supra*, p. 129) of Maurice de Carew (Justiciary Roll, vol. i, p. 228), further indicating the identity of these two lines.

The remainder of the pedigree is well authenticated, and the whole may be tabulated side by side with the Carews of Idrone as below, at the end of this note.

It remains to inquire who was this Richard de Carew who died c. 1205, and was ancestor of the Carews who in the thirteenth century and later held the *dominium* of a moiety of Cork. The field of inquiry is not large. He must have been either son or grandson of the first William de Carew who died in 1173, and (as his son and heir Robert was born about 1195) presumably grandson. William de Carew's attested sons were Odo, his heir, Raymond le Gros, once at any rate called Raymond 'de Karreu' (Cal. Christ Church Deeds, no. 3), and Griffin. Of these Raymond had no legitimate children; Griffin had four sons: Gilbert, Matthew, Raymond, and Griffin. They generally appear with the patronymic 'Fitz Griffin', and the first three at any rate seem to have left no male issue (Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. iii, p. 294, and consult Journ. R. S. A. I., vol. xxiii (1893), p. 186). Odo's son and heir was William, who succeeded to Idrone, and Odo had other sons: Stephen *filius Odonis de Carew* (Reg. St. Thomas, p. 205), Tancard, named from his mother's father, and perhaps Adam and Baldwin, mentioned in charters in the Register of St. Thomas's Abbey. As far as dates go Richard de Carew may have been another younger son of Odo, but there is no proof or indication that this was so, and even if Odo had a younger son named Richard he could not normally have succeeded to Raymond's 'inheritance'. But though Raymond left no legitimate issue, it appears from some charters in the Chartulary of St. Mary's Abbey (though the fact has not hitherto been noticed) that he left two sons, whom we must suppose to have been illegitimate, named Walter and Richard. These charters concern Tilechstelan, a parish near Glencullen, County Dublin, and by them William de Carew (Raymond's nephew) and 'Walterus filius Reimundi' confirm (with possibly additions) a former grant to St. Mary's Abbey made before 1185 by Raymond le Gros (Chartulary, vol. i, pp. 106–11, and

and cf. p. 86). Among these are three grants by *Walterus filius Reimundi*: the first (no. 89) is witnessed by Gerald Fitz Maurice, who was dead by January 1204 (Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. i, no. 195), and by Meiler Fitz Henry, who is not called justiciar, therefore before 1199, and another witness is 'Richard de Carew'. By the second (no. 90) Walter grants and confirms the church of Tilechstelan with the land which his father Raymond had granted to it, and this is witnessed (*inter alios*) by 'Richard his brother'. The third (no. 91) commences: *Sciant*, &c., *quod ego Walterus filius Reimundi commendavi cartas meas quas habeo de Comite* [Strongbow] *et de patre meo Reimundo in manu monachorum monasterii sancte Marie iuxta Dublin.*, &c. It seems a necessary inference that this Reimundus was Reimundus filius Willelmi, commonly called le Gros, and that therefore Walter and Richard were his (illegitimate) sons. *Ricardus filius Reimundi* also witnesses a grant by Basilia, Raymond's widow, in 1199–1200 (Reg. St. Thomas, p. 111).

It is, moreover, a fair conjecture that this Richard, natural son of Raymond, was the Richard de Carew whose parentage we are seeking. On his father's death shortly after 1188 there was no one but the Crown who could legally take advantage of the escheat of Raymond's claim to the Cork seignory. At this time it was probably not of much value, and it was no one's interest to dispute the succession of Raymond's natural son. About then, or soon afterwards, he married Raghenilda, daughter of Mc Carthy, and with her he, no doubt, obtained a foothold among the Irish of Desmond. It was not, however, until after the bridling of Desmond with castles in 1215 and the following years that his son Robert de Carew and Patrick de Courcy were recognized as successors to the original grantees, and this was probably effected by Thomas Fitz Anthony and the other barons interested, with the design that the original service to the Crown of sixty knights' fees for the whole of Cork should not be increased to their disadvantage. It is to be noted, however, that Philip de Prendergast and his heirs always appear as tenants in chief of the Crown under the grant of 1207, and owed the services of one and a half knights' fees.

As regards the de Cogan moiety, Margarita, only daughter and heiress of Miles de Cogan, and widow of

Ralph Fitz Stephen who was slain in 1182 (*ante*, vol. ii, p. 40), appears to have had a daughter (Margery) for whose marriage, together with 'all the land of Miles de Cogan', Thomas Bloet before 1211 made a fine of 500 marks (Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. i, nos. 422, 452). This fine was still unpaid in 1227 (ibid., no. 1504). Thomas Bloet was an official of King John, and was employed by him in 1207 to summon John d'Erlee and other followers of William the Marshal in pursuance of the intrigue against the earl, of which we have given an account: *ante*, vol. ii, pp. 212–16. He appears as a great Munster lord in 1210, when he joined King John with a large force from Munster (Prest. Rolls, p. 188), and he was one of the magnates who joined in the declaration of loyalty to the king in 1211 (Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. i, no. 448). He must have been dead by February 1217, when a fine of 100 marks was accepted from Margery de Cogan 'to have the land of her inheritance in Desmond' (ibid., no. 758). This Margery was, I think, the granddaughter of Miles de Cogan, now a feme-sole and widow of Thomas Bloet, and there was presumably no issue of the marriage. It is a reasonable conjecture that soon after this date she was married to Patrick de Courcy. There is indeed no direct evidence for this marriage, but in 1221 Patrick de Courcy and Robert de Carew were the principal tenants in chief in Cork, and they[1] and their respective descendants for several generations appear to have been held liable in equal moieties for the sixty services reserved in the original grant to Miles de Cogan and Robert Fitz Stephen.

In my former note (*ante*, vol. ii, p. 50) I confused this Margery de Cogan with the *Margarita filia Milonis* who made a grant in Rosselethry (*Ros Ailither*, now Rosscarbery) to St. Mary's Abbey (Chart., vol. ii, p. 4), but I now think that the former was daughter and heiress of the latter. Margarita's grant was perhaps a death-bed gift

[1] That Patrick de Courcy and Robert de Carew were so held liable is evidenced by the fact that, in the Pipe Rolls and Exchequer accounts, payments for these services were entered under their names (as was not unusual) long after they were both dead. See e.g. Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. iv, no. 473.

which did not take effect. The whole cantred, saving the bishop's demesnes, had been given by King John to David de Roche in 1207. Margarita's grant or confirmation is witnessed by Geoffrey de Marisco, justiciar, i. e. between 1215 and 1221, and should, I think, be placed before February 14, 1217, when her daughter Margery fined for her inheritance in Desmond. At this date her mother, whose heir she was, must have been dead.

CAREWS OF IDRONE AND CAREWS TENANTS-IN-CHIEF IN CORK

William de Carew,
s. and h. of Gerald f. Walter and Nest of Wales ;
d. 1173 at Carew Castle.

Odo, living with monks at St. Mary's Abbey, Dublin, in 1202.

= Margaret, dau. of Richard f. Tancred, Castellan of Haverford.

William,
succeeded to Idrone by 1202 ;
confirmed in Mulesford and Carew, May 25, 1213 ;
d. before Sept. 17, 1213.

Richard,
lord of Carew.

Raymond 'le Gros',
c. 1174 enfeoffed by Strongbow in Idrone, Co. Carlow ;
c. 1182 succeeded to the inheritance of Robert f. Stephen in Co. Cork ;
d. s. p. c. 1188.

Richard I (Probably an illegitimate son of Raymond le Gros),
held lands in Imokilly ; granted a burgage near Cork, to the Abbey of St. Thomas before 1206 ;
d. c. 1205.

= Raghenild, dau. of Mc Carthy, also called Regina.

Robert,
1216 fined for his relief ;
built Dunnamark and other castles in Desmond ;
1221 magnate in Cork ;
1234 sided with Richard de Burgh against Earl Richard Marshal ;
c. 1235 enfeoffed in lands in Tirawley.

William,
lord of Carew.
1247 held five knights' fees in Pembroke.

Nicholas,
lord of Carew,
1278 went to Ireland ;
1306 held five knights' fees in Idrone ;
d. 1311.

John, = Eleanor, dau. of William de Mohun.
Before 1312 enfeoffed by his father Nicholas in his Carlow lands : Close (Ireland) 5 Edw. II (41).

Richard II,
c. 1250 confirmed grants of churches in Cork, including church of Castlecor, to St. Thomas's Abbey ;
c. 1255 called to warranty by William Barrett in Tirawley.

Thomas,
d. seised of Castlecor before 1274.

Maurice,
16 May 1276 given seisin of Castlecor ; pays 30 services as tenant-in-chief in Cork ;
1305 pardoned £400 arrears of services for Desmond ;
1307 recovers lands in Imokilly of the seisin of his *abavus*, Richard de Carew, who married Raghenild.

Thomas,
16 July 1320 obtained seisin of the lands which his father Maurice held in chief : Close (Ireland) 14 Edw. II (51) ;
1336 quit-claimed *dominium* of Olethan to David f. David f. David de Barry : Ibid., 32 Edw. III (26, 27, 82) ;
Before 1329 enfeoffed Maurice f. Thomas, afterwards Earl of Desmond, in a moiety of the lordship of Desmond, but this was held invalid on the ground that Robert f. Stephen was a bastard, and died without heirs : Cal. Fine Rolls, vol. iv p. 286.

APPENDIX II

ANCESTORS OF THE FITZ GERALDS, EARLS OF DESMOND, AND OF THE FITZ MAURICES, BARONS OF KERRY AND LIXNAW

Thomas f. Maurice,
younger son of Maurice f. Gerald I *qui obiit* 1176.
He obtained Shanid, c. 1197 : *ante*, vol. ii, p. 164 ;
died 1213.

John f. Thomas, succeeded to Shanid ; held cantred of Acmikery : *supra*, p. 133 ; given Decies and Desmond in 1259 : *supra*, p. 140 ; killed at Callann in 1261. = Margt., dau. of Thomas f. Anthony.

Maurice f. Thomas, sent to Ireland in 1215 with Geoffrey de Marisco : *supra*, p. 131; held manor of Altry.

Maurice f. John, killed at Callann in 1261. = Matilda, dau. of David de Barry I.

Thomas f. Maurice, founded Franciscan Convent at Ardfert, in 1253 : F. M. ; died c. 1280.

Thomas f. Maurice, came of age in 1282 ; given Decies and Desmond in 1292 : *supra*, p. 145 ; died 1298. = Margt. dau. of Thomas de Berkeley.

Maurice f. Thomas, held manor of Altry : *supra*, p. 146 ; died in 1304. = Elena, dau. of Wm. f. Elie.

Maurice f. Thomas, obtained seisin in 1314 ; created Earl of Desmond in 1329 ; died in 1356. = Katherine, dau. of Richard de Burgh, Earl of Ulster.

Nicholas f. Maurice, knighted in 1313 by John f. Thomas, of Offaly : Laud MS., p. 342.

Maurice f. Nicholas, *positus ad dietam* in 1339, by the Earl of Desmond : Laud MS. and Clyn.

John f. Nicholas, still alive in 1375 : Pat. (Ireland) 49 Edw. III, no. 168.

THE MAC CARTHYS OF DESMOND

(based on the pedigree in MS. 4. 1. 17, f. 137 d, T. C. D.)

Dermot, s. of Cormac, s. of Muiredach, s. of Carthach *qui obiit* 1045 : A. U.
K. D. 1145–85. Submitted to Henry II in 1171 : *ante*, vol. i, p. 259 ; obtained aid from Raymond le Gros against his son Cormac in 1176 : *ante*, vol. i, p. 355 ; slain by the English of Cork in 1185 : *ante*, vol. ii, p. 100.

- **Cormac**, *Liathánach*. Took his father prisoner in 1176, and was afterwards slain by his own people : F. M.
- **Donnell Mor**, *na Curradh*, K. D. 1185–1206. Expelled (temporarily) the English from Limerick in 1195 : *ante*, vol. ii, p. 157 ; died 1206 : A. L. C.
  - **Dermot 'of Dundrinan'**, K. D. 1209–30. Opposed by Cormac Finn in 1214 : *supra*, p. 125 ; joined Wm. Marshal against Hugh de Lacy in 1224 : A. L. C. ; died 1230 : *ib.*
    - **Fineen**, slew Geoffrey de Cogan, c. 1248, and was himself slain in 1250 by Donnell Got and the Cogans : *supra*, p. 138.
  - = **Peronelle**, sister of Thomas Bloet : Close, 1 Hen. III, p. 302.
  - **Cormac Finn**, K. D. 1230–48, died c. 1248 : *supra*, p. 137. Ancestor of Mac Carthy Mor.
    - **Donnell Roe**, K. D. 1262–1302. Fought for the English at Callann in 1261 ; his letter to K. Edward, 1284 : *supra*, p. 144 ; died 1302 : A. L. C.
      - **Donnell Og**, K. D. 1302–3 : A. L. C.
        - **Cormac**, K. D. ; died c. 1320. ↓
        - **Dermot**, K. D. ; killed at Tralee in 1325 by William f. Nicholas f. Maurice of Kerry : Clyn, p. 17.
    - **Fineen**, *Rinna Roin*, K. D. 1251–61. Defeated John f. Thomas at Callann in 1261 : *supra*, p. 141 ; slain at Ringrone in same year.
    - **Donnell Maol**, K. D. 1261–2 : F. M.
    - **Cormac**, slain at Mangerton in 1262 : A. L. C.
  - **Dermot**, *Got*, 'the stammerer' of Carbery, K. D. 1248–51. Deposed O'Mahony and took possession of Carbery in 1233 : *supra*, p. 137 ; slain in 1251 by John f. Thomas : *supra*, p. 138. Ancestor of Mac Carthy Reagh.
- **Fineen**, *Lice Laichtin* (of Lislaughtin), K. D. 1206–9. Aided William de Burgh against Cathal Carrach in 1202 : *ante*, vol. ii, p. 190 ; slain by his own people in 1209 : A. L. C.

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE CONQUEST OF CONNAUGHT

1224–37

Ever since the beginning of the thirteenth century Cathal Crovderg O'Conor had remained in undisturbed possession of Connaught, holding it, since 1215 at any rate, by charter in fee during good service as a vassal of the Crown, subject to an annual rent of 300 marks.[1] Viewed as a feudal fief, Connaught on Cathal's death would pass under John's charter in ordinary course to his eldest son Aedh, and, as we have seen,[2] Cathal just before his death in 1224 was anxious to obtain from Henry III a confirmatory charter to Aedh in fee. No such confirmation appears to have been actually obtained, but on Cathal's death Aedh, we are told, 'assumed the government of Connaught . . . for he had been a king in dignity beside his father previously, and the hostages of Connaught were at his command'.[3] From this and other indications it may be inferred that Aedh was not inaugurated 'O'Conor' by the twelve chieftains of the Sil Murray according to ancient custom. In ordinary course it was more usual for the chieftainship to pass to a brother, brother's son, or cousin of the deceased chieftain—to some near male agnate otherwise qualified. In recent times, however, it

Aedh, son of Cathal, king 1224.

[1] *Ante*, vol. ii, pp. 189, 263, 285–7. [2] *Supra*, p. 40.
[3] Ann. Loch Cé, 1224.

had become increasingly common for a son to secure his father's vacant throne, and, if he proved himself 'the best man', to obtain or enforce recognition from the 'urrighs' or subordinate chieftains. Aedh would no doubt have preferred to owe his position to the free choice or the strong arms of his followers, rather than rely on English charters or English support, and it was perhaps to gain popularity with the clansmen that he burned the castle of Ardowlin and killed its occupants. But as he had to call upon the justiciar to support his claim to the throne, his succession may perhaps be regarded as the first important example of a Celtic chieftainship descending as a quasi-feudal fief from father to son.

King Aedh, son of Cathal, though apparently supported by the English, had rivals and enemies among his own kith and kin at home, ready to dispute his succession. Even before Cathal's death, Dermot, son of Rory O'Conor, the last *ard-rí*, made an abortive attempt to gain the sovereignty of Connaught,[1] and now, early in 1225, Turlough and Aedh, also sons of Rory, obtained the assistance of Aedh O'Neill to contest the throne. The Sil Murray clans, with the exception of the Mac Dermots, together with the O'Flahertys and others, joined in the rebellion against Aedh, son of Cathal. After pillaging Eastern Connaught as far as the woods of Athlone, O'Neill marched to Carnfree, where he made Turlough O'Conor king.[2]

Turlough, son of Rory, made king by O'Neill, 1225.

[1] Ann. Loch Cé, 1221.

[2] Ann. Ulst. 1225. In Ann. Loch Cé there is a double entry: first under 1224 (following the Annals of Ulster even in a blunder as to an important verb), and again at greater length from another source, under 1225, probably the true date. The Four Masters, 1225, combine the two sources and correct the faulty verb.

This was the beginning of a series of desolating wars which ended in the Anglo-Norman domination of Connaught under Richard de Burgh and his followers.

Aedh invokes English aid.

Meanwhile Aedh, unable to resist his enemies by himself, went for assistance to Athlone, where the English were at the time holding a court, 'and every one of them', we are told, 'was a friend of his, for his father's sake and his own, for he and his father before him were very liberal in wages to them. And he brought with him the justiciar[1] and as many of the foreigners of Erin as he thought sufficient'. Donough Cairbrech O'Brien and O'Melaghlin of Meath also assisted him with their forces. There is an unusually elaborate account of this campaign, apparently derived from contemporary reports, in the Annals of Loch Cé, but we need not follow it in detail.

The first campaign, 1225.

The opposing forces which were operating in the north of the province came to no regular engagement, but there was a good deal of harrying and plundering the land. In fact the Irish malcontents were unable to face the Normans in the field of battle, while Aedh, son of Cathal, was unable to cope with his enemies without Norman aid. O'Neill, we are told, 'went on a quick march to his house on hearing that a large army of foreigners and Munstermen were coming against him'.[2] The forces of the sons of Rory dispersed, and were mainly concerned 'to protect their cows

[1] William Marshal the younger was justiciar up to June 25, 1226, when he was superseded by Geoffrey de Marisco: Pat. Roll, 10 Hen. III, p. 47. Geoffrey, however, conducted this campaign (Ann. Ulst., 1225) as deputy of the Earl Marshal, who had been summoned to England in November 1224: Rot. Claus., 9 Hen. III, vol. ii, p. 96 b.

[2] Ann. Ulst., 1225.

and people and to make peace for their sake until his foreigners should depart from Aedh son of Cathal.'[1] At the same time a second army of foreigners, led by Murtough O'Brien and 'the sheriff of Cork', entered Connaught from the south and harried the land. Aedh, son of Cathal, we are told, 'disliked their coming into the district, for it was not he who had invited them; but when they heard of all the spoils the justiciar with his foreigners had obtained, envy and jealousy seized them.'[2] By 'the sheriff of Cork' is, no doubt, intended Richard de Burgh. He had recently been appointed seneschal of Munster,[3] and this office would seem to have included that of sheriff. The King of Connaught would naturally have preferred to do without the aid of William de Burgh's son, but, on the other hand, it would have been very strange if Richard de Burgh, with his hereditary pretensions, did not have a finger in the open pie. The sons of Murtough O'Conor, another brother of Rory the late *ardri*, submitted to Aedh, son of Cathal, 'for the sake of their cows and people'. They formed a distinct sept known as Clan Murtough, and were at this time seated in Carra, County Mayo. O'Flaherty also submitted for the same reason, and was obliged to yield up the island fortresses[4]

[1] Ann. Loch Cé, 1225, pp. 279, 281.

[2] Ibid., 1225, p. 281.

[3] Cal. Docs. Irel., vol. i, nos. 1114, 1216, 1288. We usually read of the seneschal of a liberty, such as Leinster or Meath, and the sheriff of a county, such as Dublin or Waterford; but at this time Munster does not seem to have been divided into separate shire-grounds. In the Irish Pipe Roll for 19 Hen. III we find the sheriff of Munster's account, but no separate sheriff of Cork is mentioned.

[4] *Inis-cremha*, or 'Wild Garlic Island', and *Oilen na circe*, or 'Hen Island'. See O'Flaherty's West Connacht, p. 25.

in Lough Corrib and the boats on the lake. On the other hand, Donough O'Brien was forced to submit to Aedh, son of Rory, and to make peace and 'drowning of candles' with him to effect the release of some of his chief men who had been captured. But in every case the submission was insincere.

No sooner were the foreigners, except a small band, departed from Aedh than O'Flaherty and the sons of Murtough and other 'royal heirs' raised the standard of revolt and once more joined the sons of Rory. Aedh accordingly dispatched messengers to the English requesting additional forces. His request was readily granted, 'for', adds the annalist, 'these expeditions were profitable to the foreigners, who used to obtain spoils and used not to encounter danger or conflict'.

Second campaign, 1225.

The English on this expedition were led by 'William Cras and the sons of Griffin'. By the former was meant William le Gras senior, cousin and seneschal of the Earl Marshal, and the latter were the sons of Griffin Fitz William, brother of Raymond le Gros. The elder of these, Matthew Fitz Griffin, held the manor of Knocktopher of the Earl Marshal. Evidently the earl, who had by this time returned to Ireland, entrusted the leadership of the campaign to his own men. This change of commanders is perhaps a premonitory symptom of that estrangement between Richard de Burgh and the lord of Leinster, which grew in strength next year and broke out with fatal consequences to the earl's brother a few years later. As before, there was no regular fighting, but much harrying of the land. The sons of Rory, once more deserted by the Connaught tribes (who went to protect their cows and people), sought refuge with O'Neill, 'and there resulted nothing to them

from this hosting, but that the best territory in Erin was injured and destroyed through them'.[1] Famine and plague followed the plundering: 'Quidquid delirant reges plectuntur Achivi.' It is ever thus, especially when the weaker side will neither submit nor face the 'trial by battle'.

Hitherto Aedh O'Conor had been supported by the forces of the Crown, but now (in 1226) a change of policy on the part of the English Government took place. A plan which had been from time to time proposed by Richard de Burgh, but which had hitherto been rejected, or at least laid aside, was now put into operation. This was nothing less than the confiscation of the land of Connaught, and the granting of the greater part of it by royal charter to Richard de Burgh. The English Government may have been persuaded that Aedh, son of Cathal, was incapable of retaining the mastery of Connaught, that in view of the dissensions among the O'Conors and the Connaught clans, as to the succession to the throne, it was hopeless to expect peace in the province[2] under any native ruler, and that the present was a favourable opportunity for extending English domination over it. But when all is said that can fairly be said in favour of the new policy, the fact remains that it involved harsh treatment of King Cathal's son, and was not unnaturally

Policy of confiscation, 1226.

[1] Ann. Loch Cé, 1225 (p. 289). It will be observed that throughout the long-disputed succession to the throne of Connaught between the sons of Rory and the sons of Cathal Crovderg, the former, when driven out, sought protection and aid from O'Neill, while the latter had recourse to O'Donnell. Lassairfhina, daughter of Cathal Crovderg, was wife of this O'Donnell: Ann. Loch Cé, 1239.

[2] In this very year (1226) fighting went on between the clan-groups of Connaught, and several chieftains were killed.

regarded by him and his followers as an act of treachery and deception. Nor was this view confined to his Irish followers. Many of the Norman barons resented this treatment of an Irish king whose cause they had supported, and by whose side they had fought. At their head was Earl William Marshal, till now the justiciar, and the facts established by a study of the authorities show beyond a doubt that the earl's refusal to endorse the new policy was the true cause of his supersession at this time by Geoffrey de Marisco, as well as of the opposition to that policy which speedily manifested itself among the earl's vassals.[1]

Richard de Burgh's position.

As has been mentioned,[2] when King John, in 1215, gave to Cathal Crovderg O'Conor a confirmatory charter of all the land of Connaught except the castle of Athlone, he made an alternative grant to Richard de Burgh of 'all the land of Connaught which William his father held of the king'. These two grants were mutually inconsistent, but the latter grant was held in abeyance, presumably to come into operation in the event of Cathal's default and forfeiture, and seisin was not given in pursuance of it. In 1219 Richard, then with the king in England, made a new offer for a charter materially curtailing for

[1] Miss Norgate (Minority of Hen. III, p. 260) rightly sees in Geoffrey's appointment the hand of Hubert de Burgh, Richard's uncle (not 'brother' as she says), but she can only attribute 'the jealousy of the de Burghs' to Earl William's 'successes in Wales and Ireland and his marriage with the king's sister'. These things may have partly influenced Hubert, but as regards Ireland, Richard de Burgh had a much stronger motive. He well knew that as long as William Marshal was justiciar he could not carry out his long-cherished scheme for the confiscation of Connaught.

[2] *Ante*, vol. ii, p. 285, note.

his own benefit Cathal's rights;[1] but this offer was rejected, and renewed protection was granted to Cathal for four years.[2] In 1220 Richard returned to Ireland[3] and received a general mandate for seisin of all the lands of which his father had been disseised, and this mandate was repeated in 1223.[4] In terms these mandates would seem to include Connaught, but no immediate steps to give seisin were taken. Apart from Connaught, Richard de Burgh inherited several valuable manors in the present counties of Limerick and Tipperary, and at his death these manors were valued at £332 14*s.* 4*d.*[5] Prior to

[1] Rot. Claus. 3 Hen. III, p. 401.

[2] Cal. Docs. Irel., vol. i, no. 928.

[3] Four Masters, 1219.

[4] Rot. Claus. 4 Hen. III, p. 427, and 7 Hen. III, p. 551.

[5] Cal. Inq. P. M., 27 Hen. III, no. 19. These manors, besides Esclon, Castleconnell, Kilfeakle, and Kilsheelan, mentioned *ante*, vol. ii, pp. 166–9, were 'Wethemtire', more correctly Wetheni-tire, *Uaithne tire*, now represented by the barony of Owney, County Tipperary, and to be equated with the manor of Castle Amory (Irish Pipe Roll, 1 Ed. I, 36th Rep. D. K., p. 22, where the names mentioned can be found in this barony; cf Eccl. Taxation, Cal. Docs. Irel., vol. v, p. 281); 'Tristelaweran and Balihodan', now Inch St. Lawrence and Ballyhobin in the barony of Clanwilliam, County Limerick; 'Castrum Wilekin', *Caislen Uilcin* (Four Masters, 1200), according to O'Donovan, Castle Erkin in the same barony; Tiperacht, Tibberaghny near Carrick-on-Suir (Rot. Chart. 2 John, p. 71 *b*); 'Cloncridan', Clonkerdin in the parish of Whitechurch, County Kilkenny. 'Lisrothorach', now Lisronagh (Cal. Docs. Irel., vol. v, p. 307, where the older form of the name is given); 'Oleithach', *Ui Luighdhech*, the ancient barony of Ileagh, where Borrisoleigh retains the name and marks the Norman site (see Four Masters, vol. v, p. 1749, note); 'Lother', *Lothra*, Lorrha (the manor along with 'Tyrdeglas' or Terryglass belonged to the Earl of Ulster prior to 1333, Inquis. P. M., 'William de Burgo', 7 Ed. III); 'Grellach', perhaps Grallagh in the parish of Dolla, Upper Ormond. Castle Amory and these last five manors have not, I think, hitherto been identified.

1225 he had allied himself to the de Lacys by his marriage with Egidia, daughter of Walter de Lacy, and he had received with her the cantred of Ardmayle in County Tipperary.[1] Through the influence of his uncle Hubert de Burgh, justiciar of England, he was now high in favour with the king. In 1225 he was appointed seneschal of Munster and custodian of the castle of Limerick, and the Crown rent of 250 marks out of Decies and Desmond was assigned to him for his maintenance in the king's service.[2]

Geoffrey de Marisco justiciar, 1226.

Next year the new policy was declared. On June 25, 1226, Earl William Marshal was superseded in the office of justiciar of Ireland by Geoffrey de Marisco.[3] No reason is assigned for this supersession, but five days later the new justiciar obtained the required orders to summon Aedh, son of Cathal, late King of Connaught, before the king's court in Dublin 'to surrender the land of Connaught, which he ought no longer to hold on account of his father's and his own forfeiture'. If Aedh refused to surrender, the justiciar was to ascertain by the court the truth of the forfeiture, and if it was found that Aedh had forfeited the land, the justiciar was to take it into the king's hand.[4] He was then to grant

Proceedings against Aedh.

[1] Rot. Claus. 9 Hen. III, p. 35 *b* (Cal. no. 1268), where Ioganach Cassel, *Eoghanacht Caisil*, is to be equated with the cantred of Ardmayle, restored to Walter de Lacy in 1217; Cal. no. 743. As Egidia de Lacy survived Richard, and as his sons were minors at his death in 1243, the statement that he married a daughter of Aedh, son of Cathal, who was the mother of his younger sons, made by an Irish genealogist (see 'West Connaught', Hardiman's note, p. 38) and followed in 'The O'Conors of Connaught' (p. 97), must be dismissed as apocryphal.

[2] Cal. Docs. Irel., vol. i, nos. 1288, 1292.

[3] Ibid., vol. i, nos. 1380, 1383.

[4] Patent Roll, 10 Hen. III, p. 48.

seisin thereof to Richard de Burgh, to hold of the king at the rent of 300 marks for the first five years and 500 marks subsequently. Five of the best cantreds nearest to the castle of Athlone were to be retained for the king's use.[1]

By the contemplated procedure the King of Connaught was to be treated as if he were simply a feudal tenant in chief of the Crown. No doubt this was his strict legal position. Under the charter granted to his father, Aedh held Connaught in fee during good service, and was not to be disseised of his land without judgement of the king's court. No feudal tenant on a charge of forfeiture could do more than demand to be tried by his peers. The precise act of forfeiture charged against Aedh is not stated. His sacking of Ardowlin and massacre of the garrison in 1224 was presumably an act of forfeiture, but seeing that the justiciar William Marshal afterwards aided him to recover his throne, it would seem to have been condoned. There may indeed have been other breaches of feudal obligation, and Aedh probably well knew or was informed that he had no adequate defence, and that he must rely on his own right arm if he was to retain his position. Irish kings who were ready to accept the protection afforded by a charter from the Crown, and the military assistance given to them, were seldom equally ready to observe the corresponding obligations, or to accept the consequences of default. When confronted with these consequences they would fall back upon their status as tribal chieftains, which they did not regard as impaired by their submission to the English king. And indeed, seeing that feudal law, even if

[1] Ibid., p. 49.

applicable between Aedh and the Crown, did not affect Aedh's relations with his Irish subjects, the analogy between Aedh's position and that of an ordinary feudal baron was far from complete.

William Marshal's action.

As already intimated, Aedh was not alone in resenting this strict application of feudal law to his case. William Marshal, who was ever zealous in defending the rights of the aristocracy of England against the Crown, took immediate action in his defence. With a chivalry and a daring worthy of his sire, but without, perhaps, his sire's incomparable temper and tact, he seems to have warned Aedh of what was in store for him, directed his bailiffs to withhold delivery of the royal castles, and started on his way to Ireland, apparently with the intention of thwarting the new justiciar and Richard de Burgh. The king, however, intimated his displeasure at William's going to Ireland, and ordered him before doing so to surrender his castles of Caermarthen and Cardigan.[1] Consequently William did not continue his journey. He was not prepared to carry his opposition to the new policy to the point of a direct conflict with the king, his brother-in-law. He surrendered the castles, met the king in August, in the Welsh Marches, and submitted to his will. Then he went to Ireland with letters of protection on the king's service,[2] presumably to deliver the royal castles held by his bailiffs to Geoffrey de Marisco.

Geoffrey's dispatch.

Meanwhile, probably in July, Geoffrey de Marisco landed at Waterford. From his letter to the king, written shortly after his arrival in Dublin, we learn both his proceedings and the

[1] Patent Roll, 10 Hen. III, p. 80 (July 10).
[2] Ibid., p. 59 (August 27).

attitude of the Irish barons with regard thereto. He was about to proceed to Dublin to communicate the mandates to the king's subjects when he heard that Earl William, by the agency of Theobald Walter, was about to oppose his passage with all the force of Leinster. Having at length arrived at Dublin, he held a council, when all assembled rendered their oaths of fealty, except William Baron of Naas, Walter de Ridelisford, Matthew Fitz Griffin, and John de Clahull—all leading vassals of the earl. Theobald Walter too excused himself from taking the oath, asserting that he could not part with the custody of the castles confided to him by the earl without his mandate. 'All the [king's] castles of Ireland', says the justiciar, 'are fortified against the king, save the castle of Limerick in the custody of Richard de Burgh, who always assists the justiciar in the king's affairs.' This loyal assistance on the part of Richard de Burgh is not surprising, seeing that the king's affairs in Ireland at this time were virtually directed by Hubert de Burgh in his nephew's interest. 'All the Irish', adds Geoffrey, 'are so banded together and so wheedled by William Crassus (i.e. William le Gras, the Earl Marshal's seneschal) that they cannot be recalled from their conspiracy.' He goes on to state that the King of Connaught, 'at the instigation of William Crassus', had become heedless of the king's mandates; that he, Geoffrey, had summoned him to Dublin, but that as the king did not come he had appointed a day for him at Athlone. Thus far Geoffrey's letter.[1] In the Annals of Loch Cé, however, it is stated that when Aedh was summoned before the court in

[1] Royal Letters (Shirley), vol. i, p. 290.

Dublin, 'he was betrayed in that court, until William Marshal, his own friend, came with his forces into the midst of the court; and they carried him out of it by force and conveyed him safely to his own country'.[1] Geoffrey's letter and other facts seem inconsistent with this dramatic action. Aedh did not appear when summoned, and it would seem that William Marshal was not in Ireland at the date of Geoffrey's letter. Nevertheless the entry is valuable as giving the Irish view of the diverse sympathies of Anglo-Irish political parties. Probably the substratum of fact was that William Marshal, through his seneschal William le Gras, warned Aedh of what was intended against him, and advised him not to appear. The submission of William Marshal to the king's will was speedily followed by the withdrawal of opposition on the part of his vassals. William Marshal took no further part in Irish politics, but by his opposition to the scheme for the confiscation of Connaught he had sown the seeds of enmity towards his house which eight years later bore bitter fruit in the tragic death of the 'Knight of the Curragh'.

Aedh's outbreak at Athlone.

For what happened at Athlone we may rely on the Annals of Loch Cé. The meeting took place near a marsh outside Athlone.[2] William de Marisco, Geoffrey's son, appeared on behalf of the justiciar with eight horsemen. Aedh came across the marsh with a few of his chief men, and

[1] Ann. Loch Cé, vol. i, p. 293. There is some confusion as to the date. The text gives 1226, which seems to be the true year, but the indicia supplied point to 1227.

[2] The Irish name of the place, *Lathach-caech-tuaithbhil*, 'the northern blind slough', is still partly preserved in that of the village of Bellaugh (*bél láthaigh* = 'entrance to the marsh'), lying west of Athlone.

'remembering the treachery and deception practised against him at Dublin', immediately seized William. Aedh's people actively supported him; the constable of Athlone was slain, and three of the deputation from the Government were taken prisoners and carried across the marsh. Then Aedh and the Connaught men plundered and burned the town of Athlone. 'This', says the short-sighted annalist, 'was a felicitous act for all the Connaught men, for they obtained their sons and daughters and the hostages of Connaught [in exchange for the prisoners], and peace for the Connaught men afterwards.'[1] The peace, however, was only for the moment, and this outbreak gave Aedh's enemies the pretext for which they were looking. He had now committed a clear act of forfeiture. In May 1227 the grant of Connaught in fee to Richard de Burgh on the terms already settled was formally executed,[2] and the tenants in chief of Ireland were summoned for an expedition into Connaught with a view to punishing Aedh and giving Richard seisin.[3] The whole of Connaught was soon overrun by the English. They brought with them the sons of Rory, whom they had previously opposed. Richard de Burgh himself, with Aedh, son of Rory, plundered the country about Inishmaine on Lough Mask and took hostages. The justiciar, Geoffrey de Marisco, with Turlough, son of Rory, took the hostages of the Sil Murray in the northern part of the present County Roscommon, and erected the castle of Rinnduin[4] on the shores of Lough Ree. Other

Campaign of 1227.

[1] Ann. Loch Cé, 1227 (*recte* 1226).

[2] Cal. Chart. Roll, 11 Hen. III, p. 42.

[3] Scutage was exacted from those who failed to attend, see Cal. no. 1581.

[4] For description and early history of the Castle of

detachments went against the O'Flahertys in the west of County Galway, into Carra in the middle of County Mayo, and to the country about Sligo, taking hostages and cattle.[1] Aedh, son of Cathal, fled to O'Donnell, and Connaught was for the moment reduced to submission without any serious opposition.

As for Aedh, he returned from Tirconnell in the same year with his wife and his brother Felim. His wife was captured by the sons of Rory and handed over to the English, while Aedh himself a little later was killed in the house of Geoffrey de Marisco. There was a natural suspicion of 'an ugly treachery', but it is clear that he was dethroned by the Connaught men themselves, and it is said that he was killed in a fit of jealousy by an Englishman with whose wife Aedh had taken liberties, and that the Englishman was hanged next day by Geoffrey for the deed.[2]

Death of Aedh, 1228.

Though possibly unconnected with this affair, there was now another change in the office of justiciar. On February 13, 1228, Geoffrey de Marisco was superseded by Richard de Burgh. The king, when announcing the new appointment, stated that Geoffrey had expressed a wish to retire.[3] There are indications, however, that

Richard de Burgh, justiciar, 1228.

Rinnduin, see my paper on Athlone Castle, Journ. R. S. A. I., 1907, pp. 274–5.

[1] Ann. Loch Cé, 1227.

[2] Ann. Ulst. 1228. In the Annals of Clonmacnois it is stated that Aedh 'came to an atonement' with Geoffrey, and was by him restored to the kingdom of Connaught, and being afterwards in Geoffrey's house was killed, &c., as above. There is no other authority for Aedh's restoration to the throne. It is not improbable, however, that he came to Geoffrey with overtures for assistance, and even that these overtures were favourably received by Geoffrey.

[3] Pat. Roll, 12 Hen. III.

Geoffrey had quarrelled with Richard at this time. Geoffrey took no further part in the conquest of Connaught and was not one of those rewarded by a grant of lands there, and, as we have seen, he was opposed to Richard de Burgh and the other enemies of Earl Richard Marshal in 1234. Now in 1226–7 Richard de Burgh had been given the custody of the Crown lands in Decies and Desmond previously held by Thomas Fitz Anthony.[1] Richard complained to the king that the lands had been so alienated by Thomas Fitz Anthony that the residue did not suffice to yield the service due. Accordingly, in August 1227, the king ordered Geoffrey as justiciar to take in the king's hand and deliver to Richard all the lands which had been so alienated, and to certify their value and the amount of the residue, so that the king might enjoin what was just.[2] As Geoffrey in his former justiciarship had got into trouble about the dealings with these lands, and as he and some of his friends appear to have benefited by the alienations, we have here a probable source of his quarrel with Richard de Burgh.

But Richard de Burgh had many friends and was now the leading figure among the Anglo-Normans. His grant of Connaught soon became effective, and constituted a partition of the province between him and the King of England. The five cantreds reserved to the latter bordered along the Shannon from the river Suck northwards to Lough Allen, and thence to Lough Gill in County Sligo. They were known as Omany, Tirmany, Moy Ai, the Three Tuaths, and Moylurg and Tirerril considered as one cantred. Together

The king's cantreds.

[1] Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. i, nos. 1462, 1502.
[2] Rot. Claus. 11 Hen. III, p. 195 *b*.

they comprised nearly the whole of the present County Roscommon with parts of the adjoining baronies in County Galway, and the barony of Tirerril in County Sligo.[1] The remainder of the kingdom of Connaught, reckoned as twenty-five cantreds, was assigned to Richard de Burgh. As yet, however, he was far from having obtained 'quiet enjoyment' of his great fief, and unfortunately we have few indications of how he proposed to obtain it. There was certainly no immediate attempt at colonization on a large scale. There never was any question of a wholesale clearance of population from any part of the land; and it was not proposed to do without the intervention of an Irish king. The difficulty seems to have been to find a king who would accept a subordinate position, with a restricted territory, while permitting the Normans to make settlements in the country, and who, at the same time, would be able to command the obedience of the leading Irish tribes.

Aedh and Turlough, sons of Rory, dispute the succession.

Now that Aedh, son of Cathal, was out of the way, it might be supposed that the Connaught clans would have united under the house of Rory; but 'a great war broke out in Connaught between the two sons of Rory, for (Aedh) the younger son did not yield submission to (Turlough) the elder, and they destroyed Connaught between them'.[2] Indeed what might be superficially regarded as the 'War of the Connaught Succession' between members of the O'Conor family, but what was in fact the 'War of the Conquest of Connaught' by Richard de Burgh, lasted, with brief intermissions,

[1] For an attempt at a more precise demarkation see a paper by Mr. H. T. Knox, Journ. R. S. A. I., 1901, p. 365.

[2] Four Masters, Annals of Boyle, 1228.

from its commencement, in 1225, for altogether twelve years, and did not terminate until a king was found who was willing to hold the Saxon king's five cantreds as his territory and leave the rest of Connaught to the domination of Richard de Burgh. It would be unprofitable to follow minutely all the fortunes of this war, though for most years the annalistic materials for doing so are unusually abundant; but in order to understand how the Normans became dominant in Connaught—or rather perhaps how it was that the change of rulers was so long in coming about—it is essential to note the chief phases of the conflict and the influence of English political changes in postponing the inevitable result.

On returning to Ireland as justiciar, Richard de Burgh, like his father before him, became the King-maker of Connaught. At first he favoured Aedh, son of Rory, and he 'was made king by the election of the justiciar and the chiefs of Connaught in preference to Turlough his elder brother'.[1] But it seems that the war between the sons of Rory went on. 'The churches and territories of Connaught were pillaged by them, and its clergy and folk of learning were expelled into foreign countries.'[2] The year 1229 is a blank in the annals as regards affairs in Connaught,[3] but the Close Roll shows that in July the king ordered Richard de Burgh to retain as demesne of the king the best lands in the five cantreds and to

Aedh, son of Rory, made king.

[1] Four Masters, 1228. The entry in the Annals of Loch Cé is that 'Aedh son of Rory assumed the sovereignty of Connaught, and his brothers along with him'.

[2] Ann. Ulst., 1228.

[3] The entries in the Annals of Loch Cé, 1229, touching the plundering of Rinnduin, &c., are misplaced. They are repeated under 1236, the true date.

take counsel as to settling the residue to the king's advantage, and that a grant was made by the king to Adam de Staunton, lord of Moone in County Kildare, of five knights' fees about Dunamon on the river Suck.[1] It is probable that Richard also made some grants, and that it was in this year he erected the castle of Meelick on the Shannon, where his father in 1203 seems to have utilized the church as the core of a mote.[2]

Probably, however, the actual settlement had not proceeded far when next year (1230) King Aedh, son of Rory, turned against Richard de Burgh. This he did at the instigation of Donn Og Mageraghty and Cormac Mac Dermot, 'for', says the annalist, 'they pledged their word that they would not belong to any king who would bring them into the house of the foreigners'.[3] Presumably Richard de Burgh, in pursuance of the king's mandate, had been trying to induce them to become tenants of the English Crown. Aedh and his followers set about plundering the new settlements made by the English in Tirmany and the lands of the Mac Costellos. Richard de Burgh now took up the cause of Felim, son of Cathal, Crovderg, representative of the rival branch of the O'Conors. He entered Connaught from the south, accompanied by Felim, and supported, not only by the English barons, but also by the kings of Thomond and Desmond with their Gaelic forces.[4] After skirmishing somewhat ineffectually with the O'Flahertys near Galway, and obtaining pledges from Manus O'Conor of Clan Murtough in the region about Clew Bay, they marched through the

Campaign of 1230.

[1] Close Roll, 13 Hen. III, m. 7, p. 194.
[2] *Ante*, vol. ii, p. 192, Felim was imprisoned here in 1231.
[3] Ann. Loch Cé, 1230.
[4] Annals of Inisfallen, 1230 (Dublin MS.).

southern part of the present County Sligo and over the Curlieu hills, with the object of forcing an engagement with Aedh, son of Rory, and the Sil Murray, who were in a wood near Lough Key. At length, contrary to the advice of King Aedh, whose plan was to clear the cattle from the country and avoid a battle, Donn Og Mageraghty resisted the march of Richard de Burgh and was slain and his force routed. Thereupon Aedh fled to O'Neill, the cattle of the Sil Murray, which had been driven off for safety across the Shannon to the glens of Slieve-anierin in County Leitrim, were rounded up, and Felim was made king by the justiciar.[1]

Felim, son of Cathal, made king.

Felim apparently proved no more tractable than Aedh, son of Rory, and was imprisoned next year (1231) by Richard at his castle of Meelick. We are left to conjecture the cause, but probably like Aedh he resented his subordinate and circumscribed position. Aedh now made peace with Richard, whose terms, whatever they were, he must have accepted and was once more made king (1232). In this year Richard erected a castle at Galway, and Adam de Staunton commenced another at Dunamon.

Felim imprisoned, 1231.

But now a change took place as the immediate result of political changes in England. On July 29, 1232, Hubert de Burgh, who with all his shortcomings was the most faithful minister of the Crown since the death of the great William Marshal, and after Stephen Langton its most

Fall of Hubert de Burgh, 1232.

[1] Annals of Loch Cé, Ulster, Boyle, and Clonmacnois, 1230. The account given in Roger of Wendover (Coxe, vol. iv, pp. 213–14), apparently of this battle, receives no support from the detailed statements of the Irish annalists, and is certainly wrong in stating that Geoffrey de Marisco was then justiciar and leader of the English forces.

patriotic adviser, was dismissed and disgraced, and the king fell under the influence of his old guardian, Peter des Roches, Bishop of Winchester, and his Poitevin nephew (?) Peter of Rivaux. A clean sweep was made of the old officials, lucrative posts were showered on the creatures of Peter des Roches, and bands of Poitevin mercenaries were brought into England. At the same time the baronial party, naturally incensed at their exclusion from the councils of the king, were weakened by the deaths of the younger William Marshal and Randolf, Earl of Chester. The former, who had proved himself a not unworthy successor of his father, died prematurely in May 1231, and the latter, who had long headed the old feudal aristocracy, died in October 1232.

Two important consequences to Ireland followed from this change in the king's advisers. We have already dealt with the revolt and tragic death of Earl Richard Marshal, which was directly traceable to Poitevin intrigues. The more immediate consequence was the fall of Richard de Burgh and the temporary undoing of his work in Connaught.

At first an attempt was made to save Hubert de Burgh from his enemies by appointing him Justiciar of Ireland, with his nephew, Richard, as deputy,[1] and thus leaving open a retreat for him there. But the appointment was a dead letter. Before the end of July 1232 almost all the offices at the king's disposal in Ireland were lavished upon Peter of Rivaux, and Hubert was ignominiously dismissed. In Ireland Peter was given for life the offices of treasurer and chamberlain of the Exchequer, the king's prisage of wines, the custody of all the king's ports and coasts, the custody of

Peter of Rivaux.

[1] Pat. Roll, 16 Hen. III, p. 487 (July 1).

the king's Jews, also the custodies of the king's escheats and wards, of the king's castles of Athlone, Drogheda, and Randown, with the king's five cantreds in Connaught, the custody of all vacant archbishoprics and bishoprics, of the city of Limerick with its castle, of Decies and Desmond with the city of Cork and the king's vill of Dungarvan.[1] Never before had such power in Ireland been concentrated in the hands of one man—and he an untried foreigner resident in England. The Chancery of Ireland was conferred on Ralph Neville, Bishop of Chichester and Chancellor of England, to be administered by deputy.[2] The office of justiciar was indeed committed during pleasure to Maurice Fitz Gerald, grandson of the first Maurice, but the office was shorn of most of its powers, and Maurice was to call in the aid and counsel of Peter's bailiffs and the Deputy Chancellor in the king's affairs, and without their presence nothing was to be done.[3]

Richard de Burgh loses favour.

With the fall of his uncle, the Earl of Kent, Richard de Burgh speedily lost the king's favour. In August he was peremptorily ordered to release Felim on his finding sureties to abide any charge that might be made against him,[4] and to deliver up the royal castles to Peter of Rivaux. On September 2 he was superseded in the office of justiciar by Maurice Fitz Gerald. Richard released Felim, with consequences which did not make for

[1] Cal. Chart. Roll, 16 Hen. III, m. 3, p. 166.

[2] Close Roll, 16 Hen. III, p. 112. Geoffrey de Turville, the chancellor's deputy, had been chamberlain of the Exchequer from 1226. He was appointed treasurer in 1234, an office which he honourably filled up to his death in 1250. He was elected Bishop of Ossory in 1244.

[3] Ibid., pp. 102–3.

[4] Ibid., p. 101.

the peace of Connaught, and after some delay surrendered the castles; but a special commission was appointed to audit his accounts and to prosecute the king's plaint against him,[1] and the justiciar was afterwards ordered to take into the king's hand the land of Connaught and keep it for the king's use.[2] Richard refused to surrender his castle of Meelick, and the king gave orders first to the justiciar and then to Felim O'Conor to take it by force.[3] This, however, was not done, and in the spring of 1234 Richard de Burgh regained the king's favour, if he did not add to his own reputation, by the action he took against Richard Marshal.

Meanwhile Felim O'Conor made use of his liberty to destroy his rivals. Acting with the Mac Dermots and others, he organized a hosting into Connaught, in the course of which Aedh, son of Rory, King of Connaught, one of his brothers, and two of his nephews, were slain, and with them fell for ever the sovereignty of this branch of the O'Conors. Felim then proceeded to destroy the castles that had been erected by Richard de Burgh and the sons of Rory, namely, the castles of Galway and Dunamon, the Hen's castle and the Hag's Castle, the two last island castles probably those in Lough Corrib and Lough Mask respectively.[4] He now 'assumed the sovereignty and government over the Connaught men', and, owing to the king's quarrel with Richard de Burgh, he was not interfered with. Indeed it was in May of this year that the king fatuously invited Felim to

Aedh, son of Rory, slain, 1233.

[1] Cal. Patent Roll, 17 Hen. III, p. 10 (Feb. 4, 1233).
[2] Close Roll, 17 Hen. III, p. 306 (May 3, 1233).
[3] Ibid., and Cal. Patent Roll, 17 Hen. III, p. 17.
[4] Ann. Loch Cé, 1233.

take the castle of Meelick from Richard, while at the same moment he was urging the justiciar to subjugate to the king's power the whole of Connaught. Such futile and virtually inconsistent mandates show how little the king understood of the real position of affairs in Connaught and give us the measure of his intellect, which never knew how to adapt means to ends. By this time indeed (July 1233) Henry began to make preparations for an immediate expedition in person to Ireland.[1] This was certainly a wise project, but on August 28, having on his hands the more pressing task of countering the revolt of Richard Marshal in Wales, Henry changed his purpose and countermanded the preparations.[2]

The capricious change in Henry's attitude towards Richard de Burgh had effects outside the borders of Connaught. In 1234 the Mac Carthys, as we have seen, attacked Tralee, Felim advanced into Westmeath and burned Ballyloughloe and Ardnurcher, where the Normans had mote-castles from early times,[3] and—more ominous still—Donough Cairbrech O'Brien, King of Thomond, who had for so many years worked loyally with the de Burghs and fought by their side, now allied himself with Felim, attacked the city of Limerick, and plundered O'Heyne, a chieftain in

[1] Close Roll, 17 Hen. III, pp. 316–17. At the same time the king ordered that (Cormac Finn) Mac Carthy should be restored to the state from which he was removed by Richard de Burgh.

[2] Ibid., p. 322.

[3] Ann. Clonmacnois, 1234. For the mote at Ballyloughloe (*Baile locha luatha*) see Journal R. S. A. I., vol. xxxvii (1907), p. 273. It is probably to be identified with the castle of 'Laghelachon' restored to Walter de Lacy in 1215: Rot. Pat., 17 John, p. 148 b. For the castle of Ardnurcher see *ante*, vol. ii, p. 89.

the south of Galway who had remained faithful to Richard in his adversity.[1]

Richard de Burgh restored to favour, 1234.

But Felim's day of independence lasted only as long as the royal ire against Richard de Burgh, or rather, perhaps we should say, while the Poitevins controlled Henry's emotions. In April 1234 the Bishop of Winchester and Peter of Rivaux were dismissed from their offices. In May Richard regained the king's favour as a reward for his action against the Earl Marshal, and in September his land of Connaught was restored to him as before. The justiciar, Maurice Fitz Gerald, was ordered to give him seisin, and Richard himself was urged to exert himself strenuously to take possession of the land.[2] In fact the conquest of Connaught had to be begun over again.

Campaign of 1235.

Next year (1235) there was a general muster of the feudal host under Maurice Fitz Gerald to obtain once more the submission of Connaught. Among the leaders expressly named were Richard de Burgh, Hugh de Lacy, Walter de Ridelisford, and John de Cogan. To these we may probably add Gerald de Prendergast, Gerald de Roche, Peter de Bermingham, Matthew Fitz Griffin, and John le Botiller. All of these shared in the exploitation of Connaught, and nearly all were now or later connected by marriage. Thus Hugh de Lacy married as his second wife Emeline, daughter of Walter de Ridelisford; John de Cogan married

[1] Ann. Loch Cé, 1235. In the Pipe Roll for 19 Hen. III may be found a reference to O'Brien's defection. Hugh de Barry, sheriff of Limerick, took credit for expenses 'in repairing the injuries caused by D. Carebrach at Limerick': 35th Rep. D. K., p. 35.

[2] Close Roll, 18 Hen. III, pp. 525, 561. The king bade him 'quod de terra predicta perquirenda viriliter et potenter se intromittat'.

a daughter of Gerald de Prendergast; Gerald married as his second wife a daughter of Richard de Burgh; while Richard was married to Egidia, daughter of Walter de Lacy. At first the feudal host went northwards from Athlone by Roscommon and Elphin to Boyle Abbey. They failed, however, to come to close quarters with Felim, who well knew their strength, and only succeeded in carrying off the cattle of the Sil Murray, which had as usual been driven for safety to the glens of Leitrim. Then they turned south into Thomond to punish O'Brien for his defection. Felim followed them to succour his ally,[1] but their joint forces were defeated, and O'Brien at once made peace and returned to his allegiance, while Felim fled to O'Donnell. O'Flaherty also made peace, and he and O'Heyne assisted the foreigners with their boats in ravaging the islands in Clew Bay.[2] Here Manus O'Conor, head of Clan Murtough, who alone in the lands of Richard de Burgh seems to have resisted, had retreated with his cattle.

Assault of Carrick, Lough Cé.

After punishing O'Donnell for granting asylum to Felim, the army assaulted the island-rock of Lough Cé, which belonged to Mac Dermot. This assault is peculiarly interesting, not only as being an almost, if not quite, unique case of the Irish at this period defending a fortress, but also as showing that the Normans employed siege-engines, when required, in Ireland. They appear to have mounted on ships some small *pierriers*, or engines for discharging large stones, and to have constructed galleries or covered ways to protect the

[1] It was probably at this time that Felim broke down the castle of Meelick: Ann. Loch Cé, vol. i, p. 333.

[2] See O'Flaherty's West Connaught, p. 51. As there stated the boats must have been drawn overland from Lough Corrib to Leenane in Killary Harbour.

men working the engines.[1] With these they threw many stones into the island-fortress, but without avail. They then made some rude boats out of the timber of some neighbouring houses, filled them with combustible materials, bound them together into one large raft, and tied empty barrels around it to keep it afloat. When all was ready a large vessel protected by a plank-house towed the whole construction towards the fortress to set it on fire. The garrison, however, smitten with fear at these stratagems, surrendered on terms. The justiciar put a ward in the fortress, but twenty days later one of them treacherously locked out the rest, and they fled to Trinity Island, to the protection of Clarus Mac Mailin, Archdeacon of Elphin, whom they had previously befriended—an ignominious ending to a successful siege.

Felim obtains the five cantreds.

As the result of this campaign Felim 'made peace with the justiciar and obtained the king's five cantreds out of which he was to receive rent and customs',[2] and Mac Dermot submitted at the same time. This amounted to a recognition by

[1] Ann. Loch Cé, 1235, p. 328. Compare the curious phonetic passage in the Annals of Boyle as given in O'Grady's Catalogue of Irish MSS. The editor of the Annals of Loch Cé misunderstands the technical terms *go ngailleribh ocus co pirrélaibh*, which are probably loan-words from the French. A *pirrél* was, presumably, a small *pierrier* (Lat. *petraria*), a general term here denoting a *trébuchet*, or a mangonel, as it was more often called in England, and *gailler* is probably *galerie*. The word *créfal*, which the editor takes as 'an earthen wall', appears in the Annals of Connacht and in the Annals of Boyle as *crebannach*. It probably denoted some sort of wooden mounting for the *pierrier*, and was carried on board ship. The dauphin brought a *trébuchet* to England in 1217: see Minority of Henry III (Norgate), p. 27.

[2] Ann. Loch Cé, 1235.

Felim of the partition of Connaught between himself and Richard de Burgh, the latter indeed getting the lion's share, but each holding as a tenant of the Crown at a definite rent. The Four Masters however state that Felim was given 'the king's five cantreds free of tribute or rent', but it is quite certain that this was not the fact. In this year Felim paid £90 13*s.* 4*d.* towards his fine for the farm of the five cantreds, and his rent at this time seems to have been £400 a year.[1] At a later period he paid a rent of £300 for a reduced territory. This rent eventually fell into large arrears, but it seems to have been paid with tolerable regularity as long as Felim lived.[2] Felim and his successors no doubt enjoyed the empty title of King of Connaught, but apart from all question of rent, their rights and jurisdiction were confined to the cantreds which they held of the King of England, and owing to their outbreaks as time went on these cantreds were reduced in number. These facts, absolutely vital to the understanding of the subsequent history of Con-

[1] Pipe Roll (Ireland), 19 Hen. III, 35th Rep. D. K., p. 37. For the two and a half years ending with Easter term 1235 Master Stephen de Turri 'accounts for £1,000 rent of Connaught, viz. at £400 per year'. Most of the money was expended on works at the bridge of Athlone and the castles of Randown, Athlone, and Ardnurcher.

[2] The next extant account is in the Pipe Roll for the 46th year of Henry III, P. R. O. Dublin, from which the following is taken: 'Fethelmus Okonechor (Felim O'Conor) [owes] £600 for the farm of the said three cantreds (viz. Mackny, Tyrthotha, and Maylurg, i. e. *Magh n-Ai*, *Trituatha*, and *Magh Luirg*) for this and the preceding year, as is contained in the bond of the said Felim which is in the treasury, and £1,050 arrears of the same for several preceding years, as is contained in roll 44.' That is to say, at Michaelmas 1262, Felim owed five and a half years' rent at £300 a year.

naught, have been too often ignored or obscured by writers on the subject.[1]

The rent of Richard de Burgh for his share of Connaught consisting of twenty-five cantreds was 500 marks a year. He had also made a fine of 3,000 marks for the recovery of his land and for acquittance of his account when justiciar. In June 1236, however, Richard went to England to confer with the king, and he obtained a remission of £1,000 out of his fine, and easier terms for the payment of the balance.[2]

Brian, son of Turlough, made king by the justiciar.

While Richard de Burgh was in England, the justiciar, Maurice Fitz Gerald, for some unexplained reason[3] once more banished Felim and gave the possession of the five cantreds to Brian, son of Turlough, son of Rory. Felim, however, soon returned, and a bitter contest followed between the descendants of Cathal Crovderg and those of Rory. Felim succeeded in crossing the bawn of the castle of Rinn-duin,[4] where his rival Brian was installed, and driving off the cattle

[1] Mr. Knox is perhaps the only writer who has recognized the true position of Felim and his successors.

[2] Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. i, no. 2342.

[3] A consequence if not the cause of this quarrel was the erection 'against Connaught' of a castle called 'Muille Uanach' (probably in Onagh, a townland in the parish of Taghmaconnell on the east side of the river Suck, due west of Athlone), perhaps to keep the way open from Athlone to Galway: Ann. Loch Cé, 1238. It is called 'Mayllonach' in 1245: Cal. Docs. Irel., vol. i, no. 2792.

[4] The castle of Rinn-duin was not entered, nor probably the inner ward. The ditch of the inner ward is connected with a ditch running south-west and cutting off the point of the peninsula. For a description of the existing remains and a slight sketch of the early history of the castle see Journ. R. S. A. I., 1907, pp. 274–5. New works had been going on there in the previous year: Pipe Roll (Ireland), 19 Hen. III, *loc. cit.*, p. 37.

which had been collected in 'the island' beyond—i.e. on the point of the peninsula cut off by a large ditch (which may still be seen) connected with the lake—and in the fighting that ensued 'a multitude of the host of cursed candle-extinguished [excommunicated] people were slain in the island and outside'.[1] From this expression we may infer that Felim had the spiritual support of the local church.

When Richard de Burgh returned from England he still supported Felim. He appears, however, to have left the justiciar to deal with the king's five cantreds and went to quell or disperse those in his own part of Connaught who had turned against Felim.[2] This was done without much trouble, but the contest between Felim and the sons of Rory, though confined to the five cantreds, went on during this year and part of the next, when it ended in the final dispersal of the

[1] Ann. Loch Cé, 1236.

[2] The passage in the Annals of Loch Cé, vol. i, p. 337, is rather confused, but probably it should be rendered thus: 'When Mac William heard of the defeat inflicted on those of his people who had turned against him [i. e. Felim], he joined O'Connor [i. e. Felim] and went to expel or subdue them.' The annalist then tells how Dermot, son of Maghnus [son of Turlough] O'Conor went for protection to Maghnus of Clan Murtough, and how Richard pursued him and forced him to submit. This Dermot had apparently fought against Felim. The annalist would not call Brian, son of Turlough, son of Rory, 'O'Conor' simply, as supposed by Mr. Knox (Hist. of Mayo, p. 87), whereas he frequently in this same year calls Felim by that title. The above interpretation is virtually that of the Four Masters. The editor of the Annals of Loch Cé supposes that Richard went to attack or pacify Felim, but that is just what he did not do. In these events we may probably see the first sign of that jealousy between the de Burghs and the Geraldines in Connaught which in after years manifested itself more openly.

surviving descendants of Rory, 'so that they had no residence in Sil Murray'.[1]

The annalist sums up the whole of this disturbed period as follows: 'During the period of twelve years down from the war of O'Neill [1225] were the Foreigners and Gael plundering in turn, without sovereignty or supremacy being possessed by one beyond the other, but the Foreigners able to destroy it [Connaught] every time they came into it; and the King and royal heirs of Connaught pillaging and profaning territories and churches after them.' From the point of view of the invaders the main trouble was with the O'Conors. The Normans had no difficulty in overrunning the country, and the lesser chieftains seem to have been ready enough to submit and become vassals of Richard de Burgh, but as soon as an O'Conor was set up as king, he either rebelled or was attacked by rival O'Conors of the same or, more usually, of a different branch of the family. The agony of the province incident to the change of masters was further prolonged for several years owing to the capricious change in English politics which brought about the temporary fall of Richard de Burgh in 1232. At last, in 1237, peace was once more made by Maurice Fitz Gerald with Felim O'Conor, and the five cantreds were once more given to him. From this time up to Felim's death in 1265, though in his later years, in consequence of the outbreaks of his son Aedh, some of his territory was taken from him, Felim personally remained a loyal vassal of the

Peace made, 1237.

[1] Ann. Loch Cé, 1237. Brian, son of Turlough, son of Rory, the justiciar's protégé, seems to have retired to the monastery of Knockmoy, where he ended his days in 1267.

Crown, and Connaught, especially in the territory of the de Burghs, enjoyed comparative peace.

The conqueror of Connaught.

In the course of these twelve years Richard de Burgh made at least three great campaigns in Connaught: one in 1227 against Aedh, son of Cathal, another in 1230 against Aedh, son of Rory, and a third in 1235 against Felim, son of Cathal. Each time he banished the king who tried to thwart him, and each time he had the whole country at his mercy, until at last he forced Felim to accept his terms. But he did much more than this, as we shall see in the next chapter. He introduced into the districts he had subdued a new class of proprietors, or as they might more aptly be termed local rulers, who, whatever their faults, were much more modern in their ideas of political subordination, social order, and rural economy, than those who had preceded them, and the settlement thus established, more firmly in some places than in others, but influencing directly or indirectly at least three-fourths of the province, made on the whole for order and progress for at least a century. To Richard de Burgh, rather than to his father,[1] critical history will give the title of 'Conqueror of Connaught'.

[1] See *ante*, vol. ii, p. 198.

CHAPTER XXIX

THE SUB-INFEUDATION OF CONNAUGHT

1237 AND AFTERWARDS

Richard de Burgh had now a free hand in Connaught, and though sundry attempts at occupation had been made at various times since the beginning of the century, the effective settlement of Anglo-Normans in the province may be said to have commenced in 1237. In that year, says the Irish annalist, 'the barons of Erin came into Connaught and commenced to build castles in it'. In the following year 'castles were erected in Muinter Murchada (the northern half of the barony of Clare, County Galway), Conmaicne Cuile (the barony of Kilmaine, south of the river Robe, County Mayo), and in Cera (the barony of Carra, County Mayo) by the aforesaid barons'.[1] Save for personal quarrels among the O'Conors themselves the peace was unbroken.

Castle-building commences, 1237.

Unfortunately there is no contemporary summary of Richard de Burgh's enfeoffments, such as the Song of Dermot gives of those of Strongbow and the elder Hugh de Lacy, and though there are transcripts in the 'Red Book of the Earl of Kildare' and in the 'Gormanston Register' of several charters of this period, we are largely dependent on indications in the annals, and on

Sources of information.

[1] Ann. Loch Cé, 1237–8.

inferences from later documents and records for our knowledge of the Anglo-Norman settlement in Connaught. Indeed the first comprehensive account is to be gleaned from the Inquisitions taken in 1333[1] after the murder of William de Burgh, Earl of Ulster, fifteen years after the great disruption caused by the Scottish invasion under Edward Bruce, and at a time when the royal power in Ireland had begun to wax faint.

Seignorial manors.

Richard de Burgh's principal manor was at Loughrea, where the castle which he built in 1236[2] became the chief seignorial seat of the lordship. In Earl Walter's time there were four carucates of demesne land at Toolooban near Dunsandle, and prior to 1333 even more, all arable land under the lord's plough. Richard had also a castle and manor at Meelick on the Shannon. This was in O'Madden's country, where the Irish chiefs seem always to have been friendly to the de Burghs. We also hear of the

[1] Chancery Inquisitions p. m., 7 Ed. III, no. 39. These inquisitions are very voluminous and deal with the lands of the earl in Carlow, Uriel, Meath, Munster, and Ulster, as well as those in Connaught. For full abstracts and a careful study of those relating to Connaught see the papers by Mr. H. T. Knox in Journal R. S. A. I., vols. xxxii, xxxiii (1902–3).

[2] Ann. Clonmacnois, 1236. Loughrea was in the cantred of Maenmagh, which had been given by Cathal Crovderg to Gilbert de Nangle in 1195 : *ante*, vol. ii, p. 155. In February 1207, king John confirmed this grant, but in the following November he made a grant to Gilbert of lands further to the east, no doubt in substitution for Maenmagh. This new grant included *Muinter Maelfhinnain*. This, too, eventually passed to the de Burgh lord, but in conformity with the above it is stated in the inquisition of 1333 that it was not held in chief of the Crown like the rest of the lordship. Presumably the title was traced through Gilbert de Nangle.

earl's castle at Portumna, where the ferry was valuable. The castle at Galway, erected in 1232, though destroyed by Felim next year, was no doubt rebuilt immediately on Richard's return to power. Not far off he formed a small manor in the parish of Ballinacourty, where the land juts out into the bay to the south-east of the town.[1] Apart from the demesne-lands, the cantreds comprised in the present baronies of Loughrea, Leitrim, and Longford, and the district about the town of Galway, appear to have been granted to free tenants for rent service,[2] or on minor tenures in comparatively small lots, and to have been strongly colonized. This was the territory which from about the middle of the fourteenth century became known as 'Clanrickard's country'. But the remainder of County Galway and the whole of the counties Sligo and Mayo were granted in large fiefs to be held by military service and a money rent. In general the reservations were at the rate of twenty marks, and the service of two knights per cantred. In the reservation of a money rent the sub-infeudation

[1] This manor appears as 'the land of Metherye' when restored to the second Richard de Burgh in 1247: Close Roll, 31 Hen. III, p. 534. The name represents the Irish *Medhraighe*, famous as the western extremity of the *Eiscir Riada*, and has survived as 'Maäree': Four Masters, vol. vi, p. 2198, note. At Ballynacourty near the church are the remains of the basement of an early castle.

[2] For example: Rathgorgin, where there are remains of an early castle, was held by John Dolfin in 1271, and by Thomas Dolfin in 1333, at a rent of £3 6*s.* 8*d.* In the adjoining townland of Oldcastle is a good example, rare in Connaught, of the mote-type of earthwork, perhaps dating from the time when Gilbert de Nangle held Maenmagh: see Journal, Galway Arch. and Hist. Soc., vol. ix, pp. 33–44. In 1585 twenty-seven quarters of land about here were known as 'Eraght Dolphine': West Connaught, p. 325.

of Connaught differed from that of Leinster and Meath.

Owing presumably to the loss of most of the Irish Pipe Rolls for the reign of Henry III, we have no wardship accounts [1] relating to the manor of Loughrea until the beginning of the reign of Edward I, when for eight years it was in the king's hand during the minority of Richard the Red Earl of Ulster. This was a disturbed time and the accounts are not complete, but the sum of £2,210 9*s.* 2*d.* was received for the king from the manor of Loughrea, and the sum of £129 14*s.* from the town fisheries, &c., of Galway.[2]

It was probably immediately after his decisive campaign of 1235 that Richard de Burgh set about rewarding those who had supported him, by granting them large fiefs in different parts of Connaught, to be held by knight's service and low rents. First of all to Hugh de Lacy he granted five cantreds, namely, Corran, Carbury-Drumcliff, Tireragh on the Moy, Luighne, and

Grant of the Sligo cantreds to Hugh de Lacy.

[1] Yet there was a minority before each succession. Richard de Burgh died in 1243. His eldest son Richard came of age in February 1247, when seisin was granted to him (Cal. Docs. Irel., vol. i, no. 2865). The Connaught lands then held by the custodians are described as 'the land of Miloc' (Meelick, barony of Longford), 'land of Metherye' (now Ballinacourty), 'land of Iocherye' (probably a blundering form of *Loch Riach*, Loughrea), the 'castles of Caylly and Kyrky' (*caislén na Caillighe* in Lough Mask and *caislén na Circe* in Lough Corrib), and the islands in the two lakes (ibid., 2908). The second Richard de Burgh died before November 5, 1248, and was succeeded by his brother Walter in May 1250 (ibid., no. 3050). Walter died in 1271, and was succeeded by his son Richard the Red Earl in January 1280 (ibid., vol. ii, no. 1629). The Red Earl died in 1326, and in 1328 his grandson, William, the Brown Earl, when only sixteen years of age, was put into possession of his estates.

[2] Pipe Roll (Ireland), 9 Ed. I, 36th Rep. D. K., p. 63.

Slieve Lugha, for the service of ten knights and the annual rent of 100 marks.[1] This grant was in substitution for a previous inoperative grant of ten cantreds given by William de Burgh to the same grantee about the beginning of the century.[2] It included rather more than the present county of Sligo less the barony of Tirerril. Hugh de Lacy, however, died in 1243. His last years were much occupied by affairs in Ulster, and he seems to have at once parted with most of his Connaught lands. He formed, indeed, a manor at Meelick in the south-eastern portion of the barony of Gallen, included at this time in Luigne.[3] This manor was assigned to his widow Emeline as her dower out of her lord's five cantreds, and was by her given to the second Richard de Burgh in exchange for his Munster manor of Tristelaurent, now Inch St. Lawrence in County Limerick.[4]

Of these cantreds Hugh de Lacy soon granted

[1] Gormanston Register, f. 189, where the cantreds appear as 'Korn, Karbridrumclef, Tirfichre Omoly, Lune, and Clefluuethe', and the witnesses are Maurice Fitz Gerald, then justiciar, Walter de Ridelisford, Gerald de Prendergast, Peter de Bermingham, and Matthew Fitz [Griffin], all of whom probably accompanied Richard and Hugh on this campaign and were directly or indirectly rewarded.

[2] *Ante*, vol. ii, p. 156 note, and cf. p. 187 note.

[3] The northern part of Gallen, called Coolcarney (*Cuil Cernadha*), was included in Tír Fhiachrach, but Meelick (*Milic*) and even Athlethan were in Luighne in the larger sense of that denomination. Luighne, indeed, was an alias for the diocese of Achonry, which included the parishes of Leyney, Corran, Gallen, and part of Costello: Ann. Loch Cé, vol. i. pp. 279, 355. In the inquisition of 1333 I take 'the half cantred of Lowyn' in which was 'Adlayn' (*Ath lethan*) as standing for Luighne, not Sliabh Lugha as supposed by Mr. Knox: Journ. R. S. A. I., 1902, p. 398. The barony of Gallen was ultimately formed out of the MacJordan de Exeter lands.

[4] Cal. Docs. Irel., vol. i, no. 3006.

Carbury[1] and the northern half of Luighne[2] (as well as his claims as Earl of Ulster on Tirconnell[3]) to Maurice Fitz Gerald. This was the nucleus of the Geraldine manor of Sligo, but it was afterwards, as we shall see, increased in two directions. Maurice obtained from Jordan of Exeter a moiety of the southern half-cantred of Luighne, which with the northern half-cantred made up the present barony of Leyney, and his son and successor in Connaught, Maurice Fitz Maurice, acquired the cantred of Corran, which was originally granted to Gerald de Prendergast. Thus the Geraldine manor of Sligo included approximately the present baronies of Carbury, Leyney, and Corran. In 1238 Maurice Fitz Gerald, then justiciar, and Hugh de Lacy dethroned Donnell McLoughlin, king of the Cinel Owen, and set up Brian O'Neill in his place, and in the next year Maurice plundered Carbury, which at this period was subject to O'Donnell. At Sligo Maurice built a castle in 1245, and here, in 1253, he founded a Dominican Friary.[4] In 1244 he obtained a grant of free chase and warren in

Sub-grant of Carbury, &c., to Maurice Fitz-Gerald.

[1] Red Book of the Earl of Kildare, f. v*d*: 'cantredum Carebri Drumclef... faciendo servicium duorum militum et reddendo viginti marcas . . . et unum accipitrem sorum.'

[2] Ibid. f. vi: 'dimidium cantredum de Luyne, illam [*sic*] videlicet que iacet versus aquilonem proxima de Esdaro (Ballysadare) . . . faciendo servicium unius militis et reddendo decem marcas argenti.' The kingdom of Luighne appears to have been co-extensive with the diocese of Achonry, and included, besides the barony of Leyney, the greater part of Gallen and the northern part (Sliabh Lugha) of Costello.

[3] Ibid. f. v*d*: 'Tyrconyll per rectas metas divisas inter Keneleon et Tyrconyll . . . faciendo servicium quatuor militum pro omni servicio.'

[4] For the above events see Ann. Loch Cé, *sub annis*.

'Luyne' (Leyney[1]), and probably about this time built the castles of Banada and Ardcree.[2] Before his death in 1257 Maurice enfeoffed his second son Maurice in all his land of Carbury, with the castle of Sligo as well as with his lands of Tirconnell and Fermanagh.[3] Maurice Fitz Maurice gave Banada to his younger brother Thomas,[4] father of John Fitz Thomas of Offaly.

After the death of Maurice, son of Maurice Fitz Gerald, in 1286, Maurice's lands were partitioned between his daughters Juliana, wife of Thomas de Clare, and Amabil. The latter gave her share to her cousin John Fitz Thomas, afterwards first earl of Kildare.[5] In settlement of the

[1] Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. i, no. 2680.

[2] Under the year 1265 the Annals of Loch Cé record the destruction by Aedh O'Conor of the castles of *Benn-fhada* (Banada) and *Rath-aird-craibhe* (Ardcree in Kilvarnet parish), as well as of the castle of Sligo. They were all, no doubt, rebuilt—that of Sligo in 1269, and again by Earl Richard in 1310.

[3] Red Book, f. viii. See the essential parts of this deed (which has been misinterpreted) transcribed in my paper on 'the Fitz Geralds, barons of Offaly', in Journal R. S. A. I., vol. xliv (1914), p. 107 (where 'pro quiet' clam' quam [*sic*],' &c., should have been expanded into 'pro quieta clamacione quam,' &c.).

[4] Ibid. f. xxii: 'Ego Mauricius filius Mauricii dedi, &c. Thome filio Mauricii fratri meo totam terram meam de Bennede in cantredo de Lune cum castro et omnibus pertinentiis excepto castro de Rathardkreth cum tribus villatis terre ad dictum castrum pertinentibus viz. Rathardkrath Rouelan et Clarath et excepto dominio Roberti de Prendirgast habend' &c. adeo plenius prout dominus Mauritius filius Geraldi pater meus illam terram cum castro . . . tenuit . . . et mihi dedit Reddendo unum ostorium sorum . . . et faciendo sectam ad curiam meam de Rathardkreth,' &c.

[5] See the several deeds mentioned in the Red Book from Amabil to John, son of Thomas, H. M. C., 9th Rep., pt. 2, pp. 266–7. In the partition most of the Connaught lands seem to have been assigned to Amabil.

dispute which arose between John Fitz Thomas and the Red Earl, all the lands of the former in Connaught seem to have been surrendered to the latter,[1] and in the inquisition taken on the death of Earl William in 1333, the manor of Sligo appears as belonging to the de Burghs. Its value before the recent disturbances was assessed as high as £333 6*s.* 8*d.*[2] About this time, however, the O'Haras recovered possession of Leyney.

Sub-grant of Gallen to Jordan of Exeter.

The southern half of the cantred of Luighne (including the greater part of the barony of Gallen (*Gailenga*)) was apparently given by Hugh de Lacy to Jordan of Exeter.[3] In 1240, however, Jordan, as we have mentioned, granted a moiety of his half-cantred to Maurice Fitz Gerald.[4] In the other moiety, in what is now the barony of Gallen in County Mayo, Jordan formed the manor of Athlethan, now Ballylahan, where the ruins of a thirteenth-century castle still stand on a spur

[1] See the agreement set out in Cal. Justiciary Rolls (1299), pp. 235–6.

[2] Journal R. S. A. I., vol. xxxiii (1903), p. 61.

[3] In 1333 a rent of 10 marks was received from Adlayn (Athlethan or Ballylahan) for half the cantred of Lowyn (Luighne) from John of Exeter.

[4] In the Red Book, f. 62 *d*, is an agreement dated at Ardrathan, September 10, 1240, by which Jordan agreed to give to Maurice 'medietatem dimidii cantredi de Luyna quod [*sic*] dictus Iordanus tenet de comite Ultonie . . . tenend' de eodem Iordano in feodo per servicium unius militis per redditum centum solidorum. Et proper hoc debet predictus Mauricius firmare quoddam castrum ad opus Iordani in Winterclerekyn (perhaps = *Druim ui Cleirchein*; Four Masters, vol. ii, p. 934, now Dromin between Athlacca and Uregare, Geraldine manors in Co. Limerick) de magnitudine et simultudine castri eiusdem Iordani quod habet in tenemento de Ardrath,' &c. Jordan de Exeter held the two vills of 'Donncolyn and Rothbethach' (Dunkellin and Roevehagh in the parish of Killeely) of the Geraldine manor of Ardrathan: ibid., f. xvi *d*.

projecting from the high ground above a ford on the Moy. In 1253 he was granted a fair at the town,[1] which is said to have been incorporated, and at about the same time he founded a Dominican Friary at Strade,[2] not far off. In 1249, apparently when sheriff of Connaught, he routed a force under the sons of Aedh O'Conor which came to attack Athenry. He was again sheriff in 1258, when he was killed while endeavouring to arrest a piratical fleet from the Western Isles under 'Mac Sorley'.[3] The family became very numerous in Connaught, where one branch became known as Mac Jordan and another as Mac Stephen. Like the Costellos, they maintained their position for upwards of three centuries, and in the composition of 1585 the Mac Jordan Dexeter of the day was assigned the castle of Ballylahan and eight quarters of land.

Sub-grant of Corran to Gerald de Prendergast.

The cantred of Corran appears to have been granted by Hugh de Lacy to Gerald de Prendergast. Gerald granted it to 'David, son of Maurice',[4]

[1] Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. ii, no. 250.

[2] Ann. Loch Cé, 1253. It is believed that the Annales de Monte Fernandi were written in this House. According to the Register of the Dominican Friary of Athenry, the Convent of Strade was originally founded for Franciscans, but was transferred to Dominicans at the instance of Basilia, daughter of Meiler de Bermingham, and wife of Stephen, son of Jordan of Exeter.

[3] Ibid., 1258, where Jordan of Exeter is called *Siúrtán dEissétar*. In Ann. Ulst., 1258, he is called *Siurtan Gaileang* from his fief. Another Jordan of Exeter was sheriff of Connaught in 1269–72 : 36th Rep. D. K., p. 28. By Mac Somhairle (Sorley) we must understand *a descendant* of Somerled. The person meant was probably Dugald, son of Ruaidhri, son of Ragnall, son of Somerled, whose daughter Aedh O'Conor married next year : Ann. Loch Cé, 1259, where the above Dugald is called Dubhgall Mac Somhairle.

[4] Red Book of the Earl of Kildare, f. vii *d* : 'cantredum de

in frank-marriage with Gerald's daughter Matilda. This David was an unnoticed son of Maurice Fitz Gerald, the justiciar. He died before St. Patrick's ay, 1249, when Matilda was still under seven years of age.[1] After Gerald's death in 1251 Matilda was given in marriage to Maurice, son of Guy de Rochford, 'the king's groom.'[2] He died before May 1258,[3] and shortly afterwards his widow Matilda was married to Maurice Fitz Maurice. This marriage, unnoticed in the pedigree of the Fitz Geralds, is proved by a letter of the year 1259 from Pope Alexander IV to the Bishop of Cloyne, directing the bishop not to harass Maurice Fitz Maurice on account of the former contractual relations of his wife Matilda, daughter of Gerald de Prendergast, with his deceased brother David.[4] The marriage accounts for the possession by Maurice Fitz Maurice of the cantred of Corran, one-third of which descended to his daughter Amabil (presumably Matilda's heir), and was by her given along with other lands in Connaught to John Fitz Thomas of Offaly in 1289.[5] From John Fitz Thomas, Corran, with

Coron . . . duas partes scilicet dicti cantredi in dominico et tertiam partem in homagio et servicio . . . reddendo xx marcas argenti . . . et faciendo servicia duorum militum (in quibus xx marcis cum serviciis predictis ego et heredes mei Ricardo de Burgo tenemur ad redditus et servicia de predicto cantredo versus dominum Regem acquietando),' &c.

[1] For Matilda's age see Cal. Inquis. P. M., 36 Hen. III, no. 254.

[2] Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. ii, nos. 80, 84, 165.

[3] Ibid., no. 580. No. 852 is misdated, cf. no. 116.

[4] Theiner, Vetera Monumenta, no. ccxi.

[5] Red Book of the Earl of Kildare, f. xxiv *d.* The marriage also accounts for the fact that Maurice Fitz Maurice held for his life Gerald de Prendergast's lands at Tobernea, Co. Limerick, Corbyn, Co. Cork, and Killegny, Co. Wexford: Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. iii, no. 463.

the other Geraldine lands in Connaught, passed to Richard de Burgh, Earl of Ulster, and here at Ballymote in 1300 the earl built a great castle. The small town which grew up about the castle was burned, and the castle itself broken during the disturbances caused by the invasion of Edward Bruce. Probably there was no considerable settlement of the English in the district, and in 1338, after the murder of Earl Richard's son Edmond, the Irish regained control over Corran.

Sub-grant of Tireragh to Piers de Bermingham.

Though no sub-grant of the cantred of Tireragh is forthcoming, there can be little doubt that Hugh de Lacy gave it to Piers de Bermingham. The whole district 'from the river Moy eastwards to Ballysadare Bay' was called 'Mac Feorais's country' as early as 1249, when Aedh, son of King Felim, broke out in rebellion and plundered it.[1] Here, as elsewhere, Mac Feorais was the Irish name for the sons or descendants of Piers de Bermingham, and from certain Plea Rolls of the time of Edward I it appears that both the Tethmoy and the Athenry branches of the family held lands here.[2] The principal castles were at Ardnarea and Castleconor, both on the Moy, but there was another at Buninna,[3] near Ballysadare Bay. In 1333 Tireragh appears to have consisted of two cantreds, 'Tyromoy' (*Tír Fhiachrach Muaidh*) and 'Con[or]dunmor' (Castleconor). Each paid twenty marks to the earl, but the tenants names

[1] Ann. Loch Cé, 1249.

[2] In 1297 Peter, son of James de Bermingham of Tethmoy, released his whole right and claim in the vill of Castleconor and three carucates there to Eustace le Poer, who claimed through a Bermingham-Poer marriage: Plea Roll, 24 Ed. I. In 1302 Eustace got a grant of free warren in Kenmoy and Castleconor: Cal. Chart. Rolls, 30 Ed. I, p. 24.

[3] *Bun finne.* See Ann. Loch Cé, 1308, 1310.

are not given.[1] The English seem to have maintained themselves here until 1371, when the castles of Ardnarea and Castleconor were taken by O'Dowd, and the English that were in them were driven out.[2] Ardnarea, however, appears to have been held by the Burkes long after this.[3]

Sub-grant of Slieve Lugha to Miles de Nangle.

Slieve Lugha, the last of the de Lacy cantreds, comprised the northern part of the barony of Costello. The O'Garas were the native chieftains, but there is no mention of any fighting with them. The cantred was held at his death by Miles de Nangle or Mac Costello. He was son of Philip, son of William, son of Jocelin de Nangle, first Baron of Navan.[4] He married a daughter of Hugh de Lacy, Earl of Ulster, and it is a probable conjecture that Hugh gave him Slieve Lugha in frank-marriage with her. She died in 1253 and was buried in the abbey of Boyle.[5]

Miles is surnamed *Bregach* by Mac Firbis, indicating that he came directly from Meath (*Breg*). He died in 1259. His descendants in the barony of Costello, the whole of which they ultimately obtained, were very numerous. His younger son Philip, who appears to have been the sheriff of that name of Connaught in 1277,[6] was ancestor of the clans Mac Jordan Duff and Mac Philip. The principal castle in the barony was known as Castlemore Costello and was very famous. There

[1] Journal R. S. A. I., vol. xxxiii (1903), p. 59.

[2] Four Masters, 1371.

[3] Ann. Loch Cé, 1532–3.

[4] See the Plea Roll, 16 Ed. II, cited *supra*, p. 35, note 2. The senior line in Meath was continued from Miles in successive generations, by Hugh, Jordan, and John. We have already mentioned the attempt of Philip de Nangle and his son Miles to get a foothold in County Leitrim: *supra*, pp. 32–5.

[5] Ann. Loch Cé, 1253.

[6] Cal. Docs. Irel., vol. ii, p. 266.

was another at Kilcolman.[1] From their position on the borders of the Irish districts the Mac Costellos were frequently fighting with the O'Conors, the Mac Dermots, the O'Haras, and others. Yet for upwards of 300 years they maintained their position, and in 1586 John McCostello, 'captain of his nation,' having obtained a regrant from the Crown of numerous manors and lands in the barony, sold the same to his kinsman Tibault Dillon,[2] and what was once a feudal holding and then a quasi-Celtic chieftainry, became a modern landed estate.

The Kerry districts.

The southern part of the barony of Costello included most of the country of the Ciarraighe (Kerry), an ancient tribe to whom was assigned as eponymous ancestor Ciar, son of Queen Meave, and the Ultonian hero Fergus Mac Roig. John Fitz Thomas of Desmond held the lands of Kerry Loch-narney under Maurice de Londres, who may have been the first grantee. Thomas Fitz Maurice, grandson of John Fitz Thomas, gave the lands, subject to a rent of £33 3*s.* 8*d.*, to Henry de Roche in exchange for the manor of Mallow.[3] These lands were about Lough Mannin, where, on a small peninsula, there are some remarkable

[1] Ann. Loch Cé, 1270.

[2] Fiants, Elizabeth, nos. 4898, 4902. For the sale to Dillon see Ann. Loch Cé, vol. ii, p. 477 (anno 1586), and O'Flaherty's West Connaught (Hardiman), p. 339.

[3] Inquisition on the lands of John Fitz Thomas (1282): Cal. Docs. Irel., vol. ii, p. 429. See, too, Inquisition after the death of Thomas Fitz Maurice (1298): ibid., vol. iv, pp. 258, 340. Maurice de Londres held the manor of Roscarlan (Rosegarland) in County Wexford from the Marshals: see Chart. St. Mary's Dub., vol. ii, p. 155. He probably sprang from the family that owned Kidwelly Castle in Carmarthenshire, and he may have been related to Henry de Londres, archbishop of Dublin.

earthworks and a small round keep resembling, on a smaller scale, the keep of Shanid, and seeming to date from the thirteenth century.[1] There is a tradition that the monastery at Ballyhaunis was founded on the site of a de Barry manor-house,[2] and archaeological evidence indicates that the site had been fortified by the Normans. There is a roughly rectangular mote at Annagh, not far from Ballyhaunis, recalling some examples in the east of Ireland, and indeed what appear to be minor Norman earthworks abound in this part of Connaught.[3] At a later period we find the Mac Jordans (Duff), a branch of the McCostellos, in this district as well as in Kerry Oughter or Upper Kerry (parishes of Aghamore and Knock), and members of this family founded a house for Austin Hermits at Ballyhaunis and one for Dominicans at Urlare.

Sil Maelruain.

South of these Kerry districts, in the parishes of Kiltullagh and part of Kilkeevin, was the cantred of Sil Maelruain, of which the O'Flynns were chiefs. The death of 'Piers Ristubhard, lord of Sil Maelruain, a noble baron', is recorded in 1254,[4] but his identity is uncertain. He may have been a Rochford, as in 1272–80 the fourth part of a cantred in 'Silmorne' (Sil Maelruain ?) was held

[1] For plan and description see Journ. Galway Arch. Soc. (1902), vol. vii, p. 115. Lough Glinn Castle, in the adjoining parish of County Roscommon, is also said to have been built by the Geraldines: Hib. Dominicana, p. 311.

[2] Hy Fiachrach, p. 161, note.

[3] Some Connacht Raths and Motes (H. T. Knox), Journ. R. S. A. I., vol. xli (1911), p. 301 et seq.

[4] Ann. Loch Cé, 1254. The name Ristubhard is taken by the editor to refer to de Ridelisford, as in 1235 'Ualdar Ritabhard, high baron of Leinster', clearly refers to Walter de Ridelisford, but there is nothing to connect his family with the district. Perhaps the entry is a blundered double of the preceding obit of 'Piers Pramister' (Bermingham).

by Henry de Rochford.[1] There is a mote called Sheeaunbeg in the townland of Barrinagh (parish of Kiltullagh) which seems to belong to the early Norman period,[2] but the O'Flynns were always energetic fighters, and probably no strong settlement was formed here. A strong castle was, however, built in the neighbouring parish of Toberbride, now Ballintober, County Roscommon. Curiously enough nothing is known about its origin, but in the inquisition of 1333 it is grouped with the cantred of Sil Maelruain and is described as 'an old castle surrounded by a stone wall, which would be very useful for keeping the peace' if repaired and garrisoned. Here there were three hundred acres of arable land under the lord's plough, a hundred-court, water-mills, burgages at Toberbride and Rathfernan, and many free holdings, all formerly valued at £84 per annum, but then, owing to the recent disturbances, at £10 only.[3] It had evidently been an important seignorial manor. In 1305 Earl Richard sought and obtained the king's licence to found and endow a chantry there and at Loughrea notwithstanding the statute of Mortmain. The jurors in recommending the proposal said that 'it would be of great advantage, if for no other reason, for the teaching of children in those parts where learning was too scarce'.[4] The remains of the castle of Ballintober are Edwardian in plan—a quadrangle with polygonal towers at the corners and gateway towers, all surrounded by a wet ditch—and

Toberbride.

[1] Irish Pipe Roll, 36th Rep. D. K., p. 63. Henry de Rochford was sheriff of Connaught in 1280: ibid.. p. 56.

[2] For plan and description see Journal R. S. A. I., vol. xli (1911), pp. 307–9.

[3] Journal R. S. A. I., vol. xxxiii (1903), pp. 59–60.

[4] Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. v, nos. 436, 510.

indicate great strength.[1] The original building may with probability be referred to about the last quarter of the thirteenth century. It was well situated to overawe the O'Conor kings. The town was burned in 1315, but seemingly not the castle. In 1362 we first hear of an O'Conor taking possession of it.[2] It remained generally in their hands, and after many vicissitudes the castle was restored and occupied by the O'Conor Don in the sixteenth century.

It is a probable conjecture that the castle was held by William 'Liath' de Burgh, the powerful cousin of Earl Richard; that after his death in 1324 it was held by his son Walter; and that on Walter's forfeiture and death in prison in 1332 it came into the hands of Earl William. The ownership by William 'Liath' of this strong castle so near the Sil Murray fits in remarkably well with his action in 1309–10 in reference to the kings of Connaught, and also with his son Walter's doings in 1328–31.[3]

Sligo was not the only manor of Maurice Fitz Gerald in Connaught. He also obtained extensive grants in the counties of Galway and Mayo. For his assistance in the campaign of 1235 Richard de Burgh rewarded him out of the territory of O'Heyne in parts of the baronies of Dunkellin and Kiltartan, County Galway.[4] Here the manorial

Territories of O'Heyne and O'Shaughnessy.

[1] See Journal R. S. A. I. (1889), pp. 24–30, for plan and description.

[2] Ann. Loch Cé, 1362. [3] See *infra*, vol. iv, c. 38.

[4] Red Book, f. vi, where the grant is transcribed. The parcels are 'duo cantreda terre de Ofecherath [*ui Fiachrach (Aidhne)*] sicut Rothy Ohethyn [Ruaidhri O'h-Eidhin] ea . . . tenuit salvo et in manu mea retento cantredo de Kenoloth' [*Cenel Aodha*, 'O'Shaughnessy's country'] to be held by the service of four knights and the rent of 40 marks. Among the witnesses are Hugh de Lacy, Walter de Ridelis-

Ardrahan and Kilcolgan.

centres were at Ardrahan and Kilcolgan, and here in 1241 Maurice obtained a grant of free warren in his demesne lands and of a market and fair at Kilcolgan.[1] From an interesting agreement transcribed in the Red Book it appears that at first 'half the cantred of Ogehethie' was granted to Eoghan O'Heyne, but that on May 26, 1252, at Clare, in the presence of Florence Mac Floinn, archbishop of Tuam, and others, O'Heyne surrendered the half-cantred to Maurice saving the tenures of his feoffees, viz.: Conor O'Heyne, Master Maurice, Thomas Malet, and Nesta, daughter of Thomas, son of Robert. In consideration of this surrender Maurice granted to O'Heyne 'the villata of Tillog and Punchedath in the tenement of Ardrahan' with eight cows and forty marks of 'old Flemish money'.[2] The O'Heynes and O'Shaughnessys assisted Richard de Burgh more than once, accepted their subordinate position, and were left in possession of parts of their territories. Small thriving towns grew up about the castles of Ardrahan and Kilcolgan. In 1289, after the death of Maurice, son of Maurice Fitz-Gerald, the lands were partitioned between his daughters Juliana, wife of Thomas de Clare, and Amabil, the former getting Ardrahan and the

ford, Gerald de Prendergast, Mathew Fitz Griffin, Richard de Tuit, Peter de Bermingham, Nicholas Power, John de Cogan and others—pointing to the year 1235. This was the only land held by Maurice Fitz Gerald directly of the de Burghs. The two cantreds were, seemingly, *Coill ua bh-Fiachrach* and *Oga Bethra*.

[1] Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. i, no. 2550, and Red Book, f. ii.

[2] Red Book, f. xix. Eoghan O'hEidhin died next year; Ann. Loch Cé, 1253. 'Ogehethie': *Oga Bethra*, a territory in the northern part of Aidhne; Hy Fiachrach, pp. 53, 63. 'Tillog': *Tul oighre?* 'hill of the heir' (Joyce, vol. iii), Tulleyre (Fiants Eliz., 5808), now Tullira in parish of Ardrahan.

latter Kilcolgan. The demesne lands of the undivided manors were valued at £49 6*s.* 8*d.*, and the rents of freeholders at £33 12*s.* 0½*d.* The burgesses of Ardrahan paid a rent of £4 1*s.* 0*d.* for their burgage land, and those of Kilcolgan £7 6*s.* 8*d.*[1] Another inquisition taken in 1321, after the death of Thomas, son of Richard de Clare (younger brother of the first Thomas), shows that the lands of Ardrahan were then worth a little over £40.[2]

Barony of Kilmaine.

The lands of Maurice Fitz Gerald in Mayo were mainly in the barony of Kilmaine, south of the river Robe.[3] He obtained them not directly from Richard de Burgh, but partly from Gerald de la Roche[4] and partly from Raymond, brother and heir of Mathew Fitz Griffin.[5] Here he formed the

[1] Red Book, ff. xvi–xviii, where full details are given, including tenants' names, denominations of lands, and tenures. The lands held of the manors extended beyond the present parishes of Ardrahan and Kilcolgan.

[2] For an abstract of this inquisition and plan of the earthworks about the castle see Galway Arch. Journal, vol. vii, pp. 73–83. In the Red Book, ff. vii and xiii, there are two grants from Conor [Mac Murray], bishop of Kilmacduagh (d. 1247), to Maurice Fitz Gerald of lands near the vill of Kilcolgan in exchange for other lands. Since this chapter was written, full abstracts of my transcripts (from the Red Book of the Earl of Kildare) of all the abovementioned documents relating to Kilcolgan and Ardrahan have been edited and annotated by Mr. H. T. Knox : ibid., vol. ix, pp. 129–77.

[3] The Robe was the boundary between the territory of Conmaicne-Cúile and that of Cera.

[4] The parcels in Gerald's grant are 'dimidium cantredi de Conmacnekuly unacum redditu quinque marcarum quas Ricardus Cosin michi reddere consuevit annuatim de terra quam de me tenuit in Tirnathyn'. (To be dated before 1246) ; Red Book, f. vi *d.* *Tír nechtain* was in the Prendergast district of Clanmorris (Inquis. 1333).

[5] The parcels in Raymond's grant are castrum de Struther

Lough Mask manor.

manor of Lough Mask, built a castle,[1] and in 1244 received a grant of free chase and warren.[2] The principal towns were at Ballinrobe and Shrule. The manors of Lough Mask and Dunmougherne were ceded along with his other Connaught lands by John Fitz Thomas to Earl Richard in 1299,[3] and the manors of Lough Mask and Shrule were among those granted by the earl in 1308 to his son John and Elizabeth de Clare.[4]

(*Sruthair*, Shrule) cum dimidio cantredi terre ibidem ; Red Book, f. xviii *d*.

[1] Lough Mask Castle was probably one of those built in 1238, Ann. Loch Cé. It was certainly in existence in 1264, when it, along with the castle of Ardrahan, was seized by Walter de Burgh in consequence of his dispute with Maurice Fitz Maurice (ibid., 1264); see *infra*, p. 241.

[2] Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. i, no. 2680.

[3] Cal. Justiciary Rolls, vol. i, pp. 235–6. The name Dunmougherne appears to be obsolete. It is the *Dún-mughorn* of Ann. Loch Cé and Four Masters, 1133, where it is mentioned as having been demolished with Dunmore, from which it was evidently not far distant O'Donovan there confuses it with *Dúnmudhord* or *Dúnmuighdhord*, now Doon near Westport, mentioned in the same annals in 1235. But in the anglicized form 'Dunmochern' it was one of the lands granted by Amabil to John Fitz Thomas (Red Book, f. 26 *d*, not 'Dannocharne' as in Index, 9th Rep. H. M. C., p. 267 *a*), and as 'Dunmougherne' it is the name of the Geraldine manor surrendered by John Fitz Thomas to Earl Richard. In Historia et Genealogia Familiae de Burgo it appears as 'the bally of Dunmuirne', where it is mentioned with places in the parishes of Kilmainemore and Kilmainebeg (Knox, History of Mayo, p. 353). The remains of the *dún* should be sought in this neighbourhood. Perhaps it is the place now called Roundfort: see Journal R. S. A. I., vol. xxxi (1901), p. 32, where, however, Mr. Knox treats the name incorrectly, having only the faulty form, 'Dannocharne', before him.

[4] Cal. Close Rolls, Ed. III, vol. ix, p. 442, and Ir. Pipe Roll, 43rd Rep. D. K., pp. 22, 24. Hence these manors do not appear in the inquisitions of 1333, being still in the hands of Elizabeth de Clare.

Clan-morris (Prender-gast).

The barony of Clanmorris in County Mayo takes its name from a Maurice whose descendants were called by the Irish *Clann Muiris na m-Brigh*, i. e. Clan Maurice of Brees Castle in this barony. The doubt whether the Mac Maurices of Brees were Fitz Geralds or Prendergasts is of old standing,[1] but it seems certain that they were Prendergasts, though the exact line of descent of this branch of the family is obscure. In 1335 the family is called in the Annals of Loch Cé 'Clan Maurice Sugach (or 'the Merry') son of Gerald',[2] and as Gerald de Prendergast, who died in 1251, is called in the same annals Gerald 'Sugach',[3] we might infer from this alone that the Clan Maurice of Brees were Prendergasts. This inference is confirmed by the inquisition of 1333, which found that the cantred of Crigfertur (*Crích fer tíre*, now the barony of Clanmorris) was then held immediately of the earl by William de Prendergast and the heir of John de Prendergast.[4]

How, precisely, these Prendergasts of Clanmorris were related—as they presumably were—to Gerald

[1] See the Composition of 1685: 'Mac Morys, otherwise surnamed Fitz Gerald or Prendergaste': West Connaught (Hardiman), p. 336.

[2] Ann. Loch Cé, 1335; cf. Ann. Ulst. and Four Masters. All the editors assume that Fitz Geralds were intended. The editor of the Annals of Ulster departs from his text, following the ignorant translator of the Annals of Clonmacnois, where the only true word is 'falsam', probably an intelligent comment which has crept into the text.

[3] Ann. Loch Cé, 1251, where the editor supposes that some unknown Fitz Gerald is intended.

[4] Journal R. S. A. I., vol. xxxii (1902), p. 397. If further proof of identity is needed see Ann. Loch Cé and Ann. Ulst. 1300, where 'Seonin Oc Mac Muiris' and 'Ioan Prendarcass' evidently denote the same John Prendergast, there being a double entry of his death.

de Prendergast is a more difficult question to answer. Gerald, as we have seen, left no male issue. His heirs were his two daughters or their representatives, and at his death he seems to have held no land in Connaught. He had parted with the cantred of Corran, given to him presumably by Hugh de Lacy, but it would be very strange if he had not also been rewarded for his assistance in the conquest by Richard de Burgh, whose daughter he married as his second wife in or before 1240. It seems highly probable that he was given the cantred of *Crích fer tíre* (or Clanmorris, as it came to be called) by Richard de Burgh. Gerald, however, was a large landholder in the counties of Cork, Limerick, and Wexford, where several of his kinsmen held knights' fees under him, and as in the case of the cantred of Corran he probably parted with *Crích fer tíre* in his lifetime to one or more of his kinsmen. A Maurice de Prendergast was one of the witnesses to Gerald's grant of Corran, and he held half a knight's fee from him in Ballacha (near Charleville, Co. Cork).[1] He may have been a brother[2] of Gerald and eponym of the County Mayo family, but it is also possible that Maurice de Prendergast, 'the first conqueror', was eponym of the whole clan.[2]

The castle of Brees was strongly situated on a hill (*bri*, an old word meaning *tulach* or hill). Some tumbled ruins of it remain. It continued for many centuries to be the chief centre of the

[1] Red Book, f. vi, and Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. i, p. 477.

[2] If we can trust implicitly Annals of Loch Cé, 1335, where the family is called *Clann Muiris t-sucaigh mic Gerailt*, the eponymous Maurice was a son (presumably illegitimate) of Gerald de Prendergast. Mac Gerailt has been rendered Fitz Gerald as a surname; hence the confusion.

Mac Morrises of Mayo, and here in 1585, 'Richard Mac Moryse of the Bryse, chiefe of his name,' still had his seat when he entered into the composition with Sir John Perrot.[1]

Dunmore (Bermingham).

Piers de Bermingham, head of the family of Tethmoy in Offaly, was presumably the first grantee of the barony of Dunmore in County Galway. He witnessed several Connaught charters, both of Richard de Burgh and of Hugh de Lacy,[2] and no doubt took part in the expedition of 1235. He was given the custody of part of Richard de Burgh's Connaught lands, and of all the lands of his son Richard, at their respective deaths.[3] He died in 1254, when he is called by the Irish annalist, 'Piers Pramister, lord of the Conmaicne of Dunmore'.[4] The senior line of his descendants, however, though retaining the lordship of Dunmore, was connected with Offaly rather than with Connaught. His grandson, Peter, son of James, whom we shall have occasion to mention again, was a famous warrior and joined in some of the expeditions of Edward I from 1294 to 1301. He fought also against the O'Conors in Offaly, and at his death in 1308 is described as 'nobilis debellator Hibernicorum'. His son and heir, John de Bermingham, Earl of Louth, was even more famous as the conqueror of Edward Bruce. At his death in 1329 he held the manor of Dunmore in Connaught as well as Tethmoy in Offaly.[5] He left three daughters as coheiresses,

[1] West-Connaught (Hardiman), pp. 331, 336, and cf. Fiants, Eliz., no. 4669.

[2] Red Book and Gormanston Register.

[3] Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. i, nos. 2908, 2975.

[4] Ann. Loch Cé, 1254.

[5] Pipe Roll (Ireland), 8 Ed. III, 44th Rep. D. K., pp. 32, 37, 38.

the eldest of whom was married to Eustace le Poer.[1]

The castle of Dunmore is situated on an artificially shaped mound, presumably the site of the Irish *dún*. A small town soon grew up beside it and was enclosed with walls in 1280.[2]

Athenry (Bermingham).

Meiler de Bermingham is the first that can be definitely connected with Athenry, where he is said to have founded the Dominican Friary in 1241.[3] He was granted a fair at Athenry in 1244,[4] and the town with its castle soon became of importance. In 1249 Turlough, son of Aedh O'Conor, who had been made king by the justiciar in place of Felim, led a hosting to Athenry to plunder it, but his forces were routed by Jordan of Exeter, sheriff of Connaught, and his 'terrible mail-clad cavalry'.[5] Meiler de Bermingham married Basilia, daughter of William of Worcester, who brought him some lands in County Tipperary, and there was a long litigation, originating between him and William de Prendergast, about some of them.[6] He is stated in the Register of the Convent of Athenry to have died in 1252, but the pleadings in the above litigation show that

[1] Cf. Clyn's Annals, 1331.

[2] Pipe Roll (Ireland), 8 Ed. I, 36th Rep. D. K., p. 47. For a description of the castle-mound and remains of the castle, see Journal R. S. A. I., vol. xli (1911), p. 305.

[3] A late compilation known as Registrum Monasterii Fratrum Predicatorum de Athenry gives many particulars about the benefactors of this Friary, but it cannot be implicitly trusted. The existing ruins of the church are of various dates. Some early lancet windows in the chancel probably belong to the original building. For a full description see Prof. Macalister's paper in Journal R. S. A. I., vol. xliii (1913), pp. 197–222.

[4] Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. i, no. 2674.

[5] Ann. Loch Cé, 1249.

[6] Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. ii, no. 1163.

he was living in 1264. He was succeeded in Athenry by his son Peter. His son William was Archbishop of Tuam from 1289 to 1311. In 1316 Athenry was the scene of the crushing defeat of the Irish of Connaught, who had seized the opportunity of Bruce's invasion to rise against the English. Richard de Bermingham, grandson of Meiler, led the victorious army. Richard died in 1322. In 1333 the half-cantred of Clantayg (including Athenry) was held in fee by the heir of Richard de Bermingham.[1] This was his son Thomas, who seems to have been still a minor.

Walter de Ridelisford, successor and presumably son of Strongbow's vassal of the same name in South Kildare, obtained the northern part of the barony of Clare, County Galway. This was the territory known as Muinter Murchadha, the tribe-name of the O'Flahertys, where a castle, presumably at Headfort, was built as early as 1238. Some arrangement must have been made with the O'Flahertys, who were not expelled until 1273. Here were formed the manors of Athmekin, or Headford,[2] and Corrofin. Walter died about 1240, leaving as his heirs his daughter Emeline, widow of Hugh de Lacy and wife of Stephen Longespée, and his infant granddaughter, Christiana de Mariscis.[3] To Emeline was assigned

Headford and Corrofin (Ridelisford).

[1] Journal R. S. A. I., vol. xxxii (1902), p. 396. For further details touching the early Bermingham Pedigree see my 'Notes' in Journal, Galway Arch. and Hist. Soc., vol. ix, pp. 195–205.

[2] The name appears as *Ath-mac-Cing* in the Circuit of Muircheartach Mac Neill, l. 143, and as *Ath-cind* and *Ath-mic-Cind* in an ancient treatise on 'O'Flaherty's Country' (transcribed in West Connaught, p. 371). Headford is an attempted translation of the Irish name.

[3] Cal. Docs. Irel., vol. i, no. 2730. Christiana's father was Robert de Mariscis.

Corrofin,[1] and to Christiana, Athmekin. Christiana afterwards granted all her lands to the king, and from the Extent taken in 1281 it appears that the lands about Athmekin were then well colonized, and that the issues of the manor amounted to £73 11*s.* 4*d.*[2] The manor of Corrofin descended to Emeline's daughter Emeline and her husband Maurice, son of Maurice Fitz Gerald.[3]

John de Cogan, head of the family in County Cork, took part in the Connaught campaign of 1235 and obtained the southern part of the barony of Clare. In 1252 he was granted a market and fair at his manor of Clare in Galway as well as at Castle Mora in Desmond.[4] He married one of the daughters and heiresses of Gerald de Prendergast, and his son John inherited one half of Gerald's lands. In 1290 his grandson, John de Cogan, founded a Franciscan Friary at Clare-Galway, the beautiful ruins of which in the early pointed style of the thirteenth century still exist.[5]

Clare-Galway (de Cogan).

[1] Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. ii, no. 112. This Corrofin descended to Emeline's daughter of the same name, wife of Maurice Fitz Maurice, and from her to her daughter Juliana, wife of Thomas de Clare. It has been confounded with Corrofin in Co. Clare.

[2] Ibid., vol. ii, nos. 1801, 2340, where with the help of the above-mentioned treatise on 'O'Flaherty's Country' most of the names can be identified. In 1295 the manor was committed to a Walter de Ridelisford to farm, and the issues were upwards of £60 a year: 38th Rep. D. K., pp. 69, 95.

[3] Ibid., vol. ii, no. 1249; vol. iii, no. 463.

[4] Cal. Charter Rolls, vol. i, p. 412; cf. Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. ii, no. 121 (no. 853, ibid., is misdated, and should be assigned to the same date as no. 121). For the castle of Mora in Desmond see *ante*, p. 118, note 2.

[5] For description and drawings see Journal R. S. A. I., vol. xxxi (1901), pp. 324–32. There were three successive Johns de Cogan. The first was son of Richard de Cogan (Milo's brother?): Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. iv, p. 44; the

De Cogans also held from an early period some lands in the baronies of Leitrim and Longford, County Galway, where the patronage of the churches of Portumna, Lickmolassy, and Muinter Maelfinnain were given before 1254 by William de Cogan to the Abbey of Dunbrody.[1]

Carra (Staunton).

Adam de Staunton, lord of Moone in County Kildare,[2] obtained the cantred of Cera, i.e. the southern part of the present barony of Carra, County Mayo, and that part of the barony of Kilmaine which lies north of the river Robe. In 1247 we read of 'Clan Adam (Staunton) and the English of Cera'. The names Castlecarra and Burriscarra indicate the thirteenth century manorial centre. Adam, son of Philip, son of Adam de Staunton, died in 1300 without male heirs, and his lands in Connaught, Leinster, and Wales were partitioned among his five daughters.[3] In 1312

second was born in 1243, ibid., vol. i, p. 477, and married Juliana, daughter of Gerald, son of Maurice Fitz Gerald, and died before 1276: ibid., vol. ii, no. 1279; the third came of age shortly after Feb. 22, 1281: ibid., no. 1789.

[1] Chart. St. Mary's Abbey, Dublin, vol. ii, pp. 119 and 196–8; and cf. Pipe Roll (Ireland), 10 Ed. I, 36th Rep. D. K., p. 63. The lands were known as Muinter Maelfinnain, O'Lomain, and Cinel Feichin. 'Maysketh in Kinaleghan,' where John de Cogan I was also granted a fair in 1252, was probably a place in Cinel [Fh]eicin.

[2] Adam de Staunton of Moone was son of Miles de Staunton who succeeded to the lands of Thomas the Fleming, one of Strongbow's feoffees and was probably his son: Song of Dermot, l. 3112; *ante*, vol. i, p. 385, and Register of St. Thomas's Abbey, Dublin, pp. 161–3 and 167. The family seem to have taken their name from Stainton in the hundred of Roose, near Haverford, whence the Prendergasts, Roches, and other Flemings came.

[3] Ann. Loch Cé, 1300. For his five daughters see Justiciary Rolls, 1300, pp. 305–6. The marriage of Margaret, the youngest daughter, was sold by the king to John Wogan the justiciar for £60: Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. iv, no 828.

the Connaught lands were assigned to his daughter Nesta and her then husband Fromund le Brun.[1] At his death in 1329, John de Bermingham, Earl of Louth, held 'the manor of Kerre' (Carra), when the rents and issues were at first received by Bernard de Staunton, but on July 9, 1333, the custody of both Dunmore and Carra was given to Edmund, son of Earl Richard de Burgh.[2] Some of the Stauntons appear to have been implicated in the murder of this Edmund in 1338.[3] A junior branch of the family, said by Mac Firbis to have been descended from Sir Bernard Staunton, became known in Carra as Mac Evilly (*mac in Mhilidh*, 'son of the knight'), and at the close of the sixteenth century, though the Burkes held much of the barony, 'Myly Mc Evily chief of his name' was one of those who entered into the composition of 1585.[4]

Castlebar (Barry).

The northern part of the barony of Carra, known as *Clann Cuain*, is believed to have been first granted to a de Barry, who has left his name in Castlebar, i.e. *caislén an Bharraigh* or 'the Barry's Castle'.[5] Before 1333, however, the freeholder was a de Cogan.

Tirawley (Barrets and Cusacks).

The primary enfeoffment of the baronies of Erris and Tirawley is complicated and obscure. The traditional account given by Duald Mac Firbis[6]

[1] Cal. Close Rolls (Ireland), 5 Ed. II, no. 37.

[2] Pipe Roll (Ireland), 8 Ed. III, 44th Rep. D. K., p. 37.

[3] O'Flaherty's West Connaught, p. 47.

[4] Ibid., p. 331. Bernard de Staunton, knight, was foreman of the jurors at Athenry on two of the de Burgo inquisitions of 1333.

[5] Castle-Barry is described by Downing, c. 1680, as 'the most western corporation, and a very fair large bawn and two round towers or castles therein'. See Hy Fiachrach, p. 160, note.

[6] Hy Fiachrach, pp. 325–39.

is confused and mixes up distinct events (which, however, can, I think, be disentangled), and trustworthy records are scanty. There were rival claims among the settlers, founded apparently on inconsistent grants, and these led to disputes. From such facts and indications as can be gathered from early records and from the annals it appears that some time about the beginning of the thirteenth century, when William de Burgh was treating Connaught as a conquered province, he made a grant to Nicholas le Petit of the cantred of Tirawley, or the northern part of the present barony, including the tuath of Bredagh,[1] and that Nicholas afterwards enfeoffed Adam Cusack 'senior' of some or all of these lands.[2] It is, however, improbable that there was any effective occupation of the lands until after the conquest by Richard de Burgh. At this time, c. 1237, Richard de Burgh appears to have granted lands in the barony, including at any rate the cantred of Bac and Glen, or the southern part of the barony, and the tuath of Bredagh, to Robert, father of Richard de Carew of Cork, who enfeoffed William Barrett.

[1] Bredagh comprised the parish of Moygawnagh and a part of that of Kilfian: ibid., p. 229 n.

[2] This is stated expressly by Earl Richard in a pleading of the year 1300: Plea Roll, 30 Ed. I, no. 62, m. 14 d, cited in Knox's 'Mayo', p. 291. Nicholas le Petit was probably the brother, so named, of William le Petit, the elder Hugh de Lacy's feoffee in the cantred about Mullingar (Chart. St. Mary's, Dublin, vol. i, p. 69), and Adam Cusack, senior, was presumably the contemporary lord of Killeen in Meath (ibid., pp. 201–2). A grant by William de Burgo to William le Petit of a cantred in Connaught is entered on Pat. Roll, 28 Eliz. (Morrin, p. 113), but it seems to have concerned *Ciarraighe Maighe n-Ái, Clann Connmaigh* (?), and *Sil Máil-ruain*, in the present County of Roscommon. It was, no doubt, inoperative, but it is one of many proofs that William de Burgh attempted to sub-infeudate Connaught.

Bredagh was thus the subject of inconsistent grants. Afterwards, apparently in the time of the second Richard de Burgh, c. 1247–8, William Barrett ejected Adam Cusack, senior, from Bredagh, and when Cusack's immediate lord, Adam le Petit, recovered judgement, William Barrett violently resisted the execution of the decree. In 1255 there was a renewed order to give Adam le Petit seisin, but there is no sign that it was carried out.[1]

In 1281 a new dispute arose between another William Barrett and another Adam Cusack, presumably sons or other kinsmen of the former disputants. A parley between them at Moyne (*Maighin*) near Killala ended in a fight, with the result that Barrett was captured and died in Cusack's prison.[2]

[1] Cal. Docs. Irel., vol. ii, nos. 292, 474, and Plea Roll, 30 Ed. I, as above. William Barrett called to warranty Richard de Carew, thus showing the intermediate tenancy. The Petits and Cusacks were Meath-men, while the Carews and Barretts, though coming immediately from Co. Cork, were by extraction from Pembrokeshire. One William Barrett was called *Breathnach*, i.e. *Cambrensis*. See, too, Owen's 'Old Pembroke Families'. A racial difference perhaps accentuated the land-feud between the families.

[2] Justiciary Rolls, vol. i, pp. 227–8, and Ann. Ulst., Ann. Loch Cé, 1281. In the Latin annals (Laud MS., Grace, Dowling) Adam Cusack is expressly called 'minor' or 'junior'. None of these annals mention the place where the battle was fought, but it is given in the Historia familiae de Burgo as 'apud Mayn de Kilro'. Mac Firbis (Hy Fiachrach, p. 329) speaks of the 'great battle of Maighin' as having been won by William Fionn (Barrett) of Kilcommon (in Erris), whom he here identifies with William Mor (Barrett) na Maighne, and states that 'the Cusack' fell with many of his people. He goes on to tell how this William then took the great court of Meelick near Moyne, drove out the Cusacks, and divided the country between his own kinsmen. He mentions, however, that he has more than one account before him. I think he tries to combine accounts relating to events separated by more than thirty years. In his pedigree

The king then took into his hand the lands of William Barrett, both in Cork and Tirawley, and of Adam le Fleming in Erris,[1] and heavy fines were exacted from members of the Barrett faction,[2] showing that they were considered in the wrong, and that at this time the arm of the law could reach the wrong-doer even in the uttermost parts of Connaught. In 1299 seisin in wardship of the lands of William Barrett was given to Richard de Burgh, Earl of Ulster, and the heir, a third William Barrett, who was born in 1280, was soon afterwards let into possession. At this time the intermediate tenancy of Maurice, son of Richard de Carew, was recognized,[3] but by 1333 it had disappeared, and 'the heirs of William Barrett' held Bac and Glen directly from the earl at a rent of twenty marks, the usual chief rent for a cantred.

The Barretts spread far and wide in Tirawley

of the Barretts (given in Knox's Mayo, p. 416) he starts with three successive Williams, viz. William Fionn of Kilcommon, William Mor na Maighne, and William Og—so far perhaps correctly. It was probably the first William who drove out the Cusacks, c. 1247–8, possibly killed Adam Cusack, senior, and divided the country among his own kinsmen; and it was his son William who was defeated and killed by Adam Cusack, junior, at Maighin in 1281, and was therefore, according to a common usage, called by subsequent writers William Mor na Maighne. The death of Adam Cusack is entered in the Annals of Ulster under the year 1287. There was an Adam Cusack, lord of Killeen in Meath, in 1280: Cal. Gormanston Register, p. 28.

[1] Justiciary Roll, vol. i, pp. 228, 312.

[2] There are numerous entries among the Exchequer Receipts, 1285–97, of payments by Batin Barrett of his fine for having peace, and in 1292 his account stood at the sum of £163 18*s.* 6*d.*: Pipe Roll (Ireland), 20 Ed. I, 37 Rep. D. K., p. 45.

[3] Plea Roll, 28 Ed. I, no. 47, m. 13 d. For all these transactions consult Knox's History of Mayo, pp. 291–2.

and overflowed into Erris. They became divided into several families or clans, as Mac Wattin (Mac Bhaitin), descended from Batin Barrett, who obtained the great court of Meelick, Clan Andrew of Bac, Clan Toimin and Clan Philpin of Erris, and others. There were also Merricks, Lawlesses, Lynotts, and others. Mac Firbis gives some account of these and of the districts in which they settled, and as he came of a family who were hereditary historians of the O'Dowds, head chieftains of Tirawley, his account is likely to be substantially correct, though, as we have seen, he seems to err as to the precise period of the first settlement, and actually reverses the immediate result of the fracas at Moyne.

Mac Firbis also tells the gruesome tale, immortalized by Sir Samuel Ferguson, of the blinding of the Lynotts by the Barretts, and of the cunning revenge of the victims.[1] The story, however, receives no support from the annals, and on the face of it was devised to account for the fact that in later ages the Burkes had scattered estates over the Barrett country. For the credit of the Welshmen of Tirawley we may hope that the story is not true.

At the composition of 1595 Sir Richard Burke was to have 5*s.* out of every quarter of 160 quarters of freeholders' lands in Tirawley, viz. the freehold lands of the Barretts, Burkes, Lynotts, Clanpaidyne, Cusacks, Carews, and Clandonnells.[2] Of these, Clanpaidyne was a sept of the Barretts, and the Clandonnells were Scottish galloglasses.

[1] Hy Fiachrach, pp. 335–9.

[2] West Connaught, p. 335. For the rights and possession of Mac William Eighter in Tirawley, c. 1584, see the extracts from Historia Familiae de Burgo printed in Hy Fiachrach, pp. 455–61.

Indeed nearly all the freeholders of County Mayo mentioned in the composition with Sir John Perrot were of other than Irish extraction.

Erris.

As to Erris still less is positively known. It was in 1273 that Donnell, son of Manus O'Conor of Clan Murtough, was expelled by the English from Erris, and after this, at any rate, the English would seem to have dominated the cantred. Adam le Fleming, who sided with William Barrett and was killed in the battle of Moyne in 1281, seems to have held the greater part of the cantred. His lands were taken into the king's hand,[1] and appear to have been set to farm to Jordan of Exeter—the same Jordan as held Affane in County Waterford of the Crown and Ballylahan in Mayo of the earl.[2] One of the tenants was John Butler, who held the manor of Ballycroy from Jordan by knight's service.[3] In 1333 the cantred was held of the earl by John, son of Jordan of Exeter, at the usual rent for a cantred, viz. twenty marks. But, as we have noticed, the Barretts spread from Tirawley over Erris, and in 1593 the Queen's commissioners found 'by ancient testimony and witnesses of great credit that the whole barony of Erris was and is the lawful inheritance of Edmund Barrett', some of the Burkes, however, had 'usurped upon part of it, and being traitors were slain in open rebellion'.[4]

Burrishoole (Butler).

Umhall, or 'the Owles', now the baronies of Burrishoole and Murisk, seems to have been

[1] Justiciary Roll, vol. i, pp. 312, 330.

[2] Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. iv, pp. 314, 374, and vol. v, p. 25.

[3] Knox's History of Co. Mayo, p. 298, referring to the Plea Rolls. In the composition of 1585, Ballycroy is said o belong to the Earl of Ormonde: West Connaught,). 333.

[4] Cal. Pat. Roll (Morrin), 40 Eliz., pp. 503–4.

granted to Henry le Boteler. Burrishoole, as the name indicates, must have been a Norman borough, and it was in all probability the *Burgheis cinn trachta*,[1] 'the burgage at the head of the strand', which was burned in 1247 by some of the Clan Murtough of Munster (O'Conors) who had recently settled in Umhall. Next year there was a formidable outbreak of the clan, and 'the castle of Mac Henry [Butler] was burned by them and its constable taken'.[2] Jordan of Exeter (the sheriff of Connaught), John Butler,[3] Robin Lawless,[4] and others made a counter-attack, and Mac Henry, who was lord of Umhall—'for it belonged to him and he was residing in it'—came with a large army, made peace with Donnell, son of Manus O'Conor (head of Clan Murtough), and with his aid suppressed those who had turned against him. Twenty-four years later (1272) 'Henry Butler, lord of Umhall', presumably the same person or his son, was slain by another member of Clan Murtough. This led to the expulsion of the clan from Umhall and Erris in the succeeding year. In 1333 John le Botiller held the cantred of 'Owyl Botiller' of

[1] Not Burriscarra, as suggested by O'Donovan. That place belonged to the Stauntons.

[2] Ann. Loch Cé, 1248. The Four Masters, in copying this passage, explain Mac Henry by Piers Poer (perhaps because this name occurs in 1249), but this is an error, as the entry of 1272 indicates. Henry le Buttiler is mentioned in 1235 in a list (probably) of those who fought against Earl Richard Marshal. Most of them, however, are known to have been engaged in the Connaught campaign of 1235 or in the settlement that followed. The Henry of 1235 may have been the Henry Pincerna mentioned in 1215: Cal. Docs. Irel., vol. i, no. 610.

[3] John Pincerna (Butler) witnessed grants made in Connaught, c. 1235–7, by Hugh de Lacy, Richard de Burgh, and Gerald de Roche: Red Book.

[4] Robert Lawless held seven townlands in Owyl in 1333.

the earl at a rent of £10, and certain townlands there were held by de Burghs, Robert Lawless, and O'Malley, apparently the Irish chieftain of Murrisk. The value to the earl of the whole cantred of Owyl was £52 13*s.* 4*d.* The claims of the Butlers were never forgotten, though they must have been in abeyance for a long time, and in the composition of 1585 Thomas, Earl of Ormond and Ossory, was said to be seised of forty quarters of land belonging to the manor of Burrishoole, and the same were assigned to him free.[1]

From this survey of the primary enfeoffment of Connaught it will be seen that the first feoffees were all, or nearly all, great feudal lords who already held fiefs in other parts of Ireland. For the campaigns of 1227 and 1235, at any rate, it appears that the feudal host who owed royal service had been summoned, and Richard de Burgh naturally rewarded those who were most active in their assistance. In some cases, however, the barons did not personally exploit their acquisitions, but created new tenures of their lands, making the new tenants liable for the rents and services due to Richard de Burgh and reserving perhaps a profit rent to themselves.[2] In process of time such intermediate tenures tended to disappear. But in most cases the Connaught lords, like their overlord Richard de Burgh and his successors, continued for some generations at least to hold their new acquisitions along with their former fiefs. Such were the Fitz Geralds of Offaly, the Berminghams of Tethmoy, the Ridelisfords of Castledermot, the Exeters of Affane, the Stauntons

[1] West Connaught, p. 335.

[2] e. g. Hugh de Lacy, Gerald de Prendergast, Maurice de Londres, the Fitz Griffins, and the Carews of Cork.

of Moone, the Cogans, Barrys, and Barrets of County Cork, the Nangles and Cusacks of County Meath, &c. In this respect the settlement in Connaught, though paralleled to some extent by that in Munster, differed from the settlement in Ulster, where John de Courcy's followers were previously for the most part landless men.

CHAPTER XXX

THE O'CONORS AND 'THE KING'S CANTREDS' IN CONNAUGHT

1235–74

After the confiscation of Connaught, in 1227, none of the kings of Connaught held of the Crown any portion of the province outside the five cantreds reserved to the English king. There were indeed O'Conors in other districts. Some of the sons or other descendants of Turlough Mor, who was slain in 1156 and who is credited with a numerous progeny, had been allotted territories or had imposed themselves on weak clans in various parts of the province previous to the partition. Henceforward the most noteworthy of these were the descendants of Murtough 'of Munster' and of Brian 'of Luighne', both sons of Turlough Mor. The former came to be known as 'Clan Murtough', and in course of time formed a disturbing element, often at variance with their kinsmen of the lines of Cathal Crovderg and of Rory, the last *ard-rí*, as well as with the Anglo-Norman settlers. They seem to have established themselves in the west of County Mayo, about Clew Bay and in Erris, whence they were expelled in 1273. Soon after this, however, four of the clan succeeded in becoming kings of Connaught (i.e. of the Sil Murray districts) for brief periods. The

Clan Murtough.

Clan Brian of Luighne.

descendants of Brian of Luighne were more peaceably settled under the Fitz Geralds and afterwards under the de Burghs in the cantred of Carbury, County Sligo, and from this line descended the O'Conors Sligo. The king's five cantreds, however, or a progressively diminishing portion of them, were granted to the O'Conor who for the time being was called 'King of Connaught', though he had no jurisdiction outside the lands held of the Crown. These he held at an agreed rent during good service or at the king's pleasure. Such was the legal position; but at times the royal power was so faint that the English king could not exercise the pleasure which we may suspect he would have felt in determining the grant which he had made. The king's dealings with the cantreds reserved to him can only be understood in connexion with the history of the O'Conor kings and their varying attitudes of tranquillity and turbulence.

Felim and Henry III.

In 1235, as we have mentioned, Felim paid £90 13*s.* 4*d.* towards his fine for the farm of the five cantreds, and a rent at the rate, seemingly, of £400 a year.[1] At this time the king appears to have retained only the castle of Athlone, with some land in its neighbourhood, and the castle of Randown on the western shore of Lough Ree. Next year, however, the justiciar erected a castle at Onagh on the river Suck, and, as already noted,[2] this and possibly the retention of some adjoining land was the consequence, if not the cause, of the justiciar's temporary quarrel with Felim. In 1240 Felim went to the king in England, 'to complain to him of the Foreigners and Gael in Ireland, and he received great honour from the

[1] *Supra*, p. 185.

[2] *Supra*, p. 186, note 3.

king on this occasion and came home safely, joyfully and contentedly.'[1] Unfortunately we have no authentic account of what passed at this interview, for the account given by Matthew Paris[2] does not harmonize with established facts and is quite untrustworthy. In 1245 another castle, called the castle of Suicin, was erected at or near Ballinasloe.[3] This was probably done with Felim's consent, for it was in this year that Felim joined the expedition under Maurice Fitz Gerald to assist the king in Wales. The object of this castle, as of that at Onagh, was presumably to keep control of the route between Athlone and the English settlements about Loughrea.

Campaign in Wales, 1245.

In January 1245 the king announced to Maurice Fitz Gerald that David, son of Llewelyn, late Prince of North Wales, had revolted against him, and besought the justiciar and the king's subjects in Ireland to aid him with men, money, and supplies,

[1] Ann. Loch Cé, 1240.

[2] Chron. Maj., vol. iv, p. 57. According to Matthew Paris, Felim complained of the devastation of his territory by John [*sic*] de Burgh, stated that he had paid an annual rent of 5,000 marks [*sic*] ever since King John, who subdued him [*sic*], had confirmed him in his kingdom, and besought the king not to suffer him to be disinherited by an ignoble adventurer. Thereupon Henry ordered Maurice Fitz Gerald, who was then present, to uproot the evil plantation made in those parts by Hubert de Burgh and restore Felim to his kingdom. Perhaps Matthew Paris confused the events of 1232 with Felim's visit of 1240. Certainly no such order was executed at the latter date.

[3] Ann. Loch Cé, 1245. The parish of 'Sukyn' in the diocese of Clonfert (Eccl. Tax., Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. v, p. 221) seems equivalent to the present parish of Creagh, in which Ballinasloe, east of the Suck, is situated. The manors of Aughrim and Suicin were evidently near each other: ibid., vol. iv, nos. 765, 814. O'Donovan's location of this castle near the head of the Suck in Co. Mayo (Four Masters, vol. iii, p. 315, note) must be rejected.

as he 'wished Ireland to share in his conquest'.[1] The expedition was delayed, but by August the king was at the mouth of the river Conway, fortifying the castle of Gannock, as it is called in the English records. It was on the site of the ancient fortress of Dyganwy, once a royal residence, on the north-eastern shore of the harbour or estuary, within view of the Cistercian House of Aberconway, which forty years later was replaced by the Edwardian castle. On August 29 the king wrote to the men of Dublin, Waterford, Drogheda, Limerick, Cork, and Carrickfergus, urging them to send immediately victuals of all kinds, of which his army stood in great need.[2] How great the need was appears from a private (uncensored) letter written from the camp about the close of September and transcribed by Matthew Paris.[3] 'We are dwelling', the writer says, adapting the language of St. Paul, 'round the castle in tents, employed in watchings, fastings, and prayers, and in cold and nakedness. In watchings, through fear of the Welsh suddenly attacking us by night; in fastings, on account of a deficiency of provisions, for a farthing loaf now costs five-pence; in prayers, that we may return home safe and sound; in cold and nakedness, because our houses are of canvas and we are without winter clothing.' The writer

[1] Close Roll, 29 Hen. III, m. 16 dors. (p. 348). The king also ordered eight wooden towers (*bretachiae*) to be prepared (pp. 285, 289). David was Henry's nephew, his mother being Joan, illegitimate daughter of King John.

[2] Close Roll, 29 Hen. III, m. 4 dors. (p. 362). Henry also ordered the justiciar to expend 500 marks in buying corn and flour to be shipped as quickly as possible, and to cause as many merchants as he could to come to the army with wine and provisions, also masons and other workmen: ibid.

[3] Chron. Maj., vol. iv, p. 481.

goes on to give a graphic description of how a ship under the command of Walter Byset, bringing provisions from Ireland, grounded in the mud opposite the castle, but unfortunately on the Welsh side of the estuary; and how after much fighting the Welsh got possession of the greater part of the cargo, consisting of 'sixty hogsheads of wine besides other much-desired and seasonable provisions'.

Meanwhile Maurice Fitz Gerald had succeeded in raising a force of upwards of 3,000 men in Ireland, including in particular Felim O'Conor, 'accompanied by a great army of the Gael',[1] but they seemingly did not arrive at Gannock until October 20, when the season for fighting was over, and the king was already preparing to return. They landed on the Isle of Anglesea and ravaged the whole island.[2] On their return journey they put to the sword and burned all that remained there. Indeed the main force can have reached Gannock only a few days before the camp broke up. On October 1, Geoffrey de Turville, bishop of Ossory and treasurer of Ireland, paid to the king at Gannock the sum of £397 10*s.* 6*d.* of Irish treasure,[3] and on October 21 he was ordered to cause the 3,000 foot-soldiers who came from Ireland to the king's service at Gannock to have their pay of 2d. a day for ten days from the 20th to the 29th of October.[4] This was a poor recompense for the pains and perils of their journey, but probably they eked out their scanty pay by the plunder

[1] Ann. Loch Cé, 1245. Clearly the bulk of the force was composed of the Irish of Connaught, but Peter de Bermingham and Adam de Staunton accompanied Maurice.

[2] Chron. Maj., vol. iv, p. 486.

[3] Cal. Pat. Rolls, 29 Hen. III, m. 2 (p. 461).

[4] Ibid., m. 1.

of Anglesea. Maurice Fitz Gerald, too, was harshly treated. The king was angry, ostensibly because he arrived too late to save the expedition from being a failure, and on November 4, 1245, superseded him as justiciar by John Fitz Geoffrey. Felim, however, was treated with honour by the king and received letters of protection until Henry's 'arrival in Ireland'.[1]

John Fitz Geoffrey justiciar, 1245.

John Fitz Geoffrey, the new justiciar, was a son of Geoffrey Fitz Peter, Earl of Essex,[2] who had been for many years King John's justiciar in England. He was already connected with Ireland by his marriage with Isabel, widow of Gilbert, son of Walter de Lacy. Her first husband died in 1230, and we first hear of John Fitz Geoffrey in Ireland in 1234, when the justiciar was ordered to give him and his wife seisin of the 'manor of Conhal',[3] Isabel's *maritagium*, of which she and her husband had been disseised in the war of Richard Marshal.[4] Isabel, it seems, was a daughter of Matilda Marshal and Hugh Bigod, Earl of Norfolk.[5] John Fitz Geoffrey was one of those added at the

[1] Cal. Patent Rolls, 29 Hen. III, m. 1 (October 21).

[2] Fine Rolls, 11 Hen. III, m. 5, vol. i, p. 158 (Roberts).

[3] This was probably Conall, now Old Connell in Co. Kildare. Meiler Fitz Henry's lands there, other than those with which he endowed the Priory of Conall (i. e. Great Connell), must have escheated at his death to Earl William Marshal, Isabel's grandfather.

[4] Close Roll, 18 Hen. III, m. 22 (p. 430). On April 12, 1234, the castle and honour of Ewias Lacy were restored to John Fitz Geoffrey and Isabel his wife as being the dower of the latter in the lands of her late husband: Cal. Pat. Roll, 18 Hen. III, m. 15 (p. 42).

[5] Dugdale's Monasticon, vol. v, p. 371, from the Tintern Chronicle; but the account given of the Bigod family from this chronicle is manifestly incorrect. Another corrupt account is printed in Chart. St. Mary's Abbey, Dublin, vol. ii, p. 313.

instance of the English barons to the Privy Council in 1237, on the occasion of a grant to the king of a thirtieth of their movables, in the vain effort to counteract the influence of the king's foreign advisers,[1] and he seems always to have favoured the baronial cause. In this very year he was chosen with his brother-in-law Roger Bigod, Earl of Norfolk, and others, and sent to the Council of Lyons to protest against the papal tribute, and also against the oppressive proceedings of Master Martin,[2] a rapacious envoy of the Pope.

Aedh, son of Felim, rebels, 1249.

No trouble occurred with Felim after his return from Wales until 1249, when his son Aedh broke out in rebellion. At this time Peter de Bermingham had the custody of the lands and castles of the second Richard de Burgh[3] during the minority of his brother and heir, Walter. By means of an ambuscade Aedh cut off a small party of mounted men who were going in front of Peter de Bermingham to the lately erected castle of Sligo, and then plundered all the Bermingham lands in Tireragh. He also treacherously killed 'Geroitin Mac Feorais', who was probably a son of Peter de Bermingham. To punish Aedh, Maurice Fitz Gerald mustered his forces and retrieved some of the spoil. Felim, fearing the consequences of his son's outbreak, fled to O'Neill. The justiciar, John Fitz Geoffrey, also led an army by way of Athlone into Connaught and joined Maurice at Elphin. Together they ravaged the Sil Murray districts and made Turlough, son of Aedh, son of Cathal Crovderg, Felim's nephew, king. Turlough, however, was not able to restrain his kinsmen, the other 'sons of the kings of Connaught', or

[1] Matt. Paris, Chron. Maj., vol. iii, p. 383.
[2] Ibid., vol. iv, pp. 420, 441.
[3] Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. i, no. 2975.

'roydamnas', who against his will attacked Athenry, but were badly defeated by Jordan of Exeter, the sheriff. Next year Felim returned with a force of the Cinel Owen and expelled Turlough, who fled to the English. The Government, however, in accordance with their usual policy, accepted the claimant who proved the strongest and best able to control the rest, and Felim was restored.[1]

Omany resumed.

His son's escapades cost Felim the cantred of Omany, in which the king now began to make permanent grants. Before 1253 Richard de la Rochelle, who was a nephew of John Fitz Geoffrey[2] and afterwards seneschal of Prince Edward and justiciar of Ireland, held the manor of Aughrim in Omany, which with subsequent additions was developed into a large estate held by the service of seven knights and a rent of £125.[3] Another grantee in the same cantred was Jordan of Exeter, Lord of Ballylahan, who had recently defeated the 'roydamnas' at Athenry.[4]

[1] Ann. Loch Cé, 1249, 1250.

[2] In a quit-claim to the advowson of the church of Kenles in Fothered, Richard de la Rochelle calls John Fitz Geoffrey his *avunculus*: MS. Kilkenny Castle, dated 1264.

[3] For the grant of lands about Aughrim and subsequent additions see Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. ii, nos. 35, 223, 226, 823. (The last entry is bungled in the Calendar. 'Thoyth' =*tuath*, i. e. the tuath of Clan Uadach.) Richard's son Philip found the conditions of the holding oppressive and petitioned for relief in 1282: ibid., no 1986. Philip appears to have sold twenty- ve villates, including the manors of Aughrim and Suicin, to his 'cousin' Theobald Butler IV (who had married a daughter of John Fitz Geoffrey): ibid., vol. iv, nos. 765–7, 814. In 1305 Edmund, son of Theobald Butler IV, petitioned for a reduction of rent: ibid., vol. v, no. 198. In 1585 the Earl of Ormonde held 24 quarters of land in the barony of Kilconnell about Aughrim: West Connaught (Hardiman), p. 319.

[4] Ibid., vol. ii, no. 228.

About this time indeed a suggestion seems to have been made for the confiscation of some or all of the lands of both Felim O'Conor and of Conor O'Brien, for on May 23, 1253, when Henry was preparing for his expedition to Gascony, he wrote to say that it was not his intention to commit to any person the lands of the king of Connaught or of the king of Thomond.[1] But Henry's intentions were seldom consistently held for long. Seven weeks later he promised that 'if he should not wish to retain the four cantreds which Felim held at the king's pleasure', Stephen de Longespée should have, as we would say, the refusal of them;[2] and on February 11, 1254, three days before his grant of all Ireland to his son Edward, Henry, when in Gascony, ignoring both Felim's possession and his own promise to Stephen, granted in fee to his Poitevin half-brother, Godfrey de Lusignan, 500 librates of land (i.e. lands worth £500 a year) in $4\frac{1}{2}$ cantreds in Connaught.[3] Lands in Connaught at the king's disposal could only come, if at all, out of the king's five cantreds, and in June 1255 the king, 'to avoid ambiguity', ordered that two of these cantreds (i.e. that selected as the best by the Lord Edward and that in which were the castles) should remain to Edward, and that of the remaining three cantreds Godfrey should select two. There was, however, to be 'no question regarding the land which Felim held on lease'.[4] But seeing that Felim appears to have held on lease, or at least at the king's pleasure, four of these cantreds, the ambiguity was sufficiently glaring. The king, in fact, seems to have been

Further confiscation proposed.

[1] Ibid., vol. ii, no. 189.
[2] Ibid., no. 237.
[3] Ibid., no. 321.
[4] Ibid., nos. 447–8.

ordering a quart to be drawn out of a pint pot. Felim naturally protested,[1] and the king replied that no injury had been done to him by giving Godfrey two cantreds in Connaught, seeing that 'some of Felim's relatives, who would not derogate from his right, if any, to those lands, had offered to the king large sums of money for the grant of them'.[2] This *argumentum ad consanguinitatem* was not likely to convince Felim. Afterwards Prince Edward waived his own claims and made a grant to Godfrey of the cantreds of Tirmany and Moylurg-Tirerril, with the homage and services of the existing tenants in chief in Omany.[3] Even this arrangement, which would have displaced Felim in two cantreds, was abandoned, and Godfrey was eventually compensated with manors in the Crown-lands of Louth and in England,[4] while Felim retained the four cantreds up to his death.

Aedh, son of Felim, subdues Breffny.

But Felim, though himself peaceably inclined, was unwilling or unable to restrain the impetuous spirit of his son Aedh. The latter was a warrior of the old reckless heroic mould. In 1253 and subsequent years he fought with and conquered the O'Reillys, and afterwards the O'Rourkes, of Breffny. As his house had lost its ancient domination over the greater part of Connaught, he thought, no doubt, to obtain compensation in the line of least resistance towards the east, and to revive the ancient claims of the kings of

[1] Ann. Loch Cé, 1255.

[2] Cal. Docs. Irel., vol. ii, no. 457, July 29, 1255.

[3] Ibid., no. 478 (Nov. 9, 1255).

[4] Ibid., no. 524 (Nov. 8, 1256). For the motes at these manors in Louth, see Journal R. S. A. I., vol. xxxviii (1908), pp. 250–6, and for the finding of a remarkable thirteenth-century prickspur, perhaps connected with Godfrey's tenancy, in one of them, see ibid., vol. xl (1910), pp. 217–18.

Connaught to the overlordship of Breffny. Moreover the English of Meath had made settlements in Breffny and had built some castles there, one of which was at a ford on the Shannon leading into the O'Conor territory.[1] The O'Reillys, too, were inclined to be friendly with the English, and as recently as 1250 had joined Maurice Fitz Maurice in an expedition against O'Neill. In 1256 there was fighting between the O'Reillys and the O'Rourkes in Breffny, in which the O'Reillys suffered most. But this was only 'a drop before the shower' of tribulation in store for them. The O'Rourkes obtained the assistance of Aedh O'Conor, while the O'Reillys sought aid from Walter de Burgh and Miles de Nangle. But before the latter could effect a junction of forces with them, O'Conor and O'Rourke, on the Festival of the Cross (September 14), fell upon the O'Reillys in the plain of Moy Slecht, near Ballinamore in County Leitrim, and utterly routed them. In recounting 'the brave destructive heroic battle' that was fought between them, one annalist, speaking of Aedh O'Conor, falls into the bombastic inflated style of the later shanachies, telling how he 'had the glowing fury of a prince, the firmness of a champion, and the valour of a lion on that day', and how 'no one could gaze on the face of the arch-prince, for there were two broad-eyed enormous royal torches flaming and rolling in his head'.[2]

Notwithstanding, or perhaps in consequence of, this evidence of Aedh O'Conor's power and aggressive designs, the new justiciar, Alan la Zuche, made

[1] At Ath-an-chip near Carrick-on-Shannon. See *ante*, p. 35.

[2] Ann. Loch Cé, vol. ii, p. 413. What seems to be another account of the same fighting follows on p. 417.

peace with him at Randown, and promised that the O'Conor territory (i.e. seemingly the four cantreds) should not be diminished while he was justiciar.[1] Next year indeed it is stated in the annals that a charter of the king's five cantreds was granted to Felim, but it may be doubted if this entry is quite correct, as large grants had already been made in Omany and were not resumed. Presumably the entry refers to the abandonment, already mentioned, of the impossible plan of providing for Godfrey de Lusignan out of the five cantreds without infringing on Felim's interests.

From about this time forward Aedh was virtually king, and he became more aggressive and more truculent than ever. In 1257 he blinded two possible rivals, descendants of his uncle the late King Aedh, son of Cathal Crovderg.[2] In 1258 he gave hostages to Brian O'Neill, and joined in the confederacy which conferred on O'Neill the sovereignty of the Gael of Erin, and was evidently aimed at the expulsion of the English.[3] In return for his submission, Aedh was given the hostages of Breffny 'from Kells to Drumcliff'. He had now a free hand in Breffny, where he proceeded to dethrone and set up kings, without, however, preserving the semblance of order in that country.

Aedh confederates with O'Neill.

In 1259 Aedh went to Derry to marry a daughter of Dugald Mac Sorley, and he brought home with her a band of eight-score warriors (*ógláigh*) under Alan Mac Sorley.[4] Dugald and Alan were seemingly sons of Rory, son of Ranald, son of Somerled, and represented one branch of

Aedh's marriage.

[1] Ann. Loch Cé, p. 421.
[2] Ibid., 1257.
[3] Ibid., 1258, and see *infra*, pp. 274–5.
[4] Ibid., 1259.

the family of the Lords of the Isles.[1] Donald and Rory, sons of Ranald, in company with Thomas of Galloway, plundered Derry in 1212 and 1214,[2] and there may have been some settlement of Clan Ranald there. Probably Dugald was the 'Mac Sorley' who led a pirate fleet in 1258 from Innsi-Gall, and passed round Erin westwards to Connemara, where they plundered some islands and a merchant vessel, and treacherously killed the sheriff, Jordan of Exeter, and 'other good men'.[3] The foreign soldiery who accompanied Dugald's daughter formed perhaps the first band of *Gallógláigh*, or Galloglasses (as the name came to be written in English), to appear in Ireland. They were professional heavy-armed foot-soldiers, and their employment did much to increase the military power of the semi-independent Irish chiefs, and stiffen their resistance to absorption in the feudal organization. There were other intermarriages between the families of Irishmen and the Clandonald of Scotland,[4] and in course of time bands of Galloglasses formed body-guards for many Irish chiefs, especially in the north, and

Scottish Gallóglaigh.

[1] See Skene's Celtic Scotland, vol. iii, pp. 293–4, and *Genealach Mhic Ruaidri* (from the Books of Ballymote and Lecan), ibid., p. 471, and the Appendix to this chapter.

[2] Ann. Ulst. *sub annis*; and see *ante*, vol. ii, pp. 290–3.

[3] Ann. Loch Cé, 1258. The death of Dubhgall Mac Ruaidhri, king of Innsi-Gall and Airergaidhel, is recorded in 1268: ibid.

[4] About this time Donnell Og O'Donnell, who had been fostered in Scotland, appears to have married a lady of Clandonald, and to have introduced *gallógláigh* into his household; and they, in 1290, secured the succession of her son Turlough: Ann. Loch Cé, 1290. Angus Og, Lord of the Isles, grandson of Donald, married a daughter of Cumhaighe O'Cathain. His grandson Eoin Mor, 'the Tanist,' married Mairi Byset, and through her his descendants succeeded to the Glynns of Antrim.

the Mac Donalds and other Scottish clans began to send offshoots to various parts of Ireland. The Government was not blind to the dangers likely to accrue from the influx of Scottish bands into Ireland. In February 1256 the king ordered his bailiffs and subjects in Ireland not to allow Angus Mac Donald (i.e. Angus Mor, Dugald's cousin), or other Scottish malefactors whose names the King of Scotland would communicate, to be received in Ireland.[1] This was the boy-king Alexander III, who was already married to Henry's daughter Margaret, and who afterwards succeeded in uniting the Western Isles to the Scottish Crown. Again, on April 29, 1260, shortly before the battle of Down, at which probably Aedh's 'foreign youths' fought, the justiciar was ordered not to permit persons from Scotland to be received in Ireland, and if he should find any such seeking confederacies with the Irish, to arrest and keep them in custody.[2]

Battle of Down, 1260.

In 1260 Aedh O'Conor joined Brian O'Neill in the combined attack on the English of Ulidia, which ended in the fatal battle of Down on May 14, 1260. When we come to treat of affairs in Ulster we shall describe in greater detail this formidable attempt against the growing English supremacy. O'Neill and many of the chief men of Tirowen and Connaught fell, and the hopes of the confederacy fell with them. Felim O'Conor could hardly have expected to escape implication in his son's action, but he seems to have thought that in diplomacy, at any rate, the offensive was the best defensive. Accordingly, soon afterwards he complained to the king of some losses which

[1] Cal. Pat. Roll, 40 Hen. III, m. 16 (p. 462).
[2] Ibid., 44 Hen. III, m. 3.

Walter de Burgh had caused to him and to the church of Elphin in this year, and in a subsequent letter, to be dated about August 1261, he prayed the king to cause Walter to render him full justice, protesting that 'for no inducement offered to him by the Irish had he receded, or would he recede, from faithfully serving the king and his son'.[1] But Felim may here be suspected of 'protesting too much'. The reply of the Government came early in 1262 in the form of a 'prodigious hosting of the Foreigners of Erin' against Felim and Aedh. The latter drove the greater number of their cattle into Tirconnel, and remained to defend them and their people at Inisaimer, an island on the Erne near Ballyshannon, while Richard de la Rochelle, the justiciar, accompanied by John de Verdun and joined by Walter de Burgh, plundered what was left in the O'Conor territory, and marked out the site of a castle in Roscommon. Aedh retaliated by plundering and burning the English homesteads between Balla and Slieve Lugha, and also in the district between Tuam and Athlone, and 'they killed all the men they found between those

Abortive hosting against Aedh.

[1] Royal Letters (Shirley), vol. ii, p. 199; Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. ii, no. 713. Felim's first complaint was made when William de Dene was justiciar, i. e. between c. October 1260 (ibid., no. 683) and the battle of Callann, July 27, 1261, when, or soon afterwards, William de Dene died. His subsequent letter was written soon after the latter date, when Richard de la Rochelle was justiciar. The Annals of Loch Cé, 1260, mention the hosting of Walter de Burgh against Felim to Roscommon, when he plundered some districts in Tirmany and also the people of the bishop (of Elphin). There was a bitter dispute going on at this time about the succession to the bishopric of Elphin (see Cal. Docs. Irel., vol. ii, nos. 646, 650, 690, 721, and Ware's 'Bishops'), and it is probable that Walter's action was concerned therewith.

places'. Notwithstanding all this violence, the armed forces did not come into conflict. The English are said to have opened negotiations, and peace was concluded between the parties at Derryquirk near Tulsk, and Aedh and Walter de Burgh, we are told, 'slept in the same bed', in token of amity.[1]

From the account, however, of Meiler de Roche, sheriff of Connaught for the period ending at Michaelmas 1262, it appears that Felim was amerced in 600 marks for himself and Aedh for having the peace of Lord Edward, and that he bound himself in a fine of 5,000 marks and 200 cattle for getting the fee farm of three cantreds, namely, Moy Ai, the Three Tuaths, and Moylurg, at a rent of 300 marks. He was also charged with rent for Tirmany.[2] This fine for peace and the large fine for the restoration of his land were no doubt imposed on Felim because of Aedh's complicity in the revolt of Brian O'Neill, and were presumably the terms of the peace of Derryquirk. From this time until after the death of Aedh very little, if any, rent was paid by the king of Connaught, and the amount of arrears and fines mounted up and were duly carried forward.

But fines entered on Pipe Rolls, though not

[1] Ann. Loch Cé, 1262. As confirmation of Aedh's raid to Athlone we may note that in his account of the issues of Athlone for the years 1262–6, Richard de la Rochelle 'answers nothing for issues of five acres outside the rampart of the castle because it was devastated by' Felim and Aedh his son: 35th Rep. D. K., p. 48.

[2] Irish Pipe Roll, 46 Hen. III, 35th Rep. D. K., p. 44. I have examined the original roll, from which it further appears that Felim owed £1,050 arrears of rent of three cantreds, besides two years' rent of Tirmany, the amount of which is not stated.

collected, only served to exasperate Aedh O'Conor still further, and the peace was soon broken again. In 1264, there was another meeting between the English leaders, including Richard de la Rochelle, justiciar, Walter de Burgh, now Earl of Ulster, and Maurice, son of Maurice Fitz Gerald, on the one side, and Felim and Aedh on the other. The latter came in great force, and, according to the annals, 'fear and consternation seized the English', who forthwith concluded peace.

Quarrel between Walter de Burgh and Maurice f. Maurice.

Near the close of 1264 a quarrel broke out between Walter de Burgh, now Earl of Ulster, and Maurice Fitz Maurice, who represented the Geraldines in Connaught. The quarrel is said to have caused great disturbances in Ireland, but authenticated facts are few. On December 6 at Castledermot in County Kildare, Maurice Fitz Maurice and his nephew Maurice Fitz Gerald, third lord of Offaly, made prisoners of Richard de la Rochelle, then justiciar, Theobald Butler and John de Cogan, and confined them in the castles of Lea and Dunamase.[1] Earl Walter seized the castles of Lough Mask, Ardrahan, and others belonging to Maurice Fitz Maurice in Connaught, and each party seems to have plundered the other's lands. How widespread the disturbances were is illustrated by the contemporary poem in Old French on the entrenchment of the town of Ross in County Wexford. It recounts how in February 1265, all the inhabitants, insti-

[1] Clyn's Annals and Ann. Loch Cé, 1264. The Annales de Monte Fernandi (Strade) give the day of the justiciar's caption, 'in die Sancti Nicholai', and its accuracy is shown by the pleading in Cal. Docs. Irel., vol. ii, p. 205, though in that pleading the regnal year is given as forty-eight, apparently by error for forty-nine.

tuting an extensive system of 'dilution of labour', aided the hired workmen in hurriedly enclosing the town, in dread of the consequences of the feud between 'Sir Maurice and Sir Walter'.[1] The cause of this feud between the de Burghs and the Geraldines, which broke out again in the next generation, is nowhere stated, but there are indications which make it pretty plain how it originated.

The root-fact was that the Fitz Geralds in Connaught were too ambitious and too powerful to remain loyal vassals of the de Burghs, and the latter for their part were jealous of the power of their Geraldine rivals. Though Maurice Fitz Gerald, father of Maurice Fitz Maurice, held directly from Richard de Burgh only the lands about Ardrahan and Kilcolgan in the south of County Galway, he had acquired from other grantees a large holding about Lough Mask in County Mayo, as well as from Hugh de Lacy extensive lands in County Sligo connecting up with Tirconnell and Fermanagh, to which he also had claims under Hugh de Lacy's grant. He was in fact by far the largest subordinate land-holder in Connaught. His position, too, as justiciar during the remainder of Richard's lifetime gave him additional power, and there are not wanting signs that jealousy and variance of political policy arose between the two from the outset of the

[1] For the text of this poem see Archaeologia, vol. xxii, and for a spirited rendering by Mrs. George Mac Lean (L. E. L.). see Crofton Croker's Popular Songs of Ireland, pp. 291–304. The disturbance, originating at Castledermot, where the justiciar was presumably holding a court, extended to the County Wexford, because Maurice Fitz Maurice held some lands there in right of his Prendergast wife: Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. iii, no. 463.

occupation.[1] After the death of Hugh de Lacy in 1243 the land of Ulster was taken into the king's hand, and as regards his claims to Tirconnell and Fermanagh, at any rate, Maurice had no superior lord between him and the Crown. When in 1247 seisin was granted to the second Richard de Burgh, Walter's elder brother, the *dominium* of the Sligo lands does not seem to have been included.[2] In 1253, after Walter had succeeded to his brother, he arraigned Maurice Fitz Gerald on an assize of mort d'ancestor,[3] probably in respect of the Sligo seigniory, but with what result is not known. Soon after 1258 Maurice Fitz Maurice, who now held his father's Connaught lands, acquired in right of his then wife, Matilda, daughter of Gerald de Prendergast, the cantred of Corran in County Sligo.[4] In 1263 Walter de Burgh built a castle at Ath Anghaile somewhere in Corran,[5] and this intrusion in his domain, though possibly justified, is likely to have been unwelcome to Maurice. When about this time or in the next year Walter de Burgh was made Earl of Ulster by Prince Edward and given the lands of Hugh de Lacy there, Maurice must have greatly resented the interposition of his rival as superior lord between him and the Crown. Probably a decision in the justiciar's court at Castledermot adverse to Maurice, touching the rights of the parties in Ulster and perhaps in Sligo, was

[1] See *supra*, p. 187, note 2.

[2] *Supra*, p. 193, note 1.

[3] Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. ii, no. 282. [4] *Supra*, p. 199.

[5] Ann. Loch Cé, 1263. It probably stood at a ford over the Owenmore river, near where it leaves the Templehouse lake, which appears to have been formerly known as Lough Awnally (*Ath anghaile*). It was near to, but distinct from, the castle of Tech Templa mentioned in 1271: see Proc. R. I. A., vol. xxvi (c), p. 368.

regarded as unjust by Maurice, and in the abeyance of the royal power consequent on the battle of Lewes, he and his kindred did not scruple to use force against the king's representative.[1]

It appears that Geoffrey de Geynville led a force on behalf of the government against the Geraldines in 1265,[2] and this indicates the side Prince Edward thought was in the wrong. By June 10 the king had heard that the discord between the parties had been appeased,[3] and it was ordained in regard to the restoration of lands that all persons should have the same estate as they had when the disturbance began.[4]

It was not to be supposed that Aedh O'Conor would sit quiet while this feud was being waged between the magnates. Accordingly we read that in 1265 in company with O'Donnell he demolished the castles of Sligo, Banada, and Ardcree.[5] These were Geraldine castles. In the same year, his father, King Felim, died—'a man full of distinction and honour in Erin and Saxon-land'—and he was buried in the Dominican Friary in Roscommon, where his sepulchral effigy, battered by time and neglect, is still pointed out. For thirty

Death of Felim, 1265.

[1] It is perhaps not irrelevant to note that Richard de la Rochelle and Theobald Butler IV were connected by marriage with Walter de Burgh. Both Walter and Theobald were married to daughters of John Fitz Geoffrey, formerly justiciar (Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. iv, no. 638): and Richard de la Rochelle was his nephew. As for John de Cogan, who was also imprisoned, he married the elder daughter of Gerald de Prendergast, half-sister of Matilda, then wife of Maurice Fitz Maurice. But there had already been disputes between these half-sisters about their shares in Gerald's lands: Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. ii, no. 165.

[2] 36th Rep. D. K., p. 37.

[3] Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. ii, p. 126. [4] Ibid., p. 205.

[5] Four Masters, Ann. Loch Cé, 1265. The latter annals do not mention O'Donnell.

years Felim had been, on the whole, in difficult circumstances, personally loyal to the king of England. He had accepted the settlement of 1235, by which he held the five cantreds from the English Crown. He had visited King Henry in England and had aided him in his war in Wales. But in his later years he had found himself unable to curb the aggressive spirit of his warrior son, and he had seen in consequence one of his cantreds taken from him.

Aedh as king.

Aedh now succeeded Felim as actual king, and just as Cuchullin on first receiving arms must needs sally forth from Emain 'to redden his weapons' on friend or foe, so Aedh on assuming the sovereignty 'executed his royal depredation' in Offaly, where he committed many burnings and killings, and on his return to Athlone he blinded Cathal, son of Teig O'Conor, who died after having been blinded.[1] Such is the view taken by the annalists of Aedh's expedition to Offaly, and it is endorsed by O'Donovan. But it may be asked, why did Aedh select distant Offaly for his 'royal depredation'? Why not Loughrea, for instance? It is impossible not to note that Offaly (or part of it), like Sligo, where he had just destroyed the castles, was a Geraldine district, and that in both cases Aedh was apparently despoiling the opponents of Walter de Burgh. If this was done with Walter's connivance, it was a short-sighted as well as a dishonourable policy—

> Non tali auxilio nec defensoribus istis
> tempus eget.

[1] Ann. Loch Cé, Four Masters, Ann. Clonmacnois, 1265. Cathal was grandson of Felim's elder brother Aedh and had the senior claim to the kingship.

As might have been expected, Aedh did not long confine his attentions to Walter's quondam foes. Next year (1266) several attacks were made on the English settlers. The castle of Tiaquin[1] was breached and the district about Dunmore laid waste. Ardnarea and the borough of Ballintogher were burned. A raid was made by Aedh's people against the Britons and Leinstermen of the west of Connaught—meaning presumably the Welshmen of Tirawley and their neighbours from Meath and Dublin—and thirty-one of their heads were presented to O'Conor.[1] One consequence of these exploits was that the king resumed the cantred of Tirmany and made grants therein.[2]

Tirmany resumed.

[1] Ann. Loch Cé, 1266. Tiaquin (*Tech Dhachoinne*) was in O'Kelly's country, and but for this entry we should not know that there was a castle here. It was probably held in connexion with Dunmore.

[2] Cal. Pat. Roll, 51 Hen. III, p. 85, where 'Thoyth' probably represents the Irish *tuath*, viz. Clann Uadach. Sweetman mistook it for the name of a person: Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. ii, no. 823. This explains the statement in Ann. Loch Cé, 1267, that Walter de Burgh plundered Tir Maine and Clann Uadach. He was taking possession for the king. Clann Uadach was O'Fallon's territory and lay in the parishes of Camma and Dysart in the barony of Athlone: Four Masters, vol. iii, p. 236. Both this land and 'Crohon in Tirmany' (*Creamhthainn*, sometimes anglicized Cruffon, in the barony of Killian, County Galway) afterwards belonged to Richard de la Rochelle: 36th Rep. D. K., p. 56, and Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. ii, no. 878; and see the grant by Richard de la Rochelle to the little-known Cistercian abbey De Diserto iuxta Briolam, i.e. Briole in the parish of Dysart: Chart. St. Mary's Abbey, Dublin, vol. i, p. 254. Other grantees in Tirmany (later) were John de Saunford, Escheator (ibid., no. 2115) in Clann Conmaigh in the barony of Ballymoe; and Richard de Exeter, deputy of Robert de Ufford, ibid., no. 1704; cf. vol. iv, no. 806, and vol. v, nos. 209, 316. His castle was at Athleague on the Suck. For further details and other grantees see Knox, Journal R. S. A. I., vol. xxxiii (1903), pp. 284–94.

We must suppose that Aedh O'Conor would have been checked in his turbulent career before this, had not Henry and his ministers been preoccupied with greater issues in England. The great struggle of the English barons to secure a reform in the administration of the realm—a struggle which commenced in 1258, and came to a crisis in the capture of Henry and his son Edward at Lewes in 1264—did not end with the death of Simon de Montfort at Evesham in the next year, but lingered on until the summer of 1267 was over.

In 1268, Aedh was once more summoned to a conference at Athlone, but as before he came in force, and this time employed the argument of weapons with some effect on those who had summoned him. In September, Robert d'Ufford came to Ireland on affairs of Prince Edward, and next year as justiciar he began to build a castle at Roscommon. This was a sign for all to read that the king had definitively resumed the cantred of Tirmany. Aedh was ill at the time, but it is clear that he had no intention of tamely submitting to this further encroachment on his already circumscribed domain. About the same time Maurice Fitz Maurice rebuilt the castle of Sligo.

In 1270, O'Donnell burned Sligo and war broke out with Aedh O'Conor. Earl Walter, accompanied by Richard of Exeter, deputy-justiciar,[1] led a large force, including an Irish division, by way of Roscommon to Elphin, and so to the Shannon, Campaign against Aedh, 1270.

[1] The annalists mention the justiciar, but do not give his name. Robert d'Ufford seems to have returned to England and left Richard of Exeter as his deputy before the battle, which took place in die sancti Pantaleonis (July 28, 1270): Annales de Monte Fernandi, Tracts, I. A. S., vol. ii, p. 15.

somewhere near Carrick or Jamestown. Aedh was encamped in Moy Nissi, in the south of County Leitrim, and the earl, leaving the justiciar behind him, crossed the Shannon and marched to near Aedh's camp. He then opened negotiations with Aedh, and sent his own brother, William Og, as a hostage to Aedh's people, 'while Aedh should be in the earl's house arranging the peace'. Aedh's people, however, at once took the earl's brother prisoner, and killed John Dolphin and his son, who were in attendance. This treachery was enough to show that it was vain to negotiate with Aedh, and the earl, either not being in sufficient force to fight or fearing for the life of his brother, retreated towards the Shannon. O'Conor, we are told, harried the retreat, 'as a furious raging, tearing lion goes about his enemies when killing them, so that he permitted them neither to eat, sleep, nor be at rest'. When the English reached the ford across the Shannon at Ath-an-chip,[1] Turlough O'Brien,[2] who was fighting on O'Conor's side, overtook them. Earl Walter slew him in single combat. But now the Connaughtmen came up, forced the earl's rearguard, and turned the retreat into a rout. Nine knights were slain and a hundred caparisoned horses were left on the field. Clearly the earl was badly mauled. Aedh then killed William de Burgh, the earl's brother, in his captivity 'as an eric', or rather in revenge, for the death of

[1] Ath-an-chip, 'vadum trabis', was near Carrick on Shannon, but the precise site is uncertain. Miles de Nangle built a castle here in 1245, but it had long since been abandoned.

[2] He was perhaps a son of Brian Roe O'Brien, king of Thomond, who also turned against the English at this time.

Turlough O'Brien, though the latter appears to have fallen in fair fight. True to the feline analogy, Aedh paid no attention to the conventions of warfare. Subsequently he followed up his success by demolishing the castles of Ath-Anghaile, Slieve Lugha, and Kilcolman, and burning Roscommon, Randown, and Owenagh. Clearly Aedh was a formidable opponent to the English domination of Connaught, and yet Prince Edward, the dominus Hiberniae, set so little store on the peace of his lordship, that in this year he set out on a crusade to the Holy Land, and did not return to England until four years had passed.

Death of Earl Walter, 1271.

In 1271, after a week's illness, Earl Walter died in his castle of Galway, on the first anniversary of his defeat at Ath-an-chip. His lands were now taken into the hand of Prince Edward, soon to be king, for nine years during the minority of his eldest son Richard, afterwards known as the Red Earl of Ulster. As for Aedh O'Conor, he broke in this year the castle of the Templars (now Templehouse in Leyney), the castle of Sligo, and the castle of Richard of Exeter at Athleague; and in the next year he broke the castle of Roscommon, and made a raid into Meath as far as Granard, burned the town of Athlone, and broke down the bridge across the Shannon. But the end of this great warrior was approaching, and he died on May 3, 1274. Though he hardly ever ventured into the more fully colonized parts of Galway and Mayo, which during all this time enjoyed comparative peace, his frequent forays into Sligo and the lands bordering on his cantreds, wasted these districts from time to time, and greatly interfered with their progress and prosperity. Even the Irish annalists, usually indiscriminate in their eulogies of deceased kings,

Death of Aedh, 1274.

give him a double-edged obituary notice: 'A king who emptied and wasted Connaught against the English and Gael who opposed him; a king who inflicted frequent great defeats on English and Gael, and a king who demolished their courts and castles; a king who took the hostages of the Ui Briuin and Cinel Connell; the most formidable triumphant king of the kings of Erin; the destroyer and improver of all Erin during the period of his own renown, dignity, and time.'

Aedh O'Conor was at any rate a strong king, though a ruthless one. In his time no rival O'Conor dared to contest the throne with him, but immediately he was gone the old factions ran riot. He attained this immunity from revolt by reviving the odious practice, then happily becoming rare, of blinding possible opponents, and at least three members of the house of his uncle, the former King Aedh, son of Cathal Crovderg, suffered thus at his hands. The English government made no sustained effort to control him. Again and again he broke out into acts of violence beyond his borders, but each time, after at most a show of force, an ineffectual peace was made with him. But King Henry himself was partly to blame for Aedh's irreconcilable attitude. His fatuous attempt to provide an income for his half-brother out of the five cantreds, at a time when Felim was loyal and contented, was the way to breed distrust, discontent, and disloyalty. Indeed, Henry's dealings with these reserved cantreds were marked throughout by political ineptitude. While excluding the de Burghs from the district, he made no attempt to rule it himself. He neither controlled the O'Conors, nor (apparently) allowed Walter de Burgh to punish them for raids into his lands. On the other hand, he did

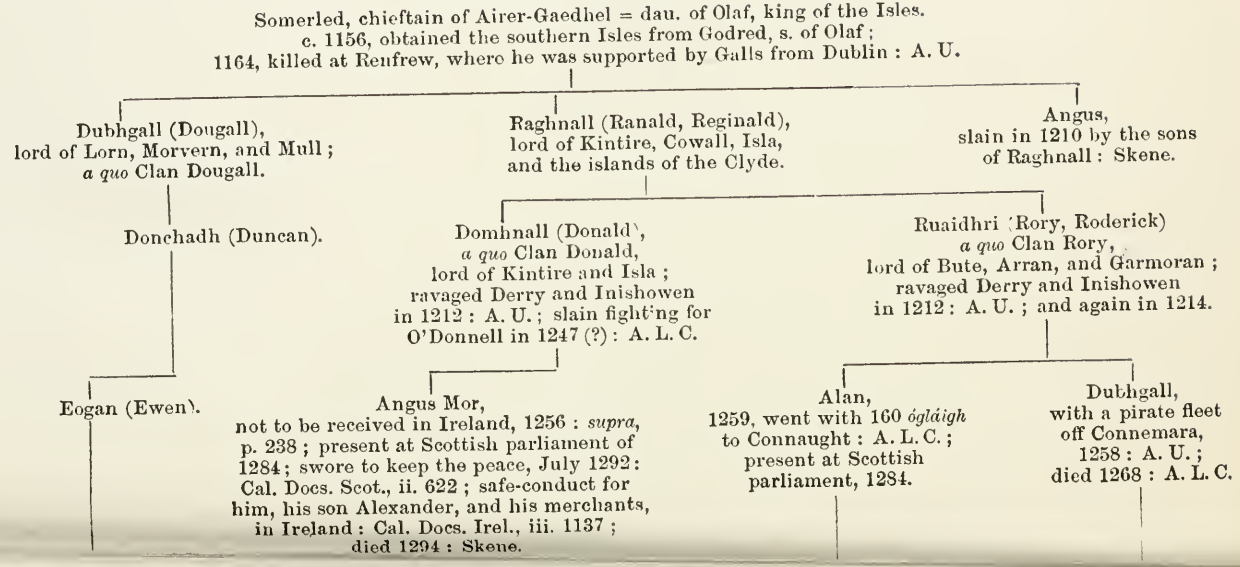
not leave them in undisturbed possession of their enclave. From time to time, in view of an outbreak, a cantred or a piece of one would be withdrawn from them, or a large fine would be imposed before admitting them to peace. The imposition of fines was, however, the less of a deterrent as they were seemingly never paid, but by granting the withheld lands to officials and favourites who were absentees, and made little or no attempt to castellate, colonize, and govern their lands, the king of England lost the good will of the king of Connaught without appreciably strengthening English influence in the province.

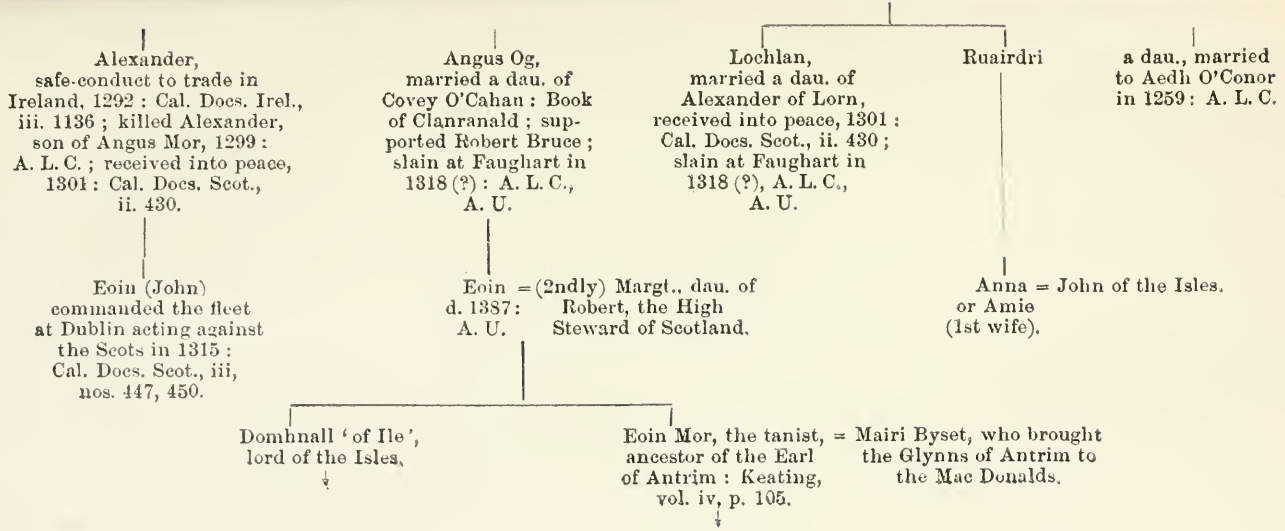
It may indeed be said that the record of the O'Conors throughout the thirteenth century shows that none of them could ever keep the rest in order, but this was an argument for depriving them of their dominion altogether, and not for continually irritating them by piecemeal dismemberment and by what seemed to them unwarranted exactions.

APPENDIX

MAIC SOMHAIRLE

Based on pedigrees in the Books of Ballymote and Lecan, as given by Skene, with identifications, dates, and references to Irish Annals, &c.





CHAPTER XXXI

THE EARLDOM OF ULSTER

1227–71

Hugh de Lacy's lands.

The complete restoration of Hugh de Lacy to the lands of which he had been deprived by King John took place in April 1227.[1] Besides the extensive lordship which John de Courcy had established in Ulster, these lands included the manors of Ratoath and Nobber in Meath, which Hugh had held of the gift of Walter de Lacy, and the castle of Carlingford with the land in the north of the present county of Louth, which Hugh had acquired with his wife Leceline de Verdun.[2] The monetary value of the lordship of Ulster at this period, in normal years, must have been considerable, and the implied prosperity of the feudalized districts very great, for, in spite of the recent disturbances, the sum of £936 4*s.* 4*d.* was received by Robert de Vaux, the king's bailiff, in the space apparently of little more than a year prior to June 1226.[3]

[1] Patent Roll, 11 Hen. III, p. 118.

[2] For Ratoath see *ante*, vol. ii, p. 76; for Nobber ibid., p. 84; and for Carlingford, p. 251. For the remarkable agreement by which Hugh acquired lands in Uriel with his wife Leceline, ibid., p. 121. The lands in Uriel included the ancient district of Cooley (*Cuailnge*), in which, on a high river bank close to the graveyard of Newtown-Cooley, are the earthworks of a mote and bailey fortress, now known, after a much later tenant, as 'Mount Bagnall'. They presumably mark the first Anglo-Norman site in the district.

[3] Rot. Claus., 11 Hen. III, p. 205.

Moreover this sum apparently did not include the issues of Coleraine and the Twescard (*Tuaiscert*), or the northern part of the present county of Antrim, afterwards the most lucrative part of the earldom. At this time the northern district was held directly of the Crown. As we have seen,[1] large tracts here, extending along the northern coast as far as Derry, had been granted by King John to Alan, Earl of Galloway, and his brother Thomas, Earl of Athol, and the latter had built a castle at Coleraine. Hugh de Lacy, however, in company with Aedh O'Neill, had recently destroyed the castle of Coleraine [2] and had harried the lands of the Scottish nobles who were opposing his attempt to recover his lands by force. They were, therefore, naturally apprehensive of the consequences to them of Hugh's reinstatement and appealed to the king.[3] In the arrangements made in 1226 with a view to the restoration of Hugh's lands, it was expressly provided that the seisins of these Scottish nobles should be saved.[4] What became of their tenures is, however, obscure. In 1228 the castle of Coleraine was rebuilt,[5] but by whom we are not told. Matthew Paris mentions that Alan of Galloway was married to a daughter of Hugh de Lacy, so we must suppose that the two became reconciled; but the same writer tells us that after Alan's death in 1234,

The Twescard.

[1] *Ante*, vol. ii, pp. 290–2. Among the magnates of Ireland to whom, in July 1221, Henry III announced the supersession of Geoffrey de Marisco as justiciar by Henry de Londres, Archbishop of Dublin, was 'Thomas de Galweie earl of Athoyl': Rot. Claus., 5 Hen. III, p. 476 *b*.

[2] Ann. Ulst. 1222.

[3] Cal. Docs. Irel., vol. i, nos. 1218, 1219, 1473.

[4] Rot. Pat., 10 Hen. III, pp. 76–8.

[5] Ann. Ulst. 1228.

Hugh assembled a force from Galloway, the Isle of Man, and parts of Ireland, and that after entering into a blood-covenant according to the old barbaric rites, the confederates attempted to deprive Alan's three daughters of their inheritance in Galloway in favour of a male successor.[1] They were utterly defeated by the Scottish king in 1236, but it may have been in consequence of this quarrel that Hugh put an end to the Scottish tenures in the Twescard. In 1242, Patrick, son of Thomas of Galloway, was murdered in Scotland, and Walter Byset and his nephew John, accused of the crime, were outlawed and fled to Ireland.[2] Here they obtained, presumably from Hugh de Lacy, lands about Glenarm, in the parishes of Carncastle and Ardclinis, in the district of Carey and in Rathlin Island.[3] These lands certainly included the better part of those formerly granted to Duncan of Carrick and Alan of Galloway. The feud between these families seems to have lasted for some years longer, as in January 1252, Alan, son of Thomas, Earl of Athol, was pardoned for killing some of John Byset's men in Ireland.[4] John Byset, 'destroyer of churches and of the Gael', perished of a sudden death in 1257.[5] He was succeeded by his son John, who, however, seems to have died in 1260, leaving three daughters as coheiresses.[6]

Hugh de Lacy's campaigns.

Hugh de Lacy had spent a large part of his life campaigning, not only in Ireland east and west, but in Languedoc against the Albigenses, and in Wales on the side of Llewellyn, and he did not

[1] Matthew Paris, vol. iii, p. 64.
[2] Ibid., vol. iv, pp. 188–9, and Fordun's Chronicle.
[3] Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. ii, no. 1500.
[4] Ibid., no. 2.
[5] Ann. Ulst., 1257.
[6] Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. ii, no. 1500.

now remain peaceably within the borders of his recovered earldom. He took part, as we have seen,[1] with Richard de Burgh in his great campaigns in Connaught in 1230 and 1235, and was rewarded by a grant of five cantreds in the northern part of that province. He immediately enfeoffed Maurice Fitz Gerald and others in most of his lands there, retaining, so far as appears, only the manor of Meelick in the present barony of Gallen.[2] In 1234, forgetting what he himself had suffered at the hands of a capricious monarch, and unmindful of the generous treatment meted out to him when he was in the power of the late Earl William Marshal, he played the treacherous game of the king and his Poitevin counsellors against Earl William's brother, the fearless champion of constitutional government, and must share the disgrace of the foul deed by which that chivalrous, if imprudent, knight was done to death. In this ugly episode, as in that of the downfall of John de Courcy thirty years before, we cannot acquit Hugh de Lacy on the plea that he was merely repressing disorder at the command of his lord the king—he could be disorderly and rebellious enough himself when it suited him—nor can we fail to suspect that he was in each case actuated by personal motives.

In Connaught.

Against Richard Marshal.

As long as Aedh O'Neill, the ally of his rebellious days, was alive, Hugh made no attack upon Tirowen. But Aedh died in 1230—'a king who gave neither pledge or hostage to foreigner or Gael'—and soon the old struggle for the kingship between the O'Loughlins and O'Neills broke out again, accompanied by much fighting between the Cinel Owen and the Cinel Connell. In 1238

In Tirowen and Tirconnell.

[1] *Supra*, p. 182.

[2] *Supra*, pp. 193–201.

Maurice Fitz Gerald, then justiciar, and Hugh de Lacy dethroned Donnell O'Loughlin, and gave the sovereignty to a son [1] of Aedh O'Neill and obtained the hostages of the two northern kingdoms. It was probably as a reward for Maurice's services on this occasion that Hugh enfeoffed him in Tirconnell, and perhaps in the district about the lower end of Lough Erne, and in part of Fermanagh as well.[2] If Maurice could make good his claim to these latter districts, as well as to what Hugh had given him in Connaught, he would have a continuous stretch of territory from Banada in Leyney to Fanad on Lough Swilly. He seems to have made the attempt. From this time forward he frequently appears fighting in Tirconnell, which became, as we should say, a Geraldine sphere of influence. Thus in 1242, supported by Felim O'Conor, he entered Tirconnell, and the chieftains of the Cinel Connell came into his house and gave him hostages.[3] These submissions for the time seem to have been real and not merely nominal. In July 1244 Henry III invited the kings of Tirconnell and Tirowen, and the principal chiefs of Eastern Ulster and Uriel (as well as those of Connaught and Munster), to join him in an expedition against the Scots.[4] As peace was made

[1] Apparently Brian *catha an Dúin*: Ann. Loch Cé, 1238.

[2] The grant of 'Tyrconyll . . . per rectas metas et divisas inter Keneleon et Tyrconyll . . . faciendo . . . servicium quatuor militum', &c., is in the Red Book of the Earl of Kildare, f. v. *d.* In 1293 Amabil, one of the two daughters and coheirs of Maurice Fitz Maurice, quitted claim to John Fitz Thomas 'in medietate cantredi de Crycarbry ubi Slygath iacet et in duobus cantredis et duobus teodhis de Tirconyll et medietate de Locherny et in septem teodhis de Fermanath que terre mihi ex iure hereditario acciderunt': ibid., f. viii.

[3] Ann. Loch Cé, 1242.

[4] Close Roll, 28 Hen. III, p. 255. The northern chieftains summoned were Dovenald king of Tirchunill; Felim, son of

with Alexander II, the expedition was countermanded, but the king, while thanking the Irish chiefs for the good service they were prepared to render, asked them to be ready for service by the ensuing summer. Next summer (1245) Maurice Fitz Gerald led a force to assist the king in Wales, and this force included Felim O'Conor, 'accompanied by a great army of the Gael',[1] but whether any of the northern Irish were persuaded to join does not appear. The expedition was a failure. Henry advanced to the River Conway, and during a stay of over two months there fortified the castle of Dyganwy, but his army effected nothing and suffered great privations. The Irish contingent under Maurice Fitz Gerald arrived late,[2] and this is the reason assigned by Matthew Paris for the supersession of Maurice as justiciar by John Fitz Geoffrey, which now took place. Matthew Paris adds that 'Maurice patiently endured all this, because since the death of his son he despised all the glories and dignities of this world'. This was his eldest son, Gerald, who until recently has been strangely misplaced in the received pedigree of the Leinster Geraldines. He had accompanied

the late king [of Connaught]; Oraly (*O'Raghallaigh*); O'Hanlon (*O'h Anluain*); Brian O'Nel, king of Kinelun (O'Neill of *Cinel Eoghain*); O'Chatan (*O'Cathain*, O'Kane); O'Hynery (*O'hInneirghe*); Donald Mackadmel (*MacCathmail*, Mac Cawel); Mac Anegus (*Mac Aenghusa*, Mc Guiness); Mac Kartan (*Mac Artain*); Mac Gilemuri (*Mac Gilla Muire*, Gilmurry); O'Flen (*O'Floinn*); Mac Mathaven (*Mac Mathghamain*, Mac Mahon); and Mac O'Calmery (the son of *O'Gailmredhaigh*, O'Gormley).

[1] Ann. Loch Cé, 1245; cf. Foedera, vol. i, p. 257.

[2] Payment at the rate of 2*d.* a day was ordered to be made to 3,000 foot-soldiers who came with the justiciar to the king's service at Gannock for the ten days prior to October 29 (Cal. Pat. Rolls, 29 Hen. III, p. 461), when the camp was broken up.

King Henry in the disastrous expedition to Poitou in 1242 and never returned.[1]

By this date indeed most of the leading figures that occupied the stage of Ireland during the first half of Henry's reign had disappeared. Before the close of 1245 not only all the male representatives of the elder William Marshal, but Richard de Burgh, and both Walter and Hugh de Lacy were dead, and in every case there was no adult male heir to fill the vacant place. Walter de Lacy died early in 1241, infirm and blind and burdened with debts to the Crown.[2] Three years earlier he had acknowledged his grandson, Walter, son of Gilbert de Lacy, as his heir,[3] but at his death his heirs were his two granddaughters, Margaret and Matilda, daughters of his son Gilbert. By 1244 Margaret was given in marriage to John de Verdun, son of Rohesia de Verdun and the second Theobald Butler, and Matilda to Peter de Genevre,[4] a Provençal of humble origin thus promoted by the king. Peter, however, died in 1249,[5] and by August 1252 Matilda was the

Death of Walter de Lacy, 1241.

[1] Cal. Docs. Irel., vol. i, no. 2573; Clyn's Annals, 1243, and see my paper on the 'Fitz Geralds Barons of Offaly', Journal R. S. A. I., vol. xliv (1914), pp. 105–8.

[2] Matthew Paris, Chron. Mai., vol. iv, p. 93. On March 5 Walter de Godarville was given the custody of Walter's lands in Ireland: Cal. Pat. Rolls, 25 Hen. III, p. 246.

[3] Ibid., 22 Hen. III, p. 220.

[4] The issues of Walter's lands in Meath were restored to these couples on May 14, 1244, to hold without partition till further orders: Close Rolls, 28 Hen. III, m. 10. John de Verdun, if as usually supposed son of Theobald Butler II, was not of full age in 1244, as Rohesia did not marry Theobald until after Sept. 4, 1225: Rot. Claus., 9 Hen. III, p. 60. He had presumably attained twenty-one by May 3, 1247, when he was given seisin of his mother's lands: Rot. de Finibus, 31 Hen. III, m. 7, p. 11.

[5] Matthew Paris, Chron. Mai., vol. v, p. 90; where Peter is said to have had a son and a daughter by Matilda.

wife of Geoffrey de Geynville, or Joinville, brother of the historian of Louis IX. By this time Meath had been partitioned between the two coheiresses, and eventually Trim became the *caput* of the de Geynville moiety, in which the liberties and free customs enjoyed by Walter de Lacy prior to 1224 were restored,[1] while Ballymore of Lough Sewdy (*Baile mór locha semhdidhe*) was the principal manor of the de Verdun moiety, where the franchises of the liberty seem to have been more frequently withheld by the king.[2]

Richard de Burgh, 1242–3.

Like the eldest son of Maurice Fitz Gerald, Richard de Burgh died in the king's service on the ill-fated expedition to Poitou in the winter of 1242–3.[3] He left by his wife Egidia, daughter of Walter de Lacy, three sons, Richard, Walter, and William, all minors. Richard was given seisin of his father's lands in February 1247, but was dead without issue by November 5, 1248. His brother Walter was still a minor, and Peter de Berming-

[1] Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. ii, no. 69, and Cal. Chart. Rolls (1252), p. 401.

[2] See Cal. Docs. Irel., vol. ii, nos. 810, 1645, 1670. No record of the partition of Meath seems to have been preserved. Speaking generally, the eastern portion fell to Geoffrey de Geynville and the western to John de Verdun. Duleek, however, in East Meath, was a de Verdun manor, as were also Ballymore of Lough Sewdy (Sunderlin) in West Meath, Incheleffer (?). Moydow in Co. Longford, and 'Adleck' (*Athliag*, now Ballyleague or Lanesborough on the Shannon), where fairs and markets were granted to Theobald de Verdun in 1284: ibid., 2303–4; while the services of Mullingar and some other manors in the eastern baronies of Westmeath were assigned to the de Geynville moiety: Gormanston Register, pp. 10–13.

[3] Before March 7, 1243, when Egidia was given dower in his Munster lands, as to which see *supra*, p. 165. His death was the result of hardships endured at sea: Matt. Paris, Chron. Mai., vol. iv, pp. 198–9.

ham was given the custody of his lands and castles.[1]

Donough O'Brien, 1242.

The year 1242 saw also the last of Donough Cairbrech O'Brien, king of Thomond,[2] who had joined Richard de Burgh on many an expedition. His brother Murtough died three years earlier.[3] The latter seems to have married a daughter of Richard de Burgh, for in February 1243 the king at Bordeaux, evidently at the request of Richard, who lay dying there, ordered that Alice, Richard's daughter, should have her dower according to the law and custom of Ireland out of the lands of Murtough O'Brien.[4]

Geoffrey de Marisco, 1245.

The same year that witnessed the deaths of the last two sons of Earl William Marshal the elder saw also the miserable end of Geoffrey de Marisco. He had been a prominent figure in the reign of King John and in the earlier part of the reign of his successor, and had twice held the office of justiciar, but he had sadly fallen from his high estate. The part he played in the occurrences which led to the death of Earl Richard Marshal in the spring of 1234, though perhaps not quite so discreditable as the chroniclers of St. Albans represented it, seems to have left him with no friends in Ireland. In August 1235 the king indeed 'remitted his ire' against him for siding with Richard Marshal, restored him to his lands or some of them, and gave him easier terms for the payment of the fine of 3,000 marks which had been imposed upon him.[5] But about the same time Geoffrey got into trouble with Hubert de

[1] Cal. Docs. Irel., vol. i, nos. 2865, 2975, 2978.
[2] See *infra*, vol. iv, c. xxxiv.
[3] Ann. Loch Cé, 1239.
[4] Cal. Docs. Irel., vol. i, no. 2603.
[5] Cal. Fine Rolls, 19 Hen. III, p. 286.

Burgh, brother of Richard de Burgh and Bishop of Limerick, who excommunicated him for certain alleged injuries to the church of Limerick. The quarrel did not come before the civil courts, and its details can only be inferred from some documents preserved in the Black Book of Limerick. It concerned the town of Kilmallock and some neighbouring lands which belonged to the see and were held by Geoffrey. The Bishop of Lismore, commissioned by the Pope in 1235 to investigate the matter, found that though Geoffrey had received a hundred marks for the quit-claim of the town, the issues of which were valued at £32 3*s.* 4*d.*, he nevertheless detained it for twenty years and more. Acts of violence were also alleged, but this seems to have been the ground-cause of the dispute. The damages to the see were estimated at 1,500 marks, and the sentence of excommunication was confirmed until satisfaction should be made.[1] In the same register there is an undated deed by which Geoffrey acknowledged that he had done homage to Bishop Hubert for Kilmallock and the other lands, and would pay an annual rent for the same of £1 13*s.* 4*d.*[2] This seems to have been the original agreement. In 1236 the king issued a mandate to the justiciar to give seisin to Geoffrey of his land of Kilmallock, which had been wrongfully claimed by the bishop as an escheat owing to the outlawry of Geoffrey's son William, who was tenant under Geoffrey of the land.[3] But in any case the bishop had not to wait very long for a legal ground of escheat. William de Marisco,

[1] Black Book of Limerick (Mac Caffrey), nos. clvii, clxi (anno 1235), and clviii (anno 1237); and cf. Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. i, nos. 2267, 2268.

[2] Black Book of Limerick, no. xxv, p. 29.

[3] Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. i, nos. 2367, 2386.

as already mentioned,[1] was charged with the death of Henry Clement in 1235 and was outlawed. In 1238 he was accused of instigating an attempt on the king's life. These charges, however, were vehemently denied and were never proved. But William, driven to desperation, maintained himself for some time as a pirate on Lundy Island, and in 1242 was captured and ignominiously executed.[2] His father, Geoffrey, seems to have been outlawed about the same time,[3] but in what circumstances does not appear. According to Matthew Paris he died in 1245, 'a wretched exile and wanderer, expelled from Scotland, banished from England, and disinherited in Ireland'.

Hugh de Lacy, 1243.

Lastly, before February 1243 Hugh de Lacy, Earl of Ulster, died, and his land of Ulster reverted to the Crown. The legal basis of this reversion is obscure. There is no doubt that Hugh left at least one daughter, Matilda, by his first wife, Leceline de Verdun. Soon after Hugh's restoration she was married to David Fitz William, baron of Naas, and Hugh gave her the castle of Carlingford and all the land which he had with her mother in Cooley and Uriel and in the county of Limerick, also all his land of Morgallion (the manor of Nobber) in Meath.[4] She died shortly

[1] *Supra*, p. 68.

[2] Matt. Paris, Chron. Mai., vol. iv, pp. 193, 195.

[3] His outlawry is referred to in a mandate of June 11, 1244: Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. i, no. 2683. It would seem to have taken place at least a year and a day previously.

[4] Gormanston Register, f. 191 *d.* It is not clear on the face of it that this grant was made on the occasion of Matilda's marriage, though perhaps it was. Shortly before his death Hugh granted all his land of Morgallion and his manor of Nobber to Albert, Archbishop of Armagh, and his successors: Chartae, &c., p. 24. It is not easy to reconcile these grants. There was litigation in 1302 between Matilda's

before Easter 1281.[1] Hugh's second wife, whom he seems to have married late in life, was Emeline, daughter and eventual coheiress, with her sister, of Walter de Ridelisford, but he had no issue by her. She was granted her dower out of Hugh's lands in Ireland, 'except the county of Ulster which was to be retained in the king's hand'.[2] She was given in remarriage to Stephen Longespée,[3] son of the Earl of Salisbury who commanded the army when King John expelled Hugh de Lacy from Ireland. She survived until 1276, when her heir to the lands which came to her from her father was her daughter by Stephen, then the wife of Maurice, second son of Maurice Fitz Gerald.[4] King John's grant to Hugh de Lacy was 'to him and his heirs', but we do not know the precise terms on which Hugh's lands were restored to him.[5] His renewed estate may have been limited to his life, or to him and his heirs male. It seems clear that Hugh left no legitimate male issue, and that in any case the resumption of his Ulster lands by the Crown was not contested.

Title of Walter de Burgh to Ulster.

It is, however, stated in some late fourteenth-century annals, and has been long supposed, and is asserted even by writers of our own day, that

granddaughter and Nicholas, Archbishop of Armagh, about Nobber: Justiciary Rolls, vol. i, pp. 432–9; and cf. Chartae, &c., p. 40. The issue of the litigation is not clear, but the manor passed to Matilda's descendants: Gormanston Register, f. 1.

[1] Cal. Docs. Irel., vol. ii, no. 1741.

[2] Ibid., vol. i, no. 2663.

[3] Ibid., no. 2600.

[4] Ibid., vol. ii, no. 1249.

[5] The king on April 25, 1243, ordered the manor of Nobber to be kept in his hand 'until he should be certified regarding the agreements made between the king and the earl touching that manor and the earl's other lands': Close Roll, 27 Hen. III, p. 23.

Walter de Burgh succeeded to the earldom of Ulster in right of his wife, who was daughter and heir of Hugh de Lacy.[1] But contemporary evidence is inconsistent with this title. Walter de Burgh obtained the county of Ulster under a grant from Prince Edward in exchange for the manor of Kilsheelan and other Munster lands.[2] This grant appears to have been made in 1264,[3] twenty-one years after Hugh de Lacy's death, when Walter is first called Earl of Ulster.[4] Walter had obtained seisin of his Connaught and Munster lands in May 1250, after having given security that he would not marry without the king's licence.[5] At his death in 1271 his widow was

[1] The statement, which does not appear in the notice of Hugh de Lacy's death in Clyn's Annals (1349), appears first in a modified form in the Laud MS. Annals (Chart. St. Mary's, Dublin, vol. ii, p. 315), where it is simply stated that Hugh left a daughter as his heir, whom Walter de Burgh, who was Earl of Ulster, married. But the full statement appears in Grace's Annals (c. 1537), and was followed by Hanmer (ed. 1571), Dowling (ob. 1613), Cox (1690), Ware (ed. 1705), Leland (1773), Gilbert, who added new errors of his own (1865), Joyce (1893), D'Alton (1910), &c.

[2] Prince Edward's feoffment is mentioned in a letter from the king in 1269: Cal. Docs. Irel., vol. ii, no. 860. It was in exchange for the manor of Kilsheelan (ibid., nos. 1520, 1548), and probably for the vills of Kilfeakle and Clonmel and the de Burgo lands in Estermoy (Clanwilliam), which thus came into Edward's hand and were granted along with Kilsheelan to Otho de Grandison when Richard de la Rochelle was justiciar (1261–5). This last-mentioned grant was confirmed and extended in 1281 (ibid., no. 1847).

[3] 'Walterus de Bourgh factus fuit comes Ultoniae': Chronicle of Henry of Marleburghe under the year 1264; Collectanea Hiberniae, MS. T. C. D., E. 3. 10.

[4] Ann. Loch Cé, 1264. The document in Cal. Docs. Irel., vol. i, no. 2551, is altogether misplaced. It should be dated 1269. The Royal Letter, calendared, ibid., vol. ii, no. 860, is the king's reply. See *infra*, p. 283.

[5] Excerpta Fine Rolls (Roberts), vol. ii, p. 78.

Avelina, daughter of John Fitz Geoffrey,[1] who was justiciar from 1245 to 1256 and died in 1258. Richard de Burgh, Walter's son and heir by Avelina, was nearly, if not quite, of age in January 1280, when he obtained seisin.[2] He was born therefore about 1259, and Walter must have married Avelina not later than 1258–9, and perhaps some years earlier. A previous marriage, if such can be supposed to have taken place, with a daughter of Hugh de Lacy cannot therefore have been the occasion of Walter's obtaining Ulster.

Ulster in the king's hand, 1243–54.

From the time of Hugh de Lacy's death in the winter of 1242–3 Ulster was in the king's hand and was administered by the king's seneschals up to 1254, when with the rest of Ireland it was given by the king to his son Edward as part of his appanage on his marriage with Eleanor of Castile.[3] Ulster was then administered by Prince Edward's seneschals for a further period of about ten years, until it was granted to Walter de Burgh, as already mentioned. During the period when Ulster was in the king's hand some attempts were made to defend the English borders both on the east and on the west against the northern chieftains, and to make the king's suzerainty over them a reality. In 1245 Maurice Fitz Gerald, with the

[1] Inquis. p. m. on lands and heir of Richard Fitz John, 27 Ed. I (Cal. Inquis. Ed. I, vol. iii, no. 507), from which it appears that Amelina or Avelina, widow of Walter de Burgh, and 'of whom was born Richard de Burgh', was sister and one of the heirs of Richard, son of John Fitz Geoffrey, to whom the cantred of the Isles (in Thomond) had been granted. Cf. Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. iv, no. 289.

[2] Cal. Docs. Irel., vol. ii, no. 1629.

[3] Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. ii, nos. 326, 371. On July 23, 1253, all Ulster and its issues were assigned by the king to Eleanor the Queen Consort in dower (ibid., no. 255), but this assignment was superseded by the grant of 1254.

aid of Felim O'Conor, erected the castle of Sligo[1] as the manorial centre for his lands in the north of Connaught. In the following years, when no longer justiciar, Maurice repeatedly invaded Tirconnell, which had also been (nominally) granted to him by Hugh de Lacy, took hostages and set up kings, but the kings he set up proved no more amenable than those he had deposed. In 1248 John Fitz Geoffrey, the justiciar, built a bridge across the Bann at Coleraine and erected a castle at Drumtarsy (now Killowen) on the western side of the river,[2] and, 'since the power of the foreigners was over the Gael of Ireland', the Cinel Owen gave hostages to the justiciar.[3] In 1252 Maurice Fitz Gerald rebuilt the castle of Caol-uisce on the Erne in Fermanagh, while John Fitz Geoffrey rebuilt the castle of Moy Cova in Iveagh, Co. Down.[4] At the same time Brian O'Neill once more submitted to the justiciar and delivered his own brother as a hostage. But this submission was no more sincere than former ones. Next year Brian destroyed the castle of Moy Cova and other castles, and made a destructive raid into the plain of Down, where some undefended towns were burned.[5]

[1] Ann. Loch Cé, 1245.

[2] Ann. Ulst., 1248. For the identification of Drumtarsy see Reeves, Colton's Visitation, p. 131.

[3] Ann. Loch Cé, 1248.

[4] The castle of Caol-uisce (i. e. Narrow Water), originally built by Gilbert de Nangle in 1212 (*ante*, vol. ii, p. 289), was in Fermanagh (Red Book, f. viii) on the Erne, near its exit from the lower lake. Both O'Donovan and Hennessy confuse it with Narrow Water, Co. Down. The castle of Magh Cobha, originally erected by John de Courcy before 1188, is almost certainly marked by the great mote of Dromore, Co. Down: *ante*, vol. ii, p. 117 and note, and see Journal R. S. A. I., vol. xliv (1914), p. 53. It was clearly the work of the justiciar: Cal. Docs. Irel., vol. ii, nos. 32 and 124.

[5] Ann. Loch Cé, 1253: *ocus sráid bhailedha do loscad.*

For the period during which Prince Edward was *Dominus Hiberniae* there is a marked decrease in the number of records relating to Ireland, and it is therefore difficult to ascertain whether the change in the administration was responsible for bringing about the unrest which undoubtedly ensued in the districts occupied by the Mc Carthys, the O'Briens, the O'Conors, and the northern chieftains. When making over Ireland to his son, the king retained to himself the jurisdiction concerning the cross-lands, the custodies of vacant ecclesiastical benefices, and the rights of the Crown in the matter of preferments, and there are many mandates from the king touching these. He also sent numerous mandates as to the provision for Godfrey de Lusignan, his half-brother, of four and a half cantreds in Connaught,[1] which, though eventually not carried out, probably contributed to the unrest in that quarter. But though there are many mandates from the prince in 1255 for the sending to Gascony of moneys from the issues of Ireland and various supplies for his army in Gascony,[2] few directions from him touching the administration of his new dominion appear on the rolls. In July 1255, while still in Gascony, Prince Edward sent his seal to Ireland, 'in order', as he says, 'that he who is deputed to the office of chancery in that country might use it in his place',[3] and in May 1256 the king recalled his own seal,

Edward dominus Hiberniae, 1254.

The Four Masters turn this into *loisctear an Sradbaile*, meaning Dundalk. The 'street-towns', i. e. undefended towns, included some in Dufferin: see Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. ii, no. 411.

[1] See *supra*, p. 233.

[2] Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. ii, nos. 419, 442, 446.

[3] Ibid. 453. Ralph of Norwich was chancellor at this time.

and ordered his subjects in Ireland to be intentive to Edward's seal as they were wont to be to the king's seal.[1] Nevertheless some of the king's writs appear to trespass on his son's province, and there is no doubt that for some years the king kept the government of Ireland under his control, while it is probable that many of Edward's writs and grants were never enrolled in England and, if enrolled in the chancery of Ireland, have been lost.[2]

In November 1254 a mandate was sent from Bayonne, where the prince was, to Richard de la Rochelle, his seneschal in Ireland, to direct his attention to the pacification of Ulster, where, as we have seen, Brian O'Neill had made a destructive raid in the preceding year. The seneschal was authorized to take £100 from the prince's treasure for that purpose, and ordered to collect retainers and an aid from the country and to certify to the prince 'on his arrival in Ireland' the names of those persons who refused to come to his peace.[3] It seems that some further attempt was made to pacify O'Neill and that he again nominally submitted, for we find, duly entered in a subsequent pipe roll,[4] that he owed £100 aid to the king for his war in Gascony, and a fine of 3,092 cows, and these entries were probably carried forward from 1254–5. There are several other allusions to Edward's intention to visit Ireland and spend some time there, but unfortunately, like the good

[1] Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. ii, no. 500.

[2] In January 1257 the king superseded a writ of Edward's on the ground of informality: ibid., no. 529, and cf. no. 696.

[3] Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. ii, nos. 411, 412. Peter de Repenteny was at this time seneschal of Ulster, but Henry de Mandeville seems to have held the office in the Twescard.

[4] Facsimiles of National MSS. of Ireland, Part II. plate 73. See *infra*, pp. 277–8.

intentions of his father, the programme was never carried out. At this moment Edward was of course too young and inexperienced to institute a wise policy. He had yet to gain his political schooling at the hands of his opponents in the Barons' War. But had a ruler, such as Edward afterwards proved himself to be, given his whole attention, even for a short period, to the actual business of governing Ireland on the spot, he could not have failed to perceive that there were several parts of Ireland which required 'pacification' to enable an orderly government to be carried on there, and that such pacification was not to be produced by the magic of mandates from Gascony or even from Westminster, or to be enforced by the entry of fines on the pipe roll, but that the problem was one calling for the highest efforts of statesmanship, backed by adequate military power, and guided by principles of justice and fair dealing.

In 1256 Alan la Zuche was justiciar. He had been justiciar in the parts of Wales adjoining Chester prior to the grant to Edward, and he was sent to Ireland on Edward's service about the end of March. It was seemingly due to him that the attempt to provide for Godfrey de Lusignan at the expense of the king of Connaught was abandoned, for the Irish annals of that year state that the justiciar made peace with Aedh, son of Felim, on condition that the territory of O'Conor should not be diminished while he was justiciar.[1] This arrangement, however, did not prevent Aedh from immediately endeavouring to extend the territory of O'Conor, both in Connaught and in Breffny, at the

[1] Ann. Loch Cé, 1256. Alan la Zuche was killed in Westminster Hall by Earl Warenne in 1259 : Mat. Paris.

expense of his neighbours whether Irish or English. It seems that Edward was now prepared to adopt a more spirited policy of his own and contemplated the appointment of a justiciar—perhaps Walter de Burgh—who would endeavour to curb the aggressive tendencies of Felim's son. In June 1258, having learnt that Edward intended to make a justiciar in Ireland and to commit his castles to constables without consulting the king, Henry took the extreme step of commanding his subjects in Ireland not to be intentive to any justiciar, constable, or keeper not appointed by the king's letters patent.[1] The dispute, however, appears to have been amicably settled, and by October Stephen Longespée, the king's cousin, was justiciar,[2] and the writs of both Henry and Edward were directed to him. It was in Stephen's time that the disturbances in Munster between the Mc Carthys of Carbury and the English settlers broke out. In 1259 Fineen, son of Donnell Got Mc Carthy, raided Kerry, and probably it was in consequence of this that the Lord Edward on November 7 of that year made the grant of Decies and Desmond to John Fitz Thomas in the hope that he would be able to control the Irish there. But, as we have seen,[3] the effort ended disastrously in the battle of Callann.

Meanwhile a greater danger threatened the English in the north of Ireland. Following upon O'Neill's incursion over the eastern border of the Irish territories, Goffraigh O'Donnell in 1257 penetrated into the Geraldine district in the west, razed the castle of Caol-uisce, burned the

O'Donnell attacks Sligo, 1257.

[1] Foedera, vol. i, p. 373.
[2] Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. ii, no. 600.
[3] *Supra*, p. 140.

town of Sligo, and in a fight at Credran in the Rosses, in which he was sorely wounded, routed a pursuing body of the English.[1] The northern chieftains in fact were determined to resist the extension of English rule and to maintain their independence, but, unfortunately for their objects, the kindred clan-groups were fired with greater animosity against each other than against the foreigners, and this feeling precluded all possibility of joint action. When in 1258 O'Donnell was lying on his death-bed from the wounds he had received at the battle of Credran, O'Neill took advantage of his hapless plight to demand the submission of the Cinel Connell. But though O'Donnell's body was stricken unto death, his spirit was unbroken. Borne on a bier at the head of his men he defeated the Cinel Owen on the banks of the Swilly, and soon afterwards died 'the death of a hero who had at all times triumphed over his enemies'.[2] Once more O'Neill demanded

[1] Ann. Loch Cé, 1257. The statement in Four Masters that O'Donnell and Maurice Fitz Gerald, who is spoken of as being the justiciar, met in single combat and severely wounded each other, is certainly inaccurate and probably without foundation. Maurice, who had not been justiciar since 1245, died in 1257 in the habit of a monk at the Franciscan Friary of Youghal, which he had founded (Clyn and Dowling). His *obit* is entered before O'Donnell's raid in the older Irish annals, and they make no mention of the single combat or of his presence. According to Matthew Paris he died before Ascension, 1257, i.e. before May 27. Maurice obtained seisin in 1216, and must have been at least sixty-two years of age in 1257. He had given his lands in Sligo, Fermanagh, and Tirconnell to his son Maurice some time before his death: Red Book, f. viii; and see Journal R. S. A. I., vol. xliv (1914), p. 107, where the deed of enfeoffment is transcribed and explained.

[2] Ann. Ulst., vol. ii, p. 324, MS. D, note; and Four Masters, 1258.

the hostages of the Cinel Connell, and while the petty chiefs were deliberating what they should do, for they had no lord since Goffraigh O'Donnell's death, Donnell Og O'Donnell, youngest son of Donnell Mor, a youth of only eighteen years, appeared amongst them on his return from Scotland, where he had been fostered by the Lord of the Isles. His coming at this crisis is likened by the annalist to the coming of Tuathal Techtmar over the sea from Alban, in the penumbral period of Irish story, after the extirpation of the royal race of Erin by the servile tribes. The chieftainship was immediately conferred on Donnell Og, and he proudly rejected O'Neill's demands, replying to his emissaries, in the words of a Scottish proverb, that 'every man should have his own world'.[1] In this retort the very spirit of the clans found utterance, a spirit incompatible with political unity.

Donnell Og resists O'Neill.

And yet it was political unity that O'Neill sought to bring about. At this very time he was trying to form a confederacy of the Gael against the English, and to revive in his own person the long-lapsed office of *Ard-rí*. He had before his eyes the successful example of Llewelyn, who had recently united the Welsh people in both the north and the south of the ancient principality and had assumed the title of Prince of Wales. With a like object in view, Brian held a conference at Caol-uisce, but the attempt was doomed to failure. Aedh O'Conor, the warrior son of Felim, king of Connaught, and virtual leader of the Sil Murray clans, submitted to him and gave him hostages on condition of getting a free hand in Breffny,[2] but it

Conference at Caol-uisce, 1258.

[1] Ann. Ulst., vol. ii, p. 325, MS. D, note; and Four Masters, 1258.

[2] Ann. Loch Cé, 1258.

is clear that neither Conor O'Brien, king of Thomond, as represented at the conference by his warlike son Teig, nor Donnell Og, the youthful chieftain of Tirconnell, would consent to subordinate himself to O'Neill. Teig indeed is said to have insisted on obtaining the position of *Ard-rí* for himself, while O'Donnell, as we have seen, had rejected O'Neill's demands and held aloof from the confederacy.

The outcome of this conference appeared in 1260, when Brian O'Neill, described as 'King of the Gael of Erin', supported by Aedh O'Conor, advanced as far as Drumderg near Downpatrick, and there on Sunday, May 14, met with 'a terrible defeat' at the hands of the English of Down.[1] Brian himself was killed, and with him fell 'many of the best' of Tirowen and Connaught. Brian indeed had little title to be regarded as king of the Gael. Not only was he not joined by the southern Irish, but it would seem that even in his own province he had a rival[2] and was not supported by the chieftains of Tirconnell, Fermanagh, or Irish Uriel (with the exception of O'Hanlon), while the Irish of Eastern Ulster held aloof or opposed him. The confederacy was defeated, not by the feudal host, which was not summoned, but by 'local levies of the commonalty of the city and county of Down' under the leadership of Sir Roger des Auters and the mayor of that city.[3]

Battle of Down, 1260.

[1] Ann. Loch Cé, Ann. Ulst., 1260. For the precise date see Clyn's Annals.

[2] In 1259 Aedh Buidhe O'Neill, Brian's rival and successor, had accompanied O'Donnell in a devastating raid through Tirowen and Irish Uriel: Four Masters, 1259, Ann. Ulst., vol. ii, p. 327, note.

[3] See the king's letter to his son: Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. ii, no. 661. The statement, frequently made, that O'Neill was defeated by the justiciar Stephen Longespée, is not

These leaders were accordingly rewarded by grants of land.[1] But though O'Neill's attempt thus signally failed, the combination of the kings of Tirowen and Connaught was the most formidable native effort that the English in Ulster had to meet in the thirteenth century. Brian's death is lamented in a remarkable dirge [2] by Gilbride Mac Namee, hereditary bard of the O'Neills, commencing with the following quatrain (translated):

Dirge on Brian's death.

> Death of my heart! The head of Brian
> In a strange country under cold clay!
> O head of Brian of Slieve Snaght,[3]
> Eire after thee is an orphan!

It is not without other pathetic verses, but, as the editor remarks, the victories of O'Neill and his ancestors, of which the bard proudly boasts, were mostly gained in their own province over their immediate neighbours and kindred. The principal exception was the winter raid of Murtough 'of the Leather Coats', who in the year 942 carried off the king of Leinster and made chessmen of his bones, exacted tribute from the Danes, fettered the king of Cashel, burned the palace of Kincora, and carried captive the king of Con-

found in any early authority and is inconsistent with the above letter. It appears to have originated in the blunder of a copyist. In the Laud MS. Annals under the year 1259 are two entries: 'Stephanus de Longa Spata venit iusticiarius Hibernie. Item, interfectus est Oneyl apud Doune'. Of these entries Dowling makes one: 'Stephanus de longe espee iusticiarius Hibernie anno 42 Henrici 3 interfecit O'Nel cum 352 eius familiaribus in vico de Down'. Subsequent writers seem to have blindly followed him.

[1] Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. ii, nos. 677–8.

[2] Miscellany, Celtic Society, pp. 146–183.

[3] *Sliabh Sneachta* (Mons nivium), a mountain in Inishowen.

naught.[1] If this was the model that Brian had in view in his effort to make himself *Ard-rí*, Ireland was happy in the battle of Down. The poem indeed affords an instructive insight into the limits of the patriotism which animated the Irish clans—limits which effectually barred the way to Irish unity. The contemporary dirge by Fearghal Og Mac an Bháird on the deaths of the O'Cahans[2] slain in the same battle, though a slighter effort, is more full of tender human touches. The bard sorrows most for his foster-brothers, Maghnus and Eachmarcach O'Cahan, and dwells with fond memory on the days when in their sports they used to place Maghnus on a mound and inaugurate him as their chieftain, while Eachmarcach (i. e. 'horse-rider') would be a horse to carry the hereditary bard as his rider thrice round the mound. It is curious, too, to note that as the body of O'Cahan was not recognized among the slain, the bard supposes that the fairies may have carried him off:

> In fairy mound west or east,
> Who knows but he may still be living!

and he quotes traditional examples of fairy abduction.

The Irish Pipe Roll for the year 1260–1[3]—one of the few for the reign of Henry III which has been preserved—throws some light on the profits of the lordship of Ulster, then in Prince Edward's hands, and on the relations with Brian O'Neill and other Irish chieftains. The farm of Ulster,

Accounts of Ulster, 1260–2.

[1] See the 'Circuit of Ireland, by Muircheartach Mac Neill', in Tracts, vol. i, Irish Archaeological Society.

[2] Miscellany, Celtic Society, pp. 404–14.

[3] See Facsimiles of National MSS. (Ireland), part ii, plate 73.

except the Twescard or northern part of County Antrim, then in separate custody, was let to the seneschal, Nicholas de Dunheved, at 300 marks a year. Accordingly there are no entries of rents paid, but the account consists mainly of fines for defaults, trespasses, &c., both English and Irish. Brian O'Neill appears to have held the territory of Tirowen subject to a rent of 400 cows, which may be regarded as equivalent to £66 13*s.* 4*d.*[1] But this rent was very irregularly paid, as eight years arrears are debited to him. He is also charged with £100 aid to the king for his war in Gascony (1253–4), and '3,092 cows of a fine made with the justiciar'—probably with John Fitz Geoffrey, in consequence of Brian's raid into Ulidia in 1253, when the castle of Moy Cova was destroyed. These were clearly bad debts. Some of the Irish chieftains of Ulidia—Mac Guiness, Mac Artain, Mac Duilechain, &c.—were debited with smaller fines in cows.

For the Twescard there is the more detailed account of Henry de Mandeville, the *custos*, for the four terms ending November 1, 1262.[2] From this district in the north of County Antrim, corresponding probably to the Deanery of Twescard in the ecclesiastical organization, the custodian accounts for the considerable sum of £464 9*s.* 4*d.* It had evidently been well settled by the Normans and was in a prosperous condition; and this conclusion is borne out by the ecclesiastical taxation of 1302–6, when the churches of the

[1] From another entry it appears that 3*s.* 4*d.* was the equivalent of a cow.

[2] Exact information regarding the Norman settlement in Ulster in the thirteenth century is so scanty that I have given an abstract of this account, with some elucidatory notes, as an appendix to this chapter.

deanery were valued at £217, while the deanery of Lecale, the next highest in Ulidia, yielded only £108. The principal town was Coleraine, where the burgage rent was £23. There were manors at or including the places now known as Portstewart, Portrush, Bushmills, Dunluce, Dunseverick, Armoy, Mount Sandal, and Loughguile. The last-named was an important manor, seemingly belonging to the Savage family, but now, during a minority, set to farm at £64 a year. The inland portion of the Twescard was largely held by the free-tenants of this manor. The issues of the lord's mills and of the fisheries of the Bann were very lucrative.

Repairs to castles.

About this time, seemingly just before O'Neill's attempt, repairs were effected at some of the principal castles of Ulster. Timber was brought to make *hurdicia* (wooden galleries) for defending the walls of Greencastle at Narrow Water. The hall of the keep (*aula turris*) was roofed with shingles, but lead brought from Drogheda was also employed. At Carlingford quarried stone and lime-mortar was used for the works at the castle. Freestone was brought from Down and iron from Drogheda to repair the gates and doorways of the castle of Rath (Dundrum).[1]

In October 1261 Richard de la Rochelle, Prince Edward's former seneschal, was appointed justiciar in succession to William de Dene, who died soon after the defeat at Callann, and in the course of the succeeding year, supported by Walter de Burgh, he led two expeditions, one to punish Aedh, son of Felim O'Conor, for his share in the

[1] Pipe Roll (Ireland), 46 Hen. III, account of Robert Gelous of money received at the Exchequer, Hilary 1260; see Rep. Record Commissioners of Ireland, vol. i, plate 2 (between pp. 56 and 57).

battle of Down, and the other to check the Mac Carthys, who since the battle of Callann were carrying all before them in Desmond. By the former expedition the site of a castle at Roscommon was marked out, indicating the meditated confiscation of some land there, but peace for the moment was made with Aedh. By the latter expedition Cormac Mac Carthy, brother of Fineen, was slain.[1]

Walter de Burgh made Earl of Ulster, 1264.

But from about this time and for some years the lord of Ireland was too much engrossed with the serious state of affairs in England to pay due attention to his Irish dominion, and this may have induced him to revive the earldom of Ulster and put that part of Ireland in the hands of Walter de Burgh, who had showed himself an able and energetic supporter of the justiciar. Early in 1264 hostilities broke out between the barons who followed Simon de Montfort and the royalists, and on May 14 was fought the battle of Lewes, which left the king a prisoner in Earl Simon's hands, while soon afterwards Prince Edward surrendered himself as a hostage for the good behaviour of the marcher lords. From this date up to the battle of Evesham (August 4, 1265) the royal authority was in commission, and the few more important writs concerning Ireland, though issued in Henry's name, must be regarded as carrying out the will of Earl Simon.[2] It would have been strange if there were no echo in Ireland of the Barons' War. The Irish annals for 1264,

[1] Ann. Loch Cé, 1262, and see *ante*, pp. 239 and 142.

[2] Thus on September 24, 1264, the king, with the consent of his son, commands Walter de Burgh and others to give seisin to the Earl of Gloucester, who had just come of age, and who at this time was one of Earl Simon's principal supporters: Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. ii, no. 750.

with customary exaggeration of phraseology, speak of 'a great war between Mac William Burk (i. e. the new Earl of Ulster) and Mac Gerailt (i. e. Maurice Fitz Maurice), so that the greater part of Erin was destroyed by them'. When dealing with affairs in Connaught at this period we gave an account of this quarrel, and of the disturbances that followed the imprisonment of the justiciar, Richard de la Rochelle, and others, and we indicated the probable cause of this unprecedented act of violence on the part of the Geraldines.[1] Here it may be noted that the disturbance in Ireland should probably not be altogether dissociated from the revolutionary movement which had just taken place in England. In their action against Lord Edward's justiciar and his newly created earl, the Geraldines were following at a distance the example of Simon de Montfort, if they were not actually instigated by him. Maurice Fitz Maurice indeed, as was shown, probably had some personal dispute about his Connaught and Ulster lands with Walter de Burgh. His father had held both Sligo and Tirconnell under grants from Hugh de Lacy, and Maurice may have claimed to hold them independently of Earl Walter. The justiciar would probably decide against this claim on legal grounds, and in the general anarchy of the moment Maurice and his kindred may have seen an opportunity of asserting his supposed rights by force. It seems, however, clear that Earl Simon was anxious to replace Edward's justiciar. On February 16, the king, presumably at the earl's instance, wrote to Fulk de Saunford, Archbishop of Dublin, referring to the disturbances likely to occur owing to the discord prevailing

His quarrel with Maurice f. Maurice.

[1] *Supra*, pp. 241–4.

among the magnates of Ireland and praying him to undertake the office of justiciar.[1] On March 19 Roger Waspail was sent over on a confidential message, and the archbishop was to certify the state of Ireland and 'how the magnates bear themselves in regard to their fealty';[2] and on May 6 Richard de la Rochelle was summoned to the king, and the custody of Ireland was entrusted to Roger Waspail, assisted by the counsel of the Archbishop and the Bishop of Meath.[3]

On May 28 Prince Edward escaped from custody and went over to the marcher lords, with whom Earl Gilbert of Gloucester was now acting, and on June 10 more peremptory letters were sent by the king and the Earl of Leicester (who was evidently their real author) to the prelates of Ireland, and to Walter de Burgh, Maurice Fitz Gerald, Maurice Fitz Maurice, Richard de la Rochelle, and Geoffrey de Geynville, stating that Edward, the king's son, 'at the instigation of him who strives to sow the seeds of discord' (meaning apparently the Earl of Gloucester), had against the ordinance and his own oath gone over to certain marchers and rebels, and had therefore, according to the rigour of the law, forfeited his right to the kingdom and to all his demesnes, and commanding that the recipients be intentive to Hugh, Bishop of Meath, as justiciar, and do not aid or obey Edward or his bailiffs.[4] On

[1] Cal. Pat. Rolls, 49 Hen. III, p. 406.

[2] Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. ii, no. 766.

[3] Cal. Pat. Rolls, 49 Hen. III, p. 422. The entry in Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. ii, no. 727, summoning Richard de la Rochelle and also Geoffrey de Geynville, Walter de Burgh, and Maurice Fitz Maurice to the king, seems to be misplaced, and should apparently be dated May 5, 1265.

[4] Cal. Pat. Roll, 49 Hen. III, p. 432.

August 4, however, the battle of Evesham restored the royal power, Richard de la Rochelle appears still as justiciar,[1] and the government of Ireland was carried on (or neglected) much as before the recent changes.

Quarrel with the Bishop of Down.

In 1269 Thomas de Liddell, Bishop of Down, complained to the king that he was harassed by Walter de Burgh, Earl of Ulster, with unprecedented exactions, and that because the bishop would not answer in the earl's court, the earl had given judgement despoiling him of his manors. The bishop, after stating that 'from the first coming of the English into Ulster the king's name had been commemorated in each mass throughout the Down diocese, where there are more priests and religious than in any other part of equal dimensions in Ireland', threatened that if the king did not speedily find a remedy he would leave his diocese under an interdict and seek a remedy at the court of Rome.[2] In response to this appeal the king peremptorily commanded the earl to desist from his oppressions and restore to the bishop the amerciaments he had taken.

During Earl Walter's time there was peace throughout his Ulster lands. In Connaught, as we have seen,[3] nothing could restrain the bellicose spirit of Aedh, son of Felim, now, in 1265, king of Connaught in succession to his father; and with him Walter de Burgh came into frequent

[1] Richard de la Rochelle was still justiciar in April 1266 (ibid., no. 793). He was superseded by David de Barry by Michaelmas 1266: 35th Rep. D. K., p. 48.

[2] Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. i, no. 2551, where the entry is entirely misplaced. The bishop's election was finally confirmed on November 5, 1266 (ibid., vol. ii, no. 804), and the king's answer to his complaint is dated December 22, 1269: ibid., no. 860.

[3] See *supra*, p. 243 et seq.

Relations with Hugh Boy O'Neill.

conflict. But the relations of the earl with Aedh Buidhe O'Neill, the new king of the Cinel Owen, were friendly. Aedh Buidhe, or Hugh Boy, i.e. 'Hugh the Yellow', was eponymous ancestor of the Clannaboy (*Clan Aedha Buidhe*) O'Neills, who about the middle of the next century occupied part of Eastern Ulster.[1] He had recently married a cousin of Earl Walter, and in 1265 accompanied him in an expedition into Tirconnell.[2] A document dated October 2, 1269, which by a rare chance has survived,[3] shows the subordinate position of the king of the Cinel Owen relative to the Earl of Ulster at this time. It indicates that the debts of cows due from Brian O'Neill in the account already quoted were not exceptional, and prepares us for the position held by subsequent Ulster chieftains as stated in the inquisition of 1333. This document is in Latin, and the material parts are thus rendered: '53 Hen. III, Oct. 2, Antrim. Odo Onel Rex Kenlean (Aedh O'Neill, King of *Cenél Eoghain*) is bound to the nobleman, his lord W. de Burgh, Earl of Ulster and lord of Connaught, in 3,500 cows to be paid as follows... And he is bound to deliver to the said earl four hostages. . . . If he cannot do this, then he is bound to return and revert to the said earl and subject himself in all things to his person and

[1] See Journal R. S. A. I., vol. xlv (1915), pp. 132–7. Aedh Buidhe was descended from Aedh O'Neill, nicknamed *Macamh Tóinlesc*, who was king of Cinel Owen for a time in 1177: Ann. Ulst., vol. ii, p. 186, and Four Masters, 1281.

[2] Ann. Ulst., vol. ii, p. 339, Four Masters, 1265.

[3] It is among the MSS. of Lord de L'Isle and Dudley, H. M. C., 3rd Rep., p. 231. In the same collection is a document which, though corrupt, appears to be a bond of about the same date from M. O'Flynn, king of Tuirtri, to assist Hugh Bissett to recover a cattle-spoil from Eachmarcach O'Kane, king of Keenaght.

will. And he has promised to bind himself under pain of excommunication to keep Aleanor his wife, cousin of the said earl,[1] honourably and faithfully, furnishing her with necessaries; and all her rights, as well in lands as goods, which are considered to belong to her according to the use and custom of his country, he will cause to be rendered to her. To keep this agreement he has sworn on holy relics to the earl. If he break the agreement the earl may drive him from his regality, which he is bound to hold of him, and give or sell it to any one else.'

Death of Earl Walter.

Earl Walter died in Galway Castle in the year 1271, when he was only about forty-two years of age. Though he had failed to restrain the turbulence of Aedh, son of Felim, in Connaught, by supporting Aedh Buidhe O'Neill against his rivals of the house of Brian O'Neill and against his powerful neighbour O'Donnell, he had gained an unwonted control in Tirowen, and apparently over the whole province,[2] and had laid the foundation for the great power afterwards wielded over the northern chieftains by his more famous son.

[1] The relationship appears to have been as follows: Aedh married a 'daughter of [Miles] McCostello' (Ann. Ulst., 1263, vol. ii, p. 337), and Miles Mc Costello's wife was 'daughter of the earl of Ulster', i. e. Hugh de Lacy (Ann. Loch Cé, 1253). Walter de Burgh's mother was Egidia, daughter of Walter de Lacy, Hugh's brother. Therefore Walter de Burgh and Eleanor Mc Costello were second cousins.

[2] Earl Walter's widow Avelina was endowed (*inter alia*) with five castles in the marches and almost all the homages of the Irish of Ulster: see Cal. Patent Rolls, 1 Ed. II, p. 7.

APPENDIX I

DE LACY PEDIGREE, SHOWING THE DEVOLUTION OF MEATH

(1) Roheis de Monemue = Hugh de Lacy = (2) a dau. of Rory O'Conor.
enfeoffed in Meath
by Henry II,
killed 1186.

Robert de Lacy enfeoffed in Rathwire by Hugh (probably) his brother. Probable ancestor of the Lacys of Rathwire : *temp.* Bruce's invasion.

(by his first wife) Walter, lord of Meath, ob. 1241. = Margery, dau. of William de Braose.

(1) Lesceline, dau. of Bertram de Verdun. = Hugh, created earl of Ulster, 1205 ; ob. 1243. = (2) Emeline, dau. of Walter de Ridelisford, by whom Hugh had no issue.

(by his second wife) William, C. D. I. i. 1203.

Gilbert ob. c. 1230. = Isabel, dau. of Hugh Bigod and Matilda Marshal ; she married, 2ndly, John Fitz Geoffrey.

Egidia = Richard de Burgh, lord of Connaught.

Walter, Roger — living 1226 ; ob. v. p. s. p.

Matilda succeeded to her father's Louth lands. = David f. William, baron of Naas.

dau. = Alan of Galloway.

dau. = Miles de Angulo.

Walter, living 1238 : ob. s. p., viv. avo.

Margaret = John de Verdun, ob. 1274 (C. D. I. ii. 1061).
coheir of her grandfather, Walter (C. D. I. i. 2662).

Matilda = (1) Peter de Genevre, d. 1250 (Mat. Paris).
coheir of her grandfather, Walter, ob. 1302.

(2) Geoffrey de Geynville, held a moiety of Meath after the death of Matilda, until 1308, when he surrendered it to Roger de Mortimer and Joan (Close Roll (Ireland), 2 Ed. II, no. 413).

sl. 1271, s. p. (Ann. Loch Cé).

John de Cogan I (C. D. I. ii. 1635).

sl. 1271, s. p. (C. D. I. ii. 2274).

he was deprived of his liberty in Meath in 1280, and again in 1291, ob. 1309.

Peter de Geynville, ob. 1292 (Chart. St. Mary's, ii, p. 321).

Theobald de Verdun II, justiciar 1314, ob. 1316. = (1) Maud, sister of Roger Mortimer.

(2) Elizabeth de Clare, widow of John de Burgh.

Joan, heir of Matilda, her grandmother. = Roger Mortimer, justiciar, 1317 and 1319; hanged 1330.

(by his first wife)

(by his second wife)

Joan = Thomas, Lord Furnival.

Elizabeth = Bartholomew de Burghersh.

Margery = Sir William le Blunt.

Isabel = Henry, Lord Ferrers.

Edmund Mortimer, ob. 1331.

Roger Mortimer, restored to his Irish lands in 1355, ob. 1360.

Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March and Ulster and Lord of Meath; ob. 1381. = Philippa, dau. of Lionel, Duke of Clarence, and Elizabeth, dau. and heir of William de Burgh, Earl of Ulster.

Edmund Mortimer, ob. s. p. 1424.

Anne = Richard, Earl of Cambridge; beheaded 1415.

Richard, Duke of York; sl. 1460.

King Edward IV.

APPENDIX II

The Account of Henry de Mandeville, *custos* of Twescard, for the four terms ending November 1, 1262, abstracted from Pipe Roll (Ireland), 19 Henry III, with annotations.

The rents from the places named and other issues were as follows:

	£	*s.*	*d.*
'Dundrif' (probably for Dunlif,[1] now Dunluce)	26	13	4
'Dunsumery' (probably Dunseverick, the Irish *Dún sobhairche*), including 87½ crannocks of oatmeal sold for £5 16*s.* 8*d.*	17	0	0
and one mark of the old increase .		13	4
'Portkaman' (now included in the parish of Dunluce to the west of the river Bush[2])	20	0	0
'Portros' (Portrush, i. e. the parish of Ballywillin)	40	0	0
Land in 'Villa Ohatheran'[3] (now Agherton or Ballyaghran parish) for three terms when it was assigned to Robert de Beumes . . .	3	0	0
'Villa que vocatur La Pere' (i. e. La Pierre, perhaps Ballyclogh, 'the			

[1] The name appears in the inquisition of 1333 as 'Dundelyff'. The castle is called *caislén dúin-libsi* in Ann. Ulst., vol. iii, p. 510, and *dún Lipsi* in Ann. Loch Cé, vol. ii, p. 464. It was latinized by Colgan 'Dunlifsia'. The Four Masters, vol. v, p. 1324, have *caislén dhúinlis.*

[2] Reeves, Eccl. Ant., p. 77.

[3] 'O'Haugharn's land' was confiscated after the battle of Down, 1260 (Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. ii, no. 677), and was granted by Prince Edward, under the form 'Hochageran', to Robert de Beumes (de Bello Manso): ibid., nos. 1782, 1976. It appears as 'Hathrantone' in the Ecclesiastical Taxation, and as 'Harggdon' in the inquisition of 1333.

	£	s.	d.
town of the stone' or 'stones', in the parish of Dunluce . . .	4	0	0
'Villa Ossandali' (perhaps Mount Sandall,[1] a promontory fort near the Salmon Leap on the Bann) . .	10	13	4
'Erthermoy' (*Airther-maighe*, the parish of Armoy)	20	0	0
'Ardbegan' (part of the possessions of the Dominican Friary of Coleraine at the dissolution)	2	13	4
Burgages of 'Coulrath' (*Cuil rathain*, Coleraine)	23	0	8
'Villa monasterii' (probably the church-lands[2] formerly belonging to the monastery of Coleraine) . .	4	0	0
'Drumtarsy' (now Killowen, a parish to the west of the Bann adjoining Coleraine)	16	0	0
'Loch Kel' (Loughguile[3]) with the demesnes thereof set to farm . .	64	11	4
Increase thereof		16	6
From Henry de Mandeville for two carucates in Drumtarsy . .	2	0	0
For 410 crannocks of the greater hundred measure of oatmeal of the issues of the mills of Twescard and of the mill of Ohatheran . .	147	0	0
Issues of the fishery of the Bann . .	40	6	8

[1] Mount Sandall was probably the site of the castle of Kilsantan or *Cill Santail* erected by John de Courcy on the Bann near Coleraine in 1197: *ante*, vol. ii, p. 135, and see English Historical Review, vol. xxii (1907), p. 443.

[2] For these church-lands, which had been occupied by the Anglo-Normans, Hugh de Lacy in 1241 granted to Albert of Cologne, archbishop of Armagh, as compensation, the manor of Nobber in Meath: Chartae Privilegia et Immunitates, pp. 24, 40.

[3] This important manor was, I think, in the prince's hand during the minority of Henry le Savage, who died in 1277 (Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. ii, no. 1328, where the extent £63 10*s.* 4*d.* is given). Lisanoure Castle marks the manorial centre.

	£	s.	d.
Issues of the fishery of the Lynne (i. e. the Salmon Leap, now called the Cutts of Coleraine): see Cal. Pat. Roll (Ireland), 5 Rich. II, no. 151 .	1	6	8
Land which Alan de Logan holds in 'Drumgenath' and 'Drumcarbri' which before the last year was waste		15	0
Pleas and perquisites	19	19	2
Total [correct]	£464	9	4

CHAPTER XXXII

HENRY III

1216–72

Extension of Anglo-Norman rule in Henry's reign.

Henry III died on November 16, 1272. During his long reign of fifty-six years the area of Anglo-Norman rule in Ireland had been greatly extended. The earldom of Ulster had been strengthened, and the earl's influence began to assert itself over the northern kings. The conquest of Connaught had been finally effected, and the sway of her native kings was restricted to a broad belt about the upper reaches of the Shannon. A beginning was made of the occupation of a portion of Thomond. The barons of County Limerick had established a strong colony in Kerry, and with those of County Cork had erected castles on advantageous sites beside the natural harbours of the south and south-west coasts, and in some inland places. The barons of Ireland were seldom interfered with by the government. They were in general loyal to the Crown—too loyal it may be thought in the affair of Richard Marshal—and the king had no conflict with them comparable to that which arose with the barons of England during his reign. With the exception of the long-drawn-out contest in Connaught, there was no serious conflict between the Crown and the native kings up to the year 1260, and in spite of local disturbances the wealth and trade and general prosperity of Ireland had greatly increased.

Disaffection towards its close.

In the latter part of Henry's reign, however, while England was distracted by the struggle between the Crown and the baronage, disaffection among the native princes came to a head in the north, south, and west of Ireland. In the north there was the futile attempt of Brian O'Neill to revive the high-kingship of Erin. In the south there was the more effective movement of Fineen Mc Carthy to resist the encroachments of the Munster barons into Desmond. In Thomond the O'Briens were beginning to be restive, while in Connaught nothing could restrain the turbulence of Aedh O'Conor, which threatened to revive the former anarchy.

Three periods of the reign.

In estimating Henry's personal influence on affairs in Ireland it is necessary to distinguish three periods of his reign in which that influence had very different weights. First the period of about ten years from his accession (October 28, 1216), when he was only nine years old, to the beginning of 1227, when, having declared himself to be of legal age, he announced before a council at Oxford that from henceforth, freed from wardship, he would take a leading part in directing the affairs of the Crown.[1] During this period the civil government was controlled at first by William Marshal, and after his death by Hubert de Burgh, and the king's influence was practically negligible. Secondly, the period of twenty-seven years from his coming of age to February 1254, when he granted Ireland, together with the other outlying possessions of the Crown, to his son Edward on the occasion of his marriage. During this period the king was legally his own master, but for the first few years he was clearly much influenced by

[1] Roger of Wendover (Coxe), vol. iv, p. 139.

Hubert de Burgh, and afterwards at times by his foreign advisers. Nevertheless, it was mainly during these years that his personal influence on Irish policy made itself felt. Lastly, the period of eighteen years, from February 1254 to his death. During this time Prince Edward as *Dominus Hiberniae* was primarily responsible. Henry, however, not only kept throughout ecclesiastical affairs in his own hands, but, especially at first, naturally advised most of the measures taken in his son's name, and even occasionally superseded his son's orders. Moreover, it must be remembered that from the time of the battle of Lewes (May 14, 1264) to that of the battle of Evesham (August 4, 1265), the royal power was practically in abeyance, or was exercised by direction of Simon de Montfort.

Defects as a ruler.

Henry's defects as a ruler in Ireland were negative rather than positive. From the time when the Regency, which managed things better, came to an end, neglect of kingly duty, instability of purpose, and lack of any consistent policy marked his government. In July and August 1233, he made elaborate preparations for an armed expedition to Ireland, but at the last moment he announced that he had 'changed his purpose'.[1] The change at this time was, no doubt, occasioned by the quarrel with Richard Marshal now coming to a head. In ensuing years, however, Henry repeatedly referred to his intention to visit Ireland, and in September 1240 he announced 'his firm purpose' to go after the following Easter, and ordered his manors and castles to be provisioned, and his houses to be repaired and improved.[2] In April 1243, with

[1] Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. i, pp. 305–6.
[2] Close Roll, 24 Hen. III, p. 225.

a view to his long postponed visit, he ordered a hall to be constructed in the castle of Dublin, 120 feet in length and 80 feet in breadth, with glazed windows after the manner of the hall of Canterbury. There was to be a round window, 30 feet in diameter, in the gable beyond the dais, a painting of the king and queen sitting with their baronage, and a great portal at the entrance of the hall.[1] All this was characteristic of Henry's artistic proclivities, of which we can see proofs in parts of Westminster Abbey and elsewhere. In January 1244 he ordered the work to be stopped, 'because he was much in want of money'.[2] In November 1245 he ordered the hall to be completed with a supply of water in a pipe from the city conduit, 'so that at the approaching summer he might find the hall complete'[3]—but the king never set foot in Ireland.

In not even visiting his Irish dominion, Henry's example was too often followed by his successors on the throne, most of whom had still less excuse for this neglect of kingly duty; but in his attitude towards the great outstanding event of his time in Ireland, the confiscation, conquest, and partition of Connaught, the defect of instability of purpose is more strikingly illustrated, and its consequences were fraught with more serious evils. In 1226, while still under the influence of Hubert de Burgh, he replaced the younger William Marshal, who,

[1] Close Roll, 27 Hen. III, p. 23. One of the charges made, c. 1285, against Stephen de Fulburne, bishop of Waterford and justiciar of Ireland, concerned 'the pillars of marble taken from the king's hall in the castle of Dublin and carried to Dunbro', the bishop's manor in Co. Dublin: Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. iii, p. 13.

[2] Ibid., 28 Hen. III, p. 152.

[3] Cal. Patent Rolls, 30 Hen. III, p. 467.

both as soldier and as statesman, had just successfully dealt with the dangerous situation arising out of Hugh de Lacy's return, by the appointment as justiciar of the already discredited Geoffrey de Marisco, and he authorized Geoffrey and Hubert's nephew, Richard de Burgh, to carry out the latter's design for the overthrow of the king of Connaught. Six years later, when the conquest of Connaught had been all but accomplished, he abandoned his old minister Hubert to his enemies, and with him Richard de Burgh, and, while giving Felim O'Conor a free hand in Connaught, prepared to hand over the government of the whole kingdom to the Poitevins. When compelled by the English barons, headed by Edmund, Archbishop of Canterbury, to dismiss the Poitevins, he once more took Richard de Burgh into favour for no better reason than because he had been instrumental in bringing about the tragic death of Richard Marshal, and once more threw over the king of Connaught, thus by his shifty policy prolonging the turmoil in that province. With similar caprice Henry, in 1245, dismissed Maurice Fitz Gerald after thirteen years loyal service as justiciar, apparently because he was mortified at his own want of success against David of Wales, in the region of Conway, and must needs find a scapegoat to carry his sins. Finally, in 1254, he handed over Ireland to his inexperienced son without making effective provision for his residing there or paying due attention to its affairs, but having first characteristically attempted to make an impossible provision for his Lusignan half-brother at the expense of the much-tried king of Connaught. In making the youthful Edward *Dominus Hiberniae*, Henry was following the unfortunate example of his grandfather, and in

both cases the motive seems to have been to make a family provision out of what was regarded as the private property of the Crown, rather than to select a suitable governor to forward the public interests of the country to be governed. Edward was, however, a very different man from John, and had he been given Ireland alone, and taken up his residence there, the consequences would probably have been very different; but he was given Gascony and Wales (not to speak of other places) as well, and these countries preoccupied his energies.

Henry's justiciars.

But in spite of these capricious changes the barons of Ireland had no reason to complain of Henry's justiciars. They were men who spent most if not all of their lives in Ireland, who held lands there and had the interests of the colony at heart, and who, if they took little thought of the interests of the native Irish population, at least understood them and their ways as no official fresh from England could do. Though Geoffrey de Marisco undoubtedly was more careful to feather his own nest than to safeguard the rights of the Crown, there is no reason to suppose that he neglected the interests of his peers. Archbishop Henry de Londres, while very zealous in furthering the wealth and power of his see, was a more watchful guardian of the revenue of the king, and indeed caused some irritation by his activities on behalf of the Church and the Crown. He was superseded by Earl William Marshal, because a military commander was needed to quell the disturbance caused by Hugh de Lacy. Once order was effectively restored, the Earl Marshal showed a wise statesmanship in enabling Hugh de Lacy, on giving adequate security for his loyalty, to recover his confiscated lands; but he was opposed

to the new policy of the confiscation of Connaught and had to give way to less scrupulous men. Richard de Burgh and Maurice Fitz Gerald tarnished their reputation in the eyes of posterity, but not in their sovereign's eyes, by their unchivalrous action against Earl Richard Marshal, but they succeeded in subduing Connaught and greatly extending the area of Anglo-Norman domination in Ireland, and in this they had the support of most of the Irish barons. Maurice Fitz Gerald, and, after him, John Fitz Geoffrey, ruled the country with a fair measure of success for altogether twenty-four years. The long periods during which they continued in office contrast favourably with the rapid changes in the next sixteen years when Edward as *Dominus Hiberniae* was responsible for the choice of justiciars. During this period there were at least eight occupiers of the office, and they were nearly all strangers to Ireland. It was a period in which there were risings of the Irish in many districts, and one serious disturbance, coincident with the war of Simon de Montfort, among the barons themselves.

There are indeed indications that on more than one occasion Henry was dissatisfied with his son's choice of justiciars and claimed to overrule his son's measures. We have mentioned his mandate of 1258 bidding his subjects in Ireland not to be intentive to any justiciar unless appointed by his own letters patent, and his efforts in 1265—perhaps inspired by Simon de Montfort—to supersede Richard de la Rochelle.[1] But a little later a more drastic interference with Edward's administration was attempted. On July 12, 1268, after referring to the grant to his son of the

[1] See *ante*, pp. 272 and 281–2.

whole of Ireland 'so that the land should not be separated from the Crown of England', and stating that Edward without the king's licence had made alienations of Crown-lands in that country, the king empowered his nephew, Henry of Almaine, son of his brother Richard, to revoke all alienations of lands made by Edward in Ireland and take the same into the king's hand.[1] The principal alienations of Crown-lands made by Prince Edward were the feoffment of Decies and Desmond to John Fitz Thomas of Shanid in 1259,[2] and the feoffment of Ulster to Walter de Burgh in 1264.[3] The lands included in the former grant would seem to have been in the king's hand from the death of John Fitz Thomas in 1261 until the grant was virtually renewed in 1292 to his grandson, Thomas Fitz Maurice, and Margaret his wife, the king's cousin;[4] while the feoffment to Walter de Burgh was not revoked. In fact it does not appear that anything was done in pursuance of this mandate. Robert d'Ufford was appointed justiciar about the following Michaelmas, and Henry of Almaine started with the prince for the Holy Land in 1270, and on his return journey was slain by the sons of Simon de Montfort.

Legislation in Henry's reign.

What little legislation there was for Ireland in Henry's reign, as in the reigns of his predecessors, took in general the form of writs and ordinances addressed by virtue of the royal prerogative to the justiciar or other executive officers or to his subjects in Ireland generally. In a few cases enactments made by the king and council in England were by the king's authority tran cribed

[1] Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. ii, no. 844.
[2] See *ante*, p. 140.
[3] See *ante*, p. 266.
[4] Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. iii, no. 1051.

and transmitted for observance in Ireland. Thus the Great Charter, as reissued in England under date November 12, 1216, was extended to Ireland with some slight variations to suit the case of that country.[1] What at first sight appears to be another reissue of the Great Charter, resembling generally, but differing in some respects from what is known as the second Charter of Henry III (1217), is transcribed in the Black Book of Christ Church, Dublin.[2] But this transcript, though dated November 6, 1217, contains some significant variations from Henry's second charter which point clearly to its manufacture at a date subsequent to the third charter of 1225. Thus to mention only the most important variations, the phrase in the preamble *spontanea et bona voluntate mea* is singularly inappropriate as applied in 1217 to the boy-king of ten years of age, and seems to have been taken from the charter of 1225, where its appearance is intelligible. The omission indeed of the reference to the demolition of the unlicensed castles built during the war between King John and the English barons might be explained as being inapplicable to Ireland, where there was no war with the barons.[3] But the statement as to the grant of a fifteenth of goods, which is not contained in the printed charter of 1217, also appears, in the same terms, in the charter of 1225, and while true of the latter year, it was not

[1] See *ante*, p. 18.

[2] See 'An unnoticed charter of Henry III (1217)' by Dr. Lawlor: English Hist. Rev., vol. xxii (1907), p. 514. Dr. Lawlor was inclined to consider the charter genuine, but the question was again examined with a different result by Mr. F. M. Powicke: ibid., vol. xxiii (1908), p. 232.

[3] In the previous February the Irish barons had been commended for the fealty which they had manifested to the late and to the present king: Pat. Roll, 1 Hen. III, p. 31.

apparently true of either England or Ireland in 1217. In England other plans for raising money were adopted, while in Ireland a toll was imposed on the cities, boroughs, and demesnes of the king, and an aid sought from the Irish kings and the barons and knights who held in chief.[1] Finally the formula of the dating clause ('datum per manum . . . R[icardi de Marisco] Dunholmensis episcopi cancellarii nostri'), as Mr. Powicke has shown, almost certainly implies that the original bore the great seal, but this was not in existence in 1217. At that period all important documents, including Henry's second charter and the Forest Charter issued at the time and place mentioned in the dating clause of the transcript, were sealed with the seals of the Legate Gualo and of Earl William Marshal. We must conclude then that the transcript does not represent an unknown original, but that the text has been compiled and edited from more than one revision of the Great Charter with a few additional words taken from the Charter of Forests.

The command in general terms that English laws and customs were to be observed in Ireland was more than once repeated in Henry's reign, and in 1236 the constitutions of Merton were transmitted and ordered to be observed in Ireland. Other ordinances were concerned either with procedure, or with declarations of the substantive law on special points on which doubts had arisen in the Irish courts. In this way the law was declared as to tenancy by the curtesy, coparceners,

[1] Rot. Claus. 2 Hen. III, p. 375 (November 10, 1217). On July 8, 1218, the receipt was acknowledged at the exchequer of London of £493 2*s.* 10*d.*, sent from Ireland: Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. i, no. 843. This was probably the proceeds of the toll and aid.

the jurisdiction of Courts Christian, persons born before wedlock, and a bastard dying without heirs. In one case only, so far as appears from Dr. Berry's edition of Early Statutes, an enactment having the character of statute-law was made in Ireland, during Henry's reign. This was a provision made in 1269 for establishing uniform weights and measures 'as they are appointed and approved in the city of London'. It is expressed to have been enacted by the justiciar and council 'with the consent of all the magnates and the entire commonalty of Ireland',[1] but how this consent was signified does not appear.

The surplus revenue.

Owing to the fragmentary state of the accounts it is not possible to give even an approximate estimate of the amount of the revenue of Ireland which found its way into the English Exchequer in Henry's reign. Probably in many years the ordinary revenue was almost entirely absorbed in Ireland. We have seen that in 1221 the king complained that since the death of King John 'nothing had been received from the demesne lands, rents of assise, or escheats of Ireland',[2] but the interests of the Crown were more faithfully looked after by subsequent justiciars. Certainly there were many orders for payments unconnected with the administration to be made out of Irish treasure, and the justiciars were frequently urged to bring or send to the king all the money they could. In November 1249, the king ordered that all the profit issues of Ireland for two years should be given to Simon de Montfort, seneschal of

[1] Early Statutes, p. 36. A provision with a similar object was contained in the Great Charter of Ireland. In it the measure of corn was to be 'the quarter of Dublin': Ibid., p. 14.

[2] *Supra*, p. 25.

Gascony, to make fortifications there,[1] and considerable sums of money seem to have been paid for this purpose. In August, following the grant of Ireland to Prince Edward, sums amounting to £1,900 of the issues of Ireland were transmitted to Gascony,[2] and in July 1255 a further sum of 600 marks was acknowledged by the prince,[3] while in May 1257 the king ordered the escheator of Ireland to pay 2,200 marks out of the issues of vacant sees to the citizens of Bordeaux,[4] but we cannot be sure that this and similar orders were carried out.

Henry's unpractical schemes and injudicious meddling in foreign affairs, as well as his love of display and his desire to finance his own and his wife's relatives, led him into great expense and extravagance, which could not be met out of the ordinary revenues of the kingdom, and there was always the annual incubus of the Papal tribute. Consequently he had recourse again and again to subsidies and aids, both lay and clerical, which in England caused great irritation and aroused the opposition of both barons and clergy, and the king's necessities were made the occasion of demands of constitutional reform. In Ireland these subsidies were less frequently sought and were perhaps not so harshly pressed. Certainly they led to no open conflict with the Crown. We may note the following. Besides the toll and aid imposed in the young king's name in 1217, to which

Aids and subsidies.

[1] Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. i, p. 451. In July following, 700 marks were sent to the New Temple: ibid., nos. 3069, 3078; and there were orders to pay 550 marks to Simon de Montfort for fortifying castles in Gascony: ibid., no. 3099; and 1,000 marks to the mayor of Bordeaux for the king's debts: ibid., no. 3128.

[2] Ibid., vol. ii, nos. 381–2.

[3] Ibid., no. 455.

[4] Ibid., no. 547.

reference has already been made, and which seems to have produced nearly £500,[1] an aid was requested in September 1220 from the tenants in chief to pay the king's debts to the Pope, Queen Berengaria, Louis of France, and others. This aid produced the sum of £1,693 2*s.* 8*d.*[2] In January 1226, Pope Honorius III issued a bull exhorting the clergy of Ireland to yield a subsidy to the king, urging that 'Ecclesiastical liberty is not injured, but defended, when aid is freely given to its protector in time of need',[3] and in the following November the king, referring to the Pope's order, prayed the archbishops to induce the inferior clergy to grant a sixteenth of the annual value of their benefices to enable him 'to seize the opportunity of the death of the King of France (Louis VIII) to recover his rights'.[4] Owing to the opposition of Hubert de Burgh, justiciar of England, the expedition was postponed, and up to June 1229, at any rate, this aid was not paid.[5] In November of that year the king besought the Cistercian abbots for an aid in place of the sixteenth demanded from them and the clergy, and at the same time he sent a mandate to assess a toll on the tenants in chief.[6] If any money was collected it was expended on Henry's futile march in 1230 from Nantes to Bordeaux and back.

In November 1236, the king asked for an aid both lay and clerical to pay his debt to the Emperor Frederick II for the marriage of the king's sister Isabella, and also his debt to the Pope;

[1] *Supra*, p. 300.
[2] Patent Roll, 5 Hen. III, p. 296.
[3] Ibid., 10 Hen. III, p. 80.
[4] Ibid., 11 Hen. III, pp. 100, 103.
[5] Ibid., 13 Hen. III, p. 254.
[6] Close Roll, 14 Hen. III, p. 383.

but the justiciar was not to communicate the king's request to the Irish magnates unless he believed that they would comply without repining and without complaining of the losses which they had suffered for the king in the war [of Connaught].[1] In July 1238, 2,000 marks were sent by the justiciar, Maurice Fitz Gerald, to England, presumably as proceeds of this aid.[2] In June 1243, the king, when again at Bordeaux on another futile expedition to Gascony, in the course of which Richard de Burgh, Gerald Fitz Maurice, and other Irish leaders lost their lives, thanked the Irish clergy for complying with his request that they would grant him a subsidy to enable him to continue his war.[3] In May 1253, the king, while ordering the justiciar to induce the barons and others of Ireland to meet the king at Bordeaux for his expedition into Gascony, also ordered him to require a competent aid from those unable to come.[4] In July nearly £4,000 of Irish treasure, new and old money, was received by the king.[5] It is impossible to say how much (if any) of this sum was the proceeds of the aid, or whether it was merely the surplus revenue of Ireland. The king, however, wanted more, and on August 11 asked for an additional 1,000 marks of Irish treasure wherever it could be obtained, and failing that, loans of 400 marks 'out of the money of the crusaders', and of 600 marks out of the issues of the mint.[6] About this sum of Irish treasure was

[1] Close Roll, 21 Hen. III, p. 512. In October 1237 the king wrote direct to the magnates requesting this aid: ibid., p. 574.
[2] Ibid., 22 Hen. III, p. 75.
[3] Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. i, no. 2622.
[4] Patent Roll, 37 Hen. III, p. 229.
[5] Ibid., p. 216.
[6] Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. ii, no. 293.

paid into the Exchequer at Westminster on December 10.[1]

The Crusade-money.

It is clear that Henry had already cast covetous eyes on the Crusade-money. To tell the whole story of the nefarious dealings with this fund would be out of place here. Suffice it to say generally that the popes wanted money for their secular struggle with the emperor, the king aided the pope in despoiling the Church of England, and the pope rewarded the king by giving him a share in the spoil, while for both pope and king the Holy Land was used as a mere bait for collecting money. To confine ourselves to Ireland:—In 1250 the king, having 'assumed the cross', prayed the archbishops to have the cause of the crusade preached throughout Ireland and the letters of Pope Innocent IV, granting 'boons' to the promoters, published.[2] In March 1251 the king besought the Archbishop of Dublin to co-operate with Master John de Frusinon, who was sent by Pope Innocent IV to collect a tithe from the clergy 'for three years before the passage of the king for the Holy Land'.[3] In March 1253 the pope's order was repeated. It is impossible to say how much Ireland contributed in pursuance of these repeated orders, but the Dean of Hereford's account alone (1258) shows that 3,055 marks were collected in Ireland for the pious purpose.[4] But the pope was

[1] Patent Roll, 38 Hen. III, p. 361.

[2] Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. i, no. 3067.

[3] Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. i, no. 3115; cf. Mat. Paris, Chron. Mai., vol. v, pp. 324–32.

[4] Ibid., vol. ii, no. 605. 'For an account of the whole episode see 'Edmund earl of Lancaster' by W. E. Rhodes, Eng. Hist. Rev., vol. x (1895), pp. 20–7. Innocent IV died before the bargain was completed, but his policy was pursued by his successor, Alexander IV.

more anxious to gain control over the kingdom of Sicily than to free the Holy Land from the infidel. Henry eagerly accepted for his nine-year-old son Edmund the proffered crown, to be held as a fief of the Holy See, and undertook to pay the pope the huge sum of 135,000 marks for his expenses in the war; and in return the pope released Henry from his crusading vow and authorized the diversion of the tithes and obventions collected for the crusade to the prosecution of the Sicilian adventure.

Relations with the Church.

Henry owed much in the early years of his reign to the influence exercised on his behalf by Popes Honorius III and Gregory IX, and his natural piety inclined him to avoid conflict with either the Church or the papal curia. During the regency, however, a conflict arose with Donat O'Lonergan, Archbishop of Cashel. In December 1218 the archbishop complained that Geoffrey de Marisco, the justiciar, had disseised him of the new vill of Cashel, and a year later the archbishop ordered that the province be placed under an interdict, and that the justiciar be excommunicated unless restitution should be made.[1] Archbishop Henry, the papal legate, advised that, to avoid disturbance, restitution be made until the king's coming of age. It appeared, however, 'by the finding of a jury of the highest station and most worthy of faith' that the vill had rightly come into the king's hand,[2] and for some years Cashel is specifically mentioned in the king's writs along with other royal boroughs. In 1222 Pope Honorius ordered the archbishop to relax the interdict,[3] and

[1] Royal Letters (Shirley), vol. i, p. 72.
[2] Rot. Claus., 4 Hen. III, vol. i, p. 435 (Jan. 24, 1220).
[3] Ibid., 6 Hen. III, vol. i, p. 517.

next year the archbishop resigned. In 1228, however, when Henry was his own master, he remitted his claim to the new archbishop, Marianus O'Brien, and granted him the new vill for 300 marks.[1] Marianus thereupon granted a charter to the existing provost and burgesses of the town and their successors, reserving only the bakehouse and shambles and a chief rent of nine marks.[2] The town, though held of the archbishop, was organized after the model of an English borough, and extensive franchises were granted to it by subsequent kings.[3]

In 1230 Henry ordered all who held pools and fisheries within the archbishopric of Dublin to pay tithes for the same, as 'he did not wish to imperil his soul by withholding such tithes',[4] an expression, used more than once, which indicates the power wielded by the Church. He was more courageous, however, when it was the soul of another that was imperilled, and could express his astonishment that, in a dispute between the bishops of Emly and Cloyne touching a tenement, Maurice Fitz Gerald should defer giving judgement through fear of being excommunicated by one of the parties.[5] In 1245 he was induced by the magnates of England to make a protest against the exactions and oppressions which Master Martin, a papal envoy, made on the clergy to enable the pope to carry on his war against the emperor, and at the same time he ordered Maurice Fitz Gerald, the justiciar, not to allow Master Martin, or his

[1] Close Roll, 13 Hen. III, pp. 127–8.
[2] Chartae Privilegia et Immunitates, p. 21.
[3] Irish Pat. Roll, 26 Eliz., m. 26 (Morrin, p. 82, and cf. pp. 236–9).
[4] Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. i, no. 1798.
[5] Ibid., no. 2741.

emissary, John the Red, to make similar exactions and oppressions in Ireland.[1] Nevertheless, according to Matthew Paris, John the Red extorted 6,000 marks from Ireland, and, as we have seen, a few years later Henry did not scruple to collude with the same pope in despoiling the Church for the sake of furthering the mad Sicilian project.

Ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

It has already been mentioned that the jurisdiction claimed by Archbishop Henry in respect of his manor of St. Sepulchre clashed with the liberties claimed by the citizens of Dublin, and that in 1223 the archbishop was severely reprimanded for some of his proceedings against the citizens.[2] In 1233 King Henry had occasion to issue a mandate to his subjects, both lay and clerical, in Ireland that, in conformity with the law in England, no pleas should be held in an ecclesiastical court concerning advowsons, or lay fees, or chattels, not connected with testamentary or matrimonial matters.[3] A conflict of jurisdictions, lay and clerical, again broke out when Fulk de Saunford was Archbishop of Dublin. In 1260 Fulk went to Rome, and in November 1261 Pope Urban IV wrote to the king submitting complaints made by the archbishop regarding the king's justiciars and bailiffs in Ireland and threatening ecclesiastical censure. These complaints were, briefly, to the following effect:—that the justiciar and bailiffs prevent the archbishop, his suffragans, and officials from hearing and deciding causes between laymen, who are subject to them, concerning money, or possessions, or defamation, though by ancient custom they had cognizance of

[1] Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. i, no. 2746.

[2] *Supra*, p. 27.

[3] Early Statutes (Berry), p. 24, from Patent Roll, 18 Hen. III, m. 17.

such causes; that they even prevent clerks from summoning clerks before an ecclesiastical judge in pecuniary causes, and rectors from summoning other rectors in causes concerning chapels belonging to their churches or concerning tithes; that they do not allow those properly fined for contumacy or offence to be compelled to pay their fines, nor suffer the archbishop, &c., to punish usurers, or in cases of divorce to compel restitution of dower; that they hinder the fulfilment of testamentary gifts to the Church by citizens and burgesses of their burgages, and by *betaghs* of their goods; that they punish by fines, and sometimes even by imprisonment, ecclesiastical judges whom the king has inhibited from proceeding further with a cause, even if they obey the inhibition, also judges who are found by inquisition to have taken cognizance of any causes which are not either matrimonial or testamentary; and that they inhibit any ecclesiastical judge, who in the course of any question before him has pronounced sentence of excommunication on a layman, from proceeding with the cause, and they prevent the layman from being shunned as excommunicate.[1]

We do not know what answer at the time was given to these complaints, or what precise form the controversy took. Probably the archbishop relied, in part at least, on the liberties granted to his predecessors or enjoyed by them in respect of the archiepiscopal manors. However this may have been, inquiry was made into the secular jurisdiction and liberties actually exercised by his predecessors in the manors of the see. On an inquisition made in June 1264, at 'a parliament'

Secular jurisdiction of the archbishop.

[1] Crede Mihi, f. 84, transcribed in Gilbert's Historic and Municipal Documents of Ireland, pp. 172–8.

held at Castledermot before Richard de la Rochelle, chief justiciar, and other officers of the king, into the alleged usurpation of pleas of the Crown and liberties by Fulk Archbishop of Dublin to the prejudice of the Lord Edward and his liberties, the jury found that Luke, the preceding archbishop, held all pleas of the Crown in his court except forestalling, rape, treasure-trove, and arson, and that Archbishop Fulk made no purpresture, but used the same pleas and liberties.[1] This finding was itself based on the findings of inquisitions held at the archbishop's manors of St. Sepulchre, Shankill, Castlekevin, Ballymore, Clondalkin, Rathcoole, and Swords.[2]

At this time, a month after the battle of Lewes, neither king nor prince was free to deal with the questions at issue, but on June 27, 1266, Edward, as Lord of Ireland, sent letters patent to the archbishops, bishops, and judges ordinary or delegated by the Apostolic see in Ireland, prohibiting the holding of pleas in Courts Christian, either against the citizens of Dublin or generally, concerning chattels or debts, except such as might arise out of testamentary or matrimonial matters,[3] thus virtually following the king's mandate of 1233. Two days later he authorized the mayor and bailiffs of Dublin to prevent the execution, 'hateful to the Lord', of the ecclesiastical sentence of public fustigation through the streets of the city.[4] In

[1] Alani Registrum, f. 63v°, transcribed by Gilbert (as above), pp. 141–3.

[2] Ibid., transcribed (as above), pp. 143–66.

[3] Dublin Recorder's Book, f. 167: transcribed by Gilbert (as above), p. 179.

[4] Transcribed by Gilbert (as above), pp. 179–82, from the original in the archives of the Municipal Corporation of Dublin.

the following April the archbishop appealed in person to the king, but succeeded only in getting a mandate in general terms that he might enjoy the same liberties and quittances as his predecessors had used, and should have all ordinary jurisdiction in his archbishopric.[1] The mayor and citizens of Dublin, however, evidently carried out with zeal Prince Edward's mandate, for on February 29, 1268, Ottobon, Cardinal dean of St. Adrian and papal legate, commanded the bishops of Lismore and Waterford to excommunicate the mayor and citizens because, among other 'enormities', they claimed to restrict or mitigate public penances, and 'with damnable presumption' declared that matrimonial and testamentary causes alone should be tried in ecclesiastical courts.[2] In the following November the dispute as to public fustigation was arranged before Robert d'Ufford, justiciar, and resulted in a compromise on the whole favourable to the citizens. Only for a fourth offence of a grave and public nature was the offender to be denounced to the mayor and bailiffs, 'so that he might be banished from the city or whipped through it'.[3] It would seem, however, that some of the citizens were too zealous in resisting clerical pretensions, and in July 1270 Edward bade the mayor assist in repressing their excesses, so that the archbishop 'might peaceably exercise his office, so far as regards ecclesiastical discipline'.[4] Moreover, except

[1] Cal. Patent Roll, 51 Hen. III, m. 20 (p. 54).
[2] Crede Mihi, f. 101, transcribed by Gilbert (as above), p. 180.
[3] Dublin Chain Book, f. 32; transcribed by Gilbert (as above), p. 182.
[4] Alani Registrum, f. 24; transcribed by Gilbert (as above) p. 183.

in some particulars where there was a conflict of jurisdiction between the archbishop and the citizens of Dublin, the liberties, franchises, and secular jurisdiction of the archbishops in respect of their manors do not appear to have been curtailed.

Royal licence and assent to election.

The rule as to the free canonical election of bishops and abbots, subject to the king's licence to elect having been first obtained, and his assent to the election being subsequently given, was generally observed in Ireland in the reign of Henry III and his successor, and what was perhaps more important, the temporalities were taken into the king's hand during vacancies. This was the rule established by King John in 1213, when he conceded the right of free election, and it was afterwards confirmed by Magna Carta. The conditions mentioned were immediately enforced by the regency in 1217, in the case of a vacancy in the see of Armagh,[1] and in 1226 the king sent letters to the four archbishops commanding them not to admit to cathedral churches until they had been apprised that the king's licence and assent had been given.[2] Even in the more remote dioceses of the provinces of Cashel and Tuam, the king's licence and assent seem to have been normally sought and obtained, but in certain purely Irish dioceses in the province of Armagh, the king's right to the temporalities during vacancies was not exacted by Henry III, and the rule as to elections was not regularly enforced,[3] but was allowed to lapse. Probably

[1] Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. i, nos. 750, 797, 839.

[2] Ibid., no. 1455.

[3] Nevertheless the king's assent was obtained to the election of the Bishop of Dromore in 1227 (Cal. Docs. Irel., vol. i, no. 1500), and again in 1245 (ibid., 2774), and the

the king's right could not easily be enforced in these dioceses, and in any case the monetary value of the temporalities was small, as these districts had only to a small extent participated in the economic advance which elsewhere followed the coming of the Normans. Edward I, however, endeavoured to establish a uniform practice, and in spite of the protest of the archbishop, on a writ of *quo warranto* in 1289, the temporalities of the five sees in question, namely, Derry, Raphoe, Clogher, Dromore, and Kilmore, when vacant, were adjudged to the king.[1] Probably even after this the king's right was not regularly enforced, but as regards the see of Derry, at any rate during the remainder of Edward's reign, the king's licence and assent were regularly sought and obtained.[2] That some supervision was advisable is suggested in this case by the fact that for the preceding century the see had been monopolized by a single family, named O'Carolan.

Henry's character.

Unlike his father, Henry was neither malicious nor tyrannical. His private life was blameless, and his disposition was naturally amiable. He had, however, an exaggerated idea of his capacity both as soldier and as statesman, and of his importance as a continental potentate. This was probably due to the fact that he succeeded to the throne at so early an age. He remained something of a spoilt child throughout. He would fly into an impotent rage when he could not get

king's licence to elect to the See of Kilmore was granted in 1250 (ibid., 3046). In 1241 Henry endeavoured to unite the See of Clogher with that of Armagh 'on account of the poverty of each see' (ibid., 2505). In other cases the justiciar may have given the king's assent (ibid., 1519).

[1] Cal. Docs. Irel., vol. iii, p. 251.

[2] Ibid., vol. iv, nos. 94, 175, 195, 371, 401, 417.

what he wanted, and he often wanted what was unattainable. Easily led—and led astray—by self-seeking foreign relatives who flattered his foibles, he would turn a deaf ear to the warnings and advice of his natural counsellors, who were really in advance of their times in discerning and advocating the best interests of the kingdom. He was, perhaps, never consciously unjust, but while a great stickler for his own rights, in an apparent clash of interests he was incapable of understanding the position of others. He would fain be an autocrat, but he was without the capacity which sometimes serves to make autocracy successful and popular. He was guilty of many arbitrary acts, and was led to resist the constitutional movement of the barons of England. As regards Ireland, however, Henry's influence was too slight for these defects to bear their full fruit. Except the passing quarrel with Richard de Burgh, and the more fateful contest originating in England with Earl Richard Marshal, the king after he came of age had no serious conflict with his barons in Ireland. In general they were allowed to go pretty much their own way. He neither gave them efficient support, nor kept them in sufficient control, while the want of a considered and consistent policy in the difficult matter of the relations of the Crown with the semi-independent Irish chieftains led to disorders in many parts of Ireland. Dante recognizes the mediocrity of Henry's character by placing him in purgatory, 'the king of simple life, sitting alone, who left issue better than himself'.[1]

[1] Purgatorio, vii. 131.

Printed in England at the Oxford University Press