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THE ENGLISH IN CONNACHT

1171-1333

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THE ENGLISH IN CONNACHT, 1171-1333

HELEN WALTON

Submitted for the degree of Ph.D.

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## CONTENTS

	page
Acknowledgements	i
Declaration	iii
Summary	iv
Abbreviations	vi
Introduction	x
Chapter I	
English Involvement in Connacht, 1171-1237	1
Chapter II	
English Settlement in the Lordship of Connacht	83
Chapter III	
The Gaelic Revival in Connacht, 1245-1274	203
Chapter IV	
The Dublin Government, Richard de Burgh, and John fitz Thomas in Connacht, 1274-1300	258
Chapter V	
The Collapse of the Lordship of Connacht and the Decline in Government Control, 1300- 1333	315
Conclusions	429
Appendices	
I The Churches of Connacht in 1306	433
II English Settlement in the King's Cantreds	445
III List of Custodians of the Castles of Athlone, Rinndown and Roscommon	488
IV List of the Sheriffs of Connacht and Roscommon	506

V	List of the Royal Custodians of Athmekin Manor	517
VI	Accounts rendered by the Sheriffs of Connacht and Roscommon	519
VII	Proffers made by the Sheriffs of Connacht and Roscommon, 1307-1348	525
	Bibliography	528

## TABLES

I	List of the Cantreds granted by Richard de Burgh I to his Tenants-in-Chief	89
II	List of <u>Theoda</u> and Fractions of Cantreds held of de Burgh	94

	Bar Chart showing the Royal Revenue from Connacht as recorded in the Receipt Rolls, 1280-1366	410
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## MAPS (in the pocket attached to the back cover)

I	The Cantreds and <u>Theoda</u> of Connacht
II	The Dates by which English Settlement took place in the Cantreds and <u>Theoda</u> of the Lordship of Connacht
III	The Principal Centres of English Settlement in the Lordship of Connacht
IV	'A New Generalised Soil Map of Ireland and its Land-Use Interpretation'
V	The Parish Valuations in the Province of Tuam in 1306
VI	'Mottes : Extant Examples, 1973'
VII	'Rectangular Earthworks shown on the First Edition of the Ordnance Survey Six Inch Map, circa 1840'
VIII	The Principal Centres of English Settlement in the King's Cantreds
IX	The Parishes in the King's Cantreds in which Land was granted to English Tenants
X	The Counties and Baronies of Connacht, 1938

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am indebted to my supervisor, Dr J.F. Lydon, for his invaluable guidance, his unfailing encouragement, and his incisive criticisms. I am indebted also to Professor A.J. Otway-Ruthven for teaching me palaeography and for putting at my disposal her unrivalled knowledge of medieval English settlement in Ireland. I am much obliged to Professor G.O. Sayles for allowing me to use his forthcoming book, Documents on the Affairs of Ireland before the King's Council. I am grateful also to Dr T.B. Barry for his helpful suggestions, especially with regard to the use of the early fourteenth century ecclesiastical valuations.

I also benefited from discussions with the following past and present post-graduate students of the Department of Medieval History in Trinity College, Dublin: Tess Breslin, Tom Christian, Dr Philomena Connolly, David Craig, Dr Adrian Empey, Sheelagh Harbison, Dr Dorothy Johnson, Maryann McCann, Anne Neary, Dr Katherine Simms, and Sara White. As the footnotes below show, I owe a special debt to Dr Connolly.

My debts to institutions are many. I am indebted to the Board of Trinity College for giving me a post-graduate award for three years. I am also very grateful for having received the Esther J. Luker and Maude Cobbe Bursary, which enabled me to study in Cambridge during the summer of 1976, and I am most thankful to Professor M.C. Bradbrook for the kindness she showed me during my stay there. I should also like to thank the authorities and staff of the following libraries and record offices: the British Museum, Cambridge University Library, the National Library of Ireland, the Public Record Office of England, the Public Record Office of Ireland, the Royal Irish Academy, and the Library of Trinity College Dublin.



My acknowledgements would be incomplete without reference being made to my family. I am deeply grateful to my parents, Professor J.K. and Mrs E. Walton, for their continuous support and encouragement. I should also like to thank my sisters and brothers for their encouragement. But, above all, I should like to thank my husband, Dr Harry Perros, for showing such an interest in my work and for putting up with the prolonged separations which the completion of this thesis unhappily entailed.

Last, but not least, I should like to thank Yvonne Kennedy for typing this thesis with such skill, and for being so obliging whenever there was work to be done.

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 conquered Connacht, Henry II imposed his authority on the  
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 under royal control, John built a castle at Athlone in 1200,  
 and Henry III enlarged the royal base in Connacht by acquiring  
 five castles near the castle to the west in 1225. Henry  
 began to promote English settlement in his part of Connacht,  
 and, confident that the crown could not neglect its interests  
 in a conquered Connacht, he ordered Richard de Burgh to take  
 possession of the rest of the province in 1234.

The king's control had enormous political importance, for they

I hereby declare that this thesis is entirely my  
 own work and that it has not been submitted for  
 a degree at any other university.

Helen Walton

## SUMMARY

Fearing that his subjects would become too powerful if they conquered Connacht, Henry II imposed his authority on the king of Connacht, and reinforced the latter's position. John granted Connacht to William de Burgh, but he soon regretted doing so, and adopted Henry II's policy. In order to keep the king of Connacht and the future conquest of the province under royal control, John built a castle at Athlone in 1210, and Henry III enlarged the royal base in Connacht by reserving five cantreds near the castle to the crown in 1226. Henry began to promote English settlement in his part of Connacht, and, confident that the crown could now protect its interests in a conquered Connacht, he ordered Richard de Burgh to take seisin of the rest of the province in 1234.

The king's cantreds had enormous political importance, for they contained the ancestral lands of the kings of Connacht. The Irish were unable to offer any effective resistance to the conquering armies, but the conquerors became vulnerable as soon as they became settlers. In order to induce the king of Connacht to accept the conquest, Henry abandoned his plan to bring settlers into the king's cantreds and leased the area to the king of Connacht, who soon ceased his hostilities. Ten years of peace followed during which most of the major English settlements in de Burgh's lordship were established. Although the English used a method of distributing lands amongst themselves which could have destroyed the kingships within the de Burgh lordship, English settlement was not extensive enough, especially in the poorer lands, to achieve this result. When the unconquered Irish on the borders of Connacht attacked the settlers in 1246, the Irish of both the lordship of Connacht and the king's cantreds began to do likewise, and the weaknesses of English settlement in Connacht were exposed.

The king's cantreds were a continuous source of trouble, the Irish outside Connacht and the Irish of the lordship often helping the O'Conors, both directly and indirectly, at crucial moments. Alarmed that the king of Connacht's son, Aedh, had made anti-settler attacks, the government decided to take the two most southerly cantreds from the king of Connacht. This was a costly endeavour, not only because it was necessary to build a royal castle at Roscommon, but also because Aedh did enormous damage to both royal and non royal settlements after his victory over the English at Ath in Chip in 1270. The government succeeded in taking 2½ cantreds from the king of Connacht after his death, but anti-settler attacks kept the cost of the operation high, and it was difficult to attract settlers to this disturbed area. The king's cantreds gave rise to a new problem when Richard de Burgh, lord of Connacht, and John fitz Thomas, one of his biggest tenants, began to compete with each other and with the government for control over the king of Connacht. These struggles eventually plunged the whole lordship of Ireland into civil war. Fitz Thomas was removed from Connacht, and the de Burgh grip on the O'Conor portion of the king's cantreds tightened, producing a symbolic protest from the Irish in 1310, and a massive attack on English settlement in Connacht during the Bruce invasion. The latter was a turning point in the history of the English in Connacht. In weakening the lord of Connacht and in bringing glory to his cousin, William Liath, who defeated the Irish, it set the stage for the future power struggle between the descendants of these two men. Government control was also undermined. From the Bruce invasion onwards local government did not function properly, revenue from Connacht was negligible, and the southern king's cantreds were reoccupied by the Irish. These developments help to explain why the government was not prepared to spend money on maintaining control over the royal castles of Roscommon and Rinndown, or on protecting the inheritance of Elizabeth de Burgh after her father was murdered in 1333.

## ABBREVIATIONS

A. Boyle	Annals of Boyle
<u>A.C.</u>	<u>The Annals of Connacht</u>
Acct.	Account
<u>A. Clon.</u>	<u>The Annals of Clonmacnoise</u>
Add.	Additional
<u>Administration</u>	<u>The Administration of Ireland, 1172-1377</u>
<u>A.F.M.</u>	<u>Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland by the</u> <u>the Four Masters</u>
<u>A.I.</u>	<u>The Annals of Innisfallen</u>
<u>A.L.C.</u>	<u>The Annals of Loch Cé</u>
<u>Anal. Hib.</u>	<u>Analecta Hibernica</u>
Ann. of Ireland	Annals of Ireland
<u>Arch.Hib.</u>	<u>Archivium Hibernicum</u>
A. Tig.	The Annals of Tigernach
<u>A.U.</u>	<u>Annals of Ulster</u>
bar.; bars.	barony; baronies
B.M.	British Museum
B.V.M.	Blessed Virgin Mary
<u>c.</u>	<u>circa</u>
<u>Cal.Archbishop Alen's Reg.</u>	<u>Calendar of Archbishop Alen's Register</u>
<u>Cal. Carew MSS</u>	<u>Calendar of the Carew Manuscripts</u>
<u>Cal. Chart. Rolls</u>	<u>Calendar of Charter Rolls</u>
<u>Cal. Gormanston Reg.</u>	<u>Calendar of the Gormanston Register</u>
<u>Cal. Inq. P.M.</u>	<u>Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem</u>
<u>Cal. Lib. Rolls</u>	<u>Calendar of Liberate Rolls</u>
<u>Cal. Ormond Deeds</u>	<u>Calendar of Ormond Deeds</u>
<u>Cal. Papal Reg.</u>	<u>Calendar of Papal Registers : Papal Letters</u>
<u>C.C.R.</u>	<u>Calendar of Close Rolls</u>
<u>C.D.I.</u>	<u>Calendar of Documents relating to Ireland</u>
<u>C.F.R.</u>	<u>Calendar of Fine Rolls</u>
Chan. Misc.	Chancery Miscellanea
<u>Chart., Priv. et Immun.</u>	<u>Chartae, Privilegia et Immunitates</u>
<u>Charts. St. Mary's</u>	<u>Chartularies of St. Mary's Abbey, Dublin</u>

<u>C.J.R.</u>	<u>Calendar of the Justiciary Rolls, Ireland</u>
<u>Clyn</u>	<u>The Annals of Ireland by Friar John Clyn</u> <u>and Thady Dowling</u>
Co.; Cos.	County; Counties
<u>C.P.R.</u>	<u>Calendar of Patent Rolls</u>
C.U.L.	Cambridge University Library
De Banco	Calendar of the Rolls of the Common Bench
Docs.	Documents
<u>Documents</u>	<u>Documents Illustrative of English History</u> <u>in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth</u> <u>Centuries</u>
<u>Dowling</u>	<u>The Annals of Ireland by Friar John Clyn</u> <u>and Thady Dowling</u>
East.	Easter
Eccles.	Ecclesiastical
Edw.	Edward
<u>E.H.R.</u>	<u>The English Historical Review</u>
<u>Expug. Hib.</u>	<u>Expugnatio Hibernica</u>
<u>Foedera</u>	<u>Foedera, Conventiones, Litterae, et</u> <u>Cujuscunque Generis Acta Publica</u>
<u>Grace</u>	<u>Jacobi Grace, Kilkenniensis, Annales</u> <u>Hiberniae</u>
<u>Gesta Henrici</u>	<u>Gesta Henrici Secundi Benedicti abbatis</u>
Hen.	Henry
Hil.	Hilary
Hist. MSS Comm.	Historical Manuscripts Commission
<u>Hist. Studies</u>	<u>Historical Studies</u>
H.M.S.O.	Her (His) Majesty's Stationery Office
<u>I.E.R.</u>	<u>The Irish Ecclesiastical Record</u>
<u>I.H.S.</u>	<u>Irish Historical Studies</u>
I.M.C.	Irish Manuscripts Commission
Inq.P.M.	Inquisition Post Mortem
I.R.C.	Irish Record Commission
<u>Ir. Jur.</u>	<u>The Irish Jurist</u>
<u>Jn. B.A.A.</u>	<u>Journal of the British Archaeological</u> <u>Association</u>

<u>Jn. C.L.A.H.S.</u>	<u>Journal of the County Louth Archaeological and Historical Society</u>
<u>Jn. Eccles. Hist.</u>	<u>Journal of Ecclesiastical History</u>
<u>Jn. G.A.H.S.</u>	<u>Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society</u>
<u>Jn. O.A.S.</u>	<u>Journal of the Old Athlone Society</u>
<u>Jn. R.S.A.I.</u>	<u>Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland</u>
Just. Roll	Justiciary Roll
K.	the king of England
<u>Lordship</u>	<u>The Lordship of Ireland in the Middle Ages</u>
M.	Michaelmas
Med.	Medieval
<u>Med. Ireland</u>	<u>A History of Medieval Ireland</u>
Mem. Roll	Memoranda Roll
Mich.	Michaelmas
Misc.	Miscellaneous
<u>Misc. I. Annals</u>	<u>Miscellaneous Irish Annals</u>
MS; MSS	manuscript; manuscripts
N.L.I.	National Library of Ireland
<u>Onom. Goed.</u>	<u>Onomasticon Goedelicum Locorum et Tribum Hiberniae et Scotiae</u>
par.; pars.	parish; parishes
<u>Pat. Rolls</u>	<u>Patent Rolls</u>
<u>Pont. Hib.</u>	<u>Pontificia Hibernica : Medieval Papal Chancery Documents concerning Ireland</u>
<u>Proc. R.I.A.</u>	<u>Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy</u>
P.R.O.I.	Public Record Office of Ireland
P.R.O.L.	Public Record Office, London
Q.	the queen of England
<u>R.C.H.</u>	<u>Rotulorum Patentium et Clausorum Cancellarie Hibernie Calendarium</u>
<u>Red Book of Kildare</u>	<u>Red Book of the Earls of Kildare</u>
Reg.	Register
Rept.	Report

<u>Rept.D.K.</u>	<u>Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records in Ireland</u>
<u>Rev. Celt.</u>	<u>Revue Celtique</u>
R.I.A.	Royal Irish Academy
<u>Rot. Chart.</u>	<u>Rotuli Chartarum</u>
<u>Rot. Litt. Claus.</u>	<u>Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum</u>
<u>Rot. Litt. Pat.</u>	<u>Rotuli Litterarum Patentium</u>
<u>Rot. Parl.</u>	<u>Rotuli Parliamentorum</u>
<u>Rot. Parl. Hacentus</u>	<u>Rotuli Parliamentorum Anglie Hactenus</u>
<u>Inediti</u>	<u>Inediti</u>
<u>Royal Letters</u>	<u>Royal and Other Historical Letters</u>
	<u>Illustrative of the Reign of Henry III</u>
R.S.A.I.	Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland
<u>Scot. Hist. Rev.</u>	<u>The Scottish Historical Review</u>
<u>Song of Dermot</u>	<u>The Song of Dermot and the Earl</u>
<u>Stat. Irel., John-Hen.V</u>	<u>Statutes and Ordinances and Acts of the Parliament of Ireland, King John to Henry V</u>
St. J.B.	St. John the Baptist
<u>Stud. Hib.</u>	<u>Studia Hibernica</u>
T.C.D.	Trinity College, Dublin
Trin.	Trinity
tl.; tls.	townland; townlands
T.'s Acct.	Treasurer's Account
<u>U.J.A.</u>	<u>Ulster Journal of Archaeology</u>



## INTRODUCTION

During the years under examination in this thesis Connacht covered the area now contained within the counties of Galway, Mayo, Sligo and Roscommon. In the twelfth century Connacht had been brought into the centre of the political stage by its king Turlough O'Conor, who had spent his whole reign (1106-1156) fighting for and trying to retain the highkingship. His son, Rory, built on the foundations he had laid, and established himself as highking in 1166 when Murtough Mac Lochlainn, who had been highking with opposition since 1156, was defeated and killed. Mac Lochlainn's ally, Dermot Mac Murrough, was expelled from the kingship of Leinster the same year, but he outwitted O'Conor and his other enemies by turning to the English for assistance. The highkingship collapsed a few years after the English arrived, and Connacht lost its pre-eminence in Gaelic Ireland. However, the O'Conors remained notable figures in the Gaelic world, largely because so many of them were hostile to the English. Furthermore, Connacht's former position was not forgotten, and for a brief period during the Bruce invasion Felim O'Conor, king of Connacht, was 'the one person on whom the attention of the Men of Ireland was most directed', as the Annals of Ulster put it.

The fortunes of the English in Ireland varied greatly from one region to another. However, the various regions under English control have received very little specialized study since the publication of G.H. Orpen's series of regional studies in Ireland under the Normans, and of his articles on the earldom of Ulster.<sup>1</sup> It is true that valuable work has been

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1. These articles are in Jn.R.S.A.I., vol.43 (1913), pp 30-46, 133-43; vol.44 (1914), pp 51-66; vol.45 (1915), pp 123-42; vol.50 (1920), pp 167-77; vol.51 (1921), pp 68-76.

done on the location of knights' fees in Meath, Louth and Leinster,<sup>2</sup> and that important studies of English settlement in particular areas have been carried out by historical geographers and archaeologists.<sup>3</sup> But C.A. Empey is the only person who has written a history of an English lordship in Ireland that is based on a comprehensive study of the documentary evidence.<sup>4</sup>

Empey probably would not have undertaken his study of the Butler lordship in Ireland but for the Ormond Deeds. While there is no English source comparable to this for Connacht, the Connacht and other Irish annals<sup>5</sup> provide such a wealth of information about the English in Connacht that it is difficult to imagine how the history of the English in this area could be told without them. Since the annals do not provide this wealth of information about most of the areas conquered by the English, the person who studies the English in Connacht is in a position to construct a political history of the area to a degree that is not possible for many other parts of the country.

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2. See E.St.J.Brooks, Knights' Fees in Counties Wexford, Carlow and Kilkenny, I.M.C., 1950; A.J. Otway-Ruthven, 'Knights' Fees in Kildare, Leix and Offaly', Jn.R.S.A.I., vol.91 (1961), pp 163-81; 'Parochial Development in the Rural Deanery of Skreen', ibid., vol.94 (1964), pp 111-22; 'The Partition of the de Verdon Lands in Ireland in 1332', Proc. R.I.A., vol.66, section C (1967), pp 401-55.
  3. e.g. T.McNeill, 'History and Archaeology of the Anglo-Norman Earldom of Ulster', Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Queen's University of Belfast, 1973; B.J. Graham, 'Anglo-Norman Settlement in County Meath', Proc. R.I.A., vol.75, section C (1975), pp 223-48; T.B. Barry, Medieval Moated Sites of South-Eastern Ireland: Counties Carlow, Kilkenny, Tipperary and Wexford, British Archaeological Reports 35, Oxford, 1977.
  4. C.A. Empey, 'The Butler Lordship in Ireland', Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, T.C.D., 1970.
  5. For an extremely useful survey of these, see G. Mac Niocaill, The Medieval Irish Annals, Medieval Irish History Series, no. 3, Dublin Historical Association, 1975.

The annals are a bonus. They do not of course tell us everything. There is no point in describing in any great detail the usefulness of the various other sources, since only the thesis itself can make this adequately clear. Only a few general remarks are necessary here. The administrative records of England and Ireland provide the bulk of the English material relating to Connacht, though of course the administrative records of Ireland are far from complete. The administrative sources fall into three main categories: the records of the chanceries of England and Ireland, the records of the exchequers of Ireland and England and the records of the central courts of Ireland and England. In addition to the administrative records, there is important information regarding sub-infeudation in Connacht in cartularies such as The Red Book of the Earls of Kildare, the Muniments of Edmund Mortimer,<sup>6</sup> and the Calendar of the Gormanston Register. The Connacht annals are the richest local source, but there are other local sources which provide useful items of information. Among these are the register of the Dominican friary of Athenry,<sup>7</sup> 'Historia et Genealogia Familiae de Burgo',<sup>8</sup> and a number of Gaelic texts that have been published by O'Donovan and Hardiman.<sup>9</sup> Although it has not been established where the Anglo-Irish chronicle known as 'Annales de Monte Fernandi' was compiled, it may be considered as a local source, since it contains a considerable amount of information about Connacht.<sup>10</sup> Its use is limited,

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6. The Connacht charters in these muniments have been published: E. Curtis, 'Feudal Charters of the de Burgo Lordship of Connacht, 1237-1325', Feilsgríbhinn Eóin Mhic Néill, ed. J. Ryan (Dublin, 1940), pp 286-95.
  7. This survives in a transcript which has been published by A. Coleman in Arch. Hib., vol. I (1912), pp 201-21.
  8. This has been published by T. O'Raghallaigh in Jn. G.A.H.S., vol. 13 (1924-7), pp 37 (recte 101)-137; vol. 14 (1928-9), pp 30-51, 142-67.
  9. See The Tribes and Customs of Hy-Many and The Genealogies Tribes and Customs of Hy-Fiachrach, ed. J. O. Donovan, 1843 and 1844; A Chorographical Description of West or H-Iar Connaught written A.D. 1684 by Roderic O'Flaherty, ed. J. Hardiman, 1846.
  10. The chronicle has been published by A. Smith in Tracts Relating to Ireland, vol. II, 1842.

however, because it ends at 1274. In general, Connacht is beyond the ken of the other Anglo-Irish chronicles. Only exceptional events, such as the battle of Athenry in 1316, are mentioned in them. Besides all these sources there are miscellaneous ones such as Giraldus Cambrensis and the English chronicles, which are crucial for the early years.

A little must be said about the scope of this thesis. In Chapter I English involvement in Connacht from Henry II's visit to Ireland in 1171-2 to the conquest of Connacht in 1235-7 is examined, and an attempt is made to show why it took so long for the English to conquer the area. In Chapter II English settlement in the lordship of Connacht is described and analysed. In Chapter III the Gaelic reaction to English settlement is examined, as is the English response to that reaction. In Chapter IV the conflicts between the Irish and the English and the conflicts that developed between the English themselves in the later thirteenth century are examined. In Chapter V an attempt is made to show how the authority of both the lord of Connacht and the government was undermined in the early part of the fourteenth century. 1333 was chosen as a terminal date because the last male lord of Connacht in the de Burgh line died that year, an event which marked the end of an epoch in the history of the English in Connacht. It was impossible to describe the English settlement that took place in the part of Connacht that was reserved to the crown (the king's cantreds) without interrupting the flow of the work. English settlement in the king's cantreds has therefore been described in Appendix II. The lists given in the other appendices have been compiled for reference purposes.

It is necessary to say a few words about the use of the term 'the English'. The term has two senses in this thesis. Sometimes it is used to encompass all the English who were involved in Connacht : the kings of England, the Dublin government, and

the people who actually settled in Connacht. The term has this sense in the title of the thesis. But the term is also used to describe the people who settled in Connacht. It is essential to stress that this does not mean that those who settled in Connacht came directly from England. As far as we can tell, most of the people who settled in Connacht were already resident in Ireland. The settlers have been described as 'the English' in preference to other terms, such as 'the Normans', 'the Anglo-Normans', and 'the Cambro-Normans', because these people described themselves as 'Anglici'. It could be argued that 'the Anglo-Irish' is a better term for the settlers from the late thirteenth century onwards, but it was simpler to stick to the one term throughout the thesis than to switch to another term at some arbitrary point in time. However, to avoid confusion between the chronicles compiled by the English in Ireland and the chronicles compiled in England, the former are described as the Anglo-Irish chronicles, and the latter as the English chronicles.

The support of the church for his invasion of Ireland by granting a programme of religious reform. He established control over the area already under English occupation by confining struggles in the lordship of Leinster. He established royal bases in Ireland by reserving to the crown the parts of Dublin, Waterford and Waterford and their adjacent districts. He established the elements of a royal administration by making the constable of Dublin, Hugh de Lacy, chief governor of Ireland. And he established his authority over a number of the Irish kings by receiving their

## CHAPTER I

## English Involvement in Connacht, 1171 - 1237

Although Giraldus says that Dermot Mac Murrough asserted shortly before he died in May 1171 that he would subjugate Connacht and seize the kingship of Ireland,<sup>1</sup> there is no evidence that the English who came to assist Dermot and to acquire land for themselves in Ireland showed any interest in Connacht before Henry II came to Ireland in October 1171.

The crown was to play a decisive role in hindering the conquest of Connacht, which did not take place until 1237, seventy years after the English first began to arrive in Ireland. Henry II's visit shows that while he was not opposed to a limited extension of the area already under English occupation, his primary objective was to establish royal rights in Ireland. He achieved his objective in a number of ways, and these are worth mentioning briefly. He won the support of the church for his invasion of Ireland by promoting a programme of religious reform. He established control over the area already under English occupation by confirming Strongbow in the lordship of Leinster. He established royal bases in Ireland by reserving to the crown the ports of Dublin, Wexford and Waterford and their adjacent cantreds. He established the rudiments of a royal administration by making the constable of Dublin, Hugh de Lacy, chief governor of Ireland. And he established his authority over a number of the Irish kings by receiving their

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1. Expug. Hib., ed. A.B. Scott and F.X. Martin, pp 68-9, and pp 46-7.

submissions.<sup>2</sup> That he was not opposed to further conquest can be seen from the fact that he made a speculative grant of Meath to Hugh de Lacy.<sup>3</sup> But this grant, and possibly a more casual grant of Ulster to John de Courcy,<sup>4</sup> seem to have been the only incentives that the king gave to further English conquest in Ireland. In view of Henry's concern to establish and maintain royal authority in Ireland, it is likely that he felt that the English in Ireland would be difficult to control if they were allowed to take over the whole country.

The claim that Henry succeeded in establishing dominion over Ireland during his visit of 1171-2 was undoubtedly based on the fact that a number of Irish kings submitted to him. This claim appears in Giraldus's account of the synod of Cashel, which refers to 1172 as the first year in which 'illustris Anglorum rex et Hibernie triumphator ipsam insulam acquisivit...'<sup>5</sup> The claim also appears in the three papal letters of 20 September 1172. In the letter to the archbishops and bishops of Ireland the pope says that he has understood from their letters that Henry 'gentem illam barbaram ... suo dominio subiugavit';<sup>6</sup> in the letter to Henry himself the pope says that he has been informed that Henry

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2. Ibid., pp 88-105; Song of Dermot, pp 189-203; Gervase of Canterbury, Historical Works, vol. I, pp 234-7; Gesta Henrici, vol. I, pp 25-30; Chronica Rogeri de Houedene, vol. II, pp 29-34; Ralph of Diceto, Opera, vol. I, p. 348. See also Otway-Ruthven, Med. Ireland, pp 47-52; W.L. Warren, Henry II, pp 194-202; Orpen, Normans, vol. I, pp 247-84; J.F. O'Doherty, 'St. Laurence O'Toole and the Anglo-Norman Invasion', I.E.R., vol. 50 (1937), pp 600-11.

3. Cal. Gormanston Reg., p. 177.

4. See below, p. 12.

5. Expug. Hib., pp 98-9.

6. Pont. Hib., vol. I, pp 19-20.

has triumphed (triumphasti) over the people of Ireland;<sup>7</sup> and in the letter addressed to the kings and princes of Ireland the pope praises them for having received Henry as their lord and king.<sup>8</sup>

These documents imply that Henry had received the submission of the king of Connacht and highking, Rory O'Conor. But the only source which claims that Rory did submit to Henry while he was in Ireland is Giraldus. He says that Rory met the royal emissaries, Hugh de Lacy and William fitz Audelin, at the Shannon, and having obtained peace, he made the royal dominion he had over his kingdom tributary, and bound himself to Henry by the strongest ties of fealty and submission (Qui, pace ... impetrata, regioque dominio constituto regni sui tributo, firmissimis se fidelitatis et subieccionis vinculis innodavit).<sup>9</sup> There is no reason to reject the whole of Giraldus's story. It is quite conceivable that Henry sent his emissaries to seek Rory's submission and that Rory was prepared to meet them on the borders of Connacht.<sup>10</sup> But Giraldus's claim that Rory became tributary on this occasion is somewhat discredited by the fact that Giraldus fails to mention the treaty of Windsor of 1175, since by the terms of this treaty Rory became king under Henry. The treaty indeed implies that Rory had become Henry's liegeman before the treaty was made. But in view of the fact that no other source claims that Rory submitted in 1171-2, it would seem rather unlikely that he did liege homage to Henry's emissaries at this time.<sup>11</sup>

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7. Ibid., pp 21-2.

8. Ibid., pp 22-3.

9. Expug. Hib., pp 94-5.

10. See ibid., p. 312, note 157.

11. See below, p. 8.



The English chroniclers are of one accord in saying that Rory did not submit to Henry while he was in Ireland, and some of them say that he did not submit because he said that 'the whole of Ireland was rightly his, and that the other kings ought to be under his authority'.<sup>12</sup> According to Gesta Henrici, Henry could not fight it out with Rory that winter because of the flooded rivers, the steep mountains, and the wilderness that lay between him and Rory.<sup>13</sup> The same chronicle says that Henry planned to lead an army against Rory the following summer but that he had to leave Ireland in the spring when news came that the papal legates had arrived in Normandy and that they wanted to see him at once in connection with Becket's murder.<sup>14</sup> It is worth noting that Henry is said to have told the legates when he met them in Normandy in May 1172 that he would return to Ireland where there was much he had to attend to. It is difficult to know how much importance should be attached to this evidence, since Henry is said to have been angry with the legates when he made this statement.<sup>15</sup> But it adds some weight to what Gesta Henrici says and suggests that Henry's visit was not as successful as the Irish hierarchy seem to have led the pope to believe. The English chronicles also receive some support from the Irish annals, which do not number Rory among those whom they name as having submitted to Henry.<sup>16</sup>

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12. Gervase of Canterbury, Historical Works, vol. I, p. 235; Gesta Henrici, vol. I, pp 25-6; Chronica Rogeri de Houedene, vol. II, p. 30; Ralph of Diceto, Opera, vol. I, p. 348.

13. Gesta Henrici, vol. I, pp 25-6.

14. Ibid., pp 29-30; see also Expug. Hib., pp 103-5.

15. W.L. Warren, Henry II, p. 530.

16. A.L.C., I, p. 145; A.U., II, p. 171; A.I., p. 305; Misc. I, Annals, p. 57; 'A.Tig.', Rev. Celt., vol. 18 (1897), p. 283.

If Rory did submit to Henry in 1171-2, this act did not make him any less hostile towards the English in Ireland. In 1173 when Donal O'Brien, who had submitted to Henry,<sup>17</sup> invaded Leinster and attacked Kilkenny castle, Rory provided him with a force from Connacht led by his son.<sup>18</sup> When the English set out to attack O'Brien the following year Rory joined forces with O'Brien, and the English were badly defeated at Thurles.<sup>19</sup> The same year Rory gathered an enormous force from many parts of the northern half of Ireland and invaded Meath, seemingly while Hugh de Lacy was in Normandy.<sup>20</sup> Rory levelled the motte at Trim,<sup>21</sup> which de Lacy had recently built,<sup>22</sup> and then raided Meath right up to the borders of Dublin, razing the castles, which, like Trim, were abandoned by their garrisons as soon as he approached.<sup>23</sup> The Song of Dermot and the Earl says that Strongbow then arrived in Meath and pursued the Irish, and, having caught up with the rear, killed 150 of them.<sup>24</sup> But Giraldus says that Raymond le Gros went with a force to Meath and that Rory avoided combat with him and returned to Connacht.<sup>25</sup> The English settlement of Meath posed a serious threat to the independence of Connacht, for it meant that it would be only a matter of time before the English

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17. A.I., p.305; Misc.I. Annals, p.57; Expug.Hib., pp 92-5.
18. 'A.Tig.', Rev.Celt., vol. 18 (1897), pp 287-8. The attack on Kilkenny castle may have been prompted by the English attack on MacCarthy at Lismore, ibid., p. 288; A.I., p.307; Expug. Hib., p.137.
19. 'A.Tig.', Rev.Celt., vol.18 (1897), p.290; 'A.Boyle', ibid., vol.42 (1925), p. 290; A.F.M., III, pp 15-19; A.U., II, p.179.
20. Orpen, Normans, vol.I, pp 338-9.
21. Song of Dermot, pp 235-41.
22. Ibid., p. 235.
23. Ibid., p.239; Expug. Hib., pp 138-41.
24. The Song of Dermot, pp 241-3.
25. Expug. Hib., pp 140-1.

would be in control of the east bank of the Shannon. Rory's attack only caused a temporary setback to the settlement of Meath, however, for the English rebuilt their castles immediately afterwards,<sup>26</sup> and in 1175 they raided the whole of Meath from Athlone to Drogheda.<sup>27</sup>

During 1175 Rory changed his attitude towards the English, and sometime before October of that year he decided to recognize Henry II's lordship over Ireland. Henry had sent William fitz Audelin and the prior of Wallingford over to Ireland in the early part of 1175 with documents containing papal approval of the king's dominion over Ireland, and these documents were published at a synod specially convened at Waterford. Giraldus says that these documents were Laudabiliter and Quoniam ea,<sup>28</sup> but it is possible that what was brought to Ireland were the papal letters of September 1172.<sup>29</sup> What is important for our purposes is that documents expressing papal approval of the English king's dominion over Ireland were published in the early part of 1175, for this may have helped to bring about Rory's change in attitude. The archbishops of Tuam and Dublin, both of whom had supported Henry's cause from the beginning,<sup>30</sup> certainly seem to have played a role in bringing about the treaty that was concluded between

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26. Ibid.; The Song of Dermot, p. 243.

27. A.U., II, p. 183; 'A.Tig.', Rev.Celt., vol.18 (1897), p. 292.

28. Expug. Hib., pp 142-7.

29. Otway-Ruthven, Med.Ireland, p.53. For the controversy surrounding Laudabiliter and Quoniam ea, see J.F. O'Doherty, 'Rome and the Anglo-Norman Invasion of Ireland', I.E.R., vol.42 (1933), pp 131-45; M.P. Sheehy 'The Bull Laudabiliter : a Problem in Medieval Diplomatique and History', Jn. G.A.H.S., vol. 29 (1961), pp 45-70.

30. Expug. Hib., pp 98-101; Pont. Hib., vol.I, pp 19-20.

Rory and Henry at Windsor on 6 October 1175. The archbishop of Tuam, Cadhla (or Catholicus) O'Duffy, was one of the envoys Rory sent to England in September 1175 to make the treaty on his behalf, and the archbishop of Dublin, Laurence O'Toole, was one of the witnesses to the treaty.<sup>31</sup>

Rory therefore may have been under pressure from the church to come to terms with Henry. But it is unlikely that he would have given way to such pressure unless he thought that he would benefit from submitting to Henry. It is worth pointing out that Rory's relations with Donal O'Brien broke down during the course of 1175. According to 'The Annals of Tigernach', Rory invited the English to come to Limerick and plunder it.<sup>32</sup> Giraldus does not mention Rory's invitation but he tells us that Raymond le Gros made a successful assault on Limerick around 1 October and that he afterwards placed a garrison in it.<sup>33</sup> Rory may not have intended that the English should go so far as to occupy Limerick, but he nonetheless made use of the English presence to burn the greater part of Thomond,<sup>34</sup> and it was probably at this time that he banished Donal O'Brien into Ormond and gave the kingship of Thomond to an O'Brien to whom he was related.<sup>35</sup> As we shall see, one of the clauses of the treaty that was about to be made at Windsor gave Rory the right to have the assistance of the king's representative in Ireland against the Irish who proved troublesome to him. One of the reasons Rory came to terms with Henry was undoubtedly to secure this assistance in the future. But this assistance was simply an important practical result of what Rory was primarily looking for when he came to terms with

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31. Foedera, vol.I, pp 31-2; Chronica Rogeri de Houedene, vol.II, pp 83-5; Gesta Henrici, vol.I, pp 101-3.
32. 'A. Tig', Rev.Celt., vol.18 (1897), p.293.
33. Expug. Hib., pp 149-53.
34. 'A.Tig.', Rev.Celt., vol.18 (1897), p.293.
35. Ibid.; A.F.M., III, p.23.

Henry: Henry's recognition of his position as king of Connacht and as highking outside the areas which Henry had not granted out or reserved to the crown.

Although the treaty of Windsor was called a 'finis et concordia', it is in form a grant from Henry to Rory. The opening words of the treaty, as it comes down to us in English chronicles, are 'Quod rex Angliae concessit predicto Roderico, ligio homini suo, Regi Connactae ...'.<sup>36</sup> We do not know when or how Rory became Henry's liegeman, but it is possible that Rory did liege homage to Henry's representative in Ireland when he sought English assistance against Donal O'Brien sometime before 1 October 1175.<sup>37</sup> On the other hand, Rory may have authorized one of his envoys in England to do liege homage to Henry on his behalf.

What Henry granted Rory was that he should be king under him ( rex sub eo ) for as long as he should faithfully serve Henry and be ready at his service, as his man. Having established that Rory's kingship was subordinate to his own, Henry went on to assert his rights over Connacht and the rest of Ireland. Henry granted that Rory should hold his land (presumably of

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36. Chronica Rogeri de Houedene, vol. II, p.84; Gesta Henrici, vol.I, p.102; Foedera, vol.I, p.31.

37. However, we do not hear of any even remotely similar ceremony taking place until a year later. Giraldus says that both Donal O'Brien and Rory gave hostages to Raymond le Gros after O'Brien had unsuccessfully besieged the English garrison in Limerick (1176), and that Rory and Donal renewed their fealty to the English king and swore an oath to preserve it inviolate in the future, Expug. Hib., pp 162-3. Giraldus speaks of them as renewing their fealty, presumably because he has already said that they did fealty to Henry II when he was in Ireland, ibid., pp 92-95.

Connacht) as fully and as peaceably as he had held it before Henry II came to Ireland, but Rory was henceforth to render him tribute for it. This tribute was to be paid annually and amounted to one hide out of every ten animals slaughtered. Rory was also to give hostages to Henry at the latter's will.

The remainder of the treaty was devoted to defining Rory's position with regard to the rest of Ireland. Rory was not to interfere ( nichil se intromittet ) with the lands Henry had either granted out to his English subjects or had reserved to the crown, i.e. Meath and Leinster, and the towns of Dublin, Wexford and Waterford with their appurtenances. But Henry granted that Rory should have all the rest of the land and its inhabitants under him. Within this area, however, Rory was to carry out a number of tasks on Henry's behalf. He was to collect the tribute which the Irish of this area owed to Henry, and, when necessary, he was to compel them to pay this tribute. If any of them rebelled against Henry and Rory and refused to render the tribute and other rights ( alia jura ) which they owed Henry, and withdrew from the fealty of the English king, Rory was to punish and remove them ( ipse eos justiciet et amoveat ). If he was unable to deal with such people, he could have the assistance of 'constabularius Regis Angliae', or, as he was later to be called, the justiciar of Ireland. Furthermore, Rory was to take hostages from the Irish whom Henry had committed to him, and give these hostages to Henry at the latter's will. Finally, if the English in Ireland asked Rory to send back the Irish who had fled from the land held by the English, Rory was to do so; and the Irish who wished to return of their own free will were to be allowed to do so in peace. The Irish who returned to the land occupied by the English were either to pay the same tribute as the other Irish or they were to perform the ancient services they were wont to do for their lands, according to the

judgement and will of their lords.<sup>38</sup>

Dudley Edwards has said that 'The treaty of Windsor ... created a feudal relationship between Henry II and Rory, and, as a consequence, between their respective heirs and successors, lords of Ireland and kings of Connacht'.<sup>39</sup>

But one of the most striking features of the treaty 'is the pains that were taken to avoid the terminology of a typically feudal charter'.<sup>40</sup> This point is best illustrated by quoting

from the charter which Hugh de Lacy received from Henry II: 'Know that I have given and granted and by this my charter confirmed to Hugh de Lacy for his service the land of Meath with all its appurtenances, to be held by him and his heirs for the service of fifty knights, to have and to hold from me and my heirs as fully as Murchad O'Melaghlin held it'.<sup>41</sup>

The treaty of Falaise, which was concluded between William, king of the Scots, and Henry II in 1174 and ratified at York in August 1175, was much more 'explicitly feudal' than the treaty of Windsor. By this treaty William became Henry's liegeman in respect of Scotland and in respect of all his other lands.<sup>42</sup> Furthermore, the treaty was binding on the heirs of both parties: William did homage to Henry's heir, and his own heirs were to do homage to Henry's heirs.<sup>43</sup>

38. Chronica Rogeri de Houedene, vol. II, pp 84-5; Gesta Henrici, vol. I, pp 102-3; Foedera, vol. I, pp 31-2.

39. R. W. D. Edwards, 'Anglo-Norman relations with Connacht, 1169-1224', I.H.S., vol. I (1938), p. 142.

40. W.L. Warren, Henry II, p. 202, note 1.

41. Ibid. For the full charter, see Cal. Gormanston Reg., p. 177.

42. W.L. Warren, Henry II, p. 202, note 1.

43. Gesta Henrici, vol. I, pp 96-7.

The treaty of Windsor does not say anything about Henry's or Rory's heirs or successors, and there is no suggestion that Rory was to hold his land as a feudal vassal. What Rory did hold of Henry was his regality, and the first point that the treaty of Windsor established was that Rory would enjoy his position as king under Henry only 'quamdiu ei fideliter serviet paratus ad servitum suum sicut homo suus'.<sup>44</sup>

The fact that Rory is described in the treaty first as Henry's liegeman ( ligius hominus ) and later as his man ( homo )<sup>45</sup> probably explains why Dudley Edwards assumed that the relationship was binding on the heirs of both parties. However, homage was not done only by men who had been granted heritable fiefs. 'Glanvill', who wrote in 1187-9, mentions a homage 'pro solo vero dominio' which was due only to the king.<sup>46</sup>

In England this homage was done to the king by those knights who did not hold their lands directly of the crown; and the crown's purpose in demanding such homage, or liege homage as it was sometimes called, was to secure the loyalty or allegiance of those who held of lords other than the king himself.<sup>47</sup>

This type of homage, since it was not done in respect of fiefs, could easily be used by the king in his relations with Irish kings.<sup>48</sup>

Because the treaty of Windsor did not transform Rory's kingdom

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44. Ibid., p.102; Chronica Rogeri de Houedene, vol.II, p.84; Foedera, vol. I, p.31.

45. Ibid.

46. Glanvill, Treatise on the Laws and Customs of England, ed. G.D.G. Hall, p. 106.

47. J.E.A. Jolliffe, The Constitutional History of Medieval England, 4th ed., pp 162-3, note 2, pp 219-20; F. Stenton, First Century of English Feudalism, 2nd ed., pp 112-4, 137-8, note 5.

48. D.B. Johnson, 'Richard II and Ireland, 1395-9', Ph.D. Thesis, T.C.D., 1976, pp 15-20.



into a heritable fief it provided no guarantee that there would be no further conquest in Ireland. However, the fact that Henry recognized Rory's position as king of Connacht and as highking outside Meath, Leinster and the areas around Dublin, Wexford and Waterford indicates that Henry was still not in favour of further English expansion in Ireland. But some of the English in Ireland were eager to acquire land for themselves, and it was not long before the treaty of Windsor was violated. In January 1177, John de Courcy, one of the men who had been sent over to Ireland with the justiciar, William fitz Audelin, in 1176,<sup>49</sup> invaded Ulster. According to The Song of Dermot and the Earl, Henry had granted de Courcy 'Ulster, if he could conquer it by force', while he was in Ireland in 1171-2.<sup>50</sup> However, Ulster was not one of the areas excluded from the highking's authority in the treaty of Windsor. Furthermore, not only does Giraldus give the impression that de Courcy was acting against fitz Audelin's wishes,<sup>51</sup> but Gesta Henrici says that de Courcy invaded Ulster 'contra prohibitionem Willelmi filii Aldelmi'.<sup>52</sup> But there was a more flagrant violation of the treaty of Windsor a few months later when Miles de Cogan, the constable of the Dublin garrison, who had also been sent to Ireland with fitz Audelin,<sup>53</sup> crossed the Shannon with a force of knights and archers and invaded Connacht.<sup>54</sup> There is no evidence that Rory had done anything to earn this attack.<sup>55</sup> De Cogan may have been

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49. Expug. Hib., pp 167-9.

50. Song of Dermot, p. 199.

51. Expug. Hib., pp 175-7.

52. Gesta Henrici, vol. I, p. 137.

53. Expug. Hib., pp 167-9.

54. Ibid., pp 182-3.

55. He is said to have given hostages to Raymond le Gros and to have renewed his oath of fealty to the king in 1176, see above p. 8, note 37.

inspired by news of de Courcy's success in Ulster, which Cardinal Vivian, who was in Ulster when de Courcy invaded the area, almost certainly spread when he arrived at Dublin a short time before de Cogan set out for Connacht.<sup>56</sup> The annals say that Rory O'Conor's son, Murrough, guided de Cogan and his knights through Connacht through hatred towards his father, and some of the annals seem to suggest that Murrough was responsible for bringing the English into Connacht. Certainly he used the English for his own ends, and thus began a process which was to become a regular feature of English involvement in Connacht, and which was usually very rewarding for the English in terms of both wages and booty. On this particular occasion, however, the English were singularly unsuccessful. The people of Connacht hid their provisions in underground vaults, set fire to their churches and buildings, and fled with their cattle and property. The English went as far as the metropolitan see of Tuam, but here as elsewhere they found the churches had been burned, and the country laid waste. On hearing that Rory had mustered a force, they beat a hasty retreat. At Templetogher (bar. of Ballymoe, Co. Galway) and at Athleague (Lanesborough, at the north of Lough Ree) they were attacked by Rory's army but many of them seem to have crossed the Shannon in safety. The expedition is said to have lasted no more than a week. Murrough was afterwards blinded by Rory,<sup>57</sup> and fitz Audelin, de Cogan and Robert fitz Stephen, who had also gone to Ireland with the justiciar, and whose son had taken part in the attack on Connacht,<sup>58</sup>

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56. Expug. Hib., pp 175, 181-3.

57. A.L.C., I, p. 155; 'A.Tig.', Rev.Celt., vol.18 (1897), pp 298-300; 'A. Boyle', ibid., vol. 42 (1925), p. 291; vol. 43 (1926), p. 373; A.U., II, p. 187; A.F.M., III, p. 35; Misc.I. Annals, p. 67; Expug. Hib., pp 182-3.

58. Ibid., pp 167-9, 183.

were recalled to England.<sup>59</sup>

It was probably the invasions of Ulster and Connacht which led to a change in royal policy towards conquest in Ireland in May 1177. Henry seems to have realized that it was impossible to keep the English in Ireland behind the frontier created in the treaty of Windsor, and he decided to promote conquest in Ireland. At a council held in Oxford in May 1177 Henry granted the kingdom of Cork (alias Desmond) to Miles de Cogan and Robert fitz Stephen, who were to hold it by the service of 60 knights, and he granted the kingdom of Limerick (alias Thomond) to three men who had hitherto no connection with Ireland for the same amount of service.<sup>60</sup> Speculative grants enabled Henry to safeguard royal rights, for the service by which the grantees were to hold their lands was defined before the lands were conquered, and also the homage of the grantees was secured in advance.<sup>61</sup> As an additional means of safeguarding royal rights in Munster, Henry reserved to the crown the cities of Cork and Limerick, and one cantred adjacent to each.<sup>62</sup>

From Henry's point of view it was undoubtedly better to make speculative grants than to see claims detrimental to royal interests being established in lands conquered without royal authority. But it was typical of Henry's caution that only Thomond and Desmond were singled out for English occupation. It is noteworthy that de Courcy's position in Ulster was not

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59. Ibid.

60. Gesta Henrici, vol. I, p. 163; Chronica Rogeri de Houedene, vol. II, p. 134.

61. Lydon, Lordship, p. 49.

62. Gesta Henrici, vol. I, p. 163; Chronica Rogeri de Houedene, vol. II, p. 134.

regularized at the council of Oxford although new arrangements were made regarding every other part of the area occupied by the English.<sup>63</sup> The implication is that Henry was not prepared to vindicate de Courcy's actions. The fact that Henry made his youngest son, John, lord of Ireland at the council of Oxford suggests that Henry felt that the problems Ireland presented 'could not be adequately dealt with by a king with more pressing cares that took him to distant places', and that 'it needed a man on the spot, a man who had a personal stake in the country'.<sup>64</sup> As John was only nine at the time he was too young to be sent to Ireland to assume control of affairs.<sup>65</sup> Henry was therefore providing for the future when he made John lord of Ireland, and since it was laid down in the council that the tenants-in-chief and the custodians of the lands in the king's hand were from henceforth to hold of both Henry and John,<sup>66</sup> Henry did not surrender his rights in Ireland to his son. There is indeed evidence that Henry had plans to make John king of Ireland, but these plans never materialized.<sup>67</sup>

The grants of 1177 struck a blow at Rory's highkingship, but Rory seems to have accepted this without protest. That he was willing, after 1177, to fulfil the obligations imposed on him by the treaty of Windsor can be seen in the fact that in 1180

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63. Ibid., pp 134-5; Gesta Henrici, vol.I, pp 162-5.

64. W.L. Warren, Henry II, p. 204; see also ibid., note 1.

65. Ibid., p. 204.

66. Gesta Henrici, vol.I, pp. 162-5; Chronica Rogeri de Houedene, vol. II, pp 134-5.

67. W.L. Warren, Henry II, p. 204, note 1, pp 205-6;  
W.L. Warren, King John, pp 50, 315, note 3. (1966 ed.)

the archbishop of Dublin, Laurence O'Toole, who had been a witness to the treaty, went to Henry, bringing with him a son of Rory, king of Connacht, 'quem idem rex miserat dominio suo regi Anglie, remansurum sibi in obsidem, super pactis eos contractis, de tributo Hibernie solvendo'.<sup>68</sup>

Rory's attitude towards the English in Ireland cannot, however, be described as submissive. In 1178, when the justiciar, Hugh de Lacy, and the Dublin garrison went to plunder Clonmacnoise, on the east bank of the Shannon, Rory mustered his forces and harried the English to such an extent that de Lacy abandoned his plan.<sup>69</sup> Rory's father, Turlough O'Conor, had been a benefactor of the churches at Clonmacnoise, and had been buried there;<sup>70</sup> and Rory had clearly an affection for the place, because when he died at Cong in 1198 his body was brought to Clonmacnoise for burial.<sup>71</sup> However, by 1180, two years after the abortive attack on Clonmacnoise, relations between Rory and de Lacy had improved to such an extent that de Lacy married Rory's daughter,<sup>72</sup> Rose O'Conor.<sup>73</sup> There is no evidence that Rory made de Lacy his heir in the way that Dermot Mac Murrrough had made Strongbow his heir to Leinster when he gave Strongbow his daughter, Aoife, in marriage. But people seem to have come to the conclusion that de Lacy's marriage to Rory's daughter implied that de Lacy had ambitions to become king of Ireland. Giraldus clearly did not believe

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68. Gesta Henrici, vol. I, p. 270; Chronica Rogeri de Houedene, vol. II, p. 253.

69. 'A. Tig.', Rev.Celt, vol. 18 (1897), p. 301.

70. A. Gwynn and R.N. Hadcock, Medieval Religious Houses: Ireland, p. 165.

71. A.F.M., III, pp 113-5.

72. Gesta Henrici, vol. I, p. 270.

73. Curtis, Med. Ireland, 2nd ed., p. 86.

the rumours circulating about de Lacy, for he says that it was in order to pacify the country that de Lacy developed friendly relations with the Irish, and he implies that this policy was misunderstood.<sup>74</sup> However, Henry removed de Lacy from the justiciarship in May 1181,<sup>75</sup> and Gesta Henrici is quite certain that de Lacy was dismissed 'eo quod ipse sine ipsius (Henrici) licentia ceperet sibi in conjugem filiam regis Connactae, secundum morem patriae illius'.<sup>76</sup> De Lacy seems to have convinced Henry that he had no interest in becoming king of Ireland, because he was reinstated as justiciar in the winter of 1181-2, but Henry clearly did not trust de Lacy completely, because he gave him a clerk, Robert of Shrewsbury, who was to assist and advise him, and to keep a watch on all his activities.<sup>77</sup>

It is very probable that de Lacy had ambitions in Connacht. His marriage must have given him influence there, and the fact that he was justiciar from 1177 to 1181 and from 1182 to 1184<sup>78</sup> must have helped to transform this influence into authority. When the annals record his death in 1186, they say that it was to him that the tribute of Connacht was paid.<sup>79</sup>

There may have been tension between de Lacy and John when Henry sent the latter to Ireland in 1185. The annals say that when

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74. Expug. Hib., pp 190-1.

75. Ibid., pp 192-5.

76. Gesta Henrici, vol.I, p.270.

77. Expug. Hib., pp 194-5.

78. Richardson and Sayles, Administration, pp 73-4.

79. A.L.C., I, p. 173; A.F.M., III, p. 71.

John returned to England later in the year, he complained to the king that de Lacy had not allowed the Irish to give tribute or hostages to him.<sup>80</sup> However, Giraldus blames John himself for failing to obtain the submissions of the Irish. He says that when John arrived in Ireland some of the Irish who had hitherto been loyal to the English greeted John as their lord but that John's entourage treated them with contempt and derision. According to Giraldus, when the Irishmen left John's court they went to Limerick, where they told Rory O'Connor, O'Brien and MacCarthy, all of whom had intended to submit to John, that they would receive no security from him, since he and his entourage were mere youths.<sup>81</sup> Giraldus says that the Irish were further alienated from John because he gave the men who came with him lands belonging to the Irish who had hitherto been loyal to the English.<sup>82</sup>

But even if John had received Rory's submission, it would not have been much use to him because by this stage Rory was without any real power in Connacht. In 1183 he had given the kingship of Connacht to his son, Conor Maenmagh, when he went on a pilgrimage to Cong.<sup>83</sup> Either in 1184 or 1185 he returned from his pilgrimage and tried to regain the kingship but he was opposed by Conor Maenmagh.<sup>84</sup> In 1185 he secured the help of Donal O'Brien and some of the English of Munster, and with them he plundered West Connacht.<sup>85</sup> This

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80. Ibid., pp 67-9; A.L.C., I, p. 171.

81. Expug. Hib., pp 236-9.

82. Ibid., pp 238-9.

83. A.L.C., I, p.165; 'A.Boyle', Rev.Celt., vol. 42 (1925), p. 292; ibid., vol.43 (1926), p. 374.

84. Ibid., vol. 42 (1925), p. 292; A.U., II, p. 205; A.L.C., I, p. 169.

85. Ibid.; A.U., II, p. 207; 'A.Boyle', Rev. Celt., vol. 42 (1925), p. 292; ibid., vol. 43 (1926), p. 374; A.F.M., III, p. 69.

attack forced Conor Maenmagh to make peace with his father, and Connacht was divided between them.<sup>86</sup> However, shortly afterwards Conor Maenmagh's son, Cathal Carrach, burned Killaloe in retaliation for the attack the men of Munster had made on Connacht,<sup>87</sup> and Conor Maenmagh himself is said to have destroyed Thomond.<sup>88</sup> These attacks made it unlikely that Rory would receive any assistance from the O'Briens again, and before the end of 1185 Conor Maenmagh assumed the kingship of Connacht.<sup>89</sup> In 1186 he expelled Rory from Connacht,<sup>90</sup> but, according to the Annals of the Four Masters, Rory was recalled later in the year by the advice of the Sil Murray ( a group of families which shared a common ancestry with the O'Conors and which held lands in county Roscommon), and some land was given to him.<sup>91</sup>

Rory's loss of the kingship meant that the links that had been established between the king of Connacht and the English crown were severed. Conor Maenmagh had clearly no intention of seeing them re-established. In 1187 he invaded Meath and with the assistance of Melaghlin Beg O'Melaghlin burned down

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86. A.L.C., I, p. 169.

87. Ibid.; A.F.M., III, p. 69; A.U., II, p. 207; 'A.Boyle', Rev.Celt., vol. 42 (1925), p. 292.

88. A.F.M., III, p. 69.

89. A.L.C., I, p. 173; A.U., II, p.207; 'A. Boyle', Rev.Celt., vol. 42 (1925), p.293; ibid., vol. 43 (1926), p. 374.

90. Ibid.; A.L.C., I, p. 173; A.U., II, p. 209.

91. A.F.M., III, p. 71.



Killare castle (bar. of Rathconrath, Co. Westmeath).<sup>92</sup>  
 The following year the justiciar, John de Courcy<sup>93</sup> (who must, by now, have received a formal grant of Ulster), led an expedition to Connacht, accompanied by at least one of Rory's other sons. The English set fire to a number of churches in west Connacht, but they were harried by Conor Maenmagh, who had managed to secure assistance from Donal O'Brien. De Courcy decided to leave Connacht and go to Ulster via Tir Conaill, but at Ballysadare (bar. of Leyny, Co. Sligo) he heard that the king of Tir Conaill was mustering a force at Drumcliff (bar. of Carbury, Co. Sligo), so he burned Ballysadare and turned south. At the Curlieu Hills (on the borders of Cos. Sligo and Roscommon) the English were badly defeated by Conor Maenmagh,<sup>94</sup> and, according to the Annals of Ulster, they left Connacht without one whit of triumph.<sup>95</sup>

Fortunately for the English, Conor Maenmagh was killed by some of his own people the following year. There is every

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92. A.L.C., I, p.167 and A.U., II, p.203 say that the castle was destroyed in 1184. But this was the year the castle was built (ibid.), and it would seem much more likely that it was destroyed in 1187. A.F.M., III, pp 63,79 record the attack under both 1184 and 1187, and an entry about the Rock of Lough Cé being struck by lightning, which appears under both 1184 and 1187 in A.L.C., I, pp 167-9, 177, appears under 1187 in A.U., II, p.211; A.F.M., III, p.77 and 'A Boyle', Rev. Celt., vol.42 (1925), p.293; ibid., vol.43 (1926), p.374. If the attack on Killare castle took place in 1184, it is difficult to explain why Hugh de Lacy did not lead a punitive expedition against Conor Maenmagh afterwards. It is therefore likely that the attack took place after 1186, when Hugh de Lacy died. The fact that the justiciar, John de Courcy, invaded Connacht in 1188 is a further indication that the attack was made in 1187.
93. Richardson and Sayles, Administration, p.74.
94. A.L.C., I, pp 179-81; A.U., II, pp 213-5; A.F.M., III, p.83; 'A. Boyle', vol.42 (1925), p.293; ibid., vol.43 (1926), p.374; Expug.Hib., pp 234-5.
95. A.U., II, p.215.

indication that he would have become a serious problem for the English had he lived. The Annals of the Four Masters, when recording his death, say that O'Brien, MacCarthy, O'Melaghlin, O'Rourke and Mac Donslevy had all submitted to him.<sup>96</sup> This assertion receives some support in the other annals. The Annals of Loch Cé record that Aedh O'Rourke submitted to Conor Maenmagh in 1186, that Melaghlin Beg O'Melaghlin accompanied Conor on his attack on Killare castle, and that Donal O'Brien came to his support when de Courcy invaded Connacht.<sup>97</sup> Furthermore, it may not have been simply because Conor Maenmagh was Rory's successor as king of Connacht that The Annals of Loch Cé and the Annals of Ulster describe him in his obituary as royal heir (ridamna) of all Ireland.<sup>98</sup>

Some of Conor Maenmagh's success must be attributed to the fact that he was able to attract English into his service by offering them generous wages. The Annals of the Four Masters say that he was assisted by Englishmen when he attacked Thomond in 1185, and that they returned with him to Roscommon, where he gave them 3,000 cows as wages.<sup>99</sup> Some at least of these English seem to have remained in Connacht. The same annals describe him in his obituary as 'King of Connaught, both English and Irish';<sup>100</sup> and shortly after his death, when the king of Tir Conaill invaded Connacht, the same annals say that 'all the Connacians, both English and Irish' came to oppose him.<sup>101</sup> These English mercenaries may have been the men who are said in Gesta Henrici to have deserted from John's army while he was in Ireland in 1185 and to have gone over to the

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96. A.F.M., III, pp 85-7.

97. A.L.C., I, pp 167, 173, 179.

98. A.L.C., I, p. 183; A.U., II, p. 217.

99. A.F.M., III, p. 69.

100. Ibid., p. 85.

101. Ibid., p. 89.

Irish.<sup>102</sup>

There seems to have been a complete lack of royal interest in Connacht during Conor Maenmagh's reign but shortly after his death John began to make speculative grants of land there, and a new phase of English involvement began. John's decision to grant out lands in Connacht was in line with his policy with regard to other parts of Ireland at this time. It has been shown that John promoted further conquest in Ireland during his visit of 1185 and later by making a number of speculative grants of land in Clare, Limerick, Tipperary, Offaly, Louth, Monaghan and Armagh.<sup>103</sup>

Unfortunately, the original grants that John made of land in Connacht do not seem to have survived, and they cannot be precisely dated. We know about one of the grants because in 1204, after John had become king, he confirmed a grant which he had made as count of Mortain to Hugh de Lacy of the cantreds of Tri Tuatha, Magh nAi, Magh Lurg-Tirerrill, Corran, Sliabh Lugha and Leyny.<sup>104</sup> This means that the grant was made sometime between 1189-1199. In the confirmation these lands are said to have been near the land of Meath, which belonged to Walter de Lacy, Hugh's elder brother.<sup>105</sup>

The other grant which John seems to have made before his accession conferred on William de Burgh, a prominent landholder in Munster,

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102. Orpen, Normans, vol. II, p. 182.

103. Otway-Ruthven, Med. Ireland, pp 67-72.

104. C.D.I., 1171-1251, no.241; Rot.Chart., 1199-1216, pp 139-40.

105. Ibid. For the location of these cantreds, see Map I in the pocket attached to the back cover of the thesis.

the whole of Connacht. This grant is mentioned in 1215 when John granted William's son and heir, Richard, 'all the land of Connacht, which William, his father, held of us',<sup>106</sup> and we know that William must have received the grant by 1203, because that year he was disseised of Connacht.<sup>107</sup> It has been suggested that the grant was made shortly before 1195, because that year Conor Maenmagh's successor as king of Connacht, Cathal Crobhderg, invaded Munster and destroyed a number of castles and towns there.<sup>108</sup> After this attack Cathal Crobhderg met John de Courcy, 'the son of Hugh de Lacy', and other Englishmen at Athlone and peace was concluded between them.<sup>109</sup> The son of Hugh de Lacy was undoubtedly Walter de Lacy, lord of Meath, who, together with John de Courcy, led a group who supported Richard I against John after John had rebelled against Richard in 1193-4. In 1194 Walter de Lacy had done homage to Richard for his lordship of Meath, and on returning to Ireland apprehended John's justiciar, Peter Pipard;<sup>110</sup> and in 1195, seemingly shortly before the meeting at Athlone, de Lacy and de Courcy had made a hosting 'to assume power over the Foreigners of Laighen and Mumha'.<sup>111</sup> If John had granted the whole of Connacht to de Burgh, it may explain why de Lacy and de Courcy, who were already opposed to John, made peace with Cathal Crobhderg at Athlone. Since they belonged to the early group of settlers, they may have resented the grant of so much land to a newcomer such as de Burgh, who seems to have first

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106. C.D.I., 1171-1251, no. 653; Rot. Chart., 1199-1216, pp 218-9.

107. See below, pp 33-4.

108. R. W. D. Edwards, 'Anglo-Norman Relations with Connacht', I.H.S., vol. 1 (1938), p.145. For the attack, see A.I., p. 321; Misc.I. Annals, p. 75; A.F.M., III, p.101; A.L.C., I, p.191.

109. Ibid.

110. Otway-Ruthven, Med.Ireland, p.73; Richardson and Sayles, Administration, p. 74.

111. A.L.C., I, p. 191; A.F.M., III, p. 101, A.U., II, p. 271.

come to Ireland with John in 1185.<sup>112</sup> Their sense of grievance would have been more acute if John had granted Walter's brother, Hugh, six cantreds in Connacht before he granted the whole of Connacht to de Burgh.<sup>113</sup> It is conceivable that de Lacy and de Courcy promised Cathal Crobhderg at the peace of Athlone that they would come to his assistance should de Burgh attempt to make good his grant; for in 1202, when de Burgh was making an attempt to establish control over Connacht, Hugh de Lacy and de Courcy supported Cathal Crobhderg against a rival O'Conor who had been installed by de Burgh.<sup>114</sup>

The fact that Walter de Lacy and de Courcy made peace with Cathal Crobhderg in 1195 does not of course prove that they condoned his attack on English settlements in Munster, but other evidence suggests that they did in fact condone it. Cathal Crobhderg had been assisted by some of the Meath settlers led by Gilbert de Nangle (whose surname was rendered 'Mac Costello' in the annals) when he made the attack.<sup>115</sup> There is no reason to believe that Walter de Lacy encouraged these settlers from his lordship to give Cathal Crobhderg assistance. Mac Costello seems to have been an adventurer out for personal gain, and he had probably been previously employed by Cathal Crobhderg's rival in Connacht, Cathal Carrach son of Conor Maenmagh O'Conor.<sup>116</sup> We know that Cathal Crobhderg gave

112. M.J. Blake, 'William de Burgh, Progenitor of the Burkes in Ireland', Jn. G.A.H.S., vol. 7 (1911-2), pp 94-96.

113. For evidence which suggests that the grant to Hugh preceded the grant to de Burgh, see below, p. 30.

114. See below, p.29.

115. A.F.M., III, p. 101.

116. In 1192 Inishcroghan in Lough Ree was plundered by Mac Costello and the sons of Conor Maenmagh, ibid., p. 97.

Mac Costello the cantred of Maenmagh (now the bar. of Loughrea, Co. Galway),<sup>117</sup> and it was undoubtedly this that induced Mac Costello to enter the king of Connacht's service. But although it is unlikely that Walter de Lacy encouraged Mac Costello to assist Cathal Crobhderg in his attack on Munster, there is no evidence that he punished Mac Costello for doing so afterwards. But John did punish him. In 1196, after John had been reinstated by Richard I, the justiciar, Hamo de Valognes, seized Mac Costello's castles and lands,<sup>118</sup> and Mac Costello was not given John's peace until 1207.<sup>119</sup>

If we are right in thinking that John first granted six cantreds in Connacht to Hugh de Lacy and that he later granted the whole of Connacht to de Burgh, it would seem that John at first thought that the de Lacys would be good material for beginning English expansion into Connacht, and that he later thought that they would be untrustworthy, and decided to grant the whole area to a man on whom he felt he could place more reliance. But John was soon to show that he doubted the wisdom of giving so much land to de Burgh.

There is no evidence that either de Burgh or de Lacy made any attempt to make good their grants before the end of the twelfth century, but by 1199 the settlers of Meath had established themselves at Athlone, and this presented a serious threat to the independence of Connacht. The river-crossing at Athlone was the most important point of communication between Connacht and Meath, and its strategic importance had been recognized by Turlough O'Conor. In 1129, when he rebuilt the bridge at

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117. C.D.I., 1171-1251, no. 311; Rot.Litt. Claus., 1204-1224, p. 78.

118. A.F.M., III, p.107, note 1. See also Richardson and Sayles, Administration, pp 74-5.

119. C.D.I., 1171-1251, no. 311; Rot. Litt. Claus., 1204-1224, p. 78.

Athlone he built a castle (caislén; caistel) beside it.<sup>120</sup> Both bridge and castle were burned on a number of occasions thereafter but each time they were rebuilt.<sup>121</sup> The last recorded burning of the castle occurred in 1159,<sup>122</sup> and there is no direct evidence that it was rebuilt. But something of it seems to have remained until at least 1210, because that year the annals record that the justiciar constructed a bridge 'across Ath-Luain, and a castle instead of O'Conchobhair's castle'.<sup>123</sup> It has been suggested that Turlough's castle was on the east bank of the Shannon so as to protect the bridge, which Turlough frequently used for making raids into Meath. It has also been suggested that Turlough's castle may have been taken over by the settlers of Meath.<sup>124</sup> What is virtually certain is that Cathal Crobhderg found it alarming that the English had established themselves at the most important point of access into Connacht from Meath. The annals say that in 1199 he committed a depredation on the foreigners and burned the bódhún of Ath, which very probably means the bailey of Athlone, and that he killed many people there and drove off their cows.<sup>125</sup>

The Annals of Loch Cé say that in 1200 the Connachtmen made a hosting into Munster and that they burned the bódhún of Limerick (which belonged to the king), Castleconnell (which belonged to de Burgh),<sup>126</sup> and many other places.<sup>127</sup> This

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120. A.F.M., II, p.1033; A.U., II, p.125; A.L.C., I, p.127.

121. A.F.M., II, pp 1045, 1065, 1109, 1117, 1133; A.Clon., pp 191, 193.

122. Ibid., p.205.

123. A.L.C., I, p. 245.

124. J.A. Claffey 'The Medieval Castle of Athlone', Jn.O.A.S., vol.1, no.2 (1970-1), p.55. See also G.H. Orpen, 'Athlone Castle: its Early History', Jn. R.S.A.I., vol.37 (1907), 258-9.

125. A.L.C., I, p.207. The word 'bódhún' means cattle-enclosure, ibid., p.206, note 2.

126. Otway-Ruthven, Med.Ireland, p.74.

127. A.L.C., I, pp 213-5.

entry appears near the end of 1200, but if the attack was led by Cathal Crobhderg, as the Annals of the Four Masters say it was,<sup>128</sup> then it must have occurred early in 1200 because Cathal Crobhderg was banished from Connacht during that year and did not return until 1201. The next entry in The Annals of Loch Cé says that the same Connachtmen made two other hostings, one into Offaly and the other into Westmeath.<sup>129</sup> The details of a raid Cathal Crobhderg made into Westmeath are recorded at the beginning of 1200 in the same annals, and it is possible that both entries refer to the same attack.<sup>130</sup> If this reconstruction of events is correct,<sup>131</sup> it would seem that Cathal Crobhderg followed up his attack on Athlone by making a widespread attack on English settlements surrounding Connacht. The attack on Westmeath went well for Cathal Crobhderg initially. He succeeded in carrying off 'an enormous spoil of cows, horses, pigs and sheep'. But he and his men, among whom was Gilbert Mac Costello, were routed by the English before they reached the Shannon, and many of the Connachtmen were slain. The English recovered most of their animals, and led off 'a great number of the horses of Connacht' as well.<sup>132</sup> Presumably these were the horses of the slain.

Perhaps because Cathal Crobhderg thought that the English would make a retaliatory attack on him and try to establish Cathal Carrach as king of Connacht, he decided to break the peace he

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128. A.F.M., III, p. 127.

129. A.L.C., I, p. 215.

130. Ibid., pp 209-11.

131. The same annals have an entry at the end of 1200 which says that there was 'another' hosting by Cathal Carrach and the foreigners of Munster into Connacht this year, ibid., p. 215. But it is extremely unlikely that there were two such expeditions, given the nature of the one they describe in detail earlier, ibid., pp 211-3, and this also suggests duplication.

132. Ibid., pp 209-11.



had made with Cathal Carrach the previous year,<sup>133</sup> and rid himself of his rival. The annals say that he made 'a treacherous and malicious hosting, of which came the destruction of Connacht, and his own destruction, viz:- to attack Cathal Carrach, son of Conchobhair Maenmhaighe, to expel him from Connacht, or to capture him or to kill him'.<sup>134</sup> And true enough the plan misfired. Not only was Cathal Crobhderg defeated by Cathal Carrach, but the latter immediately afterwards sent messengers to William de Burgh to ask for his assistance and to give him his son as a pledge for the wages that he would pay the English who came to his aid. De Burgh responded at once. He collected a large force from Dublin, Leinster and Munster, and joined Cathal Carrach in Connacht. When Cathal Carrach began to take hostages from the Irish of Connacht, Cathal Crobhderg fled to the north of Ireland to seek help from the kings of Fermanagh and Tir Eoghain and from John de Courcy. After this Cathal Carrach and de Burgh devastated Connacht. According to the annals, their attack on Connacht was such that nothing sacred 'afforded protection against the demoniacal host; and they used to strip the priests in the churches, and carry off the women, and every kind of property and stock found in the churches, without regard to saint or sanctuary, or to any power on earth; so that never before was there inflicted on the Connachtmen any punishment of famine, nakedness and plundering like this punishment'.<sup>135</sup>

In 1201 Cathal Crobhderg returned to Connacht accompanied by Aedh O'Neill, king of Tir Eoghain, and O'Heyny, king of Fermanagh. They attacked a few of Cathal Carrach's supporters, but it was not long before a dispute broke out between Cathal

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133. Ibid., pp 205-7; A.U., II, p.233; A.F.M., III, p.117.

134. A.L.C., I, p.211.

135. Ibid., pp 211-13. See also A.Clon., p.216; 'A.Boyle', Rev. Celt., vol.42 (1925), p.295; ibid., vol.43 (1926), p. 375; A.U., II, p.235; A.l., p.327; A.F.M., III, pp 119, 127.

Crobhderg and the northern kings. The latter refused to fight against the English, saying that they had been told before they had set out for Connacht that there were no English in Cathal Carrach's army. Leaving Cathal Crobhderg to his own resources, the northern kings set off home but they were pursued by Cathal Carrach and de Burgh, and at Ballysadare they were routed. O'Heyny was killed, and O'Neill gave hostages to Cathal Carrach.<sup>136</sup>

Shortly after this John de Courcy and Hugh de Lacy came to Cathal Crobhderg's assistance. In siding with Cathal Crobhderg they showed that they were alarmed by de Burgh's entry into Connacht, and their objective was undoubtedly to prevent de Burgh from establishing control there. De Burgh had in fact left Connacht before they arrived, and Cathal Carrach, anticipating trouble, was in the process of leading his people and his cows to the safety of Cinel Aedha na hEchtge (near the border of Co. Clare) and Thomond. Cathal Crobhderg and his allies proceeded to Kilmacduagh (bar. of Kiltartan, Co. Galway), near which Cathal Carrach was encamped. A battle was fought in which Cathal Crobhderg and his English allies were badly defeated. Sixty or more of de Courcy's men are said to have been killed, and de Courcy himself was struck by 'a stone' and fell from his horse. The defeated army fled to Meath but they were attacked by Cathal Carrach just as they were at Rinndown on Lough Ree, and several more were either slain or drowned.<sup>137</sup> Hugh de Lacy's and John de Courcy's expedition had been a complete fiasco.

Cathal Crobhderg fled to Meath with his allies but as soon as he arrived he was imprisoned by the English 'as a pledge for

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136. A.L.C., I, pp 215-9; A.U., II, p.235; Misc.I. Annals, p.81; A.F.M., III, pp 119-21. See also A. Clon., p.216, where William de Burgh is called 'William Power'.

137. A.L.C., I, pp 219 - 23; A.Clon., pp 216-7; A.F.M., III, p.121; Misc.I. Annals, p. 83; A.U., II, pp 235-7; 'A.Boyle', Rev.Celt., vol.42 (1925), p. 295; ibid., vol. 43 (1926), p. 376.

the payment of wages'. They later released him,<sup>138</sup> possibly because he convinced them that he would not be able to pay them their wages until he had regained the kingship. Immediately after he had been released he went to Munster to seek assistance from William de Burgh himself.<sup>139</sup> At the same time the de Lacys and John de Courcy fell out,<sup>140</sup> and it was probably at this time that Hugh de Lacy came to terms with de Burgh. In an undated charter de Burgh granted Hugh de Lacy 10 cantreds in Connacht, an area representing one-third of Connacht.<sup>141</sup> This grant implies that Hugh de Lacy now recognized John's grant to de Burgh. Furthermore, since five of the cantreds were the same cantreds as John had granted to Hugh between 1189 and 1199, it is probably safe to assume that Hugh now recognized that John's grant to de Burgh had nullified the grant he himself had received from John when the latter was count of Mortain.<sup>142</sup>

If Cathal Crobhderg was to recover the kingship of Connacht there was little else he could do but come to terms with de Burgh. The latter was in fact willing to help him, possibly because he thought that Cathal Crobhderg would be easier to control than Cathal Carrach. In 1202 Cathal Crobhderg and de Burgh, accompanied by Fineen Mac Carthy and the sons of Donal O'Brien, made a hosting into Connacht. When

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138. A.L.C., I, p. 223; A. Clon., p. 217.

139. Ibid.; A.L.C., I, p. 223.

140. Otway-Ruthven, Med. Ireland, p. 75.

141. Cal. Gormanston Reg., pp 191-2.

142. The cantreds de Burgh granted de Lacy were Tri Tuatha, Magh Lurg-Tirerrill, Corran, Sliabh Lugha, Leyny, Carbury-Drumcliff, Tireragh, Erris and the two cantreds of Tirawley. cf., above, p.22. For their location, see Map I in the pocket attached to the back cover of the thesis.

It was not until Nov.1204, after William de Burgh had fallen from favour and was disseised of Connacht, that king John confirmed the grant that he had made as count of Mortain to Hugh de Lacy, see below, pp 33-4, 38, note 169.

they reached Boyle they encamped in the monastery there, much to the horror of the annalists, who spoke of how the monastery was defiled by their presence, and of how they left only the dormitory and the novices' house to the monks. De Burgh seems to have had plans to fortify the monastery, because the annals say that he began to build a stone wall around the great stone guest-house. Three days later, however, Cathal Carrach was killed when fighting broke out between his and the allied forces near Boyle, and work on the wall was abandoned. After this the O'Briens and Mac Carthy went home with their forces, but de Burgh spent Easter with Cathal Crobhderg at Cong, and billeted his troops on the inhabitants of Connacht 'to distraint for their payes and wages'. The Annals of Loch Cé say that de Burgh did this with Cathal Crobhderg's consent, but, apparently when a rumour spread that de Burgh had been killed, the inhabitants of Connacht rose up and killed a great number of the men billeted on them. Having lost so many of his men, de Burgh returned to Munster, but he is said to have plotted to kill Cathal Crobhderg before he left Connacht. In fact it is probable that relations between de Burgh and Cathal Crobhderg had already become strained before de Burgh's troops were massacred, because The Annals of Clonmacnoise and the Annals of the Four Masters say that it was only after de Burgh went to Limerick that Cathal Crobhderg took upon himself the title 'king of Connacht' again.<sup>143</sup>

The fact that de Burgh made a number of grants of land in Connacht<sup>144</sup>

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143. A.L.C., I, pp 223-7; A. Clon., pp 217-8; A.F.M., III, pp 129-33. See also A.I., p. 331; Misc.I. Annals, p. 83.

144. Besides granting 10 cantreds to Hugh de Lacy, de Burgh granted the theodum of Bredagh to Nicholas le Petit, and Muintir Murchadha, Clann Taidhg and Ui Diarmada to Robert le Petit. Seemingly after Robert's death, he granted the last three areas and 'Kermochy Cleon Molroni' to Robert's father, William le Petit, K.W. Nicholls, 'A Charter of William de Burgo', Anal. Hib., no. 27 (1972), pp 120-2. For the location of the first four areas, see Map I. 'Kermochy Cleon Mulroni was probably Ciarraige Magh Ai (see Map I) and Clann Maelruanaidh, which was a family rather than a territorial name. The Clann occupied Magh Lurg (see Map I), K.W.Nicholls, op.cit., pp 120-1.

suggests that his ultimate objective was to conquer Connacht, and this probably explains why he did not install Cathal Crobhderg as king. In 1203 he set about reducing Connacht by raiding extensively and by plundering many of the larger ecclesiastical settlements such as Clonfert, Cong, Abbey Knockmoy and Meelick. The sons of Conor Maenmagh (i.e. Cathal Carrach's brothers) accompanied de Burgh on this expedition, but if they entertained the hope that he would install one of them as king, they were disappointed. That de Burgh was now determined to conquer Connacht is strongly suggested by the fact that he established a bridgehead on the west bank of the Shannon at Meelick (bar. of Longford, Co. Galway). As he had done at Boyle the previous year, de Burgh utilized the church at Meelick for the purpose of constructing a fortification. As the annals put it, 'the place where the castle was erected was round the great church of the place, which was lined round with earth and stones to the pinnacles'. This time, however, the work seems to have been completed, and de Burgh left 'a good company to guard the castle' before he returned to Limerick.<sup>145</sup>

The evidence is not very satisfactory, but when de Burgh first became involved in Connacht, he seems to have done so with the approval of the justiciar, Meiler fitz Henry. The army that de Burgh led into Connacht in support of Cathal Carrach in 1200 had a contingent from Dublin,<sup>146</sup> and this suggests that the expedition had official sanction. Furthermore, in either this or the following year the justiciar met Cathal Carrach for two days at Clonmacnoise,<sup>147</sup> and this also suggests

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145. A.L.C., I, p.229; A.Clon., pp 218-9. See also A.I., pp 331-3; Misc.I. Annals, p.83.

146. A.L.C., I, p. 211.

147. A. Clon., p. 216. A.F.M., III, p.125 say that Meiler marched against Cathal Carrach, but A. Clon., which was clearly the Four Masters' source, does not imply that Meiler was hostile towards Cathal Carrach. Both sets of annals say that the meeting took place in 1200, but their dating is usually a year behind at this time.

that he backed the same man as de Burgh, for de Burgh did not support Cathal Crobhderg until 1202. Since Cathal Crobhderg had made a number of anti-settler attacks in 1199 and 1200, and especially since he had burned the bódhún of the king's castle at Limerick, the justiciar had every reason to support Cathal Carrach. It would seem, however, that the justiciar wanted de Burgh to do no more than get rid of Cathal Crobhderg. For when de Burgh began to show that his real objective was not to install a more reliable king of Connacht but to conquer the land, the justiciar took action against him. In 1203, shortly after de Burgh had left a garrison at Meelick and had returned to Munster, the justiciar led a huge army to Limerick and took de Burgh's lands into the king's hand. He also took hostages from de Burgh, and ordered him to appear before the king.<sup>148</sup> De Burgh was with the king by October 1203,<sup>149</sup> and in March 1204 the king ordered Walter de Lacy, the archdeacon of Stafford, Godfrey Lutterell and William le Petit to hear the complaints that the justiciar and others had made about de Burgh.<sup>150</sup> In April 1204 the king decided to take de Burgh to Normandy, and he respited all the complaints against him. At the same time he ordered the justiciar to give de Burgh and two other men seisin of all de Burgh's lands except Connacht, which was to remain in the king's hand during pleasure.<sup>151</sup> On 16 September 1204, after de Burgh had appeared before the court in Ireland, the king ordered the justiciar to restore to de Burgh all his lands except Connacht, 'whereof he was disseised by reason of the appeals aforesaid, and the dissension between the justiciar and himself'. The king told the justiciar that Connacht was to remain in the king's hand until the king had learnt how de Burgh had discharged himself in court.<sup>152</sup> This is clear

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148. A. Clon., p.219, where Meiler fitz Henry appears as 'Meyler Bremyngham'; A.L.C., I, pp 229-31; A.I., p.333; C.D.I., 1171-1251, no. 181; Rot.Litt. Pat., vol. I, pp 31-2.

149. C.D.I., 1171-1251, no. 187.

150. Ibid., no. 209; Rot.Litt.Pat., vol. I, p. 39.

151. Ibid., pp 39-40, 41; C.D.I., 1171-1251, nos 213-5.

152. Ibid., no. 230; Rot. Litt Pat., vol. I, p.46.

evidence that the justiciar's complaints about de Burgh had concerned his actions in Connacht. Whether the court ever reached a judgement is not known. All that we do know is that Connacht was not restored to de Burgh before he died in 1205.<sup>153</sup>

At first sight it would appear that the justiciar was acting on his own initiative when he began the process by which de Burgh was removed from Connacht. But a number of pieces of evidence suggest that if the justiciar was not actually carrying out royal orders, he had grounds for being reasonably confident that John would not be angry with him if he put a stop to de Burgh's efforts to conquer Connacht. In November 1200, the year that de Burgh first became involved in Connacht, the king granted Geoffrey de Costentin the cantred of Tirieghrachbothe, which he was to hold of the king by the service of five knights.<sup>154</sup> The land granted was probably Tir Fhiachrach bhfeadha, an area later known as the Faes of Athlone.<sup>155</sup> Sometime before May 1201 John made two more grants. De Costentin was given the cantred of Tir Maine, which lay between Athlone and Roscommon, and Richard Tyrel was given Dungalve, i.e. the area around Galway. The text of these two grants has not survived,<sup>156</sup> but we may be sure that these lands, like Tirieghrachbothe, were to be held of the king.

Since William de Burgh had almost certainly been granted the whole of Connacht sometime before these grants were made, it would seem that John was trying to exclude de Burgh from Athlone and Galway. It is worth noting that both places were of

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153. A.L.C., I, p.235.

154. C.D.I., 1171-1251, no.137; Rot.Chart., 1199-1216, pp 79-80.

155. G.H. Orpen, 'Athlone Castle : its Early History', Jn. R.S.A.I., vol.37 (1907), p.259, note 2.

156. Rot.Chart., 1199-1216, p.103; C.D.I., 1171-1251, no.153.

considerable strategic importance. Athlone's importance we have already noticed. Galway's was based on two assets: its fine natural harbour in Galway Bay, and its position at the mouth of Lough Corrib. Both these assets gave Galway a commercial potential but its strategic importance was perhaps more valuable. For the person who controlled Galway had access not only to the west coast of Connacht but also, because Lough Corrib was so vast, to a great deal of the interior of west Connacht, and he was therefore well placed to dominate this region. Turlough O'Conor had been as aware of Galway's strategic importance as he had been of Athlone's, for he built a castle (caisteoil; caislén) here in 1124. It was burned or demolished and then rebuilt on a number of occasions thereafter,<sup>157</sup> and 'The Annals of Tigernach' say that the castle (caislén) at Galway was one of the places which the Irish themselves burned when Miles de Cogan invaded Connacht in 1177.<sup>158</sup> By this time it was probably an O'Flaherty castle.

It is not altogether clear why John granted the whole of Connacht to William de Burgh, when, as we have seen, his father, Henry II, had been so careful to establish royal bases in Leinster, Thomond and Desmond.<sup>159</sup> It is worth mentioning, however, that these three areas all contained Viking maritime cities, which were obvious and ideal places to reserve to the crown; and it was perhaps because Connacht did not have any such city that John did not think of reserving any part of Connacht to himself when he made the grant to de Burgh.<sup>160</sup> But it would seem likely that as soon as de Burgh began to become involved in Connacht, John started thinking of ways in which he could establish royal bases in Connacht, and it is conceivable that when John granted the areas around Athlone and Galway to

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157. A.F.M., II pp 1021, 1041, 1091, 1145.

158. 'A. Tig', Rev.Celt., vol.18 (1897), pp 298-9.

159. See above, pp 1, 14.

160. It would seem, however, that some Vikings had settled in Galway, see below, p.110.



de Costentin and Tyrel, he was in fact earmarking the places which he wanted the crown to hold.

Since Tyrel held the manor of Castleknock, Co. Dublin,<sup>160</sup> John cannot have expected him to actually establish control over Galway. It is probable that John made the grant simply in order to give somebody a legal claim to the land should de Burgh establish himself there. But the fact that de Costentin held the manor of Kilbixy in Westmeath<sup>161</sup> meant that de Costentin was ideally placed to establish himself in Athlone, and this suggests that John wanted him to do so. Because Athlone was one of the main links between Connacht and the rest of the lordship, control of it was a more urgent requirement than control of Galway. But it is unlikely that de Costentin had made much headway before 1203.

The trouble was that de Burgh was managing to subjugate Connacht very quickly, and there was a real danger that he would ignore the grants John had made in 1200-1. He had, after all, a charter from John in which he was granted the whole of Connacht. The only way to prevent de Burgh from asserting rights over Athlone and Galway was to force him to accept a new charter for Connacht in which these areas were reserved to the crown. In order to get de Burgh to accept a new charter it was necessary to remove him from Connacht and re-establish royal authority there. It was only when this was done that the king would be in a position to dictate terms to de Burgh. It was very possibly for this reason that the justiciar, Meiler fitz Henry, took action against de Burgh.

The king gave the impression that he was uninterested in the outcome of the dispute between the justiciar and de Burgh, but an examination of the negotiations that were taking place at this very time between the king and Cathal Crobhderg suggests

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160. Orpen, Normans, vol. II, pp 83, 248.

161. Ibid., p. 88.

very strongly that the king wanted to keep de Burgh out of Connacht. Cathal Crobhderg had been very shaken by de Burgh's attempt to conquer Connacht, and was, as a result, anxious to come to terms with the king. In 1203 he made peace with the justiciar and took part in the latter's expedition against de Burgh. Afterwards he gave hostages to the justiciar,<sup>162</sup> and The Annals of Clonmacnoise say that he and the justiciar 'then parted with each other in peaceable and friendly manner, with good attonement and agreement between them and immediately the king of Connacht broke down the castle of Meelick'.<sup>163</sup> That Cathal Crobhderg accepted the justiciar's authority in Connacht is clear from other annals. These tell of how, after Cathal Crobhderg had banished Turlough son of Rory O'Conor, peace was made between the two O'Conors 'through the intercession of the Foreigners, viz:- Meiler and Walter (de Lacy)'.<sup>164</sup>

It was probably through the justiciar that Cathal Crobhderg communicated to the king that he was willing to negotiate about Connacht. In March 1204 the king wrote to Cathal, saying he was sending the justiciar and the archdeacon of Stafford to him and that he would hold good whatever they might do, with Walter de Lacy's counsel, regarding matters between Cathal and himself.<sup>165</sup> By 31 August 1204 the justiciar had reported to the king that Cathal Crobhderg was willing to quitclaim two-thirds of Connacht to the king, that he wanted to hold the remaining one-third as a heritable estate, and that he (and presumably his heirs) would render to the king and his heirs 100 marks annually for this part of

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162. A.I., p.333.

163. A.Clon., p. 219.

164. A.L.C., I, p.231; A.U., II, p. 241.

165. C.D.I., 1171-1251, no. 205.

Connacht ( ita quod tertia pars ei remaneret tenendum hereditarie per centum marcas nobis et haeredibus nostris inde reddendas annuatim ).<sup>166</sup>

It is perhaps not surprising that the king and council found this proposal acceptable. The beauty of it was that it placed two-thirds of Connacht in the king's hands without conquest. The king lost no time in telling the justiciar to select the two-thirds of Connacht which contained the best towns and harbours, and which were most suitable for the king's interests and for fortifying castles. But this was not all the king ordered the justiciar to do. He also told him to build castles, found towns and assess rents in those parts. He was to cause those nativi et fugitivi who left the king's two-thirds to return, presumably to provide the king's manors with a labour force. And, if necessary, he was to use the issues of the lordship to carry out these tasks. These orders appear in a letter dated 31 August 1204.<sup>167</sup> They were therefore made two weeks before the king ordered the justiciar to retain Connacht in the king's hand until the king saw how de Burgh had discharged himself in the king's court in Ireland.<sup>168</sup> In view of the king's plans for the two-thirds of Connacht Cathal had offered to surrender, it is difficult to believe that the king had any intention of restoring Connacht to de Burgh.<sup>169</sup>

That Cathal Crobhderg offered to surrender as much as two-thirds of Connacht to the king indicates how shaken he had been by

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166. Foedera, vol. I, p.91; C.D.I., 1171-1251, no.222. See also R.W.D. Edwards, 'Anglo-Irish Relations with Connacht, 1169-1224', I.H.S., vol. I (1938), p. 151, note 1.

167. Foedera, vol. I, p.91; C.D.I., 1171-1251, no. 222.

168. See above, p. 33.

169. For a while John seems to have entertained the idea of encouraging Hugh de Lacy to establish himself in part of Connacht, for in Nov. 1204 he confirmed the grant of six cantreds there which he had made as count of Mortain to de Lacy. However, sometime afterwards this grant and confirmation were cancelled, C.D.I., 1171-1251, no.241; Rot. Chart., 1199-1216, pp 139-40.

de Burgh's attempt to conquer Connacht. From his point of view it was infinitely better to have security of tenure under the king in one-third of his kingdom than to have no kingdom at all under de Burgh. But John was slow to give Cathal the security he was so anxious to have. In his letter of 31 August 1204 the king told the justiciar that he would give Cathal a charter after the justiciar had reported back to him about how he had fared in carrying out the king's orders with regard to the two-thirds Cathal had offered to surrender. In other words, John expected Cathal to hand over two-thirds of Connacht before he had received any guarantee that he would have security of tenure in the remaining one-third of Connacht. At the same time the king ordered the justiciar to take hostages and whatever securities he could from Cathal to ensure that Cathal would be faithful to the king.<sup>169</sup> Cathal seems to have found the king's demands unacceptable, for the negotiations continued.

It was unfortunate for the king that William de Burgh died in 1205<sup>170</sup> because this meant that his bargaining position was much weaker than it had been. Up to de Burgh's death Cathal's greatest fear must have been that the king would restore Connacht to de Burgh if the proposals which he made to the king were not sufficiently generous. But with de Burgh's death Cathal was much more in a position to dictate terms. De Burgh's heir, Richard, was only about nine years old in 1205<sup>171</sup> and so presented no immediate threat to Cathal. By the end of the year the tone of the negotiations between John and the king of Connacht had changed dramatically. On 20 December 1205 the king wrote to the justiciar saying that Cathal had demanded that he and his heirs hold one-third of Connacht as barons, that he wanted to hold the remaining

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169. Foedera, vol.I, p.91; C.D.I., 1171-1251, no. 222.

170. A.L.C., vol. I, p.235. See also A.Clon., p.220 and A.F.M., III, p.143; their dating, however, is one year behind at this time.

171. C.D.I., 1171-1251, no. 506.

two-thirds of Connacht of the king for a tribute of 300 marks annually, and that he would now give the king only two cantreds, with their nativi, in these two-thirds of Connacht.<sup>172</sup>

Since the king was not as yet prepared to use military force against Cathal, he could do little but accept Cathal's terms. However, he told the justiciar to obtain a 'gift' from Cathal for having a grant of these lands: he had heard that Cathal would give him a fine of 400 marks at least. The king also wanted Cathal to give him a yearly gift of cows and other things to maintain the castles that the king would build in the two cantreds.<sup>173</sup> Some agreement on these matters must have been reached, because Cathal received a charter from John sometime before February 1207. On 12 February the king granted his peace to Gilbert Mac Costello (alias Nangle), who had probably been in Cathal Crobhderg's employ since 1195,<sup>174</sup> and allowed Gilbert to have the cantred of Maenmagh, which the king of Connacht had delivered to him, 'saving our part of Connacht, according to the charter which we gave to the aforesaid king (of Connacht)'. John did not say that Gilbert was to hold of him, and the implication of the saving clause was that Gilbert's cantred was distinct from the king's two cantreds.<sup>175</sup> Originally the king seems to have had plans to build castles in his two cantreds, but in November 1207 he granted Gilbert Mac Costello and John Marshal a cantred each of land, which they were to hold of him by knight

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172. Ibid., no. 279; Rot. Litt. Claus., 1204 - 24, p. 62.

173. Ibid.

174. See above, pp 24-5.

175. Rot. Litt. Claus., 1204-24, p. 78; C.D.I., 1171-1251, no. 311.

service.<sup>176</sup> It would seem very likely that these cantreds were the ones Cathal had given him.

It was only after John visited Ireland in 1210 that a royal castle was built in Connacht. The immediate reason for the building of the castle seems to have been that John and Cathal Crobhderg had had a disagreement while John was in Ireland. Relations between the two men had been good at first. Cathal had submitted to John and had joined his expedition against the de Lacys in Ulster. After the expedition John told Cathal to meet him a fortnight later at Rathwire, in Co. Westmeath.<sup>177</sup> The Annals of Loch Cé say that Cathal promised to come, and that he also promised to bring his son, Aedh. The same annals insist that the king had not asked Cathal to bring Aedh, but that John was happy that he should do so, and they quote John as saying 'Bring him ... that he may receive a charter for the third part of Connacht'.<sup>178</sup> There can be no doubt that Cathal wanted John to grant Aedh this charter. As we shall see, Cathal later became worried that Aedh would not inherit Connacht even though John had granted the land of Connacht to Cathal and his heirs, and he asked for a similar grant to be made to Aedh. It was undoubtedly because there was no primogeniture in Irish law that Cathal thought that it was necessary that

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176. Ibid., nos 353-4; Rot.Chart., 1199-1216, pp 173-4. Mac Costello was given a cantred of land in Estyre, Wintermolman (Muintermailfinnain), Ulunan (Ui Lomain) and Nyaki. The cantred of Muintermailfinnain appears in the inquisition taken on the death of the Brown Earl in 1333, and Ui Lomain is given as lying within this cantred, which covered the bar. of Leitrim and parts of the bar. of Longford, Co. Galway, see below, pp 130, 134. Marshal was given the cantred of 'Kilmie', elsewhere 'Kilman', C.D.I., 1171-1251, no. 537. This is possibly Kilmeane (alias Kilmaine) in the bar. of Athlone, Co. Roscommon, G.H. Orpen, 'Athlone Castle: its Early History', Jn. R.S.A.I., vol. 37 (1907), p. 260, note 1.

177. A.L.C., I, pp 241-3; A.Clon., p. 223; A.F.M., III, pp 163-5; Misc. I. Annals, p. 87.

178. A.L.C., I, p. 243.

Aedh should be given his own charter.<sup>179</sup> However, in 1210 when Cathal went to fetch his son, he had second thoughts about bringing Aedh to John, and, having discussed the matter with his wife and his people, decided not to bring him.<sup>180</sup> It would seem probable that Cathal and his people thought there was a danger that John would seize Aedh as a hostage.<sup>181</sup> John certainly seems to have been annoyed when Cathal arrived at Rathwire without Aedh, for he seized the kings of Magh Lurg and Leyny, who were in Cathal's retinue, as well as two of Cathal's officials, and brought them back to England as hostages.<sup>182</sup> Furthermore, before he left Ireland he ordered the justiciar, John de Gray, bishop of Norwich, to build three castles in Connacht.<sup>183</sup>

The justiciar began his task immediately. That very year he led the forces of Meath and Leinster to Athlone, where he built a bridge and a stone castle on the west bank of the Shannon, probably on the site of the present castle.<sup>184</sup> It was built on land which the king had granted to de Costentin in 1200-1, and, although de Costentin does not seem to have been able to make good his grant before the castle was built, in 1214 John granted him a cantred elsewhere in Connacht in exchange for the cantred in which Athlone castle lay.<sup>185</sup>

The justiciar was able to build a castle at Athlone without any interference from Cathal Crobhderg because Geoffrey de Marisco

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179. See below, pp 50-1.

180. A.L.C., I, p. 243.

181. A.F.M., III, p. 165 say that John had asked Cathal to hand over his son as a hostage.

182. A.L.C., I, p.243. A.F.M., III, p.165 and A. Clon., p.223 say Cathal handed these men over to John as hostages.

183. A.L.C., I, pp 243-5.

184. Ibid., p. 245; A. Clon., pp 223-4; Misc. I. Annals, p. 89.

185. Rot. Litt. Claus., 1204-24, p. 170; C.D.I., 1171-1251, no. 508.

with the forces of Munster invaded Connacht from the south when the justiciar began work on the castle. With de Marisco was a rival of Cathal Crobhderg, Aedh son of Rory O'Conor. It is not clear whether much fighting took place between the southern force and Cathal, but the latter seems to have been driven before the invading army, and Connacht was plundered. Eventually de Marisco made peace with Cathal on condition that he and his army would be allowed to go to Athlone and that Cathal would make peace with the justiciar. These things were done, and Cathal agreed to hand over his son, Turlough, and the son of a chieftain as hostages to the justiciar.<sup>186</sup>

Although the annals may be correct in saying that John had ordered the justiciar to build three castles in Connacht, the king seems to have been satisfied once Athlone castle was built, and it is extremely unlikely that he had intended that the English in Ireland should conquer Connacht after he had left the country. The events of 1210 had nonetheless a profound effect on Cathal. The expeditions of that year and the building of Athlone were a warning that unless he was totally obedient to the king, John would have no hesitation in taking action against him. From this time onwards Cathal did his utmost to demonstrate his loyalty to the king. Circa 1212 he paid a fine of 343 cows,<sup>187</sup> and the same year he took part in an expedition which the English led against the northern kings.<sup>188</sup> Furthermore, Cathal did not seek revenge when his son Turlough, still a hostage, died in 1214.<sup>189</sup>

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186. A.L.C., I, p.245; A. Clon., p. 223.

187. 'The Irish Pipe Roll of 14 John', ed. O. Davies and D.B. Quinn, U.J.A., vol. 4, Supplement (1941), p. 37.

188. A.L.C., I, p. 247; A.F.M., III, p. 173; A.U., II, p. 255.

189. A. Clon., p. 227. His death is recorded under 1213 but these annals are a year behind at this time.



The English repaid Cathal for his service and loyalty. In 1211 John sent back to Ireland the four men he had seized as hostages the previous year.<sup>190</sup> In 1212 Cathal spent Christmas with the justiciar in Dublin.<sup>191</sup> The same year the justiciar gave Cathal 13 cows, and £3-9-6 was spent on 'the entertainment of the son of the king of Connacht when he came to the bishop of Norwich to make arrangements about military service'.<sup>192</sup> It would seem very probable that Cathal had sent Aedh to make these arrangements about military service.<sup>193</sup> The practical result of these harmonious relations was that Cathal was given protection. On 23 August 1214 the justiciar was ordered to maintain, protect and defend the king of Connacht, his people and all his possessions for as long as he faithfully served the king.<sup>194</sup> On 1 February 1215, the king again granted Cathal protection, and this time he promised that as long as Cathal should faithfully serve him no force of foot or horse would go against him.<sup>195</sup>

William de Burgh's son and heir, Richard, had been given seisin of his inheritance a short time before the first letter of protection was issued.<sup>196</sup> It is clear from later evidence that de Burgh was not given permission to have seisin of Connacht, and it would seem very likely that the grants of protection that John made to Cathal were intended to assure Cathal that de Burgh would not be permitted to set foot in Connacht as long as Cathal continued to be loyal to the king. On 13 September 1215 John issued two charters which made his intentions for Connacht crystal clear.

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190. A.L.C., I, p.247; A.U., II, p.253; A.F.M., III, p. 167.

191. A. Clon., p. 225.

192. 'The Irish Pipe Roll of 14 John', ed. O.Davies and D.B. Quinn, U.J.A., vol. 4, Supplement (1941), pp 25,63.

193. The edd. of the pipe roll suggest the son referred to was Turlough, who they mistakenly think was released in 1211, ibid., p. 24, note 112.

194. Foedera, vol. I, p.123; C.D.I., 1171-1251, no. 509.

195. Ibid., no. 530; Rot. Litt. Pat., vol. I, p.127.

196. Ibid., pp 118-9; C.D.I., 1171-1251, no. 506.

In one of these charters the king granted the king of Connacht and his heirs the whole land of Connacht, which they were to hold of the king and his heirs for 300 marks annually. They were to hold the land fully, and were entitled to all the liberties and free customs of the land. They were even to have sac and soke, toll and team, infangenethef and utfangethef, which means that they had the right to exercise manorial jurisdiction,<sup>197</sup> but the king reserved the pleas of the crown to himself. He also excepted the castle of Athlone from the grant.<sup>198</sup> All this resembles an ordinary feudal grant, and it is understandable that Cathal agreed to pay 5,000 marks for having it.<sup>199</sup> But the charter Cathal received differed from a typical feudal grant in one very important respect : Cathal and his heirs were to hold the land only for as long as they faithfully served the crown ( quamdiu nobis bene servierint ). They were not, however, to be disseised without the judgement of the king's court.<sup>200</sup>

The clause just cited shows that the grant John made to Richard de Burgh on the same day (13 September 1215) was not to have effect until the king's court had decided that the king of Connacht or one of his heirs had committed an act of forfeiture. The charter de Burgh received was in some ways quite similar to Cathal's. De Burgh and his heirs were to hold the whole land of Connacht, which William, his father, had held of the king, and they were to render 300 marks annually for the land. However, in de Burgh's charter both the castle of Athlone and the cantred in which it was situated were reserved to the crown. The cantred which John had given to de Costentin in exchange for this cantred was also excepted from the grant, but de Costentin was to render homage and service to de Burgh for it. The king also reserved the crosslands to the crown.<sup>201</sup>

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197. Pollock and Maitland, The History of English Law, vol. I, 2nd ed., pp 576-9.

198. Rot. Chart., 1199-1216, p. 219; C.D.I., 1171-1251, no. 654.

199. Ibid., no. 656; Rot. Litt. Claus., 1204-24, p. 228.

200. Rot. Chart., 1199-1216, p. 219; C.D.I., 1171-1251, no. 654.

201. Ibid., no. 653; Rot. Chart., 1199-1216, pp 218-9.

It should be noted that these two grants of 13 September 1215 were made when John was on the brink of renewing hostilities against the barons of England. In fact at that very moment he was in Dover<sup>202</sup> waiting for mercenaries to arrive from the continent.<sup>203</sup> In view of his preoccupations in England at this time, it is easy to see why John put off the conquest of Connacht to a future date.

The charter John granted to Cathal succeeded in its objective of hindering the conquest, and de Burgh found himself unable to get around the charter for most of Henry III's minority. He had, however, a powerful supporter in England : his uncle, Hubert de Burgh, the justiciar.<sup>204</sup> Hubert's influence in the council grew after William Marshal's death in May 1219,<sup>205</sup> and it is probably not a coincidence that the question of Richard de Burgh's position with regard to Connacht was raised on a number of occasions from this time onwards. In September 1219 the king told the justiciar of Ireland in a letter which was tested by Hubert de Burgh and the bishop of Winchester that Richard de Burgh had offered the king 'pro terra de Connacia quam clamat tanquam jus suum' either three cantreds in Connacht in addition to the two cantreds the king already had there and a gift of 1,000 marks, or 200 marks more annual rent for Connacht and a gift of 3,000 marks. In case neither of these offers were acceptable to the king, de Burgh had made another proposal. This was that both he and the king of Connacht should each hold half of Connacht, and that each should render half the rent. According to this proposal, Cathal was to hold his half until he died, but after this de Burgh was to be given the whole of Connacht, and he was to render the whole rent. To make this proposal more attractive,

202. Ibid.

203. W.L. Warren, King John, p. 267. (1966 ed.)

204. C.D.I., 1171-1251, no. 2217.

205. F.M.Powicke, The Thirteenth Century, pp 17-23.

de Burgh had offered the king £1,000.<sup>206</sup>

The justiciar was told to consider the matter, and on his arrival in England advise the king as to what he should do.<sup>207</sup> The justiciar, Geoffrey de Marisco,<sup>208</sup> seems to have advocated that Cathal Crobhderg should be allowed to continue in seisin for the time being, for on 7 February 1220 Cathal Crobhderg was granted protection for himself, his chattels, lands, rents, men and possessions for four years from the ensuing Easter.<sup>209</sup> Clearly the government had no legal grounds for dispossessing Cathal. However, there was always the possibility that Cathal would commit some act of forfeiture, and the grant of protection was to hold good only for as long as Cathal was faithful to the king.<sup>210</sup> The four years were simply the maximum length of time the protection was to have effect.

In spite of this grant of protection, Hubert de Burgh tested a letter on 14 August 1220 ordering the justiciar to give de Burgh full seisin of all the lands of which his father, William, had been disseised by king John.<sup>211</sup> This meant in fact that Richard was to have seisin of Connacht. Naturally enough, Cathal Crobhderg became alarmed. He wrote to Hubert telling him that he was anxious to enter into the bonds of friendship with him, and begging him as rector and counsellor of the king to agree to his petitions to the latter and to give credence to his messengers.<sup>212</sup> Cathal's anxiety at this time is also indicated by the fact that sometime between July 1220 and July 1221 he obtained the protection of the

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206. Rot. Litt. Claus., 1204-24, p. 401; C.D.I., 1171-1251, no. 900.

207. Ibid.

208. Richardson and Sayles, Administration, p. 76.

209. C.D.I., 1171-1251, no. 928; Pat. Rolls, 1216-25, p. 227.

210. Ibid.

211. C.D.I., 1171-1251, no. 954; Rot. Litt. Claus., 1204-24, p. 427. A similar order was issued on 7 June 1223, ibid., p. 552; C.D.I., 1171-1251, no. 1117.

212. Shirley, Royal Letters, vol. I, p. 165; C.D.I., 1171-1251, no. 980.

Apostolic See for himself, his son Aedh, and his kingdom.<sup>213</sup>

The English of Meath also posed a threat. In 1218 they made an incursion into Connacht,<sup>213a</sup> and in the 1220s they began to expand into Breifne, an area which had historical links with Connacht and which often had been subject to it.<sup>214</sup> Cathal probably felt threatened by this expansion, which brought the settlers of Meath up to Athleague (now Lanesborough, Co. Longford), an important crossing on the Shannon north of Lough Ree. When Walter de Lacy began to build a castle here in 1221, Cathal Crobhderg crossed the river and forced the English to abandon the castle. He allowed them to leave in peace, but as soon as they had gone he knocked down the castle.<sup>215</sup> In 1223 the Connachtmen broke down a fortification which Walter de Lacy's half-brother, William, had built this year on Inis Loghloygeaghan, which was also probably in west Breifne. But once again those inside were allowed to leave in peace first.<sup>216</sup>

It is surprising that the destruction of these castles was not seized on by de Burgh as constituting grounds for dispossessing Cathal. It is quite possible, however, that de Burgh himself was worried by the de Lacys' expansion into west Breifne. Now that there was a royal castle at Athlone, unlicensed de Lacy expansion into Connacht would have to proceed through Athleague, and Walter de Lacy's attempt to establish himself here may have caused as much alarm in de Burgh as it did in Cathal.

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213. Pont. Hib., vol.I, p.234. For an explanation as to why the papacy should have granted protection to the king of Connacht, see P.J. Dunning, 'Pope Innocent III and the Irish Kings', Jn.Eccles.Hist., vol. 8 (1957), pp 17-32. However, Dunning (p.30) is wrong in saying that none of the Irish kings ever sought papal protection.

213a A.F.M., III, p.197.

214. D.Ó Corráin, Ireland before the Normans, pp. 10, 119, 136, 145, 152-3, 158, 161-3, 167.

215. A.L.C., I, p.263; A.F.M., III, pp 199-201; A.Clon., p.229.

216. A.L.C., I, p.267; A.Clon., p.229.

That the destruction of the de Lacy castles was not regarded as an act of forfeiture in England can be seen from the fact that a writ was sent to the justiciar in February 1224 telling him that de Burgh was to receive 250 marks annually from Thomas fitz Anthony, if the king of Connacht was willing to pay 200 marks more rent per annum for Connacht in addition to the sum of money he had offered to the king, and if de Burgh himself placed his charter for Connacht in the hands of a trustee until the king had reached 'the years of mature discretion', when he would decide whether to give the charter back to de Burgh or to give him the 250 marks in fee instead.<sup>217</sup> Furthermore, on 5 March 1224 Cathal was given new letters of protection, and this protection was to last for as long as he faithfully served the king.<sup>218</sup>

By this time Hugh de Lacy had come to Ireland to recover by force of arms his earldom of Ulster, which had been in the king's hand since 1210.<sup>219</sup> The government in England may have felt that there was a danger that Cathal might join Hugh, and it was possibly in order to prevent this that Cathal's right to Connacht was recognized at this time. Cathal did in fact remain loyal. He even wrote to the king to complain about Hugh de Lacy and to urge the king to send a force to Ireland to deal with him. He also told the king that he had remained firm in his fidelity to him, as the justiciar, Henry, archbishop of Dublin, knew. However, he had found that the more he 'adheres to the King's service, the more he is harassed by those who pretend fealty to the King, and, as the justiciary knows, shamefully fail against his enemy (Hugh de Lacy)'.<sup>220</sup> Cathal does not mention de Burgh by name but he is probably referring

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217. Rot. Litt.Claus., 1204-24, p.584; C.D.I., 1171-1251, no. 1155. Thomas fitz Anthony had the custody of the Decies and Desmond, ibid., no. 1292.

218. Pat. Rolls, 1216-24, p.433; C.D.I., 1171-1251, no. 1164.

219. Otway-Ruthven, Med. Ireland, pp 90-1.

220. C.D.I., 1171-1251, no.1174; Shirley, Royal Letters, vol.I, pp 183-4.

to him in this passage. Henry III had begun to have some say in the running of affairs in 1223. He was given the use of his seal, and could dispose of lands, castles and wardships.<sup>221</sup> Cathal probably hoped that his letter would go direct to the king, but he was careful not to name names in case it got into Hubert de Burgh's hands.

That Cathal was on good terms with the justiciar is confirmed by a letter which the justiciar himself wrote to the king early in 1224. In the letter the justiciar told the king that Cathal O'Conor and Aedh, his son, had faithfully assisted him in the king's service and that they had obeyed the king's mandates and orders.<sup>222</sup> Clearly the justiciar did not think that the attacks that Cathal and the Connachtmen had made on the castles in Breifne in 1221 and 1223 constituted grounds for dispossessing Cathal. In fact, since the justiciar asked the king to receive Cathal's and Aedh's messengers, who, he said, would expound matters to the honour and profit of the king,<sup>223</sup> it is clear that he was in favour of allowing the O'Conors to remain in possession of Connacht for some time. For a letter which Cathal Crobhderg wrote to the king at this time shows that these messengers were to ask the king to give Aedh and his heirs a charter for Connacht.<sup>224</sup>

In this letter Cathal says that the charter which he himself had received from John had conferred Connacht on Aedh as 'his son and heir', but that he nonetheless wanted Aedh to have his own charter.<sup>225</sup> Cathal was 72 in 1224,<sup>226</sup> and he was clearly

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221. F.M.Powicke, The Thirteenth Century, pp 24-5.

222. C.D.I., 1171-1251, no.1183; Shirley, Royal Letters, vol.I, pp 177-8.

223. Ibid.

224. Ibid., pp 223-4; C.D.I., 1171-1251, no. 1184.

225. Ibid.; Shirley, Royal Letters, vol.I, pp 223-4.

226. A.C., p.5.

worried that after his death Aedh would have problems in inheriting the land. Cathal's claim that John's charter of 1215 had specifically conferred Connacht on Aedh was without foundation. This charter had simply conferred Connacht on Cathal and his heirs.<sup>227</sup> What Cathal wanted to show the king in 1224 was that he had an heir; and what he wanted the king to do was to recognize that heir by granting him a charter for Connacht. Within Connacht Cathal had already got around the problem posed by Irish law, which, as we have already noted, had no rule of primogeniture.<sup>228</sup> This he had done by establishing Aedh as king during his own lifetime. The annals tell us that Aedh 'had been king in effect by the side of his father, and already held the hostages of Connacht' before his father died.<sup>229</sup> But it was equally important that Aedh should be recognized as Cathal's heir by the English king.

Although Henry III had been allowed to use his seal in 1223, no charters were issued during his reign until 1227, when he declared himself of age. This was because in 1218 the council had forbidden permanent grants to be made under the great seal during the minority.<sup>230</sup> The king could not therefore give Aedh and his heirs a charter in 1224. He could have made a temporary grant of Connacht to Aedh, but he did not do so. This may have been because Hubert de Burgh still had a great deal of influence over Henry, but it is also worth suggesting that Henry may have thought that there was no need to make such a grant, since his father, John, had already granted Connacht to Cathal

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227. Rot.Chart., 1199-1216, p.219.

228. For the rules of succession in Irish society, see Eoin Mac Neill, Celtic Ireland, pp 114-43; D.A. Binchy, Celtic and Anglo-Saxon Kingship, pp 24-30; G.Mac Niocaill, 'The Heir-designate in Early Medieval Ireland', Ir.Jur., vol.3 (1968), pp 326-9; D. Ó Corráin, 'Irish Regnal Succession: a Reappraisal', Stud. Hib., vol.11 (1972), pp 7-39.

229. A.C., p.5; A.L.C., I, p.269.

230. F.M. Powicke, 'The Chancery during the Minority of Henry III', E.H.R., vol.23 (1908), pp 220-35. See also The Thirteenth Century, pp 23-4, by the same author.



and his heirs.

In the same letter Cathal made another request on behalf of his son, and this request was granted. He asked that Aedh be given Ui Briuin, Conmaicne and Caladh (i.e. Breifne), an area which he described as being part of Connacht,<sup>231</sup> and which was indeed sometimes called 'The Rough Third of Connacht'.<sup>232</sup> As we have seen, the de Lacys had been making an attempt to expand into this area in recent years, and although they had been opposed by Cathal, the latter told the king in 1224 that William de Lacy at that time 'detained' it.<sup>233</sup> Cathal's request was granted, and on 14 June 1224 the justiciar was ordered to cause Aedh to have seisin of these lands without delay for his maintenance on the king's service ( ad se sustentandum in servicio nostro ). The lands are described in the king's writ as being held by William de Lacy, 'our enemy'.<sup>234</sup> The fact that William had joined Hugh de Lacy's rebellion<sup>235</sup> explains why Aedh was granted these lands, and why Aedh is described as being on the king's service. Clearly his task was to fight against Hugh and William de Lacy. He was to hold the lands during pleasure.<sup>236</sup>

Cathal Crobhderg died on 27 May 1224, just over two weeks before this grant was made to Aedh.<sup>237</sup> Shortly after Cathal's death, and probably before the grant had reached him, Aedh and the Connachtmen attacked the castle of Lisardowlan in Co. Longford, and, according to the annals, they burned and slew 'every Gall

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231. Shirley, Royal Letters, vol.I, pp 223-4; C.D.I., 1171-1251, no. 1184.

232. A.F.M., III, pp 197-9.

233. Shirley, Royal Letters, vol.I, pp 223-4; C.D.I., 1171-1251, no. 1184.

234. Rot. Litt.Claus., 1204-24, p. 604; C.D.I., 1171-1251, no.1195.

235. Otway-Ruthven, Med.Ireland, p.91.

236. Rot. Litt.Claus., 1204-24, p.604.

237. A.C., pp 3-5.

and Gael they found therein'.<sup>238</sup> This castle probably belonged to Walter de Lacy,<sup>239</sup> who had not joined his brother, Hugh, and his half-brother, William, in rebellion.<sup>240</sup> The justiciar, William Marshal, mentions in a letter dated 5 August 1224 that at the time that he was writing Aedh was against the king's peace. The Marshal's primary task on his arrival in Ireland on 19 June 1224 was to put down the de Lacy rebellion. In his letter to the king he gave an account of what he had achieved to date, and he told the king that William de Lacy's mother was captured by his men and that she was given fifteen days to make her nephew, the king of Connacht, return to the king's peace.<sup>241</sup> The woman in question was the daughter of Rory O'Connor who had married Hugh de Lacy the Elder in 1180.<sup>242</sup> She seems to have succeeded in bringing Aedh to the king's peace, because later in the year Aedh took part in the expedition which the justiciar led to Dundalk against Hugh de Lacy.<sup>243</sup>

It is worth mentioning here that although Aedh had broken the king's peace in 1224, the Marshal was later to be so opposed to the dispossession of Aedh that he could not be trusted to carry it out, and, as a result, had to be removed from the justiciarship.<sup>244</sup> It was possibly through his efforts that the proposal put forward in February 1224 was put into effect. In May 1225 de Burgh was granted 250 marks out of the rent of the Decies and Desmond,<sup>245</sup>

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238. Ibid., p.7; A.L.C., I, p.273.

239. A.J. Otway-Ruthven, 'The Partition of the De Verdon Lands in Ireland in 1332', Proc. R.I.A., vol.66, section C (1968), pp 414-5.

240. Otway-Ruthven, Med.Ireland, pp 91-2.

241. Shirley, Royal Letters, pp 499-503; C.D.I., 1171-1251, nos 1203-4.

242. See above, p.16 and A.C., p.47; A.L.C., I, p.315. However, since both Rory and Cathal Crobhderg were sons of Turlough Mor O'Connor (A.L.C., I, p.203; A.C., pp 2-3), Rory's daughter was a cousin of Aedh son of Cathal Crobhderg, not his aunt as the Marshal says.

243. A.C., p.7; A.L.C., I, pp 271-3.

244. See below, p. 57.

245. C.D.I., 1171-1251, no.1292; Pat.Rolls, 1216-25, p. 528.

a grant which was undoubtedly made to compensate him for putting the charter he had received from John 'in trust'.<sup>246</sup> One of the best ways of maintaining the status quo was by compensating de Burgh for not having Connacht.

What helped to undermine the status quo was something which the Marshal could not have foreseen. It was the widespread rebellion that broke out against Aedh in 1225. The first to rebel were two sons of Rory O'Conor, Turlough and Aedh, the sons of Murtough Muimnech son of Turlough O'Conor, Aedh O'Flaherty, king of West Connacht, and Donn Óg Mac Geraghty and the rest of the Sil Murray; but, according to the annals, eventually the whole of Connacht revolted, except for Cormac Mac Dermot, king of Magh Lurg.

What made matters worse was that Aedh O'Neill, king of Tir Eoghain, came to the rebels' assistance. With his help Turlough son of Rory O'Conor was made king of Connacht at Carnfree.<sup>247</sup>

Faced with this massive revolt, Aedh returned to the English for assistance. William Marshal was in England at the time,<sup>248</sup> but his deputy, Geoffrey de Marisco, was close at hand in Athlone,<sup>249</sup> where he was apparently holding a court with many of 'the Galls of Ireland' in attendance. According to the annals, the English were only too happy to come to Aedh's assistance, for 'each of them was a friend to him on his father's account as well as his own, since he, like his father before him, was liberal of wages and gifts to them'.<sup>250</sup> Since Aedh was also able to secure the assistance of Donough Cairbrech O'Brien and

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246. See above, p. 49, and below, p. 59.

247. A.C., p. 9; A.L.C., I, p. 275; A.F.M., III, pp 219-23; A.I., pp 345-7; A.U., II, p. 275.

248. Orpen, Normans, vol. III, p. 160, note 1.

249. A.Clon., p. 230.

250. A.C., p. 9; A.L.C., I, pp 275-7; A.F.M., III, p. 223.

O'Melaghlin, it was not long before a number of people made peace with him. The rebels were weakened by the fact that O'Neill had gone home when Aedh and his allies arrived, and they soon found that they were no match to Aedh as long as he had the forces of the government behind him. They therefore decided to disperse until the English had left Connacht, and everybody except the sons of Rory made peace with Aedh.<sup>251</sup>

While they were doing so, the English of Leinster and Munster invaded south Connacht 'as did the Galls of Desmond and the sheriff of Cork', and they plundered and killed everyone they came up with. The annals say that Aedh 'took it ill of them that they invaded the country; for he had not sent for them, but when they heard of all the booty which the Justiciar (recte deputy-justiciar) and his Galls had got they were seized with jealousy and envy'. Aedh and the government forces met with the other English armies at Kilmaine, Co. Mayo, where O'Flaherty made peace with Aedh and de Marisco. Immediately afterwards Aedh and the English went to Tuam, and here he dismissed the new arrivals.<sup>252</sup> Orpen thought that it was likely that the sheriff of Cork mentioned in the annals was Richard de Burgh, who had recently been appointed seneschal of Munster.<sup>253</sup> However, Orpen did not realize that county Cork did not come within the bailiwick of the seneschal of Munster, and that the custodian of county Cork was at that time Thomas fitz Anthony.<sup>254</sup> It is of course possible that the annals themselves confused the two offices, and there is no reason to doubt that de Burgh did take part in the invasion of south Connacht. For, as Orpen has said,

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251. A.C., pp 11-13; A.L.C., I, pp 277-81; A.F.M., III, pp 223-7. These annals are, however, mistaken in saying that the English expedition was led by the justiciar. See A.Clon., p.230, and A.U., II, p.275, which say that it was led by Geoffrey de Marisco. See also note 248 above.

252. A.C., pp 13-15; A.L.C., I, pp 281-3; A.F.M., III, pp 227-9.

253. Orpen, Normans, vol. III, p.161.

254. A.J. Otway-Ruthven, 'Anglo-Irish Shire Government in the Thirteenth Century', I.H.S., vol.5 (1946), p.2.

'it would have been very strange if Richard de Burgh, with his hereditary pretensions, did not have a finger in the open pie'.<sup>255</sup> If de Burgh did take part in the invasion of south Connacht, it would explain why Aedh was so anxious to get rid of the newly arrived forces. As the annals say, by this time 'the whole province was well-nigh filled with armies',<sup>256</sup> and Connacht was being totally devastated. The presence of so many English forces in Connacht was potentially dangerous for Aedh, for his lack of support in Connacht presented an ideal opportunity for the English to bring the province under their control. He was even going to dismiss de Marisco at Tuam, but he changed his mind because he wanted his assistance against O'Flaherty. The latter had already submitted to both Aedh and de Marisco but Aedh mistrusted him because he was harbouring the sons of Rory in the area west of Lough Corrib. De Marisco agreed to help Aedh and went with him to Lough Corrib, where O'Flaherty was forced to surrender Iniscraff and Castlekirk Island and all the vessels on the lake to Aedh. After this Aedh escorted de Marisco out of Connacht, but he kept a number of de Marisco's troops for his protection, and delivered hostages to the English as security for the payment of their wages.<sup>257</sup>

The troops that remained in Connacht proved to be quite inadequate. Aedh was faced with a second revolt shortly after de Marisco left, and was forced to ask for more assistance from the English. The annals say that the English 'responded with alacrity, for these expeditions were profitable to the Galls, who got much booty thereby'.<sup>258</sup> However, it would seem that the Marshal had returned to Ireland by this time, because the force that went

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255. Orpen, Normans, vol. III, p.161.

256. A.C., p.15; A.L.C., I, p.281.

257. A.C., pp 15-17; A.L.C., I, pp 281-3; A.F.M., III, pp 229-31.

258. A.C., p. 17; A.L.C., I, p. 285; A.F.M., III, pp 231-3.

to Aedh's assistance was led by his seneschal in Leinster, William le Gras, and by his tenants there, the sons of Griffin fitz William.<sup>259</sup> The fact that the leadership of the expedition was entrusted to the Marshal's own men suggests that the Marshal mistrusted the motives of those who had intervened in Connacht earlier in the year. That the Marshal's men were completely reliable can be seen from the fact that both William le Gras and Matthew fitz Griffin were later to oppose the dispossession of Aedh.<sup>260</sup> With their help Aedh was able to put down the second rebellion of 1225, and the sons of Rory and Donn Óg Mac Geraghty had to flee to O'Neill in Tir Eoghain.<sup>261</sup> But Aedh's weakness had been exposed. The events of 1225 had revealed that his position was untenable without English assistance. The time was ripe for de Burgh to take possession of Connacht. Since Hubert de Burgh had still a great deal of influence over Henry III, it is hardly surprising that orders were sent from England the following year to the effect that Aedh was to be disseised of Connacht and that de Burgh was to be seised of it.

On 22 June 1226, one week before these orders were issued, William Marshal surrendered the justiciarship to the king at Winchester, and by 23 June Geoffrey de Marisco had been appointed justiciar.<sup>262</sup> It is evident that the Marshal could not be relied upon to dispossess Aedh of Connacht. On 30 June de Marisco was ordered to summon 'Aedh, son of Cathal, late king of Connacht', to appear before him in the king's court in Ireland, where he was to surrender to the king the land of Connacht, which he no longer ought to hold on account of his forfeiture, since he had no warrant by the terms of the

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259. A.C., p.17; A.L.C., I, p.285; A.F.M., III, p.233; Orpen, Normans, vol.III, pp 50,162.

260. See below, pp 60-1.

261. A.C., pp 17-19; A.L.C., I, pp 285-9; A.F.M., III, pp 233-7.

262. C.D.I., 1171-1251, no. 1380; Pat.Rolls, 1225-32, p.47.

charter John had granted his father to hold Connacht unless he served the king faithfully. If Aedh refused to surrender the land, the justiciar was to ascertain in court the truth about Cathal's or Aedh's forfeiture. If the court decided that by reason of their forfeiture Aedh had no warrant to hold Connacht any longer, then the justiciar was to take the land into the king's hand.<sup>263</sup>

Thus it would appear that the clause in the 1215 charter which stated that the king of Connacht was not to be disseised of his land without the judgement of the king's court was to be honoured.<sup>264</sup> Cathal and Aedh could easily be charged with committing acts of forfeiture, because of their attacks on the English castles in Breifne in 1221, 1223 and 1224. But there were clearly some people who did not consider these attacks as being sufficient grounds for dispossessing Cathal or his son. Henry, archbishop of Dublin, who had been justiciar from 1221-1224, had written to the king in 1224 to tell him that Cathal and Aedh had been loyal to him, and to urge him to listen to their petitions for a charter for Aedh and for a grant to the same of Breifne. The archbishop's successor as justiciar, William Marshal, also seems to have been well-disposed towards Aedh, and clearly did not regard his attack on Lisardowlan castle as an act of forfeiture. It would seem, therefore, that there was some dispute over what was meant by the phrase 'faithful service to the king'.

The writ sent to de Marisco suggests that the king's court in Ireland was to make an impartial judgement on whether Cathal or Aedh had forfeited Aedh's right to have seisin of Connacht. But two other writs issued on the same day show that it was decided in England what the decision of the court was to be.

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263. *Ibid.*, p. 48; *C.D.I.*, 1171-1251, no. 1402.

264. See above, p. 45.

In one of these writs the justiciar was ordered that when he had taken Connacht, which was held by Aedh, son of Cathal late king of Connacht, into the king's hand 'pro forisfacto ipsius regis patris sui vel suo attincto coram vobis in curia nostra', he was to give seisin of it to Richard de Burgh without delay. De Burgh was to pay a rent of 300 marks annually for the first five years, but thereafter he was to pay 500 marks per annum. Also, the justiciar was ordered to reserve to the crown five of the best cantreds near the castle of Athlone.<sup>265</sup> In the other writ issued on 30 June the justiciar was ordered that when he had given seisin of Connacht to de Burgh, he was to retain for the king's use the 250 marks granted to de Burgh out of the rent of the Decies and Desmond.<sup>266</sup> Another writ, issued four days later, provides further evidence that the judgement of the king's court was a foregone conclusion. In it the justiciar was ordered that when de Burgh had obtained seisin of Connacht 'per iudicium curie domini regis Hibernie', he was to cause de Burgh to have the royal service to assist him in fortifying that land.<sup>267</sup>

It is worth mentioning that one of the witnesses to the writ telling the justiciar to summon Aedh to court was Henry, archbishop of Dublin.<sup>268</sup> He may have been persuaded that Aedh was to be given a fair trial. He certainly seems to have been eventually persuaded that Aedh had forfeited his right to Connacht, because sometime before November 1228 Richard de Burgh granted him the

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265. Pat. Rolls, 1225-32, pp 48-9; C.D.I., 1171-1251, no. 1403.

266. Ibid., no. 1395; Rot. Litt. Claus., 1224-27, p. 124.

267. Ibid., p. 127; C.D.I., 1171-1251, no. 1426.

268. Ibid., no. 1402; Pat. Rolls, 1225-32, p. 48.



cantred of Menevy (Maenmagh) in Connacht.<sup>269</sup> But another of the witnesses to the writ, Walter de Ridelsford,<sup>270</sup> was one of the Marshal's tenants in Leinster, and he does not seem to have been convinced that Aedh was to get a fair trial, because on returning to Ireland he joined those who opposed the new justiciar.

The earl Marshal himself was on his way to Ireland when on 10 July 1226 the king expressed his displeasure at his going there, and ordered him to surrender his castles of Caermarthen and Cardigan in Wales.<sup>271</sup> Probably because of this order, the Marshal did not continue on to Ireland, but stayed in the Welsh marches, where on 27 August 1226 he met the king and submitted to his will.<sup>272</sup> But the Marshal seems to have had plans to prevent the new justiciar from carrying out his task. When de Marisco arrived in Waterford he heard that the Marshal and Theobald Walter had planned to oppose him on his way to Dublin.<sup>273</sup> The Leinster tenants seem to have expected the Marshal to arrive at any time, because William, baron of Naas, Walter de Ridelsford, Matthew fitz Griffin, and John de Clahull, all tenants of the Marshal in Leinster, refused to recognize the justiciar's authority and did not come and take an oath of fealty to the king in the council which the justiciar held in Dublin. One of the Leinster tenants, Theobald Walter, did come to the council, but somewhat unwillingly, and 'on being asked to take the oath, excused himself, asserting that he could not, unless in the presence of the earl Marshal or by his mandate, part with the custody of the castles confided to him by the latter'.

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269. Cal. Archbishop Alen's Reg., p.47; Henry died sometime before November 1228, F.M. Powicke and E.B. Fryde, Handbook of British Chronology, p. 336. (2nd ed.)

270. Pat. Rolls, 1225-32, p.48; C.D.I., 1171-1251, no. 1402.

271. Ibid., no. 1431.

272. Orpen, Normans, vol.III, p.168.

273. Shirley, Royal Letters, vol.I, p. 290; C.D.I., 1171-1251, no.1443.

Theobald Walter eventually took the oath, but only because he seems to have had no alternative: afterwards he fortified Dublin castle against the king. Writing to the king in late July or early August, the justiciar said that the Marshal's bailiffs had refused to deliver the royal castles to him and that all the royal castles were fortified against the king except Limerick, which was in the custody of Richard de Burgh, 'who always assists the justiciary in the King's affairs'.<sup>274</sup>

Meanwhile, William le Gras, the Marshal's seneschal, who had led the expedition to put down the second rebellion against Aedh in 1225, was organizing the Irish. According to the justiciar, all the Irish were so 'banded together and so wheedled by William Crassus (alias le Gras), that they cannot be recalled from their conspiracy'. It was probably William le Gras who warned Aedh not to attend the justiciar's court in Dublin. The justiciar told the king that the king of Connacht, 'at the instigation of William Crassus, has become heedless of the King's mandates'. The justiciar had summoned Aedh to come to Dublin 'with and under safe conduct of Walter de Lacy', but as Aedh had not come, he had appointed a day for him at the castle of Athlone, which, at the time the justiciar was writing, was fortified with men and provisions against the king.<sup>275</sup> The annals dramatize the proceedings at the Dublin court. They say that Aedh came up against deceit and treachery in the court, but that 'William Marshall, his personal friend, with his followers came to him in the midst of the court and forcibly brought him out and escorted him in safety to his own country'.<sup>276</sup> But since William Marshal was not in Ireland at

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274. Ibid.; Shirley, Royal Letters, vol.I, pp 291-2.

275. C.D.I., 1171-1251, no.1443; Shirley, Royal Letters, vol.I, p. 292.

276. A.C., p.25; A.L.C., I, p.293; A.F.M., III, p.243; A.Clon., p. 231.

the time, the annals version must be rejected and the justiciar's account accepted.

It is hard to say how much the Marshal was involved at this stage. The justiciar himself did not believe that he was behind William le Gras' efforts to unite the Irish, though others thought differently.<sup>277</sup> But although the pressure which the king had brought to bear on him through his Welsh estates had stopped him from going to Ireland, there can be no doubt that it was his opposition to the dispossession of Aedh that had given birth to the resistance which his tenants in Leinster put up to the government's plans. Until they learned of the Marshal's submission to the king on 27 August 1226 the Leinster tenants seem to have been quite willing to carry on the opposition in his absence. The most active of these was the Marshal's seneschal, William le Gras. Another man who played an important role was Theobald Walter, who, the justiciar informed the king, had 'so misconducted himself in regard to the King, that although he has married the justiciary's daughter, and has by her a son, the justiciary would, if it is the King's will, deprive him of all the land which he holds of the King in Ireland'.<sup>278</sup> But as soon as the Marshal submitted to the king, the opposition of the Leinster tenants collapsed, and Aedh no longer had any allies among the English settlers in Ireland.

Aedh seems to have refused to attend the court at Athlone, but he agreed to meet the justiciar's son, William de Marisco, at a place just to the west of Athlone. When William arrived with eight horsemen, Aedh seized him and two of his companions, and killed the constable of Athlone. He then plundered the market at Athlone and burned down the town. The annals say that 'these doings were of profit to the whole of Connacht, for he recovered his son and his daughter and the hostages of

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277. Shirley, Royal Letters, vol.I, p.292.

278. C.D.I., 1171-1251, no.1443: Shirley, Royal Letters, vol.I, pp 292-3. It would seem that the Leinster tenants gave Aedh some military assistance, see A.Clon., p.231; A.F.M., III, p.243.

Connacht and obtained peace for the whole province'.<sup>279</sup>

Aedh's two children and 'the hostages of all the principall men of Conaught' would seem to have been taken as sureties for Aedh's appearance in court,<sup>280</sup> and it is probable that he secured their release by handing over the justiciar's son and his two associates.

The annalists probably regarded the release of Aedh's hostages as a victory because it seemed to imply that Aedh was no longer obliged to appear in court, and this in turn seemed to imply that Aedh would not be dispossessed. It is likely, however, that the justiciar's court met in Aedh's absence and that it decided that he had forfeited his right to hold Connacht. On 21 May 1227 Richard de Burgh was granted the whole land of Connacht, 'which had forfeited to the king on account of the trespass of Aedh, former king of Connacht'.<sup>281</sup> The trespass referred to was presumably Aedh's actions at Athlone. Even the Marshal seems to have accepted that Aedh had committed an act of forfeiture, for he was one of the witnesses to the grant.

The grant conferred Connacht on de Burgh and his heirs. Henry III had declared himself of age in January 1227, and could now make permanent grants and issue charters.<sup>282</sup> He was still very much under Hubert de Burgh's influence, but he was nonetheless aware of the need to protect royal interests in Connacht. In 1226, when he had ordered de Marisco to give de Burgh seisin of Connacht, he had reserved the crosslands and five cantreds near

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279. A.C., p.25; A.L.C., I, pp 293-5; A.F.M., III, pp 243-5. See also A.Clon., p. 231; 'A.Boyle', Rev.Celt., vol.42 (1925), p. 296; ibid., vol. 43 (1926), p.377; A.U., II, p.277.

280. A.Clon., p.231.

281. P.R.O.L., C.53/18, m.3. I am indebted to Dr Phil Connolly for making a transcript of this charter for me. See also, Cal.Chart. Rolls, 1227-57, p. 42; C.D.I., 1171-1251, no. 1518.

282. F.M. Powicke, 'The Chancery during the Minority of Henry III', E.H.R., vol.23 (1908), pp 220-3.

the castle of Athlone to the crown,<sup>283</sup> and thus he had developed his father's policy of preventing de Burgh from monopolizing the whole of Connacht. These reservations were now written into the charter of May 1227. The rent that de Burgh was to pay remained the same as was laid down in 1226 (i.e. 300 marks for the first five years, and 500 marks thereafter), but the king now demanded that de Burgh and his heirs should also render the service of 10 knights for the land whenever a royal service was proclaimed.<sup>284</sup>

Because both the king and de Burgh had land to conquer, the conquest of Connacht was undertaken as a joint effort. A royal service was proclaimed in 1227,<sup>285</sup> and at least three armies invaded Connacht. De Burgh, accompanied by Aedh son of Rory, led a large force to Inishmaine (in the south-east of Lough Mask), burned it, and then plundered 'the whole country' and took hostages. The justiciar, accompanied by Turlough son of Rory, went to the eastern part of Connacht, and took the hostages of the Sil Murray. Aedh fled to Tir Conaill,<sup>286</sup> and the justiciar established Rory O'Conor's two sons, Turlough and Aedh, 'in the possession and superiority' of Connacht.<sup>287</sup> Then, in order to hold down the area to the north of Athlone for the king, the justiciar built a castle at Rinndown,<sup>288</sup> which being on the shore of Lough Ree could be reached by water from Athlone. Afterwards he plundered Sligo and carried off many women!<sup>289</sup> Some of the annals say that he also built a

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283. See above, p. 59.

284. P.R.O.L., C.53/18, m.3; C.D.I., 1171-1251, no.1518, Cal. Chart. Rolls, 1227-57, p.42.

285. A.J. Otway-Ruthven, 'Royal Service in Ireland', Jn.R.S.A.I., vol. 98 (1968), pp 38, 41.

286. A.C., p.27; A.L.C., I, p.295; A.F.M., III, pp 245-7; A.Clon., p. 232.

287. Ibid.

288. Ibid.; A.C., p.27; A.L.C., I, p.295; A.F.M., III, pp 245-7; 'A Boyle', Rev.Celt., vol.42 (1925), p.296; ibid., vol.43 (1926), p.377.

289. A.L.C., I, p.295.

castle at Athleague (Lanesborough, Co. Longford),<sup>290</sup> but The Annals of Clonmacnoise say that this castle was built by William de Lacy and the English of Meath.<sup>291</sup> The English of Meath and Turlough son of Rory took part in the third expedition to Connacht of 1227. They attacked Aedh O'Flaherty in West Connacht, and later went to Carra (now a barony in Co. Mayo), and took hostages from the sons of Murtough Muimnech.<sup>292</sup>

Aedh son of Cathal Crobhderg returned to Connacht later in the year, but he was attacked by Turlough O'Connor's sons at the Curlieu Hills. He managed to escape, but his wife was captured and handed over to the English.<sup>293</sup> By the beginning of 1228 he had decided that the only course left open to him was to make peace with the English. The Annals of Clonmacnoise say that he came to an atonement with the justiciar, Geoffrey de Marisco, and that the kingdom of Connacht was restored to him. But while he was in the justiciar's house 'he was treacherously killed by an Englishman, for which cause the Deputy next day hanged the Englishman'. The same annals say that the Englishman had found his wife giving Aedh a bath and that out of 'meere jealousy and for none other cause killed o'Connor presently at unawares'.<sup>294</sup> The Annals of Connacht repeat this story and add that the Englishman was a carpenter and that he killed Aedh with one blow of his axe. However, they also say that 'This deed of treachery was done ... at the instigation of Hugo de

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290. A.C., p.27; A.F.M., III, p.247; 'A.Boyle', Rev.Celt., vol 42 (1925), p.296; ibid., vol.43 (1926), p.377. It is perhaps worth pointing out that the liberty of Meath was in the king's hand at this time, Otway-Ruthven, Med.Ireland, p.185.

291. A.Clon., p.233.

292. A.C., p.27; A.L.C., I, p.295; A.F.M., III, p.247.

293. A.C., p.27; A.L.C., I, p.295; A.F.M., III, p.247; A.Clon., p.232; 'A.Boyle', Rev.Celt., vol.42 (1925), p.296; ibid., vol.43 (1926), p.377. See also C.D.I., 1171-1251, no. 1688; Close Rolls, 1227-1231, p.181.

294. A.Clon., pp 232-3.

Lacy's sons and of William son of the Justiciar'.<sup>295</sup> This suggests that there may have been politics, as well as emotion, behind Aedh's murder.

Immediately afterwards great warfare broke out between Turlough and Aedh, the two sons of Rory O'Conor, over the kingship. The annals say that Connacht was completely devastated by their war and that the destruction was such that the clerics and men of skill were driven to foreign lands. By this time Richard de Burgh had been appointed justiciar,<sup>296</sup> and this meant that he had complete freedom of action in Connacht. It was undoubtedly he who convened 'a great assembly of the Galls and Gaels of Ireland' in Connacht to settle the dispute between the two sons of Rory. The Annals of Connacht say that Aedh, the younger of the two brothers, was elected by the Connachtmen in the presence of the Galls and Gaels.<sup>297</sup> But there is no reason to doubt the Annals of the Four Masters when they say that the justiciar had a say in the election.<sup>298</sup> It was perhaps because the traditional method of election had been tampered with that The Annals of Connacht say that the men of

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295. A.C., p.29. A.L.C., I, pp 295-7, A.U., II, p.279, A.F.M., III, p.247, and 'A.Boyle', Rev.Celt., vol.42 (1925), p.296, ibid., vol.43 (1926), p.377 merely say that he was treacherously killed. A.I., p.347 and Misc.I.Annals, p.95 say that Geoffrey de Marisco's house was in Buaile Mór in Leinster.

296. A.C., pp 29-31; A.F.M., III, pp 249-51; Pat.Rolls, 1225-32, p.178; C.D.I., 1171-1251, no.1571. There seems to have been some truth in the annals' assertion that the men of skill went to distant parts, P.Harbison, 'Twelfth and Thirteenth Century Irish Stonemasons in Regensburg (Bavaria) and the end of the 'School of the West' in Connacht', Studies, vol.64 (1975), pp 333-46.

297. A.C., p.29.

298. A.F.M., III, p.249.

Connacht afterwards went to Carnfree, where Aedh was inaugurated as king 'as was customary with every king who had ruled over Connacht before him'.<sup>299</sup>

It was probably at about this time that de Burgh's younger brother began to occupy some lands in Connacht.<sup>300</sup> The king also began to show an interest in settling Connacht. By 1229 the five cantreds that he was to hold had been selected, and he began to make grants in them. On 25 July he wrote to de Burgh saying that since the cantred of Tri Tuatha was one of the five cantreds which had been reserved to the crown, he would grant Geoffrey de Costentin 30 knights fees away from the castle of Athlone in exchange for it.<sup>301</sup> A few days before this the king granted Adam de Staunton the theodum of Dunamon, on the R.Suck, which he had heard contained five knight's fees, but which de Staunton was to hold by the service of one knight.<sup>302</sup> From the above and from later evidence we know that the five 'king's cantreds' were Ui Maine, Tir Maine, Magh nAi, Tri Tuatha, and Magh Lurg - Tirerrill, an area covering the present Co. Roscommon, parts of the adjoining baronies in Co. Galway, and the barony of Tirerrill in Co. Sligo.<sup>303</sup>

These developments alarmed the Irish of Connacht, who were now faced with the prospect of losing their lands. In 1230 Aedh son of Rory and the Connachtmen 'turned against MacWilliam Burke and the Galls of Ireland, being persuaded thereto by Donn Oc Mac Airechtaig and Cormac Mac Diarmata and his officers,

299. A.C., p. 29.

300. See below, p. 68.

301. Close Rolls, 1227-1231, pp 196-7; C.D.I., 1171-1251, no.1719. De Costentin had been given Tri Tuatha in exchange for the cantred in which the castle of Athlone lay, ibid., no. 590; Rot.Chart., 1199-1216, p.212.

302. Close Rolls, 1227-1231, p.194; C.D.I., 1171-1251, no. 1715.

303. For their location, see Map I.



who all vowed they would never own a lord who should bring them to make submission to the Galls'. They proceeded to attack the English who had begun to establish themselves in Connacht. Aedh son of Rory and the O'Flahertys plundered Richard de Burgh's brother and Adam Duff (de Staunton?), and Donn Óg Mac Geraghty and the sons of Manus son of Murtough Muimnech (alias the Clann Murtough) plundered Philip Mac Costello and Tir Maine as far as Athlone.<sup>304</sup> Philip was the custodian of Rinndown castle,<sup>305</sup> which was situated in Tir Maine.

Richard de Burgh responded to this outburst of hostility by raising an army and invading Connacht. The core of his army may have been the feudal host which had been granted to him in November 1228 to aid him in fortifying castles in Connacht.<sup>306</sup> But he was also assisted by Cormac Mac Carthy and Turlough O'Brien,<sup>307</sup> and by Felim, the younger son of Cathal Crobhderg O'Connor, 'to whom he intended to give the kingship and power'. His first objective was, however, to crush the rebellion. He entered Connacht from the south and advanced to Galway castle to attack Aedh O'Flaherty. Aedh son of Rory and the Clann Murtough came to O'Flaherty's assistance and there was a great deal of fighting, but de Burgh was unable to obtain the submission of the Connachtmen. However, he proceeded northwards to Cong, to the north-east of Lough Corrib, and a few miles north of this he killed a number of the officers of Manus

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304. A.C., p.33; A.L.C., I, pp 297-9.

305. 35th Rept.D.K., p.30 - Pipe Roll 13 Hen.III. Philip's father, Gilbert, had been given a number of lands in Connacht, see above, pp24-5,40-1. In 1215 the king had ordered that Philip be given an annuity of 10 marks for the cantred of Roscommon until he was given other lands in exchange, C.D.I., 1171-1251, no.630; Rot.Litt.Claus., 1204-24, p.223. The cantred of Roscommon was probably the same as the cantred of Kilmeane, which John had granted to Gilbert in 1207.

306. C.D.I., 1171-1251, no.1648; Close Rolls, 1227-1231, p.134.

307. A.I., p.347; Misc.I. Annals, p.97.

son of Murtough Muimnech, and other Connachtmen. From here he went north to Aghagower (in the bar. of Carra, Co. Mayo), and Manus son of Murtough Muimnech submitted to him. He then went west through Leyny and Corran (in Co. Sligo), and at the Curlieu Hills (on the border of Cos. Sligo and Roscommon) met with Aedh son of Rory and Donn Óg Mac Geraghty. Donn Óg was overpowered and killed, but Aedh managed to escape, and fled to Tir Eoghain. De Burgh then sent his forces to Slieve Anierin in Breifne, where Aedh son of Rory and others had sent their people and cows for safety. After these had been plundered, de Burgh moved south to Lough Cé and he gave the kingship to Felim. The expedition had been by and large successful, and the annals say that the English disbanded 'full of gaiety and high spirits'.<sup>308</sup>

However, it was not long before relations between Felim and de Burgh soured. Before the end of 1231 de Burgh took Felim prisoner, and early in 1232 Aedh son of Rory made peace with de Burgh, and was restored to the kingship. The English now began to make a determined effort to establish themselves in Connacht. Adam de Staunton built a castle at Dunamon, and de Burgh built one at Galway.<sup>309</sup> These are the only castles which the annals record as being built this year, but it is clear that Hag's Castle, in Lough Mask, and Hen's Castle, in Lough Corrib, which were in existence by 1233, and which the annals say were 'built by the power of the sons of Ruaidri and Mac William

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308. A.C., pp 33-39; A.L.C., I, pp 299-305. See also A.F.M., III, pp 255-7; 'A.Boyle', Rev.Celt., vol.42 (1925), p. 298; ibid., vol.43 (1926), pp 377-8; A.Clon., p.233; A.U., II, p.283.

309. A.C., pp 41-43; A.L.C., I, pp 307, 311; A.Clon., pp 233-4; A.F.M., III, pp 261-5; A.I., p.349; Misc. I. Annals, p. 97; 'A.Boyle', Rev.Celt., vol.42 (1925), p.299; ibid., vol. 43 (1926), p.379.

Burke',<sup>310</sup> were also built in 1232. There would seem to have been Irish fortifications already in existence in at least three of these places, and it is possible that de Burgh simply seized and strengthened these.<sup>311</sup> He also built a castle at Meelick on the Shannon sometime before 1233,<sup>312</sup> but it is not clear whether he, like his father, used the church as the core of his fortification.

Just after de Burgh had begun to <sup>e</sup>incastellate Connacht, his uncle, Hubert, was dismissed from office. Hubert's fall had important repercussions in Connacht. What Henry set out to do in July 1232 was to re-establish royal authority wherever this had been whittled away while he was a minor. The instrument of royal control was Peter des Rivaux.<sup>313</sup> On 28 July he was given a variety of offices which gave him complete control of the royal finances in Ireland.<sup>314</sup> He was also made the instrument of royal control in Connacht, for the king granted him the custody of the castles of Athlone and Rinndown and the five cantreds reserved to the crown.<sup>315</sup> Shortly after this the king criticized de Burgh's behaviour in Connacht. About the end of August 1232 he wrote to de Burgh saying that he had been informed that de Burgh had treated Felim 'grievously and shamefully', and he told him to release Felim as soon as the latter had given sureties that he would abide by any charge made against him.<sup>316</sup> The king had now asserted his authority over

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310. A.C., p. 47; A.F.M., III, p.269; A.L.C., I, p.315.

311. For Galway, see above, p.35 and A.U., II, p.287; for Hag's Castle, see A.L.C., I, pp 190-1; for Dunamon, see A.F.M., II, p.1113.

312. See below, p. 71.

313. Powicke, The Thirteenth Century, pp 47-53.

314. Otway-Ruthen, Med.Ireland, pp 95-6.

315. C.D.I., 1171-1251, nos 1969-70, 1972, 1976.

316. Ibid., no.1975; Close Rolls, 1231-34, p.101. Felim was said to have been captured 'in violation of the guarantees of the leading Galls of Ireland', A.C., p.41.

his castles and cantreds in Connacht as well as over the king of Connacht. De Burgh's position was further weakened on 2 September 1232 when he was replaced as justiciar by Maurice fitz Gerald.<sup>317</sup> On 4 February 1233 a commission was appointed to audit de Burgh's accounts as justiciar, and to require him to make amends for all the trespasses he had committed against the king.<sup>318</sup>

When de Burgh eventually surrendered the royal castles at the end of January 1233, the king decided to give the custody of Athlone castle to Maurice fitz Gerald instead of to Peter des Rivaux's bailiffs.<sup>319</sup> Why Henry wanted the justiciar to have a base in Connacht became evident on 4 May 1233 when he ordered the justiciar to take the land of Connacht into the king's hand. The king was clearly determined to impose his authority not only on the five cantreds but on the whole of Connacht. He said in reply to the justiciar's suggestion that it would be to the king's advantage if settlers were brought into his five cantreds that it was 'his will that the justiciar strive to subject the whole of Connacht to the King'. And he told him that if de Burgh refused to surrender the castle of Meelick and 'the prisons of Connacht', he was to labour to recover them.<sup>320</sup> On 6 May the king ordered de Burgh to deliver these to the justiciar, and warned him that if he did not do so he would answer for the cost incurred in recovering them.<sup>321</sup> In July the king again ordered the justiciar to labour to subjugate to the king's power the land of Connacht, and to take the castle

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317. C.D.I., 1171-1251, no. 1977.

318. Ibid., no. 2012.

319. Ibid., nos 2002, 2009; Shirley, Royal Letters, vol. I, pp 410-12.

320. Ibid., pp 414-5; C.D.I., 1171-1251, no. 2032.

321. Ibid., no. 2036; C.P.R., 1232-47, p. 16.

of Meelick into the king's hand.<sup>322</sup> Thus, for a second time, the crown stepped in and asserted royal authority over Connacht just as the province was in the process of being conquered.

Felim O'Conor had been released before the end of 1232, and early in 1233 he defeated and killed Aedh son of Rory. He reassumed the kingship and afterwards broke down Hag's Castle, Hen's Castle, and the castles of Galway and Dunamon.<sup>323</sup> He then wrote to the king telling him that he proposed to go to England to confer with him regarding their affairs.<sup>324</sup>

Since Henry had already shown kindness to him and since de Burgh was out of favour, Felim may have hoped that the king would grant him a charter for Connacht similar to the one John had granted to his father, Cathal Crobhderg, in 1215. However, Henry wanted to see royal authority firmly established in Connacht before he had talks with Felim. He told the justiciar that Felim should first strive to take the castle of Meelick, and that he did not want him to go to England until both the castle and Connacht were in the king's hand, and peace had been established in the province.<sup>325</sup> Felim seems to have done his best to fulfil the king's wishes, for the annals say that in 1233 'peace and discipline were imposed forthwith upon the armed bands and malefactors of Connacht, in the time of this young king'.<sup>326</sup>

However, Felim's hopes of coming to an advantageous settlement with the king were dashed when Richard de Burgh was restored

322. C.D.I., 1171-1251, no.2044; Close Rolls, 1231-34, p.315.

323. A.C., pp 45-7; A.L.C., I, pp 313-5; A.F.M., III, pp 265-9; A.U., II, pp 289-91; A.Clon., p.234; 'A.Boyle', Rev.Celt., vol.42 (1925), p.299; ibid., vol.43 (1926), pp 378-9; Misc.I.Annals, p.97; A.I., p. 349.

324. C.D.I., 1171-1251, no.2039; Foedera, vol.I, p.209.

325. Ibid.

326. A.C., p.47; A.L.C., I, p.315.

to favour in May 1234 after de Burgh had fought against Richard Marshal. The latter had been opposed to the king's policy of concentrating power in the hands of Peter des Rivaux, and had gone to war against the king in the Welsh marches and later in Ireland.<sup>327</sup> On 27 September 1234 the king restored Connacht to de Burgh,<sup>328</sup> but he was now in a position to dictate terms. On 7 October he granted de Burgh seisin of the land in return for a fine of 3,000 marks.<sup>329</sup> The same day he gave de Burgh a new charter for Connacht, which differed in a number of respects from the charter of 1227. De Burgh was now to hold the land at a rent of 500 marks, and he was given no reduction in rent for the first few years he had seisin. The amount of service he had to render was increased from 10 knights to 20 knights. As before, the five cantreds near the castle of Athlone and the crosslands were reserved to the crown, but now, for the first time, the king asserted royal rights of administration and justice in Connacht:

salvis ... nobis et heredibus nostris regalibus  
dignitatibus nostris et salva nobis et heredibus  
nostris justicia predicte terre<sup>330</sup> Connactie ad  
regalem dignitatem pertinente.

Thus the king made it clear that there was to be a royal county in Connacht, not a liberty. The king had now successfully imposed royal authority on Connacht, and this meant that he was willing to allow the conquest of Connacht to be resumed.

In 1234 Felim O'Conor went with his forces into west Meath and

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327. Powicke, The Thirteenth Century, pp 53-9; Shirley, Royal Letters, vol.I, p.437; C.D.I., 1171-1251, no. 2112.
328. Ibid., no. 2189; Close Rolls, 1231-34, pp 524-5.
329. Foedera, vol. I , p. 213; C.D.I., 1171-1251, no. 2217.
330. The contents of this charter are made known to us in the letters patent and close issued on the same day, Foedera, vol.I, p.213; Close Rolls, 1231-34, p.534. The charter was not enrolled in the charter rolls but a copy of it was kept in the English exchequer, and it has been calendered by Sweetman, C.D.I., 1171-1251, no. 2218. The ed. of C.P.R. is wrong in saying that when the letter patent says 'as is more fully contained in a charter granted to de Burgh', the charter in question was that of 1227, C.P.R., 1232-47, p. 73. No royal rights of administration and justice are mentioned in this charter, P.R.O.L., C.53/18, m.3.

burnt Ballyloughloe and Ardnurcher and many other towns,<sup>331</sup> and this outburst of hostility towards the English may have been prompted by the fact that Connacht had been restored to de Burgh. But the same fact meant that it was not long before Felim was on the defensive. In 1235 the justiciar mustered a huge force and invaded Connacht. Richard de Burgh, Hugh de Lacy, earl of Ulster, Walter de Ridesford with the English of Leinster, and John de Cogan with the English of Munster all took part in it.<sup>332</sup>

They entered Connacht from Athlone, and their first objective was to subjugate the king's cantreds. They went to Roscommon, which they burnt, and then went north to Elphin, where they burnt the church. After this they went to Boyle, and the troops plundered the monastery there, apparently against the wishes of their commanders. It is probable that the Sil Murray had sent their cows into Leitrim, because bands of soldiers were sent from Boyle into the glens of Leitrim, and they brought back great preys.

The English then decided to go to Thomond to attack Donough Cairbrech O'Brien, who had attacked Limerick earlier in the year.<sup>333</sup> The annals say that they went to Thomond at the instigation of Eoghan O'Heyne, king of Ui Fiachrach Aidhe (in south Co. Galway, near Thomond), who had a grievance against O'Brien. Felim O'Conor had made an alliance with O'Brien, and came to his assistance, but the English overpowered them, and O'Brien made peace. However, Felim seems to have suffered lighter losses and returned to Connacht.

The English did likewise, but this time they went to West Connacht

331. A. Clon., p. 234.

332. A. C., p. 47; A. L. C., I, p. 321; A. F. M., III, p. 275.

333. Orpen, Normans, vol. III, pp 181-2.

to subjugate de Burgh's part of the province. Shortly after they arrived Aedh O'Flaherty made peace with them 'in order to preserve his cattle and folk, his lands and territory'. After this Felim fled to O'Donnell, taking with him what cows he could find in Connemara and Conmaicne Cuile (now the bar. of Kilmaine, Co. Mayo). The annals say that his departure left Connacht open 'for the Galls to work their will therein'. But the English did encounter some opposition as they moved northwards. When they arrived at Doon, near Westport, they sent messengers to Manus son of Murtough Muimnech demanding his submission, but he refused to give it, and went to one of the islands in Clew Bay for protection. The English plundered Achill Island, and when Eoghan O'Heyne and Aedh O'Flaherty brought boats to Clew Bay for the use of the English, the latter attacked Manus but they could not defeat him. However, they plundered and ravaged a number of the islands and the territory around Clew Bay.

After this the English went to Sligo and made a raid on O'Donnell because he was harbouring Felim. They then went south over the Curlieu Hills and on to Lough Cé, clearly to try once again to bring the king's cantreds into submission. They made a dramatic attack on the Rock of Lough Cé, an island fortress which was being defended by a large force of Felim's men and by Cormac Mac Dermot, who owned it. The English first tried to storm the fortress by hurling stones at it from pierriers, which they mounted on boats. But when this failed they made huge rafts out of the houses of Ardcarne, which was situated quite near the lake. They heaped fuel on the rafts and set it alight. Floating the rafts on empty barrels, they towed them by ship to the fortress to set it on fire. However, the garrison submitted before the building caught fire, and the justiciar installed his own garrison in the fortress. The trouble that the English took to seize the Rock is an indication of its strategic importance. Shortly after it was taken



Felim made peace with the justiciar, and Cormac Mac Dermot submitted at the same time. By the terms of the peace Felim was placed under the king's authority, for he agreed to pay rent and tribute to the king for the king's five cantreds.<sup>334</sup> By implication, Felim also accepted the conquest of de Burgh's part of Connacht.

This did not, however, bring an end to the war. Felim was still not convinced of the military superiority of the English, and he found the diminution of his kingdom unacceptable. It is not clear whether Felim was encouraged by the fact that the English garrison on Lough Cé lost control of the fortress, which was then thrown down by Mac Dermot 'that the Galls might not have it again',<sup>335</sup> but before the end of 1235 Felim had broken down Meelick castle. The following year the justiciar tried to seize him but he fled to O'Donnell, being pursued all the way to Sligo by some of the justiciar's troops.<sup>336</sup> The justiciar then established Brian son of Turlough son of Rory 'in the possession of the five cantreds of land belonging to the king of Connaught', and there was much fighting between Brian and Felim's supporters.<sup>337</sup> At the invitation of some of the Connachtmen, Felim returned to Connacht. He advanced against Rinndown, clearly with the intention of attacking the castle. However, when his forces crossed the ditch across the neck of the peninsula on which the castle stood and the cows of the territory were kept, they concentrated their efforts on

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334. A.C., pp 51-7; A.L.C., I, pp 321-31; A.F.M., III, pp 275-83; 'A. Boyle', Rev.Celt., vol.42 (1925), pp 300-2; ibid., vol.43 (1926), pp 380-2; A. Clon., pp 234-5; A.I., p.351; Misc. I. Annals, p.99; A.U., II, p.293.

335. A.C., pp 57-9; A.L.C., I, p.331; A.F.M., III, p.283; A.U., II, p.298; 'A. Boyle', Rev.Celt., vol.42 (1925), p.302; ibid., vol.43 (1926), p.380.

336. Ibid., vol.42 (1925), p.300; ibid., vol.43 (1926), p.380; A.C., p.59; A.L.C., I, pp 333-5; A.F.M., III, pp 283-5; A.U., II, pp 293-5.

337. A. Clon., p.235; A.C., p.61; A.L.C., I, p.285.

carrying off as many cows as they could. According to The Annals of Connacht and The Annals of Loch Cé, this was 'a pitiful act', for 'their lord, their honour and their valour were abandoned for booty and cattle which profited them nought, and they deserted their lord until out of the four battalions which had been under him he had but four single horsemen left, and the High-king's voice was broken trying to recall and rally them'. To make matters worse his army was then defeated by Brian son of Turlough and his allies.<sup>338</sup>

Probably as a result of these events, Felim changed his policy. He ceased his hostilities against the English, and concentrated his energies on imposing his authority on the Irish of the king's cantreds. In 1237 he defeated the sons of Rory and drove them from the area, 'so that they had no more habitation among the Sil Murray'. Shortly afterwards he made peace with the justiciar, and the five cantreds were again granted to him.<sup>339</sup>

During 1236 de Burgh and the government had been strengthening their respective positions in Connacht. That year de Burgh built a castle at Loughrea (bar. of Loughrea, Co. Galway).<sup>340</sup> He also made war on the sons of Murtough Muimnech in Mayo and forced them to submit.<sup>341</sup> The same year the justiciar built a castle at Onagh (in the par. of Taghmaconnell, bar. of Athlone South, Co. Roscommon). According to the annals, it was built 'as a stronghold against the men of Connacht' shortly after Felim had fled to O'Donnell.<sup>342</sup> Plans were made in November 1236 to build two more castles in Connacht the following summer; but

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338. A.C., pp 61-3; A.L.C., I, pp 335-7; A.F.M., III, pp 285-9; A.U., II, p.295; A.Clon., p.235.

339. A.C., pp 65-7; A.L.C., I, pp 343-5; A.F.M., III, pp 291-3; A.Clon., pp235-6.

340. A.Clon., p.235.

341. A.C., pp 61-3; A.L.C., I, pp337-41; A.F.M., III, p.289.

342. A.C., p. 59; A.L.C., I, p.333; A.Clon., p.235.

although the king told the justiciar to draft men for the purpose in Lent and promised to send someone to assist him in carrying out the work, nothing came of these plans.<sup>343</sup> In July 1236 the king had ordered the justiciar to prorogue for one year the fortification of the castle in the five cantreds in Connacht.<sup>344</sup> Presumably this was Onagh castle. It is evident that the castle was eventually built. In 1245 Adam Buse was ordered to deliver the castle of 'Mayllonach' to John fitz Geoffrey, the justiciar,<sup>345</sup> the Irish name for Onagh being Muille Uanach.<sup>346</sup> However, the government would seem to have abandoned the castle in the early 1270s.<sup>347</sup>

It is probable that the king prorogued the building of Onagh castle for one year and did not follow up his plans to build more castles in Connacht for financial reasons. Shortage of money had hampered work on one of the royal castles in Connacht a few years before this. In 1233 the justiciar had been ordered to suspend work on Rinndown castle so that the money could be spent on a new bridge at Athlone.<sup>348</sup> In 1235-1236 the king seems to have been particularly worried that too much money was being spent on the royal castles, for when he asked for money to be sent to him from Ireland he told the justiciar to reduce expenditure on the royal castles.<sup>349</sup>

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343. C.D.I., 1171-1251, no. 2366; Close Rolls, 1234-37, pp 510-11.

344. Ibid., p.365; C.D.I., 1171-1251, no. 2336.

345. Ibid., no. 2792; C.P.R., 1232-47, p. 467.

346. A.L.C., I, p. 332.

347. See below, pp 453-4.

348. C.D.I., 1171-1251, no. 2043; Close Rolls, 1231-34, p. 315.

349. Ibid., pp 165-6, 365; C.D.I., 1171-1251, nos 2254, 2336.

One way in which the king could increase the revenue from Ireland was by extending the area of the English colony there.<sup>350</sup> In September 1234 the king had ordered de Burgh to strenuously exert himself to take possession of Connacht,<sup>351</sup> and it is conceivable that Henry wanted Connacht to be conquered because he thought it would be financially profitable to the crown if it was. The king's anxiety that de Burgh should take possession of the land as quickly as possible may explain why the king allowed Felim O'Conor to rent the five cantreds. If the king of Connacht could be forced to accept the reduction of his kingdom to the five royal cantreds, de Burgh's task of holding down and settling his part of Connacht would be made simpler. As we have seen, Felim at first found this arrangement unpalatable, but it was not very long before he accepted it. The king's anxiety to get financial profit out of the lordship of Connacht (as de Burgh's part of Connacht will henceforth be called) was revealed in July 1236, when he sent a mandate 'to the constables; sheriffs, farmers, castellans, and all the king's other bailiffs in Connacht, Thomond and elsewhere in Ireland, to answer at the exchequer, Dublin, for all rents, farms, amercements, and

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350. For the financial demands which the English kings put on the lordship of Ireland, see J.F. Lydon, 'Edward II and the Revenues of Ireland', I.H.S., vol.14 (1964), pp 39-57.

351. C.D.I., 1171-1251, no. 2189; Close Rolls, 1231-34, pp 524-5.

other issues and profits belonging to the king'.<sup>352</sup> There was a great deal more besides de Burgh's rent and service to be gained from Connacht. Once English settlements had been established in Connacht central and local government could begin to operate in the area, and this meant revenue for the crown.<sup>353</sup> It was therefore with good reason that Henry III asserted regalian rights over Connacht in 1234 when he gave de Burgh permission to conquer the province.

The king seems to have looked on the lease of the five cantreds to Felim as being no more than a temporary arrangement which

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352. Ibid., p. 365; C.D.I., 1171-1251, nos 2336, 2339; C.P.R., 1232-47, p. 153. It is clear that royal bailiffs had been operating in Connacht sometime before this. A master Stephen de Turri rendered an account for Connacht for the period October 1232 to Easter 1235 at the Dublin exchequer, where he also accounted on behalf of Walter son of Aluered, the constable and custos of the castle and town of Athlone, for the period Michaelmas 1234 to October 1235. Indeed, since one of the items for which de Turri accounted was £10-0-3 from his last account, it is evident that he had been operating in Connacht before October 1232, and it is probable that it was Richard de Burgh, who was justiciar from 1228 to 1232, who sent him to Connacht. The other items for which de Turri accounted were £1,000 for the rent of Connacht at £400 a year, and £90-13-4 from Felim O'Conor as a fine for the farm of the king's five cantreds, 35th Rept.D.K., p.37-Pipe Roll 19 Hen.III. It is not altogether clear who was supposed to pay the £400 annual rent during the period of de Turri's account, but there is reason to believe that it was the rent Felim paid for the whole of Connacht from 1232 to 1235, when Connacht was invaded and Felim was forced to accept the lease of the five cantreds at an annual rent of 500 marks (£333-6-8), G.H. Orpen, 'Richard de Burgh and the Conquest of Connaught', Jn.G.A.H.S., vol.7 (1911-12), pp 143-4.

353. See A.J. Otway-Ruthven, 'Anglo-Irish Shire Government in the Thirteenth Century', I.H.S., vol.5 (1946), p.14.

would enable de Burgh to bring settlers into Connacht in peace. Felim rented the land during pleasure,<sup>354</sup> and thus had no security of tenure whatsoever. In 1238 the king began to think of colonizing the five cantreds. He sent a clerk to help the justiciar and others to determine how the king's land of Connacht could best be turned to the king's profit. They were to determine how much of it ought to be settled and inhabited, how many castles, towns and cities it ought to have, in what places they ought to be constructed, and what demesnes ought to be retained to the king's use.<sup>355</sup> But nothing came of this, and when Felim went to England in 1240 the king 'graunted him the five Cantreds, which himself had'.<sup>356</sup> The king does not seem to have abandoned the idea of settling his cantreds in Connacht. In June 1241 he sent two men to Ireland to extend and settle waste lands in Connacht.<sup>357</sup> Henry was later to refer to his cantreds as waste lands,<sup>358</sup> and it is probable that he was referring to his cantreds on this occasion. But if he was, nothing came of the visit of these two men. It may have been for the sake of peace that Felim was allowed to retain the king's cantreds. Any attempt to uproot him would have had disastrous consequences, for it would have undoubtedly sparked off a war, and this would have impeded the settlement that was taking place in the lordship of Connacht.

The fact that Felim was allowed to remain in the king's cantreds

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354. C.D.I., 1252-84, no. 237; C.P.R., 1247-58, p. 211. He was supposed to pay an annual rent of 500 marks for the land, C.J.R., 1305-7, p. 133.

355. C.D.I., 1171-1251, no. 2457; Close Rolls, 1237-42, pp 140-1.

356. A.Clon., p. 237.

357. C.D.I., 1171-1251, no. 2519; C.P.R., 1232-47, p. 263.

358. See below, p. 218.

had important consequences. It meant that the king of Connacht was under the authority of the king, that there was a huge Irish enclave in the east of Connacht and that the royal castles remained as isolated English outposts in this area. But not the least important consequence was that de Burgh could bring settlers into his lordship without any hostility from the king of Connacht.



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## CHAPTER II

## English Settlement in the Lordship of Connacht

## Section I

Richard de Burgh built a castle at Loughrea in 1236,<sup>1</sup> but it was not until 1237 that castle building began on a wide scale in Connacht. The annals record that in that year 'The Irish Barons came into Connacht and began the building of castles therein'.<sup>2</sup> The building of castles by the barons in 1237 implies that de Burgh had already created fiefs for those who were to hold of him directly. Only two of de Burgh's charters granting such fiefs survive in cartularies - one to Hugh de Lacy and the other to Maurice fitz Gerald - and unfortunately neither of them is dated. However, the lists of witnesses to these two charters support Orpen's suggestion that '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'.<sup>3</sup> Despite the fact that the list of witnesses at the end of one of these charters is incomplete, it is striking that the same names appear in the same order in both lists. As far as the evidence exists, the only difference between the two lists occurs in the names of the first witnesses. But as this discrepancy arises because Maurice fitz Gerald was the first witness to Hugh de Lacy's charter, and Hugh de Lacy was the first witness to Maurice fitz Gerald's charter,<sup>4</sup> the likelihood that the two charters were granted by de Burgh on the same occasion is increased rather than

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1. A.Clon., p.235.

2. A.C., p.67; A.L.C., I, p.345; A.F.M., III, p.295.

3. Orpen, Normans, vol.III, p.193.

4. Red Book of Kildare, no.23; Cal.Gormanston Reg., p. 191.



diminished. The names of the witnesses are also what link the charters to the 1235 campaign. The annals tell us the names of only four men who took part in the campaign, and all these names occur in the lists of witnesses: Hugh de Lacy, Maurice fitz Gerald, John de Cogan, and Walter de Ridelsford.<sup>5</sup>

The lack of de Burgh charters dating from this period makes theorizing about the way in which de Burgh distributed his lands in Connacht among his tenants-in-chief a hazardous business. Because much of our evidence comes from the later thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries it presents all sorts of difficulties, as land had changed hands so often by then that the original nature of the distribution of lands is difficult to ascertain.

Having said that, it is clear from an examination of such evidence as survives that some sort of system lay behind de Burgh's creation of tenements in Connacht. The creation of tenements immediately gave rise to the problem of boundaries. There were only two ways of coping with the problem. The settlers could either create boundaries or else they could utilize existing territorial units with their boundaries. There would seem to have been three Irish territorial units which the settlers could utilize. These were the tricha cét, the tuath and the baile. The tricha cét was the largest unit, the tuath smaller, and the baile smaller still. It would seem that in some areas at least the baile was a 'subdivision' of the tuath and that the tuath was a 'subdivision' of the tricha cét. The evidence comes from outside Connacht in a pre-conquest Gaelic text entitled 'The Boundaries of Caoille', Caoille

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5. A.C., p.51; A.L.C., I, p.321; A.F.M., III, p.275.

being another name for Fermoy, Co. Cork. In this text it is said that Caoille is a triucha, and that it contains ten tuatha. The text not only names these tuatha one by one, but it also tells us the names of the bailte each tuath contains.<sup>6</sup> It would appear that in these three territorial units we have the origin of the cantred, the theodum and the villate of the post-conquest period.

What is described as a tricha cét in Irish sources is invariably called a cantred in English sources. When the king leased to Felim O'Conor the five cantreds he retained for himself in Connacht, the annals speak of Felim as being given 'v tricha in rig',<sup>7</sup> whereas the pipe rolls speak of Felim's five cantreds.<sup>8</sup> Similarly, what is called 'tricha cet Maenmaigi' in the annals in 1315<sup>9</sup> is called 'cantredus de Monewagh' in the 1333 inquisition post mortem into William de Burgh's lands in Connacht.<sup>10</sup> It is only very rarely that we find an English document which gives a rendering of the Irish term. The only example found comes from outside Connacht. One of the early charters in the Calendar of Ormond Deeds speaks of 'half a cantred called Trouheked-malech'.<sup>11</sup> The settlers in Ireland presumably dispensed with the Irish word because they thought that the tricha cét was analogous to the territorial unit they were familiar with

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6. Crichad an Chaoilli, ed. P.Power, pp 50-5.
  7. A.C., pp 56,66; A.L.C., I, pp 330, 344; A.F.M., III, p.282.
  8. 35th Rept.D.K., p.37 - Pipe Roll 19 Hen.III. This of course is an English calendar of the pipe roll. But Latin transcripts of entries from the later pipe rolls speak of the 'cantredi' Felim held of the king, T.C.D., MS 671, fols. 4v, 35v, 5-Pipe Rolls 42,44,46 Hen.III. By then Felim held only three cantreds.
  9. A.C., p. 240; A.L.C., I, p.578.
  10. P.R.O.L. C.135.36, m.21-Inq.P.M.7 Edw.III; Cal.Inq. P.M. vol.7, p.375.
  11. Cal. Ormond Deeds, vol.I, no.26.

in Wales, called the cantref, which was usually latinized as cantredus. Giraldus does not use the Irish word but he tells us that Ireland was divided into 176 cantreds since ancient time.<sup>12</sup> It is not until the sixteenth century that we find the English in Ireland giving the word 'tricha cét' as an alternative to the word 'cantred'.<sup>13</sup>

Most of what we know about the tricha cét comes from the work Hogan did on it in 1929, and the subject requires further study. It would appear from the Táin Bó Cúailnge and other early sagas that the tricha cét (which in English means thirty hundreds) originally denoted both a force of fighting men and the area from which the force was levied.<sup>14</sup> The tricha cét is only rarely mentioned in the Irish law tracts, but when it is it seems to denote an area of known extent. For example, there is mention in the laws of goods being taken 'beyond two territories each of the extent of a Tricha cét'.<sup>15</sup> It is possible that at one time tuath and tricha cét were identical, for in a commentary to one of the law tracts mention is made of 'A king who has one Tuath, i.e. a Tricha cét of land ...'.<sup>16</sup> But by the time the English came to Ireland tricha cét and tuath were no longer co-terminous. To quote Hogan, 'in the generality of cases the Tuath represents, from the twelfth century onwards, a sub-division of the older Tricha cét'.<sup>17</sup>

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12. Giraldus Cambrensis, Opera, vol.v, Rolls Series, p.145. Giraldus uses the word 'cantaredus'.

13. Cal.Carew MSS: The Book of Howth, p.27. I am indebted to Dr J.F. Lydon for this reference.

14. J. Hogan, 'The Tricha Cét and Related Land-Measures', Proc. R.I.A., vol.38, section C (1929), pp 148 - 68.

15. Ibid., p.169, note 56.

16. Ibid., p. 168.

17. Ibid., pp 183 - 87.

Hogan thought that in the greater number of cases the tricha cét had fallen into disuse by the time the English came to Ireland, and that they 'had ceased to serve any function, whether fiscal or political'. However, he did recognize that in a number of cases tricha cét did survive and that they were used as territorial units by the settlers.<sup>18</sup> It would seem that Connacht was one of the places in which the tricha cét was still functioning as a fiscal unit after the English arrived in Ireland. The Annals of the Four Masters say that Conor Maenmagh (who died in 1189) gave 'sixty cows out of every tricha cét in Connaught' to O'Brien, king of Thomond, and 'five horses out of every tricha cét in Connaught' to Mac Carthy, king of Desmond.<sup>19</sup> In 1227, Turlough son of Rory O'Conor and the English of Meath went into Carra 'and took thence the hostages of the sons of Muirchertach (Muimnech), and Toirrdelbach took a number of of beasts from each of the surrounding cantreds ( as cach tricha cet ina timchell )'.<sup>20</sup>

The survival of the tricha cét in Connacht may explain why the territorial unit which de Burgh used to create tenements for his major tenants-in-chief was the cantred. In the two charters discussed above de Burgh granted five cantreds to Hugh de Lacy and two cantreds to Maurice fitz Gerald. Furthermore, in both grants de Burgh demanded a uniform amount of knight service and annual rent from each cantred, the service being that of two knights per cantred, the annual

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18. J. Hogan, 'The Tricha Cé and Related Land-Measures', Proc. R.I.A., vol. 38, section C (1929), p. 182.

19. A.F.M., III, pp 86-7.

20. A.C., pp 26-7; A.L.C., I, pp 294-5; A.F.M., III, pp 246-7.

rent being 20 marks.<sup>21</sup> There is evidence that thirteen cantreds were held of de Burgh for the same annual rent, and of these thirteen cantreds eight were held for the same amount of service. We do not know what service the remaining five cantreds rendered,<sup>22</sup> but it is probably safe to assume that each of them also rendered the service of two knights. The uniformity of rent and service emerges clearly in Table I.<sup>23</sup>

All the areas mentioned in the table have Irish names, and all except Conmaicne Dunmore are mentioned frequently in the annals in the period preceding the conquest of Connacht. They are not called tricha cét in the annals, but they were clearly well-defined areas. In 1154, for example, we hear of Turlough O'Connor's fleet that was made up of the fleets of Conmaicne Mara, Tirawley and Tireragh.<sup>24</sup> Furthermore, in many instances the names of the kings who ruled over these areas are given in the annals. For example, the O'Dowdas were the kings of Tireragh and Tirawley,<sup>25</sup> the O'Garas were the kings of Sliabh Lugha,<sup>26</sup> the O'Haras were the kings of Leyny,<sup>27</sup> and

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21. Cal.Gormanston Reg., p.191; Red Book of Kildare, no.23.

22. The jurors of the 1333 inquisition did not supply any information about the amount of knight service by which lands were held of de Burgh, Cal. Inq. P.M., vol.7, p. 376; P.R.O.L., C.135.36, m.22-Inq. P.M. 7 Edw.III.

23. See below, p. 89.

24. A.F.M., II, p.IIIII. Tirawley appears as 'Ui-Amhalghadha' and Tireragh as 'Ui Fiachrach'. There were two Ui Fiachrachs in Connacht: Ui Fiachrach Muaide (bar. of Tireragh, Co. Sligo) and Ui Fiachrach Aidhne (in the bars. of Dunkellin and Kiltartan, Co. Galway).

25. A.L.C., I, pp 187, 321.

26. A.L.C., I, pp 237, 239, 295.

27. A.L.C., I, pp 227, 243, 247, 273, 309, 317.

Table I

List of Cantreds granted by Richard de Burgh I  
to his Tenants-in-Chief

Cantreds	Rent and Service	Tenants
1. Corran	20 marks + 2 knights	Hugh de Lacy <sup>1</sup>
2. Carbury-Drumcliff	20 marks + 2 knights	
3. Tireragh	20 marks + 2 knights	
4. Sliabh Lugha	20 marks + 2 knights	
5. Leyny	20 marks + 2 knights	
6. The two cantreds of	20 marks + 2 knights	Maurice fitz Gerald <sup>2</sup>
7. Ui Fiachrach Aidhne	20 marks + 2 knights	
8. Bac and Glen	20 marks + 2 knights	Richard de Carew <sup>3</sup>
9. Tirawley	20 marks ?	William Barrett? <sup>4</sup>
10. Erris	20 marks ?	Jordan de Exeter <sup>5</sup>
11. Conmaicne Mara	20 marks ?	Jordan de Exeter? <sup>6</sup>
12. Conmaicne Dunmore	20 marks ?	Peter de Bermingham <sup>7</sup>
13. Carra	20 marks ?	Adam de Staunton <sup>8</sup>

1. Cal. Gormanston Reg., p.191.

2. Red Book of Kildare, no.23.

3. C.J.R. 1295-1303, pp 227-8. For the tenant of this cantred, see below, p.157.

4. P.R.O.L., C.135.36, m. 22-Inq.P.M. 7 Edw.III; H.T. Knox, 'Occupation of Connaught', Jn.R.S.A.I., vol.33 (1903), p.59. See also below, pp 158, 271, note 76.

5. P.R.O.L., C.135.36, m.22-Inq.P.M. 7 Edw.III; H.T. Knox, op.cit., p.59. See also below, p.162.

6. P.R.O.L., C.135.36, m.23-Inq.P.M. 7 Edw.III; H.T. Knox, op.cit., Jn.R.S.A.I., vol.32 (1902), p.397, where the rent is wrongly given as £12 - 6 - 8. It should read '£13 - 6 - 8'. See also below, p.160.

7. P.R.O.L., C.135.36, m.22-Inq.P.M. 7 Edw.III.

The name of the cantred is given as 'Con<sup>C</sup>dummor' and 'Con<sup>C</sup>donmor', ibid. H.T. Knox says in a note to his abstract of the 1333 inquisition (in op.cit., Jn.R.S.A.I., vol.33 (1903), p.59) that the name represents Dunmaic Conchobhair, now Castleconor, in the bar. of Tireragh, Co. Sligo. But there is no actual evidence that Castleconor was not then part of the cantred of Tireragh. Furthermore, the cantred of Conmaicne Mara appears in the 1333 inquisition as 'Conn<sup>C</sup>mar', Cal. Inq. P.M., vol.7, p.377; P.R.O.L., C.135.36, m.23. For Peter de Bermingham, see below, p.122.

8. P.R.O.L., C. 135.36, m.23 - Inq.P.M. 7 Edw.III; H.T. Knox, op.cit., vol.32 (1902), p.398. See also below, p.118.

the O'Heynes were the kings of Ui Fiachrach Aidhne.<sup>28</sup> It would seem that kingdoms did not always consist of only one tricha cét. Thus when de Burgh made his grant to Maurice fitz Gerald he said that fitz Gerald was to hold two cantreds of land in Ui Fiachrach as well and as fully as Eoghan O'Heyne (the king of Ui Fiachrach, who died in 1253)<sup>29</sup> ever held them.<sup>30</sup> Furthermore, it is not clear whether all the areas were kingdoms. Some may have been subordinate territories. For example, Carbury-Drumcliff seems to have been dominated by the kings of Tir Conaill.<sup>31</sup> But all the areas would seem to have had well-defined boundaries.

De Burgh retained three cantreds for his own use: the cantred of Maenmagh (which, as we have seen, was called a tricha cét in the annals),<sup>32</sup> the cantred of Sil Anmchadha<sup>33</sup> and the cantred of Cinel Aedha,<sup>34</sup> (both of which appear as kingdoms in the annals).<sup>35</sup> This completes the tenements that appear in the records as complete cantreds. There is reason to believe, however, that de Burgh may have granted the

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28. A.L.C., I, pp 49, 87.

29. A.C., p. 109; A.L.C., I, p.401.

30. Red Book of Kildare, no. 23.

31. K. Simms, 'Gaelic Lordships in Ulster in the Later Middle Ages', Ph.D.Thesis, T.C.D., 1976, pp 497,499,513.

32. See above, p.85. Rory O'Conor's son, Conor Maenmagh, had probably imposed his lordship on this territory, which formerly seems to have been under the O'Naghtans and O'Mullallys, Tribes and Customs of Hy-Many, pp 7,69-71,101-2, 177.

33. That he retained these cantreds is apparent from the 1333 inquisition and other evidence, P.R.O.L., C.135.36, mm 21,23; H.T. Knox, 'The Occupation of Connaught', Jn. R.S.A.I., vol.32 (1902), pp 133-6, 393-5. See also below, pp 106-9.

34. Red Book of Kildare, no.23.

35. A.L.C., I, pp 83, 265, 321; A.C., pp 5,51.

whole of Umhall to one person and that it was tenurially fragmented later.<sup>36</sup> The same applies to the cantred of Crích Fer Tíre.<sup>37</sup> Conmaicne Cuile appears as two half cantreds each with its own tenant under de Burgh in the 1240s,<sup>38</sup> but we do not know whether this division came about through subinfeudation, or whether it was de Burgh himself who divided the area into two tenements.

We know for certain that de Burgh did grant fractions of cantreds to some of his tenants-in-chief. It is clear that many of these fractions of cantreds were in reality theoda. Thus what is called the  $\frac{1}{4}$  cantred of Sil Maelruain in one document is called the theodum of Sil Maelruain in another.<sup>39</sup> What is called the  $\frac{1}{4}$  cantred of Muintir Fathaigh in one document is called the theodum of Muintir Fathaigh in another.<sup>40</sup> And, in the same way, the  $\frac{1}{3}$  cantred of Muintermailfinnain is elsewhere called the theodum of Muintermailfinnain.<sup>41</sup> 'Theodum' is of course a Latin rendering of the Irish word 'tuath'. In the law tracts the ruler of a tuath was called

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36. In 1333 John Butler paid a rent of £10 per annum to de Burgh for the cantred of 'Owyl Botiller', and the rest of Umhall consisted of villate holdings. However, it is possible that a de Caunteton had originally been granted the whole of Umhall, and that he had granted northern Umhall to a Butler, and had created smaller holdings in the southern half, see below, pp161-2. It is worth noting, however, that a distinction is sometimes made between north and south Umhall in pre-conquest days, A.L.C., I, p.195; A.C., p.55.

37. It is possible that de Burgh granted it to Gerald de Prendergast and that he in turn granted various theoda within it to his relatives, see below, pp 137-8.

38. It would seem that Gerald de Rupe and Matthew fitz Griffin each held a half of Conmaicne Cuile of de Burgh in 1242, see below, pp 116-8.

39. 36th Rept.D.K., p.63-Pipe Roll 10 Edw.I; E.Curtis, 'Feudal Charters of the de Burgo Lordship of Connacht', Feilsgríbhinn Eóin Mhic Néill, ed. J.Ryan, p.289, no.XXI.

40. 36th Rept.D.K., p.63-Pipe Roll 10 Edw.I; Cal.Inq. P.M., vol. 7, p.377; P.R.O.L., C.135.36 m.23-Inq.P.M. 7 Edw.III.

41. 36th Rept.D.K., p.63-Pipe Roll 10 Edw.I; E.Curtis, op.cit., p. 289, no.XXIII.



a king (ri),<sup>42</sup> but from the eight to the twelfth centuries these rulers underwent a loss of status, symbolized by the growing use in the annals of the titles 'dux', 'tigerna' and 'taoisech' (i.e. 'leader', 'lord' and 'chieftain') for the rulers of tuatha.<sup>43</sup> The annals use these titles to describe the ruler of what English sources call the theodum of Sil Maelruain in Connacht.<sup>44</sup>

It would seem that Richard de Burgh demanded 10 marks annual rent and the service of one knight when he created a tenement consisting of half a cantred. This is certainly what either he or his son, who was also called Richard, demanded from Maurice fitz Gerald when he granted him half the cantred of Leyny.<sup>45</sup> The 1333 inquisition does not tell us how much knight service was demanded from the lands held by de Burgh's tenants-in-chief,<sup>46</sup> but it shows that the half cantred of Clann Taidhg rendered 10 marks annual rent.<sup>47</sup> The same inquisition says that the half cantred of Fir Thíre and Clann Cuain paid five marks annual rent and that the cantred of Clannfhergail paid 10 marks annual rent.<sup>48</sup> These may have been exceptions to the rule, but it is also possible that the jurors of 1333 were simply mistaken in their descriptions of these areas. There is no evidence that de Burgh demanded knight

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42. D.A. Binchy, Celtic and Anglo-Saxon Kingship, pp 4-5.
43. D. Ó Corráin, Ireland Before the Normans, pp 29-30; 'Nationality and Kingship in pre-Norman Ireland', in Nationality and the Pursuit of National Independence, ed. T.W. Moody, pp 9-10.
44. A.L.C., I, p.187; A.C., pp 30-1.
45. Red Book of Kildare, no.24. See also below, pp 146-7.
46. See above, p. 88, note 22.
47. P.R.O.L., C.135.36, m.23-Inq.P.M. 7 Edw.III; H.T. Knox, 'Occupation of Connaught', Jn.R.S.A.I., vol.32 (1902), p.396.
48. Ibid., pp 396,398; P.R.O.L., C.135.36, m.23 - Inq.P.M. 7 Edw. III.

service from the quarter cantreds he granted to his tenants-in-chief, but, as Table II shows, he usually demanded five marks rent from quarter cantreds and theoda.<sup>50</sup>

When Walter de Burgh accounted at the exchequer for the rent of Connacht for the years 1256-1267, it was recorded in the pipe rolls that the lordship of Connacht consisted of 25 cantreds.<sup>51</sup> However, it is doubtful whether Richard de Burgh found his portion of Connacht neatly divided into 25 blocks of land called tricha cét when he set about creating tenements in Connacht. This is suggested not only by these fractions of cantreds and theoda held individually of de Burgh but also by some of the inoperative grants made by his father before 1205. The point which emerges from these early grants is that the most important boundaries in pre-conquest Connacht were what we may conveniently call tribal ones. In one of these grants William de Burgh granted William le Petit the cantred of Kermochy Cleon Molroni. This seems to denote two territories: Ciarraige Magh Ai, and the territory occupied by the Clann Maelruanaidh (i.e. Magh Lurg).<sup>52</sup> After the conquest of Connacht, Ciarraige Magh Ai appears as a quarter cantred held by Thomas son of Les,<sup>53</sup> and Magh Lurg, with a territory called Tirerrill, was the most northerly of the king's cantreds.<sup>54</sup> Another cantred which William de Burgh granted to Petit consisted of Muintir Murchadha, which he described as two-thirds of

50. See below, pp 94-5.

51. 35th Rept.D.K., p.47 - Pipe Roll 51 Hen. III.

52. K.W. Nicholls, 'A Charter of William de Burgo', Anal. Hib., no.27 (1972), pp 120-2.

53. 36th Rept. D.K., p. 63 - Pipe Roll 10 Edw.I.

54. C.J.R., 1305-7, pp 133-4.

Table II

List of Theoda and Fractions of Cantreds held of de Burgh

Fractions of Cantreds	Rent and Service	Tenants
$\frac{1}{2}$ cantred of Conmaicne Cuile	10 marks + 1 knight?	Gerald de Rupe <sup>1</sup>
$\frac{1}{2}$ cantred of Conmaicne Cuile		Matthew fitz Griffin <sup>2</sup>
$\frac{1}{2}$ cantred of Clann Taidhg	10 marks	Meiler de Bermingham <sup>3</sup>
$\frac{1}{2}$ cantred of Gno Beg		Hubert de Burgh <sup>4</sup>
$\frac{1}{2}$ cantred of Fir Thíre and Clann Cuain	5 marks	De Barry? <sup>5</sup>
$\frac{1}{3}$ cantred of Cinel Fheicin		John de Cogan <sup>6</sup>
$\frac{1}{3}$ cantred of Muintermailfinnain		William de Cogan <sup>7</sup>
$\frac{1}{3}$ cantred of Ui Lomain		John son of Robert <sup>8</sup>
$\frac{1}{4}$ cantred of Muinter Fathaigh	5 marks	John Canutus <sup>9</sup>
$\frac{1}{4}$ cantred of Sil Maelruain		Peter de Rocheford <sup>10</sup>

1. Red Book of Kildare, no.25. See also below, pp 116-8.
2. See below, pp 116-7.
3. See above, p.92, and below, pp 122-4.
4. See below, pp 159-60.
5. See above, p.92, and below, pp 119-20.
6. See below, pp 130-3.
7. See below, pp 133-4.
8. See below, p. 134.
9. P.R.O.L., C.135. 36, m.23 - Inq.P.M. 7 Edw.III; H.T. Knox, 'Occupation of Connaught', Jn.R.S.A.I., vol.32 (1902), p.396. Also, see below, pp 125-6.
10. See below, pp 135-7.

Table II (contd.)

<u>Theoda and Fractions of cantreds</u>	Rent and Service	Tenants
$\frac{3}{4}$ cantred of Ciarraige Locha na nAirneadh	5 marks	Maurice of London <sup>11</sup>
$\frac{1}{4}$ cantred of Ciarraige Magh Ai		Thomas son of Les <sup>12</sup>
<u>theodum</u> of Airtech	5 marks	? <sup>13</sup>
<u>theodum</u> ? of Ciarraige Uachtrach	5 marks	De Rupe? <sup>14</sup>
<u>theodum</u> of Meyry (Medhraighe) and Moldone	4 marks	De Bermingham? <sup>15</sup>
<u>theodum</u> of Crich Fer Tíre	24 sh.-6d	De Prendergast <sup>16</sup>
<u>theodum</u> of Tir Nechtain	5 marks	De Prendergast <sup>16</sup>
Corcamogha and Ui Diarmada	5 marks	Robert Coterel <sup>17</sup>
<u>theodum</u> of Bredagh		Richard of Carew <sup>18</sup>
<u>theodum</u> ? of Ui Briuin Ratha		John de Cogan <sup>19</sup>

11. Cal.Inq.P.M., vol.2, p.254; C.D.I., 1252-84, p.429; and see below, pp 143-4. Ciarraige Locha na nAirneadh illustrates the later confusion over what was a cantred, what was a fraction of a cantred and what was a theodum. It was first described as a quarter of a cantred, and later as a half theodum, a theodum, and a cantred, 36<sup>th</sup> Rept. D.K., p.63 - Pipe Roll 10 Edw.I; C.D.I., 1252-84, p.429; ibid., 1293-1301, p.258. In 1282 it was said to render 5 marks a year to de Burgh, but according to the 1333 inquisition it and Ciarraige Magh<sup>Ai</sup> together rendered 5 marks to de Burgh, P.R.O.L., C.135. 36, m. 22 - Inq. P.M. 7 Edw.III; H.T. Knox, 'Occupation of Connaught', Jn.R.S.A.I., vol.33 (1903), p.60.

12. See below, p. 143.

13. See below, p. 142.

14. See below, p. 144.

15. See below, p. 129.

16. P.R.O.L., C.135. 36, m.23 - Inq.P.M. 7 Edw.III; H.T. Knox, op.cit., vol.32 (1902), p.397. See also below, pp 137-9.

17. See below, pp 124-5.

18. See below, pp 155-7.

19. See below, pp 126-8.

a cantred, and one-third of a cantred called Clentaie O Dermod. This one-third of a cantred seems to have covered two territories : Clann Taidhg (which was described as half a cantred rendering 10 marks rent in 1333)<sup>55</sup> and Ui Diarmada<sup>56</sup> (which, according to the 1333 inquisition, once rendered 5 marks in conjunction with Corcamogha).<sup>57</sup> After the conquest of Connacht Walter de Ridelsford held Muintir Murchadha of Richard de Burgh,<sup>58</sup> but there is no evidence to show whether it was assessed as a complete cantred or as a fraction of a cantred.

These grants of William de Burgh's show that he assessed some territories as fractions of cantreds and that he grouped these together to form complete cantreds. His assessment of some territories seems to have differed from his son's, and this casts some doubt on whether tricha cét were still in existence in Connacht in the early thirteenth century. However, it is clear that the Irish themselves reorganized and re-assessed their tricha cét from time to time. The Irish text entitled 'The Boundaries of Caoille' says that Caoille was formerly two triucha and that it consisted of 16 tuatha, but that it was now one triucha and contained only 10 tuatha.<sup>59</sup> It is also worth pointing out that William de Burgh's grant to Hugh de Lacy shows that in many instances father and son were in agreement over what was a cantred. Thus Corran, Carbury-Drumcliff, Tireragh, Erris, Leyny and Sliabh Lugha were regarded as single cantreds by both William and Richard, but Tirawley, which was regarded as two cantreds by William, seems to have been regarded as only one

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55. See above, p.92.

56. K.W. Nicholls, op.cit.

57. See below, p.124.

58. See below, p.113.

59. Crichad an Chaoilli, ed. P. Power, p.50.

cantred by his son.<sup>60</sup>

It would seem that both the cantref in Wales and the tricha cét in Ireland were thought of as containing a certain amount of land. According to Giraldus, a cantred (and here he means a tricha cét) is a cantref, and he explains what this is by translating its components 'cant' and 'tref' as 'a hundred villas'. He also says that the word 'cantred' has the same meaning in both the Welsh and Irish languages.<sup>61</sup> But the English in Ireland had other ways of describing what a cantred was, and these descriptions seem to have been based solely on Irish explanations of what a tricha cét was. In Spenser's View of Ireland, Eudoxus says that he has found in the Black Book of the Exchequer of Ireland that 'the cantred ... did contain 30 villatas terrae, which some call quarters of land; and every villata can maintain 400 cows in pasture, and the 400 cows to be divided into four herds, so as none of them shall come near to each other; every villata containing eighteen ploughlands, as there is set down'.<sup>62</sup> The fact that there are said to have been 30 villates in a cantred suggests that what was contained in the Black Book of the Exchequer (now lost) was a description of a tricha cét, the villate being analogous to the Irish baile. There is a similar though not identical description of what a cantred contained

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60. See above, p. 89. For William's grant to Hugh de Lacy, see Cal. Gormanston Register, pp 191-2.

61. Giraldus Cambrensis, Opera, Rolls Series, vol.IV, p.169; vol.V, p.145; Expug. Hib., ed. A.B. Scott and F.X. Martin, p.185.

62. E. Spenser, 'A View of the State of Ireland', in Ireland Under Elizabeth and James the First, ed. H. Morley, p. 194. I am indebted to Dr Lydon for this reference.

in a document of the later thirteenth century which was sent to England with information about the temporalities, wards and escheats then in the king's hand in Ireland. The document gives a description of Ireland 'secundum libros veteros terram discribentes'. According to these books, Ireland has 184 cantreds, 31 in Leinster, 30 in Connacht, 70 in Munster, 35 in Ulster and 18 in Meath. Furthermore, each cantred contains 30 villates, each of which can sustain 300 cows and eight ploughteams.<sup>63</sup>

The descriptions which the exchequer recorded of the land contained within what is called a 'cantred' were, of course, highly schematized. But the law tracts seem to imply that a tricha cét contained a certain amount of land,<sup>64</sup> and so do the annals.<sup>65</sup> The fact that the exchequer went to the trouble of recording descriptions of tricha cét and of sending one of these descriptions to England suggests both a more widespread survival of tricha cét and a more widespread use of these units by the English than Hogan believed. It would seem very likely that Richard de Burgh called the kingdoms and larger tribal territories which he granted to his tenants-in-chief 'cantreds' because they were described as 'tricha cét' by the inhabitants of Connacht. Furthermore, since tricha cét were supposed to be of equal value - to what extent

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63. P.R.O.L., E.101/230/26, m.4. I am indebted to Dr Lydon for this reference. An identical description of the cantreds of Ireland is recorded in an English illuminated MS of the early part of the fourteenth century, which contains a miscellaneous collection of tracts, C.U.L., Gg.I.I, fols. 489 - 490. Also, an English exchequer clerk of the same period seems to have made use of the document sent from Ireland when he made a compilation of memoranda of the Irish exchequer, M. Bateson, 'Irish Exchequer Memoranda of the Reign of Edward I', E.H.R., vol.18 (1903), p.500.

64. See above, p.86.

65. A.U., II, pp 76-7 record that 'Ceallach (successor of Patrick went) upon circuit of Munster ... for the first time so that he took away his full circuit (-sum) : namely seven cows and seven sheep and half an ounce for every tricha cet of land in Munster, besides many valuable gifts as well'. It would seem likely that the tricha cét was basically a unit of assessment.

reality conformed with theory is impossible to say - de Burgh could demand a standard amount of rent and knight service from these lands. However, the whole of Connacht was not covered by kingdoms and tribal territories of equal value or size. If the smaller and poorer lordships and tribal territories were not assessed as portions of tricha cét at the time of the conquest, it is clear that de Burgh found it convenient to regard them as fractions of cantreds. Assessed as fractions of cantreds, he could demand of them fractions of the rent and service he demanded from complete cantreds. De Burgh had to render the service of 20 knights and an annual rent of 500 marks to the king for the lordship of Connacht.<sup>65</sup> He had to make sure that the tenements he created in Connacht would provide enough rent and service to meet these obligations and to supply him with additional revenue for himself. If he was to distribute the burden of rent and service in a roughly equitable way throughout Connacht he needed a means of assessing the value of the tribal territories that he granted to his tenants-in-chief. The evidence suggests that the tricha cét in Connacht provided him with a means of assessing the value of the various parts of his lordship.

It would seem that the English used Gaelic territorial units much more extensively in Connacht than they did in other parts of Ireland. The Calendar of Ormond Deeds, the Calendar of the Gormanston Register, The Red Book of the Earls of Kildare and Rotuli Chartarum of John's reign show that cantreds and theoda were sometimes used in the creation of knights' fees elsewhere in Ireland, but they also show that knights' fees were granted without any reference being made to Gaelic territorial units. The latter may have been the basis of the cantreds of Kildare, which 'were assessed at twelve knights' fees, in some cases certainly and in all

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65. See above, p.73.



presumably at the time of the original sub-infeudation by Strongbow',<sup>66</sup> but in many other areas knights' fees were composed of ploughlands, the number of which seems to have varied from place to place.<sup>67</sup>

Perhaps the best illustration of the contrast between the settlers' extensive use of Gaelic territorial units in the lordship of Connacht and the creation of new territorial units by the earlier settlers in the east and south of Ireland is to be found in the smallest of the territorial units - the villate or townland. That the Irish baile often became the villatum of the settlers has been demonstrated by O'Buachalla, who has compared the names of the bailte given in The Boundaries of Caoille with a list of the 'vills',<sup>68</sup> of the same area given in a 1301 plea roll. He has found that the names of villates generally corresponded to those of the bailte. However, he has also found that the 1301 plea roll list contains new townlands, the names of which show they were of English origin: e.g. Brounston, Brygeston, Pembroykston, and Milton.<sup>69</sup>

In Connacht the names of villates always appear as phonetic renderings of Irish names. Of the several hundred villates named in disputes between various settlers in Connacht from

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66. A.J. Otway-Ruthven, 'Knights' Fees in Kildare, Leix and Offaly', Jn.R.S.A.I., vol.91 (1961), p.164.

67. A.J. Otway-Ruthven, 'Knight Service in Ireland', Jn.R.S.A.I., vol.89 (1959), pp 10-11; 'The Partition of the de Verdon Lands in Ireland', Proc. R.I.A., vol.66, section C (1968), pp 408, 416.

68. The Latin word 'villatum' is usually abbreviated to 'vill' in 13th century documents, hence English translations of Latin documents frequently refer to 'vills', though 'villate' or 'townland' are better translations.

69. L. O'Buachalla, 'Townland Development in the Fermoy Area, 12th Century - 19th Century', Dinnseanchas, vol.I (1965), p. 87.

Edward I's reign to that of Edward III,<sup>70</sup> only one appears with an English name: Knyteston.<sup>71</sup> Orpen was struck by 'the difference in nomenclature of the lesser denominations of land' that one finds in the Connacht and Ulster inquisitions post mortem of 1333. Of the lesser denominations of land in Ulster he said, 'There are of course several representations of Irish names, but the greater number of manorial names, as in the east of Ireland generally and especially in Meath, are formed from the personal names of the early settlers compounded with 'toun' or 'ton'.<sup>72</sup> In addition to this, many of the holdings of tenants in de Burgh's manors in Ulster are described in terms of acres and carucates (i.e. ploughlands).<sup>73</sup> In a great number of cases, therefore, there is nothing to show that the holdings of these tenants ever corresponded to Gaelic bailte. In contrast to this, the 1333 inquisition describes the majority of the holdings of tenants in de Burgh's manors in Connacht as villates, although we do find a few

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70. These appear in the Record Commission's Calendars of the De Banco Rolls in the P.R.O.I. These calendars have been listed up to the end of the reign of Edw. II by G.J. Hand in English Law in Ireland, 1290-1324, pp 241-3. There are only a few for Edw. III's reign: P.R.O.I., RC 8/15; RC 8/17; RC 8/19; RC 8/20; RC 7/11.

71. P.R.O.I., RC 7/10, p. 320 - De Banco 33-4 Edw. I. It is perhaps of interest that the defendant's name in this dispute was John le Engleys.

72. G.H. Orpen, 'The Earldom of Ulster', Jn. R.S.A.I., vol. 43 (1913), p. 134.

73. Ibid., pp 136-43; vol. 44 (1914), pp 60-66; vol. 45 (1915), pp 127-9.

holdings described in terms of acreage and as quarteria<sup>74</sup> (which possibly means a quarter of a carucate).<sup>75</sup>

Furthermore, the only holding in the Connacht inquisition which was called after one of the settlers was Fythbary, which the heirs of John de Barry held.<sup>76</sup> The prefix 'Fyth' is in fact the Irish word 'fích', which is translated by Dinneen as 'farm', 'villa', or 'town'.<sup>77</sup> In the east of the country this holding would undoubtedly have been called 'Barryston'.

It is clear that de Burgh's tenants-in-chief also used bailte when they created tenements in their manors. The extents of the Geraldine manors of Sligo and Ardrahan in 1289 show that, except in the case of one tenant's holding, tenements were invariably described as villates, and these always have Irish names.<sup>78</sup> This is not to say that grants of

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74. De Burgh had a manor in each of the five counties of Ulster, but in Connacht he did not have a manor in each of the administrative cantreds (these were established when Connacht was shired and they seem in many cases to have been based on what we should perhaps call the tenurial cantreds; they were used as the unit of enquiry in the 1333 inquisition). All holdings in Connacht, including entire cantreds, were called parcels of de Burgh's manor of Loughrea. However, de Burgh did have other manors in Connacht; and in a number of administrative cantreds, especially ones that were tenurially fragmented, we find de Burgh courts and mills, and a number of tenements described as villates and quarters held of de Burgh, P.R.O.L., C.135.36, mm 21-3 - Inq. P.M. 7 Edw.III; H.T. Knox, 'Occupation of Connaught', Jn.R.S.A.I., vol. 32 (1902), pp 132-6; 393-8; vol. 33 (1903), pp 58-61.
75. A.J. Otway-Ruthven, 'The Character of Norman Settlement in Ireland', Hist. Studies, no. 5 (1965), p. 80. It may of course mean a quarter of a villate in Connacht; or indeed it may mean villate, as Spenser says.
76. P.R.O.L., C.135.36, m.22 - Inq.P.M. 7 Edw.III; H.T. Knox 'Occupation of Connaught', Jn.R.S.A.I., vol. 33 (1903), p.60, where the name is given as 'Fichbary' or 'Fithbary'.
77. Dinneen, Irish-English Dictionary, p.452. It is translated as 'village', 'rural district' in the R.I.A. Dictionary.
78. Red Book of Kildare, nos 60, 129.

acres and carucates were not made in Connacht,<sup>79</sup> but it would seem that grants of this kind were mostly made within villates. Acres and carucates were also used as measurements of arable and pasture land held in demesne.

It would seem likely that the settlers in Connacht used existing territorial units in the first instance to facilitate the distribution of lands among themselves. But in using these Irish units the settlers were in a position, theoretically at least, to dislocate the entire political structure of Connacht. For not only at the level of the kingdoms and tuatha were there tenants whose success in establishing their lordships and in bringing in settlers depended on how effectively they dealt with the rulers of the areas that they had been granted, but also at the level of the bailte there were tenants whose livelihoods were dependent on their success in either driving off or subjugating the Irish proprietors of the villates that they had been granted.

We can see the potential of this method of distributing lands among the settlers at the villate level, because we are in a position to compare the names of the hereditary proprietors of the bailte of a certain area in Connacht before the English settlement of the area with the names of the occupants of these bailte after English settlement had taken place. The Gaelic text is entitled 'Territories of the hereditary proprietors of Muintir Murchadha of Clanfergail, and Meadruidhe, and Hy Briuin Seola, and Hy-Briuinratha, and Muintir Fahy; their Chieftains, and Mac Oglachs and Ollaves'.<sup>80</sup> It cannot have been written

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79. For examples of such grants, see E. Curtis, 'Feudal Charters of the de Burgo Lordship of Connacht', Feilsgríbhinn Eóin Mhic Néill, ed. J. Ryan, pp 288, 289, 292.

80. It has been printed and translated in West or H-Iar Connaught, ed. J. Hardiman, pp 368-72.

before the eleventh century because the O'Flahertys figure large in it and they only acquired that name in the reign of Muireadhach O'Flaherty, lord of Ui Briuin Seola, who died in 1034;<sup>81</sup> and it must have been written before the English conquered Connacht. Not only does the document prove the existence of a number of the small Gaelic lordships which were described as theoda and fractions of cantreds after the conquest of Connacht,<sup>82</sup> and give us the names of their hereditary chiefs, but it also lists the minor chiefs subordinate to O'Flaherty in Ui Briuin Seola (alias Muintir Murchadha), and their properties there. The importance of this information for our purposes is that the lands belonging to these minor chiefs - most of whom were O'Flaherty's officers - were called bailte, and that these bailte can be compared to the villates belonging to the tenants of the manor of Athmekin (now Headford, in the bar. of Clare, Co. Galway) in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. For instance, the Irish text says that the O'Colgans of Baile Colgan are the standard bearers of O'Flaherty. This baile appears as the villate of Balycolgyn (Balicolkeyr) held by a Gaynard in the manor of Athmekin.<sup>83</sup> It is worth quoting other examples because no other evidence demonstrates so effectively the way in which English settlement could bring about the dislocation of the Irish polity at such a level. The Irish text tells us that 'the Mac Kilkelly are the ollamhs of O'Flaherty in history and poetry and for this they have 3½ bailte,<sup>84</sup> which are Ceann-droma, Athacind and Cathair na hailighi'. The first two bailte appear as the villates

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81. A.F.M., II, p.829, and see ibid., note d.

82. Cp. the title of the text with the names in Table II, above, pp 94-

83. P.R.O.I., RC 8/11, pp 426-7 - De Banco 10-11 Edw.II;  
C.D.I., 1171-1251, no. 2810; Close Rolls, 1242-7, pp 394-5;  
C.D.I., 1252-84, no. 2340.

84. Translated as 'ballys' by Hardiman, op.cit.

of Kendrume (Kyldrom) and Athmakyn (Admakyn),<sup>85</sup> from which the manor took its name. The third area mentioned, Cathair na hailighi, has no nominal equivalent among the villates of the manor, but it may be represented by the 'Balimacgillekally' listed in the 1284 extent of the manor, and held by a Gaynard;<sup>86</sup> for, as we have seen, the Mac Kilkellys were the proprietors of the baile. Muinne-in-radain, which belonged to O'Murgail, the ardreachtaire or head steward of O'Flaherty, is the villate of Manumrechan (Monyonnan) held by a Gaynard.<sup>87</sup> Ardratha, held by O'Domhnaill, the master of the feast of O'Flaherty, and Ardfintan, held by O'Domhnaill's reachtaire or steward, appear as the villates of Archdrahy (Aerdray) and Ardfintyn (Artfintyn), which belonged to Geoffrey fitz Alan before 1284 and thereafter to David fitz David.<sup>88</sup> Baile Conlachtna, which belonged to O'Conlachtna, one of the keepers of the bees of O'Flaherty, appears as Baliconlachma in the 1284 extent, and it was held by a Gaynard.<sup>89</sup> Moyleaslainn, which belonged to Mac Gilla Gannain, master of the horse of O'Flaherty, became the villate of Mailisine (Mailisme).<sup>90</sup> The Irish text does not purport to give the name of every baile in Ui Briuin Seola; only the bailte belonging to the chiefs under O'Flaherty are given.<sup>91</sup> It is therefore not possible to tell whether the whole area was taken over by the English. In the examples above only those bailte belonging to O'Flaherty's officers have been given, but bailte belonging to other chiefs under O'Flaherty are also found among the villates of the manor of Athmekin. For example, Baile Codil, belonging to

85. C.D.I., 1252-84, nos 1801, 2340. The word 'villate' is not as a rule used in the extents of the manor, but it is reasonable to assume that all these lands were villates.

86. Ibid., no. 2340.

87. Ibid., 1171-1251, no. 2810; ibid., 1252-84, no. 1801.

88. Ibid., nos 1801, 2340.

89. Ibid., no. 2340.

90. Close Rolls, 1242-7, pp 394-5; C.D.I., 1171-1251, no. 2810.

91. West or H-Iar Connaught, ed. J. Hardiman, pp 368-72.

O'Chodil, is the villate of Balicodel, held by a Gaynard.<sup>92</sup>  
 And Baile Maelmuine belonging to O'Maelmuine appears as  
 Balimohynny,<sup>93</sup> which was also held by a Gaynard.

All the surviving evidence suggests that the English adopted an efficient method of distributing lands in Connacht. The use of Gaelic territorial units enabled a speedy distribution of lands among the English and provided a means whereby the Gaelic political structure could be broken up. If the English did make more extensive use of Gaelic territorial units in Connacht than they did in the east of the country this was undoubtedly due to the fact that the English had been in Ireland seventy years before they settled in Connacht. Their extensive involvement in pre-conquest Connacht must have made them familiar with the land and its subdivisions before they settled in it. A considerable amount of planning would seem to have preceded the distribution of lands, and the way was open for a successful English settlement of Connacht. We must now examine the settlement that took place, and see whether the early potential, shown in the way the English distributed lands amongst themselves, was ever fulfilled.

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92. C.D.I., 1252-84, nos 1801, 2340.

93. Ibid., no. 2340.

## Section II

In order to establish what success the English had in settling their lands it is necessary to examine the signs of settlement in the various sub-lordships in Connacht as well as in the lands de Burgh retained for his own use. It is only after this has been done that it is possible to come to some general conclusions about the rate, density and extent of settlement. It is hardly necessary to point out that the evidence for some areas is less complete and more difficult to interpret than for others. We will begin with the settlements established by Richard de Burgh himself.

Maenmagh

De Burgh established his principal manor in the cantred of Maenmagh, now the barony of Loughrea, Co. Galway. In 1236 he built a castle at Loughrea,<sup>1</sup> and it would seem likely that it was he who established the borough at Loughrea that is mentioned for the first time in 1333.<sup>2</sup> Boroughs were towns with special privileges,<sup>3</sup> and were almost certainly

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1. A. Clon., p. 235.
  2. P.R.O.L., C.135.36, m.21-Inq.P.M.7 Edw.III; H.T. Knox, 'Occupation of Connaught', Jn.R.S.A.I., vol.32 (1902), p.135.
  3. What these privileges were depended on the charter of incorporation. However, all boroughs had a certain amount of municipal self-government and their own court. Lords often granted their boroughs the laws of Breteuil, which gave them a variety of privileges, not the least important of which were that burgage rents were fixed at one shilling, and that ameracements did not exceed that sum except for very serious offences. See Curtis, Med. Ireland, 2nd ed., pp 409-10; Otway-Ruthven, Med. Ireland, pp 116-7; M. Bateson, 'The Laws of Breteuil', E.H.R., vol.15 (1900), pp 73-8, 302-18; 496-523, 754-7; vol.16 (1901), pp 92-110, 332-45; A. Ballard, 'The Law of Breteuil', E.H.R., vol.30 (1915), pp 646-58. However, we do not know whether the laws of Breteuil were granted to the boroughs established in Connacht.



established by lords in order to attract settlers.<sup>4</sup> Richard de Burgh died in 1243,<sup>5</sup> and was succeeded by his son, Richard, who was given seisin of the land of Loughrea (given as 'locherye') in 1247, when he came of age.<sup>6</sup> There is no further evidence about the manor until 1272 to 1280, when the lordship of Connacht was again in the king's hand, and the escheator accounted for receipts from four carucates of demesne land at Loughrea and from tenements<sup>7</sup> which the 1333 inquisition shows were held by tenants of the manor.<sup>8</sup> However, we do not get a full picture of the manor until 1333, when it consisted of two blocks of demesne lands (one containing over four carucates, the other containing over three carucates), and the holdings of free tenants, tenants-at-will, gavillers and cottiers.<sup>9</sup> That Loughrea was the caput of the de Burgh lordship can be seen from the fact that the 1333 inquisition describes all the cantreds and other territories in Connacht which were held

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4. See A.J. Otway-Ruthven, 'The Organization of Anglo-Irish Agriculture in the Middle Ages', Jn.R.S.A.I., vol.81 (1951), p.1; 'The Character of Norman Settlement in Ireland', Hist. Studies, 5 (1965), p. 79; Med. Ireland, pp 116-7.
  5. C.D.I., 1171-1251, no. 2636.
  6. Ibid., no. 2908.
  7. 36th Rept. D.K., p.63-Pipe Roll 10 Edw.I.
  8. P.R.O.L., C.135.36, m.21-Inq. P.M.7 Edw.III; H.T. Knox, 'Occupation of Connaught', Jn.R.S.A.I., vol.32 (1902), pp 135-6.
  9. P.R.O.L., C.135.36, m.21 -Inq.P.M.7 Edw.III; H.T. Knox, 'Occupation of Connaught', Jn.R.S.A.I., vol.32 (1902), pp 133-6. The inquisition tells us that there were 120 acres in a carucate. For the different types of tenants, see A.J. Otway-Ruthven, 'The Organization of Anglo-Irish Agriculture in the Middle Ages', Jn.R.S.A.I., vol.81 (1951), pp 11-13, and Med. Ireland, pp 109-112.

in chief of de Burgh as parcels of the manor of Loughrea.<sup>10</sup>

### Sil Anmchadha

The cantred of Sil Anmchadha, which covered most of the barony of Longford, Co. Galway, and also a tract of land across the Shannon called Lusmagh, in the barony of Garrycastle, Co. Offaly,<sup>11</sup> was also retained by de Burgh after the conquest of Connacht. De Burgh had built a castle at Meelick in the early 1230s before Connacht was conquered, but, as we have seen, it was knocked down by Felim O'Conor in 1235.<sup>12</sup> De Burgh seems to have rebuilt the castle before he died in 1243, because in 1245 William Crok, who had been granted the custody of 'the land of Meelick' during the minority of de Burgh's heir,<sup>13</sup> was ordered to deliver the castle to the new justiciar, John fitz Geoffrey.<sup>14</sup> William Crok seems to have been one of the tenants de Burgh had brought into the manor before his death, for sometime before January 1243 he laid claim to lands which de Burgh considered to be part of his demesne.<sup>15</sup> In 1333 the manor consisted of a block of over four carucates

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10. P.R.O.L., C.135.36, mm 21,22,23 - Inq. P.M.7 Edw. III; Cal. Inq. P.M., vol.7, pp 375-7.

11. It would seem that Lusmagh had been part of Sil Anmchadha in earlier times, T.M. Madden, 'The O'Maddens of Silanchia, or Siol Anmachadha', Jn.G.A.H.S., vol.1 (1900-1), p. 187. In the 1306 ecclesiastical taxation the parish of Lusmagh (given as 'Lussnach') was considered part of the diocese of Clonfert, C.D.I., 1302-7, p. 221. It appears as 'Loswagh' in the 1333 inquisition, P.R.O.L., C.135.36, m.23; Cal. Inq. P.M., vol.7, p.376.

12. See above, p.76.

13. C.D.I., 1171-1251, no. 2908.

14. Ibid., no. 2792.

15. Ibid., no. 2595.

of demesne land, and the holdings of free tenants, gavillers, cottiers and betaghs. There was also a borough at Meelick by this date,<sup>16</sup> but presumably it had been in existence for a long time before this.

### Galway

The third centre of English settlement that Richard de Burgh established was at Galway. He had already built a castle here in 1232, but it was knocked down the following year by Felim O'Connor,<sup>17</sup> and therefore it had to be rebuilt. He probably set about doing this shortly after the conquest of Connacht, but we do not hear of the castle or the town of Galway until 1247, when both were attacked and burned by the Irish.<sup>18</sup> Both castle and town were rebuilt, but the town seems to have been partially burned again in 1266.<sup>19</sup> From 1272 to 1275 and from 1278 to 1280 walls were built towards the sea and a tower was built outside the great gate of the town.<sup>20</sup> The great harbour, mentioned in the 1333 inquisition,<sup>21</sup> was very possibly built by the 1270s. Certainly,

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16. P.R.O.L., C.135.36, m.23 - Inq. P.M. 7 Edw.III; H.T. Knox, 'Occupation of Connaught', Jn.R.S.A.I., vol.32 (1902), pp 393-5.

17. See above, p. 72.

18. See below, p. 206.

19. See below, p. 247.

20. See below, p. 267.

21. P.R.O.L., C.135.36, m.23 - Inq. P.M. 7 Edw.III; Cal. Inq. P.M., vol.7, p.377.

Galway was functioning as a port from the mid 1270s, as the customs accounts in the pipe rolls show.<sup>22</sup> Pipe roll 54 Henry III contains an account of the issues of the town after it had been taken into the king's hand on the death of Walter de Burgh in 1271. By this time there were 115 burgages. In addition to this there were 65 burgages 'ville de Onsmannorum'.<sup>23</sup> This suggests that a number of Vikings had settled in Galway before the conquest of Connacht. De Burgh had a small amount of demesne land at Galway and a few free tenants, but it would seem that the burgage rents, the perquisites of the borough court, the mill, and the salmon and eel weirs and fisheries were more important sources of revenue.<sup>24</sup>

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22. 36th Rept. D.K., pp 28, 48, 54, 73 - Pipe Rolls 4, 8, 9 and 11 Edw.I; 37th Rept.D.K., pp 24-5, 38, 39-40, 48 - Pipe Rolls 15, 16, 18 and 20 Edw.I; 38th Rept. D.K., pp 30, 44, 55, 85 - Pipe Rolls 25, 26, 29, and 32 Edw. I; 39th Rept. D.K., p. 38 - Pipe Roll 6 Edw. II; 42nd Rept. D.K., p.47 - Pipe Roll 16 Edw. II; 44th Rept.D.K., pp 51-2 - Pipe Roll 8 Edw.III. See also Hardiman, History of Galway, p. 55, note 25; G. Mac Niocaill, Na Buirgéisí, vol.II, p. 526.
23. B.M. Add. MS 4790, fol.109 v. I am indebted to Dr Lydon for giving me his transcript of this extract which Ware made from the pipe rolls.
24. B.M. Add. MS 4790, fol.109v. Galway was later given as dower to Walter de Burgh's widow, Aveline, who held it until her death in 1274, 'Annales de Monte Fernandi', Tracts Relating to Ireland, vol.II, p. 16. For the escheator's account for issues of Galway from 1274 to 1280, when Richard de Burgh came of age, see 36th Rept. D.K., p.63 - Pipe Roll 10 Edw.I; and Hardiman, History of Galway, p.55, note 25, which is fuller. Hardiman's notes from this pipe roll show that there were two different lots of burgage rent: 'the rents of the burgages there, £35-17-6' and 'the rents of the burgages of the town, £17-17-6', but the word 'Ostmen' does not appear.

### Lough Corrib and Lough Mask

Since the islands of Lough Corrib (given as 'Loch Urse', i.e. Lough Orben, the old name for the lake) and Lough Mask (given as 'Lomaske') were restored to Richard de Burgh's son, Richard, when he came of age in 1247,<sup>25</sup> it is clear that Richard I had retained the islands of both these lakes after the conquest of Connacht. He also seems to have rebuilt Hag's Castle in Lough Mask and Hen's Castle in Lough Corrib, which had been knocked down by Felim O'Conor in 1233,<sup>26</sup> because these castles (given as 'the castles of Caylly and Kyrky') were also restored to his son in 1247.<sup>27</sup> The primary function of these castles must have been to control the lakes. However, it would seem that it was not until 1256 that the lord of Connacht had full control over Lough Corrib.<sup>28</sup>

### Cinel Aedha

Richard de Burgh reserved to himself the cantred of Cinel Aedha (which lay in the bar. of Kiltartan, Co. Galway), when he granted the two cantreds of Ui Fiachrach to Maurice fitz Gerald after the conquest of Connacht.<sup>29</sup> Kiltartan (or Ballinamantain) castle has been classified as belonging to the thirteenth century,<sup>30</sup> but the castle is not mentioned in the records, and therefore we do not know who built it. The

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25. C.D.I., 1171-1251, no. 2908.

26. See above, p. 72.

27. C.D.I., 1171-1251, no. 2908.

28. See below, p. 116.

29. Red Book of Kildare, no. 23.

30. An Archaeological Survey of Northern Ireland : County Down p. 119; H.G. Leask, Irish Castles, 2nd ed., p. 156.

O'Shaughnessys held the kingship of the western half of Cinel Aedha,<sup>31</sup> and the fact that the annals record that the English killed the son of O'Shaughnessy in 1248<sup>32</sup> suggests that settlement had begun to <sup>take</sup> place in Cinel Aedha by then.

However, the evidence for English settlement in this area is very unsatisfactory. We know that in 1295-1296 Johanna the widow of Philip de la Rochelle brought a plea against Richard de Burgh, the Red Earl, with regard to fifteen villates in 'Kenaleth',<sup>33</sup> and it would seem that these villates made up the manor of 'Adhlehan' (or 'Athlechan') in 'Kyneleth',<sup>34</sup> but this manor cannot be identified. In 1309-1311 William, son of John de Burgo, and Mora, his wife, laid claim to six villates in Cinel Aedha against two Irishmen, one Englishman, and John the abbot of St. Peter's of Kilmacduagh. These lands seem to have been held by Mora's father, Aedh Mc Clyn, but we are not told how he acquired them.<sup>35</sup> In 1300 the Red Earl claimed the right of patronage in the rectory of Beagh against the bishop, dean and chapter of Kilmacduagh, but we do not know whether his plea was successful.<sup>36</sup> Cinel Aedha was one of the areas which the Red Earl granted to his son John and the latter's wife, Elizabeth de Clare, in 1310,<sup>37</sup> but it is not mentioned in the accounts rendered by Elizabeth's bailiffs in Ireland.<sup>38</sup>

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31. A.C., p.5.

32. A.C., p.93; A.L.C., I, p.381.

33. P.R.O.I., RC 7/4, p.228 - De Banco 24 Edw.I; RC 7/5, pp 123-4, 247 - De Banco 25 Edw.I.

34. P.R.O.I., RC7/5, p.444 - De Banco 27 Edw.I; RC 7/6, pp 140-1 - De Banco 27 Edw.I.

35. P.R.O.I., RC 7/13, pp 26-7 - De Banco 2 Edw.II; RC 8/5, p.6 - De Banco 4 Edw.II.

36. P.R.O.I., RC7/7, pp 56, 133, 211, 261 - De Banco 28 Edw.I.

37. P.R.O.L., C.47/10/22, m.2 - Chan. Misc.

38. P.R.O.L., S.C.6/1239/14, 29-30 - Ministers' Accts.

Muintir Murchadha

Muintir Murchadha (i.e. the northern part of the bar. of Clare, Co. Galway) was one of the first areas to be occupied by one of de Burgh's tenants-in-chief. The annals say that castles were built here and in Conmaicne Cuile and Carra in 1238,<sup>38</sup> and it is probable that Athmekin castle (now Headford) was built this year, though there is no proof of its existence until 1243.<sup>39</sup>

Although there is no record of a grant, it is clear that Richard de Burgh granted the area to Walter de Ridelsford. It was probably Walter who granted the rectory of Muintir Murchadha to the hospital of St. John in Castledermot, Co. Kildare,<sup>40</sup> which he had founded earlier in the century.<sup>41</sup> When he died circa 1243 his tenement in Connacht was divided between his two heiresses : his daughter, Emeline, and his grand-daughter, Christina de Marisco.<sup>42</sup>

Emeline and her husband, Stephen de Longespee, inherited the manor of Corrofin, and were granted a weekly market and annual fair there in 1252.<sup>43</sup> This is the first time that we hear of the manor here, but presumably it had been in existence since Walter's time. There is no evidence that there was a castle at Corrofin during the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries.<sup>44</sup>

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38. A.C., p.69; A.L.C., I, p.349; A.F.M., III, p.297.

39. C.D.I., 1171-1251, no.2810. Walter de Ridelsford died in 1243.

40. Extents of Irish Monastic Possessions, 1540-41, p.169.

41. Gwynn and Hadcock, Medieval Religious Houses : Ireland, p.211.

42. Christina's mother was Walter's second daughter, who had died before her father, and Christina's father was Robert de Marisco, who died before Dec. 1243, C.D.I., 1171-1251, nos 2645, 2663, 2689, 2730; Cal. Inq. P.M., vol. I, p.306.

43. C.D.I., 1252-84, no.112.

44. A certain Edmund son of Thomas de Burgh, who died in 1452, is said to have built a castle at Corrofin, 'Regestum Monasterii Fratrum Praedicatorum de Athenry', Arch.Hib., vol.I (1912), p.217.

Christina de Marisco inherited Athmekin, where, as we have seen, there was probably a castle since 1238. She was only six when she inherited her grandfather's lands,<sup>45</sup> and because Richard de Burgh himself had died in the early part of 1243 and his son was a minor until the middle of 1247,<sup>46</sup> it was the king's prerogative to dispose of the manor. Both Christina and the manor went through the hands of three successive custodians before 1247.<sup>47</sup> She was married to her last custodian, Ebulo de Geneve, by 1248,<sup>48</sup> and she seems to have spent her whole life in England. The fact that we find tenants called Henry of Hereford and Thomas of Northampton in an extent made of the manor in 1284,<sup>49</sup> suggests that Christina and her husband may have encouraged tenants from England to settle in Athmekin. The castle of Cargin, near the shore of Lough Corrib, has been identified on architectural grounds as belonging to the first half of the thirteenth century.<sup>50</sup> It was probably built by one of the Gaynards, because they held lands near Cargin.<sup>51</sup> It was a Gaynard

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45. Cal.Inq.P.M., vol.I, p.306; C.D.I., 1171-1251, nos 2645, 2689.

46. C.D.I., 1171-1251, nos 2636, 2875.

47. Ibid., nos 2645, 2689, 2810, 2862, 2867.

48. Ibid., nos 2947, 2971-2.

49. Ibid., 1252-84, no. 2340.

50. D.M. Waterman, 'Moylough Castle, Co. Galway', Jn. R.S.A.I., vol.86 (1956), pp 74,76.

51. Adam Gaynard held Baliconlachma, which is probably Ballyconlough in the par. of Cargin, C.D.I., 1252-84, no. 2340; H.T. Knox, 'The Manor of Athmekin', Jn. G.A.H.S., vol.I (1900-1), p. 182.



castle in the sixteenth century.<sup>52</sup> Between 1280-1 Christina de Marisco granted all her Irish property to the king and queen consort in exchange for lands in England.<sup>53</sup> Thereafter, the manor of Athmekin was in the hands of royal custodians.<sup>54</sup>

In 1238, the year that the annals say that castles were built in Muintir Murchadha, Rory O'Flaherty was captured by the English.<sup>55</sup> His capture was probably connected with the fact that settlement was beginning to take place, for, as we have seen, the O'Flahertys were lords of this region. By 1243 Walter de Ridelsford seems to have taken possession of lands belonging to O'Flaherty's head-steward, his standard-bearer and the master of his horse. By this time he had also taken possession of Inesflafferthi,<sup>56</sup> which was probably in Lough Corrib.<sup>57</sup> Rory O'Flaherty seems to have regained his freedom after de Riddlesford's death in 1243, for the annals say that the English marched against O'Flaherty in 1248, and that he defeated them. The preceding entry in the annals records that the English plundered all Connemara,<sup>58</sup> and this suggests that O'Flaherty was in the area to the west

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52. J.P. Nolan, 'Galway Castles and Owners in 1574', *ibid.*, p. 118.
53. *C.D.I.*, 1252-84, nos 1771, 1798, 1799, 1800, 1801, 2339, 2340.
54. See Appendix V, pp 517-8.
55. *A.C.*, p.69; *A.L.C.*, I, p.349. Rory was the son of Aedh O'Flaherty, king of West Connacht, who died in 1236, *A.C.*, p. 65; *A.L.C.*, I, p.341.
56. *C.D.I.*, 1171-1251, no. 2810; *Close Rolls*, 1242-47, pp 394-5; cf. *West or H-Iar Connaught*, ed. J. Hardiman, pp 268-72.
57. As we have seen above (p.111 ), Richard de Burgh I seems to have reserved all the islands of Loughs Corrib and Mask to himself, but he may not have been in control of them in practice.
58. *A.C.*, p. 95; *A.L.C.*, I, p. 383; *A.F.M.*, III, p. 331.

of Lough Corrib when the English attacked him. But it would seem that it was not until 1256 that O'Flaherty was confined to this area. The annals record that that year Walter de Burgh, lord of Connacht, made a great raid on Rory in Gno Mor and Gno Beg (i.e. the bar. of Moycullen, Co. Galway), and took possession of all Lough Corrib afterwards.<sup>59</sup>

### Conmaicne Cuile

Conmaicne Cuile (bar. of Kilmaine, Co. Mayo, as far north as the river Robe) was another area which was occupied soon after the conquest of Connacht. It was one of the areas in which castles were built in 1238,<sup>60</sup> and it is likely that Shrule castle, which was in existence by 1244,<sup>61</sup> was built that year.

According to Ware, Conmaicne Cuile was held by Matthew fitz Griffin and Gerald de Rupe in 1242.<sup>62</sup> Raymond fitz Griffin acquired Matthew's portion sometime before July 1244, when he promised William le Bret that he could have the castle of Shrule and the half cantred that went with it after his death.<sup>63</sup> However, sometime after this he gave the castle and half

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59. A.C., p. 123; A.L.C., I, p.421; A.F.M., III, p. 359. It has been assumed that the O'Flahertys were driven across Lough Corrib in 1232, the year that Richard de Burgh I built castles at Galway and at Hen's Castle in Lough Corrib, J.Fahey, 'The Flight of the O'Flahertys, Lords of Moy Seola, to Iar Connaught', Jn.R.S.A.I., vol. 27 (1897), p.21. However, these castles were destroyed by Felim O'Conor the following year, see above, p.72, and it would seem likely that 'the flight' took place only after English settlement had taken place in Muintir Murchadha and in other lands to the east of Lough Corrib.

60. A.C., p.69; A.L.C., I, p.349; A.F.M., III, p.297.

61. E. Curtis, 'Feudal Charters of the de Burgo Lordship of Connacht', Feilsgríbhinn Eóin Mhic Néill, ed. J.Ryan, p. 288, no.XV.

62. B.M. Add. MS 4787, fol. 109. Ware does not give his source.

63. E. Curtis, op.cit., p.288, no. XV.

cantred to Maurice fitz Gerald.<sup>64</sup> This grant was probably made before June 1252, when the king ordered the justiciar not to disseise fitz Gerald of half the cantred of Conmaicne Cuile by any inquisition made in his absence to which he was not a party or otherwise, save by judgement of the king's court.<sup>65</sup> Sometime before 1257,<sup>66</sup> however, fitz Gerald gave William le Bret the castle and half cantred.<sup>67</sup>

Probably near the end of the thirteenth century an Esmon le Bret granted the manor of Shrule and half the cantred of Conmaicne Cuile to Walter de Ivethorn,<sup>68</sup> who was keeper of the royal castles in Connacht from 1296 to 1298,<sup>69</sup> and he in turn granted them to Richard de Burgh, the Red Earl.<sup>70</sup>

Gerald de Rupe granted the other half of Conmaicne Cuile to Maurice fitz Gerald,<sup>71</sup> probably sometime before June 1244, when the king granted fitz Gerald free chase and warren in his tenement of Conmaicne Cuile.<sup>72</sup> It was probably fitz Gerald who built the castle at Lough Mask, which is mentioned as being in existence in 1264.<sup>73</sup> A town grew up here,<sup>74</sup> and a

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64. Red Book of Kildare, no.64.

65. C.D.I., 1252-84, no.18.

66. Maurice fitz Gerald died this year, Clyn, p.8.

67. E. Curtis, op.cit., p.288, no.XIV.

68. Ibid., no.XVI.

69. 38th Rept. D.K., p.69 - Pipe Roll 30 Edw.I.

70. E. Curtis, op.cit., p.288, no. XVII.

71. Red Book of Kildare, no.25. See also ibid., no.26.

72. Ibid., no.3; C.D.I., 1171-1251, no.2680. De Rupe's grant must have been made before 1246, when Christopher Griffin, bishop of Lismore, who was one of the witnesses to the grant, resigned from office, F.M. Powicke and E.B. Fryde, Handbook of British Chronology, p. 331. (2nd ed.)

73. A.C., p.143; A.L.C., I, p.449; A.Clon., p.245; A.F.M., III, p.395.

74. A.C., p.159; A.L.C., I, p.469; A.F.M., III, p.415.

borough was established at Ballinrobe.<sup>75</sup> One of the Geraldines also established a manor at Dunmougherne,<sup>76</sup> which seems to have been situated in either the parish of Kilmainebeg or that of Kilmainemore.<sup>77</sup>

### Carra

The cantred of Carra seems to have covered the barony of Carra, Co. Mayo, as far north as Castlebar (though not including Castlebar), and the northern part of the barony of Kilmaine, Co. Mayo, as far south as the river Robe.<sup>78</sup> It was the third area in which castles are known to have been built in 1238.<sup>79</sup> It was held of de Burgh by Adam de Staunton,<sup>80</sup> and it is probably safe to assume that it was Adam who built the castle at Castlecarra and established the borough at Burriscarra. The settlement of Carra certainly seems to have been well underway by 1247, because when the Irish attacked Carra that year, after making successful attacks elsewhere in Connacht, the English of Carra responded with such a force that the Irish 'left the country to them, not being strong enough to oppose them'.<sup>81</sup> There was also some settlement at a place called 'Robienker',<sup>82</sup> which appears as the parish of 'Rodbadh in Kera' in 1306.<sup>83</sup> Roba in Carra is

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75. Cal.Inq. P.M., vol.6, pp 160-1.

76. Red Book of Kildare, no. 92; C.J.R., 1295-1303, pp 235-6.

77. Orpen, Normans, III, p.208, note 3.

78. This is how Mac Firbis describes 'the triocho cheud of Ceara' in his account of the hereditary proprietors of Clann Fiachrach, Tribes and Customs of Hy-Fiachrach, ed. J. O'Donovan, pp 149-51.

79. A.C., p.69; A.L.C., I, p.349; A.F.M., III, p.297.

80. A.C., pp 93, 201; A.L.C., I, pp 379, 523; A.F.M., III, p. 325; A.Clon., p. 258; C.J.R. 1295-1303, pp 305-6.

81. See below, p. 207.

82. P.R.O.I., RC 7/11, p.265 - De Banco 34-5 Edw.I.

83. P.R.O.L., E.101/233/21, no.1 - Eccles.taxation; C.D.I., 1302-7, p.231.

distinguished in the records from Roba in Conmaicne Cuile,<sup>84</sup> which appears as the parish of Rodba in 1306.<sup>85</sup> It would seem likely that Roba in Carra is Ballinrobe north of the river Robe, and that Roba in Conmaicne Cuile is Ballinrobe south of the river.<sup>86</sup>

In the 1333 inquisition post mortem into William de Burgh's lands the half cantred of 'Fertyr and Clancowan' is included in the administrative cantred of Carra, though it is quite separate from the tenurial cantred of Carra.<sup>87</sup> Mac Firbis deals with this area after Carra in his account of the hereditary proprietors of the Clann Fiachrach, and from what he says it would appear that Clann Cuain and Fir Thíre comprised the rest of the barony of Carra from Castlebar, which he says is in Fir Thíre, northwards.<sup>88</sup> In 1333 the half cantred was held by the heir of Peter de Cogan,<sup>89</sup> but it is thought that it was originally held by a de Barry. This is because of the survival of the name 'Barry' in the place name 'Castlebar' (Caislén an Bharraigh).<sup>90</sup> However, there is no mention of a castle here until 1412.<sup>91</sup> That

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84. P.R.O.I., RC 8/17, pp 50-1 - De Banco 6 Edw.III.
85. P.R.O.L., E.101/233/21, no.I - Eccles. taxation; C.D.I., 1302-7, p.229.
86. If 'Rodbad in Kera' is Ballinrobe north of the river this would mean that separate parishes grew up on either side of the river. But the later civil parish of Ballinrobe lies on both sides of the river, see The Index (Map) to the Townland Survey of County Mayo, Ordnance Survey, 1839.
87. P.R.O.L., C.135.36, m.23 - Inq. P.M. 7 Edw.III; H.T.Knox, 'Occupation of Connaught', Jn.R.S.A.I., vol.32 (1902), p.398. For administrative and tenurial cantreds, see above, p. 102, note 74.
88. Tribes and Customs of Hy-Fiachrach, pp 161-3.
89. P.R.O.L., C.135.36, m.23 - Inq. P.M. 7 Edw.III; H.T. Knox, 'Occupation of Connaught', Jn.R.S.A.I., vol.32 (1902), p. 398.
90. Tribes and Customs of Hy-Fiachrach, p.160, note V; Orpen, Normans, III, p.216.
91. A.C., p.415; A.L.C., II, p.143; A.F.M., IV, p.811.

there was English settlement in the district around Castlebar long before this seems, however, certain, because in 1247 Teig son of Conor Roe burned the great island of Claenloch, which was near Castlebar, 'and twenty-eight Galls were burned there'.<sup>92</sup>

### Ui Fiachrach Aidhne

Ui Fiachrach Aidhne (now the bar. of Dunkellin south of the Dunkellin river, and the northern part of the bar. of Kiltartan, Co. Galway) was granted by Richard de Burgh to Maurice fitz Gerald.<sup>93</sup> It seems to have been occupied shortly after the conquest of Connacht. In December 1241 fitz Gerald obtained a grant from the king of free warren in his demesne lands in Ui Fiachrach and Kilcolgan, and of a weekly market and annual fair at his manor of Kilcolgan.<sup>94</sup> Sometime before 1247 the bishop of Kilmacduagh granted fitz Gerald some lands belonging to the church of Kilcolgan in exchange for other lands nearby. The lands which were granted to fitz Gerald are described as lying outside the town of Kilcolgan between the church and the sea, with all the water adjoining the said lands.<sup>95</sup> The grant therefore gave fitz Gerald access to the sea, which was in fact the estuary of the Dunkellin river, a good salmon river.<sup>96</sup> In another charter the bishop describes the land as lying near the river

92. See below, p. 208.

93. Red Book of Kildare, no. 23.

94. C.D.I., 1171-1251, no. 2550; Red Book of Kildare, no. 4. I suggest that the 'Terferanwe' or 'Chyrfehrach' of this grant is not Tireragh, Co. Sligo (Ui Fiachrach Muaidhe), as the ed. of The Red Book of Kildare, p. 209, has interpreted it, but Ui Fiachrach Aidhne.

95. Ibid., nos 48-9.

96. The Shell Guide, p. 315. (2nd ed.)

of Ofethrath (i.e. Ui Fiachrach, now the Dunkellin river) and the sea.<sup>97</sup> An extent of the manor in 1289 says that there were weirs and piscaria aque at Kilcolgan.<sup>98</sup> It is clear, therefore, that fitz Gerald and his son, Maurice, made use of the natural resources of the area.

The 1289 extent tells us that there was a borough and the site of a mill at Kilcolgan,<sup>99</sup> but neither the extent nor any other document mentions a castle at Kilcolgan.<sup>100</sup> It would seem from the extent that Ardrahan, to the south of Kilcolgan, was a more important manorial centre. Here there was a castle as well as a stone building, two cellars, a grange, a curtilage, a mill and a borough.<sup>101</sup> It is clear that fitz Gerald's tenants had begun to establish settlements in Ui Fiachrach by 1240, because that year fitz Gerald undertook to build a castle for Jordan de Exeter at Winterclerekyn (in Co. Limerick?)<sup>102</sup> of the size and style of Jordan's castle in the tenement of Ardrahan.<sup>103</sup> The latter castle was possibly at Dunkellin (in the par. of Kileely), where de Exeter held a villate of land.<sup>104</sup> It would seem likely that Ardrahan castle was built by this date, though we do not hear of it until 1264.<sup>105</sup>

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97. Red Book of Kildare, no. 28.

98. Ibid., no.60, p.58. Knox identified various scarps and channels he saw on the shore near Kilcolgan as being the remains of a medieval wharf, H.T. Knox, 'Kilcolgan', Jn.G.A.H.S., vol.9 (1915), pp 133, 135.

99. Red Book of Kildare, no.60, pp 54, 56, 58.

100. There was a castle here in the sixteenth century, but it is not clear when it was built, J.P. Nolan, 'Galway Castles and Owners in 1574', Jn.G.A.H.S., vol.I (1900-1), p.113.

101. Red Book of Kildare, no.60, pp 53,54.

102. Orpen, Normans, vol.III, p.197, note 4.

103. Red Book of Kildare, no. 191.

104. Ibid., no.60, p.55.

105. A.C., p.143; A.L.C., I, p.449; A.Clon., p.245; A.F.M., III, p.395.

Conmaicne Dunmore

The annals record the death of Peter Pramister, lord of Dunmore (now a bar. in Co. Galway), in 1254.<sup>106</sup> This was Peter de Bermingham of Tethmoy.<sup>107</sup> He had established a town at Dunmore by 1249, but it was burned that year by some of the O'Conors.<sup>108</sup> The town was walled between October 1279 and July 1280, the murage being levied by a number of burgesses of the town.<sup>109</sup> It was possibly Peter who gave the town borough status. The records of the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries do not appear to mention the castle of Dunmore.

Clann Taidhg

In 1333 the half cantred of Clann Taidhg, which covered the barony of Athenry and probably part of the barony of Tiaquin, Co. Galway, was held by the heir of Richard de Bermingham.<sup>110</sup> Settlement began in this region under Meiler, a younger son of

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106. A.C., p.111; A.L.C., I, p.405; A.F.M., III, p.351.

107. G.H. Orpen, 'Notes on the Bermingham Pedigree', Jn.G.A.H.S., vol.9 (1915-6), p.197. The manor remained in the hands of his successors of the Tethmoy line, 44th Rept.D.K., p.37 - Pipe Roll 8 Edw.III. However, in 1322-3 Finula, the widow of Richard de Bermingham of Athenry, claimed one third of the manor of Dunmore, P.R.O.I., Betham's Genealogical Abstracts: Misc. Collection, vol.I, p.48. The Athenry branch of the de Berminghams seem to have held some land in Conmaicne Dunmore, presumably of their relatives, C.J.R., 1308-14, p.61; P.R.O.I., RC 7/13, p.35 - De Banco 2 Edw.II.

108. See below, p. 215.

109. 36th Rept. D.K., p.47 - Pipe Roll 8 Edw.I; N.L.I., MS 760, p.30 - Betham's Extracts from the Pipe Rolls.

110. P.R.O.L., C.135.36, m.23 - Inq. P.M. 7 Edw.III; H.T. Knox, 'Occupation of Connaught', Jn.R.S.A.I., vol.32 (1902), p. 396.



Peter de Bermingham of Tethmoy.<sup>111</sup> In 1244 he was granted a weekly market and annual fair at Athenry.<sup>112</sup> The town was a borough by the fourteenth century,<sup>113</sup> but it is probable that it had received its charter of incorporation much earlier. In October 1310 it was granted a murage charter,<sup>114</sup> but it is not clear whether the parts of the town wall that can be seen today were built at this time.<sup>115</sup> No documentary evidence exists for the castle of Athenry, but we can see from its architectural type that it belongs to the first half of the thirteenth century.<sup>116</sup> It was probably in existence by 1249, when the Irish who were attacking the town were put to flight by 'horsemen in arms and armour' who came dashing out of the town.<sup>117</sup> The transcript of the register of the Dominican friary of Athenry has a marginal note by Ware or one of his copyists which says that the friary was founded in 1241.<sup>118</sup> The register tells us that Meiler de Bermingham bought the site for the friary from a knight called Robert Braynach.<sup>119</sup> If 1241 is the correct foundation date, this would mean that de Bermingham had been able to attract tenants to Clann Taidhg before this. The register tells us further that de Bermingham asked 'his noble knights and other noblemen and their esquires'

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111. G.H. Orpen, 'Notes on the Bermingham Pedigree', Jn. G.A.H.S., vol.9 (1915-16), p.198.
112. C.D.I., 1171-1251, no. 2674.
113. 'Regestum Monasterii Fratrum Praedicatorum de Athenry', Arch.Hib., vol.I (1912), p.206.
114. Chart., Priv. et Immun., p.43.
115. cf. H.T. Knox and a colleague, 'Notes on the Burgus of Athenry', Jn.G.A.H.S., vol. 11 (1919-21) pp 4-8, and C. McNeill, 'Remarks on the Walls and Church of Athenry', ibid., pp 132-3.
116. D.M. Waterman, 'Moylough Castle, Co. Galway', Jn.R.S.A.I., vol. 86 (1956), pp 74,76.
117. See below, p. 215.
118. 'Regestum Monasterii Fratrum Praedicatorum de Athenry', Arch. Hib., vol.I (1912), pp 203, 213.
119. Ibid., p.204.

to make a contribution towards the completion of the monastery, each according to his rank and means.<sup>120</sup> It would seem likely that religious houses were usually built by community effort, and therefore their foundation can be taken as an indication that settlement was underway or had already taken place.

By 1266 a castle had been built at Tiaquin,<sup>121</sup> in the parish of Monivea and barony of Tiaquin, Co. Galway. It is not clear whether this lay within Clann Taidhg, but if it did, it is conceivable that it was built by the de Berminghams.

#### Corcamogha and Ui Diarmada

In the 1333 inquisition Corcamogha (which was co-extensive with the par. of Kilkerrin in the bar. of Tiaquin)<sup>122</sup> and Ui Diarmada (which seems to have been situated in the par. of Moylough, in the bars. of Killian and Tiaquin, Co. Galway)<sup>123</sup> are said to have together rendered £3-6-8 in earlier times.<sup>123a</sup> There is nothing to show that there was English settlement in Corcamogha, but there would seem to have been some English settlement in Ui Diarmada. In 1247 Turlough O'Conor and Donough O'Gillapatrck killed a number of people in this area when they passed through it to attack Galway and other English

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120. 'Regestum Monasterii Fratrum Praedicatorum de Athenry', Arch. Hib., vol. I (1912), p. 204.

121. A.C., p. 246; A.L.C., I, p. 453; A.Clon., p. 246; A.F.M., III, p. 401.

122. See 'Obligaciones Pro Annatis Provinciae Tuamensis', Arch. Hib., vol. 26 (1963), pp 57-8, 61, where the par. of Kilkerrin (given as 'Kyllcoryn') is otherwise described as Corcamogha.

123. K.W. Nicholls says that it also covered the pars. of Killererin and Aghiart (alias Ballynakill), 'A Charter of William de Burgo', Anal. Hib., no. 27 (1972), p. 121. But Killererin was co-extensive with Muintir Fathaigh, see below, p. 126, note 130.

123a. P.R.O.L., C.135.36, m. 23 - Inq. P.M. 7 Edward III; H.T. Knox, 'Occupation of Connaught', Jn.R.S.A.I., vol. 32 (1902), p. 396.

settlements,<sup>124</sup> and it would seem reasonable to assume that that the people they killed were English settlers. The first time that we hear of the lord of Ui Diarmada is in 1275, when the archbishop of Tuam, 'with the will and consent of Robert Cocesel, lord of Idermoda, gave the church with the parsonage of Idermoda' to the abbey of Knockmoy.<sup>125</sup> 'Cocesel' is probably a misreading for Coterel.<sup>126</sup> It has been suggested that Moylough castle, which has been classified as belonging to the first half of the thirteenth century, was built by the de Berminghams, because it has architectural similarities with Athenry castle.<sup>127</sup> The de Berminghams of Tethmoy and Dunmore had certainly an interest in Ui Diarmada by the beginning of the fourteenth century, for in 1306 Peter son of James de Bermingham brought a plea against the abbot of Knockmoy for the advowson of the church of Ui Diarmada.<sup>128</sup> By the mid fourteenth century the de Berminghams of Dunmore had the advowson of the church of Corcamogha.<sup>129</sup>

### Muintir Fathaigh

According to Ware, John Canutus held Muintir Fathaigh (which was co-extensive with the par. of Killererin in the bars. of

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124. See below, p. 206.

125. M.J. Blake, 'Knockmoy Abbey', Jn.G.A.H.S., vol.I (1900-1), pp 70-1.

126. K.W. Nicholls, 'A Charter of William de Burgo', Anal. Hib., no 27, (1972), p.121, note 9.

127. D.M. Waterman, 'Moylough Castle, Co. Galway', Jn.R.S.A.I., vol. 86 (1956), pp 73-6.

128. P.R.O.I., RC 7/11, pp 403, 545 - De Banco 34 Edw.I.

129. R.C.H., p.58, no. 159.

Ballymoe, Clare, Durmore and Tiaquin, Co. Galway)<sup>130</sup> of de Burgh in 1242,<sup>131</sup> and the escheator's account of 1272 to 1280 says that the area was held by John de Chanu.<sup>132</sup> The names are clearly the same. There was probably some English settlement in Muintir Fathaigh by 1247, for Turlough O'Conor and Donough O'Gillapatrck also killed some people in this area that year, when they went through it to attack Galway.<sup>133</sup> In the 1333 inquisition it is said that Muintir Fathaigh (given as 'Monthiraghi') was held by the heir of Peter de Bermingham.<sup>134</sup> In 1322-3 Finula, the widow of Richard de Bermingham of Athenry, claimed one third of the manor of Cúl Fobhair (given as 'Coulsawyr'), which seems to have been in Muintir Fathaigh,<sup>135</sup> against John Barrett, one of the custodians of Richard's lands and heir, and Richard de Exeter.<sup>136</sup>

#### Ui Briuin Ratha

According to Ware, John de Cogan held Ui Briuin Ratha (which

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130. See 'Obligaciones Pro Annatis Provinciae Tuamensis', Arch. Hib., vol.26 (1963), p.70, where the par. of Killiererin (given as 'Kylleryearayn') is otherwise described as 'Monterfachaid'. See also ibid., p.79.
131. B.M. Add. MS 4787, fol.109.
132. 36th Rept. D.K., p.63 - Pipe Roll 10 Edw.I.
133. See below, p. 206.
134. P.R.O.L., C.135.36, m.23 - Inq. P.M. 7 Edw.III; H.T. Knox, 'Occupation of Connaught', Jn.R.S.A.I., vol.32 (1902), p.396. Knox writes the place-name as 'Montiragh'. Peter was possibly the Peter son of James de Bermingham who is said to have been killed with John de Bermingham, earl of Louth, in the Braganstown massacre of 1329, 'Annals of Ireland', Charts.St.Mary's, vol.II, pp 369-70; Grace, p.113.
135. Hogan, Onom. Goed., p.320.
136. P.R.O.I., Betham's Genealogical Abstracts: Misc. Collection, vol.I, p.48.

covered the par. of Claregalway in the bars. of Clare and Dunkellin, Co. Galway) of Richard de Burgh in 1242.<sup>137</sup> In the 1306 taxation the rectory of the church of Claregalway (given as 'Clardundunl') is said to have belonged to the hospital.<sup>138</sup> This was possibly the hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in Castledermot, which had been founded by John de Cogan's uncle and neighbour in the northern part of the barony of Clare, Walter de Ridelsford.<sup>139</sup> De Cogan would seem to have begun to bring settlers into his land by the early 1250s. In December 1252 he was granted a weekly market and annual fair at Claregalway.<sup>140</sup> In a charter of the years 1250-1256 he granted the Carthusians of Cinel Fheicin<sup>141</sup> the whole of his part 'of a certain island in the town of Clare (i.e. Claregalway) that adjoins the curtilage of Robert the vicar, to the south of the Friars Minor opposite, with six acres of meadow between the wood of Carnav on the west and the lake called Louhorps' (Loch Orbsen i.e. Lough Corrib).<sup>142</sup> The island mentioned must have been one of the little islands in the Claregalway river which lie immediately to the south of the Franciscan convent.<sup>143</sup> The picture of Claregalway given in this charter - incomplete though it is - confirms what is implied in the grant to hold markets and fairs: i.e. that settlement was taking place at Claregalway. It would seem that the Franciscan friary, mentioned in the charter above, was founded sometime before 1253. The register of the Dominicans

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137. B.M. Add. MS 4787, fol.109.

138. P.R.O.L., E.101/233/21, no.1 - Eccles. taxation; C.D.I., 1302-7, p.235.

139. See above, p. 113. John's mother was Walter's sister, see A. Gray, 'Kinaleghin : a Forgotten Irish Charterhouse of the Thirteenth Century', Jn.R.S.A.I., vol.89 (1959), p. 42.

140. C.D.I., 1252-84, no. 121.

141. For these, see below, pp 130-2.

142. A. Gray, op.cit., p.53.

143. Ibid., p.55.

of Athenry says that the dormitory of the Franciscan friary was built by Eugenius O'Heyne.<sup>144</sup> This was undoubtedly Eoghan O'Heyne, king of Ui Fiachrach, who died in 1253.<sup>145</sup>

### Clannfhergail

This area would seem to have to have covered most of the parish of Oranmore in the baronies of Dunkellin and Galway, Co. Galway.<sup>146</sup> According to Ware, Philip de Barry held Oran (given as 'Foran') of Richard de Burgh in 1242.<sup>147</sup> Ware's evidence is confirmed by a series of lawsuits before the common bench at the end of the thirteenth century. At that time an Odo de Barry had a court at Oranmore and a mill at Renville (given as 'Rymnel'), and he referred to his ancestor, Philip son of Odo de Barry, who made a grant of the land that was in dispute at the end of the thirteenth century. Furthermore, Adam de Crotham, another party in the dispute, claimed that his grandfather had been disseised by this Philip de Barry. The lawsuits give the impression that the region was well settled by the end of the thirteenth century.<sup>148</sup>

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144. 'Regestum Monasterii Fratrum Praedicatorum de Athenry', Arch. Hib., vol. I (1912), p.213.

145. A.C., p. 109; A.L.C., I, p.401; A.Clon., p.241.

146. It is located thus by O'Donovan in his map in Tribes and Customs of Hy-Many.

147. B.M., Add. MS 4787, fol.109.

148. P.R.O.I., RC 7/7, pp 80, 85, 219 - De Banco 28 Edw.I; RC 7/6, pp 561-3 - De Banco 28 - 9 Edw.I; RC 7/8, p. 131 - De Banco 29 Edw.I; RC 7/7, p.458 - De Banco 29 - 30 Edw.I; RC 7/9, pp 277-80 - De Banco 30-1 Edw.I; RC 7/10, pp 313-4 - De Banco 33-4 Edw.I.

Medhraighe

In 1247 the king ordered the justiciar to give seisin to Richard de Burgh II of the land of 'Mecherye', (i.e. Medhraighe, an area co-extensive with the par. of Ballynacourty, in the bar. of Dunkellin),<sup>149</sup> which was in Peter de Bermingham's custody during de Burgh's minority.<sup>150</sup> This suggests that Richard de Burgh I had retained this area after the conquest of Connacht. The remains of an early castle exist near the church of Ballynacourty,<sup>151</sup> but there is no evidence that the de Burghs had demesne lands here. In the 1333 inquisition it is said that the theodum of Meyry and Moldone rendered £2-13-4.<sup>152</sup> It would seem likely that 'Meyry' is Medhraighe. If this identification is correct, it would seem that one of the de Burghs had granted the area to a single tenant. In 1260 the archbishop of Tuam had granted the rectory of Medhraighe (given as 'Methery') to St. Mary's Abbey, Dublin,<sup>153</sup> and the fact the abbot of St. Mary's brought a plea against Philip son of Simon de Bermingham for the advowson of the church in 1317<sup>154</sup> suggests that it was the de Berminghams who had acquired the land.

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149. See 'Obligaciones Pro Annatis Diocesis Clonfertensis', Arch. Hib., vol.21 (1958), p.74, where Ballynacourty is given as an alternative name for the par. of Medhraighe (given as 'Merrig').

150. C.D.I., 1171-1251, no. 2908.

151. Orpen, Normans, vol.III, p.192, note I.

152. P.R.O.L., C.135.36, m.23 - Inq.P.M. 7 Edw.III; H.T. Knox, 'Occupation of Connaught', Jn.R.S.A.I., vol.32 (1902), p.396, where 'Meyry' is given as 'Moyry'.

153. Charts. St.Mary's, vol.II, p.6.

154. P.R.O.L., RC 8/11, pp 143-5 - De Banco 10 Edw.II; RC 7/12, p.477 - De Banco 11 Edw.II.

Clann Coscraigh

ClannCoscraigh seems to have been situated to the east of Galway Bay, but its precise location is not known.<sup>155</sup> It does not appear in the records until 1310, when the Red Earl granted it and other lands in Connacht to his son John, and the latter's wife, Elizabeth de Clare.<sup>156</sup> Accounts rendered by Elizabeth's bailiffs show that there were a few settlers in the area.<sup>157</sup>

Muintermailfinnain

The administrative cantred of Muintermailfinnain (the bar. of Leitrim and the southern part of the bar. of Longford, Co. Galway) seems originally to have been made up of three tenements : Cinel Fheicin, the theodum of Muintermailfinnain and Ui Lomain.

According to Ware, John de Cogan held Cinel Fheicin of Richard de Burgh in 1242.<sup>158</sup> De Cogan had certainly been granted the land by October 1245, when the king granted him free warren in his demesne lands in Cinel Fheicin.<sup>159</sup> In December 1252 he was granted a weekly market and annual fair at his manor of 'Maysketh in Kynalegham'.<sup>160</sup> This manor has not yet been identified. It was here in Cinel Fheicin that de Cogan

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155. Hogan, Onom. Goed., p. 239.

156. P.R.O.L., C.47/10/22, m.2 - Chan.Misc.

157. P.R.O.L., S.C.6/1239/30 - Ministers' Accts.

158. B.M. Add. MS 4787, fol.109.

159. Cal. Charter Rolls, 1226-57, p.289.

160. Ibid., p.412; C.D.I., 1252-84, no. 121.



founded the only Charterhouse ever to be established in Ireland. The priory was founded on a site in what is now a small village called Abbey, which lies about two miles south-east of Duniry, in the barony of Leitrim.<sup>161</sup> De Cogan's foundation charter enables us to locate the manor to some extent. Since he granted the Carthusians the right to lead water from Maysketh to their house by a ditch or conduit through his demesne,<sup>162</sup> it is evident that the manor was fairly close to the priory.

The foundation charter, which has been dated to the years 1250 to 1256,<sup>163</sup> shows that de Cogan had selected his demesne lands and that he had granted lands in fee to a certain William Dundonald.<sup>164</sup> What is particularly interesting about the charter is that it shows that de Cogan was aware of the natural resources of his lands. He seems to have given Dundonald lands at Doorus, on Lough Derg, which is still a fishing centre.<sup>165</sup> Furthermore, he granted the Carthusians fishing rights in a lake called Lough 'Cullenan', which is possibly Ballinlough, and in the whole of his part of Lough Derg.<sup>166</sup> A grant of fishing rights was essential to the Carthusians because they were a non meat-eating order. But de Cogan also granted them mining rights should they discover a quarry in the hills or large stones or marl or iron-ore.<sup>167</sup>

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161. Dom.A. Gray, 'Kinaleghin : A Forgotten Irish Charterhouse of the Thirteenth Century', Jn.R.S.A.I., vol.89 (1959), pp 35-58.
162. See the charter in ibid., pp 51,53.
163. Ibid., pp 40-1.
164. Ibid., pp 51,53.
165. Ibid., pp 51, 53, 55.
166. Ibid., pp 51-3, 55.
167. Ibid., pp 51-2, 53. 'Lapides molares' is wrongly translated as 'millstones' by Gray. The famous Tynagh mines, where a large lead-zinc-copper-silver deposit was discovered in the 1960s lie about 3 miles north-east of Duniry, Encyclopaedia of Ireland, ed. V. Meally et. al. (Dublin, 1968), pp 36, 156, 280.

This particular charter does not give the Carthusians the rectory of Cinel Fheicin, though we know from the 1306 ecclesiastical taxation that they were in possession of it.<sup>168</sup>

A manor in Cinel Fheicin which appears frequently in the records is Duniry. The annals say that in 1256 Athlone and Duniry were burned on the same day,<sup>169</sup> and it is possible that an English settlement had been established in the latter place by that date. Between 1272 and 1280 the escheator was responsible for collecting rents in the land of Duniry (given as 'Dolgyr')<sup>170</sup> because both the lordship of Connacht and Cinel Fheicin were in the king's hand.<sup>171</sup>

However, the escheator was unable to collect any rent from the land because it lay waste on account of the war of the Irish.<sup>172</sup>

The manor appears to have been held by Robert son of Richard de la Rochelle and later by Robert's son, John. The latter was dead by 1289, when his sister and heir, Margery, inherited the land. She died shortly afterwards, and her husband, James Ketyng, claimed that they had had a child and that he was therefore entitled to hold her lands for life. He seems subsequently to have given part of the manor to his son, and the rest of it to William de Burgh. In 1305 he became involved in a dispute with a John de la Rochelle, who claimed

168. P.R.O.L., E.101/233/21; C.D.I., 1302-7, p.222. Cinel Fheicin appears here as 'Keneloyne'.

169. A.C., p.123; A.L.C., I, p.421; A.F.M., III, p.359.

170. 36th Rept.D.K., p.63 - Pipe Roll 10 Edw.I.

171. John de Cogan died sometime before 1265 when his son, John, inherited his lands. John de Cogan II died sometime before September 1276, Dom.A.Gray, *op.cit.*, pp 41-4, 56. For the de Burgh minority see below, pp 267-70.

172. 36th Rept.D.K., p.63 - Pipe Roll 10 Edw.I.

that the manor was part of his inheritance, and who eventually seems to have recovered it.<sup>173</sup> However, in 1332 half the manor of Duniry was made the subject of an agreement between Meiler son of Richard de Burgh and Robert and Margery Wodeloc.<sup>174</sup>

Cinel Fheicin remained in the hands of de Cogan and his heirs until 1312,<sup>175</sup> when David de Cogan, probably the son and heir of John de Cogan III,<sup>176</sup> granted Richard de Burgh, the Red Earl, all his land of Cinel Fheicin (given as 'Tireghan') in Muintermailfinnain.<sup>177</sup>

According to Ware, William de Cogan held the one-third of Muintermailfinnain called the theodum of Muintermailfinnain of Richard de Burgh in 1242.<sup>178</sup> However, there is no evidence that William made any attempt to occupy his lands until the 1250s. In August 1254 Innocent IV confirmed a grant William had made to the Cistercian abbey of Dunbrody of the patronage of the churches of Portumna and Lickmolassy and of the tithes of Muintermailfinnain.<sup>179</sup> This is an indication that he had begun to settle his lands. It was possibly he who established the borough at Portumna that we hear of later.<sup>180</sup> William's

173. Cal.Inq.P.M., vol.III, pp 511-2, no.649; C.D.I., 1285-92, no. 469; C.J.R., 1305-7, pp 31-2.
174. P.R.O.I., RC 8/17, p.146 - De Banco 6 Edw.III.
175. For the de Cogans in Cinel Fheicin up to this time, see Dom. A.Gray, 'Kinaleghin : A Forgotten Irish Charterhouse of the Thirteenth Century', Jn.R.S.A.I., vol.89 (1959), pp 41-5, 56, and 36th Rept.D.K., p.63 - Pipe Roll 10 Edw.I.
176. David is not mentioned by Gray in his list of de Cogans, Dom.A. Gray, op.cit., p.56.
177. E.Curtis, 'Feudal Charters of the de Burgo Lordship of Connacht', Feilsgríbhinn Eóin Mhic Néill, ed.J.Ryan, p. 289, nos XXIV-XXV.
178. B.M. Add.MS. 4787, fol.109.
179. Charts.St.Mary's, II, pp 119-20. The Red Earl also confirmed William's charter, after one of the de Cogans had granted the theodum of Muintermailfinnain to him, ibid., pp 197-8.
180. P.R.O.L., C.135.36 m.23-Inq.P.M.7 Edw III; H.T.Knox, 'Occupation of Connaught', Jn.R.S.A.I., vol.32 (1902), p.395.

son, John, held the theodum from 1272-1280,<sup>181</sup> but sometime after this a John de Cogan (possibly the same man) granted the theodum to Richard de Burgh, the Red Earl.<sup>182</sup>

There is nothing to show when settlement began in Ui Lomain, the third tenement in the cantred of Muintermaelfinnain. All we know is that it was held by a John son of Robert between 1272 and 1280.<sup>183</sup> Sometime in the reign of Edward II William de Burgh granted the Red Earl six marks annual rent in Moyfin in exchange for six marks of rent in Giel (unidentified) in Ui Lomain (given as 'Cloman').<sup>184</sup> By 1333 the tenants of Ui Lomain held directly of the lord of Connacht.<sup>185</sup> It would seem therefore that the intermediate lord had disappeared, as he had done in the other two thirds of Muintermailfinnain. The 1333 inquisition shows that the lord of Connacht had demesne lands at Kilcarban, in the parish of Tynagh, barony of Longford.<sup>186</sup> The inquisition does not say that there was a borough at Kilcarban, but some deeds show that there was one there at an earlier date.<sup>187</sup>

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181. 36th Rept.D.K., p.63 - Pipe Roll 10 Edw.I.

182. E. Curtis 'Feudal Charters of the de Burgo Lordship of Connacht', Feilsgríbhinn Eóin Mhic Néill, ed. J.Ryan, p. 289, no.XXIII.

183. 36th Rept. D.K., p.63 - Pipe Roll 10 Edw.I.

184. E. Curtis, op.cit., p.293, no.LI.

185. P.R.O.L., C.135.36, m.23 - Inq.P.M.7 Edw.III; H.T. Knox, 'Occupation of Connaught', Jn.R.S.A.I., vol.32 (1902), p.396.

186. Ibid., p.395; P.R.O.L., C.135.36, m.23 - Inq.P.M.7 Edw.III.

187. E. Curtis, op.cit., pp 287-8, nos IX-XII.

Sil Maelruain

The annals say that in 1254 Piers Ristubard, lord of Sil Maelruain (the western part of the bar. of Castlereagh, Co. Roscommon, and possibly part of the bar. of Ballymoe, Co. Galway), was killed by Murrough O'Melaghlin on Lough Ree.<sup>188</sup> 'Risturbard' must be a corruption not of de Ridelsford but of de Rocheford,<sup>189</sup> for Ware says that Peter de Rocheford was one of Richard de Burgh's tenants in 1242,<sup>190</sup> and we know that the quarter cantred of Sil Maelruain was held by Henry de Rocheford between 1272 and 1280.<sup>191</sup> Settlement probably took place after 1241, when the justiciar, Maurice fitz Gerald, plundered Fiachra O'Flynn,<sup>192</sup> who is described as chieftain of Sil Maelruain when he died in 1245.<sup>193</sup> As it was not usual for the justiciar to attack the chieftain of an area in Connacht which he himself had not been granted, we must assume that O'Flynn had continued to be hostile towards the English after Felim O'Conor had submitted to them in 1237.<sup>194</sup>

It is possible that Burges Beoil in Tachair, which was burned

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188. A.C., p.111; A.L.C., I, p.405; A.F.M., III, p.351.

189. Orpen, Normans, III, p.203.

190. B.M. Add.MS 4787, fol.109. Ware does not say what lands de Rocheford held.

191. 36th Rept.D.K., p.63 - Pipe Roll 10 Edw.I.

192. A.C., p.73; A.L.C., I, p.353; A.F.M., III, p.305.

193. A.C., p.85; A.L.C., I, p.369; A.F.M., III, p.315.

194. In 1236 O'Flynn had been one of the people who had invited Felim O'Conor back to Connacht after Felim had been expelled by the justiciar and had fled to O'Donnell, and he seems to have taken part in Felim's attack on Rinndown that year. In 1236 Brian son of Turlough O'Conor (who had been left by the justiciar to guard and rule the king's cantreds) burned the church of Emlagh 'against the people of O'Flainn', and the justiciar himself burned Termon Keelin, another church nearby, but there is no indication that O'Flynn submitted to the justiciar, A.C., pp 61, 65; A.L.C., I, pp 335, 341.

in 1266 by Flann Roe O'Flynn, who killed many of its English,<sup>195</sup> was in Sil Maelruain. This is usually identified as being Ballintogher in the barony of Tirerrill, Co. Sligo.<sup>196</sup> But Tirerrill was one of the king's cantreds which was never settled by the English. Burges Beoil in Tachair (i.e. the borough at the mouth of the causeway) was possibly Templetogether in the barony of Ballymoe, Co. Galway. This place usually appears in the annals as Tóchar Móna Conneda (the causeway of the moor of Conneda),<sup>197</sup> but it is also sometimes simply called Tóchar.<sup>198</sup> The ruins of a castle can be seen near Templetogether.<sup>199</sup>

In the 1333 inquisition Sil Maelruain appears as a de Burgh manor with a castle and borough at Ballintober and a borough at Rathfernan (unidentified).<sup>200</sup> In 1307 Imeyne Crok, the widow of Meiler de Rocheford, released to the Red Earl all her dower in the theodum of Sil Maelruain.<sup>201</sup> It seems unlikely that Meiler had any heirs. If he had they must have also given their land to de Burgh, because by 1333 all trace of the Rocheford lordship over Sil Maelruain had disappeared.

Even before 1307 the Red Earl had been acquiring an interest in both Ballintober and Rathfernan. In 1304-5 Henry and Elizabeth de Cruys were summoned to the common bench to answer

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195. A.C., pp 146-7; A.L.C., I, pp 452-3; A.F.M., III, pp 400-1.

196. A.C., pp 145, 810; A.F.M., III, pp 400-1, note g.

197. A.C., pp 112-3, 138-9; A.L.C., I, pp 406-7, 440-1.

198. A.C., pp 16-17, 242-3; A.L.C., I, pp 284-5.

199. A.F.M., III, p.354, note x.

200. P.R.O.L., C.135.36, m.22 - Inq.P.M. 7 Edw.III; H.T.Knox, 'Occupation of Connaught', Jn.R.S.A.I., vol.33 (1903), pp 59-60.

201. E. Curtis, 'Feudal Charters of the de Burgo Lordship of Connacht', Feilsgríbhinn Eóin Mhic Néill, ed.J.Ryan, p.289, no.XXI.

Richard de Burgh, who claimed that they were bound to an agreement that they had made with him concerning the third part of 24 villates in Ballintober and Rathfernan in Sil Maelruain (given as 'Scilmolrony').<sup>202</sup> In 1305 the Red Earl sought the king's permission to build a chantry at Ballintober or Loughrea, and to grant 24 chaplains 40 librates of land at these places, as well as the advowson of the churches of Ballintober and Loughrea.<sup>203</sup> Later, in 1310, Alan fitz Alan gave the Red Earl six villates of land near Ballintober which had recently belonged to his father, William fitz Warin.<sup>204</sup> Claffey has argued on the basis of the architectural style of Ballintober castle and of the resources needed for building such a castle, that it must have been built by the Red Earl, and he has drawn attention to the fact that the Red Earl built a number of other castles in the first decade of the fourteenth century:- Ballymote castle in 1300, Greencastle in Inisowen in 1305, Sligo castle in 1310.<sup>205</sup> But if de Burgh did build Ballintober castle during this decade it is difficult to see why it is called 'an old castle' in the 1333 inquisition.<sup>206</sup>

### Crích Fer Tíre

It is possible that that Richard de Burgh granted what is called

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202. P.R.O.I., RC 7/11, p.50 - De Banco 33 Edw.I.

203. C.J.R., 1305-7, p.142; C.D.I., 1302-7, no.436. The king granted him permission to do these things the following year, ibid., no.510.

204. E. Curtis, op.cit., p.292, nos XLI-XLIII.

205. J.A. Claffey, 'Ballintubber Castle, Co. Roscommon', Jn.O.A.S., vol.I, no.3 (1972-3), pp 143-6; no 4 (1974-5), pp 218-21.

206. P.R.O.L., C.135.36, m.22 - Inq.P.M. 7 Edw.III; H.T. Knox, 'Occupation of Connaught', Jn.R.S.A.I., vol.33 (1903), p.59.

the cantred of Crigfertur in the 1333 inquisition to Gerald de Prendergast, who was married to his daughter by 1242.<sup>207</sup>

In 1333 two de Prendergasts held most of the cantred of de Burgh,<sup>208</sup> but these cannot have been direct descendants of Gerald, who died in 1251<sup>209</sup> leaving as his heirs his daughter by his marriage to de Burgh's daughter, and the son of a daughter he had had by a previous marriage.<sup>210</sup> It would seem likely therefore that Gerald gave Crích Fer Tíre to one or more of his kinsmen before he died. The de Prendergasts came to be known as Clann Maurice of Brees castle, but there is no documentary evidence that this castle, the ruins of which can still be seen, was in existence in the thirteenth or early fourteenth centuries. The barony of Clanmorris, Co. Mayo, in which Crích Fer Tíre was situated, is called after the de Prendergasts.<sup>211</sup>

The same family is also called Mac Maurice in the annals,<sup>212</sup> and the fact that these record that in 1242 a Niall son of Donal Murach son of Rory O'Conor was burned together with three of the O'Shaughnessys in a house in Mayo by Lewis, one of the people of Mac Maurice,<sup>213</sup> suggests that settlement had begun to take place in Crích Fer Tíre by then. This is confirmed by other evidence. In a charter which must have been made before 1247,<sup>214</sup> Gerald de Rupe granted Maurice fitz

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207. Cal.Inq.P.M., vol.I, pp 64-5, no.254; Orpen, Normans, vol.III, pp 209-10.

208. P.R.O.L., C.135.36, m.23 - Inq.P.M. 7 Edw.III; H.T. Knox, 'Occupation of Connaught', Jn.R.S.A.I., vol.32 (1902), p. 397.

209. A.C., p.105, where he is called Gerald Sugach.

210. Cal.Inq. P.M., vol.I, pp 64-5, no.254.

211. Orpen, Normans, vol.III, pp 209-11.

212. Ibid., p.209, note. 4.

213. A.L.C., I, p.359; A.C., p.77. The ed. of A.C. puts Fitz Gerald in brackets after the name 'Mac Maurice', but there is no justification for this.

214. One of the witnesses was Griffin Christopher, bishop of Lismore, who resigned in 1246, Red Book of Kildare, no.25; F.M. Powicke and E.B. Fryde, Handbook of British Chronology, p. 331. (2nd ed.)



Gerald five marks rent which Richard Cosin used to render to de Rupe for the land he held of him in Tir Nechtain,<sup>215</sup> which seems to have covered the parish of Kilcolman in the barony of Clanmorris.<sup>216</sup> In 1333 the theodum of Tir Nechtain was held by William de Prendergast.<sup>217</sup>

Both Tir Nechtain and Tir Enna, which is also mentioned as being in the cantred of Crích Fer Tíre in the 1333 inquisition, and which may have been situated in the parish of Tagheen,<sup>218</sup> were plundered by the Irish in 1315,<sup>219</sup> but we know nothing about settlement in these areas beyond the fact that the lord of Connacht had courts in them by the early fourteenth century.<sup>220</sup> Nor do we know anything about settlement in the theodum of Crích Fer Tíre, which seems to have been situated in the parish of Kilvine,<sup>221</sup> and which was held in 1333 by the heir of John de Prendergast.<sup>222</sup> But there are townlands called 'Burriss' in the parishes of Kilvine and Crossboyne,<sup>223</sup> and it is possible that the settlers had established boroughs in these areas. There would also seem to have been some English settlement in Mayo.<sup>224</sup>

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215. Red Book of Kildare, no.25.

216. H.T. Knox, 'Occupation of Connaught', Jn.R.S.A.I., vol. 32 (1902), p.397.

217. Ibid.; P.R.O.L., C.135.36, m.23 - Cal.Inq.P.M.7 Edw.III.

218. H.T. Knox, op.cit., p.403.

219. A.C., p.241; A.L.C., I, p.579; A.Clon., p.275.

220. P.R.O.L., C.135.36, m.23 - Cal.Inq.P.M. 7 Edw.III; H.T. Knox, 'Occupation of Connaught', Jn.R.S.A.I., vol.32 (1902), p.397.

221. Ibid., p.404.

222. Ibid., p.397; P.R.O.L., C.135.36, m.23 - Inq. P.M. 7 Edw.III.

223. Census of Ireland, 1901 : Townland Index, p. 182.

224. P.R.O.I., RC 8/6, p. 433 - De Banco 5-6 Edw.II.

Carbury-Drumcliff

Carbury-Drumcliff (bar. of Carbury, Co. Sligo) was one of the cantreds which Richard de Burgh granted to Hugh de Lacy after the conquest of Connacht.<sup>225</sup> A little later de Lacy granted the cantred to Maurice fitz Gerald.<sup>226</sup> De Lacy probably made the grant before 1239, when fitz Gerald, who was justiciar at the time,<sup>227</sup> led an army to Ballysadare, and plundered Carbury as far as Drumcliff.<sup>228</sup> Sometime after this fitz Gerald began to occupy the area. In 1242 he presented Clarus Mac Mailin, the archdeacon of Elphin,<sup>229</sup> with a site in Sligo for a hospital in honour of the Trinity,<sup>230</sup> but three years later he used 'the stones and lime of the spital house of Trinity' for building a castle in Sligo.<sup>231</sup> It was probably fitz Gerald who gave the town of Sligo, which is first mentioned in 1246,<sup>232</sup> borough status.<sup>233</sup> In 1253 a monastery was built and a cemetery consecrated for the Dominicans in Sligo.<sup>234</sup>

Although Amabilia, one of the daughters and heirs of fitz Gerald's son, Maurice, speaks in 1293 of the half cantred of Crycarbry where Sligo lies,<sup>235</sup> the records of the later thirteenth century often distinguish between the manors of

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225. See above, p. 89.

226. Red Book of Kildare, no.22.

227. Richardson and Sayles, Administration, pp 77-8.

228. A.Clon., p.236; A.C., p.71; A.L.C., I, p.351; A.F.M., III, p.299.

229. A.C., p.83; A.L.C., I, p.367.

230. A.C., p.77; A.L.C., I, p.359.

231. A.C., p.85; A.L.C., I, p.369; A.F.M., III, p.315; A.Clon., p. 238; A.U., II, p.305.

232. A.C., pp 88-9; A.L.C., I, pp 372-3; A.F.M., III, pp 318-9.

233. Red Book of Kildare, no.129.

234. A.C., p.109; A.L.C., I, p.403; A.F.M., III, p.347.

235. Red Book of Kildare, no.32.

Sligo and Crycarbury or Carbury.<sup>236</sup> It is not clear where the other manorial centre was, unless it was at Calry (a parish in the bar. of Carbury), which Amabilia mentions in a number of grants she made to her relative, John fitz Thomas.<sup>237</sup>

### Sliabh Lugha

Sliabh Lugha (which lay in the northern part of the bar. of Costello, Co. Mayo, and in the bar. of Coolavin, Co. Sligo) was another of the cantreds Richard de Burgh granted to Hugh de Lacy.<sup>238</sup> Sometime before his death in 1243,<sup>239</sup> de Lacy granted the area to Miles Nangle (alias Mac Costello), who Ware says was one of Richard de Burgh's tenants in Connacht in 1242,<sup>240</sup> and who was married to de Lacy's daughter. It would seem that Miles had established himself in Sliabh Lugha by 1253 at least, because when his wife died that year she was buried in Boyle,<sup>241</sup> which lies about five miles to the west of Lough Gara, which was in Sliabh Lugha.

Other evidence shows that there were English settlers in Sliabh Lugha by the 1250s. The annals say that in 1256 Rory O'Gara, king of Sliabh Lugha, 'was craftily and basely killed by his gossip, David son of Richard Cusin, who also broke down his

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236. C.J.R., 1295-1303, pp 234-5; P.R.O.L., C.135.36, m.22  
- Inq. P.M. 7 Edw.III; H.T. Knox, 'Occupation of Connaught',  
Jn.R.S.A.I., vol.33 (1903), p.61.
237. Red Book of Kildare, nos 86-87; 91.
238. See above, p. 89.
239. Clyn, p.7; 'Annals of Ireland', Charts.St.Mary's, II,  
p. 315; Grace, p.35.
240. B.M., Add. MS 4787, fol.109.
241. A.C., p.109; A.L.C., I, pp 401-3; A.F.M., III, p.349.

castle', and that Aedh son of Felim O'Conor plundered the territory of David Cusin to avenge the death of O'Gara, broke down his castle, and took possession of Lough Gara.<sup>242</sup> Furthermore, in 1259, after Miles Mac Costello died, Aedh O'Conor captured Gilbert Mac Costello, presumably Miles' heir, and plundered all Sliabh Lugha.<sup>243</sup>

Sliabh Lugha bordered the king's cantreds, and consequently there was a need for strong defence works. The Mac Costello manor was called 'Magnum Castrum' of Sliabh Lugha,<sup>244</sup> now Castlemore in the barony of Costello. The castle is first mentioned in 1270,<sup>245</sup> but it was probably built much earlier. The Mac Costellos also built a castle at Kilcolman, which is also first mentioned in 1270.<sup>246</sup> In 1315 it is called the great castle of Kilcolman.<sup>247</sup>

In 1333 the theoda of Airtech, Ciarraige Magh Ai, Ciarraige Locha na nAirneadh and Ciarraige Uachtrach were part of the administrative cantred of Sliabh Lugha. Evidence regarding English settlement in these theoda is meagre and unsatisfactory. All that we know about Airtech, which seems to have been situated in the parishes of Tibohine and Kilnamanagh in the barony of Frenchpark, Co. Roscommon,<sup>248</sup> comes from the 1333 inquisition, which says that it once rendered £3-6-8.<sup>249</sup>

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242. A.C., pp 115, 121; A.L.C., I, pp 409, 421; A.F.M., III, p. 357.

243. A.C., p. 131, A.L.C., I, pp 431-3; A.F.M., III, p.373.

244. P.R.O.I., KB 1/1, m.88 - Justiciar's Roll 6 Edw.II.

245. A.C., p.157; A.L.C., I, p.467; A.Clon., p.249; A.F.M., III, p.413. It appears here as the castle of Sliabh Lugha, but it is later called the Great Castle of Mac Costello, A.C., p.277; A.L.C., I, p.625; A.F.M., III, p.559.

246. A.C., p.157; A.L.C., I, p.467; A.Clon., p.249; A.F.M., III, p.413.

247. A.C., p.233; A.L.C., I, p.567.

248. A.C., p. 804.

249. P.R.O.L., C.135.36, m.22-Inq.P.M.7 Edw.III; H.T.Knox, 'Occupation of Connaught', Jn.R.S.A.I., vol.33 (1903), p.60.

But this need not mean there was English settlement in it. Ciarraige Magh Ai (alias Ciarraige Ai or Clann Ceithernaigh), in the parish of Kilkeevin, barony of Castlereagh, Co. Roscommon,<sup>250</sup> was held by Thomas son of Les' in 1272 - 1280. Since the escheator seems to have actually received receipts from the area during these years of Walter de Burgh's minority,<sup>251</sup> it would seem that Thomas had more than a nominal lordship over it. In 1333 it was said that it and Ciarraige Locha<sup>na</sup> nAirneadh used to render £3-6-8.<sup>252</sup>

Ciarraige Locha<sup>na</sup> nAirneadh seems to have covered most of the southern part of the barony of Costello, Co. Mayo, Locha na nAirneadh being the old name for Mannin Lake.<sup>253</sup> The escheator's account of 1272 to 1280 says that it was held by John fitz Thomas.<sup>254</sup> This was John fitz Thomas of Desmond, who had been killed in 1261. We learn from inquisition into his lands in 1282 that he had held the land of Sir Maurice of London,<sup>255</sup> who Ware says was one of Richard de Burgh's tenants in Connacht in 1242.<sup>256</sup> The inquisition also says that the land used to be worth 120 marks but that it was now worth only 60 marks 'and no more, for the greater part is destroyed by the war of the Irish'. The inquisition says further that fitz Thomas's heir, Thomas fitz Maurice, gave the

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250. M.J. Connellan, 'Clann Ceithearnaigh, its Whereabouts and Extent', Jn.G.A.H.S., vol.23 (1948-9), pp 70-5.
251. 36th Rept.D.K., p.63 - Pipe Roll 10 Edw.I.
252. P.R.O.L., C.135.36, m.22 - Inq.P.M. 7 Edw.III; H.T.Knox, 'Occupation of Connaught', Jn.R.S.A.I., vol.33 (1903), p.60.
253. A.F.M., III, p.215, note n.
254. 36th Rept.D.K., p.63-Pipe Roll 10 Edw.I.
255. C.D.I., 1252-84, no.1912, p.429; Cal.Inq.P.M., vol.II, p.254.
256. B.M., Add. MS 4787, fol.109.

area to Henry de Roche when he came of age.<sup>257</sup> Inquiries made on the death of Thomas fitz Maurice in 1298 say that de Roche rendered fitz Maurice 50 marks for the land.<sup>258</sup> None of the records mentions English settlements in Ciarraige Locha na nAirneadh, but there is a keep at Lough Mannin which resembles the castle built by the Desmond Geraldines in the early thirteenth century at Shanid, Co. Limerick.<sup>259</sup> There is a tradition that the Geraldines also built Lough Glinn castle in the parish of Tibohine, Co. Roscommon,<sup>260</sup> but this area is not usually described as lying within Ciarraige Locha na nAirneadh.<sup>261</sup> There is also a tradition that the monastery of Ballyhaunis (bar. of Costello, Co. Mayo) was founded on the site of a de Barry manor house.<sup>262</sup>

The fourth Ciarraige mentioned in the 1333 inquisition is Ciarraige Uachtrach, which seems to have been situated to the south of Ciarraige Locha na nAirneadh.<sup>263</sup> In 1312 Henry de Roche's widow brought a suit against the Red Earl, who was the custodian of Henry's lands and heir, for her dower in seven villates in Ciarraige Uachtrach.<sup>264</sup> In 1333 it was said that the area used to render £3-6-8 to de Burgh.<sup>265</sup>

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257. C.D.I., 1252-84, no.1912, p.429; Cal.Inq.P.M., vol.II, p.254.

258. C.D.I., 1293-1301, no.551, p.258; no.727, p.340; Cal.Inq.P.M., vol.III, p.448.

259. H.T.Knox, 'Mannin Castle, in the Parish of Aghamore, Barony of Costello and County of Mayo', Jn.G.A.H.S., vol.7 (1911-2), pp 115-20; H.G.Leask, Irish Castles, 2nd ed., pp 41-2; Orpen, Normans, vol.II, p.164.

260. Ibid., vol.III, p.203, note 1.

261. Hogan, Onom. Goed., p.233.

262. Tribes and Customs of Hy-Fiachrach, p.161, note v. This tradition was recorded by Downing, who wrote a description of Mayo, circa 1680.

263. This is how it is located in O'Donovan's Map in Tribes and Customs of Hy-Fiachrach.

264. P.R.O.I., RC 8/6, p.350 - De Banco 5-6 Edw.II.

265. P.R.O.L., C.135.36, m.22-Inq.P.M. 7 Edw.III; H.T.Knox, 'Occupation of Connaught', Jn.R.S.A.I., vol.33 (1903), p.60.

Leyny

Leyny was another of the cantreds which Richard de Burgh granted to Hugh de Lacy after the conquest of Connacht.<sup>266</sup> De Lacy granted the southern half of this cantred (i.e. the bar. of Gallen, Co. Mayo) to Jordan de Exeter sometime before September 1240, when Jordan granted half this half cantred to Maurice fitz Gerald.<sup>267</sup> At the same time Maurice undertook to build a castle for Jordan in another part of Ireland, and to reciprocate for this Jordan granted Maurice the whole half cantred until September 1241.<sup>268</sup> De Exeter seems to have established himself in his quarter cantred by the 1250s. In 1253 he was granted a weekly market and annual fair at Athlethan (given as 'Adleen', now Ballylahan in the par. of Templemore, bar. of Gallen).<sup>269</sup> According to 'Historia et Genealogia Familiae de Burgo', there was a borough here.<sup>270</sup>

In 1253 the Dominicans marked out a site for a monastery at

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266. See above, p. 89.

267. Red Book of Kildare, no. 191. In 1258 Jordan de Exeter is called Jordan Gaileang, A.U., II, p. 325.

268. Red Book of Kildare, no. 191.

269. C.D.I., 1252-84, no. 250.

270. 'Historia ... Familiae de Burgo', Jn.G.A.H.S., vol. 13 (1924-7), p. 135. This information appears in a portion of 'Historia' which was written in Latin and which was possibly taken from some chronicle which has since been lost. It gives an account of the events that occurred in Connacht during the Bruce invasion which supplements the accounts given in the annals, and much of the information it gives seems to be reliable. Its account of the attack made on Athlethan during the Bruce invasion is particularly full, and it is possible that this Latin portion of 'Historia' was taken from a chronicle compiled in the Dominican house at Strade near Athlethan. It has been suggested that 'Annales de Monte Fernandi', which end in 1274, were compiled here, see Tracts Relating to Ireland, vol. II, pp v-vii.

Athlethan, but the following year the monastery was burnt down.<sup>271</sup> The story told in the Dominican register of Athenry of how Basilia, the wife of Jordan de Exeter's son and the daughter of Meiler de Bermingham of Athenry, went on hunger-strike to get rid of the Franciscans, who had been established in Athlethan by the de Exeters, and have them replaced by the Dominicans<sup>272</sup> suggests that the de Exeters had settled in Athlethan before 1253. But the castle at Athlethan seems to belong to the second half of the thirteenth century.<sup>273</sup>

The Red Book of the Earls of Kildare contains a copy of a charter in which Richard de Burgh granted the northern half of the cantred of Leyny (i.e. the bar. of Leyny, Co. Sligo) to Maurice fitz Gerald.<sup>274</sup> If this is an accurate copy of the original charter,<sup>275</sup> it presents a problem, for, as we have already seen, Richard had already granted the cantred of Leyny to Hugh de Lacy. It is of course possible that de Lacy gave the northern half of Leyny back to de Burgh. But it is also possible that the Richard de Burgh who granted the northern half to fitz Gerald was Richard de Burgh II, who came of age in February 1247 and who was dead by November 1248.<sup>276</sup>

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271. A.C., pp 109-11; A.F.M., III, pp 349, 351.

272. 'Regestum Monasterii Fratrum Praedicatorum de Athenry', Arch.Hib., vol.1 (1912), pp 204-5.

273. H.G. Leask, Irish Castles, 2nd ed., p.72.

274. Red Book of Kildare, no. 24; N.L.I., MS 5769, m.6 - Photostat of 'The Red Book of Kildare'.

275. Orpen does not seem to have thought it was, for he says that it was Hugh de Lacy who granted the northern half of Leyny to fitz Gerald, see Normans, vol. III, p.195.

276. C.D.I., 1171-1251, nos 2865, 2975.



By this time Hugh de Lacy was dead,<sup>277</sup> and, although he left at least one daughter, his lands in Connacht seem to have reverted to de Burgh.<sup>278</sup> All that we can say for certain is that by 1248 fitz Gerald had been granted three quarters of Leyny.

Fitz Gerald seems to have made his first attempt to establish his authority over Leyny in 1241, some months after he had been given half the southern half of the cantred in fee, and the custody of de Exeter's lands there for one year. In 1241 he went with an army to Ballylahan (alias Athlethan) and made

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277. 'Annals of Ireland', Charts.St.Mary's, II, p.315; Grace, p.35; Clyn, p.7.

278. De Lacy's earldom of Ulster reverted to the crown in 1243, but this may have been one of the terms on which the earldom was restored to him in 1227, Otway-Ruthven, Med. Ireland, p.100. There is no evidence that de Lacy's daughter claimed a right to her father's land in Connacht. But his widow, Emeline, who was married to Stephen de Longespee, did claim dower there, and this dower became the subject of a dispute between Richard de Burgh II and de Longespee. The latter recovered the manor of Meelick 'by warranty of a third part of five cantreds of land as dower of Emeline, his wife', C.D.I., 1171-1251, no.3006. Orpen thought that the Meelick referred to was Meelick in the bar. of Gallen, Co. Mayo, and that a manor had been established here by Hugh de Lacy, Orpen, Normans, vol.III, p.194. However, there is no other evidence that there was a manor here, and de Exeter did not say Meelick was excepted from the temporary grant he made to fitz Gerald of the southern half of the cantred of Leyny, Red Book of Kildare, no. 191. The Meelick referred to must have been de Burgh's manor of Meelick in the bar. of Longford, Co. Galway. The words 'by warranty' suggest that de Longespee acquired the manor as a guarantee that Emeline would receive her dower. Shortly afterwards de Burgh gave de Longespee and his wife the custody of the manor of Tristelaurent, Co. Limerick, in exchange for Emeline's dower, C.D.I. 1171-1251, no. 3006.

peace with Teig O'Conor, after which he left the area.<sup>279</sup>  
 The kingship of Leyny was held by the O'Haras, but in 1238 Donough O'Hara, king of Leyny, had been captured by Teig O'Conor, and afterwards, while he was being taken to his place of custody, he had been killed by his own kinsmen, the sons of Aedh O'Hara.<sup>280</sup> It is not clear whether one of these then became king of Leyny, but the fact that fitz Gerald made peace with Teig suggests that he was the one who was in control. Relations between Teig and fitz Gerald seem to have broken down by 1242, but, fortunately for fitz Gerald, Teig had many enemies, and he was captured later in the year by Cu Chonnacht O'Reilly of Breifne at Felim O'Conor's instigation. Two years later he was blinded and emasculated by O'Reilly.<sup>281</sup> By the late 1240s a Dermot O'Hara had managed to establish himself as king of Leyny, but he must have been hostile to the settlers, because he died in fitz Gerald's prison in 1250.<sup>282</sup>

In 1244 fitz Gerald was given free chase and warren in his tenement in Leyny,<sup>283</sup> but sometime between this and his death in 1257 he granted his lands in Connacht to his son, Maurice, and he in turn granted lands in Leyny to his brother, Thomas. This grant tells us where the main centres of English settlement in the Geraldine portion of Leyny were located. The grant

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279. A.C., p.75; A.L.C., I, p.355.

280. A.C., p. 69; A.L.C., I, p.347; A.F.M., III, p.295; A.U., II, p.295.

281. A.C., pp77-81; A.L.C., I, pp 357-9, 363; A.F.M., III, pp 305-13.

282. A.C., p.103; A.L.C., I, p.395; A.F.M., III, p.341.

283. Red Book of Kildare, no.3; C.D.I., 1171-1251, no. 2680.

consisted of the castle and all the land of Banada (in the par. of Kilmacteige, bar. of Leyny) except the castle of Ardcrea (in the par. of Kilvarnet, bar. of Leyny), where Thomas was to do suit. As Thomas was to hold the land and castle of Banada as well and as fully as fitz Gerald had held them,<sup>284</sup> it is clear that settlement had begun in the latter's time. Both castles are mentioned in the annals in 1265.<sup>285</sup> By 1271 the Templars had established a preceptory and castle at Templehouse (in the par. of Kilvarnet, bar. of Leyny).<sup>285a</sup>

### Corran

Corran (now a bar. in Sligo) was another of the cantreds Richard de Burgh granted to Hugh de Lacy after the conquest of Connacht.<sup>286</sup> Gerald de Prendergast acquired the cantred subsequently, and sometime between March 1242 and November 1248 he gave it to David fitz Maurice in free marriage with Gerald's daughter, Matilda.<sup>287</sup> David, who was a son of Maurice fitz Gerald, died sometime before March 1249, when Matilda was not yet seven years old.<sup>288</sup> Land granted in free marriage was supposed to go back to the donor if the couple failed to have issue,<sup>289</sup> so presumably Corran reverted to

284. Red Book of Kildare, no. 74.

285. A.C., p.145; A.L.C., I, p.451; A.F.M., III, p.397.

285a. Gwynn and Hadcock, Medieval Religious Houses : Ireland, pp 330-

286. See above, p. 89.

287. Red Book of Kildare, no.27. The grant must have been made after March 1242, the date of Matilda's birth, Cal.Inq. P.M., vol.I, pp 64-5, no. 254, and it must have been made before Nov. 1248, because Richard de Burgh, lord of Connacht, is assumed in the charter to be alive. It is not clear whether Richard de Burgh I or II is being referred to, but if it is Richard de Burgh II, the grant must have been made before Nov.1248, because he was dead by then, C.D.I., 1171-1251, no. 2975.

288. Cal.Papal Reg., vol.I, pp 367-8; Pont.Hib., vol.II, pp 293-4, no. 470; Cal.Inq.P.M., vol.I, pp 64-5, no.254.

289. Pollock and Maitland, The History of English Law, 2nd ed., vol.II, pp 15-16.

Gerald de Prendergast on David's death. However, Gerald died in 1251,<sup>290</sup> and Matilda, and John de Cogan, the son of another of Gerald's daughters, became his heirs.<sup>291</sup> This explains why a Henry de Cogan held land in Corran in 1313.<sup>292</sup> Matilda was married to Maurice de Rochford after her father died, but Maurice died before May 1258,<sup>293</sup> and by October 1259 Matilda was married to Maurice, another son of Maurice fitz Gerald.<sup>294</sup> In 1289 their daughter, Amabilia,<sup>295</sup> granted one-third of Corran to John fitz Thomas.<sup>296</sup> It is not clear how the lord of Connacht acquired land in Corran, but in 1263 Walter de Burgh built a castle at Athangail in Corran, near Templehouse lake.<sup>297</sup> The following year Maurice fitz Maurice went to war against Walter,<sup>298</sup> and it is possible that conflicting interests in Corran contributed to the breakdown in relations between the two men.

The building of this castle is the first indication there is of English settlement in Corran. The annals say that in 1256 the English plundered all the churches of Corran on their way to join the O'Reillys, who were at war against Aedh son of Felim O'Conor and the O'Rourkes,<sup>299</sup> and this suggests that

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290. A.C., p.105.

291. Cal.Ing. P.M., vol.I, pp 64-5, no.254.

292. P.R.O.I., KB 1/1, m.10 - Just.Roll 6 Edw.II.

293. Orpen, Normans, vol.III, p.199.

294. Cal.Papal Reg. vol.I, pp 367-8; Pont.Hib., vol.II, pp 293-4, no.470.

295. Orpen, Normans, vol.IV, p.129.

296. Red Book of Kildare, no. 85.

297. A.C., p.141; A.L.C., I, p.447; A.F.M., III, p.391; A.Clon., p.244 say that it was built in 1264.

298. See below, pp 243-4.

299. A.C., pp 119-21; A.L.C., I, pp 417-9.

there was little or no English settlement in Corran at this time. In 1270 Aedh son of Felim O'Conor knocked down Athangail castle,<sup>301</sup> and in 1273, probably in order to re-establish English authority in Corran, Jordan de Exeter, who was sheriff of Connacht at the time,<sup>302</sup> raided Corran.<sup>303</sup> However, it is possible that it was not until Richard de Burgh built a castle at Ballymote in 1300<sup>304</sup> that the English re-occupied the area. By 1315 a town had grown up beside this castle.<sup>305</sup>

#### Tireragh (alias Ui Fiachrach Muaide)

By 1249 Peter de Bermingham had acquired the fifth cantred Richard de Burgh granted to Hugh de Lacy after the conquest of Connacht.<sup>306</sup> The annals tell us that that year Aedh son of Felim O'Conor 'advanced into Tireragh and right through the territory of Mac Feorais (i.e. de Bermingham), which he sacked

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301. A.C., p.157; A.L.C., I, p.467; A.F.M., III, p.413; A.Clon., p. 249.

302. See Appendix IV, p. 507.

303. A.C., p.201; A.L.C., I, p.473; A.U., II, p.347; A.F.M., III, p. 419. Walter de Burgh was dead by this time, A.C., p. 159.

304. A.C., p.201; A.L.C., I, p.523; A.Clon., p.258; A.F.M., III, p. 473; A.U., II, p.395. A description of this castle is given in H.G. Leask, Irish Castles, 2nd ed., pp 69-70.

305. A.C., p.233; A.L.C., I, p.567; A.Clon., p.270.

306. See above, p. 89.

from the Moy to Beltra Strand', near Ballysadare.<sup>307</sup> What evidence there is suggests that very little settlement had taken place by that date. The annals say that Aedh O'Conor plundered the whole of Tireragh but they do not mention an attack being made on any particular centre of English settlement. In contrast to this, when Tireragh was attacked again in 1266, the annals say that many castles were burned there with all their corn.<sup>308</sup> Furthermore, in 1249, when Geroitin de Bermingham went in pursuit of Aedh, and captured his ally, Donough son of Manus, he carried his captive off to Donaghintraine,<sup>309</sup> (in the par. of Templeboy, bar. of Tireragh), an Irish stronghold,<sup>310</sup> which the de Berminghams had presumably seized sometime before. But it does not seem to have become a manorial centre.

The manorial centres that we do hear about later are Ardnaree, Kilmoremoy, Castleconor and Buninna. We first hear of Ardnaree in 1266, when Donal O'Hara was killed while he was burning it 'against the Galls'.<sup>311</sup> In 1302-3 the manor belonged to Peter son of Meiler de Bermingham of Athenry.<sup>312</sup> Presumably he held it of the Berminghams of Tethmoy. There does not seem to be any mention of a castle here until 1371.<sup>313</sup> In 1322-3 Finula, the widow of Richard de Bermingham of Athenry, claimed dower in the manors of Ardnaree and

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307. A.C., p.99; A.L.C., I, p.387; A.F.M., III, pp 333-5.

308. A.C., p.147; A.L.C., I, pp 453-5; A.Clon., p.246.

309. A.C., p.99; A.L.C., I, p.387; A.F.M., III, p.335.

310. Tribes and Customs of Hy-Fiachrach, pp 174-5.

311. A.C., p.147; A.L.C., I, p.453; A.Clon., p.246; A.F.M., III, p. 339.

312. P.R.O.I., RC 7/10, pp 53-4-De Banco 31 Edw.I; RC 7/10, p.280 - De Banco 32 Edw.I; RC 7/10, pp 69, 83-4, 112-3, 162, 164, - De Banco 32-3 Edw.I.

313. A.F.M., III, p.655.

Kilmoremoy against John Tankard, bishop of Killala, one of the custodians of Richard's lands and heir.<sup>314</sup> This seems to be first reference we have to the manor of Kilmoremoy.

The third centre of English settlement was at Castleconor. From lawsuits of the 1290s we learn that there was a town, a castle, mills, a church and a chapel here. The lawsuits involved Peter son of James de Bermingham of Tethmoy and Margaret, the daughter of Andrew de Bermingham, who claimed hereditary rights in the manor. It would appear that the manor had been established by Peter de Bermingham I of Tethmoy, who died in 1254.<sup>315</sup> He seems to have given Andrew (who was most probably one of his younger sons) certain properties and rents in the manor. In the course of time, however, Andrew seems to have acquired more than was given to him by Peter I; and when, sometime between 1291-6, his daughter, Margaret, and her husband, Stephen le Poer, gave 4½ carucates and 80 marks rent in the manor to Eustace le Poer, the grant was contested by Peter I's grandson, Peter son of James de Bermingham of Tethmoy. Margaret also claimed rights through her father in the manor of Dunmore and in a manor in Tipperary. On 1 December 1296 a settlement was made between the parties. Claims were acknowledged, abandoned, bought and sold. The upshot was that Peter de Bermingham II acknowledged Margaret's and her husband's right to grant the 4½ carucates and 80 marks rent to Eustace le Poer, and he granted them the

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314. P.R.O.I., Betham's Genealogical Abstracts: Misc. Collection, vol. I, p. 48.

315. A.C., p. 111; A.L.C., I, p. 405.

advowson of the church of Castleconor and the chapel there. To Eustace le Poer he granted the town of Castleconor and its mills, the castle and its buildings, 30 acres there, and three carucates of land in a place nearby called le Carne.<sup>316</sup> Eustace must have been in possession of a great deal of the manor as a result of these grants.<sup>317</sup> In 1302 the king granted him free warren in his demesne lands in Castleconor.<sup>318</sup> It has been suggested that the cantred of 'Con<sup>C</sup>dummor' or 'Con<sup>C</sup>donmor' mentioned in the 1333 inquisition was Dunmaic Conchobhair, i.e. Castleconor. However, this identification is dubious, and it would seem much more likely that the cantred of 'Con<sup>C</sup>dummor' was Conmaicne Dunmore, now the barony of Dunmore, Co. Galway.<sup>319</sup>

The fourth manor we hear of was that of Buninna, which was otherwise known as the manor of Cúl Cnamha, a territory lying in the parishes of Dromard and Skreen.<sup>320</sup> It would seem from three lawsuits of the years 1305-8 that it was a le Cusack manor since Adam le Cusack junior's time at least,<sup>321</sup> and that

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316. P.R.O.I., RC 7/3, p.157-De Banco 19 Edw. I; RC 7/4, pp 123-4 - De Banco 24 Edw.I; RC 7/4, pp 491-3 - De Banco 24-5 Edw.I.

317. However, Margaret and her husband continued to have tenants and hold land in the manor, see P.R.O.I., RC 7/6, p. 98 - De Banco 27 Edw.I; RC 7/10, p.4 - De Banco 31 Edw.I.

318. C.D.I., 1302-7, no. 6.

319. See above, p.89, note 7.

320. Buninna lies in the par. of Dromard.

321. He died in 1287, A.U., II, p. 367; A.F.M., III, p.445.



sometime before 1306 Adam's daughter and heiress, Margaret, and her husband, Richard de Tuite, granted the manor to Richard de Burgh.<sup>323</sup> The castle of Buninna is mentioned for the first time in 1308, and seems to have been in de Burgh hands.<sup>324</sup>

#### Bredagh, Tirawley, and Bac and Glen

The theodum of Bredagh and the cantreds of Tirawley and Bac and Glen covered the barony of Tirawley, Co. Mayo. Bredagh lay in the parishes of Moygawnagh and Kilfian, the cantred of Tirawley seems to have consisted of the rest of the northern part of the barony, and the cantred of Bac and Glen lay in the southern part of the barony around Lough Conn.

A lawsuit of the years 1301-2 reveals that William de Burgh, who died in 1205, granted the theodum of Bredagh to Nicholas le Petit. Although Connacht had not been conquered, Nicholas granted the rectory of Bredagh to the priory of Mullingar, and the theodum itself to Adam le Cusack senior. Sometime before November 1248 a William Barrett entered Bredagh and ejected le Cusack from it.<sup>325</sup> A lawsuit followed in which Adam le Petit impleaded William Barrett of eleven villates in Bredagh, and Barrett called Richard de Carew to warranty.<sup>326</sup> It is clear that Bredagh had been the subject of conflicting

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323. C.J.R., 1305-7, pp 65-6; P.R.O.I., RC 7/11, pp 229-30 - De Banco 34-5 Edw.I; RC 7/13, p. 49 - De Banco 1 Edw.II.

324. See below, p. 328, note 62, and p. 331.

325. P.R.O.I., RC 7/9, pp 360-2-De Banco 30 Edw.I.

326. C.D.I., 1252-84, nos 292, 474.

grants. In another lawsuit a Carew claimed that Richard de Carew had received homage and service from William Barrett for Bredagh in Henry III's time.<sup>327</sup>

It would seem likely that Richard de Burgh I granted Bredagh to Richard de Carew after the conquest of Connacht. However, the justices in eyre seem to have decided in favour of the earlier grant, for the decision of the court was that Adam le Petit should recover seisin of the eleven villates. William Barrett violently resisted the sheriff of Connacht and his men when they tried to execute the court's decision, and in 1255 Henry III ordered the lord Edward's seneschal in Ireland, Richard de la Rochelle, to take 'such posse as may be necessary' and to go in person to the land to give Adam seisin of it. The king also ordered de la Rochelle to imprison all those who should resist him.<sup>328</sup> Barrett does not seem to have offered further resistance.

(1261-2)

The pipe roll 46 Henry III<sup>(1261-2)</sup> says that William Barrett accounted for the issues of 11½ villates in Bredagh from the death of Ralph le Petit until Adam le Petit had seisin.<sup>329</sup> It is not clear what tenurial relationship these Petits had to Adam le Cusack, who had been enfeoffed of Bredagh by Nicholas le Petit. All we know is that Adam le Cusack, after he had been ejected from Bredagh, gave Richard de Burgh II (1247-8) ten villates in the area, and that de Burgh undertook to

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327. P.R.O.I., RC 7/7, pp 41-2 - De Banco 28 Edw.I.

328. C.D.I., 1252-84, nos 292, 474.

329. B.M., Add. Charter 26515, fol. 203v. I am indebted to Dr Lydon for giving me his transcript of the extracts from this pipe roll.

maintain him in the rest of Bredagh. De Burgh's brother and heir, Walter, later gave seven of the villates to Miles de Curcy and his sister, and they gave them to William de Dundonald in exchange for lands elsewhere.<sup>330</sup> Walter seems to have retained the other three villates, and this probably explains the existence of a de Burgh court at Carn in Moygawnagh parish in 1333.<sup>331</sup>

An inquisition of 1299, held before William son of William Barrett came of age, found that his father had held the cantred of Bac and Glen of de Burgh for a rent of 20 marks per annum and for the service of two knights, and that he had also paid John de Rupe 39 marks yearly for the land.<sup>332</sup> However, in 1300 a Maurice de Carew claimed that William's father had owed homage and service to a succession of Carews for Bredagh and the cantred of Bac and Glen, and William recognized that he ought to render homage and service to Maurice for these lands.<sup>333</sup> One theory which fits all the facts is that Richard de Carew had been granted both the theodum of Bredagh and the cantred of Bac and Glen after the conquest of Connacht, and that he had enfeoffed William Barrett of Bredagh and a de Rupe of Bac and Glen. De Rupe would seem to have subsequently enfeoffed William Barrett of Bac and Glen.

The 1333 inquisition says that the heirs of William Barrett held the cantred of de Burgh, but it also shows that by that date a number of other people held pieces of land in the

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330. P.R.O.I., RC 7/9, pp 360-2-De Banco 30 Edw.I.

331. P.R.O.L., C.135.36, m.22-Inq.P.M. 7 Edw.III; H.T. Knox, 'Occupation of Connaught', Jn.R.S.A.I., vol.33 (1903), p.59.

332. C.J.R., 1295-1303, pp 227-8.

333. P.R.O.I., RC 7/7, pp 41-2-De Banco 28 Edw.I.

cantred of de Burgh directly.<sup>334</sup> One of the people who received land in the cantred at an early date was Jordan de Exeter, who granted Muinter Lachtnáin to Maurice fitz Gerald sometime before 1257.<sup>335</sup> This land probably lay in the area to the east of Lough Conn, where the O'Laghtnans were chiefs.<sup>336</sup> There is no evidence to show that the Geraldines established themselves here, but it would seem that the de Exeters maintained an interest in the area. In 1295-6 Jordan de Exeter claimed the right to present to the church of Kilbelfad (given as 'Kebuleyr') against the bishop of Killala.<sup>337</sup>

Sometime before 1205 William de Burgh granted Hugh de Lacy 'the two cantreds of Tirawley',<sup>338</sup> but since the rectory of Tirawley was inappropriate to the priory of Mullingar,<sup>339</sup> it would seem likely that de Lacy granted the area to Nicholas le Petit. The subsequent tenorial history of Tirawley is obscure. However, it is clear from Mac Firbis's account of 'the Welshmen of Tirawley' that there was considerable English settlement in this area.<sup>340</sup> Indeed we have little besides Mac Firbis to show where the centres of English settlement in the barony of Tirawley were. Mac Firbis cannot always be relied on. He portrays William Barrett as the victor of the battle that took place between the Barretts and the Cusacks at Moyne in 1281.<sup>341</sup> In fact William Barrett was captured by le Cusack and died in his prison a few years later.<sup>342</sup> However, we can have more confidence in Mac Firbis when he mentions centres of English settlement, since these probably survived to his day.

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334. P.R.O.L., C.135.36, m.22-Inq.P.M.7 Edw.III; H.T. Knox, 'Occupation of Connaught', Jn.R.S.A.I., vol.33 (1903), pp 58-9.

335. Red Book of Kildare, no. 65.

336. A.F.M., III, p.343; see also ibid., note s and Red Book of Kildare, p.204.

337. P.R.O.I., RC7/4, p.440 - De Banco 24-5 Edw.I.

338. Cal. Gormanston Reg., pp191-2.

339. K.W. Nicholls, 'Rectory, Vicarage and Parish in the Western Irish Dioceses', Jn.R.S.A.I., vol.101 (1971), p. 73.

340. Tribes and Customs of Hy-Fiachrach, pp 325-39.

341. Ibid., pp 329-31.

342. See below, pp 270-2.

He says that William Barrett built a castle at Caislen na Circe (on the west bank of the Moy opposite Foxford)<sup>342</sup> and that he seized 'the great court' of Meelick (in the par. of Killala), and gave it and the surrounding countryside to Mac Batin Barrett.<sup>343</sup> There are the ruins of a castle at Meelick,<sup>344</sup> and a Batinus Barrett appears in the receipt rolls of 1285 to 1297.<sup>345</sup> Another centre of English settlement was possibly Rathfran, where, according to Ware, a de Exeter built a Dominican friary in 1274.<sup>346</sup>

#### Gnó Mór and Gnó Beg

It is unlikely that there was any English settlement in Gno Mor and Gno Beg (now the bar. of Moycullen, Co. Galway) until after 1256. That year Walter de Burgh made a great raid on O'Flaherty in these places and afterwards took possession of all Lough Corrib.<sup>347</sup> Presumably up till now he had not been in control of the lake. Gno Beg is probably the half cantred of 'Knockbeg' held by Hubert de Burgh of Walter de Burgh before the latter's death in 1271.<sup>348</sup> The 1333 inquisition says that six villates in Gno Mor used to bring in £10-16-8, and a number of other villates in the region are also said to have brought in revenue. Two of these can be identified : Barna, on the coast between Galway and Spiddle, and Tullokyne, just to the west of Lough Corrib, where there are the remains of a castle. The 1333

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342. H.T. Knox, History of Mayo, p. 292.

343. Tribes and Customs of Hy-Fiachrach, pp 329-31.

344. Ibid., p. 330, note y.

345. See below, p. 273.

346. Gwynn and Hadcock, Medieval Religious Houses : Ireland, p. 228.

347. See above, p. 116.

348. 36th Rept. D.K., p.63 - Pipe Roll 10 Edw.I.

inquisition says that the pleas and perquisites of the court of Gno Mor and Gno Beg brought in £5-0-0,<sup>349</sup> and this suggests that there were a number of English settlers in this region.

### Conmaicne Mara

In the 1333 inquisition it is said that the cantred of Conmaicne Mara (now the bar. of Ballynahinch, Co. Galway) used to render 20 marks.<sup>350</sup> In 1248 the English plundered Conmaicne Mara,<sup>351</sup> but it is not certain whether settlement followed. In 1253 Jordan de Exeter was granted a weekly market and annual fair at a place called 'Tipernehunch'.<sup>352</sup> It is possible that this is Ballynahinch. Some support for a connection between Jordan de Exeter and Conmaicne Mara exists, but it is not conclusive evidence. In 1258, when Mac Sorley of the Hebrides sailed with a great fleet 'round the west of Ireland into Connemara', and robbed a merchant fleet of all her goods, Jordan de Exeter 'put out with a fleet full of Galls in pursuit of Mac Somurli', and was eventually killed by the Hebrideans on an unnamed island.<sup>353</sup> This suggests that de Exeter was in Connemara at the time. However, de Exeter was the sheriff<sup>of</sup> Connacht,<sup>354</sup> and it is arguable that he was anywhere along the west coast of Connacht at the time. But that there was some English settlement off the north-west coast of Connemara is certain. In 1280-1 John Sturmyrn brought a plea against Maurice Lawless and Manath his wife (an Irishwoman?) that they should warrant him the

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349. P.R.O.L., C.135.36, m.23-Inq.P.M. 7 Edw.III; H.T.Knox, 'Occupation of Connaught', Jn.R.S.A.I., vol.32 (1902), p. 397.

350. P.R.O.L., C.135.36, m.23-Inq.P.M. 7 Edw.III; H.T.Knox, 'Occupation of Connaught', Jn.R.S.A.I., vol.32 (1902), p.397.

351. A.C., p.95; A.L.C., I, p.383; A.F.M., III, p.331.

352. C.D.I., 1252-84, no. 250.

353. A.C., p.127; A.L.C., I, pp 427-9; A.F.M., III, pp 369-71; A.Clon., pp 241-2.

354. A.C., p.127; A.L.C., I, p.427; A.F.M., III, p.371; A.Clon. p.242.

islands of Inishbofin (given as 'Inesbosyn') and Inishark (given as 'Inesarka').<sup>355</sup> But it is possible that settlement on these islands was an offshoot of English settlement in Umhall, where the Lawlesses held lands.<sup>356</sup>

### Umhall

In 1248 Umhall (now the bars. of Burrishoole and Murrisk, Co. Mayo) is described as belonging to the son of Henry in annals, which tell us further that he actually lived there.<sup>357</sup> Ware says that a John Butler was one of the de Burgh's tenants in 1242,<sup>358</sup> and he was possibly the man who held Umhall; for a Henry Butler, lord of Umhall, is mentioned in 1272.<sup>359</sup> In 1309 a de Caunteton of Cork claimed that his ancestors had granted the cantred of Umhall to the Butlers,<sup>360</sup> but the 1333 inquisition shows that by then at least the Butlers held of de Burgh directly. The inquisition also shows that while Butler held most of Umhall - he held what it calls the cantred of 'Owyl Botiller' - there were others in the cantred of Umhall who held of de Burgh directly.<sup>361</sup> It is probable that Butler held the northern part of Umhall only (i.e. the bar. of Burrishoole).<sup>362</sup> Only two of the tenements held by others are named, and only one can be identified. It is

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355. P.R.O.I., RC 7/2, p.112-De Banco 9 Edw.I.

356. P.R.O.L., C.135.36, m.22-Inq.P.M. 7 Edw.III; H.T. Knox, 'Occupation of Connaught', Jn.R.S.A.I., vol. 33 (1903), p.58.

357. A.C., pp93-5; A.L.C., I, pp381-3. A.F.M., III, pp 327-9 say the son of Henry was Piers Poer, but this is incorrect.

358. B.M., Add.MS 4787, fol.109.

359. A.C., p.159; A.L.C., I, p.471; A.F.M., III, p.417; A.Clon, p.249.

360. P.R.O.I., RC 7/13, pp 43-5-De Banco 2 Edw.II.

361. P.R.O.L., C.135.36, m.22-Inq.P.M. 7 Edw.III; H.T. Knox, 'Occupation of Connaught', Jn.R.S.A.I., vol.33 (1903), p.58.

362. In the later 14th century the Butlers called themselves the lords of Umhall and Achill, which is within the bar. of Burrishoole, Cal. Ormond Deeds, vol.II, no.243.

Knappagh, which lies south-west of Westport in the barony of Murrisk. The tenants who held of de Burgh directly paid high rents,<sup>363</sup> and this may indicate that an intermediate tenure had disappeared. It is conceivable that a de Caunteton had been granted the whole of Umhall by Richard de Burgh after the conquest, and that he granted the northern part to John (?) de Butler and created smaller holdings in the southern part for other tenants. It is noteworthy that the Butlers of Umhall also held land in Cork.<sup>364</sup>

In 1247 members of the Clann Murtough burned Burges Cinn Trachta,<sup>365</sup> which was probably Burrishoole,<sup>366</sup> and in 1248 they burned Mac Henry's castle,<sup>367</sup> which was probably located nearby.<sup>368</sup>

### Erris

In 1333 John de Exeter held the cantred of Erris (now a bar. in Co. Mayo) of de Burgh.<sup>369</sup> He was the son of Jordan de Exeter, who held the manor of Athlethan (alias Ballylahan) in

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363. P.R.O.L., C.135.36, m.22-Inq.P.M. 7 Edw.III; H.T. Knox, 'Occupation of Connaught', Jn.R.S.A.I., vol.33 (1903), p.58. In the inquisition Knappagh appears as 'Knappaugh', but Knox renders it 'Knappaugy'.
364. P.R.O.I., RC 7/13, pp 43-5-De Banco 2 Edw.II; Cal. Ormond Deeds, vol.II, no. 243.
365. A.C., pp 92-3; A.L.C., I, pp 378-9; A.F.M., III, pp 324-5.
366. Various locations have been suggested for this borough. O'Donovan suggested Burriscarra, A.F.M., III, pp 324-5, note m; and Castlehill in Erris has also been suggested, P. Moran, 'Inscribed Cross-slabs in the parish of Ballycroy, Co. Mayo', Jn.R.S.A.I., vol. 72 (1942), pp 150-1. Burrishoole is the location suggested by Freeman in A.C., pp 92-3, 811.
367. A.C., p.95; A.L.C., I, p.381; A.F.M., III, p.327.
368. A.Clon., p.238 say that the castle was at Tyren-more (unidentified).
369. P.R.O.L., C.135.36, m.22-Inq.P.M. 7 Edw.III; H.T.Knox, 'Occupation of Connaught', Jn.R.S.A.I., vol.33 (1903), p.59.



Leyny.<sup>370</sup> There is no clear indication of settlement in Erris until shortly after 1281, when lands belonging to Adam le Fleming there were taken into the king's hand. Of the four pieces of land named, only one - Kilcommon in north Erris - can be identified.<sup>371</sup>

The Butler manor of Ballycroy is first heard of in 1306, when Henry son of John son of Henry Butler was a minor and in the custody of Jordan de Exeter. The records tell us that John Butler had held the manor of de Exeter in return for a yearly rent of £1-6-8, and  $\frac{1}{2}$  mark scutage when royal service ran.<sup>372</sup> There are the remains of a castle at Castlehill.<sup>373</sup>

Another manor we hear of is that of Dookeegan in north Erris. In 1318 Matilda, the widow of Stephen son of Stephen de Exeter, sued for dower in this manor.<sup>374</sup> It is doubtful whether the manor was established before 1274, for the annals say that Fergal O'Caithnaidh, lord of Erris, died that year in Hy-Mac-Caechan, which was the area around Dookeegan.<sup>375</sup>

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370. Orpen, Normans, vol.III, p.221.

371. C.J.R., 1295-1303, pp 312,330. Adam le Fleming had fought on William Barrett's side against the Cusacks in the battle of Moyne, see below, p. 272, note 80.

372. P.R.O.I., RC 7/11, pp 567-De Banco 34 Edw.I; RC 7/11, pp 232, 330-1-De Banco 34-5 Edw.I.

373. P.Moran, 'Inscribed Cross-slabs in the parish of Ballycroy, Co. Mayo', Jn.R.S.A.I., vol.72 (1942), pp 150-1. We have already noted that Moran has suggested that Burges Cinn Trachta was at Castlehill, but Burrishoole would seem a more likely location for the borough.

374. H.T. Knox, History of Mayo, p.309. Knox quotes from De Banco Roll 13 Edw.II.

375. A.F.M., III, p.423. See also ibid., p.422, note w.

## Section III

As a result of the great transfer of lands technically known as subinfeudation prominent families from many parts of Ireland came into Connacht and set up manors there: from Leinster the Geraldines, the de Berminghams, the de Ridelsfords and the de Stauntons; from Munster the Geraldines, the de Cogans, the de Barrys, the de Prendergasts and the Barretts; and from Meath the Nangles (alias Mac Costellos), the le Petits and the Cusacks. Some of the men who established manors in Connacht were the heads of their families and were already important lords. Among these were Maurice fitz Gerald, lord of Offaly, Peter de Bermingham, lord of Tethmoy, Adam de Staunton, lord of Moone, and John de Cogan, who had extensive lands in Munster. It was perhaps natural that they should have acquired large estates in Connacht from de Burgh and through the process of subinfeudation, for they had the resources necessary for establishing new settlements. But it is clear that the younger sons and younger brothers of the heads of families, and members of collateral lines whose relationship to the main line of the family is not always clear,<sup>1</sup> also profited from the conquest of Connacht and the consequent availability of land.

Though disadvantaged by primogeniture these men cannot, however, have been landless prior to the conquest of Connacht. Presumably they all held land of their relatives, and some would have

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1. For example, the Butlers of Umhall and the de Prendergasts of Clanmorris, see above, pp 138, 161-2.

acquired land by marrying heiresses. For example, Meiler de Bermingham, whose elder brother, James, stood between him and his father's lordship of Tethmoy, seems to have held land of his father in Carbury, Co. Kildare, and to have acquired lands in Co. Tipperary through his marriage to Basilia, the heiress of William of Worcester.<sup>2</sup> That he was not penniless can be seen from the fact that on top of all the expenses involved in settling in Athenry he was able to pay 160 marks for a site for a Dominican friary there, and to give the friars gifts of gold and silver, horses, English cloth and divers other goods.<sup>3</sup> But although Meiler held some lands elsewhere in Ireland, he and his heirs seem to have made Athenry their principal place of residence. The register of the Dominican friary of Athenry shows that up to the mid fifteenth century (when the register was compiled)<sup>4</sup> only two of the de Berminghams died away from Athenry : Meiler de Bermingham himself and Thomas de Bermingham, who died in 1374. It is clear that it was Meiler's wish that he should be buried in Athenry, for the register tells us that four of the friars transferred his body from Cashel, where he died, to his own tomb in the Dominican friary. Thomas de Bermingham's remains were also brought to Athenry by the friars two years after he had died at Trim.<sup>5</sup>

Whereas the Athenry branch of the de Bermingham family became

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2. G.H. Orpen, 'Notes on the Bermingham Pedigree', Jn.G.A.H.S., vol.9 (1915-16), p. 198; H.T. Knox, 'The Bermingham Family of Athenry', ibid., vol.10 (1916), p.139.
  3. 'Regestum Monasterii Fratrum Praedicatorum de Athenry', Arch. Hib., vol.I (1912), p.204.
  4. Ibid., pp 201-3.
  5. Ibid., pp 204-5, 213-4.

established in the first generation of the settlers of Connacht, in other families we find that a Connacht branch emerged only in the second generation. This can be seen in the case of the Nangles (alias Mac Costellos). Miles Mac Costello was lord of Navan as well as lord of Sliabh Lugha in Connacht up to his death in 1259, but after his death a Connacht branch of the family came into being.<sup>6</sup> Presumably Miles had granted his Connacht lands to a younger son. In a similar way Maurice fitz Gerald, lord of Offaly, granted his numerous estates in Connacht to his younger son, Maurice, who in return quitclaimed any right to the Geraldine estates in Leinster.<sup>7</sup> However, later in the thirteenth century John fitz Thomas achieved the remarkable feat of reuniting half of the Geraldine lands in Connacht with the lordship of Offaly. This was remarkable because he was heir to neither branch of the family.<sup>8</sup> It is impossible to say what Maurice fitz Gerald's reasons for granting his Connacht lands to his younger son were, but it is clear that people who had large estates outside Connacht sometimes found it difficult to maintain control over their officials in Connacht. John fitz Thomas had to resort to the common bench to make his bailiffs in Kilcolgan and Loughmask render their accounts.<sup>9</sup> Emelina, the daughter of Walter de Ridelsford, spent 10 years trying to compel Maurice le Graunt to render his account for the time he was her bailiff in Corrofin.<sup>10</sup>

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6. Orpen, Normans, vol. III, p. 35, note 2.
  7. Red Book of Kildare, no. 31. This is the only charter which survives of the grants Maurice fitz Gerald made to his son Maurice. For the other grants we rely on later evidence, ibid., nos 60, 74, 129.
  8. See below, pp 284-5.
  9. P.R.O.I., RC 7/7, p.296-De Banco 27-8 Edw.I; ibid., pp 77, 214-5, 384-De Banco 28 Edw.I.
  10. P.R.O.I., RC 7/4, p.112-De Banco 24 Edw.I; RC 7/6, p.50-De Banco 27 Edw.I; RC 7/7, p.306-De Banco 27-8 Edw.I; RC 7/7, pp 231, 403-De Banco 28 Edw.I; RC 7/6, p.524-De Banco 28-9 Edw.I; RC 7/9, p.332-De Banco 30 Edw.I; RC 7/9, p.289 - De Banco 30-31 Edw.I; RC 8/2, p.241-De Banco 31-2 Edw.I; RC 7/10, p. 563 - De Banco 33 Edw.I; RC 7/11, p.413 - De Banco 34 Edw.I.

The process by which lords found tenants for their new manors is largely unknown to us. However, a comparison of the extents made in 1289 of the manors of Ardrahan and Sligo with the extent made the previous year of the manor of Inchiquin, Co. Cork, is illuminating, because Maurice fitz Gerald held the manor of Inchiquin when he established the Connacht manors.<sup>11</sup> Of the 23 free tenants of the manor of Inchiquin two appear as free tenants of the manor of Ardrahan (Gilbert the Welshman and Walter Clement), one appears as a free tenant of the manor of Sligo (Raymond Kenefeg) and another (Jordan de Exeter) was a free tenant of all three manors.<sup>12</sup> It would seem reasonable to conclude that fitz Gerald had brought some of his free tenants from the manor of Inchiquin into Connacht, and it is possible that most of his free tenants in Connacht were drawn from his manors elsewhere in Ireland.<sup>13</sup>

It was natural that lords should involve their tenants in the expansion to the west. Not only would the lords have known these people personally but the latter would have had the resources that were needed to meet the considerable cost of settling in new land. However, the fact that these tenants held land elsewhere means that they, like their lords, cannot have been full time residents in Connacht. It is possible that younger brothers of such men also profited from the

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11. Orpen, Normans, vol.II, pp 113-4; C.D.I., 1285-92, no.1142.

12. Ibid., no. 459, p.203; Red Book of Kildare, nos 60, 129.

13. The only tenants mentioned in the extents of the Connacht manors are free tenants and burgesses ibid.

expansion into the west. Thus Robert Kenefeg, a tenant of the manor of Sligo, was possibly a younger brother or cousin of Raymund Kenefeg, a free tenant of the manors of Inchiquin and Sligo.<sup>14</sup> In the manor of Ardrahan we find three Hakets and two Joys.<sup>15</sup>

It is impossible to say to what extent other lords in Connacht recruited their tenants from their own manors elsewhere in Ireland. There is no direct evidence that settlers were brought from England, and though it is possible that some lords who held land in England found tenants there for their lands in Connacht,<sup>16</sup> it would seem likely that most of the settlers of Connacht were from other parts of the lordship of Ireland.

It is not possible to date the beginnings of settlement in all parts of Connacht, but it is clear that a number of the major tenants began to occupy their lands immediately after the conquest of the province, and that settlement had taken place in many parts of Connacht by the late 1240s. This can be seen in Map II,<sup>17</sup> which is made from the evidence supplied in Section II of the earliest settlement known to have taken place in the various areas held of and by de Burgh.

We can see from Map III<sup>18</sup> some of the factors which influenced the principal tenants' choice of sites for their castles, towns and manors. Most of the centres of settlement were established

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14. Ibid., no. 129; C.D.I., 1285-92; no. 459, p.203.

15. Red Book of Kildare, no.60.

16. See above, p. 114.

17. In the pocket attached to the back cover of the thesis.

18. Ibid.

on the major rivers of Connacht. That some at least of these rivers were fordable can be seen from the names of the settlements which had the prefix 'Ath' (meaning 'ford'): e.g. Athenry, Athmekin and Athlethan. The strategic importance of other settlements can be seen in the fact that they were established where previously there had been Gaelic fortifications: e.g. Castleconor, Dunmore, and Galway.<sup>19</sup> The control which the English had as a result of their choice of sites is difficult to ascertain, but it would seem that their riverside settlements gave them control over communications in an impressively large area of Connacht. However, as we shall see later, the English settlement of Connacht had a number of strategic weaknesses.

Regarding land quality, it can be seen from MapIII that, as was usual elsewhere, mountainous regions were avoided by the settlers. In order to establish whether settlements were generally located on the better agricultural land, we have of necessity to rely on our knowledge of present day soils.<sup>20</sup> This of course is not altogether satisfactory. Soil types have naturally been evaluated in agricultural terms with present day agricultural methods in mind, and the map showing the agricultural value of the whole region is a general one. However, it is nonetheless worthwhile comparing this map (Map. IV)<sup>21</sup> with MapIII, which shows the principal centres of English settlement in Connacht. A comparison of the two maps shows that generally speaking most settlements were established

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19. For the Irish castle at Galway, see above, p.35.

20. For this, see M.J. Gardiner and P. Ryan, 'A New Generalised Soil Map of Ireland and its Land-Use Interpretation', Irish Journal of Agriculture, vol.8 (1969), pp 95-109.

21. In the pocket attached to the back cover of the thesis.

on the better land of Connacht. Only the south-east corner of Connacht has soil which has been rated first-class from the agricultural point of view (the areas marked 20 and 21 on Map IV ), and it is worth drawing attention to the fact that de Burgh's manors of Loughrea and Meelick were in this region. The next best land is found in a belt stretching from south-east of Galway Bay to Killala Bay (the areas marked 22 and 23 on Map IV ). It is in this area that most of the English settlements were situated (see Map III). However, a fair number of settlements are also to be found in land which has moderate to strong and strong limitations to agricultural use (the areas marked 13, 17, and 25 on Map IV ), and this suggests that the quality of the land was not the only factor which had a bearing on the distribution of settlements. A similar conclusion has been reached with regard to the distribution of English settlements in Meath.<sup>22</sup>

It is worth comparing the information given in the soil map with the evidence provided by the few extents of manors in Connacht that have survived. That the land in the areas marked 20 and 21 in the soil map was of a high quality is confirmed by the 1333 inquisition, which tells us that the value of an acre of arable in two of four blocks of de Burgh's demesne lands in the manors of Loughrea and Meelick and at Kilcarban used to be 12d in the past, that in the other two blocks it used to be 10d, and that in each of these places the value of an acre of meadow used to be 12d.<sup>23</sup> These values compare quite favourably with the value in 1333 of an acre in

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22. B.J. Graham, 'Anglo-Norman Settlement in County Meath', Proc. R.I.A., vol. 75, section C (1975), p. 237.

23. P.R.O.L., C.135.36, mm 21,23 - Inq. P.M. 7 Edw.III; H.T. Knox, 'Occupation of Connaught', Jn. R.S.A.I., vol.32 (1902), pp 133-4; 393, 395.



the manor of Lisronagh, Co. Tipperary, which lay in land classified in Map IV as being of the same quality (the region marked 8 and 24 south-east of Lough Derg). Here the value of acre of pasture cannot be calculated, but the value of an acre of arable was 14d.<sup>24</sup> The manorial extents tend to highlight the limitations of using a generalized soil map. Thus in the 1333 inquisition the value of both an acre of arable and an acre of meadow in the manor of Ballintober, Co. Roscommon, is said to have previously been 12d,<sup>25</sup> but this manor lay in an area classified as being only second best in the soil map (the area marked 11). There is probably a worse discrepancy between the information provided by the soil map and that given in a manorial extent in the case of Ardrahan. The 1289 extent of this manor says that the value of three carucates in demesne, two and a half of which were arable, the remaining half carucate being pasture, was £6. In demesne land in two other parts of the manor the value of four carucates of arable and pasture was £8.<sup>26</sup> If a carucate was 120 acres here, as it was in the manor of Loughrea,<sup>27</sup> this would mean that the value of an acre of demesne land in Ardrahan was 4d. One would expect a somewhat higher value from land which appears in the soil map as being of the same quality as the land in which Ballintober was situated. However, we cannot be certain that a carucate was 120 acres in the manor of Ardrahan. This completes the information provided by the manorial extents. The 1289 extent of Sligo does not give the value of the land held in demesne,<sup>28</sup>

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24. E.Curtis, 'Rental of the Manor of Lisronagh, 1333, and Notes on 'Betagh' Tenure in Medieval Ireland', Proc. R.I.A., vol.43, section C (1936), p.42.
25. P.R.O.L., C.135.36, m.22-Inq.P.M.7 Edw.III; H.T.Knox, 'Occupation of Connaught', Jn.R.S.A.I., vol.33 (1903), p.59.
26. Red Book of Kildare, no.60.
27. H.T.Knox, 'Occupation of Connaught', Jn.R.S.A.I., vol.32 (1902), p.133.
28. Red Book of Kildare, no. 129.

and the 1281 extent of the manor of Athmekin describes the demesne lands in terms of villates,<sup>29</sup> and thus the value of an acre cannot be calculated.

There is, however, another medieval source which helps us to ascertain whether English settlements were established on the better land of Connacht: the ecclesiastical taxation of 1306.<sup>30</sup> This of course only tells us about ecclesiastical wealth, but it is probably safe to assume that the valuations of the parish churches reflect fairly accurately the wealth of the parishes in which they lie, especially since the tithes paid by the laity were such an important part of the income of parish churches. The taxation, however, presents many problems, not the least of which is the identification of the churches listed within the dioceses of Killala, Achonry, Tuam, Annaghdown, Clonfert and Kilmacduagh, which made up the province of Tuam. A list of the 300 or so churches mentioned in the taxation is given in Appendix I, and approximately 75% of them have been identified, some more tentatively than others.<sup>31</sup> A further problem is that the assessors presented the revenues of the dioceses in different ways, almost certainly because there were different assessors in the various dioceses, and as a result it is not always easy to ascertain the full valuation of the parishes. In the province of Tuam the bishops received a quarter of the tithes of their dioceses, to supplement the small revenues of their

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29. C.D.I., 1252-84, no.1801.

30. For an account of this taxation, see T.B. Barry, Medieval Moated Sites of South-Eastern Ireland, pp 128-31.

31. See below, Appendix I, pp 433-44.

sees.<sup>32</sup> This presents no problem in the dioceses of Tuam and Annaghdown, where the revenue of the parish is divided into the rector's portion (half the revenue), the vicar's portion (a quarter of the revenue) and the bishop's portion (a quarter of the revenue).<sup>33</sup> In these dioceses, therefore, the valuation of each parish can be ascertained by adding up the three portions. In the dioceses of Achonry, Kilmacduagh and Clonfert the bishops' share of the tithes must have been included in the revenues of the bishops, because only the incomes of the rectors and the vicars of the parish churches are given.<sup>34</sup> In order to establish what the bishop's quarter was in a parish in these dioceses, we have to divide the sum of the rector's and vicar's incomes by three, and in order to ascertain the full valuation of the parish we have to add this quarter to the sum of the rector's and vicar's incomes. This calculation is simple to do, but difficulties arise concerning the rector's income in the dioceses of Clonfert and Kilmacduagh, which will be discussed later. In the diocese of Killala a single sum appears opposite each of the parish churches, and there is no mention of rector or vicar.<sup>35</sup> It is therefore not clear whether the bishop's quarter is included in this sum, or whether it is included in the spiritualities of the bishop, which are assessed

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32. In 1257 the pope confirmed to the bishop of Achonry the right to take a quarter of the tithes of his diocese as he and his predecessors had done and as the other bishops of the province of Tuam did within their dioceses, Pont. Hib., vol.II, p.264, no.436 ; Cal.Papal Reg., vol.I, p. 343, where 'Achonry' is mistakenly given as 'Aghadoe'. This custom was unheard of in the east of Ireland, but it existed in the dioceses of Gaelic Ulster, K.W. Nicholls, 'Rectory, Vicarage and Parish in the Western Irish Dioceses', Jn.R.S.A.I., vol.101 (1971), p.54.
33. C.D.I., 1302-7, pp 225-236; P.R.O.L., E.IOI/233/21, no.1. In the rectories held by the dean and chapter of Tuam the archbishop did not receive the quarta episcopalis, which went instead to the dean and chapter.
34. C.D.I., 1302-7, pp 217-223; P.R.O.L., E.IOI/233/21 no.1.
35. The only exception is the vicar of Killala, ibid.

at the beginning of the taxation.<sup>36</sup> In the diocese of Elphin the bishop's revenue is not given at all. All that appears is a list of churches with a single sum opposite each church.<sup>37</sup> It would seem very likely therefore that the bishop's quarter is included in this sum.

Another problem that arises is that in the dioceses of Kilmacduagh and Clonfert the rector's income does not represent the rectorial share of the tithes of a single parish but of a number of parishes. These large 'rural rectories' covering a number of parishes are found only in Connacht and in Thomond, that is, in areas in which there had been some parochial development before English settlement took place.<sup>38</sup> It has been established that no parishes existed in the rural deanery of Skreen, Co. Meath, prior to English settlement,<sup>39</sup> and it would seem likely that this area was typical of most parts of the country that were settled by the English at an early date. But when the English began to settle in Connacht in the late 1230s some parochial development had already taken place there. In Cathal Crobhderg's obituary sub anno 1224 the annals say that 'it was in the time of this king that tithes were first levied for God in Ireland'.<sup>40</sup> We can take this as meaning parishes were established in Connacht during Cathal's reign. It would seem that these

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36. P.R.O.L., E.101/233/21 no.1; C.D.I., 1302-7, p.217.

37. Ibid., pp 223-5.

38. K.W. Nicholls, 'Rectory, Vicarage and Parish in the Western Irish Dioceses', Jn.R.S.A.I., vol.101 (1971), pp 53-84.

39. A.J. Otway-Ruthven, 'Parochial Development in the Rural Deanery of Skreen', Jn.R.S.A.I., vol.94 (1964), pp 111-122.

40. A.C., p.5.

parishes were based on the tribal territories and kingdoms. In 1224 the annals record the murder by one of the O'Dowdas of Mael Isu son of the bishop O Mailfagmair, parson of Tireragh and Tirawley,<sup>41</sup> territories which formed the kingdom of the O'Dowdas.<sup>42</sup> A parish that size was enormous, and it represents a very early stage in parochial development. It would seem that the English began to settle in Connacht before the bishops began to divide these large parishes into smaller ones which would give rectors with the cure of souls, and vicars in cases where the rector was a sinecure absentee, a better chance of attending to their parishioners. The settlers claimed the right of patronage in their lands, and either granted the rectories of their lands to monasteries or installed their own clerks in them. Since de Burgh and his tenants-in-chief held the tribal territories of Connacht, the rectories continued to be called after the names of these territories, but a number of the rectories were also called after the principal manorial centre of the territory in which they lay. Thus the rectory of Ui Fiachrach was also called the rectory of Ardrahan.<sup>43</sup> Within these large 'rectories in lay fee' (or 'rural rectories') there were pockets of land which belonged to the church and in which the settlers did not have the right of advowson. These lands therefore had separate rectories, which were described as 'rectories in ecclesiastical fee' (or 'in sanctuary'), and which were prebendal (i.e. they belonged to members of the cathedral chapters). However, the rural rectories were in many cases still too large for the

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41. Ibid., p.7.

42. See above, p. 88.

43. K.W. Nicholls, 'Rectory, Vicarage and Parish in the Western Irish Dioceses', Jn.R.S.A.I., vol.101 (1971), p.59.

incumbent with the cure of souls to attend to all his parishioners, and in the course of the thirteenth century a number of vicarages were established in each of the large rural rectories. It was the boundaries of the vicarages which formed the parish boundaries, and this explains why a rural rectory usually covered a number of parishes. The parishes within a rural rectory had one rector between them, and the rectorial share of the tithes of all the secular lands in the parishes within the rectory went to this rector. But he did not receive the rectorial share of the tithes of the lands in ecclesiastical fee (i.e. the church lands), for this went to prebendaries. However, each of the vicars received a quarter of the tithes of the parish regardless of whether the lands were in lay or ecclesiastical fee.<sup>44</sup>

The 1306 taxation did not concern itself with the rural rectories in most of the dioceses of the province of Tuam; that is, in most dioceses the revenue of the rectors was assessed parish by parish. However, in the dioceses of Kilmacduagh and Clonfert the revenue of each rural rector is given in a lumpsum. The revenue of every vicar in the two dioceses is also given, but we are not told in which rectories the vicarages lay.<sup>45</sup>

To calculate the full value of a parish in these dioceses we therefore have to multiply the revenue of the vicar by four.<sup>45a</sup> One further point needs to be made. The taxation distinguishes between what the rector in lay fee and what the rector in ecclesiastical fee received in a number of parishes in the dioceses of

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44. For all this see K.W. Nicholls, 'Rectory, Vicarage and Parish in the Western Irish Dioceses', Jn.R.S.A.I., vol.101 (1971), pp 53-84.

45. C.D.I., 1302-7, pp 219-223; P.R.O.L., E.101/233/21, no.1.

45a. This of course means that we cannot calculate the value of parishes with no vicarages : e.g. neither the vicarage of Kilmacduagh nor that of Clonfert appear in the taxation.

Annaghdown and Achonry,<sup>46</sup> and it is clear that in the parishes of the diocese of Tuam the rectorial share of the tithes included the revenue of both types of rector.<sup>47</sup> In the dioceses of Elphin and Killala it would appear that the revenue of both types of rector is included in the single sum given opposite each of the parish churches;<sup>48</sup> but if the revenue of the rectors in ecclesiastical fee was not included in this sum there is no way of calculating what this revenue was parish by parish. In the dioceses of Clonfert and Kilmacduagh the problem does not arise because the vicar's portion included one quarter of the tithes of the whole parish.

There are a number of ways in which the parish valuations can be represented cartographically.<sup>49</sup> In this study it has been assumed that the boundaries of the civil parishes represent the boundaries of the 1306 parishes. The fact that the vast majority of the 1306 parishes can be placed on a map of the civil parishes suggests very strongly that in most cases the boundaries of the medieval parishes became the boundaries of the civil parishes.<sup>50</sup> In order to accommodate the fact that the parishes vary enormously in size, the value per thousand acre of each of the identified parishes has been calculated, the acreage of the parishes being provided by the 1851 townland index. In cases where it is clear that the civil parish covers more than one of the 1306 parishes, the sum of the valuations of

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46. P.R.O.L., E.101/233/21, no.1; C.D.I., 1302-7, pp218, 235-6.
47. Ibid., pp 226-234. The rectorial share of the tithes of lands in ecclesiastical fee must have been included, because the vicar's share of the tithes is always half those of the rector, except of course in those cases where the rector was the dean and cathedral chapter, see above, p. 173, note 33.
48. C.D.I., 1302-7, pp 217, 223-5; P.R.O.L., E.101/233/21, no. 1.
49. See T.B. Barry, Medieval Moated Sites of South-Eastern Ireland, pp 132-3, 135.
50. The list of churches in Appendix I, pp433-44, shows the extent to which the medieval parishes correspond to the civil parishes. For a map of the civil parishes, see Map V in the pocket attached to the back cover of the thesis.

the latter have been taken to represent the value of the area covered by the civil parish. For example, in the diocese of Elphin the medieval parishes of Tearmann Caolainne, Cluain Cabhsa and Imliuch Brochadha became the civil parish of Kilkeevin,<sup>51</sup> and the sum of the 1306 valuations of these three parishes has been taken to represent the value of Kilkeevin parish. One further point needs to be made with regard to the valuations. We have already noted that it is difficult to decide whether the bishop's quarter was included in the valuation of the parishes in the diocese of Killala. In the map of the parish valuations (Map V)<sup>52</sup> the valuations of these parishes as they are presented in ecclesiastical taxation have been represented. But if the bishop's quarter was not included in these valuations, a number of changes would have to be made to the map. The parishes of Doonfeeny, Kilfian, Crossmolina, Kilmacshalgan and Templeboy would be blue instead of yellow, the parishes of Easky and Skreen would be green instead of blue and the parish of Killala would be red instead of green.

The map of the parish valuations confirms the soil map to a remarkable degree. One of the most striking features of Map V is that it shows that the richer parishes formed a belt stretching from south Co. Galway to Killala Bay. Furthermore, a great number of the major centres of English settlement were situated in parishes with high valuations. Loughrea, Meelick,<sup>53</sup> Athenry<sup>54</sup> and Galway<sup>55</sup> were situated in the richest parishes, and Ardrahan, Kilcolgan,<sup>56</sup> Claregalway,<sup>57</sup> Shrule, Loughmask (in

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51. See below, p. 439.

52. In the pocket attached to the back cover of the thesis.

53. In the diocese of Clonfert.

54. In the diocese of Tuam.

55. In the diocese of Annaghdown.

56. In the diocese of Kilmacduagh.

57. In the diocese of Annaghdown.



Ballincalla par.) Burriscarra,<sup>57</sup> Athlethan (in Templemore par.),<sup>58</sup> Ardnaree (in Kilmoremoy par.), and Castleconor<sup>59</sup> were situated in rich parishes. A number of other English settlements such as Ballinrobe, Dunmore,<sup>60</sup> and Buninna (in Dromard par.)<sup>61</sup> were situated in parishes with moderate valuations, but we also find English settlements such as Castlemore, Kilcolman and Banada (in Kilmacteige par.), all in the diocese of Achonry, were in poor parishes, and this confirms the impression given in the soil map that the English settlements in this region were situated in poor land.<sup>62</sup>

It is difficult to say how much English settlement there was between the principal centres of settlement. We do not know, for example, whether the smaller tenants set up boroughs in their lands, but it is possible that three townlands in Co. Mayo which today are called 'Burriss' indicate the former existence of small rural boroughs set up by such tenants.<sup>63</sup> Furthermore, it is only very rarely that the records mention the castles of the smaller tenants. In fact only three references to such castles have been found: Jordan de Exeter's castle in the manor of Ardrahan, which was possibly at Dunkellin,<sup>64</sup>

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57. In the diocese of Tuam.

58. In the diocese of Achonry.

59. In the diocese of Killala.

60. In the diocese of Tuam.

61. In the diocese of Killala.

62. See above, p. 170.

63. Census of Ireland, 1901: Townland Index, p. 182. The townlands are in par. of Manulla, bar. of Carra and in the pars. of Kilvine and Crossboyne, bar. of Clanmorris.

64. See above, p. 121. Jordan held two villates in the manor of Ardrahan, Red Book of Kildare, no. 60, p. 55. However, since he was also lord of Athlethan in Leyny and lord of Erris (see above pp 145, 162), he does not really fit the category of small tenant.

the castle of Shanrath in Maenmagh, which belonged to the fitz Elysses, and the castle of Benne (or Beynne), which also belonged to the fitz Elysses, and which was also possibly in Maenmagh.<sup>65</sup> It is conceivable that the castle of Shanrath was the motte that was situated near a rath in the townland of Oldcastle (in the par. of Kilconierin, bar. of Dunkellin, Co. Galway).<sup>66</sup>

The archaeological evidence does not supplement the poor documentary evidence to any significant degree. What evidence there is suggests that some at least of the smaller tenants built stone castles. For example, Cargin castle (in the bar. of Clare, Co. Galway) was probably built by the Gaynards, who were tenants of the manor of Athmekin,<sup>67</sup> and Rathgorgin castle (in the par. of Kilconierin, bar. of Athenry, Co. Galway) was almost certainly built by the Dolfyns, who held the villate of Rathgorgin in the manor of Loughrea.<sup>68</sup> However, lack of field-work makes it impossible to say whether it was usual for the smaller military tenants to build stone castles.

There is certainly very little evidence that mottes were favoured as homesteads by the smaller tenants. Glasscock's map of the distribution of mottes in Ireland as identified and extant in 1973 (Map VI)<sup>69</sup> shows only three certain mottes in Connacht and one uncertain one. The number of mottes is so low that it suggests that the 1230s may be taken as a terminal date for the great period of motte building in Ireland, but it is

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65. E. Curtis, 'Feudal Charters of the de Burgo Lordship of Connacht', Feilsgríbhinn Eóin Mhic Néill, ed. J. Ryan, pp 290-1, nos XXVII-XXXIII.

66. G.H. Orpen, 'The Mote of Oldcastle and the Castle of Rathgorgin', Jn.G.A.H.S., vol.9 (1915-16), pp 33-9.

67. See above, p. 114.

68. G.H. Orpen, art.cit., pp 40-4.

69. In the pocket attached to the back cover.

worth mentioning that the map does not show any certain motte in Co. Cork, which was settled much earlier than Connacht. Furthermore, Glasscock has stressed that the map is 'only an interim stage in the recording and study of mottes in Ireland', and he has drawn attention to the fact that the map 'reflects the intensity of academic study in some areas, for example in Co. Down, where the Archaeological Survey of Northern Ireland completed its first county survey'.<sup>70</sup> Furthermore, Orpen identified a number of mottes which do not appear on Glasscock's map (Oldcastle, Ballycomair near Tuam, Woodlawn in the parish of Killaan, Kiltormer, Meelick, and Killimor, Co. Galway).<sup>71</sup> It is not clear whether these were not extant in 1973, or whether Glasscock did not consider them to be mottes.<sup>72</sup> Some fieldwork is now being carried out in Connacht<sup>73</sup> which hopefully will throw further light on the extent to which mottes were built by the settlers.

It can be seen from Glasscock's map of the distribution of rectangular earthworks that these are much more abundant in Connacht than mottes (Map VII).<sup>74</sup> However, the map is based solely on an examination of the first edition of the Ordnance Survey Six Inch Maps, and Glasscock has pointed out that without fieldwork it is impossible to say whether these earthworks were English moated sites or Irish 'rectangular

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70. R.E. Glasscock, 'Mottes in Ireland', Château-Gaillard, vol.7 (1975), pp 99, 101.

71. G.H. Orpen, art.cit., pp 33-39; Orpen, Normans, vol.II, map.

72. Glasscock's map does not include mottes which have substantial remains of later stone castles, art.cit., p.101. Thus Athlone, which appears on Orpen's map, does not appear on Glasscock's.

73. By Dr B.J. Graham, and by Dr J.A. Claffey.

74. In the pocket attached to the back cover.

raths'. Indeed, he has suggested that the rectangular earthworks in the west may be Irish.<sup>75</sup> The fact that the sites in the west have Irish names<sup>76</sup> suggests that they were of Irish origin, and the ones in north-east county Roscommon must have been so, for this part of the king's cantreds remained in Irish hands.<sup>77</sup> But even if many of the sites in the lordship of Connacht were of Irish origin, this does not necessarily mean that they were not occupied by the English.

Since we cannot locate the smaller English settlements, it is worth examining whether there are any indirect means of establishing the density and extent of English settlement in Connacht. It has been suggested that the ecclesiastical taxation throws light on the density and extent of English settlement, the assumption being that English settlement was heaviest in the regions with the highest valuations. This is an attractive theory. The very high valuations of <sup>the</sup>parishes of Loughrea (49.7 shillings per 1,000 acres),<sup>78</sup> Galway (35.4 shillings per 1,000 acres),<sup>79</sup> Athenry (21.4 shillings per 1,000 acres)<sup>80</sup> and of other parishes in this region (Ballynacourty 21.2,<sup>81</sup> Kiltullagh 15.7, Lickerrig 31.3, Kiltesskill 17, Duniry 20.6, Kilmeen 21 and Meelick 15.1 sh. per 1,000 acres)<sup>82</sup> probably reflect an intensity of English settlement in these areas as well as the quality of the land

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75. R.E. Glasscock, 'Moated Sites and Deserted Boroughs and Villages; two neglected aspects of Anglo-Norman Settlement in Ireland', Irish Geographical Studies, ed. N. Stephens and R.E. Glasscock, p.164.

76. Ibid., p.166.

77. For the English settlement that did take place in the king's cantreds, see Appendix II, pp 445-87.

78. In the diocese of Clonfert.

79. In the diocese of Annaghdown.

80. In the diocese of Tuam.

81. In the diocese of Annaghdown.

82. In the diocese of Clonfert.

Although we have not yet examined the English settlement that took place in the king's cantreds later in the thirteenth century, it is convenient to consider here what the evidence suggests regarding the relationship between the parish valuations and English settlements. The valuations of the parishes of Boyle and Kilbryan (formerly Loch Cé) in the diocese of Elphin are particularly instructive, because these parishes lay in the cantred of Magh Lurg, where there was no English settlement. The fact that these parishes had high valuations (Boyle 9.9 and Loch Cé 11.7 sh. per 1,000 acres) shows that it would be unwise to assume that there was heavy English settlement in every parish with a high valuation. However, some of the other parish valuations are best explained by English settlement: Roscommon (8.1), where there was a royal town and castle,<sup>88</sup> Dunamon (3.2), where the heirs of William d'Oddingeseles had a town and a castle,<sup>89</sup> and Aughrim (19.3) where the Butlers had a town and a castle.<sup>90</sup> However, the good quality of the land in and around Aughrim<sup>91</sup> may have helped to boost the valuations of this parish and of those around it. The only non-royal castles known to have been built in the king's cantreds were at Dunamon, Aughrim and Athleague. However, Athleague castle was knocked down circa 1284, and the de Exeters do not seem to have regained control of the lands around it until circa 1300.<sup>92</sup> This may explain why the

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88. See below, pp 454-8.

89. See below, pp 476-8. English settlement probably also boosted the valuations of the parishes of Ballintober (4.7) and Oran (7.7). The former parish was of course in the lordship of Connacht, see above, pp 136-7; but part at least of Oran belonged to the tenement of Dunamon, see below, p. 477, note 189.

90. See below, pp 467-72.

91. See Map IV.

92. See below, 478-81.

parish of Athleague had a low valuation (1.5). St. Peters parish, in which Athlone castle was situated,<sup>93</sup> seems to have been omitted from the taxation,<sup>94</sup> but the royal settlement at Rinndown<sup>95</sup> does not seem to have boosted the valuation of Rinndown (or St. Johns) parish (1.3). However, the area around Rinndown was under attack from the Irish in 1305,<sup>96</sup> and this may account for Rinndown's low valuation.<sup>97</sup> On a more general level, it is of considerable interest that so many of the parishes in the southern half of the diocese of Elphin had low valuations, for this confirms the impression given in the records that the English settlement

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93. By 1306 Athlone town was confined to the eastern side of the river Shannon, see below, p. 451.
94. C.D.I., 1302-7, pp 223-5; P.R.O.L., E.101/233/21.
95. See below, pp 451-2.
96. See below, p. 321.
97. The valuation of at least one of the dioceses in the province of Tuam is known to have been carried out in 1306, see G.J. Hand, 'The Dating of the Fourteenth Century Ecclesiastical Valuations of Ireland', Irish Theological Quarterly, vol. 24 (1957), pp 271-2.

that took place in the king's cantreds later in the thirteenth century was very light in all but a few places.<sup>97a</sup>

Otway-Ruthven has found a marked difference in size between the parishes in the rural deanery of Skreen, Co. Meath, which underwent heavy English settlement, and those in the rural deanery of Ardnurcher, in Cos. Westmeath and Offaly, where English settlement was very sparse. Where there was heavy English settlement parishes were small and very often corresponded to the holdings of the military tenants of the area, whereas in Ardnurcher parishes were very large. In fact at the end of the thirteenth century the entire rural deanery of Ardnurcher was a single parish, and by the beginning of the seventeenth century it had only five parishes.<sup>97b</sup> It is worth looking at the size of the parishes in Connacht to see whether they were smaller around the principal centres of English settlement. Once again we have to use the civil parishes, and, as we have seen, these on occasion covered more than one of the medieval parishes. Kilkeevin in Elphin has already been illustrated as an example of a civil parish which contains a number of medieval parishes. The civil parish of Tibohine beside it is another notable example: it seems to have contained four medieval parishes.<sup>97c</sup> However, most of the civil parishes seem to have been identical with the medieval ones.

A quick glance at the map<sup>97d</sup> shows that the richer parishes

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97a. See Appendix II, pp 445-87.

97b. A.J. Otway-Ruthven, 'Parochial Development in the Rural Deanery of Skreen', Jn.R.S.A.I., vol.94 (1964), pp 115-122.

97c. See below, p.440.

97d. Map V.

tended to be smaller than the poor ones, and this again suggests that there was heaviest English settlement in the richer parishes. Furthermore, many of the principal centres of English settlement were in small parishes and have small parishes beside them, Loughrea being a particularly good example of this. In the diocese of Tuam the parishes to the north-east of Burriscarra are remarkably uniform in size, and one is tempted to conclude that these correspond to the holdings of Adam de Staunton's tenants in Carra. In the same diocese, Lough Mask makes the civil parishes of Ballinrobe and Ballincalla look larger than they in fact are, but in addition to this the civil parish of Ballinrobe seems to cover three medieval parishes, Ballinrobe, where there was a Geraldine manor, Inishrobe, and 'Roðbad in Kera',<sup>96</sup> and the civil parish of Ballincalla would seem to cover two medieval parishes, Loughmask, where there was another Geraldine manor, and Inishmaine.<sup>97</sup> In the diocese Kilmacduagh, the civil parish of Ardrahan is by no means very small, but it is surrounded by small parishes. However, while it may be true that parishes in which there was heavy English settlement were often small the fact that there were small parishes in the diocese of Elphin north of the parish of Elphin and south of the parish of Calry suggests that the size of parishes was related to the density of settlement generally, not simply to the density of English settlement, for this part of the king's cantreds remained in Irish hands.

If we knew which vicarages were established by the settlers this would help us ascertain the English, as opposed to Irish,

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96. See below, pp 442-3.

97. See below, p. 442.



parishes. However, Nicholls has shown that there is very little evidence that the English played much of a role in the setting up of vicarages in Connacht. He has drawn attention to 'the fact that the actual churches in which the vicarages were established were for the most part ancient ecclesiastical foundations standing upon, and surrounded by, Church land'.<sup>98</sup> He has also drawn attention to the fact that the various Visitations of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries show that the vicarages were 'almost invariably collated to by the bishops'.<sup>99</sup> This suggests very strongly that it was the bishops who established the vicarages in the thirteenth century. The vicarages in which Nicholls has found lay patronage being either claimed or acknowledged are Castleconor and Kilfian in the diocese of Killala, Athlethan (alias Templemore) in the diocese of Achonry, Athenry, Dunmore, Kilkerrin, Killererin and Addergoole in the diocese of Tuam, and Oranmore and Methery (alias Ballynacourty) in the diocese of Annaghdown.<sup>100</sup>

The evidence regarding all except Castleconor is later than the period covered in this thesis and comes from the Visitations and Calendars of Papal Registers. However, some evidence in the thirteenth and early fourteenth century records of the common bench suggests that the bishops and lay lords were engaged in a bitter struggle over the presentation to vicarages during this period, and this in turn suggests that the lay lords may have played a more important role in the setting up of vicarages

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98. K.W. Nicholls, 'Rectory, Vicarage and Parish in the Western Irish Dioceses', Jn. R.S.A.I., vol.101 (1971), p. 62.

99. Ibid., pp 55-6, 62.

100. Ibid., pp 62-3, p.69 note 54, p.70 note 50 (recte 60).

than the later evidence suggests. In 1298-9 the common bench held an assize to establish which 'advocate' presented the last vicar to the vicarage of Claregalway. The assize was one phase in a dispute between John de Cogan III and William de Bermingham, archbishop of Tuam, that started when John claimed that the vicarage was in his advowson and that William had deforced him of it. John claimed that his grandfather, John de Cogan I, had presented his clerk, Robert Pollard, to the vicarage in the time of Henry III, and that Robert was admitted to the vicarage by the then archbishop of Tuam. It is worth noting that John de Cogan I mentions 'the curtilage of Robert the vicar' in Claregalway in a charter of 1250-1256.<sup>101</sup> Since the case hinged on the last presentation, it is not surprising to find that William had a different story. He claimed that Florence archbishop of Tuam had presented Robert Pollard to the vicarage 'ut de jure ecclesie sue', and that, as a result, he (William) had collated a clerk to the vicarage on Robert's death. Both William and John asked that an inquiry be made by assize. When the assize was held the jurors said that John de Cogan I did not present Robert Pollard to the vicarage, and denied that Robert was admitted by the archbishop. They said that Robert had intruded himself into the vicarage, after which Florence archbishop of Tuam excommunicated both Robert and John de Cogan I. According to the jurors, Robert afterwards renounced his right to the vicarage, and Florence conferred it on him 'ut de jure ecclesie sue'. The result of the assize was that John de Cogan III was amerced for making a false claim, and the archbishop recovered damages, which amounted to the value of the vicarage for two years.<sup>102</sup>

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101. See above, p. 127.

102. P.R.O.I., RC 7/7, pp 277-9 - De Banco 27-8 Edw.I.

For the next seven years, until the case disappears from the records, we find John de Cogan III making an unsuccessful attempt to bring about a reversal of the outcome of the assize by accusing the jurors of having given a false account of the last presentation. But from term to term and from year to year the case was respited. The grounds on which it was respited are not always given, but lack of jurors is the most frequent one that appears.<sup>103</sup> It would be unfair to accuse the archbishop of using the power of his office to ensure that there was a lack of jurors, since as many as twenty-four had to be found whose task was to report whether the twelve jurors of the original assize had given a false account of the last presentation. But the behaviour of the jurors of the original assize very much suggests that the archbishop had brought pressure to bear on them to give an account of the last presentation which favoured him, and that John de Cogan III was quite justified in bringing an action of falsehood against the jurors. For it is hard to see why John de Colgan I was excommunicated by Florence archbishop of Tuam unless he had presented Robert to the vicarage in the first place. Such was the nature of the assize de ultima presentatione (otherwise known as 'darrein presentment') that unless the jurors denied that John de Cogan I had presented Robert, the archbishop would have lost the case.<sup>104</sup>

In 1252 John de Cogan I had received a grant to hold markets and fairs at his town of Claregalway,<sup>105</sup> and it is safe to

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103. P.R.O.I., RC 7/7, pp 3-4, 61-2, 219-De Banco 28 Edw.I; RC 8/1, p.254-De Banco 31-2 Edw.I; RC 7/10, p.417- De Banco 33 Edw.I; RC 7/11, pp 6-7 - De Banco 33 Edw.I; RC 7/10, p.353 - De Banco 33-4 Edw.I; RC 7/11, pp 506, 584, 368 - De Banco 34-5 Edw.I.

104. F.W. Maitland, The Forms of Action at Common Law, pp 25-6.

105. See above, p. 127.

assume that it was he who built the church there. It must have been almost an instinct with the more important English to build churches at their manorial centres, boroughs and market towns; and, as Otway-Ruthven has pointed out, 'nucleated villages ... made natural centres for the development of a system of parishes'.<sup>106</sup> De Cogan seems to have granted the rectory of the church of Claregalway to the hospital of St. John,<sup>107</sup> but it was natural that he should wish to install his own clerk in the vicarage, and he may have obtained the agreement of the hospital to do so.<sup>108</sup> The dispute between the de Cogans and the archbishops of Tuam over the right to present to the vicarage provides one example of the way in which the lay lords lost the right of patronage to vicarages which we can be reasonably sure they set up in the first place. What gives the case a general significance is that we are told that the archbishops of Tuam, in whose diocese the church lay, claimed an ex officio right to collate to vicarages. Given that the bishops made this claim, it is not surprising to find other disputes between them and the lay lords over vicarages. In 1317 in the neighbouring parish of Oranmore, Odo de Barry, lord of Oranmore, claimed that the vicarage of Oranmore was in his gift, and he brought an action against the bishop of Annaghdown that he should permit him to present to it.<sup>109</sup> We do not hear of the outcome of this dispute, but the fact that in 1485 the archbishop of Tuam granted both the rectory (the patronage of which had been the subject of a dispute between Odo de Barry and Richard de Burgh, the Red Earl, in

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106. A.J. Otway-Ruthven, 'Parochial Development in the Rural Deanery of Skreen', Jn.R.S.A.I., vol.94 (1964), p. 113.

107. See above, p.127.

108. Elsewhere in Ireland vicarages were either in the gift of the rector, or else they had the same patron as the rectory, K.W. Nicholls, 'Rectory, Vicarage and Parish in the Western<sup>Irish</sup> Dioceses', Jn. R.S.A.I., vol.101 (1971), p.56.

109. P.R.O.I., RC 7/12, p. 382 - De Banco 11 Edw.II.

1318)<sup>110</sup> and the vicarage of Oranmore to the college of Galway shows that the episcopal cause eventually won the day.<sup>111</sup> In 1300 Stephen and Margaret le Poer brought an action against Donatus, bishop of Killala, over the presentation to the vicarage of Castleconor.<sup>112</sup> The advowson of the church of Castleconor had been granted to the le Poers in 1295 by Peter son of James de Bermingham.<sup>113</sup> However, they based their claim on the last presentation, which they said had been made by Margaret's father, Andrew de Bermingham,<sup>114</sup> who seems to have usurped rights in the manor of Castleconor, which belonged to the de Berminghams of Tethmoy.<sup>115</sup> A variation to the dispute between the settlers and the bishops over the presentation to vicarages is to be found in the case of Martin Taaf, parson of Castleconor, who brought an action against the bishop of Killala in 1312 over the presentation to the vicarage of Kilglass.<sup>116</sup> The rectory of Castleconor was one of those large rectories in lay fee which covered several vicarages, one of which was Kilglass,<sup>117</sup> where some English settlement is known to have taken place.<sup>118</sup> The cases cited above show that already by the end of the thirteenth century the bishops had taken over the presentation to a number of vicarages.

It is unfortunate that we are not in a position to say which

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110. P.R.O.I., RC 7/12, pp 392-3-De Banco 11 Edw.II.
111. H.T. Knox, Notes on the Early History of the Dioceses of Tuam, Killala and Achonry, p.155. The see of Annaghdown had been united to the see of Tuam for a long time before this, see F.M. Powicke and E.B. Fryde, Handbook of British Chronology, p. 345. (2nd ed.)
112. P.R.O.I., RC 7/7, p.122 - De Banco 28 Edw.I.
113. See above, pp 153-4.
114. P.R.O.I., RC 7/7, p.122-De Banco 28 Edw.I.
115. See above, p. 153.
116. P.R.O.I., RC 8/6, p. 343 - De Banco 5-6 Edw.II.
117. K.W. Nicholls, 'Rectory Vicarage and Parish' etc, Jn. R.S.A.I., vol.101 (1971), pp 73-4.
118. See above, p. 183.

vicarages were set up by the English. We have of course some information about the rectories, but, as we have seen, there were not nearly as many rectories in Connacht as there were vicarages, and for this reason the vicarages have a special importance. Furthermore, the rectories were almost always attached to the principal manors, and therefore they do not tell us very much about English settlement that we do not already know. When we learn, for example, that the Geraldines had the advowson of the church of Ardrahan,<sup>119</sup> that de Burgh had the advowson of the churches of Loughrea, Ballintober,<sup>120</sup> and Burrishoole,<sup>121</sup> that the Nangles had the advowson of the church of Castlemore,<sup>122</sup> and that the rectory of Oranmore was the subject of a dispute between the Red Earl and Odo de Barry,<sup>123</sup> we learn nothing about English settlement that we do not already know. Some of the evidence relating to rectories does, however, throw light on the ownership of some of the larger tenements and on the date at which they were occupied, and this evidence has been used in Section II. However, evidence that a rectory was impropriated to a monastery does not necessarily mean that English settlement took place in the region covered by the rectory, for, as we have seen, Nicholas le Petit granted the rectory of Bredagh to the prior of Mullingar before Connacht was conquered.<sup>124</sup> It would be unwise, therefore, to conclude that English settlement took place in Connemara from the fact that the

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119. On Maurice fitz Maurice's death the advowson was held by his two heiresses, Red Book of Kildare, no.60, p.57. One of these was married to Thomas de Clare, and the other granted all her rights to Connacht to John fitz Thomas, who surrendered all his rights in Connacht to the Red Earl c. 1300. Thus by 1333 the advowson belonged to the de Clares and to the lord of Connacht, Cal. Inq. P.M., vol. VII, p.376.

120. C.D.I., 1302-7, no.436.

121. Cal. Inq. P.M., vol. VII, p. 376.

122. P.R.O.I., KB1/1, m.88 - Just. Roll 6-7 Edw.II.

123. See above, pp 191-2.

124. See above, p.155.

rectory of Conmaicne Mara was held by the abbey of Cong.<sup>125</sup>

We must now examine how the settlers dealt with the Irish. We have seen in section II that, although the English had succeeded in conquering the province in the period 1235-7, they found it necessary to use force against the Irish in a number of areas before embarking on settlement. For example Maurice fitz Gerald plundered Carbury-Drumcliff in 1239,<sup>126</sup> and Sil Maelruain in 1241.<sup>127</sup> In other areas Irishmen who presumably were hostile to the settlers were either captured or killed. For example, Rory O'Flaherty was captured by the English in 1238,<sup>128</sup> and the son of O'Shaughnessy was killed by the English in 1248.<sup>129</sup>

But it is also clear that in some areas the Irish accepted the English, and that the English, for their part, were willing to accommodate the Irish in the new system of tenure. This can be seen very clearly in Maurice fitz Gerald's lordship of Ui Fiachrach. Eoghan O'Heyne was king of Ui Fiachrach at the time of the 1235 campaign, and he fought on the side of the English during it. In 1236 he attacked Felim O'Conor shortly after the latter had tried to attack Rinndown castle.<sup>130</sup> O'Heyne's support for the English paid dividends. In 1252 we learn that fitz Gerald had earlier given him a charter for half the cantred of 'Ogehethie' (i.e. Óga Bethra, one of the two cantreds of Ui Fiachrach), and O'Heyne did homage for his tenement in the court of Ardrahan.<sup>131</sup> The grant of this half

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125. K.W. Nicholls, 'Rectory, Vicarage and Parish in the Western Irish Dioceses', Jn.R.S.A.I., vol.101 (1971), p.71.

126. See above, p.140.

127. See above, p.135.

128. See above, p.115.

129. See above, p.112.

130. See above, pp 74-5; A.C., pp 61-3.

131. Red Book of Kildare, no.67.

cantred gave O'Heyne a quarter of fitz Gerald's land in Ui Fiachrach, and we may be sure that the grant was made in the late 1230s, when very little English settlement had taken place. O'Heyne subsequently enfeoffed four people of land in his half cantred, and he gave them charters in which the services and rents they had to render to him were spelled out. At least one of these (Conor O'Heyne) was Irish, and it is possible that another of them, (Master Maurice)<sup>132</sup> was also Irish. The other two were English : Thomas Malec, and Nesta, the daughter of Thomas fitz Robert.<sup>133</sup>

O'Heyne seems to have been anxious to show the English that he accepted their presence in Connacht, for he built the dormitories of the Franciscan friary of Claregalway, founded by John de Cogan, and of the Dominican friary of Athenry, founded by Meiler de Bermingham.<sup>134</sup> However, in 1252 O'Heyne and fitz Gerald came to an 'agreement' before Florence, archbishop of Tuam, and various English settlers, whereby O'Heyne granted and quitclaimed his half cantred to fitz Gerald. O'Heyne's tenants were to do homage to fitz Gerald, and they were from henceforth to hold their lands of him and his heirs, and to render to him the rents and services they had rendered to O'Heyne. In return fitz Gerald gave O'Heyne two villates in the manor of Ardrahan, described as being worth seven marks per annum, and a payment of eight cows and forty marks sterling in old money. Fitz Gerald seems to have relieved O'Heyne of any obligation to bring English settlers into the two villates, for he granted that O'Heyne could do whatever he wished with the religious and laity on the land. Presumably the people referred to were Irish.<sup>135</sup>

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132. It has been suggested that he was Maurice O'Leayn who became bishop of Kilmacduagh in 1254, K.W. Nicholls, 'Some Place Names from 'The Red Book of the Earls of Kildare'', Dinnseanchas, vol.3 (1968), p.29.

133. Red Book of Kildare, no.67.

134. 'Regestum Monasterii Fratrum Praedicatorum de Athenry', Arch. Hib., vol.I (1912), p.213. See also above, pp 123-4, 127-8.

135. Red Book of Kildare, no.67.



That O'Heyne was a reluctant party to the agreement is suggested by the fact that the agreement was made before the archbishop of Tuam, who had the responsibility of compelling each of the parties to agree to its terms.<sup>136</sup> If O'Heyne had been happy with the agreement, it is hard to see why such a provision was made, and why O'Heyne did not make a simple quitclaim, and fitz Gerald a simple grant.

In the late 1240s a number of English settlements in Connacht were attacked by the Irish,<sup>137</sup> and it is possible that these attacks brought about a change in fitz Gerald's attitude to O'Heyne. There is no evidence that O'Heyne took part in any of the anti-settlers attacks, or that any English settlements in Ui Fiachrach were attacked, but the outburst of Irish hostility against the settlers in other parts of Connacht may have prompted fitz Gerald to reconsider his policy with regard to O'Heyne. Fitz Gerald may have felt that the best security against anti-settler attacks was more settlement. This, as we shall see, was the official reaction to the Gaelic revival in Connacht. Furthermore, as time went on and more tenants could be found who were willing to settle on the better land of Connacht, the need to accommodate the Irish in areas like Ui Fiachrach probably decreased. It is conceivable that fitz Gerald and O'Heyne fell out over the question of the sub-infeudation of English tenants within O'Heyne's half cantred. The agreement of 1252 strongly suggests that O'Heyne had subinfeudated only four tenants, and of these only two seem to have been English. As none of the areas held by his tenants was large (Conor O'Heyne, who

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136. Ibid.

137. The attacks are discussed in Chapter III below.

held two villates, seems to have had the largest holding),<sup>138</sup> much of the half cantred must have been in the same state as it had been before the conquest of Connacht. Fitz Gerald was prepared to allow O'Heyne to do what he liked in two villates, but he may well have wanted to increase the number of English settlers in the half cantred. Certainly, by 1289 there was only one Irish tenant among the 24 free tenants of the manor of Ardrahan : Thomas Olayan (alias Oloichan or Oloan), who would seem to have been the heir of Master Maurice.<sup>139</sup>

It is evident that the Irish were accommodated in the new tenurial system in other parts of Connacht. In 1289 we find Maurice Mac Murchadha giving John fitz Thomas lordship over Michael Kerdif, who held five villates of land of Maurice in the manor of Loughmask.<sup>140</sup> This was another Geraldine manor, but the circumstances surrounding this case are not known. However, the case of Rory O'Gara, king of Sliabh Lugha, who the annals say 'was craftily and basely killed by his gossip, David son of Richard Cusin, who also broke down his castle', in 1256<sup>141</sup> provides another example of a breakdown in hitherto good relations between the English and the Irish in the 1250s. O'Gara had evidently been befriended by the English, and the reference to his castle suggests that he had either been given or was allowed to retain some land in Sliabh Lugha. Once again we have no evidence that O'Gara had taken part in the anti-settler attacks of the late 1240s, but he may have had sympathy with those

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138. Red Book of Kildare, no.67.

139. Ibid., no.60.

140. Ibid., no. 51.

141. A.C., p.115; A.L.C., I, p.409.

who had. Sliabh Lugha bordered the king's cantreds, and O'Gara seems to have been on friendly terms with the king of Connacht's son, Aedh O'Conor, who had attacked the settlers in 1249. Certainly, Aedh was quick to take revenge for O'Gara's death. The annals say that in 1256 he 'plundered the territory of Mac Richard Cusin to avenge the slaying of O'Gara on him' and that he broke down his castle, killed all the inmates and took possession of the whole of Lough Gara.<sup>142</sup>

Eoghan O'Heyne died in 1253,<sup>143</sup> and no king of Uí Fiachrach Aidhne is mentioned in the annals until 1340, when the death of another Eoghan O'Heyne is recorded.<sup>144</sup> A Mael Fabail O'Heyne is mentioned in 1261<sup>145</sup> and again in 1263, when he was killed by the English, but he is not given the title 'king of Uí Fiachrach'.<sup>146</sup> It is conceivable therefore that English settlement in the manor of Ardrahan caused a temporary discontinuance of the kingship of Uí Fiachrach. The fact that one of the tenants of the manor of Ardrahan, Jordan de Exeter, held the villate of Rochbethach in 1289<sup>147</sup> gives some support to this possibility, for Rochbethach is clearly a phonetic rendering of Ruaidh Bheithigh (which means 'The Red Birch Tree'), the place where the kings of Uí Fiachrach Aidhne were inaugurated.<sup>148</sup>

Up to the time of the conquest of Connacht, the annals describe the O'Flahertys as the kings of West Connacht,<sup>149</sup> an area which

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142. A.C., p.121; A.L.C., I, p.421.

143. A.C., p.109; A.L.C., I, p.401.

144. A.C., p.285; A.L.C., I, p.633.

145. A.C., p.135; A.L.C., I, p.439.

146. A.C., p.141; A.L.C., I, p.447.

147. Red Book of Kildare, no.60, p.55.

148. A.F.M., II, p.1073; see also ibid., note g.

149. A.C., p.65; A.L.C., I, p.341.

was not confined to the region to the west of Lough Corrib;<sup>150</sup> but the annals do not give any of the O'Flahertys the title 'king of West Connacht' from the time of the conquest until the beginning of the fifteenth century.<sup>151</sup> As we have seen, the O'Flahertys were driven from Muintir Murchadha (in the bar. of Clare, Co. Galway) after English settlement began to take place there,<sup>152</sup> and the fact that they lost control over their ancestral lordship to the east of Lough Corrib possibly explains why the annals cease referring to them as the kings of West Connacht. However, the O'Flahertys seem to have continued to dominate much of the region to the west of Lough Corrib until 1273 at least, when the annals record that Aedh O'Flaherty was expelled from this area.<sup>153</sup> What happened after this is not certain, but there does not seem to have been a great deal of English settlement in this region,<sup>154</sup> and the O'Flahertys probably retained control over much of the land. Further north, the Clann Murtough, a branch of the O'Conors which settled in Umhall and Erris at the time of the conquest of Connacht, was not expelled from these areas until 1273.<sup>155</sup>

It is clear from the annals that many of the kingdoms in the lordship of Connacht continued to exist after English settlement had taken place. These kingdoms were of course somewhat reduced in size. For example, the O'Dowdas had been kings of Tireragh and Tirawley before the conquest,<sup>156</sup> and by 1242 they had added Erris to their kingdom.<sup>157</sup> But thereafter the O'Dowdas are described simply as kings of Tireragh.<sup>158</sup> The fact that Tirawley and Erris were dropped from their title gives credibility to the claim that they continued to be kings of Tireragh. However,

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150. We have seen above that the O'Flahertys had lordship over Ui Briuin Seola, which lay to the east of Lough Corrib in the bar. of Clare, Co. Galway.

151. A.C., pp 407, 443; A.L.C., II, pp 133-5, 149.

152. See above, pp 115-6.

153. See below, p. 269.

154. See Map III.

155. See below, p. 264.

156. See above, p. 88.

157. A.C., p.77; A.L.C., I, p.357.

158. A.C., pp 173, 185, 309, 319; A.L.C., I, pp 489, 503; A.L.C., II,

their kingdom of Tireragh must have been somewhat reduced as a result of English settlement. It is conceivable that it covered the parishes of Kilmacshalgan and Templeboy, in the diocese of Killala, which do not seem to have contained any English settlement and which were poorer than the parishes to the east and west of them, which did contain English settlements.<sup>159</sup>

The annals also continued to describe the O'Haras, the kings of Leyny after the conquest of Connacht,<sup>160</sup> and again it would seem that English settlement was not extensive enough to destroy the kingship. Leyny extended from the parish of Ballysadare to the parish of Templemore in the diocese of Achonry. Most of these parishes were poor and much of the land was mountainous.<sup>161</sup> It is conceivable that the O'Hara kingdom was reduced to the mountainous part of Leyny after the conquest of Connacht.

Sometimes the titles given in the annals to Irish kings and chiefs show the extent to which the territories they ruled had been reduced by English settlement. Up to 1285 the O'Garas are described as kings of Sliabh Lugha (the parishes of Castlemore, Kilcolman, Kilbeagh, Kilfree and Killaraght in the diocese of Achonry),<sup>162</sup> but in the early fifteenth century they are described as the lords and kings of Coolavin (the parishes of Kilfree and Killaraght).<sup>163</sup> Likewise, the O'Flynns are called the chieftains of Sil Maelruain (the parishes of Kiltullagh and Kilkeevin in the diocese of Elphin) up to 1291;<sup>164</sup> but in 1341 they are described as chieftains of Tellach Currain,<sup>165</sup> which was presumably

159. See Maps III and V, and above, p.183.

160. A.C., pp 103, 147, 193, 263, 317; A.L.C., I, pp 395, 449, 453, 511; A.L.C., II, pp 17, 71.

161. See Maps III and V.

162. A.C., pp 115, 121, 177; A.L.C., I, pp 409, 495.

163. A.C., pp 475, 549, 701; A.L.C., II, p. 305.

164. A.C., pp 85, 131, 183, 187; A.L.C., I, pp 369, 433, 501, 505.

165. A.C., p. 287; A.L.C., I, p.635.

an area within Sil Maelruain, and they are not described as lords of Sil Maelruain again until the beginning of the fifteenth century.<sup>166</sup>

All the parishes in Sil Maelruain and Sliabh Lugha had low valuations,<sup>167</sup> but clearly there was enough English settlement in these areas to warrant a change in the title of the Irish rulers in them. However, Irish rulers often retained their traditional titles. We even find this in areas where there would seem to have been relatively heavy English settlement. Thus the O'Maddens continued to be described as kings of Sil Anmchadha after the conquest of Connacht,<sup>168</sup> despite the settlement that took place in de Burgh's manor of Meelick.<sup>169</sup>

It is clear that although the English adopted a method of distributing lands amongst themselves which could have destroyed the Irish kingships in the lordship of Connacht, English settlement was simply not heavy enough to bring this about. The poor quality of the land in various parts of Connacht almost certainly acted as a deterrent to settlement. But it is also possible that the population of the English colony in Ireland was not large enough to enable heavier settlement to take place. Indeed, it is remarkable that the colony was capable of expanding westwards to the extent that it did. The fact that a frontier town such as Sligo had as many as 180 burgages<sup>170</sup> by 1289 shows that the adventurism so characteristic of the early days of the colony was still there.

However, what is important for our purposes is that English settlement was not extensive enough to destroy a number of the kingships in the lordship of Connacht. The existence of these

166. A.C., p. 419, 549.

167. See Map V.

168. A. Clon., p. 286; A.C., pp 245, 301, 409, 417, 573.

169. P.R.O.L., C.135.36, m.23 - Inq. P.M. 7 Edw.III; H.T. Knox, 'Occupation of Connaught', Jn.R.S.A.I., vol. 32 (1902), pp 393-5.

170. Red Book of Kildare, no. 129, p.113.

Gaelic enclaves was one of the weaknesses of English settlement in Connacht. Another weakness lay in the fact that there was a vast Gaelic enclave under the king of Connacht to the east of the de Burgh lordship. And there was yet another weakness. This was that a number of territories surrounding Connacht were also in Irish hands.

## CHAPTER III

## The Gaelic Revival in Connacht, 1245-1274

Probably because the king of Connacht's son, Aedh O'Conor, became a key figure in the Gaelic revival of the mid-thirteenth century, it has often been assumed that his attack on Peter de Bermingham in 1249 marked the beginning of the Gaelic resurgence in Connacht. In fact the settlers of Connacht had been under attack for at least three years before this. The earliest recorded attack was made by Maelsechlainn O'Donnell, king of Tir Conaill, on the settlers of Carbury (bar. of Carbury, Co. Sligo). The settlement taking place in and around Sligo was worrying enough for O'Donnell because it was destroying the lordship over Carbury which the kings of Tir Conaill had enjoyed in the past.<sup>1</sup> But in addition to this the new lord of Carbury, Maurice fitz Gerald, had been granted Tir Conaill by Hugh de Lacy,<sup>2</sup> and in 1238 and 1242 he had invaded Tir Conaill and had taken hostages.<sup>3</sup> The Annals of the Four Masters and the Latin version of the Annals of Ulster say that in 1245 O'Donnell led an army against the English and Irish of Lower Connacht (i.e. north Connacht).<sup>4</sup> The evidence is not altogether satisfactory since the Connacht annals do not mention the attack. But if O'Donnell did make a raid into north Connacht in 1245, it might explain why fitz Gerald invaded Tir Conaill the following year and divided the kingdom in two. Acting in a manner similar to that of some of the Irish kings of the twelfth century,

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1. K. Simms, 'Gaelic Lordships in Ulster in the Later Middle Ages', Ph.D. Thesis, T.C.D., 1976, pp. 497, 499, 513; A.C., p. 71; A.L.C., I, p. 351; A. Clon., p. 236; A.F.M., III, p. 299.

2. Red Book of Kildare, no. 21.

3. A.C., pp 69-71, 77; A.L.C., I, pp 349, 357-9; A.F.M., III, pp 297, 305; A.U., II, p 301.

4. Ibid., p. 304, note 4; A.F.M., III, p. 317.



fitz Gerald gave half of Tir Conaill to a grandson of Rory O'Conor and took the hostages of O'Donnell for the other half. He then returned to Sligo and put the hostages in his castle. His actions provoked the first recorded attack on an English settlement in Connacht. On 1 November of the same year O'Donnell came to Sligo and burned what the annals call the bawn of the town (badun in baile). However, he made an unsuccessful attack on the castle, with the result that his hostages were hanged from the roof by the garrison of the castle.<sup>5</sup>

O'Donnell's attack on Sligo, though of limited success,<sup>6</sup> had spectacular repercussions, for it cannot be doubted that it was crucial in encouraging others to engage in anti-settler activity in Connacht. The following year several English settlements came under attack. In attacking Sligo O'Donnell had had only a limited objective. He was interested in destroying only that part of English settlement in Connacht which was putting the independence of Tir Conaill in jeopardy. In 1247 a different kind of resistance to English settlement emerged. More ambitious in scope, it would seem to have aimed at destroying as much as possible of English settlement. The annalists were aware of the change that had come about, for they observed that 'the Galls of Connacht had not experienced for many a long year the like of the war which these princes now waged against them, for they did not forbear to ravage a single tract or territory of the Connacht Galls'.<sup>7</sup>

The events of 1247 reveal for the first time the internal weaknesses of the English settlement of Connacht, but they

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5. A.C., p. 89; A.F.M., III, pp 317-9; A.L.C., I, p. 373.

6. In fact O'Donnell's attack on Sligo cost him his life. In 1247 fitz Gerald invaded Tir Conaill, and O'Donnell was slain, A.C., p. 91; A.L.C., I, pp 377-9; A.F.M. III, pp 319-23; A.U., II, p. 307, A. Clon., p. 238.

7. A.C., p. 93; A.L.C., I, p. 379; A.F.M., III, p. 325.

also again illustrate how the existence of unconquered Irish territories on the borders of Connacht posed a major threat to the security of the English of Connacht. A key figure in the anti-settler activity in Connacht in 1247 was Donough O'Gillapatrik of Ossory. Unlike O'Donnell, O'Gillapatrik does not appear to have had a personal motive for attacking the English of Connacht, but he seems to have been opposed to the English generally. When he was killed by the English in 1249, his obituary in the annals describes him as 'one of the three Gaels who (most signally) rose against the Galls since their occupation of Ireland'.<sup>8</sup>

O'Gillapatrik was accompanied in 1247 by Turlough O'Conor, who was a son of Aedh son of Cathal Crobhderg<sup>9</sup> and therefore a nephew of Felim O'Conor, the king of Connacht. Turlough had already made attacks on the settlers of Connacht, not in Connacht itself but in Breifne, where the sons of Aedh son of Cathal Crobhderg had been active in recent years,<sup>10</sup> perhaps in an attempt to make good a grant of Breifne which Henry III had made to their father in 1224.<sup>11</sup> Conflict occurred because Miles Nangle (alias Mac Costello), lord of Sliabh Lugha in Connacht, was at this very time renewing the English attempt to expand into Breifne, which had been granted to his father by Walter de Lacy in 1221.<sup>12</sup> In 1245 Mac Costello built a castle at Ath an Chip, which is thought to have been near Carrick-on-Shannon, and in the early part of 1247 he took Feda Conmaicne (in south Co. Leitrim) and expelled its Irish lord, Cathal Mac

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8. A.C., p. 101; A.L.C., I, pp 389-91; A.F.M., III, pp 337-9; A. Clon., p. 240.
9. A.C., pp 91, 99; A.L.C., I, pp 379, 387; A.F.M., III, pp 325, 337.
10. A.C., pp 77-81; A.L.C., I, pp 359-63; A.F.M., III, pp 305-11.
11. See above, p. 52.
12. A.J. Otway-Rathven, 'The Partition of the de Verdon Lands in Ireland', Proc. R.I.A., vol. 66, section C (1968), p. 412. The 1224 grant to Aedh O'Conor was made by the king during the de Lacy rebellion of that year, see above, p. 52.

Rannell.<sup>13</sup> However, Turlough and his brother came to Mac Rannell's assistance shortly afterwards. They broke down a Mac Costello castle, and, according to the annals, succeeded in driving the Mac Costellos from the area.<sup>14</sup>

It is possible that Turlough's ultimate objective was the kingship of Connacht, and that in joining up with O'Gillapatrik in 1247 he was making a bid for the support of those who did not accept Felim O'Conor's post-1236 surrender to the English. That he was considered dangerous is suggested by the fact that he had been imprisoned, presumably by Felim, on a crannog in Muckenagh Lough, Co. Roscommon. In 1246 he had escaped, but was recaptured later that year and handed over to the English, who put him in the castle of Athlone, but in 1247 he had escaped from there too, shortly before he went to Mac Rannell's assistance.<sup>15</sup>

Whatever Turlough's motives, the plan he and O'Gillapatrik devised was to strike a blow at the heart of English settlement in Connacht. Their first target was Galway, but they killed some people en route in Ui Diarmada and Muintir Fathaigh (in the bars, of Killian, Tiaquin, Ballymoe, Clare and Dunmore, Co. Galway).<sup>16</sup> In Galway they burned the town and the castle, and killed many people, including both the sheriff and the seneschal of Connacht.<sup>17</sup> It is impossible to say whether Richard de Burgh II had received seisin of Connacht by the time the attack was made.<sup>18</sup> What is abundantly clear

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13. A.C., pp 85, 89; A.L.C., I, pp 369, 375; A.F.M., III, pp 315, 323.

14. A.C., p. 91; A.L.C., I, pp 375-7; A.U., II, p. 307; A.F.M., III, p. 323.

15. A.C., p. 89; A.L.C., I, pp 373-5; A.F.M., III, pp 319, 323.

16. A.C., p. 91; A.L.C., I, p. 379; A.F.M., III, p. 325.

17. A.C., pp 91-93; A.L.C., I, p. 379; A.F.M., III, p. 325; A. Clon., p. 238.

18. Though the king had ordered the justiciar to give him seisin in Feb. and May 1247, it would seem that he still had not been given all his lands in Connacht by Sept., C.D.I., 1171-1251, nos 2865, 2875, 2908.

is that the settlers were totally unprepared for such an outburst of hostility. It would seem that it was only after the attack on Galway that they mustered a force and pursued the invaders. On reaching them the English suffered further losses, and the Irish moved northwards to attack the English of Carra (bar. of Carra, Co. Mayo). These settlers, however, were ready for them. The annals say that Jordan de Exeter, the children of Adam de Staunton, and the English of Carra assembled and moved against Turlough, and that 'he left the country to them, not being strong enough to oppose them'.<sup>19</sup>

Meanwhile, that very year, the descendants of Murtough Muimnech son of Turlough Mor O'Conor, known as the Clann Murtough, had begun to attack English settlements to the west and north of Carra. Before the conquest of Connacht the Clann seems to have been based in Carra and in lands to the north which were traditionally subject to it, Fir Thíre and Clann Cuain.<sup>20</sup> However, at the time of the conquest, the Clann became active in Umhall (bars. of Burrishoole and Murrisk, Co. Mayo) and possibly also in Erris (bar. of Erris, Co. Mayo).<sup>21</sup> Then, in 1247, possibly encouraged by O'Donnell's attack on Sligo, the Clann launched an attack on the settlers of north-west Connacht. That year Teig son of Conor Roe and Teig son of Tuathal of the Clann Murtough burned what the annals called Burges Cinn Trachta,

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19. A.C., p. 93; A.L.C., I, p. 379; A.F.M., III, p. 325.

20. A.C., pp 13, 19, 27, 35-7, 63-5. For Fir Thíre and Clann Cuain, see above, p. 119.

21. For Umhall see A.C., pp 53-55, 59; A.L.C., I, pp 325-7, 331; A.F.M., III, pp 277-83. There is no evidence that the Clann was active in Erris at that date, but in 1273 one of the Clann called Donal of Erris was banished from both Umhall and Erris, and it is possible that the Clann's involvement in Erris dates back to the 1230s, A.C., p. 161; A.L.C., I, p. 473; A.F.M., III, p. 421.

which was probably Burrishoole.<sup>22</sup> Teig son of Conor Roe then burned what the annals call the great island of Claenloch, and twenty-eight English are said to have been burned to death.<sup>23</sup> Claenloch has been identified by O'Donovan as being near Castlebar,<sup>24</sup> which would mean that it lay either in or just to the north of Carra. It is impossible to say whether O'Gillapatrck and Turlough O'Connor had hoped to join forces with the Clann Murtough. But if this was indeed the plan it was foiled by the settlers of Carra.

However, the Clann Murtough had not as yet been defeated, and the following year (1248) they again struck out against the settlers. Teig son of Conor Roe, accompanied by his cousins, the sons of Manus, burned the Butler castle in Umhall, called the castle of Tyren-more in The Annals of Clonmacnoise,<sup>25</sup> captured its warden and carried the preys of north Umhall onto the islands in Clew Bay. A force was assembled by Jordan de Exeter, John Butler and Robin Lawless, all of whom seem to have held land in Umhall and Erris.<sup>26</sup> But the situation was saved for the settlers only when Henry Butler's son, the lord of Umhall,<sup>27</sup> arrived with a great army. One of the Clann Murtough, Donal son of Manus, made peace with him and agreed to supply him with men and ships to fight the rest of the Clann.<sup>28</sup>

22. A.C., p. 93; A.L.C., I, p. 379; A.F.M., III, p. 325.

23. A.C., p. 93; A.L.C., I, p. 381; A.F.M., III, p. 327.

24. A.F.M., III, p. 326, note q.

25. A. Clon., p. 238.

26. See above, pp 161-3.

27. He is simply called Mac Henry in A.C., pp 93-5; A.L.C., I, pp 381-3 but A.F.M., III pp 327-9 says that the son of Henry was Piers Poer. This is wrong, see above, p.161.

28. A.C., pp 93-5; A.L.C., I, pp 381-3, A.F.M., III, pp 327-9.

In return Donal was possibly allowed to stay on in Umhall and Erris.<sup>29</sup> In the battle which followed Donal's brother, Dermot, was killed by Butler's force, and later in the year Teig son of Conor Roe, who had shown more hostility towards the settlers than any other member of the Clann, was killed by the English,<sup>30</sup> and with his death the Clann's attacks on the settlers of north-west Connacht came to an end.

It was the year after this, in 1249, that the king of Connacht's son, Aedh O'Conor, made his first anti-settler attack. There was possibly a connection between the failure of the Clann Murtough in 1248 and Aedh's attack in 1249. One of Aedh's companions in arms was Donough son of Manus.<sup>31</sup> He was very probably one of the sons of Manus of the Clann Murtough, and it is possible that he had appealed to Aedh to continue the fight against the settlers.

There may have been external as well as internal influences at work on Aedh. It is noteworthy that in 1249 both the Irish of Desmond and the Irish of Leinster launched attacks on the English.<sup>32</sup> It would be unrealistic to imagine that a synchronized attack on the English of Connacht, Munster and Leinster had been planned. It is much more likely that in each region particular circumstances encouraged Irish hostilities against the English.<sup>33</sup> However, it is possible that Aedh was

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29. This would certainly explain his presence in these places until 1273, see above, p. 207, note 21.
30. A.C., p. 95; A.L.C., I, pp 381-3; A.F.M., III, p. 329; A. Clon., pp 238-9.
31. A.C., p. 99; A.L.C., I, p. 387; A.F.M., III, p. 335.
32. A.C., p. 97; A.L.C., I, p. 385; A.F.M., III, p. 333; A.I., pp 353-5.
33. The partition of Leinster into five shares in 1247 (Orpen, Normans vol. III, pp 79-110) may have encouraged the Irish of Leinster to attack the settlers. O'Gillapatrck of Ossory was possibly involved in the disturbances here: he was killed by the English this year, A.C., p. 101; A.L.C., I, pp 389-91; A.F.M., III, pp 337-9. In Desmond the death of the king of the Irish of Desmond in 1248 led to disputes over the kingship, one claimant adopting a policy of aggression towards the settlers, Orpen, op.cit., pp 137-8.

aware of, and influenced by, events outside Connacht.

In Connacht what made 1249 an opportune time for Aedh to attack the settlers was that there was no lord of Connacht. Richard de Burgh II had died sometime before 5 November 1248, when the king gave the custody of his lands to Peter de Bermingham during the minority of Richard's heir.<sup>34</sup> De Bermingham thus became the representative of English power in Connacht, and Aedh seems to have felt that if de Bermingham's grip on Connacht could be weakened, the security of English settlement in Connacht as a whole would be undermined. When de Bermingham came into Connacht in 1249 with a troop of young mounted men, Aedh ambushed him on his way to Sligo and killed two of his companions and five squires.<sup>35</sup> After this Aedh attacked Tireragh (bar. of Tireragh, Co. Sligo), the settlement of which de Bermingham would seem to have only recently begun.<sup>36</sup> In any case Aedh seems to have met with little resistance. The annals say that he advanced right through Tireragh and that he sacked it from the Moy to Beltra Strand, near Ballysadare. However, he was pursued by Geroitin de Bermingham, who managed to capture Aedh's companion, Donough son of Manus. Aedh eventually caught up with them and killed Geroitin, but Donough had been mortally wounded.<sup>37</sup>

The English would seem to have reacted to Turlough O'Conor's anti-settler activities in 1247 by burning Roscommon and Ardcarne in the king's cantreds.<sup>38</sup> However, the king of Connacht, Felim O'Conor, had escaped punishment. This is understandable since it seems that Felim himself had handed him

34. C.D.I., 1171-1251, nos 2975, 2978.

35. A.C., pp 97-99; A.L.C., I, pp 385-7; A.F.M., III, p. 333; A. Clon., p. 239; A.U., II, p. 311.

36. See above, pp 151-2.

37. A.C., p. 99; A.L.C., I, p. 387; A.F.M., III, pp 333-5; A. Clon., p. 239.

38. A.C., p. 93; A.L.C., I, p. 379; A.F.M., III, p. 325.

over to the English for imprisonment earlier on.<sup>39</sup> Furthermore, Turlough was only Feilim's nephew. But when Aedh attacked the settlers Felim was held responsible for his son's actions. It is improbable, however, that Felim was in any way involved in his son's attack. Not only do the annals give the impression that Aedh had acted independently of his father, but it would seem certain that the latter lacked the will and the confidence to attack the English. In his last attempt to fight the English, in 1236, Felim had run the risk of losing everything. He had therefore terminated his hostilities against the English and had concentrated instead on asserting his supremacy over the Irish of the king's cantreds. His success in this quarter had been followed by the lease to him of the king's cantreds.<sup>40</sup> The evidence shows that Felim had his grievances,<sup>41</sup> but, unlike his son, he had learnt to cut his losses and concentrate his energies on maintaining the status quo that had been established in 1237. Since that date, Felim had always been willing to demonstrate his loyalty to the English. In 1245 he paid for the building of Maurice fitz Gerald's castle of Sligo when fitz Gerald, who was justiciar at the time, ordered him to do so.<sup>42</sup> Paying for the construction of the castle implied subordination on Felim's part, especially since in Gaelic society one of the obligations a lord could impose on a man who became his base client was that the latter should assist in the building of his fort.<sup>43</sup> The same

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39. See above, p. 206.

40. See above, pp 76-7.

41. In 1240, for instance, Felim had gone to England to complain to the king about the Galls and the Gaels of Ireland, A.C., p. 73; A.L.C., I, p. 353; A.F.M., III, p. 301. The account given in Matthew Paris of this visit is unreliable, Chronica Majora, vol. IV, Rolls Series, pp 57-8; Orpen, Normans, vol. III, pp 226-7. For more of Felim's grievances, see below, pp 222-3, 237-8.

42. A.C., p. 85; A.L.C., I, p. 369; A.F.M., III, p. 315.

43. D.A. Binchy, Críth Gablach, pp 96-8.



year Felim went with the justiciar to Wales to assist the king in his war against David son of Llewellyn.<sup>44</sup> It would seem indeed that it was Felim who supplied most of the 3,000 infantry mentioned in the English records,<sup>45</sup> for he appears to have been the only Irish king who went to Wales. The episode was not an altogether happy one, and it has been described as an occasion when the Irish learnt not to trust the king.<sup>46</sup> Henry was furious because the Irish arrived just as he was about to disband his army. One of the reasons the Irish were late was that they had plundered Anglesey, destroying all the corn there and thus depriving the Welsh of one of their main sources of food.<sup>47</sup> But the king was annoyed rather than pleased, and it would appear that as a result he paid the Irish only for the time they were at the camp, and not for the journey to and from Wales.<sup>48</sup> But whatever Felim may have felt about the payment of his troops, it seems certain that he was angered by what happened on their return trip through Anglesey. In 1248 the king, presumably acting on a complaint from Felim, ordered Maurice fitz Gerald to satisfy him 'regarding the slaying of Irishmen in the island of Anglesey, on their return from Gannoc', and he ordered the justiciar, John fitz Geoffrey, to enquire 'by whom and by whose order and assent these Irishmen were killed'.<sup>49</sup> But it is doubtful whether Felim allowed the treatment of his troops to alienate him from the king. For he

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44. A.C., p. 85; A.L.C., I, p. 369; A.F.M., III, p. 315; Grace, p. 31.

45. C.D.I., 1171-1251, no. 2777; C.P.R., 1232-47, p. 461. Adam de Staunton and Peter de Bermingham also went to Wales, but we do not know what kind of troops they brought, ibid., p. 465; C.D.I., 1171-1251, no. 2783.

46. Lydon, Lordship, p. 81.

47. Matthew Paris, Chronica Majora, vol. IV, Rolls Series, pp 486-8.

48. On 21 Oct. 1245 the treasurer of Ireland, who was in Wales at the time, was ordered to pay each of the 3,000 foot 2 pence a day for 10 days, i.e. from 20-29 Oct., C.P.R., 1232-47, p. 461; C.D.I., 1171-1251, no. 2777.

49. Ibid., nos 2952, 2962; Close Rolls, 1247-51, pp 118-9; C.P.R., 1247-58, p. 24.

had personally benefited from the expedition to Wales. On 21 October 1245, one day after Felim had arrived at Gannoc, the king gave him letters of protection which were to hold good until the king went to Ireland.<sup>50</sup> Furthermore, whereas in 1243 the king had slightingly referred to Felim as 'the son of the king of Connacht',<sup>51</sup> now in 1245 he was prepared to give him the title 'king of Connacht'.<sup>52</sup> Felim must have realized that hostilities against the settlers would only jeopardize his position in the king's cantreds, and we must assume he was not a party to his son's actions in 1249.

English reaction to Aedh's hostilities was unprecedented in post-conquest Connacht. Up to now the onus of dealing with Irish hostilities had fallen on the settlers of Connacht themselves. Now, for the first time, the central government became involved. Two forces were raised. One force, under the justiciar John fitz Geoffrey, consisted of the English of Meath and Leinster, and it entered the king's cantreds by way of Athlone. The other force, under Maurice fitz Gerald, consisted of the English of Munster and Connacht, and it entered the king's cantreds from the lordship of Connacht. When Felim heard that the English were about to attack the king's cantreds he decided his best course of action was to flee with his people and possessions, first to Breifne and then on to

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50. C.D.I., 1171-1251, no. 2778; C.P.R., 1232-47, p. 461; Foedera, vol. I, p. 257 where 21 Oct. 29 Hen. III is wrongly given as 1244.

51. C.D.I., 1171-1251, no. 2644; C.P.R., 1232-47, p. 412; Foedera, vol. I, p. 254. Felim was the son of Cathal Crobhderg whose right to Connacht, from the English point of view, was based on John's charter of 1215, see above, pp 44-5.

52. C.D.I., 1171-1251, no. 2778; Foedera, vol. I, p. 257. Sometime before 1247, possibly in 1245, the 'king of Cunnok' received a gift of 20 marks from the king, Cal. Lib. Rolls, 1245-51, p. 150.

Tir Eoghain. The English acted as if they believed Felim was implicated in his son's activities. At Elphin they sent for Turlough O'Conor and set him up as king, despite the fact that he himself had attacked the settlers in 1247. He must have been the only O'Conor who could command a following in the king's cantreds in opposition to Felim. The English stayed three weeks raiding and plundering the king's cantreds, and they also plundered Breifne, presumably because they had heard that Felim had sought refuge there, but they did not follow him to Tir Eoghain. Leaving Turlough to guard the king's cantreds, the justiciar left Connacht, and fitz Gerald went to Sligo.<sup>53</sup>

The government was mistaken if it believed that Turlough O'Conor would be a guardian of English interests in Connacht once it had bestowed the kingship on him. Before the year was out he and his brother, also called Aedh, had attacked two de Bermingham towns in Connacht, Athenry and Dunmore. Felim's son is not named as taking part in these attacks, and it is extremely unlikely that he would have associated himself with the man who had taken the kingship from his father, for at no stage did Aedh challenge his father's right to the kingship. It is true that his actions in 1249 had worked against his father's interests, but clearly he had not intended to damage his father. It is perhaps significant that there is no

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53. A.C., p. 99; A. Clon., p. 239; A.L.C., I, pp 387-9; A.F.M., III, pp 335-7. The Latin version of A.U. says that at this juncture Geoffrey O'Donnell invaded Lower Connacht and destroyed the country from the Curliou Hills to the Moy, and that he returned to Tir Conaill in triumph with great spoils and many hostages, A.U., II, p. 311, note 3. This raid is mentioned in A.F.M., III, p. 339 but it is not mentioned in the Connacht annals, and it is rather unlikely that it took place. Maurice fitz Gerald had assisted Geoffrey O'Donnell against his rival Rory O'Concannan in 1247 and 1248, and in 1250 he again assisted O'Donnell by killing Niall O'Concannan, who had seized the kingship of Tir Conaill from O'Donnell in 1249, the year of O'Donnell's alleged raid, K. Simms, 'Gaelic Lordships in Ulster in the Later Middle Ages'. Ph.D Thesis, T.C.D., 1976, pp 521-2.

evidence that Aedh attacked the settlers again for another six years. By then circumstances in the king's cantreds had changed completely. The implication is that in 1249, when Aedh saw the consequences of his actions, he abandoned the fight against the English.

That Turlough should have engaged in hostilities against the settlers after what had happened to Felim is rather surprising. However, there seems to have been a general reaction in the king's cantreds to the raids of the English. The list given in the annals of those who were killed in the battle of Athenry in 1249 indicates that Turlough's new offensive had the support of many of the families in the king's cantreds.<sup>54</sup>

The Irish do not seem to have encountered any effective opposition at Dunmore, which they burned.<sup>55</sup> But at Athenry they were badly defeated. This was because the English were prepared for them. The sheriff of Connacht, Jordan de Exeter, was there to meet them with many English, and when 'horsemen well apoynted with harnish, armes and shirtes of maile' came dashing out of the town, the Irish were seized with horror. Some managed to flee, but several were killed, including Turlough's brother.<sup>56</sup>

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54. Several O'Conors, two O'Kellys, a Mac Egan, a Mac Branan and a Mac Dermot were killed. Turlough may have been forced into attacking the English against his better judgement. He is portrayed as being unwilling to attack Athenry because it was the feast of the Nativity of the B.V.M., A.C., pp 99-101; A. Clon., pp 239-40; A.L.C., I, p. 389; A.F.M., III, p. 337. The presence of an O'Melaghlin amongst the dead shows that the unconquered Irish on the borders of Connacht continued to play a role in anti-settler activity in Connacht.
55. A.C., p. 101; A.L.C., I, p. 393; A.F.M., III, p. 339. Dunmore must have been attacked before Athenry, although it is recorded after the battle of Athenry in the annals.
56. A. Clon., pp 239-40; A.C., pp 99-101; A.L.C., I, p. 389; A.F.M., III, p. 337; A.U., II, p. 311.

Turlough's defeat at Athenry provided Felim with an opportunity to win back the kingship. In 1250 he left Tir Eoghain with a great army and entered the king's cantreds by way of Breifne, where he got further military assistance, and he drove Turlough out of Connacht. Turlough had no alternative but to seek refuge with the English, but they had had enough of him. The English sent envoys to Felim, made peace with him and accepted him as king of Connacht.<sup>57</sup>

1250 marked the end of the first phase of the G aelic revival in Connacht. The government's acceptance of Felim as king implied a restoration of the status quo but in reality it meant no such thing. In the last four years the Irish had attacked several of the major centres of English settlement in Connacht: Galway, Sligo, Athenry and Dunmore. The English were not going to take this lightly. Apart from O'Donnell's attack on Sligo, and those of the Clann Murtough in west Mayo, all the attacks had been launched from the king's cantreds. The late 1240s had shown that this huge Gaelic enclave was one of the great weaknesses of the settlement of Connacht. The king's concern for the security of the isolated English settlements within the five cantreds is clear from his order of June 1251 to the justiciar to spend 80 marks on the enclosure of the royal towns of Athlone and Rinndown, and on the repair of their castles.<sup>58</sup> It is possible that the king had never regarded the lease of the five cantreds to Felim as anything more than a temporary expedient designed to placate the O'Conors in order that the lordship of Connacht could undergo settlement in peace.<sup>59</sup> Be that as it may, by

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57. A.C., p. 103; A.L.C., I, p. 393; A.F.M., III, pp 339-41.

58. C.D.I., 1171-1251, no. 3159; C.P.R., 1247-58, p. 99. For the royal towns of Athlone, Rinndown and Onagh, see below, Appendix II, pp 447-54.

59. See above, pp 80-1.

the 1250s the king's cantreds had become such a threat to the security of English settlement in Connacht that the decision was taken to reduce the amount of land the king of Connacht held on lease from the king. As a result, on 16 May 1252 the king granted an Englishman five villates in the most southerly of the king's cantreds, Ui Maine.<sup>60</sup>

No further grants appear to have been made till over a year later. Indeed on 23 May 1253 the king denied that he intended to commit to any person the lands held by the king of Connacht.<sup>61</sup> However, less than two months later, the king made a number of grants to Englishmen of land in the two most southerly of the king's cantreds, Ui Maine and Tir Maine.<sup>62</sup> It would seem that the king adopted the policy of granting land in the king's cantreds to Englishmen for two reasons. Not only would it hopefully solve the security problem which this huge Gaelic enclave posed, but it had the added advantage of providing the king with a means of rewarding royal officials and favourites.<sup>63</sup>

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60. C.D.I., 1252-84, no. 35; Cal. Chart. Rolls, <sup>1226-57,</sup> p. 391. Ui Maine lay in the bar. of Moycarn, Co. Roscommon, and in the bars. of Clonmacnowen and Kilconnell, Co. Galway. For an account of the English settlement that was to take place here, see below, Appendix II, pp 466-72.

61. C.D.I., 1252-84, no. 189; Close Rolls, 1251-53, p. 474. The king also denied that he intended granting out any of the lands held by the king of Thomond.

62. C.D.I., 1252-84, nos 223-6, 228; C.P.R., 1247-58, p. 208. Tir Maine seems to have covered the bars. of Athlone, Co. Roscommon, and parts of the bars. lying to the north and west of them in Cos. Roscommon and Galway. For the settlement that was to take place here, see below, Appendix II, pp 472-86.

63. Richard de la Rochelle was granted 20 librates of land in fee in lieu of his annual fee of £20, C.D.I., 1252-84, no. 223. Roger de Lokington, who also received a grant, was owed 10 librates of land by the king, ibid., no. 225. And the grant that Jordan de Exeter received may have been made to repay him for the crucial role he had played in fighting the Irish of Connacht in the late 1240s, ibid., no. 223, and see above, pp 207, 208, 215.

It was not long, however, before the latter consideration took pre-eminence over the first in the king's mind. In contrast to earlier grants, which had all been of small quantities of land (none had exceeded 20 librates), on 11 February 1254 Henry III granted his half-brother, Geoffrey de Lusignan, 500 librates of land in 4½ of the cantreds,<sup>64</sup> despite his earlier promise of 14 July 1253 to Stephen de Longespee that he would be the first to obtain four of the cantreds should the king ever decide to make a grant of them.<sup>65</sup>

The grant to de Lusignan was made three days before the king granted his eldest son, Edward, the land of Ireland,<sup>66</sup> and in fact the king referred to his forthcoming grant to Edward, saying that if the 4½ cantreds were worth less than £500 the deficit was to be made up out of the king's cantreds in Thomond, but that if the cantreds were worth more than £500, the surplus was to remain for ever to Edward and his heirs, lords of Ireland.<sup>67</sup> When the king granted Edward and his heirs the land of Ireland on 14 February he excepted from the grant, among other things, the town of Athlone, which he retained for himself, and the 500 librates of land 'quas tenemur dilecto fratri nostro Galfrido de Lezignan, in terra vasta Hiberniae'.<sup>68</sup>

The grant to de Lusignan brought the king into conflict with Edward's representative in Ireland, Richard de la Rochelle.

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64. C.D.I., 1252-84, no. 321.

65. Ibid., no. 237; C.P.R., 1247-58, p. 211.

66. Foedera, vol. I, p. 297; C.D.I., 1252-84, no. 326.

67. Ibid., no. 321.

68. Foedera, vol. I, p. 297. The king must be referring here to his cantreds in Connacht and Thomond. This suggests that in Ireland the term 'waste lands' could mean land which was not inhabited by the English.

The ins and outs of this dispute do not concern us here. Suffice it to say that the grant to de Lusignan was altered in various ways in order to establish rights for the lord Edward in the king's cantreds. Finally, on 6 November 1256, the plan to give de Lusignan any land at all in the king's cantreds was abandoned, and Edward gave de Lusignan land elsewhere in Ireland and England instead.<sup>69</sup>

It is clear that Felim O'Conor and Aedh his son were alarmed by the grants that had been made to Englishmen of land in the king's cantreds. One manifestation of their anxiety about their future in the king's cantreds would seem to have been their involvement in Breifne, for it is hardly a coincidence that they began to interfere in Breifne when their position in the king's cantreds became insecure. It is true that in 1244 Felim had made a hosting on Cuchonnacht O'Reilly of Breifne, but this was purely an act of revenge: Cuchonnacht had blinded and emasculated Felim's foster-son and nephew, Teig O'Conor.<sup>70</sup> It is also true that there was a deterioration in relations between Felim and the O'Reilly rulers of Breifne in 1249-50 after Felim had sought refuge in Tir Eoghain. The fact that Felim, on his return to Connacht in 1250, was joined not by the O'Reillys but by Conor son of Tiernan O'Rourke, the O'Reillys' arch-opponent, 'strikes

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69. For all this, see below, pp 458-66. It is worth mentioning here that on 20 July 1254 the king granted Edward the town and castle of Athlone, which had previously been retained by the king in his grant to Edward of 14 Feb. 1254, C.D.I., 1252-84, nos 371, 383; C.P.R., 1247-58, p. 317.

70. A.C., pp 77-9, 81; A.L.C., I, pp 363-5; A.F.M., III, pp 309-13; A. Clon., pp 237-8.



a discordant note'. Simms has suggested that it was the new friendship between Felim and Brian O'Neill that strained the O'Reillys' relations with Felim, the O'Reillys feeling threatened by this friendship between their neighbours to the north and west of Breifne.<sup>71</sup>

But it is only in 1252, the year the king began to make grants in the king's cantreds, that there is evidence of O'Conor interference in Breifne. That year Murtough O'Fallon, who is described as high constable of the Connachta (i.e. the Irish of Connacht), was killed by the men of Breifne at Fenagh (Co. Leitrim).<sup>72</sup> The following year, when the O'Reillys attacked Cathal Mac Rannell in Muintir Eolais (Co. Leitrim), Aedh mustered a force and routed the O'Reillys.<sup>73</sup> 'Annála as Breifne' say that in 1255 Felim and Aedh entered Breifne with Conor son of Tiernan O'Rourke, and that they made him king of Breifne and gave the chieftainship of Breifne to Conor son of Cathal O'Reilly.<sup>74</sup> This is not mentioned in the other annals, some of which say that Brian O'Neill attacked the O'Reillys this year but was unable to subdue or take hostages from them.<sup>75</sup> It is possible, as Simms has suggested, that O'Neill's attack, though unsuccessful, had weakened the O'Reillys, and that as a result they were not able to put up

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71. A.C., p. 103; A.L.C., I, p. 393; K. Simms, 'Gaelic Lordships in Ulster in the Later Middle Ages', Ph.D. Thesis, T.C.D., 1976, p. 391. The O'Reillys showed their dislike of O'Neill when they took part in Maurice fitz Gerald's attack on Tir Eoghain in 1250, A.C., p. 103; A.L.C., I, p. 395; A.F.M., III, p. 341.
72. A.C., p. 107; A.L.C., I, p. 401; A.F.M., III, p. 347.
73. A.C., pp 109-11; A.L.C., I, p. 403; A.F.M., III, pp 349-51.
74. 'Annála as Breifne', Breifne, vol. IV (1970), p. 63.
75. A.L.C., I, p. 409; A.C., p. 113 says O'Neill attacked the O'Reillys three times.

any effective resistance to the O'Conors.<sup>76</sup> It was not until 1256, however, that the O'Reillys were completely crushed. That year Conor O'Rourke with the assistance of Aedh O'Conor, the chiefs of the Sil Murray, 'and many of the youth of Connacht besides' utterly defeated the O'Reillys at the battle of Magh Slecht in Breifne. Sixteen of the O'Reillys, including Cathal and Cuchonnacht, the two brothers who had hitherto ruled Breifne, were killed.<sup>77</sup>

The Annals of Connacht and The Annals of Loch Cé, basing their account on what 'those who have knowledge of this great battle relate', emphasize the role Aedh O'Conor played in bringing about the defeat of the O'Reillys.<sup>78</sup> It is clear that the O'Conors' ultimate objective was to dominate Breifne. There was an indication of this immediately after the battle of Magh Slecht when Felim and Aedh accompanied Conor O'Rourke on an expedition to receive hostages from the chieftains of Breifne. What is particularly significant about this episode is that hostages were given to Aedh O'Conor as well as to Conor O'Rourke.<sup>79</sup> It was not long before O'Rourke began to resent the fact that he was no more than a pawn in the O'Conors' strategy to dominate Breifne. Before the end of 1256 he tried to assert himself. The annals record that a great war arose

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76. K. Simms, 'Gaelic Lordships in Ulster in the Later Middle Ages', Ph.D. Thesis, T.C.D., 1976, p. 392. Simms has drawn attention to the fact that Conor O'Rourke was called 'king of Breifne' the following year in the Connacht annals, and she suggests that the evidence in the Breifne annals should therefore not be dismissed. O'Neill's interference in Breifne may have been an outcome of the alliance formed between him and the O'Conors in 1255, see below, pp 223-4.
77. A.C., pp 115-9; A.L.C., I, pp 409-15; A.F.M., III, pp 355-7; A.U., II, pp 319-21.
78. These annals say that the other warriors on the field could not look at Aedh, 'for two great wide-glancing torches were flaming and flashing in his head ... and he uttered his high-king's war-cry and his champion's shout in the midst of the fight and never stopped on that charge and onset until the ranks of the Ui Briuin were scattered', A.C., p.117; A.L.C., I, pp 413-5.
79. A.L.C., I, p. 415; A.C., p. 119.

between Aedh O'Conor and O'Rourke though they had been good comrades till now. O'Rourke looked to the English for assistance and made what the annals call 'a separate peace' with them without the permission of Felim or Aedh. The latter made a raid on him shortly before Christmas, and early in the new year O'Rourke submitted to Felim and his son offering them their choice of territory in Breifne.<sup>80</sup> But when O'Rourke rebelled again and burned the Stone Castle of Cherry Island in Lough Garradice, which he had given to the O'Conors, Aedh made another O'Rourke king of Breifne. This king was killed by Conor O'Rourke's son Donal,<sup>81</sup> and Conor re-established himself as king. About Easter 1257 Aedh made a raid on him,<sup>82</sup> and it was probably on this occasion that Donal was taken and 'held in durance on account of his father by Fedlim O Conchobair and his son'.<sup>83</sup> Conor O'Rourke was killed later in 1257,<sup>84</sup> and once again the O'Conors assumed the role of king-makers in Breifne. In 1258 Felim and Aedh released Donal O'Rourke and made him king in his father's stead.<sup>85</sup>

The O'Conors' efforts to control Breifne would seem to have been part of a long term strategy to strengthen their position so as to be better able to cope with an offensive against them in the king's cantreds. Their anxiety about the future manifested itself in other ways. In 1255 Felim sent envoys to the king in England, almost certainly to complain about the

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80. A.C., p. 123; A.L.C., I, pp 421-3; A.F.M., III, pp 359-61.

81. A.C., pp 123-5; A.L.C., I, p. 423; A.F.M., III, p. 361.

82. A.C., p. 125; A.L.C., I, p. 423; A.F.M., III, p. 361.

83. A.C., p. 127; A.L.C., I, p. 427; A.F.M., III, p. 371.

84. A.C., p. 125; A.L.C., I, p. 425; A.F.M., III, p. 363.

85. A.C., p. 127; A.L.C., I, p. 427; A.F.M., III, p. 371.

grants to de Lusignan. The annals seem to say that the king responded favourably to all Felim's petitions.<sup>86</sup> However, two letters of Henry III's, written in 1255, show that Henry's attitude towards Felim was extremely ambiguous. On 22 June, writing with regard to a plan to give two cantreds to de Lusignan and two to Edward, the king said that 'There shall be no question regarding the land which Phehelim Okonephor, an Irishman, held in Connacht on lease from the king'.<sup>87</sup> On 29 July the king wrote to Felim himself saying that he had done Felim no injury by giving de Lusignan two cantreds in Connacht, and that some of Felim's relatives 'who would not derogate from his right, if any, to those lands' had offered the king large sums of money for a grant of them. However, the king told Felim that he had commanded Edward and de Lusignan, who were soon to go to Ireland, that they were 'to provide that no injury arise to Fedhlim', and he exhorted Felim to persevere in his fealty.<sup>88</sup>

If the king was trying to convince Felim that Felim's own position would not be affected by the grant, it is unlikely that Felim believed him. Certainly it would seem that it was because Felim and Aedh anticipated that an attempt would be made to drive them out of the king's cantreds that they began to seek allies. At some stage during 1255 Aedh went to Tir Eoghain 'and made peace between his own father and Northern Ireland'. Furthermore, he made peace with all the Connachtmen

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86. The annals first say that the archbishop of Tuam returned to Ireland having obtained all his petitions to the king, and then they say 'Fedlim's envoys returned likewise from the King of England', A.C., p. 113; A.L.C., I, p. 407.

87. C.D.I., 1252-84, no. 448. C.P.R., 1247-58, p. 414 is less satisfactory.

88. C.D.I., 1252-84, no. 457; Close Rolls, 1254-56, p. 213.

who had been enemies of his father and who were in exile in the north, and brought them back to Connacht.<sup>89</sup> The same year Felim found an ally in the lord of Connacht, Walter de Burgh, who possibly had ambitions of his own in the king's cantreds and who may well have resented the grants made to de Lusignan. In 1255 Felim and de Burgh had 'a great meeting' at Templetogether (bar. of Ballymoe, Co. Galway), where they made peace and where 'everything for which Felim was contending was conceded'.<sup>90</sup>

The alliance with de Burgh was short-lived, however, for in 1256 Aedh attacked the lordship of Connacht. This would seem to have been the first anti-settler attack made by the Irish of Connacht since 1249, though one of the Connacht settlers, Henry de Rocheford, lord of Sil Maelruain, had been killed on Lough Ree by Murtough O'Melaghlin in 1254.<sup>91</sup> The annals tell us that Aedh's attack was prompted by the murder of Rory O'Gara, king of Sliabh Lugha, by David son of Richard Cusin, who had been what the annals call Rory O'Gara's gossip (cardes Crist) before this.<sup>92</sup> This is not the only example we have of good relations between the settlers and the Irish of the lordship of Connacht turning sour in the 1250s, and it is possible that the anti-settler attacks of the late 1240s were to a large extent responsible for the breakdown in relations.<sup>93</sup> However, the circumstances surrounding O'Gara's death are unknown to us. All that we know is that Aedh was so angered by his death that he no longer cared about the consequences of attacking the settlers. He plundered David Cusin's territory, which was

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89. A.C., p. 113; A.L.C., I, p. 407; A.F.M., III, p. 353.

90. A.C., p. 113; A.L.C., I, pp 407-9; A.F.M., III, p. 355.

91. A.C., p. 111; A.L.C., I, p. 405; A.F.M., III, p. 351.

92. A.C., pp 115, 121; A.L.C., I, pp 409-421.

93. See above, pp 194-8.

presumably in Sliabh Lugha (an area bordering the king's cantreds in the bars. of Costello, Co. Mayo, and Coolavin, Co. Sligo), broke down his castle, killed all the inmates, and took possession of Lough Gara.<sup>94</sup>

The Annals of Connacht and The Annals of Loch Cé say that Walter de Burgh raised a huge army to attack Felim and Aedh O'Connor in 1256. The evidence is far from satisfactory, however, because the annals, which have a common source, give two versions of this episode. One version says that the battle of Magh Slecht of 1256 ultimately took place because of a de Burgh offensive, and that de Burgh sent messengers to the O'Reillys asking them to join in the offensive.<sup>95</sup> The other version says that it was the O'Reillys who sent messengers to the English of Connacht inviting them to destroy Connacht and Breifne.<sup>96</sup> Both versions agree, however, that de Burgh failed to meet up with the O'Reillys.<sup>97</sup> But 'Annála as Breifne' say that de Burgh and the O'Reillys did meet.<sup>98</sup> The difficulties of the evidence prevent us from speaking with any certainty about the matter, but if Aedh O'Connor had invaded the lordship of Connacht by this time, it would explain why de Burgh became hostile towards him and his father. It is also possible that de Burgh's attitude towards the O'Conors had changed because he had heard that the plan to give de Lusignan land in the king's cantreds was to be abandoned.

It was in November 1256 that this plan was finally scrapped, and it would seem very likely that Alan la Zuche, who became

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94. A.C., p. 121; A.L.C., I, p. 421; A.F.M., III, p. 357.

95. A.C., pp 115-9; A.L.C., I, pp 409-15.

96. Ibid., pp 415-9; A.C., pp 119-21.

97. Ibid., pp 115, 121; A.L.C., I, pp 409-11, 419.

98. 'Annála as Breifne'; Breifne, vol. IV (1970), pp 63-4.

justiciar in June 1256,<sup>99</sup> was instrumental in bringing this about. The annals say that in 1256 la Zuche met Aedh O'Connor at Rinndown and that the two men made peace, 'with a stipulation that O Conchobair should suffer no diminishing of territory of estate so long as this justiciar held office in Ireland'.<sup>100</sup> This suggests that la Zuche believed that the O'Conors' insecurity of tenure was the main problem in Connacht. As we shall see, other evidence confirms that this was his view. The fact that la Zuche was justiciar of Chester before he became justiciar of Ireland<sup>101</sup> might mean that he had some experience of such problems as confronted him in Connacht, and it is conceivable that he believed that the O'Conors' insecurity of tenure would only lead to great instability and disorder in Connacht.

Although de Burgh may have felt that he would be unable to further his own ambitions in the king's cantreds if the O'Conors were given security of tenure, it is possible that some of the English in Ireland supported la Zuche's policy from the beginning. The annals say that in 1256 there was 'a great meeting' between John de Verdon and Aedh O'Connor at Athleague (now Lanesborough, Co. Longford).<sup>102</sup> De Verdon had acquired

99. He was expected to leave Ireland about 4 June 1256, C.D.I., 1252-84, no. 496; C.P.R., 1247-58, pp 512-3. The earliest reference to him as justiciar is 27 June, Close Rolls, 1254-56, p. 424.
100. A.C., p. 121; A.L.C., I, p. 421; A.F.M., III, p. 357.
101. R.F. Treharne, The Baronial Plan of Reform, 1258-1263, p. 43.
102. A.C., pp 122-3; A.L.C., I, p. 421. The editors of these annals identify Ath Liacc na Sinna as Ballyleague, A.C., pp 122-3; A.L.C., II, p. 527, and the editor of A.C. identifies both Ath Liacc na Sinna and Ballyleague as Lanesborough, ibid., p. 806. However, the O.S. ½":1 mile map no. 12 shows that Athleague or Lanesborough is on the east bank of the Shannon and that Ballyleague is on the west bank. Both Athleague and Ballyleague belonged to de Verdon, A.J. Otway-Ruthven, 'The Partition of the de Verdon Lands in Ireland', Proc. R.I.A., vol. 66, section C (1968), pp 411, 413-5.

the de Lacy lands in Leitrim and Longford,<sup>103</sup> and he may have regarded Aedh as a useful ally because he was not aware of the O'Conors' ambition to dominate Breifne, and approved of their attacks on the O'Reillys. But if de Verdon had his own reasons for being on friendly terms with the O'Conors in 1256, by 1257 la Zuche had succeeded in obtaining the support of most of the English in Ireland for his policy with regard to the O'Conors. The annals say that that year Felim O'Conor met the justiciar and Walter de Burgh as well as the chief Galls of Connacht and the rest of Ireland by appointment at Athlone, and that they made peace.<sup>104</sup> No less remarkable was la Zuche's influence on royal policy. The annals say that the king gave Felim O'Conor a charter for the five king's cantreds in 1257.<sup>105</sup> Extracts from the pipe rolls show that this information is not completely accurate, but they confirm what the annals say to a striking degree. An extract from pipe roll 46 Henry III (Mich.1261-Mich.1262) says that Felim owes 600 marks for himself and Aedh his son for having the peace of the lord Edward for all their trespasses in Ireland, as is contained in pipe roll 44 Henry III (Mich.1259-Mich.1260).<sup>106</sup> It would seem very likely that the peace mentioned here was the peace Felim made with la Zuche in 1257. With regard to the king's cantreds, a change in the nature of Felim's tenure in three of the cantreds first appears in an extract from pipe roll 42 Henry III (Mich. 1257-Mich. 1258),<sup>107</sup> and it would seem certain that it is to this change in tenure that the annals refer when they speak of Felim receiving a charter in 1257. The extract from pipe roll 42

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103. *Ibid.*, pp 409-15.

104. *A.C.*, p.125; *A.L.C.*, I, p.423; *A.F.M.*, III, p.361.

105. *A.C.*, p.125; *A.L.C.*, I, p.425; *A.F.M.*, III, p.363.

106. B.M. Add. Charter 26515, fol.203v. I am indebted to Dr J.F. Lydon for giving me his transcripts of the extracts from this and other pipe rolls in the B.M. and Lambeth Palace.

107. T.C.D., MS 671, fol.4v.



Henry III is very brief, and for a better understanding of the nature of Felim's tenure in the three cantreds concerned we must turn to later pipe rolls. An extract from pipe roll 46 Henry III (Mich.1261-Mich.1262) says that Felim owes 5000 marks and 2000 cows for holding in fee farm the cantreds of Magh nAi, Tri Tuatha and Magh Lurg, as is contained in a certain schedule of fines.<sup>108</sup> To hold in fee farm means to hold in perpetuity at a fixed rent.<sup>109</sup> Felim's legal position with regard to the three most northerly of the king's cantreds was therefore changed from that of a lessee without security of tenure,<sup>110</sup> to that of a tenant of a heritable fee. The 5000 marks and 2000 cows was the price Felim was supposed to pay for acquiring this improved form of tenure. The farm or fixed rent charged on each of the three cantreds was increased 100 marks to £100.<sup>111</sup> If Felim received a charter, which is

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108. B.M., Add. Charter 26515, fol. 203v; Hardiman, History of Galway, p.52, note 20. G.H. Orpen in 'Richard de Burgh and the Conquest of Connaught', Jn.G.A.H.S., vol.7 (1911-12), p.144 omits that the three cantreds were held in fee farm, and while he mentions this in Normans, vol. III, p.240, he mistakenly says here that Felim owed a fine of 5000 marks and 200 cattle for the three cantreds. T.C.D., MS 671, fols.5 and 35v (Pipe Rolls 44 and 46 Hen.III), is wrong in saying that Felim owed 5 marks and 2000 cows. The three cantreds comprised most of Co. Roscommon north of Roscommon town, and the bar. of Tirerrill, Co. Sligo.
109. F. Pollock and F.M. Maitland, The History of English Law, vol. I, 2nd ed., p. 293.
110. Before 1257 Felim is described as having the farm of the five cantreds, as holding them at the king's pleasure, and as holding them on lease from the king, 35th Rept. D.K., p. 37 - Pipe Roll 19 Hen. III; C.D.I., 1252-84, nos 237, 448; C.P.R., 1247 - 58, pp 211, 414.
111. An inquisition of 1305 says that Felim held the five cantreds at 500 marks per annum, C.J.R., 1305-7, p. 133. The pipe rolls show that he held the three cantreds at £300 per annum, B.M., Add. Charter 26515, fol. 203v - Pipe Roll 46 Hen. III; 36th Rept. D.K., p. 56 - Pipe Roll 9 Edw. I; 37th Rept. D.K., pp 24, 45 - Pipe Rolls 15 and 20 Edw I; 38th Rept. D.K., pp 48, 73 - Pipe Rolls 27 and 31 Edw. I. Orpen was therefore mistaken in saying that Felim held the three cantreds at 300 marks a year, Orpen, Normans, vol. III, p. 240.

what one would expect with a grant in fee farm, it would have been the lord Edward, not the king, who gave it to him, and this would explain why no charter granting Felim the three cantreds in fee farm is to be found on the patent or charter rolls. With regard to the two remaining cantreds, it would seem that Felim continued to hold the whole of Tir Maine at farm,<sup>112</sup> but we know from extracts from the pipe rolls that he held only '28 villates of land in the cantred of Omany of the gift of Alan la Zuche, then justiciar'.<sup>113</sup> The implication is that the grants made in Ui Maine before the grant of 1254 to de Lusignan were still operative. Indeed, that this was so and that Felim's tenure in the 28 villates of Ui Maine was temporary was demonstrated a year later (1258) when the lord Edward granted Richard de la Rochelle the whole cantred of Ui Maine except 20 librates of land which he had of the gift of the king, 20 librates of land which he had of the gift of John fitz Geoffrey, and 20 librates which Jordan de Exeter had of the gift of the king.<sup>114</sup>

The fact that Felim was allowed to hold three of the king's cantreds in fee farm shows that la Zuche had brought about a considerable change in royal policy towards the O'Conors, for this was the first time that Felim was given a grant of land in perpetuity by the English. It would seem likely that la Zuche had been able to obtain the support of people like de Burgh for this change in policy because the grant in fee farm was limited to the three northernmost king's cantreds.

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112. In Pipe Roll 46 Hen.III (Mich.1261-Mich.1262) Felim is said to owe four years rent for the cantred of Tir Maine, the amount of rent not being stated, Hardiman, History of Galway, p.52, note 20; G.H. Orpen, 'Richard de Burgh and the Conquest of Connaught', Jn.G.A.H.S., vol.7 (1911-12), p.144.

113. B.M., Add.MS4789, fol.288v - Pipe Roll 53 Hen.III; T.C.D., MS 671, fol.36v - Pipe Roll 54 Hen.III.

114. Cal.Ormond Deeds, vol.I, no.123. Fitz Geoffrey had bought land here from Oliver de Aspreville, who had received a grant from the king, C.D.I., 1252-84, nos 35,226.

It is worth asking to what extent Felim and Aedh believed that the grant in fee farm would give them real security of tenure in the three cantreds. Earlier in the thirteenth century, Felim's own father, Cathal Crobhderg, had received a grant of the whole of Connacht for himself and his heirs during good behaviour, and while this grant had prevented conquest during Cathal's own life-time it had ultimately proved to have been of little or no value to Cathal Crobhderg's son and successor, Aedh, despite the fact that the English in Ireland had become so divided over what 'good behaviour' meant that civil war had broken out.<sup>116</sup> We do not know whether Felim's grant in fee farm also contained the phrase 'during good behaviour'. But the fact that Felim built a Dominican friary at Roscommon in 1257<sup>117</sup> perhaps indicates that he felt that the 1257 grant at least guaranteed that the English would not occupy or settle in the three northermost cantreds for as long as he lived. Roscommon would seem to have been on the border between Tir Maine and Magh nAi,<sup>118</sup> that is, on the border between the land he held at farm and the land he held in fee farm.

Felim may have felt that the grant in fee farm would also be of some benefit to his son, Aedh. However, the weakness of grants made in perpetuity to Irish kings was that in Irish society there was no rule of primogeniture. There is evidence which suggests

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116. See above, pp 57-62.

117. A. Clon., p. 241. The friary was consecrated by Tomaltach O'Conor, archbishop of Tuam, A.C., p. 125; A.F.M., III, p. 361; A.L.C., I, p. 425.

118. A.F.M., vol. III, pp 87-8, note 4; A.C., p. 836.

that Aedh himself, like Cathal Crobhderg earlier in the thirteenth century,<sup>119</sup> was aware of this weakness. For it is perhaps significant that in 1257, the year Felim received the grant in fee farm, Aedh blinded two potential claimants to the kingship of Connacht.<sup>120</sup> This is the first time that Aedh showed anxiety about his succession to the kingship. Though the grant in fee farm gave Aedh the right to inherit the three cantreds in English law,<sup>120a</sup> the grant could not in itself offer any guarantee that Aedh would succeed Felim in the three cantreds, because, according to the rules of succession in Irish society, any man whose father, grandfather or great-grandfather had been king of Connacht was entitled to succeed Felim as king.<sup>121</sup> Furthermore, the other two cantreds held by Felim were earmarked for English settlement. That Aedh found this alarming is suggested by the fact that he became involved in the revival of the highkingship in 1258.

It would seem likely that it was Brian O'Neill, king of Tir Eoghain, who organized the meeting at Caoluisce (on the Erne near Belleek, Co. Fermanagh) in 1258. In 1257 there had been anti-settler attacks in many parts of the country, and O'Neill, who had frustrated an English attempt to conquer Tir Eoghain in 1253,<sup>122</sup> may have felt that this was an opportune time, given the mood of the Irish, to try to revive and acquire the highkingship by consent. The location of the meeting is what

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119. See above, pp 50-1.

120. A.Clon., p.241; A.U., II, p.323; A.L.C., I, p.423; A.F.M., III, p. 361. A.C., p.123 does not say who blinded the two O'Conors.

120a. The O'Conors were one of the five septs who would seem to have been entitled to use English law from Henry III's reign at least, A.J. Otway-Ruthven, 'The Native Irish and English Law in Medieval Ireland', I.H.S., vol.7 (1950-1), p.6; G.J. Hand, English Law in Ireland, 1290-1324, p.206.

121. E. Mac Neill, 'The Irish Law of Dynastic Succession', Celtic Ireland, pp 114-43.

122. K. Simms, 'Gaelic Lordships in Ulster in the Later Middle Ages', Ph.D. Thesis, T.C.D., 1976, pp 659-61.

indicates that the revival of the highkingship was connected with the events of 1257, for Caoluisce castle had been knocked down by Geoffrey O'Donnell in 1257 in an attempt to free Tir Conaill from Geraldine control. Afterwards he had entered Connacht, where he burned the town of Sligo and plundered Carbury. Finally he defeated an English force at Credran (in the par. of Drumcliff, Co. Sligo).<sup>123</sup> The other anti-settler attacks of 1257 occurred in Ulster east of the Bann, where Mac Dunslevy killed many English,<sup>124</sup> and in Munster, where Conor O'Brien, king of Thomond, and Teig, his son, attacked the settlers.<sup>125</sup> Teig O'Brien provides another link between the events of 1257 and those of 1258, for he attended the meeting at Caoluisce.

Aedh O'Conor is the only other person besides Brian O'Neill and Teig O'Brien who is known to have attended Caoluisce. The annals say that both Teig and Aedh gave the highkingship to Brian O'Neill,<sup>126</sup> but it is by no means certain that Teig did do so. The Caithréim Thoirdealbhaigh says that Teig refused to submit to O'Neill and that he sought O'Neill's submission,<sup>127</sup> and the annals do not record that he gave any hostages to O'Neill.<sup>128</sup> In 1258 Teig's father, Conor O'Brien, burned Ardahan and Kilcolgan in south Connacht,<sup>129</sup> but there is

123. A.C., p.125; A.L.C., I, pp 423-5; A.U., II, pp 321-3. A.F.M., III, pp 361-3, deviate from the account given in the other annals when they say that Maurice fitz Gerald was still alive and took part in the battle of Credran, and that the English were driven out of Lower Connacht as a result of the battle.
124. A.C., p.125; A.L.C., I, p.425.
125. A.C., p.125; A.L.C., I, p.425; A.F.M., III, p.363; A.I., p.359.
126. A.C., p.127; A.Clon., p.242; A.L.C., I, p.429; A.F.M., III, p.369; A.U., II, p.325.
127. Caithréim Thoirdealbhaigh, vol. II, pp 2-4.
128. A.C., p.127; A.Clon., p.242; A.L.C., I, p.429; A.U., II, p. 325; A.F.M., III, p. 369. Teig died in 1259, i.e. before the battle of Down, A.C., p.131; A.L.C., I, p.433; A.I., p. 359.
129. A.C., p. 129; A.L.C., I, p.429; A.F.M., III, p.371.

no reason to suppose that there was a connection between this and the meeting at Caoluisce. It is much more likely that the attack was made because the lord of these manors, Maurice fitz Gerald, had died the previous year.<sup>130</sup>

Aedh O'Conor therefore emerges as the only person who we know for certain recognized the highkingship of Brian O'Neill. He is said to have given hostages the O'Neill<sup>131</sup> and he assisted O'Neill two years later at the battle of Down.<sup>132</sup> In recognizing O'Neill as highking, Aedh seems to have once again put his father in an embarrassing position. The annals say that in 1258 there was a great meeting between the Galls and the Gaels of Ireland. It is possible that this was held as a counter-meeting to the one held at Caoluisce. In any case the English and the Irish made peace. But the annals make a point of noting that Felim was absent.<sup>133</sup>

The revival of the highkingship implied a rejection of English lordship in Ireland, with its laws that were inapplicable to Irish society, in favour of Gaelic institutions. The fact that the act of revival took place at or near the ruins of an English castle implied a belligerent attitude towards the lordship and a reliance on the sword, not English law, for protection. It is hardly a coincidence that the following year Aedh took steps to improve the quality of his army by marrying a Hebridean woman whose dowry consisted of

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130. Clyn, p. 8; A.C., p. 125; A.L.C., I, p. 423; A.U., II, p. 321; A. Clon., p. 241.

131. A. Clon., p. 242; A.U., II, p. 325; A.L.C., I, p. 429; A.F.M., III, p. 369.

132. See below, p. 236.

133. A.C., p. 129; A.L.C., I, pp 429-31; A.F.M., III, p. 371.

160 professional warriors (oclaech).<sup>134</sup> But perhaps the most important aspect of the revival of the highkingship for our purposes was that in accepting O'Neill as highking Aedh was subordinating himself to O'Neill.

It would seem at first sight that Aedh was prepared to do this in return for O'Neill's recognition of his lordship over Breifne. The annals say that the hostages of the Muintir Reilly and all the Ui Briuin from Kells to Drumcliff (in other words, the whole of Breifne) were delivered to Aedh O'Connor at Caoluisce.<sup>135</sup> However, what the annals do not make clear until 1259 is that Aedh gave O'Neill lordship over him in Breifne, and it would seem likely that Aedh did this in order to give a territorial basis to O'Neill's highkingship. O'Neill did not have any authority in Breifne before Caoluisce. The only time there is evidence that he was in Breifne was in 1255 when he attacked the O'Reillys but had to leave without subduing them.<sup>136</sup> Aedh, on the other hand, did not need to be given the hostages of Breifne in 1258. He had been active in Breifne since 1252, and from 1255 to 1258 he had been setting up and deposing kings there.<sup>137</sup>

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134. A.C., p. 131. A.L.C., I, p. 431, add that Alan Mac Sorley came with them. Aedh married the daughter of Dugald Mac Sorley. He was probably the same Mac Sorley who plundered a merchant ship off Connemara in 1258 and who killed Jordan de Exeter, sheriff of Connacht, when the latter caught up with him (see above, p.160), and he was almost certainly the Dugald Mac Sorley, king of Argyle, who died in 1268, A.C., p. 151; A.L.C., I, p. 459; A.F.M., III, p. 405.

135. A.C., p. 127; A.L.C., I, p. 429; A. Clon., p. 242; A.U., II, p. 325. A.F.M., III, p. 369, deviate from the other annals in suggesting that the hostages of Breifne were given to O'Neill.

136. See above, p.220.

137. See above, pp 220-2.

The effect Caoiluisce had on O'Neill's and Aedh's positions in Breifne becomes clear in 1259, when Aedh recognized O'Neill's supremacy in Breifne even though doing so meant accepting a restriction on his own freedom of action there. In 1258 Donal O'Rourke, who had been set up as king of Breifne by Felim and Aedh, was deposed by the men of Breifne and the Connachta, and in 1259 his hostages were blinded by Aedh.<sup>138</sup> It is possible that Aedh was trying to annex the kingship of Breifne to that of Connacht, for in 1259 he imprisoned the O'Rourke who had been set up as king of Breifne in Donal's place and for a while there seems to have been no king over the whole of Breifne.<sup>139</sup> Donal O'Rourke must have complained to O'Neill about Aedh, because in 1259 there was a meeting between Aedh and O'Neill at Devenish on Lough Erne, where peace was made between Aedh and Donal O'Rourke, and the latter was given back the kingship of Breifne.<sup>140</sup>

It is extremely unlikely that Aedh would have given O'Neill lordship over himself in Breifne unless he expected to get something in return from O'Neill. There can be little doubt that what Aedh hoped to get from his overlord was protection, not in Breifne, but in the king's cantreds. Aedh was prepared to allow O'Neill impose restrictions on his activities in Breifne in 1259 in order to preserve his relationship with O'Neill, but it is of considerable interest that as soon as Aedh was unable to control the lands lying to the east of the king's cantreds, he began to strengthen his position to the west of them, in the lordship of Connacht. In 1259 when Miles Mac Costello (alias Nangle), lord of Sliabh Lugha, died, Aedh

138. A.C., pp 129, 131; A.L.C., I, pp 429, 431; A.F.M., III, pp 371-

139. A.L.C., I, p. 431; A.C., p. 129. There was, however, a king of Breifne west of Slieve Anierin in 1258 and 1259. This kingship of west Breifne was in the gift of Aedh O'Conor, A.C., p. 129; A.L.C., I, p. 431; A.F.M., III, pp 371-3. A.F.M., III, p. 371, deviate from the other annals in saying that the king who was set up after Donal O'Rourke had been deposed was king of east Breifne only.

140. A.C., p. 131; A.L.C., I, p. 431; A.F.M., III, p. 373.



captured Gilbert Mac Costello, who was probably Miles' heir, and plundered all Sliabh Lugha. Afterwards he released Gilbert and took his three sons into custody instead.<sup>141</sup> It is clear that this was not simply an anti-settler attack, because the same year Aedh also captured Flann Roe O'Flynn, chieftain of Sil Maelruain, and plundered all his territory, which like Sliabh Lugha, flanked the western border of the king's cantreds.<sup>142</sup>

It is easy to overlook the possibility that it was in order to guard against the day when there was an English offensive against the king's cantreds that Aedh accepted O'Neill as highking. This is because O'Neill was killed before Aedh had reason to call on his assistance. But Aedh's anxiety to fulfil his obligations as O'Neill's 'vassal' is strong evidence that Aedh hoped that O'Neill in return would fulfil his obligation to come to his 'vassal's' assistance should the latter be attacked. Aedh demonstrated his anxiety to behave as a loyal 'vassal' not only in Breifne in 1259 but also in 1260 when he gave O'Neill military assistance in his new offensive against the settlers east of the Bann. It is ironic that O'Neill, on whom Aedh seems to have set such great store as a protector, was killed in his attack on the settlers of Downpatrick.<sup>143</sup>

The English had not as yet taken action against Aedh in Connacht for his part in the revival of the highkingship. The battle of Down now left him vulnerable. Not only did he lose his protector but he too had been defeated by the English of Downpatrick and many Connachtmen had been killed in the battle.

141. A.C., p.131; A.L.C., I, pp 431-3; A.F.M., III, p.373.

142. A.C., p. 131; A.L.C., I, p. 433. Sliabh Lugha was in the bars. of Costello, Co. Mayo, and Coolavin, Co. Sligo. Sil Maelruain was in the bar. of Castlereagh, Co. Roscommon.

143. A.C., pp 131-3; A. Clon., pp 242-3; A.L.C., I, pp 433-5; A.U., II, p. 329; A.F.M., III, pp 375-7.

Walter de Burgh, who was no doubt angered by Aedh's attack on the lordship of Connacht in 1259, lost no time in taking advantage of the situation. In 1260 he led an expedition to Roscommon, which he sacked, and he raided the area in and around Tir Maine. Felim and Aedh are said to have been in the neighbouring cantred of Tri Tuatha with their cows, and no battle seems to have taken place. The annals in fact say that de Burgh made peace with the O'Conors before he left the area.<sup>144</sup>

It would seem that de Burgh had invaded the king's cantreds without the authority of the government. In a letter to the king written shortly after the death of the justiciar, William de Dene, i.e. sometime before October 1261,<sup>145</sup> Felim O'Conor says that the king had ordered de Dene to cause restitution to be made to Felim for losses which he had suffered at the hand of Walter de Burgh in Tir Maine, losses which, according to Felim, amounted to 6000 marks besides the 3000 marks damage he claimed de Burgh had done to the church of Elphin, then in the king's hand, and besides the burning of churches and slaying of clerks and nuns.<sup>146</sup> It is possible that the reason the government did not punish Felim for Aedh's recent hostilities against the lordship was that it felt that Felim could not be held responsible for his son's actions. Felim certainly made a point of declaring his own loyalty to the English at this time. In his letter to the king, which was primarily written to tell the king that de Dene had died before he had received the king's order to give Felim compensation, Felim took the opportunity to assert that 'for no promise made to him by the Irish had he receded or would he recede from the King's service' and that he 'places himself, his people, and

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144. A.C., p. 133; A.F.M., III, p. 377; A.L.C., I, p. 435.

145. Richardson and Sayles, Administration, p. 79.

146. C.D.I., 1252-84, no. 713; Shirley, Royal Letters, vol. II, pp 199-200; Foedera, vol. I, p.240, where the letter is wrongly dated 1240.

all he has under the protection of the King, and the Lord Edward; and confides to the Lord Edward ... all his property and all his rights, if any he has, in Connaught' until the lord Edward's arrival in Ireland.<sup>147</sup>

This letter provides the best illustration of Felim's attitude towards the English, and possibly suggests that there had been a rift in Felim's relations with his son since the revival of the highkingship. But if this was so, a change in government policy towards Felim in 1262 soon brought Felim, for a while at least, around to Aedh's way of thinking. For in 1262 the English launched an offensive against the O'Conors. A royal service was proclaimed at Roscommon,<sup>148</sup> and the annals record that the Galls of Ireland raised an immense army to attack Felim and Aedh.<sup>149</sup> As in 1249, the English forces entered the king's cantreds from two directions. The force coming from the west was led by de Burgh, and the force coming from the east was led by the justiciar, Richard de la Rochelle. What was different about this expedition was that the English had much more in mind than simply removing Felim from the kingship. For they marked out a site for a castle at Roscommon,<sup>150</sup> which seems to have been on the border between Tir Maine and Magh nAi;<sup>151</sup> and this strongly suggests that they intended to confine the O'Conors to the three most northerly cantreds.

Felim immediately sent his cows to Tir Conaill and he himself took refuge in Inis Samain,<sup>152</sup> which was O'Donnell's crannog

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147. Ibid.

148. A.J. Otway-Ruthven, 'Royal Service in Ireland' Jn.R.S.A.I., vol. 98 (1968) p. 41.

149. A.C., p. 139; A.L.C., I, pp 441-3; A.F.M., III, pp 385-7; A.U., II, p. 333.

150. A.C., p. 139; A.L.C., I, p. 443; A.F.M., III, p. 387.

151. See above, p.230.

152. A.C., p. 139, A.F.M., III, p. 385; A.L.C., I, p. 441.

on the Erne.<sup>153</sup> Not the least important consequence of Brian O'Neill's death was that it opened the way for an alliance between the O'Conors and O'Donnell. Friendship between these had been impossible while the O'Conors were allied to O'Neill, because of the hostility between the O'Donnells and the O'Neills.<sup>154</sup> The bond now established between O'Donnell and O'Conor was undoubtedly strengthened by the fact that both were under pressure from the English of Connacht. In 1260 Maurice fitz Maurice, who had been granted Carbury, Fermanagh and Tir Conaill by his father, Maurice fitz Gerald, sometime before the latter's death in 1257,<sup>155</sup> had made a raid on Donal Og O'Donnell, who had succeeded his father, Geoffrey, as king of Tir Conaill in 1258;<sup>156</sup> and O'Donnell had retaliated by plundering Carbury the same year (1260).<sup>157</sup> O'Donnell was therefore sympathetic when Felim sought refuge with him. He allowed Felim to raise a great army in Tir Conaill, and with this Felim entered Ui Maine, having first gone to Breifne, where he probably got further military assistance.<sup>158</sup> In Connacht he banished

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153. K. Simms, 'Gaelic Lordships in Ulster in the Later Middle Ages', Ph.D. Thesis, T.C.D., 1976, p. 521.
154. For the hostility between these two families from the 1240s to the 1260s, see *ibid.*, pp 520-8, 656-60, 666-8.
155. Red Book of Kildare, no. 31.
156. A.C., p. 127; A.L.C., I, p. 427; A.U., II, p. 325; A.F.M., III, pp 365-9.
157. A.C., p. 135; A.F.M., III, p. 379; A.L.C., I, p. 437.
158. The death of Donal O'Rourke in 1260 had sparked off two years of bitter hostilities between Aedh O'Conor and Breifne. Finally, in 1261, Aedh made peace with Art son of Cathal Riabach O'Rourke, who, having escaped from Aedh's imprisonment earlier that year, had been made king of Breifne by the men of Breifne, and Aedh gave his son in fosterage to him, A.C., pp 133-7; A.L.C., I, pp 437-41.

Turlough O'Connor, who presumably had been set up as king by the English, and who was forced to 'repaire againe to the English to partake with them and to shelter himself from the violence of ffelym o'Connor'.<sup>159</sup>

Meanwhile Aedh O'Connor had not been idle. He assembled a great host and made a massive counter-attack on the settlers of Connacht. The annals say that he plundered the Galls of West Connacht, 'all the way from Mayo and Balla eastwards to Sliab Luga, burning their towns and corn and killing many people between those points'. He then sent his forces into 'South Connacht, and they plundered the country from Tuaim to Athlone, killing everyone they found between those places'.<sup>160</sup> It was probably because of Felim's and Aedh's activities of this year that the enrolled account of Athlone town and castle for the years 1262 to 1266 says that there were no issues from 'five acres outside the rampart of the castle because it was devastated by Fethel' Okonechor, king of Connaught, and Othech his son'.<sup>161</sup>

As a result of the O'Conors' demonstration of strength the English decided to abandon their offensive. They sent envoys to Felim and Aedh with an offer of peace, and Aedh agreed to meet them at Derryquirk, Co. Roscommon. Peace was made, and the kingship of Connacht was restored to Felim.<sup>162</sup>

That the offensive against the O'Conors was launched in 1262 was undoubtedly due to the fact that by the end of October 1261 Richard de la Rochelle had become justiciar.<sup>163</sup> De la Rochelle had a vested interest in destroying the O'Conors' power in the king's cantreds, for, as we have seen, he had

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159. A. Clon., p. 243. These events, which are not mentioned in any other annals, are said to have taken place in 1261, but they must have occurred in 1262.

160. A.C., p. 139; A.L.C., I, p.443; A.F.M., III, p.387; see also A.U., II, p.333; A.F.M., III, pp 391-3.

161. 35th Rept. D.K., p.48 - Pipe Roll 51 Hen. III.

162. A.Clon., p.243; A.C., p.139; A.L.C., I, p.443; A.F.M., III, p. 387; A.U., II, p.333.

163. Richardson and Sayles, Administration, p.79.

been granted the cantred of Ui Maine in 1258,<sup>164</sup> and it is likely that he had also been granted land in the cantred of Tir Maine the same year.<sup>165</sup> On 6 January 1261, before he had been appointed justiciar, de la Rochelle had secured a base for operations in the king's cantreds by being appointed custodian of the town and castle of Athlone.<sup>166</sup> Now, as justiciar, he could use the resources of the lordship to launch an offensive against the O'Conors.

De la Rochelle's appointment as justiciar must have pleased de Burgh, who was married to de la Rochelle's cousin Aveline.<sup>167</sup> Although de Burgh had not been granted land in the king's cantreds, he had, as lord of Connacht, every reason to welcome a drive against the O'Conors, and his 1260 attack on Tir Maine suggests that if he did not want land there himself he would have liked to have seen the cantred being taken from Felim. De la Rochelle seems to have allowed de Burgh to play an important role in dealing with the O'Conors. The annals describe how after peace had been officially made at Derryquirk, Walter de Burgh and Aedh O'Connor made a personal peace. The annals record that Aedh went to the Galls' house though no surety or hostage of theirs had been left in his camp and that he 'lay in one room and one bed with Macwilliam Burke, happy and cheerful'.<sup>168</sup> <sup>N.P.</sup> The peace thus established did not last. In 1263 de Burgh invaded the king's cantreds to attack Felim and his son. He went as far as Roscommon, but, according to the annals, the Sil Murray had fled to the north of Connacht, and so the English found no preys to lift this time. Some of the O'Flynnns attacked a detachment of de Burgh's army

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164. See above, p. 229.

165. See below, pp 466-7, 473.

166. 35th Rept. D.K., p. 48 - Pipe Roll 51 Hen. III.

167. Orpen, Normans, vol. III, p. 232, note 2; p. 267, note 1.

168. A.C., p. 139; A.L.C., I, p. 443; A.F.M., III, p. 387.

and they are said to have killed a hundred men.<sup>169</sup> Aedh O'Conor's response to the offensive of 1263 is not recorded in the Connacht annals, but the Annals of the Four Masters say that he and Donal Og O'Donnell marched into Clanrickard and totally ravaged the country as far as Slieve Aughty and Galway.<sup>170</sup> The reference to 'Clanrickard' does not inspire confidence in the entry, because the word is not found in use until after 1333. Furthermore, the Four Masters assertion that O'Donnell on his return to Tir Conaill through north Mayo and Sligo 'obtained his full demands from all' is hard to credit,<sup>171</sup> but it would be unwise to dismiss the evidence in toto. It is also possible that it was Aedh O'Conor who offered the highkingship of Ireland to king Haakon of Norway in 1263.<sup>172</sup> Simms has suggested that in view of the political confusion in Tir Eoghain after Brian O'Neill's death, Aedh is the most likely instigator of this attempted revival of the highkingship, and to support this she has suggested that the king Dugald who was one of king Haakon's greatest supporters during the latter's visit to the Hebrides in 1263 was the Dugald Mac Sorley, king of Argyle, whose daughter Aedh O'Conor had married.<sup>173</sup> It is perhaps worth adding that it is possible that Aedh did try to revive the highkingship now that the English offensive against the O'Conors was a reality, especially when one considers the importance he had attached to having the protection of an overlord in the past,

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169. A.C., p. 141; A.L.C., I, p.445; A.F.M., III, pp 389-91. That the O'Flynnns fought against de Burgh this year suggests that Aedh's raid on Sil Maelruain in 1259 had some practical effect, see above, pp 235-6.

170. A.F.M., III, p. 391.

171. Ibid.

172. Early Sources of Scottish History, ed. A.O. Anderson, vol. II, p. 622.

173. K. Simms, 'Gaelic Lordships in Ulster in the Later Middle Ages', Ph.D. Thesis, T.C.D., 1976, pp 663-4.

when an English offensive was no more than a threat. In addition to invading the king's cantreds, de Burgh built a castle at Athangail (in the bar. of Corran, Co. Sligo) in 1263,<sup>174</sup> probably because he felt that the confinement of the O'Conors to the three northern king's cantreds necessitated a strengthening of the defence of the north-eastern part of the lordship of Connacht. Aedh was certainly in need of all the help he could get, but since king Haakon never came to Ireland,<sup>175</sup> we have no way of telling who sought his help.

In 1264 there was a set-back to the English advance into the king's cantreds. This was because civil war broke out among the English in Ireland this year. It is not known why the war started, but it is thought that it may have been connected with the Barons' War in England, where in May 1264 Henry III and the lord Edward were defeated at the battle of Lewes and imprisoned by Simon de Montfort. In Ireland on 6 December 1264, the justiciar Richard de la Rochelle, John de Cogan and Theobald Butler were imprisoned by Maurice fitz Maurice, who held the Geraldine lands in Connacht, and by his nephew, Maurice fitz Gerald, baron of Offaly, and immediately afterwards Walter de Burgh went to war against Maurice fitz Maurice in Connacht.<sup>176</sup> However, unlike the later Geraldine/de Burgh war,<sup>177</sup> there is little or no reason to believe that the war originated in Connacht. It is true that in 1263 de Burgh had built a castle in Corran, where Maurice fitz Maurice would seem to have acquired land in the right of his wife.<sup>178</sup>

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174. A.C., p. 141; A.L.C., I, p. 447; A.F.M., III, p. 391. A. Clon., p. 244, deviate from the other annals in saying he built it in 1264.

175. The Irish annals say that he died on his way to Ireland, A.C., p. 141; A.U., II, p. 333; A.L.C., I, p. 445; A. Clon., p. 244. But the Norse saga, Hakonar Hakonarson, says that his army dissuaded him from going to Ireland, and that he died on his way to Norway, Early Sources of Scottish History, vol. II, p. 634.

176. For the civil war, see Otway-Ruthven, Med. Ireland, pp 196-198.

177. See below, pp 304-14.

178. See above, pp 149-51.



But even if there was friction between de Burgh and fitz Maurice over Corran, it does not explain why the Geraldines captured de la Rochelle, Butler and de Cogan.

If the war did not originate in Connacht, it certainly had repercussions there. In 1264 de Burgh seized fitz Maurice's castles of Ardrahan and Lough Mask (in the bars. of Dunkellin, Co. Galway, and Kilmaine, Co. Mayo), burned his manors and plundered his tenants.<sup>179</sup> It was not long before Aedh O'Conor began to exploit the fact that the settlers of Connacht were at war with each other. In 1265 he and Donal O'Donnell, king of Tir Conaill, demolished the castles of Sligo, Banada and Ardree (in the bars. of Carbury and Leyny, Co. Sligo).<sup>180</sup> In view of the fact that these were all Geraldine castles,<sup>181</sup> it might be supposed that Aedh had made an alliance with de Burgh against the Geraldines. However, there is no evidence that he had. It is true that Aedh and de Burgh had made a personal peace in 1262, but good relations between the two men had broken down by 1263, when de Burgh invaded the king's cantreds. In 1264, before the civil war had broken out, peace had been made between the O'Conors and the English at Athlone. However, it is extremely unlikely that an alliance was formed between de Burgh and Aedh O'Conor on this occasion, because the annals say that fitz Maurice and other principal Galls were there as well as de Burgh and the justiciar.<sup>182</sup> It would seem much more likely that the reason Aedh and O'Donnell attacked the Geraldine castles was that the Geraldine defeat in the civil war provided

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179. A.C., p.143; A.Clon., p.245; A.L.C., I, p.449; A.F.M., III, p.395.

180. A.U., II, p.335; A.F.M., III, p.397. A.C., p.145, and A.L.C., I, p.451, do not mention O'Donnell.

181. See above, pp140, 148-9.

182. A.C., p.143; A.Clon., p.245; A.L.C., I, pp 447-9; A.F.M., III, pp 393-5. The annals say that the English sought peace when they saw the size of the O'Conors' army.

them with a golden opportunity to destroy Geraldine power in north Connacht. The extent to which the civil war had weakened the Geraldines is suggested further by the fact that, when Felim died later in 1265, Aedh, who succeeded to the kingship immediately afterwards, made a royal hosting into Offaly, which belonged to Maurice fitz Gerald, and burned and damaged it with impunity.<sup>183</sup> The English in Ireland may well have turned a blind eye to these attacks on the Geraldines, who had caused so much trouble.

There is some evidence that Aedh, on his accession to the kingship, was prepared to recognize English lordship in Ireland. In 1265 he wrote to the king asking him to give the dean and chapter of Achonry royal licence to elect a new bishop. His letter must have been written circa 1 June 1265, because he asked the king to give the messenger of the dean and chapter the royal licence to elect,<sup>184</sup> and the dean and chapter themselves wrote to the king asking for the royal licence on that day.<sup>185</sup> That Aedh recognized the king's authority in the matter of episcopal elections in Connacht is remarkable enough. What is extraordinary is that he should urge the king to act swiftly in granting the royal licence to elect on the ground that the church of Achonry would suffer in its temporalities and spiritualities if there was a delay.<sup>186</sup> This is extraordinary because, according to the escheator, Aedh seized the rents and issues of the bishopric of Elphin and converted them to his own use sometime between 1265 and 1266, when there was a vacancy in the bishopric.<sup>187</sup> It is possible that Aedh was anxious that a particular person be elected to the bishopric of Achonry,

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183. A.C., p. 145; A.L.C., I, p.451; A. Clon., pp 245-6; A.F.M., III, p.397.

184. Foedera, vol. I, p.464; C.D.I., 1252-84, no. 775.

185. Ibid., no. 774.

186. Ibid., no. 775; Foedera, vol. I, p. 464.

187. T.C.D. MS 671, fol. 36v - Pipe Roll 54 Hen.III; B.M. Add.MS 4789, fol. 288v - Pipe Roll 55 Hen. III.

and that he saw advantage in having the royal sanction for the election. Since the diocese of Achonry lay to the west of the king's cantreds of Magh Lurg and Magh nAi, Aedh may have thought it would be politically advantageous if there was a bishop there who was sympathetic towards him.<sup>188</sup> On the other hand, it is possible that Aedh was trying to establish good relations with Simon de Montfort, who remained in control in England until 4 August 1265 when he was defeated and killed at the battle of Evesham.<sup>189</sup> Certainly, by 1266 Aedh seems to have abandoned any idea he might have had of reconciliation with the English. The annals record that a party of his followers made a great slaughter on the Welsh and Leinstermen of West Connacht and that Aedh was triumphantly presented with the heads of thirty-one of the slain.<sup>190</sup> It is possible that the settlers were vulnerable because they had not fully recovered from the civil war. The same year the Irish of the lordship of Connacht made several anti-settler attacks. Tiaquin castle (in the bar. of Tiaquin, Co. Galway) was broken down and Conmaicne of Dunmore (bar. of Dunmore, Co. Galway) was laid waste, possibly by Mahon O'Kerrin, king of Ciarraige, who was killed by the English of Dunmore this year. The same year Templetogether (in the bar. of Ballymoe, Co. Galway) was burned by Flann Roe O'Flynn, chieftain of Sil Maelruain, and many English were killed. Also in 1266, Donal O'Hara, king of Leyny, was killed while burning the town of Ardnaree (in the bar. of Tireragh, Co. Sligo), and many castles were

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188. There is no evidence, however, that Denis O Miachan, the man elected bishop of Achonry in 1266, was sympathetic towards Aedh O'Conor, C.D.I., 1252-84, no. 794; F.M. Powicke and E.B. Fryde, Handbook of British Chronology, p. 344. (2nd ed.)

189. F.M. Powicke, The Thirteenth Century, pp 189-202.

190. A.C., p. 149; A.L.C., I, p. 455; A.F.M., III, p. 401.

burned in Tireragh.<sup>191</sup> It is possible that the town of Galway was burned this year, but the damage does not seem to have been extensive.<sup>192</sup> It was probably in order to deal with the disturbances of 1266 that the justiciar, David de Barry, went to Athlone to pacify Connacht.<sup>193</sup>

It is hardly surprising that the English decided to launch a new offensive against Aedh O'Conor as soon as they had recovered from their civil wars in England and in the lordship of Ireland. As a result, Aedh was on the defensive for the next four years. The first indication of English intentions came in July 1267 when the king confirmed the grants the lord Edward had made to Richard de la Rochelle of the cantred of Ui Maine and of the tuath in Tir Maine called Clann Uadach.<sup>194</sup> The same year the annals record that de Burgh made a great raid on Aedh and that he plundered Tir Maine and the Clann Uadach.<sup>195</sup> In 1268 an English force was defeated by Aedh at the Faes of Athlone.<sup>196</sup> In 1269, apparently while Aedh was sick, the justiciar, Robert d'Ufford, began to build a castle at Roscommon,<sup>197</sup> where a site had been selected for a castle seven

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191. A.C., p.147; A.L.C., I, pp 453-5; A. Clon., p.246; A.F.M., III, pp 399-401. For the identification of Burges Beoil in Tachair as Templetogether, see above, pp 135-6.
192. In pipe roll 51 Hen. III (Mich.1266-Mich.1267) Gillepatrick MacKarly was fined 50 sh. for obtaining a pardon for burning the town of Galway and for the death of David Bree, Hardiman, History of Galway, p. 53, note 21. See also N.L.I., MS 760, pp 14,32 - Betham's Extracts from the Pipe Rolls.
193. T.C.D., MS 671, fol. 5v - Pipe Roll 54 Hen. III.
194. C.P.R., 1266-72, p.85. As Orpen has pointed out, the word 'Thoyth' in this confirmation represents 'tuath'. It is not a surname, as Sweetman supposed in C.D.I., 1252-84, no. 823, Orpen, Normans, vol. III, p.246, note 2. For the grants to la Rochelle, see below, pp 466-7, 473.
195. A.C., p. 149; A.L.C., I, p. 457; A.F.M., III, p. 403.
196. A.C., p. 151; A.L.C., I, p. 459; A.F.M., III, p. 405.
197. A.C., p. 153; A. Clon., p.247; A.L.C., I, p.461; A.U., II, p. 341; A.F.M., III, p. 409; Dowling, p. 15; Grace, p. 36; 'Ann. of Ireland', Charts. St. Mary's, II, p. 316.

years before,<sup>198</sup> and a royal service was proclaimed at Roscommon.<sup>199</sup> The castle was undoubtedly built primarily to protect the lands of the English grantees in Tir Maine and Ui Maine but it could also be used as a base for further operations against O'Conor in the three northern cantreds. The building of this castle marked a great advance in undermining Aedh's position in the king's cantreds, but Aedh remained a danger because he had not yet been defeated. In 1270, therefore, de Burgh and the deputy-justiciar, Richard de Exeter,<sup>200</sup> with all the English forces of Ireland invaded the king's cantreds. Aedh, however, would seem to have seized the initiative by crossing into Breifne. He encamped in Moynishy on the east bank of the Shannon, forcing de Burgh to cross the river and fight in unfamiliar territory with the Shannon blocking his retreat. The English do not seem to have been at all confident about Aedh's movements, because the deputy-justiciar remained on the west bank watching out for him. As soon as de Burgh's force arrived on the east bank it was attacked by a few of Aedh's men, and some of de Burgh's men were killed. It is hardly surprising, given the insecurity of their position, that 'The Galls then advised the Earl<sup>201</sup> to make peace with O Conchobair', advice which de Burgh accepted. He agreed to give his own brother, William Óg, as a hostage to O'Conor's people while 'O Conchobair should be in their own (English) camp arranging the terms of settlement'.

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198. See above, p. 238.

199. A.J. Otway-Ruthven, 'Royal Service in Ireland', Jn.R.S.A.I., vol. 98 (1968), p. 42.

200. The Irish annals say that the justiciar (Robert d'Ufford) took part in the invasion, but it would seem from 'Annales de Monte Fernandi' that d'Ufford was in England at this time and that Richard de Exeter was deputy-justiciar, Tracts Relating to Ireland, II, p.15. See also 36th Rept. D.K., p. 54 - Pipe Roll 9 Edw. I.

201. On 15 July 1263 Walter de Burgh had been granted the land of Ulster, to hold as Hugh de Lacy had held it, and he must have been formally created earl of Ulster about the same time, Otway-Ruthven, Med. Ireland, p.196.

But Aedh was in no mood for negotiations now that he had the English trapped. As soon as William Óg de Burgh arrived at Aedh's camp he was taken prisoner, and John Dolfin and his son, who seem to have accompanied William Óg, were killed. On hearing this, de Burgh retreated to the Shannon being harried as he went by O'Conor. At Ath an Chip, which is thought to have been near Carrick-on-Shannon, de Burgh was attacked by Aedh's ally, Turlough O'Brien, but de Burgh, we are told, slew him single-handed on the spot. Then the Connacht force attacked de Burgh and he suffered a crushing defeat. Both the rearguard and the van of de Burgh's force were broken up, at least nine knights were killed, and many others either fled or were killed. The annals say that the English left a hundred armoured horses on the field. To make matters worse, Aedh killed de Burgh's brother, William Óg, after the battle, allegedly to avenge Turlough O'Brien's death.<sup>202</sup>

Aedh immediately followed up his victory with a massive anti-settler campaign which lasted until 1272. This campaign shows that the battle of Ath an Chip had changed the balance of power in Connacht, and it is undoubtedly because of this that the battle has been traditionally regarded as one of the most important battles of the Gaelic revival in the thirteenth century. Aedh would seem to have had three objectives after Ath an Chip. One was to destroy the castles that surrounded and threatened him in the three most northerly of the king's cantreds. Thus in 1270 he razed de Burgh's castle of Athangail (in the bar. of Corran, Co. Sligo) and Mac Costello's castles of Castlemore and Kilcolman (in the bar. of Costello, Co. Mayo).<sup>203</sup> In 1271 he

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202. A. Clon., pp 247-9; A.F.M., III, pp 409-13; A.C., pp 155-7; A.L.C., I, pp 463-7; A.U., II, p.343; 'Annales de Monte Fernandi', Tracts Relating to Ireland, II, p.15; Clyn, p.9. A.C. and A.L.C. say that Richard of the Wood and John Butler were included in the nine knights who were killed, but A. Clon. and A.F.M. say that they and nine knights were killed. A.U. say that Richard of the Wood was a kinsman of Walter de Burgh.

203. A. Clon., p. 249; A.C., p. 157; A.L.C., I, p.467; A.F.M., III, p. 413.

broke down the Templar castle at Templehouse in Leyny, what would appear to have been de Verdon's castle of Athleague (now Lanesborough, Co. Longford), and the castle of Sligo,<sup>204</sup> which Maurice fitz Maurice had rebuilt in 1269,<sup>205</sup> after it had been knocked down by Aedh and O'Donnell in 1265.<sup>206</sup> It is possible that Aedh also gave O'Donnell assistance in burning the town of Sligo in 1270, for the son of O'Mailbrenain, who was one of the Sil Murray officers who had a role in the inauguration of the kings of Connacht, was killed during the attack,<sup>207</sup> but we cannot be sure that the attack was made after Ath an Chip.

Aedh's second objective was to destroy the royal settlements and castles in the king's cantreds. In 1270 he burned Roscommon, Rinndown and Onagh,<sup>208</sup> where there would seem to have been

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204. A.C., p. 159; A.L.C., I, p. 471; A. Clon., p. 249; A.F.M., III, p. 415; A.U., II, pp 345-7. The de Exeter castle of Athleague on the R. Suck in Co. Roscommon does not seem to have been built till the 1280s, see below, pp 478-9. As we have seen (above, pp 226-7), de Verdon had met Aedh at Lanesborough in 1257. But the friendly relations which seem to have existed then had broken down by 1262, when de Verdon participated in the English offensive against the O'Conors, A.C., p. 139; A.L.C., I, p. 441.
205. A.C., p. 153; A.L.C., I, p. 463; A.F.M., III, p. 407; A.U., II, p. 341. The English attempt to recover control over Carbury seems to have begun in 1267 when they made a great raid on the place, A.C., p. 149; A.L.C., I, p. 457; A.F.M., III, p. 403.
206. See above, p. 244.
207. A.C., p. 155, see also p. 154, note 1; A.L.C., I, p. 463; A. Clon., p. 247; A.F.M., III, p. 413. See also M. Dillon, 'The Inauguration of O'Conor', Med. Studies Presented to Aubrey Gwynn, ed. J.A. Watt et. al., pp 197-8.
208. A.C., p. 157; A.L.C., I, p. 467; A.F.M., III, p. 413; A. Clon., p. 249. 'Annales de Monte Fernandi', Tracts Relating to Ireland, II, p. 15, say that the Dominican house in Roscommon was burned as well as the town.

a royal settlement since the 1230s.<sup>209</sup> In 1272 he broke down the castles of Roscommon and Rinndown, and burned the town of Athlone.<sup>210</sup> Aedh's third objective would seem to have been closely linked to his second one. It was to isolate Connacht from the rest of the lordship of Ireland, thus making it difficult for the government to come to the aid of the royal castles and settlements. In 1272 he broke the bridge of Athlone,<sup>211</sup> which was the most important point of access into Connacht,<sup>212</sup> and the same year he put a large fleet on Lough Ree, where, according to the annals, he committed great burnings and did other damage.<sup>213</sup>

That Aedh O'Conor had reached the height of his military powers in the early 1270s is evident, and the English must have been greatly relieved when he died in 1274.<sup>214</sup> It would seem very likely, however, that the death of Walter de Burgh on 28 July 1271<sup>215</sup> and the minority of his heir helped to make Aedh O'Conor's

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209. See below, pp 453-4.

210. A.C., p.159; A.L.C., I, p.471; A.Clon., p.249; A.U., II, p.347; A.F.M., III, p.417. 'Annales de Monte Fernandi', Tracts Relating to Ireland, vol.II, p.16 say that Roscommon castle was knocked down in 1271. The pipe rolls show that the custodian of Rinndown was held responsible for the destruction of that castle. They record that James de Bermingham owed 400 marks 'because he undertook to safely keep the lord Edward's castle of Rendoun, and through his default it was thrown down by the Irish, which appears in a certain estreat delivered by G.de Genevill into the Exchequer', 36th Rept. D.K., p.50-Pipe Roll 8 Edw.I.

211. A.C., p. 159; A.L.C., I, p.471; A. Clon., p. 249; A.F.M., III, p. 417.

212. See above, pp 25-6, 34-6.

213. A.C., p. 161; A.L.C., I, p. 471. If Aedh had knocked down de Verdon's castle at Lanesborough in 1271, and it would seem likely that he had, it would help to explain his control of Lough Ree.

214. A.C., pp 161-3; A.L.C., I, pp 473-5; A. Clon., p.250; A.F.M., III, p. 421; A.U., II, p.349; 'Annales de Monte Fernandi', Tracts Relating to Ireland, vol. II, p.16.

215. Ibid., p. 15; A.C., p. 159; A. Clon., p.249; A.F.M., III, p. 415; A.L.C., I, p.469; A.U., II, p.345.



achievements more spectacular than they might have otherwise been. It is not at all certain that Ath an Chip had discouraged de Burgh from further activity against Aedh. The annals say that in 1270 de Burgh and the Connacht Galls made great raids on O'Conor's people in Tirerrill, which with Magh Lurg formed the most northerly of the king's cantreds. We cannot be sure that these raids were not made after Ath an Chip.<sup>216</sup> De Burgh's death relieved Aedh of further pressure from the lord of Connacht, and it is perhaps worth mentioning that it was only in 1272, after de Burgh had died, that Aedh could allow himself the luxury of making a burning raid into Meath as far as Granard.<sup>217</sup>

The lord of Connacht had, of course, no right to interfere in the king's cantreds unless he had the government's permission to do so. It would seem almost certain that de Burgh had had this permission since 1262. The fact that Walter de Burgh's heir, Richard, did not receive seisin of his inheritance until 1280<sup>218</sup> undoubtedly helps to explain to some degree why government officials became so heavily involved in Connacht in the 1270s. But there were other more important reasons for the government's involvement in Connacht. One of these was that in making the decision to take the two most southerly of the king's cantreds from O'Conor, the government became financially involved in Connacht on a scale for which there was no precedent since the building of Rinndown castle in 1227 and the conquest of Connacht. The cost of building Roscommon castle in 1269 would seem from an extract from pipe roll 54 Hen. III (1269-70) to have been £3,148-4-3,<sup>219</sup> a sum

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216. A.C., p.157; A.L.C., I, p.467; A.F.M., III, p.413. The raids are mentioned after the battle in the annals. They may have been made while Aedh was attacking English settlements.

217. A.C., p.159; A.L.C., I, p.471; A.F.M., III, p.417; A.Clon., p.249.

218. See below, p. 267.

219. T.C.D., MS 671, fol.36v.

which is confirmed by Ware in a note to his extracts from pipe roll 53 Hen. III (1268-69).<sup>220</sup> The second reason for heavy government involvement was Aedh O'Conor's new strategy of attacking royal settlements and castles in the king's cantreds. Before 1270 all anti-settler attacks had been directed against English settlements in the lordship of Connacht.

We can form some idea of what Aedh O'Conor cost the government, because the financial records of the lordship of Ireland begin to survive in relative abundance from circa 1270 onwards. In the treasurer's account for the period Michaelmas 1270 to Michaelmas 1272 we find sums being spent on fortifying and provisioning the royal castles in Connacht. But the sums involved - the largest by far is £90 which the treasurer paid to Richard de Exeter, the deputy-justiciar, for the fortification of Roscommon castle<sup>221</sup> - pale into insignificance beside the amount spent on the royal castles by the justiciar, James D'Audley. His account for the period Michaelmas 1270 to 23 June 1272 shows that he spent £1,601-18-8 on the 'Purchase of wheat, oats, meat, fish, wine, salt, iron, and other stores for the king's castles of Roscommon, Athlone and Raundon in Connaught, carriage of the same from divers parts of Ireland to the said castles, pay and garments for constables, balisters, drink-money and pay for mercenaries, expenditure of said James and of his army in proceeding to and remaining to succour the castles'.<sup>222</sup> It is hardly surprising to find that d'Audley did not have enough cash or provisions for these operations and that he seized what he could from the surrounding countryside. The bishop of Elphin complained to the king that, during the troubles between d'Audley and 'him who calls himself king of Connacht', d'Audley took £77-11-1¼ from the church of the

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220. B.M., Add.MS4789, fol. 290.

221. C.D.I., 1252-84, no. 891, pp 149-151; P.R.O.L., E101/230/2.

222. C.D.I., 1252-84, no. 890, p.147. P.R.O.L., E101/230/2 is creased and soiled at this point, and cannot be read satisfactorily on microfilm.

Dominicans of Roscommon, which had been 'deposited there by poor persons of that country through fear of the troubles', and that he had also taken from the church wheat, oats, and other provisions worth £8-2-7, timber worth £16, oats worth £11-6-8 and wheat worth £1-4-4, 'all of which were converted to the use of James and of the army which accompanied him'.<sup>223</sup>

D'Audley's expedition to Connacht must have been in 1271, the year the royal service of Dunmore,<sup>224</sup> otherwise called the army of Athlone,<sup>225</sup> was summoned. It therefore took place after the towns of Roscommon and Rinndown had been burned by Aedh O'Conor and before Aedh had knocked down their castles. The next justiciar's accounts that we have are those of Geoffrey de Geneville for the period 16 August 1273 to Michaelmas 1276.<sup>226</sup> Unfortunately, we cannot tell from these how much de Geneville spent on Connacht, because the expenses relating to Connacht are lumped together with other expenses. Furthermore, the items of expenditure are not always given in much detail, and, since the pipe rolls on which these accounts were enrolled no longer exist, we have to rely on calendars and extracts. However, de Geneville's accounts can be supplemented with the accounts of the treasurer for the period Michaelmas 1274 to Michaelmas 1277<sup>227</sup> and with a variety of other evidence. These sources suggest that de Geneville threw himself energetically into the task of repairing the damage Aedh had done in 1272. We find references during his justiciarship to the rebuilding and fortification of Roscommon castle,<sup>228</sup> to the rebuilding

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223. C.D.I., 1252-84, no. 1120.

224. A.J. Otway-Ruthven, 'Royal Service in Ireland', Jn. R.S.A.I., vol. 98 (1968), p. 42.

225. Otway-Ruthven, Med. Ireland, p. 200, and ibid., note 22.

226. 36th Rept. D.K., pp 40-1 - Pipe Roll 7 Edw. I.

227. C.D.I., 1252-84, nos 1038, 1294, 1389; P.R.O.L., E101/230/4.

228. 36th Rept. D.K., pp 33, 41 - Pipe Rolls 4 and 7 Edw. I; C.D.I., 1252-84, no. 1294, pp 235-6; P.R.O.L., E101/230/4 - T.'s Acct. Mich. 1275-Mich. 1276.

and repair of Rinndown castle,<sup>229</sup> and to the repair of the castle and houses of Athlone.<sup>230</sup> There are also references to the provisioning of the three royal castles with wine, beer, meat, fish, wheat, oats, bread and other supplies.<sup>231</sup> A letter from the justiciar to the king shows that it was only in the second half of 1274, after Aedh O'Conor had died, that the justiciar began to rebuild Roscommon castle,<sup>232</sup> and Otway-Ruthven is undoubtedly correct in suggesting that the royal service summoned to Roscommon during de Geneville's justiciarship was proclaimed in 1274.<sup>233</sup> The justiciar and the forces which joined him led by Peter de Bermingham and Jordan de Exeter, the sheriff of Connacht, encountered some hostility from the Irish, but the latter were defeated and de Geneville succeeded in completing the work on the castle.<sup>234</sup> De Geneville also seems to have paid a great deal of attention to the other royal castles in Connacht during the same expedition.<sup>235</sup> It was probably on this occasion that he spent as much as £428-12-0¼ on the castle of Athlone 'for pay of garrison and other necessaries', and £439-0-3¼ for similar expenses at Rinndown.<sup>236</sup>

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229. N.L.I., MS 760, p.53-Betham's Extracts from the Pipe Rolls; C.D.I., 1252-84, no.1294, pp 235,237; no.1650, p.337; P.R.O.L., E.101/230/4-T.'s Acct.Mich.1275-Mich.1276; E.101/230/14-Issue Roll East. 1280; 36th Rept.D.K., p.41-Pipe Roll 7 Edw.I.
230. Ibid., p.40.
231. C.D.I., 1252-84, no.1038, pp 178-9; no.1294, p.236; no.1389, pp 257,261; no.1650, p.337; ibid., 1285-92, no.169, p.68; P.R.O.L., E.101/230/4-T.'s Accts.Mich.1274-Mich.1277; E.101/230/12-Docs.Relating to the T.'s Accts.; E.101/230/14-Issue Roll East. 1280; 36th Rept.D.K., pp 26,40-1-Pipe Rolls 3 and 7 Edw.I; N.L.I., MS 760, p.60-Betham's Extracts from the Pipe Rolls.
232. P.R.O.L., SCl/18/15-Ancient Correspondence.
233. A.J.Otway-Ruthven, 'Royal Service in Ireland', Jn.R.S.A.J., vol.98 (1968), p.42; Med.Ireland, p.202.
234. P.R.O.L., SCl/18/15-Ancient Correspondence; see also below, pp 258-9. I am indebted to Dr P.Connolly for the help she gave me in making sense of this badly damaged letter.
235. Otway-Ruthven, Med.Ireland, p.202.
236. N.L.I., MS 760, p.85-Betham's Extracts from the Pipe Rolls; R.I.A., MS 12D.10, p.59-Ferguson's Extracts from the Pipe Rolls.

De Geneville also addressed himself to the task of restoring communications into Connacht. He spent money on the bridge of Athlone,<sup>237</sup> which, it will be remembered, had been knocked down by Aedh O'Conor in 1272. He also built and bought boats for the castles of Athlone and Rinndown,<sup>238</sup> presumably in order to gain control over Lough Ree. He improved communications into the king's cantreds from the lordship of Connacht by having the causeway of Tochar Mona Conneda (Templetogher, bar. of Ballymoe, Co. Galway) repaired, and within the king's cantreds he had the pass of the Faes of Athlone cut.<sup>239</sup>

What perhaps best illustrates that there was continuous military activity in Connacht from the building of Roscommon castle in 1269 to the death of Aedh O'Conor in 1274 is the fact that a royal service was proclaimed in Connacht each year from 1269 to 1274.<sup>240</sup> It would seem reasonable to conclude that Connacht was very high on the government's list of priorities at this time. The fact that so many royal services were summoned to Connacht also suggests that the government was anxious to throw some of the financial burden of the war effort in Connacht on the military tenants of the lordship of Ireland as a whole, for at this stage it would seem that personal service had been replaced by the payment of scutage, 'although it is not unusual to find individual tenants serving in person even in the first half of the fourteenth century'. These, however, only lightly supplemented the stipendary troops which became the all-important element in the armies raised since circa 1238.<sup>241</sup> It has been estimated that a scutage should have brought in just over £800.<sup>242</sup> It

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237. 36th Rept. D.K., p. 41 - Pipe Roll 7 Edw I.

238. Ibid., p. 40.

239. Ibid., p. 41.

240. A.J., Otway-Ruthven, 'Royal service in Ireland', Jn. R.S.A.I., vol. 98 (1968), p. 42.

241. Ibid., pp 38-9.

242. Ibid., p.40.

is possible, therefore, that the government hoped to raise as much as £4,000 from the five royal services summoned to Connacht. Whether the government succeeded in reimbursing itself with this amount of money is impossible to say, because no receipt rolls survive from this period. But the fact that the royal service was summoned to Connacht for five successive years suggests that Connacht was putting a strain on government funds.

The government's policy was to keep the king's army in the west and to avoid any military involvement in the east as far as possible. It would do so only if the east was in a state of anarchy which threatened the peace and unity of the kingdom. The king's army was to be used only in the case of the king's emergency.

The great instability in the kingdom of Ireland after the death of King Henry II made it difficult for the government to deal with events in the king's territories. By the end of the year three grandsons of King Henry II had succeeded each other in the kingdom, but each of them was a minor. After three months, the second of them was a boy of eight. The government seems to have succeeded in bringing both Hugh and King Henry II to the king's court in the west. The king's army was to be used only in the case of the king's emergency. A letter from the king's court in the west...

1. The story of the king's army in the west...  
2. The story of the king's army in the west...  
3. The story of the king's army in the west...  
4. The story of the king's army in the west...  
5. The story of the king's army in the west...

## CHAPTER IV

The Dublin Government, Richard de Burgh, and John fitz Thomas  
in Connacht, 1274 - 1300

Aedh O'Conor's death in 1274 did not bring about an immediate reduction in the amount of government involvement in Connacht, for, as we have seen, the government only began to rebuild Roscommon castle after Aedh had died, and the castles of Rinndown and Athlone continued to require attention.<sup>1</sup> In addition to this the lordship of Connacht was in the king's hand.<sup>2</sup> The government was no doubt anxious to reduce its military involvement in the area as soon as possible but it could do so only if the new king of Connacht was willing to keep the peace and accept the government's terms with regard to the lease of the king's cantreds.

The great instability in the kingship of Connacht after Aedh's death on 3 May<sup>3</sup> made it difficult for the government to keep up with events in the king's cantreds. By the end of the year three grandsons of Cathal Crobhderg O'Conor had succeeded each other in the kingship, the first coming to a violent end after three months, the second after no more than a fortnight.<sup>4</sup> The government seems to have succeeded in bringing both Eoghan and Teig O'Conor, the first and third of these kings, into some sort of agreement with it, because the enrolled account of the justiciar, Geoffrey de Geneville, for the period 16 August 1273 to Michaelmas 1274 records payments from 'Eugenius and Tatheg Okonochor'.<sup>5</sup> A letter from the justiciar to the king shows

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1. See above, p. 255.

2. See above, pp 251-2.

3. A.C., pp 161-3; A. Clon., p. 250; A.L.C., I, p. 473; A.F.M., III, p. 421.

4. A.L.C., I, pp 475-7; A.C., p. 163; A.F.M., III, pp 421-3; 'Annales de Monte Fernandi', Tracts Relating to Ireland, II, p. 16; A. Clon., p. 250.

5. 36th Rept. D.K., p. 40 - Pipe Roll 7 Edw. I.

that Teig was at first hostile towards the English. When de Geneville led an expedition to Connacht to rebuild the castle of Roscommon, 'Tatheg Occonochor ke se apele Rey de Connacht' did all he could to hamper him. However, Teig was routed, and the justiciar was able to complete his work on Roscommon and the other royal castles in Connacht.<sup>6</sup>

It was not long before Teig wanted to have his position regularized by the government. On 21 June 1275 the king gave power to Hugh de Taghmon, bishop of Meath, Stephen de Fulbourne, bishop of Waterford, Geoffrey de Geneville and Thomas de Clare to treat with Teig O'Conor regarding his petitions for a lease of the king's land in Connacht.<sup>7</sup> We do not know what happened as a result of this letter but it is possible that Teig was given the lease of the three most northerly cantreds. Certainly, de Geneville would seem to have been confident enough about the situation in Connacht in the early part of 1276 to have Maurice fitz Maurice bring a force from Connacht for a campaign in Glenmalure.<sup>8</sup>

However, the situation in the king's cantreds was far from stable. In 1275 Teig had found it necessary to capture his own brother, Rory, and to plunder Mac Dermot of Magh Lurg,<sup>9</sup> and it is conceivable that he had sought the lease of the king's cantreds because he hoped that the government would protect him against his rivals and opponents once he had secured the lease. In 1276 he was presented with a much more serious threat than any he had encountered to-date. That year

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6. P.R.O.L., S.C. 1/18/15 - Ancient Correspondence; and see above, p. 255.

7. C.D.I., 1252-84, no. 1135; C.P.R., 1272-81, p. 96.

8. 36th Rept. D.K., pp 33, 41, 46 - Pipe Rolls 4, 7 and 8 Edw. I; C.D.I., 1252-84, no. 1389, p. 258; P.R.O.L., E.101/230/4 - T's Acct., Mich. 1276- Mich. 1277.

9. A.C., p. 165; A.L.C., I, pp 477-9; A.U., II, p. 351; A.F.M., III, p. 423.



Aedh of Munster, allegedly an illegitimate son of Felim O'Connor,<sup>10</sup> entered Connacht, having first gone to Tir Conaill, where O'Donnell had raised an army 'in his cause'.

O'Donnell accompanied Aedh of Munster to Aghanagh (bar. of Tirerrill, Co. Sligo) and then turned back for reasons which are not given.<sup>11</sup> However, The Annals of Clonmacnoise, which make no reference to Aedh of Munster's alliance with O'Donnell, give the impression that Aedh of Munster did not need O'Donnell's help once he arrived in the king's cantreds. They say that the Sil Murray and the Clann Maelruanaid (i.e. the chieftains of the king's cantreds, the Mac Dermots of Magh Lurg, and the Mac Donoughs of Tirerrill) accepted him and 'had him in great account and reverence' as soon as they heard that he was Felim's son.<sup>12</sup> The Annals of Connacht and The Annals of Loch Cé also suggest that Aedh was well received by the Irish of the king's cantreds, because they record that the sons of Turlough (i.e. Teig and his brothers) came into the land and committed many burnings, but that they could obtain no further power.<sup>13</sup> Either in order to establish peace or in order to support Teig, the justiciar brought in troops. In his enrolled account for Michaelmas 1275 to Michaelmas 1276 de Geneville was allowed sums spent in 'wages to the army of Elphin'.<sup>14</sup>

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10. A. Clon., p. 251.

11. A.C., p. 167; A.F.M., III, p. 425; A.L.C., I, p. 479.

12. A. Clon., p. 251.

13. A.C., p. 167; A.L.C., I, p. 479.

14. 36th Rept. D.K., p. 41- Pipe Roll 7 Edw. I. It was possibly at around this time that Richard de Exeter, who is described in his account as deputy of the justiciar from 6 Mar. 1270-5 Nov. 1277 (ibid., p. 54 - Pipe Roll 5 Edw. I), went to Connacht to assemble the constables and pacify the land., ibid., p. 33-Pipe Roll 4 Edw. I. His account records that he received a £193-6-6 fine from 'OKonechor'.

Thus the struggles among the O'Conors over the kingship forced the government to renew its military involvement in Connacht. Indeed it was not long before the O'Conor rivalries began to undermine English control over the king's cantreds. In 1277 Aedh of Munster and O'Donnell pulled down Roscommon castle,<sup>15</sup> and this attack, which was probably designed to increase Aedh of Munster's popularity among the Irish of the king's cantreds, meant that the government once again became heavily involved in Connacht. Robert d'Ufford, who had recently been reappointed justiciar,<sup>16</sup> went to Connacht with a force,<sup>17</sup> and he began to strengthen the castles of Rinndown and Athlone.<sup>18</sup> The following year he began to rebuild Roscommon castle, and it has been suggested that the army of Athenry summoned during d'Ufford's justiciarship was proclaimed at this time.<sup>19</sup> Once again government expenditure on Connacht rocketed. D'Ufford's account for Michaelmas 1278 to Michaelmas 1279 shows that he spent £3,200-2-5 on strengthening the castle of Roscommon and the ditch around the town there, on repairing the castle, houses and bridge of Rinndown, on building a new chamber in Athlone castle, and on repairing the castle and houses there.<sup>20</sup> In addition, d'Ufford built a new town near the castle of Roscommon, the earlier town having been burned by Aedh O'Conor in 1270.<sup>21</sup> The new town was constructed near the castle on lands belonging to the monks of Roscommon, who were given lands two miles away from the castle

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15. A.C., p. 169; A.L.C., I, p. 481; A. Clon., p. 251; A.F.M., III., p. 427.
16. Richardson and Sayles, Administration, p. 81.
17. C.D.I., 1252-84, no. 2291; 36th Rept. D.K., p. 62 - Pipe Roll 10 Edw. I.
18. Ibid., pp 35-6 - Pipe Roll 5 Edw. I; N.L.I., MS 760, p. 64 - Betham's Extracts from the Pipe Rolls; C.D.I., 1252-84, no. 1412, p. 267; P.R.O.L., E101/230/6 - D'Ufford's Account, Dec. 1276 - Sept. 1277.
19. A.J. Otway-Ruthven, 'Royal Service in Ireland', Jn. R.S.A.I. vol. 98 (1968), p. 42; Med. Ireland, pp 202-3.
20. 36th Rept. D.K., p. 48 - Pipe Roll 8 Edw. I.
21. See above, p. 250.

in exchange.<sup>22</sup> D'Ufford also stocked the king's manor of Roscommon with cows, horses, seed, harrows, ploughs, and carts.<sup>23</sup> Besides this, the royal castles had to be supplied with provisions and items of all kinds.<sup>24</sup> Roscommon castle was built according to the latest ideas on military architecture,<sup>25</sup> and it is likely that many of the 250 masons, carpenters, workmen and ditchers who were sent to Ireland in 1280<sup>26</sup> were employed at Roscommon. Gregory de Coquile would seem to have been keeper of the works at the castle until 1284.<sup>27</sup> A castle the size of that at Roscommon would undoubtedly have taken several years to build.

It is hardly surprising to find that large sums of money were sent from Dublin to Roscommon during this period. In 1279 Ryrith Mackavan, one of the barons of the exchequer,<sup>28</sup> was paid for his expenses in carrying the king's treasure towards Roscommon,<sup>29</sup> and in 1281 three men were paid for bringing

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22. Otway-Ruthven, Med.Ireland, p.203: G.Mac Niocaill, Na Buirgéisí, vol. II, pp 332-3, note 14; C.D.I., 1252-84, nos 1884, 2006, 2008. See also, below, pp 455-6.
23. 36th Rept. D.K., p. 48 - Pipe Roll 8 Edw. I.
24. Ibid., pp 49, 57, 68, 72 - Pipe Rolls 8, 9 and 10 Edw. I; N.L.I., MS 760, p. 80 - Betham's Extracts from the Pipe Rolls; C.D.I., 1252-84, no. 1739, pp 356-7; no. 1892, p.411; P.R.O.L., E101/230/15, E101/230/19 - Issue Rolls Mich. 1280 and Hil. 1282.
25. See below, p.455.
26. W.P. Pakenham-Walsh, 'Roll of the Corps of Royal Engineers of Ireland, 1251-1801', Jn.R.S.A.I., vol.40 (1910), p.325.
27. C.D.I., 1252-84, no. 1739, p.357; no. 2310, p.540; ibid., 1285-92, no.169, pp 75,80; P.R.O.L., E101/230/12 - Doc. relating to the T.'s Acct; E.101/230/15 - Issue Roll Mich. 1280; E.101/231/1 - Issue Roll Mich. 1284. John le Clerk was keeper of the works at Rinndown castle circa 1280, N.L.I. MS 760, p.80 - Betham's Extracts from the Pipe Rolls.
28. Richardson and Sayles, Administration, p.105.
29. P.R.O.L., E.101/230/14 - Issue Roll Mich. 1279; C.D.I., 1258-84, no. 1587, p.318.

£1,000 from Dublin to the justiciar at Roscommon.<sup>30</sup> But this was at a time when a new coinage was being introduced,<sup>31</sup> and on one occasion money was coined on the spot at Roscommon. The account of the keepers of the mint for the period December 1280 to June 1282 records that they were allowed their expenses in going to, remaining at, and returning from Roscommon, and the account also records that £546-12-2 was coined at Roscommon.<sup>32</sup>

While the government was engaged in repairing and rebuilding the king's castles in Connacht, the struggles over the kingship of Connacht continued. In 1278 Teig O'Conor was killed by the Mac Dermots, and Aedh of Munster became king.<sup>33</sup> Although we know that sometime before Michaelmas 1279 an expedition was sent against O'Donnell,<sup>34</sup> who had helped Aedh of Munster knock down Roscommon castle in 1277, we have no evidence of how the government dealt with Aedh himself. But if the government succeeded in imposing its authority on the new king, its work was ultimately so much lost effort, because in 1280 Aedh of Munster was slain by a rival branch of the O'Conors, the Clann Murtough, and one of the Clann, Cathal son of Conor Roe, became king of Connacht.<sup>35</sup> Cathal's accession must have been undesirable from the government's

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30. Ibid., no.1835, p.394; P.R.O.L.,E.101/230/15 - Issue Roll St.J.B. 1281. See also 36th Rept.D.K., p.56-Pipe Roll 9 Edw.I, where Henry de Rupeforti (alias Rocheford), one of three men named in the issue roll, is allowed money for bringing the king's treasure to Roscommon castle.
31. R.H.M. Dolley, Medieval Anglo-Irish Coins, p.10; 'The Irish Mints of Edward I in the Light of the Coin Hoards from Ireland and Great Britain', Proc.R.I.A., vol.66 (1968), p.287; 'Anglo-Irish Monetary Policies, 1172-1637', Hist. Studies, vol.7 (1969), p.54.
32. C.D.I., 1252-84, no. 1930, pp 438-9.
33. A.C., p.169; A.L.C., I, p.483; A.Clon., p.252; A.F.M., III, pp 429-31.
34. 36th Rept. D.K., p.49-Pipe Roll 8 Edw.I.
35. A.C., p.171; A.L.C., I, p.485; A. Clon., p.252; A.F.M., III, p.433; A.U., II, p.359.

point of view. In 1272 he and other members of the Clann had killed Henry Butler, lord of Umhall, and Hosty Merrick, another of the Mayo settlers.<sup>36</sup> It was probably this that had led to the expulsion of Donal of Erris and presumably the rest of the Clann from Umhall and Erris in 1273.<sup>37</sup> Some of the Clann would seem to have settled in or near the king's cantreds by 1276, when Aedh of Munster, who seems to have already regarded them as serious rivals, made a raid on them.<sup>38</sup>

With Cathal O'Conor's accession, d'Ufford decided that the time had come for the government to adopt a tougher approach towards the O'Conors, and he revived the old policy of reducing the amount of land the king of Connacht held on lease from the king. An inquiry held into the king's cantreds in 1305 tells us that Robert d'Ufford, having rebuilt Roscommon castle,

demised to Oconoghur two and a half cantreds of said land towards great Irecheria Connacht and Ulster, to farm, viz. the cantred of Moylurg and Tyrelele and the cantred of the Tothes, except one villate of land called Clonmagyauenan which belonged to Ric. de Calue, ... and the half cantred of Moyhe, rendering to the king yearly 100 marks.<sup>39</sup>

We know that d'Ufford was in Connacht in July and November 1281,<sup>40</sup> and it would seem very likely that it was during these visits that Cathal came to the king's peace<sup>41</sup> and that d'Ufford laid down the terms on which he was to hold the

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36. A.C., p.159; A.L.C., I, p.471; A.Clon., p.249; A.F.M., III, p.417; A.U., II, p.347.

37. A.C., p.161; A.L.C., I, p.473; A.F.M., III, p.421.

38. A.C., p.167; A.L.C., I, p.481; A.F.M., III, p.427; A.U., II, p.353.

39. C.J.R., 1305-7, p.134. Less satisfactory is C.D.I., 1302-7, no. 437.

40. Ibid., 1252-84, no. 2291, pp 529-30.

41. The county Connacht account for East.1280-East 1282 records that Cathal Okonethir Roth owed 200 cows for having the peace, N.L.I., MS 760, p.90 - Betham's Extracts for Pipe Rolls. Cathal was the son of Conor Roe O'Conor, see below, p.280. /from

king's cantreds. However, the pipe rolls suggest that Cathal was less co-operative than d'Ufford would have liked, for they record that

Kathel Okonechur owes 200 marks for entry into 2½ cantreds in Connaught for 3 years after Michaelmas a.r. ix (1281), and 300 marks for rent during that time, and John Map and Jordan de Exon were commanded not to deliver him the (letters) patent until he had given security to pay the money to the king.<sup>42</sup>

It was possibly at this time that the government employed 'a clerk awaiting payment of the fine of Oconochor'.<sup>43</sup>

For the government's policy of confining the king of Connacht to the 2½ northernmost cantreds to have any permanent success, it was necessary to establish a strong English settlement in the 2½ southernmost cantreds. A number of grants had already been made in the cantreds of Ui Maine and Tir Maine, but little English settlement seems to have taken place by 1280,<sup>44</sup> and there was a need for further grants to be made. In June 1280 the king gave d'Ufford power to enfeoff people of land in the king's waste lands in Ireland, and to let these lands in fee farm or for an annual rent.<sup>45</sup> D'Ufford was therefore in a position to strengthen English settlement in the southern king's cantreds.

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42. 37th Rept.D.K., p.45-Pipe Roll 20 Edw.I. See also ibid., p.24-Pipe Roll 15 Edw.I; 38th Rept.D.K., p.73-Pipe Roll 31 Edw.I. The wording of this entry in the pipe rolls suggests that Cathal may have been leased the 2½ cantreds for no more than a term of 3 years, but we cannot be sure.

43. The payment of the expenses of this clerk is recorded in documents concerning the account of the treasurer, Stephen de Fulbourne, 1278-1285, C.D.I., 1252-84, no. 1879, p.406; ibid., 1285-92, no.42.

44. For settlement in the king's cantreds, see below, pp 466-76.

45. C.P.R., 1272-81, p.384; C.D.I., 1252-84, no. 1697. D'Ufford would seem to have already been exercising some of these powers in the king's cantreds in Connacht, see below, p. 476.

In both July and November 1281 he brought the escheator, John of Sandford, with him to Connacht,<sup>46</sup> and we know that settlement in the king's cantreds was one of their concerns, because on 14 November an extent was made before both of them at Rinndown of 30 librates in Tir Maine, which the king had ordered to be extended and delivered in fee to Richard de Exeter.<sup>47</sup> It was possibly in 1281 that Sandford himself received a grant of land in the king's cantreds. The king's letter of 28 August 1283 concerning this grant tells us that as a result of the power which d'Ufford had been given to enfeoff people of the king's waste lands of Ireland, d'Ufford had demised to Sandford lands in and around the theodum of Clann Conmhaig,<sup>48</sup> which lay on both sides of the river Suck around Dunamon (in the bar. of Ballymoe, Cos. Galway and Roscommon).<sup>49</sup> It is noteworthy that when the king accepted this grant in 1283 he said that Sandford was to render suit at the king's county (court) of Roscommon.<sup>50</sup> This is the earliest reference we have to the county of Roscommon, and it is likely that the decision to establish a county in the king's cantreds, which had hitherto been part of county Connacht, was an offshoot of the policy of confining the king of Connacht to the 2½ northernmost cantreds and of creating a strong English settlement in the southern ones.

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46. C.D.I., 1252-84, no. 2291; 36th Rept. D.K., p.62-Pipe Roll 10 Edw.I.

47. C.D.I., 1293-1301, nos 802, 806.

48. C.D.I., 1252-84, no. 2115; R.C.H., pp 2-3, no.28.

49. See below, pp 476-7.

50. C.D.I., 1252-84, no. 2115; R.C.H., pp 2-3, no. 28.

In February 1280, while the government was making a determined effort to gain the upper hand in the king's cantreds, Walter de Burgh's heir, Richard, had been given livery of the lordship of Connacht along with the rest of his inheritance.<sup>51</sup> It is difficult to estimate what effect his minority had had on the lordship of Connacht. That it was not neglected while it was in the king's hand is evident from the escheator's account. This shows that the escheator, John of Sandford, spent money on 'the castle of Lochry (Loughrea, Co. Galway) and the land of Connaught, with the houses and mills', as well as on the castle, mills and fishing weirs at Galway.<sup>52</sup> Furthermore, two towns were fortified during de Burgh's minority. Murage was levied in Galway from 25 March 1272 to 25 March 1275 and from 13 November 1278 to 29 October 1280. What sort of defence works Galway had before this is unknown, but the accounts of the murage collectors suggest that quite extensive works were carried out in stone and in wood. The account for the later period records that masons built walls on the side of the town towards the sea, as well as a tower outside the great gate, and that carpenters made the gate and worked on the tower. £17-2-11 was spent on these works, while £29-4-5 was spent on the works carried out by masons and carpenters in the earlier period.<sup>53</sup> The other town which was fortified in the 1270s was Dunmore (in the bar. of Dunmore, Co. Galway). Again we do not know anything about its earlier defence works, but perhaps because it was a smaller town than Galway the work carried out by masons here while murage was levied from 14 October

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51. 36th Rept. D.K., pp 62-63-Pipe Roll 10 Edw. I.

52. Ibid., p.65.

53. I.R.C. Repts., vol.I, p.53; 36th Rept.D.K., pp 47-8-Pipe Roll 8 Edw. I, where the terminal date for the second murage collection is wrongly given as Tues. on the morrow of SS. Simon and Jude, a.r. vii. It should read a.r. viii.



1279 to 14 July 1280 cost only £2-10-3.<sup>54</sup>

The fact that Sandford collected £2,340-3-2 from the lordship of Connacht while it was in his custody from 2 February 1272 to 27 February 1280<sup>55</sup> suggests that the government was able to maintain a reasonable degree of control over it during the minority. However, this is a modest sum compared with the amount of revenue Richard de Burgh is said to have received from Connacht later. In 1305 jurors said that Connacht was worth more than £1,000 to him per annum,<sup>56</sup> and it would seem from the inquisition taken on the death of William de Burgh in 1333 that at one time Connacht provided its lord with more than £1,436-4-5 annually.<sup>57</sup>

The fact that Galway did not come into the king's hand until May 1274, when Walter de Burgh's widow, Aveline, who had held the town as part of her dower, died,<sup>58</sup> undoubtedly accounts for the loss of some revenue from Connacht during the minority. But it is also clear that Irish attacks

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54. 36th Rept. D.K., p.47-Pipe Roll 8 Edw.I; N.L.I., MS 760, p.30 - Betham's Extracts from the Pipe Rolls. It should be pointed out that the amount that could be spent on the walls was determined by the amount that was collected from the tax on named merchandise coming into town within the period granted by the king for the murage. See the murage charter for Adare and Croom, Co. Limerick, in Chartae, Privilegia et Immunitates, p. 42. At Galway more money was collected than was spent on the works, whereas at Dunmore the collectors spent 4d more than they had collected.

55. 36th Rept. D.K., p.63 - Pipe Roll 10 Edw. I.

56. C.D.I., 1302-7, no. 436.

57. See below, pp 383-4.

58. 36th Rept. D.K., pp 63,65 - Pipe Roll 10 Edw.I; 'Annales de Monte Fernandi', Tracts Relating to Ireland, vol. II, p.16.

contributed to the loss of revenue. Theobald Butler, who had the custody of the manor of Meelick (in the bar. of Longford, Co. Galway) throughout the minority, was given the issues of the manor 'for guarding it'.<sup>59</sup> Furthermore, Sandford was unable to collect rent in a few areas because they lay waste 'on account of the war of the Irish'.<sup>60</sup>

It would seem probable that some of the Irish took advantage of de Burgh's minority to attack the settlers of Connacht. As we have already seen, Cathal O'Conor of the Clann Murtough killed Henry Butler, lord of Umhall, and Hosty Merrick in 1272, shortly after Connacht had come into the king's hand. However, generally speaking, the English would seem to have been strong enough to take measures against the Irish who were a threat to the peace. In 1273 they banished Donal of Erris and seemingly the rest of the Clann Murtough from Umhall and Erris.<sup>61</sup> The same year they expelled Rory O'Flaherty from West Connacht,<sup>62</sup> and it was possibly in order to protect Galway against O'Flaherty in particular that the town was fortified in the 1270s. In 1273 also, Jordan de Exeter, who was sheriff of Connacht at the time,<sup>63</sup> raided Corran (Co. Sligo), an area in which there would seem to have been little or no English settlement,<sup>64</sup> and a number of Irish were killed.<sup>65</sup> But it would seem that the English were not always able to defeat the Irish. The Annals of the Four Masters say that in 1278 Brian O'Dowda and Art na gCapall O'Hara, lord of Leyny,

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59. 36th Rept. D.K., p.63 - Pipe Roll 10 Edw. I.

60. Ibid.

61. See above, p. 264.

62. A.C., p.161; A.L.C., I, p.473; A.F.M., III, p.421.

63. 36th Rept. D.K., p.28 - Pipe Roll 3 Edw.I.

64. See above, pp 149-51.

65. A.C., p.161; A.L.C., I, p.473; A.F.M., III, p.419; A.U., II, p.347.

gave battle to the Clann Feorais (i.e. the de Berminghams), that the latter were defeated, and that two sons of Meiler de Bermingham were among those slain.<sup>66</sup> The battle is not mentioned in the other annals but it would be unwise to dismiss the Four Masters' evidence, for there had been trouble between de Bermingham and the O'Haras of Leyny before this. Many of the annals record that Mac Feorais violated the church of Ballysadare (bar. of Leyny, Co. Sligo) in 1261 by killing five of the men of Leyny, one at least of whom was an O'Hara, in it, and that the same year Donal O'Hara made a raid on the Clann Feorais in retribution for this, and one of the de Berminghams was killed.<sup>67</sup> If the battle of 1278 did take place, it perhaps explains why the de Bermingham town of Dunmore was fortified in 1279.

Richard de Burgh was given seisin of Connacht in February 1280,<sup>68</sup> and we know that he paid a visit to Ireland in 1281.<sup>69</sup> By February 1282, however, he had returned to England, where he remained until July 1285.<sup>70</sup> In the meantime, relations between the Barretts and the Cusacks of north-west Connacht became so acrimonious that a battle was fought between the two families at Moyne near Kilroe (bar. of Tirawley, Co. Mayo) in 1281.<sup>71</sup> An inquisition

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66. A.F.M., III, p.431.

67. A.C., p.137; A.L.C., I, p.439; A.U., II, p.331; A.F.M., III, pp 381-3.

68. 36th Rept. D.K., pp 63,65-Pipe Roll 10 Edw.I.

69. C.D.I., 1252-84, no. 1918.

70. Ibid., nos 1893, 1895; C.P.R., 1281-92, pp 11,110; C.J.R., 1295-1303, p.452.

71. 'Historia et Genealogia Familiae de Burgo', Jn.G.A.H.S., vol.13, p.131; A.C., pp 172-3; A.L.C., I, pp 488-9; A. Clon., p.253; A.U., II, pp360-3; A.I., pp380-1; A.F.M., III, pp 434-5.

of 1299 which mentions this conflict says that a contention arose between William Barrett and Adam le Cusack, and that a parley was held between them to settle the dispute. When they met, the servant of one party shot an arrow at the opposite party and 'forthwith each side ran together, and many English on each side were killed'.<sup>72</sup> The Irish annals and a Latin section of the 'Historia ... Familiae de Burgo' describe the fight as a battle (cath; bellum),<sup>73</sup> and it is very probable that both parties had come to the parley prepared for a fight. However, Barrett's side seems to have suffered heavier losses,<sup>74</sup> and William Barrett himself was captured and imprisoned by Adam le Cusack.<sup>75</sup>

It is not known what was at issue between the two families,<sup>76</sup> but it is possible that the dispute was over the theodum of

72. C.J.R., 1295-1303, pp 227-8.

73. See sources cited in footnote 71 above.

74. Ibid.; Grace, pp 38-9; 'Annals of Ireland', Charts. St. Mary's, II, p. 318; Dowling, p. 16.

75. C.J.R., 1295-1303, pp 227-8. Both the Irish annals and the Anglo-Irish chronicles (see footnotes 71 and 74) are wrong in saying that William Barrett was killed in the battle.

76. In the 17th century Irish tract called 'Of the Welshmen of Hy-Amhalaigh Mic Fiachrach' it is said that the dispute arose because the natives of Tirawley (lucht an tíre) complained to William Barrett, who is described as president over Tirawley, about how they had been oppressed by the Cusacks and other new invaders. According to this account, Barrett ordered the Cusacks to desist from their evil deeds, or meet him in battle. The result was the battle of Moyne. This account cannot, however, be trusted, because more contemporary sources show that much of the information this source gives about the battle is inaccurate, Tribes and Customs of Hy-Fiachrach, pp 327-31.

Bredagh (in the bar. of Tirawley). In the early thirteenth century the de Burgh lords of Connacht would seem to have made conflicting grants of this area, and in the late 1240s a William Barrett had ejected an Adam le Cusack from it. The ejection gave rise to a successful action against Barrett before the justices itinerant, but Barrett attacked the sheriff when he tried to implement the court's decision. In 1255 the king ordered the lord Edward's seneschal in Ireland, Richard de la Rochelle, to take 'such posse as may be necessary' in order to execute the court's decision, and the dispute seems to have subsided.<sup>77</sup> However, it is possible that Barrett claims were revived in the early 1280s. The government's attitude after the battle of 1281 implies that William Barrett (II?) was deemed to be in the wrong. D'Ufford did not release Barrett from Cusack's prison but instead ordered that Barrett's lands be taken into the king's hand.<sup>78</sup> Nor was Barrett released by Stephen de Fulbourne, who succeeded d'Ufford as justiciar shortly after November 1281,<sup>79</sup> for Barrett died in Cusack's prison in 1283.<sup>80</sup>

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77. See above, pp 155-6.

78. C.J.R., 1295-1303, pp 227-8.

79. Richardson and Sayles, Administration, p.81.

80. C.J.R., 1295-1303, pp 227-8. Barrett's cantred of Bac and Glen (in the southern part of the bar. of Tirawley, Co. Mayo) remained in the king's hand after Barrett's death until 1299, when Richard de Burgh successfully petitioned the king for livery of the land, William Barrett's son being still a minor, ibid; see also C.D.I., 1293-1301, no.391, p.182; P.R.O.L., E.101/232/24 - Receipt Roll East. 1297. An inquisition was held at about the same time to find out why Adam le Fleming's lands, which lay in Erris (Co. Mayo), were taken into the king's hand. Adam had fought on Barrett's side in 1281, C.J.R., 1295-1303, pp 312, 330. The receipt rolls show that the lands of an Adam and a William le Fleming, felons, were in the king's hand from 1299 to 1307, C.D.I., 1293-1301, no. 613, pp 294-5; no. 658, p.314; no. 825, p.374; ibid., 1302-7, no.58, p.25; P.R.O.L., E.101/234/2; E101/234/9; E101/234/16; E.101/235/5.

Furthermore, from about this time the receipt rolls record a great number of payments made by Batinus Barrett of his fine for having the king's peace.<sup>81</sup> It would seem very probable that Batinus had been involved in the dispute.

Not the least interesting aspect of the battle of Moyne was that two Irishmen, Taichlech O'Boyle and Taichlech O'Dowda, fought on Adam le Cusack's side.<sup>82</sup> It is not at all certain, however, that they were in any real sense allies of Cusack; it is more likely that he paid them to fight for him. Certainly, if there was an alliance between them and Cusack, it did not last, for in 1282 Cusack killed Taichlech O'Dowda. The annals do not tell us why he did this but they do say that O'Dowda was king of Tireragh (Co. Sligo) and that he was 'the best man for striving and struggling in defence of his native land against Galls and marauders'.<sup>83</sup> He and Cusack may have had conflicting interests in Tireragh, where Cusack had a manor.<sup>84</sup>

It is not known whether O'Dowda's death had any immediate repercussions. The justiciar, Stephen de Fulbourne, went to Connacht in 1282,<sup>85</sup> but we do not know the purpose of his visit. However, tension between the Irish and the settlers

81. C.D.I., 1285-92, no. 149, pp 51-2; no.215, pp 97-99; no. 217, p.124; no. 309, p.139; no. 330, p.146; no. 341, pp 152,154; no.371, pp 166,171; no. 403, p.178; no. 434, pp 186-7; no. 475, pp 221, 224; no. 780, p. 354; no. 842, p.383; no. 884, p.397; no. 965, p. 434; no. 1078, p. 473; P.R.O.L., E.101/232/5; E.101/232/24. See also 37th Rept. D.K., p.45 - Pipe Roll 20 Edw.I; 38th Rept. D.K., p.73 - Pipe Roll 31 Edw.I.

82. A.C., p.173; A.L.C., I, p.489; A.Clon., p.253; A.U., II, pp 361-3; A.F.M., III, p.435.

83. A.C., p. 173; A.L.C., I, p.489; A. Clon., p.254; A.U., II, p. 363; A.F.M., III, p.437.

84. See above, p. 154.

85. C.D.I., 1252-84, no. 2310, pp 535-7; ibid., 1285-92, no. 169, p. 74; P.R.O.L., E.101/231/1 - Issue Roll Mich. 1284; E.101/230/12 - Docs. relating to the T's Acct.

was building up, and in 1284 it came to a head. According to the annals, the trouble began when Simon de Exeter was killed by Brian O'Flynn (of Sil Maelruain, an area which lay on the western border of the king's cantreds),<sup>86</sup> and by two sons of O'Flanagan (of Clann Cathail, an area around Elphin in the king's cantreds).<sup>87</sup> Simon was probably related to Richard de Exeter, who had been granted lands in the king's cantreds,<sup>88</sup> and whose castle at Athleague (bar. of Athlone North, Co. Roscommon) would seem to have been knocked down by the Irish in 1284.<sup>89</sup> The annals do not mention the attack on this castle, but they do say that Simon's death 'led to great war and strife in Connacht, the Galls making great raids'. Since the annals record that the English repaid in full the losses suffered by the community of Trinity Island on Lough Cé and by the monks of Boyle,<sup>90</sup> it is clear that the raids extended right into the heart of the northern king's cantreds. However, further anti-settler attacks were made by the Irish. Fiachra O'Flynn, described as chieftain of Sil Maelruain at his death in 1289,<sup>91</sup> burned Dunmore, which suggests that the work done on the walls of the town from 1279 to 1280 was inadequate, while Cathal O'Conor, king of Connacht, knocked down Kilcolman castle<sup>92</sup> (bar. of Costello, Co. Mayo), which was owned by the Nangles.<sup>93</sup>

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86. i.e. the western part of the bar. of Castlereagh, Co. Roscommon.

87. A.C., pp 175-7; A.L.C., I, pp 491-3; A.F.M., III, p. 441. See also, A.Clon., p. 254.

88. See below, p. 478.

89. See below, pp 478-9.

90. A.C., pp 175-7; A.L.C., I, p. 493; A.F.M., III, p. 441.

91. A.C., p. 183; A.L.C., I, p. 501; A.F.M., III, p. 449.

92. A.C., p. 177; A.L.C., I, p. 493; A.F.M., p. 441.

93. See above, p. 142.

This castle had been knocked down by Aedh son of Felim O'Conor in 1270 after the battle of Ath an Chip, when Aedh had destroyed most of the major castles surrounding the northern king's cantreds.<sup>94</sup> The fact that Cathal knocked the same castle down in 1284 suggests that he was no longer willing to accept the government's policy of confining him to the 2½ most northerly cantreds.<sup>95</sup> Indeed it was very possibly in 1284 that Cathal burned down part or all of Roscommon town. In a petition to the king which could well have been written in 1284 the mayor and community of Roscommon complained that their town had been burned down by Cathal O'Conor and that 29 men, women and children had been burned to death, and they claimed that they had suffered damage estimated at £1,505-0-10. They also claimed that £18-0-7½, which they had placed for safe-keeping in Roscommon castle, had been used to save the castle.<sup>96</sup> It is also possible

94. See above, p. 249.

95. On the other hand, if the suggestion put forward above (on p.265, footnote 42) that the 2½ cantreds were leased to Cathal for a term of 3 years only, is correct, and if the government had refused to extend the lease in 1284, these things may explain why Cathal rebelled.

96. P.R.O.L., S.C.8/197/9839 - Ancient Petitions. I am indebted to Dr Connolly for transcribing this document for me. It is possible that the petition was written in 1284 because at the end of it the mayor and burgesses complain that they had given a certain serjeant called John Passavant 3½ marks to bring certain matters concerning the town before the king and they had not heard what had become of him. Passavant had been involved in the fortifying of Roscommon and Rinndown castles sometime before 4 March 1283, when a writ of liberate was sent from Rhuddlan in Wales ordering the treasurer and chamberlains of the Dublin exchequer to pay him for the work on the castles. The writ says that the king had ordered Passavant to remain by his side in 'his present army of Wales', C.D.I., 1252-84, no. 2063. This perhaps explains why the burgesses of Roscommon had not heard from him. In Mich. 1284 the treasurer paid Passavant the money specified in the writ through a third party, which suggests that he had not returned to Ireland by then, ibid., no. 2310, p.533; P.R.O.L., E.101/231/1-Issue Roll Mich. 1284. We next hear of John, in England, in 1291, C.P.R., 1281-92, p.426.



that O'Donnell made a successful raid into Connacht this year, as the Latin version of the Annals of Ulster claims.<sup>97</sup>

The financial records certainly suggest that the situation in Connacht was critical. De Fulbourne went to Connacht with 100 satellites, who remained there from 24 July to 27 August 1284, and his force was augmented with contingents led by others.<sup>98</sup> In Easter term 1284 the escheator, John of Sandford, was paid £200 to procure supplies for the men-at-arms who were in the castles of Rinndown and Roscommon 'on account of the raids of the King's enemies who had risen in Connaught against the King's peace'.<sup>99</sup> Furthermore, all three royal castles were strengthened. William de Spineto carried out works at Roscommon castle from 8 July to 14 October 1284,<sup>100</sup> and he spent £66-5-2½ on the wall he made around the castle from 1 August to 16 September.<sup>101</sup> The same year Thomas de Isham was engaged in works both here and at Rinndown castle,<sup>102</sup>

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97. A.U., II, p. 365, note 4.

98. C.D.I., 1252-84, no. 2310, pp 539-541; P.R.O.L., E.101/231/1 - Issue Roll Mich. 1284. 'Satellites' have been described as 'any force other than the prestigious cavalry', R.F. Frame, 'The Dublin Government and Gaelic Ireland, 1272-1361', Ph.D. Thesis, T.C.D., 1971, p.4.

99. C.D.I., 1252-84, no.2189, p.507; ibid., 1285-92, no. 169, p. 72; P.R.O.L., E.101/231/3 - Issue Roll East. 1284; E.101/230/12 - Docs. relating to the T's Acct. For supplies of wine, wheat and other goods being sent to these places, see N.L.I., MS 760, p.98 - Betham's Extracts from the Pipe Rolls; 36th Rept. D.K., pp 75-6-Pipe Roll 12 Edw.I; C.D.I., 1252-84, no. 2189, p. 507; no. 2241, p. 519; P.R.O.L., E.101/231/3 - Issue Rolls East. and St.J.B. 1284.

100. C.D.I., 1252-84, no. 2310, p.537; ibid., 1285-92, no. 169, p. 74; P.R.O.L., E.101/231/1 - Issue Roll Mich. 1284; E.101/230/12 - Docs. Relating to the T's Acct.

101. 36th Rept. D.K., p. 75 - Pipe Roll 12 Edw. I, where the account he rendered for making this wall was enrolled.

102. C.D.I., 1252-84, no. 2310, p. 540; ibid., 1285-92, no. 169, p. 75; P.R.O.L., E.101/231/1 - Issue Roll Mich. 1284; E.101/230/12 - Docs. relating to the T's Acct.

while William de Prene, the king's carpenter, carried out works on Athlone castle.<sup>103</sup> We also hear of twelve masons being sent to Connacht at this time,<sup>104</sup> and of carpenters being sent to Rinndown.<sup>105</sup>

Since the issue roll of Michaelmas 1284 records a payment to de Fulbourne's 100 satellites for their expenses in returning 'to their own country from Connacht after peace had been made',<sup>106</sup> and since Cathal O'Conor paid a fine of £66-16-8 the same year,<sup>107</sup> it is evident that the justiciar's expedition was successful. However, the following year there was more trouble. Perhaps to avenge the death of Taichlech O'Dowda, Cathal O'Conor's brother, Manus,<sup>108</sup> inflicted what the annals describe as a great defeat on Adam le Cusack and the Galls of West Connacht at Ballysadare (bar. of Leyny, Co. Sligo), where many were slain and where Adam's brother, Colin, was taken prisoner. However, Manus's levies were later routed by Philip Nangle at the Ox mountains, and many of them were killed.<sup>109</sup> The same year Rory O'Gara, king of Sliabh Lugha, was killed by de Bermingham at Lough Gara (on the borders of Cos. Sligo and Roscommon).<sup>110</sup> There was also trouble in the

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103. C.D.I., 1252-84, no.2310, p.451; P.R.O.L., E.101/231/1 - Issue Roll Mich. 1284.
104. C.D.I., 1252-84, no. 2241, p. 519; P.R.O.L., E.101/231/3 - Issue Roll St.J.B. 1284.
105. N.L.I., MS 760, p. 98 - Betham's Extracts from the Pipe Rolls.
106. C.D.I., 1252-84, no.2310, p.540; P.R.O.L., E.101/231/1 - Issue Roll Mich. 1284.
107. C.D.I., 1252-84, no.2284, p. 528; P.R.O.L., E.101/230/11 Doc. relating to the T's Acct.
108. A.C., p. 181; A.L.C., I, p. 497.
109. A.C., p. 177; A.L.C., I, pp 493-5; A.U., II, pp 365-7; A.F.M., III, p.443.
110. A.C., p. 177; A.L.C., I, p. 495; A.U., II, p. 367; A.F.M., III, p. 441.

south-eastern part of the lordship of Connacht. The Annals of Clonmacnoise record that Hugh son of Hugh O'Conor and Flann O'Melaghlin 'with other noble youths in their company' took a great prey from William Crok.<sup>111</sup> This was almost certainly the William Crok who held land of de Burgh in the manor of Meelick, on the Shannon north of Portumna.<sup>112</sup> The same annals say that the attackers 'were pursued and quite Discomfitted, in soe much that above 20 of them were killed and Drowned'. It is very probable that they were drowned in the Shannon.

The Hugh son of Hugh O'Conor who raided William Crok was very probably the Eoch M<sup>c</sup>Eoch who owed 60 cows for entering the land of the Fethes (i.e. the Faes of Athlone) without the king's licence. Eoch's fine is recorded in the enrolled account for county Connacht from Michaelmas 1285 to Michaelmas 1287,<sup>113</sup> and it is possible that he had intruded himself into the land in 1285. It is clear that the king's cantreds were disturbed at this time. On 29 July 1285 the treasurer was ordered to pay for wine sent to Rinndown to supply the army which the deputy-justiciar, William fitz Roger, prior of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, 'is about to lead against

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111. A. Clon., pp 254-5.

112. See above, p. 108.

113. N.L.I., MS 760, p. 108 - Betham's Extracts from the Pipe Rolls. The fine is also recorded in later accounts, e.g. 37th Rept. D.K., p. 45 - Pipe Roll 20 Edw. I.

the King's enemies in Connaught'.<sup>114</sup> Another writ of liberate shows that the justiciar himself went to Connacht later in the year, for it was tested by de Fulbourne at Athlone on 13 November 1285. It ordered the payment of £40 to John de Fulbourne for bringing Welshmen to Connacht to fight against the king's enemies and disturbers of the peace there.<sup>115</sup> A third writ of liberate suggests that the Welshmen had arrived in Connacht by the end of August 1285, for the treasurer was ordered to pay John de Stratton, keeper of the king's wines at Rinndown and of Welsh satellites remaining there, for his wages from 29 August to 29 November 1285.<sup>116</sup> It is evident that Athlone castle was also in danger this year, because the issue roll recording the payment of the custodian's fee for Easter term 1285 says that he held the castle at his own risk ('suo proprio periculo').<sup>117</sup> Furthermore, works were carried out at Rinndown and Athlone from 29 April to 16 October 1285.<sup>118</sup>

114. C.D.I., 1285-92, no. 814, p.369; P.R.O.L., E.101/231/5 - File of writs of liberate. It is not stated on the backs of the writs in this file that the payments ordered in the writs were made, and the heading of the file in fact says that they were not made. It is clear from the date of the writs that they were examined when the treasurer, Nicholas de Clere, accounted for the period Aug. 1285 to July 1291. We have no evidence to show that the payments were made, since the issue rolls for de Clere's period in office do not exist and since his enrolled account does not always detail his expenditure, P.R.O.L., E.372/139 m.9 d. However, although there is no evidence that the treasurer paid the sums mentioned in the writs, the writs themselves suggest that Connacht was regarded as a serious problem by the government.

115. C.D.I., 1285-92, no. 814, p. 369; P.R.O.L., E.101/231/5 - File of writs of liberate.

116. C.D.I., 1285-92, no. 814, p. 370; P.R.O.L., E.101/231/5 - File of writs of liberate. See also E.101/230/13 - Issue Roll East. 1285, where Peter de Fulbourne is paid for the money he gave to certain Welshmen going to fortify the castle of Roscommon.

117. Ibid. See also C.D.I., 1285-92, no. 169, p.75; P.R.O.L., E.101/230/12 - Doc. relating to the T's A.

118. 37th Rept.D.K., p.30 - Pipe Roll 16 Edw.I, where the account Robert de Wolaston rendered for his work at these places was enrolled.

By the end of the year, however, the government was in a position to dictate terms to the king of Connacht. On 7 December 1285, at Roscommon, Cathal O'Conor entered a bond with the king whereby he undertook to pay 1,000 marks of silver to have his portion of the king's cantreds, and he promised by means of securities and pledges that he and his men would keep firm peace.<sup>118i</sup> What his portion of the king's cantreds was is not stated in the bond, which says that the justiciar's rolls contain the details of the agreement.<sup>119</sup> These rolls do not exist, but it would seem from the pipe rolls that Cathal was leased no more than the cantred of the Tri Tuatha. The county Connacht account for Michaelmas 1287 to Michaelmas 1292 records that 'Kathel Okonechor Roth owes 200 marks, fine for entry to hold the cantred of the Tothes, and 300 marks farm of the same cantred for three years'.<sup>120</sup> Cathal was the son of Conor Roe O'Conor,<sup>121</sup> and it would seem very likely that the entry in the pipe rolls refers to the agreement of December 1285.

The Tri Tuatha lay along the Shannon from Clontuskert to Carrick-on-Shannon, and it was the smallest of the king's cantreds. It would seem unlikely that the government had any immediate plans to bring settlers into the 1½ cantreds taken from O'Conor, and the Irish of these cantreds were probably allowed to remain in undisturbed possession. It is true that on 16 August 1285 the king had given power to Stephen de Fulbourne, the justiciar, John of Sandford, Thomas

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118i. C.D.I., 1285-92, no. 172.

119. Ibid.

120. 37th Rept. D.K., p. 45 - Pipe Roll 20 Edw I. Repeated in 38th Rept. D.K., pp 48, 73, 103 - Pipe Rolls 27, 31 and 33 Edw I; 39th Rept. D.K., pp 27, 54 - Pipe Rolls 3 and 8 Edw II.

121. A.C., p. 171; A.L.C., I, p. 485.

de Clare and Geoffrey de Geneville 'to let the King's waste lands in the district of Roscommon and enfeoff men thereof, as in their discretion they may think conducive to the King's advantage'.<sup>122</sup> But there is no evidence that they made grants to Englishmen of land in Magh Lurg - Tirerrill or in the northern part of Magh nAi. However, it would seem that they made a few grants in Tir Maine. We hear, for example, that by 1286 the justiciar had granted William de Prene, the king's carpenter, a villate called Moyavennan in Connacht.<sup>123</sup> This villate is undoubtedly the townland of Moyvannan in the parish of Kiltoom, which lies between Athlone and Rinndown in the barony of Athlone South, Co. Roscommon.<sup>124</sup>

There is no evidence that Cathal O'Conor or his brother Manus, who had come to the king's peace by the middle of 1286 at least,<sup>125</sup> again attacked the settlers, but by the latter part of 1286 there was a great deal of trouble in the southern king's cantreds. Between 25 September and 14 October of that year the escheator, Walter de la Haye, collected £17 from Richard de Exeter's lands in Tir Maine, which were in the king's hand, but he was unable to make an extent of de Exeter's lands 'because of the war there'.<sup>126</sup>

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122. C.D.I., 1285-92, no. 137; C.P.R., 1281-92, p. 188.

123. C.C.R., 1288-96, p. 22; C.D.I., 1285-92, no. 528.

124. Census of Ireland, 1871, p.562. See also A Census of Ireland (c.1659), p.588.

125. In the term of St.J.B. 1286 Alice Cusack paid 20 marks for having the son of Manus O'Conor, the king's hostage, C.D.I., 1285-92, no. 251, p. 114; P.R.O.L., E.101/231/6 - Receipt Roll St.J.B. 1286. She may have been the wife of Colin Cusack, who had been captured by Manus in 1285, see above, p. 277. See also C.D.I., 1285-92, no. 287, p. 130; P.R.O.L., E.101/231/6, roll 2 - Receipt Roll Hil. 1287; 37th Rept. D.K., p. 29 - Pipe Roll 15 Edw. I.

126. 37th Rept. D.K., p. 35 - Pipe Roll 16 Edw. I. For de Exeter's lands in Tir Maine, see below, pp 478-9.

In November of the same year John of Cantia, one of the barons of the exchequer, received £200 from the treasurer to pay the expenses of John of Sandford, archbishop of Dublin, and other members of the king's council in going to Connacht 'to fortify the king's castles and put guards therein against the king's enemies and disturbers of the peace in those parts'.<sup>127</sup>

Other evidence suggests that the southern king's cantreds remained disturbed for some years. Sometime between July 1286 and July 1288 the treasurer was ordered to pay Geoffrey Brun £300, which he was to spend on fortifying the castles of Roscommon, Rinndown and Athlone, and 'in maintaining the custody and defence thereof, according to the ordinance lately made at Locsney (Loughsewdy, Co. Westmeath) by the chief justiciary of Ireland and others of the council there'.<sup>128</sup> William de Prene, the king's carpenter, claimed in 1289 that he had been unable to levy any money from his land of Moyavennan between 1286 and 1289 because of the war which prevailed in that land.<sup>129</sup> Sometime before June 1289 de Prene was granted the custody of the town of Athlone,<sup>130</sup> and, as Stalley has suggested,

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127. 37th Rept. D.K., 25 - Pipe Roll 15 Edw.I; N.L.I., MS 760, pp 101-2 - Betham's Extracts from the Pipe Rolls.
128. C.D.I., 1285-92, no. 814, p.370; P.R.O.L., E.101/231/5 - File of writs of liberate.
129. C.C.R., 1288-96, p. 22; C.D.I., 1285-92, no. 528.
130. The custody was granted to de Prene by the exchequer, and the grant was confirmed by the king in Oct. 1290, C.P.R., 1281-92, p. 392, C.D.I., 1285-92, no. 797. He began to pay to farm of the town in the term of St.J.B. 1289, ibid., no. 501, p. 233; P.R.O.L., E.101/231/6, roll 4 - Receipt roll. For his payments thereafter, see E.101/231/6, roll 5 - Receipt rolls Hil. and East 1291; C.D.I., 1285-92, no. 842, p. 383; no. 884, p. 401.

this grant probably indicates that de Prene was spending a considerable amount of time at Athlone in a professional capacity.<sup>131</sup> De Prene would seem to have carried out works at Roscommon and Rindown also, because sometime between July 1286 and July 1288 he was brought before the justiciar and fined £20 for making waste of timber at both these places, and for cutting down oak trees in Wicklow.<sup>132</sup>

While the king's cantreds continued to demand the attention of the government, changes had been taking place in the lordship of Connacht which were to have very important consequences. Sometime after 1 July 1285 Richard de Burgh, earl of Ulster and lord of Connacht, alias the Red Earl, arrived in Ireland,<sup>133</sup> and once again, after an interval of almost fifteen years, there was a lord of Connacht resident in Ireland. It is conceivable that the Red Earl's decision to return to Ireland was prompted by the fact that a number of English settlements in the lordship of Connacht had been attacked in 1284 and 1285. Certainly, when he returned to Ireland, one of his first objectives was to establish control over Connacht. The annals say that in 1286 he made a great hosting into Connacht, where he destroyed many churches and monasteries and obtained ascendancy wherever he went.<sup>134</sup>

The annals do not say whether he entered the king's cantreds, which of course lay outside his lordship, but they do say that he took the hostages of the whole of Connacht,<sup>135</sup> and this may imply that Cathal O'Conor was among those who submitted to him. But if de Burgh did not concern himself with the king's cantreds in 1286, it was not long before he

131. R.A. Stalley, 'William of Prene and the Royal Works in Ireland', Jn. B.A.A., vol. 131 (1978), p.38.

132. C.D.I. 1285-92, no.1151; Select Cases in the Court of the King's Bench, vol.II, pp 129-30. De Prene seems to have continued working in Connacht for some time. In 1292 he was charged with stealing iron and nails at Roscommon, ibid., pp 125-35; R.A. Stalley, op. cit., pp 30-49.

133. C.D.I., 1285-92, no. 104; C.P.R., 1281-92, p.179.

134. A.C., p.179; A.L.C., I, p.495; A.Clon., p.256; A.U., II, p.367; A.F.M., III, pp 443-5.

135. A.C., p.179; A.L.C., I, p.495; A.F.M., III, pp 443-5.



developed an interest in them, as we shall see.

Another important event which took place in 1286 was the death of Maurice fitz Maurice.<sup>136</sup> The heirs to his large estates in Connacht and elsewhere in Ireland were his daughters, Juliana and Amabilia.<sup>137</sup> On 21 February 1288, however, Amabilia granted her cousin, John fitz Thomas, whatever lands she should inherit from her father, i.e. her share of the manors of Sligo, Calry (in the bar. of Carbury, Co. Sligo), Loughmask (in the bar. of Kilmaine, Co. Mayo) and Ardrahan (in the bar. of Dunkellin, Co. Galway), as well as of Tir Conaill, Fermanagh and other lands elsewhere in Ireland.<sup>138</sup> John fitz Thomas was the son of Thomas fitz Maurice, who had held the manor of Banada (in the bar. of Leyny, Co. Sligo) of his brother Maurice.<sup>139</sup> Fitz Thomas must have inherited this manor sometime after his father's death in 1271,<sup>140</sup> but he does not seem to have held any other lands until 1287, when his fortunes improved dramatically. That year he was granted the manors of Lea, Rathangan and Maynooth (in Cos. Laois and Kildare) by his cousin once removed, Gerald fitz Maurice, the fourth baron of Offaly.<sup>141</sup> Clyn would seem to have been justified in saying that Gerald, who died later in 1287, gave his inheritance to John fitz Thomas.<sup>142</sup> For Lea, of which fitz Thomas had seisin in July 1287,<sup>143</sup> seems to have been the caput of the lordship of Offaly.<sup>143i</sup> Gerald

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136. A.C., p. 179; A.L.C., I, p.495; A. Clon., p.256; A.U., II, p. 367.

137. Red Book of Kildare, p. 114.

138. Ibid., no. 87.

139. Ibid., no.74.

140. A.C., p. 159; A.L.C., I, p. 469; A. Clon., p. 249.

141. Red Book of Kildare, p. 126.

142. Clyn, p. 10.

143. Red Book of Kildare, nos 41-42.

143i. C.P.R., 1272-81, pp 12-13.

was childless and fitz Thomas was his nearest male relative,<sup>144</sup> and it was undoubtedly in order to keep these manors within the Geraldine family that Gerald granted them to fitz Thomas.<sup>145</sup> Amabilia may have been motivated by a similar concern. She was a widow, and she did not have any surviving issue.<sup>146</sup> If she had not made the grant to fitz Thomas, her land would have ultimately passed to her sister's son, Gilbert de Clare.

As a result of this spectacular acquisition of land in 1287 and 1288 John fitz Thomas became one of the most important landholders in Ireland, not least of all in Connacht. His meteoric rise would seem to have met with the approval of the government. The grant Amabilia gave him in February 1288 was made before the justiciar, Stephen de Fulbourne,<sup>147</sup> and almost a year later she made a similar grant before John of Sandford, who had succeeded de Fulbourne as justiciar.<sup>148</sup> Equally if not more important was the fact that de Fulbourne employed fitz Thomas in Connacht.

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144. Orpen, Normans, vol. III, pp 128-9; Otway-Ruthven, Med. Ireland, p.205.

145. Gerald's grant was made at the expense of his aunt, Juliana, the wife of John de Cogan and mother of his son, John. She regarded herself, and seems to have been recognized as Gerald's heir, Orpen, op.cit., vol.IV,pp 128-9; Red Book of Kildare, no. 73; C.J.R., 1305-7, p. 425, where her Christian name is given as 'Egidea'. After Gerald's death she contested fitz Thomas's right to Gerald's lands, C.D.I., 1285-92, no. 622, p. 307, where her name is given as 'Gyle', Rot. Parl. Hactenus Inediti, p. 34, where her name is given as 'Egidea'. 'Gyle' or 'Gillian' and 'Egidea' are variants of 'Juliana', see C.T. Martin, The Record Interpreter, 2nd ed., pp 455, 459. In 1293 Juliana quitclaimed to fitz Thomas all her rights as Gerald's heir, and fitz Thomas gave her the manor of Maynooth for life, Red Book of Kildare, nos 33, 73.

146. Ibid., no. 34; Orpen, Normans, vol. IV, p. 129.

147. Red Book of Kildare, no. 87.

148. Ibid., no. 85.

In a writ dated 17 April 1298 from the king to the treasurer and chamberlains of the Dublin exchequer we are told that although the king had ordered by a writ under the Irish seal, tested by John of Sandford, then archbishop of Dublin, and Geoffrey de Geneville, that fitz Thomas be paid the £515 which he had spent fighting the king's enemies and rebels in Connacht on the order of Stephen de Fulbourne, then archbishop of Tuam and justiciar of Ireland, and the king's council in Ireland, fitz Thomas had not yet received the money.<sup>149</sup> Since the writ says de Fulbourne was archbishop of Tuam at the time, fitz Thomas must have been employed in Connacht sometime between 12 July 1286, the date of de Fulbourne's translation to the see of Tuam, and 3 July 1288, the date of his death.<sup>150</sup> Furthermore, since the writ says that fitz Thomas had spent as much as £515 in Connacht, it is unlikely that he was employed by de Fulbourne before 1287, for it is improbable that he would have had such a large sum of money at his command prior to this date.

It would seem reasonable to assume that it was only in 1288, after fitz Thomas had become a landholder of importance in Connacht, that he was employed by de Fulbourne. It is true that Amabilia did not give fitz Thomas seisin of her lands in Connacht until October 1289,<sup>151</sup> one reason for the delay being that Maurice fitz Maurice's lands there were not partitioned between his daughters until March 1289.<sup>152</sup> However, Amabilia's grant to fitz Thomas of February 1288

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149. C.C.R., 1296-1302, p. 156; C.D.I., 1293-1301, no. 518.

150. Handbook of British Chronology, ed. F.M. Powicke and E.B. Fryde, p. 342. (2nd ed.)

151. Red Book of Kildare, nos 93-4. Amabilia's grant of Feb. 1288 was followed by others in which lands not mentioned in the original grant were named, and it was not until 1293 that she made final quitclaims of her lands to fitz Thomas, ibid., nos 32, 34, 85-6, 91-2.

152. Ibid., nos 60, 129.

started the process by which fitz Thomas would become an important landholder in Connacht, and the fact that the grant was made before de Fulbourne at Cong<sup>152i</sup> makes it likely that it was at this time that de Fulbourne employed fitz Thomas in Connacht.

Other evidence suggests that fitz Thomas was working with the government in Connacht up to the time of de Fulbourne's death on 3 July 1288. De Fulbourne seems to have died in the king's cantreds, because the chests and bags containing his writs, rolls and inquisitions, as well as the ornaments of his chapel and his vestments, were all in Athlone castle.<sup>153</sup> It is of considerable interest that John of Sandford, archbishop of Dublin, and Geoffrey de Geneville became keepers of Ireland on the justiciar's death,<sup>154</sup> for these are mentioned in the king's writ of 1298, cited above, as being the two men who tested the writ under the king's Irish seal ordering that fitz Thomas be paid the £515 he had spent fighting the king's enemies in Connacht on de Fulbourne's and the council's order. It is also of interest that Sandford, de Geneville and other members of the administration went to Athlone to examine de Fulbourne's documents immediately after he died.<sup>155</sup> These people were presumably nearby at the time. Thus it would seem that fitz Thomas was employed by de Fulbourne shortly before he died, and that Sandford and de Geneville, having assumed the keepership of Ireland immediately after the justiciar died, tested a writ of liberate under the king's Irish seal ordering the treasurer and chamberlains of the Dublin exchequer to pay

152i. Red Book of Kildare, no.87.

153. C.D.I., 1285-92, no. 558, p. 255; no. 593, pp 290-1; Cole, Documents, pp 60, 90-1.

154. C.D.I., 1285-92, no. 408.

155. C.D.I., 1285-92, no. 408; no. 588, p. 255; no. 593, p. 284; Cole, Documents, pp 60, 90-1.

fitz Thomas for his services. The writ of liberate must have been made before 7 July 1288, because on that day Sandford was appointed keeper of Ireland by the king's council at a meeting specially convened at Dublin.<sup>156</sup>

If fitz Thomas was employed by the government in the king's cantreds in 1288, it would explain why he was in a position to frustrate de Burgh's attempt to exert influence there that year. Early in 1288 Manus O'Conor raised an army and attacked his brother Cathal, who was defeated and captured at a battle fought near Elphin (Co. Roscommon). Manus seized the kingship, and, although some of the Irish were opposed to him at first, it was not very long before he made a successful hosting among the chieftains of the king's cantreds. At this juncture the Red Earl marched into the king's cantreds to attack Manus, but when he reached Roscommon he found that Manus had the support of 'Fitz Gerald (i.e. fitz Thomas) and the King's people'. The annals say that these all assembled to oppose de Burgh and challenged him to advance beyond that point, whereupon he withdrew from the area and disbanded his army.<sup>157</sup>

The phrase 'the King's people' (muintiri in Rig) would seem to suggest that fitz Thomas was acting with the authority of the government behind him, for it would seem reasonable to suppose that the annals mean the king of England's people and not the king of Connacht's. This is because although the king of England is always called 'the King of England' in the annals, it is his title and not his name which is usually given. In contrast to this, the king of Connacht

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156. C.D.I., 1285-92, no. 559, p. 265; P.R.O.L., E.101/231/9 - Sandford's Acct.

157. A.C., p. 181; A.L.C., I, pp 497-9; A.U., II, p. 369; A.F.M., III, p. 447.

is never referred to in the annals simply by his title. Furthermore, if the annals do mean the king of England's people, it would seem likely that they are referring to the king of England's officials rather than the settlers of Roscommon, for the latter would normally be called 'the Galls of Roscommon'.<sup>158</sup> It is tempting to conclude that the incident with de Burgh occurred about the time of de Fulbourne's death, when fitz Thomas appears to have been in the government's employ and when there would seem to have been a considerable number of government personnel in the king's cantreds.

It was perhaps inevitable that de Burgh should wish to impose his authority on the king of Connacht, if only to ensure that he did not make attacks on the lordship of Connacht. In 1290, presumably out of a similar concern for his lands in Limerick and Thomond, de Burgh petitioned the king for the custody of the eldest son of Turlough O'Brien, then a hostage in the custody of the escheator.<sup>159</sup> Earlier, in 1286, he took the hostages of Tir Conaill and Tir Eoghain, where he also deposed one O'Neill in favour of another.<sup>160</sup> This expedition to the north immediately followed his first visit to Connacht, and it was suggested above that he may have taken hostages from Cathal O'Connor on that occasion.<sup>161</sup> Certainly, if de Burgh had taken hostages from Cathal in 1286, it may explain why the government was opposed to de Burgh's descent on Manus O'Connor in 1288, after the latter had seized the kingship from Cathal, and it may also explain why fitz Thomas was favoured by the government. The government

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158. A.C., pp 186-7, 210-11; A.L.C., I, pp 504-5, 536-7; A.F.M., III, pp 452-3, 486-7; A.U., II, pp 376-7, 408-9. See also, ibid., p. 381; A.C., p. 189; A.L.C., I, p. 509, where the annals say sub 1293 that Aedh O'Connor was made king by the justiciar and the king of England's men.

159. C.D.I., 1285-92, no. 756; C.C.R., 1288-96, p. 97.

160. A.C., p. 179; A.L.C., I, p. 495; A. Clon., p. 256; A.U., II, p. 367; A.F.M., III, pp 443-5.

161. See above, p. 283.

may have been apprehensive about de Burgh when he returned to take over the running of his enormous inheritance as earl of Ulster and lord of Connacht, and of the manors he held in Meath, Tipperary, Limerick and Thomond. It was, after all, fifteen years since Walter de Burgh had died, and it is conceivable that initially the government felt that royal power in Ireland would be eroded by the Red Earl, whose enormous territorial strength was unmatched in Ireland. Certainly the evidence with regard to Connacht suggests that the government was unsympathetic towards de Burgh's effort to exert influence over Manus O'Conor; and since the government seems to have welcomed fitz Thomas's acquisition of land in Connacht and to have employed fitz Thomas in the king's cantreds, it is possible that fitz Thomas was promoted and used by the government to act as a check to de Burgh. It must be said, however, that fitz Thomas was not the kind of man who would co-operate with the government unless it suited him, and, as we shall see, he ultimately proved to be as anxious as de Burgh to exert influence over the king of Connacht. Thus, although the events of 1288 almost certainly amounted to a clash of interests between the government and de Burgh, beneath the surface of events lay the beginnings of a struggle for power over the king of Connacht between fitz Thomas and de Burgh.

However, the rivalry between the two magnates was held in check during Sandford's keepership, and neither of them challenged the government's authority in the king's cantreds. This was just as well, for Sandford had enough to worry about in Connacht as it was. In his account of his expenses while keeper, he says that on 20 July 1288 he went to Connacht 'to survey the King's castles, and pacify that land, as the constables (constabularii) there had always thwarted the former justiciary during his lifetime'.<sup>162</sup> There is evidence

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162. C.D.I., 1285-92, no. 559, p. 265; P.R.O.L., E.101/231/9.

to confirm this allegation. In Michaelmas 1280 Robert le Waleys 'and other constables of Connacht' paid a fine for having peace for themselves and their households,<sup>163</sup> and the account of county Connacht for Michaelmas 1285 to Michaelmas 1287 records that Robert Lawless and Thomas le Botiller, constables, were also fined for having peace.<sup>164</sup> It is not stated that these men were the constables of the royal castles in Connacht, and it is not certain that Sandford was referring to the constables of the royal castles. We do not know who the latter were when Sandford became keeper in 1288, but Walter Lenfaunt may have been the custodian of Athlone castle, and he and William d'Oddingeseles were the custodians of Rinndown and Roscommon castles in 1286.<sup>165</sup> It is unlikely that these men were regarded as unsatisfactory by Sandford, because he made them his lieutenants in 1290.<sup>166</sup> Furthermore, in June 1290, when Sandford made his fourth journey to Connacht as keeper, 'he caused all the constables of that land to be called before him, who all promised and swore to keep the King's peace'.<sup>167</sup> Since there were only two custodians of the royal castles in Connacht at this time,<sup>168</sup> it is unlikely that Sandford was referring to them.<sup>169</sup>

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163. C.D.I., 1252-84, no. 1740, p.364; P.R.O.L., E.101/230/16 - Receipt Roll Mich. 1280.

164. N.L.I., MS 760, p. 108 - Betham's Extracts from the Pipe Rolls.

165. See Appendix III, pp 490, 496, 501.

166. C.D.I., 1285-92, no. 559, p. 270; P.R.O.L., E.101/231/9 - Sandford's Acct.

167. Ibid.; C.D.I., 1285-92, no. 559, p. 274.

168. One of these was William d'Oddingeseles: he was custodian of Roscommon and Rinndown, see Appendix III, pp 490, 496, 501.

169. A large group of constables is also implied when, sometime between 1270 and 1277, Richard de Exeter went to Connacht to assemble the constables and pacify the land', see above, p.260, footnote 14.



It is clear, however, that Sandford was anxious about the security of the royal castles, for 22 Welshmen under Donok ap David were employed to guard the castles of Roscommon and Rinndown from 1 August 1288 (i.e. from the time of Sandford's first visit to Connacht) to 14 April 1289<sup>170</sup> (i.e. to the time of his second visit, when he again surveyed, and also supplied, the royal castles in Connacht).<sup>171</sup> A new problem that emerged in 1288 was that the Irish of Meath began to make anti-settler attacks. In October 1288 Sandford ordered Geoffrey de Geneville, lord of the liberty of Trim, to guard the marches of Athlone as far as Tethmoy (now the bars. of Warrenstown and Coolestown, Co. Offaly).<sup>172</sup> The area to be guarded by de Geneville was largely in the hands of O'Melaghlin and Mageoghegan, and the fact that Sandford referred to it as 'the marches of Athlone' suggests that Athlone itself was being threatened by the Irish. In fact, early in May 1290 Sandford heard that the Irish had transgressed against the peace at Athlone and that the bridge of Athlone was falling, and he immediately went to Athlone to treat with the Irish of those parts and to inspect the defects of the castle and the bridge.<sup>173</sup>

Another area which seems to have been disturbed when Sandford

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170. C.D.I., 1285-92, no. 683.

171. For these two visits, see ibid., no. 559, pp 265, 268-70; P.R.O.L., E.101/231/9 - Sandford's Acct. For other evidence of Sandford's provisioning of the royal castles, see ibid.; C.D.I., 1285-92, p. 277; no. 814, p. 370.

172. C.D.I., 1285-92, no. 559, p. 267; P.R.O.L., E.101/231/9 Sandford's Acct.

173. Ibid.; C.D.I., 1285-92, no. 559, p. 273; no. 653. The T's Acct. of 9 June 1292 - 14 June 1294 records that £6-17-4 was spent on repairing the bridge at Athlone, P.R.O.L., E.372/139, m. 5d.

became keeper was Ui Maine, the most southerly of the king's cantreds. The escheator's account for Easter 1287 to Easter 1289 records an allowance for the 'expenses of Thomas de Cantwell in taking inquisitions in Connacht between the English and the Irish of Omany, and (sic) to correct other transgressions among them'.<sup>174</sup> Theobald Butler, who had held this cantred as well as land in Tir Maine of the king, had died in 1285,<sup>175</sup> and his heir did not come of age until February 1290.<sup>176</sup> The escheator's accounts for 1287-1289 and 1289-1291 do not include Ui Maine in their lists of Butler lands in the king's hand, but 'Addrum' and 'Autrim', which do appear in these lists,<sup>177</sup> probably represent Aughtrim (in the bar. of Kilconnell, Co. Galway), which was Butler's principal manor in Ui Maine.<sup>178</sup> The escheator was allowed his expenditure on the castle of 'Achtrim' in his first account,<sup>179</sup> and in his second account he mentions a payment he made with regard to an expedition which the Red Earl led to the castle of 'Adtrim' to suppress the Irish.<sup>180</sup> If the castle in question was Aughtrim castle, it would seem likely that de Burgh's expedition took place before Theobald Butler's heir came of age in February 1290. Indeed since Donal O'Kelly, king of Ui Maine, and Syacus O'Kelly, tanist of Ui Maine, took part in Sandford's expedition against the Irish of Meath in March 1289,<sup>181</sup> it would seem likely

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174. N.L.I., MS 760, p. 121 - Betham's Extracts from the Pipe Rolls.

175. Clyn., p. 10. For his acquisition of these lands, see below, p. 470

176. 37th Rept. D.K., p. 41 - Pipe Roll 18 Edw. I.

177. Ibid., pp 35, 41 - Pipe Rolls 16 and 18 Edw. I.

178. See below, p. 470.

179. 37th Rept. D.K., p. 36 - Pipe Roll 16 Edw I.

180. Ibid., p. 42 - Pipe Roll 18 Edw.I.

181. A. Clon., pp 256-7; C.D.I., 1285-92, no. 559, p. 268; P.R.O.L., E.101/231/9 - Sandford's Acct.

that de Burgh's expedition to Aughrim took place sometime before this date.

If Sandford did employ de Burgh to fight against the Irish of Ui Maine, there is no evidence that he allowed de Burgh to have any dealings with the king of Connacht, Manus O'Conor. The latter, for his part, was clearly anxious to remain on good terms with the government, perhaps because he feared that the government would leave him to the mercy of de Burgh if he defied its wishes in any way. Certainly, Manus was very co-operative with the government. Thus, when Sandford went to Connacht in March 1289 to collect a force for an expedition against O'Melaghlin and the other Irish at war 'in the marches of Meath', he was able to enlist Manus O'Conor and all his force.<sup>182</sup> The expedition was unsuccessful,<sup>183</sup> despite the fact that Sandford would seem to have raised an army of 100 horse and 4,500 foot in Connacht in addition to Manus O'Conor's force.<sup>184</sup> There was therefore another expedition against O'Melaghlin and the Irish of Meath in April 1290, and Manus O'Conor again provided the government with a force.<sup>185</sup> This expedition, which was led by Sandford's lieutenants, William d'Oddingeseles and Walter Lenfaunt,<sup>186</sup> would seem to have been as unsuccessful as the first, for on 12 May 1290 Walter Lenfaunt went to Mullingar to treat with the king's lieges in Meath touching the defence of those parts

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182. Ibid.; C.D.I., 1285-92, no. 559, pp 268-9.

183. A. Clon., pp 256-7; A.C., p. 183; A.L.C., I, pp 499-501; A.U., II, p. 371.

184. C.D.I., 1285-92, no. 559, p. 269; P.R.O.L., E.101/231/9 - Sandford's Acct.

185. Ibid.; C.D.I., 1285-92, no. 559, p. 270.

186. Ibid.

against Irish rebels and the king's enemies.<sup>187</sup> However, later in 1290 O'Melaghlin was killed by David Mac Coghlan of Delvin Mac Coghlan.<sup>188</sup> It is of considerable interest that a William de Burgh fought on O'Melaghlin's side against Mac Coghlan,<sup>189</sup> and that afterwards the Red Earl 'spoyled and destroyed the said McCoghlan and his Contry' because he had killed O'Melaghlin.<sup>190</sup> This suggests that there may have been an alliance between de Burgh and O'Melaghlin,<sup>191</sup> despite the fact that the latter had caused so much damage to the English, and this may have been another occasion when de Burgh's interests were at odds with those of the government.

However, when the king appointed a new justiciar on 12 September 1290 the way was open for more harmonious relations between de Burgh and the government. The man appointed as justiciar was William de Vescy,<sup>192</sup> who had become lord of the liberty of Kildare a few months earlier.<sup>193</sup> Relations between de Vescy and John fitz Thomas, whose lands in Offaly lay within the liberty of Kildare, would seem to have been bad from the beginning. In Michaelmas 1293 fitz Thomas made four complaints before the king and council in parliament at Westminster about how he had been treated by de Vescy in his capacity as lord of the liberty of Kildare,<sup>194</sup> though in one of these complaints he made the point that people in the liberty of Kildare had no access

187. Ibid., no. 684.

188. A. Clon., p. 257; A.C., p. 183; A.L.C., I, p. 501; A.U., II, p. 373; A.F.M., III, p. 451.

189. Dowling, p. 16.

190. A. Clon., p. 257. Later, in 1292, Mac Coghlan was killed at de Burgh's instigation, A.C., p. 189; A.L.C., I, p. 507; A.F.M., III, p. 455; A.U., II, p. 379.

191. Otway-Ruthven, Med. Ireland, p. 208.

192. C.D.I., 1285-92, nos 767-8, 771, 774, 776.

193. C.F.R., 1272-1307, p. 279.

194. Rot. Parl. Hactenus Inediti, pp 33-5, 43-5.

to justice because the lord of the liberty was also the justiciar of Ireland.<sup>195</sup> Since de Vescy was justiciar, it was almost inevitable that his relations with fitz Thomas would have repercussions outside the liberty of Kildare.

De Burgh certainly seems to have felt that de Vescy would be more sympathetic than Sandford and de Fulbourne had been towards his ambitions in the king's cantreds. For it is hardly a coincidence that it was only after de Vescy had become justiciar that de Burgh renewed his efforts to impose his authority on Manus O'Conor. In 1291 he went to Elphin, but, according to the annals, Connacht gave him deceptive hostages (i.e. made pretence of submission).<sup>196</sup> The fact that de Burgh went to Elphin implies that the king of Connacht was one of those who submitted. But it is possible that some of the Irish of the lordship of Connacht also submitted, because Conor O'Dowda, king of Tireragh, is said to have drowned in the Shannon on his way to meet the earl.<sup>197</sup>

De Vescy and the Red Earl would seem to have been on fairly good terms, because in 1291 they led an expedition against O'Hanlon and other Irish chiefs in Ulster.<sup>198</sup> However, it is not certain that de Vescy approved of de Burgh's interference in the king's cantreds. We know that de Vescy went to Connacht sometime before Michaelmas 1291 'regarding the restoration of

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195. Ibid., p. 43.

196. A.L.C., I, p. 503; A.C., p. 185; A.U., II, p. 375. A.F.M., III, p. 433, say simply 'hostages'.

197. A.C., p. 185; A.L.C., I, p. 503.

198. 'Annals of Ireland', Charts. St. Mary's, II, p. 320; Grace, p. 41.

the hostages of the King of Connaught',<sup>199</sup> but we are not told to whom the hostages were restored, nor do we know if these were the hostages de Burgh had taken from the king of Connacht. But the fact that de Vescy went to Connacht to deal with the matter in person suggests that he was anxious to maintain the government's links with the king of Connacht.

De Burgh was therefore possibly acting in defiance of the government in 1292 when he made another hosting against Manus O'Connor, but we cannot be certain that he was. The annals simply say that he went as far as Roscommon but that he had to leave the area without having been able to exact hostage or pledge. His expedition was ultimately successful, however, because Manus followed him to Meelick (in the bar. of Longford, Co. Galway) and, in defiance of the wishes of some of the Irish, made submission.<sup>200</sup> Manus's brother, Cathal, Niall Gelbuide O'Connor 'and all the Gaels and Galls who were with them' had tried to depose Manus in 1291, but the English of Roscommon had come to his assistance and his attackers were routed as they were leading off preys.<sup>201</sup> Though the rebellion was

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199. C.D.I., 1285-92, no. 964, pp 427-8. The treasurer, Nicholas de Clere, claimed that he had paid Henry de Ponte £97 for de Vescy's expenses on this occasion, saying that de Vescy had gone to Connacht with an armed force. Henry de Ponte said, however, that de Vescy had gone to Connacht with only his own retinue, and his word was accepted when de Clere rendered his account, ibid. De Clere also claimed that he had paid de Vescy £110 to go with horses and arms against king's enemies in Connacht circa 2 Feb. 1291, but this was also disallowed in his account because de Vescy said that he had been induced to take the money by de Clere, who had led him to believe that there was a war in Connacht when there was not, P.R.O.L., E.372/139, m.9 d - T.'s Acct. Aug. 1285-July 1291.

200. A.C., pp 187-9; A.L.C., I, p. 507; A.U., II, p. 379; A.F.M., III, p. 457.

201. A.C., pp 185-7; A.L.C., I, pp 503-5; A.U., II, p.377; A.F.M., III, pp 451-3. The Galls and the Gaels with Cathal and Niall Gelbuide are described in A.U. as all the folk Cathal and Niall had 'capable of rising out'.

unsuccessful, Manus may well have been anxious to secure de Burgh's protection in the event of another, and more determined, attempt to depose him, and this may explain why he submitted to de Burgh. But he would seem to have been anxious to remain on good terms with the government, for the receipt roll of Michaelmas 1292 records that he paid £15-13-6 rent to Richard de Oxonia, sheriff of Roscommon, which the latter paid into the exchequer.<sup>202</sup> It is not stated what portion of the king's cantreds Manus held, but in 1305 the jurors of an inquiry into the king's cantreds in Connacht said that the kings of Connacht had held 2½ cantreds since d'Ufford's second justiciarship.<sup>203</sup> Thus, if the suggestion made above, that Cathal O'Conor was leased only the cantred of the Tri Tuatha in 1285, is correct,<sup>204</sup> it would seem likely that the government reverted back to d'Ufford's policy of leasing 2½ cantreds to the king of Connacht when Manus seized the kingship from Cathal in 1288.

When Manus O'Conor died in 1293, after an illness of three months, it was de Vescy who seized the initiative; and it was now that his bad relations with fitz Thomas began to have very serious consequences in Connacht. The annals say that Aedh son of Eoghan of the Cathal Crobhderg line was made king by the justiciar but that 10 days later he was taken prisoner by fitz Thomas, and 50 of his people were slain. Cathal Roe O'Conor of the Clann Murtough then became king but he was killed three months later by a kinsman, and Aedh, on being released, was re-established as king with the assistance of the justiciar.<sup>205</sup>

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202. C.D.I., 1285-92, no. 1148, p. 510; P.R.O.L., E.101/232/5. For Richard de Oxonia as sheriff of Roscommon at this time, see below, pp 512-4.

203. C.J.R., 1305-7, p. 134.

204. See above, p. 280.

205. A.C., pp 189-91; A.L.C., I, pp 507-9; A.U., II, pp 379-81; A.F.M., III, p. 459.

That fitz Thomas had any right to be in the king's cantreds was due to the fact that by 1293 he was the custodian of Roscommon castle. As de Vescy himself tells us, it was the king who gave fitz Thomas the commission;<sup>206</sup> and, in view of de Vescy's relations with fitz Thomas, it would seem likely that de Vescy resented the king's action. It was almost inevitable that there would be friction between fitz Thomas and de Vescy over the O'Conor kingship.

In Michaelmas 1293 de Vescy complained to the king and council in parliament about fitz Thomas's behaviour in Connacht earlier in the year, and he gave his version of what had happened. He said that when Manus died he (de Vescy) went to Connacht with the consent of the whole council 'ad aliam regem faciendum', and he claimed that he had done this 'pro pace domini regis manutenda et pro redditu de terra predicti regis Hibernici (parcium illarum) domino rege reddendo'. He claimed that when he arrived in the king's cantreds he ordered Aedh and Cathal Roe to come before him in the presence of the bishop of Elphin and other lieges of the lord king. Aedh came, but Cathal Roe, although he was offered safe conduct, did not care to come within two leagues of the justiciar because he was a felon of the lord king and not at peace. Cathal Roe did go so far as to send messengers to the justiciar to treat for peace, but in the end he withdrew from the area in contempt of the king. Therefore de Vescy made Aedh king of Connacht, and the latter gave security to keep the peace and pay his rent faithfully. De Vescy claimed further that after his own departure from the area fitz Thomas and Cathal Roe attacked the king's cantreds, took 700 cows, imprisoned Aedh and killed 60 of his men. Again according to de Vescy, fitz Thomas afterwards received Cathal Roe, a felon, in Roscommon castle.<sup>207</sup>

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206. Rot. Parl. Hactenus Inediti, p. 41.

207. Ibid., pp 41-2.



Fitz Thomas responded to these charges by saying that after Aedh had been made king of Connacht by the justiciar there was a dispute between Aedh and Cathal Roe, who claimed to be king of Connacht, and that a parley was held between the two kings to settle the question of the kingship. At the parley it was (ac)claimed by bystanders that Aedh had stolen a horse worth 10 marks, and the sheriff of those parts, who was present at the parley, wanted Aedh to be taken for his crime. Fitz Thomas claimed he had done no more than help the sheriff execute his office. As for the cows, fitz Thomas claimed that he had led them off because he suspected that Aedh had wished to seize them. He denied he had received Cathal Roe, that he had killed any liege man of the lord king and that he had done anything against the king's peace.<sup>208</sup>

In these two versions of what happened in 1293 there is some dispute over the facts, and it is unfortunate that the inquiry which the king ordered to be made has not survived. But fitz Thomas did not deny he had taken Aedh prisoner. Thus there was no dispute over the most crucial fact in the whole affair. The divergence between the two versions arose out of each man's attempt to make it appear that he had acted only for the best reasons. The reasons fitz Thomas gave for his actions are not as convincing as de Vescy's, and it is likely that what had prompted fitz Thomas to imprison Aedh was that Aedh had been made king of Connacht by de Vescy. Fitz Thomas must have been furious when Manus O'Conor submitted to de Burgh in 1292, and he probably hoped that by becoming keeper of Roscommon castle he would have exclusive control over the king of Connacht. It is possible that fitz Thomas would have accepted the justiciar's choice of king if he had been on good terms with the justiciar. The fact that he was on bad terms with de Vescy meant that he saw the justiciar's actions as a threat to his own ambitions. It would seem that Cathal Roe O'Conor was the same person as Cathal O'Conor who had been deposed by Manus in

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208. Rot. Parl. Hactenus Inediti, p. 42.

1288.<sup>209</sup> Since fitz Thomas had supported Manus, it is rather unlikely that he and Cathal were great friends before 1293. But, as far as fitz Thomas was concerned, Cathal was probably preferable to any man who had been established as king by de Vescy.

De Vescy of course tried to show the king and council in England that he had acted only for the best reasons and in the fairest possible way, and the argument he put forward sounds plausible. As justiciar, he had the backing of the king's council in Ireland to set up a king who would keep the peace and pay the rent. He had given the contenders for the kingship a fair 'trial' and he had chosen the one who had given sureties to fulfil his obligations. All this would seem to be sound government action. It is worth pointing out that de Vescy's action in setting up a king was a new departure, or rather that it was a throwback to earlier days. The government had acted as king-maker before the conquest of Connacht, and it had set up Turlough O'Connor as king in 1249 after Felim O'Connor's son Aedh had rebelled against the English.<sup>210</sup> But thereafter the government had simply tried to force the O'Connor who had seized the kingship to keep the peace and accept the government's terms with regard to the lease of the king's cantreds. De Vescy may have felt that the government would have had more success in these matters if it had continued to act as king-maker in Connacht. It is very unlikely, however, that de Vescy was anxious to strengthen the government's control over the king of Connacht simply because he was worried by the government's failure to control the kings of Connacht in the past. De Vescy's real worry was undoubtedly fitz Thomas. As keeper of Roscommon castle, fitz Thomas was in a position to exert influence over the king of Connacht, and it was undoubtedly this fact that prompted de Vescy to go to Connacht and set up

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209. A.C., p. 189, note 4.

210. See above, pp 66-70, 214-6.

a king of Connacht. It was only by taking this step that de Vescy could have any confidence that the king of Connacht would not become fitz Thomas's puppet. It is possible that de Vescy was acting disinterestedly, but in view of the fact that he was on bad terms with fitz Thomas it is perhaps more likely that he had personal motives for not wishing to see fitz Thomas in control of the king of Connacht.

The rivalry among the English for control over the king of Connacht had serious consequences. The king's cantreds must have been disturbed by the imprisonment of Aedh, followed as this was by the slaying of his men and the plundering of the king's cantreds. Fitz Thomas was responsible for all this. He admitted to taking Aedh and the cows, and although the annals do not specify who slew Aedh's men, they imply that fitz Thomas was responsible, and thus give support to de Vescy's claim in the matter.<sup>211</sup> But de Vescy's own action afterwards was equally, if not more, serious. In a writ from the king we learn that de Vescy summoned the royal service of Ireland to assemble at Kildare on 24 July 1293 to proceed against Offaly. In the writ, dated 1 July 1293, the king took the unprecedented step of ordering the justiciar to cancel the summons on the ground that it 'tends to the injury of the King and of the people of Ireland'.<sup>212</sup> Since there is no evidence that the Irish of Offaly were causing trouble at this time, the inescapable conclusion is that de Vescy was preparing to go to war on fitz Thomas in Offaly. The king's anxiety and his lack of trust in de Vescy is further borne out by his writ to the Irish chancellor telling him to revoke the summons 'although not required by the justiciary to do so'.<sup>213</sup> Normally the justiciar was the link between the English and Irish chanceries,<sup>214</sup> but

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211. A.C., p. 189; A.L.C., I, p. 509; A.U., II, p. 381; A.F.M., III, p. 459.

212. C.D.I., 1293-1301, no. 62; C.C.R., 1288-96, p. 291.

213. Ibid., C.D.I., 1293-1301, no. 63.

214. G.J.Hand, English Law in Ireland, 1290-1324, p. 27.

on this occasion the justiciar was clearly not to be trusted. And to make doubly sure, the king sent a further writ, this time to the treasurer of Ireland, telling him 'to use care and diligence with the justiciary and chancellor that the summons may be revoked'.<sup>215</sup> Had the king not intervened, the lordship of Ireland almost certainly would have been thrown into civil war.

Very probably as a result of de Vescy's attempt to use the royal service against fitz Thomas, feeling against de Vescy began to build up. In Michaelmas 1293 a whole series of complaints about him was heard before the king and council in parliament at Westminster. Most of these were about de Vescy as lord of Kildare, but there were also a couple of complaints about him as justiciar, and there was one petition from de Vescy himself about fitz Thomas's actions in Connacht earlier in the year.<sup>216</sup> On 10 December the king assigned justices in Ireland to inquire into the accusations made at Westminster,<sup>217</sup> and on 5 March 1294 Walter de la Haye, one of the justices assigned, began to act as justiciar,<sup>218</sup> but there is no evidence that the justices began their inquiries before 29 March.<sup>219</sup> Events took a dramatic turn when on 1 April de Vescy accused fitz Thomas, before Walter de la Haye and the king's council at Dublin, of defaming him before the king and council in England. Fitz Thomas answered the charge by accusing de Vescy of saying not only that 'the people of Ireland were the most miserable he knew, for they would be, if they willed anything, great lords, and would well maintain the lands and franchises of Ireland, notwithstanding the King', but also that 'if they

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215. C.D.I., 1293-1301, no. 64; C.C.R., 1288-96, p. 292.

216. Rot. Parl. Hactenus Inediti, pp 30-45.

217. C.D.I., 1293-1301, no. 106.

218. Richardson and Sayles, Administration, p. 82.

219. C.D.I., 1293-1301, no. 106.

(the people of Ireland) knew as much of the King as he knew they would value the King very little, for he is the most perverse and dastardly knight of his Kingdom'. Fitz Thomas was in fact accusing de Vescy of making treasonable statements, for he ended his charge against de Vescy by saying 'I well understood that these things were against the lord our King and his State'. De Vescy of course denied the charge and 'offered to defend himself by his body'. Fitz Thomas accepted the wager of battle, but on 21 April 1294 the king forbade the duel to take place in Ireland and summoned the two parties to England. De Vescy appeared at Westminster on the appointed day ready to give battle, but Fitz Thomas failed to appear.<sup>220</sup> The proceedings were eventually annulled on technical grounds,<sup>221</sup> but de Vescy was not reinstated as justiciar.<sup>222</sup>

The quarrel between de Vescy and Fitz Thomas was not confined to Connacht, but the conflict between the two men over the king of Connacht in 1293 would seem to have precipitated the series of events which began with the threat of civil war and ended with de Vescy's removal from the justiciarship the following year. In 1294 the king of Connacht was at the centre of another dispute which was to have far more serious consequences than the first, because it brought not simply the threat of war but war itself. The trouble began when Aedh O'Connor, who had been re-established as king by de Vescy after Cathal Roe O'Connor's reign of three months,<sup>223</sup> razed Sligo castle,<sup>224</sup> which had been rebuilt by John Fitz Thomas in

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220. C.D.I., 1293-1301, nos 135, 137, 147; C.C.R., 1288-96, pp 384-5; Foedera, vol. I, p. 799; Rot.Parl., vol. I, pp 127-8.

221. Ibid., pp 133-4.

222. Richardson and Sayles, Administration, p. 82.

223. See above, p. 298.

224. A.C., p. 193; A.U., II, p. 383; A.L.C., I, p. 511; A.F.M., III, p. 461.

1293.<sup>225</sup> Shortly afterwards fitz Thomas and Peter de Bermingham, who had entered an indenture of service with fitz Thomas in 1289,<sup>226</sup> made what the annals call 'a great and treacherous depredation on the Connachtmen'. However, they seem to have been unable to depose Aedh.<sup>227</sup> But Aedh was not fitz Thomas's only target. On 10 or 11 December 1294 he captured de Burgh and imprisoned him in his castle of Lea (in Co. Laois).<sup>228</sup>

None of the sources explain why fitz Thomas captured de Burgh. But the sequence of events suggests that fitz Thomas suspected that de Burgh was implicated in Aedh's attack on Sligo castle. There is no evidence that de Burgh and Aedh were allies until two years later, when there was a rebellion against Aedh and his opponents were brought 'to the house of the Earl to make peace with Aedh O Conchobair'.<sup>229</sup> But logic suggests that fitz Thomas's enmity towards Aedh in 1293 would have driven Aedh to look to de Burgh for protection as soon as de Vescy left Connacht. It is also worth suggesting that fitz Thomas's rebuilding of Sligo castle, which would seem to have been in

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225. A.U., II, p. 381. A.F.M., III, p.461, say that the castle was given to fitz Thomas this year, and it is possible that fitz Thomas did not acquire Amabilia's lands in Sligo until this year, for it was only on 16 Sept. 1293 that Amabilia made her final quitclaim to her Connacht lands, Red Book of Kildare, nos 32, 34.

226. Ibid., no. 11.

227. A.C., p.193; A.L.C., I, pp 511-3; A.F.M., III, p.463; A.U., II, pp 383-5.

228. Clyn, p.10; 'Some Unpublished exts from the Black Book of Christchurch', ed.A.Gwynn, Anal.Hib., no. 16 (1946), p.337, see also p.296, where Gwynn says that Fri. after the feast of St.Nicholas a.r.23 Edw.I was 9 Dec. 1294. In fact it was 10 Dec.1294; Grace, p.43; 'Annals of Ireland, Charts.St. Mary's, II, p.323.

229. A.C., p. 195; A.L.C., I, p.515; A.U., II, p.387; A.F.M., III, p.465.

in a state of disrepair since 1271,<sup>230</sup> may have been the cause of some alarm in de Burgh. For, apart from giving fitz Thomas a convenient base for operations in the northern king's cantreds, it suggested that fitz Thomas had plans to become involved in Tir Conaill, half of which had been granted to him by Amabilia.<sup>231</sup> Tir Conaill had hitherto been de Burgh's exclusive sphere of influence.<sup>232</sup>

The only condition of de Burgh's release of which we know is that de Burgh agreed to surrender to fitz Thomas all his rights and claims as fitz Thomas's overlord in Connacht.<sup>233</sup> This suggests that fitz Thomas felt that de Burgh had failed as his overlord. If de Burgh was behind Aedh's attack on Sligo castle, fitz Thomas would certainly have had reason to feel this way. But even if de Burgh was not involved in the attack on Sligo, fitz Thomas could still have felt that de Burgh had failed as his overlord, if de Burgh was on friendly terms with a king of Connacht who attacked his (fitz Thomas's) property in Connacht.

De Burgh was not released until 12 March 1295,<sup>234</sup> and it is evident that his capture had repercussions throughout the lordship of Ireland. The annals tell us that 'all Erin was

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230. See above, p.250. In the 1289 extent of the manor of Sligo the castle is described as being in a broken-down state, Red Book of Kildare, no. 129.

231. See above, p. 284.

232. A.C., pp 179, 185; A.L.C., I, pp 499, 503; A.U., II, pp 367, 375; A.F.M., III, pp 443-5, 453.

233. Red Book of Kildare, no. 9.

234. 'Annals of Ireland', Charts. St. Mary's, II, p. 323.

thrown into a state of disturbance',<sup>235</sup> and the official records of the lordship show that disorder was widespread. A receipt roll recording the receipts for Hilary term 1295 from a subsidy of a fifteenth says that nothing was collected that term, 'on account of the war and the capture of the Earl of Ulster'.<sup>236</sup> The treasurer's account for 23 Edward I (Michaelmas 1294 - Michaelmas 1295) records a payment to 'Master Thomas Cantok and others of the King's council, for their expenses in going to various parts of Ireland with an armed force to establish the King's peace, which had been disturbed by the caption of Richard de Burgh, Earl of Ulster, from the feast of Michaelmas until Lent' (i.e. 29 September 1294-16 February 1295).<sup>237</sup> Furthermore, the roll of the eyre of Kildare of 1297 refers to the period after de Burgh's capture as 'the time of disturbance'.<sup>238</sup>

This roll shows that fitz Thomas went on the rampage in the liberty of Kildare after he had captured de Burgh. He and his followers, some of whom were O'Conor Falys, plundered and robbed de Vescy's town and castle of Kildare 'of money, cloth, wheat, oats, malt, oxen, cows, sheep, and pigs, to the value of £1,000'.<sup>239</sup> It is possible that fitz Thomas was seeking compensation for Aedh's attack on Sligo castle, for it was de Vescy who had established Aedh as king of Connacht. Fitz Thomas committed other robberies in the liberty of Kildare,<sup>240</sup> and he seems to have set an example many seem to have followed. We hear that a certain Robert de Turbeville took victuals, hay and

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235. A.L.C., I, p.511; A.C., p.193; A.U., II, p.383; A.F.M., III, p.461.

236. C.D.I., 1293-1301, no.191, p.84. See also R.C.H., pp 27-8, no. 80.

237. C.D.I., 1293-1301, no. 273, p. 123.

238. C.J.R., 1295-1303, pp 167-208, passim.

239. Ibid., p.190; see also ibid., pp 202-3.

240. Ibid., pp 191, 193, 198, 201-2.



oats 'as others commonly did' in the time of disturbance, against the will of the men of the country'.<sup>241</sup> It is not surprising to find that the Irish also took advantage of the breakdown in law and order. The Anglo-Irish chronicles tell us that Kildare and the surrounding countryside was wasted by the English and the Irish, that Kildare castle was taken, and that Calvagh O'Conor Faly burned the rolls and tallies of the county.<sup>242</sup> The roll of the eyre of Kildare records that the O'Dempseys 'in the time of disturbance ... were outside the town of Kildare, searching the country to do mischief'.<sup>243</sup>

Unrest was not confined to Kildare. A bailiff of William de Valence later told the justiciar's court that he had taken meslin, rye and oats from Richard de Inscorthy, chaplain, on 2 February 1295 to provision his lord's castle of Ferns (Co. Wexford) 'for fear of the disturbances had in Ireland on account of the taking of the Earl of Ulster'.<sup>244</sup> Leinster seems to have been particularly disturbed, and the breakdown in law and order very probably encouraged the Mac Murroughs, O'Byrnes and O'Tooles, who would seem to have been at peace since 1283,<sup>245</sup> to attack English settlements there. The Anglo-Irish chronicles record that in about April 1295 they burned Newcastle and other places.<sup>246</sup> By this time, however, the Red Earl had been set free.

It would seem that de Burgh's release, which was secured by the

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241. Ibid., p. 203.

242. 'Annals of Ireland', Charts. St. Mary's, II, p. 323; Grace, p. 43.

243. C.J.R., 1295-1303, p. 176.

244. Ibid., pp 148-9.

245. R.F. Frame, 'The Dublin Government and Gaelic Ireland, 1272-1361', Ph.D. Thesis, T.C.D., 1971, p. 92.

246. 'Annals of Ireland', Charts. St. Mary's, II, p. 324.

council in parliament at Kilkenny on 12 March 1295,<sup>247</sup> was agreed to by fitz Thomas only after most of his demands had been met. Fitz Thomas's bargaining position was a strong one. De Burgh had been a prisoner for three months and was naturally anxious to be set free, and the government was probably prepared to accept fitz Thomas's demands so that peace could be re-established. On 13 March de Burgh remitted and quit-claimed to fitz Thomas his rights as fitz Thomas's overlord in Connacht,<sup>248</sup> and fitz Thomas took Walter and Henry de Burgh 'and other Englishmen of the affinity of Richard de Burgo, Earl of Ulster' into his custody as hostages.<sup>249</sup> At the same time fitz Thomas secured a pardon for himself and his men from the justiciar, William d'Oddingeseles.<sup>250</sup>

However, fitz Thomas's victory was to be short-lived. By May 1295 the government had begun to regain the initiative and to re-establish its authority in Connacht, where the dispute between fitz Thomas and de Burgh had arisen. On 14 May the king's council in Ireland decided that it would be to the king's advantage if the terms on which fitz Thomas held the royal castles of Roscommon and Rinndown were changed.<sup>251</sup> We do not know what these terms had been, because the commissions granting him the custody of these castles have not survived. But it was now ordained that fitz Thomas was to hold the castles until Michaelmas 1295 unless he was ordered by a writ from England to surrender them before this. It was also ordained that if the castles were cast down by the Irish, fitz Thomas

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247. Ibid., p. 323.

248. Red Book of Kildare, no. 9.

249. C.J.R., 1295-1303, p.131; A.C., p.193; A.L.C., I, p.513; A.U., II, p.385; A.F.M., III, p.463.

250. C.J.R., 1295-1303, p.191.

251. Fitz Thomas had had the custody of Rinndown castle since at least 3 May 1294, see Appendix III, p. 496.

was to set them in the same state as before, but if they were besieged by the English, the king might give him assistance.<sup>252</sup> It is possible that it was simply for reasons of security that fitz Thomas was allowed to retain the castles until Michaelmas 1295. But it is also possible that the administration was quite well-disposed towards fitz Thomas; for Thomas fitz Maurice, the head of the Desmond Geraldines, was keeper of Ireland at the time.<sup>253</sup> The fact that fitz Maurice had been appointed keeper by the king's council in Ireland on 19 April 1295, after d'Oddingeseles had died,<sup>254</sup> is perhaps in itself an indication that the council was not unsympathetic towards his kinsman, John fitz Thomas.

However, the effects of fitz Thomas's actions were still being felt. The chancellor, Thomas Cantok, petitioned the king about the great costs he had incurred when fitz Thomas had captured the earl of Ulster and there was no justiciar in the land.<sup>255</sup> This must have been between 3 April 1295, when d'Oddingeseles died,<sup>256</sup> and 19 April 1295, when fitz Maurice was appointed keeper.<sup>257</sup> One of the most serious problems facing fitz Maurice when he became keeper was the damage the Irish of Leinster were causing,<sup>258</sup> and this problem was almost certainly a side-effect of fitz Thomas's earlier actions.

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252. C.J.R., 1295-1301, p. 8.

253. Richardson and Sayles, Administration, p. 82.

254. Ibid.

255. Documents on the Affairs of Ireland before the King's Council, 1200-1400 (forthcoming I.M.C. publication) ed. G.O. Sayles, no. 52; C.D.I., 1302-7, no. 382.

256. 'Annals of Ireland', Charts. St. Mary's, II, p. 324.

257. Richardson and Sayles, Administration, p. 82.

258. C.D.I., 1293-1301, no. 273, pp 123-4. De Burgh and fitz Thomas were among those who led contingents to Leinster, ibid. The military operations which were carried out were successful, see C.J.R., 1295-1303, p. 61.

There can be little doubt that fitz Thomas's feuds with de Vescy and de Burgh had increased the already existing tendency towards disorder in Ireland. It is perhaps not a coincidence that in 1297, just over two years after de Burgh had been captured, a parliament was held 'in order to establish peace more firmly'. As many as twelve enactments were made in an effort to cope with the problem of disorder, and the legislation makes it perfectly plain that the Irish were not the only ones who were disturbing the peace.<sup>259</sup>

This, as far as we know, was the first parliament in Ireland to give the problem of disorder such serious consideration, and while fitz Thomas's disputes with de Vescy and de Burgh were obviously not entirely responsible for the disorder in Ireland at this time, they had undoubtedly contributed a great deal to the magnitude of the problem.

Clearly it was imperative that far-reaching changes be made in Connacht to ensure that such conflicts did not reoccur. Before the end of August 1295 fitz Thomas had been summoned to Westminster to answer for 'the caption of Richard, Earl of Ulster, and other offences and transgressions committed against the King's peace in Ireland', and he had submitted himself to the king's will because he was 'unwilling to enter the ways of litigation with the King'.<sup>260</sup> On 18 October 1295 the king wrote to fitz Thomas and de Burgh saying that unless a remedy was applied, disturbances could easily arise again in Ireland, and he commanded each of them not to inflict damage or grievance on the other.<sup>261</sup>

However, the same day as the king wrote about the need for a

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259. Stat. Irel., John-Hen.V, pp 195-213.

260. C.D.I., 1293-1301, no. 246; C.C.R., 1288-96, pp 457-8.

261. Ibid., p. 462; C.D.I., 1293-1301, no. 268.

remedy, he appointed John Wogan, lord of Picton in Pembroke-shire, as justiciar of Ireland.<sup>262</sup> Wogan's primary task would seem to have been to organize a force from Ireland to fight in the king's war in Scotland.<sup>263</sup> Presumably because finding a remedy would have interfered with this task, Wogan induced fitz Thomas and de Burgh to make a two-year truce before the end of 1295,<sup>264</sup> and this in effect postponed the settlement of the dispute for two years. Both de Burgh and fitz Thomas served in the army which went to Scotland,<sup>265</sup> and as a reward for their good service in the war, the king granted them pardons for a variety of offences in Ireland, except those touching each other.<sup>266</sup> In 1297 the king wanted de Burgh and fitz Thomas to serve with him in his war in Flanders, and this would also seem to have delayed a final settlement to the dispute. In May of that year he urged Wogan to 'endeavour that the day between the Earl and John(fitz Thomas) touching the contest between them be postponed as much as possible' in order that the business of getting them to serve in Flanders 'be done in all points'.<sup>267</sup> In the end, only fitz Thomas served in Flanders,<sup>268</sup> but his absence was enough to delay a settlement. Furthermore, relations between de Burgh and fitz Thomas would seem to have been strained throughout the

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262. Ibid., no. 267; Orpen, Normans, IV, p. 39.

263. Lydon, Lordship of Ireland, p. 130.

264. 'Annals of Ireland', Charts. St. Mary's, II, p. 325; Grace, p. 45.

265. J.F. Lydon, 'An Irish Army in Scotland, 1296', Irish Sword, vol. 5. (1961-2), pp 184-90.

266. C.D.I., 1293-1301, nos 315, 344.

267. Ibid., no. 399; C.C.R., 1296-1302, pp 105-6.

268. J.F. Lydon, art.cit., p. 185; 'Irish Levies in the Scottish Wars, 1296-1302', Irish Sword, vol. 5 (1961-2), p. 207.

truce,<sup>269</sup> and this very probably meant that it was difficult to get them to agree on how the dispute should be settled. However, on 22 October 1298 Wogan eventually effected a settlement between the two men. Fitz Thomas acknowledged his trespass in imprisoning de Burgh, and agreed to surrender 120 librates of his lands in Connacht, Ulster and Uriel to de Burgh and his heirs forever as an amend for his trespass. He furthermore agreed to make an exchange of all his remaining lands in Connacht, Ulster and Uriel - to be valued by six men chosen by de Burgh and six men chosen by fitz Thomas - for lands of equal value belonging to de Burgh in Leinster and Munster. Fitz Thomas's lands in Tir Conaill, his right to which de Burgh would seem to have contested, were to remain in fitz Thomas's seisin, but de Burgh was to implead him of them; and if fitz Thomas won the suit he was to exchange them for lands of equal value belonging to de Burgh in Leinster and Munster. Also, the agreements which had been made before d'Oddingeseles were to be annulled.<sup>270</sup>

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269. In Hil. 1296 Fitz Thomas claimed that de Burgh owed him £100,000, P.R.O.I., RC 7/4, p. 29 - De Banco Roll. Also, in an agreement which John de Cogan made with fitz Thomas on 24 April 1297 de Cogan promised that if de Burgh should unjustly molest or injure fitz Thomas he would help and maintain fitz Thomas as much as he could against de Burgh, Red Book of Kildare, no. 45, pp 42-3. Also, sometime before April 1298 fitz Thomas complained to the king that during the truce de Burgh and his men had inflicted enormous transgressions and divers grievances on him against the form of the truce, C.D.I., 1293-1301, no. 514; C.C.R., 1296-1302, p. 156. Furthermore, in 1297 some of the de Burghs were accused of murdering Richard Harold, who had served with fitz Thomas in Scotland, Otway-Ruthven, Med. Ireland, p.213.

270. C.J.R., 1295-1303, pp 234-6.

The valuation of the lands was to begin on 2 January 1299, but sometime before March 1299 de Burgh complained that fitz Thomas had not chosen his valuers. Wogan summoned the two parties to appear before his court on 16 March 1299. Here Fitz Thomas admitted he had defaulted in not appointing valuers, and the agreement of 1298 was renewed. Also, the escheator, two justices and another man were assigned by the court to choose valuers if either party defaulted in this matter, and to give fitz Thomas and de Burgh seisin of each other's lands as soon as the valuations, which were to start on the morrow of the close of Easter at Kilcolgan in Connacht, were made.<sup>271</sup> By 1301 de Burgh had been given seisin of all fitz Thomas's lands in Connacht,<sup>272</sup> and this brought an end to fitz Thomas's involvement in the area.<sup>273</sup>

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271. Ibid.

272. C.D.I., 1293-1301, no. 835. In this document fitz Thomas complained that the men assigned by the justiciar's court had extended his lands and had given de Burgh seisin of them but they had not extended the lands belonging to de Burgh in Munster and Leinster which fitz Thomas was to have in exchange. There is no evidence that fitz Thomas received the manors belonging to de Burgh which were named in the agreement made in 1299. Claffey has pointed out that the manors named were either still held by the earl of Ulster in 1333 or they were granted by the Red Earl to Elizabeth de Clare and her husband, the Red Earl's son John, in 1308, J.A. Claffey, 'Richard de Burgh, Earl of Ulster, circa 1260-1326', Ph.D. Thesis, N.U.I., 1970, p. 160. The problem over these lands may explain why fitz Thomas was loathe to warrant his lands to de Burgh, see Red Book of Kildare, no. 192.

273. The custody of the royal castles of Roscommon and Rinndown had been given to Walter de Ivethorn by 2 Feb. 1296, see below, pp 497, 501. Fitz Thomas led an expedition to Roscommon in 1298-99, see below, p. 319. This would seem to be the last reference to him in Connacht. In 1307 a John de Monte Alto granted John fitz Thomas and his wife Blanche a messuage and all his lands in 'Tyrmore que nunc dicitur Bruyn' Red Book of Kildare, no. 108. Mac Niocaill has identified this as Tír Briúin, an area lying between Elphin and Jamestown, Co. Roscommon, ibid., p. 209. But in other deeds it is said that Tyrmore is now called 'Beryn' and 'Goryng', and it is named among lands lying in Co. Kildare, ibid., nos. 109, 138. This would seem to be a much more likely location for the land, since there is no other evidence that there were English tenants to the north of Elphin.

## Chapter V

The Collapse of the Lordship of Connacht and the  
Decline in Government Control, 1300-1333

The fourteenth century opened with the Red Earl's territorial strength greatly increased in the lordship of Connacht as a result of his acquisition of John fitz Thomas's lands there. However, it was not very long before the Red Earl expressed dissatisfaction with the way things were in Connacht. Sometime before July 1305 he petitioned the king that

whereas Oconoghur an Irishman, who has perpetrated many homicides and robberies in the Earl's land of Connacht, and continues to do so in hurt of the King's peace, holds in farm land of the King in Connacht called Scilmorthy, it might be granted to the Earl or another Englishman, for as much yearly rent as the said Irishman has hitherto been accustomed to render, or in exchange for land of the same value in the land of peace.<sup>1</sup>

Aedh O'Conor of the Cathal Crobhderg line was still king of Connacht when de Burgh made this petition, and, as we have seen, he had been on good terms with de Burgh in the not too distant past. It was suggested above that fitz Thomas's hostility towards Aedh, who had been established and then re-established as king by de Vescy in 1293, probably drove Aedh to look to de Burgh for protection when de Vescy left Connacht and was removed from the justiciarship.<sup>2</sup> De Burgh and Aedh would seem to have been on good terms until 1296 at least. When Aedh was deposed by his own nobility ( oirecht ) that year, and the lordship and hostages of the Sil Murray were given to Cathal Roe O'Conor's son Conor Roe of the Clann Murtough, Aedh received assistance from Theobald

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1. C.J.R., 1305-7, p. 133. See also C.D.I., 1302-7, no. 437; Anal. Hib., no. I (1930), pp 212-3.

2. See above, p. 305.



and William de Burgh,<sup>3</sup> the Red Earl's brother and cousin respectively.<sup>4</sup> Furthermore, when the rebellious chieftains were defeated they were brought 'to the house of the Earl to make peace with Aedh O Conchobair'.<sup>5</sup>

However, the peace did not last long, and when Aedh was faced with another rebellion later in the year he does not seem to have received any help from the de Burghs.<sup>6</sup> But it may be wrong to assume that this was a sign that relations between de Burgh and Aedh were breaking down. At the end of April 1296 de Burgh left Ireland with a large force to fight in Scotland, and he did not return until the beginning of September.<sup>7</sup> It is therefore possible that he was simply not in Ireland when the second rebellion against Aedh broke out. It is possible, however, that 1296 brought about a change in Aedh's relationship with de Burgh. With no help forthcoming from the English - the justiciar was also in Scotland with a large force from Ireland<sup>8</sup> - Aedh turned to the Irish for assistance. One man who helped him was O'Farrell, from across the Shannon in Annaly (Co.Longford).<sup>9</sup> He was very

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3. A.C., p.195; A.L.C., I, p.515; A.U., II, p.387; A.F.M., III, p. 465.
  4. For Theobald, see A.C., p.207; A.L.C., I, p.529. For William, see below, p.330.
  5. A.C., p.195; A.L.C., I, p.515; A.U., II, p.387; A.F.M., III, p. 465.
  6. A.C., p.195; A.L.C., I, pp 515-7; A.U., II, p.387; A.F.M., III, p. 465.
  7. J.F. Lydon, 'An Irish Army in Scotland, 1296', Irish Sword, vol.5 (1961-2), pp 186-7.
  8. Ibid.
  9. A.C., p.195; A.L.C., I, p.515; A.U., II, p.387; A.F.M., III, p.465. Aedh must have married an O'Farrell by 1293, for the mother of his son, Felim, who was 23 in 1316, was an O'Farrell, A.C., pp 235, 247; A.L.C., I, pp 569, 589.

probably Geoffrey O'Farrell, chieftain of Annaly, who had razed the castles of Moydow, Newtown and Moybreakry in the midlands in 1295.<sup>10</sup> It is possible that O'Farrell had a bad influence on Aedh, and that Aedh began 'to perpetrate many homicides and robberies' in de Burgh's lordship of Connacht from this time.

It is also worth pointing out that once fitz Thomas had been removed from Connacht the alliance between de Burgh and Aedh was no longer necessary. De Burgh's efforts to strengthen the eastern part of the lordship of Connacht are an indication of the change that had taken place in his relations with the king of Connacht by the beginning of the fourteenth century. In 1300 he built a castle at Ballymote in Corran,<sup>11</sup> which lay to the west of Magh Lurg, the most northerly of the king's cantreds; and during the next few years he acquired Sil Maelruain, which lay to the west of the king's cantred of Magh nAi, and which he would seem to have fortified by either building a castle at Ballintober, or by renovating an earlier castle here.<sup>12</sup> It is possible that some of the Irish of the king's cantreds raided these areas when de Burgh led an expedition to Scotland in 1303.<sup>13</sup> Certainly, by 1304 Connacht had become so disturbed that the justiciar led an expedition there.

This was the first time that Wogan led an expedition to Connacht since his appointment as justiciar in 1295. However, the royal castles had received attention since that

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10. A.C., p.195; A.L.C., I, pp513-5; A.U., II, p.385; A.F.M., III, p.465. This would appear to have been the first anti-settler attack Geoffrey had made since 1271, A.C., p.159.

11. A.C., p.201; A.L.C., I, p.532; A.Clon., p.258; A.U., II, p.395; A.F.M., III, p.473.

12. See above, pp 136-7.

13. R.C.H., p.5, no.21; A.C., pp 205-7; A.L.C., I, p.529; 'Annals of Ireland', Charts St. Mary's, II, p.331.

date. Between Michaelmas 1295 and Michaelmas 1296 Geoffrey de Geneville, the custodian of Athlone Castle,<sup>14</sup> was given £10 for making two barges to carry victuals, timber and other necessities by water to the king's castles in Connacht, and Walter de Ivethorn, the custodian of the castles of Roscommon and Rinndown, was paid £10 for repairing those castles and for providing them with crossbows and arms.<sup>15</sup> In Easter 1297 de Ivethorn was paid £45 for works at those castles,<sup>16</sup> and when Gerald Tyrel was sheriff of Roscommon (i.e. sometime between November 1298 and Michaelmas 1299),<sup>17</sup> John fitz Thomas led an army to Roscommon to fight felons and disturbers of the king's peace.<sup>18</sup> One of the trouble-makers seems to have been Aedh O'Conor's son, Turlough. Walter de Ivethorn, who had the custody of the castles of Roscommon and Rinndown from 1296 to 1298,<sup>19</sup> owed £20 for the escape of a Turlough son of Aedh O'Conor, and other Irishmen, all of whom were described as 'prisoners of evil repute'.<sup>20</sup> However, there is no evidence that Aedh himself caused any trouble. In fact, he seems to have been anxious to maintain good relations with the government, because sometime between 1296 and 1298 he paid Walter de Ivethorn £23-13-7 rent for the land he leased of the king.<sup>21</sup>

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14. See Appendix III, p.490.

15. C.D.I., 1293-1301, no.346, p.164; I.R.C. Repts., vol.I, p. 127.

16. C.D.I., 1293-1301, no. 392, p.184; no. 456, p.216; P.R.O.L., E.101/232/25 - Issue Roll East.1297; E.372/144, m.28 - T.'s Acct., June 1294-Sept. 1299.

17. See Appendix IV, p.514.

18. P.R.O.I., EX 2/1, p.113 - Mem. Roll 31 - 35 Edw. I.

19. 38th Rept.D.K., p.69 - Pipe Roll 30 Edw.I. He was given the custody of Athlone castle in 1297, see Appendix III, pp 497, 501.

20. 38th Rept.D.K., p.54 - Pipe Roll 29 Edw.I; ibid., p.63 - Pipe Roll 30 Edw.I.

21. Ibid., p.69 - Pipe Roll 30 Edw. I.

De Ivethorn seems to have succeeded in recovering preys taken by O'Naghtans and other Irish of the king's cantreds,<sup>22</sup> and it is evident from an inquisition held at Roscommon on 27 June 1301 that there was peace in the king's cantreds from 1299 to 1301 at least. The jurors of the inquisition said with regard to seven villates which Richard de Exeter held in Tir Maine that they were worth nothing on account of continuous war from the time de Exeter gave up the custody of the castles of Roscommon and Rinndown (circa 1284 )<sup>23</sup> until 27 Edward I (November 1298 to November 1299), and that the king could not receive any profit from neighbouring lands during that time. However, the jurors said that the villates were now worth 40 shillings each. They also said that four villates of land lying between the castles of Roscommon and Rinndown were worth nothing during the war but that they were now also worth 40 shillings each.<sup>24</sup> During this period of peace the sheriff of Roscommon spent £113-1-2 on building a new hall at Rinndown castle and £2-9-3 on repairing boats there.<sup>25</sup> But it would seem that the area had become disturbed by August 1303. From then until August 1305 an artilleryman, whose job was to repair crossbows and quarrels for the royal castles in Connacht, remained continuously at Roscommon.<sup>26</sup>

By Easter 1304 the area was so disturbed that Wogan was given £76-12-0 to pay the expenses and wages of the horsemen and footsoldiers he was taking with him to Connacht, in

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22. Ibid., p. 54 - Pipe Roll 29 Edw.I.

23. See Appendix II, pp 478-9.

24. C.D.I., 1302-7, no. 806. Ibid., no.802, shows that the seven villates were in Tir Maine.

25. 38th Rept. D.K., p.54 - Pipe Roll 29 Edw.I.

26. C.J.R., 1305-7, p.85; C.D.I., 1302-7, no.306, p.106; no. 567; P.R.O.L., E.101/233/20, E.101/233/24 - Issue Rolls Trin. 1304 and East. 1305; E.372/150, m. 40 and E.372/153, m.35 - T's Accts., July 1300 - April 1305, and April 1305 - Jan. 1308.

addition to the men-at-arms he was to maintain out of his fee, 'to repress the malice of rebels threatening war'.<sup>27</sup> By Trinity 1304 Richard de Exeter, keeper of Roscommon castle, had undertaken to repair three drawbridges and two portcullises of the castle, as well as two outward bridges and their gates. He had also agreed to close the postern of the castle with stone and chalk 'of the thickness of seven feet', to repair the steps of the hall, to cover the oriel of the castle, to vault the tower near the hall with two arches, to repair the well and to make a conduit for the water of St. Bridget's well.<sup>28</sup> It would appear that some at least of these repairs were carried out.<sup>29</sup>

We do not know whether the justiciar succeeded in defeating the trouble-makers, but the security of the area became a problem again the following year. On 16 May 1305 the attention of the justiciar and council was drawn to the fact that

the Irish of the surname of Offergyles (O'Farrells) and their following and descendants, who dwell in the parts of Monteranguylly, Randon, Kerthon, and Athlon, on each side of the water of the Schyen, make from day to day a great multitude of boats with which they take divers preys in the King's land in the parts of Randon and elsewhere upon the King's faithful men being at peace, and it is feared worse may happen by such malefactors who continuously remain in the parts of Athlon where the entrance is very narrow into the King's land in Connacht.<sup>30</sup>

To combat this problem, the justiciar and council decided 'that a galley be made of at least 32 oars which shall constantly

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27. C.D.I., 1302-7, no. 303, p.104; P.R.O.L., E.101/233/20 - Issue Roll East. 1304; E.372/150, m.40 - T's Acct., July 1300 - April 1305.

28. C.D.I., 1302-7, no. 306, pp 106-7; P.R.O.L., E.372/150, m. 40 - T's Acct., July 1300 - April 1305.

29. 38th Rept. D.K., p. 103 - Pipe Roll 33 Edw.I.

30. C.J.R., 1305-7, p. 64.

remain at Randon for the defence of the castles of Athlon and Randon'. It was also decided that the sheriff of Roscommon should repair the houses of the castle of Athlone and the bridge between the castle and the town of Athlone.<sup>31</sup> It would appear that these tasks were carried out.<sup>32</sup>

It is impossible to say to what extent Aedh O'Conor was involved in these disturbances in Connacht. We know that in Easter term 1305 he paid £20 rent for the cantreds he held in Sil Murray, and that in Michaelmas term 1305 he paid a further £10 rent.<sup>33</sup> This may suggest he had remained loyal to the government. On the other hand, he may have broken the peace in 1304, and the fact that he paid part of his rent in 1305 may have been simply a consequence of Wogan's expedition. As regards de Burgh's allegation that Aedh had committed homicides and robberies in the lordship of Connacht, although there is reason to believe that some of the Irish of the king's cantreds raided and plundered lands in the de Burgh lordship, we have no way of telling whether Aedh himself did. But it is worth pointing out that de Burgh later held up Aedh as a good example for his son, Turlough.<sup>34</sup>

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31. Ibid., pp 64-5.

32. 38th Rept. D.K., p.103-Pipe Roll 33 Edw.I.

33. P.R.O.L., E.101/234/2; E.101/234/9 - Receipt Rolls East. and Mich. 1305. In the first of these rolls it is said that Aedh held 3 cantreds, and the second roll says he held a portion of three cantreds. The jurors of the 1305 inquisition into the king's cantreds said that from Robert d'Ufford's time the kings of Connacht held only 2½ cantreds, C.J.R., 1305-7, pp 133-4. It would seem that Aedh did in fact hold only 2½ cantreds, for the receipt rolls from East. 1305 to East. 1310 record payments made by David de Burgh for the lands which he held in Tir Maine and Machaire (i.e. Magh nAi, A.C., p. 836), P.R.O.L., E.101/234/2; E.101/234/16; E.101/235/5; E.101/235/18; E.101/235/22. This suggests that Aedh held only half the latter cantred, as well as the cantreds of Tri Tuatha, and Magh Lurg - Tirerrill.

34. See below, p.366.

In 13 July 1305 the king ordered Wogan to inquire whether he might enfeoff de Burgh or another Englishman of the land leased to O'Conor without injury to himself, and on 13 October 1305 the justiciar held an inquiry into the matter at Castledermot, Co. Kildare. The jurors said that if the Irish were driven out of the 2½ cantreds held by O'Conor, and the land was given to 'faithful men', the value of the land would increase from 100 marks to 250 marks. However, they thought that this could not be done 'without a great force and inestimable expense exceeding the value of the land. Especially as Oconoghur is one of the five Irish captains of Ireland'. But the jurors, who were drawn from the counties of Tipperary, Meath and Louth as well as from county Connacht and Sil Murray (i.e. county Roscommon), thought that it would not be to the injury of the king if he enfeoffed de Burgh or some other Englishman of the land, and they thought it would be to the advantage of the king and of his faithful people of those parts if the king gave the land to de Burgh in exchange for 100 marcates of land or rent in the land of peace. This was because the earl held Connacht and Ulster and had 'a great force of English and Irish adjoining that land, by which he would be better able to chastise the Irish of that land, than another'.<sup>35</sup> But nothing immediately came of the jurors' recommendation. In Trinity 1306 and Easter 1309 Aedh O'Conor made payments of £20 and 20 marks for 'the portion of three cantreds which he holds in Silmorthy',<sup>36</sup> while the account of county Roscommon from June 1306 to June 1310

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35. C.J.R., 1305-7, pp 133-4. See also, C.D.I. 1302-7, no. 437; Anal. Hib., no. I (1930), pp 212-5.

36. P.R.O.L., E.101/234/9; E.101/235/18 - Receipt Rolls Trin. 1306 and East. 1309. Re the three cantreds, see above, p. 322, note 33.

records that he paid 20 marks towards his rent and the arrears of his rent for the same area.<sup>37</sup>

During this period Connacht became increasingly disturbed. In 1306 Aedh son of Cathal O'Conor of the Clann Murtough tried to seize the kingship from Aedh son of Eoghan. The king of Connacht had most of the nobility of Sil Murray on his side, but Aedh son of Cathal, who was otherwise known as Aedh Brefnach, had the assistance of the chieftains and nobility of Breifne, thanks to the defeat he and the Clann Murtough had inflicted on the Muintir Reilly in 1305.<sup>38</sup>

He is said to have also had many of the sons of the kings and chieftains of Connacht on his side, but there is no indication that de Burgh gave him any assistance. This is hardly surprising in view of the fact that de Burgh wanted to be enfeoffed of the land leased to the king of Connacht. De Burgh would have gained little or nothing by setting up a new king. Aedh Brefnach's attempt to seize the kingship failed, despite the fact that some of his supporters attacked the king of Connacht's stronghold ( longport ) and burned the palace ( pailiss ) and houses in it.<sup>39</sup> Several collections of bardic verse preserve two compositions on a fortress which Aedh son of Eoghan built at Cloonfree, a mile to the west of Strokestown, Co. Roscommon,<sup>40</sup> and it is undoubtedly to this

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37. 39th Rept.D.K., p. 27 - Pipe Roll 3 Edw.II.

38. A.C., p.207; A.L.C., I, pp 531-3. Aedh Brefnach and the Clann Murtough had been involved in Breifne before this. In 1298 and 1301 they had killed two chieftains in Breifne, A.C., pp 199,203; A.L.C., I, pp 521,525.

39. A.C., pp 209-11; A.L.C., I, pp 533-5; A.U., II, p.405; A.F.M., III, p.483.

40. E.C.Quiggan, 'O'Conor's House at Cloonfree', Essays and Studies Presented to William Ridgeway, ed. E.C. Quiggan, pp 333-52.



that the annals refer. This is not the only O'Conor stronghold of which we hear in the period after the conquest of Connacht,<sup>41</sup> but it is possibly the first reference there is to a palace, and the fact that it was the subject of two bardic poems suggests that it may have been a larger dwelling than the kings of Connacht had had in the recent past.<sup>42</sup>

It would seem that the peace of the O'Conor portion of the king's cantreds had been disrupted for three or four months because of the Clann Murtough's activities,<sup>43</sup> but in 1307 it was the settlers of the king's cantreds who suffered. The trouble seems to have begun when Aughrim (bar. of Kilconnell, Co. Galway) was burned by the sons of the kings of Ui Maine, that is, by the O'Kellys.<sup>44</sup> This was probably shortly before 9 April 1307, when it was agreed by the justiciar and council that wine and salt should be sent to supply the castle of Roscommon on account of 'the war now begun in Connacht'.<sup>45</sup> The manor of Aughrim belonged to Edmund Butler,<sup>46</sup> who The Annals of Clonmacnoise say was 'Deputy of Ireland' at the time.<sup>47</sup> He led a force of settlers and Irish to attack Ahascragh (bar. of Kilconnell, Co. Galway), where the O'Kellys would seem to have had a settlement. He seems to have succeeded in burning it down, but a great number of the English of Roscommon were either

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41. In 1261 we hear of Felim O'Conor's stronghold ( longpurt ) at Cloonsellan (bar. of Ballintober<sup>South</sup>, Co. Roscommon), and of Aedh son of Felim's stronghold ( longpurt ) at Snam Muredig or Snam In Redaig, which is thought to have been in Co. Leitrim, A.C., pp 137, 844; A.L.C., I, pp 440-1; A.F.M., III, pp 383-5.
42. For a description of Cloonfree in 1683, see ibid., p. 484, note q.
43. A.C., pp 209; A.L.C., I, p.533; A.U., II, p.405; A.F.M., III, p. 483.
44. A.C., p.211; A.L.C., I, p.537; A.U., II, p.409.
45. C.J.R., 1305-7, p.355.
46. See Appendix II, pp 468, 470-2.
47. A. Clon., p.261. Richardson and Sayles say that his period in office ended on 23 May 1305, Administration, p.83.

captured or killed by Donough O'Kelly, king of Ui Maine. The captives, among whom was the sheriff of Roscommon, were later released, but seemingly only after Butler had agreed to give O'Kelly restitution for burning Ahascragh.<sup>48</sup> The massacre of the English of Roscommon is said in the Anglo-Irish chronicles to have taken place on 1 May 1307.<sup>49</sup> It is hardly surprising to find that on 9 May the treasurer was ordered to pay Richard de Exeter, the custodian of Roscommon castle, £20 for the expenses of himself and a man-at-arms going with him to fortify that castle against Irish rebels and enemies who had newly risen against the king.<sup>50</sup> However, the castle does not seem to have been attacked.

In 1308 a serious defeat was inflicted on the settlers of lordship of Connacht. The problem here was not new. In the 1290s a third O'Conor line, that of the Clann Andrias (alias the Brian Luignech line, later called the O'Conors Sligo) had become established in Carbury,<sup>51</sup> clearly much to the annoyance of the Clann Murtough, who raided it in 1301, 1302 and 1306.<sup>52</sup> Finally, in 1307, Donal son of Teig O'Conor, the head of the Clann Andrias, was killed in a skirmish with Aedh Brefnach of the Clann Murtough. In his obituary we are told that his territory extended from the Curlieu Hills (north of Boyle) to

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48. The passage is rather ambiguous in all the annals, A.C., pp 211-3; A.L.C., I, pp 537-9; A.Clon., p.261; A.U., II, p.409; A.F.M., III, p.487.

49. Grace, p.51; 'Annals of Ireland', Charts.St.Mary's, II, p.335; Dowling, p.18.

50. C.D.I., 1302-7, no. 648. For de Exeter's payment, see P.R.O.L., E.101/234/17 - Issue East.1307; E.372/153, m.35 - T's Acct., April 1305-Jan.1308.

51. The Clann Andrias may have been assisted by the O'Neills. Sadb, the daughter of Aedh O'Neill, who died in 1298, was married to Teig son of Andrias O'Conor, A.C., p.199; A.L.C., I, p.521.

52. A.C., pp 203, 211; A.L.C., I, pp 525, 527, 535; A.U., II, pp 397, 399, 407; A.F.M., III, pp 475, 477, 483. Magh Cetne, mentioned in these annals, seems to have been part of Carbury, cf. A.C., p.205, no.5; A.U., II, p.399.

Caoluisce on the Erne, His body was brought to Boyle for burial, and, according to the annals, 'never in that age was there brought with any corpse so many droves and flocks and cattle and companies of horse and foot and mercenaries as were brought with him to his burial'.<sup>53</sup> This suggests that he had wielded considerable power. Furthermore, he is described in his obituary as 'tanist of all Connacht'.<sup>54</sup> It is conceivable that the king of Connacht, Aedh son of Eoghan of the Cathal Crobhderg line, bestowed the tanistship on him in order to secure the help of the Clann Andrias against the Clann Murtough.<sup>55</sup> The fact that Donal was the tanist undoubtedly explains why Aedh Brefnach killed him.

The Clann Murtough followed up their victory by making raids on the Clann Andrias in 1307 and 1308,<sup>56</sup> but there were many people who were anxious to destroy the power of the Clann Andrias once Donal had died. One of these was Maelruanaid Mac Dermot, king of Magh Lurg,<sup>57</sup> who was soon to be one of the most important men in Connacht. He raided the Clann Andrias in 1308.<sup>58</sup> If Donal's territory had indeed extended as far south as the Curlieu Hills, Mac Dermot had every reason to fear the Clann, for not only did the Curlieu Hills lie on the northern border of Magh Lurg, which was roughly co-extensive with the barony of Boyle, Co. Roscommon, but Tirerrill, which was co-extensive with the barony of Tirerrill, Co. Sligo, and which with Magh Lurg made up the most northerly of the king's

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53. A.C., pp 213-5; A.L.C., I, pp 539-41.

54. A.C., p.213; A.L.C., I, p.539; A.U., II, p.409; A.F.M., III, p.487.

55. A.C., pp 212-3, note 6.

56. Ibid., pp 215, 217; A.L.C., I, p.543; A.U., II, p.411; A.F.M., III, p.489.

57. A.C., p.219; A.L.C., I, p.547.

58. A.C., p.215; A.L.C., I, p.543; A.U., II, p.411; A.F.M., III, p.489.

cantreds, must have been incorporated into the Clann Andrias's territory by 1307.<sup>59</sup>

The Clann Andrias were no less of a worry to the English settlers in Connacht. The Clann's lordship over the area from the Curlieus to the Erne must have weakened English control over Carbury, though it must be said that the Clann's rise to prominence undoubtedly owed much to the fact that Sligo had formerly been one of the most harassed English settlements in Connacht,<sup>60</sup> a state of affairs which the Geraldines had either neglected or had failed to remedy.<sup>61</sup> The English of the cantreds to the south-west of Carbury seem to have felt threatened by the Clann, because they also seized the opportunity presented by Donal's death to launch an offensive against it. In 1308 the English of Leyny and Tireragh, with the assistance of Brian O'Dowda of Tireragh, attacked the Clann in Slieve Daen, a few miles south of Sligo. However, they were routed and pursued as far as Ballysadare (bar. of Leyny, Co. Sligo), where Thomas son of Walter, constable of Buninna castle (in the bar. of Tireragh, Co. Sligo), and his brother and many others were killed.<sup>62</sup>

Worrying though this defeat may have been, the Clann Andrias would seem to have been weakened by Donal's death, and some years were to pass before it occupied the centre of the stage in Connacht politics. A much more immediate problem was posed in 1309 by the Clann Murtough. That year Aedh son of Eoghan

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59. There are other indications of this: in 1308 Mac Donough of Tirerrill fought on the side of the Clann Andrias, A.C., p.217; A.L.C., I, p.543; A.Clon., p.262; and in 1307 the Clann Murtough attacked Tirerrill, A.C., p.215; A.L.C., I, p.543.

60. See above, pp 204, 232, 239, 244, 250.

61. Sligo castle does not seem to have been rebuilt after Aedh son of Felim O'Conor knocked it down in 1271 until John fitz Thomas rebuilt it in 1293. It was knocked down again the following year, see above pp 304-6.

62. A.C., p.217; A.L.C., I, pp 543-5; A.F.M., III, p.489. The ed. of A.U., says that the constable of Bunnina was a de Burgh, A.U., II, pp 411-3.

O'Conor, king of Connacht, was killed in a battle with Aedh Brefnach in Breifne. Aedh Brefnach came into the king's cantreds afterwards and the Tri Tuatha submitted to him.<sup>63</sup> However, his bid for the kingship was immediately challenged by Maelruanaid Mac Dermot, king of Magh Lurg, who came with a force into the heart of Sil Murray 'to uphold the kingship and rule' for his foster-son, the late king of Connacht's son, Felim O'Conor, who was only sixteen years old at the time. Mac Dermot sought help from his Irish and English friends, and from William de Burgh and his kinsmen, who immediately came to his assistance. He then took the submissions of the chieftains and sub-kings 'and exacted their rents and stipulated tributes and all the family and regal jewels of the king of Connacht', and the Sil Murray swore that they would not yield to any but Felim O'Conor.<sup>64</sup>

We know that the Red Earl was in England in August 1309, when, as the king's commissioner, he negotiated terms of peace with Robert Bruce,<sup>65</sup> who had married one of his daughters in 1302;<sup>66</sup> and he does not seem to have returned to Ireland until

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63. A.C., pp 217-9; A.L.C., I, pp 545-7; A.Clon., p.263; Misc. I. Annals, p.137. A.F.M., III, pp 492-3, alone say that the Sil Murray 'conferred the lordship' on Aedh Brefnach's brother, Rory son of Cathal O'Conor. This is almost certainly incorrect, for Rory played second fiddle to his brother, as we shall see. In the translation of A.U. (II, p.415) the Sil Murray are said to have given the lordship to Rory son of Cathal O'Conor, but the Irish text (ibid., p.414) merely says that it was given to the son of Cathal O'Conor. Where the son of Cathal O'Conor is mentioned I have taken it to mean Aedh Brefnach, even when A.F.M. supplies the name Rory, because Aedh Brefnach was the more important of the two sons of Cathal.

64. A.C., p.219; A.Clon., p.263; A.L.C., I, pp 547-9.

65. C.P.R., 1307-13, p.189.

66. Grace, p.47; 'Annals of Ireland', Charts.St.Mary's, II, p. 331.

24 December 1309.<sup>67</sup> It is possible that he was still in Ireland when the trouble broke out, because the annals say that Aedh Brefnach went to meet the earl in Meath,<sup>68</sup> but they do not tell us the outcome of the meeting, and the Red Earl did not play any role in the events that took place afterwards.

However, William de Burgh (alias William Liath), the Red Earl's cousin,<sup>69</sup> did play a very important role in Connacht in 1309-1310. Shortly after Aedh Brefnach returned to the king's cantreds, a meeting was arranged between himself and William de Burgh near Elphin, during which fighting broke out, and Aedh Brefnach was routed. Later in the year, after Aedh Brefnach had established himself in Uachtar Tire (in the north of the bar. of Boyle, Co. Roscommon), William de Burgh crossed the Curlieus and ejected him from his stronghold. However, Aedh Brefnach was determined to seize the kingship. In 1310 he made what must have been a devastating raid on Mac Dermot, for it was given the name 'The Raid of the Burning', and the annals say that women and children 'and many others' were killed and burned. Afterwards Aedh Brefnach re-established a stronghold in Uachtar Tire, and William de Burgh encamped to the south of him in Killummod, near Jamestown on the Shannon.

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67. Ibid., p.338; Grace, p.55.

68. A.C., p.219; A.Clon., p.263; A.L.C., I, p.549.

69. 'Historia et Genealogia Familiae de Burgo', Jn.G.A.H.S., vol.13 (1924-7), p.63 (recte p.127). He appears as 'Willelmus Canus' in 'Regestum Monasterii Fratrum Praedicatorum de Athenry', Arch.Hib., vol.I (1912), p.212. His death is recorded twice in the annals A.C., pp 257, 259; A.L.C., pp 601, 603; A.Clon., p.284; A.U., II, p.439; A.F.M., III, pp 527, 531. The latter date (1324) is seemingly the correct one, M.J. Blake, 'Obituary Book of the Franciscan Monastery at Galway', Jn.G.A.H.S., vol.6 (1909-10), p.230.

Aedh sent messengers to his brother, Rory, who had killed one of the de Berminghams in 1309,<sup>70</sup> telling him to attack Buninna castle (in the bar. of Tireragh, Co. Sligo), which William had just left. Rory plundered and set fire to the castle, but the attack was Aedh Brefnach's undoing, for many of his own men left his camp to join Rory, and the band of mercenaries which he kept with him in Uachtar Tire proved to be treacherous. The annals say that Johnock Mac Quillan, the leader of these kerne, had previously promised William de Burgh that he would kill Aedh Brefnach in return for a reward, and that when he saw that Aedh was so unprotected he killed him. As soon as William de Burgh and Mac Dermot heard that Aedh Brefnach was dead, they made raids on his followers. But there were surprises in store for Mac Dermot and his foster-son. Instead of establishing Felim O'Conor as king, William de Burgh billeted Mac Quillan and his two hundred soldiers on the inhabitants of Sil Murray. According to the annals, 'there was not one of their townlands ( baili ) without its permanent quartering ( cen gnathbuana ), nor a tuath free from exaction, nor a prince free from oppression, so long as William Burk was in control of them after the death of Aed'.<sup>71</sup>

This would seem to have been the first time that any of the English had imposed such a tight control over the O'Conor portion of the king's cantreds, and it is clear that for Mac Dermot the kingship of Connacht had received the worst affront that it had known to-date. Before the end of the year he had decided to demonstrate to all and sundry that the kingship of Connacht was not something which could be swept away. The Annals of Connacht tell us that Mac Dermot

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70. A.C., p.221; A.L.C., I, p. 549; A.U., II, p.415; A.F.M., III, p. 493.

71. A.C., pp219-23; A.L.C., I, pp 549-53; A.Clon., pp 264-5. Less full accounts of the events of 1309-10 will be found in A.U., II, pp 415-7; A.F.M., III, pp 493-7. See also, above p. 329, note 63.

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seeing the exclusion of his foster-son from his patrimony and the heavy exactions on each tuath about him, and much resenting the action of the Galls in restricting and diminishing his power - for the Galls felt sure that if this one man were weak the whole province of Connacht would be in their own hands - determined, like the warrior he was, to take his foster-son boldly and make him king by force. So he carried him to Carnfree and installed him on the mound according to the practice of the saints, and of Da Conna of Assylin in particular; and he, Fedlimid mac Aeda meic Eogain, was proclaimed in a style as royal, as lordly and as public as any of his race from the time of Brian son of Eochu Muigmedoin<sup>72</sup> till that day. And when Fedlimid mac Aeda meic Eoghain had married ('feis') the Province of Connacht his foster-father waited upon him during the night in the manner remembered by the old men and recorded in the old books; and this was the most splendid kingship-marriage ('banais rige') ever celebrated in Connacht down to that day.<sup>73</sup>

The same account of Felim's inauguration is given in The Annals of Loch Cé.<sup>74</sup> The Annals of Clonmacnoise, as they come down to us in a 17th century English translation, do not specifically mention the marriage of Felim to his province but they do say that he was installed as king

with as great solemnity, Ceremonies and other customes theretofore practized as any one of his auncestors since the Tyme of his Auncestor Bryan m<sup>c</sup> Eachye Moymean some tyme king of Conaught. Alsoe the said Molronye (Mac Dermot) made a magnifitient and great feast in honour thereof, with the assembly and presence of all the nobility of Conaught such as none other of his auncestors or predecessors kings of Conaught ever before him was heard or read in bookes to have made.<sup>75</sup>

While it is very possible that Mac Dermot held what we would call a feast, it is worth drawing attention to the fact that

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72. Brian was the father of Duí Galach who is said to have been made king by St. Patrick, M. Dillon, 'The Inauguration of O'Conor', Med. Studies presented to Aubrey Gwynn, ed. J.A. Watt et al., p. 196.

73. A.C., pp 222-3.

74. A.L.C., I, pp 552-5.

75. A. Clon., p. 265.



'feis' in Irish means both 'to feast' and 'to sleep with' or 'to marry'.<sup>76</sup> In pagan times the king of Tara performed some ritual symbolizing his union with his kingdom at the feast of Tara, and broadly similar ritual marriages of kings to their kingdoms probably took place in every part of the country.<sup>77</sup> It would seem that many of these ceremonies were modified after Christianity had been introduced into Ireland.<sup>78</sup> As we have seen, the annals say that Felim was inaugurated according to the practice of the saints. But the fact that the annals use the words 'feis' and 'banais rige' to describe Felim's inauguration suggests that the important part of the ceremony on this occasion was a pagan ritual symbolizing

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76. R.I.A. Dictionary of the Irish Language.

77. D.A. Binchy 'The Fair of Tailtiu and the Feast of Tara', Ériu, vol. 18 (1958), pp 127-38; F.J. Byrne, Irish Kings and High-Kings, pp 48-69.

78. D.A. Binchy, op. cit.

Felim's marriage to his kingdom.<sup>79</sup>

79. It is difficult to say how closely Felim's inauguration approximated to that described in the tract on the inauguration of O'Conor. For this, see M. Dillon, 'The Inauguration of O'Conor', Med. Studies Presented to Aubrey Gwynn, ed. J.A. Watt et al., pp 186-202. This tract is thought to have been written sometime between the 14th and 16th centuries, ibid. Because it seems to assume that the political conditions of pre-conquest Connacht are in existence, it has been suggested that it is an antiquarian reconstruction, K. Simms, 'The Gaelic Lordships of Ulster in the Later Middle Ages', Ph.D. Thesis, T.C.D., 1976, p.14. The tract professes to tell how the kings of Connacht are made 'as Patrick ordained when he made Duí Galach son of Brión son of Eochu son of Muireadh king'. It is noteworthy that A.C., A.L.C., and A. Clon. say that Felim's inauguration was similar to ones going back to Duí Gallach's father, Brian son of Eochu, see above p. 332. This suggests that tract was not composed for Felim's inauguration. Furthermore, in the tract Mac Dermot's role does not appear to be anything like as important as the annals suggest it was in 1310. He is not one of the people who should be present at O'Conor's inauguration, but is only one of those who have a right to be there. More important is the fact that the tract does not give Mac Dermot any ceremonial function at the inauguration. According to the tract, it is Ó Maol Chonaire, O'Conor's ollamh of history, who inaugurates O'Conor by handing him 'the rod of kingship', and no-one else is allowed on the mound at Carnfree with O'Conor except Ó Connachtáin, who guards the gate of the mound. It is worth mentioning, however, that Mac Dermot is described as O'Conor's chief marshal in the section of the tract listing O'Conor's officers, and that in the second half of the 15th century the annals speak of an O'Conor being inaugurated by the act of Mac Dermot putting on his shoe, A.F.M., IV, pp 1015, 1161. The only other ritual mentioned in the tract besides the handing over of the rod of kingship is the giving of O'Conor's horse and raiment to the coarb of Da Chonna of Assylin (who is mentioned in A.C.'s and A.L.C.'s account of the 1310 inauguration). The tract says that the coarb is to mount the horse from O'Conor's back. This ceremony had undoubtedly pagan antecedents.

1310 is the first year that the annals mention the inauguration of a king of Connacht since 1228, when they say that Aedh son of Rory O'Conor went with the men of Connacht to Carnfree, 'where he was installed ( do rigadh ann ), as was customary with every king who ruled over Connacht before him'.<sup>80</sup> That the annals should say this is of considerable interest, because Aedh son of Rory's election had taken place at a meeting of the English and Irish of Ireland which had been convened by the justiciar, Richard de Burgh, and it had therefore been most irregular.<sup>81</sup> It would seem that only three O'Conors were made king with English assistance after Aedh: Felim son of Cathal Crobhderg in 1230, Turlough son of Aedh in 1249,<sup>82</sup> and Aedh son of Eoghan in 1293.<sup>83</sup> The last named was the father of Felim who was inaugurated with such ceremony in 1310, and it is possible that Aedh's inauguration had marked a break with tradition. Certainly, the fact that the annals say that old men and old books were consulted for the 1310 inauguration suggests that some at least of the inauguration practices had fallen into disuse by the end of the thirteenth century.

But old inauguration ceremonies were not revived simply because they were in danger of becoming extinct. They were revived because they expressed what was thought to be the essence of Irish kingship, and the need to assert what this was arose because William de Burgh's actions in 1310 seemed to threaten the kingship of Connacht itself with extinction. It is worth pointing out that Mac Dermot seems to have initially assumed that William de Burgh would make Felim king, in the same way that de Vescy

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80. A.C., p. 29.

81. See above, p. 66.

82. See above, pp 69, 214-6.

83. See above, pp 298-300.

had made Felim's father king. But when Mac Dermot realized that William had no intention of doing so, he must have felt that the trust that he had put in the English was misplaced. His revival of the very ancient concept of Celtic kingship - that of the king being the spouse of his kingdom - suggests that he felt that the kingship of Connacht would be safe only if the Irish themselves were true to their age-old institution of kingship.

William de Burgh, the ancestor of the Mac Williams Upper and Lower, who were to dominate Connacht in the later middle ages, was the man who had brought about this remarkable re-assertion of Gaelic kingship. William was the first of the collateral de Burghs to become prominent in Connacht and, indeed, outside it. Though we know very little about what lands he held in Connacht,<sup>84</sup> he would seem to have been a man of some means, for he founded a Franciscan friary in Galway in 1296.<sup>85</sup> He seems to

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84. He was possibly a free tenant of the manor of Loughrea, Co. Galway, where the heirs of a William de Burgh are said to have held five townlands in the 1333 inquisition post mortem, H.T. Knox, 'Occupation of Connaught', Jn. R.S.A.I., vol. 32 (1902), p.135. In 1305 he was described as being 'of great power in the parts of Dundeyr' (Duniry, bar. Leitrim, Co. Galway), and he seems to have held the greater part of the manor there for a number of years, C.J.R., 1305-7, pp 30-1. At some stage he exchanged 6 marks of rent in Moyfin (bar. of Longford, Co. Galway) for 6 marks of rent in Oloman (bar. of Leitrim, Co. Galway), with the Red Earl, E.Curtis, 'Feudal Charters of the de Burgo Lordship of Connacht, 1237-1325', Feilsgríbhinn Eóin Mhic Néill, ed. J.Ryan, p.293, no.LI. He was also given 20 marks rent in an unspecified place in Connacht by the Red Earl, ibid., p. 287, no VIII. In 1308 Edmund Butler gave him two villates of land in Lusmagh (bar.of Garrycastle, Co.Offaly, Lusmagh then being part of Connacht, see above, p.108), Cal. Ormond Deeds, vol.I, nos 420-1. William also acquired the tenement of Lissavally (bar. of Clare, Co. Galway) from John fitz Thomas, as an amend for the trespasses and damages the latter had inflicted on him. William's letter recording the pardon he gave fitz Thomas in return for the land and £80 of silver is transcribed twice in The Red Book of Kildare (nos 42, 190). It is dated 17 June 1285 in one transcript and 10 June 1302 in the other. It would seem likely that the damages were inflicted during the de Burgh/Geraldine war of 1294-5, and therefore the later date is probably the correct one.
85. M.J. Blake, 'The Obituary Book of the Franciscan Monastery at Galway', Jn.G.A.H.S., vol.6 (1909-10), p.230.

have had considerable military ability. In August 1304, as a reward for his good service in Scotland the previous year, the king granted him the custody of Thomas fitz Maurice's lands in Connacht, which were worth 50 marks a year, for the remainder of the minority of fitz Maurice's heir.<sup>86</sup>

William also seems to have found favour with the administration in Ireland. In July 1308 he was given the custody of the royal manor of Athmekin (now Headford, bar. of Clare, Co. Galway),<sup>87</sup> and he held this until 1315 at least.<sup>88</sup> On 1 October 1308, before going to England, Wogan appointed William his deputy-justiciar, a position which he held until 15 May 1309, when Wogan returned.<sup>89</sup> As deputy-justiciar, William led a force of at least 200 hobelars and 500 foot, many of whom were supplied by the English and Irish of Connacht, to expel Irish felons from the Leinster mountains.<sup>90</sup>

Orpen thought that William may have had ambitions to become king of Connacht and that in 1310 he was acting in a manner similar to his son Walter who, according to the annals, made an attempt in 1330 at seizing the kingship of Connacht for himself. But Orpen was not altogether happy with this analogy, for he also suggested that William's actions were 'possibly countenanced by both the earl and the Government', unlike Walter's, which

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86. C.D.I., 1302-7, no. 338; C.P.R., 1301-7, p.257. Fitz Maurice held Ciarraige Locha na nAirneadh (i.e. the southern part of the bar. of Costello, Co. Mayo), C.D.I., 1293-1301, no.551, p.258. His heir, Maurice fitz Thomas, succeeded to his inheritance in April 1314, G.O. Sayles, 'The Rebellious First Earl of Desmond', Med.Studies presented to Aubrey Gwynn, ed.J.A. Watt et al., p.204.
87. P.R.O.I., EX 2/2, p.369 - Mem.Roll I Edw.II. The king had acquired this manor in the 1280s, see above, p.115.
88. The receipt rolls show William paying rent for the manor from Mich. 1308 until East.1315, P.R.O.L., E.101/235/18; E.101/235/22; E.101/235/25; E.101/236/1; E.101/236/8; E.101/236/12; E.101/237/1.
89. 'Annals of Ireland', Charts.St.Mary's, II, p.337; Grace, p.53; Richardson and Sayles, Administration, p.83.
90. R.C.H., p.8, nos 41, 43, 47, 52; 39th Rept.D.K., p.34 - Pipe Roll 3 Edw.II; N.L.I., MS 760, pp290-1-Betham's Extracts from the Pipe Rolls.

aroused the anger of the earl of Ulster.<sup>91</sup>

In fact the records of the Dublin exchequer show that by Hilary 1310 at least William was holding the O'Conor portion of the king's cantreds of the king. The memoranda roll of 3 Edward II records a writ tested by Wogan on 25 June 1310 in which Wogan speaks in the king's name of 100 marks which William de Burgh is bound to render this year 'pro terris nostris de Shilmurthy in Connacia sicut concordatum est per justiciarium et consilium nostrum Hibernie'.<sup>92</sup> We know that William was in possession of these lands by Hilary 1310, because the receipt roll of that term records that he paid 50 marks rent for Sil Murray.<sup>93</sup> Wogan's writ provides additional information about the events of 1309-1310. The writ orders the treasurer and barons of the Dublin exchequer to allow William 50 marks out of his rent for his great expense and diligence in guarding the king's tenants and lands in the parts of Roscommon against Aedh Brefnach, and for killing the same Aedh, 'qui de facto suo proprio contra voluntatem nostram et ministrorum nostrorum se fecisse voluit regem hibernicorum Connacie'.<sup>94</sup>

The fact that the government did not want Aedh Brefnach to become king of Connacht helps to explain why it adopted the recommendation of the jurors of 1305 and granted the custody of the O'Conor portion of the king's cantreds to an Englishman. Furthermore, since William de Burgh had to pay rent for this land, it was clearly not in his interest to establish anyone

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91. Orpen, Normans, vol. IV, p.122.

92. P.R.O.I., EX 1/1, m.43d.

93. P.R.O.L., E.101/235/22.

94. P.R.O.I., EX 1/1, m.43d - Mem.Roll 3 Edw.II.

as king of Connacht, for he would have had to compete with that king for the tribute of the area. Because he did not establish Felim as king, he was able to take the revenues which, as The Annals of Clonmacnoise put it, of right belonged to Felim.<sup>95</sup> It is also worth pointing out that William does not seem to have received any financial assistance from the government for guarding the king's cantreds, apart from being allowed 50 marks out of his rent, and this very probably explains why he billeted his troops on the Sil Murray.

On 28 April 1312 the justiciar and council ordered William de Burgh, 'custodian of the lands which O'Conor recently held of the king in Connacht', to pay all the arrears of the issues of those lands 'a toto tempore quo dictus Willelmus inde habuit custodiam ex commissione regis'.<sup>96</sup> This seems to suggest that William had the custody of the O'Conor lands for more than one year, but there is no evidence that he tried to stop Mac Dermot from establishing Felim as king nor does he seem to have tried to depose Felim afterwards. In 1311 he became heavily involved in a war in Thomond,<sup>97</sup> and he does not appear to have been active again in Connacht until the Bruce invasion.

There is no evidence that the Red Earl was annoyed that William had been given the custody of the O'Conor portion of the king's cantreds. The Red Earl's interest in the area had not diminished, however. In a petition to the king, written in

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95. A. Clon., p.265.

96. P.R.O.I., RC 8/6, p.218 - Mem.Roll 5-6 Edw.II.

97. Otway-Ruthven, Med.Ireland, pp 221-2. William was married to Finula O'Brien, 'Regestum Monasterii Fratrum Praedicatorum de Athenry', Arch. Hib., vol.I (1912), p. 212.

French sometime circa 1310-1311, he said that Edward I and the present king granted ( graunterent ) him the land of an Irishman called O'Conor in Connacht in return for 100 marks rent in the land of peace, and that he was willing to be distrained for the rent for it from his manors of Rathoath and Carlingford, which were in the land of peace and which were worth £200 per annum, and he said that he would give all the sureties which the king's council would ordain.<sup>98</sup> It would seem from this that not only had the Red Earl been granted the land but that he was already in possession of it. But there is no other evidence that he had been granted the land, and it is highly unlikely that he was ever in possession of it. As we have seen, Aedh son of Eoghan O'Conor paid rent for the land up to Easter 1309,<sup>99</sup> and William de Burgh had the custody of the land in 1310. Furthermore, in Michaelmas 1314 the new king of Connacht, Felim O'Conor, paid £10-13-4 'for the portion which he holds in Sil Murray'.<sup>100</sup> At the end of the petition the Red Earl asked the king to state his will regarding his offer.<sup>101</sup> This suggests that he and the king were still only negotiating about the grant, and it is possible that Edward I and Edward II had done no more than express a willingness to grant the Red Earl the land.

However, by the time the Red Earl had made his second petition with regard to the O'Conor portion of the king's cantreds, he had been given unprecedented authority in the English portion of the king's cantreds, very probably as an inducement to enter the king's service. On 16 August 1309, a few days before he was appointed to

98. Documents on the Affairs of Ireland before the King's Council, (forthcoming I.M.C. publication) ed. G.O. Sayles, no.86.

99. See above, pp 323-4.

100. P.R.O.L., E.101/237/1 - Receipt Roll Mich. 1314.

101. Documents on the Affairs of Ireland before the King's Council, ed. G.O. Sayles, no.86.



negotiate a truce with Robert Bruce, the king granted him the custody of the castles of Roscommon, Rinndown and Athlone and of all the lands and tenements pertaining to those castles, for life. De Burgh was to receive the fees which former custodians of those castles were wont to receive, and he was to answer each year at the Dublin exchequer for the issues of the lands.<sup>102</sup>

Clearly in order to establish what lands he had given de Burgh the custody of, the king wrote to Wogan and the treasurer and barons of the exchequer one day after he made the grant, saying that he wished to be certified about what lands and tenements belonged to the castles, how much they were worth yearly in all issues, what lands were held of the castles, who held them, and by what service. This writ reached Dublin on 7 January 1310, and on 9 February Wogan and the treasurer, Alexander Bicknor, held an inquisition at Kilkenny to find out about these matters. The only lands which the jurors named as pertaining to the castles were the lands in the southern king's cantreds which were held of the king by Englishmen, and the royal boroughs of Roscommon and Rinndown but not that of Athlone, which, according to the jurors, was 'outside county Roscommon in county Meath'.<sup>103</sup> The O'Conor portion of the the king's cantreds was not mentioned at all by the jurors. The receipt rolls confirm the impression given in the inquisition that this area was not in de Burgh's custody, for when Felim O'Conor paid his rent in Michaelmas 1314 it was the sheriff of Roscommon and not de Burgh who handed the money into the

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102. P.R.O.I., EX 1/1, m.43 - Mem.Roll 3 Edw.II. C.P.R., 1307-13, p.182 is very abbreviated. The Red Earl had been custodian of Athlone castle since 1304, see below, p.491.

103. P.R.O.I., EX 1/1, m.20 - Mem.Roll 3 Edw.II.

exchequer.<sup>104</sup>

But although de Burgh does not seem to have had any rights over the O'Conor portion of the king's cantreds, his custodianship of the royal castles, especially of Roscommon castle, put him in a position to exert pressure on the king of Connacht, and the fact that he was to remain custodian for the rest of his life meant that he could look forward to uninterrupted control over the area. It is hardly surprising to find that he regarded this an opportune time to start trying to regain control over Carbury. In 1310 he rebuilt the castle of Sligo,<sup>105</sup> but it would seem that it was not until 1312 that he established any sort of effective control over the area from Carbury to Roscommon. He seems to have been involved in Thomond in 1311,<sup>106</sup> and the events of 1309-10 gave rise to disturbances in Connacht in 1311. That year the Clann Murtough, who had been excluded from the kingship of Connacht largely as a result of Mac Dermot's efforts, raided the Mac Dermots, and the same year, probably in retaliation, Felim O'Conor raided the Clann Murtough, who had established themselves on the borders of Magh Cetne, that is, in Carbury.<sup>107</sup> The same year Johnock Mac Quillan, the mercenary employed first by Aedh Brefnach of the Clann Murtough and then by William de Burgh, was killed in Ballintober (bar. of Castlereagh, Co. Roscommon), apparently with the same short-handled axe with which he had killed Aedh Brefnach.<sup>108</sup>

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104. P.R.O.L., E.101/237/1. It is worth mentioning also that in Trin. 1314 the exchequer had told Felim to pay his rent to the sheriff of Roscommon, P.R.O.I., RC 8/9, p. 419 - Mem.Roll 7 Edw.II.

105. A.C., p.225; A.L.C., I, p.555; A.Clon., p.265; A.U., II, p. 417; A.F.M., III, p.497.

106. Otway-Ruthven, Med.Ireland, p.222.

107. For Magh Cetne and Carbury, see above, p.326, note 52.

108. A.C., pp 225-7; A.L.C., I, pp 557-9; A.Clon., p.267; A.U., II, pp 419-21; A.F.M., III, pp 499-501.

But thereafter Connacht became quiet. With the three royal castles in his custody for life, the Red Earl was in a much more powerful position in Connacht than he had ever been before. But the Bruce invasion soon changed everything.

The Red Earl was in Connacht when Edward Bruce invaded Ulster on 26 May 1315. As soon as he heard of Bruce's arrival, he assembled a large army at Roscommon, and, accompanied by Felim O'Connor, went to Ulster. On his way through Louth he met the justiciar, Edmund Butler, who was bringing the forces of Munster and Leinster into Ulster. The two armies proceeded as far as Carlingford but the justiciar and his force went no further than this, apparently because it was felt that Ulster could not support so many troops, and de Burgh seems to have been confident that he could defeat the Scots with his own force.<sup>109</sup> De Burgh pursued the Scots as far as Coleraine, where Bruce had destroyed the bridge over the Bann and had encamped, on the far side of the river. There was some fighting from one side of the Bann to the other, but de Burgh was unable to cross the river, which the annals say was wide and deep. At this juncture, Bruce, who had already been accepted as king of Ireland by the Irish of Ulster,<sup>110</sup> tried to win over Felim by offering him the province of Connacht. The annals say that he sent his men to seek Felim out covertly and to offer him 'possession of Connacht without partition', if he would desert de Burgh and return to Connacht to maintain his right to the province.

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109. A.I., p.315; A.C., pp 231-3; A.L.C., I, pp 563-5; A.Clon., pp 268-9; Grace, p.65; 'Annals of Ireland', Charts. St. Marys, II, pp 345-6; Documents on the Affairs of Ireland before the King's Council, ed. G.O. Sayles, no.98.

110. A.C., p.231; A.L.C., I, p.565; A.Clon., p.268. It would seem from the Anglo-Irish chronicles, however, that he was not crowned until shortly after 1 May 1316, 'Annals of Ireland', Charts.St.Mary's, II, p. 345; Grace, pp 63-5.

The annals say further that Felim listened tolerantly to these proposals, and agreed with Bruce,<sup>111</sup> but it would seem that he was not convinced that he could put his trust in Bruce, because he remained with de Burgh for some time afterwards.

However, Aedh Brefnach's brother, Rory O'Conor of the Clann Murtough, was quick to exploit Bruce's arrival in Ireland. He arrived in Coleraine shortly after Bruce's messengers had been in contact with Felim, and promised Bruce that he would banish the English from Connacht, presumably in the hope that Bruce would recognize him as king of Connacht. Bruce was faced with a dilemma, for he did not want to alienate either Rory or Felim. In the end he steered a middle course, and agreed that Rory should wage war on the English of Connacht, provided he did not commit any depredation on Felim or trespass on his territory.<sup>112</sup> Rory left Coleraine, and, having assembled an army in Connacht and Breifne, as well as many gallowglasses, he launched a massive attack on the English settlements of east Connacht. He burned the towns of Sligo, Ballymote (bar. of Corran, Co. Sligo), Ballintober (bar. of Castlereagh, Co. Roscommon), Dunamon (bar. Ballymoe, Co. Galway), Roscommon, Rinndown and Athlone, and the castles of Kilcolman (bar. Costello, Co. Mayo) and Dunamon, as well as

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111. A.C., p. 233; A.L.C., I, pp 565-7; A.Clon., pp 269-70.

112. A.C., p. 233; A.L.C., I, p. 567; A.Clon., p.270.

any houses that lay on his route.<sup>113</sup> Immediately afterwards he demanded recognition of his lordship from Mac Dermot, but got neither pledge nor hostage from him. However, the rest of the Sil Murray submitted to him, and he was made king at Carnfree.<sup>114</sup>

When Felim heard of Rory's activities, he told de Burgh that he had to return to Connacht. Felim's journey back was disastrous. The annals say that he was attacked all the way through Ulster and Oriel, and by the time he reached his uncle, Sean O'Farrell, in Longford his company was totally destroyed. As a result, he told the chieftains and sub-kings that were with him to go home and accept Rory as king 'rather than become landless men with himself'. However, he hoped that he would regain power one day with the help of his foster-father, and then he would expect them to accept him again as king.<sup>115</sup>

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113. A.C., p. 233; A.L.C., I, p. 567; A.Clon., p.270. 'Historia ... Familiae de Burgo' says that the burgesses of Sligo burned their town through fear of Rory, Jn. G.A.H.S., vol.13 (1924-7), pp 133-5. This seems rather unlikely, although we know for certain that the Dubliners set fire to their suburbs to prevent the Bruces from attacking the city itself, O.Armstrong, Edward Bruce's Invasion of Ireland, pp 104-5; J.F. Lydon, 'The Bruce Invasion of Ireland', Hist. Studies, no.4 (1963), pp 117-8. The Anglo-Irish chronicles say that the castles of Athlone and Rinndown were burned down, but this is undoubtedly incorrect, Grace, p. 67; 'Annals of Ireland', Charts. St.Mary's, II, p.346.
114. A.C., pp 233-5; A.L.C., I, pp 567-9; A.Clon., p.270. The last of these annals say that Rory was 'Invested king of Connaught by the 12 Chieftaines of Sile Morie, 12 cowarbbs, and other spiritualls that were accustomed to use the Ceremonies at the tyme of the Investure of the king'. cf. above, p. 334, note 79.
115. A.C., p. 235; A.L.C., I, p. 569; A.Clon., p.271. The annals do not say who the people who attacked him on this journey were.

Felim's departure from Coleraine had disastrous consequences for de Burgh because it meant that he had to abandon his offensive against Bruce and adopt a defensive strategy instead. He retreated to Connor, where the Scots caught up with him, and there was a battle on 1 September. William de Burgh was captured and shortly afterwards was taken to Scotland, where he remained a prisoner until 1316; and the Red Earl, whose forces were in disarray, fled to Connacht.<sup>116</sup> If the justiciar's force had gone to Ulster as planned, Felim's departure might not have had such serious repercussions.

As soon as de Burgh arrived in Connacht many English and Irish turned to him for support. Among them were Felim O'Conor, king of Connacht, Maelruanaid Mac Dermot, king of Magh Lurg, and Gilbert O'Kelly, king of Ui Maine, all of whom had been expelled from their kingdoms by Rory O'Conor, and Murtough O'Brien, the exiled king of Thomond.<sup>117</sup> The annals say that when Mac Dermot 'saw this throng of deposed kings and exiles in the one house he was ashamed and swore he would never be reckoned among the deposed kings in any house again, but that he would go by his own action into his own territory, as fortune might grant him'. He went to Teig O'Kelly, the new king of Ui Maine, who mediated with Rory O'Conor on his

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116. A.C., p. 235; A.L.C., I, p. 571; A.Clon., pp 271-2; A.U., II, p.425; A.F.M., III, p.505; Grace, pp 65-7; 'Annals of Ireland', Charts. St. Mary's, II, p. 346. The Anglo-Irish chronicles say that the battle was fought on 10 September, but John le Poer, who was with the Red Earl in Ulster, said that the battle was fought on Monday, 1 September, Documents on the Affairs of Ireland before the King's Council, ed. G.O. Sayles, no. 93.

117. Murtough had been driven from Thomond into Connacht in 1314, A.I., pp 417-9.

behalf. Mac Dermot gave hostages to Rory, who allowed him to recover his patrimony in return.<sup>118</sup>

However, it was not long before Mac Dermot was back helping his foster-son, Felim O'Conor. De Burgh seems to have been unable or unwilling to assist Felim, who formed an alliance with the Clann Andrias, the O'Conor line based in Carbury, which would seem to have been allied to Felim's father, Aedh son of Eoghan, when he was king of Connacht,<sup>119</sup> and which had made attacks on the Clann Murtough after Rory O'Conor of the Clann Murtough had become king.<sup>120</sup> Felim and the Clann Andrias together raided Rory O'Conor's supporters, Brian O'Dowda, Dermot Gall Mac Dermot and the sons of Cathal O'Flanagan, but the preys that they carried off were recovered by the Clann Murtough, the O'Flanagans and the Irish of Leitrim. When Mac Dermot saw that the preys had been retrieved, he attacked the Clann Murtough and their allies, and defeated them although he had fewer men. Conor Roe son of Aedh Brefnach O'Conor was killed, as were many of the nobles of Leitrim, including Mahon Mac Rannell, chieftain of Muintir Eolais, and O'Mulvey, chieftain of Muintir Cerballain. Mac Dermot recaptured the preys and brought them to Felim, who was waiting for him in Leyny.<sup>121</sup>

Naturally enough, Rory O'Conor was angered by this turn of events. He plundered a number of churches in Magh Lurg and left Dermot Gall Mac Dermot to establish himself as king there. He then went to Leyny to inflict further punishment

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118. A.C., pp 235-7; A.L.C., I, p. 571; A. Clon., p. 272.

119. See above, pp 326-7.

120. A.C., p. 237; A.L.C., I, pp 571-3; A. Clon., p. 272.

121. A.C., pp 237-9; A.L.C., I, pp 573-5; A. Clon., pp 272-3.

on Mac Dermot. But instead of taking 'the many thousand cows, sheep and horses' he found in Glenn Fathraim (par. of Kilmacteige, bar. of Leyny), he killed them. The annals say that 'never within the memory of man were so many cattle fruitlessly destroyed in one place'. Rory also stripped the inhabitants of the area of their goods.<sup>122</sup>

It was now Mac Dermot's turn to seek revenge. The annals say that when he heard that Dermot Gall Mac Dermot 'had established himself in the seat of dignity of his own family and on the Rock of Loch Key ... and when his own cows had been slaughtered in Glenn Fathraim', he made a devastating raid on Magh Lurg. Dermot Gall Mac Dermot's wife and a few of her female companions were carried off into captivity, and Dermot Gall was unable to recover the preys which Maelruanaid Mac Dermot seized. According to the annals, 'the whole of Moylurg was beggared and bare from that time on, for therein was no shelter or protection in church sanctuary or lay refuge, but its cattle and corn were snatched from its altars and given to gallowglasses for the wages due to them'.<sup>123</sup> But Maelruanaid Mac Dermot did not win back the kingship of Magh Lurg.

After this Rory O'Conor attacked more English settlements in Connacht. He burned the towns of Dunmore and Aughrim (bars. of Dunmore and Kilconnell, Co. Galway), and knocked down the castle at Aughrim.<sup>124</sup> He also burned the town of Loughrea,<sup>125</sup>

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122. A.C., p. 239; A.L.C., I, pp 575-9; A.Clon., pp 273-4.

123. A.C., pp 239-40; A.L.C., I, pp 577-9; A.Clon., p. 274. A.U., II, p. 425, say that Mac Dermot was assisted by Gilbert Mac Costello.

124. A.Clon., p. 275; A.C., p. 241; A.L.C., I, p. 579.

125. A.I., p. 421.



and his ally, Teig O'Kelly, plundered and burned the cantred of Maenmagh (now the bar. of Loughrea, Co. Galway).<sup>126</sup> These attacks illustrate how powerless de Burgh had become as a result of the Bruce invasion, for Loughrea was the caput of his lordship of Connacht.<sup>127</sup> The same year (1315) Aedh O'Donnell razed de Burgh's newly built castle of Sligo and took much booty from it.<sup>128</sup> The O'Donnells had not made an attack on Connacht since the 1270s.<sup>129</sup> With Ulster in the grip of the Scots, and Connacht in a state of turmoil, the annals do not seem to be exaggerating when they say that de Burgh 'was a wanderer up and down Ireland all this year, with no power or lordship'.<sup>130</sup>

Bruce's invasion of Ireland coincided with the outbreak of a European-wide famine. Ireland did not escape, and this famine undoubtedly helped to increase lawlessness. The annals paint a gloomy picture of 1315. There were, they say, 'many afflictions in all parts of Ireland : very many deaths, famine, and many strange diseases, murders, and intolerable storms as well'.<sup>131</sup> In Connacht even the Irish who were friendly towards the English succumbed to the general lawlessness and attacked lands belonging to the English in the lordship of Connacht. Before the end of 1315 Felim O'Conor, Maelruanaid Mac Dermot, Tomaltach Mac Donough, and the Clann Andrias had put themselves under the protection of the Galls of West Connacht, but shortly afterwards 'half-willing and half-loth' they wasted Tir Enna, Tir Nechtain, Muintir Crechain and Dunmore (bars. of Clanmorris and Kilmaine, Co. Mayo, and the bar. of

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126. A.C., p.241; A.L.C., I, p.579; A.Clon., p.275, where there should be a fullstop between 'o'Kelly' and 'ffelym'.

127. See above, pp 107-8.

128. A.Clon., p.275; A.C., p.241; A.L.C., I, p.579; A.U., II, p. 423.

129. See above, pp 261,263.

130. A.C., p. 241; A.L.C., I, p. 579; A.Clon., p. 275.

131. A.C., p. 241; A.L.C., I, p.579; A.Clon., p. 275.

Dunmore, Co. Galway).<sup>132</sup>

All these men had suffered because they had opposed the rule of Rory O'Conor of the Clann Murtough. Felim and Mac Dermot were landless men, and the Clann Andrias had been ravaged in Carbury by Aedh O'Donnell, whose activities in north Connacht had not been confined to an attack on the English castle of Sligo. O'Donnell's wife was Dervorgilla, the daughter of Manus O'Conor of the Clann Murtough who had been killed earlier in 1315 by the Clann Andrias.<sup>133</sup> The annals say that it was on her advice that her husband attacked Carbury in 1315 and that she herself 'with all the gallowglasses and men of the Clann Murtagh that she could obtain, marched against the churches of Drumcliff and plundered many of its clergy'.<sup>134</sup> Worse was to follow. In 1316 Aedh O'Donnell raised a great army and invaded Carbury again. When O'Donnell reached Castleconor (Castletown, par. of Drumcliff), one of the Clann Andrias, Rory son of Donal O'Conor, made peace with him and gave him the lordship of Carbury. However, Dervorgilla hired a band of gallowglasses and paid them to kill Rory son of Donal, which they did 'in violation of oaths sworn to him previously on the relics of Tir Conaill'. Afterwards the chief families of Carbury were extensively plundered by the Cenel Conaill.<sup>135</sup>

In 1316 Felim decided that the time had come to oust Rory

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132. A.C., p. 241; A.Clon., p. 275, where there should be a fullstop between 'o'Kelly' and 'ffelym'. A.L.C., I, p. 579, is not as explicit as the other annals.

133. A.C., p. 237; A.L.C., I, p. 573; A.U., II, p. 425; A.F.M., III, p. 505; A.Clon., p. 272.

134. A.C., p. 241; A.L.C., I, p. 579; A.Clon., p. 275.

135. A.C., p. 243; A.L.C., I, p. 581; A.Clon., p. 275. A.U., II, p. 425, and A.F.M., III, p. 505, say that Rory was killed in 1315.

O'Conor of the Clann Murtough from the kingship of Connacht. He was assisted not only by Maelruanaid Mac Dermot, Mac Donough, and the Clann Andrias, but also by Richard de Bermingham, lord of Athenry, and the English of Connacht, who must have thought stability would return if the Clann Murtough were destroyed and Felim was re-established as king of Connacht. On 24 February 1316 they met Rory O'Conor in battle at Templetogether (bar. of Ballymoe, Co. Galway). Rory was overpowered, and both he and his allies, Dermot Gall Mac Dermot, king of Magh Lurg, and Cormac Mac Keherny, king of the Ciarraige, were killed, as were 100 gallowglasses and many others who fought on his side.<sup>136</sup>

That Felim should seize the kingship of Connacht after this was to be expected. What was unexpected was that he should conceive of his kingdom as being not only larger than the two and a half northern king's cantreds which had been leased to the O'Conor kings of Connacht since 1281, but larger even than the king's five cantreds which had been leased to Felim son of Cathal Crobhderg in 1237 after Connacht had been conquered. The Connacht annals say that Felim son of Aedh O'Conor seized the kingship of Connacht from Assaroe to Slieve Aughty, that is from the southern border of county Donegal to the southern tip of county Galway; and we know that this was not an empty claim, because the annals also say that Felim took hostages from O'Madden (of Sil Anmchadha, now the bar. of Longford, Co. Galway), the O'Kellys (of Ui Maine, in the bar. of Moycarn, Co. Roscommon, and the bars. of Clonmacnowen and Kilconnell, Co. Galway), the Ui Diarmada (in the bars. of Killian and Tiaquin, Co. Galway), O'Hara (of Leyny, Co. Sligo) and O'Dowda (of Tireragh, Co.

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136. A.C., pp 243-5; A.L.C., I, pp 581-3; A.Clon., p.276; A.U., II, p.427; A.F.M., III, pp 507-11; Grace, pp 69-71; 'Annals of Ireland', Charts.St.Mary's, II, p.349.

Sligo).<sup>137</sup> With the exception of the O'Kellys, all these were from the lordship of Connacht, and it is worth pointing out that this is the first time since the conquest of Connacht that we hear of the Irish of the lordship giving hostages to a king of Connacht. The annals do not say that Felim took the hostages of the Clann Andrias in Carbury, but the fact that Manus son of Donal O'Conor of the Clann Andrias is called 'tanist of Connacht' later in 1316<sup>138</sup> shows that Felim's alliance with the Clann continued after he had regained the kingship, and it suggests that he would have had some influence in Carbury. The evidence therefore suggests that the Connacht annals' claim about the extent of Felim's kingdom was by no means an unrealistic one. The Annals of Ulster say that Felim assumed the kingship of the province of Connacht,<sup>139</sup> but this is clearly an exaggeration. Felim did, however, take the hostages of Breifne, an area which had been dominated by the Clann Murtough from the early fourteenth century,<sup>140</sup> and he established Ualgarg O'Rourke as king there.<sup>141</sup>

It is clear that Felim had ambitions to become king of the whole of Connacht. The annals say that as soon as he had seized the kingship he set out 'to banish the Galls of West Connacht'.<sup>142</sup> He started by attacking and burning the town of Athlethan (alias Ballylahan, now Templemore in the bar. of Gallen, Co. Mayo), and, according to the Anglo-Irish chronicles, about 80 settlers were killed.<sup>143</sup> Among them were Stephen

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137. A.C., p.245; A.L.C., I, pp 583-5; A.Clon., p.277.

138. A.C., p.247; A.L.C., I, p.587; A.Clon., p.278; A.U., II, p. 427; A.F.M., III, p.511.

139. A.U., II, pp 426-7.

140. See above, p. 324.

141. A.C., p. 245; A.L.C., I, p.585; A.Clon., p.277.

142. A.C., p.245; A.L.C., I, p.585; A.Clon., p.277.

143. Grace, p.73; 'Annals of Ireland', Charts.St.Mary's, II, p. 296.

de Exeter, described as lord of Athlethan and 'principalis suae nationis', and his brother Peter, Miles de Cogan, described as 'maior nationis suae', William de Prendergast, John and Nicholas de Staunton, William Lawless, William and Philip Barrett, Maurice de Rocheford and his two sons, and thirty-six burgesses of the town.<sup>144</sup> Felim then plundered and burned the countryside from Ballymote castle (bar. of Corran, Co. Sligo) to the Robe (i.e. to Lough Mask, Co. Mayo), and returned afterwards to his house 'with victory and much booty'. After this he burned and broke down the castle of Meelick on the Shannon. He then set out for Roscommon, with the intention of razing the king's castle there.<sup>145</sup>

Felim had in fact begun to act like his predecessor, Rory O'Connor, who having promised Edward Bruce that he would banish the English from Connacht, had destroyed several English settlements in Connacht, and whose ultimate ambition, according to the O'Madden tract, was to become king of all Connacht.<sup>146</sup> However, there would seem to have been one important difference between Rory and Felim: Rory had been prepared to recognize Bruce, but Felim had remained aloof, and it is possible that he resented Bruce's claim to be king of Ireland. As we shall see, Felim was able to attract a considerable amount of support from outside Connacht for his

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144. 'Historia ... Familiae de Burgo', Jn.G.A.H.S., vol. 13 (1924-7), p. 135; A.U., II, p.427; A.F.M., III, p. 511; A.C., p. 245; A.L.C., I, p.585; A.Clon., p.277, where 'Athlethan' is misread as 'Athlone'.

145. A.C., p. 245; A.L.C., I, p.585; A.Clon., p. 277.

146. Tribes and Customs of Hy-Many, pp 137-8. This tract would seem to have been written shortly after the period of the Bruce invasion.

war against the English of Connacht.<sup>147</sup> In fact it is arguable that he attracted more widespread support than the Bruces ever did. The fact that Felim was able to rally the Irish outside Connacht probably explains why the Ulster annals say that he was 'the one person on whom the attention of the Men of all Ireland was most directed',<sup>148</sup> and why the Connacht annals say that he was 'entitled to become king of Ireland without opposition'.<sup>149</sup> The O'Madden tract describes him as 'the true legitimate heir to the monarchy of Fodhla (i.e. Ireland)',<sup>150</sup> and it is odd that it should do so, because the tract says that Eoghan O'Madden, king of Sil Anmchadha, remained loyal to de Burgh during the Bruce invasion.<sup>151</sup> It is also odd that, although Rory and Felim both wanted to expel the English from Connacht, the tract is critical of Rory alone, who it says was cut off by Felim, the true heir to Connacht.<sup>152</sup> It was possibly because Rory was pro-Bruce and Felim was not that the tract expressed such a marked preference for Felim, for the tract was hostile to the Scots, whom it describes as 'less noble than our own foreigners' (i.e. the English in Ireland); and when it says that 'it was unjust in our nobility to side with foreigners less noble than these (our own foreigners) in imitation of the Eoghanachs',<sup>153</sup> (i.e. the O'Neills of Ulster), it was probably referring to Rory, who after all had gone to Coleraine to meet Edward Bruce.<sup>154</sup> As one of the Irish of de Burgh's lordship of Connacht, O'Madden should not have given hostages to Felim,

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147. See below, pp 356-7, 359.

148. A.U., II, p.429; A.F.M., III, p. 513.

149. A.C., p. 247; A.L.C., I, p. 587.

150. Tribes and Customs of Hy-Many, p. 138.

151. Ibid., pp 136-42.

152. Ibid., p. 138.

153. Ibid., pp 136-7.

154. A.I., p. 421, say that Rory did homage to Edward Bruce.

and the fact that he did submit to Felim,<sup>155</sup> instead of incurring his enmity as he is said in the tract to have incurred Rory's for remaining loyal to de Burgh,<sup>156</sup> suggests that O'Madden was sympathetic towards Felim.

There were a number of reasons why Felim's attempt to destroy English power in Connacht initially met with success. The English had already been weakened by Rory O'Connor's numerous attacks, and they must have been taken by surprise when Felim turned against them immediately after they had helped him to regain the kingship. Furthermore, the Red Earl was not able to give his undivided attention to Connacht, and William de Burgh was still in captivity in Scotland. Probably as a result of Felim's activities in Connacht, the Red Earl became desperately anxious to secure William's release. The Anglo-Irish chronicles say that on 7 July 1316 he stopped eight ships which had left Drogheda with provisions for Carrickfergus castle, which was being besieged by the Scots, in return for William's release.<sup>157</sup> Shortly afterwards one of William's sons, probably Edmund Albanach, was sent to Scotland to take his father's place,<sup>158</sup> and by the beginning of August William was in Connacht.

When Felim heard of William de Burgh's arrival, he gave up the idea of attacking Roscommon castle and decided to concentrate his energies on expelling him from Connacht. It is clear that Felim felt that his success or otherwise with regard to

155. See above, p. 351.

156. Tribes and Customs of Hy-Many, pp 137-8.

157. Grace, p. 73; 'Annals of Ireland', Charts.St.Mary's, II, p. 296.

158. Ibid., p. 352; Grace, p.77. 'Historia ... Familiae de Burgo' says that two of William's sons were sent to Scotland, Jn. G.A.H.S., vol. 13 (1924-7), p. 133.

William would decide the future of Connacht, for he mobilized an enormous army. Not only did he raise an army from the region lying between Assaroe and Slieve Aughty, but he persuaded Donough O'Brien, king of Thomond, O'Melaghlin, king of Meath, O'Rourke, king of Breifne, and O'Farrell, king of Annaly, to join him in his fight against the English of Connacht.<sup>159</sup> The fact that these men agreed to assist Felim does not necessarily imply that they would have been prepared to accept him as highking if he was successful against the English of Connacht, but it does suggest that Felim's attempt to destroy English power in Connacht was important to them. Shortly before this, Donough O'Brien's people had 'unanimously voted ... to make war on the English and their domains' and, as a result, Donough had been driven from Thomond by Richard de Clare.<sup>160</sup> Donough probably hoped that Felim would later help him to regain possession of Thomond and to drive the English from it. The other kings who helped Felim may have also hoped that he would give them assistance against the English in their ancestral kingdoms, if his rally against the English of Connacht was successful. Some of the Anglo-Irish chronicles describe the events in Connacht as a rebellion of four Irish kings (presumably O'Conor, O'Brien, O'Melaghlin and O'Rourke) against the English.<sup>161</sup> This suggests that the English were aware that the war in Connacht had a significance outside that province. Indeed O'Brien, O'Melaghlin, and O'Rourke were only the most important of the Irish kings who supported Felim. The annals say that many more of the kings' and chieftains' sons

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159. A.C., p. 245; A.L.C., I, p. 585; A.Clon., p. 277; A.U., II, p. 427; A.F.M., III, p. 511.

160. Orpen, Normans, vol. IV, pp 86-88; Caithréim Thoirdhealbhaigh, vol. II, p. 76.

161. Grace, p. 73; 'Annals of Ireland', Charts. St. Mary's, II, p. 351.



of Ireland assembled to him,<sup>162</sup> and the list of those who died at the battle of Athenry bears this out.<sup>163</sup>

However, Felim's rally against the English of Connacht turned out to be a complete failure. He marched to Athenry, where William de Burgh, Richard de Bermingham, and the English of Connacht must have been assembling an army, and a battle was fought on 10 August 1316<sup>164</sup> in which Felim was utterly defeated. He and a great many of the men who fought on his side were killed. The list of the dead shows that he had indeed raised an army from Assaroe to Slieve Aughty, for included in the list were Manus son of Donal O'Conor of the Clann Andrias in Carbury, some O'Dowdas from Tireragh some Mac Donoughs from Tirerrill, some Mac Dermots from Magh Lurg, a Mac Manus from the same area, Art O'Hara, king of Leyny, Donal O'Concannon, king of Ui Diarmada, Teig O'Kelly, king of Ui Maine, and twenty-eight kinsmen, and there were two O'Maddens from Sil Anmchadha.<sup>165</sup> These O'Maddens must have been rivals of Eoghan O'Madden, king of Sil Anmchadha, because the O'Madden tract tells us that Eoghan remained loyal to de Burgh, and that he was rewarded for doing so.<sup>166</sup> English records confirm that Eoghan was favoured by the de Burghs afterwards. On 14 June 1320 he, his two brothers and his nephew were granted English law at the instance of the Red Earl.<sup>167</sup> The O'Madden tract says that part of his remuneration for remaining loyal was that Eoghan and his people were given 'equal nobility' with the

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162. A.C., p. 245; A.L.C., I, pp 585-7; A.Clon., p. 277.

163. See below, p. 359.

164. This is the date given in A.C., p.247; A.L.C., I, p.589; A.Clon., p. 278; Clyn, p.12; Grace, p.73. Only 'Annals of Ireland', Charts. St.Mary's, II, p. 351, say the battle took place on 17 August.

165. A.C., p. 247; A.L.C., I, p.587; A.Clon., p.278; A.U., II, p. 429; A.F.M., III, p. 513.

166. Tribes and Customs of Hy-Many, pp 136-142.

167. R.C.H., p. 28, no. 93.

English,<sup>168</sup> and this is almost certainly a reference to the grant of English law. According to the same tract, the rest of his reward was that the third of his 'province' should be under the control of him and his sons, that no English steward should preside over his Irish, and that his stewards should be over the English of Sil Anmchadha.<sup>169</sup> The 1333 inquisition into Sil Anmchadha shows that there is some truth in what the tract says. In the inquisition O'Madden appears as a free tenant of the lord of Connacht, and betaghs holding five villates of land in Sil Anmchadha who used to pay the lord of Connacht £2-6-8 or four cows, four pigs and four crannocks yearly, as well as 20 shillings each autumn for 200 harvestmen and 15 shillings for 120 beasts carrying corn, paid nothing in 1333 because they were 'under O Madan, an Irish king of that country, by the Earl's grant'. Furthermore, it is said in the inquisition that the pleas and perquisites of the court of Sil Anmchadha used to be worth £6-13-4 but in 1333 they were worth 'only £3-6-8, because William, late Earl of Ulster, granted the same Hundred to Omadan to hold thus for life'.<sup>170</sup> O'Madden would seem therefore to have received substantial rewards for not fighting the English, but he seems to have been the only one of those who had submitted to Felim earlier in 1316 who did not assist him at Athenry.

The evidence regarding the composition of the English army at Athenry is rather unsatisfactory. The Ulster annals say that the English of the greater part of the Half of Conn (i.e. the northern half of Ireland) were with William de Burgh

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168. Tribes and Customs of Hy-Many, pp 141-2.

169. Ibid., p. 139.

170. H.T. Knox, 'Occupation of Connaught', Jn.G.A.H.S., vol. 32 (1902), pp 393-4; P.R.O.L., C.135.36, m.23-Ing. P.M. 7 Edw.III.

and Richard de Bermingham;<sup>171</sup> the Connacht annals say that the army was composed of the English of Connacht,<sup>172</sup> and the Munster annals say there were many Irish on the side of the English, including Murtough son of Turlough O'Brien.<sup>173</sup> The army was certainly a powerful one. For not only did many of the Irish of Connacht fall with Felim, but a great many of those who had come to assist him from outside Connacht were also killed. Among them were the son of Murtough Mac Mahon (of Oriel, Cos. Monaghan and Armagh) and a hundred of his men, Niall Sinnach, king of Tethba (Cos. Westmeath and Longford), and his followers, some of the O'Farrells (of Annaly, Co. Longford), O'Mulloy (of Fercell, Co. Offaly) and his followers, and many of the men of Meath and Munster.<sup>174</sup> One could argue on the basis of this list that Felim had more widespread support in Ireland than the Bruces ever had.<sup>175</sup> The battle of Athenry must have been the bloodiest battle fought in Connacht since the arrival of the English.<sup>176</sup> Reports reached the Anglo-Irish

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171. A.U., II, pp 427-9; A.F.M., III, pp 511-3.

172. A.C., pp 245-7; A.Clon., pp 277-8; A.L.C., I, pp 587-9.

173. A.I., p.423. Murtough seems to have submitted to Felim earlier in 1316 (A.C., p. 245; A.Clon., p. 277, A.L.C., I, p.585), but he had been a protégé of William de Burgh in the past (Orpen, Normans, vol.IV, pp 82-86) and A.I. say that William succeeded in getting him to betray Felim in the midst of the battle.

174. A.C., p. 247; A.L.C., I, pp 587-9; A.Clon., p. 278; A.F.M., III, pp 513-5.

175. For the response of the Irish to the Bruces, see R.F. Frame, 'The Bruces in Ireland', I.H.S., vol. 19 (1974), pp 16-25. It is perhaps worth mentioning here that Donough O'Brien, who fought on Felim's side in the battle of Athenry, went to Ulster to seek aid from the Scots only after the fiasco at Athenry, Orpen, Normans, vol. IV, p. 88.

176. A.U., II, p. 429, say that never before in Ireland had so many of the sons of kings and chieftains been slain at one time.

chroniclers that over 10,000 Irish had been slain,<sup>177</sup> and that 1,500 heads had been cut off.<sup>178</sup> A story also circulated about a butcher of Athenry called John Husee who was told by the lord of Athenry, Richard de Bermingham, to look for Teig O'Kelly among the slain on the battlefield and to bring back his head. The story went the Husee found O'Kelly and his 'esquire' still alive, and that O'Kelly tried to bribe him by offering him a large estate in his lands. Husee's own servant was in favour of accepting this offer, so Husee killed him before killing O'Kelly and his 'esquire', and he brought the three heads back to de Bermingham. It was also said that the spoils taken from the Irish after the battle were used to pay for the walling of Athenry.<sup>179</sup>

Although the English of Connacht had won a great victory this did not mean that the Irish of Connacht were no longer a problem. A cousin of Felim's, Rory of the Faes O'Conor, became king of Connacht after the battle of Athenry, and he and most of the Sil Murray made peace with William de Burgh after the latter made a hosting into the northern king's cantreds. However, Maelruanaid Mac Dermot refused to make peace. William raided Magh Lurg, took preys, burned and destroyed the countryside, but he had to leave the area without being able to impose terms on Mac Dermot. Three months later Mac Dermot deposed Rory of the Faes O'Conor, and Felim's brother, Turlough, who had possibly caused trouble in the past,<sup>180</sup> became king of Connacht.<sup>181</sup> William de Burgh

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177. Grace, p. 73; 'Annals of Ireland', Charts.St.Mary's, II, p. 351. Part of the figure given by Clyn, p.12, has been erased.

178. Ibid.

179. Grace, pp 73-5; 'Annals of Ireland', Charts.St.Mary's, p. 351.

180. See above, p. 319.

181. A.C., pp 247-9; A.L.C., I, pp 589-91; A.Clon., p. 279; A.U., II, p. 429; A.F.M., III, p.515.

does not seem to have done anything about this, perhaps because events outside Connacht demanded his attention. Robert Bruce, king of Scotland, arrived in Ireland about Christmas 1316 to assist his brother Edward, and this gave fresh impetus to the Scottish war in Ireland. Furthermore, in February 1317 the Red Earl was taken prisoner by the mayor of Dublin, and he was not released until May.<sup>182</sup>

In 1317, therefore, the Connacht settlers had probably to cope with the Irish as best they could without any assistance from the de Burghs. Gilbert Mac Costello (alias Nangle) may have taken action against Mac Dermot and Turlough O'Connor, because we hear that one of Mac Dermot's kinsmen and one of the O'Flanagans, who lived in the area around Elphin, were killed by him, but we do not know the circumstances in which these killings took place.<sup>183</sup> It is also possible that Meiler de Exeter, lord of Ballylahan (alias Athlethan, now Templemore, bar. of Gallen, Co. Mayo), took action against the Clann Andrias, for he was killed in Drumcliff (bar. of Carbury, Co. Sligo) by Cathal son of Donal O'Connor of the Clann Andrias and Donal son of Teig O'Connor of the Clann Murtough.<sup>184</sup> What evidence there is suggests that the English were not altogether successful in consolidating what they had achieved at the battle of Athenry. We even hear that de Burgh's castle at Ballymote (bar. of Corran, Co. Sligo) was knocked down, but the annals do not say who did it.<sup>185</sup>

However, tensions among the Irish themselves worked to the

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182. O. Armstrong, Edward Bruce's Invasion of Ireland, pp 103-4, 107-9; J.F. Lydon, 'The Bruce Invasion of Ireland', Hist.Studies, no. 4 (1963), pp 117-9; R.F. Frame, 'The Bruces in Ireland', I.H.S., vol.19 (1974), pp 11-16; Otway-Ruthven, Med.Ireland, pp 230-1.

183. A.C., p.249; A.L.C., I, p.591; A.Clon., pp 279-80; A.F.M., III, p. 517.

184. A.C., p. 249; A.L.C., I, p. 591; A.Clon., p. 279; A.U., II, pp 429-31; A.F.M., III, pp 515-7.

185. A.C., p.249; A.L.C., I, p.591; A.Clon., p.279; A.U., II, p. 431; A.F.M., III, p.517.

advantage of the English. Hitherto the Clann Andrias had always been allies of the Cathal Crobhderg line, and, seemingly because of this both Donal son of Teig and his son, Manus, had been made tanist of Connacht.<sup>186</sup> The fact that there was some sort of alliance between the Clann Andrias and the Clann Murtough 1317 seems to have alarmed Mac Dermot, for in 1318 he raised an army and attacked Cathal son of Donal of the Clann Andrias. Mac Dermot's force was large. Included in it was Turlough O'Conor, king of Connacht, Tomaltach Mac Donough, lord of Tirerrill, Conor O'Kelly, king of Ui Maine, and Ualgarg O'Rourke, king of Breifne. Cathal son of Donal offered them great concessions if they would leave him unmolested, but they rejected them. In the battle which followed Conor O'Kelly, Turlough's son, Brian, one of the Mac Dermots and many others were killed. Shortly afterwards Cathal son of Donal took up the offensive and invaded the king's cantreds. He raided Mac Dermot, deposed Turlough O'Conor and seized the kingship of Connacht.<sup>187</sup> He was the first of the Clann Andrias to become king of Connacht, and he clearly felt insecure, for he placed himself under the protection of William de Burgh and the English of Connacht.<sup>188</sup>

The English would seem to have lost no time in regularizing Cathal O'Conor's position. On 8 March 1318, after a discussion between Roger Mortimer, the king's lieutenant in Ireland, Richard de Bermingham, lord of Athenry, and others of the king's council in Ireland, O'Conor, 'prince of the Irish of Connacht' was granted the lands of 'Shilmorthy,

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186. See above, pp 326-7, 347, 352.

187. A.C., pp 251-3; A.L.C., I, pp 593-5; A.Clon., pp 280-1; A.U., II, pp 431-3; A.F.M., III, p.519; Grace, p.91; 'Annals of Ireland', Charts.St.Mary's, II, p. 357.

188. A.F.M., III, p.519, say that it was Turlough who sought the protection of the English, and the ed. of A.L.C. (I, p.595) accepts this. But both A.C., p.253, and A.Clon., p.281, say that it was Cathal who sought English protection.

Fethys and Tyrmany', except the lands of the English and lands granted in burgage, to hold during good behaviour. The grant, which was said to have been made for the greater tranquility and peace of Ireland,<sup>189</sup> gave Cathal more land than any other king of Connacht had held of the king since 1281. From that date until 1318 the government had leased the kings of Connacht only the northern cantreds of Magh Lurg-Tirerrill, Tri Tuatha and probably only half of the cantred of Magh nAi.<sup>190</sup> Cathal was now given the lands in Tir Maine and the Faes of Athlone which were not held by the English. The cantred of Ui Maine was excluded from the grant because it was held by Butler.<sup>191</sup> Cathal was to pay 'the due and customary rent' for the land, presumably 100 marks per annum.<sup>192</sup>

In terms of the pre-Bruce period the grant of March 1318 was a government retreat in that it gave the king of Connacht greater scope in the king's cantreds, but in the context of the Bruce invasion it marked a significant advance, because the government had taken an important step towards re-establishing its authority in the king's cantreds. After Edward Bruce's defeat and death at the battle of Faughart on 14 October 1318, further steps were taken to restore the government's position in the king's cantreds. On 17 March 1319 the king told the Red Earl to have all the defects in the royal castles of Athlone, Rinndown and Roscommon made good without delay, and to deliver the castles to Roger Mortimer,

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189. R.C.H., p.23, no. 103. The O'Conor's Christian name is not given, but it must have been Cathal who was the recipient of the grant.

190. See above, p.322, note 33.

191. See Appendix II, pp 470-2.

192. C.J.R., 1305-7, pp 133-4.

who had been appointed justiciar two days before, and to whose custody the king had committed the castles. The king's writ tells us that de Burgh had recently promised to surrender the castles although he had formerly held them for life by the king's grant.<sup>193</sup>

The custody of the royal castles was probably taken from de Burgh because he had been so weakened by the Bruce invasion. Not only had Ulster been badly damaged by the Scots, but also, as we have seen, many English settlements in Connacht had been destroyed by Rory and Felim O'Conor. De Burgh's own towns of Loughrea, Sligo, Ballymote and Ballintober had been burned, and his castles of Sligo, Ballymote and Meelick had been destroyed.<sup>194</sup> Furthermore, the royal boroughs of Roscommon, Rinndown and Athlone had been burned while he had the custody of the royal castles in Connacht.<sup>195</sup> If the government was to re-establish its authority in the king's cantreds, it was clearly imperative that the royal castles were in the hands of a powerful man.<sup>196</sup>

The third step that was taken to restore the government's authority in the king's cantreds was the appointment of William son of David de Burgh as sheriff of Roscommon on 27 March 1320.<sup>197</sup> Up to this time there had been no

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193. C.P.R., 1317-21, pp 317-8.

194. See above, pp 344, 318-9, 353, 361.

195. See above, p. 344.

196. It is worth adding that it may well have been Mortimer's idea that the castles be taken from de Burgh. As lord of the liberty of Trim he would naturally be concerned about security along the Shannon.

197. R.C.H., p. 27, no. 75.



sheriff of Roscommon since the Scots had arrived in Ireland, when the then sheriff, Adam le Marreis, had been killed.<sup>198</sup>

The annals do not record any attacks on the royal castles during Cathal O'Conor's reign, but we know from the financial records of the lordship of Ireland that some time before Michaelmas 1321 the O'Kellys and the O'Naghtans had destroyed the walls of Rinndown castle, and that Henry Mape, the custodian of the castle, was paid 20 marks that term for restoring the walls to their former state.<sup>199</sup> Cathal himself seems to have remained loyal to the English but his feud with Mac Dermot continued. The annals say that in 1320 there was an important meeting between the two men and that they made a wise and friendly peace. However, Cathal afterwards captured Mac Dermot and ravaged Magh Lurg.<sup>200</sup>

The following year Cathal demolished the Rock of Loch Cé, where Mac Dermot had his stronghold.<sup>201</sup> Mac Dermot regained his liberty but was recaptured by Cathal in 1322.<sup>202</sup>

However, on 25 or 26 August 1324 Cathal was killed by the man whom he had ousted from the kingship six years earlier, Turlough O'Conor, who once again became king of Connacht.<sup>203</sup>

It was not long before the government recognized Turlough.

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198. P.R.O.I., EX 1/2, mm 1,30 - Mem.Roll 13-14 Edw.II.
199. P.R.O.I., RC 8/12, p. 552 - Mem.Roll 15-16 Edw.II; P.R.O.L., E.101/237/19 - Issue Roll Sept. 1321 - April 1322; E.372/170, m.47 - T's Acct. Sept.1321-April 1322.
200. A.C., p.255; A.L.C., I, p.599; A.Clon., pp 282-3; A.U., II, pp 435-7; A.F.M., III, pp 523-5.
201. A.C., p.255; A.L.C., I, p.599; A.Clon., p.283; A.U., II, 437; A.F.M., III, p. 525.
202. A.C., p.257; A.L.C., I, p.601; A.Clon., pp 283-4; A.F.M., III, p.527.
203. A.C., p.259; A.L.C., I, p.603; A.Clon., p.284; A.U., II, p. 439; A.F.M., III, p.531. The ed. of A.C. incorrectly gives 8 Kal.Sept. as 25 Oct. It is in fact 25 Aug. A.Clon. say that the date was 7 Kal.Sept (26 Aug).

Sometime before 10 June 1325 the justiciar, John Darcy, granted him the three cantreds which Felim O'Conor formerly held of the king in county Roscommon, on condition that he would deliver a sufficient hostage, who was to be given to Henry Mape, the custodian of Rinndown castle.<sup>204</sup> Turlough was to hold the land for as long as he kept the peace and paid 100 marks rent annually.<sup>205</sup> By this date the government must have felt strong enough to confine the king of Connacht to the three most northerly king's cantreds.

However, this was not the only grant Turlough received from the English. In a letter dated 14 September 1324 and written at Athlethan (now Templemore, bar. of Gallen, Co. Mayo), Turlough O'Conor, king of Connacht, acknowledged that Richard de Burgh, earl of Ulster and lord of Connacht, had given him all his land in 'Bressinia' for as long as he should render the rents and services which ought to be rendered for that land, and he undertook to conduct himself towards de Burgh and his people as well as Aedh, his father, at any time use to conduct himself ( sicut aliquo tempore Odo pater noster melius gerere consuevit ). Turlough granted that if he should fail in this matter de Burgh could do his will in 'Bressinia'.<sup>206</sup> 'Bressinia' must have been Breifne. No record of a grant of Breifne to de Burgh or his predecessors seems to have survived, but it is possible that it had been granted by one of the Nangles (alias Mac Costellos) to one of the lords of Connacht after 1247.<sup>207</sup> De Burgh's purpose

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204. See Appendix III, p.499.

205. P.R.O.I., RC 8/14, p.309-Mem.Roll 18 Edw.I. See also Hardiman, History of Galway, p.53, note 20, where the same mem.roll is quoted.

206. Rept. on the Manuscripts of Lord de L'Isle and Dudley, Hist. MSS Comm., vol.I, pp 32-3.

207. Philip de Angulo had received a grant of Breifne from Walter de Lacy in 1221, and Nangles would seem to have occupied some lands in the area until 1247, A.J. Otway-Ruthven, 'The Partition of the de Verdon lands in Ireland in 1332', Proc. R.I.A., vol.66 (1968), section C, p. 412.

in making the grant in 1324 was undoubtedly to establish friendly relations with Turlough. Since Turlough was to hold Breifne during good behaviour only, de Burgh almost certainly hoped that the grant would deter him from attacking the lordship of Connacht.

The Red Earl had reason to feel anxious about the security of his lordship of Connacht. The two men who had defeated the Irish in the battle of Athenry in 1316, Richard de Bermingham, lord of Athenry, and William Liath de Burgh, the Red Earl's cousin, had died in 1322 and 1324 respectively.<sup>208</sup> The Red Earl himself died on 29 July 1326, and his grandson and heir, William the son of John de Burgh and Elizabeth de Clare, was only 13 years old.<sup>209</sup>

The government took action immediately. On 4 August 1326 the treasurer was ordered to pay the escheator, Walter de la Pulle, £20 for his expenses in bringing men-at-arms with him to take the Red Earl's lands in Connacht, Limerick and Tipperary into the king's hand.<sup>210</sup> On 29 October 1326 Edmund de Burgh the Red Earl's son, and Walter son of William de Burgh were given the custody of these lands, and they were made keepers of the peace in the same counties.<sup>211</sup> The latter appointment and the fact that the escheator had to be provided with men-at-arms suggests that the lands

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208. A.C., pp 257, 259; A.L.C., I, pp 601, 603; A.Clon., p. 284; A.U., II, p. 439; A.F.M., III, pp 527, 531. See also above, p. 330, note 69.

209. Clyn, p.18; Grace, p.103; 'Annals of Ireland', Charts. St.Mary's, II, p.364; A.C., p.261; A.L.C., I, p.605; A.F.M., III, p.533; A.U., II, p.441. William was 20 in 1333, 'Annals of Ireland', Charts. St.Mary's, II, p.379. His father, John, had died in 1313, ibid., p. 343; Clyn, p.11.

210. R.C.H., p.34, no.13. For his payment see P.R.O.L., E.101/238/26 - Issue Roll Jan.-Oct.1326; E.372/171, m.32 - T's Acct. Jan.-Oct. 1326.

211. R.C.H., p.33, no.13.

were disturbed. In Michaelmas 1327 the chancellor, brother Roger Outlaw, was paid £20 for his expenses in going to Connacht to treat with O'Conor about 'divers matters touching the king and the state of his land of Ireland'.<sup>212</sup> The chancellor seems to have had little influence on Turlough, because sometime before Easter 1329 Richard O'Cormacan of the Dominican order was sent to Connacht by the justiciar and council to treat with O'Conor, 'prince of the Irish of Connaught' and bring him to the king's fealty and peace.<sup>213</sup> The Red Earl's death seems to have brought disorder to the north of Ireland as well, for the justiciar found it necessary to lead an expedition of men-at-arms and hobelars to Ulster in order to take de Burgh's lands there into the king's hand.<sup>214</sup> Possibly because the de Burgh lands were so disturbed, on 5 February 1327 the king gave William de Burgh the custody of the lands he was to inherit.<sup>215</sup> Then on either 22 October or 22 November 1327, William, who was otherwise known as the Brown Earl, was given livery of his inheritance, despite the fact that he was under age.<sup>216</sup> However, the Brown Earl remained in England for some months. On 22 May 1328 he was knighted by the king,<sup>217</sup> and he only returned to Ireland circa August.<sup>218</sup>

Sometime after William had been given the custody of his lands and before he was given livery of his inheritance a report

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212. P.R.O.L., E.101/239/7 - Issue Roll Mich.1327; E.372/172, m. 46 - T's Acct. Oct. 1326-Dec.1328.
213. 43rd Rept.D.K., pp 18,26 - Pipe Roll 2 Edw.III.
214. P.R.O.L., E.101/238/26-Issue Roll Jan.-Oct.1326.
215. C.C.R., 1327-30, pp.191,196. See also 43rd Rept.D.K., pp 22-3, 24 - Pipe Roll 2 Edw.III.
216. C.C.R., 1327-1330, pp 185, 191, 196.
217. Grace, p.109; 'Annals of Ireland', Charts.St.Mary's, II, p.367.
218. He was escorted to Ulster by Robert Bruce. For this extraordinary episode, see R.G. Nicholson, 'A Sequel to Edward Bruce's Invasion of Ireland', Scot.Hist.Rev., vol.42 (1963), pp 30-40.

was sent to his mother, Elizabeth de Clare, in England. The report is anonymous, but it must have been made by an official in the employ of Elizabeth and her son. Two drafts of this report, both written in French, exist.<sup>219</sup> The drafts at times differ in content, one of the main differences being that one draft (which shall hereafter be called Draft I) contains information about Elizabeth de Clare's own lands in Ireland as well as her son's, while the other draft (hereafter Draft II) concerns itself solely with her son's lands, and it seems to have been made after Draft I. Both drafts must have been made after 12 July 1327, because they both refer to the truce Henry de Mandeville made with Robert Bruce that day, after the latter had invaded Ulster earlier in the year,<sup>220</sup> and Draft I has a copy of the truce annexed to it.<sup>221</sup>

The main point which both drafts stress is that William de Burgh must come over to Ireland if his lands are to be saved. Draft I says that he should be made a knight before he comes over,<sup>222</sup> and both drafts say that he should bring with him two wise and well-informed knights, a man of law, a clerk of the wardrobe and other officials, as well as 30 men-at-arms and a company of footmen trained as archers.<sup>223</sup> This confirms the impression given in other sources that the de Burgh lands

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219. One draft (P.R.O.L.,E.30/1536) will appear in Documents on the Affairs of Ireland before the King's Council, ed. G.O. Sayles, no.155 (forthcoming I.M.C. publication). The other draft is in P.R.O.L.,E.101/246/10. I am indebted to Dr P.Connolly and Dr K. Simms for giving me their transcript of this document.

220. For this, see R.G. Nicholson, 'A Sequel to Edward Bruce's Invasion of Ireland', Scot.Hist.Rev., vol.42 (1963), pp 30-40.

221. Ibid.

222. Documents on the Affairs of Ireland before the King's Council, ed. G.O. Sayles, no.155.

223. Ibid.; P.R.O.L., E.101/246/10.

were disturbed.

However, according to the report, the troubles which beset the de Burgh inheritance were not new. Both drafts say that for a long time before he died, the Red Earl had been so weak or lax ( lasche ) that his lordship in Ulster and elsewhere had deteriorated greatly. Connacht was clearly no exception. Both drafts say that it is necessary that there is a good seneschal with a good knowledge of the law in Connacht and a clerk who knows how to enrol, for Connacht is badly run ( maldemene ), and no-one knows the law there nor have they known it since Sir Robert fitz David (unidentified) was seneschal.<sup>224</sup> Furthermore, Draft II says that William de Burgh is in danger of being disinherited in Connacht unless he comes over, because the people there are so impoverished by kerne living off them that they cannot pay their rents.<sup>225</sup>

The problem of kerne was undoubtedly closely linked with the breakdown of law and order in Connacht. Disorder meant that lords relied more and more heavily on kerne for protection. These kerne (or quartered troops - the word 'kerne' was derived from the Irish word 'ceithern')<sup>226</sup> had been a source of grievance for some time in Ireland because they were billeted not only on the lords' own tenants but also very often on the community at large. Various parliaments since 1297 had legislated against lords retaining more kerne than they could support.<sup>227</sup>

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224. Documents on the Affairs of Ireland before the King's Council, ed. G.O. Sayles, no. 155; P.R.O.L., E.101/246/10.

225. Ibid.

226. R.I.A. Dictionary of the Irish Language.

227. Stat.Irel., John-Hen.V, pp 203, 269, 283.

These kerne must have been hated by many, and there was undoubtedly friction between them and the local communities, which at times led to violence. What triggered off the massacre of the earl of Louth and male members of his household in 1329 was the murder of one of the townsmen of Ardee by two of his kerne.<sup>228</sup> The problem of kerne was therefore by no means confined to Connacht, but Draft II implies that the problem was more acute in Connacht than elsewhere in the de Burgh lands.

However, despite these kerne, some rent seems to have been collected in Connacht after the Red Earl's death, for both drafts say that the rent of Easter last was collected in Connacht, Ulster and Munster before the author of the report arrived in Ireland or before he could reach those parts. The rents, however, had not only been collected by farmers and guardians appointed by the king - in Connacht, as we have seen, these were Edmund, the Red Earl's son, and Walter son of William de Burgh - but also by other de Burghs on their own authority, and they had not given the money to the king. The author did not know how much they had collected or whether they would hand over the money, but he was sure that they would not do so until William de Burgh came to Ireland.<sup>229</sup>

In Draft I the Red Earl's son, Edmund, is singled out as being more well-disposed towards good than any other of his lineage.<sup>230</sup> This almost certainly implies a criticism

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228. J.F. Lydon, 'The Braganstown Massacre, 1329', Jn.C.L.A.H.S., vol.19 (1977), pp 5-16. A number of the de Berminghams from Connacht were killed in the massacre, Grace, p.113; 'Annals of Ireland', Charts. St.Mary's, II, pp 369-70.

229. P.R.O.L., E.101/246/10; Documents on the Affairs of Ireland before the King's Council, ed. G.O.Sayles, no.155.

230. Ibid.

of Walter son of William de Burgh, who was soon to show that he had ambitions in Connacht, but the report does not give the impression that he was anything other than well-disposed towards the young William de Burgh at this time. He was one of the de Burghs who are said in Draft I to have given gifts of land, ploughteams and oxen to William.<sup>231</sup> However, the Brown Earl's arrival in Ireland circa August 1328,<sup>232</sup> meant that Walter would be deprived of much of the power he had enjoyed in the lordship of Connacht and elsewhere. Probably to compensate for this, Walter began to involve himself in the king's cantreds. The annals say that he made a great raid on the Connachta in 1328 and that he plundered many of the officers of Turlough O'Conor, king of Connacht. The same year he and Gilbert Mac Costello (alias Nangle) met Maelruanaid Mac Dermot and Tomaltach Mac Donough and the Clann Maelruanaid (i.e. the Mac Dermots and Mac Donoughs). Some fighting seems to have broken out, possibly because Walter de Burgh had given protection to one of the Mac Donoughs who had killed Tomaltach Mac Donough's son, Brian, earlier in the year.<sup>233</sup> But it would seem that ultimately an alliance against the king of Connacht was made between the parties who attended the meeting, for in 1329 there was much warfare between Turlough O'Conor and the Clann Maelruanaid, who had hitherto been allies. The same year Turlough's brother, Cathal, was expelled from the Faes of Athlone and Tir Maine by the O'Kellys, who were acting under Walter's orders.<sup>234</sup> As

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231. Ibid.

232. See above, p. 368.

233. A.Clon., pp 286-7; A.C., pp 265-7; A.L.C., I, pp 609-11; A.U., II, p.445; A.F.M., III, pp 539-41.

234. A.C., p.267; A.L.C., I, pp 611-3; A.Clon., p.287; A.U., II, p.447; A.F.M., III, p.543.



we have seen, this area had been excluded from the grant to Turlough O'Conor, and it is extremely unlikely that the government had given it to Cathal. However, although the government may well have wanted the O'Conors driven from this area, we have no evidence that it authorized Walter to undertake the task.

In 1330 the war between Walter and Turlough continued. When Walter set up camp at Legvoy in Magh Lurg, Turlough felt threatened, and attacked him. Gilbert Mac Costello and Tomaltach Mac Donough came to Walter's assistance, and there was some fighting at the ford at Eastersnow (bar. of Boyle, Co. Roscommon), where a number of Turlough's men were killed, but Turlough himself managed to escape. After this Walter collected 'all the forces of Connacht, both Gall and Gael'. According to the annals, his intention was 'to seize the kingship of Connacht for himself'. This would seem to have been the case, for Mac Dermot immediately turned against Walter and made peace with Turlough, and Turlough went to the Brown Earl to seek his help against Walter. The annals say that Turlough was killed, for which we should probably read 'was attacked and some of his men were killed', by Walter's men as he was on his way from the Brown Earl's house, but they do not say that Walter invaded the king's cantreds.<sup>235</sup>

There is no reason to doubt the annals' claim that Walter intended to seize the kingship of Connacht, but since they do not say that he actually invaded the king's cantreds and since we know that the Brown Earl and Walter accompanied the deputy-justiciar, Roger Outlaw, on an expedition against Brian

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235. A.C., p.269; A.L.C., I, pp 613-5; A.Clon., pp 287-8; A.F.M., III, pp 545-7. A.U., II, p.449, do not say anything about William and the kingship of Connacht.

O'Brien in July 1330,<sup>236</sup> it is possible that the Brown Earl had forbidden the army which Walter had raised in Connacht to invade the king's cantreds, and had managed to divert it and Walter's energies to Munster.

Although it would seem that Connacht was becoming a source of tension between Walter and the Brown Earl, it is possible that the two men were united at this time in their dislike of Maurice fitz Thomas, the newly created earl of Desmond. Walter certainly seems to have used the opportunity of being in Munster to settle an old score with Desmond. One of the Anglo-Irish chronicles says that after the expedition against Brian O'Brien, Walter and his army from Connacht plundered fitz Thomas's lands, and that the Brown Earl and the earl of Desmond were afterwards committed to the custody of the marshal of Limerick by Roger Outlaw.<sup>237</sup>

The de Burghs' feud with Maurice fitz Thomas began when William de Burgh was still in England. In 1327, when fitz Thomas, John de Bermingham and James Butler went to war against Arnold le Poer, the de Burghs went to le Poer's assistance, but many of them were killed and the rest were driven into Connacht.<sup>238</sup> It is not altogether clear what the issue was, but it may have been connected with the struggle in England between the Dispensers and Edward II on the one hand, and Isabella and Mortimer on the other. Le Poer was the seneschal of Kilkenny, which the younger Dispenser held in

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236. 43rd Rept.D.K., pp 43-4 - Pipe Roll 4 Edw.III; Grace, p.119; 'Annals of Ireland', Charts.St.Mary's,II, p.373; Clyn, p.21

237. 'Annals of Ireland', Charts.St.Mary's,II, p.374.

238. Ibid., p.364; Grace, pp 103-5; Clyn, p.19.

the right of his wife.<sup>239</sup>

Draft I of the report which was sent to Elizabeth de Clare mentions the 'riote' which had taken hold of Munster, and, according to the author of the report, the Red Earl's son Edmund had no wish to be involved in it.<sup>240</sup> It is clear that Walter son of William Liath de Burgh did not share his kinsman's inclinations. On 24 June 1328 he, Arnold and John le Poer on the one hand and Maurice fitz Thomas, John de Bermingham and James Butler on the other were forbidden to assemble men-at-arms and to make war on each other or invade each other's lands.<sup>241</sup>

When the Brown Earl came to Ireland in 1328 he too became involved in the dispute with Maurice fitz Thomas and his allies, possibly because he suspected that fitz Thomas was encouraging and helping Brian O'Brien to establish himself in north Tipperary, where the Brown Earl had important manors.<sup>242</sup> The Brown Earl may have also been disturbed by the fact that fitz Thomas had not surrendered the custody of the lands of Thomas son of Richard de Clare in Ardrahan (bar. of Dunkellin, Co. Galway) and Ballinrobe (bar. of Kilmaine, Co. Mayo) to Margaret de Baddlesmere, Thomas's aunt and co-heiress, who had done homage for her inheritance on 23 March 1327.<sup>243</sup> The government went to great lengths to settle the dispute between fitz Thomas and de Burgh. The Anglo-Irish chronicles say

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239. Orpen, Normans, vol.IV, p.223; Otway-Ruthven, Med. Ireland, p. 244; M.V. Clarke, 'Irish Parliaments in the Reign of Edward II', Fourteenth Century Studies, pp 24-9.
240. Documents on the Affairs of Ireland before the King's Council, ed. G.O. Sayles, no.155.
241. C.C.R., 1327-30, p.397.
242. Otway-Ruthven, Med. Ireland, p.247.
243. C.C.R., 1327-30, p.322; ibid., 1330-33, pp 24-5. The de Clare family had acquired these Geraldine lands through Juliana, one of the heiresses of Maurice fitz Maurice and the wife of Thomas de Clare.

that peace was made between the two men in a parliament held in Dublin shortly after 25 March 1329,<sup>244</sup> but the justiciar, John Darcy, found it necessary to hold further peace negotiations between the two parties from 6-14 July and from 22 September - 20 October 1329.<sup>245</sup> Clyn says that the Brown Earl fought against Brian O'Brien on 19 July and was defeated by him, and that in the first week of August O'Brien burned the Brown Earl's town of Athassel as well as the Butler town of Tipperary.<sup>246</sup> In July 1330 jurors at Cashel said that O'Brien was immediately afterwards harboured by fitz Thomas, who was fully aware of what O'Brien had just done.<sup>247</sup> If Clyn's dating is correct,<sup>248</sup> it would explain why it was so difficult for the government to settle the dispute.

The fact that fitz Thomas was very much in favour in England, where Mortimer was in control, cannot have helped matters. In August 1329 fitz Thomas was created earl of Desmond and was granted the county of Kerry as a liberty in tail male. On 14 October 1329 he was given a general pardon, and on 1 November his men were allowed to be admitted to the king's peace for felonies and trespasses they had committed

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244. Grace, pp 111-3; 'Annals of Ireland', Charts.St.Mary's, II, p.369.

245. 43rd Rept.D.K., p.28 - Pipe Roll 2 Edw.III.

246. Clyn, p.21.

247. 'The Legal Proceedings against the First Earl of Desmond', Anal.Hib., no. 23 (1966), pp 11-12.

248. The Irish annals say that the Brown Earl led an expedition against Brian O'Brien in 1328, A.C., p.265; A.L.C., I, pp 609-11; A.Clon., p.286; A.F.M., p.541; A.U., II, pp 445-7. This must have been the same expedition as the one mentioned by Clyn, because both he and the annals say that Conor O'Brien was killed. The annals tell us that Turlough O'Conor, king of Connacht, accompanied the Brown Earl on this expedition.

between Michaelmas 1327 and 10 October 1329.<sup>249</sup> The favour shown to fitz Thomas cannot have endeared him to the Brown Earl, and the feud seems to have continued after the negotiations of October 1329, because on 19 June 1330 the king forbade them to make war on each other or to invade each other's lands.<sup>250</sup> It is therefore quite conceivable that the Brown Earl was behind Walter de Burgh's attack on fitz Thomas's lands in 1330. The fact that both earls were taken into custody is a strong indication that the feud had given rise to a fresh outbreak of hostilities between the two men. The earl of Desmond, who was charged with aiding and abetting Brian O'Brien's attack of May 1330 on Donohill, Co. Tipperary,<sup>251</sup> escaped,<sup>252</sup> but we do not hear what became of the Brown Earl until 24 February 1331, when, in response to a petition to the king's council in England, he was appointed custodian of Athlone castle.<sup>253</sup> On 3 March he was made the king's lieutenant in Ireland with special responsibility for the maintenance of the peace.<sup>254</sup> It is worth drawing attention to the fact that Mortimer had been hanged as a traitor on 19 October 1330.<sup>255</sup> On 5 March 1331 Edward III wrote to the justiciar ordering the resumption of all castles, lands and liberties granted by him since his

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249. G.O. Sayles, 'The Rebellious First Earl of Desmond', Med. Studies Presented to Aubrey Gwynn, ed. J.A. Watt et al., pp 209-10; Otway-Ruthven, Med. Ireland, p.246.

250. C.C.R., 1330-33, p.143.

251. G.O. Sayles, op.cit., p.211; 'The Legal Proceedings against the First Earl of Desmond', Anal.Hib., no.23 (1966), pp 15-16.

252. 'Annals of Ireland', Charts.St.Mary's, II, p.374.

253. C.P.R., 1330-34, p.79.

254. Ibid., pp 83, 221; C.C.R., 1330-33, p.400.

255. M.H. Keen, England in the Later Middle Ages, p.105.

accession, the reason being that certain matters concerning the state of the realm had been carried out 'by certain of our then councillors' to the injury of the king and to the impoverishment of his kingdom.<sup>256</sup> This meant that Desmond was to be deprived of the liberty of Kerry.<sup>257</sup>

It was perhaps because the political situation had changed in England that Desmond began to dream again of seizing power in Ireland.<sup>258</sup> These dreams were to have serious repercussions in Connacht. On 23 March 1332 jurors at Limerick said that Desmond, Walter de Burgh, William de Bermingham, O'Brien and Mac Namara agreed to have an uprising, and if they were successful Desmond was to be crowned king of Ireland, and the country was to be divided into four parts. Desmond would have Munster and Meath, Walter de Burgh would have Connacht, William de Bermingham Leinster, and Henry de Mandeville Ulster.<sup>259</sup> It is likely that the plot was hatched in 1331,<sup>260</sup> for not only was Desmond out of favour this year, but all the main conspirators were imprisoned in 1331-1332. On 15 or 16 August 1331 the justiciar, Anthony de Lucy, took Desmond into custody at Limerick, and on 7 October he imprisoned him in Dublin castle.

256. Stat. Irel., John-Hen.V, p.331; Cal. Fine Rolls, 1327-37, p.241.

257. G.O. Sayles, 'The Rebellious First Earl of Desmond', Med. Studies Presented to Aubrey Gwynn, ed.J.A.Watt et.al., p.212

258. He is said to have had discussions with many of the magnates of Ireland in 1326 about rebelling against Edward II and seizing power in Ireland. The magnates are said to have agreed that they would elect him king after the rebellion, 'The Legal Proceedings against the First Earl of Desmond', Anal.Hib., no.23 (1966), pp 6-7.

259. Ibid., pp 12-14.

260. G.O. Sayles, 'The Rebellious First Earl of Desmond', Med. Studies Presented to Aubrey Gwynn, ed. J.A. Watt et al., p.211.

Henry de Mandeville was taken into captivity in September and was imprisoned in Dublin castle,<sup>261</sup> after the Brown Earl, as the king's lieutenant in Ireland, had it proclaimed throughout the land that the man who should capture him would be given 20 librates of land in fee and £100 of silver.<sup>262</sup> In November 1331 Walter de Burgh and two of his brothers were captured by the Brown Earl in Connacht, and in February 1332 Walter was imprisoned in Northburgh castle in Inishowen.<sup>263</sup> The same month William de Bermingham and his son, Walter, were taken into captivity by de Lucy at Clonmel, and they were brought to Dublin castle on 19 April 1332. On 11 July 1332 William de Bermingham was hanged,<sup>264</sup> but the king seems to have been alarmed by the news of his execution, for on 4 August 1332 Roger Outlaw was given power to treat with all those who were at war against the king in Ireland,<sup>265</sup> and de Lucy, who was soon to be removed from the justiciarship,<sup>266</sup> was ordered to stay execution against any magnates imprisoned for felonies until the king came to Ireland or further orders.<sup>267</sup> However, before the end of 1332 Walter de Burgh died in Northburgh castle.<sup>268</sup> According to the

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261. Grace., p.123; 'Annals of Ireland', Charts.St.Mary's, II, p.376; Clyn p.23.
262. Simon fitz Richard later petitioned that although he had captured de Mandeville and brought him to Dublin castle, he had not been given his reward, C.P.R., 1334-38, p.408; P.R.O.I., RC8/21, pp 483-6-Mem.Roll 13-14 Edw. III. Fitz Richard was a justice of the bench when he captured de Mandeville, 'Annals of Ireland', Charts.St.Mary's, II, p.376, and see Richardson and Sayles, Administration, p.158.
263. Grace, p.123; 'Annals of Ireland', Charts.St.Mary's, II, p.376. Clyn, p.24 is wrong in saying that William was brought to 'Knockfergus' castle.
264. Ibid., pp 23-4; 'Annals of Ireland', Charts.St.Mary's, II, pp376-7; Grace, pp 123-5.
265. C.P.R., 1330-34, p.325.
266. Richardson and Sayles, Administration, p.85.
267. C.C.R., 1330-33, p.484.
268. Clyn, p.24.

annals, he died of starvation.<sup>269</sup>

Shortly before his capture, Walter had made another attempt to establish control over the king's cantreds.<sup>270</sup> Presumably his strategy had been to take control over this area, and then use its manpower to extend his control over the whole of Connacht. He and two of his brothers had already seized the opportunity presented by the murder of John de Bermingham, earl of Louth, in 1329, to occupy the manor of Dunmore, and by using force had prevented the escheator from taking it into the king's hand.<sup>271</sup> In entertaining the ambition to rule over Connacht Walter showed a complete disregard for English law, and he has rightly been described as 'all but Irish'.<sup>272</sup> But Gaelicization does not alone explain why a member of a collateral de Burgh line should have had ambitions to become master of Connacht. The emergence of such ambitions must be set against the Red Earl's total collapse during the Bruce invasion, and his reliance on Walter's father, William, to deal with the Irish attempt to destroy the lordship of Connacht in 1315-1316. That the lordship of Connacht survived the Bruce invasion was largely thanks to William. Probably because the Red Earl gave him so much scope and relied on him so heavily, William did not have any ambition to destroy the main de Burgh line. But it is understandable that Walter should have been seduced by the plan put forward by his former enemy, the earl of Desmond, after the Brown Earl had shown that he was not prepared to give him <sup>the</sup> freedom of action in Connacht that the Red Earl had given his father. Indeed the whole

269. A.C., p.271; A.L.C., I, p.617; A.Clon., pp288-9; A.F.M., III, p.551; A.U., II, p.451.

270. In 1331, after Maelruanaid Mac Dermot had given up the kingship of Magh Lurg and had been succeeded by his son Tomaltach, Walter invaded Magh Lurg and inflicted a crushing defeat on the new king, A.C., p.271; A.L.C., I, pp 615-7; A.Clon., p.288; A.F.M., III, p.549; A.U., II, p.451.

271. 44th Rept. D.K., p.37 - Pipe Roll 8 Edw.III.

272. Curtis, Med.Ireland., 2nd ed., p.209. His mother was probably Finula O'Brien, see above, p.339, note 97.



conspiracy of 1331 is understandable only in the context of the destruction brought about by the Bruce invasion. It was only after the authority of the king and the great lords had been severely shaken that a group of men could have had dreams of seizing control of the whole country.

The evidence suggests that both the conspiracy and Walter de Burgh's death led to the Brown Earl's own murder on 6 June 1333. The murder was carried out by John Logan, Richard de Mandeville and Robert his son, and Robert son of Martin de Mandeville.<sup>273</sup> However, Clyn says that it was said that the crime was committed at the instigation of Walter's sister, Gyle, who was married to Richard de Mandeville.<sup>274</sup> It is clear that the Brown Earl's widow was among those who thought that Gyle was involved. On 18 August 1337 the king ordered the justiciar to have it proclaimed throughout the land that 'whoever shall take Richard de Mandeville and Egidea his wife, accused of the death of William de Burgh, Earl of Ulster, dead or alive, shall have 100 marks of the gift of Matilda, Countess of Ulster, late the Earl's wife'.<sup>275</sup> As noted elsewhere, 'Egidea' is the Latin for 'Gyle'.<sup>276</sup> That there may have been a wider connection with the 1331 conspiracy is suggested by a letter patent tested by John Darcy, the justiciar, on 13 February 1334. In it mention is made of Richard de Mandeville, John Logan and others, English and Irish, 'who in a sedition murdered William de Burgo, Earl of

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273. Clyn, pp 24-5; Grace, p.127; 'Annals of Ireland', Charts. St. Mary's, II, pp 378-9; C.P.R., 1334-38, p.320.

274. Clyn, p.25.

275. C.C.R., 1337-39, p.170.

276. See above, p. 285, note 145.

Ulster, and afterwards made insurrection against the king',<sup>277</sup>

The Brown Earl was the last male of the main de Burgh line to be lord of Connacht. Since his daughter, Elizabeth, was only one in 1333,<sup>278</sup> there was to be a long minority. The government lost no time in making arrangements for the custody of her inheritance. On 10 June 1333 the Red Earl's son Edmund and the archbishop of Tuam were given the custody of the Brown Earl's lands in Connacht and in Terryglass and Lorrha, Co. Tipperary, and John de Ridelsford and Richard son of David de Burgh were appointed as receivers of the issues of these lands.<sup>279</sup> A number of new arrangements were made after this, probably in order to get more revenue from the land. On 17 February 1334 Robert de Embleton was appointed treasurer of Connacht, and he received the issues of the lands there until 30 April 1334, when the Red Earl's son Edmund was given the custody of the lands during pleasure.<sup>280</sup> On 5 September 1334 Edmund was given an actual grant of the Connacht lands, which he was to hold until the majority of the Brown Earl's heir at an annual rent of £200.<sup>281</sup> The government also granted Edmund the lands belonging to the late earl of Louth in Dunmore and Carra until the majority of his heir,<sup>282</sup> and thus more or less left it to Edmund to maintain order in Connacht.

The problems he faced were enormous. The annals show that a number of the Irish made use of the opportunity presented by

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277. C.P.R., 1334-38, p.320.

278. Cal. Inq. P.M., vol.7, pp 372, 374.

279. 44<sup>th</sup> Rept. D.K., p.36 - Pipe Roll 8 Edw. III.

280. 54<sup>th</sup> Rept. D.K., pp 43-4 - Pipe Roll 18 Edw. III.

281. R.C.H., p. 40, no. 119.

282. Ibid., no. 141; 44<sup>th</sup> Rept. D.K., p. 37 - Pipe Roll 8 Edw. III; 47<sup>th</sup> Rept. D.K., pp 42-3 - Pipe Roll 13 Edw. III. It is not certain how John de Bermingham acquired Carra. In 1300 Adam de Staunton, lord of Carra, died, leaving five heiresses, A.C., p.201; C.J.R., 1295-1303, pp 305-6. In 1312 Adam's daughter Nesta and her husband, Fromund le Brun, acquired Adam's land in Connacht, R.C.H., p.19, no.37. It is possible that they granted Carra to John de Bermingham.

the Brown Earl's death to attack the English, and warfare seems to have soon become widespread. The escheator said that he could not account for any of the issues of the chief serjeanty of county Connacht from 10 January 1334 - 12 March 1334 'because all that land was in a state of war'.<sup>283</sup> The state of the lordship is well illustrated in the inquisition post mortem that was held into the Brown Earl's lands a few months after his death.<sup>284</sup> The manors of Lough Mask and Shrule (in the bar. of Kilmaine, Co. Mayo) and of Ui Briuin Ratha (around Claregalway in the bars. of Clare and Dunkellin, Co. Galway), Clann Coscraigh, Kilcolgan (in the bar. of Dunkellin, Co. Galway), and Cinel Aedha (in the bar. of Kiltartan, Co. Galway) were not included in the inquisition because of a grant which the Red Earl had made to his son John and Elizabeth de Clare in 1310, shortly after they were married. John had died in 1313,<sup>285</sup> but Elizabeth was entitled by the terms of the grant to hold the manors until her death. She and John were to render £500 per annum for the manors up to the Red Earl's death, but thereafter they were to render only the nominal rent of one rose per annum.<sup>286</sup> In fact, shortly after 1310 John and Elizabeth leased the manors to the Red Earl free of charge, and Elizabeth only entered them after the Red Earl's death.<sup>287</sup>

The 1333 inquisition does not therefore give information about the whole of the lordship of Connacht. However, there is some evidence about Elizabeth de Clare's lands after 1333, which we shall consider later. As regards the rest of the de

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283. 44<sup>th</sup> Rept. D.K., p.57 - Pipe Roll 9 Edw. III.

284. Three inquisitions each covering a different part of Connacht were held. The first was held on 22 October 1333 at Athenry, the second was held on 8 December 1333 at Claregalway, and the third was held on 31 December 1333 at Athenry, Cal. Inq. P.M., vol. VII, pp 375-7.

285. Clyn, p.11; 'Annals of Ireland', Charts. St. Mary's, II, p. 379.

286. P.R.O.L., C.47/10/22, mm 1-2 - Chan. Misc.

287. Rot. Parl. Hactenus Inediti, pp 151 - 3, no. 24. For the difficulties Elizabeth encountered with escheators, see ibid. and C.C.R., 1349-54, p.442.

Burgh lands, the 1333 inquisition gives us both their value then, and their value at some unspecified time in the past, presumably when the lands were at their most profitable. By the end of 1333, the overall value of the lands had fallen from £1,436 - 4 - 5 to £426 - 4 - 0 $\frac{3}{4}$ ,<sup>288</sup> but decline was sharper in some areas than in others. In north-east Connacht, Sligo, Carbury, Corran and Leyny,<sup>289</sup> which, according to the jurors, had at one stage been worth £333 - 6 - 8, were now worth nothing at all 'on account of the destruction of the war of both the English and the Irish there'.<sup>290</sup> It would seem likely that the destruction of the castles and the burning of the towns of Sligo in Carbury and of Ballymote in Corran during the Bruce invasion<sup>291</sup> had contributed to the decline of these areas, though, as we have seen, the Clann Andrias had already taken over much of Carbury by the first decade of the fourteenth century.<sup>292</sup> Edmund son of the Red Earl seems to have made an attempt to curb the O'Haras of Leyny. In 1335 he captured Sean son of Art O'Hara and plundered his people.<sup>293</sup> But this was no solution to the problem. According to the annals, in 1338 Leyny and Corran 'were emptied and devastated and their lordship was assumed by their native Gaels, after their Galls had been expelled'.<sup>294</sup>

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288. P.R.O.L., C.135. 36, mm 21-3-Inq. P.M. 7 Edw. III. Some of the sums given by H.T. Knox in 'Occupation of Connaught', Jn. R.S.A.I., vol. 32 (1902), pp 133-6, 393-5; vol. 33 (1903), pp 58-61 are wrong.

289. Since the half of Leyny belonging to the de Exeters is dealt with elsewhere in the inquisition, it would seem that only the northern part of the cantred (i.e. the bar. of Leyny, Co. Sligo) is being referred to here. It had belonged to the Geraldines, but passed from John fitz Thomas to the Red Earl at the end of the thirteenth century, see above, pp145-9, 313-4.

290. Ibid., p.61; P.R.O.L., C.135.36, m. 22-Inq. P.M. 7 Edw. III.

291. See above, pp 344, 349, 361.

292. See above, p. 326.

293. A.C., p. 275; A.L.C., I, p.621; A.U., II, p. 455; A.F.M., III, p.555; A. Clon., p.290.

294. A.C., p.281; A.L.C., I, p.629; A.Clon., p.292; A.F.M., III, p.563.

According to the 1333 inquisition, Tireragh, which lay to the north of Leyny, and which belonged to the de Berminghams of Dunmore,<sup>295</sup> was also worth nothing by the end of 1333 'on account of war'.<sup>296</sup> However, it is worth pointing out that in Trinity and Michaelmas 1334 the king received some revenue from the manor of Ardnaree, which the de Berminghams of Athenry held of their relatives,<sup>297</sup> and which was in the king's hand at the time.<sup>298</sup> Conditions may therefore have improved temporarily, but they would seem to have deteriorated again. In 1336 Conor Mac Dermot and Aedh son of Felim O'Conor attacked Tireragh with the household troops of Turlough O'Conor, the new levies of Carbury under Cormac O'Conor of the Clann Andrias, and the Mac Donoughs.<sup>299</sup>

It would seem that many of the lands lying to the east of the king's cantreds were beyond control by the end of 1333. Sliabh Lughá (in the northern part of the bar. of Costello, Co. Mayo), which, according to the jurors, was once worth £20, was now worth nothing because the whole area was devastated and burned by the Irish.<sup>300</sup> It belonged to Gilbert Mac Costello,<sup>301</sup> who had been heavily involved in the northern king's cantreds in recent years as the ally of Walter de Burgh.<sup>302</sup> The annals do not record that his lands were destroyed this year, but they do say that he was killed on the floor of his own house by Cathal son of Dermot Gall Mac Dermot of Magh Lurg.<sup>303</sup> They also record

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295. See above, pp 151-5.

296. P.R.O.L., C. 135. 36, m.22-Inq. P.M. 7 Edw III; H.T. Knox, 'Occupation of Connaught', Jn. R.S.A.I., vol. 33 (1903), p.59.

297. See above, pp 152-3.

298. P.R.O.L., E.101/240/4 - Receipt Roll Trin. 1334; E.101/240/7 - Receipt Roll Mich. 1334.

299. A.C., p.277; A.L.C., I, p.623; A.Clon., p.291; A.U., II, p.457; A.F.M., III, pp 557-9.

300. P.R.O.L., C.135. 36, m. 22 - Inq. P.M. 7 Edw. III. H.T. Knox, 'Occupation of Connaught', Jn. R.S.A.I., vol.33 (1903), p.60. Here as elsewhere in his abstract of the 1333 inquisition, Knox does not give the reasons why the lands had fallen in value, ibid., vol.32 (1902), p.134, note 1.

301. A.C., p. 269; A.L.C., I, p.613.

302. See above, pp 372-3.

303. A.C., p.273; A.L.C., I, p.619; A.Clon., pp 289-90; A.U., II, p.453; A.F.M., III, p.553.

that the sons of Dermot Gall and one of the O'Conors raided the Mac Costellos in 1336, and that Turlough O'Conor, king of Connacht, captured and destroyed the Mac Costello castle of Castlemore the same year.<sup>304</sup>

The theoda of Airteach, Ciarraige Magh Ai, Ciarraige Locha na nAirneadh and Ciarraige Uachtrach, which bordered the king's cantreds to the south of Sliabh Lugha, and which, according to the 1333 inquisition, were once worth £10, were now also worth nothing because they too were devastated and burned by the Irish.<sup>305</sup>

It would seem unlikely that there had been much English settlement in any of these areas except Ciarraige Locha<sup>na</sup> nAirneadh.<sup>306</sup>

To the south of these and also bordering the king's cantreds was Sil Maelruain, which had belonged to the de Rochefords until the beginning of the fourteenth century, when it came into the Red Earl's possession.<sup>307</sup> Its value had formerly been £84 - 1 - 10½, but by the end of 1333 it was worth only £10, this sum coming from five villates which the burgesses of Ballintober would seem to have originally held at a rent of £20 a year.<sup>308</sup> Ballintober was burned by Rory O'Conor in 1315,<sup>309</sup> but it would seem that some of the burgesses continued to occupy the lands around the town after this date. The castle at Ballintober was still standing in 1333, and the jurors said that it would be very useful for the defence of those parts if a sufficient custody was placed on it. But the hundred court,

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304. A.C., p.277; A.L.C., I, pp 623-5; A. Clon., p.291; A.U., II, p. 457; A.F.M., III, pp 557-9.

305. P.R.O.L., C.135. 36, m.22-Inq.P.M. 7 Edw. III: H.T. Knox, 'Occupation of Connaught', Jn. R.S.A.I., vol.33 (1903), p.60.

306. See above, pp 142-4.

307. See above, pp 135-7.

308. P.R.O.L., C.135, 36, m.22-Inq.P.M. 7 Edw.III; H.T. Knox, 'Occupation of Connaught', Jn. R.S.A.I., vol.33 (1903), pp 59-60. Knox gives the old value of Sil Maelruain as £84 - 1 - 10.

309. See above, p. 344.

the watermill and the prisage of beer at Ballintober were all worth nothing in 1333 because of war. Also, the demesne lands of the manor lay fallow and uncultivated 'because of the lack of tenants on account of the war there', and the meadows and pastures, the lands held by tenants-at-will and free tenants, and five villates in the borough of Rathfernan (unidentified), which originally rendered £12 - 14 - 4, were now worth nothing for the same reasons.<sup>310</sup>

South of Sil Maelruain and also bordering the king's cantreds lay Corcamogha and Ui Diarmada, which by this time may have belonged to the de Berminghams.<sup>311</sup> Their former value was £3 - 6 - 8, but by the end of 1333 they were worth nothing because 'Oconeghor', presumably Turlough O'Conor king of Connacht, had occupied them.<sup>312</sup> Furthermore, if we are right in thinking that Conmaicne Dunmore, which lay to the north-west of these areas, was represented in the 1333 inquisition as 'the cantred of Con<sup>c</sup> donmor',<sup>313</sup> then it too was worth nothing by the end of 1333 'on account of war'.<sup>314</sup> The town of Dunmore had been burned during the Bruce invasion,<sup>315</sup> but more recently, as we have seen, Walter de Burgh and his brothers had forcibly entered the land on the death of John de Bermingham, earl of Louth, in 1329.<sup>316</sup>

Thus it would seem that most of the lands lying in the eastern part of the lordship of Connacht were out of control by the end of 1333. The de Burgh manors in the south of the lordship were not beyond control, but they had been partially destroyed by war. Thus the manor of Loughrea in the cantred of Maenmagh,

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310. P.R.O.L., C.135. 36, m.22-Inq. P.M. 7 Edw.III; H.T. Knox, 'Occupation of Connaught', Jn. R.S.A.I., vol.33 (1903), pp 59-60.

311. See above, pp 124-5.

312. P.R.O.L., C.135. 36, m.23-Inq.P.M. 7 Edw.III; H.T. Knox, 'Occupation of Connaught', Jn. R.S.A.I., vol.32 (1902) p.396.

313. See above, p.89, note 7.

314. P.R.O.L., C.135. 36, m.22-Inq.P.M. 7 Edw. III; H.T. Knox, 'Occupation of Connaught', Jn.R.S.A.I., vol.33 (1903), p.59.

315. See above, p.348.

316. See above, p.380.

which once had a value of £165 - 18 - 10, was now worth only £47 - 18 - 10; the manor of Meelick in the cantred of Sil Anmchadha, which once had a value of £116 - 8 - 2, was now worth £42 - 9 - 8; and the manor of Portumna, in the cantred of Muintermailfinnain, which was formerly worth £85 - 18 - 2½, was now worth £42 - 16 - 10½.<sup>317</sup> The figures show that Loughrea, the principal de Burgh manor in Connacht, had suffered the most, and the 1333 inquisition tells us that it was the Irish of Ui Maine (i.e. the O'Kellys) who had caused the destruction.<sup>318</sup> In 1315 Teig O'Kelly had burned the cantred of Maenmagh,<sup>319</sup> but it would seem likely that the O'Kellys had launched fresh attacks on the area in 1333. Certainly, Loughrea, which was burned by Rory O'Conor in 1315,<sup>320</sup> seems to have recovered by 1333, for the rent of the burgesses (£11 - 17 - 0) was one of the things that had not declined by that date, nor had the issues of the bakery, of stallage and of the prisage of beer there. However, the pleas and perquisites of the hundred court had fallen from 100 shillings to 10 shillings, and the issues of the mill and fishery there had fallen from £6 - 13 - 4 to 15 shillings. Apart from the issues of the town of Loughrea, it was mostly the rents of the tenants-at-will and the free tenants that continued to be of value in 1333. But a number of tenements were of less value than they had been, or were worth nothing at all, because they had been destroyed in the war of the Irish of Ui Maine, or because of either the poverty or the lack of tenants on account of war. Most of the buildings belonging to the lord of Connacht were in need of repair; the arable lands had fallen in value from 12 pence to

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317. P.R.O.L., C.135.36,mm21,23-Inq. P.M. 7 Edw. III; H.T. Knox, 'Occupation of Connaught', Jn.R.S.A.I., vol.32 (1902), pp 133-6; 393-6. Knox gives the 1333 value of Sil Anmachadha as £42-10-4, the old value of Muintermailfinnain as £85-18-2, and the 1333 value of the same as £42-18-10.

318. Ibid., p.133; P.R.O.L., C.135. 36, m.21-Inq.P.M. 7 Edw.III.

319. See above, p. 349.

320. See above, p. 348.



3 pence an acre, and from 10 pence to 2 pence an acre; meadows, pastures, woods and moors were now worth nothing; the lands held by gavillers lay fallow and uncultivated; and tenants who used to pay 20 shillings for autumnal services now paid nothing. The reasons given were the destruction caused by the war of the Irish of Ui Maine, the poverty and destruction of the tenants of those parts, and the lack of tenants on account of war.<sup>321</sup>

A similar picture emerges for the manor of Meelick. Here too the lord of Connacht's buildings were in need of repair, the buildings in the castle of Meelick, which had been broken down in 1316,<sup>322</sup> being in need of large repairs; the demesne lands had fallen in value from 12 pence to 2 pence an acre; the pasture lands, the fishery, the weir and the watermill were all worth nothing; and the lands held by betaghs and gavillers were worth only half their former value. Again the reasons given were the war of the Irish, the poverty of the tenants of those parts and the lack of tenants. However, as in Loughrea, the tenements of most of the free tenants seem to have remained in tact until the end of 1333, and the rent of the burgesses of Meelick (£6 - 0 - 0) had not fallen. But there were no issues to be had from the prisage of beer there, and the pleas and perquisites of the hundred court had fallen from 30 shillings to 3 shillings.<sup>323</sup>

Where the manor of Meelick differed from that of Loughrea was in the concessions that the lords of Connacht had granted to Eoghan O'Madden, king of Sil Anmchadha, seemingly as a reward

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321. P.R.O.L., C.135, 36, m.21-Inq.P.M. 7 Edw.III; H.T. Knox, 'Occupation of Connaught', Jn.R.S.A.I., vol.32 (1902), pp 133-6.

322. See above, p.353.

323. P.R.O.L., C.135.36, m.23-Inq.P.M. 7 Edw.III; H.T. Knox, 'Occupation of Connaught', Jn.R.S.A.I., vol.32 (1902), pp 393-5.

for his loyalty to the English during the Bruce invasion.<sup>324</sup> These concessions had contributed to the decline in revenue from the manor. Thus betaghs who had formerly paid 4 cows, 4 pigs and 4 crannocks or £2 - 6 - 8 annually, as well as 20 shillings for 200 harvestmen and 15 shillings for 120 beasts carrying corn each autumn, no longer made any of these payments because they were under O'Madden by the earl's grant. Also the pleas and perquisites of the court of Sil Anmchadha, which had been worth £6 - 13 - 4 a year, were now worth only £3 - 6 - 8 because the Brown Earl had granted the court to O'Madden for an annual payment of that sum for life. O'Madden also received a grant of one villate in fee.<sup>325</sup> However, in spite of his good relations with the Red and Brown Earls, he could not resist the temptation of occupying lands belonging to the manor on the death of the latter earl. By the time the inquisition post mortem was held (8 December 1333), he had forcibly occupied one third of one of the villates of the manor,<sup>326</sup> and between then and 1336 he probably took over other lands there. By 1336 he was at war with the de Burghs. According to the annals, that year he defeated 'the posterity of Richard Burke', presumably Edmund's people, and killed 'sixty-six of them, gentle and simple'.<sup>327</sup>

The picture given of the de Burgh manor in Muintermailfinnain in 1333 is very similar to those given of the manors of Loughrea and Meelick. In this area too the buildings were in need of

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324. See above, pp 357-8.

325. P.R.O.L., C.135.36, m.23-Inq.P.M.7 Edw.III; H.T. Knox, 'Occupation of Connaught', Jn.R.S.A.I., vol.32 (1902), pp393-4.

326. P.R.O.L., C.135, 36 m.23-Inq.P.M.7 Edw.III. The inquisition says that he occupied the land 'manu forti'. The sense of force is not given by Knox in 'Occupation of Connaught', Jn.R.S.A.I., vol.32 (1902), p.394.

327. A.C., p. 277; A.L.C., I, p.623; A.Clon., p.290; A.U., II, p.457; A.F.M., III, p.557.

repair, the demesne lands had fallen in value, the pastures were worth nothing, and many of the lands let to tenants had either fallen in value or were worth nothing. As in the boroughs of Loughrea and Meelick, burgage rents in Portumna (£4 - 7 - 6) had not fallen by 1333, but the issues of the ferry there and the pleas and perquisites of the hundred court had fallen, and there was nothing to be had from the prisage of beer there, or from the court of extern suitors. However, the lands held by gavillers and most of the tenements of free tenants were still profitable. Where decline had taken place, it was on account of war, the lack of tenants and the poverty of tenants.<sup>328</sup>

At Galway the rent of the burgesses (£11 - 6 - 0) had not fallen, nor had the issues of the bakery and stallage there. But the pleas and perquisites of the hundred court, which were once £5 - 0 - 0, were now only £1 - 0 - 0 'on account of the poverty of the tenants there'. The salmon fishery had fallen in value from £10 - 0 - 0 to £5 - 0 - 0, the eel fishery had declined from £2 - 0 - 0 to £1 - 0 - 0 and the toll of the great harbour had declined from £5 - 0 - 0 to £2 - 10 - 0 'for want of tenants and on account of war'. The lands to the west of Galway and the court of Gno Mor and Gno Beg were worth nothing in 1333 'because of war and the poverty of the tenants of those parts'. Conmaicne Mara, which, according to the jurors, was once worth £13 - 6 - 8, was now also worth nothing 'because of the poverty of the tenants of those parts and because of war'.<sup>329</sup> It is impossible to say whether the problems in these areas were new in 1333.

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328. P.R.O.L., C.135. 36, m.23-Inq.P.M. 7 Edw.III; H.T. Knox, 'Occupation of Connaught', Jn.R.S.A.I., vol.32 (1902), pp 395-6.

329. P.R.O.L., C.135.36, m.23-Inq.P.M. 7 Edw.III; H.T. Knox, 'Occupation of Connaught', Jn.R.S.A.I., vol.32 (1902), pp 396-7.

The rest of the inquisition deals with the large tenements held of de Burgh in chief. We do not get a picture of what conditions were like within these tenements, but, according to the inquisition, the rents paid by most of de Burgh's tenants-in-chief had not declined, and this suggests that their tenements were still within their control by the end of 1333. In north-west Connacht the tenements that had not declined in value by the end of 1333 were Tirawley, Erris and Umhall,<sup>330</sup> but tensions between the Irish and the settlers were soon to develop in the last named area : in 1337 Donal Roe and Cormac O'Malley were killed by members of the Merrick family and other English.<sup>331</sup> There was a slight decline in the value of the cantred of Bac and Glen to the south of Tirawley. It was now worth £18 - 13 - 10 instead of £19 - 7 - 2, the reason being that one of the villates there was worth nothing on account of war.<sup>332</sup> To the east of Bac and Glen there was no decline in the half cantred of Leyny held by John de Exeter (in the bar. of Gallen, Co. Mayo),<sup>333</sup> and there was no decline in the values of the half-cantred of Fir Thíre and Clann Cuain and the cantred of Carra,<sup>334</sup> which lay to the south of Bac and Glen. However, the cantred of Crich Fer Tíre (bar. of Clanmorris, Co. Mayo), which lay to the east of Carra, and which was made up of a number of tenements held by various de Prendergasts of de Burgh, had declined in value from £10 - 2 - 4½ to £6 - 17 - 10½.

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330. P.R.O.L., C.135.36, m.22-Inq.P.M.7 Edw.III; H.T. Knox, 'Occupation of Connaught', Jn.R.S.A.I., vol 33 (1903), pp 58-9.

331. A.C., p.279; A.L.C., I, p.627; A.Clon. p.292; A.U., II, p.459; A.F.M., III, p.561.

332. P.R.O.L., C.135.36, m.22-Inq.P.M.7 Edw.III; H.T. Knox, 'Occupation of Connaught', Jn.R.S.A.I., vol.33 (1903), pp 58-9.

333. It is not clear whether the annals were referring to this part of Leyny when they said that the English were expelled from Leyny in 1338, see above, p.384. In 1381 the castle of Athlethan (Ballylahan, in the par. of Templemore, bar. of Gallen, Co. Mayo) was knocked down by MacDonough, A.F.M., IV, p.683; A.Clon. p.307. This castle had belonged to the de Exeters (see above, p.146) but the annals do not say who was holding the castle when it was knocked down by Mac Donough.

334. P.R.O.L., C.135.36, m.23-Inq.P.M.7 Edw.III; H.T. Knox, 'Occupation of Connaught', Jn.R.S.A.I., vol.32 (1902), p.398. It should be noted that the escheator had had to use force to take Carra into the king's hand on the death of John de Bermingham, earl of Louth, 44th Rept. D.K., p.37 - Pipe Roll 8 Edw.III.

This was partly because the Brown Earl had granted the courts of Tir Nechtain and Tir Enna to William de Prendergast, and partly because a number of lands were no longer worth anything on account of war.<sup>335</sup> This area was to become more disturbed in 1335, when the sons of Donal of the Clann Andrais made a raid on the de Prendergasts.<sup>336</sup> In the area around Galway the theodum of Meyry (Medhraighe alias Ballynacourty) and Moldone, the cantred of Clannfhergaill (in the par. of Oranmore), and the half cantred of Clann Taidgh, where the de Bermingham manor of Athenry was situated, had not declined in value by the end of 1333. Nor had Muintir Fathaigh, which lay to the north of Clann Taidgh,<sup>and</sup> which was also held by the de Berminghams.<sup>337</sup>

As regards Elizabeth de Clare's manors of Lough Mask, Shrule, Ui Briuin Ratha, Clann Coscraigh, Kilcolgan and Cinel Aedha, accounts rendered by her officials in Ireland show that although she did not receive anything like £500 a year from these lands,<sup>338</sup> she did get some revenue from them after the death of the Brown Earl, despite the fact that she was an absentee. It is worth pointing out that the manors lay in a region which, as far as we can tell from the 1333 inquisition, had not suffered very much damage in the months after the Brown Earl's death. It is also worth noting that the manors lay in a region in which there would seem to have been relatively heavy English settlement.<sup>339</sup> In Easter 1334 Elizabeth received £61 - 15 - 8 from her Connacht lands,<sup>340</sup> and between December 1346 and August

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335. P.R.O.L., C.135.36, m.23-Inq.P.M.7 Edw.III; H.T. Knox, 'Occupation of Connaught', Jn.R.S.A.I., vol.32 (1902), pp 397-8. Knox gives the old value of Crich Fer Tíre as £10 - 2 - 4, and the 1333 value as £6 - 16 - 4.

336. A.C., p.275; A.L.C., I, p.621; A.Clon., p.290; A.U.<sup>II</sup>, p.455; A.F.M., III, p.555.

337. P.R.O.L., C.135.36, m.23-Inq.P.M. 7 Edw.III; H.T. Knox, 'Occupation of Connaught', Jn.R.S.A.I., vol.32 (1902), p.396.

338. This was the rent which the Red Earl demanded for the lands when he granted them to John, and Elizabeth de Clare, see above, p. 383.

339. See Maps III and V.

340. P.R.O.L., SC. 6/1239/14 - Ministers' Accts.

1349 she received £63 - 15 - 10 from them.<sup>341</sup> Clearly it would be unwise to assume that all parts of Connacht were in a state of anarchy in the post-1333 period. The lands had of course declined in value since the thirteenth century. This can be seen by comparing what Elizabeth received from the half cantred of Ui Fiachrach pertaining to the manor of Kilcolgan during the period December 1346 - August 1349 with the extent made of these lands when Amabilia, the daughter of Maurice fitz Maurice, inherited them in 1289. According to the 1289 extent, the borough of Kilcolgan paid £7 - 6 - 8 rent per annum,<sup>342</sup> but Elizabeth only received £7 - 10 - 0 from it during the 2¾ year period from December 1346 to August 1349.<sup>343</sup> In 1289 the value of the whole manor (i.e. the rents of the burgesses and of the free tenants, and the value of the demesne lands, the weir and the site of the mill) was £40 - 13 - 6¼,<sup>343.1</sup> but Elizabeth only received £26 - 17 - 0 from it during the period December 1346 to August 1349.<sup>343.2</sup> In September 1350 she received £19 - 5 - 6 from all her Connacht lands,<sup>343.3</sup> from September 1353 to September 1354 she received £17 - 10 - 2,<sup>343.4</sup> and from February to August 1354 she received £15 - 6 - 4.<sup>343.5</sup> There was a dramatic deterioration after this. Between August 1357 and August 1358 she received nothing at all from her lands in Connacht 'because nobody dared to go there on the lady's behalf on account of the war between Sir Edmund de Burgh and the Richardines'.<sup>343.6</sup> Between November 1359 and Michelmas

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341. P.R.O.L., SC. 6/1239/30 - Ministers' Accts. I am indebted to Dr. Phil Connolly for giving me this and later references to Elizabeth de Clare's Connacht lands in the Ministers' Accts.

342. Red Book of Kildare, no.60, p.57.

343. P.R.O.L., SC. 6/1239/30 - Ministers' Accts.

343.1. Red Book of Kildare, no.60.

343.2. P.R.O.L., SC. 6/1239/30 - Ministers' Accts.

343.3. Ibid.

343.4. P.R.O.L., SC. 6/1239/31 - Ministers' Accts.

343.5. P.R.O.L., SC. 6/1239/32 - Ministers' Accts.

343.6. P.R.O.L., SC. 6/1239/33 - Ministers' Accts.

1360 her receiver collected 18s - 4d from her Connacht lands, but it was taken from him by the Irish of Ormond.<sup>343.7</sup>

Edmund had enough to worry about with most of the lands in the eastern part of the lordship out of control and the de Burgh manors in the south of the lordship under attack from the Irish, but these were not the only problems confronting him. The most serious problem facing him was that Walter de Burgh's brother, Edmund Albanach, had returned from Scotland (where he seems to have remained since he had been taken into custody by the Scots during the Bruce invasion) shortly after the Brown Earl's death.<sup>344</sup> In 1335 Edmund Albanach made a great attack on West Connacht (i.e. the lordship of Connacht) and he did 'untold damage against the Earl's son and the posterity of Richard Burke'. The two Edmunds are said to have made peace afterwards,<sup>345</sup> but Edmund Albanach was as determined as his brother had been to have control over Connacht. In 1336 he made a great raid on the Clann Cathail, near Elphin,<sup>346</sup> and in 1337 Turlough O'Conor built a stronghold at Athleague for protection against him.<sup>347</sup> The following year Edmund Albanach captured Edmund son of the Red Earl, and got rid of him once and for all by throwing him into Lough Mask with a stone tied around his neck.<sup>348</sup>

The annals say that Edmund's murder brought about the ruin of the Galls of Connacht and of Edmund Albanach himself, for

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343.7.P.R.O.L., SC. 6/1239/29 - Ministers' Accts.

344. 'Historia ... Familiae de Burgo', Jn.G.A.H.S., vol.13, p.57 (recte p.121) and p.133.

345. A.C., p.275; A.L.C., I, p.621; A.Clon., p.290; A.U., II, p.455; A.F.M., III, p.555.

346. A.C., p.277; A.L.C., I, p.623; A.Clon., p.291; A.U., II, p.457; A.F.M., III, p.557.

347. A.C., p.279; A.L.C., I, p.625; A.Clon., p.291; A.U., II, p.459; A.F.M., III, p.561.

348. A.C., p.281; A.L.C., I, p.627; A.Clon., p.291; A.F.M., III, p.563; A.U., II, p.461, say that he was thrown into Lough Corrib.

Turlough O'Conor 'obtained the ascendancy in Connacht' immediately afterwards, and Edmund Albanach was driven out.<sup>349</sup> However, in 1340 Edmund Albanach and his brother Raymond were pardoned for Edmund's murder,<sup>350</sup> and by 1342 Edmund Albanach had returned to Connacht and was giving his support to a rebellion against Turlough O'Conor.<sup>351</sup> It lies outside the scope of this thesis to describe how he and his descendants seized control of the northern part of Connacht (Lower Connacht) and how his brother Ulick and his descendants seized control of the de Burgh lands in southern Connacht.<sup>352</sup> Suffice it to say that by the end of the fourteenth century William Liath's descendants had established two lordships in Connacht,<sup>353</sup> and that the legal lords of Connacht did virtually nothing to resist this development. There is no evidence that Edward III's son, Lionel, who was married to Elizabeth de Burgh in 1342, visited Connacht while he was in Ireland as the king's representative from 1361 to 1366.<sup>354</sup> However, one of Lionel's retinue did recapture Athlone castle, which had been taken by Dermot O'Melaghlin, and it would seem that Roscommon castle was also taken from the Irish while Lionel was in Ireland.<sup>355</sup> Indeed, Lionel's officials may have been able to levy some money from his lands in Connacht during these years. An inquisition taken in 1369 says that his Connacht lands were worth £200 while he was in Ireland, but that they were now worth nothing because

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349. A.C., p.281; A.L.C., I, pp 627-9; A.Clon., p.291; A.F.M., III, p.563.

350. C.P.R., 1338-40, p.440.

351. A.C., pp 288-93; A.L.C., I, pp 627-41; A.Clon., pp 293-5; A.F.M., III, pp 573 - 79; A.U., II, pp 467-73.

352. Some information about these developments will be found in H.T. Knox, 'The De Burgo Clans of Galway', Jn.G.A.H.S., vol.I (1900-1), pp 124-31; vol.2 (1902), pp 55-62; H.T.Knox, History of Mayo, pp 142-53.

353. A.C., p.379; A.L.C., II, p.95; A.F.M., IV, p.771.

354. P.M. Connolly, 'Lionel of Clarence and Ireland, 1361-1366', Ph.D. Thesis, T.C.D., 1977, pp 156-7.

355. See below, pp 401-3.



they were occupied by Edmund de Burgh and other rebels, both English and Irish, and no royal official dared to go there.<sup>356</sup> Edmund Mortimer, earl of March, who was married to Elizabeth's and Lionel's heiress, Phillipa, recovered Athlone castle in 1381, but he does not seem to have penetrated any further into Connacht.<sup>357</sup>

As for the government, it soon found itself unable to cope with the problems that confronted it in the years after the Brown Earl's death. At first there was a considerable amount of government involvement in Connacht, and an attempt was made to maintain order there. Between Trinity 1335 and Hilary 1336 the justiciar and council sent two Dominican friars, Henry of Hollywood and William Jordan, to treat with O'Connor, 'prince of the Irish of Connacht', regarding the security of the peace,<sup>358</sup> and between Easter 1336 and Hilary 1337 the justiciar himself (John Darcy) went to Connacht with men-at-arms, hobelars and foot to treat with O'Connor.<sup>359</sup> Between June 1335 and Hilary 1337 the custodian of Rinndown castle, Richard fitz Richer, was paid £3 - 0 - 0 for repairing defects in that castle,<sup>360</sup> and in January 1337 the king ordered the treasurer to either go in person or send a deputy to Athlone castle to survey its defects, and to cause it to be repaired.<sup>361</sup> However, the government's position was seriously undermined during the turmoil

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356. Cal.Ormond Deeds, vol.II, p.334, no.25; See also Curtis, Med. Ireland, 2nd ed., p.228.

357. A.Clon. pp 307-8; A.U., III, p.7; A.F.M., IV, p.683; Curtis, Med. Ireland, 2nd ed., p.254; Otway-Ruthven, Med.Ireland, pp 314-5.

358. P.R.O.L., E.101/240/10 - Issue Roll Trin.1335-Hil.1336; E.372/182, m.48 - T.'s Acct. June 1335 - Oct. 1337.

359. P.R.O.L., E.101/240/13 - Issue Roll East. 1336 - Hil. 1337. See also R.C.H., p.20, no.17, where 10 Edw.II should be 10 Edw.III.

360. P.R.O.L., E.372/182, m.48 - T.'s Acct. June 1335 - Oct.1337; E.101/240/13 - Issue Roll East. 1336 - Hil. 1337. See also R.C.H. p.20, no.14, where 10 Edw.II should be 10 Edw.III.

361. C.C.R., 1333-37, p.642.

that followed the murder of Edmund son of the Red Earl. Its weakness was demonstrated most clearly a few years later, when the royal castles in Connacht were taken by the Irish. Roscommon castle was taken by Turlough O'Connor in 1341,<sup>362</sup> Athlone castle was taken by O'Melaghlin of Meath by 1342,<sup>363</sup> and Rinndown castle had been taken by unnamed Irish by this time as well.<sup>364</sup>

The capture of castles by the Irish was a new departure. Hitherto the Irish strategy had been to destroy castles. The new strategy was not only employed in Connacht. By 1342 Bunratty castle, then in the king's hand, had been captured by the Irish of Thomond.<sup>365</sup> The capture of these castles must have had a psychological impact on the English in Ireland. Attacks on their castles had been a fact of life since the earliest days of the English occupation of Ireland, but there was something particularly insulting and threatening about the fact that the Irish were now installing themselves into these centres of English control. The English in Ireland naturally blamed the government, for the castles taken either belonged to the king or were in his custody. The capture of these 'and other castles and fortalices which ought to be in your hand' was the subject of one of a number of petitions which the prelates, earls, barons and commonalty of the land of Ireland sent to the king in 1342. The petitioners claimed that these castles were in the hands of Irish enemies because the treasurers would not pay the custodians of the castles until the latter agreed to relinquish a great part of their fees, with the result that they could not afford to defend the castles properly. The validity of this claim cannot be checked, because, according to the petitioners, the treasurers charged themselves with the full

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362. A.C., p.287; A.L.C., I, p.635; A.Clon., p.293; A.U., II, p.467; A.F.M., III, p.573.

363. P.R.O.L., E.101/241/6 - Issue Roll Mich. 1341 - May 1343.

364. Stat. Irel., John - Hen.V, pp 335-7.

365. Ibid.

payment of the fees in their accounts. The petitioners also claimed that some of the king's officers had the custody of the castles through greed of large fees, and that they appointed men of no substance to be their deputies, and paid them only a fraction of the fees.<sup>365</sup> The petitioners did not name any of the officers who were guilty of this, but they may have had the treasurer John de Ellerker in mind when they made this complaint. He seems to have been the last to have had the custody of Athlone castle before it was taken by O'Melaghlin.<sup>366</sup> It should be pointed out, however, that at least one of the king's ministers had tried to do something about the fact that Bunratty and the royal castles in Connacht were not being adequately defended. In 1328, when John Darcy was negotiating with the king and council the terms on which he was to go to Ireland as justiciar, one of his requests had been that the king should send suitable knights from England to guard the castles of Rinndown, Roscommon and Bunratty. However, the king and council did not agree to this request.<sup>367</sup>

Another claim made by the prelates, earls, barons and commonalty of Ireland in 1342 was that the king's manors, castles and fortalices, and 'the manors, castles and fortalices of Ulster and Connaught, ... which are now in your custody ... and of which the Earls of Ulster were wont to have great issues and advantages', as well as 'divers other lands and temporalities which come into your custody', were destroyed and were no longer profitable because they had been neglected and badly defended by the king's ministers. According to the petitioners, the inadequate defence of these lands had resulted in neighbouring lands being destroyed, so that 'the third part or more of your land of Ireland, which was

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365. Stat. Irel., John - Hen.V, pp 335-9.

366. See below, Appendix III, p.493.

367. J.B. Baldwin, The King's Council in England during the Middle Ages, pp 473-4.

conquered in the time of your progenitors, is now come into the hand of your Irish enemies, and your English lieges are so impoverished they can hardly live'. They also complained that the king's ministers had failed to put a stop to 'the continual war in Connaught and elsewhere in your said land among those of English blood'. The ministers did not either bring the law to bear upon these evil-doers, or restrain them by force of arms, despite the fact that 'no land can be well governed without law and arms'.<sup>368</sup> These petitions are of considerable interest because they place the government's inability to maintain control in Connacht in the context of the breakdown in government authority in the lordship of Ireland as a whole. However, they also give the impression that Connacht was one of the most neglected areas in the lordship at this time.

Some attempt was made to rectify the situation. Sometime before May 1343 the justiciar's lieutenant, John Morice, took hobelars and footsoldiers with him to Athlone and recovered the castle from O'Melaghlin.<sup>369</sup> Roscommon castle was also recaptured, but seemingly largely by local effort. On 1 July 1342 the king appointed William de Bermingham as custodian of the castle, despite the fact that it was 'now held against the king by Torthelnagh Okonwor of Connagh, rebel', and told him to hold the castle 'when it shall come into the king's hands ... as others have held it when it was in the king's power'. The king ordered Turlough to deliver the castle 'with the armour, victuals and other things therein' to de Bermingham,<sup>370</sup> but there is no evidence that de Bermingham ever had possession of it. However, the castle had been recaptured by 21 August 1343, for Richard Sprot, a burgess of Roscommon, and Walter Wynter, were paid for the custody of the castle from then until 21 November 1244.<sup>371</sup> Sometime in the middle of 1343 the mayor

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368. Stat. Irel., John - Hen.V, pp 333-5.

369. P.R.O.L., E.101/241/6 - Issue Roll Mich. 1341 - May 1343.

370. C.P.R., 1340-43, p. 475.

371. P.R.O.L., E.372/189, m.47-T.'s Acct. May 1343 - Mich. 1344; E.372/191, m.42 - T.'s Acct. Mich.1344 - Mich.1346. Wynter was appointed as sheriff of Roscommon during 1343, see below, p. 516.

and burgesses of Roscommon had been ordered to buy and provide victuals and other necessities for the defence of the castle and for <sup>the</sup> sustenance of the men who should stay in it for its defence.<sup>372</sup> About the same time Richard Sprot was given £3 - 0 - 0 to provide victuals for the castle,<sup>373</sup> and Henry Dillon, the custodian of Athlone castle,<sup>374</sup> was ordered to assist him in every way and to provide a safe conduct for him when he should go to Athlone to obtain victuals and other necessities for the sustenance of the men staying in the castle.<sup>375</sup> However, sometime before 20 January 1334, Sprot was captured and 'grievously wounded' by thieves as he was going towards Roscommon, and was robbed of 10 marks.<sup>376</sup> It is not clear what happened to the castle after 21 November 1344. The issue rolls up to 1376 and the treasurers' accounts up to 1384 do not record any payments of the fees of the custodians of the castle, and no writs of liberate ordering the treasurer to pay the custodians their fees seem to have survived from the period after 1344. Indeed, there does not seem to be any evidence that there was a custodian of the castle until Edward III's son, Lionel, was in Ireland.<sup>377</sup> The castle was taken by the O'Conors sometime before 1375, and they would seem to have held it illegally until 1395, when Richard II granted it to O'Conor Don.<sup>378</sup>

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372. P.R.O.I., RC 8/22, pp 470-1 - Mem. Roll 16-17 Edw.III.

373. P.R.O.L., E. 372/189, m.47 - T.'s Acct. May 1343 - Mich. 1344.

374. See below, Appendix III, p.493.

375. P.R.O.I., RC 8/22, p.471 - Mem. Roll 16-17 Edw.III.

376. R.C.H., p.43, no.9; 54<sup>th</sup> Rept.D.K., p.47 - Pipe Roll 18 Edw. III.

377. Circa 1362 messengers were paid for bringing letters from for constable of the castle to Lionel and for bringing letters from Lionel to the constable, P.M. Connolly, 'Lionel of Clarence and Ireland, 1361-1366', Ph.D. Thesis, T.C.D., 1977, p. 139, quoting E.101/28/21.

378. See below Appendix III, pp 504-5.

There is no evidence that Rinndown castle was ever taken from the Irish. John de Founteyns, who had been granted the castle for life in 1335, had surrendered the castle to the king sometime before May 1342, when the chancellor, John Larcher, was ordered to provide for the custody of the castle.<sup>379</sup> It must have been at about this time that it was captured by the Irish. The issue rolls up to 1376 and the treasurers' accounts up to 1384 do not record any payments of fees to the custodians of the castle after 21 November 1341, nor do any writs of liberate ordering the payment of these fees appear after this date. In fact no mention of the castle after 1342 has been found.

Athlone castle is the only royal castle in Connacht for which there is evidence throughout the fourteenth century. The issue rolls and treasurers' accounts show that the fees of the custodians of the castle were paid more or less continuously from 1342 to 1363,<sup>380</sup> and between January 1362 and April 1364 the custodian, Walter de Baa, was paid £5 - 0 - 0 to repair the castle.<sup>381</sup> That repairs should have been carried out at that time was undoubtedly due to the fact that Lionel was in Ireland. However, sometime before August 1364, while Lionel was still in Ireland, Dermot O'Melaghlin captured the castle, de Baa having failed to maintain a 'good custody'. Thomas de la Dale, one of Lionel's retinue,<sup>382</sup> recaptured the castle

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379. See below Appendix III, p.500.

380. See below Appendix III, p.493 One of the charges made against John de Burnham, who was treasurer from 1343 to 1348, was that he had paid fees to custodians of Athlone castle, although there had been no castle there for 11 years. But Burnham said that there had been a castle at Athlone during these years and that there was still a castle there. Inquiries into the matter confirmed what he said. I am indebted to Dr Phil Connolly for giving me her notes from the proceedings against Burnham in P.R.O.L., E.101/241/5.

381. P.R.O.L., E.372/212, m.43 - T.'s Acct. Jan. 1362 - April 1364.

382. P.M. Connolly, 'Lionel of Clarence and Ireland, 1361-1366', Ph.D. Thesis, T.C.D., 1977, pp 141-2.

in August, and held it at his own expense until 7 February 1365. He later received £40 - 13 - 4 for his work, and he was also paid for the custody of the castle from 8 February 1365 to 8 August 1366.<sup>383</sup> The issue rolls up to 1376 and the treasurers' accounts up to 1384 do not record any further payments of fees to custodians of the castle. We know that the castle was taken by the Irish sometime before 1381, when it was recaptured by Edmund Mortimer, earl of March.<sup>384</sup> The patent rolls of the Irish chancery record appointments of custodians to the castle from 1381 to 1395, and the close rolls of the same chancery record writs of liberate ordering the payment of their fees and the arrears of their fees.<sup>385</sup> In the 1390s the Dillons became the hereditary custodians of the castle, but it was taken from them from time to time by the O'Kellys.<sup>386</sup>

Thus Athlone would seem to have been the only royal castle in Connacht that the government retained control of throughout the fourteenth century. As we have seen, the castle defended the most important crossing on the Shannon into Connacht, and the government's anxiety to maintain possession of it suggests that the government was not prepared to have its links with Connacht severed, although the area was to a great extent outside its control.

As regards the castles of Rinndown and Roscommon, it would seem that they had to a large extent lost their raison d'etre by the 1340s. Rinndown castle had been built as a bridgehead into Connacht in 1227, but when English settlement took place in the king's cantreds its role became defensive. One of its tasks was to protect the settlers against attacks launched on them from Lough Ree. Roscommon castle had been built

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383. P.R.O.L., E.101/244/10 - Issue Roll Feb. 1365 - Mich.1366.

384. See above, p. 397.

385. See below, III, p.494.

386. Ibid.

to confine the O'Conors to the three most northerly of the king's cantreds and to protect the English who were given lands in the cantreds of Ui Maine and Tir Maine. The policy of bringing settlers into these cantreds in the second half of the thirteenth century was rather an ambitious one. Both the government and those who had been granted land in the cantreds found it difficult to attract settlers.<sup>387</sup> The hostility of the Irish of the region was undoubtedly a deterrent, but it is also possible that the English population in Ireland was not increasing enough at this time to create a demand for land.

However, the government was determined to reduce the power of the king of Connacht, and in 1281, a few years after Roscommon castle had been knocked down for a second time, Cathal O'Conor was leased only 2½ cantreds.<sup>388</sup> We know of only three castles that were built by the settlers : Aughrim (in the bar. of Kilconnell, Co. Galway), Athleague (in the bar. of Athlone North, Co. Roscommon), and Dunamon (in the bar. of Ballymoe, Co. Roscommon).<sup>389</sup> The only towns which seem to have been established by the settlers were at Aughrim and Dunamon.<sup>390</sup> Circa 1284 Cathal O'Conor burned the town of Roscommon,<sup>391</sup> and it was possibly he who knocked down the castle of Athleague at about this time.<sup>392</sup> But as time went on more and more land came into English hands; and, although it is doubtful whether settlement took place in all the lands held by English tenants,<sup>393</sup> the O'Conors seem to have been kept out of the southern king's cantreds from 1285 until the Bruce

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387. See below, Appendix II, pp 466-7.

388. See above, p.264.

389. See below, Appendix II, pp 470, 472, 477, 479.

390. See below, Appendix II, pp 472, 478.

391. See above, p.275.

392. See above, p.274, and below, p.479.

393. See below, Appendix II, p.486.



invasion. This is not to say that the southern king's cantreds were peaceful during these years: we have seen above that they were often disturbed. Indeed the disturbances in this area probably explain why the part of Athlone town that lay on the western side of the Shannon was abandoned by 1305;<sup>394</sup> and the fact that the O'Kellys burned the Butler town of Aughrim in 1307<sup>395</sup> shows that they were becoming a serious problem. However, it was only when the O'Conors attacked the southern king's cantreds during the Bruce invasion that extensive damage was inflicted on English settlements there. In 1315 Rory O'Conor knocked down Aughrim castle, and burned the town of Aughrim, the town and castle of Dunamon, and the royal towns of Roscommon, Rinndown and Athlone.<sup>396</sup>

That the O'Conors had taken over land in Tir Maine during the Bruce invasion is suggested by the fact that the government granted Cathal O'Conor, king of Connacht, not only Sil Murray (i.e. the northern king's cantreds), but also the Faes of Athlone and Tir Maine in 1318.<sup>397</sup> The lands held by the English in these areas were excluded from the grant, but it would seem likely that many of the English had abandoned their lands during the Bruce invasion. It would certainly seem that the Butler lands in Ui Maine were taken over by the O'Kellys during the Bruce invasion, for in 1395 Malachy O'Kelly said in a letter to Richard II that the O'Kellys had been in possession of the Butler lands for eighty years.<sup>398</sup> As regards Tir Maine, the fact that the receipt rolls do not record that any rent was paid for lands held by English tenants here after the Bruce invasion certainly suggests that many

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394. See below, Appendix II, pp 447-8, 451.

395. See above, p. 325.

396. See above, pp 344, 348.

397. See above, pp 362-3.

398. Curtis, Richard II in Ireland, pp 109-11, 193-5.

lands had been destroyed.<sup>399</sup> In 1325, shortly after Turlough O'Conor became king, the government tried to put the clock back to the pre-Bruce period, and granted Turlough only the three most northerly cantreds.<sup>400</sup> However, Turlough's brother Cathal retained possession of the Faes of Athlone and Tir Maine until 1329, when he was expelled from these areas by the O'Kellys, who were acting under Walter de Burgh's orders.<sup>401</sup> Turlough and Cathal O'Conor seem to have re-entered Tir Maine shortly after Walter de Burgh and the Brown Earl died. The escheator said in his account for the period December 1331 to March 1335 that he was unable to answer for the rents and issues of 12½ villates which Richard de Exeter junior had held of the king in chief in Co. Roscommon, because Turlough O'Conor, 'prince of the Irish of Connacht', Cathal his brother, and other Irishmen who were against the king's peace 'occupy and hold said lands so that the king's officers can get no profit therefrom for the king's use'.<sup>402</sup> It would seem likely that the O'Conors had occupied other lands in Tir Maine as well. Edmund Albanach must have had plans to oust them from the area, because in 1337 Turlough O'Conor built a stronghold against him at Athleague,<sup>403</sup> where the de Exeters had formerly held lands.<sup>404</sup> However, there is no evidence that Edmund succeeded in expelling the O'Conors from Tir Maine.

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399. Before the Bruce invasion some rents had been paid, see below, Appendix II, pp 481, 483, 485.

400. See above, p. 366.

401. See above, p. 372.

402. N.L.I., MS 761, p.72 - Betham's Extracts from the Pipe Rolls; Hardiman, History of Galway, p.53, note 20; 44<sup>th</sup> Rept. D.K., p.38 - Pipe Roll 8 Edw.III, where 'Nicholas de Exeter' should read 'Richard de Exeter'. Richard was the chief justice of the common bench who fell under suspicion during the Bruce invasion, see G.J. Hand, English Law in Ireland, 1290-1324, p.92; A.J. Otway-Ruthven, Med. Ireland, p.233.

403. See above, p. 395. Athleague is on the river Suck in the bar. of Athlone North, Co. Roscommon.

404. See below, Appendix II, pp 478-9.

It would be wrong to assume that all lands held by the English in the southern king's cantreds were destroyed by the 1330s. We know that the escheator accounted for £2 - 12 - 0 from the rent and issues of  $\frac{1}{2}$  a carucate of land near Roscommon, which Richard de Exeter had held of the bishop of Elphin, and which was in the king's hand from July 1331 to March 1333.<sup>405</sup> There were still burgesses in Roscommon in 1343-4,<sup>406</sup> and the town seems to have continued to exist until at least 1360, when it was burned again.<sup>407</sup> It is not clear when the town of Rinndown was deserted. It would seem likely that there were still some burgesses there in 1332, when the sheriff of Meath was ordered to pay the bishop of Elphin 50 shillings for making a parapet for the ferry at Rinndown,<sup>408</sup> but there is no reference to the town itself after it was burned by the Irish in 1315. It would seem from the accounts of various escheators that some lands nearby at Tybirdaan (tl. of Toberdan, St. John's par., bar. of Athlone South) and Kilbeg remained unaffected by all the disturbances of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. These lands were taken into the king's hand sometime between 1271 and 1285, when John of Sandford was escheator,<sup>409</sup> and successive escheators accounted for their issues, which were extended at £1 - 10 - 0 a year, from 1289 to at least 1343.<sup>410</sup> It is not clear whether there

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405. 44<sup>th</sup> Rept. D.K., p.32 - Pipe Roll 8 Edw. III.

406. See above, pp 400-1.

407. See below, Appendix II, p.456.

408. P.R.O.I., RC 8/16, p.191 - Mem. Roll 5-6 Edw.III.

409. Richardson and Sayles, Administration, p.126.

410. 37<sup>th</sup> Rept. D.K., p.41 - Pipe Roll 18 Edw.I; 38<sup>th</sup> Rept. D.K., pp 37, 78-Pipe Rolls 26 and 31 Edw. I; 39<sup>th</sup> Rept.D.K., pp 22, 28,39,58,62-Pipe Rolls 1,3,6,11, Edw.II; 42<sup>th</sup> Rept.D.K., pp 14,21,34,38,44,55-Pipe Rolls 12,15,16,18; 43<sup>rd</sup> Rept.D.K., p.18-Pipe<sup>roll</sup> 11 Edw.II; 44<sup>th</sup> Rept.D.K., pp 27,53-Pipe Rolls 8 and 9 Edw.III; 45<sup>th</sup> Rept.D.K., p.45-Pipe Roll 11 Edw.III; 53<sup>rd</sup> Rept.D.K., pp 33-4 - Pipe Roll 16 Edw.III.

were English tenants in these lands. What is clear is that many English tenants had left their lands in the neighbourhood of Rinndown by 1332. In Hilary of that year the sheriff of Roscommon was ordered to make a public proclamation that the king's tenants of the manor of Rinndown were to return to their lands and tenements before Easter and to inhabit them, and that their lands would be taken into the king's hand and granted to others if they failed to do so.<sup>411</sup>

This proclamation and the fact that the government leased 10 villates of land in county Roscommon to Hubert son of David de Burgh in Michaelmas 1334<sup>412</sup> shows that the government made some attempt to bring land back under English control in the early 1330s. Hubert seems to have been active in the king's cantreds up to his death in 1354,<sup>413</sup> and the Mac Davids ultimately established themselves in Clann Conmhaig,<sup>414</sup> an area lying around Dunamon on the Suck, but it is not clear whether the lands granted to Hubert in 1334 were in this area. That the government soon gave up the idea of bringing English tenants back into the king's cantreds is suggested not only by the fact that there is no evidence that it made any other grants to Englishmen, but also by the fact that it granted 31 villates in county Roscommon, one at least of which it had granted to Hubert de Burgh a few years before, to the bishop of Elphin, John O'Finnachta, in 1339-40.<sup>415</sup> It would seem that the government felt that the task of bringing settlers into the southern king's cantreds was beyond its resources. If most

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411. P.R.O.I., RC 8/16, p.267-Mem.Roll 5-6 Edw.III.

412. P.R.O.I., RC 8/18, p.324-Mem.Roll 8-9 Edw.III.

413. A.C., pp 289,295,311.

414. K.W. Nicholls, Gaelic and Gaelicised Ireland in the Middle Ages, p.144.

415. P.R.O.I., RC 8/22, p.30-Mem. Roll 13-14 Edw.III. The villate in question was called 'Lochlong', ibid.; RC 8/18, p.324-Mem.Roll 8-9 Edw.III.

of the lands held by the English were taken over by the Irish by the 1340s, and if the government felt that the reoccupation of these lands was not a feasible proposition, it would help to explain why the government more or less abandoned the castles of Roscommon and Rinndown when they were taken by the Irish in the 1340s.

There were undoubtedly also financial reasons for the government's failure to retain possession of the royal castles of Roscommon and Rinndown and for its failure to take action against the de Burghs who were taking over the lordship of Connacht. The government no longer had the financial resources that it had in the 1270s and 1280s,<sup>416</sup> and consequently it could not pour money into Connacht in the way it had done in those decades. Furthermore, it would seem from an examination of the receipt rolls from Michaelmas 1280 to Michaelmas 1366 that the Bruce invasion had brought about a dramatic decline in royal revenue from Connacht itself. All the sums received at the exchequer from counties Connacht and Roscommon have been added up for each exchequer year that there are receipt rolls, and the totals for each year have been represented in a bar chart.<sup>417</sup>

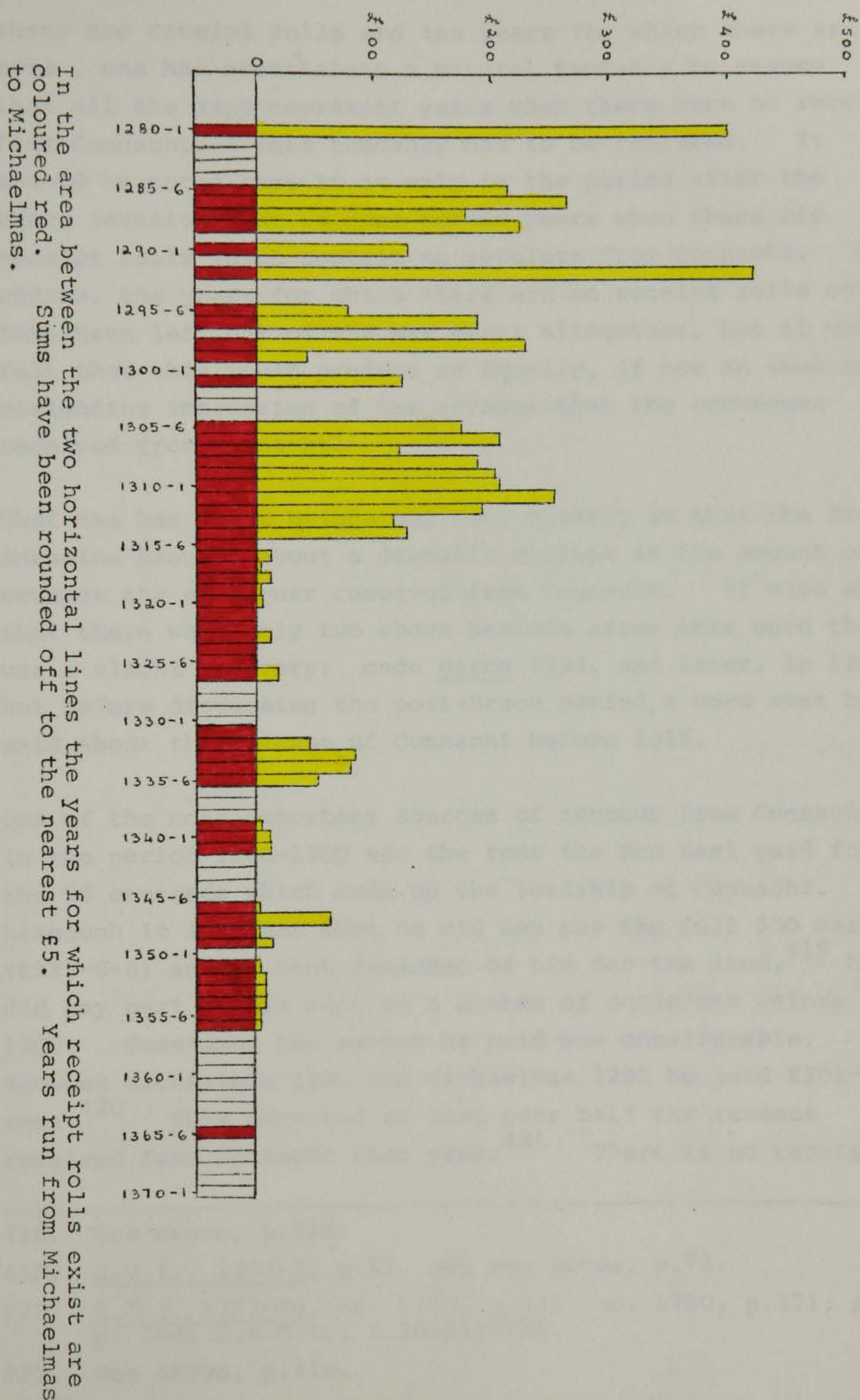
The bar chart has one major visual drawback, for although a clear distinction has been made between the years for which

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416. H.G. Richardson and G.O. Sayles, 'Irish Revenue, 1272-1384', Proc. R.I.A., vol.62 (1961-2), Section C, pp 87-100.

417. See below, p. 410. It has not been established whether revenue expended locally was recorded in the receipt rolls. It is therefore not possible to say whether the receipt rolls contain the total amount of royal revenue produced in Connacht. The receipt rolls are in P.R.O.L., E.101/230/16 - E.101/244/9. A detailed list of them will be found in Richardson and Sayles, Administration, pp 209-16.

Royal Revenue from the Counties of Connacht and  
Roscommon as recorded in the Receipt Rolls,  
1280 - 1366



there are receipt rolls and the years for which there are none, one has nonetheless a natural tendency to assume that all the gaps represent years when there were no receipts from Connacht. This tendency has to be resisted. It should be noted that it is only in the period after the Bruce invasion that we come across years when there are receipt rolls which contain no receipts from Connacht. Of course, the years for which there are no receipt rolls could have been left out of the bar chart altogether, but it was felt that this would produce an equally, if not an even more misleading impression of the revenue that the exchequer received from Connacht.

What the bar chart brings out very clearly is that the Bruce invasion brought about a dramatic decline in the amount of revenue the exchequer received from Connacht. It also shows that there were only two short periods after this when there was a slight recovery: once circa 1333, and later, in 1347.<sup>418</sup> But before discussing the post-Bruce period, a word must be said about the revenue of Connacht before 1315.

One of the most important sources of revenue from Connacht in the period 1280-1300 was the rent the Red Earl paid for the 25 cantreds which made up the lordship of Connacht. Although it is clear that he did not pay the full 500 marks (£333-6-8) annual rent demanded of him for the land,<sup>419</sup> he did pay part of his rent on a number of occasions before 1300. Sometimes the amount he paid was considerable. Between Michaelmas 1280 and Michaelmas 1281 he paid £201-13-4 rent.<sup>420</sup> This amounted to just over half the revenue received from Connacht that year.<sup>421</sup> There is no receipt

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418. See above, p.410.

419. C.D.I., 1302-7, p.61, and see above, p.73.

420. C.D.I., 1252-84, no. 1740, p.363; no. 1780, p.371; no.1814, p. 384; P.R.O.L., E.101/230/16.

421. See above, p.410.

roll for the period Michaelmas 1281 to Michaelmas 1282, and the receipt roll of Michaelmas 1282 to the end of Trinity 1283 is so mutilated that it is impossible to establish the total amount of revenue received from Connacht that year. However, in a part of the roll that is in good condition it is recorded that the Red Earl paid £310-0-0 rent for his 25 cantreds in Connacht in Easter 1283.<sup>422</sup> The payments he made after this are best set out in tabular form:

M. 1283 - M.1284	:	no receipt roll
M. 1284 - M.1285	:	no rent paid
M. 1285 - M.1286	:	£33-6-8 <sup>423</sup>
M. 1286 - M.1287	:	£66-13-4 <sup>424</sup>
M. 1287 - M.1288	:	£106-0-0 <sup>425</sup>
M. 1288 - M.1289	:	£133-6-8 <sup>426</sup>
M. 1289 - M.1290	:	no receipt roll
M. 1290 - M.1291	:	no rent paid
M. 1291 - M.1292	:	receipt roll incomplete
M. 1292 - M.1293	:	£133-6-8 <sup>427</sup>
M. 1293 - M.1295	:	receipt rolls incomplete
M. 1295 - M.1297	:	no rent paid
M. 1297 - M.1298	:	no receipt roll
M. 1298 - M.1299	:	£133-6-8 <sup>428</sup>

There are a number of gaps in the receipt rolls after this but there is no evidence that the Red Earl paid any further rent. In 1302, when he was negotiating the terms on which he would

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422. P.R.O.L., E.101/230/28.

423. C.D.I., 1285-92, no.149, p.52; P.R.O.L., E.101/231/6. In 1284-5 there was a great deal of warfare in Connacht. This possibly explains why no rent was received between Mich. 1284 and Mich. 1285, and why such a small amount was received the following year.

424. C.D.I., 1285-92, no.309, p.138; P.R.O.L., E.101/231/6, roll 2.

425. C.D.I., 1285-92, no.403, p.179; P.R.O.L., E.101/231/6, roll 3.

426. C.D.I., 1285-92, no.475, p. 223; P.R.O.L., E.101/231/6, roll

427. C.D.I., 1285-92, no. 1148, p.510; P.R.O.L., E.101/232/5.

428. C.D.I., 1293-1301, no.587, p.279; P.R.O.L., E.101/233/7.



serve <sup>with</sup> the king in Scotland, he asked that a pardon be given to him for all the debts he and his ancestors owed at the exchequer, including the arrears of their rent for Connacht;<sup>429</sup> and in August 1304, after serving in Scotland the previous year, he was pardoned all his debts as a reward for his service.<sup>430</sup> Furthermore, on 16 August 1309, a few days before he was appointed to negotiate a truce with Robert Bruce on behalf of the king, he and his heirs were released from the obligation of paying the 500 marks annual rent for Connacht, and he was also pardoned all the arrears of the rent which he owed for the period 1304 to 1309.<sup>431</sup> It is worth mentioning here that one month later Edmund Butler was released from the obligation of paying his annual rent of £125-0-0 for Ui Maine for the rest of his life, and he was also pardoned all the arrears of the rent for the land.<sup>432</sup> The Butlers and the de la Rochelles before them would seem to have paid rent for Ui Maine very infrequently before this. In fact we know of only three occasions when they did: Michaelmas 1280 (£13-0-0),<sup>433</sup> Easter 1281 (£56-0-0),<sup>434</sup> and Easter 1293 (£65-0-0).<sup>435</sup> But there may have been other occasions.

It is impossible to say whether the lords of Connacht and Edmund Butler would have continued to pay rent if the king had not granted them these remissions in 1309. What does emerge clearly from the receipt rolls is that although the

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429. C.D.I., 1302-7, no.151, p.61.

430. Ibid., no. 340.

431. C.P.R., 1307-13, pp182, 186; P.R.O.I., EX1/1, mm2-2d, 19d-Mem.Roll 3 Edw.II.

432. Ibid., mm 4d, 19d; C.P.R., 1307-13, p.189.

433. C.D.I., 1252-84, no.1740, p.361; P.R.O.L., E.101/230/16.

434. C.D.I., 1252-84, no.1814, p.384; P.R.O.L., E.101/230/16.

435. C.D.I., 1293-1301, no.21, p.12; P.R.O.L., E.101/232/5.

revenue received from Connacht never reached the £400 mark during the period 1310 to 1315, as it had done in the past, it nonetheless compared well with the revenue of many preceding years.<sup>436</sup> It was only with the Bruce invasion in 1315 that the revenue received from Connacht fell to negligible proportions.

All types of revenue suffered as a result of the upheaval which the Bruce invasion brought about in Connacht, and it would seem that some types of revenue were never paid into the exchequer again in the period 1315 to 1366. Of course, some types of revenue which appear to have come to an end with the Bruce invasion may have been paid into the exchequer during the years for which there are no receipt rolls, but if there had been a permanent recovery of these revenues they would appear in the many receipt rolls that do survive from the period 1315 to 1366.<sup>436i</sup>

It would seem from the receipt rolls that the revenues of county Roscommon were virtually annihilated during the Bruce invasion. It is hardly surprising that there is no evidence that the kings of Connacht paid any rent after Michaelmas 1314,<sup>437</sup> and we have already seen that there is no evidence that English tenants who held land in the king's cantreds paid any rent after the Bruce invasion. But it was not only individual tenants who stopped paying rent in county Roscommon: there is no evidence that the royal boroughs of Rinndown and Roscommon paid their rents after Michaelmas 1314 and Easter 1315 respectively, either.<sup>438</sup> Furthermore, there is no

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436. See above, p. 410.

436i. Some types of revenue may have been swallowed up by assignment and local expenditure, but this cannot be proved.

437. P.R.O.L., E.101/237/1.

438. Ibid. The borough of Athlone was totally within the confines of county Meath by this time, see below, p.451.

evidence that the profits of the county (i.e. the profits of justice arising out of cases heard in the county court) were paid into the exchequer after Michaelmas 1314,<sup>439</sup> nor is there any evidence that the sheriffs of Roscommon paid the arrears of their accounts after Easter 1315.<sup>440</sup> The destruction of English settlements, the death of the sheriff of Roscommon in 1315, and the government's failure to appoint another sheriff until 1320<sup>441</sup> must have brought about the collapse of local administration in Roscommon during the Bruce invasion. The receipt rolls contain only two payments from county Roscommon during the period 1315 to 1366. The first was a fine which William son of Richard de Calne paid in Trinity 1321,<sup>442</sup> when an attempt was being made to restore the situation in the king's cantreds. The second was a payment which the sheriff of Roscommon made of the debts of divers (the profits of justice arising out of cases heard in the central courts, i.e. the justiciar's court, the common bench, the eyre, the exchequer, and the chancery) in Hilary 1334,<sup>443</sup> when there was an increase in government activity in Connacht following the death of the Brown Earl.

Most of the little revenue that was paid into the exchequer during the period 1315 to 1366 came, therefore, from county Connacht. Here the profits of the county became a source of

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439. P.R.O.L., E.101/237/1.

440. Ibid.

441. See above, pp 364-5.

442. P.R.O.L., E.101/237/13.

443. P.R.O.L., E.101/240/3.

revenue again, but only for a short period. The first payment of the profits of the county after Easter 1315<sup>444</sup> was in Michaelmas 1323,<sup>445</sup> but only two payments are recorded after this : in Easter 1324<sup>446</sup> and Michaelmas 1327.<sup>447</sup> The debts of divers seem to have made a slower but more lasting recovery. The first payment of the debts after Easter 1315<sup>448</sup> was made in Hilary 1327,<sup>449</sup> and further payments were made in Easter 1327,<sup>450</sup> Hilary 1333,<sup>451</sup> Michaelmas 1340,<sup>452</sup> Michaelmas 1347,<sup>453</sup> Easter and Trinity 1348,<sup>454</sup> and Michaelmas 1354.<sup>455</sup> After Trinity 1315<sup>456</sup> only one sheriff, John de Ridelsford (1331-1334), paid the arrears of the account he rendered at the exchequer, but he was very conscientious about it, his payments coming in regularly from 1339 to 1357.<sup>457</sup> The receipt rolls do not record any receipts from the king's manor of Athmekin (Headford, in the bar. of Clare, Co. Galway) between Easter 1315<sup>458</sup> and Michaelmas term 1332,<sup>459</sup> and it would seem that the government only regained control of the manor in October 1332, when the escheator used force and arms to seize it into

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444. P.R.O.L., E.101/237/1.  
 445. P.R.O.L., E.101/238/10.  
 446. Ibid.  
 447. P.R.O.L., E.101/239/10.  
 448. P.R.O.L., E.101/237/1.  
 449. P.R.O.L., E.101/239/3.  
 450. Ibid.  
 451. P.R.O.L., E.101/239/27.  
 452. P.R.O.L., E.101/240/19.  
 453. P.R.O.L., E.101/241/14.  
 454. P.R.O.L., E.101/241/17.  
 455. P.R.O.L., E.101/243/4.  
 456. P.R.O.L., E.101/237/1.  
 457. P.R.O.L., E.101/240/15; E.101/240/19; E.101/241/2;  
 E.101/241/8; E.101/241/9; E.101/241/14; E.101/241/17;  
 E.101/241/20; E.101/242/12; E.101/242/13; E.101/243/1;  
 E.101/243/4; E.101/243/11; E.101/243/12.  
 458. P.R.O.L., E.101/237/1.  
 459. P.R.O.L., E.101/239/27.

the king's hand.<sup>460</sup> Custodians of Athmekin made further payments of the rent of the manor in Trinity 1333,<sup>461</sup> Trinity<sup>462</sup> and Michaelmas 1334, Hilary, Easter<sup>463</sup> and Michaelmas 1335,<sup>464</sup> and Easter and Trinity 1336.<sup>465</sup> But no further rent was paid until Michaelmas term 1347,<sup>466</sup> when the justiciar, Walter de Bermingham, was in Connacht.<sup>467</sup> This is the last time that the receipt rolls up to 1366 record that money was received from the manor.

One source of revenue which seems to have been relatively healthy in the period after the Bruce invasion was the customs of the port of Galway. The evidence of the receipt rolls is not altogether satisfactory because the issues of the customs in Ireland as a whole were sometimes paid into the exchequer, and the amounts received from individual ports were not recorded. However, the evidence of the receipt rolls can be supplemented with the accounts rendered by custodians of the customs, which were enrolled in the pipe rolls. In Trinity 1317 the farmer of the customs of Galway paid £16-13-4 into the exchequer,<sup>468</sup> and the pipe rolls show that £36-2-3 was collected from the great new custom at Galway between October 1320 and October 1322.<sup>469</sup> Nothing further appears until Easter 1333, when the collectors of the new

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460. 44th Rept.D.K., p.37-Pipe Roll 8 Edw.III.  
 461. P.R.O.L., E.101/239/27.  
 462. P.R.O.L., E.101/240/4.  
 463. P.R.O.L., E.101/240/7.  
 464. P.R.O.L., E.101/240/9.  
 465. P.R.O.L., E.101/240/12.  
 466. P.R.O.L., E.101/241/14.  
 467. See below, p.424.  
 468. P.R.O.L., E.101/236/14, roll 6.  
 469. 42nd Rept. D.K., p. 47 - Pipe Roll 16 Edw.II.

custom at Galway paid £2-4-5 into the exchequer.<sup>470</sup> The pipe rolls show that £36-13-11 was collected from the great new custom at Galway between 3 March 1333 and 3 March 1334,<sup>471</sup> and the receipt rolls record that the exchequer received sums from the customs at Galway in Easter<sup>472</sup> and Michaelmas 1342, Hilary 1343,<sup>473</sup> Trinity and Michaelmas 1347,<sup>474</sup> Easter 1348,<sup>475</sup> Trinity 1350,<sup>476</sup> Trinity and Michaelmas 1353 and Hilary 1354.<sup>477</sup> The fact that Galway continued to function as a port helps to explain why the king, on the request of Elizabeth de Burgh, granted the town a murage charter in 1361.<sup>478</sup>

In 1310-1311 the Red Earl had asked the king to grant him the same franchises in Connacht as he had in Ulster. The king must have rejected this request, because the lordship of Connacht did not become a liberty. But it is interesting that the ad quod damnum inquiry which the king had ordered to be made had recommended that the Red Earl should be granted his request. According to the Red Earl, the chief justice of the common bench, the escheator and a number of other great lords who were well-disposed towards the king ( autres grauntz seignors de celes parties qe meliors furent pur le roi ) had been jurors in the inquiry. The Red Earl also said that they had many reasons for recommending that he be granted the franchises,

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470. P.R.O.L., E.101/239/27.

471. 44th Rept. D.K., pp 51-2-Pipe Roll 8 Edw.III.

472. P.R.O.L., E.101/241/8.

473. P.R.O.L., E.101/241/9.

474. P.R.O.L., E.101/241/14.

475. P.R.O.L., E.101/241/17.

476. P.R.O.L., E.101/241/20.

477. P.R.O.L., E.101/243/1.

478. Hardiman, History of Galway, p.62, note 37. Galway's customs were to become increasingly profitable in the 1380s and 1390s, ibid., p.55, note 25. That Athenry was also prosperous in the later middle ages is suggested by the donations which the burgesses made to the Dominican friary there in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and by the Blake family records, 'Regestum Monasterii Fratrum Praedicatorum de Athenry', Arch.Hib., vol.I (1912), pp 206-11; Blake Family Records, 1300 to 1600, ed., M.J. Blake.

but unfortunately he did not say what these were.<sup>479</sup> It is conceivable that one of the reasons was that even before the Bruce invasion local government in Connacht was not functioning as well as the central government would have liked.

Certainly, it would be wrong to imagine that the administration did not have problems before the Bruce invasion. There had been problems from the beginning. A number of the early sheriffs had been killed in battle,<sup>480</sup> and throughout the thirteenth and early fourteenth century there are references to sheriffs being engaged in military activity.<sup>481</sup> Matters of security had of necessity to take precedence over sheriffs' administrative duties. Thus the sheriff of Connacht was pardoned for not coming to the exchequer to render his account in Hilary term 1310 because he had 'remained in the company of William de Burgh for the preservation of the peace in the king's land of Sil Murray'.<sup>482</sup> There had been other problems. In the 1250s the archbishop of Tuam, Flann Mac Floinn, had come into conflict with the central and local administration over the way in which he, his suffragans and their tenants were being treated;<sup>483</sup> and in the 1290s another archbishop of Tuam, William de Bermingham, had claimed that he and his predecessors had exercised a whole range of franchises, which limited the authority of the sheriff of Connacht in the diocese of Tuam in a number of different ways, since 'time out of mind' i.e. beyond the limit of legal memory.<sup>484</sup>

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479. Documents on the Affairs of Ireland before the King's Council, ed. G.O. Sayles, no.86 (forthcoming I.M.C. publication).

480. See Appendix IV, below, p.506.

481. See above, pp 215, 255, 269, 326.

482. P.R.O.I., EX1/1, m.21d-Mem.Roll 3 Edw.II.

483. C.D.I., 1252-84, nos 276-7, 360, 456, 460, 475, 479-80, 503. See also J.A. Watt, The Church and the Two Nations in Medieval Ireland, pp 121-3.

484. C.J.R., 1295-1303, pp 144, 238, 316-7, 373. See also G.J. Hand, English Law in Ireland, 1290-1324, pp 114-5.

There are signs of government neglect before the Bruce invasion. For example, by 1303 there was no royal prison in Connacht where prisoners could be safely kept.<sup>485</sup> The prison at Shrule (in the bar. of Kilmaine, Co. Mayo) had been repaired by the sheriff in the early 1290s,<sup>486</sup> but instead of ordering him to undertake further repairs in 1303, the justiciar gave power to the sheriff to release prisoners on sufficient security, provided that those accused of arson or malicious homicide made fine for having this grace.<sup>487</sup> This was clearly not regarded as a satisfactory long term solution by the royal gaoler at Shrule, who sent a petition to the justiciar sometime before 1308 saying that the prison needed to be repaired. According to the gaoler, it was 'falling to pieces, unroofed and not well shut, so that no prisoners can be kept there without the possibility of their escape'. The justiciar and council agreed that the sheriff of Connacht should be ordered to repair the gaol, but they did not provide him with any financial assistance.<sup>488</sup>

There is also evidence that the exchequer's authority was flouted in Connacht before the Bruce invasion. In Michaelmas 1310 Richard de Bermingham was appointed sheriff of Roscommon and the outgoing sheriff was ordered to give him the rolls and other records belonging to the office.<sup>489</sup> There is, however, no evidence that he took up office. In May 1312 the justiciar and council were informed that a William Lawless had intruded himself into the office and that he had been levying the king's money in the county for a long time, without making satisfaction to the king. The justiciar and council commissioned a clerk to attach Lawless and to bring him before them to answer for his actions.<sup>490</sup> An

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485. R.C.H., pp 4-5, no.10.

486. 38th Rept.D.K., p.48-Pipe Roll 27 Edw.I.

487. R.C.H., pp 4-5, no.10.

488. C.J.R.,1308-14, p.77.

489. P.R.O.I., RC8/5, p.233-Mem.Roll 4-5 Edw.II.

490. P.R.O.I., RC8/6, pp 222-3-Mem.Roll 5-6 Edw.II.



ordinance of 1293 had laid down that sheriffs were to be responsible to the exchequer,<sup>491</sup> but clearly on this occasion, since Lawless had already flouted the exchequer's authority, it was necessary to bring the authority of the justiciar and council to bear on him. Lawless did submit to the government after this, and on 15 July 1312 he was appointed sheriff of Roscommon.<sup>492</sup> He later rendered an account for county Roscommon for the period 24 June 1310 to 3 November 1314.<sup>493</sup> It is worth mentioning that the king's cantreds had been greatly disturbed by the events sparked off by Aedh Brefnach O'Conor's attempt to seize the kingship of Connacht in 1309-1310,<sup>494</sup> and Lawless's earlier behaviour should be seen against this background.

It is clear that the administration was also confronted with the problem of marchlands before the Bruce invasion. In 1305, when the justices of the common bench ordered the sheriff of Connacht to take some land into the king's hand, the sheriff returned that he did not dare to do so because the land was in the march of Ui Maine. However, sheriffs could always use this as an excuse for their failure to carry out their duties, and in this particular instance it was testified in court that the sheriff could have executed his office if he had wanted to, and he was amerced.<sup>495</sup> Later in the year, after another order had been sent to the sheriff, the latter returned that the chief sergeant of the cantred in which the land lay had gone to take the land into the king's hand but

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491. Stat. Irel., John-Hen. V, pp 191-3.

492. P.R.O.I., RC 8/6, pp 222-3-Mem.Roll 5-6 Edw.II.

493. 39th Rept. D.K., p.54-Pipe Roll 8 Edw.II.

494. See above, pp 328-39, 342.

495. P.R.O.I., RC 7/11, p.128-De Banco 33 Edw.I.

he had been unable to take possession of it because it lay in the march of Ui Maine and Sil Anmchadha, where the king's sergeants rarely or never used to exercise their office. This time his return seems to have been accepted.<sup>496</sup> Irish hostilities were given as a reason for failure to act on a number of occasions. In 1309 the sheriff of Connacht claimed that he had been unable to execute a writ de venire faciundo which had been sent to him, because the O'Flahertys, Irish felons, had robbed the writ from his clerk in Claregalway and had later burnt it.<sup>497</sup> Geoffrey Blund claimed that the reason he had not come before the common bench as a defendant on 2 November 1314 was that he had been captured by the O'Maddens and other Irish felons while he was on his way to court, and had been brought to Sil Anmchadha, where he was imprisoned for six weeks. However, the plaintiffs in the case said that he had not been captured, and the court ordered an inquiry to be held.<sup>498</sup> We come across a similar case in 1332, when another defendant, Amabilia, the widow of William de Burgh, claimed that she could not come before the common bench on 23 April 1331 because she had been captured and carried off by Donal O'Flaherty and his following, felons of the king, on 14 April 1331, and held captive until 31 May 1331. An inquiry had to be held to establish whether this was true, but we do not know the outcome of either this inquiry or the previous one.<sup>499</sup> Another problem was that a sheriff's main means of coercing people to pay their debts and to appear in

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496. P.R.O.I., RC 7/10, p.365-De Banco 33-4 Edw.I.

497. C.J.R., 1308-14, p.128.

498. P.R.O.I., RC 8/10, pp 339-40-De Banco 9 Edw.II.

499. P.R.O.I., RC 8/17, pp 198-9-De Banco 6 Edw.III.

court - his power to distrain - was of little value if people's property had been destroyed in war. A sheriff of Connacht who had been ordered to distrain four men to appear before the common bench told the justices in Hilary 1317 that he had been unable to find two of the men, and that he had been unable to distrain them because their lands had been wasted and burned by the Irish.<sup>500</sup>

The increase in Irish hostilities during the Bruce invasion and the increasingly disturbed state of Connacht in succeeding decades made it more and more difficult for the government to maintain control over the English of Connacht. For the disorder either actually did prevent sheriffs and other people from carrying out orders issued by the central administration or else it furnished people with a growing number of excuses for ignoring these orders. The receipt rolls suggest that the period 1315-1317 was a turning point in the history of government control over Connacht, for the fact that only a tiny amount of revenue was obtained from the area after this date<sup>501</sup> suggests that the system of royal administration had by and large broken down. For a short period after the death of the Brown Earl there was a temporary improvement in the situation. Revenue was boosted by the issues of the de Burgh and de Bermingham lands in the king's hand, and by the rent of the manor of Athmekin,<sup>502</sup> which the escheator had recovered in October 1332 while the Brown Earl was still alive.<sup>503</sup> However, presumably as a result of the murder of Edmund son of the Red Earl in 1338 all these lands stopped producing revenue for the exchequer, and receipts from Connacht fell to

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500. P.R.O.I., RC 8/11, pp 143-5-De Banco 10 Edw. II.

501. See above, p. 410.

502. P.R.O.L., E.101/239/27; E.101/240/3; E.101/240/4; E.101/240/7; E.101/240/9; E.101/240/12.

503. See above, pp 416-7.

negligible amounts. A small but nonetheless noticeable improvement took place between Michaelmas 1347 and Michaelmas 1348.<sup>504</sup> This was undoubtedly because the justiciar, Walter de Bermingham, took steps to re-establish government authority in Connacht. Probably because he had important family connections in Connacht, he succeeded in obtaining the submission of fourteen members of the most important English families in Connacht at Trim in May 1347.<sup>505</sup> Furthermore, he actually went to Connacht with the chancellor at the end of August 1347 and remained there until 25 October.<sup>506</sup> He seems to have spent most of his time hearing pleas at Athenry, Shrulle and Loughrea,<sup>507</sup> and most of the revenue which was paid into the exchequer from Michaelmas 1347 to Michaelmas 1348 seems to have been a by-product of his activities in this sphere. The sheriff of Connacht paid the debts of divers into the exchequer on a number of occasions during this period, and a number of individuals paid fines for having peace, for disseisin, and for failing to come to parliament. It is also worth mentioning that the rent of Athmekin manor was paid into the exchequer for the last time in Michaelmas 1347.<sup>508</sup> But the beneficial effects of de Bermingham's visit began to wear off during the course of 1348, and revenue fell once again.<sup>509</sup>

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504. See above, p.410.

505. Otway-Ruthven, Med.Ireland, p.266.

506. P.R.O.L., E.101/241/15 - Issue Roll East. 1348-Sept. 1349. See also 54th Rept. D.K., p.64 - Pipe Roll 22 Edw.III; P.R.O.I., RC 8/24, p.50 - Mem. Roll 21-22 Edw.III.

507. P.R.O.I., M.2750 - List of Sessions of the Justiciar's Court, 1307-76. I am indebted to Dr Phil Connolly for lending me her notes from this record.

508. P.R.O.L., E.101/241/14; E.101/241/17.

509. See above, p.410.

An examination of the evidence regarding sheriffs' proffers and sheriffs' accounts suggests that the exchequer's control over the sheriffs of Connacht and Roscommon was extremely fragile in the period after the Bruce invasion, and this confirms the impression given by the receipt rolls that the system of royal administration was not functioning properly in Connacht in the post-Bruce period. Admittedly, the evidence is incomplete. The evidence regarding the accounts rendered by sheriffs is particularly incomplete owing to the great destruction of pipe rolls in and before 1922. Of course, there is other evidence besides the accounts themselves which shows that a sheriff accounted. For example, the receipt rolls contain payments that sheriffs made of the arrears of their accounts, and other sources, such as the memoranda rolls, mention accounts rendered by sheriffs. Even so, the list of county Connacht accounts has a number of gaps in it prior to 1284.<sup>510</sup> The evidence improves for a number of years thereafter. The calendar of pipe rolls made by the Public Record Office of Ireland contains a continuous series of county Connacht accounts from 1285 to 1304, and a continuous series of county Roscommon accounts from 1299 to 1314.<sup>511</sup> This shows that there was control over the sheriffs for these periods at least. Thereafter the evidence is poor. No further county Connacht or county Roscommon accounts survive, but it is clear that sheriffs of Connacht did render accounts after 1304. Richard le Blake, who had accounted for the period 12 November 1303 to 1 May 1304<sup>512</sup> and who remained as sheriff until Michaelmas 1308 at least,<sup>513</sup> eventually rendered an account in Michaelmas 1310,<sup>514</sup> presumably for his last four years

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510. See Appendix VI below, pp 519-21.

511. Ibid., pp 521-4.

512. 38th Rept. D.K., p.74-Pipe Roll 31 Edw.I. His surname is given here as 'Neyr'.

513. See Appendix IV, p.509.

514. See references given in Appendix VI below, p.522.

in office. Richard de Lyt, who was sheriff of Connacht from at least Trinity 1309 until Michaelmas 1312,<sup>515</sup> also accounted in Michaelmas 1310.<sup>516</sup> It is possible that he subsequently rendered an account for the period Michaelmas 1310 to Michaelmas 1312 as well. He had not accounted by Trinity 1314,<sup>517</sup> but in Easter 1315 he paid some of the arrears of his account.<sup>518</sup> It is of course possible that these were the arrears of his earlier account. John de Exeter, who was sheriff of Connacht from Michaelmas 1312 to Easter 1313, rendered an account sometime before Trinity 1315, when he began to pay the arrears of his account.<sup>519</sup> But thereafter there is no clear evidence that another sheriff accounted until John de Ridelsford, sheriff of Connacht from Michaelmas 1331 to Michaelmas 1334, accounted.<sup>520</sup> His successor, Meiler de Bermingham, who held office from Michaelmas 1334 to Michaelmas 1336,<sup>521</sup> also seems to have accounted.<sup>522</sup> But there is no evidence that another sheriff of Connacht accounted until Robert de Bermingham, who held office from at least Hilary to Easter 1345, Meiler de Burgh, who held office from at least Trinity 1346 to Hilary 1347, and Meiler de Bermingham, who held office from at least Michaelmas 1347 to Trinity 1348,<sup>523</sup> rendered their accounts.<sup>524</sup> Thus, what evidence has come to light shows a remarkable correlation with the receipt rolls, and suggests that there was an unusual amount of government control over Connacht for a short period

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515. See Appendix IV, below, p.509.

516. See references given in Appendix VI, below, p.522.

517. P.R.O.I., RC 8/9, p.533-Mem.Roll 7 Edw.II.

518. P.R.O.L., E.101/237/1.

519. See below, pp 509, 522.

520. See below, pp 510, 522.

521. See below, p.511.

522. See below, p.523.

523. See below, p.511.

524. See below, p.523.

after the Brown Earl's death, and around the time that Walter de Bermingham visited Connacht.

The evidence regarding sheriffs' proffers is somewhat fuller. The memoranda rolls show that sheriffs were supposed to proffer in person at the exchequer at the beginning of every Easter and Michaelmas term. It would seem that some sort of check was made on sheriffs on these occasions, because sheriffs who sent deputies were amerced for failing to appear themselves.<sup>525</sup> It is not clear when the system of proffering was introduced into the Irish exchequer. Proffers are recorded for the first time in the calendar of the memoranda roll I Edward II, the calendars of the earlier memoranda rolls, those of 22-23 and 31-35 Edward I, being silent on the subject. An examination of the surviving memoranda roll evidence from 1307 to 1348 shows that the sheriffs of Connacht stopped proffering with any degree of regularity after the Bruce invasion. They proffered six times in person and sent a deputy once between Michaelmas 1307 and Easter 1314 (i.e. they proffered once a year on average) but thereafter they proffered on only four occasions: in Easter 1323, Easter 1335, Michaelmas 1347 and Easter 1348.<sup>526</sup> That the sheriff of Connacht, Hubert de Burgh, proffered in Easter 1323 was undoubtedly due to the fact that the exchequer had made an attempt to coerce him to fulfil his obligations when it had appointed him as sheriff the previous Michaelmas. Not only did two men have to pledge that he would serve the office of sheriff well, but a number of other men had to stand surety that he would pay the profits of the county, which were farmed to him at 10 marks per annum, the first year he was in office.<sup>527</sup> That sheriffs of Connacht should have proffered

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525. P.R.O.I., EX1/1, m. 31 - Mem. Roll 3 Edw. II.

526. See Appendix VII below, pp 525-7.

527. P.R.O.I., RC8/13, pp 33-4 - Mem. Roll 16-17 Edw. II.

in 1335, 1347, and 1348 confirms the impression that there was an unusual amount of government control over Connacht following the death of the Brown Earl, and as a result of Walter de Bermingham's visit. In the case of the sheriffs of Roscommon, 1310 marks the dividing line between the period when they proffered with some degree of regularity and when, with one exception, they did not proffer at all. They proffered twice in person and sent a deputy once between Michaelmas 1307 and Michaelmas 1310, but there is no evidence that another sheriff came to proffer again until Michaelmas 1334,<sup>528</sup> after the death of the Brown Earl. From 1338 the memoranda rolls cease mentioning the sheriff of Roscommon in the list of those who did or did not proffer,<sup>529</sup> and by 1361 they had stopped including the sheriff of Connacht in this list.<sup>530</sup>

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528. See Appendix VII below, 525-7.

529. See Appendix VII below, pp 526-7.

530. P.M. Connolly, 'Lionel of Clarence and Ireland, 1361-1366', Ph.D. Thesis, T.C.D., 1977, p.201.



## CONCLUSIONS

The Bruce invasion was without doubt a turning point in the history of the English in Connacht. The administrative records complement what the author of the report sent to Elizabeth de Clare shortly after the Red Earl's death said about the breakdown in law and order in Connacht. What the administrative records highlight is the magnitude of the problems facing the government when Connacht came into the king's hand in 1333. The disastrous effect which the Bruce invasion had on local government in Connacht and the fact that the government received only a tiny amount of revenue from Connacht in the post-Bruce period help to explain why the government made so little effort to protect the inheritance of Elizabeth de Burgh and to regain control over the castles of Roscommon and Rinndown when they were taken by the Irish in the 1340s. These castles had in any case to a large extent lost their raison d'etre by this time, thanks to the Bruce invasion. For the Irish had regained control of most of the southern king's cantreds during the invasion, in spite of them. The Bruce invasion was a turning point for another reason. In weakening the Red Earl and in making his cousin, William Liath, the saviour of the English settlers in Connacht, it paved the way for the future power-struggle between the descendants of these two men. Indeed, it could be said that it determined the outcome of this struggle.

There was undoubtedly a connection between the weakening of the Red Earl and the breakdown in law and order in Connacht. When it became patently obvious during the Bruce invasion that the Red Earl could not be relied on for protection, it was natural that his tenants-in-chief should seek ways of protecting themselves from that time onwards. It would seem from the report sent to Elizabeth de Clare that kerne were widely resorted to for protection in Connacht in the post-Bruce period. However, as the author of the report said, people were so impoverished by kerne living off them that they could not pay

their rents, and as a result there was a danger that the Brown Earl would be disinherited of Connacht. De Burgh's tenants may have had no alternative but to protect themselves with kerne when the lord of Connacht was unable to fulfil his feudal obligation to give them protection, but their solution to the problem of protection weakened the lord of Connacht further and added to the problem of disorder in Connacht.

There was another connection between the weakening of the lord of Connacht and the breakdown in law and order. Royal administration could not function properly unless there was a reasonable degree of order. Since the Red Earl was unable to re-establish order in Connacht in the post-Bruce period, it was virtually impossible for the royal administration to operate there. The Gaelicization of English society should be seen in this context. Intermarriage, fosterage and other personal ties between the two nations undoubtedly contributed to the Gaelicization of English society in Connacht in the fourteenth century, but the most powerful agent in the Gaelicization process must have been the collapse of the feudal system itself and of its superstructure of law and administration.

English settlement in Connacht was undermined by the Irish of three different areas : the Irish of the king's cantreds, the Irish of the lordship of Connacht and the Irish outside Connacht. The Irish outside Connacht, especially the O'Donnells, the O'Neills and the O'Rourkes, played an important role in undermining English settlement in Connacht either because of their direct involvement in Connacht or because their actions had an indirect bearing on events in Connacht at critical moments in the O'Conors' conflict with the English. The Gaelic enclaves within the lordship of Connacht were an ever-

present threat to English settlement, but in general they only became a serious problem when the O'Conors and the O'Donnells were at war with the settlers. In contrast to this, the king's cantreds were a continuous source of trouble. In the mid-thirteenth century the English did all in their power to reduce the O'Conor kingdom, but the anti-settler attacks that Aedh O'Conor and his successors made ensured that both the government and the settlers of Connacht paid a high price for their offensive. The government eventually succeeded in reducing the kingdom of Connacht to 2½ cantreds, but the fact that de Burgh and fitz Thomas competed with each other and with the government for control over the king of Connacht after this suggests that the king of Connacht had still considerable power. It is probable that de Burgh and fitz Thomas wanted access to the manpower at his command. What was at issue was certainly important enough for the conflict to lead to civil war. The strength of the king of Connacht was acknowledged by the jurors of the inquiry held into the king's cantreds in 1305 when they said that the Irish could not be driven from the 2½ northern king's cantreds without a great army 'and inestimable expense exceeding the value of the land. Especially as Oconoghur is one of the five Irish captains of Ireland'. However, the de Burghs were able to tighten their grip on the O'Conor portion of the king's cantreds in the period after fitz Thomas was removed from Connacht. Their ultimate objective may have been to destroy the O'Conor kingship. William de Burgh's actions in 1310 certainly produced concern among the Irish of the northern king's cantreds about the future of the kingship, as the remarkable inauguration of Felim O'Conor shows. But it was only when the Bruce invasion distracted the de Burghs' attention away from Connacht that the kings of Connacht were in a position to retaliate and launch massive anti-settler attacks in Connacht.

There had been anti-settler attacks before this, the most serious of which had been those made by Aedh O'Conor in the early 1270s. But the English of Connacht had recovered, and, as far as we can tell, his attacks did not have a profound impact on English society in Connacht. This was possibly because the government had had the resources to prevent a breakdown in law and order when the lordship of Connacht was in the king's hand from 1271 to 1280. But the Bruce invasion weakened the government as well as the Red Earl. When the lordship of Connacht came into the king's hand in 1333, not only had the rot of disorder set in by this time, but the government had no longer the resources to deal with the problem.

## APPENDIX I

## The Churches of Connacht in 1306

The churches listed below have been taken from the 1306 ecclesiastical taxation. Monasteries have not been included. The list of churches was compiled from the original MS (P.R.O.L., E.101/233/21, no. 1), because of the numerous errors in C.D.I., 1302-7, nos 704-710.

## The diocese of Killala (Aladensis)

1306	Modern name or civil parish
Killala	Killala par.
Esker	Ballysakeery par. <sup>1</sup>
Rosserc	Rosserk in Ballysakeery par. <sup>2</sup>
Kilmormoy	Kilmoremoy par.
Rathberun	Rathfran in Templemurry par. <sup>3</sup>
Kilcomyn	Kilcummin par.
Lecor	Lackan par.
Dunfine	Doonfeeny par.
Uirus	Erris, i.e. Kilcommon par. <sup>4</sup>
Crossmolyne	Crossmolina par.
Mougauenath	Moygawnagh par.
Rathreth	Rathreagh par.
Arddach	Ardagh par.
Kildeleth	Kilbelfad par.
Killethan	Kilfian par.
Kildroma	
Crith	Crott in Kilbride par. <sup>5</sup>
Adyrgowil	Addergoole par.
Bochmoryn and Glyn	
Drumard	Dromard par.

1. H.T. Knox, Notes on Dioceses of Tuam, Killala and Achonry, p.342.

2. Ibid., p.338.

3. Ibid., p.342.

4. The Church of Ireland par. was called Kilcommon-Erris, 41<sup>st</sup> Rept. D.K., p.20 - List of parish registers in the P.R.O.I.

5. H.T. Knox, op. cit., p.343.

## Killala diocese contd.

1306	Modern name or civil parish
Skrine	Skreen par.
Corkach	Corkagh <u>alias</u> Templeboy par. <sup>6</sup>
Kilmacschallan	Kilmacshalgan par.
Imelachiskel	Imelaghishell <u>alias</u> Easkey par. <sup>7</sup>
Killoglassa	Kilglass par.
Castroconhor	Castleconor par.
Ardnereth	Ardnaree in Kilmoremoy par.

## The diocese of Achonry (Akadensis)

1306	Modern name of civil parish
Achagonny	Achonry par.
Kilm <sup>C</sup> targ	Kilmacteige par.
Kilcaochcrunyn	Keshcorran i.e. Toomour par. <sup>8</sup>
Estdara	Ballysadare par.
Athlethan	Ballylahan i.e. Templemore par.
Clonbanna	
Milic	Meelick par.
Kiltesguean	Kilshesnan in Killasser par.
Kellenalasscan	Killasser par.
Authigymnessik	Attymas par.
Kelnangarvan	Kilgarvan par.
Ratholuyn	
Ardnach	
Bothcomla	Bohola par.
Thuamore	Toomore par.
Kilcomdilk	Kilconduff par.
Kendoyn	
Kelnalydan	Killedan par.
Clonochulli	Cloonoghill par.
Kekelcurn	Killoran par.

6. H.T. Knox, op. cit., p.351.

7. K.W. Nicholls, 'Rectory, Vicarage and Parish in the Western Irish Dioceses', Jn. R.S.A.I., vol. 101 (1971), p.73.

8. H.T. Knox, op. cit., p.373.

## Achonry diocese contd.

1306	Modern name or civil parish
Kelloseyg	
Imelachfada	Emlaghfad par.
Drumrathi	Drumrat par.
Mothrath and Thuamany	}
Kellethratha	Killaraght par.
Culouyn	Coolavin, now a bar. covering the pars. of Killaraght and Kilfree
Kelnafriych	Kilfree par.
Kellicalman	Kilcolman par.
De Castro Magno	Castlemore par.
Kelmoby	Kilmovee par.
Cluanmore	Clonmore in Kilbeagh par. <sup>9</sup>
Kellecath	Kilvarnet par. <sup>10</sup>
Kelmorchun	Kilmorgan par.

## The diocese of Kilmacduagh (Duacensis)

1306	Modern name or civil parish
Ardrathyn	Ardrahan par.
Petra Duacensis	Kilmacduagh par.
Kilnalida	Cinel Aedha = Beagh par. <sup>11</sup>
Kilecrist	Kilchreest par.
Nove Ville	Newtown in Kilcolgan par.
Kelcongangilli	Kilcolgan par.
Killuhayngynay	Kill O'Heyne in Kilmacduagh par. <sup>12</sup>
Kelloryk	Killora par.
Killogillyn	Killogilleen par.
Killenan	Killinan par.
Kiltomasa	Kithomas par.
Kenuara	Kinvarradoorus par.

9. H.T. Knox, op. cit., p.374.

10. Gwynn and Hadcock, Medieval Religious Houses : Ireland, p.331.

11. Cal. Papal Reg., vol. 12, p.85.

12. P. Harbison, Guide to the National Monuments of Ireland, p.95.

## Kilmacduagh diocese contd.

1306	Modern name or civil parish
Church of Thomas Soy	
Donkellyn	Dunkellin in Killeely par.
Keltigernan	Kiltiernan in Kilcolgan par. <sup>13</sup>
Dubrus	Doorus in Kinvarradoorus par.
Kellfynbarr'	Killenavarra par.
Dromechuda	Drumacoo par.
Kellocuran	Kilcornan in Stradbally par.
Disertkillyng	Isertkelly par.

## The diocese of Clonfert

1306	Modern name of civil parish
Miloc	Meelick par.
Bolgu	Killimorebologue par.
ffathy	Fahy par.
Kiltormore	Kiltormer par.
Kilconan	Kilquaine par.
Dunanochmid	Donanaghta par.
Tirkynescrath	Tiranscragh par.
Lussnach	Lusmagh par., Co. Offaly
Moyntirkynich	Muintir Cionnaith in Donanaghta par. <sup>14</sup>
Sukyn	Suicin <u>alias</u> Creagh par. <sup>15</sup>
Theachmaconyll	Taghmaconnell par.
Finnawyr	Finnure now Abbeygormacan par. <sup>16</sup>
Loghree	Loughrea par.
Athneg'	
Kiltullagh	Kiltullagh par.
Kildagan	Killaan par.
Buellio	

13. P. Harbison, op. cit., p.96.

14. P.K. Egan, 'The Augustinian Priory of St. Mary of Clontuskert Omany', Jn. G.A.H.S., vol. 22 (1946-7), p.4.

15. K.W. Nicholls, 'Visitations of the Dioceses of Clonfert, Tuam and Kilmacduagh, c.1565-67', Anal. Hib., no.26 (1970), p.147.

16. 'Obligationes pro Annatis ... Clonfertensis', Arch. Hib., vol. 21 (1958), p.70, note 65.



## Clonfert diocese contd.

1306	Modern name or civil parish
Benn	? Bennmore } in Bullaun par. <sup>17</sup>
Reynnhoyng	? Bennbeg }
Kyllyngendima	Killeenadeema par.
Kilseskynn	Kilteskill par.
Killescolmoelan	Killaspugmoylan in Kilconickny par. <sup>18</sup>
Kilcongyncy	Kilconickny par.
Leachkederg	Lickerrig par.
Kilfrelan	
Ballan	Bullaun par.
Kilcouly	Kilcooly par.
Clontuerk	Clontuskert par.
Sogoun	Soghan, a rural rectory <sup>19</sup>
Erlyng	Aughrim par.
Kilgeridy	Kilgerrill par.
Killedam	Killaghtan par.?
Kilmolcosing	? Killincosty in Ballymacward par. <sup>20</sup>
Clonken	Clonkeen par.
Kilm <sup>c</sup> ugeridan	
Kildounan	Kilooaun in Ballymacward par. <sup>21</sup>
Kilcononath	Kilconnell par.?
Kilconynny	Kilcloony par.?
Dundoyri	Duniry par.
Leachkimulasi	Lickmolassy par.
Kenaloyng	Cinel Fheicin = Ballynakill par. <sup>22</sup>
Lothr'	Leitrim par.
Kynnugi or ) Kynmunmugy )	Cennmuighe or Ceanmaonmuige in Duniry par. <sup>23</sup>

17. K.W. Nicholls, 'Rectory, Vicarage and Parish in the Western Irish Dioceses', Jn.R.S.A.I., vol.101 (1971), p.73.

18. 'Obligaciones pro Annatis ... Clonfertensis', Arch. Hib., vol.21 (1958), p.56, note 18.

19. K.W. Nicholls, op. cit., p.72.

20. Ibid.

21. Ibid.

22. 'Obligaciones pro Annatis ... Clonfertensis', Arch. Hib., vol.21 (1958), p.52, note 2.

23. 'Obligaciones pro Annatis ... Clonfertensis', Arch. Hib., vol.21 (1958), p.54, note 7.

## Clonfert diocese contd.

1306	Modern name or civil parish
Kilcarban	Tynagh par. <sup>24</sup>
Drummackyth	

## The diocese of Elphin

1306	Modern name or civil parish
St. Mary of Elphin	Elphin par.
Kilquenmora	
St. Patrick of Elphin	Kiltrustan par. <sup>25</sup>
Clonorenma	
Kilglasse	Kilglass par.
Cloncardi	? Cluain Cairpthe in Termonbarry par. <sup>26</sup>
Bumleng	Bumlin par.
Clonagaleg	Clooncraff par.
Crif	Creeve par.
Kilmuccomsig	Kilmacumse par.
Schenrill	Shankill par.
Kiltoulach	Kilcolagh par.
Kilnamban	
Kilnecayr	
Clionfynlata	Cloonfinlough par.
Lissombtyg	Lissonuffy par.
Kildalog	
Clonyn in bernan	<i>Cloonburren?</i>
Kilcurquagy	Kilcorkey par.
Oduf	Ogulla par.
Liulculy	
Kiliculi	Kilcooley par.
Tulagh	
Kilbriadi	Kilbride par.

24. Ibid., p.61, note 37.

25. 'Obligaciones pro Annatis ... Elphinensis', Arch. Hib., vol. 22 (1959), p. 15.

26. A.C., p.822.

## Elphin diocese contd.

1306	Modern name or civil parish
Doryn	? Derrane in Kilbride par. <sup>27</sup>
Athblor	
Basbek	Baslick par.
Termunkirun	Tearmann Caolainne in Kilkeevin par. <sup>28</sup>
Killafry	
Kilnaromanak	
Clonkasa	Cluain Cabhsa in Kilkeevin par. <sup>29</sup>
Imelotford	Imliuch Brocadha in Kilkeevin par. <sup>30</sup>
Thorbirbrig	Toberbride i.e. Ballintober par.
Foran	Oran par.
Du Imgan	Dunamon par.
Luylestribrith	
Kilmacangyn	
Kilcurvan	Kilteevan par.
Kilbegnata	Kilbegnet par.
ffidard	Fuerty par.?
Insednen	
Roscoman	Roscommon par.
Kelmedan	Kilmeane par.
Kilfuymegy	Killinvoy par.
Randon	Rinndown par.
Kiltoma	Kiltoom par.
Camach	Cam par.
Rathfard	Rahara par.
Thethfrata	Tisrara par.
Techbith	Taghboy par.
Athliag'	Athleague par.
Kilcūmacan	
Killargoland	Killeroran par.?
Bathalle	
Killethean	Killian par.
Killosadilan	Killosolan par.

27. A.C., p.827.28. M.J. Connellan, 'St. Brocaidh of Imliuch Brocadha', Jn. G.A.H.S., vol.23 (1948-9), pp 140-1.29. M.J. Connellan, 'Clann Ceithearnaigh, its Whereabouts and Extent', Jn. G.A.H.S., vol.23 (1948-9), p.71.30. M.J. Connellan, 'St. Brocaidh of Imliuch Brocadha', Jn. G.A.H.S., vol.23 (1948-9), pp 140-1.

## Elphin diocese contd.

1306	Modern name or civil parish
Athesgrath	Ahascragh par.
Disert	Dysert par.
Colniocarm <sup>C</sup> an	Cloonygormican par.
Kilmor	Kilmore par.
Ethdrum	Aughrim par.
Ardcarne	Ardcarne par.
Kilaukyn	Killukin par. in Boyle bar.
Killonnach	Killummod par.
Kilseisyn	Cell tSesin i.e. Kiltashin in Kilbryan par. <sup>31</sup>
Kilsilun	
Thuanna	Tumna par.
Drum	Drum par.
Disertmyda	? Áth Dísert Nuadan i.e. Eastersnow par. <sup>32</sup>
Esmarkirk	Es-mic-Eirc i.e. Assylin in Boyle par. <sup>33</sup>
Kilmamanach	Kilnamanagh par.
Glynsemvill	Cloonshanville in Tibohine par.
Techbithirn	Tibohine par.
Kilrodan	Kilroddan in Tibohine par. <sup>34</sup>
Clonard	Clonard in Tibohine par.
Kilnardan	
Atanagh	Aghanagh par.
Kilmactrena	Kilmactranny par.
Kammachita	
Kilmactalun	Kilmacallan par.
Kildega	Ballynakill par. <sup>35</sup>
Drumduliand	Drumcolumb par.
Kilrass	Kilross par.
Inesmore	Calry par. <sup>36</sup>
Drumclief	Drumcliff par.
Athymglas	Ahamlish par.

31. A.C., p.817.32. Ibid., p.806.33. Ibid., p.829.34. Ibid., p.817.35. 'Obligaciones pro Annatis ... Elphinensis', Arch. Hib., vol.22 (1959), p.5, note 24.36. Ibid., p.9.

## Elphin diocese contd.

1306	Modern name or civil parish
De Buellio	Boyle par.
Locque	Lough Key i.e. Kilbryan par.

## Diocese of Tuam

1306	Modern name or civil parish
Tuamen'	Tuam par.
Kilbenon	Kilbennan par.
Kilconlagh with the chapel of Kelsenbota	Kilconla par. Kilshanvy <sup>37</sup>
Bukdennach	Boyounagh par.
Bukeran	Clonbern par. <sup>38</sup>
Eadargull	Addergoole par.
Kellmachamlyd	
Talfeto	
Auner'	Dunmore par.
Kelcorin	Kilkerrin par.
Edermoda	Ui Diarmada = Moylough par. <sup>39</sup>
Killmolán	Kilmoylan par.
Kilmacrigan	
Dubloch	
Kilstoich	Killoscrobe par.?
Dissertbebar	? Isertstephen in Moylough par. <sup>40</sup>
Enagharuck	
Harcudemore	Aghamore par.
Kelldara	
Rathcurnan	
Druggulragi	Knockdrumcalry i.e. Knock par.

37. C.D.I., 1302-7, p.226; H.T. Knox, Notes on the Dioceses of Tuam, etc., p. 195.

38. Cal. Papal Reg., vol.12, p.71.

39. See above, p. 124.

40. 'Obligaciones pro Annatis ... Tuamensis', Arch. Hib., vol. 26 (1963), pp 61,70.

## Tuam diocese contd.

1306	Modern name or civil parish
Kealtarnan	
Keallarieranyd	Killarerin par.
Kaltulach	Kiltullagh par.
Clancarnan	
Athnery	Athenry par.
Theascastan	Taghsaxon i.e. Monivea par. <sup>41</sup>
Kilmeyn	Kilmeen, a detached par. surrounded by the diocese of Clonfert
Struthir	Shrule par.
Kenlacha	Kinlough in Shrule par.
Magenculi	Moyne in Shrule par.
Killinmybrorynd	
Cunga	Cong par.
Inismedon	Inishmaine in Ballinchalla par.
Robda	Ballinrobe par.
Kilmorosegir	
Kellnygiglara	Kilmolara par.?
Ros	Ross par.
St. Patrick of Kilmedon	Kilmainemor par.
Apostles of Kilmedon Kilcolman	Kilmainebeg par.
Loghmescan	Loughmask in Ballinchalla par.
Inysrodha	Inisrobe in Ballinrobe par.
Margos	Mooregaga par.
Kilkemantuyn	Kilcommon par.
Rossclaran	
Innidschu	
St. Gerald	Mayo par. <sup>42</sup>
Balla	Balla par.
Tyrnehathyn	Tir Nechtain i.e. Kilcolman par. <sup>43</sup>
Crosbithyn	Crossboyne par.

41. H.T. Knox, op. cit., p.196.

42. 'Obligaciones pro Annatis ... Tuamensis', Arch. Hib., vol. 26 (1963), p.89.

43. H.T. Knox, op. cit., p.197.

## Tuam diocese contd.

1306	Modern name or civil parish
Theachnyny	Tagheen par.
Rodbim	Robeen par.
Rodbad in Kera	Ballinrobe par. north of the r. Robe?
Enagh	Annagh par.
Kilfyna	Kilvine par.
Thoughta	Touaghty par.
Nova Villa de Kera	Burriscarra par. <sup>44</sup>
Odeyn	Ballyheane par.?
Fayte	
Dedrum	Drum par.
Cagal	Cagala i.e. Ballintober par. <sup>45</sup>
Rosselowe	Rosslee par.
Luyne	Loona in Drum par. <sup>46</sup>
Berethnagh	Breaghwy par.
Sclanpatrik	Slanpatrick in Aglish par. <sup>47</sup>
Turlagh	Turlough par.
Turaunt	
Clancuan	Clann Cuain i.e. Aglish par. <sup>48</sup>
Olanedre	Oilén Eiden i.e. Islandeady par. <sup>49</sup>
Achedauer	Aghagower par.
Noncongal	Oughaval par.
Kilgovyr	Kilgeever par.
Kilmayn	Kilmeena par.
Latharis	Burrishoole par. <sup>50</sup>
Kilmalasser	Kilmaclasser par.

44. 'Obligaciones pro Annatis ... Tuamensis', Arch. Hib., vol. 26 (1963), p.89.

45. Tribes and Customs of Hy-Fiachrach, ed. J. O'Donovan, pp 191-2, note O.

46. H.T. Knox, op. cit., p.198.

47. K.W. Nicholls, 'Tobar Finnmuighe - Slán Padraig', Dinnseanchas, vol. 2 (1967), pp 97-8.

48. Ibid.

49. H.T. Knox, op. cit., pp 198,203.

50. 'Obligaciones pro Annatis ... Tuamensis', Arch. Hib., vol. 26 (1963), p.71.

## The diocese of Annaghdown

1306	Modern name of civil parish
Mecheri	Ballynacourty par. <sup>51</sup>
fforanmore	Oranmore par.
fforanbeg chapel	Oranbeg in Oranmore par.
Roscam	Roscam in Oranmore par.
Galvy	Galway i.e. St. Nicholas's par.
Clardundunl	Claregalway par.
Audreny	
Anaghdown	Annaghdown par.
Delgill chapel	Kilgill in Annaghdown par. <sup>52</sup>
Kilchama	Kilcoona par.
Leatragh	Lackagh par.
Killeny	Killeany par.
Kellfinfyt	Cell Fursa i.e. Killursa par. <sup>53</sup>
Donaghpatrick	Donaghpatrick par.
Killawyr	Killower par.
Rathmyalid	
Struthir in Muintircuda	Shrule in Muintir Murchadha, probably Kilnamanagh south of Shrule in Donagh- patrick par. <sup>54</sup>
Kilkelwyll	Kilkilvery par.

51. 'Obligaciones pro Annatis... Clonfertensis', Arch. Hib., vol. 21 (1958), p. 74.

52. H.T. Knox, op. cit., p.199.

53. Ibid., p.203.

54. Ibid., p.204.



## APPENDIX II

## English Settlement in the King's Cantreds

John had originally granted the whole of Connacht to William de Burgh, but by the beginning of the thirteenth century he had become aware of the strategic importance of Athlone as the principal link between Connacht and the rest of the lordship of Ireland,<sup>1</sup> and during his visit to Ireland in 1210 he ordered his justiciar to build a castle there. The ostensible reason for building the castle was that John was annoyed by Cathal Crobhderg O'Connor's behaviour towards him during his visit to Ireland;<sup>2</sup> but it should also be noted that this was opportune time for the king to establish a royal base in Connacht because de Burgh was dead and his son was a minor.<sup>3</sup> When Richard de Burgh came of age, John enlarged the area to be held by the crown by reserving to the crown both castle of Athlone and the cantred in which it lay in the charter which he gave to de Burgh in 1215.<sup>4</sup> De Burgh was not given permission to have seisin of Connacht until 1226, when Henry III developed his father's policy further by reserving to the crown five cantreds near the castle of Athlone.<sup>5</sup>

The cantreds selected were Ui Maine, Tir Maine, Magh Ai, Tri Tuatha and Magh Lurg - Tirerrill, an area covering the whole of county Roscommon (except the western parts of the

- 
1. See above, pp 22-36.
  2. See above, pp 41-2.
  3. See above, pp 34,44.
  4. See above, p. 45.
  5. See above, pp 59, 63-4.

baronies of Frenchpark and Castlereagh), the barony of Tirerrill, Co. Sligo, the barony of Clonmacnowen, Co. Galway, and the eastern parts of the baronies of Kilconnell, Killian and Ballymoe in the same county. This area was very important politically because it contained the ancestral lands of the kings of Connacht and their kinsmen, the Sil Murray. However, the king does not seem to have had any intention of leasing his cantreds to the king of Connacht at first. The building of a royal castle at Rinndown in 1227 is not in itself an indication that the king intended to bring settlers into the area, for the castle could have been built simply to assist in the conquering and holding down of the king's cantreds; but the fact that the king granted land in the cantreds to Englishmen in 1229<sup>6</sup> and ordered the justiciar to cause the cantreds to be assessed in 1230<sup>7</sup> suggests very strongly that he intended to bring settlers into the region as soon as it was conquered. However, by 1235 the king seems to have felt that there would be prolonged warfare if an attempt was made to colonize the king's cantreds at that time, and the cantreds were leased to Felim O'Conor, king of Connacht.<sup>8</sup> In 1236 another royal castle was built at Onagh (in the par. of Taghmaconnell, bar. of Athlone South, Co. Roscommon), presumably to provide a link between Athlone and the English settlements in the southern part of the de Burgh lordship.<sup>9</sup> In 1245 a castle was built at Suicin (i.e. in Ballinasloe, par. of Creagh, bar. of Moycarn, Co. Roscommon), but the annals do not say who built it.<sup>10</sup> It is likely that it was built by the English to command the river-crossing at this point on the Suck, but it does not appear to have been a royal castle. The king certainly did

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6. See above, p. 67.

7. C.D.I., 1171-1251, no. 1863. See also nos 1712, 1852.

8. See above, pp 76-81.

9. See above, pp 77-8.

10. A.C., p. 85; A.L.C., I, p.371; A.F.M., III, p. 315.

not give up the idea of bringing English settlers into the king's cantreds.<sup>11</sup> But there is no evidence that he made any grants to Englishmen until after Aedh son of Felim's rebellion in 1249.<sup>12</sup>

Before examining these grants, some points should be made about the English settlements that were established beside the royal castles in Connacht. Athlone castle is one of the earliest English castles in Ireland known to have been built of stone, and its construction initially gave rise to difficulties. A structural fault caused it to collapse shortly after it was built, and Richard Tuit and eight other Englishmen were killed.<sup>13</sup> However, the castle was rebuilt,<sup>14</sup> and it was never knocked down by the Irish.

It is clear that the castle was built on the west bank of the Shannon, for the records say that it was situated in a cantred in Connacht which king John had previously granted to Geoffrey de Costentin.<sup>15</sup> In 1214 John granted de Costentin a cantred elsewhere in exchange for this cantred.<sup>16</sup> However, the actual land on which the castle stood belonged to the priory of St. Peter at Athlone, the justiciar, John de Grey, having undertaken to compensate the monks for the land.<sup>17</sup> The priory

11. See above, p. 81.

12. See above, pp 216-7.

13. A. Clon., p. 224; A.L.C., I, pp 245-7; A.F.M., III, p.169; Grace, p.25; 'Annals of Ireland', Charts. St. Mary's, II, p.279.

14. For a description of the castle, see H.G. Leask, Irish Castles, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., p. 42; G.H. Orpen, 'Athlone Castle : its Early History, with Notes on some Neighbouring Castles', Jn. R.S.A.I., vol. 37 (1907), pp 264-5.

15. C.D.I., 1171-1251, nos 590, 1719.

16. Ibid., no. 508.

17. Ibid., nos 507, 693; Rot. Litt. Claus., vol. I, pp 170, 693.

also gave the justiciar a meadow, a fishery, a mill and a site for a town at Athlone.<sup>18</sup> Thus an English settlement could be established without dispossessing any of the Irish.

John de Grey also constructed a bridge at Athlone in 1210,<sup>19</sup> and, according to the annals in 'Mac Carthaigh's Book', a town was built at the eastern end of the bridge the same year.<sup>20</sup> However, it is clear that the town was established on both sides of the river. The Annals of Loch Cé record that the town (sradbhaile) of Athlone was burned on the Meath side in 1218,<sup>21</sup> implying that part of the town lay on the Connacht side of the Shannon. Furthermore, custodians of Athlone accounted for the farm of the town 'on both sides of the water' in 1234 and in 1240-1.<sup>22</sup>

It was almost certainly the part of the town lying on the Meath side of the river which was built on land belonging to the Tuits. In 1225 the king ordered the justiciar to give Richard de Tuit, presumably the son of the man who was killed when the castle of Athlone collapsed, fifteen librates of land for the town of Athlone, the mills and one carucate of land near the town.<sup>23</sup> De Tuit was later given an annuity of £15 which was ultimately compounded into a payment of 200 marks.<sup>24</sup>

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18. Part of the compensation the monks received was an annual payment of 10 marks, C.D.I., 1171-1251, no. 2289; *ibid.*, 1252-84, no.1038, p.182; no.1389, p.258; no. 1535, p.302. They were still being paid as late as 1291, P.R.O.L., E.372/139, m.9d-T's Acct., 1285-1291. In the later part of the 13th century they were compensated when the justiciar built two mills in their pool, C.D.I., 1252-84, no.2360, *ibid.*, 1285-92, no. 651.
19. A.L.C., I, p.245.
20. Misc.I. Annals, p.89.
21. A.L.C., I, p.259.
22. 35th Rept.D.K., p.37-Pipe Roll 19 Hen.III; T.C.D., MS 671, fol.3-Pipe Roll 25 Hen.III.
23. C.D.I., 1171-1251, no. 1261.
24. *Ibid.*, nos 2173,2176; *ibid.*, 1252-84, no.1038, p.181; no.1497, p. 289, where 200 marks is erroneously written as 500 marks (see P.R.O.L., E.101/230/8 - Issue Roll Mich. 1278), and p.291; *ibid.*, 1285-92, no.169, p.65.

In July 1221 the king notified the justiciar that there was to be an annual fair at the castle of Athlone,<sup>25</sup> and it is possible that one of the things that attracted English settlers to a frontier town like Athlone was the opportunity it gave to doing trade with the Irish beyond the frontier. It is not known when Athlone became a borough, but it is likely that it was incorporated at an early date in order to attract settlers to it. The Chartularies of St. Mary's Abbey contain two undated charters which mention burgages in Athlone. Among the witnesses to these two charters was a master Stephen de Turre.<sup>26</sup> A master Stephen de Turri, presumably the same man, rendered an account for the town of Athlone for the period Michaelmas 1234 - October 1235 on behalf of the custodian of the town, Walter son of Aluered.<sup>27</sup> This suggests that Athlone may have been incorporated by the mid 1230s. It was certainly a borough by 1261-1266, when the custodian of the town, Richard de la Rochelle, accounted for the rents of the burgages there.<sup>28</sup>

The town was often held by custodians, who collected part or all of the revenues of the town on behalf of the king.<sup>29</sup> The sources of revenue in addition to the rent were the mills, the fisheries,<sup>30</sup> the weirs, the ferry, pontage, prisage of

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25. Ibid., 1171-1251, no.1010.

26. Charts. St.Mary's, vol.I, pp 224, 239.

27. 35th Rept. D.K., p.37 - Pipe Roll 19 Hen. III.

28. N.L.I., MS 760, p.6 - Betham's Extracts from the Pipe Rolls.

29. e.g. 35th Rept.D.K., pp 37, 48-9-Pipe Roll 19 and 51 Hen.III; C.D.I., 1285-92, no. 797.

30. Eels seem to have been particularly abundant in this part of the Shannon : in 1293 Thomas Pykering paid £4-16-0 into the exchequer for 3,600 eels sold at Athlone, ibid., 1293-1301, no. 41, p.29.

beer, the meadow and some acres outside the town.<sup>31</sup> Sometimes, as in the case of William de Prene, all the appurtenances of the town were included in the custody,<sup>32</sup> but on other occasions these were granted out separately.<sup>33</sup> An exchequer document of the reign of Edward I which deals with the king's revenue in Ireland says that Athlone was wont to render £24-0-7 $\frac{3}{4}$  a year besides the issues of the meadow, pool (or weir) and fisheries there, as is contained in a roll of 44 Henry III (1259-60),<sup>34</sup> but two other documents containing exchequer memoranda of the thirteenth century say that Athlone used to render £14-0-7 $\frac{3}{4}$  besides the issues of the mill, meadow, weirs and fishery.<sup>35</sup> When de Prene was given the custody of the town and all its appurtenances, including its rent, ferry mill and fishery, in 1290, he was told to pay £25-8-11 $\frac{1}{2}$  annually, 'according to an ancient extent made thereupon'.<sup>36</sup>

In 1251, after the Irish of the king's cantreds had made a number of anti-settler attacks in the lordship of Connacht, the king told the justiciar to spend 80 marks in aid of the enclosure of the towns of Athlone and Rinndown and on the repair of their castles.<sup>37</sup> The annals say that Athlone was burned in 1256,<sup>38</sup> but on neither this occasion, nor on that of the fire in 1218, do they say that it was the Irish who burned the town. However, the Irish did set fire to Athlone

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31. C.D.I., 1285-92, no.271, p.125; no.341, p.150; no.1148, p.504; *ibid.*, 1293-1301, no.21, pp 9-10; 35th Rept. D.K., pp 37,48 - Pipe Rolls 19 and 51 Hen.III; 38th Rept.D.K., pp 54, 69 - Pipe Rolls 29 and 30 Edw.I; 39th Rept.D.K., p.54 - Pipe Roll 8 Edw.II; P.R.O.L., E.101/230/28 - Receipt Roll Mich. 1282; E.101/232/5 - Receipt Roll East. 1293.
32. C.D.I., 1285-92, no. 797.
33. P.R.O.I., EX 2/1, p.66 - Mem.Roll 31-35 Edw.I; EX 2/2, p.317 - Mem.Roll 1 Edw.II.
34. C.D.I., 1252-84, no.2329, p.550. Sweetman on other occasions translates 'gurges' as 'pool', *ibid.*, 1293-1301, no.21, p.9.
35. M.Bateson, 'Irish Exchequer Memoranda', E.H.R., vol.18 (1903), p.512, where 'tres ob.q<sup>a</sup>' should undoubtedly be 'tres q<sup>a</sup>'; Cal. Carew MSS: The Book of Howth, p.229.
36. C.D.I., 1285-92, no.797.
37. *Ibid.*, 1171-1251, no.3159.
38. A.C., p.123; A.L.C., I, p.421; A.F.M., III, p.359.

in 1227, 1272, and 1315.<sup>40</sup> It is clear that the part of the town lying on the Connacht side of the river had been abandoned some years before the last attack. In 1305 the justiciar and council agreed that 'the bridge between the castle and town there' should be repaired.<sup>41</sup> And in 1310 jurors described the borough of Athlone as lying outside the county of Roscommon in county Meath.<sup>42</sup> It is not known whether the western portion of the town was abandoned in 1272, or whether it was a process which occurred over a number of years in response to the disturbances of the later thirteenth century.

The second royal settlement in the king's cantreds was at Rinndown, where a castle was built in 1227.<sup>43</sup> That the Irish had been aware of the strategic importance of the peninsula on Lough Ree where the castle was built is suggested by the suffix 'dún' in the place-name.<sup>44</sup> We first hear of the town of Rinndown in 1236, when Felim O'Conor plundered it and established a camp at the market cross of town.<sup>45</sup> It had been incorporated by 1241-2, when the burgesses rendered an account at the exchequer.<sup>46</sup> In 1251 the king ordered the justiciar to spend money on the enclosing of the town,<sup>47</sup> and the stone wall across the neck of the peninsula may date to this period.<sup>48</sup>

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40. See above, pp 62, 251, 344.

41. C.J.R., 1305-7, p.65.

42. P.R.O.I., EX 1/1, m.20 - Mem.Roll 3 Edw.II.

43. See above, p. 64.

44. For a description of the castle, see J.E. FitzPatrick, 'Rindown Castle, County Roscommon', Jn.R.S.A.I., vol.65 (1935), pp 177-80.

45. A.Clon., p.235.

46. T.C.D., MS 671, fol.3 - Pipe Roll 26 Hen.III.

47. C.D.I., 1171-1251, no. 3159.

48. J.E. FitzPatrick, op.cit., p.178.

An exchequer document of the reign of Edward I says that Rinndown was wont to answer for £8-5-8 annually, as contained in a roll of 44 Henry III (1259-60), but that in 52 Henry III (1267-68) it answered for 20 marks a year because it was then let for a certain farm.<sup>49</sup> It is not clear whether the other issues of the town besides the rent - such as the ferry, the market and the toll on ale<sup>50</sup> - were included in these sums. The town was burned by Aedh son of Felim O'Conor in 1270,<sup>51</sup> and the castle was knocked down in 1272.<sup>52</sup> But both were rebuilt shortly afterwards, and in 1274 the king confirmed leases made by the justiciar, Geoffrey de Geneville, of burgages in Rinndown.<sup>53</sup> It would seem that a number of burgesses had left the town after, perhaps even before, it had been burned, for the king found it necessary to stress that it was essential that those who were given burgages by de Geneville should dwell in Rinndown.<sup>54</sup> De Geneville seems to have attracted a considerable number of settlers to Rinndown, for in 1285 the issues of the town were estimated to be £20 a year.<sup>55</sup> But the town almost certainly declined between then and 1310, when jurors said that there were 100 burgages at Rinndown rendering 100 shillings rent.<sup>56</sup> The town was burned by Rory O'Conor in 1315, and it seems to disappear from the records after that.<sup>57</sup>

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49. C.D.I., 1252-84, no.2329, p.550. The same sum is given in documents containing information from exchequer records of Edward I's reign, see M. Bateson, 'Irish Exchequer Memoranda of the Reign of Edward I', E.H.R., vol.18 (1903), p.512; Cal. Carew MSS : The Book of Howth, p.229.

50. 38th Rept.D.K., pp 48, 54, 69 - Pipe Rolls 27, 29 and 30 Edw.I; 39th Rept.D.K., pp 27, 54 - Pipe Rolls 3 and 8 Edw.II; N.L.I., MS 760, p.139 - Betham's Extracts from the Pipe Rolls.

51. See above, p. 250.

52. See above, p. 251.

53. C.D.I., 1252-84, no.1022.

54. Ibid.

55. C.D.I., 1285-92, no.814, p.369.

56. P.R.O.I., EX1/1, m.20 - Mem.Roll 3 Edw.II.

57. See above, pp 344, 407-8.



The third royal castle was built in 1236 at Onagh (in Irish 'Muille Uanach') in the parish of Taghmaconnell, barony of Athlone South, Co. Roscommon. In 1245 its custodian, Adam Buse, was ordered to deliver the castle to the new justiciar, John fitz Geoffrey,<sup>58</sup> and between 1253 and 1255 wine was sent to it.<sup>59</sup> It would seem that a small English settlement was established beside the castle. In the exchequer document of the reign of Edward I, cited above, in which the king's revenues in Ireland are listed, 'Moyolonauch' is listed after the towns of Athlone and Rinndown, and it is said that it used to render £6-5-0 per annum.<sup>60</sup> However, Aedh son of Felim O'Conor burned Onagh in 1270,<sup>61</sup> and the settlement and castle seem to have been abandoned. The government's primary concern at this time was to confine the O'Conors to the three most northerly cantreds, and to this end it was spending a great deal of money building Roscommon castle.<sup>62</sup> Whereas the castles of Athlone and Rinndown continued to play a vital role in English strategy, the former because of its position at the gateway into Connacht, the latter because it was the key to English control of Lough Ree, Onagh no longer played an essential role, especially since the king had by this time made grants to Englishmen in the southern king's cantreds. The government no doubt felt that it could afford to pull out of Onagh now that this whole area was to

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58. See above, pp 77-8.

59. Lambeth Palace, Carew MS 610, fol.54 - Pipe Rolls 38-39 Hen. III. I am indebted to Dr Lydon for giving me his transcript of this.

60. C.D.I., 1252-84, no. 2329, p.550. See also M. Bateson, 'Irish Exchequer Memoranda of the Reign of Edward I', E.H.R., vol.18 (1903), p.512. Cal. Carew MSS : The Book of Howth, p.229.

61. See above, p. 250.

62. See above, pp 247-8, 252-3.

be colonized. The records do not seem to mention Onagh again until the end of the thirteenth century, when the sheriff of Connacht held 'the land of Molyonach' of the king for a year.<sup>63</sup>

Roscommon castle was the last royal castle to be built in the king's cantreds. It was built after the Irish of the king's cantreds had attacked English settlements in the lordship of Connacht and the government had decided to bring settlers into the two most southerly cantreds, Ui Maine and Tir Maine. In 1262 the English launched an offensive against the O'Conors, and the justiciar, Richard de la Rochelle, marked out the site for a castle at Roscommon.<sup>64</sup> However, circumstances prevented the government from building the castle until 1269, when Aedh O'Conor, then king of Connacht, was sick.<sup>65</sup> According to the prior and convent of St. Coman, the justiciar, Robert d'Ufford, and the greater men of the council first went around the whole cantred of Roscommon and found no place so suitable as the land, belonging to their church, which lay 'near the lake vulgarly called Lochnanen' (no longer in existence), and then proceeded to build the castle without the consent of either the prior or the bishop of Elphin.<sup>66</sup> It would seem that the cost of building the castle was £3,148-4-3.<sup>67</sup> Aedh O'Conor knocked down the castle in 1272, and it was rebuilt in 1274 by the

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63. See below, pp 482, 513.

64. See above, p. 238.

65. See above, p. 247.

66. P.R.O.L., S.C.1/20/45 - Ancient Correspondence.

67. See above, pp 252-3.

justiciar, Geoffrey de Geneville.<sup>68</sup> This time the consent of the bishop and convent was obtained, and de Geneville agreed to pay the monks 15 marks per annum for the site of the castle and the lake. However, the monks shortly afterwards remitted the payment forever, much to the annoyance of the bishop.<sup>69</sup> The castle was knocked down again in 1277, this time by Aedh of Munster O'Conor, but it was immediately rebuilt by Robert d'Ufford, who had become justiciar again.<sup>70</sup> The impressive structure which stands to this day probably dates back to this second rebuilding. The castle was built according to what were then the latest ideas on military architecture,<sup>71</sup> and it was not knocked down again during the middle ages.

A town was initially established some distance from the castle, and it was burned by Aedh O'Conor in 1270.<sup>72</sup> When d'Ufford rebuilt the castle in 1277, the monks of St. Coman gave him a site for a town near the castle in exchange for lands further away.<sup>73</sup> Part of the new town was also built on land belonging to a Thomas de Beaumes, presumably one of the king's tenants, and he was also compensated.<sup>74</sup> The monks of St. Coman said in a letter to the king that they

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68. See above, pp 251, 254-5.

69. P.R.O.L., SC1/20/45 - Ancient Correspondence; G. Mac Niocaill, Na Buirgéisí, vol. II, pp 332-3, note 14. The bishop presumably felt entitled to some of the 15 marks. However, he did receive some compensation from the exchequer, C.D.I., 1252-84, no. 1294, p. 241.

70. See above, pp 261-2.

71. R. Stalley, Architecture and Sculpture in Ireland 1150-1350, pp 52-7; H.G. Leask, Irish Castles, 2nd ed., pp 67-9; J.E. FitzPatrick, 'Rindown Castle, County Roscommon, with a comparison of the systems of fortification used in Ireland in the 12th and 13th centuries', Jn.R.S.A.I., vol. 65 (1935), pp 180-90. See also above, p. 262.

72. See above, p. 250. See also C.J.R., 1295-1303, p. 285.

73. P.R.O.L., SC1/20/45 - Ancient Correspondence; G. Mac Niocaill, Na Buirgéisí, vol. II, pp 332-3, note 14.

74. 36th Rept. D.K., pp 48-9 - Pipe Roll 8 Edw. I.

had suffered threats on their lives and harassment from the greater Irish of the whole country for giving d'Ufford land for the town,<sup>75</sup> and in fact sometime after this, probably in 1284, the town was burned by Cathal O'Conor.<sup>76</sup> It was rebuilt, but it seems to have suffered a great deal on account of its position in a disturbed frontier area. Sometime before September 1290, its citizens complained to the king that they were impoverished both by his bailiffs, who had been taking their goods and victuals against their will and without paying for them, and by the depredations and burnings frequently inflicted on them by the Irish. The king ordered the justiciar to see to it that goods, merchandise and victuals were not taken from the citizens of Roscommon against their will 'unless necessity should demand it in time of war';<sup>77</sup> but since war was a frequent occurrence, the king's mandate can hardly have brought much relief to the settlers at Roscommon. The town was burned in 1315,<sup>78</sup> but there were still burgesses in Roscommon in 1343,<sup>79</sup> and the town must have continued to exist until at least 1360, when it was once again burned.<sup>80</sup>

It is rather remarkable that people were prepared to settle in the marcher town of Roscommon in the second half of the thirteenth century. It would seem very likely that what attracted people to the town were the remarkable privileges

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75. P.R.O.L., S.C.1/20/45 - Ancient Correspondence.

76. See above, p. 275.

77. C.D.I., 1285-92, no. 765.

78. See above, p. 344.

79. P.R.O.I., RC 8/2, pp 470-1-Mem.Roll 16-17 Edw.III; P.R.O.L., E.372/189, m.47 - T.'s Acct., 1343-44.

80. A.C., p.319; A.L.C., II, p.21.

granted to it. In contrast to the towns of Athlone and Rinndown, which were governed by provosts,<sup>81</sup> Roscommon was governed by a mayor.<sup>82</sup> This means that it enjoyed full self-government, a privilege normally enjoyed only by the large towns, such as Dublin, Waterford, Cork and Limerick.<sup>83</sup> That Roscommon was tiny in comparison with these places can be seen from the fact that it paid a fee farm of £12 per annum,<sup>84</sup> whereas Dublin's fee farm was 200 marks, Waterford's 100 marks, and Cork's 80 marks.<sup>85</sup> It would seem that Roscommon had the right of self-government from the very beginning. Jurors in 1299, referring to the period before the burgesses settled near the castle of Roscommon, said that the community of Roscommon had given a message to somebody to hold in fee.<sup>86</sup> Furthermore, we know for certain that Robert d'Ufford, who was justiciar from 1268 to 1270 and from 1276 to 1281, gave the burgesses a charter of liberties,<sup>87</sup> and Roscommon certainly seems to have had a mayor shortly after the new town had been established. The mayor of the new town wrote a letter to the king telling him how kind the convent of St. Coman had been to the burgesses in giving them the site for the new town, and exhorting him to favour the canons in all their just demands.<sup>88</sup> This letter

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81. P.R.O.I., EX1/1, m.14 - Mem.Roll 3 Edw.II; RC 8/5, pp 309-10 - Mem.Roll 4-5 Edw.II.
82. P.R.O.I., EX 1/1, m.36-Mem.Roll 3 Edw.II.
83. E.Curtis, Med. Ireland, 2nd ed., pp 408-9.
84. 38th Rept.D.K., p.54-Pipe Roll 29 Edw.I; EX1/1, m.20-Mem.Roll 3 Edw.II; N.L.I., MS 760, pp 178, 240-Betham's Extracts from the Pipe Rolls.
85. E. Curtis, Med.Ireland, 2nd ed., pp 408-9.
86. C.J.R., 1295-1303, p.285.
87. Chartae, Priv.et Immun., p.43.
88. G.Mac Niocaill, Na Buirgéisí, vol.II, pp 332-3, note 14.

was almost certainly written before November 1282, when the king made an inspeximus of the charter d'Ufford had given to the convent for the lands they received in exchange for their lands near the castle, and when the king also granted the convent his protection, the right to hold a weekly market at their Irish town in Roscommon, and the right to water all their animals in Lochnaven.<sup>89</sup> Furthermore, the mayor of Roscommon wrote to the king on the subject of the burning of the town by Cathal O'Conor, and this letter was probably written in 1284.<sup>90</sup>

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On 16 May 1252 Henry III granted five villates around Aughrim (given as 'Haghdrum') in the cantred of Ui Maine to Oliver de Aspreville,<sup>91</sup> and this is the first indication we have that the king had decided that he was no longer prepared to lease all his five cantreds in Connacht to the king of Connacht. It would seem certain that this decision was made in response to the anti-settler attacks made by the Irish of the king's cantreds in the late 1240s.<sup>92</sup> On 29 June 1252 the king ordered the justiciar not to permit anyone to deprive Oliver de Aspreville of his Irish or other betaghs on the land granted to him, and he told him that he was not to allow the Irish to leave.<sup>93</sup> But there is no evidence that any other grants were made until a year later. It is possible that it was feared that there would be widespread disturbances in the king's cantreds if too many grants were made initially. On 23 May 1253 the king denied that he intended to grant the lands held by the king of Connacht to anybody,<sup>94</sup> but less than

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89. C.D.I., 1252-84, nos 1884, 2006, 2008. For other references to the Irish town at Roscommon, see ibid., 1293-1301, no. 604; P.R.O.I., RC7/11, pp 252, 545-6-De Banco 34-5 Edw.I.

90. See above, p. 275.

91. C.D.I., 1252-84, nos 35, 223; Cal. Ormond Deeds, vol.I, no. 117.

92. See above, pp 216-7.

93. C.D.I., 1252-84, no.52.

94. Close Rolls, 1251-53, p.474; C.D.I., 1252-84, no.189.

two months later he did make a few more grants. On 5 July he granted Richard de la Rochelle 20 librates of land near Oliver de Aspreville's land in the cantred of Ui Maine, in lieu of his annual fee of £20.<sup>95</sup> De Aspreville had in fact by this time sold four of his villates to John fitz Geoffrey, the justiciar, and he in turn had granted them to Richard de la Rochelle. De Aspreville had also either sold or granted the villate of Aughrim to de la Rochelle. The king recognized these transfers of land, and on 5 July granted de la Rochelle licence to erect a gallows at his manor of Aughrim, and to have assizes, with the judgement of thieves and all other liberties and free customs belonging to such gallows.<sup>96</sup> These liberties were no doubt given to him as an inducement to take possession of his land. The following day the king granted Roger de Lokington two villates in the cantred of Tir Maine,<sup>97</sup> and two days after this he granted Jordan de Exeter four villates in Ui Maine.<sup>98</sup>

So far none of the grants that the king had made were very large, but on 14 July 1253 he promised Stephen de Longespee that he would be the first to obtain four of the cantreds should he (the king) ever decide to grant them to anybody.<sup>99</sup> However, on 11 February 1254 the king broke his promise and granted his half-brother, Geoffrey de Lusignan, 500 librates of land in 4½ of the cantreds.<sup>100</sup> And three days later, when Henry III granted the land of Ireland to his eldest son, Edward, he excepted from the grant the 500 librates he had given to de

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95. Ibid., no. 223.

96. Ibid., nos 224, 226.

97. Ibid., no. 225.

98. Ibid., no. 228.

99. Ibid., no. 237.

100. Ibid., no. 321.

Lusignan.<sup>101</sup> Edward was only entitled to such land in the king's cantreds as remained after de Lusignan had received his 500 librates - if, that is, there was any land left over.<sup>102</sup> However, the king was to find that the royal officials in Ireland were unwilling to implement the grant to de Lusignan.

Edward's representative in Ireland was Richard de la Rochelle.<sup>103</sup> He had acquired land in the king's cantreds in 1252-3, and he may have been opposed to the grant to de Lusignan because he had ambitions to become a big landholder in the king's cantreds himself. The justiciar, John fitz Geoffrey, seems to have been absent from Ireland from June 1253, except for a visit early in 1254, after which he was with the king in France and later was employed in England.<sup>104</sup> He, therefore, cannot have been directly involved in the dispute to any great extent. However, his career before and after the dispute is worth mentioning. In 1237, when the barons in England forced Henry III to dismiss his foreign advisers in favour of three counsellors chosen by the barons, fitz Geoffrey was one of the counsellors that they choose.<sup>105</sup> No less important is the fact that fitz Geoffrey was to be one of the seven men who initiated the reform movement in 1258, in response to the crisis brought about by the king's 'Sicilian Business', and he continued to play an important role in that movement up to his death in November 1258.<sup>106</sup> He would almost certainly have

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101. Ibid., no. 326; Foedera, vol.I, p.297.

102. C.D.I., 1252-84, no. 321.

103. Richardson and Sayles, Administration, p.78.

104. Ibid.

105. Orpen, Normans, vol.III, pp 230-1. Baronial control over the king only lasted until the end of 1238, R.F. Treharne, The Baronial Plan of Reform, 1258-1263, p.52.

106. Ibid., pp 75, 83-9, 157; Powicke, The Thirteenth Century, pp 130-1. Fitz Geoffrey had ceased to be justiciar of Ireland by 1258.



been opposed to the favours which Henry III heaped on his Poitevin half-brothers, the de Lusignans.<sup>107</sup> When Henry III appealed to the barons for an aid to meet the crushing debt which he owed to the papacy as a result of the Sicilian affair, one of the first demands made by the barons was the expulsion of aliens. Of these the de Lusignans were the object of particular hatred because of Henry III's favours to them and because their counsel to him was felt to be one of the main causes of the ruin of the realm.<sup>108</sup> De la Rochelle's attitude to the reform movement is not known,<sup>109</sup> but he was John fitz Geoffrey's nephew,<sup>110</sup> and he seems to have first come to Ireland with fitz Geoffrey when the latter took up the office of justiciar in 1246.<sup>111</sup> Furthermore, during fitz Geoffrey's absence he acted as his deputy-justiciar.<sup>112</sup> It is conceivable that de la Rochelle was influenced by his uncle's views on the king's foreign favourites. The evidence certainly suggests that in opposing the grant to de Lusignan, he was not motivated by personal ambition only.

The king first showed anxiety that his grant to de Lusignan had not been implemented when, on 19 May 1254, he ordered de la Rochelle to cause de Lusignan to have seisin if he had not already received it.<sup>113</sup> By 5 July the king had heard that fitz Geoffrey and de la Rochelle had not given de Lusignan seisin because they alleged that all Ireland had previously been given to Edward, the king's son. Henry therefore reminded

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107. For these favours, see H.S. Snellgrove, The Lusignans in England, 1247-1258.

108. R.F. Treharne, op.cit., pp 66,76.

109. However, we do know that he was appointed keeper of Hadleigh castle at the end of June 1258, when the parliament of Oxford appointed new keepers for the king's castles in England, C.P.R., 1247-58, p. 638.

110. Orpen, Normans, vol.III, p.232, note 2.

111. C.P.R., 1232-47, p.478.

112. Richardson and Sayles, Administration, p.78.

113. C.D.I., 1252-84, no. 358.

them that he had made the grant to de Lusignan shortly before he had given Ireland to Edward. However, he now for the first time laid down that the land granted to de Lusignan was to be held in fee of 'Edward and his heirs, Kings of England, by the service of one knight's fee'. The king also said that if de Lusignan should wish to sell the lands, he was to inform Edward 'in order that the latter may have them for what others would give'.<sup>114</sup>

It would seem therefore that fitz Geoffrey and de la Rochelle were opposed to the grant to de Lusignan because it was injurious to Edward's interests. They do not seem to have been encouraged to take this attitude by Edward himself, who acted according to the king's wishes with regard to the grant. On 5 July Edward wrote to fitz Geoffrey and de la Rochelle, telling them that the king had commanded him to order the justiciar to cause the 500 librates to be assigned to de Lusignan.<sup>115</sup> On 10 July he made an inspeximus and confirmation of the grant,<sup>116</sup> and sometime before 11 December 1254 he received de Lusignan's homage for the land.<sup>117</sup> But although the land was to be held of Edward, and although Edward himself had confirmed the grant, nothing was done in Ireland to implement it. On 11 December the king wrote to Edward, commanding him 'on his filial affection' to order his bailiff, Richard de la Rochelle, to cause the 500 librates in Connacht to be assigned to de Lusignan.<sup>118</sup> On 17 January 1255 Edward duly wrote to de la Rochelle, telling him that he had confirmed

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114. Ibid., no. 364. This anticipated the king's grant to Edward of 20 July 1254 of the town and castle of Athlone, ibid., nos 371, 380, 383. The town, but not the castle, of Athlone had been excepted from the grant to Edward of the land of Ireland, Foedera, vol. I, p. 297.

115. C.D.I., 1252-84, no. 365.

116. Ibid., no. 367.

117. Ibid., no. 415.

118. Ibid.

his father's grant, and commanding him to cause the 500 librates to be assigned to de Lusignan.<sup>119</sup>

The king's patience was now beginning to wear thin. On 14 March 1255 he confirmed his grant to de Lusignan,<sup>120</sup> and on 26 March he wrote to de la Rochelle, saying that it was a year or more since he had made the grant, and that although he had often ordered the land to be extended and seisin to be given to de Lusignan the latter had still not received seisin of it. Believing that de la Rochelle's inactivity was instigated by 'malevolent persons', the king ordered him 'as he loves his lands in the realm' to go in person to the king's cantreds and to give seisin to de Lusignan's attorney, Thomas de Castre. To make absolutely certain that de la Rochelle would act on the matter, the king sent the marshal of his household, Sir Richard de Trumbleville, to Ireland.<sup>121</sup> And on 1 April 1255 the king wrote to de la Rochelle telling him to begin the extent towards Meath and to give de Lusignan 500 librates in the safer portion of the 4½ cantreds.<sup>122</sup>

With the arrival of de Trumbleville, de la Rochelle had no alternative but to make the extent. However, he seems to have assigned de Lusignan lands which were worth much less than £500 a year. On 20 June 1255 the king wrote to Edward saying that the extent made by de la Rochelle 'was so trifling and poor that little or no profit could be derived from the King's grant, and Geoffrey would not therefore accept the

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119. Ibid., no. 423.

120. Ibid , no. 434.

121. C.P.R., 1247-58, p. 405; C.D.I., 1252-84, nos 436-8.

122. Ibid., no. 439.

extent'. However, by this time the king had come to appreciate that his grant to de Lusignan might be damaging to royal interests. The king told Edward that 'in order to remove all ambiguity and contention in this matter', both he and the queen had ordained that out of the five cantreds in Connacht the cantred selected as the best by Edward and the one in which the royal castles were situated, as well as the castles themselves, were to remain to Edward, and that of the three remaining cantreds de Lusignan was to select two, de Lusignan having agreed to be satisfied with these two cantreds regardless of whether they contained less or more than 500 librates of land.<sup>123</sup>

Felim O'Conor was supposed to pay an annual rent of 500 marks for the king's five cantreds,<sup>124</sup> and although it may have been felt that the cantreds would be worth more than this if they were held by an English tenant, it is doubtful whether they would have been estimated to contain more than 500 librates.<sup>124a</sup> In other words, if de la Rochelle had carried out the king's original order, de Lusignan would have probably received all five cantreds. It is likely that de la Rochelle felt that the king's cantreds were far too important politically to be granted in their entirety to one man, for this meant that the government would no longer have any direct authority over the king of Connacht. Furthermore, since de Lusignan had hitherto no connection with Ireland, it was unlikely that he would be sensitive to the problems presented by the cantreds. It is possible that it was through de Trubleville

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123. C.D.I., 1252-84, no. 447; Close Rolls, 1254-56, p.204.

124. C.J.R., 1305-7, p. 133.

124a. See ibid., pp 133-4.

that de la Rochelle convinced the king that royal interests would be better served by allowing Edward to retain at least some of the cantreds. The king asked Edward to agree to the new arrangements, which he said were made as well for Edward's as for de Lusignan's advantage, and to ratify them by commanding de la Rochelle to assign to de Lusignan the two cantreds to be selected by the latter. These things Edward did.<sup>125</sup> However, a deed poll of de Lusignan's dated 9 December 1255 says that one of the cantreds which Edward had given to him was Tir Maine.<sup>126</sup> This was the cantred in which the castles of Athlone and Rinndown were situated.<sup>127</sup> Edward, it seems, did not appreciate the importance of retaining this cantred. The other cantred Edward gave to de Lusignan was that of Magh Lurg-Tirerrill. But in addition to this he gave de Lusignan the homage and service of Richard de la Rochelle and Jordan de Exeter (both of whom had been granted land in Ui Maine in 1253) on condition that if de Lusignan ever decided to sell or exchange his lands in Connacht, Edward would have been entitled to the homage and service of these men.<sup>128</sup> However, nothing further is heard about the matter until 6 November<sup>1256</sup> when the plan to give de Lusignan land in Connacht was abandoned, and Edward granted him land in Louth and England instead.<sup>129</sup> Alan la Zuche had been appointed justiciar in June 1256, and he brought about a change in royal policy with regard to the king's cantreds. He seems to have convinced the king that there would be more

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125. C.D.I., 1252-84, no. 447.

126. Ibid., no. 478.

127. Ibid., no. 713; A.C., pp 33, 385.

128. C.D.I., 1252-84, no. 478.

129. Ibid., no. 524; Cal. Charter Rolls, 1226-57, pp 453-4.

stability in Connacht if the O'Conors were given some security of tenure, for Felim O'Conor was given a grant in fee farm of the three most northerly cantreds during his justiciarship.<sup>130</sup> As a result, English settlement could take place only in Ui Maine and Tir Maine. It is not without interest that Richard de la Rochelle received substantial grants in both these cantreds shortly after the barons had assumed control in England.

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### Ui Maine

On 3 August 1258 the lord Edward granted Richard de la Rochelle the cantred of Ui Maine<sup>131</sup> except for the 20 librates which the king had already granted to him, the 20 librates John fitz Geoffrey had granted to him, and the 20 librates which the king had granted to Jordan de Exeter. Simon de Montfort himself was a witness to the grant, but so too were men from 'the king's party' such as Peter of Savoy and John Maunsel.<sup>132</sup> What is particularly interesting is that Edward granted that de la Rochelle and his heirs

shall hold the said cantred free of all pleas and suits of sheriffs, and all other our bailiffs and ministers, and that they shall have in that cantred the return of our writs and the plea vetitum namium<sup>133</sup> and all pleas that pertain to the sheriff. And that he and his heirs shall respond or shall answer for the above said rent at our Exchequer by the hand of his bailiffs, namely for the hundred shillings of rent ... for each villate, and all other debts pertaining to that cantred. So that no sheriff, bailiff or minister of ours shall enter that cantred to make summons or attachments or intrude in any of those matters which belong to that cantred except for defect of the said Richard or his heirs or bailiffs. Saving to us and our heirs the

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130. See above, pp 225-9.

131. Ui Maine lay in the bar. of Moycarn, Co. Roscommon, and in the bars. of Clonmacnowen and Kilconnell, Co. Galway.

132. Cal. Ormond Deeds, vol. I, no. 123; R.F. Treharne, The Baronial Plan of Reform, 1258--63, pp 83-5.

133. 'The lord who takes distresses and declines to give them up after the person distrained has offered security to appear and contest the lord's claim in an action has committed the offence vetitum namii', Holdsworth, A History of English Law, 3rd ed., pp 282-4. The plea vetitum namium was presumably brought by the wronged party against the lord who had committed this offence.

pleas of writs which ought to be and are wont to be pleaded before our justices, and other pleas of our crown.<sup>134</sup>

The grant of these liberties, which reduced the sheriff of Connacht's responsibilities in the cantred to a minimum, was presumably made to induce de la Rochelle to colonize Ui Maine. Other inducements were offered. De la Rochelle and his heirs were granted permission to build a castle in the cantred and to have markets, fairs and warrens in whatever places they thought fit.<sup>135</sup> De la Rochelle launched an offensive against the O'Conors in 1262, shortly after he became justiciar, but circumstances did not favour the occupation of the area till the late 1260s.<sup>136</sup>

That plans were afoot for the occupation of Ui Maine in 1267 is indicated by the fact that in July Henry III confirmed the lord Edward's grant of 1258,<sup>137</sup> and that in October Edward granted de la Rochelle free chase and warren in all his lands in Connacht.<sup>138</sup> In 1269 Roscommon castle was built to protect the settlers in the southern king's cantreds against the O'Conors, and by 1270 de la Rochelle had entered Ui Maine and had begun to make grants there. In a deed dated 20 May 1270 and written at Aughrim, de la Rochelle granted Stephen de Camera a carucate of land in Moysinehan (unidentified) and other lands nearby except for four acres

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134. Cal. Ormond Deeds, vol.I, no. 123.

135. Ibid.

136. See above, pp 238-48.

137. C.P.R., 1266-72, p.85.

138. Cal. Ormond Deeds, vol.I, no.143.

upon which de la Rochelle intended to build a mill. By this date de la Rochelle had not only chosen Aughrim (in the bar. of Kilconnell, Co. Galway) as the caput of his lordship but he had also made a number of other grants in the area, for the charter says that de Camera was to do suit at the court of Aughrim 'as other free tenants of Omany do'.<sup>139</sup>

Only a few of these grants are known to us. We know that he granted Trastan (tl. of Tristaun, par. of Clontuskert, bar. of Clonmacnowen, Co. Galway) to John de Fyfide,<sup>140</sup> and that he granted Curragh (a tl. in the par. of Kilcloony, bar. of Clonmacnowen) to John de Farewell and his wife Amicie,<sup>141</sup> and he may have granted the tenement called le Beliiis (unidentified) to Richard son of John,<sup>142</sup> and the tenement of Monennyn (unidentified) to John Bonaventura.<sup>143</sup> But although de la Rochelle undoubtedly made a much larger number of grants than we know of, it is unlikely that much English settlement had taken place by the time of his death sometime before 1277, and it would seem that the lands that had been occupied were laid waste by the Irish on his death. In 1282 his son and heir, Philip, who came of age in 1277,<sup>144</sup> said in a petition to the king that when the escheator took his father's land into the king's hand it was 'all waste and no man inhabited it'. The escheator, who was clearly anxious

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139. Ibid., no. 154. In 1280-81 after Stephen de Camera had died, his brother John, a clerk of Thorinton, gave this land to John de Fyfide, ibid., nos 245, 249. Richard de la Rochelle's son Philip had inherited Ui Maine by this date, and he made a similar grant to de Fyfide, ibid., nos 246, 250-1; R.C.H., p.3, no. 39.

140. Ibid., no. 37; Cal. Ormond Deeds, vol.I, no.247. In 1280 Philip de la Rochelle also granted this land to de Fyfide, ibid.

141. De Farewell later granted this land to Theobald Butler, ibid., no. 152; but Philip de la Rochelle granted it to John de Fyfide, ibid., nos 250, 261.

142. Ibid., no. 281. In 1292 Richard son of John's son, Richard, sold the tenement to Theobald Butler, ibid., no. 308.

143. John later granted the tenement to Edmund Butler, ibid., no. 346.

144. C.D.I., 1252-84, no. 1357.



to raise money from the land, induced the Irish who had previously held the land to rent it of the king for a certain term. When Philip inherited the land the escheator and justiciar demanded that he pay the same amount of rent as had been demanded of his father. Philip thought this was unreasonable, since, according to him, the land had been peaceful under his father; and he told the justiciar that as things now stood he would not be able to raise the rent from the Irish without the justiciar's assistance. According to Philip, the justiciar thereupon ordered his bailiffs to distrain the rent, but when the Irish heard of this they made peace with the justiciar and gave sureties and hostages that they would pay a fine for having the peace. Jordan de Exeter, who was sheriff of Connacht in 1279,<sup>145</sup> then entered the land and took £200 worth of chattels from the Irish.<sup>146</sup> It would seem very likely that the justiciar, Robert d'Ufford, had sent troops into Ui Maine, for an entry in pipe roll 9 Edward I (1281-2) says that the O'Kellys (who held the kingship of Ui Maine) paid 120 cows for having the king's army removed from them,<sup>147</sup> and it is likely that this entry refers to the episode described by Philip.

Philip de la Rochelle clearly found the problems facing him

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145. See Appendix IV, below, p.507.

146. C.D.I., 1252-84, no. 1986.

147. Hardiman, History of Galway, p.52, note 20.

in his lands in the king's cantreds too daunting, for in February 1282 he granted all his lands in Ui Maine and Tir Maine to his cousin, Theobald Butler, in exchange for other lands in the east of Ireland.<sup>148</sup> Jurors in 1304 said that the reason Philip got rid of his Connacht lands was that he could get little or no profit from them on account of the power of the Irish, who prostrated his castles, and burned and wasted his lands.<sup>149</sup>

It would seem that some English settlement took place in Ui Maine under Theobald Butler, for after his death in 1285 the escheator accounted for the expenses of Thomas de Cantewell in taking inquisitions between the English and Irish of Ui Maine. However, the area around Aughrim seems to have become disturbed during the minority of Theobald's son and heir Theobald, which lasted until 1290, because the escheator spent money on Aughrim castle, and it would seem that Richard de Burgh, the Red Earl, led an expedition to Aughrim to suppress the Irish.<sup>150</sup>

Although it would seem probable that some further English settlement took place under the Butlers, it is clear that they had difficulty in attracting tenants to Ui Maine.

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148. Cal. Ormond Deeds, vol. I, nos 257-60; C.D.I., 1302-7, no. 198. A dispute over dower between Philip's widow, Johanna, and the Butlers suggests that the Butlers claimed the liberties that the lord Edward had granted to Richard de la Rochelle and his heirs. In 1300 Edmund Butler, having been summoned to appear before the common bench, claimed that he was not bound to answer Johanna because such was his liberty that he ought not to be summoned to the king's court regarding any tenement in Ui Maine by a returnable writ which the sheriff had given to his sub-serjeant to execute, and that he should have been summoned by a writ given to his (Butler's) own bailiff, P.R.O.I., RC 7/7, pp 15, 150-1-De Banco 28 Edw.I. However, there is no evidence that the Butlers were granted these liberties.

149. C.D.I., 1302-7, no. 198.

150. See above, pp 292-4.

Sometime before 1303 Edmund Butler complained to the king that many of the villates there 'as well during the time of Theobald his father as Theobald his brother (whose heir he is) remained uncultivated and waste, because no Englishman or Irishmen would hold or inhabit them as they were subject to so great a rent'. Clearly the Butlers would have been happy to have Irish tenants who were prepared to pay the rent. Edmund asked the king to reduce the rent of 100 shillings per villate demanded of him by the king, and an inquiry was held into the matter before the justiciar at Loughrea in June 1304. The jurors confirmed what Edmund had said. According to them, neither Richard nor Philip de la Rochelle could levy rent from the land, and when Theobald Butler acquired the land he too, 'although of great power, could not during his life fully levy the rent by a great sum. Nor could Theobald his son, brother of Edmund'. The jurors said further that if war arose in those parts, the greater portion of Edmund's lands in Ireland would scarcely suffice for the defence of his lands in Ui Maine.<sup>151</sup>

It would seem from the receipt and pipe rolls that the de la Rochelles and Butlers paid their rent for Ui Maine very infrequently.<sup>152</sup> The difficulty they encountered in attracting tenants undoubtedly goes far to explain their failure to pay the rent they owed the king. Eventually, on 22 September 1309, Edmund Butler was freed from the obligation of paying any further rent for Ui Maine for the rest of his life and he was also pardoned all the arrears he owed for the land, as a reward for his service to Edward I and Edward II.<sup>153</sup> Had such a grant come

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151. C.D.I., 1302-7, no.198.

152. Ibid., 1252-84, no.1740, p.361; no. 1814, p.384; ibid., 1293-1301, no. 21, p.12; 36th Rept. D.K., pp 72, 77-Pipe Rolls 11 and 12 Edw.I; 37th Rept.D.K., p.46-Pipe Roll 20 Edw.I; 38th Rept.D.K., p.73-Pipe Roll 31 Edw.I.

153. P.R.O.I., EX1/1, mm 4d, 19-Mem.Roll 3 Edw.II; C.P.R., 1307-1313, p.189.

earlier, it might have helped the de la Rochelles and Butlers to bring more settlers into Ui Maine. But the grant came too late, and it would seem that the O'Kellys took over the Butler lands during the Bruce invasion.<sup>154</sup>

What English settlement there had been would seem to have taken place in and around Aughrim and Suicin (now Ballinasloe, bar. of Moycarn, Co. Roscommon).<sup>155</sup> But although we know that a castle was built at Suicin in 1245,<sup>156</sup> before Richard de la Rochelle was granted Ui Maine, there is no evidence that there was one there in the late thirteenth or early fourteenth centuries. Aughrim was burned by the O'Kellys in 1307,<sup>157</sup> but the English remained there until 1315, when the town was burned and the castle was knocked down by the Irish.<sup>158</sup>

#### Tir Maine<sup>159</sup>

On 6 July 1253 Henry III granted Roger de Lokinton the villates of Slef and Muinassan in the cantred of Tir Maine,<sup>160</sup> but it is unlikely that Roger made good his grant.<sup>161</sup> Circumstances did not favour the English occupation of the southern king's

154. See above, p. 405.

155. C.D.I., 1293-1301, nos 765-7, 814; Cal. Ormond Deeds, vol. I, no. 364.

156. See above, p. 446.

157. See above, p. 325.

158. See above, p. 348.

159. Tir Maine seems to have covered the bars. of Athlone, Co. Roscommon, and parts of the bars. lying to the north and west of them in Cos. Roscommon and Galway.

160. C.D.I., 1252-84, no. 225.

161. See below, p. 482.

cantreds until the late 1260s,<sup>162</sup> and it would seem that Tir Maine, like Ui Maine, was not occupied by the English until after Roscommon castle was built in 1269.

On 7 July 1267 Henry III confirmed a grant which the lord Edward had given to Richard de la Rochelle of the theodum of Clann Uadach (given as 'Clonnodath') in the cantred of Tir Maine, and all the liberties mentioned in the grant.<sup>163</sup> It would seem likely that Edward had made this grant circa 1258, when he granted Ui Maine to de la Rochelle. Walter de Burgh plundered Clann Uadach in 1267,<sup>164</sup> and de la Rochelle had begun to occupy the theodum, which lay in the parishes of Cam and Dysart in the barony of Athlone South, Co. Roscommon, by 15 June 1270, when he granted the abbot and convent of St. Mary's of Dysart near Breeole the villates of Dysart, Fynchmahc (?tl. of Feevagh, par. of Dysart), and Macsyemenan, and 1½ carucates of land in the villate of Kilkarch (tl. of Kilcar, par. of Cam).<sup>165</sup> Since de la Rochelle excepted from the grant the hearing of pleas and the return of writs 'sicut mihi et heredibus meis, per cartam Domini Edwardi, illustris Regis Anglie primogeniti, plenius concessa sunt et in eadem carta contenta',<sup>166</sup> it would seem that de la Rochelle had been given the same liberties in Clann Uadach as he had been given in Ui Maine. We know that Richard de la Rochelle granted the villates of Athnebeg and Hernelan in Clann Uadach to John Fyfide,<sup>167</sup> and that he granted 1½ villates in the same theodum to Roger de la Rochelle and Nicholas de Chauspe.<sup>168</sup> But it would seem unlikely that these people took possession of their

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162. See above, pp 238-48.

163. C.P.R., 1266-72, p.85.

164. See above, p. 247.

165. Charts.St.Mary's, vol.I, pp 254-7. These lands had been given to St. Mary's Abbey, Dublin, by Felim O'Conor's brother, Pory, c.1230, ibid., vol.II, pp 5,25. It would seem unlikely that an abbey was actually built at Dysart, Gwynn and Hadcock, Medieval Religious Houses: Ireland, p.144.

166. Charts. St.Mary's, vol.I, p.255.

167. R.C.H., p.3, no.38.

168. Ibid., no.39; Cal.Ormond Deeds, vol.I, no.251.

lands before 1280-1, when Richard de la Rochelle's son and heir, Philip, granted John Fyfyde the two villates that Richard had granted to him, and the 1½ villates which Richard had granted to Roger de la Rochelle and Nicholas de Chauspe.<sup>169</sup> On 26 February 1282 Philip gave Clann Uadach to Theobald Butler,<sup>170</sup> but there is nothing to show that any English settlement took place under the Butlers.

Sometime before July 1270 the lord Edward granted land in Crumthann (given as 'Crohon') in Tir Maine to John de Arderne. On 8 July 1270 de Arderne, who lived in England, granted the land to Richard de la Rochelle.<sup>171</sup> In 1282 Philip de la Rochelle gave the land to Theobald Butler, and described it as consisting of the villates of Unchen without Eschesan (tl. of Funshinagh, par. of Tisrara, bar. of Athlone North, Co. Roscommon), Tasrather (Tisrara), Dondermod (tl. of Dundermot, par. of Drumatemple, bar. of Ballymoe, Co. Roscommon), Thobural Gyly on the east of the Suck, and three villates of land on the west of the Suck.<sup>172</sup> There is nothing to show whether there was any English settlement under the Butlers.

On 15 January 1271 the lord Edward granted William fitz Warin thirty librates of land in county Connacht.<sup>173</sup> Fitz Warin is mentioned as having been granted one carucate of land near Dunamon by the king prior to 1283,<sup>174</sup> but presumably this was a different grant. In 1293 an inspeximus of the 1271 charter was made,<sup>175</sup> and in 1310 an Alan fitz Warin held three villates

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169. R.C.H., p.3, nos 38-9; Cal. Ormond Deeds, vol.I, nos 250-1.

170. Ibid., nos 257-60.

171. C.D.I., 1252-84, no. 878.

172. Cal. Ormond Deeds, vol.I, no. 258.

173. C.D.I., 1293-1301, no. 108.

174. Ibid., 1252-84, no. 2115.

175. Ibid., 1293-1301, no.108.

in the king's cantreds.<sup>176</sup> It would seem probable therefore that the fitz Warins did make good the 1271 grant, but nothing further is known.

It would appear that up to the time that Roscommon castle was knocked down for a second time, in 1277, attempts to bring English settlers into the king's cantreds had not really been very successful. But after the second attack on Roscommon castle, the justiciar, Robert d'Ufford, decided that the only solution to the problem posed by the O'Conors was to reduce further the amount of land leased to the king of Connacht, and in Michaelmas 1281 Cathal O'Connor was allowed to hold only 2½ cantreds of the king.<sup>177</sup>

For this policy to have any permanent success it was necessary to bring more English settlers into the other half of the king's cantreds. But d'Ufford was constantly up against the problem of finding people who were prepared to settle there. In June 1278 the king granted John de Walhop 30 librates of land in the king's waste lands in Ireland, and ordered d'Ufford to assign lands of this value to him.<sup>178</sup> D'Ufford saw to it that an extent was made of lands in Tir Maine,<sup>179</sup> but de Walhop must have refused to accept these lands, for he was granted lands in Co. Dublin instead.<sup>180</sup> Also, on 28 June 1280 the king granted Robert de Stapleton 100 solidates of land in the waste lands of Connacht, and d'Ufford was told to make an extent.<sup>181</sup> However, it would seem that de Stapleton was ultimately given land in Co. Waterford,<sup>182</sup> and it is possible that he too refused to accept lands offered to him in the king's cantreds. Sometime between 1278 and 1284 a William Huse

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176. P.R.O.I., EX1/1, m.20 - Mem.Roll 3 Edw.II.

177. See above, p. 264.

178. C.D.I., 1252-84, no. 1466.

179. Ibid., no.1613.

180. Ibid., no.1625. See also 39th Rept.D.K., p.70-Pipe Roll 9 Edw.II.

181. C.D.I., 1252-84, no. 1702.

182. Ibid., nos 1784, 1909, 1954.

was given £14-6-8 to fortify 10 librates of land which the king had given to him in the waste lands of Connacht,<sup>183</sup> but it is doubtful whether this worked as an inducement, because there is no evidence that Huse ever took possession of his land. However, there would seem to have been a number of people who were happy to receive land in the king's cantreds. We even come across an individual who felt that he had not been given enough land there. Circa 1285 John Map, who had been custodian of one or other of the royal castles in Connacht on a number of occasions between 1270 and 1285,<sup>184</sup> complained that the king had granted him 100 solidates of waste land in Connacht but that he had only received 1½ carucates, and he felt that another carucate was due to him.<sup>185</sup>

On 28 June 1280 the king gave d'Ufford power to enfeoff people of land in the king's waste lands in Ireland, to be held by knight or other service, and to let land in fee farm or for an annual rent.<sup>186</sup> However, it would seem that d'Ufford already exercised some of these powers in the king's cantreds in Connacht, because on 29 June 1280 the king made a grant in fee simple to Richard de Exeter of 20 librates of land in Connacht which Robert d'Ufford had recently committed to him in fee farm.<sup>187</sup>

The powers granted to d'Ufford helped to bring further English settlement to the king's cantreds in Connacht. Sometime before the end of 1281<sup>188</sup> d'Ufford granted the escheator, John of Sandford, 20 villates of land in the theodum of

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183. C.D.I., 1285-92, no.169, p.79.

184. See Appendix III, pp 489, 495-6.

185. C.D.I., 1252-84, no. 2364.

186. Ibid., no. 1697; C.P.R., 1272-81, p.384. D'Ufford was to act with the consent and counsel of the treasurer, Stephen de Fulbourne.

187. Ibid.

188. D'Ufford had ceased to be justiciar by this time, Richardson and Sayles, Administration, p.81.



Clann Conmhaig on both sides of the river Suck around Dunamon, as well as 10 villates of land outside the same theodum. On 28 August 1283 the king accepted this grant, and demanded from Sandford the service of half a knight and suit at the county court of Roscommon, in addition to the £34 annual rent d'Ufford had demanded of him for the land.<sup>189</sup> However, on 30 August 1283 the king discharged Sandford of paying the rent for six years, probably to induce him to make good his grant.<sup>190</sup> The decision to establish a separate county in the king's cantreds is an indication that the government was becoming more confident that it could colonize the southern king's cantreds.<sup>191</sup> Sandford, a conscientious member of the royal administration in Ireland, seems to have made a determined effort to hold down his land, for he built a castle at Dunamon (in the bar. of Ballymoe, Co. Roscommon).<sup>192</sup> This is one of the few castles we hear of in the king's cantreds. In 1294, after Sandford had died, the king granted the castle, and some lands in the king's cantreds which Sandford had acquired from Richard fitz John, to William d'Oddingeseles, the justiciar and former custodian of the

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189. C.D.I., 1252-84, no.2115; R.C.H., pp 2-3, no.28. The only villates that can be identified with any degree of certainty are Rosmoylan, (a tl. in the par. of Dunamon, bar. of Ballymoe, Co. Roscommon), Donnathinegan (Dunamon, in the bar. of Ballymoe), Ymolath (tls. of Emlagh, par. of Oran, bar. of Ballymoe), Clonyhalgan (tl. of Cloonycolgan, par. of Oran, bar. of Ballymoe).

190. C.D.I., 1252-84, nos 2119 - 20.

191. For the first sheriff of Roscommon, see below, pp 512-4.

192. C.D.I., 1293-1301, no. 177.

castles of Roscommon and Rinndown.<sup>193</sup> D'Oddingeseles was dead by June 1295,<sup>194</sup> but it would seem that English settlers remained in and around Dunamon under his heirs<sup>195</sup> until at least 1315, when Rory O'Connor burned both the town and castle there.<sup>196</sup>

Another administrator who was given lands in the king's cantreds in the early 1280s was Richard de Exeter, justice itinerant from 1258 to 1279,<sup>197</sup> and custodian of the castles of Roscommon and Rinndown from 1282 to circa 1284.<sup>198</sup> He was given two grants, one of 20 librates the other of 30 librates of land in Tir Maine in 1280-1281,<sup>199</sup> and he also built a castle. However, he was not as successful as Sandford in holding down his lands. We learn about his problems from an enquiry which the king ordered to be made in 1301, after his son and heir Richard had asked for a charter for the 30 librates, Richard senior having died before he had received one, and for a re-grant of the 20 librates, which he had surrendered to the king sometime after 1289.<sup>200</sup> Jurors at Roscommon in 1301 said that the 20 librates which Richard de Exeter senior had held consisted of the villates of Tobyrnechalpye (?tl. of Toberavaddy, par. of Fuerty, bar. of Athlone North, Co. Roscommon), Rathfaret (tl. of Rahara, par. of Rahara, bar. of Athlone North), Lytefchy (tl. of Liscoffy, par. of Athleague, bar. of Athlone North), Conyllesty (tl. of Coullosty, par. of Athleague) Naracheyn (?tl. of Araghty, par. of Athleague) Corkylbrangyle, Corcreppan, and Denguymacossan, each of which was at present

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193. Ibid., nos 177, 184; R.C.H., p.2, no.27. See also Appendix III, pp 496, 501.

194. C.D.I., 1293-1301, no.227.

195. P.R.O.I., EX1/1, m.20-Mem.Roll 3 Edw.II.

196. See above, p. 344.

197. Richardson and Sayles, Administration, pp 137-40.

198. See Appendix III, pp 496, 501.

199. C.P.R., 1272-84, p.384; C.D.I., 1293-1301, no.802. In 1281 he also acquired the villate of Molerah from Philip de Montgomery, who had been granted it by the king, R.C.H., p.1, no.6.

200. C.D.I., 1285-92, no.558, p.252.

worth 40 shillings a year. However, this was not so in the past, because Richard de Exeter senior's castle of Athleague was laid low by the common war of the Irish of Connacht, and Richard his son surrendered the lands to the king on account of both the high rents charged on those lands and the common war of the Irish.<sup>201</sup>

The 30 librates held by Richard de Exeter senior consisted of half the villates of Kilcoshy (tl. of Kilcash, par. of Kilmeane, bar. of Athlone North) and Skregtreynyn (?tl. of Scregg, par. of Killinvoy, bar. of Athlone North), and the villates of Bethach (?tl. of Bellaugh, par. of St. Peter's, bar. of Athlone South), Shrenan, Ardmolan (tl. of Ardmullen, par. of Cam, bar. of Athlone South), Drumclohychry, Lysmoirchethan and Kunathyth (tl. of Carnagh, par. of St. John's, bar. of Athlone South), Unchenach, and Dothulachelyn.<sup>202</sup>

The jurors said of these that, from the time that Richard de Exeter senior departed from Connacht and gave up the custody of the king's castles of Roscommon and Rinndown until 1298-1299, these and neighbouring lands were worth absolutely nothing on account of continuous war, but that each of the villates was now worth 40 shillings.<sup>203</sup> Richard de Exeter had given up the custody of the royal castles sometime before Michaelmas 1284,<sup>204</sup> and since it is conceivable that he left Connacht shortly after Athleague castle was destroyed by the Irish, 1284 is a likely date for the destruction of this castle.<sup>205</sup>

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201. Ibid., 1293-1301, no. 806.

202. Ibid., nos 802, 806.

203. Ibid., no. 806.

204. See Appendix III, pp 496, 501.

205. See above, p. 274.

The jurors were also asked to tell the king whether it would be to his damage to grant the villates of Moyvannan (a tl. in the par. of Kiltoom, bar. of Athlone South), Torpan (a tl. in the par. of Taghboy, bar. of Athlone North), Monethassan and Slefschenechoch in fee farm to Richard de Exeter junior. The jurors said of these villates that they were worth nothing during the war, but that they too were now worth 40 shillings each.<sup>206</sup> Their statement is confirmed by other evidence. One of the villates - Moyvannan - was granted to William de Prene, the king's carpenter, by Stephen de Fulbourne, sometime shortly after 16 August 1285,<sup>207</sup> when the latter, John de Sandford, Thomas de Clare and Geoffrey de Geneville were given power to let and to make enfeoffments in the king's waste lands in the district of Roscommon.<sup>208</sup> De Prene claimed in 1289 that he had been unable to raise any money from the land between 1286 and 1289 because of the war which prevailed there.<sup>209</sup>

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206. C.D.I., 1293-1301, no.806.

207. Ibid., 1285-92, no. 528.

208. Ibid., no. 137.

209. C.D.I., 1285-92, no.528. It is worth mentioning that other parts of Tir Maine would appear to have been less disturbed during the period 1284 to 1298. A Gregory O'Duffy made payments of rent from the king's demesnes of Roscommon and from Tir Maine into the exchequer in 1283 and 1286, and in 1288 and 1289 he paid 'the issues of Connacht' into the exchequer, P.R.O.L., E.101/230/28-Receipt Roll East. 1283; C.D.I., 1285-92, no.251, p.112; no.271, p.125; no.434, p.190. The latter payments were undoubtedly rents from the king's cantreds. In 1291, 1292 and 1297 Richard de Oxonia, who was sheriff of Roscommon in fact if not in name at the time (see Appendix IV pp512-4), paid 'the issues of the rent of Connacht' into the exchequer, and would therefore seem to have taken over O'Duffy's job of rent collecting in Tir Maine, ibid., no.918, pp 413-4; no.1078, p.478; ibid., 1293-1301, no. 408, p.191.

On 17 September 1302 the king granted Richard de Exeter junior the farm of these four villates and the 20 librates of land he had previously surrendered to the king,<sup>210</sup> but on 12 June 1304 the king changed this to a grant in fee farm and omitted the villates of Monethassan and Sleafschenechoch from the grant.<sup>211</sup> The receipt rolls show that de Exeter paid rent for the nine villates, thus granted to him, from Easter 1305 to Michaelmas 1310,<sup>212</sup> and this shows that these lands must have been profitable until then at least. In May 1303 de Exeter was granted the 30 librates in fee, to hold by the service of half a knight.<sup>213</sup> He had acquired land in Clonynloghcrowhyn by 1307, and paid rent for it from then until 1309.<sup>214</sup> It is not clear whether it was he or Richard de Oxonia who held Kynnetty and Derecommon (the tls. of Kinitty and Derrycanan, par. of Kilbride, bar. of Ballintober South, Co. Roscommon).<sup>215</sup> In 1310 jurors said that he held a total of 19½ villates in fee in the king's cantreds.<sup>216</sup>

In 1310 an enquiry into the lands belonging to the castles of Roscommon, Rinndown and Athlone was held,<sup>217</sup> following the king's grant of the custody of these lands to the Red Earl.<sup>218</sup> This enquiry gives us the names of the other English tenants in the king's cantreds, and this information can be supplemented with other evidence.

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210. Ibid., 1302-7, no.105.
211. Ibid., nos 316-7; R.C.H., p.4, no.54.
212. P.R.O.L., E.101/234/2-Receipt Roll East.1305; E.101/234/9 - Receipt Roll Trin. 1306; E.101/235/25-Receipt Roll Mich. 1310.
213. C.D.I., 1302-7, nos 208-9.
214. P.R.O.L., E.101/234/16-Receipt Roll East-Trin.1307; E.101/235/18-Receipt Roll Mich. 1308 and East. 1309.
215. 39th Rept.D.K., pp 27, 54-Pipe Rolls 3 and 8 Edw.II.
216. P.R.O.I., EX 1/1,m.20 - Mem. Roll 3 Edw.II.
217. Ibid.
218. See above, pp 340-2.

One of the tenants named by the jurors of 1310 was the Red Earl himself. He held 2½ villates in the Faes of Athlone (an area lying to the west of the Shannon south of Athlone). An Eoch M<sup>c</sup>Eoch had intruded himself into this area circa 1285,<sup>219</sup> but from Michaelmas 1293 to Michaelmas 1294 the land of the Faes, Molyonach (i.e. Onagh, in the par. of Taghmaconnell, bar. of Athlone South) and Moymoryn were held by the sheriff of Roscommon, Richard de Oxonia.<sup>220</sup> It is not known when Richard de Burgh acquired the Faes,<sup>221</sup> but he seems to have lost possession of it during the Bruce invasion. In 1318 it was granted to the king of Connacht.<sup>222</sup>

Another of the tenants named by the jurors in 1310 was Edmund Butler, who, in addition to holding the cantred of Ui Maine and the theoda of Clann Uadach and Crumthann, held two villates of land worth £4 in time of peace.<sup>223</sup> These were the villates of Moyneccassan and Slefthemtoun, which had been granted to him in Michaelmas 1302.<sup>224</sup> These villates were undoubtedly the ones granted to Roger de Lokinton back in 1253,<sup>225</sup> but there is no evidence that they were held by the English until 1302, when Richard de Exeter was given the farm of them.<sup>226</sup> It is not known what became of them after 1310.

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219. See above, p. 278.

220. See below, p. 513.

221. But see 39th Rept. D.K., p. 27—Pipe Roll 3 Edw. II.

222. R.C.H., p. 23, no. 103.

223. P.R.O.I., EX1/1, m. 20—Mem. Roll 3 Edw. II.

224. 39th Rept. D.K., p. 54—Pipe Roll 8 Edw. II; P.R.O.I., RC8/2, p. 436—Mem. Roll 31-5 Edw. I.

225. See above, p. 472.

226. See above, pp 480-1.

The jurors of 1310 said that David de Burgh held 17 villates of land worth £34 annually in time of peace,<sup>227</sup> but these villates are nowhere named. He had acquired some at least of his lands by 1302,<sup>228</sup> and from Easter 1305 until Easter 1310 he made payments into the exchequer for the lands which he held in Tir Maine and 'le Machery'.<sup>229</sup> The latter is an Machaire, an alternative name for the cantred of Magh nAi.<sup>230</sup> The Red Earl had acquired these lands by Trinity 1310, and he made payments into the exchequer for them from then until Michaelmas 1314.<sup>231</sup> It is probable that he lost control over them during the Bruce invasion. There would seem to be only two other references to an Machaire. The Roscommon account for 1299-1302 has an entry concerning the herbage of waste lands there,<sup>232</sup> and in 1305 Richard de Oxonia paid 60 shillings rent for three villates he held there.<sup>233</sup>

The jurors of 1310 said that William de Calne held 12½ villates in fee, by an unknown amount of service.<sup>234</sup> According to the jurors of the 1305 enquiry into the king's cantreds, when Robert d'Ufford gave the king of Connacht the farm of the cantreds of Magh Lurg - Tirerrill and Tri Tuatha, and half the cantred of Magh nAi in 1281, he excepted from the grant the villate of Clonmagyauenan, which belonged to Richard de Calue (Calne?), and which was in the king's hand in 1305 because

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227. P.R.O.I., EX1/1, m.20-Mem.Roll 3 Edw.II.
228. 38th Rept.D.K., p.54-Pipe Roll 29 Edw.I.
229. P.R.O.L., E.101/234/2-Receipt Roll East.1305; F.101/234/16-Receipt Roll Hil., East., and Trin. 1307; E.101/235/5-Receipt Roll Mich. 1307; E.101/235/18-Receipt Roll Mich. 1308 and East. 1309; E.101/235/22-Receipt Roll East. 1310.
230. A.C., p.836.
231. P.R.O.L., E.101/235/22-Receipt Roll Trin.1310; E.101/235/25-Receipt Roll East.1311; E.101/236/1-Receipt Roll Trin. 1312; E.101/236/4-Receipt Roll East.1313; E.101/236/12-Receipt Roll Trin. and Mich.1314. See also 39th Rept. D.K., p.54 - Pipe Roll 8 Edw.II.
232. 38th Rept.D.K., p.54-Pipe Roll 29 Edw.I.
233. P.R.O.L., E.101/234/2-Receipt Roll East. 1302.
234. P.R.O.I., EX1/1, m.20-Mem.Roll 3 Edw.II.

Richard's heir was a minor.<sup>235</sup> From the wording of the 1305 inquisition it would appear that this villate lay in Tri Tuatha, but this cantred was never taken from the O'Conors, and no other English person is known to have held lands there.

The jurors of 1310 said that the heir of Stephen de Valle, who was under age and in the king's guardianship, held three villates of land in fee, by an unknown amount of service.<sup>236</sup> We learn from an enquiry held in 1307 that Adam de Valle, deceased, had held the villates of Cammys Mornolk, Hyncher-coulcass and Molaghnumches for five shillings royal service at the castle of Roscommon, whenever it was proclaimed. The villates were described as lying in the march near the Irish, and Adam's son and heir, Stephen, who the jurors said was 21 years old around about 25 December 1303, was pardoned the proving of age for a fine of 100 shillings, 'because the land of Connacht is in these days at war, so that the withdrawl of men out of those parts is full of danger'.<sup>237</sup> He may in fact have been one of the many English of Roscommon who were killed in 1307.<sup>238</sup> It is not known what happened to his lands after 1310.

Another of those named by the jurors of 1310 was Robert Gent, who held one carucate of land in fee in Molaghmokys for 20 shillings rent.<sup>239</sup> He had been holding the land since 1306

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235. C.J.R., 1305-7, p.134.

236. P.R.O.I., EX1/1, m.20-Mem.Roll 3 Edw.II.

237. C.J.R., 1305-7, p.341.

238. See above, pp 325-6.

239. P.R.O.I., EX1/1, m.20-Mem.Roll 3 Edw.II.



at least,<sup>240</sup> and from 1307 to 1309 he made payments of his rent into the exchequer.<sup>241</sup> Once again it is not known what happened to his land after 1310.

The jurors of 1310 name four other people who held land in the king's cantreds: John de Bermingham, who held two villates, Robert de Cusack, who held four villates, John de Oxonia, who held one villate, and Stephen de Oxonia, who held under two villates.<sup>242</sup> However, we have no other evidence about their lands. On the other hand, tenants who are mentioned in other records are not named by the jurors of 1310, possibly because they had left their lands by that date. For instance, the Roscommon account for 1299-1302 says that the justiciar granted the villates of Turelachogene and Giltultok to Robert de Prendergast;<sup>243</sup> and the Roscommon account for 1306-1310 says that the Gilbert de Angulo held a third of the villate of Kylseinbogh, and that Simon le Graunt held a third of the villate of Thaghseye.<sup>244</sup> Also Peter de Sprot, who held the villates of Arelechlyn, (?tls. of Ardlagheen Beg and More, par. of Cloonygormican, bar. of Ballymoe, Co. Roscommon), Clonodierne and Turakkenedy of the king, after he had been enfeoffed of them by Richard de Aston in 1299, is not mentioned.<sup>245</sup> Nor is William le Marshal, who held the villates of Kiltok and Castlemetegan (tls. of Coolteige and Cashelmeehan,

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240. 38th Rept.D.K., p.103-Pipe Roll 33 Edw.I.

241. P.R.O.L., E.101/234/16-Receipt Roll East.-Trin.1307; E.101/235/18-Receipt Roll Mich. 1308 and Trin 1309.

242. P.R.O.I., EX1/1, m.20-Mem.Roll 3 Edw.II.

243. 38th Rept.D.K., p.54-Pipe Roll 29 Edw.I.

244. 39th Rept. D.K., p.27-Pipe Roll 3 Edw. II.

245. C.J.R., 1295-1303, p.268; C.D.I., 1293-1301, no.655.

par. of Kilbride, bar. of Ballintober South) of the king, after he had been enfeoffed of them in 1305 by Audeon son of John. The latter had acquired them from William le Irreis, who had been enfeoffed of them by Richard de Aston in 1299.<sup>246</sup>

Although it is not possible to identify a number of the villates granted to the English in the 2½ southermost king's cantreds, many of the villates can be identified. A map of the parishes in which these villates were located shows that the lands granted to the English were scattered throughout the whole region.<sup>247</sup> However, the evidence suggests that settlement was very light in all but a few places. Only three castles are known to have been built : Aughtrim, Dunamon and Athleague,<sup>248</sup> and there is no evidence that the last of these was rebuilt after it was knocked down circa 1284. The only towns mentioned in the records were at Aughtrim and Dunamon.<sup>249</sup> It is difficult to say how much actual settlement took place elsewhere. Those people who did not hold their lands in fee, such as the Red Earl, David de Burgh,<sup>250</sup> and Richard de Oxonia,<sup>251</sup> probably did not establish settlements. Their primary concern may have simply been to take rent from the Irish who inhabited the land; and it is possible that as time went on, the government itself concentrated less on promoting English settlement than on ensuring that the land was under English control. Although

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246. Ibid., no. 604; C.J.R., 1295-1303, p.340; 38th Rept. D.K., p. 103-Pipe Roll 33 Edw.I.

247. See Map IX.

248. See above, pp 470, 472, 477-9, and Map VIII.

249. See above, pp 472, 478.

250. P.R.O.I., EX1/1, m.20 - Mem. Roll 3 Edw.II.

251. See below, p.513.

the southern king's cantreds were often disturbed in the later thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, the government seems to have succeeded in keeping the O'Conors out of the area from about 1285 to 1315. But the evidence suggests that the English lost control of much of the southern king's cantreds during the Bruce invasion and that they were unable to restore the situation in their favour.<sup>252</sup>

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252. See above, Chapter V, pp 403-9.

13 Oct. 1223

Thomas Fitz Alan

Appointed to the castle of Athlone, 1223. *Annals of the Kings of Ireland*, p. 122.

23 July 1232

Patrick Fitz Richard

Appointed to the castle of Athlone, 1232. *Annals of the Kings of Ireland*, p. 132. In Jan. 1233 the King ordered the justiciar, Maurice Fitz Gerald, to retain the castle in his hand. *Ibid.*, p. 133.

Apr. 1234-Oct. 1235

Walter son of Alured

He was also custos of the town of Athlone, 1234-1235. *Ibid.*, p. 134. *Roll of the King*, 111.

21 June 1240

Walter de Lucy

The King granted him 20 marks a year for the custody of the castle. *Ibid.*, 111-112. *Annals of the Kings of Ireland*, p. 140. *Roll of the King*, 111.

18 Nov. 1291

John de Cravill

The King ordered him to deliver the castle to the justiciar. *Ibid.*, 111-112.

## APPENDIX III

## 1. Custodians of Athlone Castle (built in 1210)

Dates	Names	Notes and References
c. 6 July 1215	Geoffrey de Costentin	The K. told him to hold the castle as he had previously held it, <u>C.D.I., 1171-1251, no. 615.</u>
18 Oct. 1223	Thomas fitz Adam	Appointed by the K. during pleasure, <u>ibid., no. 1142.</u>
28 July 1232	Peter des Rivaux	Appointed by the K. for life, <u>ibid., nos 1969-70, 1972, 1976.</u> But on 27 Jan. 1233 the K. ordered the justiciar, Maurice fitz Gerald, to retain the castle in his hand, <u>ibid., no. 2009.</u>
Mich. 1234-Oct. 1235	Walter son of Aluered	He was also <u>custos</u> of the town of Athlone, <u>35th Rept. D.K., p.37 - Pipe Roll 19 Hen. III.</u>
30 June 1240	Walter de Lacy	The K. granted him 20 marks a year for the custody of the castle, <u>C.D.I., 1171-1251, no. 2490.</u> Walter was dead by June 1241, <u>ibid., no. 2519.</u>
16 Nov. 1245	John de Cravill	The K. ordered him to deliver the castle to the justiciar, John fitz Geoffrey, <u>ibid., no. 2792.</u>

## Custodians of Athlone Castle

Dates	Names	Notes & References
7 Nov. 1259	Maurice fitz Maurice	Appointed custodian of the castle and sheriff of Connacht during the lord Edward's pleasure, <u>ibid.</u> , 1252-84, no. 631.
6 Jan. 1262 - Mich. 1266	Richard de la Rochelle	He accounted for the issues of the town of Athlone 6 Jan. 1262 - Mich. 1266, when he delivered the town and castle to the justiciar, David de Barry, <u>35th Rept.D.K.</u> p. 48 - Pipe Roll 51 Hen. III.
Mich. 1270 - June 1272	John Mape	He had the custody during the justiciarship of James d'Audley, <u>C.D.I.</u> , 1252-84, no. 2364.
Mich. 1274-1 May 1275	John de Tuit	Fees: <u>ibid.</u> , no. 1038, p. 180.
Mich. 1275 - Mich. 1276	Henry Mape	He is paid for an unspecified period in the T.'s Acct., Mich. 1275-Mich. 1276, <u>ibid.</u> , 1252-84, no. 1294, p. 237; P.R.O.L., E.101/230/4.
Mich.1277 - June 1278	John de la Rochelle senior	Fees: N.L.I., MS 760, pp 63-4-Betham's Extracts from the Pipe Rolls, <u>C.D.I.</u> , 1252-84, no. 1525, pp 299-300; <u>ibid.</u> , 1285-92, no. 169, p.66.
East. 1280	Henry Mape	He is paid for an unspecified period in Issue Roll East. 1280, <u>ibid.</u> , 1252-84, no.1650, pp 337, 339.

## Custodians of Athlone Castle

Dates	Names	Notes and References
1281?	David de Callan	N.L.I., MS 760, p.99 - Betham's Extracts from the Pipe Rolls.
2 Feb. 1282- 2 Feb. 1283	Walter Braybuf	Fees: <u>C.D.I., 1252-84,</u> no. 1907, p.419; <u>ibid.,</u> <u>1285-92, no. 169, p.70.</u>
2 Feb. 1283 - Nov. 1284	Richard fitz Nicholas	Fees: <u>ibid., pp 71,75;</u> <u>ibid., 1252-84, no. 2310,</u> p. 541.
East. 1285	Nicholas Dillon	Fees: P.R.O.L., E.101/ 230/12; E.101/230/13. He held the castle at his own risk.
Before Mich. 1289	Walter Lenfaunt	<u>C.D.I., 1285-92, no. 558,</u> p. 250; nos 963, 999.
Mich. 1289-15 April 1290	Henry Mape	Fees: <u>ibid., nos 649, 790.</u>
9 April 1290 - 9 Oct. 1290	Simon fitz Richard	Fees: <u>ibid., no. 624.</u>
Mich. 1291-1 Nov. 1292	Thomas de Pykering	Fees: P.R.O.L., E.101/ 231/29.
16 March 1294 - 15 Dec. 1294	Nicholas de Netterville	Fees: <u>C.D.I., 1293-1301,</u> no. 273, p.122.
12 May 1295 - 15 May 1297	Geoffrey de Geneville	He received the custody on 12 May 1295, I.R.C. <u>Repts., vol.I, p.129.</u> Fees: <u>ibid.; C.D.I.,</u> <u>1293-1301, no. 328, p.147;</u> no. 346, p. 163; no. 360, p. 169; no. 392, p.184.
16 May 1297 - 14 May 1298	Walter de Ivethorn	Fees: <u>ibid., no. 392, p.184;</u> no. 413, p.198; no. 508, p. 234; no. 565, p. 268. He rendered an account for the castles of Athlone, Rinndown and Roscommon for the period 27 Feb. 1296-3 Nov. 1298, <u>38th Rept. D.K.,</u> p. 69 - Pipe Roll 30 Edw. I; but it is clear from the payments of his predecessors, his own and his successor's fees that he was custodian of Athlone castle for only the period 16 May 1297 to 14 May 1298.

## Custodians of Athlone Castle

Dates	Names	Notes and References
14 May 1298 - 14 Nov. 1298	John Tuit	Fees: <u>C.D.I., 1293-1301</u> , no. 508, p.234; no. 548, p. 244; no. 565, pp 268, 325.
14 Nov. 1298 - 15 May 1299	Richard Simond	Fees: <u>ibid.</u> , no. 682, p. 325; no. 589, p.282.
16 May 1299 - 17 Nov. 1299	William le Poer	Fees: <u>ibid.</u> , no. 682, p.325; no. 614; no. 634, p. 303.
17 Nov. 1299 - 17 Feb. 1301	John de Fresingfeld	Fees: <u>ibid.</u> , no. 660, p.317; no. 736; <u>P.R.O.L.</u> , E.372/145, m.26d; E.372/150, m.40.
7 Jan. 1300	William Hacche	Appointed by the K. during pleasure, <u>C.D.I., 1293-1301</u> , no. 703. But clearly the appointment had no effect.
17 Feb. 1301- 17 Nov. 1301	William Carlioun	Fees: <u>P.R.O.L.</u> , E.372/150, m.40.
17 Nov. 1301 - 25 Oct. 1304	Hugh de Lacy	Fees: <u>C.D.I., 1302-7</u> , no.3, p.2; no.71, p.33; <u>P.R.O.L.</u> , E.372/150, m.40.
26 Oct.1304 - 27 March 1319	Richard de Burgh, earl of Ulster	Evidence of his fees being paid from 26 Oct. 1304 - 27 Oct. 1313, <u>P.R.O.L.</u> , E.372/150, m.40; E.372/153, m. 35; E.372/171, m.31; E.101/233/24; E.101/234/7, E.101/234/17; E.101/235/13; E.101/235/20; E.101/236/7. On 16 Aug. 1309 he was granted the custody of the castles of Athlone, Roscommon and Rinndown for life, <u>C.P.R., 1307-13</u> , p.182; <u>P.R.O.I.</u> , EX 1/1, m.2d-Mem.Roll 3 Edw. II. But shortly before 17 March 1319 he agreed to surrender the castles to the K., <u>C.P.R., 1317-21</u> , p.318. His removal from the custodianship was undoubtedly connected with the fact that he had been greatly weakened by the Bruce invasion.

## Custodians of Athlone Castle

Dates	Names	Notes and References
17 March 1319 - 12 June 1321	Roger Mortimer of Wigmore, justiciar	Appointed by the K. on 17 March 1319, <u>ibid.</u> Evidence of his fees being paid for the period 12 June 1319 - 12 June 1321, P.R.O.L., E.101/237/12; E.101/237/ 19; E.372/166, m.25; E.372/170, m.47.
29 Sept. 1321 - before Mich. 1327	Richard de Tuit	Fees: P.R.O.L., E.101/238/6; E.101/238/ 17; E.101/238/19; E.101/ 238/26; E.101/239/5; E.101/239/7; E.372/171/ mm 33, 34; E.372/171/m. 34d; E.327/171/m.32; E.372/172, m.46; E.372/ 176, m.46.
Before Mich. 1327 - 15 June 1330	Roger Mortimer of Wigmore, earl of March	Sometime before Jan. 1327 Edw.II granted him the custody for life, and on 26 April 1330 Edw.III granted the custody to him and his heirs, <u>C.P.R.</u> , <u>1327-30</u> , p.515; <u>P.R.O.I.</u> , <u>RC 8/15</u> , p.590-Mem.Roll 3-4 Edw.III. Evidence of his fees being paid from c. Mich.1327-15 June 1330, P.R.O.L., E.372/176, m.46.
24 Feb. 1331	William de Burgh, earl of Ulster	Appointed by the K. during pleasure, <u>C.P.R.</u> , <u>1330-34</u> , p. 79; <u>P.R.O.I.</u> , <u>RC 8/16</u> , p. 14 - Mem. Roll 5-6 Edw. III. No evidence of fees.
3 June 1331 - 3 Dec. 1331	John Mape	Fees: P.R.O.L., E.101/239/ 22; E.101/239/24; E.372/ 179, m.46.
1 May 1332 - 14 Feb. 1334	Richard fitz Richer	Fees: P.R.O.L., E.101/ 239/24; E.101/239/30; E.101/240/1; E.101/240/5; E.372/179, m.46; E.372/180, m. 45.



## Custodians of Athlone Castle

Dates	Names	Notes and References
14 Feb. 1334 - 14 Aug. 1335	Herbert de Sutton	Fees: P.R.O.L., E.372/180, m. 45; E.372/182, m.48; E.101/240/10.
16 July 1334	Thomas de Burgh, treasurer	Appointed by the K. and council for 3 years from Mich. 1334, <u>C.P.R., 1330- 34</u> , p. 568. Appointment had clearly no effect.
14 Aug. 1335 - 24 May 1337	John de Ellerker, treasurer	Appointed by the K. during pleasure on 18 May 1335, <u>C.F.R., 1327-37</u> , p.442; <u>P.R.O.I., RC 8/18</u> , p.607 - Mem.Roll 8-9 Edw. III. Fees: P.R.O.L., E.101/240/ 10; E.101/240/13; E.372/182, m.48.
Before May 1342	Castle taken by O'Melaghlin	It was recovered by John Morice, the deputy-justiciar, with men-at-arms, hobelars and foot, P.R.O.L., E.101/241/ 6.
31 May 1342 - 31 May 1346	Henry Dillon	Fees: P.R.O.L., E.101/241/6; E.101/241/12; E. 372/188, m. 54; E.372/189, m. 47; E.372/ 197, m.46.
30 Aug. 1346 - 31 Aug. 1347	William son of Andrew de Birmingham	Appointed during pleasure, <u>R.C.H., p. 54, no. 113.</u> Fees: P.R.O.L., E.101/241/12; E.372/197, m. 46.
20 Oct. 1347	John son of Thomas Talbot	Appointed by the K. during pleasure, <u>C.P.R., 1345-48</u> , p. 419. No evidence of fees.
5 Aug. 1349 - 5 May 1352	Philip Dalton	Fees: P.R.O.L., E.101/242/11; E.101/242/14; E.372/196, m. 43; E.372/197, m.26d.
1 Sept. 1352- 1 Dec. 1353	Henry Dillon	Fees: P.R.O.L., E.101/243/3; E.372/197, m.19d.
2 Jan. 1358- 14 Dec. 1359	John fitz Richer	Fees: P.R.O.L., E.101/244/2; E.101/244/6; E.372/207, m.41; E.372/207,m.46; E.372/212, m.43.
16 Jan. 1362- 16 July 1363	Walter de Baa	Fees: P.R.O.L., E.372/212, m.43.

## Custodians of Athlone Castle

Dates	Names	Notes and References
Before Aug. 1364	Castle taken by Dermot O'Melaghlin	It was taken while de Baa had the custody, and it was recovered by Thomas de la Dale with men-at-arms, hobelars and foot, P.R.O.L., E.101/244/10.
11 Aug. 1364 - 8 Aug. 1366	Thomas de la Dale	Fees: P.R.O.L., E.101/244/ 10.
1381	Taken by the Irish and recaptured by Edmund Mortimer, earl of March	A.Clon., pp 307-8; A.U., III, p.7; A.F.M., IV, p. 683.
1 August 1381 - 22 Dec. 1386	Thomas O'Casey	Appointed during pleasure, R.C.H., p.110, no.35. He had helped to recover the castle, ibid., p.116, no. 17. See also <u>ibid.</u> , p.114, no.184; p.116, no.22; p.123, nos 8,21; p.129, no.41; p.134, nos 124-6.
1388	John O'Casey	<u>Ibid.</u> , p. 139, nos 96-8.
12 April 1389	Richard son of William Dalton	<u>Ibid.</u> , p. 140, no. 166.
August 1393-15 Dec. 1394	Gerald Dillon	D.B. Johnson, 'Richard II and Ireland, 1395-9', Ph.D. Thesis, T.C.D., 1976, p.128, citing N.L.I., MS 4, fol. 67. For his period in office, see <u>R.C.H.</u> , p.153, no.13.
After 1398	The Dillons were the hereditary constables of the castle, but the O'Kellys took it from them on a number of occasions.	K.W. Nicholls, <u>Gaelic and Gaelicised Ireland</u> , p.177.

## 2. Custodians of Rinndown Castle (built in 1227)

Dates	Names	Notes and References
Mich. 1228 - Oct. 1229	Philip de Angulo	35th Rept.D.K., p.30 - Pipe Roll 13 Hen.III.
28 July 1232	Peter de Rivaux	Appointed by the K. for life, C.D.I., 1171-1251, nos 1969-70, 1972, 1976, 2009.
16 Nov. 1245	Robert de Capella	The K. ordered him to deliver the castle to the justiciar, John fitz Geoffrey, <u>ibid.</u> , no. 2792.
14 Sept. 1272	James de Bermingham	He owed the exchequer 400 marks because he undertook 'to safely keep the lord Edward's castle of Rendoun, and through his default it was thrown down by the Irish', see above, p.251, note 210. The castle was knocked down on 14 Sept. 1272, 'Annales de Monte Fernandi', <u>Tracts Relating to Ireland</u> , vol. II, p.16.
Mich. 1274 - 1 May 1275	John de Tuit	Fees: C.D.I., 1252-84, no. 1038, p.180.
22 July 1275-22 July 1276	John Mape	Fees: <u>ibid.</u> , no. 1650, pp 337, 339.
29 Sept. 1279-21 April 1280	Adam de Valle	Fees: <u>ibid.</u> , p.338.
East. 1280	Richard de Feypo	He is paid for an unspecified period in Issue Roll East. 1280, <u>ibid.</u> One of the charges brought against the justiciar and treasurer, Stephen de Fulbourne, was that while de Feypo was unsound in mind he gave de Fulbourne 100 acres of land for the custody of the castle for 10 years, and that afterwards, when he became sound of mind, de Fulbourne gave the land back to him and removed him from the custody, <u>ibid.</u> , no. 2332.

## Custodians of Rinndown Castle

Dates	Names	Notes and References
12 March 1282 - 12 March 1283	Richard de Exeter	Fees: <u>ibid.</u> , 1285-92, no. 169, p.79.
Mich. 1284-East. 1285	John Mape	Fees: <u>ibid.</u> , p.75; <u>ibid.</u> , 1252-84, no. 2310, p.538.
1286	Walter Lenfaunt	37th Rept.D.K., p.25 - Pipe Roll 15 Edw.I; N.L.I., MS 760, pp 101-2 - Betham's Extracts from the Pipe Rolls.
Mich. 1286- Mich. 1287	Maurice Scurlag	C.D.I., 1285-92, no.814, p. 370; see also p. 369.
2 Feb. 1290 - 1 Aug. 1290	William d'Odding- eseles	Fees: <u>ibid.</u> , no. 623.
2 Feb. 1292 - 1 Nov. 1292	John de Clifford	Fees: P.R.O.L., E.101/231/29.
3 May 1294 - 2 Feb. 1296	John fitz Thomas	Fees: <u>C.D.I.</u> , 1293-1301, no. 183, p.82; no. 273, p. 122; no.346, p.163; <u>I.R.C. Repts.</u> , vol.1, p. 126. On 14 May 1295, following fitz Thomas's war with de Burgh, the K.'s council in Ireland allowed fitz Thomas to retain the custody of the castles of Rinndown and Roscommon until Mich. 1295 on certain conditions, i.e. he had to repair the castles out of his own money if they were knocked down by the Irish, but if they were knocked down by the English, the K. might give him financial support. Also, he was to surrender the castles if ordered to do so by writ from England, <u>C.J.R.</u> , 1295-1303, p.8.

## Custodians of Rinndown Castle

Dates	Names	Notes and References
29 Sept. 1295 - 29 Sept. 1296	John Wogan, Justiciar	The payments of his fee show that his custody of the castles must have been extended from Mich. 1295 to Feb. 1296.
2 Feb. 1296 - 4 Nov. 1298	Walter de Ivethorn	Fees: <u>I.R.C. Repts.</u> , pp 127, 129; <u>C.D.I.</u> , 1293-1301, no. 328, p.147; no. 346, p. 163, no.392, p.184; no. 413, p.198; no. 456, p. 216; no.508, p.234; no. 548, p.244; no.565, p. 268; no.682, p.325. He rendered an account for the royal castles in Connacht, 27 Feb. 1296-3 Nov. 1298, <u>38th Rept. D.K.</u> , p. 69 - Pipe Roll 30 Edw. I. This account suggests that he was given the custody of the K.'s cantreds as well as the castles.
4 Nov. 1298 - 5 May 1299	Richard Simond	Fees: <u>C.D.I.</u> , 1293-1301, no. 548, p.244; no. 589, p. 282; no. 682, p. 325.
6 May 1299 - 7 Nov. 1299	William le Poer	Fees: <u>ibid.</u> , no.614; no. 634, p. 303; no. 682, p.325.
7 Nov. 1299 - 29 Jan. 1301	John de Fresingfeld	Fees: <u>ibid.</u> , no.660, p.317; no. 706, p. 334; <u>P.R.O.L.</u> , E.372/145, m.26d; E.372/150, m.40.
29 Jan. 1301 - 30 Oct. 1301	William Carlioun	Fees: <u>P.R.O.L.</u> , E.372/150, m.40.
30 Oct.1301 - 30 Oct. 1302	Walter Wogan	Fees: <u>C.D.I.</u> , 1293-1301, no. 826, p.380; <u>ibid.</u> , 1302-7, no.71, p.33; <u>P.R.O.L.</u> E.372/150, m.40.
30 Oct. 1302 - 29 Sept. 1306	Richard de Oxonia	Fees: <u>ibid.</u> ; E.372/153, m. 35; E.101/ 234/7; <u>C.D.I.</u> , 1302-7, no.281, p.97.

## Custodians of Rinndown Castle

Dates	Names	Notes and References
29 Sept. 1306 - 29 Sept. 1309	John Wogan, justiciar	Fees: P.R.O.L., E.101/234/17; E.101/235/9; E.101/235/ 13; E.101/235/20; E. 372/153, m.35; E.372/171, m.31.
7 April 1308	Richard de Balibyn	Appointed by the K. during pleasure, <u>C.P.R.</u> , 1307-1313, p.63. Since Wogan was paid for the custody until 29 Sept. 1309 and since de Burgh was appointed to the custody on 16 Aug. 1309, it would seem that de Balibyn never became custodian.
16 Aug. 1309 - March 1319	Richard de Burgh, earl of Ulster	On 16 Aug. 1309 the K. gave him the custody of the castles of Athlone, Rinndown and Roscommon for life, but shortly before 17 March 1319 he agreed to surrender the castles to the K., see Custodians of Athlone Castle, above p.491. Evidence for his fees for Rinndown being paid from 30 March 1311 - 30 Sept. 1313 only, P.R.O.L., E.101/236/7. When he was appointed to the custody of Rinndown the K. ordered Hugh de Lacy, 'constable of Rinndown', to hand over the castle to de Burgh. De Lacy must have been Wogan's deputy-custodian.
17 March 1319	Roger Mortimer of Wigmore, justiciar	Appointed by the K., <u>C.P.R.</u> , 1317-21, p. 318. No evidence of fees.

## Custodians of Rinndown Castle

Dates	Names	Notes and References
13 Oct. 1320 - 27 July 1323	Henry Mape	Fees: P.R.O.L., E.101/237/1; E.101/ 237/19; E.101/238/6; E.101/238/12; E.372/ 166, mm 25,26; E.372/ 170,m.47; E.372/171, mm 33,34.
27 July 1323 - 20 March 1324	William son of David de Burgh	Fees: P.R.O.L., E.101/ 238/12; E.372/171, mm 33, 34.
20 March 1324 - 20 June 1326	Henry Mape	Fees: P.R.O.L., E.101/ 238/17; E.101/238/19; E.101/238/26; E.372/171, mm 33,34; E.372/171, m.34d; E.372/171, m.32. Mape died on 20 June 1326.
25 June 1326 - 25 Sept. 1327	Richard son of Simon fitz Richer	Fees: P.R.O.L., E.101/ 238/26; E.101/239/5; E.101/239/7; E.372/171, m. 32; E.372/172, m.46.
25 Sept. 1327 - c. May 1329	Richard de Tuit and Alexander Bicknor	They held office successively but we do not know at what point Bicknor took over from Tuit. Fees: P.R.O.L., E.372/176, m.46.
15 May 1329 - 27 Oct. 1330	Walter de Verdon	Appointed by the K. during pleasure on 15 May 1329, C.F.R., 1327-37, p.134. But on 12 Sept. 1330 the K. granted him the custody for life, <i>ibid.</i> , p. 189. Evidence of his fees being paid up to 27 Oct. 1330 only : P.R.O.L., E.372/ 176, m.46.
22 Jan. 1331 - 1 May 1332	John d' Ufford	Appointed by the K. during pleasure, C.P.R., 1330-34, p. 44. Evidence of his fees being paid from 1 May 1331 - 1 May 1332: P.R.O.L., E.101/239/22; E.101/239/24; E.101/239/30; E.372/179, m.46.

## Custodians of Rinndown Castle

Dates	Names	Notes and References
1 May 1332 - 28 Feb. 1334	Richard fitz Richer	Fees: P.R.O.L., E.101/ 239/30; E.101/240/1; E.101/240/5; E.372/ 179, m.46; E.372/180, m.45.
28 Feb. 1334 - 21 Nov. 1341	John de Founteyns	No record of his first appointment, but on 7 May 1335 he was granted the custody of the castle for life, <u>C.P.R., 1334-38, p.100.</u> Evidence of fees being paid from 28 Feb. 1334 - 21 Nov. 1341: P.R.O.L., E.101/240/5; E.101/240/ 10; E.101/240/13; E.101/ 240/18; E.101/241/6; E.372/180, m.45; E.372/ 182, m.48; E.372/184, m.49; E.372/186, m.49; E.372/188, m.54. He had surrendered the castle to the K. by 20 May 1342, when the chancellor, John Larcher, was ordered to provide for the custody of it, <u>C.C.R., 1341-43; p.438.</u>
1342	Castle taken by the Irish	<u>Ibid., p.509; Stat. Irel., John-Hen.V, pp 335-7.</u>
Before Mich. 1291 - 2 Feb. 1296	John fitz Thomas	Not. Parl. Statute Ibid., p. 335-7. Garda type granted the castle for life. In 1295, Garda, p. 335-7. p. 335-7. Garda, p. 335-7. Father of Garda, the Custodian of Rinndown Castle, Garda, p. 335-7.
2 Feb. 1296 - 4 Nov. 1298	Walter de Founteyns	Fees: see Custodians of Rinndown Castle, above, p. 437.



## 3. Custodians of Roscommon Castle (built 1269)

Dates	Names	Notes and References
Mich. 1275 - Mich. 1276	Henry fitz Leo	He is paid for an unspecified period in the T.'s Acct. Mich. 1275-Mich. 1276, <u>C.D.I.</u> , 1252-84, no. 1294, p.237; <u>P.R.O.L.</u> , E.101/230/4.
Nov. 1278 - East. 1281	Jordan de Exeter	Fees: <u>36th Rept. D.K.</u> , p. 48 -- Pipe Roll 8 Edw.I; <u>ibid.</u> , p.56 - Pipe Roll 9 Edw I; <u>C.D.I.</u> , 1252-84, no. 1739.
1281?	Adam Gaynard	<u>Ibid.</u> , no.1879, p. 406; see also <u>ibid.</u> , 1285-92, no. 42, p.24.
12 March 1282 - 12 March 1283	Richard de Exeter	<u>Ibid.</u> , no. 169, p.79.
1286	William d'Oddingeseles	<u>37th Rept. D.K.</u> , p.25 - Pipe Roll 15 Edw.I; <u>N.L.I.</u> , MS 760, pp 101-2 - Betham's Extracts from the Pipe Rolls.
2 Feb. 1290 - 1 Aug. 1290		Fees: <u>C.D.I.</u> , 1235-92, no. 623.
26 Jan. 1292 - 1 Nov. 1292	John de Clifford	Fees: see Custodians of Rinndown Castle, above, p.496.
Before Mich. 1293 - 2 Feb. 1296	John fitz Thomas	<u>Rot. Parl. Hactenus Inediti</u> , p.41, no.14. Gerald Tyrel guarded the castle for fitz Thomas in May 1295, <u>C.J.R.</u> , 1305-7, p. 255. For fees and further information, see Custodians of Rinndown Castle, above, 496-7.
2 Feb. 1296 - 4 Nov. 1298	Walter de Ivethorn	Fees: see Custodians of Rinndown Castle, above, p. 497.

## Custodians of Roscommon Castle

Dates	Names	Notes and References
4 Nov. 1298 - 5 May 1299	Richard Simond	Fees: see Custodians of Rinndown Castle, above, p. 497.
6 May 1299 - 7 Nov. 1299	William le Poer	Fees: see Custodians of Rinndown Castle, above, p. 497.
7 Nov. 1299 - 29 Jan. 1301	John de Fresingfeld	Fees: see Custodians of Rinndown Castle, above, p. 497.
29 Jan. 1301 - 30 Oct. 1301	William Carlioun	Fees: see Custodians of Rinndown Castle, above, p. 497.
30 Oct. 1301 - 30 Oct. 1302	Walter Wogan	Fees: see Custodians of Rinndown Castle, above, p. 497.
30 Oct. 1302 - 31 Oct. 1309	Richard de Exonia	Fees: <u>C.D.I., 1302-7</u> , no. 281, p.97; no. 306, p.106; P.R.O.L., E.372/150, m.40; E.372/153, m.35; E.372/171, m.31; E.101/233/24; E.101/234/7; E.101/234/17; E.101/235/9; E.101/235/13; E.101/235/20; E.101/235/24.
16 Aug. 1309 - 17 March 1319	Richard de Burgh, earl of Ulster	Given the custody of the castles of Roscommon, Rinndown and Athlone for life on 16 Aug. 1309, but shortly before 17 March 1319 he agreed to surrender the castles to the K., see Custodians of Athlone castle, above, p. 491. Evidence for his fee for Roscommon being paid from 2 May 1311-Mich. 1315: P.R.O.L., E.101/236/7; E.101/237/2; E.372/166, mm 25,26.
17 March 1319	Roger Mortimer of Wigmore, justiciar	Appointed by the king, <u>C.P.R., 1317-21</u> , p.318. No evidence of fees.

## Custodians of Roscommon Castle

Dates	Names	Notes and References
27 March 1320	William son of David de Burgh	<u>R.C.H.</u> , p.27, no. 75. No evidence of fees.
13 Oct. 1320 - 1 June 1321	Henry Mape	Fees: P.R.O.L., E.101/237/14; E.372/166, mm 25,26.
25 Sept. 1321 - 12 July 1327	William son of Geoffrey de Bermingham	Fees: P.R.O.L., E.101/237/19; E.101/238/12; E.101/238/17; E.101/238/19; E.101/238/26; E.101/239/5; E.372/170, m. 47; E.372/171, mm 33,34; E.372/171, m.34d; E.372/171, m.32; E.372/172, m.46.
12 July 1327 - c. 12 Jan. 1328	Henry son of Otuel de Cruys	Fees: P.R.O.L., E.101/239/5; E.101/239/7; E. 372/172, m.46; E. 372/176, m.46.
c.12 Jan. 1328 - c.13 Dec. 1328	Alexander Bicknor	Fees: P.R.O.L., E.372/176, m.46.
13 Dec. 1328 - 11 Dec. 1335	John de Athy	Appointed by the K. for life, <u>C.P.R.</u> , 1327-30, p.339. Evidence of fees being paid until 11 Dec. 1335, P.R.O.L., E.101/239/30; E.101/240/1; E.101/240/5; E.101/240/10; E.101/240/18; E.372/176, m.46; E.372/179, m.46; E.372/180, m.45; E.372/182, m.48; E. 372/186, m.49.
12 Dec. 1335 - 12 Sept. 1336	Richard fitz Richer	Fees: P.R.O.L., E.372/184, m.49.

## Custodians of Roscommon Castle

Dates	Names	Notes and References
1 June 1336 - 15 Nov. 1337	Ranulf Piggot	Appointed by the K. during pleasure on 1 June 1336, <u>C.P.R., 1334-38, p.271</u> , but on 30 June 1337 the K. gave him the custody for five years, having understood that Piggot 'has behaved strenuously and wisely as well in the things touching the good and safe keeping of that castle, which is situate in the march among the King's Irish enemies, as in the repulsion of the King's enemies in those parts', <u>C.F.R., 1337-47, pp 23-4.</u> Evidence of fees being paid 15 Nov. 1336 - 15 Nov. 1337: P.R.O.L., E.372/182, m.48.
1341	Castle taken and held by Turlough O'Connor, king of Connacht	<u>A.C., p.287; A.L.C., I, p.635; A.Clon., p.293; A.U., II, p.467; A.F.M., III, p.573.</u>
1 July 1342	William de Bermingham	Appointed by the K. when the castle was still 'held against the king by Torthelnagh Okonwor of Connagh, rebel'. De Bermingham was to hold the castle during pleasure 'when it shall come into the king's hands'. The K. ordered Turlough to deliver the castle to de Bermingham, <u>C.P.R., 1340-1343, p.475.</u> No evidence that de Bermingham received any fees.
21 Aug. 1343 - 21 Nov. 1344	Richard Sprot and Walter Wynter	Fees: P.R.O.L., E.372/189, m.47; E.372/191, m.42.
1375	Castle held by O'Connor	<u>A.C., p.345; A.L.C., II, p.49; A.U., II, p.553; A.F.M., IV, p.663.</u>

Custodians of Roscommon Castle

Dates	Names	Notes and References
1395	O'Conor Don	Richard II granted him the castle, D.B. Johnson, 'Richard II and Ireland, 1395-9', Ph.D. Thesis, T.C.D., 1976, p.119, quoting P.R.O.L., E.163/7/12/6 and 3.
22 Sept. 1247		Richard de Burgh, II, lord of Connacht, given the custody of the county by the King during absence. C.D.L., 1272-1291, no. 2909. Richard had just come of age and had inherited his lands, 1241, nos 254, 275, 293. He died sometime before Nov. 1244, 1245, no. 2375.
1287		James de Exeter, A.C.D.L. no 33-40; 1287, p.28; 1287, p.29; 1287, p.30; 1287, p.31; 1287, p.32; 1287, p.33; 1287, p.34; 1287, p.35; 1287, p.36; 1287, p.37; 1287, p.38; 1287, p.39; 1287, p.40.
Oct. 1253-Oct. 1254		Walter Wynd, a witness to an undated charter, 1253, no. 215. Pipe roll of Henry III. 1254 that he accounted for the arrears of his account for co. Connacht. C.D.L. no. 215. 1254, p.215.
1274		John de Exeter, killed while fighting against the English on an island off Connacht. C.D.L. p.127; A.C.D.L. no. 127; 1274, p.127; 1274, p.128; 1274, p.129; 1274, p.130; 1274, p.131; 1274, p.132; 1274, p.133; 1274, p.134; 1274, p.135; 1274, p.136; 1274, p.137; 1274, p.138; 1274, p.139; 1274, p.140.

## APPENDIX IV

## 1. Sheriffs of Connacht, 1247 - 1347

Dates	Sheriffs of Connacht
July 1247	<u>William Brit</u> , killed in an attack on O'Donnell led by Maurice fitz Gerald, <u>A.C.</u> , p.91; <u>A.L.C.</u> , I, p. 377; <u>A.F.M.</u> , III, p.323.
1247	<u>William de Burgh</u> , killed by Donough O'Gillapatrik when the latter and Turlough O'Connor attacked English settlements in Connacht, <u>A.Clon.</u> , p. 238; see also above, pp 206-7. William was possibly a younger son of William de Burgh, lord of Connacht, who died in 1205, H.T.Knox, 'The De Burgo Clans of Galway', <u>Jn.G.A.H.S.</u> , vol.1 (1900-1), pp 124-5.
23 Sept. 1247	<u>Richard de Burgh</u> , II, lord of Connacht, given the custody of the county by the K. during pleasure, <u>C.D.I.</u> , 1171-1251, no. 2909. Richard had just come of age and had inherited his lands, <u>ibid.</u> , nos 2865, 2875, 2908. He died sometime before Nov. 1248, <u>ibid.</u> , no. 2975.
1249	<u>Jordan de Exeter</u> , <u>A.Clon.</u> , pp 39-40; <u>A.C.</u> , p.99; <u>A.L.C.</u> , I, p.389; <u>A.F.M.</u> , III, p.337; B.M., Add.MS4790, fol. 166v-Ware's Extracts from the Pipe Rolls.
Oct. 1253-Oct. 1254	<u>Walter Wyard</u> , a witness to an undated charter, <u>Red Book of Kildare</u> , no. 26. Pipe roll 32 Edw.I records that he accounted for the arrears of his account for co. Connacht a.r. 33 Hen.III, <u>38th Rept. D.K.</u> , p.89.
1258	<u>Jordan de Exeter</u> , killed while fighting against Mac Sorley on an island off Connemara, <u>A.C.</u> , p.127; <u>A.L.C.</u> , I, pp 427-9; <u>A.F.M.</u> , III, pp 369-71; <u>A.Clon.</u> , pp 241-2.

Dates	Sheriffs of Connacht
7 Nov. 1259	<u>Maurice fitz Maurice</u> , appointed sheriff of Connacht and custodian of Athlone castle during the lord Edward's pleasure, <u>C.D.I., 1252-84, no. 631.</u>
13 Feb. 1261 - Mich. 1262	<u>Meiler de Rupe: 35th Rept.D.K., p.44 - Pipe Roll 46 Hen.III.</u>
Mich. 1268 - Mich. 1269	<u>Andrew le Poer: <i>ibid.</i>, p.49 - Pipe Roll 53 Hen.III.</u>
Mich. 1269 - East. 1276	<u>Jordan de Exeter: 36th Rept.D.K., p. 28 - Pipe Roll 3 Edw.I.</u>
Dec. 1276 - Mich. 1277	<u>Philip de Angulo: C.D.I., 1252-84, no. 1412, p.266.</u>
Mich. 1279	<u>Jordan de Exeter: <i>ibid.</i>, no. 1613.</u>
East. 1280 - East. 1282	<u>Henry de Rupeforti (or Rocheford) : 36th Rept. D.K., p.56 - Pipe Roll 9 Edw. I.</u>
28 Dec. 1282	<u>Robert Taillard</u> , given the custody of the co. by the K. for two or three years or longer, the K. leaving it to the justiciar to decide how long, <u>C.D.I., 1252-84, no. 2020</u> , where the word 'earldom' should be replaced by the word 'county', both words being ' <u>comitatus</u> ' in Latin. In 1286 Taillard paid some of the arrears of the account that he had rendered for the time that he was sheriff, <u><i>ibid.</i>, 1285-92, no. 215, p.101.</u>
1284?	<u>Adam Gaynard: Pipe Roll 31 Edw.I records that he accounted for the arrears of his account for co. Connacht in Pipe Roll 13 Edw.I (Mich. 1284 - Mich. 1285), 38th Rept. D.K., p.73. In Hil. 1286 he paid some of the arrears of the account he rendered for the period he was sheriff, C.D.I., 1285-92, no. 180, p.87.</u>

Dates	Sheriffs of Connacht
Shortly before Feb. 1285	<u>Robert de Stapleton</u> : granted the custody of the co. by the K., but resigned his right to it when the justiciar granted him and his son the cos. of Cork and Waterford for 10 years, <u>ibid.</u> , nos 16-19. See also, A.J. Otway-Ruthven, 'Anglo-Irish Shire Government in the Thirteenth Century', <u>I.H.S.</u> , vol.5 (1946), pp 2-3.
6 Aug. 1285 - Mich. 1285	<u>Thomas de la Roche</u> (or de Rupe): the K. confirmed the justiciar's grant of the custody of the co. to de la Roche for seven years, <u>C.D.I.</u> , 1285-92, no. 120. In Mich. 1285 he paid the profits of the co. and the debts of divers into the exchequer, <u>ibid.</u> , no. 149, p.47, where the word 'earldom' should be replaced by the word 'county'. On 6 Aug. 1285 he was given the custody of co. Cork by the K., <u>ibid.</u> , no. 123. This possibly explains while he did not remain as sheriff of Connacht for seven years.
Mich. 1285 - 19 May 1289	<u>Gilbert de Lynet</u> : 37th Rept. D.K., p. 24 - Pipe Roll 15 Edw.I; <u>ibid.</u> , pp 45-6 - Pipe Roll 20 Edw.I.
19 May 1289 - Mich. 1293	<u>John de Slane</u> : <u>ibid.</u> ; 38th Rept. D.K., p. 48 - Pipe Roll 27 Edw.I.
21 Sept. 1293 - 25 June 1295	<u>Richard de Lyt</u> : <u>ibid.</u> ; <u>C.D.I.</u> , 1293-1301, no. 226, p.95.
24 June 1295? - Trin. 1299	<u>John le Poer</u> : 38th Rept. D.K., p.48 - Pipe Roll 27 Edw.I; P.R.O.I., RC 7/6, p. 38 - De Banco 27 Edw.I; <u>C.D.I.</u> , 1293-1301, no. 264, p.113; no. 289, p. 133; no. 300, p.136; no. 329, p. 152; no. 391, pp 182-3; no. 408, p. 190; no. 550, pp 248, 250; no. 637, p.305.



Dates	Sheriffs of Connacht
Before Mich. 1299 - East. 1302	Henry de Bermingham: <u>38th Rept.D.K.</u> , pp 48-9; 72-4 - Pipe Rolls 27 and 31 Edw.I; P.R.O.I., RC 7/7, p. 365 - De Banco 27-8 Edw.I; RC 7/6, p.551-De Banco 28-9 Edw.I; C.D.I., 1293-1301, no. 825, p.374; P.R.O.L., E.101/233/16.
31 July 1302 - 12 Nov. 1303	Richard de Bermingham: <u>38th Rept.D.K.</u> , pp 72, 74 - Pipe Roll 31 Edw.I. He was allowed to pay a farm of 10 marks <u>per annum</u> for the profits of the co., <u>ibid.</u>
21 Oct. 1303 - Mich. 1308	Richard de Blake (Neyr or Niger): appointed by the exchequer on 21 Oct. 1303, and took his oath of office on 15 Nov., when he was granted the profits of the co. at a farm of 10 marks a year, P.R.O.I., EX 2/1, p.53 - Mem.Roll 31-5 Edw.I. However, the pipe rolls say that he accounted for the profits of the co. from 12 Nov. 1303, <u>38th Rept.D.K.</u> , p.74 - Pipe Roll 31 Edw.I. For his period in office, see <u>ibid.</u> , P.R.O.L., E.101/234/2; E.101/234/9; E.101/234/16; E.101/235/12; E.101/235/18; P.R.O.I., RC 8/4, pp 221,302 - Mem. Roll 1 Edw.II.
Trin. 1309 - Mich. 1312	Richard de Lyt: P.R.O.L., E.101/235/18; E.101/235/22; E.101/235/25; E.101/236/1; E.101/236/4; P.R.O.I., EX 1/1, mm 1,31 - Mem. Roll 3 Edw. II; RC 8/5, pp 152, 512 - Mem. Roll 4-5 Edw.II; RC 8/6, pp 1, 200 - Mem. Roll 5-6 Edw.II; RC 8/7, p.1 - Mem. Roll 6 Edw.II.
Mich. 1312 - East. 1313	John son of William de Exeter: appointed by the treasurer in Mich. term 1312, <u>ibid.</u> , p.55. For his period in office, see <u>ibid.</u> , p. 288; P.R.O.L., E.101/236/4.

Dates	Sheriffs of Connacht
East. 1313 - East. 1314	<u>Reginald Broun</u> : appointed in East. term 1313 by the treasurer and Edmund Butler, <u>custos</u> of Ireland, at the instance of <u>Richard de Burgh</u> , earl of Ulster, P.R.O.I., RC 8/7, p. 338 - Mem. Roll 6 Edw. II. For his period in office, see RC 8/9, pp 1,303 - Mem. Roll 7 Edw.II; P.R.O.L., E.101/236/8; E.101/236/12.
East. 1315 - East. 1316	<u>Richard de Lyt</u> : P.R.O.L., E.101/237/1; P.R.O.I., RC 8/10, p.592 - Mem. Roll 9 Edw. II.
Mich. 1317 - before 9 Sept. 1322	<u>Richard de Bermingham</u> , lord of Athenry: P.R.O.I., RC 7/12, p.354 - De Banco 11 Edw.II; EX 1/1, mm 1,30 - Mem.Roll 13-14 Edw.II; RC 8/12, p. 542- Mem.Roll 15-16 Edw.II. He was dead by 9 Sept. 1322, <u>ibid.</u> , p.774; <u>A.C.</u> , p.257.
9 Sept. 1322 - Mich. 1322	<u>John son of Walter de Ridelsford</u> : appointed on 9 Sept. 1322, P.R.O.I., RC 8/12, p.774 - Mem. Roll 15-16 Edw.II. The archbishop of Tuam was ordered to receive his oath of office, <u>ibid.</u> For his period in office, see RC8/13, p.1-Mem.Roll 16-17 Edw.II.
Mich. 1322 - East. 1330	<u>Hubert de Burgh</u> : appointed by the treasurer in Mich. term 1322. He was granted the profits of the co. at a farm of 10 marks a year, P.R.O.I., RC8/13, pp 33-5 - Mem. Roll 16-17 Edw.II. For his period in office, see <u>ibid.</u> , p.162; RC8/13, pp 336, 511 - Mem.Roll 17-18 Edw.II; RC8/14, pp 2,204 - Mem.Roll 18 Edw.II; RC8/14, pp 598, 738 - Mem. Roll 19 Edw.II; RC8/15, pp 377, 541 - Mem. Roll 3-4 Edw.III; P.R.O.L., E.101/238/10; E.101/239/3; E.101/239/10.
Mich. 1331 - Mich. 1334	<u>John de Ridelsford</u> : P.R.O.I., RC8/16, pp 1,281 - Mem. Roll 5-6 Edw.III; RC8/18, p.269-Mem. Roll 8-9 Edw.III; P.R.O.L., E.101/239/27.

Dates	Sheriffs of Connacht
Mich. 1334 - 8 Oct. 1336	<u>Meiler de Bermingham</u> : appointed in Mich. 1334, P.R.O.I., RC8/18, p.323 - Mem. Roll 8-9 Edw.III. For his period in office, see <u>ibid.</u> , pp 491, 573; RC8/15, p.284 - Roll of Attermened Debts.
Mich. 1338	<u>Robert de Bermingham, parson of Athenry</u> : P.R.O.I., RC8/21, p.1 - Mem. Roll 12-13 Edw.III.
East. 1339	<u>Raymond de Burgh</u> : <u>ibid.</u> , p.187.
Mich. 1339 - East. 1340	<u>Robert de Bermingham</u> : <u>ibid.</u> , p.333 - Mem. Roll 13-14 Edw.III; RC8/22, p.147 - Mem. Roll 13-14 Edw.III.
Mich. 1340	<u>Meiler de Bermingham</u> : P.R.O.L., E.101/240/19.
Mich. 1342 - Mich. 1343	<u>Raymond de Burgh</u> : P.R.O.I., RC8/22, pp 173, 565-6, 617 - Mem. Rolls 16-17 and 17-18 Edw.III.
Hil. 1345 - East. 1345	<u>Robert de Bermingham</u> : P.R.O.I., RC8/23, pp 96, 175, 189 - Mem. Roll 18-19 Edw. III. 'Robert' is given as 'Herbert' in <u>ibid.</u> , p.189.
Trin. 1346 - Hil. 1347	<u>Meiler son of William son of Hubert de Burgh</u> : P.R.O.I., RC8/24, pp 316-9 - Mem. Roll 21-22 Edw.III.
Mich. 1347 - Trin. 1348	<u>Meiler de Bermingham</u> : P.R.O.L., E.101/241/14; E.101/241/17; P.R.O.I., RC 8/24, p.1 - Mem. Roll 21 - 22 Edw. III.

## 2. Sheriffs of Roscommon, 1288 - 1348

Dates	Sheriffs of Roscommon
21 Aug. 1288 - Trin. 1297	<p><u>Richard de Oxonia</u>: the heading of the enrolled account for co. Connacht for the period Mich. 1287 - Mich. 1292 says that three sheriffs rendered accounts, but when we look at the periods for which they accounted for the profits of the co. it becomes apparent that one of them, Richard de Oxonia, was sheriff of Roscommon in fact if not in name in the late 1280s and early 1290s. He accounted for the profits of the co. from 21 Aug. 1288 - Mich. 1292. This overlaps with the periods the other two sheriffs accounted for: Gilbert de Lynet accounted for the period Mich. 1287 - 19 May 1289, and John de Slane accounted for the period 19 May 1289 - Mich. 1292, <u>37th Rept. D.K.</u>, pp 45-6 - Pipe Roll 20 Edw.I. The pipe roll says that de Oxonia accounted for £2-9-10 for the profits of the co., and the receipt rolls record that he paid this money into the exchequer. But the entry in the receipt roll appears under the marginal entry 'Connacht', and de Oxonia is simply called sheriff, not sheriff of Roscommon. However, the other payments he made at the same time leave us in no doubt that he was sheriff of Connacht in the king's cantreds only; for he paid in the rents of the towns of Roscommon and Rinndown and the rent of Manus O' Conor, king of Connacht, P.R.O.L., E.101/232/5; <u>C.D.I.</u>, 1285-92, no.1148, p. 510. Furthermore, in legal proceedings of Jan. - Mich. 1292 Richard of Oxford (or Oxonia) is described as sheriff of Roscommon <u>ibid.</u>, no. 1151, p. 520; <u>Select Cases of the Court of the King's Bench</u>, vol. II, pp 130-1.</p>

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 Dates
 

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 Sheriffs of Roscommon
 

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He seems to have continued acting as sheriff of Roscommon until Trin. 1297 at least. Pipe Roll 31 Edw.I records that Richard de Exeter, then sheriff of Roscommon, owes 10 marks for the lands of Fethes, Molyonach, Moymoryn, held from Mich. 1293 to Mich. 1294, 38th Rept. D.K., p.74. Exeter (or Exonia) is clearly a misreading for Oxonia, for Pipe Roll 27 Edw.I records that Richard de Oxon', then sheriff of Roscommon, owes 10 marks for the lands of the Fethes, Molyonach and Moymoryn, ibid., p.48. The receipt roll of Trin. 1297 records that Richard de Oxonia, sheriff, paid the rents and other issues of the king's lands in Connacht into the exchequer, but once again this entry appears opposite the marginal entry 'Connacht', P.R.O.L., E.101/232/24; C.D.I., 1293-1301, no. 403, p.191. The first surviving receipt roll to have a marginal entry 'Roscommon' is that of Mich. 1301, ibid., no. 825, p. 373; P.R.O.L., E.101/233/16. However, the record of the 1297 parliament says that the sheriff of Roscommon was among the sheriffs who were ordered to attend the parliament and to cause to be elected in his full co. court by the assent of his co. two honest and discreet knights of the co. who were to be present at the parliament with full power from the whole community of the co. to do and to receive etc., Stat. Irel., John-Hen.V., pp 195-7. It would seem that some of the revenue collecting duties of the sheriff of Roscommon were transferred to Walter de Ivethorn, custodian of the royal castles in Connacht, from Feb. 1296 - Nov. 1298. De Ivethorn rendered an account for this period, and it would appear that he accounted for the pleas and perquisites

 Nov. 1298 -  
 Mich. 1299

 Mich. 1299 -  
 before 23 Nov. 1300

 23 Nov. 1306 -  
 7 May 1309

Dates	Sheriffs of Roscommon
Nov. 1298 - Mich. 1299	<p>of co. Roscommon, for herbage sold there, for the ferry of Rinndown, for the rent of Athlone and the fishery there, for the farm of Roscommon, and for the rent of Aedh O'Conor, king of Connacht, <u>38th Rept. D.K., p.69 - Pipe Roll 30 Edw. I.</u></p>
Mich. 1299 - before 23 Nov. 1306	<p><u>Gerald Tyrel</u>: The account for co. Roscommon Mich. 1299 - Jan. 1302 rendered by Richard de Oxonia mentions Gerald Tyrel, sheriff of Roscommon. Betham has written 27 Edw.I (Nov. 1298-Nov. 1299) in the margin beside his note of this entry in the account, and it would seem likely that Tyrel was sheriff of Roscommon during this time, N.L.I., MS 760, p.178. Later pipe rolls simply record that Gerald Tyrel, late sheriff of Roscommon, owed divers debts noted in pipe roll 30 Edw.I (Mich. 1301-Mich. 1302), <u>43rd Rept. D.K., pp 35,46 - Pipe Rolls 4 and 6 Edw. III.</u></p>
Mich. 1299 - before 23 Nov. 1306	<p><u>Richard de Oxonia</u>: <u>38th Rept. D.K., p. 54 - Pipe Roll 29 Edw. I; ibid., p.103 - Pipe Roll 33 Edw. I; 39th Rept. D.K., pp 27-8-Pipe Roll 3 Edw. II.</u> He died sometime before 23 Nov. 1306, when his son Stephen was ordered to hand over the writs and rolls pertaining to the office to the newly appointed sheriff, P.R.O.I., EX2/1, p.185 - Mem. Roll 31-35 Edw.I.</p>
23 Nov. 1306 - 7 May 1309	<p><u>John de Exeter</u>: appointed and took the oath of office on 23 Nov. 1306, <u>ibid.</u> Accounted for the period 21 Dec. 1306 - 7 May 1309, <u>39th Rept. D.K., p.27 - Pipe Roll 3 Edw. II.</u></p>

Dates	Sheriffs of Roscommon
7 May 1309 - 24 June 1310	<u>Simon fitz Richer</u> : <u>ibid.</u> , where he is called Simon son of Richard; P.R.O.I., EX1/1, m.1 - Mem. Roll 3 Edw.II.
24 June 1310 - 3 Nov. 1314	<u>William Lawless</u> : In Mich. 1310 Richard de Bermingham was appointed sheriff, P.R.O.I., RC 8/5, p.233 - Mem. Roll 4-5 Edw.II, but he does not seem to have taken up office. By 6 May 1312 the justiciar and council had been informed that a William Lawless had intruded himself into the office, that he had been levying and receiving the king's money in co. Roscommon for a long time, and that he had done his will with the money without making satisfaction to the king. The justiciar and council commissioned a clerk called Henry de Thrapston to attach Lawless and to bring him before them to answer for his actions. De Thrapston was also to find out how much of the king's money Lawless had received and from whom, and how long he had been acting as sheriff, P.R.O.I., RC 8/6, p.222-3 - Mem. Roll 5-6 Edw.II. Lawless seems to have submitted to the exchequer soon after this, for on 15 July 1312 he was formally appointed sheriff of Roscommon, <u>ibid.</u> , p. 276. Later he rendered an account for the co. from 24 June 1310 - 3 Nov. 1314, <u>39th Rept. D.K.</u> , p.54 - Pipe Roll 8 Edw. II.
After 3 Nov. 1314 - 1315	<u>Adam le Marreis</u> : he was killed when the Scots arrived in Ireland, P.R.O.I., EX 1/2, m.30 - Mem. Roll 13-14 Edw. II.
1315 - East. 1320	<u>No sheriff of Roscommon</u> : the mem. roll of Mich. 1319 and East. 1320 says that there had been no sheriff since Adam le Marreis was killed on the arrival of the Scots in Ireland, <u>ibid.</u> , mm 1, 30.

Dates	Sheriffs of Roscommon
27 March 1320	<p><u>William son of David de Burgh, constable of Roscommon castle:</u> appointed on this day, presumably by the justiciar, <u>R.C.H.</u>, p. 27, no. 75. An ordinance of 1293 had laid down that sheriffs were to be appointed by the treasurer and barons (<u>Stat. Irel., John - Hen.V.</u>, p. 191), but presumably it was felt that the fact that there had not been a sheriff of Roscommon for such a long time called for the intervention of the justiciar himself.</p>
Mich. 1321 - 16 June 1323	<p><u>Henry Mape</u> (sometimes wrongly transcribed as 'Mare'): P.R.O.I., RC8/12, p.542 - Mem. Roll 15-16 Edw. II; RC8/13, pp 1,162, 261-2 - Mem. Roll 16-17 Edw. II.</p>
16 June 1323 - before East. 1332	<p><u>William son of Geoffrey de Bermingham:</u> appointed and took oath on 16 June 1323, <u>ibid.</u>, pp 261-2. For his period in office, see RC8/13, pp 336,511 - Mem. Roll 17-18 Edw.II; RC8/14, pp 2,204 - Mem.Roll 18 Edw.II; RC8/14, pp 597, 738-Mem. Roll 19 Edw.II; RC8/15, pp 377, 541 - Mem.Roll 3-4 Edw.III; RC8/16, pp 1,315-Mem.Roll 5-6 Edw.III.</p>
East. 1332	<p><u>William son of David de Burgh:</u> the archbishop of Tuam was ordered to receive his oath of office when he was appointed <u>circa</u> East. 1332, <u>ibid.</u>, p. 315. He failed to proffer in East. term 1332, <u>ibid.</u>, p. 281.</p>
Hil. 1334 - East. 1335	<p><u>Thomas fitz Oweyn:</u> P.R.O.L., E.101/240/3; P.R.O.I., RC8/18, pp 269, 492 - Mem. Roll 8-9 Edw.III.</p>
1343	<p><u>Walter Wynter:</u> appointed by the treasurer in 1343, P.R.O.I., RC8/22, p. 471 - Mem. Roll 16-17 Edw. III. We have no further information about him or his successors up to 1348.</p>



## APPENDIX V

## Royal custodians of Athmekin manor (Headford, Co. Galway)

Dates	Custodians
12 Sept. 1283	<u>Adam Gaynard</u> : given the custody by the K. during pleasure, and was told to render the value of the manor plus £10 year, and to guard the castle at his own expense, C.D.I., 1252-84, no. 2124. The manor was extended at £73-11-4, <u>ibid.</u> , nos 1801, 2339. Adam was one of the tenants of the manor, <u>ibid.</u> , no. 2340, and had petitioned for the custody of it when Christina de Marisco gave it to the K. and Q., <u>ibid.</u> , no. 2124. See also above, p.115.
Before Mich. 1294	<u>John fitz Thomas</u> : P.R.O.I., EX2/1, p. 23 - Mem. Roll 22-23 Edw. I.
East. 1295 - Mich. 1295	<u>Walter de Ivethorn</u> : 38th Rept. D.K., p. 69 - Pipe Roll 30 Edw.I.
Mich. 1295 - 25 May 1302	<u>Walter de Ridelsford</u> : <u>ibid.</u> , pp 69, 95 - Pipe Rolls 30 and 33 Edw.I; C.D.I., 1293-1301, no. 637, p. 305; no. 658, p.315; no. 825, p. 374; <u>ibid.</u> , 1302-7, no. 58, pp 25,27; no. 72. Receipt rolls East. and Trin. 1297 show Walter de Ivethorn paying the rent and issues of the manor into the exchequer, <u>ibid.</u> , 1293-1301, no. 391, p. 183; no. 408, p.190; P.R.O.L., E.101/232/24. These payments were probably arrears.
17 Feb. 1302 - East. 1308	<u>John Crok</u> : given the custody by the K. during pleasure, as a reward for his service in Scotland, C.D.I., 1302-7, no. 17. For his custodianship, see P.R.O.L., E.101/234/2; E.101/234/9; E.101/234/16; E.101/235/5; E.101/235/12.

Dates	Custodians of Athmekin manor
1 July 1308 - East. 1315	<u>William de Burgh</u> : given the custody on 1 July 1308, and told to pay the true value of the manor according to an extent made or to be made, P.R.O.I., EX2/2, p.369 - Mem. Roll 1 Edw.II. For his custodianship, see P.R.O.L., E.101/235/18; E.101/235/22; E.101/235/25; E.101/236/1; E.101/236/8; E.101/236/12; E.101/237/1.
10 Oct. 1332 - Trin. 1334	<u>Robert Gaynard</u> : given the custody for 3 years on 10 Oct. 1332, after the escheator 'by force and arms seised said manor into the King's hand', 44th Rept. D.K., p. 37 - Pipe Roll 8 Edw.III. For his custodianship, see P.R.O.L., E.101/239/27; E.101/240/4. In Hil. and East. 1335 he made payments into the exchequer of the rent of Athmekin, E.101/240/7. These payments were probably arrears.
Mich. 1334 - Trin. 1336	<u>Meiler de Bermingham</u> : P.R.O.I., RC8/18, pp 274, 457, 497 - Mem. Roll 8-9 Edw.III; P.R.O.L., E.101/240/7; E.101/240/9; E.101/240/12.
Mich. 1347	<u>Meiler son of Richard de Burgh</u> : P.R.O.L., E.101/241/14.

## APPENDIX VI

## Accounts rendered by the Sheriffs of Connacht and Roscommon

In the lists below square brackets mean that the period of account is not known, the period supplied being the year of the pipe roll in which the account was enrolled. Round brackets mean that the period of account and the year of the pipe roll in which the account was enrolled are not known, the period supplied being the time the sheriff in question is known to have held office.<sup>1</sup>

## 1. County Connacht Accounts

Period of Account	Sheriffs	References
[Mich.1248-Mich.1249]	Jordan de Exeter	B.M., Add. MS 4790-fol. 166v - Pipe Roll 33 Hen. III. <sup>2</sup>
[Mich.1253-Mich.1254]	Walter Wyard	<u>38<sup>th</sup> Rept. D.K.</u> , p.89 - Pipe Roll 32 Edw. I.
[Mich.1257-Mich.1258]	?	T.C.D., MS 671-fol.4v - Pipe Roll 42 Hen. III.
[Mich.1259-Mich.1260]	? <sup>3</sup>	<u>Ibid.</u> , fol.35v-Pipe Roll 44 Hen. III; <u>35<sup>th</sup> Rept. D.K.</u> , p.44 - Pipe Roll 46 Hen. III.

1. The dates of the sheriffs of Connacht and Roscommon are listed in Appendix IV above, pp 506-16.
2. I am indebted to Dr. Lydon for giving me his transcript of extracts from Irish pipe rolls in Ware's Collection in the B.M.
3. The name of the sheriff who accounted is not given, but it is probable that it was either the heirs and executors of Jordan de Exeter, sheriff of Connacht, who died in 1258, or Maurice fitz Maurice, who was appointed sheriff in November 1259, who accounted, see above, pp 506-7.

## County Connacht Accounts

Period of Account	Sheriffs	References
13 Feb.1261 <sup>4</sup> -Mich. 1262	Meiler de Rupe	35 <sup>th</sup> Rept.D.K., p.44-Pipe Roll 46 Hen.III; B.M., Add. Charter 26515, fol.203v - Pipe Roll 46 Hen.III, <sup>5</sup> T.C.D., MS 671, fols 4v-5-Pipe Roll 46 Hen.III; Hardiman, <u>History of Galway</u> , p.52, note 20.
[Mich.1262-Mich.1263]	?	T.C.D., MS 671, fol.5-Pipe Roll 47 Hen.III.
Mich.1268-Mich.1269	Andrew le Poer	35 <sup>th</sup> Rept.D.K., p.49-Pipe Roll 53 Hen.III; <sup>6</sup> B.M., Add. MS 4789, fols 17, 288v, 290-Pipe Roll 53 Hen.III; T.C.D., MS 671, fol. 36v-given under Pipe Roll 54 Hen.III.
Mich.1269-East.1276	Jordan de Exeter	36 <sup>th</sup> Rept.D.K., p.28-Pipe Roll 3 Edw.I; N.L.I., MS 760, pp 24-5-Betham's Extracts from the Pipe Rolls.
[Mich.1278-Mich.1279]	Jordan de Exeter	36 <sup>th</sup> Rept.D.K., p.56-Pipe Roll 9 Edw.I; T.C.D., MS 671, fol. 7v-Pipe Roll 7 Edw.I.

4. In Pipe Rolls 46 Hen. III (Mich.1261-Mich.1262) and 9 Edw.I (Mich. 1280-Mich.1281) it is said that an account for Mich. 1260-13 Feb. 1361 was due, 35<sup>th</sup> Rept.D.K., p.44; 36<sup>th</sup> Rept.D.K., p.56.

5. I am indebted to Dr J.F. Lydon for giving me his transcript of this.

6. The pipe roll was damaged and was therefore not calendared in the D.K. Repts.

## County Connacht Accounts

Period of Account	Sheriffs	References
East.1280-East.1282	Henry de Rupeforti (Rocheford)	<u>36<sup>th</sup> Rept.D.K.</u> ,p.56-Pipe Roll 9 Edw.I; Hardiman, <u>History of Galway</u> ,p.52, note 20; N.L.I.,MS 760,p.42-Betham's Extracts from the Pipe Rolls.
(c.1282)	Robert Taillard	<u>C.D.I.</u> ,1285-92,no.215,p.101; P.R.O.L.,E.101/231/6-Receipt Roll East.1286.
[Mich.1284-Mich.1285]	Adam Gaynard, Thomas de la Roche (de Rupe), and Gilbert de Lynet	<u>38<sup>th</sup> Rept.D.K.</u> ,p.73-Pipe Roll 31 Edw.I; <u>37<sup>th</sup> Rept.D.K.</u> ,pp 24,27 - Pipe Roll 15 Edw. I.
Mich.1285-Mich.1287	Gilbert de Lynet	<u>37<sup>th</sup> Rept.D.K.</u> ,p.24-Pipe Roll 15 Edw.I; N.L.I.,MS 760, pp 108-9-Betham's Extracts from the Pipe Rolls; Hardiman, <u>History of Galway</u> , pp 52-3, note 20.
Mich.1287-Mich.1292	Gilbert de Lynet and John de Slane <sup>7</sup>	<u>37<sup>th</sup> Rept.D.K.</u> ,pp 45-6-Pipe Roll 20 Edw.I; N.L.I.,MS 760,p.139-Betham's Extracts from the Pipe Rolls; T.C.D., MS 671,fol.12-Pipe Roll 20 Edw.I.
Mich.1292-Mich.1299	John de Slane, Richard de Lyt, John le Poer and Henry de Berming- ham	<u>38<sup>th</sup> Rept.D.K.</u> ,pp 48-9-Pipe Roll 27 Edw.I; N.L.I.,MS 760, p.217-Betham's Extracts from the Pipe Rolls; T.C.D.,MS 671,fol.16-Pipe Roll 27 Edw. I.

7. Richard de Oxonia is also said to have rendered an account for Connacht during this period, 37<sup>th</sup> Rept.D.K.,pp 45-6-Pipe Roll 20 Edw.I. However, it would seem that he had special responsibility for the king's cantreds, which were established as a separate shire (that of Roscommon) during the 1280s, see above, pp 266, 512-4.

## County Connacht Accounts

Period of Account	Sheriffs	References
Mich.1299-1 May 1304	Henry de Bermingham, Richard de Bermingham, and Richard le Blake ( <u>alias</u> Neyr or Niger)	38 <sup>th</sup> <u>Rept.D.K.</u> , pp 72-4-Pipe Roll 31 Edw.I; N.L.I., MS 760, pp 256-7-Betham's Extracts from the Pipe Rolls; T.C.D., MS 671, fols 20v-21-Pipe Roll 31 Edw.I.
(1 May 1304-Mich.1308)	Richard le Blake	P.R.O.I., RC8/5, pp238-9-Mem.Roll 4-5 Edw.II; RC8/17, pp 231-2-Mem.Roll 5 Edw.II; RC8/9, p.281-Mem.Roll 7 Edw. II.
(Trin.1309-Mich.1310)	Richard de Lyt	P.R.O.I., RC8/5, p.238-Mem. Roll 4-5 Edw.II; RC8/9, p.281 -Mem.Roll 7 Edw.II. A county Connacht account was enrolled on Pipe Roll 4 Edw.II (Mich. 1310-Mich.1311), 39 <sup>th</sup> <u>Rept. D.K.</u> , p.54-Pipe Roll 8 Edw. II.
(Mich.1310-Mich.1312)	Richard de Lyt	It is not absolutely certain that de Lyt rendered an account for this period, see above, p.426.
(Mich.1312-East.1313)	John son of William de Exeter	P.R.O.L., E.101/237/1-Receipt Roll Trin.1315.
(Mich.1331-Mich.1334)	John de Ridelsford	P.R.O.L., E.101/240/15-Receipt Roll Aug.1339-Trin. 1340; P.R.O.I., RC8/21, p. 411 - Mem.Roll 13-14 Edw. III; RC8/15, p.298-Roll of Attermind Debts.

## County Connacht Accounts

Period of Account	Sheriffs	References
(Mich.1334-Oct.1336)	Meiler de Bermingham	P.R.O.I., RC8/18, p.667-Mem. Roll 8-9 Edw.III. A county Connacht account was enrolled on Pipe Roll 10 Edw.III (Mich.1335-Mich.1336), <u>45<sup>th</sup></u> <u>Rept.D.K.</u> , p.36-Pipe Roll 11 Edw.III.
(Hil.1345-East.1345)	Robert de Bermingham	P.R.O.L., E.101/241/5-Proceedings against the treasurer, John de Burnham. <sup>8</sup>
(Trin.1346-Hil.1347)	Meiler de Burgh	<u>Ibid.</u>
(Mich.1347-Trin.1348)	Meiler de Bermingham	<u>Ibid.</u>

## County Roscommon Accounts

Period of Account	Sheriffs	References
21 Aug.1288-Mich.1292	Richard de Oxonia	<u>37<sup>th</sup></u> <u>Rept.D.K.</u> , pp 45-6-Pipe Roll 20 Edw.I. His account appears in a county Connacht account, and has been discussed above, p. 512.
Mich.1299-13 Jan.1302	Richard de Oxonia	<u>38<sup>th</sup></u> <u>Rept.D.K.</u> , p.54-Pipe Roll 29 Edw.I; N.L.I., MS 760, pp 178, 238, 240-1 - Betham's Extracts from the Pipe Rolls.

8. I am indebted to Dr Phil Connolly for giving me her notes of these proceedings.

## County Roscommon Accounts

Period of Account	Sheriffs	References
13 Jan. 1302-7 June 1306	Richard de Oxonia	38 <sup>th</sup> Rept.D.K., p.103-Pipe Roll 33 Edw.I; N.L.I., MS 760, pp 251,272 - Betham's Extracts from the Pipe Rolls.
7 June 1306-24 June 1310	Richard de Oxonia, John de Exeter and Richard fitz Richer	39 <sup>th</sup> Rept.D.K., pp 27-8-Pipe Roll 3 Edw.II; N.L.I., MS 760, p.280-Betham's Extracts from the Pipe Rolls; T.C.D., MS 671, fol.29-Pipe Roll 3 Edw.II.
24 June 1310-3 Nov. 1314	William Lawless	39 <sup>th</sup> Rept.D.K., p.54-Pipe Roll 8 Edw.II; N.L.I., MS 760, pp 314-5-Betham's Extracts from the Pipe Rolls.



## APPENDIX VII

Proffers made by the Sheriffs of Connacht and Roscommon  
1307 - 1348

In the table below ticks are given when the sheriff himself came to proffer, the word 'deputy' is given when the sheriff sent a deputy, and 'ab.' is given when a sheriff neither came to proffer nor sent a deputy. Dashes are given when the memoranda rolls cease recording that the sheriff had failed to proffer. Years for which there are no memoranda rolls have been omitted. Horizontal lines have been inserted to show up the decades.

Dates	Sheriffs of Connacht	Sheriffs of Roscommon
Mich. 1307	ab.	ab.
East. 1308	ab.	ab. <sup>1</sup>
Mich. 1309	✓	✓
East. 1310	deputy	deputy <sup>2</sup>
Mich. 1310	✓	✓
<hr/>		
East. 1311	ab.	ab. <sup>3</sup>
Mich. 1311	✓	ab.
East. 1312	ab.	ab. <sup>4</sup>
Mich. 1312	✓	ab.
East. 1313	ab.	ab. <sup>5</sup>
Mich. 1313	✓	ab.
East. 1314	✓	ab. <sup>6</sup>

1. P.R.O.I., EX2/2, pp 221, 302 - Mem. Roll 1 Edw. II.

2. P.R.O.I., EX1/1, mm 1, 31 - Mem. Roll 3 Edw. II.

3. P.R.O.I., RC8/5, pp 152, 512 - Mem. Roll 4 - 5 Edw. II.

4. P.R.O.I., RC8/6, pp 1, 200, 201 - Mem. Roll 5 - 6 Edw. II.

5. P.R.O.I., RC8/7, pp 1, 3, 288 - Mem. Roll 6 Edw. II.

6. P.R.O.I., RC8/9, pp 1, 4, 308, 310 - Mem. Roll 7 Edw. II.

Dates	Sheriffs of Connacht	Sheriffs of Roscommon
Mich. 1315	ab.	} no sheriff <sup>8</sup> of Roscommon
East. 1316	ab. <sup>7</sup>	
Mich. 1319	ab.	
East. 1320	ab. <sup>8</sup>	
Mich. 1321	ab.	ab. <sup>9</sup>
Mich. 1322	ab.	ab.
East. 1323	✓	ab. <sup>10</sup>
Mich. 1323	ab.	ab.
East. 1324	ab.	ab. <sup>11</sup>
Mich. 1324	ab.	ab.
East. 1325	ab.	ab. <sup>12</sup>
Mich. 1325	ab.	ab.
East. 1326	ab.	ab. <sup>13</sup>
Mich. 1329	ab.	ab.
East. 1330	ab.	ab. <sup>14</sup>
Mich. 1331	ab.	ab.
East. 1332	ab.	ab. <sup>15</sup>
Mich. 1334	ab.	✓
East. 1335	✓	ab. <sup>16</sup>
Mich. 1338	ab.	-
East. 1339	ab.	- <sup>17</sup>
Mich. 1339	ab.	-
East. 1340	ab.	- <sup>18</sup>
Mich. 1342	ab.	-
East. 1343	ab.	- <sup>19</sup>

7. P.R.O.I., RC8/10, pp 411, 592 - Mem. Roll 9 Edw. II.  
8. P.R.O.I., EX1/2, mm 1, 30 - Mem. Roll 13-14 Edw. II.  
9. P.R.O.I., RC8/12, p.541 - Mem. Roll 15-16 Edw. II. The proffers for East. 1322 were not calendared.  
10. P.R.O.I., RC8/13, pp 1, 162 - Mem. Roll 16-17 Edw. II.  
11. P.R.O.I., RC8/13, pp 336, 511 - Mem. Roll 17-18 Edw. II.  
12. P.R.O.I., RC8/14, pp 2, 204 - Mem. Roll 18 Edw. II.  
13. P.R.O.I., RC8/14, pp 597-8, 738 - Mem. Roll 19 Edw. II.  
14. P.R.O.I., RC8/15, pp 377, 541 - Mem. Roll 3-4 Edw. III.  
15. P.R.O.I., RC8/16, pp 1, 281 - Mem. Roll 5-6 Edw. III.  
16. P.R.O.I., RC8/18, pp 269, 491-2 - Mem. Roll 8-9 Edw. III.  
17. P.R.O.I., RC8/21, pp 1, 187 - Mem. Roll 12-13 Edw. III.  
18. P.R.O.I., RC8/21, p.333, RC8/22, p.1 - Mem. Roll 13-14 Edw. III.  
19. P.R.O.I., RC8/22, pp 173, 375 - Mem. Roll 16-17 Edw. III.

Dates	Sheriffs of Connacht	Sheriffs of Roscommon
East. 1345	-	- 20
Mich. 1345	-	-
East. 1346	-	- 21
Mich. 1347	✓	-
East. 1348	✓	- 22

Additional Charter 2651B: Extracts from the Pipe Rolls of Ireland.

Additional MS 4767: Miscellaneous Extracts, formerly Clarendon

MS XXVI, collected by Sir James Ware.

Additional MSS 4759-4790: Two volumes from the 'Collectanea

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fourteenth century (illuminated).

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IX 2: P.R.O.I. Calendar of Memoranda Rolls.

20. P.R.O.I., RC8/23, pp 161-4 - Mem. Roll 18-19 Edw. III. The proffers for Michaelmas 1344 were not calendared.
21. P.R.O.I., RC8/23, pp 439-40, 580-3 - Mem. Roll 19-20 Edw. III.
22. P.R.O.I., RC8/24, pp 1, 235 - Mem. Roll 21-22 Edw. III.

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- RC 8: Record Commission's Calendar of Memoranda Rolls. Also contains calendars of some De Banco and Justiciary Rolls, a Roll of Attermind Debts and an Exchequer Plea Roll.

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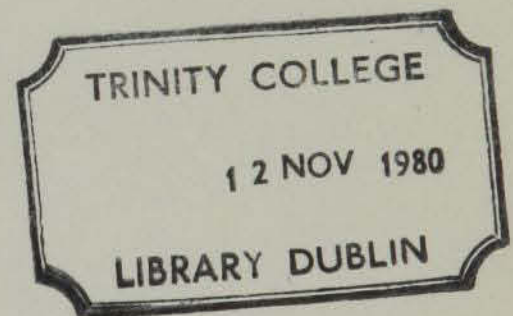
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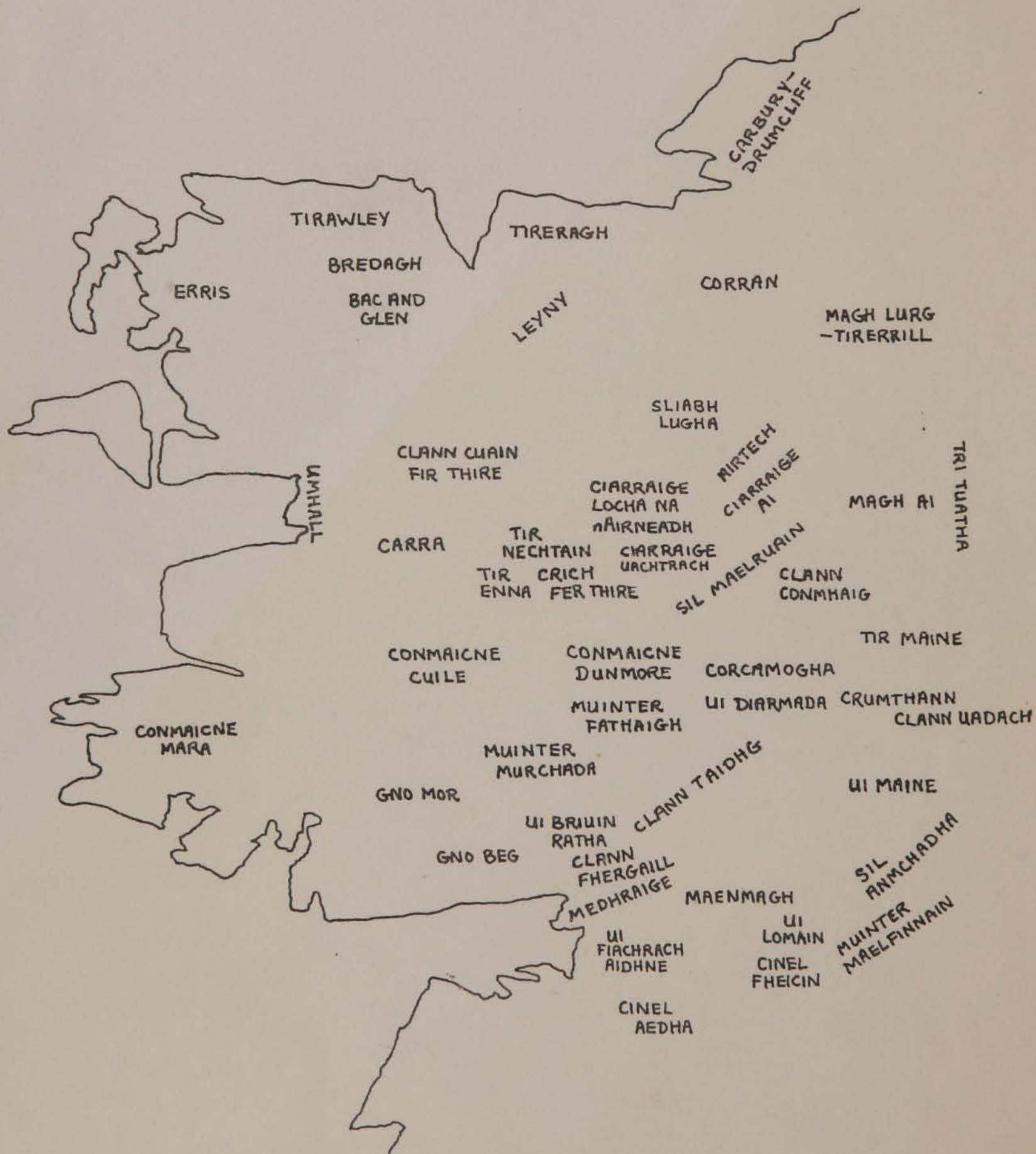
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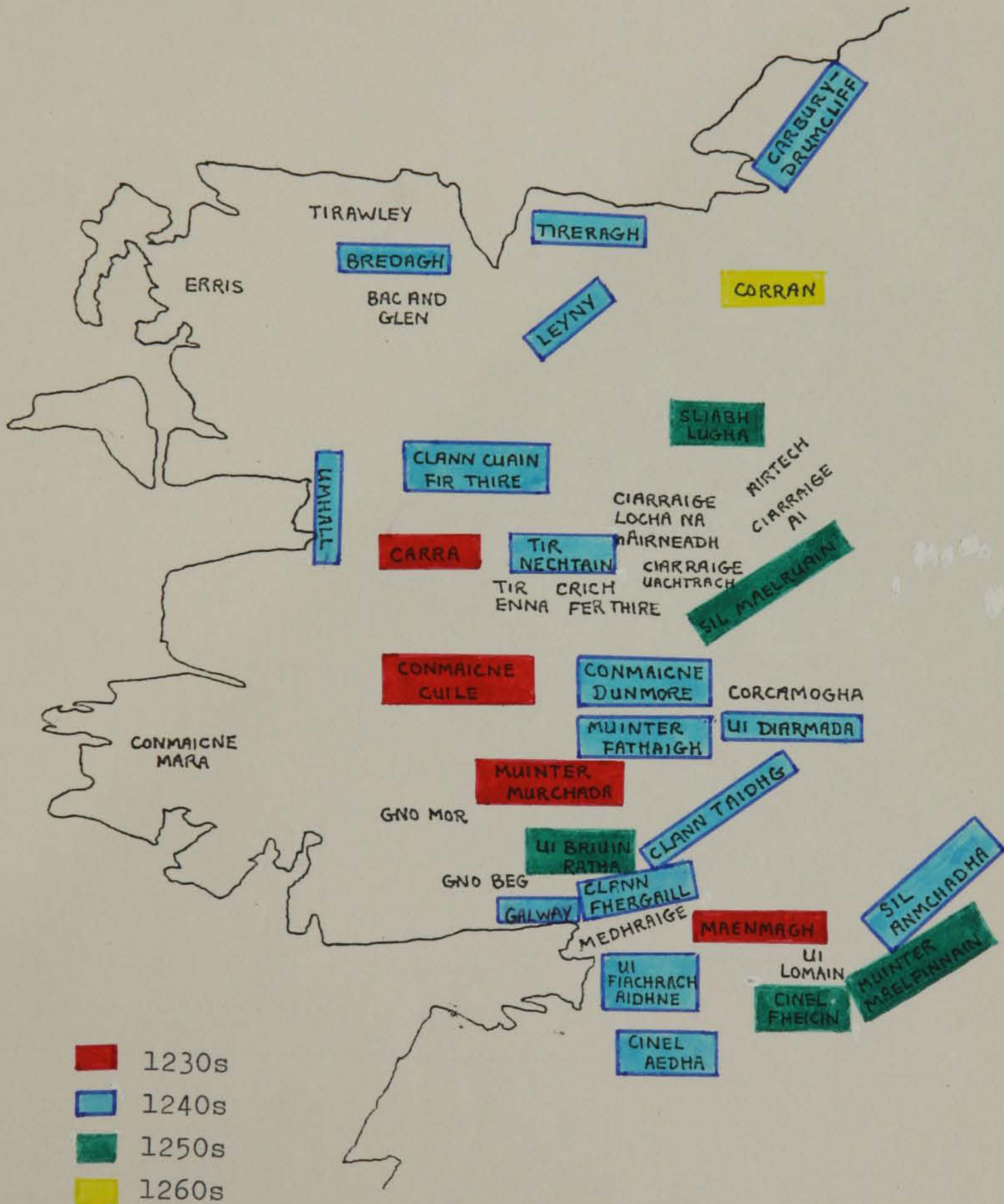
MAP I

The Cantreds and Theoda of Connacht



MAP II

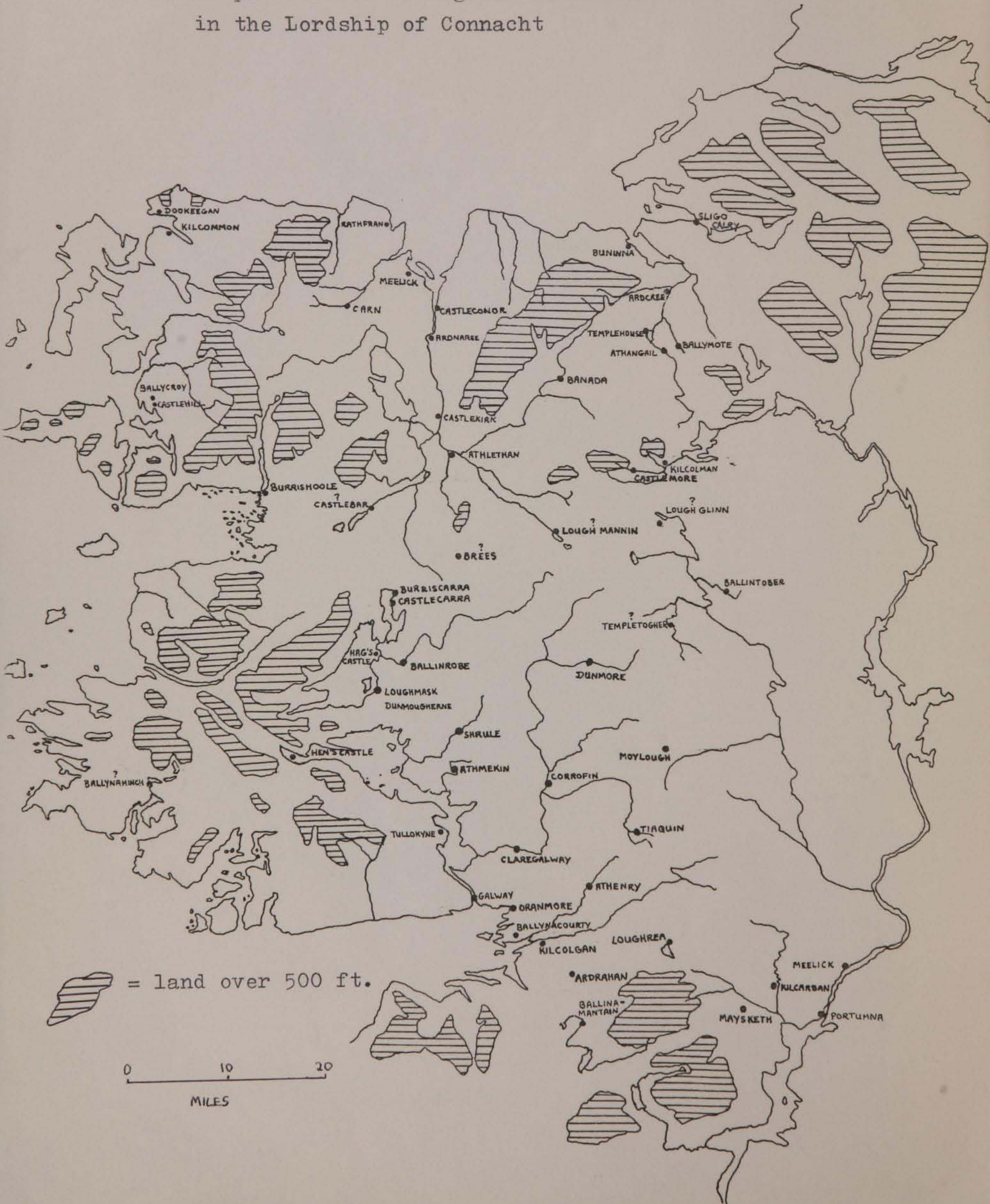
The Dates by which English Settlement took place in the Cantreds and Theoda of the Lordship of Connacht



ERRIS Date of settlement not known

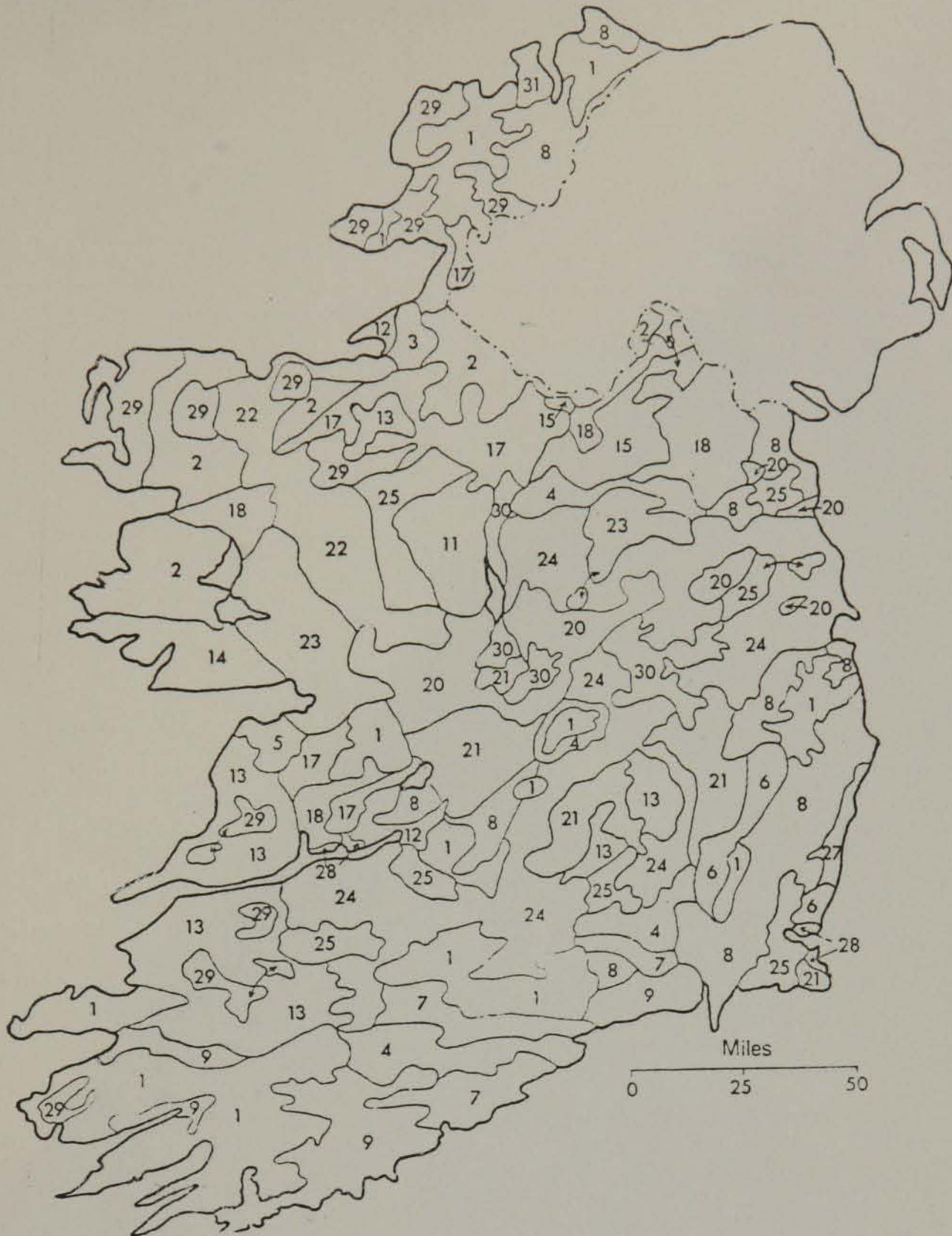
MAP III

The Principal Centres of English Settlement  
in the Lordship of Connacht



# MAP IV

## 'A New Generalised Soil Map of Ireland and its Land-Use Interpretation'



Limitations to agricultural use\*

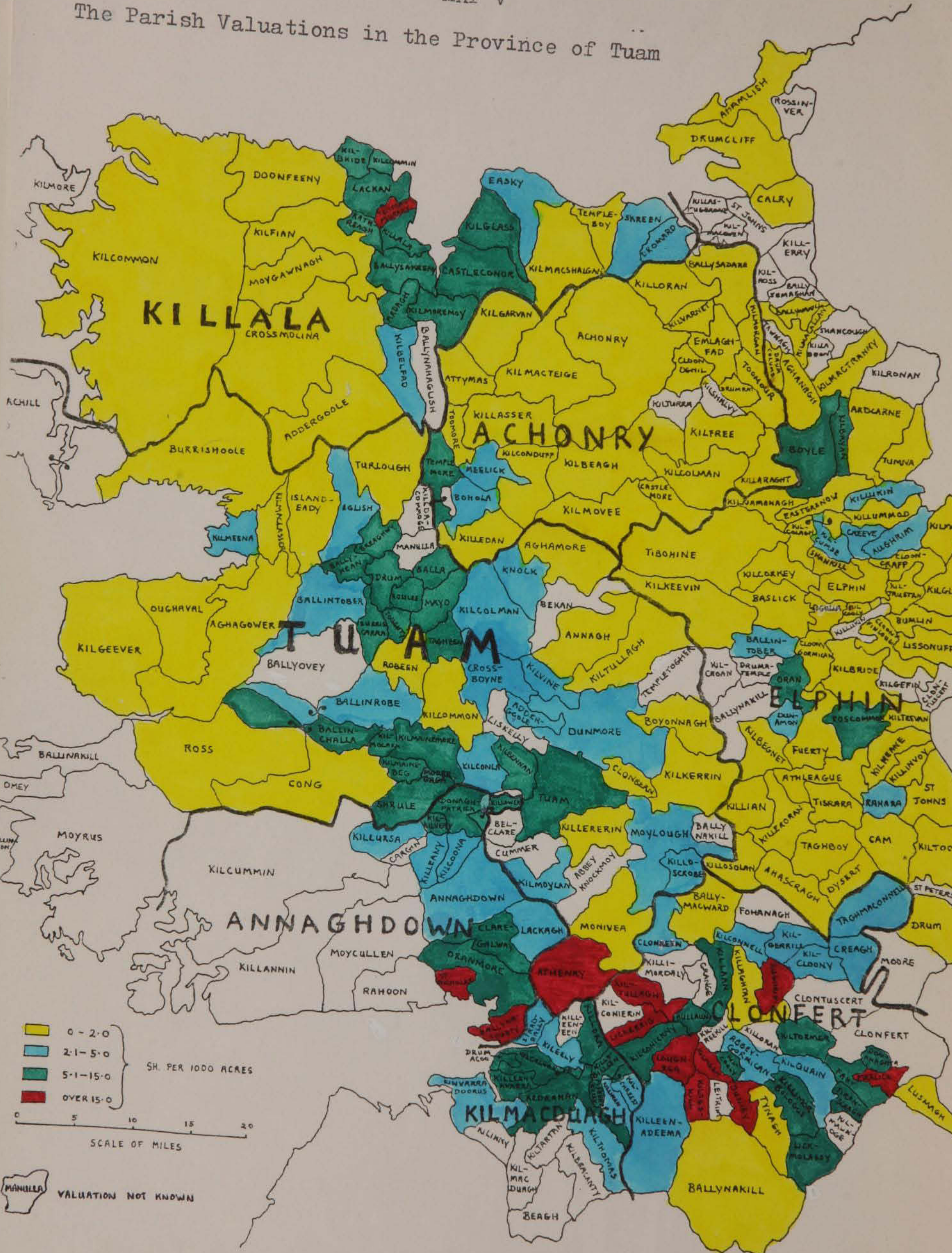
Degree of limitation <sup>b</sup>	Type of limitation	Soil association no.	% of total area
A. Slight	Poor drainage of associated soils	7, 8, 9, 20, 21, 24	35.8
B. Moderate	Somewhat shallow depth	11, 22, 23	9.3
	Coarse texture	6	1.1
C. Moderate to strong	Somewhat shallow depth, somewhat high altitude	4	2.8
	Poor permeability, poor structure, somewhat heavy texture	12, 15, 18, 25, 28	10.6
D. Strong	Very poor permeability, poor structure, heavy texture	13, 17, 27	11.2
E. Very strong	Rock outcrops, shallow depth	5, 14	2.6
	Steep slopes, high altitude, shallow depth	1, 2, 3	18.0

\* This classification does not take account of low inherent nutrient status but only of the more permanent limiting factors

<sup>b</sup> Organic soils are not included because their utilisation constitutes a special problem (29 is an organic soil)

Taken from M.J. Gardiner and P. Ryan, 'A New Generalised Soil Map of Ireland and its Land-Use Interpretation', Irish Journal of Agricultural Research, vol. 8 (1969), pp 100, 105.

The Parish Valuations in the Province of Tuam



**KILLALUA**  
CROSSMOLINA

**ACHONRY**

**TUAM**

**ANNAGHDOWN**

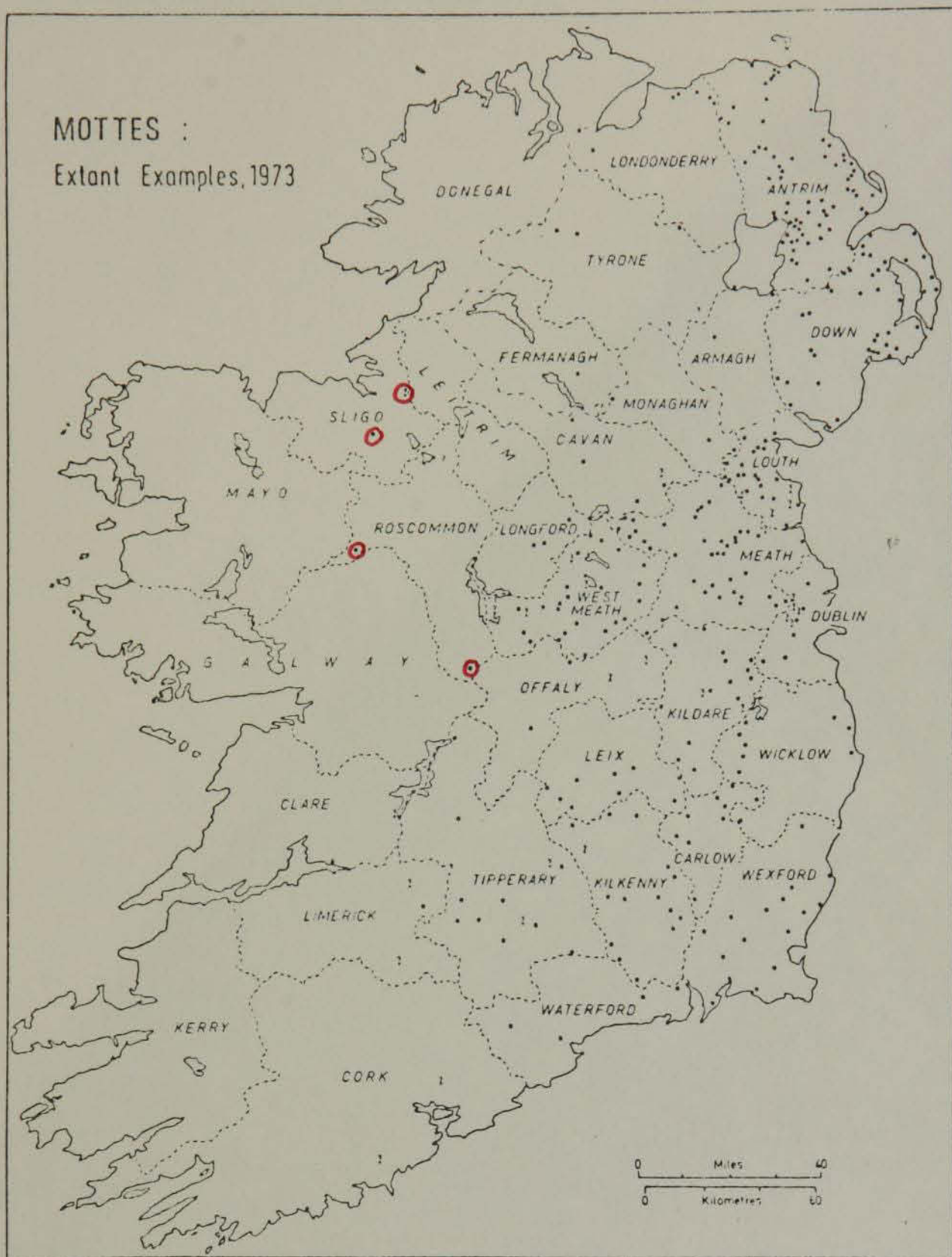
**ELPHIN**

**CLONFERT**

**KILMACDUGH**

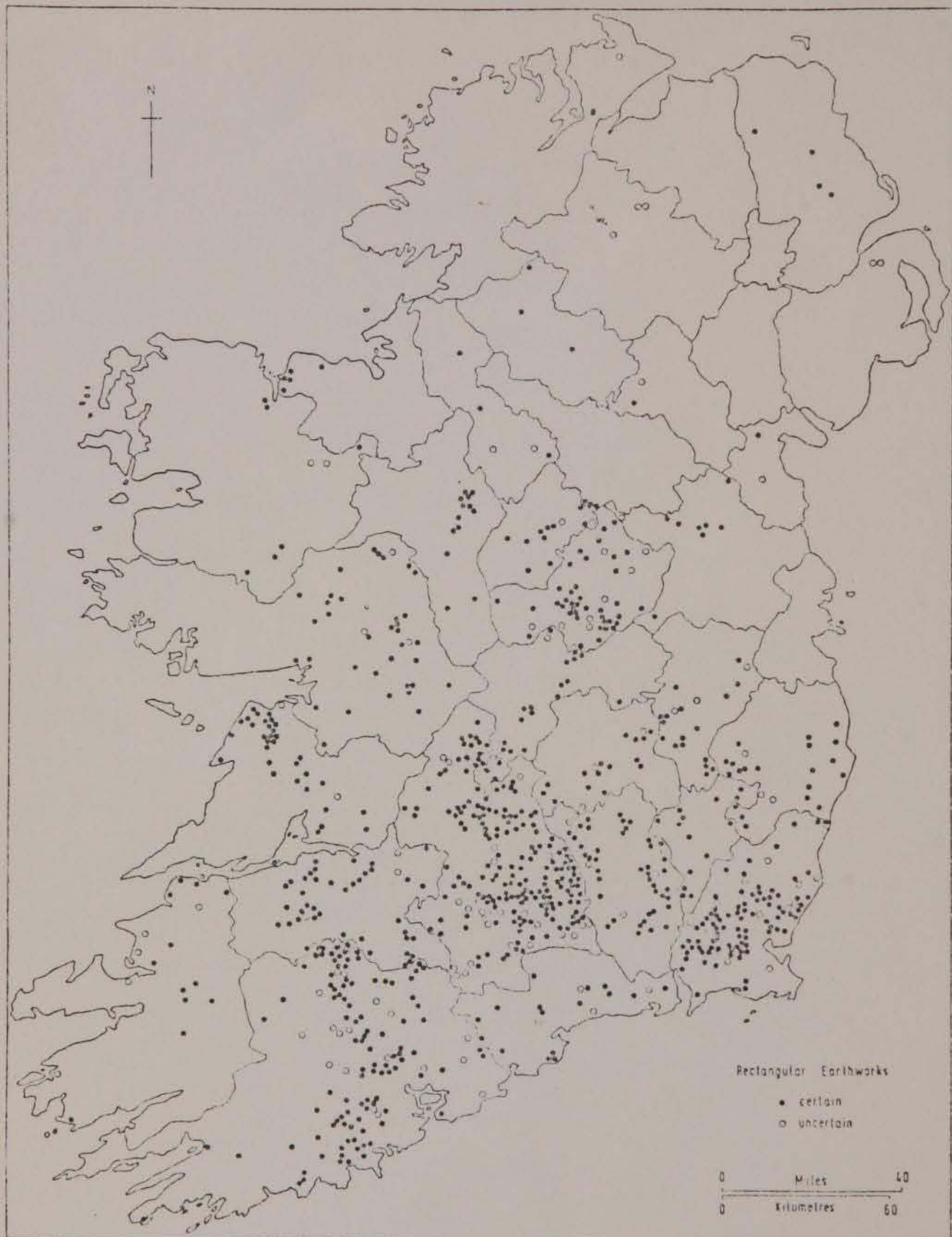


MAP VI  
MOTTES IN IRELAND



Taken from R.E. Glasscock, 'Mottes in Ireland', Château-Gaillard  
vol. 7, Caen, 1975, p. 97.

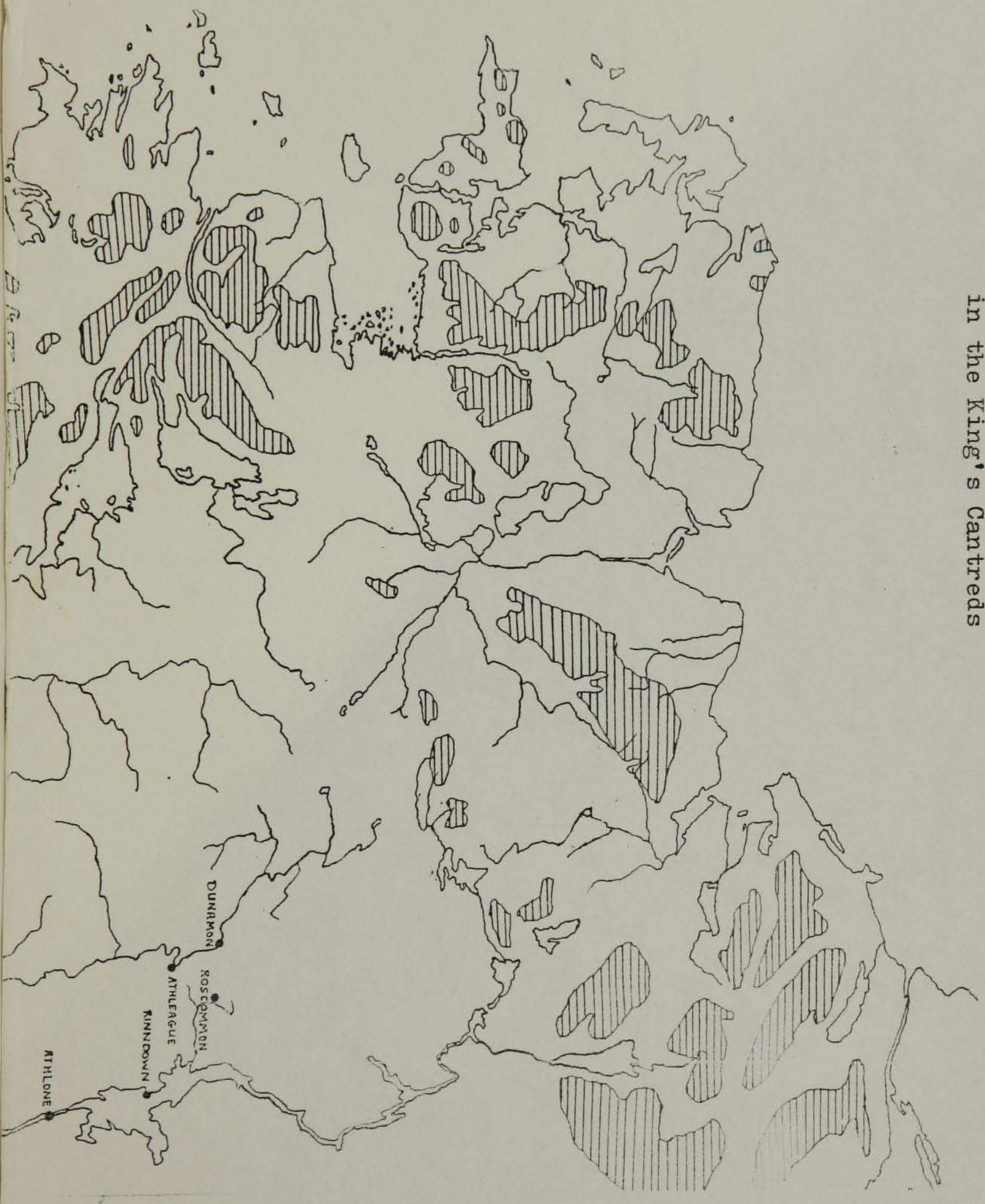
MAP VII



Rectangular earthworks shown on the First Edition of the Ordnance Survey Six Inch Map, circa 1840.

Taken from R.E. Glasscock, 'Moated Sites and Deserted Boroughs and Villages; two neglected aspects of Anglo-Norman Settlement in Ireland', in Irish Geographical Studies in honour of E. Estyn Evans, ed. N. Stephens and R.E. Glasscock (Belfast, 1970), p. 165.

The Principal Centres of English Settlement  
in the King's Cantreds



MAP IX

The Parishes in the King's Cantreds in which Land was granted to English Tenants









