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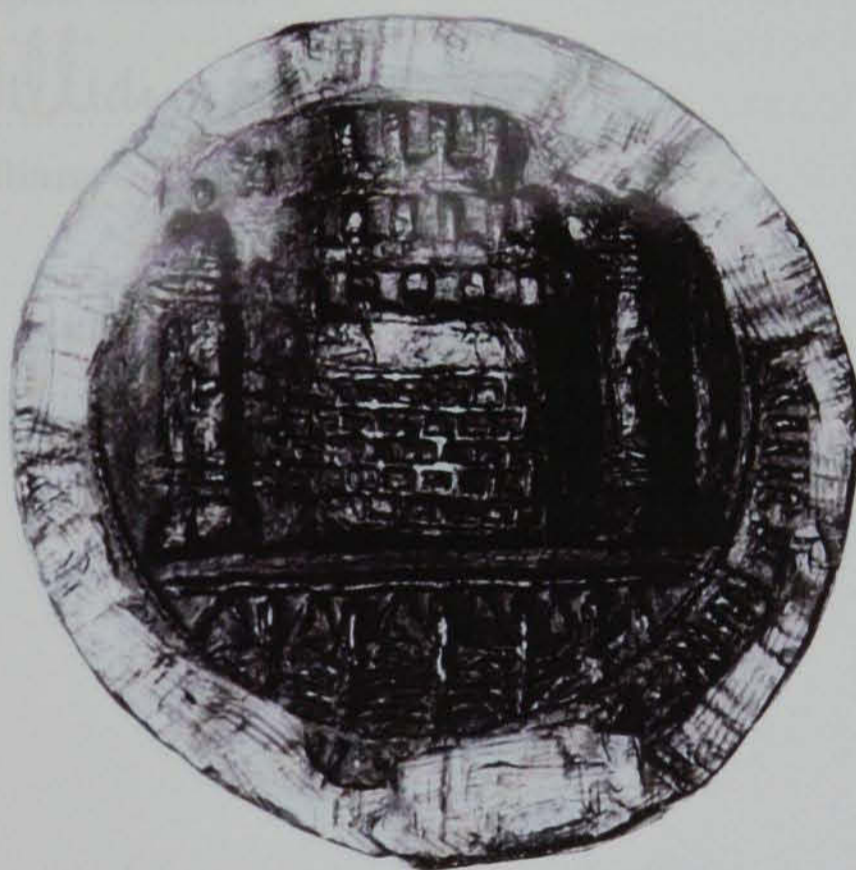
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**Settlement and Society in Medieval
County Wexford
1100 - 1400**

William Colfer

Submitted for the degree of Ph.D. at Trinity College, Dublin, 2000.



Seal of Clonmines (British Museum)

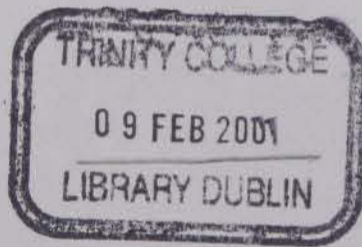
Settlement and Society in Medieval

County Wick

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Ph.D. Thesis

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Acknowledgments

I wish to acknowledge the help and support that I have received during the progress of this work. I would like to thank Ned Cullen, an old and valued friend, for his assistance. The librarians and staff of Wexford Library, especially Judith Glynn, have

Declaration

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

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Acknowledgements

I wish to acknowledge the help and support that I have received during the progress of this work. I would like to thank Ned Culleton, an old and valued friend, for many inspiring discussions. The librarian and staff of Wexford library, especially Jarlath Glynn, have always been most helpful. I am grateful to a number of friends who have been generous with information and comment; particularly Matthew Stout, Geraldine Stout, Ben Murtagh, Hilary Murphy and Con Manning. My good friend Kevin Whelan, as well as being a source of motivation, has been generous with practical help and guidance. I must thank my family for calm acceptance, and backing, of my belated student status. My special thanks and appreciation go to my wife, Noreen, who has been a constant source of support and inspiration. My greatest debt of gratitude is to my supervisor, Dr. Terry Barry, for his initial encouragement and subsequent meticulous attention to my work.

Summary

The late twelfth-century Anglo-Norman invasion of Ireland was followed by an influx of settlers from Britain and the introduction of a system of land-holding and administration known as feudalism. The kingdom of *Uí Cheinnselaig*, represented by the modern county Wexford, was the first part of Ireland to be occupied and sub-infeudated as part of the development of the Lordship of Leinster. This thesis uses the historical and archaeological record to examine the progress of that sub-infeudation and to identify factors which contributed to contrasting regional variations. The analysis of twelfth-century society in *Uí Cheinnselaig* presented in chapter one is essential to the understanding of Anglo-Norman sub-infeudation as the new arrivals frequently adopted pre-existing settlement structures and centres of spiritual and political power. This inevitably led to considerable continuity in land-holding patterns and centres of economic and administrative importance. Surveys carried out in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are also of value as they frequently recorded settlement patterns which originated in the thirteenth century.

It is evident that all of the attributes of feudal land-holding were put in place in medieval county Wexford. Substantial tracts of land were retained as seignorial manors by the lord of Leinster before the granting of most of the remaining land to military tenants. Extensive grants to the church, mostly in south-west of the county in the vicinity of Waterford Harbour, were motivated by strategic as well as spiritual considerations. Nucleated settlements were developed as part of the feudal infrastructure. Manorial villages became the economic and parochial centres on the smaller manors while chartered boroughs and towns were established to promote trade and to attract settlers from Britain.

For almost a century, the colony in county Wexford developed in relatively peaceful conditions. Some of the Irish were integrated as betaghs into the manorial system but many, particularly in the north of the county, continued to live according to Gaelic law and tradition. Because of topographical differences, strategic

considerations and the mixed ability and ambition of manorial lords, there was considerable diversity in manorial development throughout the county, resulting in considerable variation in the size of manors and corresponding parishes. These factors also influenced the distribution of defensive earthworks and the ultimate success or failure of manors and nucleated settlements. The fragmentation of authority which followed the partition of Leinster in 1247 led to the growth of unrest and a weakening of the colony. By the end of the century, the Leinster Irish, led by the MacMurchada, were in almost continuous revolt and the lawlessness of some of the English added to the general disintegration of authority. The situation for the colonists was brought to crisis point by the Bruce Invasion of 1315-18 and the Black Death of 1349-50.

It is evident that, initially at least, the subinfeudation of the entire county was intended, but with vastly different results north and south. The large grants in the wooded, hilly north were never more than speculative and, because of pressure from the Irish, had been abandoned by the end of the thirteenth century. In contrast, the smaller grants in the more secure south formed the basis for a society which was to endure for four centuries. The division of the county into a Gaelic north and an English south, separated by a mixed zone across the centre of the county, led to the development of a distinctive settlement landscape. By the end of the fourteenth century, the colonists were concentrated in the Wexford Pale, a region protected by natural topographical defences, consisting mostly of the southern baronies of Forth and Bargy. The confiscation of much of the north of county Wexford by Richard II at the end of the fourteenth century, an implicit acknowledgement of the failure of the colony in that part of the county, is taken as a suitable termination point for the purposes of this thesis.

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Photographs : W. Colfer (unless otherwise stated)

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Cal. just. rolls

Cal. pat. rolls

Cal. I.P.M.

Chart. St. Mary's

Clyn's Ann.

C.S.

D.S.

Expugnatio

Q.S.I.H.S.

Here, Wexford

I.H.S.

Irish monastic possessions

Brooks, Knights' fees

Med. rel. houses

N.A.I.

N.H.I.

N.L.I.

O.S.

Ormond deeds

Calendar of justiciary rolls, Ireland

Calendar of patent rolls

Calendar of Inquisitions post mortem

Chronicles of St. Mary's Abbey, Dublin

The annals of Ireland by Peter John Clyn and Thedy Dowling

Cart survey, county Wexford

Down survey

Expugnatio Hibernica: the conquest of Ireland, Giraldus Cambrensis

Group for the study of Irish historic settlement

P. H. Here, History of the town and county of Wexford

Irish Monastic Studies

Extents of Irish monastic possessions, 1640-1

E. St. John Brooks, Knights' fees in counties Wexford, Carlow and Kilkenny

A. Gwynn & R.N. Macdock, Medieval religious houses in Ireland

National archives, Ireland

New History of Ireland

National library of Ireland

Ordnance Survey

Calendar of Ormond deeds

Abbreviations

<i>Ann. Conn.</i>	<i>Annals of Connaught</i>
<i>A.F.M.</i>	<i>Annals of the kingdom of Ireland by the Four Masters.</i>
<i>Ann. Loch Cé</i>	<i>Annals of Loch Cé.</i>
<i>Ann. Inisf.</i>	<i>Annals of Innisfallen</i>
<i>A.U.</i>	<i>Annals of Ulster.</i>
<i>Cal. doc. Ire.</i>	<i>Calendar of documents relating to Ireland.</i>
<i>Cal. just. rolls</i>	<i>Calendar of justiciary rolls, Ireland</i>
<i>Cal. pat. rolls</i>	<i>Calendar of patent rolls.</i>
<i>Cal. I.P.M.</i>	<i>Calendar of inquisitions post mortem.</i>
<i>Chartul. St. Mary's</i>	<i>Chartularies of St. Mary's Abbey, Dublin.</i>
<i>Clyn's Ann.</i>	<i>The annals of Ireland by Friar John Clyn and Thady Dowling</i>
<i>C.S.</i>	<i>Civil survey, county Wexford.</i>
<i>D.S.</i>	<i>Down survey.</i>
<i>Expugnatio</i>	<i>Expugnatio Hibernica : the conquest of Ireland, Giraldus Cambrensis.</i>
<i>G.S.I.H.S.</i>	<i>Group for the study of Irish historic settlement.</i>
<i>Hore, Wexford</i>	<i>P.H. Hore, History of the town and county of Wexford.</i>
<i>I.H.S</i>	<i>Irish Historical Studies</i>
<i>Irish monastic possessions</i>	<i>Extents of Irish monastic possessions, 1540-1.</i>
<i>Brooks, Knights' fees</i>	<i>E. St. John Brooks, Knights' fees in counties Wexford, Carlow and Kilkenny.</i>
<i>Med. rel. houses</i>	<i>A. Gwynn & R.N. Hadcock, Medieval religious houses Ireland.</i>
<i>N.A.I.</i>	<i>National archives, Ireland.</i>
<i>N.H.I.</i>	<i>New History of Ireland</i>
<i>N.L.I.</i>	<i>National Library of Ireland.</i>
<i>O.S.</i>	<i>Ordnance Survey.</i>
<i>Ormond deeds</i>	<i>Calendar of Ormond deeds.</i>

Orpen, Normans	G.H. Orpen, <i>Ireland under the Normans.</i>
Pat. and cl. rolls	<i>Rotulorum patentium et clausorum cancellariae Hiberniae calendarium.</i>
Rep. D.K.I.	<i>Report of the deputy keeper of the public records of Ireland.</i>
R.I.A.Proc.	<i>Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy.</i>
R.S.A.I.Jn.	<i>Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland.</i>
Song	<i>Song of Dermot and the Earl.</i>
Wex. Hist. Soc. Jn.	<i>Journal of the Wexford Historical Society.</i>

Introduction

This thesis explores the development of society and settlement from 1100 A.D. to 1400 A.D. in the Gaelic kingdom of *Uí Cheinnselaig*, which, under the Anglo-Normans, became the medieval county of Wexford. For the pre-Norman period, this requires an examination of twelfth-century Gaelic political structures; the significance of monastic centres and the influence of the Norse town of Wexford. The landing of the Anglo-Normans on the south coast of *Uí Cheinnselaig* in 1169-70, initiated a process that impacted profoundly on subsequent Irish history. As the first part of Ireland to be occupied, *Uí Cheinnselaig* quickly experienced the super-imposition of a feudal hierarchy on a society defined by Gaelic culture during the previous millenium. This process was limited by the incomplete nature of Anglo-Norman occupation. Topographical diversity, more extreme in the medieval period than at present, had profound implications for the progress of the colony and for interaction between Irish and settler.

The retention of pre-existing territorial structures and settlement centres during the transfer of land from Gaelic to Anglo-Norman ownership ensured a certain continuity in the land-holding system. The identification of land-holding units is also facilitated by the correlation between ecclesiastical and secular divisions. By using documentary and archaeological evidence the progress of Anglo-Norman sub-infeudation of the county during the thirteenth century can be assessed. Political events, particularly the partition of Leinster in 1247, had an inevitable impact on this process. For most of the thirteenth century the settlement progressed in relatively peaceful circumstances. During the fourteenth century, however, political and social crises helped to accelerate Irish resistance, leading to a rapid contraction of English occupation and control.

This work is essentially an examination of the contrast between the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in county Wexford. An analysis of the documentary and archaeological evidence is used to present an assessment of initial expansion of Anglo-Norman settlement: evidence for subsequent abandonment provides proof of deterioration due to

growing pressure from the Irish. An examination of the distribution, success and failure of settlement features, particularly manorial villages, boroughs and towns, is an important part of this investigation. The contrasting settlements that evolved in the north and south of the county are examined as indicators of distinctive Gaelic and English societies. By the end of the fourteenth century, the polarised situation between Gaelic north and English south inevitably led to a diverse social structure fractured by endemic conflict. The repossession of north Wexford by Richard II in the 1390s, represented an implicit acceptance of the failure of English control and is taken as a suitable concluding point. The progress of the Anglo-Norman colony in the geographically self-contained but topographically diverse medieval county of Wexford can be seen as a paradigm of the broader colonial experience in all of Ireland.

Wexford Bay and the Scullogue Gap through the Blackstairs. The topography varies from the hills of the north and west to the flat low-lying lands of the east and south coasts. The most fertile soils, with a well used ridge, occur in the band of rolling land which extends diagonally across the county from south-west to north-east.

The modern county boundary is irrelevant in the context of medieval settlement as it was not established until 1800 A.D.¹ The medieval county of Wexford was somewhat larger than the county and it is necessary to refer to the earlier and different land divisions in order to define the study area. In the pre-Norman period the present county (with parts of counties Wicklow and Carlow) formed the Gaelic kingdom of Uí Chathasaigh. Pre-Norman territorial units can be reconstructed by reference to twelfth-century ecclesiastical geography.² The boundaries of newly created dioceses, and their rural domains, established as part of the twelfth-century reform movement in the Irish church, corresponded to existing units of secular power.³ The twelfth-century territorial extent of the kingdom of Uí Chathasaigh is best represented by the diocese of Ferns, marked as one of the

¹ J.J. Gilling & P. Ryan, *Soils of County Wexford*, (Dublin, 1964), p. 10.

² R.O. Anderson, *The Civil Survey of the County of Wexford*, (Dublin, 1867), p. 104.

³ R.J. Bates, *The Landscapes of Ireland 1100-1500*, in A. Coatsworth (ed.), *A New History of Ireland*, 2, p. 5.

⁴ M.J. Cannon, *Changes of Land in Anglo-Norman and Post-Norman Ireland*, *Anglo-Norman Studies*, ix, 1986, p. 112.

Chapter 1

Pre-Norman society and settlement

The Study Area

County Wexford is a well-defined geographical unit, bounded on the south and east by the sea: on the west by Waterford Harbour, the river Barrow and the Blackstairs mountains, and on the north by the Wicklow mountains (fig. 1). Routeways through the mountain barrier are confined to gaps along the east coast at Arklow: along the Slaney at Bunclody and through the Barrow valley at St. Mullins.

Secondary routes cross the Wicklow mountains at Carnew and the Wicklow Gap and the Scullogue Gap through the Blackstairs. The topography varies from the hills of the north and west to the flat-to-undulating lowlands of the east and south coasts. The most fertile soils, with a wide use range, occur in the band of rolling lowland which extends diagonally across the county from south-west to north-east.¹

The modern county boundary is irrelevant in the context of medieval settlement as it was not established until 1605 A.D.² The medieval liberty of Wexford was somewhat larger than the county and it is necessary to use earlier land divisions in order to define the study area. In the pre-Norman period the present county (with parts of counties Wicklow and Carlow) formed the Gaelic kingdom of *Uí Cheinnselaig*. Pre-Norman territorial units can be reconstructed by reference to twelfth-century ecclesiastical geography.³ The boundaries of newly created dioceses, and their rural deaneries, established as part of the twelfth-century reform movement in the Irish church, corresponded to existing units of secular power.⁴ The twelfth-century territorial extent of the kingdom of *Uí Cheinnselaig* is best represented by the diocese of Ferns, ratified as one of five

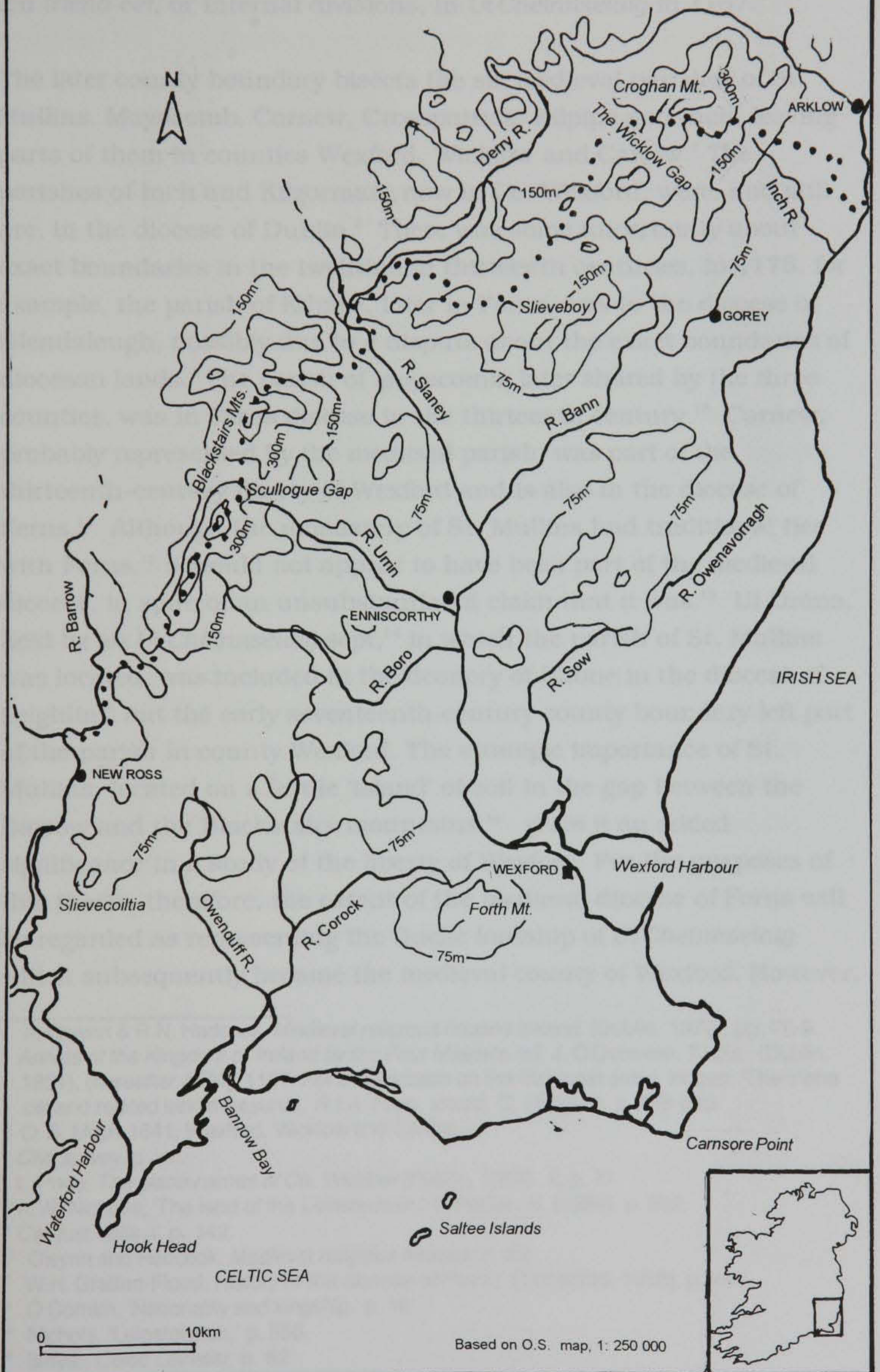
¹ M.J. Gardiner & P. Ryan, *Soils of county Wexford*, (Dublin, 1964), passim.

² R.C. Simington, *The Civil Survey of the county of Wexford*, (Dublin, 1953), p. xvii.

³ F.J. Byrne, 'The trembling sod: Ireland in 1169, in A. Cosgrove (ed.), *A New History of Ireland*, ii, p. 6.

⁴ M.T. Flanagan, 'Strategies of lordship in pre-Norman and post-Norman Leinster,' *Anglo-Norman Studies*, xx, 1998, p.112.

Fig. 1. County Wexford: physical features.



Leinster dioceses at the Synod of Rathbreasail in 1111.⁵ There were ten *trícha cé*t, or internal divisions, in *Uí Cheinnselaig* in 1167.⁶

The later county boundary bisects the six medieval parishes of St. Mullins, Moyacomb, Carnew, Crosspatrick, Kilpipe and Inch, leaving parts of them in counties Wexford, Wicklow and Carlow.⁷ The parishes of Inch and Kilgorman, now in Co. Wexford, were, and still are, in the diocese of Dublin.⁸ There was some uncertainty about exact boundaries in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. In 1176, for example, the parish of Kilpipe, later in Ferns, was in the diocese of Glendalough, possibly due to a dispute about the exact boundaries of diocesan lands.⁹ The parish of Moyacomb, later shared by the three counties, was in Ferns diocese in the thirteenth century.¹⁰ Carnew, probably represented by the medieval parish, was part of the thirteenth-century liberty of Wexford and is also in the diocese of Ferns.¹¹ Although the monastery of St. Mullins had traditional ties with Ferns,¹² it would not appear to have been part of the medieval diocese, in spite of an unsubstantiated claim that it was.¹³ *Uí Dróna*, held by an *Uí Cheinnselaig* sept,¹⁴ in which the parish of St. Mullins was located, was included in the deanery of Idrone in the diocese of Leighlin¹⁵ but the early seventeenth-century county boundary left part of the parish in county Wexford. The strategic importance of St. Mullins, located on a fertile 'island' of soil in the gap between the Barrow and the Blackstairs mountains,¹⁶ gives it an added significance in a study of the liberty of Wexford. For the purposes of this thesis, therefore, the extent of the medieval diocese of Ferns will be regarded as representing the Gaelic lordship of *Uí Cheinnselaig* which subsequently became the medieval county of Wexford. However,

⁵ A. Gwynn & R.N. Hadcock, *Medieval religious houses Ireland*, (Dublin, 1970), pp. 78-9.

⁶ *Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland by the Four Masters*, ed. J. O'Donovan, 7 vols, (Dublin, 1851), (hereafter AFM), 1167. For a discussion on the *trícha cé*t see J. Hogan, 'The *trícha cé*t and related land measures,' *R.I.A. Proc.*, xxxviii, C, (1928-9), p. 148-235.

⁷ O. S. Maps 1841, Wexford, Wicklow and Carlow.

⁸ *Civil survey*, p. xvi.

⁹ L. Price, *The place-names of Co. Wicklow* (Dublin, 1957), ii, p. 77.

¹⁰ K.W. Nicholls, 'The land of the Leinstermen,' in *Peritia*, iii, (1984), p. 552.

¹¹ *Cal. just. rolls*, i, p. 142.

¹² Gwynn and Hadcock, *Medieval religious houses*, p. 43.

¹³ W.H. Grattan-Flood, *History of the diocese of Ferns*, (Waterford, 1916), p. xxiv.

¹⁴ Ó Corráin, 'Nationality and kingship,' p. 10.

¹⁵ Nichols, 'Leinstermen,' p. 556.

¹⁶ Smyth, *Celtic Leinster*, p. 62.

some flexibility is needed in border areas to allow for comment on matters relating to, but not necessarily within the confines of, the medieval liberty. This approach may well represent the situation as it was in the early thirteenth century when the boundaries and responsibilities of territorial units were uncertain and fluid.¹⁷

The Kingdom of *Uí Cheinnselaig*

An understanding of the political geography of twelfth-century *Uí Cheinnselaig* requires an examination of the development of society from the beginning of the historic period in the fifth century (fig. 2). The fusion of the archaic oral tradition of the druids with the Latin learning of the Christian clergy produced a new learned class, or *áes dána*, who preserved the vernacular lore and committed it to writing. The abundant annals, genealogies and regnal lists of the early medieval period, although literary and imaginative in content and interwoven with myth and legend, have been used to construct a historical narrative and to trace a history of the various dynasties and their kings.¹⁸ Much of the pseudo-history, particularly in the eighth century, took the form of origin legends composed by secular genealogists with the intention of inventing a monarchical tradition for the Irish. The purpose of these stories was to explain the origins of dominant dynasties and to justify future ambitions.¹⁹ The province of *Laigin*, (Leinster) was a well-defined geographic unit, based on the basins of the rivers Liffey, Barrow and Slaney.²⁰ Internal dynastic, and later ecclesiastical, divisions were also determined to a large extent by various topographical features. During the Dark Ages, the population of Leinster may have been as low as 40,000, mostly concentrated in the fertile river valleys, with possibly fewer than 1,000 people living on the lowland plain of south Wexford.²¹

The centre of power lay in the north of the province where, by the seventh century, the *Uí Dúnlainge* were in control. South Leinster was

¹⁷ H.G. Richardson, 'Norman Ireland in 1212,' *Irish historical studies*, iii, (1942-3), p. 150.

¹⁸ The invention of origin legends or quasi-history was widespread in the prehistoric period.

See R.G. Collingwood, *The idea of history* (Oxford 1994), p. 15.

¹⁹ F.J. Byrne, *Irish kings and high kings* (London, 1973), p. 2.

²⁰ *Ibid.* p. 130.

²¹ Smyth, *Celtic Leinster*, pp. 2-5.

dominated by the *Uí Cheinnselaig* whose origins, like those of the *Uí Dúnlainge*, were in the vicinity of Rathvilly, county Carlow. Under pressure from the *Uí Dúnlainge*, they migrated south along the Slaney valley and the dominant sept, the *Síl Cormaic*, established a base at Ferns, already the site of the monastic centre of *St. Máedóc* or *Aidan*.²² Their inauguration site is thought to have been located at *Cnoc an Bhogha* (Knockavocka) about three miles to the south-east.²³ Collateral *Uí Cheinnselaig* septs established themselves at *Ard Ladrann*²⁴ and *Uí Felmeda Theas*²⁵ on the east coast and another branch, the *Síl Máeluidir*, gave their name to the barony of Shelmaliere to the west of Wexford town.²⁶ The name of the *Uí Dega*,²⁷ a related sept which also suffered from *Uí Cheinnselaig* expansion, survived in the rural deanery of Oday in the north of the present county.²⁸ Another group, the *Uí Enechglais*, forced to retreat across the Wicklow mountains, settled in the vicinity of the Wicklow/ Wexford border west of Arklow.²⁹

A number of septs who held minor kingdoms scattered throughout *Uí Cheinnselaig* were of little importance by the beginning of the ninth century as they were dominated by the leading dynasty.³⁰ Following their marginalisation, they were confined to peripheral locations on poorer lands. However, the districts, or *tuatha*, which they occupied retained their identity and were used in the sub-infeudation process after the arrival of the Anglo-Normans.³¹ The *Uí Bairrche*, a free tribe related to the *Uí Cheinnselaig*, had supplied kings of south Leinster in the fifth century. The modern barony of Bargy in south Wexford

²² Byrne, *Irish kings*, p. 131.

²³ E. FitzPatrick, *The practice and siting of royal inauguration in medieval Ireland*, Ph.D. thesis, T.C.D. (1997), ii, p.62.

²⁴ Identified as Ardamine on the coast near Courtown. Ard Ladrann is believed to have had pre-Christian ritual significance; Smyth, *Celtic Leinster*, pp. 65, 34.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 63.

²⁶ Byrne, *Irish kings*, p. 147.

²⁷ J. O'Donovan (ed.), *The topographical poems of John O'Dubhagain and Giolla na Naomh O'Huidhrinn*, (Dublin, 1862), p. 91.

²⁸ P.H. Hore, *History of the town and county of Wexford*, 6 vols. (London, 1900-11), vi, p. 272.

²⁹ Smyth, *Celtic Leinster*, p. 16; *Topographical poems*, p. 91.

³⁰ D. Ó Corráin, *Ireland before the Normans*, (Dublin, 1972), p. 27.

³¹ A number of these Gaelic *tuatha* are also listed in J. O'Donovan, (ed.) *Topographical poems*.

Fig. 2. The kingdom of Uí Cheinnselaig: principal septs, territorial divisions and monastic centres.



Sources:

O'Donovan (ed.) *Topographical poems*.

Byrne, *Irish kings*, p. 133.

Smyth, *Celtic Leinster*, p. 148.

Ferns diocese Visitation list, 1615

(Hore, *Wexford*, vi, pp. 266-74)

Culleton, *Early Christian Wexford*, *passim*.

6 miles



10 km

represents the lands held by them in *Uí Cheinnselaig*.³² The *Fothart*, a *fortuatha* or alien people associated with the *Uí Bairrche*, left their name on the neighbouring barony of Forth, also known as the Fothart of Carn.³³ The barony of Bantry retains the name of the *Benntraige*, another *fortuatha* group, who played little part in the historical record of the area. South of Bantry, the barony of Shelburne acquired its name from the *Síl mBrain*, an un-free sept which was also associated with the *Dubhthoire* (Black country) or Duffry, the wooded area between the Slaney and the Blackstairs.³⁴ The district to the north of Wexford harbour was not associated with any particular kin group but was known by the general name of *Fearann (or Críoch) na gCenél*,³⁵ the 'territory of the tribes,' perhaps indicating that it may have been held in common ownership. The origins of the name *Cinél Flaitheamhain*, a district in the north of the county are obscure³⁶ but it was later used to define a manorial grant under the Anglo-Norman regime.

The territory referred to as *Síl Mealla*³⁷ has presented problems of identification. It has been placed in the north of the county close to *Cinél Flaitheamhain* with which it was linked.³⁸ A closer examination of the sources, however, shows that *Síl Mealla* should be equated with the rural deanery of Schyrmal which extended across the centre of the county from the Slaney to the sea.³⁹ Apart from the Duffry already mentioned, *Maigh dá Chonn* (later Moyacomb), the plain of the two heads,⁴⁰ was the only other district described topographically. The *tuatha* occupied by these groups formed the *mór-thuath* of Uí Cheinnselaig which took its name from the ruling dynasty and which was defined, at least approximately, by the twelfth-century boundaries of the diocese of Ferns.

³² Smyth, *Celtic Leinster*, p. 156.

³³ Byrne, *Irish kings*, p. 131; *Topographical poems*, p. 93.

³⁴ Byrne, *Irish kings*, p. 132; *Topographical poems*, p. 91.

³⁵ *Top. poems*, p. 93.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 91.

³⁷ *Ibid.* p. 91.

³⁸ E. St. John Brooks, *Knights' fees in counties Wexford, Carlow and Kilkenny*, (Dublin, 1950), p. 133.

³⁹ K.W. Nicholls, 'Leinstermen,' p. 557. The names of the rural deaneries in 1610 can be found in MSS. 566, T.C.D; Hore, *Wexford*, vi, pp. 265 - 74.

⁴⁰ Price, *Place-names*, vi, p. 377; *Topographical poems*, p. 93. The two 'heads' refer to the Slaney and Derry rivers.

Archaeologically, pre-Norman society is best represented by the rath or ringfort, the defended family homestead of Gaelic Ireland, particularly from the seventh to the ninth century.⁴¹ These circular or sub-circular sites, varying in width from thirty to forty metres, were usually surrounded by one earthen bank but there could be as many as three, depending on the status of the owner. There may have been 600 ringforts in what is now Co. Wexford but mainly due to extensive tillage only about 150 examples survive (fig. 3).⁴² They were distributed fairly evenly throughout the county, mostly between 200 and 500 feet O.D., but with concentrations on the well-drained, fertile slopes of the west and the southern lowlands.⁴³ These survival rates may have been influenced by more intensive agriculture on the fertile lands in the centre of the county. Alternatively, the densely forested areas in the foothills of the Blackstairs and Wicklow mountains may have been more densely populated than has been hitherto suggested.

Monastic Centres

Two major outside forces influenced the development of pre-Norman Gaelic society : the advent of Christianity in the fifth century and the impact of the Vikings in the ninth and tenth centuries. There are strong indications that *Uí Cheinnselaig* was evangelised from Wales independently of, and perhaps prior to, the Patrician mission.⁴⁴ St. Máedóc, or Aidan, who founded the monastery of Ferns in the sixth century and became the patron of the *Uí Cheinnselaig*, is said to have studied under St. David⁴⁵ and a number of Welsh missionaries are believed to have founded churches in southern *Uí Cheinnselaig*.⁴⁶ The other principal sixth-century foundation in *Uí Cheinnselaig* was at *Teach Munna* (Taghmon), founded by St. Munna.⁴⁷ Lesser foundations were established at *Begerin*, an island in *Loch Garman*

⁴¹ T. B. Barry, *The archaeology of medieval Ireland* (London, 1987), pp. 15 ff. ; M. Stout, *The Irish ringfort*, (Dublin, 1997), p. 24.

⁴² M. Moore, *Archaeological inventory of County Wexford*, (Dublin, 1996), p. 28.

⁴³ Aalen, Whelan, Stout, eds., *Atlas of the Irish rural landscape*, (Cork, 1997), p. 46; E. Culleton, *Celtic and early medieval Wexford* (Dublin, 1999), pp. 62-3.

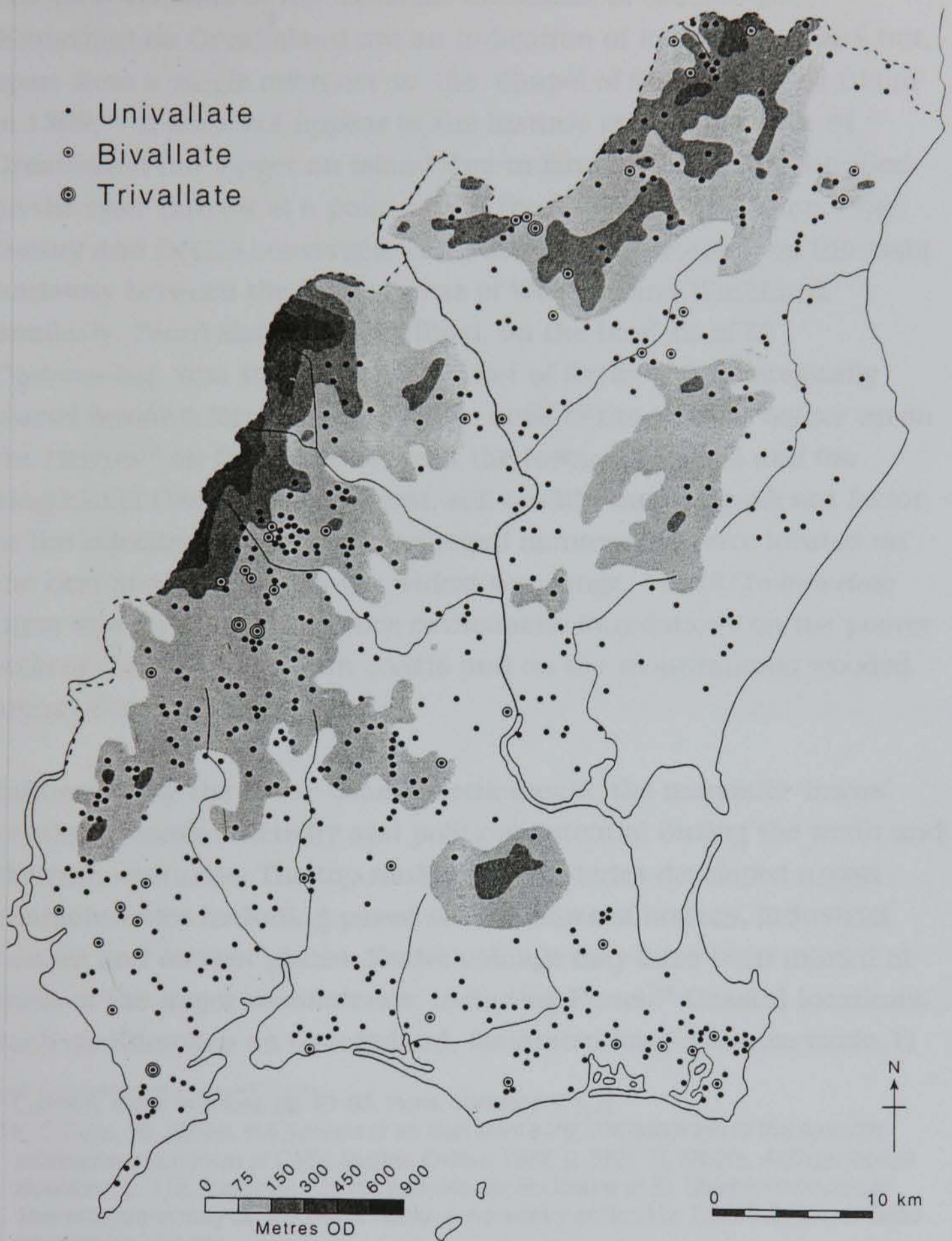
⁴⁴ Smyth, *Celtic Leinster*, p. 9.

⁴⁵ Culleton, *Celtic Wexford*, pp. 102-7; Gwynn & Hadcock, *Med. rel. houses*, p. 78.

⁴⁶ J. Ransom, 'The dawn of the faith in Wexford,' *Centenary record of Wexford's twin churches*, (Wexford, 1958), pp. 20-3.

⁴⁷ Culleton, *Celtic Wexford*, pp. 108-125; Gwynn & Hadcock, *Med. rel. houses*, p. 44.

Fig. 3. Ringfort distribution (after Culleton, 1999)



About 600 ringforts have been recorded in the county but only about 150 survive. There were concentrations on the fertile, well-drained slopes in the west of the county which could be grazed for most of the year.

(later Wexford harbour) by St. Ibar;⁴⁸ and at *Ros Mic Treoin* (New Ross) and *Maigh Arnáí* (Adamstown) by his nephew St. Abban.⁴⁹ The extensive remains of the monastic enclosure of *Cill Macethe* (Kilmokea) on Greatisland are an indication of its former status but, apart from a single reference to 'the chapel of St. Macethe di Island' in 1399,⁵⁰ it does not appear in the historic record (figs. 4 & 5).⁵¹ Greatisland (no longer an island due to land reclamation), situated on the river Barrow at a point where the borders of *Uí Cheinnselaig*, Ossory and Decies converged, controlled a ferry crossing on the main routeway between the Norse towns of Wexford and Waterford. Similarly, *Teach Moling* (St. Mullins), on the borders of *Uí Cheinnselaig*, was situated on a pocket of fertile soil, strategically placed beside a ferry crossing at the head of the tideway higher up on the Barrow⁵² on the route between the town of Wexford and the kingdom of Ossory.⁵³ In general, soil quality was a significant factor in the selection of sites: the principal monasteries were located on the best quality soil with the widest use range.⁵⁴ In *Uí Cheinnselaig* there was an obvious absence of monastic foundations on the poorer soils of the east and south coasts and on the mountainous wooded areas of the north and west.

Influenced by the Norse coastal settlements, the monastic 'towns' developed market activity and political potential during the tenth and eleventh centuries. The top ranking monasteries developed urban characteristics including paved streets, rows of houses, industrial houses and market places. Native coinage may have been minted at some of the major monasteries, including Ferns.⁵⁵ Coastal locations, such as Kilmokea on Greatisland, facilitated long-distance trade. It

⁴⁸ Culleton, *Celtic Wexford*, pp. 81-96; Hore, *Wexford*, v, p. 8.

⁴⁹ P. Ó Riain, 'St. Abban, the genesis of an Irish saint's life,' *Proceedings of the seventh international congress of Celtic studies*, Oxford 1983, p. 163; M. Moore, *Archaeological Inventory*, p. 118, suggests that the sub-circular enclosure of St. Stephen's church at Morrisseysland may be the site of Abban's monastery of Ros Mic Treoin; Culleton, *Celtic Wexford*, pp. 97-101.

⁵⁰ Hore, *Wexford*, iii, p. 224.

⁵¹ Moore, *Archaeological inventory*, no. 1163, p. 117. The smallest high cross in Ireland is located here. See D. Kelly, 'Irish high crosses: some evidence from the plainer examples,' *R.S.A.I. Jn.*, cxvi, (1986), p. 56.

⁵² Smyth, *Celtic Leinster*, p. 62.

⁵³ G.H. Orpen (ed.), *The song of Dermot and the earl* (Oxford, 1892), ll.1104-5.

⁵⁴ Gardiner & Ryan, *Soils of Co. Wexford*, soil suitability map.

⁵⁵ M. Dolley, 'Coinage to 1534: the sign of the times,' *N.H.I.*, ii, p. 818.



Fig. 4. Kilmokea (*Cill Machethe*) monastic enclosure
(Cambridge collection).

Although there are no historical records relating to this twenty-acre site, it must have been of considerable significance. Located on Greatisland (now part of the mainland because of land reclamation), the monastery controlled the river Barrow as well as a ferry-crossing to Ossory. The remains of a horizontal mill were discovered here in the 1960s. The smallest high-cross in Ireland is located at the church site.

- Circular enclosure
- + Church site
- ⊕ High Cross
- * Site of horizontal mill

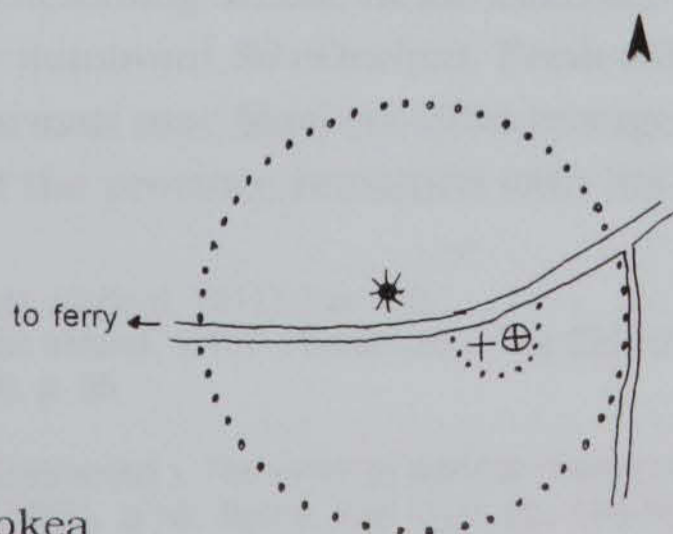


Fig. 5. Interpretive plan of Kilmokea
monastic enclosure.
(not to scale)

is possible that Glascarrig, on the east coast, operated as the port of Ferns as it has been suggested that Diarmait MacMurchada landed there on his return from Wales in 1167.⁵⁶

As monasteries became rich and powerful, and frequently controlled by members of ruling families, their political significance inevitably involved them in dynastic warfare. The monasteries had become wealthy, populous, ceremonial centres and were the focal points of trade and commerce. No segment of a dynasty with political ambitions could hope to be successful without exploiting this asset. Raiding monasteries became a normal part of Irish warfare and continued before, during and after the Viking wars.⁵⁷ The political power of the monastic centres was illustrated in *Uí Cheinnselaig* during the eighth century when, having gained control of the monastery of Ferns, Áed mac Colgan of the *Síl Cormaic* dominated Leinster for a brief period from 734-38. The supremacy of the *Síl Cormaic* was challenged by their southern rivals the *Síl Maeluidir* who defeated them at Ferns in 769. By 809 the *Síl Maeluidir* had gained the kingship of south *Uí Cheinnselaig* but the *Síl Cormaic* continued to control Ferns. This led to another battle in 817 when the *Síl Maeluidir*, with the forces of the monastery of Taghmon, again led an attack on Ferns in which 400 were reported killed.⁵⁸ However, shortly afterwards, the arrival of the Vikings ended the ambitions of the *Síl Maeluidir*. Taghmon, situated near the sea and the navigable Slaney, was exposed to the full force of the Norse attacks.⁵⁹ Political change accelerated during the ninth century, possibly hastened by Viking activity. Ferns was raided in 835 and again in 839⁶⁰ perhaps from a Norse base at Arklow.⁶¹ The *Síl Cormaic* dynasty split into the *Síl nÉlathaig*-whose name survives in the barony of Shillelagh- and the dominant *Síl nOnchon*. From this sept in the eleventh century, Diarmait mac Mael-na-mBó emerged to dominate Leinster, and control of the province remained with his

⁵⁶ G. Orpen, *Ireland under the Normans*, 4 vols. (Oxford, 1911). i, p. 100.

⁵⁷ D. Ó Corráin, 'Prehistoric and Early Christian Ireland,' in R.F. Foster, (ed.), *The Oxford Illustrated history of Ireland*, (Oxford, 1989), p. 35.

⁵⁸ *A.U.*, i, p. 307.

⁵⁹ C. Doherty, 'The Irish hagiographer,' in T. Dunne (ed.), *The writer as witness : literature as historical evidence*, *Historical studies* xvi, (1985), p.16; Byrne, *Irish kings*, pp. 146-56.

⁶⁰ *A.F.M.*, i, p. 459.

⁶¹ C. Etchingham, 'Evidence of Scandinavian settlement in Wicklow,' in K. Hannigan & W. Nolan (eds.) *Wicklow : history and society*, (Dublin, 1994), p. 116.

descendants until the arrival of the Anglo-Normans in 1169.⁶²

The Viking Period

For three centuries, beginning just before the year 800, western Europe was subjected to attacks by roaming bands of sea-raiders from Scandinavia in search of plunder.⁶³ They were known by various names but are now generally described as Vikings or Norsemen, as those who reached Ireland were mainly from the region now known as Norway. Monastic centres, with their concentrations of people, valuables and food, were frequently targeted, especially those situated near the coastline and on navigable rivers. The first recorded raid on *Uí Cheinnselaig* took place in 819 when the monastery on the island of Begerin at the mouth of the Slaney was attacked.⁶⁴ Raids on Taghmon and St. Mullins followed in 824-5⁶⁵ and at the same period the Norse were defeated by Cairbre, king of *Uí Cheinnselaig*, aided by the community of Taghmon.⁶⁶ Further raids were reported on Ferns in 835 and 839.⁶⁷ In the 840s, the Vikings set up defended bases at Annagassan and Dublin and for a while the raids intensified. During the latter part of the century, the focus switched to England, perhaps due to significant successes by the Irish.⁶⁸ The first mention of a base in *Uí Cheinnselaig* was in 888 when the Norse of *Port Lairge* (Waterford), *Loch Garman* and St. Mullins were defeated by the Irish.⁶⁹ A second period of Viking raiding began in 914 with the advent of a great fleet in Waterford harbour and, although vigorously opposed by the Irish, continued until the middle of the century. From that point on, the Vikings made their greatest impact on Ireland as traders and merchants from their port towns of Dublin, Wexford, Waterford, Cork

⁶² D. Ó Corráin, 'The career of Diarmait Mac Máel na mBó, king of Leinster,' Part 1, *Old Wex. Soc. Jn.* iii, 1970, pp. 17-35; Part 2, *Old Wex. Soc. Jn.* iv, 1972, pp.17-24; 'Irish regnal succession: a reappraisal,' *Studia Hibernica*, xi, (1971), p. 9.

⁶³ For a general background to the Vikings see: E. Roesdahl, *The Vikings*, (Penguin Books, 1991); P.H. Sawyer, *Kings and vikings: Scandinavia and Europe AD 700-1100*, (New York, 1994).

⁶⁴ *A.F.M.*, i, p. 431.

⁶⁵ *Cogadh Gaedhel re Gallaibh*, (ed.) J. Henthorn Todd (London, 1867), pp. xxxix, 824-5.

⁶⁶ *A.U.*, i, p. 325.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, i, p. 335; *A.F.M.*, i, p. 459.

⁶⁸ For a general background see D. Ó Corráin, *Ireland before the Normans*, (Dublin, 1972), pp. 80-110.

⁶⁹ *A.F.M.*, i, p. 543.

and Limerick.⁷⁰

The Norse Town of Wexford

It is not known at what stage the Norse *longphort* at Loch Garman, first mentioned in 888, became a permanent base. It possibly coincided with the establishment of a settlement at Waterford, shortly after the arrival of the great fleet in 912.⁷¹ In 933 the foreigners of Loch Garman were again mentioned when they killed the son of Cairbre, lord of Uí Cheinnselaig, in a nocturnal raid⁷² but no other references have been identified. The Norse gave the name *Ueigsfiord* to the broad shallow harbour at the mouth of the Slaney, possibly meaning 'the fiord of the water-logged land,'⁷³ which is quite an accurate description, and the settlement became known by the same name. The early form of Waesfiord would suggest a common etymological origin with the Wash, a broad shallow bay on the east coast of England. The exact location of the initial base has not been identified but it may have been situated in a defensive position on the slope of a low promontory beside the harbour in the South Main Street/Bride Street area of the modern town (fig. 6). The promontory was protected to the south by the marshy basin of a slow-moving stream: another stream flowed from the high ground about 200 metres to the north. The estuaries of the streams may have created a deep pool, like the *Dubh linn* of Dublin, which would have provided a suitable anchorage close to the shore. Topographically, the location was similar to Dublin and Waterford which were both situated where tributary streams entered the main river.⁷⁴ Sites associated with a tributary stream, protected by a marshy area and adjacent to a ferry-crossing were typical of Viking settlements.⁷⁵

⁷⁰ Ó Corráin, *Ireland before the Normans*, p. 105.

⁷¹ John Bradley & Andrew Halpin, 'The topographical development of Scandinavian and Anglo-Norman Waterford,' in W. Nolan & T.P. Power (eds), *Waterford: history and society*, (Dublin, 1992), p. 106.

⁷² *A.F.M.*, ii, p. 631.

⁷³ M. Oftedal, 'Scandinavian place-names in Ireland,' *Seventh Viking congress report*, p. 133.

⁷⁴ J. Bradley, 'The topographical development of Scandinavian Dublin,' in F. Aalen & K. Whelan (eds.) *Dublin city and county: From prehistory to present*, (Dublin, 1992), p. 43; Bradley & Halpin, 'Waterford,' p. 105.

⁷⁵ E.P. Kelly & E O'Donovan, 'A Viking *longphort* near Athlunkard, Co. Clare,' *Arch. Ire.*, xii, no. 4, (1998), pp. 13-16.

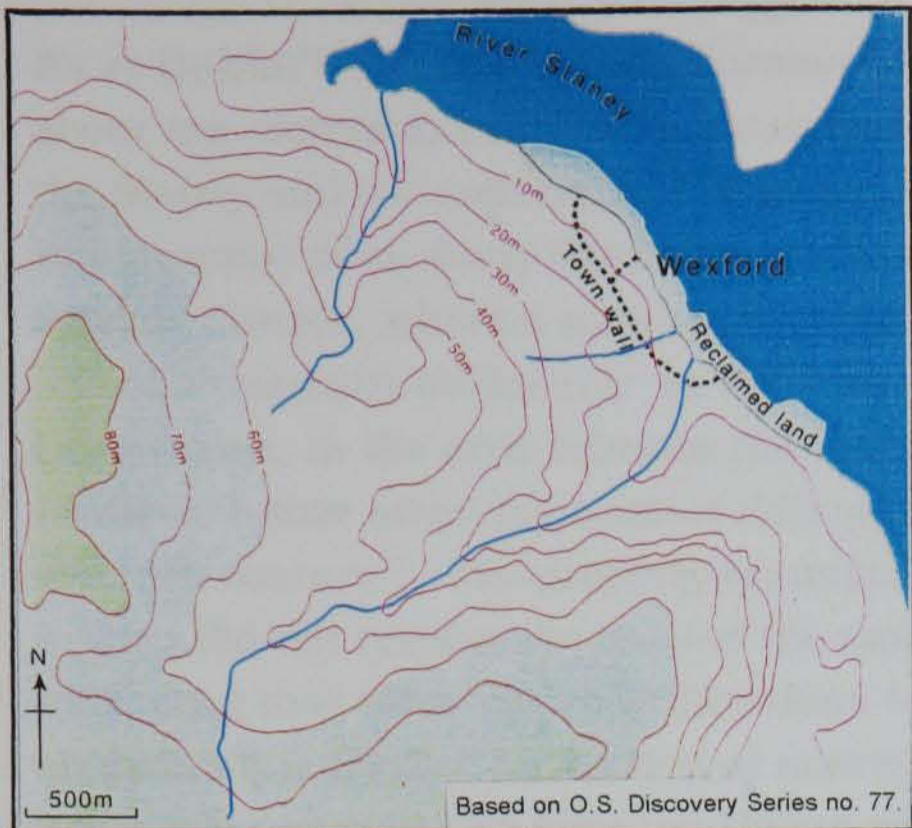


Fig. 6. The site of Norse Wexford.

The Norse settlement was located at the extremity of a low promontory, protected to the north and south by the marshy beds of streams. Later evidence suggests that the estuary of the southern stream was included within the town defences.

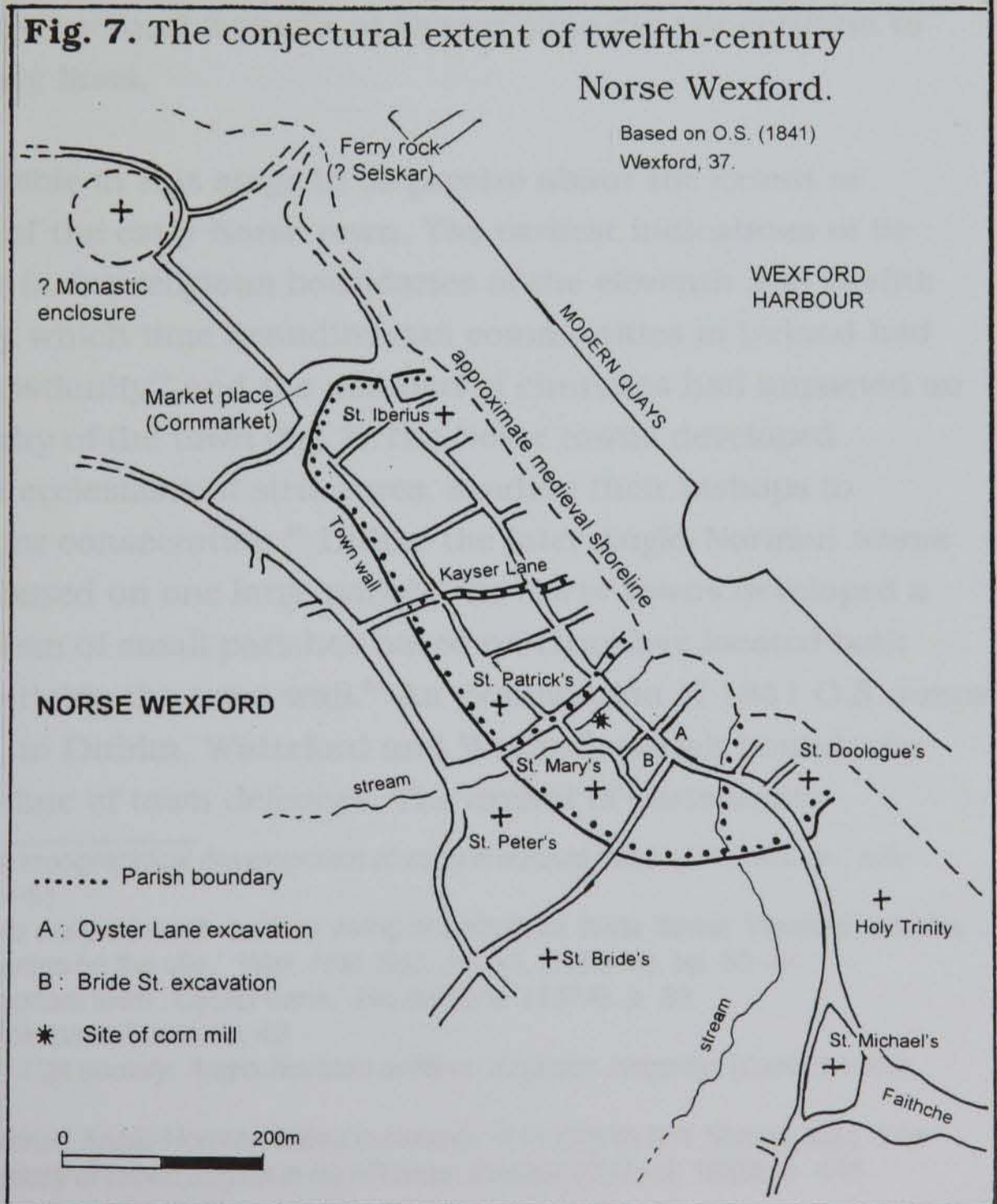


Fig. 7. The conjectural extent of twelfth-century Norse Wexford.

As at Dublin⁷⁶ the site at *Loch Garman* was over-looked by a ridge about ten metres in height. The existence of a suitable ferry point on the Slaney and the convergence of several routeways could indicate the presence of an Early Christian settlement perhaps on the site of Selskar Church, where a semi-circular road feature may reflect the line of a monastic enclosure. In 1987 an archaeological excavation at Bride Street, in the area between the two streams, uncovered sixteen medieval house sites, the earliest dating to the beginning of the eleventh century.⁷⁷ The property boundaries of the three earliest houses did not respect the lines of the modern streets, perhaps indicating that there were modifications to the layout of the early settlement. A smaller excavation at nearby Oyster Lane in 1974 did not reveal any evidence from the Viking period, possibly because it was nearer the shoreline and would have been utilized only after land reclamation.⁷⁸ As in the case of the earlier levels at Bride Street, the alignment of structural features at Oyster Lane did not conform to later boundary lines.

It is not possible at this stage to be precise about the extent or morphology of the early Norse town. The earliest indications of its extent occur in the religious boundaries of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, by which time Scandinavian communities in Ireland had accepted christianity⁷⁹ and the addition of churches had impacted on the topography of the town (fig. 7). The Norse towns developed independent ecclesiastical structures, sending their bishops to Canterbury for consecration.⁸⁰ Unlike the later Anglo-Norman towns which were based on one large parish, the Norse towns developed a complex system of small parishes based on churches located both inside and outside the town wall.⁸¹ An examination of 1841 O.S. maps reveals that, in Dublin, Waterford and Wexford, parish boundaries followed the line of town defences. The arrival of christianity

⁷⁶ H. Clarke, 'The topographical development of early medieval Dublin,' *R.S.A.I. Jn.*, cvii, (1977), pp. 29--51.

⁷⁷ E. Bourke, 'Two early eleventh-century viking houses from Bride Street, Wexford, and the layout of properties on the site,' *Wex. Hist. Soc. Jn.*, xii, (1988--9), pp. 50--61.

⁷⁸ P. Wallace, 'Wexford town : Oyster Lane,' *Excavations* (1974), p. 28.

⁷⁹ Bradley, 'Scandinavian Dublin,' p. 48.

⁸⁰ M.T. Flanagan, *Irish society, Anglo-Norman settlers, Angevin kingship*, (Oxford, 1989), pp. 28-32.

⁸¹ J. Bradley, 'Planned Anglo-Norman towns in Ireland,' in H. Clarke & A. Simms (ed.), *The comparative history of urban origins in non-Roman Europe*, (Oxford, 1985), p. 445.

subsequent to the foundation of the town suggests that ecclesiastical boundaries can be used as indicators of earlier urban development. There were five intramural parishes in the Anglo-Norman town of Wexford; St. Doologue's, St. Mary's, St. Patrick's, St. Iberius and Selskar.⁸² It is possible to speculate how many of these were included within the rampart of the Norse town.

Starting in the south of the town, the smallest parish, St. Doologue's, was bounded by the town wall and the stream which had been included within the defences. St. Doologue's, or Olaf's, was a Norse dedication,⁸³ also found in Dublin and Waterford. The dedication of the neighbouring parish of St. Mary's, bounded by the stream, the town wall and Peter's Street, was also pre-Norman⁸⁴ and the remains of excavated Viking houses were located here.⁸⁵ The dedication of the next parish, St. Patrick's, bounded by Peter's Street, the town wall and Kayser Lane, also has pre-Norman parallels.⁸⁶ It is unlikely that Kayser, the 'road to the quay' of the Viking town,⁸⁷ would have followed the line of the town defences, indicating that the next parish, St. Iberius, was also part of the Norse town. The Scandinavian-influenced decoration on a tenth-century cross-slab from Ibar's monastery on Begerin, now in the National Museum,⁸⁸ would perhaps indicate a devotion to the saint and explain the dedication within the town (fig. 9). Cornmarket, the Bullring and Common Quay Street form the northern boundary of St. Iberius parish and, presumably, this line marked the extent of the Norse town. There is a marked change in the street pattern north of this point and the curved line of Cornmarket could represent the line of the Norse defences. This is supported by an eighteenth-century report that the remains of the Norse wall could be seen at Common Quay

⁸² Hore, *Wexford*, v, p. 61; See also O.S. sheet Wexford 37, 1841.

⁸³ For a discussion on the transition of Olaf to Tullock or Doologue, see R. Haworth, 'The site of St. Olave's church, Dublin.' in J. Bradley, (ed.), *Society and settlement in medieval Ireland*, (Kilkenny, 1988), pp. 177-91. In seventeenth-century Wexford, the present South Main Street was known as Toolock's Street (Hore, *Wexford*, v, p. 338).

⁸⁴ Bradley, 'Scandinavian Dublin,' p.49.

⁸⁵ Bourke, 'Viking houses.'

⁸⁶ Bradley, 'Scandinavian Dublin,' p. 51.

⁸⁷ G. Hadden, 'The origin and development of Wexford town,' *Old Wex. Soc. Jn.*, i, (1968), p. 14. There was a Kayser Lane in all of the Norse towns in Ireland.

⁸⁸ P. Harbison, 'Exotic ninth-to-tenth century cross-decorated stones from Clonmore, Co. Carlow and Begerin, Co. Wexford,' in G. MacNiochail & P. Wallace (eds.), *Keimelia: studies in medieval archaeology in memory of Tom Delaney*, (Galway, 1988). p. 62.

Street.⁸⁹ If the Norse town consisted of these four parishes, the ramparts enclosed an area of about 25 statute acres (10 hectares), compared with 50 statute acres for Dublin (20 hectares) and 18 statute acres (7.2 hectares) for Waterford.⁹⁰

Accepting this hypothesis, the market-place, now Cornmarket, probably approached by a town gate, was situated just outside the town wall about 200 metres from the conjectured monastic centre. Market-places were typically located to the east or south-east of monastic enclosures.⁹¹ The connecting road, now Abbey Street, was called Market Street in the thirteenth century.⁹² The ferry landing, located at the point where the crossing was shortest, was situated to the north of the Norse town, making it accessible to the native Gaelic population. The area where it was situated was known as Selskar, from the Norse 'sker' meaning a rock.⁹³ A rock outcrop, one of several in the harbour, may have been used as the base for the ferry quay. In time the name was applied to the locality and to Selskar, or Ferry, Church. The ferry was approached by two roads: one, now represented by Trimmer's Lane, from the monastic centre, and the principal thoroughfare of the town. This passed through the *faithche*⁹⁴ (now the Faythe) just south of the town, through a southern and northern gate, to approach the ferry along a track by the foreshore, later known, after land reclamation, as Fore Street and Ferryboat Lane. Another street ran parallel to it, higher up near the top of the slope. Formerly Back Street, this is now, for the most part, called High Street. There were three intersecting streets; Kayser Lane, Peter Street and Bride Street. A number of narrow lanes ran down the incline from the main thoroughfare to the waterfront.

⁸⁹ Hore, *Wexford*, v, p. 60.

⁹⁰ O.S. index to the townland survey of counties Wexford, Waterford and Dublin (1841).

⁹¹ Clarke & Simms, 'Towards a comparative history of urban origins,' in Clarke & Simms (eds.) *Urban origins*, p. 685.

⁹² Hore, *Wexford*, v, p. 92.

⁹³ M. Richards, 'Norse place-names in Wales,' in B. Ó Cuív (ed.), *The impact of the Scandinavian invasions on the Celtic-speaking peoples c. 800-1100 A.D.* (Dublin, 1959), p. 57. Selskar could mean 'Seal Rock'. Seals were called 'Sels' on the south Wexford coast until quite recently. There is also a Selskar rock just off-shore at Bannow. Tuskar Rock contains the same element.

⁹⁴ 'A green level space', P. Dineen, *Irish-English dictionary*, (Dublin, 1927); there was a *faithche* outside Dublin also. See Doherty, 'Exchange and trade,' p. 83 where he describes the *faithche* as 'an area of peace.'

Four extra-mural pre-Norman churches associated with town gates on the southern side of the town may indicate the development of suburbs.⁹⁵ The exact site of the church of the Holy Trinity is not known but it was described in 1684 as being 'near the castle'⁹⁶ and is remembered in the name of Trinity Street. The approximate sites of Ss. Bride's and Peter's are known and their dedications survive as street names. The graveyard of St. Michael's survives at Michael Street. All of these dedications were paralleled at Dublin where they are regarded as pre-Norman.⁹⁷ Obviously the conjectured Norse town described here belongs to the twelfth century as the parochial system could not have developed until after the Norse were Christianised in the early eleventh century. Norse Wexford existed in this form for at least a century before the arrival of the Anglo-Normans.

Norse Rural Settlement

The Norse controlled considerable areas in the hinterlands of their towns and settled them with farming communities.⁹⁸ Archaeological findings in Dublin have shown that the town could not have existed without the produce of its rural hinterland, known as Dyflinarskiri, which provided vital supplies of food and raw materials. A discussion on the importance of this area uses archaeological and historical data, as well as place-name evidence, to assess its extent and significance.⁹⁹ The extent and nature of Norse settlement in county Wicklow has also been re-appraised in a recent paper.¹⁰⁰ The existence of a distinct Norse, or Ostman, settlement in rural Wexford in the post-Norman period is known from an inquisition ordered in 1283 by William de Valence concerning 'the rents, services and customs of the foreign Oustmen of the county of Wexford.'¹⁰¹ In the time of the Marshals, there were one hundred rich Ostmen, owing rents and services to Marshal, but who were entitled to hold land as

⁹⁵ There were suburbs in 1169; see *Expugnatio Hibernica*, p. 33 where the 'entire suburbs' are mentioned.

⁹⁶ Hore, *Wexford*, v, p. 84.

⁹⁷ Bradley, 'Scandinavian Dublin,' pp. 50-1.

⁹⁸ Ó Corráin, *Ireland before the Normans*, p. 105.

⁹⁹ J. Bradley, 'The interpretation of Scandinavian settlement in Ireland,' in Bradley (ed.), *Settlement and society*, pp. 49-78.

¹⁰⁰ Etchingam, 'Scandinavian settlement in Wicklow.'

¹⁰¹ Hore, *Wexford*, v, p. 93.

free tenants of any lord in the county. Special mention was made, however, of dues and services on the seignorial manor of Rosslare which occupied much of the barony of Forth, south of Wexford town. By 1283 the numbers of Ostmen had dropped to forty with a little property and twelve with no goods at all who served the English and others (? Irish) for their living. The Ostmen of Rosslare were again mentioned in 1307 when their labours were worth £9 9s. 2d.¹⁰² and as late as 1680 copyholders in the manor of Rosslare held by services not used elsewhere, possibly indicating descent from Ostman ancestors.¹⁰³ This document has been interpreted as showing that there was a large rural Norse population living in the barony of Forth area south of Wexford town in the pre-Norman period, holding land 'by an early non-feudal land system.'¹⁰⁴

Norse Place-names

Apart from the reference to Ostmen in the vicinity of Rosslare, there is no documentary evidence for Norse rural settlement in the vicinity of Wexford. In the absence of historical sources, an examination of place-names of possible Scandinavian origin may be of value in assessing the extent of the area under Norse control. A search of the townland index for the county¹⁰⁵ and the half-inch O.S. sheets¹⁰⁶ yields twenty-five names, arguably of Norse provenance (fig. 8). These are predominantly in the south of the county with a concentration in the barony of Forth. There is a coastal concentration from Wexford around to Waterford¹⁰⁷ indicating Norse control of the littoral between the two towns. These names fall into three categories; rocks, headlands and islands. The rocks, or 'skar' names, have been commented on above. The Norse element 'ore', meaning a promontory,¹⁰⁸ is found in Cahore, Greenore and Carnsore. The suffix

¹⁰² P.H. Hore, 'The barony of Forth,' *The Past*, i, (Enniscorthy, 1920), p. 66.

¹⁰³ Ibid. *The Past*, ii, (1921), p. 64.

¹⁰⁴ E. Curtis, 'The English and Ostmen in Ireland,' *English historical review*, xxiii, (1908), p. 217.

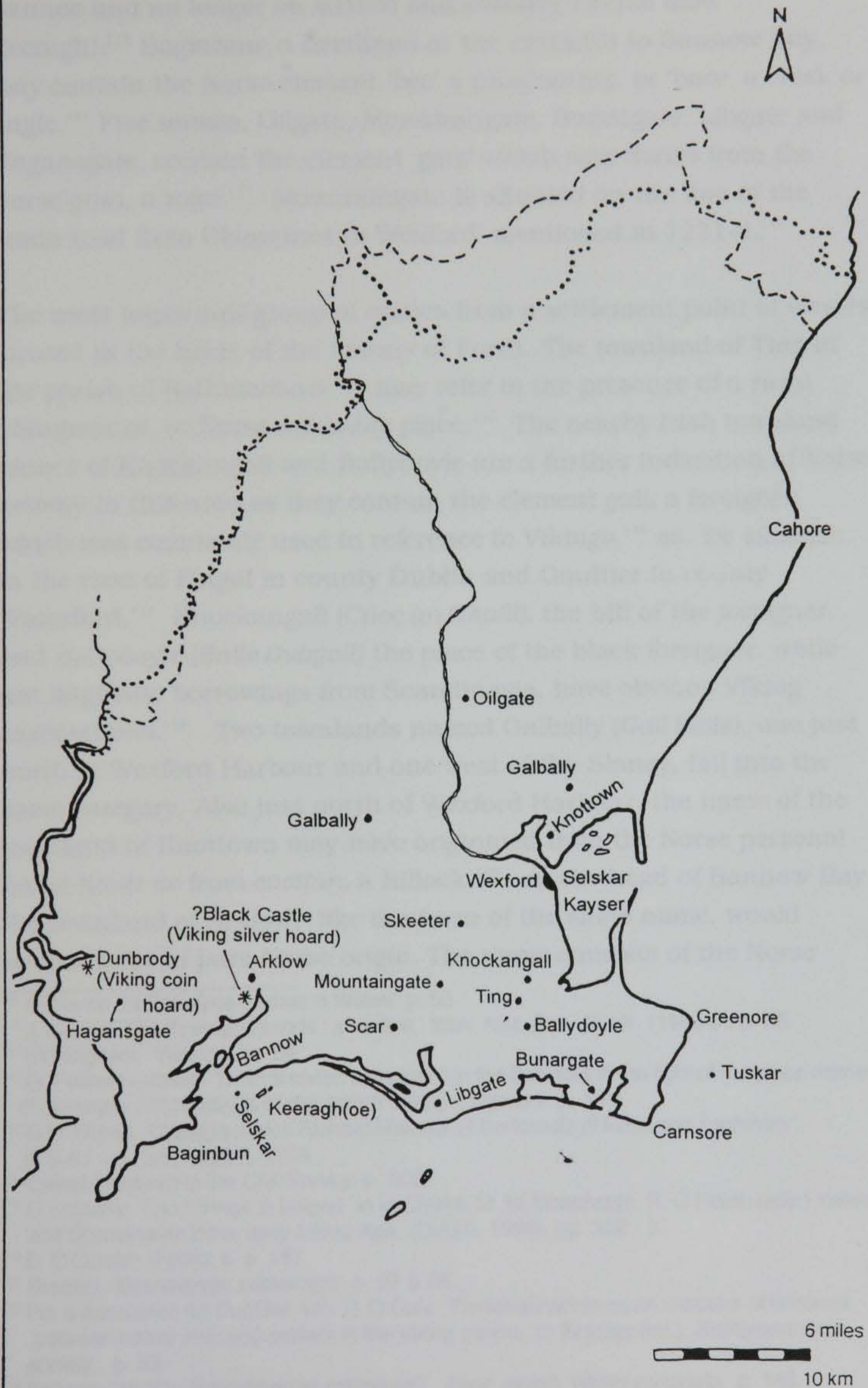
¹⁰⁵ H.L. Meadows, *Alphabetical index to the townlands and towns of the county of Wexford*, (Dublin, 1861), p. 45.

¹⁰⁶ Sheets 19 & 23

¹⁰⁷ Waterford is from the Old Norse *Vedra(r)-Fjodr*, 'ram fjord or windy fjord'; Bradley & Halpin, 'Waterford,' p. 105.

¹⁰⁸ P.W. Joyce, *Irish local names explained*, (Dublin, 1923), p. 24.

Fig. 8. Place-names in county Wexford of possible Norse origin.



-ee or -oe, meaning island,¹⁰⁹ is found in Saltee, Bannow (formerly Bannoe and no longer an island) and possibly Keeroe (now Keeragh).¹¹⁰ Baginbun, a headland at the entrance to Bannow Bay, may contain the Norse element 'bec' a promontory, or 'bacc' a creek or angle.¹¹¹ Five names, Oilgate, Mountaingate, Bunargate, Libgate and Hagansgate, contain the element 'gate' which may derive from the Norse *gata*, a road.¹¹² Mountaingate is situated on the line of the 'main road from Clonmines to Wexford' mentioned in 1231-4.¹¹³

The most important group of names from a settlement point of view is located in the heart of the barony of Forth. The townland of Ting in the parish of Rathmacknee¹¹⁴ may refer to the presence of a rural Thingmount, or Norse assembly place.¹¹⁵ The nearby Irish townland names of Knockangall and Ballydoyle are a further indication of Norse activity in this area as they contain the element *gall*, a foreigner, which was commonly used in reference to Vikings,¹¹⁶ as, for example, in the case of Fingal in county Dublin and Gaultier in county Waterford.¹¹⁷ Knockangall (*Cnoc an Ghail*), the hill of the foreigner, and Ballydoyle (*Baile Dubgall*) the place of the black foreigner, while not linguistic borrowings from Scandinavia, have obvious Viking associations.¹¹⁸ Two townlands named Galbally (*Gall Baile*), one just north of Wexford Harbour and one west of the Slaney, fall into the same category. Also just north of Wexford Harbour, the name of the townland of Knottown may have originated from the Norse personal name *Knutr* or from *cnottan*, a hillock.¹¹⁹ At the head of Bannow Bay, the townland of Arklow, like the town of the same name, would appear to be of pure Norse origin. The name consists of the Norse

¹⁰⁹ Richards, 'Norse place-names in Wales,' p. 55.

¹¹⁰ J. Hurley, 'The Keeragh Islands: a review,' *Wex. Hist. Soc. Jn.* xii, (1988-9), p. 86.

¹¹¹ Etchingam, 'Wicklow,' p. 58.

¹¹² G. Fellows-Jansen, 'Scandinavian settlement in the Danelaw in the light of the place-names of Denmark' *Proceedings of the eighth Viking congress*, p. 143.

¹¹³ G.H. Orpen, 'Charters of earl Richard Marshal of the forests of Ross and Taghmon,' *R.S.A.I. Jn.* lxiv, (1934), p.54.

¹¹⁴ Called Tingtown in the *Civil Survey*, p. 300.

¹¹⁵ C. Doherty, 'The Vikings in Ireland' in H. Clarke, M. Ní Mhaonaigh, R. Ó Floinn (eds.) *Ireland and Scandinavia in the early Viking Age*, (Dublin, 1998), pp. 302 - 3.

¹¹⁶ D. Ó Corráin, *Peritia*, ii, p. 187.

¹¹⁷ Bradley, 'Scandinavian settlement', p. 57 & 65.

¹¹⁸ For a discussion on *DubGall* see: B. Ó Cuív, 'Personal names as an indicator of relations between native Irish and settlers in the Viking period,' in Bradley (ed.), *Settlement and society*, p. 82.

¹¹⁹ Fellows-Jansen, 'Scandinavian settlement', *Proc. eighth Viking congress*, p. 143.

personal name *Arkill* or *Arnkell* with the Norse word *lo*, a swamp or low-lying meadow near water, a perfect description in this instance as Arklow adjoins the marshy valley of the Owenduff river.¹²⁰ The cluster of place-names around Bannow Bay could indicate Norse activity in the area. This is supported by the discovery of a Viking silver hoard consisting of seventeen silver ingots at 'Blackcastle near Wexford',¹²¹ as the only Black Castle in the county is located at Clonmines at the head of the bay.¹²² The demand for silver as trade expanded in tenth-century Europe¹²³ may have led to the exploitation by the Norse of the silver deposits on the eastern shore of Bannow Bay.¹²⁴ A Viking Age coin hoard, dating to c.1050, discovered at Dunbrody¹²⁵ beside Waterford Harbour, could reflect the importance of the estuary as a trade route and might also relate to trading activities connected with the adjacent monastic centre of Kilmokea situated at a strategic ferry crossing on the road linking the Norse towns of Wexford and Waterford.

These place-names suggest that the Norse controlled the coastal area of southern *Uí Cheinnselaig* during the three hundred years before the arrival of the Anglo-Normans. They had an extensive presence in the barony of Forth with perhaps isolated pockets elsewhere. The Viking occupation of coastal lands between Dublin and Arklow pushed the native population into the mountains¹²⁶ and similar pressure must have been exerted in *Uí Cheinnselaig*, particularly on the *Fotharta* south of Wexford town. However, the survival of Irish place-names of Norse provenance points to a more complex pattern with a mixed Hiberno-Norse rural population working side-by-side to supply the town with essential supplies of food and other commodities. Norse related place-names support the late thirteenth-century documentary

¹²⁰ L. Price, *Place-names*, vii, p. 477.

¹²¹ J.A. Graham-Campbell, 'The Viking Age silver hoards of Ireland,' *Proceedings of the seventh Viking congress*, (Dublin, 1976), p. 64; E.C.R. Armstrong (ed.), 'Catalogue of the silver and ecclesiastical antiques in the collection of the Royal Irish Academy by the late Sir Wm. Wilde,' *R.I.A. Proc.* xxxii,C, (1914), p. 291.

¹²² Moore, *Archaeological inventory*, no.1433, p. 154.

¹²³ C. Doherty, 'Exchange and trade in Early Medieval Ireland,' *R.S.A. I. Jn.*, cx, (1980), p. 82.

¹²⁴ D. Cowman, 'The German mining operation at Bannow Bay,' *Wex. Hist. Soc. Jn.* xi, (1986-7), pp.67-82.

¹²⁵ Graham-Campbell, 'silver hoards' p. 64; M. Kenny, 'The geographic distribution of Irish Viking Age coin hoards,' *R.I.A. Proc.* lxxxvii,C, (1987), p. 513.

¹²⁶ Smyth, *Celtic Leinster*, pp. 54-5.



Fig. 9. Tenth-century cross-slab from the monastic site on Begerin island in Wexford Harbour.

(Photo: National Museum of Ireland)

The interlace design on this cross showing the influence of Scandinavian motifs suggests that the island was under the control of the Wexford Norse. One of the churches in the town was dedicated to St. Ibar, the founder of the monastery on Begerin. Following the arrival of the Anglo-Normans, some of the Norse inhabitants of the town took refuge on the island.

(*Expugnatio*, p. 87)

evidence for a concentration of Ostmen in the vicinity of Rosslare. As the importance of the Norse towns became increasingly obvious, the more ambitious Irish kings exploited them as sources of men, ships and taxes.¹²⁷ In political terms, the kingdom of *Uí Cheinnselaig* was traditionally remote and unimportant but this was changed by the rising prosperity of the Norse town of Wexford.¹²⁸ Diarmait mac Mael-na-mBó gained access to Wexford in 1051¹²⁹ and took Dublin in the following year.¹³⁰ Control of these two centres of economic and military power remained in the hands of Diarmait's successors for much of the following century and helped them to maintain a dominant position in Leinster until 1171. Political refugees from Britain were attracted to the Norse towns where they could hire ships and men. The sons of Earl Godwin, Harold and Leofwine, banished with their father by King Edward the Confessor in 1051, fled to Ireland. After being received at the court of Diarmait mac Mael-na-mBó, they raised a fleet and raided the coast of England. Harold subsequently became king and was killed at the battle of Hastings in 1066. His sons, no doubt influenced by the course of action taken by their father, also sought aid from mac Mael-na-mBó and raised a fleet to mount expeditions against the Bristol Channel area in 1068 and 1069.¹³¹

Following the death in battle of Diarmait mac Mael-na-mBó in 1072, the power centre that he had consolidated in Leinster was fragmented by dynastic conflict and the province remained without dominant leadership until 1132 when his great-grandson, Diarmait Mac Murchada, first asserted himself.¹³² His successful bid to establish himself as king of Leinster was facilitated by a power struggle which saw the collapse of the kingdom of Connacht. The importance of the Norse towns was again emphasised in 1137 when Mac Murchada attempted to gain control of Waterford with fleets drawn from Dublin

¹²⁷ Ó Corráin, 'Nationality and kingship,' p. 32.

¹²⁸ Byrne, *Irish kings*, p. 271.

¹²⁹ Flanagan, *Irish society*, p. 58.

¹³⁰ Ó Corráin, *Old Wex. Soc. Jn.*, iii, p. 31.

¹³¹ Flanagan, *Irish society*, p. 58.

¹³² For a general background to Diarmait Mac Murchada see : Orpen, *Normans*, i, pp. 39-75; Ó Corráin, *Ireland before the Normans*, pp. 142-67; S. Duffy, *Ireland in the Middle Ages*, (Dublin, 1997), pp. 50-58.

and Wexford.¹³³ Mac Murchada's emergence came when Irish society was moving rapidly towards a hierarchical structure, generally referred to as feudalism. This development may have been accelerated by increased contact with England and Europe facilitated by the church reform movement, the arrival of foreign religious orders, and journeys to continental places of pilgrimage.¹³⁴ Mac Murchada embarked on a determined, and at times brutal, campaign to establish a modern kingship. His practice of issuing Latin charters in the European tradition is, perhaps, an indication of his progressive outlook.¹³⁵ He was a generous patron of the church, establishing a foundation for Augustinian canons at Ferns and a number of churches at Dublin. At times, however his generosity to the church had political implications. The Cistercian foundation which he established at Baltinglass in 1148, for example, controlled a strategic routeway through the Wicklow mountains. A similar strategy was later implemented by the Anglo-Normans through grants to the Cistercians at Dunbrody, Tintern and Duiske.

The ambitious Mac Murchada was deeply involved in the complex rival dynastic alliances that competed for supremacy. Supported by the Norse of Wexford and Dublin and allied with the powerful Muirchertach Mac Lochlainn of Cenél Eógain, Mac Murchada maintained control of Leinster in spite of the opposition of Ruaidrí Ó Conchobair, king of Connacht, and his ally Tigernán Ó Ruairc of Bréifne. In 1166, however, two events occurred which dramatically changed the balance of power : the Norse of Dublin submitted to Ruaidrí Ó Conchobair¹³⁶ and Diarmait's ally Muirchertach Mac Lochlainn was killed in battle. Ó Conchobair marched on *Uí Cheinnselaig* and Diarmait, deserted by his own subjects, burned Ferns and submitted to him. Mac Murchada was allowed to retain possession of *Uí Cheinnselaig* but before long his enemies, led by Tigernán Ó Ruairc, whose wife, Dervorgilla, Diarmait had abducted fourteen years previously, again marched on Ferns. Perhaps inspired by the origin legend of his dynasty in which Labraid Loingsech was forced into exile and regained his kingdom with the help of allies from

¹³³ A.F.M., ii, p. 1057.

¹³⁴ Ó Corráin, *Nationality and kingship*, pp. 32-4.

¹³⁵ M.T. Flanagan, 'Strategies of lordship,' p. 112.

¹³⁶ A. F.M., ii, p. 1161.

Gaul,¹³⁷ Mac Murchada, completely isolated and deserted even by his close associates, fled overseas in search of foreign aid.¹³⁸

¹³⁷ Byrne, *Irish kings*, p. 272.

¹³⁸ *Song*, l. 140.

Chapter 2

The Arrival of the Anglo-Normans

The historiography of late twelfth-century Ireland has tended in the past to be presented from either an English or Irish perspective, often with pronounced political undertones. Orpen's narrative account of the Anglo-Norman arrival was the first attempt to span both periods.¹ He depicted pre-Norman Ireland as being politically and economically backward and claimed that it benefited from the more sophisticated institutions introduced by the Normans.² Orpen's thesis was refuted by nationalist historians, who disputed Ireland's backward state and the benefits of the *Pax Normannica*.³ Until recently, twelfth-century society in Ireland was frequently portrayed in terms of the social organisation, laws and institutions that had been documented by the learned classes in the seventh-century law tracts. These early law tracts provided a paradigm of society which became increasingly irrelevant from the eighth century onwards.⁴

Change was encouraged by a learned, or 'mandarin' class who developed the idea of kingship so that royal succession was no longer determined by the inheritance customs of the *derbfine* but by the pragmatic realities of power politics within hereditary lordships.⁵ In part stimulated by the Viking wars, these changes in Irish society in the early middle ages signalled the emergence of an embryonic medieval state, evolving rapidly in the direction of feudalism.⁶ In recent times, this has been equated with the European experience, where the system of administration, jurisdiction and land tenure, known as feudalism, had developed during the early middle ages.⁷ The discord generated by complex dynastic alliances, described as 'the birth-pangs of a new feudalism,' led to endemic violence in twelfth-century Ireland with the building of fortresses, the use of war fleets

¹ G.H. Orpen, *Ireland under the Normans*, 4 vols. (Oxford, 1911-20).

² *Ibid.*, i, chapter 1, ii, chapter 13.

³ Principally E. MacNeill, *Phases of Irish history* (Dublin, 1919) and E. Curtis, *A history of medieval Ireland* (London, 1923).

⁴ Doherty, 'Exchange and trade,' p. 70.

⁵ D. Ó Corráin, 'Nationality and kingship,' pp. 11, 19.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

⁷ M. Bloch, *Feudal society* (London, 1962).

and the employment of Norman mercenaries,⁸ as a reduced number of overkings competed for power. The feudalisation of Irish society in the eleventh and twelfth centuries had developed to such an extent that there is no reason why Ireland should any longer remain outside the 'feudal' debate.⁹

The decision by Diarmuid Mac Murchada to seek foreign aid in an effort to recover his kingdom of Leinster would not have seemed unusual in twelfth-century Ireland as there had been extensive contacts between Ireland and Europe for many centuries. The Irish were much closer to the mainstream of European life than their insular location might suggest.¹⁰ Interaction was complex, involving elements of economic, ecclesiastical and cultural significance.¹¹ For example, the Normans of south Wales sent an envoy to Ireland in 1101, seeking help in their rebellion against Henry I. The envoy was the steward of Pembroke, Gerald of Windsor, whose son, Maurice fitzGerald, was to become the ancestor of all the Irish Geraldines. As a result of his visit, Muirchertach Ua Briain agreed that his daughter should marry Arnulf Montgomery and she was dispatched to Wales with a fleet of armed ships to aid the revolt against the king.¹² When Henry II hired a fleet from Dublin for his Welsh campaign of 1165, he must have done so with the consent of Diarmait MacMurchada.¹³ As overlord of Dublin and Wexford, MacMurchada had presumably developed contacts with the Angevin ports of Bristol and Chester: not surprisingly, when he left Ireland, it was to Bristol that he went, where he stayed with Robert fitz Harding, a prominent supporter of the Angevin cause.¹⁴

MacMurchada travelled to Normandy where he succeeded in meeting King Henry II.¹⁵ His determination to meet the king could indicate

⁸ F.J. Byrne, 'The trembling sod: Ireland in 1169,' A. Cosgrove (ed.), *A new history of Ireland*, ii (Oxford, 1993), pp. 10, 22.

⁹ Doherty, 'The Vikings in Ireland,' p. 324.

¹⁰ D. Ó Corráin, 'Nationality and kingship,' p. 4.

¹¹ M. Richter, 'The European dimension of Irish history in the eleventh and twelfth centuries', in *Peritia* iv (1985), pp. 328-45.

¹² S. Duffy, *Ireland in the middle Ages* (Dublin, 1997), p. 44.

¹³ M.T. Flanagan, *Irish society, Anglo-Norman settlers, Angevin kingship*, p. 76.

¹⁴ *Song*, II. 230-40.

¹⁵ For a general background see Orpen, *Normans*, i, pp. 77-100; E. Curtis, *A history of medieval Ireland* (London, 1923), pp. 45-64; Duffy, *Ireland in the middle ages*, pp. 57-80.

Fig. 10. Diarmuid MacMurchada.

This portrayal of Diarmuid MacMurchada comes from a manuscript copy of Gerald de Barry's *Expugnatio Hibernica* (N.L.I.) where Diarmuid is described as 'tall and well built, a brave and warlike man whose voice was hoarse as a result of constantly having been in the din of battle'.



Fig. 11. Henry II.

A contemporary portrait of Henry II from *Expugnatio Hibernica* (N.L.I.).

that he was confident of a favourable reception, possibly because of previous dealings between them. There has been much speculation as to what exactly Diarmait hoped to accomplish and, conversely, how his appeal for help was responded to by the king. According to near-contemporary accounts, MacMurchada became Henry's vassal by offering homage and fealty:¹⁶ in return, he hoped to enlist support for his efforts to recover the kingdom of Leinster. Diarmait's strategy, according to one commentator, was to make himself high-king of Ireland with the help of the Anglo-Normans: he was willing, in return, to acknowledge the overlordship of Henry II.¹⁷ The concept of a political involvement in Ireland was not new as there had been vague ambitions to sovereignty over Ireland at the English court for over a century.¹⁸ Added to this was the claim by the English Church to ecclesiastical jurisdiction over Ireland. In 1072 Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, wrote to Pope Alexander II assuring him that Canterbury had always exercised primatial rights not only over Britain but also over Ireland.

This claim was substantiated by the subsequent arrival at Canterbury for consecration of the bishops-elect of the Norse dioceses of Dublin, Waterford and Limerick.¹⁹ The ratification of the Irish diocesan system at the Synod of Kells in 1152 undermined Canterbury's rights.²⁰ This, allied with the perceived need for reform in the Irish Church, may have precipitated the papal bull of 1155, known as *Laudabiliter*, which conferred approval for political intervention by Henry II in Ireland.²¹ Papal policy may also have been influenced by the growing English perception of Celtic peoples as barbarians.²² This attitude was typified in St. Bernard's *Life of St.*

¹⁶ *Song*, pp. 23-5; *Expugnatio*, p. 27.

¹⁷ Byrne, 'The trembling sod,' p. 28.

¹⁸ For this section see discussion in M.T. Flanagan, *Irish society, Anglo-Norman settlers, Angevin kingship*, pp. 7-55.

¹⁹ J. Watt, *The Church in medieval Ireland* (Dublin, 1972), pp. 3 - 4.

²⁰ *Ibid.* p. 24.

²¹ F. X. Martin, 'Diarmait Mac Murchada and the coming of the Anglo-Normans,' in *N.H.I.*, ii, p. 59.

²² This is discussed in J. Gillingham, 'Foundation of a disunited kingdom,' in A. Grant & K.J. Stringer (eds.), *Uniting the kingdom? The making of British history* (London and New York, 1995), pp. 59-64; it is placed in a European context in A. Simms, 'Core and periphery in medieval Europe: the Irish experience,' in W. Smyth & K. Whelan (eds.), *Common ground* (Cork, 1988), pp. 22-40; see also the discussion in D. Kiberd, *Inventing Ireland* (London, 1995), pp. 7-18.

Malachy, written about 1150, in which he describes the barbaric and semi-pagan state of the Irish people.²³ This portrayal of the Irish, which ignored the earlier achievements of the Church and the current reform movement, was used to justify political intervention, and later in the century was elaborated on by Gerald de Barry in his depiction of Ireland as a country rich in natural resources but undeveloped and primitive.²⁴

There is some divergence in the near-contemporary accounts of Henry's response to Mac Murchada. Gerald de Barry states clearly that the king gave letters patent to Diarmait allowing him to recruit help from among his followers.²⁵ The *Song*, however, is not so definite, reporting only that Henry promised to help as soon as he was able.²⁶ Returning to Bristol, Diarmait eventually met with Richard de Clare, earl of Strigoil (better known as Strongbow) who promised military support in return for the hand of Diarmait's daughter, Aoife, in marriage, and succession to the kingdom of Leinster.²⁷ This was not as unusual a procedure as might first appear. The archaic Gaelic society of the law tracts, with its rigid succession laws, had begun to crumble in the eighth century.²⁸ By the twelfth century, royal succession was dictated by pragmatic realities of power politics.²⁹ Irish kingdoms could not be inherited through the female line, leading Byrne to suggest that Diarmait's readiness to overthrow Irish law in order to win Strongbow's support could indicate that he was aiming at complete innovation.³⁰ Strongbow, who, according to Gerald of Wales, 'had a great name, rather than great prospects, ancestral prestige rather than ability; had succeeded to a name rather than possessions',³¹ may have welcomed Diarmait's offer as an opportunity

²³ Martin, 'Diarmait Mac Murchada,' p. 60.

²⁴ Gerald of Wales, *The history and topography of Ireland*, translated by J. O'Meara (Dundalk, 1951), pp. 100-3; This is commented on in J. Gillingham, 'The English invasion of Ireland,' in B. Bradshaw, A. Hadfield, W. Maley (eds), *Representing Ireland: literature and the origins of conflict* (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 24-42; Martin, 'Diarmait Mac Murchada,' pp. 59 - 61.

²⁵ *Expugnatio* . p. 27.

²⁶ *Song*, ll. 294 - 5.

²⁷ *Expugnatio*, p. 29, *Song*, 325-355.

²⁸ C. Doherty, 'Exchange and trade,' p. 71.

²⁹ Ó Corráin, 'Nationality and kingship,' p. 11.

³⁰ Byrne, *Irish kings*, p. 273 - 4.

³¹ *Expugnatio*, p. 54.

to restore his flagging fortunes.³² His relations with Henry II were strained, however, and the *Song* records that Strongbow felt obliged to first request permission from his lord, the king.³³ Henry may have been reluctant, as Gerald de Barry observed that Strongbow was given permission 'of a sort.'³⁴ In Pembroke, Diarmait met Robert fitzStephen and his half-brother, Maurice fitzGerald, sons of Nesta, a Welsh princess, whose progeny, by various Norman fathers, played a significant role in the invasion of Ireland. The two knights agreed to help him, lured by the promise of the city of Wexford with two adjoining cantreds.³⁵ In 1167 MacMurchada returned, accompanied by a Flemish knight Richard fitzGodibert,³⁶ who, however, returned to Wales after a short time.³⁷ After some initial skirmishing, Diarmait re-established himself in *Uí Cheinnselaig* and returned to Ferns to await the arrival of his foreign allies. To encourage their departure, Mac Murchada sent messages promising that 'Whoever shall wish for soil or sod richly shall I enfeoff them,'³⁸ a clear indication of his radical strategy.

Urged on by messages from MacMurchada, fitzStephen, accompanied by Strongbow's uncle, Hervey de Montmorency, Meiler fitzHenry, Maurice de Prendergast and Miles fitzDavid landed at Bannow in August 1169 with a force of three to four hundred knights and archers.³⁹ They were joined the following day by Maurice de Prendergast who brought two ships containing ten men-at-arms and a large body of archers,⁴⁰ so the initial landing party amounted to a force of five to six hundred men. They were joined by Diarmait and the combined force took the Norse town of Wexford. After the capture of

³² For an account of Strongbow's background see, M.T. Flanagan, 'Strongbow, Henry II and Anglo-Norman intervention in Ireland', in J. Gillingham and J.C. Holt (eds.), *War and government in the Middle Ages, essays in honour of J.O. Prestwich* (Cambridge, 1984), pp. 62-77.

³³ *Song*, ll. 355-361.

³⁴ *Expugnatio*, p. 57.

³⁵ *Expugnatio*, p. 31; *Song*, ll. 375-400.

³⁶ There was an distinctive Flemish colony in Pembroke; see R.R. Davies, *Domination and conquest: the experience of Ireland, Scotland and Wales, 1100-1300* (Cambridge, 1990), p. 11.

³⁷ *Song*, ll. 410-19.

³⁸ *Song*, p. 35, ll. 435 - 6.

³⁹ *Song*, ll. 441-460; *Expugnatio*, p. 31. The *Song* gives the number as 300; the *Expugnatio* as 400. Both agree that they arrived in two ships.

⁴⁰ *Expugnatio*, p. 293, n. 28.

Wexford town, MacMurchada granted the southern part of *Uí Cheinnselaig* (the modern baronies of Forth, Bargo and Shelburne) to the leaders of his Anglo-Norman allies. This was not quite so generous as it might seem. The area was probably thinly populated and the three septs associated with these *tuatha*, the Fotharta, *Uí Bairrche* and *Síl mBrain*, were peripheral subject tribes of the *Uí Cheinnselaig*.⁴¹ Two other factors made it easier for MacMurchada to alienate these districts: Murchad Ó Brain of *Síl mBrain* (Shelburne) had deserted him in his hour of need⁴² and Fothairt was controlled by the defeated Ostmen of Wexford.⁴³ He granted the town of Wexford with its lands to Robert fitzStephen and Maurice fitzGerald.⁴⁴ They moved quickly to establish themselves in their new fief, constructing a ringwork castle at Carrick on a rock overlooking the Slaney,⁴⁵ indicating that Carrick was regarded as being part of the lands of Wexford (fig. 12). To Hervey de Montmorency Diarmait granted 'the two cantreds which border on the sea and lie between the two cities of Wexford and Waterford,'⁴⁶ The grant to Hervey of 'Obarthy on the sea' was later confirmed by Strongbow.⁴⁷ Montmorency's grant, described in 1177 as 'between Wexford and the water of Waterford,'⁴⁸ consisted of *Uí Bairrche* and *Síl mBrain*, the modern Bargo and Shelburne.

MacMurchada began a campaign to recover his former status but had to wait until the following summer for the arrival in Waterford harbour of the main Anglo-Norman force under Strongbow,⁴⁹ heralded by the arrival of a small group under Raymond le Gros. Raymond

⁴¹ Smyth, *Celtic Leinster*, p. 5, pl. viii.

⁴² *Song*, I. 140.

⁴³ See p. 16.

⁴⁴ *Expugnatio*, p. 35.

⁴⁵ *Expugnatio*, p. 53. *Song*, II. 1395 - 97. For a description of the site see Isobel Bennett, 'Preliminary archaeological excavations at Ferrycarrig ringwork, Newtown Td., Co. Wexford,' *Wex. Hist. Soc. Jn.* x (1984-5), pp. 25 - 43; Claire Cotter, 'Ferrycarrig, Newtown, Ringwork,' in I. Bennett, (ed.) *Excavations* (1987), p. 30. The excavations revealed a bank with exterior fosse. Remains of stake holes on the bank could represent the defences referred to by Giraldus. Finds included thirteenth-century coins, pottery and a possible battleaxe.

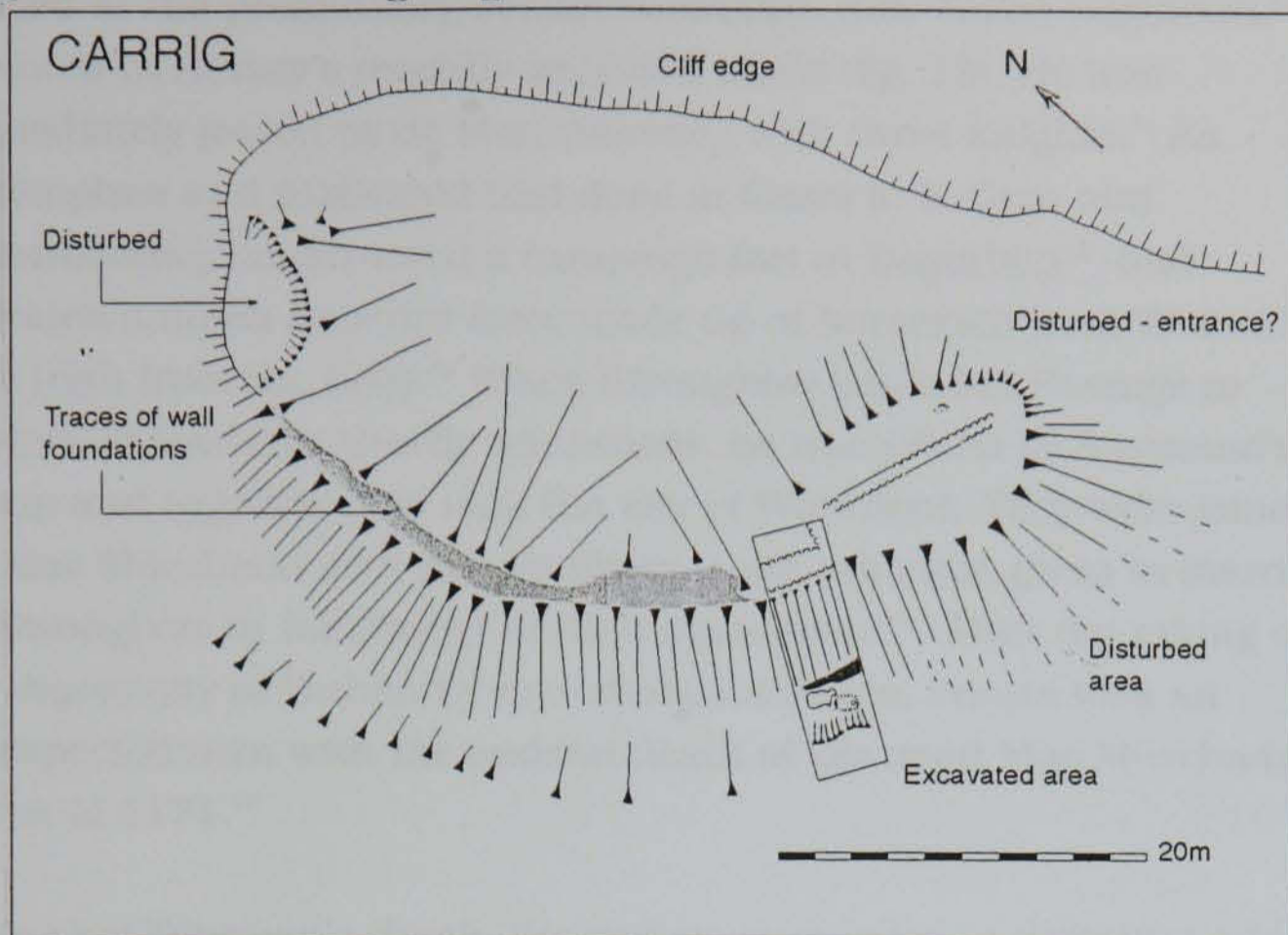
⁴⁶ *Expugnatio*, p. 35.

⁴⁷ *Song*, I. 3070.

⁴⁸ *Chronica Rogeri de Houedene*, (ed.) W. Stubbs, i - iv (London, 1868 - 71), ii, p. 134.

⁴⁹ *Expugnatio*, p. 65, *Song*, II. 1500-1515.

Fig. 12. Plan of Carrig ringwork castle (after Bennett).



The first recorded defensive earthwork constructed by the Anglo-Normans in Ireland was built by Robert FitzStephen in 1169 on a cliff top at Carrig, overlooking the Slaney about two miles north-west of Wexford town (*Expugnatio*, p. 53).

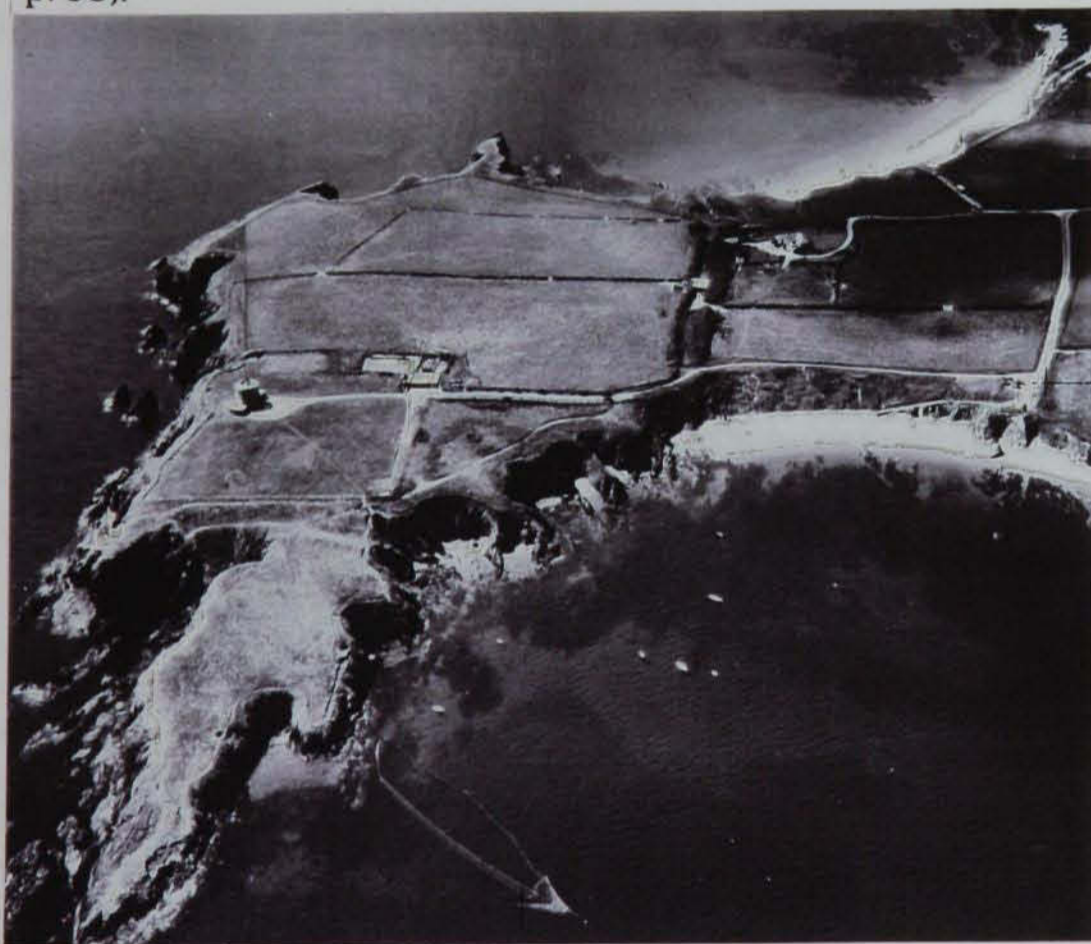


Fig. 13. Baginbun (Cambridge collection).

The existence of an excellent landing beach and an Iron Age promontory fort (the headland was formerly called Dún Domhnaill) may have influenced Raymond le Gros to select Baginbun as a landing place in May, 1170. It is possible that the fort (left foreground) may have been occupied by Raymond's force pending the construction of a double rampart across the neck of the headland (*Expugnatio*, p. 57).

landed at the promontory of *Dún Domhnaill*, now called Baginbun,⁵⁰ situated in Hervey's recently acquired lands (fig. 13). He was immediately joined by de Montmorency with three knights.⁵¹ As fitzStephen and fitzGerald had done at Carrick, le Gros and Montmorency constructed a campaign fort at Baginbun⁵² and defeated a much superior force made up of Norsemen from Waterford and Irish from the *Déisi*.⁵³ When Strongbow landed at Passage in Waterford Harbour shortly afterwards, he was joined by Raymond's group and together they took the city of Waterford. They were joined by Mac Murchada with his daughter, Aoife, who was given in marriage to Strongbow in fulfillment of their agreement.⁵⁴ After the taking of the Norse city of Dublin by the combined forces, events took an unexpected turn with the sudden death of Diarmait Mac Murchada at Ferns in 1171.⁵⁵

Following Diarmait's death, Strongbow succeeded in defeating a revolt of the Irish of Leinster and established his claim to the lordship of the province. However, his successful activities in Ireland were viewed with deepening suspicion by King Henry who obviously had not intended a person of Strongbow's stature to be recruited by Mac Murchada.⁵⁶ Before his departure, he had received 'permission of a

⁵⁰ For a discussion on the site see G. H. Orpen, 'Site of Raymond's fort, Dundonnolf (Baginbun)', in *R.S.A.I. Jn.* xxvii (1898), pp. 155 - 60.

⁵¹ *Expugnatio*, p. 59.

⁵² *Expugnatio*, p. 57. *Song*, ll. 1404 - 8. There are two sets of earthworks at Baginbun. A secondary headland, fortified by a double bank may represent the Iron Age promontory fort of Dún Domhnaill. The double bank and fosse running across the neck of the headland enclosing c. 22 acres may be the fortification erected by the Anglo-Normans in 1170. See M. Moore, *Archaeological inventory*, no. 226, p. 26 and no. 962 p. 94. It is suggested elsewhere that the earthworks on the secondary headland at Baginbun may represent Raymond's fortification (T. McNeill, *Castles in Ireland* (London and New York, (1997), p. 62). However, these seem to belong to a typical Iron Age promontory fort and would explain the original name of the headland. They also appear more eroded, and thus older, than the linear earthworks that enclose the main headland. There is also an opinion that the Anglo-Normans initially occupied the Celtic fort, from which they defeated the attacking army, and that they then constructed ramparts enclosing a larger area as a base (which was never used) for Strongbow's army (K. O'Connor, 'A reinterpretation of the earthworks at Baginbun, county Wexford,' forthcoming).

⁵³ For a discussion on the implications of the battle of Baginbun, see J. Gillingham, 'Conquering the barbarians: war and chivalry in twelfth-century Britain', in *The Haskins society journal, studies in medieval history*, iv (1993), pp. 67 - 84.

⁵⁴ *Expugnatio*, p. 67. *Song*, ll. 1526 - 31.

⁵⁵ *Expugnatio*, pp. 67 & 75. *Song*, ll. 1556 - 1731.

⁵⁶ For the background to Henry's intervention in Ireland see W. L. Warren, *Henry II*, (London, 1977), pp. 187-206.

sort'; 'more in jest than in earnest', from the king.⁵⁷ Strongbow had, allegedly, ignored an order from Henry not to cross to Ireland, issued just before his expedition sailed from Milford Haven.⁵⁸ As the king's concern grew, he placed an embargo on Irish ports and threatened to confiscate the lands of any subject who remained in Ireland.⁵⁹ Strongbow sent Hervey de Montmorency and Raymond le Gros to negotiate on his behalf before going to meet the king in person. An agreement was reached by which Strongbow surrendered Dublin, the adjoining cantreds and coastal cities and castles to Henry but retained the rest of Leinster to be held of the king.⁶⁰

Henry, anxious to establish his authority, landed at Waterford in October 1171.⁶¹ Strongbow did homage for Leinster and it was granted to him⁶² by the service of 100 knights. The king retained Dublin and the coastal towns for himself. At Waterford, the king received a deputation from 'the men of Wexford' who delivered to him Robert fitzStephen, taken prisoner by them at Carrick. Henry released fitzStephen but deprived him of Wexford and its lands.⁶³ Following a successful journey through Munster and Leinster, during which he received submissions from temporal and spiritual leaders, Henry travelled to Wexford to take ship for Wales. Delayed by bad weather for six weeks,⁶⁴ he received word of the arrival at his court of a papal commission to investigate the murder of Thomas Becket and of a conspiracy against him led by his two sons. On his departure, he left William fitzAldelin with a garrison in charge of Wexford.⁶⁵ Henry's expedition had changed the character of Anglo-Norman intervention in Ireland and was seen by the late twelfth-century English historian, William of Newburgh, as 'the conquest of the Irish by the English.'⁶⁶

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 57.

⁵⁸ Orpen, *Normans*, i, p. 193.

⁵⁹ H.S. Sweetman, (ed.), *Calendar of documents relating to Ireland*, 5 vols., i, no. 10; *Expugnatio*, p. 71.

⁶⁰ *Expugnatio*, pp. 71 & 89.

⁶¹ For an example of the detailed preparations made for Henry's expedition see *Cal. doc. Ire.* i, nos. 10, 12, 32 & 34.

⁶² *Song*, ll. 2613 - 22.

⁶³ *Expugnatio*, p. 95.

⁶⁴ During Henry's stay in Wexford his officials spent £40 on herrings to feed his retinue. *Cal. doc. Ire.* i, no. 34.

⁶⁵ *Expugnatio*, p. 105. *Song*, ll. 2738 - 68.

⁶⁶ William of Newburgh, *Historia rerum Anglicarum*, quoted in J. Gillingham, 'The English invasion of Ireland,' p. 38.

Henry's arrival introduced a new 'wave' of colonists and members of the king's *entourage* would have been attracted to the new frontier by the prospect of land. For example, three members of the de London family from south Wales were with him;⁶⁷ one of them, Richard, was granted the manor of Rosegarland (*Roscarlon*), in *Uí Cheinnselaig* between the rivers Corock and Owenduff to be held by the service of two knights.⁶⁸

Just as Europeans were attracted to the Americas in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, so settlers from Britain were lured to Ireland during the late twelfth, and much of the thirteenth century. As land without tenants was of little value, this immigration must have been orchestrated by the recipients of major land-grants who offered improved living standards and status as an inducement to encourage settlers to risk the hazardous undertaking. The disparate ethnic and geographic origins of the early colonists was partly due to the itinerary followed by MacMurchada around the Bristol channel and south Wales. The Pembroke region was well represented, especially by the extended Cambro-Norman dynasty of fitzGerald, fitzStephens and fitzHenry descended from the Welsh princess Nest by a variety of Norman fathers.⁶⁹ The Flemish colony in Pembroke also played a prominent part in the invasion and colonisation of south-east Ireland. The complex nature of the ethnic mix can be detected in the wording of early charters. A charter of Raymond le Gros from 1175, for example, was issued to 'French, English, Flemish, Welsh, Irish,'⁷⁰ and William Marshal addressed his Tintern de Voto charter to 'all his men, French and English, Welsh and Irish.'⁷¹ The inclusive term 'Anglo-Norman' is currently used as a convenient, perhaps politically acceptable, short-hand to describe the mixed ethnicity of the colonists who arrived in Ireland in the late twelfth and during the thirteenth centuries. However, this is not what they called themselves. Almost invariably in the *Expugnatio* and the *Song of Dermot and the Earl*, the newcomers are referred to as 'English,' with

⁶⁷ Hore, *Wexford*, ii, p. 156.

⁶⁸ Brooks, *Knights' fees*, p. 103.

⁶⁹ K. Nicholls, 'The early Geraldines and the descendants of Nesta,' in *N.H.I.*, ix, genealogical table no. 34.

⁷⁰ E. St. John Brooks, 'An unpublished charter of Raymond le Gros,' in *R.S.A.I. Jn.* lxxix (1939), p. 168.

⁷¹ Hore, *Wexford*, ii, p. 16.

occasional references to French, Welsh and Flemings. The Irish chroniclers, who were probably not in a position to differentiate, usually referred to 'Saxons' and sometimes 'foreigners,' but the *A.F.M.* in 1169 referred to 'the fleet of the Flemings.'⁷² The ordinary soldiers and the settlers in particular were overwhelmingly English, with a sprinkling of Welsh and Flemings, representing a substantial immigration of a genuinely peasant population.⁷³ This invasion was a turning point in the history of Ireland but it was also part of a wider experience during the Middle Ages, particularly from 1000 to 1300 AD, which was a period of expansion in western Europe. Viewed from this perspective, the invasion of Ireland by the English is a manifestation of a process that was part of the evolution of present-day Europe.⁷⁴

Strongbow's Land Grants

Following Strongbow's surrender of Leinster to the king and its regrant by the service of 100 knights, his main concern was the orderly occupation of the land in accordance with the laws of feudalism. This had to be considered carefully as the initial enfeoffments determined the locations of towns, manors and the general lay-out of settlement. Before allocating land to his principal tenants, the baronial lord reserved demesne manors for his own use, burgage lands for the development of towns and grants intended for the church. These decisions were obviously influenced by a number of factors, including geographical and topographical features, population distribution, routeways and existing settlement centres. The quality of land, carefully valued in Gaelic farming society⁷⁵ was also a decisive factor (fig. 14). The manor of Ross, for example, retained by Strongbow as demesne land, was located on soils with a wide use-range, being suitable for tillage and pasture.⁷⁶ Lacking an intimate knowledge of the landscape, the Anglo-Normans, of

⁷² For a discussion on this topic see, J. Gillingham, 'The English invasion of Ireland,' pp. 24-42.

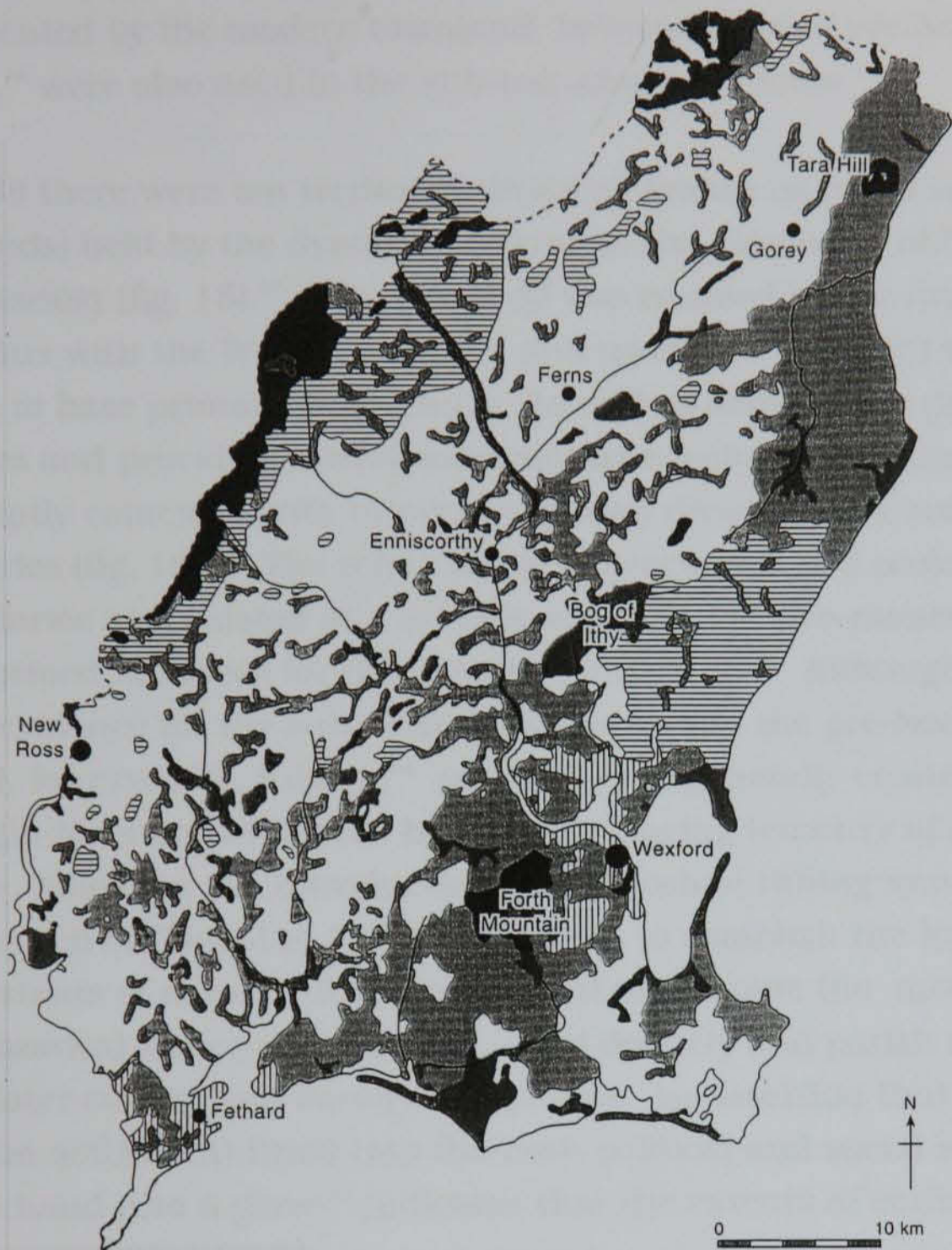
⁷³ Davies, *Domination and conquest*, p. 13.

⁷⁴ See S. Duffy, *Ireland in the middle ages* (Dublin, 1997), pp. 84-5; R. Bartlett, *The making of Europe: conquest, colonization and cultural change 950-1350* (London, 1993), pp. 2, 24; Simms, 'Core and periphery,' p. 37.

⁷⁵ Doherty, 'Exchange and trade,' p. 72.

⁷⁶ M.J. Gardiner & P. Ryan, *Soils of Co. Wexford*, pp.106, 114

Fig. 14. County Wexford: soil suitability map.
(after Gardiner and Ryan)



- | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| □ | Brown earths:
well drained
wide use range | ■ | Gleys:
poorly to imperfectly
drained
limited use range |
| ▨ | Brown podzolics:
well drained
somewhat limited
use range | ■ | Alluvial:
variable drainage
somewhat limited
use range |
| ▩ | Grey brown podzols:
well drained
variable use range | ■ | Podzols and peats:
poorly drained
very limited use range |

necessity, utilised existing Gaelic territorial divisions in the creation of a feudal land-holding system.⁷⁷ The basic land unit or *baille*, represented by the modern townland, believed to be of pre-Norman origin,⁷⁸ were also used in the sub-infeudation process.⁷⁹

In 1168 there were ten territorial divisions known as *trícha céd* (thirty hundreds) held by the dynastic factions in the *mórthuath* of *Uí Cheinnselaig* (fig. 15).⁸⁰ The *trícha céd* was equated by the Anglo-Normans with the Welsh cantred⁸¹ and used as convenient units on which to base primary land-grants. As well as defining the principal manors and providing useful administrative units, the cantreds frequently coincided with internal diocesan divisions; the rural deaneries (fig. 16).⁸² The relationship between civil and ecclesiastical boundaries also existed at a lower level where the sub-manors of large fiefs formed the basis for the parochial structure.⁸³ Although there is some evidence for the sub-division of dioceses in the pre-Norman period, for example, Kildare,⁸⁴ parishes were generally created in areas of Anglo-Norman settlement by the tithe-paying tenantry of the manor, following the introduction of a parochial tithing system at the council of Cashel in 1172.⁸⁵ In trying to establish the locations and extents of manors, it is more useful to examine the medieval ecclesiastical structure of diocese, rural deanery and parish rather than later county and barony boundaries. An assertion that Anglo-Norman settlement fitted into the Irish political and social structure 'like a hand into a glove'⁸⁶ indicates that the extents of earlier Gaelic

⁷⁷ See, for example, Orpen, *Normans*, i, pp. 387-93 for an account of the Gaelic districts of *Uí Cheinnselaig* mentioned in Strongbow's grants.

⁷⁸ See: C. Reeves, 'On the townland distribution of Ireland' *R.I.A. Proc.*, vii (1857-61), pp. 473 - 90; T. McErlean, 'The townland system of landscape organisation' in T. Reeves-Smyth & F. Hamond (eds.), *Landscape archaeology in Ireland*, (Oxford, 1983), pp. 315-40; C. Doherty, 'Settlement in early Ireland,' in T. Barry (ed.), *A history of settlement in Ireland* (London, 2000), pp. 66-71.

⁷⁹ See, for example Hore, *Wexford*, iii, pp. 34 - 40, where, in the charter to Dunbrody abbey, c. 1175, eleven placenames are mentioned which still survive as townland names.

⁸⁰ *A.F.M.*, ii, p. 1167.

⁸¹ e.g. *Expugnatio*, p. 185.

⁸² K. Nicholls, 'Land of the Leinstermen,' pp. 556-8; C.A. Empey, 'The Norman period,' in W. Nolan (ed.), *Tipperary: history and society* (Dublin, 1985), p. 73.

⁸³ J. Otway-Ruthven, 'Parochial development in the rural deanery of Skreen,' in *R.S.A.I. Jn.*, xciv (1964), pp. 111 - 22.

⁸⁴ M.-T. Flanagan, 'Henry II and the kingdom of Uí Fáeláin,' in J. Bradley (ed.), *Settlement and society in medieval Ireland* (Kilkenny, 1988), p. 235.

⁸⁵ *Expugnatio*, p. 99; A. J. Otway-Ruthven, 'Parochial development,' pp. 111-22.

⁸⁶ Doherty, 'Vikings', p. 314.

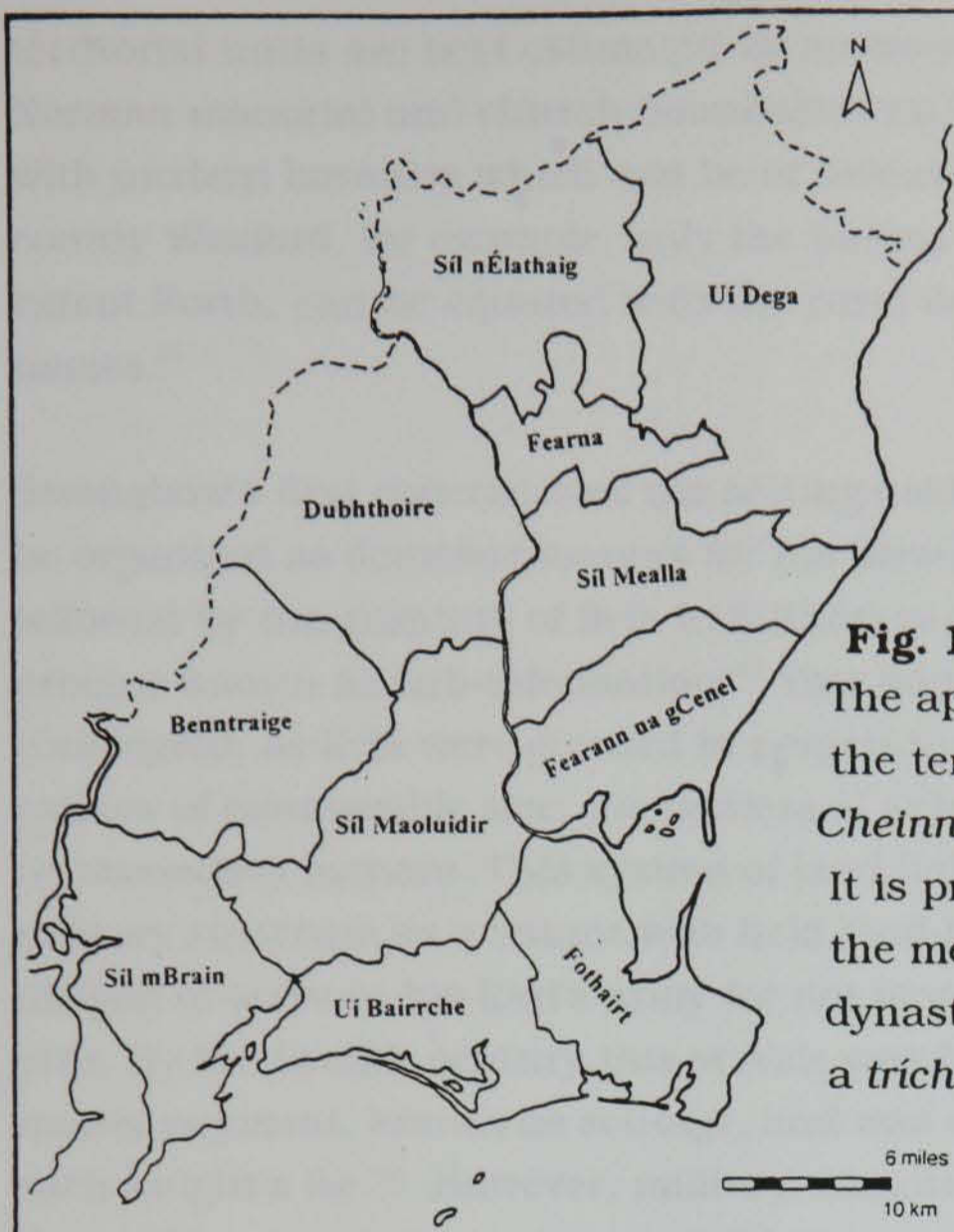
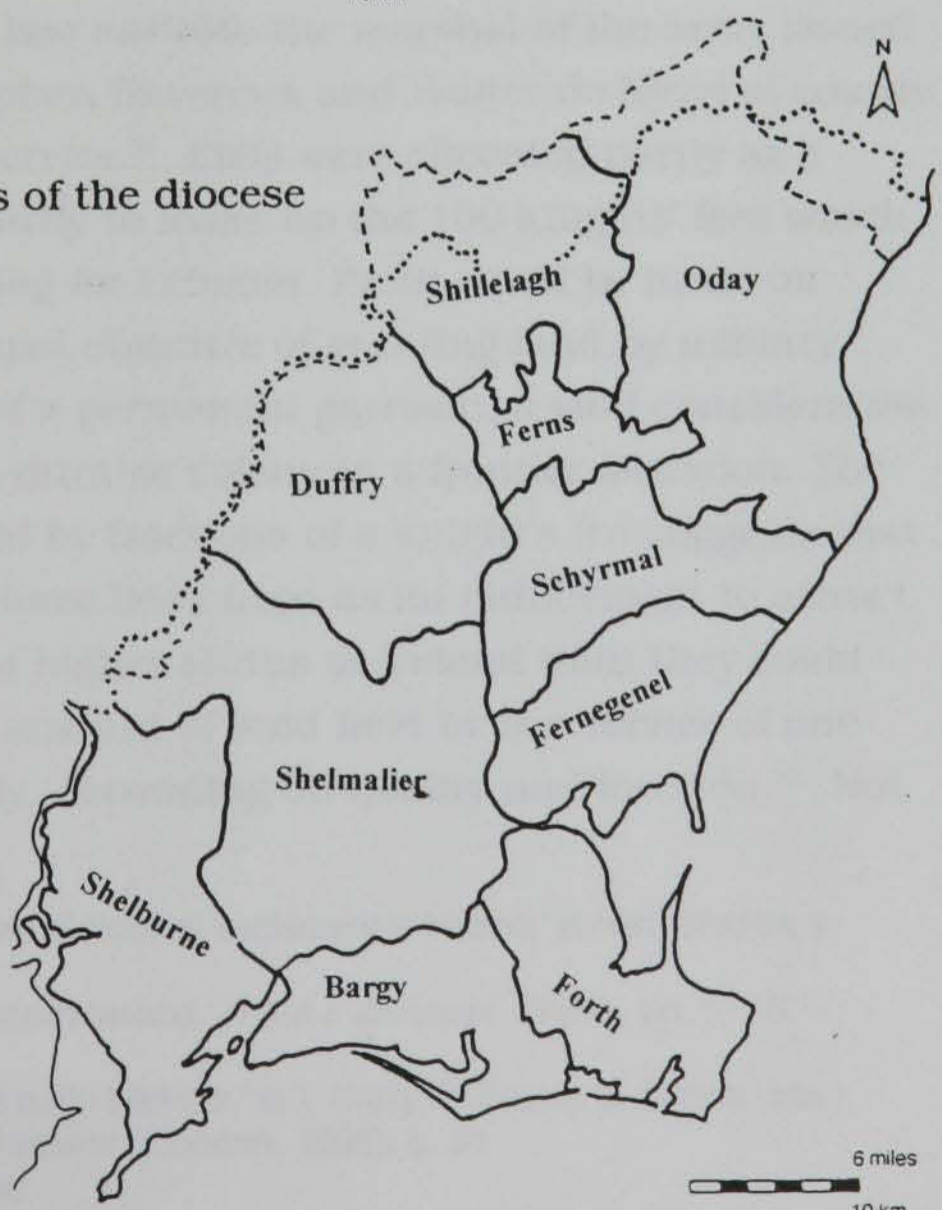


Fig. 15.
 The approximate extent of
 the ten *tricha céd* of *Uí*
Cheinnselaig (AFM,ii, p. 1167).
 It is probable that Ferns,
 the mensal estate of the ruling
 dynasty, was not included in
 a *tricha céd*.

Fig. 16. Rural deaneries of the diocese
 of Ferns.



Sources :
 MSS 566 T.C.D. (Deaneries)
 Visitation list 1615
 (Hore, *Wexford*, vi, pp. 266-74)

territorial units are best estimated by an examination of Anglo-Norman manorial and church boundaries rather than by comparison with modern baronies which can be of seventeenth-century origin. In county Wexford, for example, only the barony of Bargy, and to a large extent Forth, can be equated with the rural deaneries of the same names.⁸⁷

Strongbow's first concern was the setting aside of lands which would be organised as demesne manors for his personal use. This was followed by the granting of fiefs to faithful vassals and relatives, a process known as sub-infeudation.⁸⁸ This had to be carefully considered, as fiefs were granted in perpetuity. In order to create estates of manageable size, the process of sub-division was repeated on secondary manors. This system of land holding also provided a military structure as a tenant who held land by knights' service was obliged to serve in his lord's army for not more than forty days in any year. By the twelfth century this service was frequently replaced by a money payment, known as scutage, and was usually valued at 40s. for each knight's fee.⁸⁹ However, military tenants did not always avail of the option of scutage. As late as 1260, the marshal of the army issued letters testifying that Stephen Devereux and Walter de Nyvel of county Wexford had done their service.⁹⁰ Fiefs were allocated partly as a reward for services and partly to make up the 100 knights' fees which Strongbow owed to the king for Leinster. Profit could be made on excess fees but the principal objective of granting land by military tenure was the creation of a permanent garrison, a vital consideration in the establishment of a durable colony in a frontier situation. The granting of small fiefs held by fractions of a knight's fee suggests that military tenure may also have been used as an inducement to attract settlers by offering them a higher status in Ireland than they could afford in England.⁹¹ The amount of land held by the service of one knight varied considerably, depending on quality and location.⁹² Not

⁸⁷ Hore, *Wexford*, vi, pp. 266 - 74.

⁸⁸ J. Otway-Ruthven, 'The character of Norman settlement in Ireland,' in *Hist. Studies*, v (1965), p. 76.

⁸⁹ J. Otway-Ruthven, 'Knight service in Ireland,' *R.S.A.I. Jn.* lxxxix (1959), pp. 1 - 15.

⁹⁰ *35th Rep.D.K.I.*, p. 38.

⁹¹ B. Smith, 'Tenure and locality in north Leinster,' in T. Barry, R. Frame, K. Simms (eds.), *Colony and frontier in medieval Ireland* (London, 1995), p. 31.

⁹² This point will be discussed later.

all tenants held by knight service: some free tenants held by the payment of a fixed rent and settlers were attracted to towns by the offer of burgage status.⁹³

The first step in the organisation of the demesne manors, and the manors of the principal sub-tenants, was the erection of a defensive structure at a strategic location. These were frequently earth and timber castles of the motte and bailey type but defended enclosures, now called ringwork castles, were also constructed.⁹⁴ The locations and distribution of these castles will be considered later.

Demesne Manors

Following a campaign in Normandy in 1173, Strongbow was granted the town of Wexford⁹⁵ which he then made the principal town and seignorial manor of the lordship.⁹⁶ The other seignorial manors are known from later documentation, particularly from the partition of Leinster in 1247, but there is evidence that Strongbow himself had retained at least some of these. He visited Ferns on a number of occasions: he spent eight days there in early 1172⁹⁷ and returned shortly afterwards to give his daughter in marriage to Robert de Quency.⁹⁸ About 1175 Strongbow granted ten carucates and one burgage between the town of Ferns and 'the great water' to the south (presumably the river Bann) to the Knights Hospitallers.⁹⁹ These associations with Ferns suggest that he had decided to retain for himself the Mac Murchada power base and monastic centre which would become one of the principal demesne manors of his successor. The manor of Ross, located on the Barrow and linked with the monastic centre of *Ros Mic Treuin*, is also associated with Strongbow.¹⁰⁰ The town of New Ross was established by Strongbow's

⁹³ Otway-Ruthven, 'Character of Norman settlement,' pp. 77-9.

⁹⁴ Barry, *Arch. med. Ire.* pp. 37 - 55; T. McNeill, *Castles in Ireland* (London, 1997), pp. 56 - 74.

⁹⁵ *Song*, ll. 2902 - 3.

⁹⁶ Orpen, *Normans*, i, p. 373.

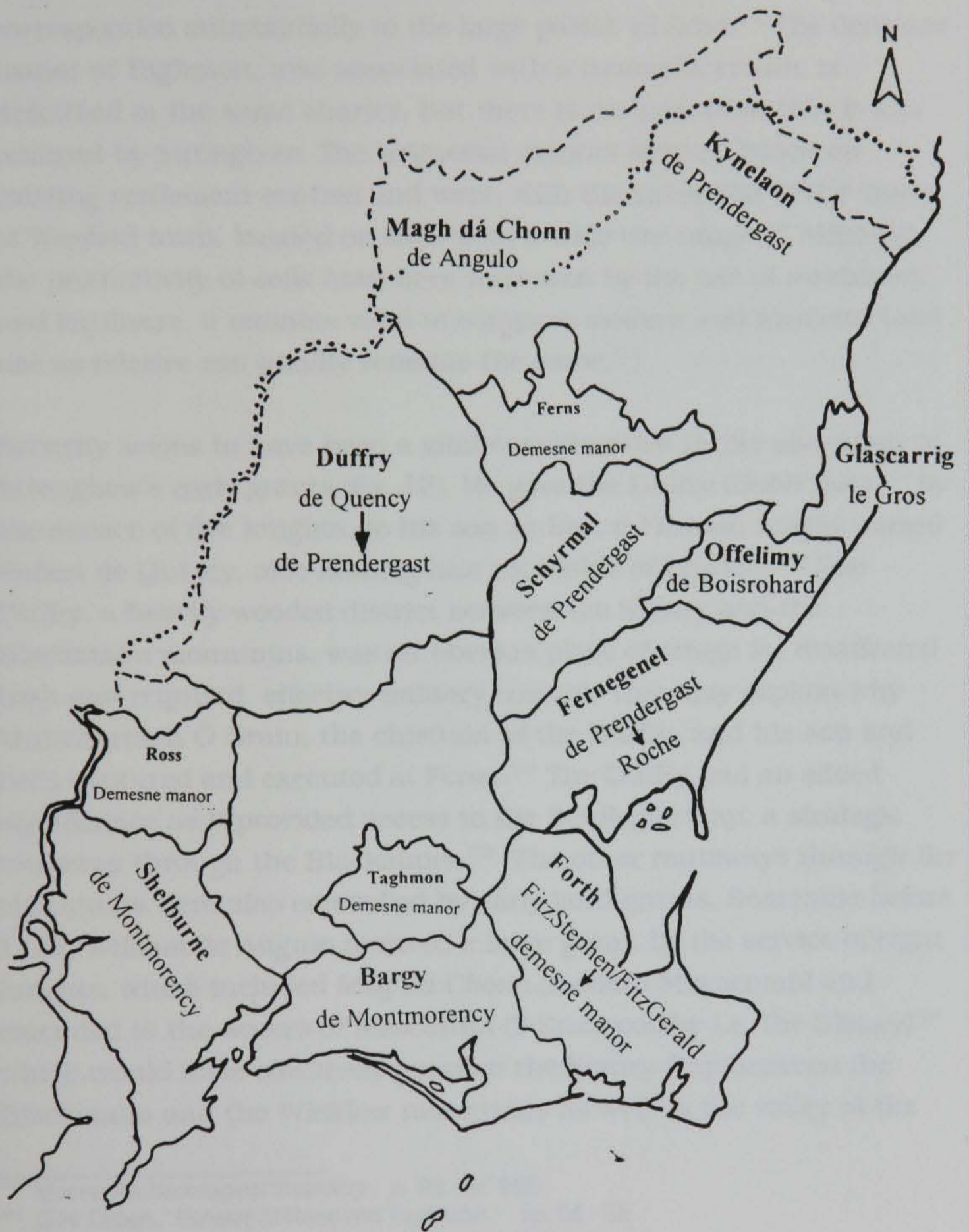
⁹⁷ *Song*, ll. 2157 - 9.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, ll. 2741 -6.

⁹⁹ *Calendar of ancient deeds and muniments preserved in the Pembroke Estate Office, Dublin* (Dublin, 1891), pp. 11 - 12.

¹⁰⁰ Orpen, *Normans*, i, p. 374.

Fig. 17. Land grants made by Strongbow.



Sources: see Appendix 1.

successor, William Marshal, in preference to the earlier manorial centre at Old Ross where the surviving motte may represent Strongbow's early castle (fig. 18).¹⁰¹ The extent of the manor of Ross was outlined in a charter of Richard Marshal c.1232, showing that it corresponded substantially to the large parish of Ross.¹⁰² The demesne manor of Taghmon, also associated with a monastic centre, is described in the same charter, but there is no indication that it was retained by Strongbow. The seignorial manors were all based on existing settlement centres and were, with the exception of the lands of Wexford town, located on soils with a wide use range.¹⁰³ Although the productivity of soils have been improved by the use of machinery and fertilizers, it remains valid to compare modern and medieval land use as relative soil quality remains the same.¹⁰⁴

Security seems to have been a vital consideration in the allocation of Strongbow's early grants (fig. 17). He gave the Duffry (*Dubh Thire*)¹⁰⁵ by the service of five knights, to his son-in-law, a Flemish knight named Robert de Quincy, also making him constable of Leinster.¹⁰⁶ The Duffry, a heavily wooded district between the Slaney and the Blackstairs mountains, was an obvious place of refuge for disaffected Irish and required effective military control. This may explain why Muirchertach Ó Brain, the chieftain of the Duffry, and his son had been captured and executed at Ferns.¹⁰⁷ The Duffry had an added significance as it provided access to the Scullogue Gap, a strategic routeway through the Blackstairs.¹⁰⁸ The other routeways through the mountains were also controlled by early land-grants. Sometime before 1176, William de Angulo received a large grant, by the service of eight knights, which included *Mag dá Chonn* (modern Moyacomb) and extended to the waters of Mescordin (? Enniscorthy i.e. the Slaney)¹⁰⁹ which would have effectively guarded the Slaney Gap between the Blackstairs and the Wicklow mountains as well as the valley of the

¹⁰¹ Moore, *Archaeological inventory*, p. 93, no. 955.

¹⁰² G.H. Orpen, 'Forests of Ross and Taghmon,' pp. 54 - 63.

¹⁰³ Gardiner and Ryan, *Soils of Co. Wexford*, Soil suitability map.

¹⁰⁴ Pers. comm. with Dr.E. Culleton, earth scientist.

¹⁰⁵ *Top. poems*, p. 91, n.465.

¹⁰⁶ Davies, *Domination and conquest*, p. 11. *Song*, ll. 2734 - 50.

¹⁰⁷ *Song*, ll. 2161 - 2180.

¹⁰⁸ Orpen, *Normans*, i, p. 231.

¹⁰⁹ E. Curtis, *Calendar of Ormond deeds, 1172 - 1350* (Dublin, 1932), i, no. 2.

Derry river. However, it is possible that this grant was never implemented.¹¹⁰ The grant of St. Mullins with its half-cantred, controlling the gap between the Blackstairs and the Barrow as well as the river itself, to Peter Giffard by Strongbow about 1170, was also ineffectual.¹¹¹ When de Quincy was killed in 1172, Raymond le Gros his successor as constable, was given Forth (in Carlow) and Idrone, as well as Glascarrig on the east coast of Uí Cheinnselaig.¹¹² The early Christian monastic site of St. Mullins was included with Idrone; in 1175, a grant made by Raymond included one burgage in St. Mullins as well as one carucate and one burgage at Glascarrig.¹¹³ Glascarrig was of strategic significance as it was the port of Ferns. The surviving mottes, both with baileys, at St. Mullins and Glascarrig¹¹⁴ indicate their military importance and were probably constructed by Raymond as constable of Leinster (fig. 19).

The confirmation by Strongbow of Diarmait's grant to Hervey de Montmorency¹¹⁵ also had a strategic dimension. The two cantreds on the south coast commanded the land approaches to Bannow Bay and Waterford Harbour, initial Anglo-Norman landing places and vital routeways to England. Strongbow ensured the security of Wexford harbour by granting Fernegenal (the Gaelic *Fearann na gCenel*) on its northern shore, to Maurice de Prendergast by the service of ten knights as an inducement to him to return from Wales.¹¹⁶ Prendergast was a Fleming from Pembrokeshire where a suburb in Haverford West is still called Prendergast. This was an extensive fee, held by the service of ten knights, and included the district of *Síl Mealla*¹¹⁷ to the north of Fernegenal, as well as land in Kynelaon (identified as the Gaelic district of *Cenél Flaitheamhain* represented by the cantred /deanery of Oday in the north of the county¹¹⁸). Brooks placed *Síl Mealla* in the north of the county but Nichols identifies it

¹¹⁰ M.T. Flanagan, 'Mac Dalbaig, a Leinster chieftain,' *R.S.A.I. Jn.*, cxi (1981), p. 11.

¹¹¹ E. St. John Brooks, *Knights' fees*, pp. 26 & 61n.

¹¹² *Song*, ll. 3034 - 5 & 3060 - 69.

¹¹³ E. St. John Brooks, 'An unpublished charter of Raymond le Gros,' pp. 167-9.

¹¹⁴ K.D. O'Connor, *The archaeology of medieval rural settlement in Ireland*, (Dublin, 1998), p. 2; Moore, *Archaeological inventory*, p. 91, no. 945.

¹¹⁵ *Song*, ll. 3070 - 1.

¹¹⁶ *Song*, l. 3072.

¹¹⁷ *Top. poems*, p. 91.

¹¹⁸ *Knights fees*, p. 130

with the deanery of Sirmale,¹¹⁹ which is recorded in the Visitation of 1610,¹²⁰ extending from the Slaney south of Enniscorthy to the sea. The extensive nature of Prendergast's fief may be explained by the poor quality of the soil in most of Fernegenel and Síl Mealla.¹²¹ To the north of Prendergast's fief, Gilbert de Boisrohard, who witnessed a number of Strongbow's charters, was granted 'Offelimy on the sea',¹²² corresponding to the O'Murchadha district of *Uí Feilmeada* on the east coast, still known as the Murroes.¹²³ The surviving motte at Kilmuckridge marks the site of de Boisrohard's earthwork castle.¹²⁴ At a somewhat later date, the coastal routeway to Dublin was protected by the granting, directly from the king, of a manor to Maurice fitzGerald (son of Maurice) by the service of five knights' fees in the district of *Uí Enechglais* south of Arklow. This manor is represented by the parishes of Inch and Kilgorman in the north of county Wexford but in the diocese of Dublin. Known as Maurice Castle, its *caput* may be marked by the motte at Castletown.¹²⁵

These grants were the only ones that were made by Strongbow for which there is documentary evidence. Other knights presumably received land-grants from him also: from charter evidence, the Brownes, Cods and Russells came with Strongbow, but details of their fiefs only emerge at a later date. Before his death in 1176, Strongbow had allocated much of the land of *Uí Cheinnselaig* to his men. This is confirmed by the districts that were appurtenant to Wexford in the king's grant of custody to William fitzAldelin in 1177. The lands mentioned included Arklow, Glascarrig, the land of Gilbert de Boisrohard, Fernegenel, Ferns, the land of Hervey and the service

¹¹⁹ K.W. Nicholls, 'Some place-names from *Pontifica Hibernica*,' *Dinnseanchas* iv (1969), p. 90.

¹²⁰ T.C.D. Mss. 566.

¹²¹ Perhaps significantly, the origin of the name Prendergast (*Prendre*, to take; *gast*, waste or desolate land) could indicate a family tradition for taking this type of land (Pers. comm. Dr. Jean-Michel Picard, U.C.D.).

¹²² *Song*, ll. 3114.

¹²³ *Topographical poems*, p. 91.

¹²⁴ M. Moore, *Archaeological inventory*, p. 92, no. 949.

¹²⁵ Brooks, *Knights' fees*, p. 159 - 60; Nicholls, 'Leinstermen,' p. 539n; Price, *Placenames*, vii, p. 486; *O.S. Wexford* 3 (1841). Due to a boundary change the motte is assigned to Monagarrow in later editions. Moore (*Archaeological inventory*, p. 4, no. 12) classifies it as a tumulus, but the historical context combined with the place-name justifies the motte designation.



Fig. 18. Old Ross motte.

The motte at Old Ross may have been built by Strongbow who retained the district as a demesne manor. No visible trace remains of the thirteenth-century stone castle built near the motte.

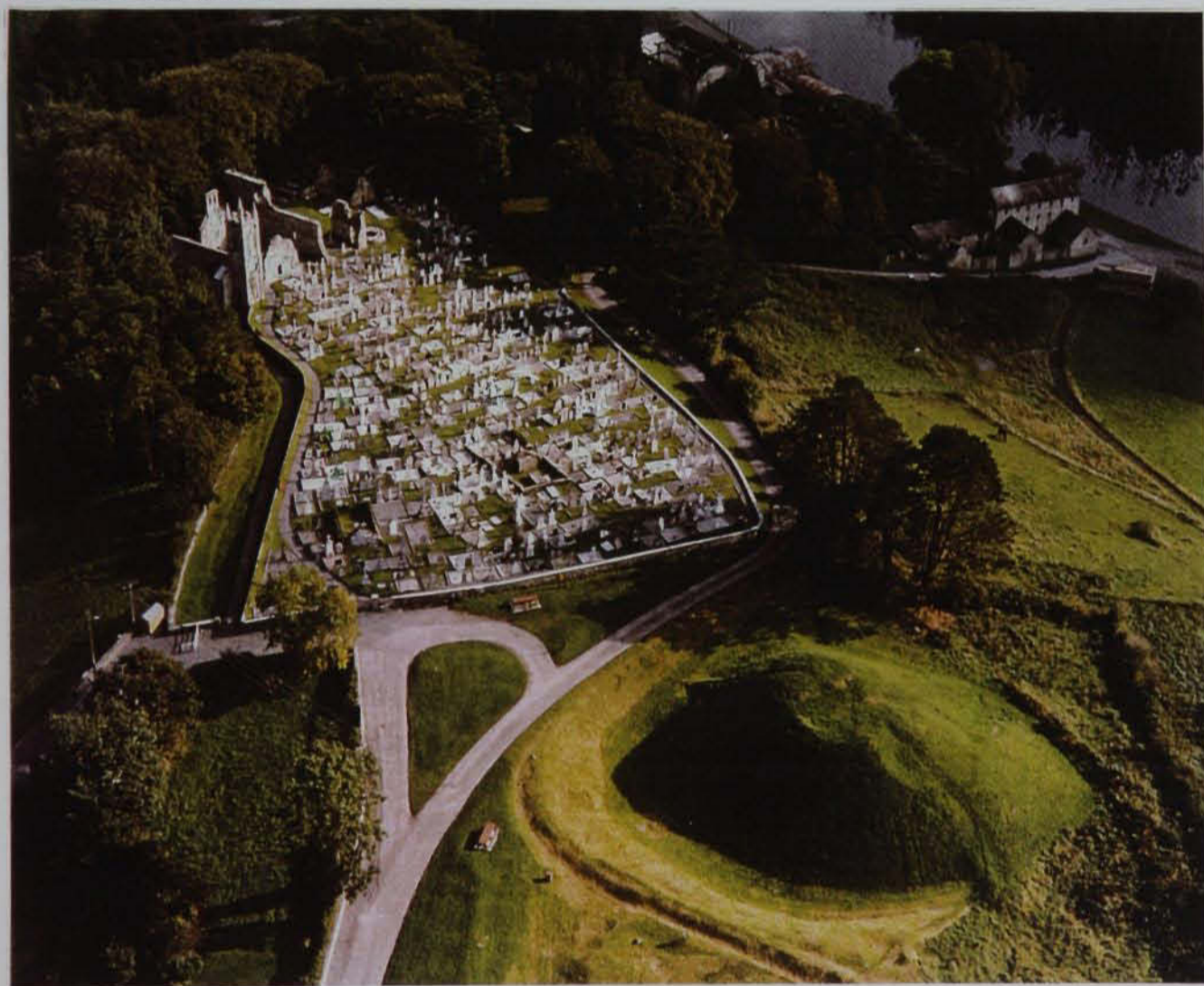


Fig. 19. St. Mullins motte and monastic site.

The monastic centre of St. Mullins, on the borders of Wexford and Carlow, controlled the river Barrow and the routeway between the river and the Blackstairs mountains. Strongbow's grant to Raymond le Gros, and the construction of a motte beside the monastery, emphasised the strategic significance of the area. (Photo: Dúchas)

of Raymond of Idrone.¹²⁶ However, the *Song* also records that, in an effort to appease the Irish, Strongbow granted the kingdom of *Uí Cheinnselaig* to Diarmait's nephew, Muirchertach Mac Murchada, and the 'pleas of Leinster' to his son Dónal Caomhánach.¹²⁷ The significance of these grants is not clear: the *Song* states that 'these two were kings of the Irish of the country' and that Strongbow's intention was to 'appease the Irish.'¹²⁸ The grants were probably politically motivated, made with the intention of keeping the Irish at peace. However some territorial arrangement must have been agreed, presumably in the northern part of the region where manorial organisation was subsequently never fully implemented.¹²⁹ The strategy was successful as the colony in the liberty of Wexford was allowed to develop without interference for almost a century. The newcomers did not allow the rights of the Irish to interfere with the development of their newly acquired fiefs. United by ties of race and kinship, they regarded themselves as frontier warriors and superior to those who came after them. In turn they were regarded with ill-disguised suspicion by officialdom. This is illustrated by the words attributed to Maurice fitzGerald in the *Expugnatio*, 'Just as we are English to the Irish, so we are Irish to the English.'¹³⁰

¹²⁶ *Hoveden*, ii, p. 134.

¹²⁷ *Song*, ll. 2185-2190.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.* ll. 2189 - 90, 2199 - 2200.

¹²⁹ K. Nicholls, *Gaelic and Gaelicised Ireland in the middle ages* (Dublin, 1972), p. 170.

¹³⁰ *Expugnatio*, p. 80.

Chapter 3

William Marshal

Following the death of Strongbow in 1176, the king appointed John, his youngest son, as Lord of Ireland and gave William fitzAldelin the custody of Wexford.¹ In 1185, John landed at Waterford with a large army to take charge of his lordship but his capricious activities only succeeded in alienating both the Irish and also the original colonists.² The future development of Leinster was greatly influenced by the succession of the powerful William Marshal to the lordship, by his marriage in 1189, to Strongbow's daughter, Isabel.³ Prince John reluctantly agreed to give Marshal possession of his lands in Ireland at the insistence of the king. The king consented to John's grant of the manor of Arklow to Theobald Walter, who had accompanied him to Ireland, provided that it was held of Marshal.⁴ This manor, where the names Doyle and O'Doyle predominated, may have represented the lands of the Norse settlement of Arklow.⁵ However, Marshal experienced considerable difficulty before eventually obtaining possession of Leinster. He was made earl of Pembroke in 1199 and made his first visit to Ireland in the following year.⁶ During his stay he initiated some developments, including the establishment of the Cistercian abbey of Tintern de Voto⁷ and the setting aside of burgage lands for the towns of New Ross and Clonmines.⁸ Leaving Geoffrey fitzRobert in charge of Leinster, he was involved on the king's business in England and Normandy for the next six years until John eventually permitted him to go to Ireland in 1207. He received a mixed reception from the barons of Leinster who had been granted their lands from Strongbow and resented the new arrivals. Encouraged by

¹ Orpen, *Normans*, ii, p. 35.

² *Expugnatio*, p. 237.

³ D. Crouch, *William Marshal: court, career and chivalry in the Angevin empire 1147 - 1219* (London, 1990), p. 61.

⁴ Orpen, *Normans*, ii, p. 203. *Ormond deeds*, i, no. 17.

⁵ L. Price, 'The Byrnes in Co. Wicklow in the sixteenth century : and the manor of Arklow', *R.S.A.I. Jn.*, lxvi (1936), p. 53.

⁶ Crouch, *Marshal*, p. 79.

⁷ J.H. Bernard, 'The foundation of Tintern Abbey, Co. Wexford,' *R.I.A. Proc.*, xxxiii, C, (1917), pp. 527 - 9.

⁸ His charter to Tintern included 'one burgage in Ross', Hore, *Wexford*, ii, p. 19; the burgage lands of Clonmines, surrounded by the abbey lands, must have been retained in 1200 at the time of the grant to the Cistercians.

the king, the justiciar, Meiler fitzHenry, opposed Marshal. Both men were recalled to England and fitzHenry's men began a campaign against Marshal by attacking his recently established town of New Ross. They were successfully opposed by the Earl's knights, led by John d'Earley and Stephen d'Evereux, and the fitzHenry faction was defeated.⁹ In 1208 the king instructed fitzHenry to allow Marshal to take possession of Leinster and to restore to him Offaly with its castles. Having received a new grant to Leinster by the service of one hundred knights,¹⁰ Marshal returned to Ireland and established his headquarters at Kilkenny. During the next five years, he was almost continually in Ireland planning the organisation of his Leinster lordship.¹¹

Marshal's Land Grants

To facilitate administration, the liberty of Leinster was divided into the four shires or counties of Wexford, Kilkenny, Carlow and Kildare.¹² This arrangement was in place by at least the early thirteenth century as the county court of Wexford was in existence in 1204.¹³ Strongbow had made considerable progress in the distribution of land-grants in Wexford and the process was completed under Marshal's direction. In the absence of documentary evidence for sub-infeudation in the early thirteenth century, it is necessary to examine later feodaries, particularly in relation to the partition of Leinster in 1247, to ascertain the scale and distribution of land-grants organised by the Marshal administration (fig. 20).¹⁴ Five knights from Marshal's household received grants of land in Wexford.¹⁵ The Prendergasts from Pembrokeshire, who acquired Fernegenel, have already been mentioned. The Rochfords, from Gloucester, later succeeded to the Duffry.¹⁶ Members of the Bluet

⁹ Crouch, *Marshal*, p. 92 - 107.

¹⁰ *Cal. doc. Ire.*, i, 377, 378, 381

¹¹ Crouch, *Marshal*, p. 105.

¹² Otway - Ruthven, *Medieval Ireland*, p. 186.

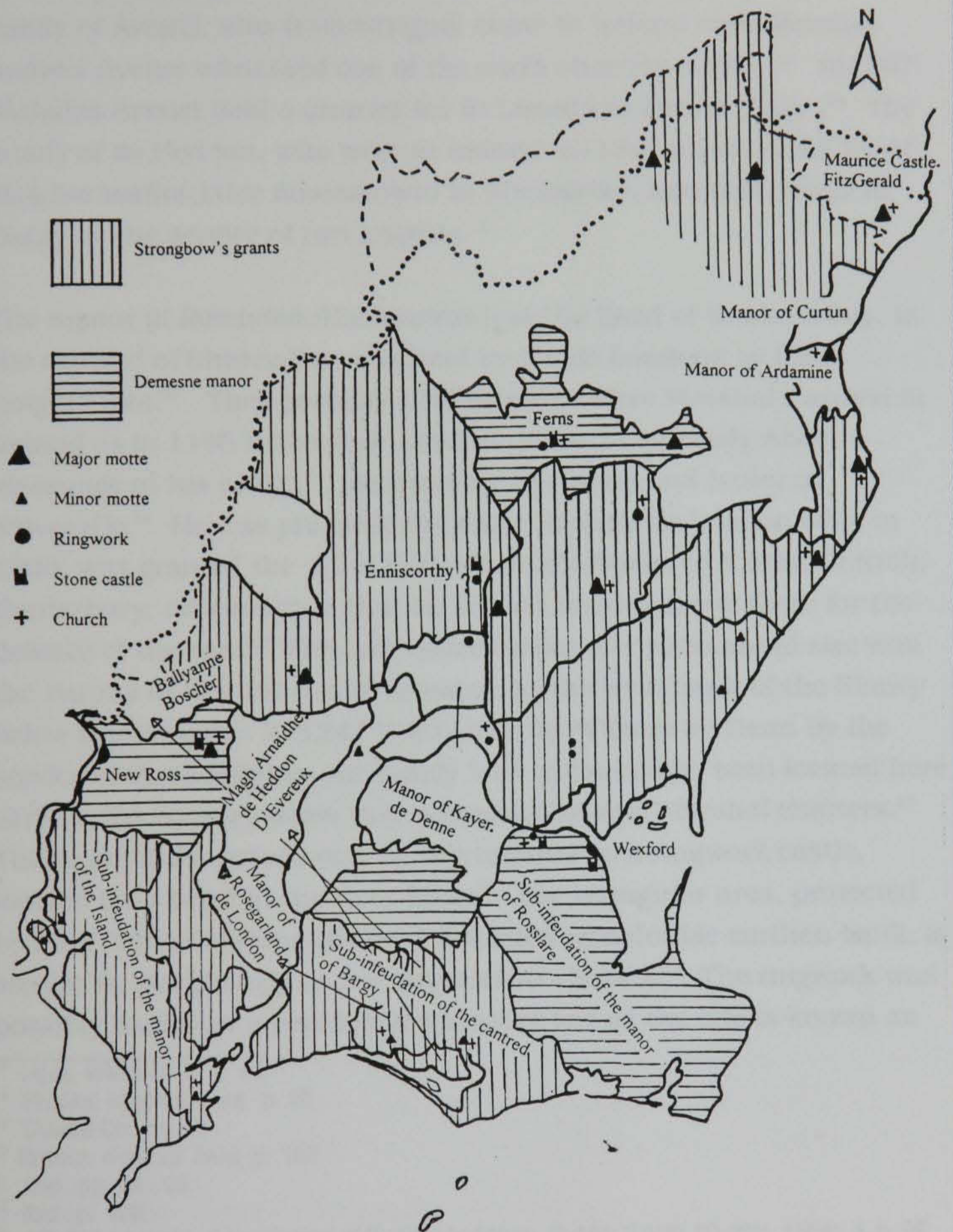
¹³ Otway - Ruthven, 'The medieval county of Kildare,' *I.H.S.* xi (1959), p. 185; C.M. Butler & J.H. Bernard (eds.), 'The charters of the Cistercian abbey of Duiske in the county of Kilkenny,' *R.I.A. Proc.*, xxxv, C, p. 16.

¹⁴ Brooks, *Knights' fees*, pp. viii - ix.

¹⁵ Crouch, *Marshal*, p. 138.

¹⁶ Brooks, *Knights' fees*, p. 140.

Fig. 20. The development of the manorial structure by William Marshal.



Sources: see Appendix 1.

family from the manor of Striguil came to Ireland with Strongbow. They witnessed a number of charters, including one of Strongbow's to Dunbrody Abbey.¹⁷ In 1247 William Bluet held a quarter fee in Kilcorkey in the parish of Monamolin in the deanery of Oday.¹⁸ The family of Avenel, also from Striguil, came to Ireland with Marshal. Andrew Avenel witnessed one of the earl's charters c.1207.¹⁹ In 1247 Nicholas Avenel held a quarter fee in Liskinfere also in Oday.²⁰ The family of de Heddon, who were in Ireland in 1180, acquired the fee of *Maigharnaídhe* (later Adamstown) in Shelmalier, and Ballymagir in Bargy by the service of two knights.²¹

The manor of *Roscarlon* (Rosegarland) at the head of Bannow Bay, in the cantred of Shelmalier, was held by the de Londons by three knights fees.²² They possibly held this fee before Marshal's arrival in Ireland as in 1195 Richard de London granted Dunbrody Abbey a messuage at his castle,²³ presumably the motte and bailey at Newcastle.²⁴ He was probably the same Richard de London who, in 1200, was granted the vill of Fethard in Shelburne by Christ Church, Canterbury, on condition that he should build a castle there for the defence of the area.²⁵ The only other manor of a substantial size was the barony of Keir (or Kayer) situated on the west bank of the Slaney below Enniscorthy. In 1247 it was held by William de Denn by the service of three knights: the family had, presumably, been located here early in the century when they witnessed several Marshal charters.²⁶ The *caput* of the manor may be represented by a ringwork castle, located on a bend in the river Boro.²⁷ The triangular area, protected by 20m high riverside cliffs, and defended by a double earthen bank, is similar in morphology to the ringwork at Carrick.²⁸ The ringwork was possibly based on an earlier promontory fort as the site is known as

¹⁷ Hore, *Wexford*, iii, p. 43.

¹⁸ Brooks, *Knights' fees*, p. 26.

¹⁹ 'Duiske Ch.' no. 3.

²⁰ Brooks, *Knights' fees*, p. 163.

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 96 - 99.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 103.

²³ J.T. Gilbert, (ed.), *Chartularies of St. Mary's Abbey, Dublin*, 2 vols. (Dublin, 1884), ii, p. 99

²⁴ Moore, *Archaeological inventory*, p. 92, no. 952.

²⁵ *Letters of Christ Church, Canterbury*, iii, p. 12.

²⁶ Brooks, *Knights' fees*, pp. 43 - 6.

²⁷ Barry, *Archaeology of medieval Ireland*, pp. 52 - 3; Moore, *Archaeological inventory*, p. 93, no. 959.

²⁸ See p. 34.

Dunanore (*Dún* : fort ; *Or* : brim/brink; i.e. the fort on the brink). This may also explain the name of the barony: Kayer is synonymous with the Irish word *cathair*, a stone fort.²⁹

Changes in Ownership.

The development of settlement in the study area was influenced to a considerable extent by changes in ownership of several early grants. The town of Wexford with the cantred of Forth, initially given to fitzStephen and fitzGerald, reverted to Strongbow and was subsequently held as a seignorial manor.³⁰ The landholding structure of the seignorial manor of Rosslare was quite different to the rest of the county. It was densely colonised and divided into small holdings, some held by knight service and others by socage tenure.³¹ The principal families holding by knight's fee were the Staffords of Ballymacane, the Sinnotts of Ballybrennan, the Codds of Carne, the Lamports of Ballyhire, and the Frenches of Ballytory.³² Important families holding as free tenants included the St. Johns of Ballymore, the Butlers of Butlerstown, the Waddings of Ballycogley, the Rossiters of Rathmacknee and the Esmonds of Johnstown. Well known free tenants in other parts of the county included the Furlongs of the Pole, the Redmonds of the Hall on the Hook peninsula and the Siggins of Sigginstown. In some cases, land could be held by knight service and by socage tenure in different locations by the same family.³³

Hervey de Montmorency's fief, represented by the modern baronies of Bargy and Shelburne, reverted to the lord of Leinster following Hervey's death in 1205. Much of it had been alienated to the Cistercians at Dunbrody and Tintern and to the Knights Templars at Kilcloggan. The earthwork, described as a possible ringwork,³⁴ on Greatisland probably represents the *caput* of the manor. This island in

²⁹ Dineen, *Foclóir Gaeilge agus Béarla*, pp. 170, 822.

³⁰ See p. 44.

³¹ Land held by the payment of money rent or other non-military services.

³² Brooks, *Knights' fees*, pp. 119-27.

³³ For example John de Sutton (presumably the same person) held two carucates at Tellarought as a free tenant and held Ballybrazil by half a knight's fee, *Cal. i.p.m.*, iv, pp.306-8.

³⁴ Moore, *Archaeological inventory*, p. 93, no. 960.

the river Barrow (no longer an island due to reclamation) was subsequently known as Hervey's Island and the manor of the Island was administered with the seignorial manor of Ross.³⁵ The return of Montmorency's fief to Marshal c.1205 led to a number of divided manors: instead of installing new tenants in the cantred of Bargy, Marshal granted much of the land to holders of existing fiefs and in so doing created 'split' manors. To the de London fief of Rosegarland was added the manor of Duncormick which later passed to the Meylers;³⁶ the Boshier manor of Ballyanne in Bantry was augmented by the addition of Ballyconnick;³⁷ and the manor of Ballymagir was added to the de Heddon manor of *Maigharnaidhe* (later Adamstown).³⁸ The family of d'Evereux, Marshal's kinsmen from his manor of Striguil,³⁹ acquired the manors of Ballymagir and *Maigharnaidhe* by marriage c. 1250.⁴⁰ The Keatings, witnesses to the charters of Dunbrody and Tintern, were granted the manor of Kilcowan in Bargy. Other branches of the family held the manors of Slievecoilta and Kilcowanmore.⁴¹ The Ambrose manor of Ambrosetown, the FitzHenry manor of Kilcavan and the manor of the Brownes at Mulrankin occupied most of the remaining land in Bargy.⁴² The Brownes, originally from Normandy, were Marshal's men from south Wales and witnessed charters to both Dunbrody and Tintern.⁴³ Two families with Devonshire connections, the Cheevers of Ballyhealy and the Hores of Tomhaggard with the Whittys of Ballyteige, completed the manorial structure of Bargy where almost all of the land was held by knight's service.⁴⁴

The manorial structure in Shelburne, where most of the land had been alienated to the church, was very different: only a small number of holdings were held by knight service in the manor of the Island. The principal ones were the Keating manor of Slievecoilta; the de Tullos manor of Tullostown; the Russel (later Sutton) manor of

³⁵ Orpen, *Normans*, i, p. 393; *Cal. i.p.m.*, iv, p. 307.

³⁶ Brooks, *Knights' fees*, p. 103.

³⁷ *Ibid.* p. 109.

³⁸ See note 130.

³⁹ Crouch, *Marshal*, pp. 80, 138.

⁴⁰ Brooks, *Knights' fees*, p. 96.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 10, 37, 115.

⁴² *Ibid.*, pp. 108, 21.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 34.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 33-5, 113.

Ballykeerogemore and the de Ponte Chardun manor of Killesk, which later became a well known FitzGerald fee.⁴⁵ The Marshal deforestation charter to the manor of Ross of c.1233 throws some light on the settlement of the district as it mentions lands held by Boscher, Howel, de London, Sutton and Keating.⁴⁶

The lands granted to Raymond le Gros by Strongbow passed to his nephews before the end of the twelfth century: the Carews held St. Mullins by 1195⁴⁷ and the Cauntetons, who had been tenants of the fitzGerald in Wales, succeeded to Glascarrig.⁴⁸ The large Prendergast fief was sub-divided, as the southern part, the district of Fernegenal, passed into the possession of Robert fitzGodibert by the service of five knights.⁴⁹ It is not clear how this transfer occurred: the author of the *Song* observed that he 'knew not how.'⁵⁰ It possibly occurred when fitzAldelin had custody of Wexford following the death of Strongbow.⁵¹ The fitzGodiberts, who came to be known as de Rupe, or Roche, were Flemings who took their name from Roch castle in Pembrokeshire. The date of the transfer to the Roches must have been before 1182: in that year David, Henry and Adam de Rupe granted the island of Begerin, which is in Fernegenal, to St. Nicholas's Priory, Exeter.⁵² Adam de Rupe later granted, to the same Priory, four carucates in Fernegenal where a church dedicated to St. Nicholas, and a parish of the same name, were established.⁵³ The Roche fee was sub-divided in the early thirteenth century when Gerald de Rupe sub-infeudated the part of Fernegenal east of the river Sow to another Flemish family, his kinsmen the Sinnotts.⁵⁴ The sub-division may explain the location of two defensive earthworks in close proximity in a double loop of the river Sow. They are located on natural promontories overlooking the river at Toberfinnick on the Roche side and Castlesow on the Sinnott side.⁵⁵

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 10-14, 158.

⁴⁶ *Chartul. St. Mary's*, ii, p. 154.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, i, p. 112.

⁴⁸ Brooks, *Knights' fees*, p. 31.

⁴⁹ *Song*, l. 3082; Brooks, *Knights' fees*, p. 146

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, l. 3882.

⁵¹ Brooks, *Knights' fees*, pp. 146 - 8.

⁵² 'Exeter charters,' no. 1, E. St. John Brooks (ed.), in *R.I.A. Proc.*, xxxiii, C, (1936).

⁵³ *Ibid.*, no. 42.

⁵⁴ *Calendar of patent rolls, Ireland, James 1*, p. 327.

⁵⁵ Moore, *Archaeological inventory*, pp. 91 & 94, nos. 942, 963.

After the loss of Fernegenel, the Prendergasts continued to hold Schyrmal and Kynalaon by the service of five knights. The impressive motte at Motabeg⁵⁶ on the east bank of the Slaney just below Enniscorthy, must represent the *caput* of Síl Mealla with secondary land-grants indicated by the motte at Ballymoty More in the parish of Ballyhuskard, the ringwork castle of Ballyorley in the parish of Kilcormick and the motte of Ballymore in the parish of Kilbride.⁵⁷ The districts represented by the parishes of Clone and Kilbride must have been part of the Prendergast grant as they were given to the bishop of Ferns by Gerald de Prendergast in 1223.⁵⁸ The lands of Kynelaon held by the Prendergasts in the north of the county can be identified from a number of land-grants that were made there. Sometime before 1229, Philip de Prendergast granted lands to Walter de Barry in Crosspatrick and Kynelaon by the service of one knight.⁵⁹ In 1250 Walter and Raymond Barry were lords of Ardamine⁶⁰ which presumably is the land in Kynelaon of the earlier charter. The mottes at Middletown in Ardamine and Loggan (possible) in Crosspatrick may represent the manorial centres on these manors.⁶¹ A further indication of the extent of Kynelaon is provided by a reference from 1282 to Christiana de Marisco's manor of Curtun in Kynelaon⁶² which has been identified as Courtown on the east coast in the parish of Kiltennell.⁶³ Prendergast must have held an extensive fief in Kynelaon for the service of two and a half knights so it is likely that he held all of the land between Kiltennell and Ardamine on the coast and Crosspatrick in the cantred of Shillelagh (an area representing more than half the cantred of Oday and part of Shillelagh). The motte at Pallis, strategically placed to control the Wicklow Gap, if not constructed by the Prendergasts themselves, marks an unrecorded grant of land.⁶⁴

About 1190 the Prendergasts doubled their holding when Maurice's

⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 93, no. 954.

⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 91, nos. 939,940; p. 93, no. 958.

⁵⁸ Hore, *Wexford*, vi, p. 185.

⁵⁹ 'Exeter Charters,' no. 24; *Ormond deeds*, i, no. 111.

⁶⁰ E. St. John Brooks (ed.), *Register of the hospital of St. John the Baptist, Dublin* (Dublin, 1936), no. 360 - 1.

⁶¹ Moore, *Archaeological inventory*, p. 92, no. 951 & 950.

⁶² *Cal. doc. Ire.* ii, nos. 1282 & 1284.

⁶³ Orpen, *Normans*, iii, p. 90.

⁶⁴ Moore, *Archaeological inventory*, p. 93, no. 953.

son, Philip, succeeded to the five knights' fees of the Duffry, and the constableness of Leinster, by his marriage to Maud de Quincy.⁶⁵ The Duffry (*Dubh Thire* : black country or district), a descriptive name referring to the heavily wooded land between the Slaney and the Blackstairs, is represented by the sprawling parish of Templeshanbo, but the Prendergast holding was even more extensive than this. Killegney, to the south, featured in the Prendergast agreement with the bishop already referred to,⁶⁶ and it was subsequently held by the Prendergast heirs.⁶⁷ The existence of a motte at Killegney⁶⁸ indicates that it was held of the Prendergasts as a sub-manor. The southern limit of the Prendergast fief seems to have been defined by the river Boro, its tributary the Aughnaglaur, and the Pollmounty river, a tributary of the Barrow. Not all of the Duffry belonged to the Prendergasts as the lands of Killann were held by Duiske Abbey. Diarmait Mac Murchada had given these lands to the abbey of Killenny in 1162 and they subsequently passed to Duiske.⁶⁹ Philip de Prendergast also granted lands to Duiske at Rathboghhal in Bantry,⁷⁰ presumably also in the vicinity of Killann. In this instance the Prendergast lands are described as being in Bantry, which would seem to indicate that the *tuath* of Bantry and the district known as the Duffry must have coincided to some extent. The *caput* of the Duffry was situated at Enniscorthy at the head of the tidal waters of the Slaney. A defensive earthwork, possibly a ringwork castle, was probably located on the promontory beside the river now occupied by the restored thirteenth-century stone castle.

The siting and distribution of defensive earthworks

The construction of defensive earthworks created the initial visual expression of Anglo-Norman activity in the Irish landscape (fig. 21). Castle building was an integral part of Norman policy for the military domination of newly-acquired lands. Gerald of Wales recommended that 'the country should be secured and protected by the construction

⁶⁵ *Song*, ll. 3038 - 43, 3052 - 3; p. xxi.

⁶⁶ See p. 58.

⁶⁷ Brooks, *Kn. fees*, p. 137.

⁶⁸ Moore, *Archaeological inventory*, p. 91, no. 948.

⁶⁹ Duiske charters, p. 7.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, no. 18.

of many castles.⁷¹ The siting of castles was not regarded as a matter of random choice by individual manorial lords but was intended to be systematically planned for maximum efficiency. This strategy was articulated by Giraldus in his advice to the colonists as to how Ireland should be controlled: 'it is far better to begin by gradually connecting up a system of castles built in suitable places and by proceeding cautiously with their construction, than to build large numbers of castles at great distances from each other sited haphazardly in various locations without forming any coherent system of mutual support or being able to relieve each other in times of crisis.'⁷² Perhaps in an effort to implement this overall strategy, castle building was not always left to individual land owners but was supervised by men who may have had special expertise in selecting strategic sites and constructing coordinated military defences. In 1180, for example, John the Constable and Richard de Pec were sent by the king to Ireland where they built 'a very large number of castles throughout Leinster.'⁷³

This systematic approach to castle building was the general rule: in 1191, an Irish annalist noted that 'on this expedition the English erected the castles of Kilfeakle and Knockgraffon.'⁷⁴ Orpen was the first to relate the distribution of the motte castle to areas of Anglo-Norman control and to identify it as the typical fortification erected by the Anglo-Normans in Ireland⁷⁵ More recently this work has been further expanded.⁷⁶ These castles usually consisted of earthen mounds, sometimes based on natural features or pre-existing earthworks, with a wooden tower, or *bretesche*, protected by a timber palisade, on its summit. The mound was protected by a trench or fosse. Some mottes had attached enclosures, known as baileys, also protected by a fosse and timber palisade.⁷⁷ The Bayeux Tapestry contains illustrations of several mottes, including one in the process

⁷¹ *Expugnatio*, p. 249.

⁷² *Ibid.*

⁷³ *Ibid.* p. 195.

⁷⁴ *A.F.M.*, iii, p. 95.

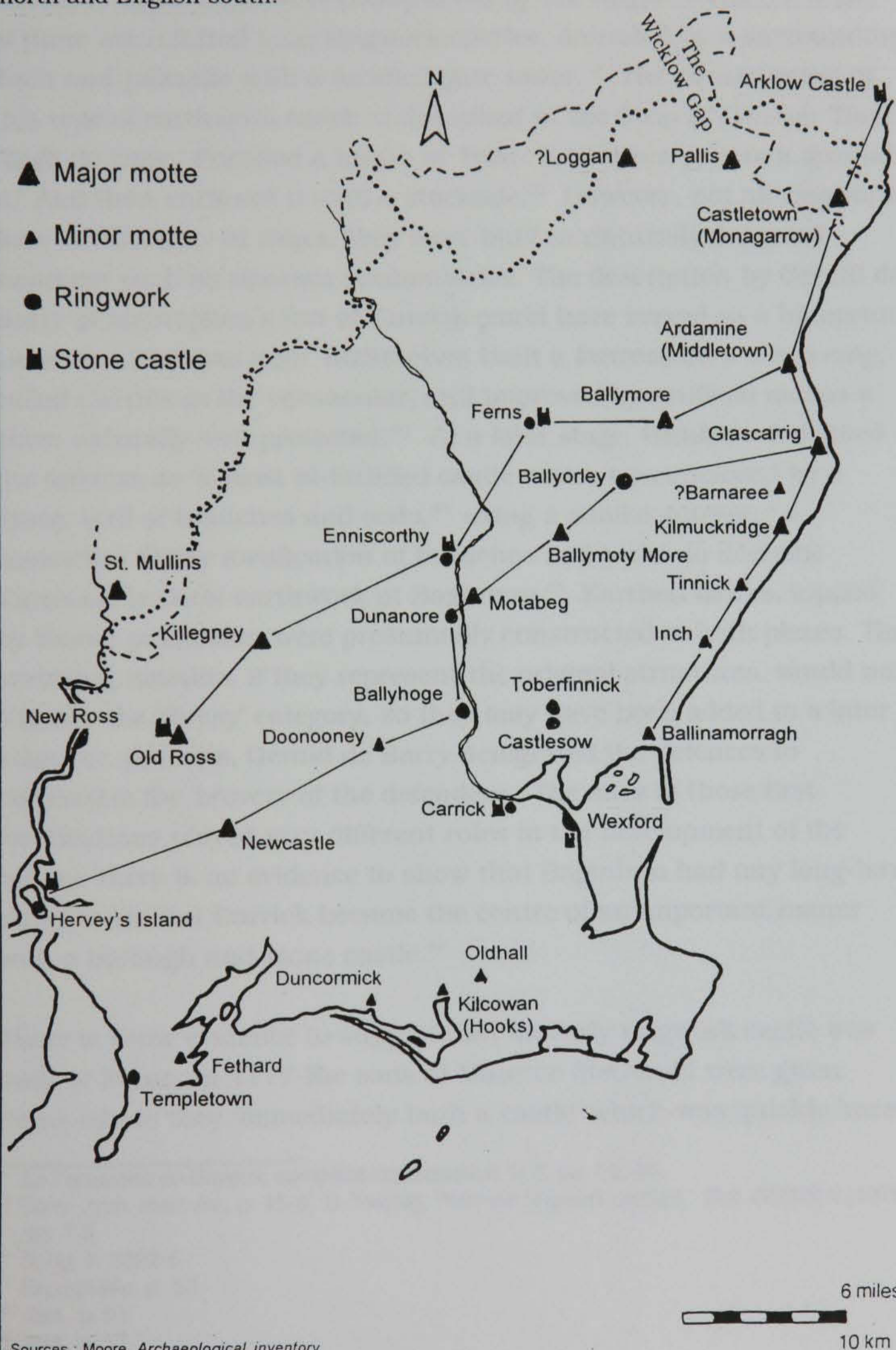
⁷⁵ G. Orpen, 'Mottes and Norman castles in Ireland', *R.S.A.I. Jn.* xxxvii (1907), pp. 123-52; *Normans*, ii, distribution map.

⁷⁶ R. Glasscock, 'Mottes in Ireland,' *Chateau Gaillard* vii, (Caen, 1975), pp. 95-110; *Atlas of the Irish rural landscape*, p. 54.

⁷⁷ Barry, *Arch. med. Ire.*, p. 37.

Fig. 21. Alignment of defensive earthworks.

The diagonal south-west to north-east alignment of the major defensive earthworks and stone castles across the centre of the county is a clear indication that, in the early days of the colony, this was regarded as the frontier area between the Irish north and English south.



Sources : Moore, *Archaeological inventory*.
Field work

of construction.⁷⁸

More recently, there has been a growing awareness that other types of defensive earthworks were constructed by the Anglo-Normans. Many of these are referred to as ringwork castles, defended by a surrounding ditch and palisade with a fortified gate tower.⁷⁹ The construction of this type of earthwork castle is described in the *Song of Dermot*: Then Hugh de Lacy/ Fortified a house at Trim/ And threw a trench around it/ And then enclosed it with a stockade.⁸⁰ However, not all ringworks were of this type: at times, they were built in naturally defended locations such as riparian promontories. The description by Gerald de Barry of fitzStephen's fort at Carrick could have served as a blueprint for such a construction: 'fitzStephen built a fortress on a steep crag, called Carrick in the vernacular, and improved by artificial means a place naturally well protected.'⁸¹ At a later stage, Giraldus described the fortress as 'a most ill-fortified castle which was enclosed by a flimsy wall of branches and sods,'⁸² using a similar phrase, 'a somewhat flimsy fortification of branches and sods', to describe Raymond le Gros' earthwork at Baginbun.⁸³ Earthen banks, topped by timber pallisades, were presumably constructed at both places. The surviving remains, if they represent the original structures, would not fall into the 'flimsy' category, so they may have been added to a later stage, or, perhaps, Gerald de Barry denigrated the defences to emphasise the bravery of the defenders. The sites of these first fortifications played very different roles in the development of the colony: there is no evidence to show that Baginbun had any long-term significance but Carrick became the centre of an important manor with a borough and stone castle.⁸⁴

There is some evidence to suggest that an early ringwork castle was built at Ferns. In 1177 the sons of Maurice fitzGerald were given Ferns where they 'immediately built a castle' which was quickly 'razed

⁷⁸ *La Tapisserie de Bayeux*, complete reproduction 1/7, pp. 19, 46.

⁷⁹ Barry, *Arch. med. Ire.*, p. 45-6; D. Twohig, 'Norman ringwork castles,' *Bull. GSIHS*, v (1978), pp. 7-9.

⁸⁰ *Song*, ll. 3222-5.

⁸¹ *Expugnatio*, p. 53.

⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 81.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 57.

⁸⁴ *Cal. i.p.m.*, vi, p. 327.

to the ground' by their enemies;⁸⁵ the speed of its construction and destruction indicating that it was probably of earth and timber. Excavations at Ferns revealed a rock-cut fosse, to the east of the later stone castle, which has been tentatively associated with the *caistél* of Diarmait Mac Murchada mentioned in 1166.⁸⁶ The remains of a stone-faced earthen rampart discovered underneath the stone castle may represent the remains of a ringwork constructed by the fitzGerald in 1177.⁸⁷

At Enniscorthy, the *caput* of the Duffry, the later stone castle was built on a rock outcrop, overlooking the river Slaney, with natural defences on three sides. The site is similar to Carrick and this rock was probably the site of an initial ringwork fortification. This theory is supported by the reported discovery, in the late nineteenth century, of a rock-cut trench to the west of the rock.⁸⁸ Three other possible ringwork sites, already mentioned, are similarly located on river promontories: Dunanore on the Boro, and Tobberfinick and Castlesow in a double bend on the river Sow. There is some doubt about the classification of the Castlesow site as it has been described as a possible motte⁸⁹ and a 'great ringwork,'⁹⁰ its location on a river promontory perhaps justifying its inclusion with the other ringworks in the area. Two other possible ringworks, sited on promontories at Templetown⁹¹ and Ballyhoge,⁹² can be associated with early fortifications of the Knights Templars and Hospitallers who were located in both areas in the late twelfth century.⁹³

Apart from Carrick, Baginbun and Ferns, only occasional glimpses of other earthwork castle building activity occur in the historical record. In 1195 Richard de London granted a messuage at his castle to Dunbrody Abbey.⁹⁴ The de Londons held the manor of Rosegarland so

⁸⁵ *Expugnatio*, p. 171-3.

⁸⁶ D. Sweetman, 'Archaeological excavations at Ferns castle, county Wexford,' *R.I.A. Proc.*, C (1979), pp. 217-45; *AFM*, ii, p. 1161; Barry, *Arch. med. Ire.*, p. 49

⁸⁷ Moore, *Archaeological inventory*, p. 155, no. 1441

⁸⁸ Hore, *Wexford*, vi, p. 337

⁸⁹ Moore, *Archaeological inventory*, p. 91, no. 942

⁹⁰ K. Nicholls, 'Anglo-French Ireland and after,' *Peritia*, i (1982), p. 391.

⁹¹ O.S. Wexford 49, (1841).

⁹² Moore, *Archaeological inventory*, p. 93, no. 957.

⁹³ The role of the Military Orders will be examined in chapter 7.

⁹⁴ *Chartul. St. Mart's*, ii, p. 99.

Fig. 22. Newcastle motte and bailey.



This defensive earthwork was the *caput* of the manor of Rosegarland. It is possible that the circular bailey may have been based on a pre-existing ringfort as the site is known as Rathgory.

Fig. 23. Gargoyles from Old Ross Castle.



These stone gargoyles, now in the possession of the R.S.A.I., were found c. 1850 in the fosse of Old Ross motte. Dating to the thirteenth-century (pers. comm. Mr. Con Manning, *Dúchas*), it is probable that they originally served as water spouts to drain the roof of the castle which was located near the motte. There is no trace of a fosse around the motte at present, so it is possible that it could have been filled with the stones from the remains of the castle. There is a similar gargoyle on one of the towers of Ferns Castle.

the castle referred to must be represented by the motte-and-bailey at Newcastle. Presumably he was the same Richard de London who, c.1200, was granted the vill of Fethard by Christ Church, Canterbury, on condition that he should build a castle there for the defence of the area.⁹⁵ This may explain the origin of the low motte beside the fourteenth-century castle at Fethard.⁹⁶ Its location was actually mentioned in the charter from Canterbury which stipulated that a place for the court should be reserved on the north side of the church, which is where the motte is situated.⁹⁷ The only other known reference to the building of defensive earthworks occurs in Marshal's deforestation charter of c.1234.⁹⁸ The description of the boundaries of the forest of Ross mentions the *mota* or fortress which William Ace raised above the water of Bruncuinri. No trace of a mound survives but the townland name of Palace, which occurs in the locality, may record its existence as the townland of Pallis (?possibly from pallisade) in the north of the county does contain a motte.⁹⁹

Twenty-nine defensive earthworks associated with early Anglo-Norman activity in *Uí Cheinnselaig* have been identified.¹⁰⁰ Of these, twenty are classed as mottes and nine as ringwork castles. Excavations at Carrick and Ferns have produced archaeological evidence to support their ringwork classification. None of the other sites have been excavated, so identification must, of necessity, remain tentative. The identification of twelve mottes, based on morphology and location within the manorial structure, is fairly certain. Two others, Doonooney and Loggan, although removed from the landscape, were, fortunately, recorded before destruction. Doonooney was described as

⁹⁵ *Letter Book of Christ Church, Canterbury*, iii, p. 12.

⁹⁶ Moore, *Archaeological inventory*, p. 157, no. 1450. Moore lists it as a possible motte as the mound is only about 2m high. In a survey of Fethard castle it is described as the original earthwork castle (B. Murtagh, *Fethard Castle, Co. Wexford: an architectural and archaeological report* (1993), p. 2). The proximity of a medieval church and later castle justifies the classification of the earthwork as a motte.

⁹⁷ Hore, *Wexford*, iv, p. 312.

⁹⁸ *Chartul. St. Mary's*, ii, p. 154; G. Orpen, ' Forests of Ross and Taghmon,' p. 55.

⁹⁹ Moore, *Archaeological inventory*, p. 93, no. 953.

¹⁰⁰ Identification of mottes and ringwork castles is based on the following sources: Orpen, *Normans*, ii, distribution map of mottes; R.E. Glascock & T. McNeill, 'Mottes in Ireland: a draft list,' *G.S.I.H.S. Bulletin* iii (1972) p. 48; G. Stout et al, *Sites and monument record county Wexford* (Dublin, 1987); Moore, *Archaeological inventory*, pp. 90-4; Barry, *Arch. med. Ire.*, pp. 37-71; O.S. sheets county Wexford (1841) and field work. The placing of sites in a manorial context by reference to the historical record is also an essential consideration, especially where identification is uncertain.

'a flat-topped moat' about 4m high.¹⁰¹ The earthwork at Loggan Lower is depicted as a motte-and-bailey on the 1841 O.S. map¹⁰² and was described as such before its destruction.¹⁰³ However Orpen considered that it was not a motte, so its classification must remain doubtful.¹⁰⁴ A number of urn burials were found in association with the mound at Loggan¹⁰⁵ so it is possible that, as mottes were sometimes based on pre-Norman earthworks,¹⁰⁶ an earlier burial mound was adapted for use as a motte. This possibility is made more likely by the fact that Walter de Barry held the manor of Crosspatrick, in which Loggan is situated, by the service of one knight before 1229.¹⁰⁷ The classification of the mound at Castletown (now Monagarrow) is also uncertain.¹⁰⁸ According to local information, the flat-topped mound, which is about 4m above field level, was surrounded by a fosse until the early 1980s when it was filled in during agricultural development.¹⁰⁹ This fact, allied with the association of the site with the fitzGerald fee of Maurice Castle, and the place-name, would seem to be sufficient justification for its inclusion as a motte castle.

The significance of earthwork castles can only be properly assessed by placing them in the context of the manorial framework introduced by the Anglo-Normans. The seignorial lord who held directly of the king retained demesne lands for his own use before allocating manors to principal tenants who, in turn, granted secondary manors to tenants of their own. The strategic and economic factors which influenced the location and morphology of defensive earthworks was obviously dependent on the status of the holding within the feudal hierarchy. Bigger fiefs offered a wider choice in the selection of a strategic site

¹⁰¹ M. O'Flanagan (compiler), *Letters containing information relative to the antiquities of the county of Wexford collected during the progress of the Ordnance Survey in 1840*, 2 vols. (Bray, 1933), i, p. 346.

¹⁰² O.S. Wexford, sheet 2 (1841).

¹⁰³ T. Westropp, 'On Irish mottes and early Norman castles,' *R.S.A.I. Jn.*, xxxiv (1907), p. 321; G.H. Kinahan, 'Sepulchral and other prehistoric relics, counties Wexford and Wicklow,' *P.R.I.A. Proc.*, xvi (1879-82), p. 154, where it is described as a moat with an adjoining triangular level space, known as 'the table of the moat,' formerly surrounded by a fosse.

¹⁰⁴ G. Orpen, 'Mottes and Norman castles in Ireland,' *R.S.A.I. Jn.*, xxxvii (1907), p. 136.

¹⁰⁵ E. Culleton, *Early man in county Wexford 5000BC-300BC* (Dublin, 1984), p. 41.

¹⁰⁶ R. Glasscock, 'Mottes in Ireland,' *Chateau-Gaillard*, vii (1975), p. 96.

¹⁰⁷ *Ormond deeds*, i, no. 3.

¹⁰⁸ Moore, *Archaeological inventory*, p. 4, no. 12, classes it as a tumulus; in Stout (*S.M.R.*, county Wexford, p. 003-2) it is described as a motte.

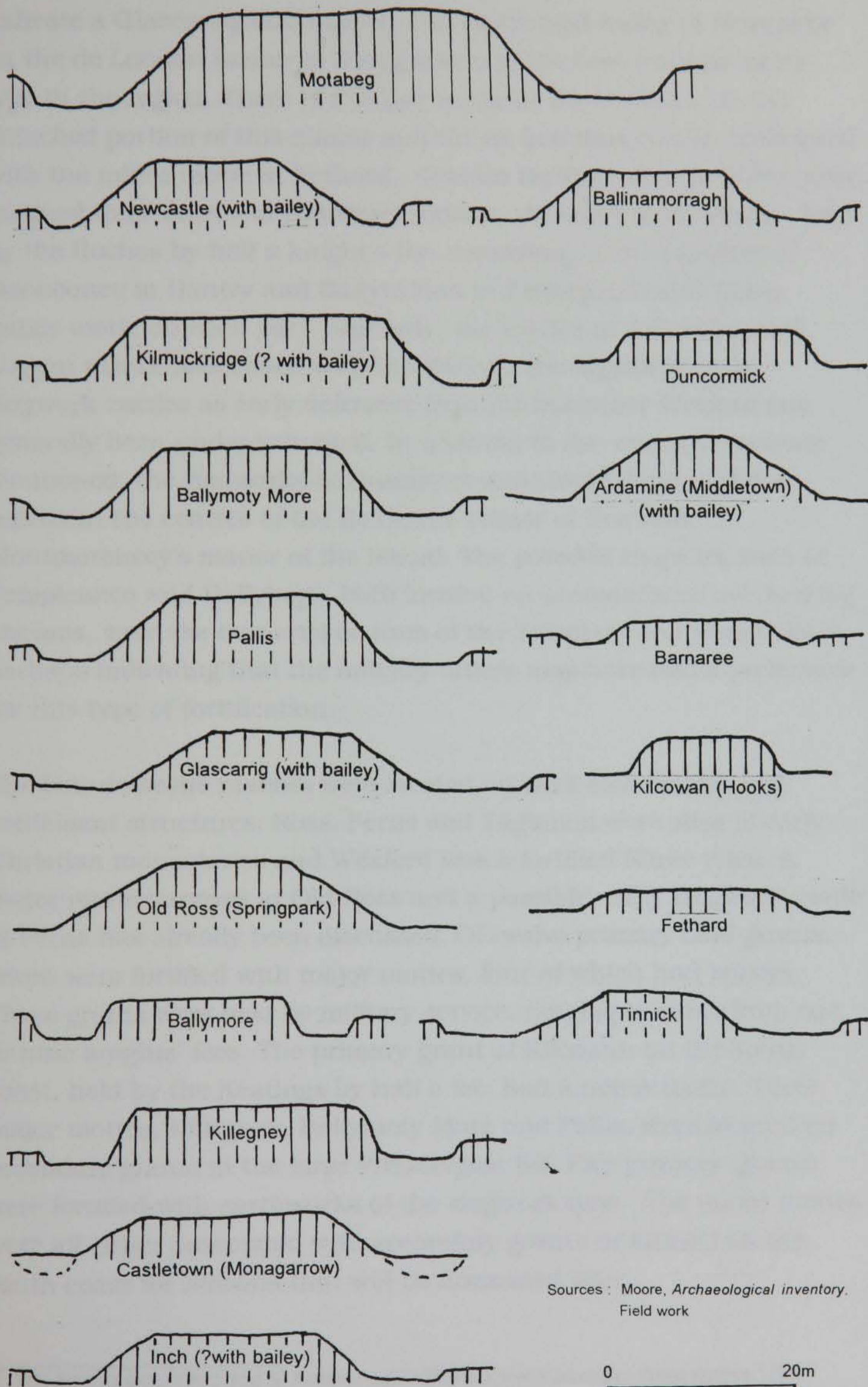
¹⁰⁹ Pers. comm. with local farmer.

and more economic support. These factors had a bearing on the development of the site as a centre of long-term settlement. For classification purposes, all mottes of 5m and under, are treated as minor, and those over 5m as major. Ringworks are not as easily classified as their structures vary, depending on location. The motte at Old Ross¹¹⁰ and the possible ringwork castle at Ferns are the only early defences associated with seignorial *caputs*. By the early thirteenth century, the manorial centre at Old Ross had been abandoned in favour of New Ross, located on the vital river complex of the Barrow and Nore. Similarly, following their acquisition of the Duffry, the Prendergasts probably abandoned the motte at Motabeg, the *caput* of Schyrmal, in favour of Enniscorthy which was more centrally placed in their fief. The size of the motte at Motabeg would suggest that it was intended to be an important manorial *caput*, but the absence of other settlement features in the vicinity indicate early abandonment. The motte of Ballymoty More, the ringwork of Ballyorley and the rectangular motte of Ballymore represented secondary manors within the Prendergast holding. The Prendergasts may also have been responsible for the initial defensive earthwork marking the *caput* of the Duffry at Enniscorthy, and the motte at Killegney was associated with a secondary manor on the Prendergast fee. Two other earthworks can also be attributed to Prendergast manors: the mottes at Loggan and Pallis, marking secondary manors on the Prendergast fee of Kynelaon in the north of the county, making a total of eight defensive earthworks on the Prendergast lands.

The changes in ownership of Fernegenel, the district to the north of Wexford harbour, which passed from the Prendergasts to the Roches who in turn subinfeudated the Sinnotts, accounts for the complex of defensive earthworks within the region. These consist of the two possible ringworks of Tobberfinick and Castlesow and the minor mottes of Ballinamorrhagh, Inch and Tinnick. Continuing northwards along the coast, the major mottes at Kilmuckridge, Glascarrig and Ardamine (Middletown), mark the centres of the de Boisrohard manor of Offelimy; the le Gros/Caunteton manor of Glascarrig and the Barry

¹¹⁰ For the method of its construction see E. Culleton & W. Colfer, 'The Norman motte at Old Ross: method of construction,' *Old Wex. Soc. Jn.*, v (1974-75), pp. 22-25.

Fig. 24. Mottes: comparative sizes (see fig. 33)



manor of Ardamine.¹¹¹ The possible minor motte of Barnaree may indicate a Glascarrig sub-manor. The motte-and-bailey of Newcastle on the de London manor of Rosegarland is the best example of its type in the region. There is a minor motte at Duncormick on the detached portion of this manor and the de Londons can be associated with the minor motte at Fethard. Certain families were possibly more inclined than others to construct mottes. Another 'split' manor, held by the Roches by half a knight's fee, consisting of the parishes of Doonooney in Bantry and Ballyvaldon in Fernegenel, also has a minor motte on each part. Similarly, the mottes at Ardamine and Loggan can be associated with the Barrys. The significance of ringwork castles as early defensive features in county Wexford has generally been underestimated. In addition to the examples already mentioned, the ringworks at Dunanore and Greatisland probably represent the centres of the de Denne manor of Keir and Montmorencey's manor of the Island. The possible ringwork sites at Templetown and Ballyhoge, both located on promontories overlooking streams, were the manorial centres of the Templars and Hospitallers, perhaps indicating that the military orders may have had a preference for this type of fortification.

The four demesne manors were located on sites with established settlement structures; Ross, Ferns and Taghmon were sites of early Christian monasteries and Wexford was a fortified Norse town. A major motte survives at Old Ross and a possible early ringwork castle at Ferns has already been discussed. Of twelve primary land-grants, seven were fortified with major mottes, four of which had baileys. These grants were held by military service, ranging in value from one to nine knights' fees. The primary grant of Kilcowan on the south coast, held by the Keatings by half a fee, had a minor motte. Three major mottes, Killegney, Ballymoty More and Pallis, were located on secondary grants in the large Prendergast fief. Five primary grants were fortified with earthworks of the ringwork type. The minor mottes were all either associated with secondary grants or located on the south coast for reasons that will be discussed later.

¹¹¹ The Barrys were recorded at Ardamine c. 1250 but were probably there before 1229; *Reg. of the hosp. of S. John the Baptist*, nos. 360, 361.

Of the twenty-nine defensive earthworks listed, nineteen had adjacent churches. Twelve of these were at parish centres, with the parish named after the townland in which the earthwork and church were located: these consisted of three seignorial manors, three church manors, five primary grants and one secondary grant. Nine of the parish names contained the element *Cill*, the Gaelic word for church, suggesting that the earthworks may have been located at a pre-Norman church and settlement. Six of the earthworks were located at medieval borough sites and of the six thirteenth-century stone castles, five can be associated with earlier earthworks.

The distribution of the defensive earthworks reveals two distinctive alignments. These may represent the fortuitous pattern resulting from the selection of sites, within the manorial framework, in response to requirements of a strategic, economic and administrative nature. It could also be interpreted as an indication that a co-ordinated approach was taken in selecting their locations within the land-holding structure. As well as having individual defensive capabilities, the earthworks form a double defensive line which runs diagonally across the county from south-west to north-east. This line, rather than pre-Norman land divisions, marked the real border within the region between the colonised south and east and the Gaelic dominated district to the north-west (Fig. 21). The contrasts between the two districts will be discussed, under a number of headings, during the course of this work. These include the larger parishes in the north-west: the absence of secondary settlement indicated by the scarcity of moated sites, and the absence of boroughs and manorial villages. As well as forming a protective zone along the interface between native and settler, the defensive earthworks may also indicate the determination of the Anglo-Normans to occupy the best quality land which also has a south-west to north-east orientation in the western part of the county.¹¹² The second obvious arrangement of earthworks is the alignment of eight mottes along the east coast, emphasising the importance of controlling access to vital strategic and economic sea routes with Britain and the continent. Their coastal orientation could also be an indication of the importance of

¹¹² Gardiner & Ryan, *Soils of county Wexford*, soil suitability map

fishing in the manorial economy.¹¹³ Of these, four major mottes are located on the principal grants of Maurice Castle, Ardamine, Glascarrig and Offelimy with three minor mottes on secondary grants in Fernegennel and one minor motte on a possible secondary grant at Glascarrig.

The obvious absence of defensive earthworks in the cantreds along the south coast can be explained in a number of ways. Apart from the ringwork at Carrick and the fortified town of Wexford, no other early earthwork fortification has been identified in the seignorial manor of Forth. Here the land was held by fractions of knight's fees and by rent-paying free tenants whose holdings were too small to justify fortification. The land of Bargy was largely held by tenants whose principal manors were in Shelmalier and Bantry. Only two minor mottes have been identified in Bargy, both located beside what were navigable inlets before nineteenth-century land reclamation. In Bargy, rectangular moated sites, usually associated with a secondary phase of colonization,¹¹⁴ may have been constructed as early defensive earthworks. Only three sites of this type have been identified in the barony¹¹⁵ and each one can be placed in a manorial context. The status of the large moated site at Ballymagir (Richfield) is indicated by the fact that the manor and parish were known by the same name. Unusually, this site remains a centre of continuous occupation, incorporating a later tower house and modern farmhouse, unlike the peripheral status of smaller sites. The moated site at Ballyconnick, in the Busher manor and parish of the same name, and the large site of Ballycappoge, still occupied by a farmhouse, in the Browne manor and parish of Mulrankin, could also be included in this category.

The settlement pattern on the manor of the Island in Shelburne was greatly influenced by the alienation of more than half the land to the church.¹¹⁶ The campaign fortification constructed in 1170 at Baginbun served only as a temporary structure and does not appear to have subsequently played a role in the colonisation of the area (fig. 13). The minor motte at Fethard can be associated with the manor of

¹¹³ The fishery at Bannow, for example, was an important item in the manorial accounts; *38th Rep. D.K.I.*, p. 41.

¹¹⁴ Barry, *Arch. med. Ire.*, pp. 84-93.

¹¹⁵ T. Barry, *Medieval moated sites of S.E. Ireland*, (Oxford, 1977), p. 213, no. 8; p. 214, no. 10; p. 26, no. 107.

¹¹⁶ This will be discussed in chapter seven.

Rosegarland. The most significant defensive earthworks in this cantred were the ringworks at Templetown and the manorial centre of the Island, strategically placed to control the vitally important Waterford Harbour and its river system. However, the existence of an exceptionally large rectangular moated site at Greatisland (Kilmokea) does present an alternative location for the manorial *caput*.¹¹⁷

Early Stone Castles

There is no historical record to indicate when initial earthwork defences in county Wexford were replaced by stone castles. There is evidence for six early thirteenth-century stone castles, located at Wexford, Carrick, Ferns, Old Ross, the Island and Enniscorthy. Five of these, including the castle on the manor of the Island, which had reverted to Marshal after Montmorency's death, were built on seignorial manors. The exception was the castle of Enniscorthy, built by the Prendergasts, holders of the largest fief in the county. Four castles- Ferns, Enniscorthy, Old Ross and the Island- were located on, or near, early earthwork frontier defences. All, with the possible exception of Enniscorthy, had associated boroughs.

It is possible that Henry II gave instructions for the building of a castle at Wexford before his departure in 1172.¹¹⁸ A reference to a janitor, or doorkeeper, at Wexford in 1185¹¹⁹ led Hore to believe that the castle had been built by that date.¹²⁰ Wexford castle was located to the south-east of the town on a mound just outside the town wall. Orpen considered this to be a motte,¹²¹ but recent investigation has shown it to be a natural feature composed of glacial deposits.¹²² Although there is no supporting evidence, William Marshal would presumably have initiated a programme of stone castle building before his death in 1219. His son, William II, was engaged in castle building, as in 1222 and 1225 the service which he owed to the king

¹¹⁷ Barry, *Medieval moated sites*, p. 89.

¹¹⁸ Orpen, *Normans*, i, p. 373, citing *Gesta Henrici*, i, p. 30.

¹¹⁹ *Ormond deeds*, i, no. 7.

¹²⁰ Hore, *Wexford*, v, p. 64.

¹²¹ Orpen, *Normans*, i, p. 373.

¹²² Pers. comm. with Dr. Ned Culleton, earth scientist.



GROSE'S SKETCH OF THE CASTLE OF FERNS.

Fig. 25. Ferns Castle from Grose's *The Antiquities of Ireland* (1791).

Built by the Marshals during the early decades of the thirteenth century, Ferns Castle was essential to the establishment of a colony in the north of the county. Located at the traditional power-centre of the *Uí Cheinnselaig*, it was repeatedly taken by the Irish and ultimately ceased to be a significant centre of control.

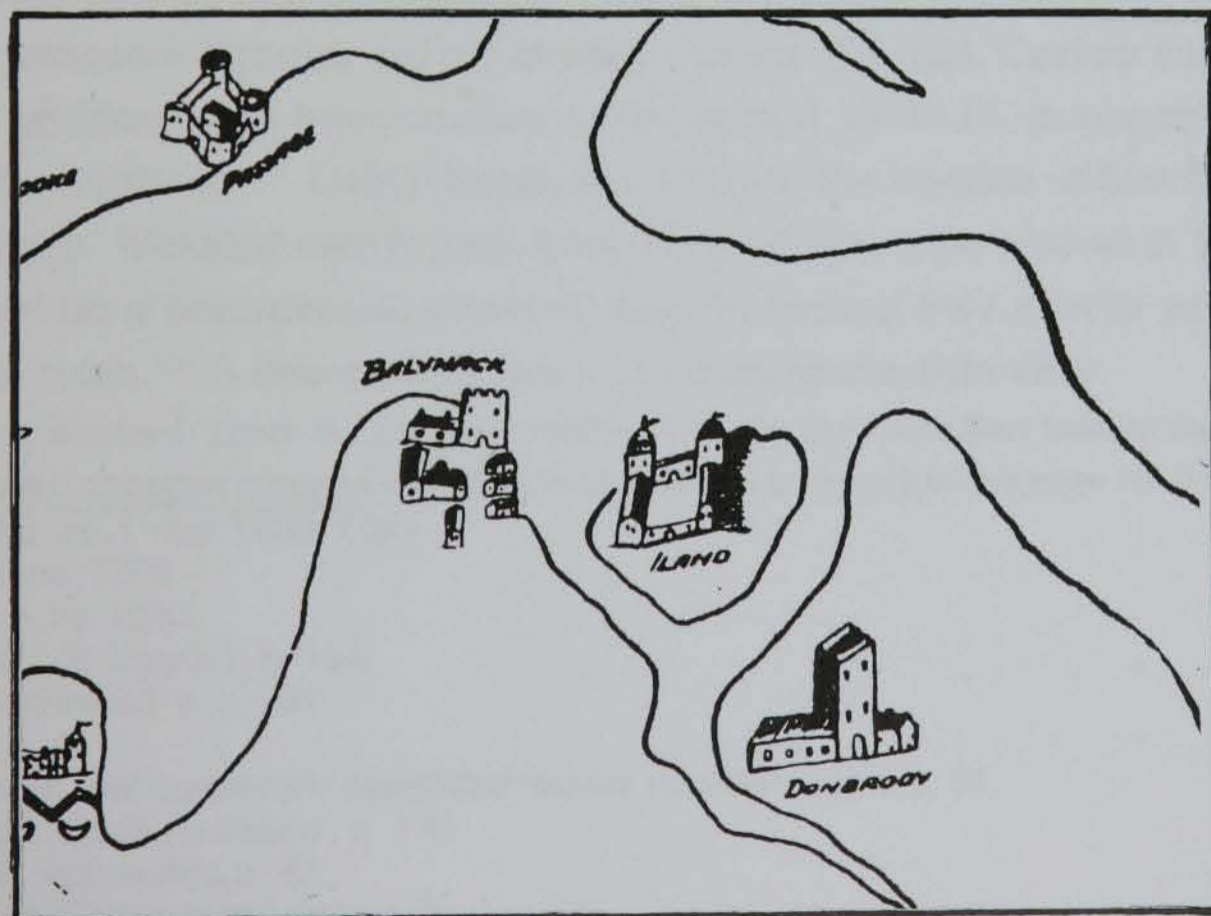


Fig. 26. The Castle of the Island (Hore, *Wexford*, iii, frontpiece).

No trace of the thirteenth-century Castle of the Island survives. This pictorial representation is from a sixteenth-century map of Waterford Harbour.

was cancelled to enable him 'to fortify a castle in Ireland.'¹²³ Stone castles on demesne land in the county had all been built by 1230: following Marshal's death in that year, the castles of Wexford, Ross, Kerry (Carrick) and the Island were taken into the king's hands.¹²⁴ The castle of Ferns was not included as it was given in dower to Marshal's widow, the countess of Pembroke.¹²⁵ The castles of Carrick and Ross were again mentioned in the deforestation charter of 1234.¹²⁶ The castle of Enniscorthy, built by the Prendergasts on a rock at the head of the tidal waters of the Slaney, is not mentioned in thirteenth-century records. It was first recorded when it was taken into the king's hands sometime between 1307 and 1327.¹²⁷ After being destroyed by fire in 1569, it was 'repaired' in 1586 when it was given its present shape.¹²⁸ It is not clear what relation the present castle at Enniscorthy bears to the original. Leask considered it to be a rebuilding on the lines of a similar towered keep¹²⁹ and MacNeill regards it as a sixteenth-century structure.¹³⁰

Ferns castle, the only survivor of the six mentioned above, is one of a number of castles which are considered unique to south-east Ireland, sometimes classified as towered keeps¹³¹ or as donjons.¹³² They consisted of a strong rectangular tower, two or three storeys in height, with a massive circular turret at each corner (fig. 25). Carlow castle, where building may have started in the period 1210-15, is considered to be the earliest.¹³³ Other examples include the castles of Lea and Terryglass. Wexford castle may have been of this type also as it is depicted on a seventeenth-century map as having four towers with conical roofs.¹³⁴ A description from 1323 supports this view:

at Wexford ' there is one stone castle in which there are four towers roofed with shingles whereof the easements extend to no price, because there is

¹²³ *Cal. doc. Ire.*, i, nos. 1030, 1269.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, i, no. 1872.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, ii, no. 1950.

¹²⁶ *Chartul. St. Mary's*, ii, p. 154.

¹²⁷ Hore, *Wexford*, vi, p. 351.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 411.

¹²⁹ H. Leask, *Irish castles and castellated houses* (Dundalk, 1941), p. 51.

¹³⁰ MacNeill, *Castles in Ireland*, p. 118.

¹³¹ Leask, *Irish castles*, p. 47.

¹³² MacNeill, *Castles in Ireland*, p. 118.

¹³³ K. O'Connor, 'The origins of Carlow castle,' *Archaeology Ireland*, no. 41 (Autumn, 1997), pp. 13-16. Excavation has shown that the castle at Carlow was built on top of an earlier ringwork type earthwork.

¹³⁴ *Down Survey Map*, (1655), N.L.I. MS 725.

nothing to be received thereof in leasing the building, nor in profits, but it

needs much repair. There is also one hall roofed with shingles, and two other houses, thatched, the value of which is nought for the reason stated.¹³⁵

According to this account, Wexford castle was in bad repair in 1323, indicating that it may have been built early in the previous century. The castle at Carrick was in even worse condition, being described as 'a ruined castle' at the same period.¹³⁶ There is similar evidence for the dilapidated state of the castles of Ross and the Island at the end of the thirteenth century. The minister's accounts for 1286 contains the following details concerning repairs to the castle of the Island:¹³⁷

'For one wagon and ten stone of lead bought for the castle of the Island to be newly roofed, together with the carriage of the same from Wales, 60s.

Paid a certain plumber for melting and applying the said lead, 7s. 4d.

For breaking slates for newly roofing the said castle.

For 16 quarters of lime for the castle, together with the carriage, 4s. 10d.

For roofing anew the castle by taskwork, 26s. 8d.

For mortar made beside the lead, as by agreement, 2s.

For timber bought for the repairs to the said castle, and for turf and combustible materials obtained for melting the lead, 11s. 10d.

For 200 boards bought for the same castle with their carriage, 7s. 6d.

For sundry nails bought for the same, 11s. 11d.

For 250 laths bought, 1s. 1/2d.

For tin bought, for tallow for the waggon fetching stones, for digging the land and for portorage, as appears by particular items, 11s. 8d.

For crest tiles bought for the same, 2s.¹³⁸

For a certain carpenter hired by the day, 27s. 6d.

For a certain man employed in repairing the slates on the castle of the Island, at taskwork, 18d.

For the moat, for lime, and for nails bought for the castle of the Island, 8s. 11d.'

This expenditure of £9 4s 9d, mostly on the roof of the castle, represented a considerable investment at the time. However, its effectiveness was short-lived: in 1307 the castle on Hervey's Island was unroofed and valued at nothing.¹³⁹ In the same year the castle at Old Ross, described as 'an old hall, surrounded with stone walls,

¹³⁵ Hore, *Wexford*, v, p. 104.

¹³⁶ *Cal. i.p.m.*, vi, p. 327.

¹³⁷ Hore, *Wexford*, iii, p. 202.

¹³⁸ Remnants of crest (ridge) tiles were found at Ferns castle; Sweetman, 'Excavations at Ferns castle,' p. 232.

¹³⁹ *Cal. just. rolls Ire.*, ii, p. 349.

unroofed,' was in a similar dilapidated condition.¹⁴⁰

By the beginning of the fourteenth century, the castles of Carrick, Ross and the Island were already abandoned and derelict. This may have been precipitated by the partition of Leinster in 1247 when the manors of Ross and the Island became part of the Bigod lordship of Carlow.¹⁴¹ Subsequently they became outlying manors, administered by officials and visited only occasionally by the absentee owners. The castles may have been used as hunting lodges as there are references to hunting dogs in both places.¹⁴² By the end of the thirteenth century, the boroughs of Old Ross and the Island were also in decline, overshadowed by the burgeoning economic power of New Ross.¹⁴³ Similarly, the borough of Carrick, with its castle, had to compete with the long-established town of Wexford, situated just three miles down river. By 1307 Wexford itself, with 127 waste burgages, was in decline,¹⁴⁴ one of the reasons, perhaps, for the dilapidated state of the castle.

Although not strictly speaking a castle, the circular turret known as the tower of Hook belongs to the same period as the other Marshal castles and was constructed using the same technology and, perhaps, personnel. Built on the extremity of the Hook peninsula, at the entrance to Waterford harbour, the tower served as a navigational aid and fire-beacon to guide ships to Marshal's port of New Ross.¹⁴⁵ Funded by the Pembroke estate, the construction and operation of the tower was entrusted to the monks of the nearby monastery of Rinn Dubháin.¹⁴⁶ Now serving as a base for a modern lighthouse, the thirteenth-century tower survives intact, still serving its original function (fig. 27).

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 347.

¹⁴¹ *Cal. doc. Ire.*, ii, no. 933.

¹⁴² Hore, *Wexford*, i, p. 16; ii, p. 206.

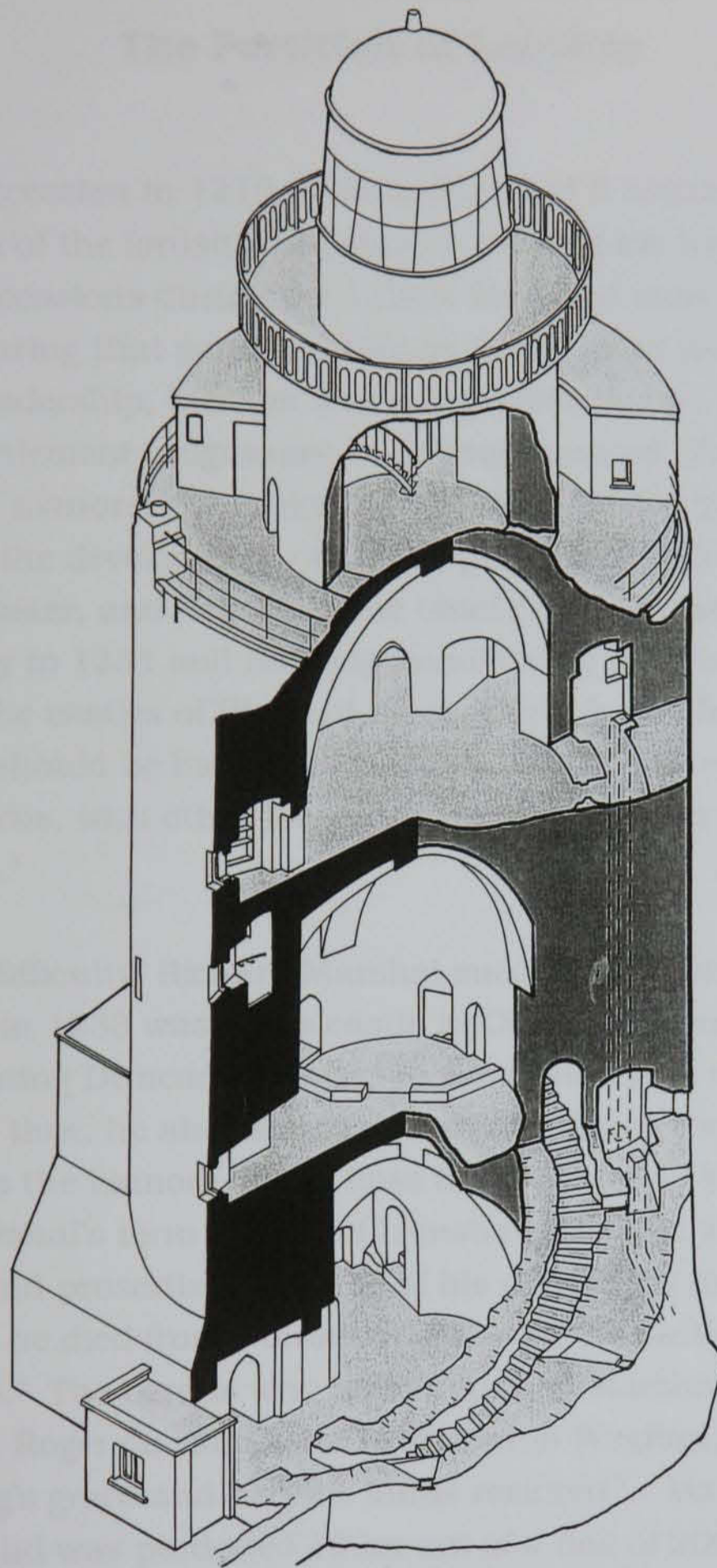
¹⁴³ This will be discussed in chapter six.

¹⁴⁴ Hore, *Wexford*, v, p. 102.

¹⁴⁵ W. Colfer, 'The tower of Hook,' *Wex. Hist. Soc. Jn.*, x (1984-'85), pp. 69-78.

¹⁴⁶ *Cal. doc. Ire.*, i, nos. 2811, 2872.

Fig. 27. The early thirteenth-century Tower of Hook.
(Isometric by Phelim Manning)



First mentioned in the Pembroke estate papers during the 1240s (*Cal. doc. Ire.*, nos. 2811, 2872), the 35m high Tower of Hook was built as a navigation aid for Marshal's new port of Ross. The lower tier has three rib-vaulted chambers with a mural stairs ascending through the thickness of the wall. The narrower, upper section carried the warning beacon. Still serving as a lighthouse, the substantially intact tower may be the only non-ecclesiastical medieval building in Ireland still serving its original function.

Chapter 4

The Partition of Leinster

After his succession in 1219, William Marshal II continued with the development of the lordship of Leinster, visiting his Irish estates on at least three occasions during the 1220s. He spent more than four years in Ireland during that period, acting as justiciar for part of the time. Under his leadership, Leinster was remarkably stable, allowing an intensive settlement programme to be implemented. This included the allocation of manors, the building of castles, the founding of religious houses and the development of towns, principally Kilkenny, Marshal's *caput* in Leinster, and New Ross the chief port.¹ William died unexpectedly in 1231 and the king immediately ordered that the custody of the castles of Wexford, Ross, Carrick, the Island, Carlow and Odagh should be handed over to his bailiff.² The castle and manor of Ferns, with other lands, were given in dower to the countess of Pembroke.³

After some difficulty, Richard Marshal succeeded to his brother's estates and in 1233 was at his castle in Old Ross where he issued a charter granting Duncannon wood to the Cistercians of Dunbrody.⁴ At the same time, he also issued a charter defining the boundaries of the forest on the manors of Old Ross and Taghmon.⁵ However, Richard Marshal's term as lord of Leinster was to be shortlived. He was exiled and proscribed because of his opposition to the king's policies and he died from wounds received at the battle of the Curragh in April 1234.⁶ The barons who had supported Marshal were pardoned: for example, Roger de Hida, who held land in Wexford, was received into the king's grace and had his lands restored.⁷ Maurice de London of Rosegarland was pardoned 100m out of a fine of 200m for being

¹ J. Lydon, 'The expansion and consolidation of the colony, 1215-54,' *N.H.I.*, ii, pp. 166-7.

² *Cal. doc. Ire.* i, no. 1872.

³ *Ibid.*, ii, no. 1950.

⁴ *Chartul. St. Mary's*, ii, p. 160.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 154.

⁶ The fate of Marshal's sons is detailed in Orpen, *Normans*, iii, ch. xxv.

⁷ Brooks, *Knights' fees*, p. 23.

with Richard Marshal against the king.⁸ Gilbert Marshal, Richard's successor, was killed in a tournament in 1241: with the death of his brothers (Walter and Anselm) in 1245, the male line of the Marshal family terminated. The premature demise of all five Marshal brothers was rendered even more extraordinary by the fact that all died childless. This was attributed by contemporary commentators to the excommunication of the elder Marshal by the bishop of Ferns in a dispute over episcopal manors. Matthew Paris, the St. Alban's chronicler, recorded the extinction of the Marshals in the male line as the result of the episcopal curse.⁹ The death of Marshal's five sons without heir had a dramatic impact on the development of the lordship: following feudal practice, Leinster was divided among his five daughters or their representatives.

In 1247 the king ordered the justiciar to proceed with the partition.¹⁰ The division of the liberty was based on the four shires of Wexford, Carlow, Kilkenny and Kildare with a fifth share, based on Dunamase, formed from the lands of the present counties of Laois and Offaly, then part of the county of Kildare.¹¹ However, the requirement to make each share of equal value precipitated a more complex process. The liberty of Leinster was valued at £1,716 and each share was organised to have an estimated value of £343.¹² Each share included a chief borough as well as a number of demesne manors with their rents and services. There was also an income from the 'body of the county', composed of annual profits from the county court.¹³ It must also have included the income from free tenants holding land by socage tenure outside of the seignorial manors. Much of the land in the county, held by military tenants and the church, was not included in the calculations. To achieve equality, four of the shares were assigned detached, or outlying, demesne manors in other counties. This affected Wexford in particular where six of these detached manors were located (fig. 28). Old Ross, New Ross and the Island went

⁸ *Cal. doc. Ire.*, i, nos. 2129, 2789.

⁹ Matthew Paris, *Chronica Maiora*, cited in Lydon, 'Expansion and consolidation,' p. 158.

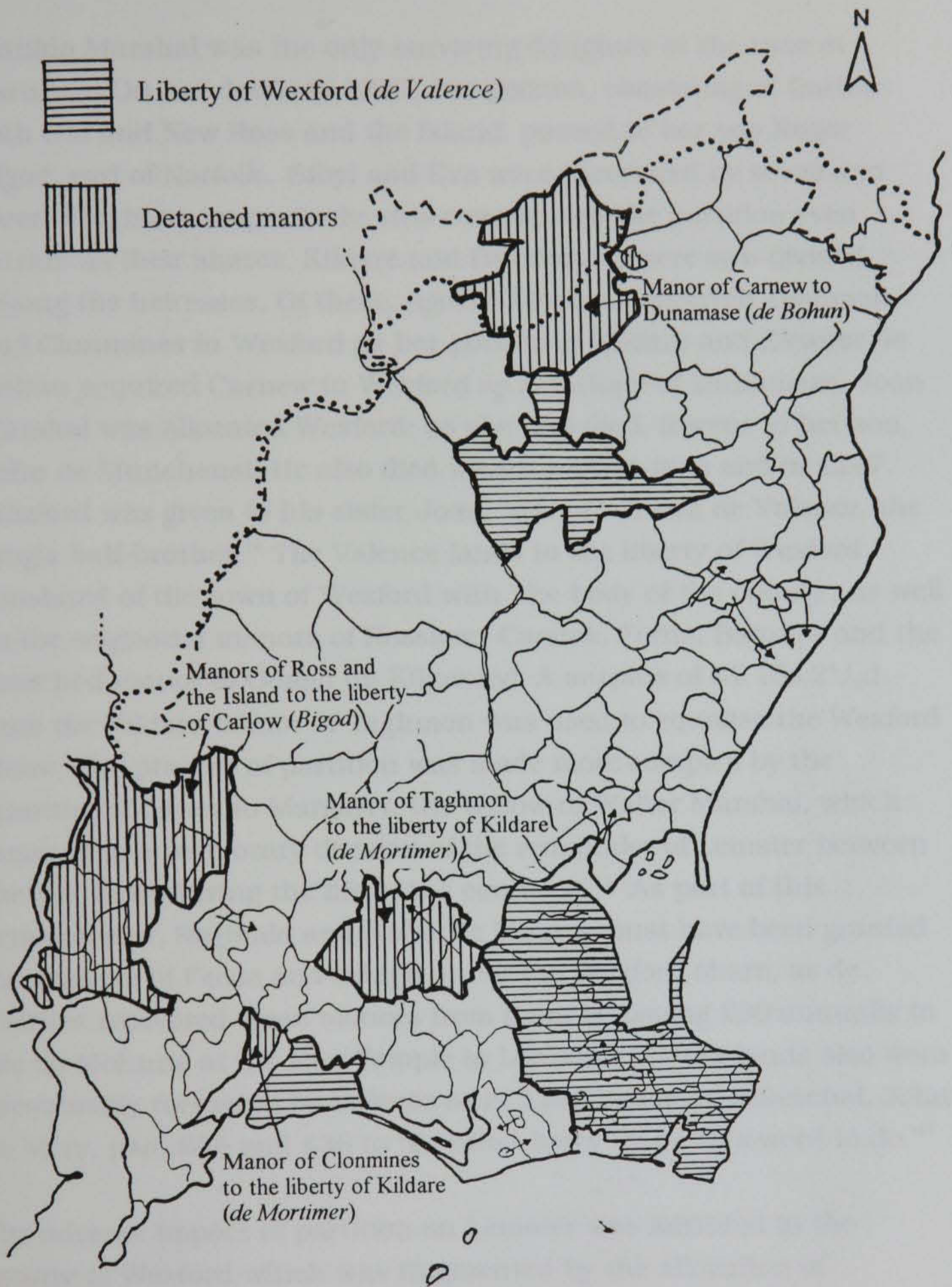
¹⁰ *Cal. doc. Ire.*, i, no. 2949.

¹¹ Otway-Ruthven, 'The medieval county of Kildare,' *I.H.S.*, xi (1959), p. 185.

¹² Details of the partition can be found in *Cal. doc. Ire.* ii, no. 933; Orpen, *Normans*, iii, pp. 79-110.

¹³ Orpen, *Normans*, iii, p. 80.

Fig. 28. The impact of the partition of Leinster on county Wexford.



Sources: *Cal. doc. Ire.*, ii, no. 933.

Orpen, *Normans*, iii, pp. 79-110.

with Carlow; Taghmon and Clonmines with Kildare and Carnew with Dunamase.

Matilda Marshal was the only surviving daughter at the time of partition. On her death in 1248, her portion, consisting of Carlow, with Old and New Ross and the Island, passed to her son Roger Bigod, earl of Norfolk. Sibyl and Eva were succeeded by seven and three daughters respectively: this complicated the partition even further as their shares, Kildare and Dunamase, were sub-divided among the heiresses. Of these, Agatha Mortimer received Taghmon and Clonmines in Wexford as her portion of Kildare and Eleanor de Bohun acquired Carnew in Wexford as her share of Dunamase. Joan Marshal was allocated Wexford: as she had died, it went to her son, John de Munchensi. He also died within a short time and in 1247 Wexford was given to his sister Joan, wife of William de Valence, the king's half-brother.¹⁴ The Valence lands in the liberty of Wexford consisted of the town of Wexford with 'the body of the county', as well as the seignorial manors of Rosslare, Carrick, Ferns, Bannow and the detached manor of Odagh (in Kilkenny). A surplus of £1 15s 2¹/₂d from the Kildare manor of Taghmon was used to equalise the Wexford share. The process of partition was made more complex by the granting of dower to Margaret, the widow of Walter Marshal, which resulted in a temporary division of the remainder of Leinster between the five heirs during the life of the countess.¹⁵ As part of this arrangement, Reginald and Isabel de Mohun must have been granted the manors of Ferns and Odagh out of the Wexford share, as de Valence recovered these manors from them by paying £30 annually to the de Mohuns at the New Temple in London.¹⁶ Other lands also were presumably recovered by Valence as in 1259 Valence's seneschal, John de Mery, paid £45 and £30 to the other heirs 'as he was wont to do.'¹⁷

The adverse impact of partition on Leinster was mirrored in the county of Wexford which was fragmented by the allocation of detached manors to other liberties. The granting of New Ross to Carlow and Clonmines to Kildare may have been made with the

¹⁴ *Cal. doc. Ire.*, i, no. 2900.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, i, no. 2949.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, ii, nos, 29, 139.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, ii, no. 628.

intention of providing ports for these liberties. As Rosbercon in Kilkenny became an important port after partition,¹⁸ all of the liberties (except Dunamase which was part of the county of Kildare) had access to a port in the south-east. The process of partition was not always accepted without dispute. The detached manors led to disagreement between Joan and William de Valence and Agatha Mortimer: she was forced to take legal action to recover the forest of Taghmon which had been occupied by the Valences.¹⁹ Clonmines was a bone of contention also as Agatha refused to let William de Valence's writ run there, claiming that Clonmines had a liberty granted by William Marshal.²⁰ Valence's claim must have been based on a grant to him by the king in 1248 of the assizes and pleas in the vills of Ross, Carnew and Clonmines.²¹ This grant was resisted by the de Bohun owners of Carnew as Valence was in dispute with them as well.²²

The process of partition divided the single liberty of Leinster into the four liberties of Wexford, Carlow, Kilkenny and Kildare, each with a separate administration.²³ Some of the most prominent families in England were involved in the process, through marriage with the Marshal sisters: Bigod, earl of Norfolk; de Valence, half brother of the king; de Clare, earl of Gloucester; Mortimer, lord of Wigmore and de Bohun, earl of Hereford. Nevertheless, the division of the lordship inevitably led to instability, partly due to the absenteeism of the new owners. The subsequent growth of marchlands in Leinster, and the military and economic consequences, can be largely attributed to the long-term effects of partition.²⁴ The resultant weakening of lordship was one of the reasons for the emergence of the MacMurchada threat to the colony from the mid-thirteenth century onwards.²⁵

The information recorded in the process of partition relating to

¹⁸ Orpen, *Normans*, iii, p. 95.

¹⁹ *Cal. doc. Ire.*, ii, 1445.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, ii, 1330.

²¹ *Ibid.*, i, no. 2983.

²² *Ibid.*, i, no. 2973.

²³ Otway-Ruthven, *Medieval Ireland*, p. 187.

²⁴ Lydon, 'Expansion and consolidation,' p. 169.

²⁵ R. Frame, 'Two kings in Leinster,' *Colony and frontier in medieval Ireland*, T. Barry, R. Frame, K. Simms (eds), (London, 1995), p. 158.

boroughs and seignorial manors, and the revenue which they generated, provides a useful profile of the mid-thirteenth-century lordship against which subsequent progress can be measured. Apart from naming towns and manors, with their monetary values, the documentation relating to the partition provides no information on the details of settlement. A more complete picture can be provided, however, by referring to later descriptions of the boroughs and manors allocated to the Valence and Bigod estates. Extents of the Valence estates were carried out on the deaths of William de Valence in 1296,²⁶ his wife, Joan, in 1307²⁷ and their son, Aymer, in 1324.²⁸ The documentation for the Bigod manors of Ross and the Island is far more extensive. An extent carried out following the death of Roger Bigod in 1306 provides a detailed account of the manors of Ross and the Island.²⁹ A series of rolls, known as the Minister's Accounts, from the Norfolk estate for the years 1279-94, survive in the Public Record Office, London, of which about 100 relate to the Irish lands. These have been transcribed by Hore and printed, with comments, in his history of Wexford.³⁰ They contain a wealth of material on the day-to-day running of the manors of Ross and the Island with details of agriculture, tenants, building and administration.

During the first half of the thirteenth century, the remarkable stability created by the Marshals in Leinster led to rapid advances in the development of the English colony³¹ and by mid-century the lordship was at its peak. During the 1260s, however, the welfare of the colony was threatened by a civil war in England between Henry III and his barons and repercussions from this caused a dispute in Ireland between the de Burgos and the FitzGeraldts which led to widespread disturbances.³² This unrest extended to Wexford where Maurice FitzMaurice held the manor of Killegney through his marriage to a Prendergast heir.³³ Because of the threat posed by these

²⁶ *Cal. i.p.m.*, iv, pp. 222-3.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, v, p. 22.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, vi, pp. 324-7.

²⁹ *Cal. i.p.m.*, iv, p. 306-9; *Cal. just. rolls*, ii, pp. 347-50.

³⁰ Hore, *Wexford*, i, pp. 5-39, 142-73; iii, pp. 199-218. Hore's MSS (no. 72) is held in St. Peter's College, Wexford as part of the Hore collection and is available on NLI mic. p. 2922.

³¹ Lydon, 'Expansion and consolidation,' p. 166.

³² R. Frame, *Ireland and Britain 1170-1450* (London, 1998), pp. 59-70.

³³ *Cal. doc. Ire.*, iii, no. 463.

disturbances, the town of New Ross was walled for the first time in 1265.³⁴ The development of the colony was also hindered by a Gaelic revival which slowly gathered momentum from mid-century onwards.³⁵ The details of the partition provide a useful base from which to assess the subsequent state of the colony as conditions changed during the second half of the century. Wexford town, for example, was valued at £42³⁶ in 1247: by 1307 the town had 127 waste burgages and its value had dropped to £32.³⁷ A further decline was evident at the death of Aymer de Valence in 1324, when there were 221½ waste burgages.³⁸ This fall was part of a general trend, as in 1296 county Wexford, formerly valued at £300, was worth only £150 to William de Valence,³⁹ although this had recovered to £215 by 1324.⁴⁰ The manor of Carrick, worth £24 at partition, had dropped to £10 by 1325, with 'all the tenants destroyed by war.'⁴¹ The value of the manor of Bannow, on the other hand, remained consistent throughout the same period, due, perhaps, to a more secure location and its advantageous trading position as a port on the south coast. Valued at £31 at partition, the income from Bannow dropped to £25 in 1307 but had risen again to £28 by 1304. Burgage rent remained constant at about £8.⁴² The economic contribution of the fishery around the Keerach islands, just off-shore from Bannow, played a significant role in the success of the manor.⁴³

The pressure from the re-emerging Gaelic population on the north of the liberty was clearly reflected in the declining value of the manor of Ferns. In 1247, Ferns, valued at £82, was the most lucrative manor in the liberty. As the century drew to a close, however, this picture changed drastically as by 1296 there were 49 waste burgages in the town.⁴⁴ By 1307 there was widespread desertion of the manor: the

³⁴ H. Shields, 'The walling of New Ross: a thirteenth-century poem in French,' *Long Room*, xii-xvi (1976), pp. 24-33.

³⁵ J. Lydon, 'Land of war,' *N.H.I.* ii, p. 268.

³⁶ Monetary values are given to the nearest pound.

³⁷ *Cal. i.p.m.*, v, p. 22; Hore, *Wexford*, v, p. 102.

³⁸ *Cal. i.p.m.*, vi, pp. 324-7.

³⁹ *Cal. doc. Ire.*, iv, no. 306.

⁴⁰ *Cal. i.p.m.*, vi, p. 326.

⁴¹ *Cal. close rolls*, 18 Ed. II, p. 362.

⁴² Hore, *Wexford*, iv, pp. 452-4.

⁴³ *38th Rep. D.K.I.* p. 41.

⁴⁴ Hore, *Wexford*, vi, p. 192.

rents of the free tenants had dropped from £18 to £5 and income from 54 carucates of land, originally worth £59, was down to £19.⁴⁵ This downward trend continued: in 1324 the manor of Ferns was considered to be worth nothing as it was 'totally wasted by Irish felons.'⁴⁶ In direct contrast to Ferns, the manor of Rosslare increased greatly in value. Worth £69 in 1247, by 1307 it was valued at £115.⁴⁷ This must be attributed to its more secure location in the south-east of the liberty with easy access to trade through the port of Wexford. The contrasting development of settlement on the two manors was reflected in the parochial structures. The manor of Ferns was based on one large parish, indicating lack of development and early abandonment, whereas the manor of Rosslare (the barony of Forth) developed a complex system of small, fragmented parishes based on small holdings held by free tenants.

The progress of the Bigod estates of Ross and Hervey's Island can be similarly charted from manorial accounts. The income from the town of New Ross increased during the second half of the thirteenth century, reflecting its growing importance as a port. Worth £53 in 1247, by 1305 its value had risen to £67⁴⁸ but had fallen to £57 in 1307.⁴⁹ The value of the manor of Old Ross followed a similar pattern: an income of £72 in 1247 had risen to a high of £106 by 1305⁵⁰ but had dropped to £88 by 1307.⁵¹ At that stage the manor was obviously in decline: the buildings were in a bad state of repair and some of the land was not occupied due to lack of tenants. The manor of the Island, to the south of Ross, fared badly during the same period. It had an income of £43 at partition but by 1285 it was claimed that 'scarcely any tenants remained in the town' and that 'the community was impoverished.'⁵² This downward trend continued as in 1305 the value was estimated at £22⁵³ and this had dropped further to £20 by 1307.⁵⁴ By contrast, the detached manors of Clonmines and Taghmon

⁴⁵ *Cal. i.p.m.*, v, p. 22.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, vi, p. 326.

⁴⁷ P.H. Hore, 'The barony of Forth,' *The Past*, i, (1920), p. 66.

⁴⁸ *Cal. just. rolls*, ii, p.41.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, ii, p.348; *Cal. i.p.m.*, iv, p. 306.

⁵⁰ *Cal. just. rolls*, ii, p. 41.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, ii, p. 347; *Cal. i.p.m.*, iv, p. 306-7.

⁵² Hore, *Wexford*, iii, pp. 210-12.

⁵³ *Cal. just. rolls*, ii, p. 41.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, ii, p. 349; *Cal. i.p.m.*, iv, p. 307.

owned by Agatha de Mortimer actually increased slightly in value during the second half of the century. Worth £8 in 1247, Taghmon was similarly valued at Agatha's death in 1306 and Clonmines increased from £10 to £12 during the same period.⁵⁵ The income from these two manors was comparatively low to start with and the continuing level of low profitability could be related to their status as detached manors. Although located on fertile land, the depressed level of income from the large manor of Taghmon, represented by the split parish of Taghmon with the parish of Coolstuff, was particularly noticeable.⁵⁶ The capacity of the much smaller manor of Clonmines to generate a slightly larger income must have been due to trading activities in the port of Clonmines.

The economic statistics provided by the various manorial accounts are indicators of settlement and political activity in the second half of the thirteenth century. The collapse of the manor of Ferns in the north of the county, which dropped from a value of £82 in 1247 to a zero valuation in 1324, reflected the political and military pressures generated by the MacMurchada and their followers. The loss of Ferns was partly compensated for by the increase in value, from £69 to £114, of the manor of Rosslare. The remaining manors in the south, with two exceptions, retained approximately the same values. The exceptions, Carrick and the Island, both with boroughs, were located close to, and presumably in competition with, the principal port towns of Wexford and New Ross. Although both Carrick and the Island had access to the sea, they could not compete with their more successful neighbours. By the beginning of the fourteenth century, their income had been halved and the manorial boroughs were in decline. The two principal towns of the county achieved contrasting success during the second half of the century. The value of Wexford town, centre of administration for the liberty, dropped from £42 to £32 per annum, with a large number of waste burgages: New Ross, the chief port, increased in value from £53 to £67. Although not representative of all trading activities, the figures for 'the great

⁵⁵ *Cal. doc. Ire.*, v, no. 537.

⁵⁶ Gardiner & Ryan, *Soils of county Wexford*, Soil suitability map; This area corresponded to the forest of Taghmon delimited by Richard Marshal in 1233, *Chartul. St. Mary's*, ii, p. 154; G. Orpen, 'Charters of the earl Richard Marshal of the forests of Ross and Taghmon,' *R.S.A.I. Jn.*, lxiv (1934), pp. 54-63.

custom', introduced in 1275 on wool and hides,⁵⁷ emphasised the contrast between the two towns: during the last quarter of the century, this custom generated £5,590 at New Ross but only £33 at Wexford.⁵⁸

The success of New Ross as a port can be attributed to its advantageous position on the river Barrow. Although located 30 km from the open sea, the port was easily accessible to shipping, and goods could be conveyed to the port by small boat from as far upstream as Athy. In 1298 a weir built on the Barrow near Athy had to be removed as it obstructed the passage of boats to Ross 'to the injury of the whole country.'⁵⁹ Wexford, on the other hand, had a notoriously 'barred haven'⁶⁰ with limited access by river to its hinterland, as the Slaney was navigable by small boats only as far as Enniscorthy. Wexford's disadvantage as a port was highlighted by the fact that at least some of the trade from the liberty passed through New Ross. In 1287 William de Valence requested the king to allow ships to go to New Ross as they had in the time of the Marshals, without hindrance from Waterford, to prevent damage to his liberty of Wexford.⁶¹ His request was not successful as in 1302 Roger Bigod, lord of the liberty of Carlow, submitted a similar appeal.⁶² The fall in value of the liberty of Wexford may have been related to the failure of Wexford port to compete successfully with New Ross.

The partition of Leinster, confined to seignorial manors and boroughs, did not include church lands held in frankalmoign or manors held by military service, thus placing most of the lordship outside the scope of the partition. The 100 fees by which Leinster was held was divided among the five parceners so that $33\frac{1}{3}$ services were due from the liberty of Kildare and $22\frac{1}{2}$ plus $\frac{1}{40}$ each from Wexford, Carlow and Kilkenny.⁶³ However, the situation was more complex than this arrangement might suggest as both Bigod, lord of Carlow, and

⁵⁷ *Cal. doc. Ire.*, ii, no. 1117.

⁵⁸ G. Mac Niocail, *Na Buirgéisí* (Baile Átha Cliath, 1964), ii, pp. 526, 528.

⁵⁹ *Cal. just. rolls*, i, p. 202.

⁶⁰ A.K. Longfield, *Anglo-Irish trade in the sixteenth century* (London, 1929), p. 34.

⁶¹ *Cal. doc. Ire.*, iii, no. 1086.

⁶² *Ibid.*, v, no. 100.

⁶³ Orpen, *Normans*, iii, p.

Valence, lord of Wexford, owned fees in county Wexford⁶⁴ (fig. 29). Of the $35\frac{1}{20}$ fees held by Bigod,⁶⁵ $13\frac{13}{20}$ were in Wexford. These were not confined to the manors of Ross and the Island but were scattered throughout the county, with concentrations on the east and south coast. The Denne barony of Kayer, worth three knights fees, was the largest manor held of Bigod in the county. Denne also paid £9 10s per annum to Valence for the borough of Edermine.⁶⁶ Most of the Bigod fees were held by a fraction of a knight's service, varying in value between one-fifth and a half.

Valence owned $37\frac{3}{5}$ fees in the liberty of Wexford.⁶⁷ As he owed service for just over $22\frac{1}{2}$ fees to the king, this gave him a profit of £30 whenever royal service was declared. The principal military manors were located across the centre of the county: the Duffry and Sil Mealla held by the service of nine knights and Fernegenel by the service of five. The large parishes on the manor of Kynelaon, valued at five knights fees, point to the scattered and temporary nature of settlement in the north of the county. In contrast, the complex parochial network on the manor of Rosslare represented dense settlement and small holdings. A number of prominent Anglo-Norman families, including the Cods, Staffords, Butlers, Sinnotts, Rossiters and Esmonds, occupied land in the manor of Rosslare as rent paying free tenants.⁶⁸ The eleven small military tenures on the manor were held by fractions of knight's fees, perhaps suggesting that there was a certain social cachet associated with military tenure which may have been used as an inducement to attract tenants.⁶⁹ This may be partly the reason why families occupied land by socage tenure and military tenure in different locations. This allowed them to enjoy the status of a military tenant while contributing financially to the income of their overlord. There is no evidence for military tenants on the manor of Ferns which would explain its initial high value as the rent of free tenants holding by socage tenure would have contributed to the manorial income each year. However, the lack of a military structure

⁶⁴ These are detailed in Brooks, *Kn. fees*, pp. 1-9, 92-6.

⁶⁵ *Cal. just. rolls*, ii, p. 344.

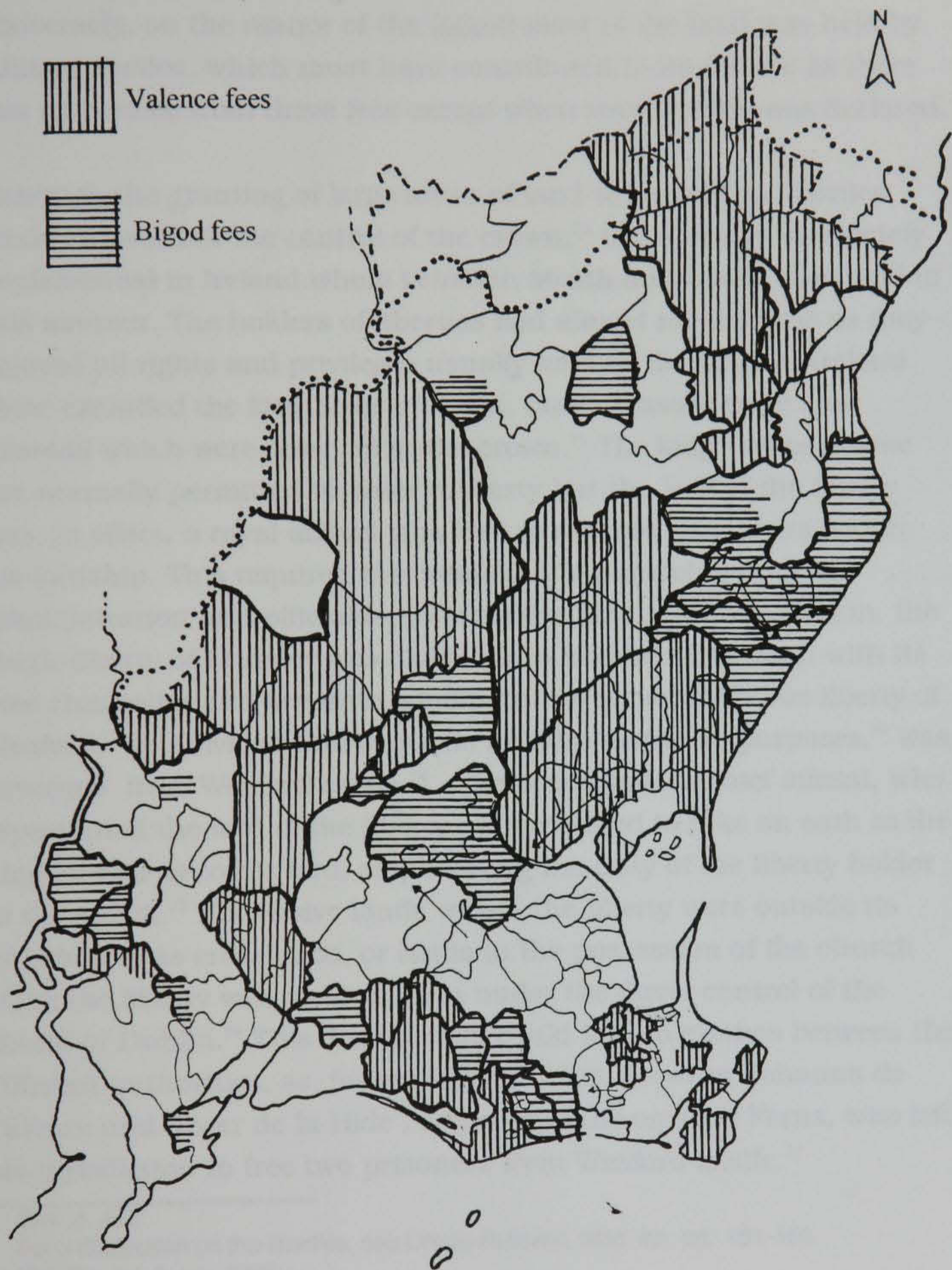
⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, i, p. 403.

⁶⁷ This is given as $29\frac{1}{4}$ in *Cal. i.p.m.*, v, p. 22.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, vi, p. 324; *Cal. close rolls*, 18 Ed. II, p. 362.

⁶⁹ K. Down, 'Colonial society and economy,' *N.H.I.* ii, p. 444.

Fig. 29. The distribution of Valence and Bigod knights' fees in county Wexford.



Sources : see Appendix 1.

on the manor must have contributed to its ultimate decline. The valuable manor of Ross had only one small knight's fee but its more secure location in the south of the county allowed it to survive. Conversely, on the manor of the Island most of the land was held by military service, which must have contributed to its decline as there was no income from these fees except when royal service was declared.

Although the granting of large areas of land to be held as liberties tended to weaken the control of the crown,⁷⁰ this strategy was widely implemented in Ireland where Leinster, Meath and Ulster were held in this manner. The holders of liberties had almost royal status as they enjoyed all rights and privileges usually held by the king. In Ireland these excluded the four pleas of arson, rape, treasure trove and forestall which were reserved to the crown.⁷¹ The king's officers were not normally permitted to enter a liberty but the lord of the liberty was, in effect, a royal official who had to execute royal writs within his lordship. This required the creation of a parallel system of administration and officialdom within the liberty. After partition, the single liberty of Leinster was divided into four liberties, each with its own chancellor and separate administrative structure.⁷² The liberty of Wexford, sub-divided into cantreds for administrative purposes,⁷³ was governed from Wexford castle.⁷⁴ The seneschal, or chief official, who represented the lord of the liberty, was required to take an oath to the king as well as to his lord, emphasising the duty of the liberty holder to the crown.⁷⁵ Extensive lands within the liberty were outside its jurisdiction as crosslands, or lands in the possession of the church when the liberty was created, were under the direct control of the sheriff of Dublin.⁷⁶ This dual system could lead to clashes between the different authorities, as, for example in 1306, between Johanna de Valence and Roger de la Hide, sergeant of the cross of Ferns, who left his jurisdiction to free two prisoners from Wexford castle.⁷⁷

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 442.

⁷¹ For a discussion on the liberties, see Otway-Ruthven, *Med. Ire.*, pp. 181-190.

⁷² *Cal. doc. Ire.*, ii, no. 1096.

⁷³ *Cal. pat. and cl. rolls.*, p. 98.

⁷⁴ For details of the administrative structure see J. Otway-Ruthven, 'Anglo-Irish shire government in the thirteenth century,' *I.H.S.*, v (1946), pp. 10-28; J. Mills, 'Accounts of the earl of Norfolk's estate in Ireland, 1279-94,' *R.S.A.I. Jn.*, xxii, (1892), pp. 51-3.

⁷⁵ Otway-Ruthven, *Med. Ire.*, p. 184.

⁷⁶ Otway-Ruthven, 'Anglo-Irish shire government,' p. 4.

⁷⁷ *Cal. just. rolls.*, ii, p. 283.

It is not clear how the allocation of detached manors affected the integrity of the political unit to which they belonged. It has been claimed that, for administrative purposes, detached manors must have remained part of the county in which they were located.⁷⁸ For example, in 1297 Carnew was described as being in the liberty of Wexford.⁷⁹ However, the evidence provided by court returns in county Wexford would seem to indicate that this was not the case. The surviving records from the Bigod manors of Ross and the Island clearly show that the provosts, bailiffs, and other minor officials who administered manorial affairs were responsible to the sheriff and seneschal of Carlow.⁸⁰ The pleas and perquisites of the hundred courts of New Ross, Old Ross and Hervey's Island, and of the manorial courts of Old Ross and the Island, were included as part of the Bigod income:⁸¹ an extent of Agatha de Mortimers' lands in 1306 shows that the pleas and perquisites of the hundred courts of Clonmines and Taghmon were included in her income;⁸² and the pleas from the hundred courts of the towns of Wexford, Bannow and Ferns as well as the county court and the manorial courts of Rosslare formed part of the Valence income.⁸³ These facts, combined with the complex ownership of knights' fees, indicate that the partition of Leinster created a fragmented political, administrative and economic situation in county Wexford which, inevitably, influenced the nature and progress of subsequent developments.

⁷⁸ Otway-Ruthven, 'Kildare,' p. 186.

⁷⁹ *Cal. just. rolls*, i, p. 142.

⁸⁰ Hore, *Wexford*, i, pp. 5-39; iii, pp. 199-218, *passim*.

⁸¹ *Cal. just. rolls*, ii, pp. 347-9; *Cal. i.p.m.*, iv, 306-7.

⁸² *Cal. doc. Ire.*, v, no. 538.

⁸³ *Cal. i.p.m.*, vi, pp. 324-7; *Cal. close rolls*, p. 362.

Chapter 5

Sub-infeudation and Manorial Organisation

The primary concern of a tenant-in-chief was the establishment of a feudal framework in order to create a military, economic and administrative structure within his territory. In Leinster, this process was made more complex by successive changes in overlordship. Before his death in 1176 Strongbow made considerable progress in establishing a network of fiefs,¹ but the lordship was subsequently in the king's hand until 1189. John's appointment as Lord of Ireland in 1185 presented difficulties for William Marshal's succession to Leinster, following his marriage, in 1189, to Strongbow's daughter Isabella. It is doubtful if the feudalisation of Leinster was completed until early in the thirteenth century when Marshal finally gained possession.

Anglo-Norman lords in Ireland had almost complete freedom in the organisation of their fiefs within the constraints imposed by geographical, political and economic considerations. Existing settlement structures and population distribution were also significant factors. The location of seignorial centres, the allocation of fiefs to vassals, and the establishment of towns and religious foundations required careful consideration and a high degree of organisation, as feudal obligations, once established by charter, were normally irrevocable.²

Following the allocation of fiefs, feudal lords were required to attract the different classes of tenants necessary to make the manorial structure economically successful. Locating a labour force to populate the manors was left to land-owners at the different levels in the feudal hierarchy and was not implemented according to an overall plan. This task of attracting settlers from Britain to a potentially dangerous frontier territory was not an easy one, as illustrated by the difficulties experienced by Hervey de Montmorency in establishing a

¹ Orpen, *Normans*, i, pp. 367-93.

² Bloch, *Feudal society*, pp. 190-210.

religious foundation in county Wexford. His first attempt to establish a house at Bannow in 1171-2 failed because he could not get monks to come to Ireland.³ In 1172 Hervey offered land in the cantred of Shelburne to the monks of Buildwas. A Brother Alan, sent to investigate the site, was not impressed. Perhaps influenced by the fact that he had to live in a hollow tree, he reported that the place was a wilderness, the land was worthless, and the natives ferocious. The abbot turned the offer down, transferring it instead to St. Mary's Abbey, Dublin.⁴ The risks involved in the sea crossing were also an obstacle to attracting settlers. William Marshal's narrow escape from shipwreck in 1200 is well known because of his subsequent foundation of Tintern Abbey⁵ but there are other accounts of the dangers involved and of the reluctance of people to risk the passage.⁶ However, in spite of the dangers, settlers did cross over to Ireland, probably enticed by the offer of improved social and economic living conditions. There is no evidence that agents, like the *locators* employed to organise settlers in Germany at the same period, were used to plan the immigration into Ireland.⁷ However, although evidence for the movement of colonists into Ireland is scant, they came in sufficient numbers to people the manors and boroughs which were a necessary part of feudal lordship.⁸ The mercenary soldiers and officials who helped to take the land initially, probably became some of the first settlers. Among the former tenants mentioned in Marshal's charter to Tintern Abbey, dated about 1207, was 'Meiler the Sergeant who owned the land to the west of Owenduff.'⁹

To facilitate the sub-infeudation process, pre-existing territorial units were used in the allocation of land.¹⁰ In the absence of detailed surveys, lands granted to Anglo-Norman knights were sometimes allocated 'as the Irish held it.'¹¹ Irish land-holding structures were

³ J.C. Ward, 'Fashions in monastic endowment: the foundations of the Clare family,' in *Jn. Eccles. Hist.*, xxxii, (1981), pp. 445-6.

⁴ *Chartul. St. Mary's*, i, p. 355.

⁵ Bernard, 'Tintern Abbey.'

⁶ For example, *Cal. doc. Ire.*, i, no. 1485; ii, 483.

⁷ Simms, 'Core and periphery,' p. 33.

⁸ A. Empey, 'Conquest and settlement: patterns of Anglo-Norman settlement in north Munster and south Leinster,' *Ir. Economic Hist.*, xiii (1986) pp. 5-31.

⁹ Hore, *Wexford*, ii, p. 19.

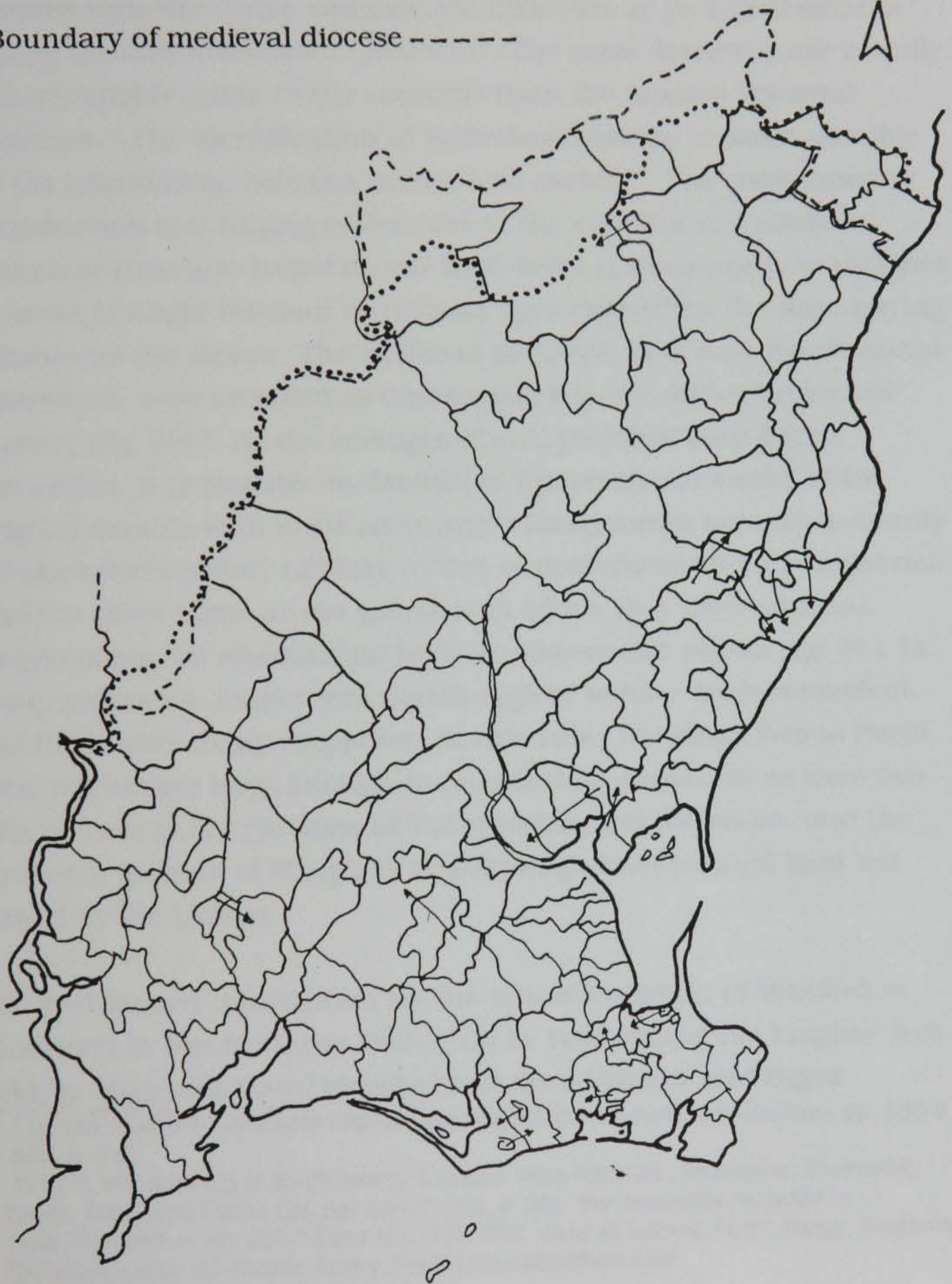
¹⁰ See p. 41.

¹¹ See, for example, Orpen, *Normans*, i, pp. 394-5.

Fig. 30. Medieval parishes in the diocese of Ferns.

Modern county boundary

Boundary of medieval diocese - - - - -



Sources :

Ferns diocese Visitation list 1615
(Hore, *Wexford*, vi, pp. 266-74).

Civil survey.

O.S. *Wexford and Wicklow maps*, 1841.

6 miles



10 km

closely related to ecclesiastical divisions as twelfth-century church reform saw the introduction of dioceses based on Gaelic kingdoms, with the sub-division of the diocese, the rural deanery, corresponding to the minor kingdom or *tricha cét*.¹² These minor kingdoms were equated with the Welsh cantred and allocated as principal manors during the sub-infeudation process.¹³ The rural deaneries are usually a more reliable guide to the cantreds than the modern baronial divisions.¹⁴ The identification of individual manors is made possible by the relationship between manor and parish.¹⁵ The contemporary introduction of a tithing system led to the creation of a medieval parochial structure based on the land-holding framework, as parishes in areas of Anglo-Norman settlement were created by the tithe-paying tenants on the manor. The medieval parishes, based on the manorial framework, were recorded as civil parishes in the mid-seventeenth century (fig. 30).¹⁶ As the acreages of civil parishes have been calculated, it is possible to determine the territorial extent of the original manors with some accuracy.¹⁷ Thirty-seven manors in county Wexford (twenty-four military, seven ecclesiastical and six seignorial) had the same name as the parishes in which they were situated, emphasising the relationship between manor and parish (fig. 31). In thirty instances, manor and parish appear to have been coincident, but there were many exceptions to this rule. The small fees in Forth were not always large enough to constitute a parish: there were two fees in each of the parishes of Tachumshin and Kilsoran, and the episcopal manors of Mayglass and Kinnagh incorporated land not owned by the bishop.

The first known information on the sub-infeudation of Wexford is contained in two feodaries drawn up in 1247 listing the knights' fees held by Joan and Maud Marshal and their Valence and Bigod

¹² The rural deaneries of county Wexford are discussed in Nicholls, *Leinstermen*, pp. 556-8.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 550

¹⁴ In 1375, the cantreds of south county Wexford were listed as: Shelburne, Shelmalier, Keyer, Bargy and Forth (*Cal. pat. and cl. rolls*, p. 98); the deaneries recorded in Hore, *Wexford*, vi, pp. 265-74 and Ms. 566, TCD, were as follows: Forth, Bargy, Shelburne, Shillelagh, Oday, Síil Mealla, Duffry, Fernegenel and Shelmalier.

¹⁵ Otway-Ruthven, 'Parochial development.'

¹⁶ *Civil survey*, passim; For a discussion on the relationship between medieval and civil parishes, see C.A. Empey, 'The Anglo-Norman settlement in the cantred of Eliogarty,' in Bradley (ed.), *Settlement and society*, pp. 213-5.

¹⁷ Table of areas, *Index to the townland survey of the county of Wexford*, Ordnance Survey (Dublin, 1841).

descendants.¹⁸ A feodary prepared after the death of Roger Bigod in 1306 contains a list of fees held by him in county Wexford.¹⁹ The Valence fees are detailed in a feodary drawn up after the death of Aymer de Valence in 1324.²⁰ Brooks uses these and a later extent of 1425 to identify the holders and locations of knights' fees in the county.²¹ Brooks did not give an estimate of the extent of each fee and this will be attempted as part of this thesis. Sixty-four fees can be identified, ranging in value from one-twentieth of a fee to nine fees, with an overall value of fifty-one and a quarter fees (Appendix 1). At the partition of Leinster, twenty-two fiefs in county Wexford, with a total value of thirteen and thirteen-twentieths, were allocated to the Bigod purparty. The location of five of these, totalling one and one-fifth of a knight's fee, cannot be identified. The forty fiefs allocated to the Valence share amounted to thirty-seven and three-fifths knights' fees. The location of seven of these fiefs, with a total value of one and five-eighths of a knight's fee, is not known. As the Valences held Wexford by twenty-two and a half fees, this gave them a profit of fifteen fees.²²

Of the sixty-four fees in county Wexford, fifty-one can be located with some certainty: the locations of the others are not known (fig. 32). In mapping the different land-holding units, the information contained in the extents is utilised. The importance of seventeenth-century surveys and the boundaries of civil parishes in relation to medieval settlement is also taken into consideration. Two assumptions are required: (1) the land-holding pattern at the end of the thirteenth and beginning of the fourteenth centuries reflected the grants made during the sub-infeudation process; (2) in areas of military and political stability, the Anglo-Norman settlement pattern survived intact until the middle of the seventeenth century.²³ The mid-seventeenth century *Civil survey*, in conjunction with earlier material, provides a more complete basis for the study of Anglo-Norman settlement than could be obtained from a study of thirteenth and fourteenth-century

¹⁸ *Cal. pat. rolls*, 1364-7, p. 271.

¹⁹ *Cal. i.p.m.*, v, pp. 306-8; *Cal. just. rolls*, ii, pp. 347-50.

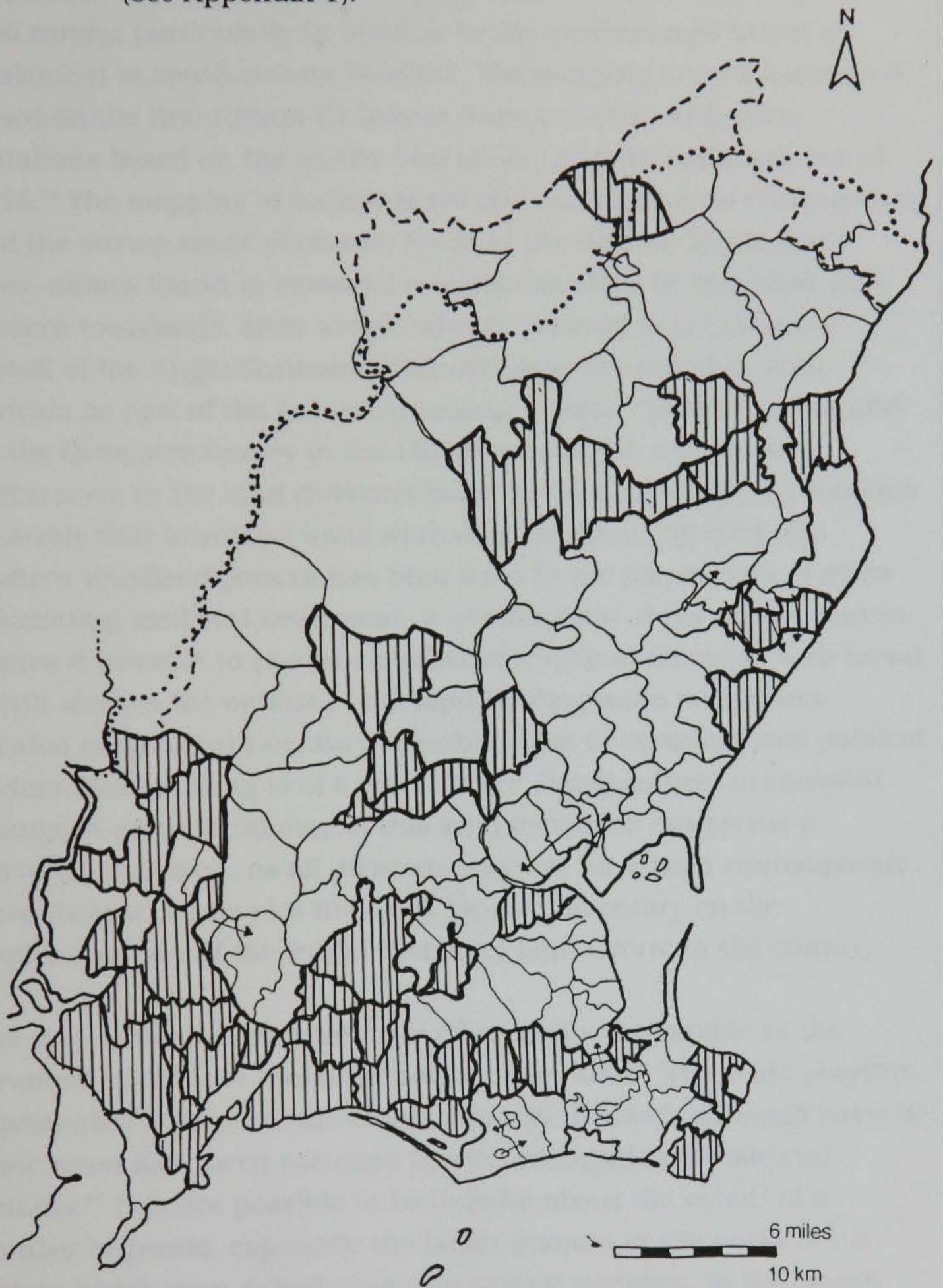
²⁰ *Cal. i.p.m.*, vi, pp. 324-27; *Cal. close rolls*, 18 Ed. II, pp. 362-4.

²¹ Brooks, *Knights' fees*, p. viii.

²² *Cal. i.p.m.*, vi, p. 326. (According to this source, Valence held 39½ fees in Wexford).

²³ B. Graham, 'Anglo-Norman settlement in county Meath,' *R.I.A. Proc.*, C, lxxv (1975), p. 224.

Fig. 31. Parishes and manors with identical names
(see Appendix 1).



Sources : see Appendix 1.
Civil survey, passim.

sources only. This methodology is justified by the significant correlation between information from earlier sources and from the *Civil survey*, particularly in relation to the location and extent of settlement in south county Wexford. The mapping of civil parishes is based on the first edition Ordnance Survey (1840), with some variations based on the earlier *Civil survey* and the visitation list of 1615.²⁴ The mapping of ecclesiastical estates is based on civil parishes and the survey made of church lands at the time of dissolution.²⁵ Place-names found in manorial extents can often be identified with modern townlands. Most townlands are believed to pre-date the arrival of the Anglo-Normans while others were created by subdivision as part of the sub-infeudation process.²⁶ Townlands mapped by the Ordnance Survey in the 1830s correspond, with minor differences, to the land divisions listed in the *Civil survey*. As it seems probable that townland units were used in allocating land, the modern townland pattern has been used in the preparation of maps illustrating medieval settlement. A combination of the above sources makes it possible to produce a schematic map to illustrate with broad brush strokes the outline of the land-holding units which were created in thirteenth-century Wexford. Due to economic and political factors, land-holding is of a fluid nature, being subject to constant change. A conjectural map of this kind inevitably represents a chronological span, as all divisions may not have been contemporary. Nevertheless, it provides the basis for a commentary on the implementation of the feudal system of land tenure in the county.

The map of the subinfeudation is of necessity incomplete as the locations of thirteen fees have not been identified. These are possibly represented by some of the blank areas on the map, although some of these must have been occupied by other categories of manorial tenants.²⁷ It is not possible to be definite about the extent of a number of grants, especially the larger manors in the north of the county which were sub-divided into several parishes. In the closely

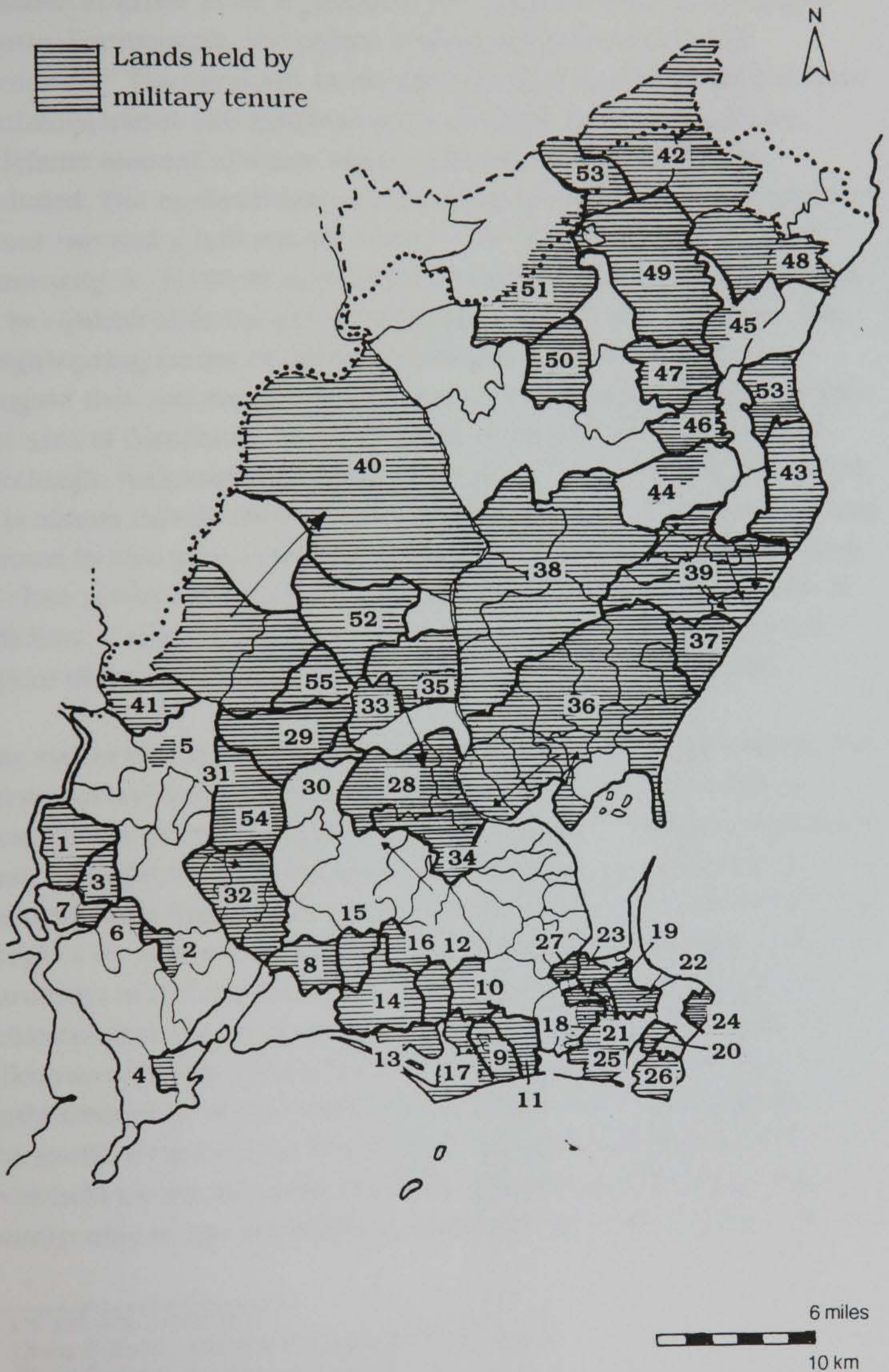
²⁴ Hore, *Wexford*, vi, pp. 265-74.

²⁵ *Extents of Irish monastic possessions, 1540-41*, (ed.) N.B. White, (Dublin, 1943).

²⁶ K. Nicholls, 'Gaelic society and economy,' *N.H.I.*, ii, p. 407.

²⁷ For an account of the various types of manorial tenant see J. Otway-Ruthven, 'The organisation of Anglo-Norman agriculture in the middle ages,' *R.S.A.I. Jn.*, lxxxi (1951), p. 11.

Fig. 32. Location and extent of knights' fees in county Wexford.
(Numbers refer to Appendix 1)



Sources: see Appendix 1.

settled south of the county, the situation was different as in many instances manor and parish were one and the same. However, it is possible to arrive at an estimate of the extent of some of the larger grants. For example, the manor of Glascarrig consisted of 27 carucates.²⁸ The carucate, or ploughland, is generally thought to have contained about 120 medieval acres of arable land, although an indefinite amount of waste of uncultivated land could also be included. The medieval acre is believed to have been the equivalent to about two and a half statute acres.²⁹ On this basis, the manor of Glascarrig, (c. 8,100 st. acres) held as one knight's fee, can be shown to be equivalent to the parish of Donaghmore (7, 477 st. acres). The neighbouring manor of Offelimy (Kilmuckridge) was held by two knights' fees and would, presumably, have been approximately twice the area of Glascarrig. When the area of the adjoining parishes of Meelnagh, Kilnamanagh, Killincooley and Kilmuckridge is calculated, it is almost exactly twice the size of Donaghmore. The distinctive unit formed by this group of small, fragmented parishes, suggests an area of close settlement and indicates that they represent the two fees of Offelimy. Using similar methodology, it is possible to estimate the extent of grants which were not represented by a single parish.

The size of the knight's fee varied considerably. In county Dublin, the service of one knight was worth about ten carucates (c. 3,000 st. acres).³⁰ The purpose of military tenure was the creation of a garrison and, as might be expected, the size of a fee also depended on the security of its location. In county Meath, for example, the extent of a knight's fee varied from twenty carucates in peaceful areas to thirty carucates in the marches.³¹ A comparison of a number of grants indicates that the same principle was applied in county Wexford. Kilcowan (c. 7 car.), Mulrankin (c. 8 car.), Kilcavan (c. 11 car.) and Ambrosetown (c. 8 car.) were all held by the service of one knight in the south of the county. Rosdroit (c. 28 car.) and Glascarrig (27 car) were held as one fee in the northern, more vulnerable, part of the county: also in the north, fifteen carucates were held as half a fee and

²⁸ *Cal. pat. and cl. rolls*, p. 39.

²⁹ Otway-Ruthven, 'Anglo-Norman agriculture,' p. 10, n. 51.

³⁰ Otway-Ruthven, 'Knight service,' p. 10.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

five carucates as a quarter fee.³² The average fee in the south was valued at eight carucates compared to twenty-six carucates in the north, making the knight's fee in the frontier zone of county Wexford more than three times the size of the fee in the land of peace.

For the purposes of sub-infeudation, the area corresponding to the Gaelic kingdom of *Uí Cheinnselaig* was divided into nine principal regions or cantreds. As well as relating to existing political units, the definition of these divisions was obviously influenced by geographical factors. It is clear that, for political reasons, extents and boundaries were subject to change. The greatest continuity was in the south of the county, where the territories of Forth, Bargy and Shelburne, defined by Forth Mountain with the Corock and Owenduff rivers, remained constant and equate to the modern baronies of the same names. The land divisions used for the purposes of this thesis are based on documentary evidence where possible but some boundaries, for example, the southern limit of Duffry, are tentative. Bantry, in the west of the county, is frequently mentioned but it was never a cantred. The later barony incorporated parts of the cantreds of Shelburne, Duffry and possibly Shelmalier.

For the purposes of comparison, an analysis of settlement in each cantred is presented at this point. Relevant information varies, due to the uneven distribution of source material and the relative success or failure of settlement in each region. The seignorial manors, taken into the king's hand on the death of the lord, were obviously best documented. The significance of the distribution of defended farmsteads (medieval moated sites) as an indicator of manorial settlement will also be examined (fig. 33). A moated site is defined as an enclosure surrounded by a rectangular or sub-rectangular ditch or moat, usually filled with water. In some cases, the central platform may be raised above the level of the surrounding land. In the south-east, sites vary considerably in area and width of moat, but 76% have areas of between 500 and 2,500 square metres with moat widths of between two and seven metres.³³ These sites are generally regarded as not being part of the first phase of manorial development but are

³² Brooks, *Knights' fees*, pp. 165, 173.

³³ Barry, *Medieval moated sites*, p. 103.

Fig. 33. Moated site distribution.

- Moated site
- Probable moated site



Sources :
Barry, *Medieval moated sites.*
Moore, *Archaeological inventory.*
Field work.





Fig. 34. Meylerspark moated site, manor of Old Ross.

The ministers' accounts of 1283 (Hore, *Wexford*, i, p. 31) describe the construction of a moated site at Ballyconnor on the manor of Ross. The place-name is no longer in use but as the dimensions of the exceptionally large surviving moated site at Meylerspark are close to those given for Ballyconnor, it is possible that it may be the site whose construction was described in 1283.

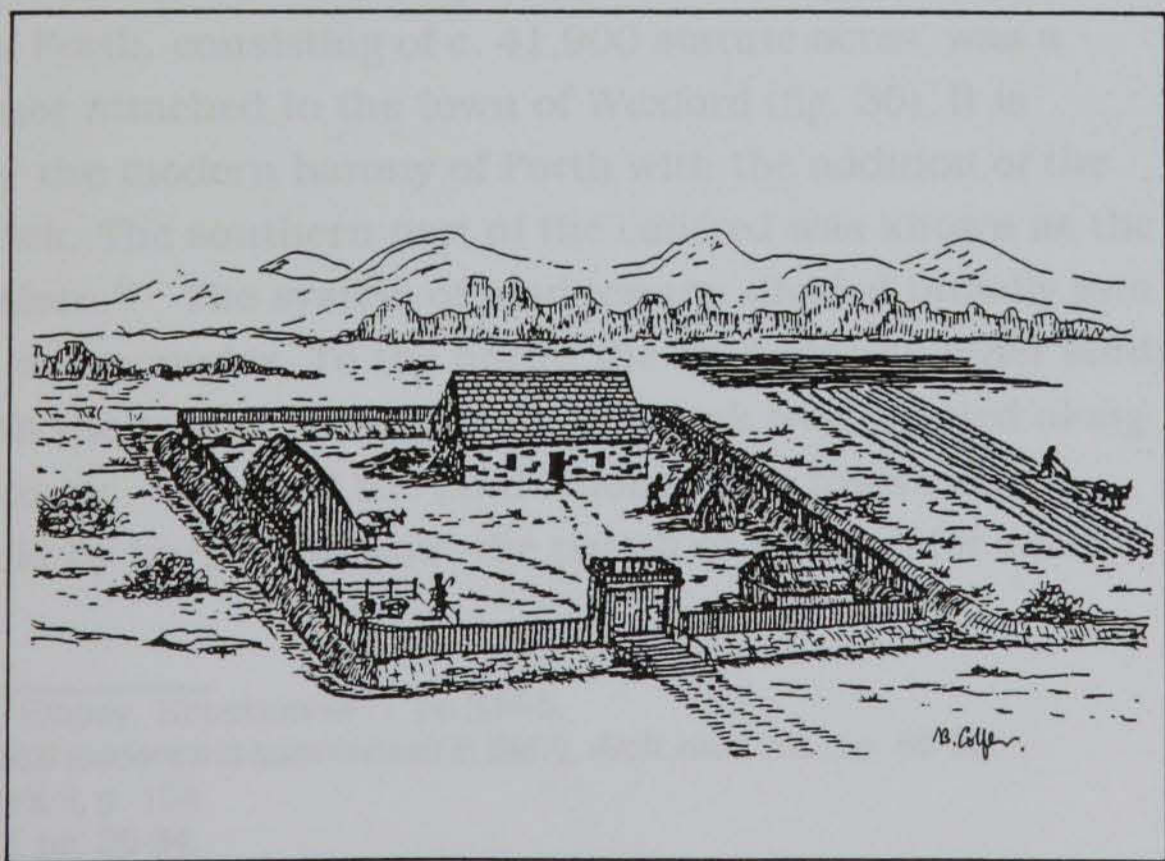


Fig. 35. Conjectural reconstruction drawing of a moated site, based on a description given in the ministers' accounts.

rather associated with a later, unrecorded, generation of settlers who were often allocated lands in more peripheral locations.³⁴ This theory is supported by limited archaeological evidence, which tends to attribute the construction of moated sites to the second half of the thirteenth century.³⁵ This secondary phase of land clearance and colonisation may have been under way in Wexford in the 1230s. The charter of deforestation issued by Richard Marshal c. 1233 permitted his free tenants to 'clear, enclose and cultivate' their lands which were within 'the metes and bounds of the forests of Ross and Taghmon.'³⁶ A unique description of the construction of a moated site on the grange of Ballyconnor is contained in the Bigod ministers' accounts for the year 1283-4.³⁷ The location of Ballyconnor is not known but the description of the site suggests that it may be identified as the surviving site of Mylerspark, peripherally located in hilly terrain (fig. 36).³⁸ Of 135 moated sites identified in county Wexford, 55 have been destroyed: a further 55 rectangular sites have been tentatively identified as moated sites. This impressive total of 190 sites is eloquent proof of the extent of Anglo-Norman settlement in the county.³⁹

The cantred of Forth

The cantred of Forth, consisting of c. 41,900 statute acres, was a seignorial manor attached to the town of Wexford (fig. 36). It is represented by the modern barony of Forth with the addition of the parish of Carrick. The southern part of the cantred was known as the manor of Rosslare.⁴⁰ The system of land tenure, divided broadly into three regions, was complex. To the north, the burgage and other lands associated with the towns of Wexford and Carrick were located along the Slaney estuary. Not all of the land belonging to towns was necessarily held by burgage tenure: the parish of Killiane, for example,

³⁴ Ibid. pp. 88-90; Empey, 'Knocktopher,' i, pp.334-5.

³⁵ The archaeological evidence is summarised in Barry, *Arch. med. Ire.*, pp. 85-95.

³⁶ *Chartul. St. Mary's*, ii, p. 154.

³⁷ Hore, *Wexford*, i, pp. 26-34.

³⁸ B. Colfer, 'In search of the barricade and ditch of Ballyconnor, county Wexford,' *Archaeology Ireland*, xxxvi, (1996), pp. 16-19.

³⁹ The mapping of moated sites is based on Moore, *Archaeological inventory*, pp. 95-114.

⁴⁰ *Cal. close rolls*, 18 Ed. II, p.362.

Fig. 36. Cantred of Forth: manorial and parochial structure.

Sources : see appendices 1 & 4.

(see Fig. 32 and Appendix 1)

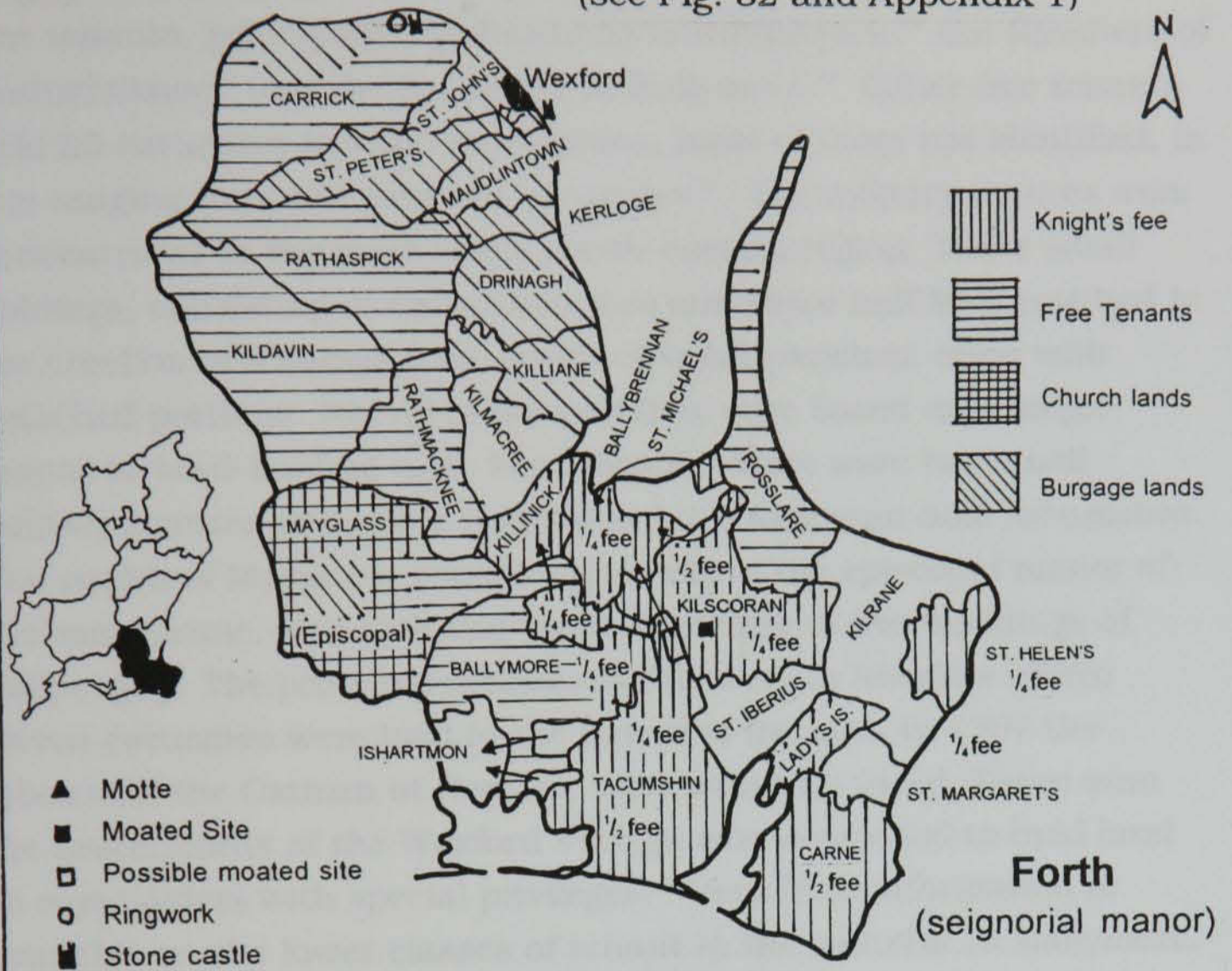
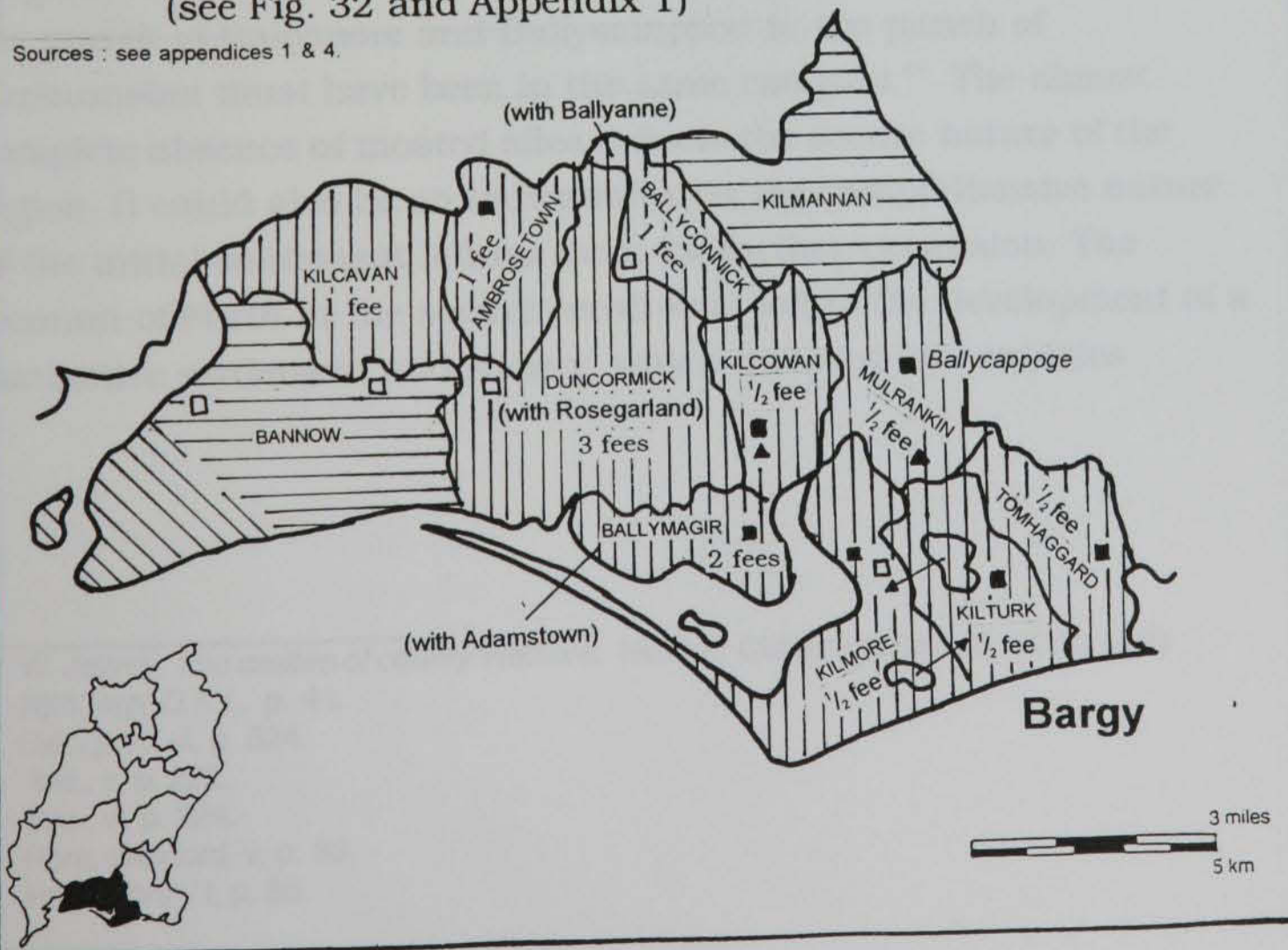


Fig. 37. Cantred of Bargy: manorial and parochial structure.

(see Fig. 32 and Appendix 1)

Sources : see appendices 1 & 4.



was held by a free tenant as part of the borough of Wexford.⁴¹ The large parishes to the south-west of the town were held by hereditary free tenants, principally the Esmonds of Rathaspick,⁴² the Rossiters of Rathmacknee⁴³ and the St. Johns in Ballymore.⁴⁴ Other free tenants held 23 carucates in various locations, most of them not identified, in lots ranging from one to seven carucates.⁴⁵ The military tenures were concentrated in the more fertile south-eastern region. These small holdings, consisting of six quarter fees and three half fees, resulted in the creation of a complex structure of small parishes, often with detached portions. Not all of the parishes were based on a single manor or land-holding unit. For example, there were two small military tenures and a free holding in both Kilsoran and Tacumshin. The parish of Mayglass, consisting mostly of the episcopal manor of the same name, also included the free holding of the Waddings of Ballycogley. The principal demesne lands were in Rosslare where eleven carucates were held in the hands of the lord. In 1307 the labours of the Ostmen at Rosslare were worth £9 9s 2d. These were the descendants of the Wexford Vikings who continued to hold land as copyholders with special privileges.⁴⁶ Very little information is available on the lower classes of tenant in the cantred. At Ballymore, four carucates were held in gavelkind by tenants-at-will and the English and Irish tenants who held eleven carucates at Ballyregan in the parish of Ballymore and Ballysampson in the parish of Tachumshin must have been in the same category.⁴⁷ The almost complete absence of moated sites reflects the secure nature of the region. It could also be an indication that the comprehensive nature of the initial settlement left no room for further expansion. The location of Forth in the secure south-east led to the development of a distinctive settlement and society which endured for centuries.

⁴¹ W. Jeffrey, *The castles of county Wexford*, (ed.) E. Culleton (Wexford, 1979), p. 23.

⁴² *38th Rep. D.K.I.*, p. 41.

⁴³ *Cal. i.p.m.*, vi, p. 324.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, v, p. 222.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, vi, p. 324.

⁴⁶ Hore, *Wexford*, v, p. 93.

⁴⁷ Hore, 'Forth,' i, p. 66.

The cantred of Bargy

The cantred of Bargy, equivalent to the Gaelic *tuath* of *Uí Bairrche* and the deanery and barony of the same name, formed part of the grant made to Hervey de Montmorency by Strongbow (fig. 37). Following Hervey's death without heir in 1205, his lands reverted to William Marshal.⁴⁸ It is doubtful if de Montmorency had completed the settlement on his lands before becoming a monk in Canterbury in 1189. In comparison to the cantred of Forth, the sub-infeudation of Bargy was less complex and more systematic. Of the twelve manors, ten were held by military tenure. In eight instances the names of manors and parishes were the same, reinforcing the connection between parish and manor. The tenures consisted of two full fees, five half fees and three other manors which had detached portions in the cantred of Shelmalier: Duncormick with Rosegarland was held by two fees, Ballymagir with *Maigharnaidhe* by two fees and Ballyconnick with Ballyanne by one fee. When Bargy reverted to Marshal, he, presumably, granted these lands to holders of other fees, perhaps an indication that there was a scarcity of suitable candidates for military tenure. The parish of Bannow included the burgage lands of the town with other lands held by manorial tenants. In 1324 Raymond de Barry, Adam Keating and Wolfram Deverous held one carucate each as free tenants at Rosmyl (presumably Barrystown) and Coolishal in the parish of Bannow.⁴⁹ The moated site at Coolishal must represent the defended farmstead of the Barry holding. There is no record of land-holding in Kilmannan, the only parish with no recorded moated site. It may be the Kilmanchan where Peter le Mareschal held seven carucates as a Valence free tenant in 1324.⁵⁰

Compared to Forth, the cantred of Bargy represents a more conventional model of sub-infeudation with a single borough, well defined military tenures and an area held by free tenants. The distribution of moated sites indicates that they may have been associated with the first phase of sub-infeudation. Eight of the fees have a single moated site and in three instances, Ballymagir

⁴⁸ Orpen, *Normans*, i, p. 393.

⁴⁹ *Cal. i.p.m.*, vi, p. 327.

⁵⁰ Brooks, *Kn. fees*, p. 121.

(Richfield), Ballyconnick and Tomhaggard, the moated site is located at the manorial centre, in the townland after which the fee and parish are named. The association of later tower houses with four of the sites, Ballymagir, Ballycappoge, Tullycanna and Kilcowan, is further proof of continuous occupation and central location.⁵¹ The success and continuity of settlement in Bargy, as in Forth, was due to its secure location south of the natural defensive line of the river Corrock and Forth Mountain.

The cantred of Shelburne⁵²

The cantred of Shelburne (*Sil Brain*), consisting of the modern barony with the addition of the manor of Ross, was equivalent to the rural deanery of the same name (fig. 38).⁵³ The extent of the manor of Ross, retained by Strongbow as a seignorial manor,⁵⁴ was defined in a deforestation charter issued by Richard Marshal c. 1233 which showed that the manor corresponded approximately to the combined parishes of Old Ross, St. Mary's, Carnagh and Kilsacanlan.⁵⁵ The remainder of the cantred formed part of Hervey de Montmorency's fief, known as the manor of the Island, because of the location of the manorial *caput* on an island in the river Barrow. This cantred was of strategic significance due to its location beside Waterford Harbour with its river complex, and, to a lesser extent, Bannow Bay. The importance of the region led to the establishment of three major religious foundations and the creation of five boroughs. The extent of the grant by Henry II to the Knights Templars in 1172 is represented by the parishes of Templetown and Hook on the southern peninsula.⁵⁶ The parish of St. James and Dunbrody, with part of Killesk, represents de Montmorency's grant to the Cistercians in the same year.⁵⁷ The Cistercians acquired a second estate in the cantred early in the thirteenth century when William Marshal granted lands for the

⁵¹ Moore, *Archaeological survey*, pp. 96, 108, 109.

⁵² The settlement pattern in Shelburne has been examined in : William Colfer, *Anglo-Norman settlement in medieval Shelburne*, unpublished M.Litt. thesis, T.C.D., (1986).

⁵³ Hore, *Wexford*, vi, pp. 269-70.

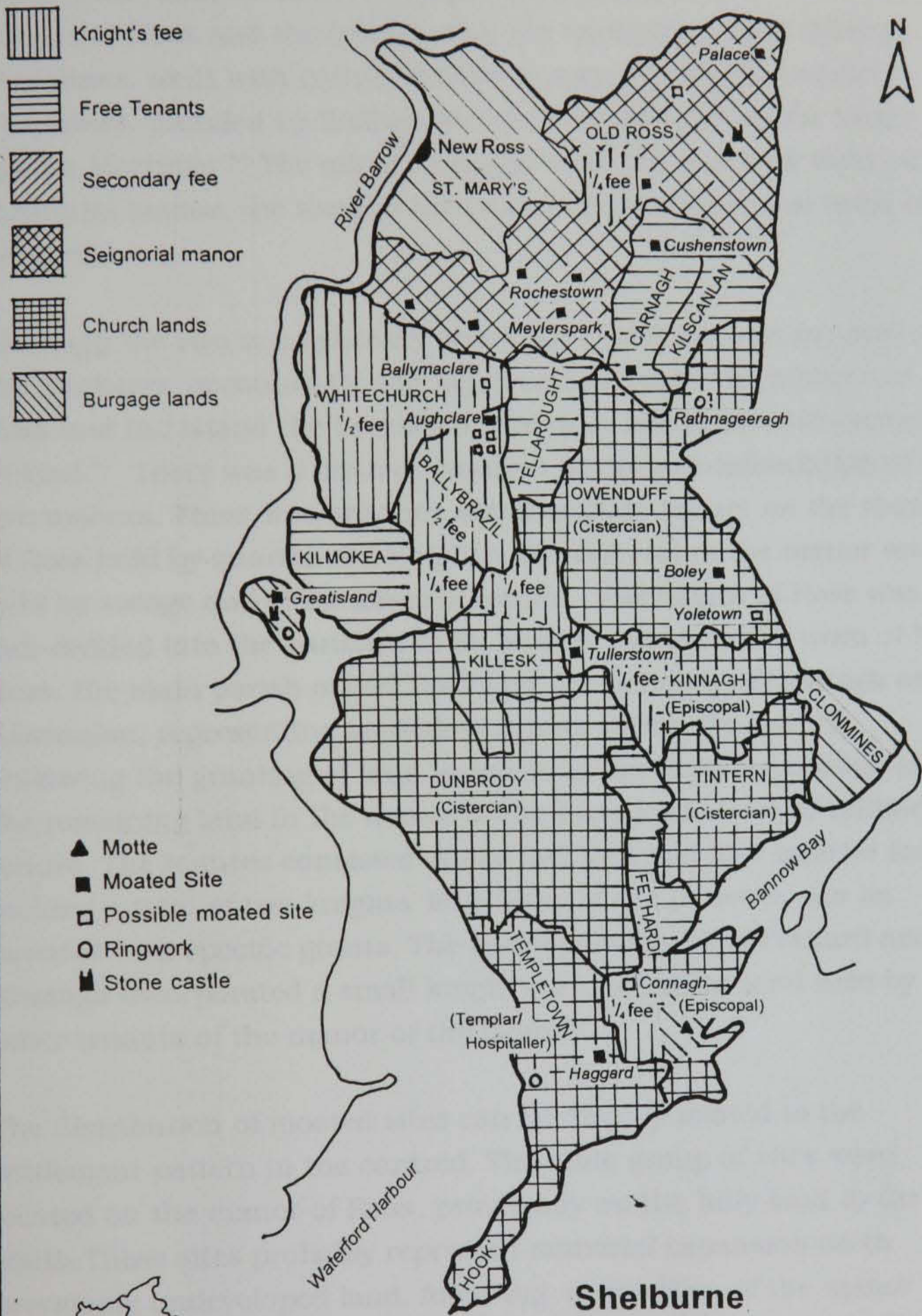
⁵⁴ Orpen, *Normans*, i, p. 374.

⁵⁵ *Chartul. St. Mary's*, ii, p. 154.

⁵⁶ *Cal. doc. Ire.*, i, no. 85.

⁵⁷ Hore, *Wexford*, iii, p. 34; *Monastic possessions*, pp. 353-6.

Fig. 38. Cantred of Shelburne: manorial and parochial structure.
(see Fig. 32 and Appendix 1)



Sources : see appendices 1 & 4.

foundation of Tintern de Voto, represented by the parishes of Tintern and Owenduff.⁵⁸ The addition of the episcopal manors of Fethard and Kinnagh⁵⁹ meant that 32,296 st. acres, (44% of the total area) of the cantred was church land. At the partition of Leinster in 1247, the manors of Ross and the Island, with the exception of the town of Clonmines, went with county Carlow to form the Bigod purparty. Clonmines, founded by William Marshal, formed part of the share of Agatha Mortimer.⁶⁰ The other boroughs were Old and New Ross on the seignorial manor, the town of the Island and the episcopal town of Fethard.

Although the run is a relatively short one (1280-93), the survival of the ministers' accounts for the Bigod estates make the manors of Ross and the Island the best documented in late thirteenth-century Ireland.⁶¹ There was a distinct contrast in the sub-infeudation of the two manors. There was only one small military tenure on the manor of Ross held by quarter of a knight's fee. The rest of the manor was held by socage and other forms of tenure. The manor of Ross was sub-divided into the parishes of St. Mary's, based on the town of New Ross, the main parish of Old Ross and the parishes of Carnagh and Kilscanlan, representing secondary grants within the manor. Following the granting of land to religious foundations, almost all of the remaining land in the manor of the Island was held by military tenure. The tenures consisted of two half fees and four quarter fees, making a total of two knights' fees. Most of the parishes can be equated with specific grants. The episcopal manors of Fethard and Kinnagh incorporated a small knight's fee as well as land held by other tenants of the manor of the Island.

The distribution of moated sites can be directly related to the settlement pattern in the cantred. The main group of sites were located on the manor of Ross, principally on the hilly land to the south. These sites probably represent manorial expansion on to previously undeveloped land, following acquisition of the manor by the Bigods at the partition of Leinster. The possibility of identifying

⁵⁸ Hore, *Wexford*, ii, pp. 16-23; *Monastic possessions*, pp. 358-63.

⁵⁹ *38th Rep. D.K.I.*, p. 43.

⁶⁰ *Cal. doc. Ire.*, ii, nos. 933, 1330.

⁶¹ Down, 'Colonial society,' p. 439.

Fig. 39. Rochestown moated site, manor of Old Ross.



This moated site probably represents the farmstead of Adam Roche who held two carucates at Trilloc (unidentified) on the manor of Old Ross in 1307 (*Cal. just. rolls*, ii, p. 349). It is likely that the unidentified Trilloc became Rochestown.

Fig. 40. Cushenstown moated site, manor of Old Ross.



In 1307 William Cosyn held two carucates at Balydermod on the manor of Ross (*Cal. just. rolls*, ii, p. 348). The place-name (unidentified) may have been replaced by Cushenstown where the moated site could represent Cosyn's farmstead.

the site at Meylerspark with the grange of Ballyconnor has already been discussed. Some of these sites are of special interest as they can be linked by documentary sources to specific families. The site at Palace has been identified by Orpen as the 'fortress which William Ace raised above the water of Bruncuinri,' mentioned in the deforestation charter of c.1233.⁶² The farmsteads of William Cosyn, who held two carucates at Ballydermod in 1307, William Roche, who held one carucate at Trillok, and John Sutton, who held three carucates at Carnagh,⁶³ can be identified as the moated sites at Cushenstown, Rochestown and Carnagh (figs. 39 & 40).

On the manor of the Island, the exceptionally large moated site on the island itself may have been associated with the *caput* established there by Hervey de Montmorency.⁶⁴ The sites at Ballymaclare, Aughclare, Tullerstown and Connagh, can be attributed to the Keating fee of Slievecoilta, the Sutton fee of Ballybrazil, the Tullos fee of Tullerstown and the Furlong fee of Connagh.⁶⁵ Frequent references in the ministers' accounts, such as 'making a ditch around the fold,' 'stakes bought to enclose the place where the sheep are littered,' and 'for making a ditch around the new enclosure', suggest that a group of four small sites located in close proximity in Ballybrazil may have been built as animal pens. The need for security is highlighted in the accounts which record details of the hiring of two watchmen and a boy to guard the animals.⁶⁶ There is an obvious absence of moated sites on the Cistercian lands apart from two examples on the detached portion of the Tintern estate, a circular moated site at Boley, and a possible site at Yoletown. The only example on the Templars manor of Kilcloggan is in the townland of Haggard. Significantly, the farmstead on the manor was referred to as 'the Haggard' in 1311.⁶⁷ This term, still used in reference to the farmyard in county Wexford, seems to be synonymous with a moated site as

⁶² Orpen, 'Forests of Ross and Taghmon,' p. 59. Palace could be a corruption of palisade; there are two moated sites in the similarly named townland of Pallis in the north of the county.

⁶³ *Cal. i.p.m.*, iv, p. 306-7.

⁶⁴ Moore, *Archaeological inventory*, p. 103.

⁶⁵ Brooks, *Knights' fees*, pp. 10, 14, 12, 17. The possible moated site at Connagh is not listed by Moore but is shown on the first edition O.S.

⁶⁶ Hore, *Wexford*, i, pp. 5-39, *passim*.

⁶⁷ Hore, *Wexford*, iv, p. 275.

the same word was used to describe the site at Ballyconnor, where the Haggard was surrounded by a trench and pallisade.⁶⁸

The cantred of Shelmalier

The cantred of Shelmalier, based on the *tuath* of *Sil Maoluidir*, was equivalent to the rural deanery of the same name (fig. 41). Because of boundary fluctuations, it is not possible to be precise about the northern limits of the cantred.⁶⁹ The boundary given here represents the most probable one, as the parish of Killegney formed part of the neighbouring Prendergast manor of the Duffry. Shelmalier was divided into relatively large land-holding units. The parishes of Taghmon and Coolstuff represent the seignorial manor of Taghmon which, like Ross, was substantially defined by the deforestation charter of 1233. The boundary outlined by the charter included a narrow corridor to the Slaney, giving Taghmon access to the river and the sea. At the partition of Leinster, the manor of Taghmon was assigned to the purparty of Agatha Mortimer⁷⁰ but very little is known about its subsequent development. At Agatha's death in 1306, the burgesses held five carucates, and two carucates of cultivated land were held by 'certain Irishmen.'⁷¹ Although much of the manor was located on best quality land,⁷² it had a relatively low value of £8 3s 7d, an indication that it had not been developed to its full potential. However, the survival of nine moated sites, mostly in peripheral locations to the north of the manor, show that considerable settlement did take place.

Although its sub-division into three parishes would indicate secondary settlement, nothing is known, apart from the existence of five moated sites, about the development of the de London manor of Rosegarland, held, with Duncormick in Bargy, by the service of three knights. The de Denne fief, for which three fees were also due, was the principal manor in the barony of Kayer,⁷³ an extensive district on the

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

⁶⁹ Nicholls, 'Leinstermen,' p. 557.

⁷⁰ *Cal. doc. Ire.*, ii, no. 933.

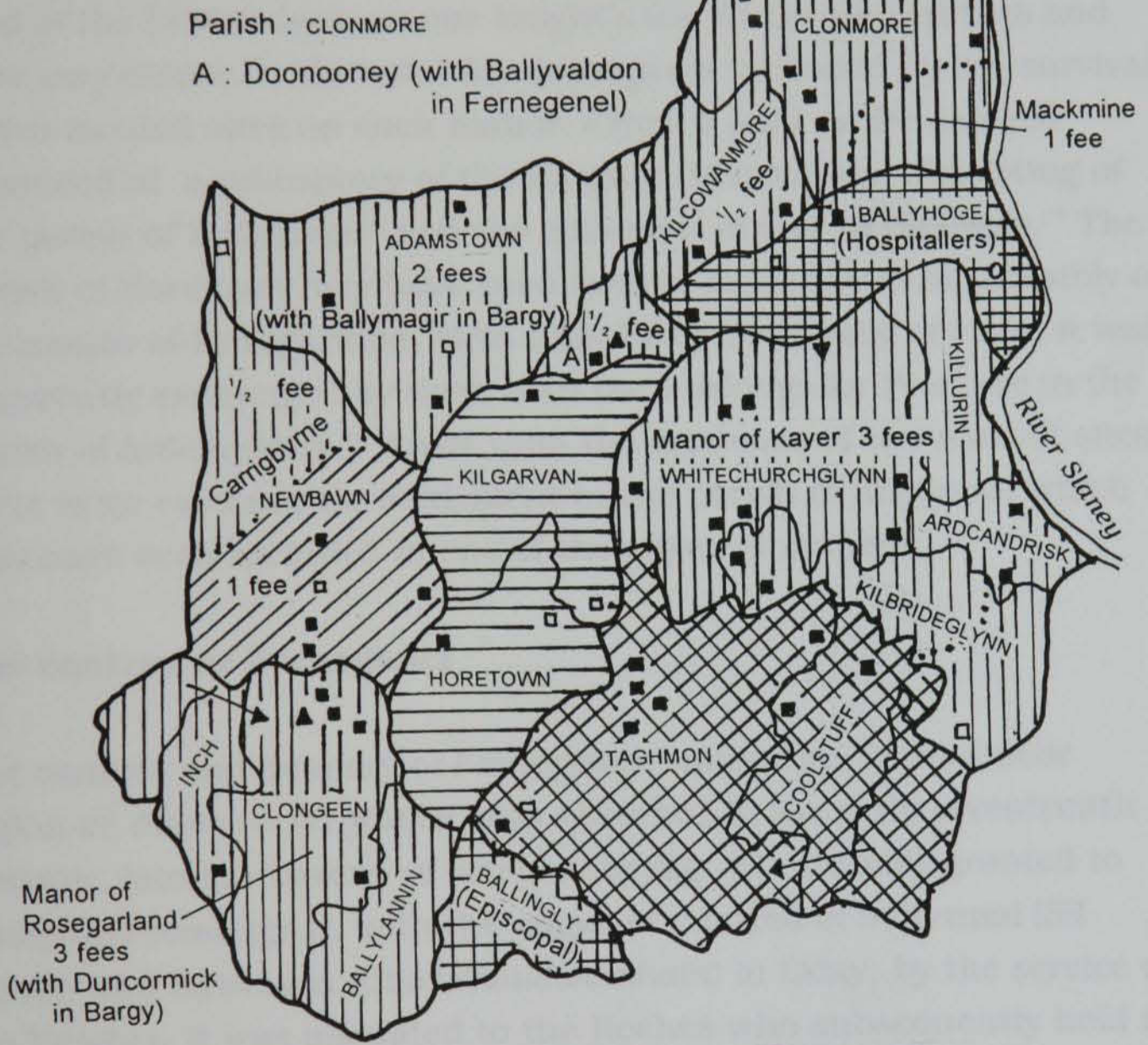
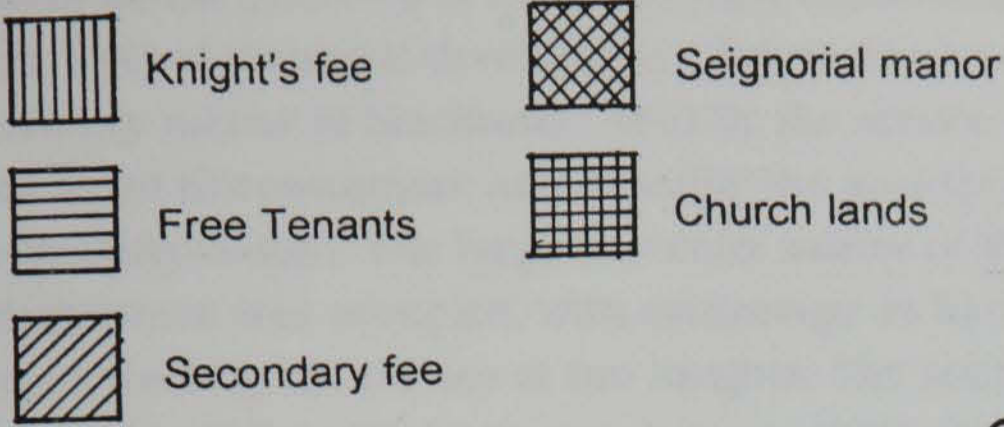
⁷¹ *Ibid.*, v, no. 537.

⁷² All references to soil types are based on : Gardiner & Ryan, *Soils of county Wexford*, soil suitability map.

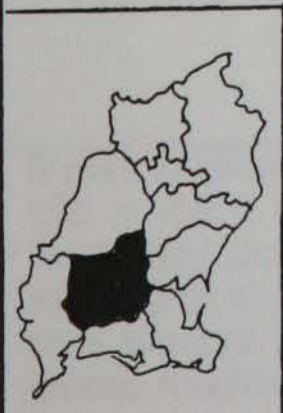
⁷³ Kayer was also referred to as a cantred: *Cal. pat. and cl. rolls*, p. 98.

Fig. 41. Cantred of Shelmalier: manorial and parochial structure.

(see Fig. 32 and Appendix 1)



Shelmalier
 Sources : see appendices 1 & 4.



- ▲ Motte
- Moated site
- Possible moated site
- Ringwork



right bank of the Slaney below Enniscorthy.⁷⁴ Despite the lack of documentary evidence, the existence of twenty moated sites, located mostly in the parishes of Clonmore and Whitechurchglynn, suggests a high level of manorial development. Kayer also contained the fitzHenry manor of Mackmine, held by the service of one knight; the half fee of Kilcowanmore and possibly the quarter fee of Doonooney (with Ballyvaldon). The large Devereux manor of Maigharnaidhe (later Adamstown) was occupied, with Ballymagir in Bargy, by the Devereuxes by the service of two knights. The southern part, which, with the half-fee of Carrigbyrne, became the parish of Newbawn, was held of the Devereuxes, as one knight's fee, by the de Londons and their successors.⁷⁵ Manorial development is indicated by the survival of five moated sites on each manor. Church land in the cantred consisted of a preceptory of the Knights Hospitallers, consisting of the parish of Ballyhoge⁷⁶ and the episcopal manor of Ballingly.⁷⁷ The parish of Horetown may have been farmed by free tenants, possibly of the manor of Rosegarland. Held initially by the family of Hore, it was apparently exchanged by them with the Furlongs for Polehore in the parish of Ardcanrisk.⁷⁸ Apart from the existence of two moated sites, there is no evidence for settlement in the parish of Kilgarvan which may have been included in one of the adjacent manors.

The cantred of Fernegenel

The cantred and deanery of Fernegenel, equivalent to the Gaelic region of *Fearann na gCenel*, was absorbed in the early seventeenth century into the barony of Shelmalier (fig. 43). Initially granted to Philip de Prendergast, with the adjacent cantred of Schyrmal (*Síl Mealla*) and Kynelaon (*Cinel Fhlaitheamhain*) in Oday, by the service of ten knights, it was alienated to the Roches who subsequently held it by the service of five knights.⁷⁹ The close connection between these two Flemish families from Pembrokehire was evident in 1208 when

⁷⁴ Brooks, *Knights' fees*, p. 44.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 103, n. 2.

⁷⁶ The Military Orders will be discussed in chapter 7.

⁷⁷ *38th Rep. D.K.I.*, p. 43.

⁷⁸ Hore, *Wexford*, i, p. 30; Brooks, *Knights' fees*, pp. 18, 105.

⁷⁹ Brooks, *Knights' fees*, p. 145.

Fig. 42. Cantred of Schyrmal: manorial and parochial structure.
(see Fig. 32 and Appendix 1)

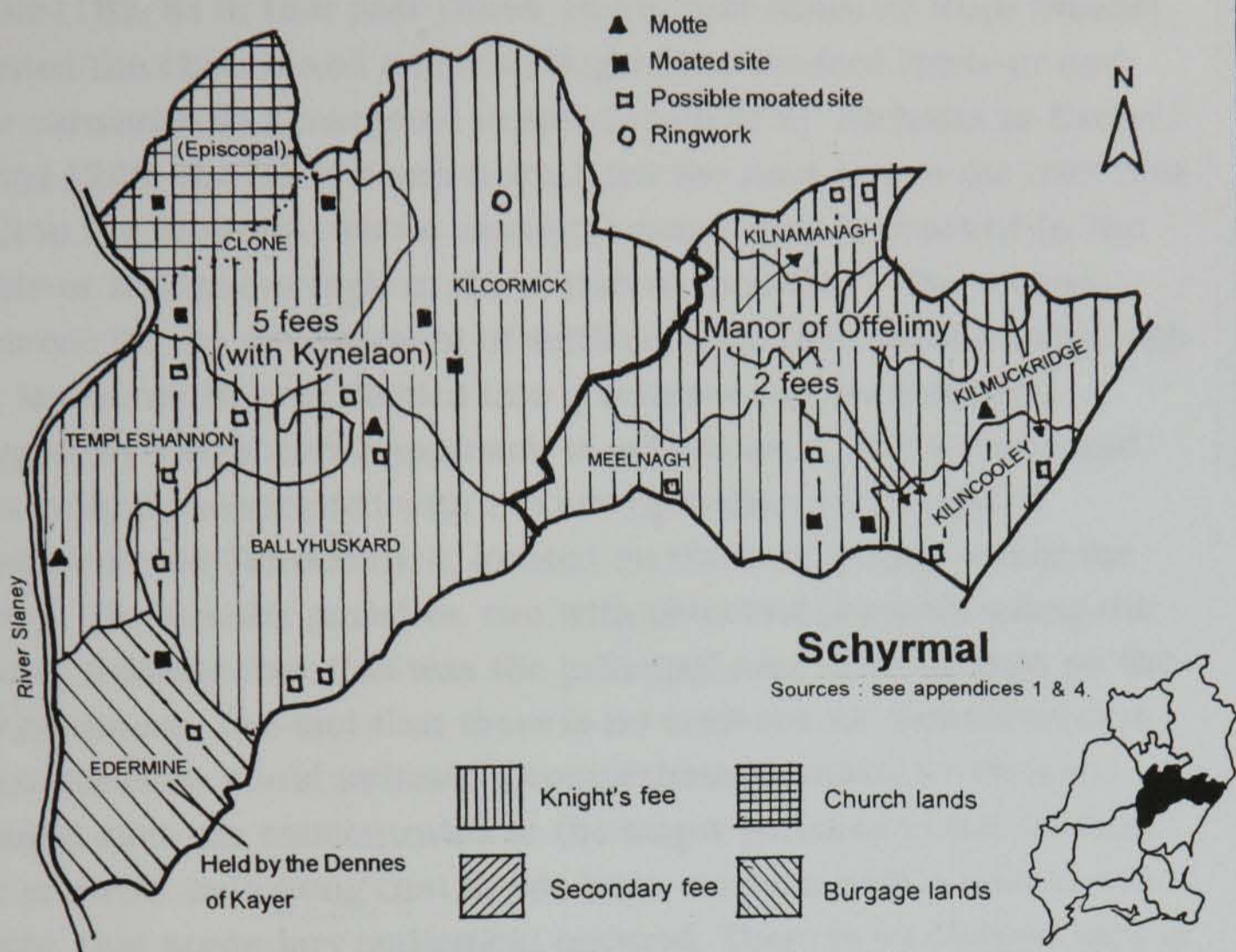
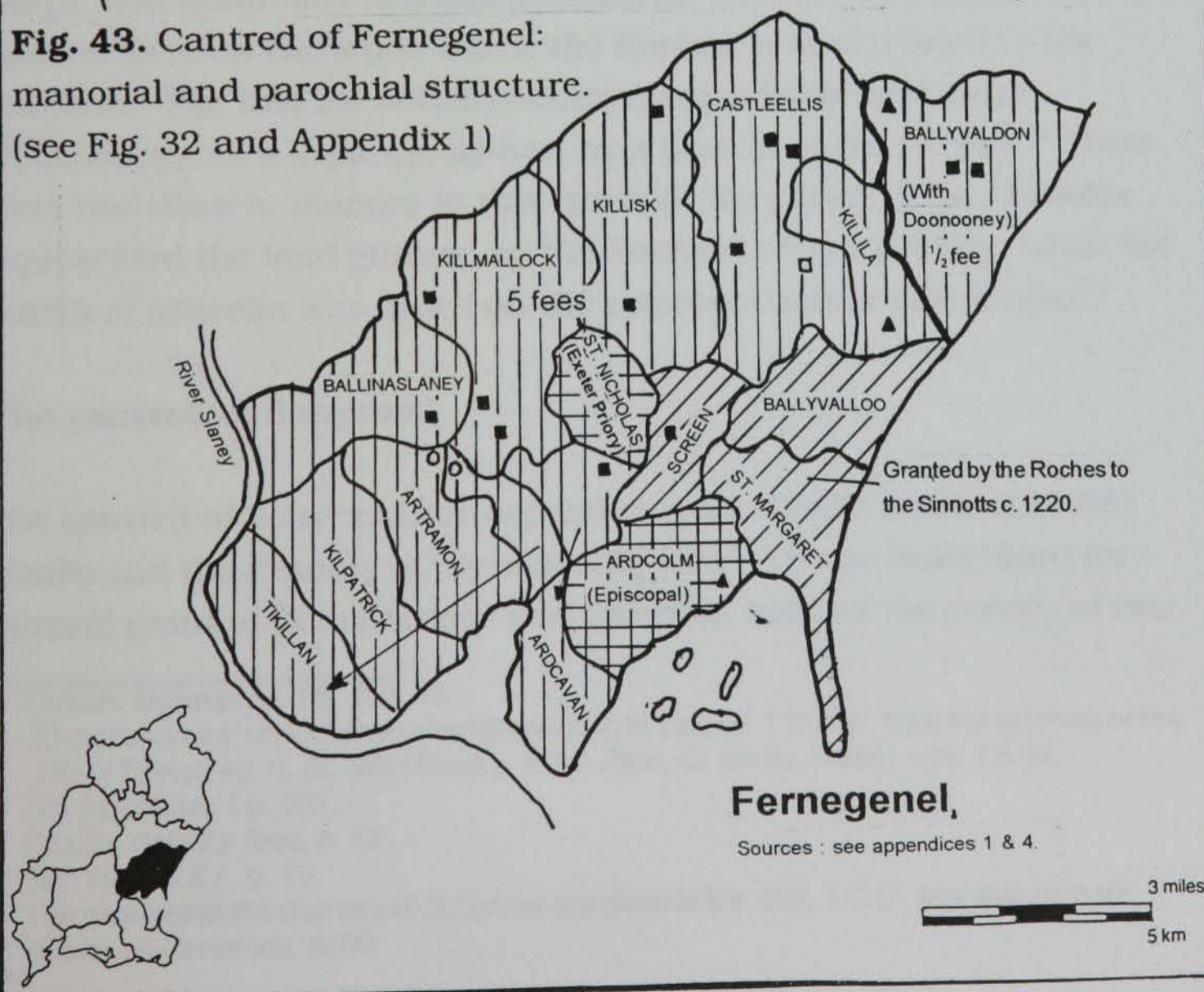


Fig. 43. Cantred of Fernegenel: manorial and parochial structure.
(see Fig. 32 and Appendix 1)



they were among the group of Leinster barons who abandoned Marshal in favour of King John.⁸⁰ The Roches acquired Fernegenel before 1182, as in that year David, Henry and Adam de Rupe (Roche) granted the church and island of Begerin in Wexford Harbour and four carucates in Fernegenel to the church of St. Nicholas in Exeter.⁸¹ About 1220, the Roches sub-infeudated the land east of the river Sow inlet to the Sinnotts, whose manorial centre may be marked by the motte at Ballinamorrhagh in the parish of Ardcolm.⁸² There is no evidence for the development of settlement on these manors although the Roche territory is divided into a series of regular parishes, suggesting a structured approach to sub-division. The Roche *caput* was probably associated with the two defensive earthworks of Castlesow and Tobberfinick, located on the best quality soil in the region. The smaller parishes, two with detached portions, along the Slaney indicate that this was the principal area of settlement on the Roche manor. The fact that there is no evidence for moated sites in these parishes could indicate a comprehensive initial settlement. Moated sites are concentrated in the larger parishes to the north of the cantred, indicating that it was here, on soils with a limited use range, that secondary settlement occurred. There is an obvious lack of moated sites on the lands which the Roches subinfeudated to the Sinnotts. The half fee of Ballyvaldon was probably held (with Doonooney), as a separate manor, by a branch of the Roches.⁸³ There were two church manors in this cantred: the parish of St. Nicholas represented the land granted by the Roches to Exeter Priory, while the parish of Ardcolm was based on the episcopal manor of Polregan.⁸⁴

The cantred of Schyrmal

The cantred of Schyrmal corresponded to the Gaelic tuath of *Uí (Síl) Mealla* and the deanery of Syrmale (fig. 42).⁸⁵ The de Boisrohard (or Borard) grant of Kilmuckridge and Offelimy, held by the service of two

⁸⁰ Crouch, *Marshal*, pp. 98, 106, 151.

⁸¹ 'Exeter charters: unpublished charters relating to Ireland, 1177-82, from the archives of the city of Exeter, ed. E. St. John Brooks, *R.I.A. Proc.*, C, xxxiii, (1936), nos. 1 & 42.

⁸² *Cal. pat roll Jas. I*, p. 327.

⁸³ Brooks, *Knights' fees*, p. 53.

⁸⁴ *38th Rep. D.K.I.*, p. 43.

⁸⁵ The parishes of the deanery of Schyrmal are given in Ms. 566, T.C.D.; see also Nicholls, 'Some place-names,' p. 90.

knights, was situated in the eastern part of the cantred where the manorial *caput* was centred on Kilmuckridge motte. Manorial expansion may have been concentrated in the southern, more secure, part of the manor, where six of the eight recorded moated sites are located. The remainder of the cantred formed the Prendergast fee of Schyrmal, occupied by the service of two and a half knights.⁸⁶ The different parochial structures provide evidence for the contrasting development in each fief. The smaller, fragmented parishes of Offelimy indicate denser settlement and a more complex land-holding system. The Prendergast holding, probably focused on Motabeg motte in Templeshannon parish, was divided into larger units with fewer moated sites, an indication of a smaller manorial population and scattered settlement. Ballymoty motte in Ballyhuskard parish and Ballyorley ringwork in Kilcormick, suggest a greater military emphasis in the Prendergast fief. About 1226, twelve carucates in the part of Clone nearest Ferns, perhaps the area north of the river Bann, were alienated by Philip de Prendergast to the bishop of Ferns.⁸⁷ The parish of Edermine, which included the borough of the same name, must have been part of the original Prendergast fief but, for some unknown reason, by the end of the thirteenth century it belonged to the de Dennes of Kayer.⁸⁸ Like Fernegenel, the Prendergast fief in Schyrmal passed to the Roches early in the fourteenth century.⁸⁹

The cantred of Duffry

The cantred of Duffry, held by four and a half knights' fees by the Prendergasts and their Rochfort heirs, corresponded to the Gaelic region and rural deanery of the same name (fig. 44).⁹⁰ The parishes of Killegney and Templeudigan were not included in the rural deanery but as Killegney was part of the Prendergast holding, their inclusion in the cantred seems justified.⁹¹ The cantred, as thus defined, is bounded by the Blackstairs Mountains to the west and north and the

⁸⁶ Brooks, *Knights' fee*, p. 129.

⁸⁷ Hore, *Wexford*, vi, p. 343.

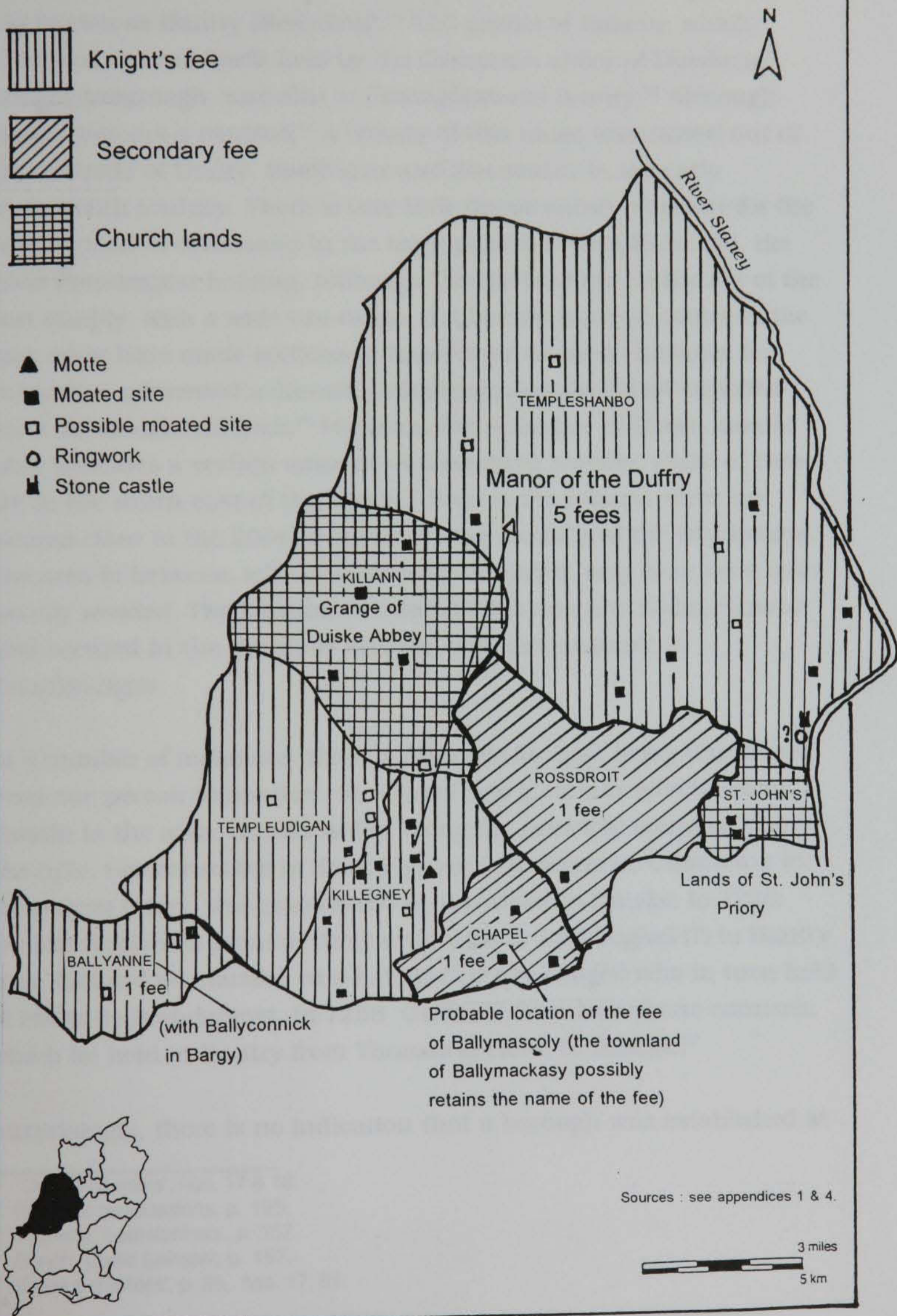
⁸⁸ *Cal. just. rolls*, i, p. 240; *Cal. i.p.m.*, vi, p. 324.

⁸⁹ *Cal. i.p.m.*, vi, p. 325.

⁹⁰ Mss. 566, T.C.D.; Hore, *Wexford*, vi, p. 272.

⁹¹ Hore, *Wexford*, vi, p. 343; *Cal. doc. Ire.*, v. no. 19.

Fig. 44. Cantred of Duffry: manorial and parochial structure.
(see Fig. 32 and Appendix 1)



Slaney to the east. To the south, the river Boro with its tributary the Aughnaglaur, and the Pollmounty river, flowing west to the Barrow, form natural boundaries. The southern part of the Prendergast fief was known as Bantry (*Beanntraí*).⁹² The parish of Killann, which developed around lands held by the Cistercian abbey of Duiske in Graiguenamanagh, was also in Fassagh(waste) Bantry.⁹³ Although Bantry was not a cantred,⁹⁴ a barony of this name was carved out of the cantreds of Duffry, Shelburne and Shelmalier in the early seventeenth century. There is very little documentary evidence for the development of settlement in the large parish of Templeshambo, the main Prendergast holding. Although the lands of the Duffry are of the best quality, with a wide use range, the heavily wooded nature of the area must have made settlement hazardous, as land clearance for cultivation presented a daunting challenge and the forest supplied cover for disaffected Irish.⁹⁵ However, the existence of eleven moated sites indicates a certain amount of settlement activity. Eight of these are in the south-east of the manor, close to the Slaney; three are located close to the 200m contour, in the foothills of the Blackstairs. The area in between, where no sites are recorded, may have been more heavily wooded. The location of moated sites near the 200m contour also occurred in the parish of Killann, with one example in Templeudigan.

In a number of instances, there is evidence for land being transferred from one person to another, as if there was a certain reluctance to remain in the area, Duiske Abbey being the principal recipient. For example, two carucates in Bantry granted by Adam de Caunteton to Glascarrig Priory, was transferred by the abbot to Duiske; in 1226, Duiske received a grant of three carucates in Rathboghil (?) in Bantry from Richard de Marisco who held it of Roger Galgeil who in turn held of Philip de Prendergast. In 1258 Griffin le Gros leased one carucate, which he held in Bantry from Thomas le Hore, to Duiske.⁹⁶

Surprisingly, there is no indication that a borough was established at

⁹² 'Duiske charters', nos. 17 & 18.

⁹³ *Monastic possessions*, p. 195.

⁹⁴ Nicholls, 'Leinstermen', p. 557.

⁹⁵ Smyth, *Celtic Leinster*, p. 157.

⁹⁶ 'Duiske charters', p. 35, nos. 17, 61.

Enniscorthy, the manorial *caput* and castle site. However, this may be due to lack of documentation, as a settlement did develop around the castle. Just as they had done at Fernegenal,⁹⁷ the Prendergasts enfeoffed the Roches in the Duffry, granting them a manor which became the parish of Rosdroit. The Roches did not occupy the manor, passing it instead to the Dennes of Kayer for the service of one knight. The Dennes also held the manor of Balimascoly of the Roches by a similar service. This fee may have been equivalent to the parish of Chapel, where the name Balymascoly may be represented by the townland of Ballymackesy.⁹⁸ The importance of the sub-manor of Killegney, whose *caput* is marked by a major motte, is reflected in the high density of moated sites. It was occupied for life by Maurice fitzMaurice fitzGerald who died in 1286⁹⁹ and in 1301 Maurice de Rochfort, lord of the Duffry, had demesne lands there.¹⁰⁰ The Boscher manor of Ballyanne, later to be taken over by the Kavanaghs, was held, with Ballyconnick in Bargy, by the service of one knight.¹⁰¹ Just below Enniscorthy, the parish of St. John's was formed from the lands of the priory of St. John's, founded by Philip de Prendergast. His son, Gerald, granted the priory, with its lands, to the abbey of St. Thomas in Dublin.¹⁰² There is no evidence for the origin of the parish of Templeudigan.

The cantred of Oday

The cantred of Oday was equivalent to the Gaelic region of *Uí Dega*¹⁰³ and the later deanery of Oday (fig. 45).¹⁰⁴ The northern part formed the Prendergast two and a half knights' fee of Kinelaon. The extent of this fief can be estimated from the places that are known to have been in it. Before 1229, Walter de Barry received a grant of Crosspatrick and 'other land' in Kynelaon from Philip de Prendergast, to be held by the service of one knight; in 1250 de Barry held Ardamine, probably

⁹⁷ Brooks, *Knights' fees*, p. 130.

⁹⁸ *Cal. just. rolls*, i, p. 431.

⁹⁹ *Cal. doc. Ire.*, iii, no. 463.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, v, no. 19.

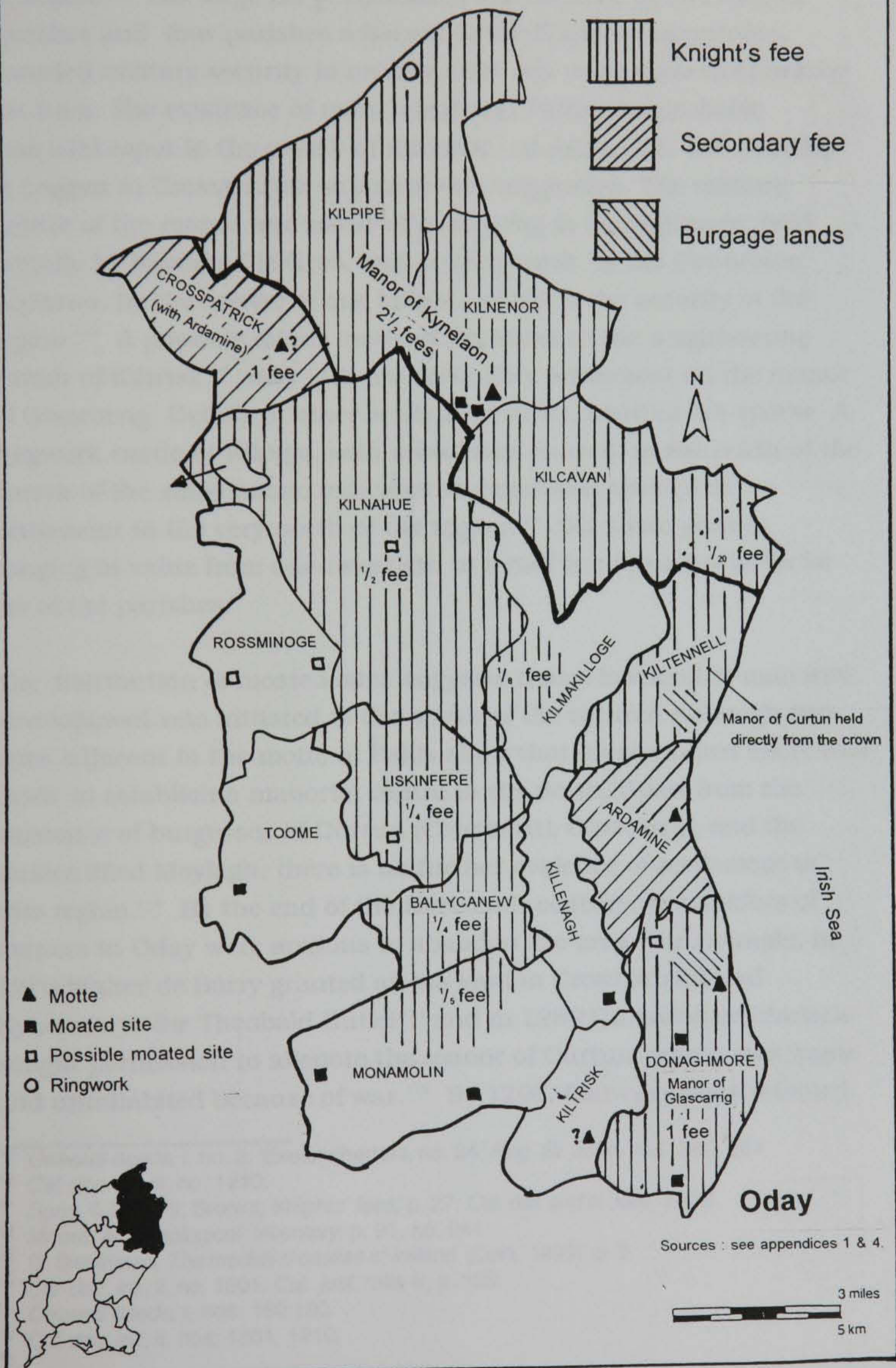
¹⁰¹ Brooks, *Knights' fees*, p. 109.

¹⁰² *Register of the abbey of St. Thomas's, Dublin*, ed J.T. Gilbert, (London, 1889), p. 186.

¹⁰³ Smyth, *Celtic Leinster*, p. 148; Nicholls, 'Leinstermen,' p. 557.

¹⁰⁴ Hore, *Wexford*, vi, pp. 272-3.

Fig. 45. Cantred of Oday: manorial and parochial structure.
 (see Fig. 32 and Appendix 1)



the 'other land' of the earlier charter.¹⁰⁵ The manor of Curtun in the neighbouring parish of Kiltannel was also described as being in Kynelaon.¹⁰⁶ The large fief of Kynelaon, represented by two coastal parishes and four parishes adjacent to the Wicklow mountains, provided military security in an area that was vulnerable to attack by the Irish. The existence of motte castles at Pallis, the probable manorial *caput* in the parish of Kilnenor, at Ardamine, and possibly at Loggan in Crosspatrick supports this suggestion. The military nature of the manor and motte of Glascarrig in Donaghmore, held initially by Raymond le Gros, and subsequently by his Caunteton nephews, by the service of one knight, added to the security of the region.¹⁰⁷ A possible minor motte at Barnaree in the neighbouring parish of Kiltrisk¹⁰⁸ may indicate secondary settlement on the manor of Glascarrig. Details of other settlement in the cantred are sparse. A ringwork castle at Kilpipe, with associated church, in the north of the parish of the same name, indicates an organised attempt at settlement in the very north of the region.¹⁰⁹ Six small grants, ranging in value from one-twentieth to a half fee, formed a basis for six of the parishes.

The distribution of moated sites suggests that a low level of manorial development was initiated in the south of the cantred although two sites adjacent to the motte at Pallis show that a determined effort was made to establish a manorial centre in the north. Apart from the existence of burgesses at Curtun (Courtown), Glascarrig, and the unidentified Moylagh, there is no further evidence of settlement in this region.¹¹⁰ By the end of the thirteenth century, the holders of manors in Oday were anxious to abandon the area. For example, in 1270 Walter de Barry granted all his land in Crosspatrick and Kynelaon to Sir Theobald Butler¹¹¹ and in 1280 Christina de Mariscis sought permission to alienate the manor of Curtun, which was waste and uninhabited because of war.¹¹² By 1296, four carucates retained

¹⁰⁵ *Ormond deeds*, i, no. 3; 'Exeter charters, no. 24; *Reg. St. John*, nos. 360, 361.

¹⁰⁶ *Cal. doc. Ire.*, ii, no. 1210.

¹⁰⁷ *Song*, ll. 3068-9; Brooks, *Knights' fees*, p. 27; *Cal. pat. and cl. rolls*, p. 39.

¹⁰⁸ Moore, *Archaeological inventory*, p. 91, no. 941.

¹⁰⁹ D. Sweetman, *The medieval castles of Ireland* (Cork, 1999), p. 9.

¹¹⁰ *Cal. doc. Ire.*, ii, no. 1801; *Cal. just. rolls*, iii, p. 159.

¹¹¹ *Ormond deeds*, i, nos. 162, 180.

¹¹² *Cal. doc. Ire.*, ii, nos. 1801, 1210.

in demesne by William de Valence in Kynelaon, worth £4 in time of peace, were also described as devastated.¹¹³ In 1311 the tenants had fled from the forty burgages at Moylagh, and 'the burgages had fallen'.¹¹⁴ The Prendergast heirs joined in the general abandonment of the area as by 1325 the Roches had acquired, with Schyrmal, the two and a half fees of Kynelaon. At that time, all of the fees in Oday were described as 'in decay' and 'worth nothing' because they were 'wasted by the Irish'.¹¹⁵

The cantred of Shillelagh (with Ferns)

The cantred of Shillelagh corresponded to the *tuath* of *Síl nÉladaigh*¹¹⁶ and the deanery of Shillelagh (fig. 46).¹¹⁷ It is not clear if Ferns, as the centre of Gaelic political and ecclesiastical power, was part of the cantred as it was not included in the rural deanery. The lands of Ferns were made up of two distinct units; the seignorial manor of the lord of Wexford and the bishop's episcopal manor.¹¹⁸ Ferns was regarded as a manor as early as 1177, when it was assigned to the services of Wexford.¹¹⁹ In 1232 the lands of Ferns, with the exception of the Irish tenants, was part of the dower of the countess of Pembroke.¹²⁰ By 1307 the manor was in decline; rents from the free tenants had fallen from £18 to £5 10s and income from 54 carucates from £59 to £18. The existence of only one moated site could also indicate abandonment by tenants and a failure to implement a policy of manorial development. The extent of the manor was given at about 56 carucates (approximately 17,000 statute acres) not counting the episcopal manor.¹²¹ The smaller extent of the medieval parish (c.14,000 st. acres) may be accounted for by the variable nature of the carucate. The decline of the manor continued, as in 1325, Ferns, with its 160 burgages, was worth nothing, being 'totally wasted by Irish felons'.¹²² The extent of the episcopal manor can be estimated from

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, iv, no. 306.

¹¹⁴ *Cal. just. rolls*, iii, p. 159.

¹¹⁵ *Cal. close rolls*, 18 Ed. II, p. 363; *Cal. i.p.m.*, 18 Ed. II, p. 325-6.

¹¹⁶ Byrne, *Irish kings*, p. 148.

¹¹⁷ Ms. 566, T.C.D.; Hore, *Wexford*, iv, p. 273.

¹¹⁸ *36th Rep. D.K.I.*, p. 61.

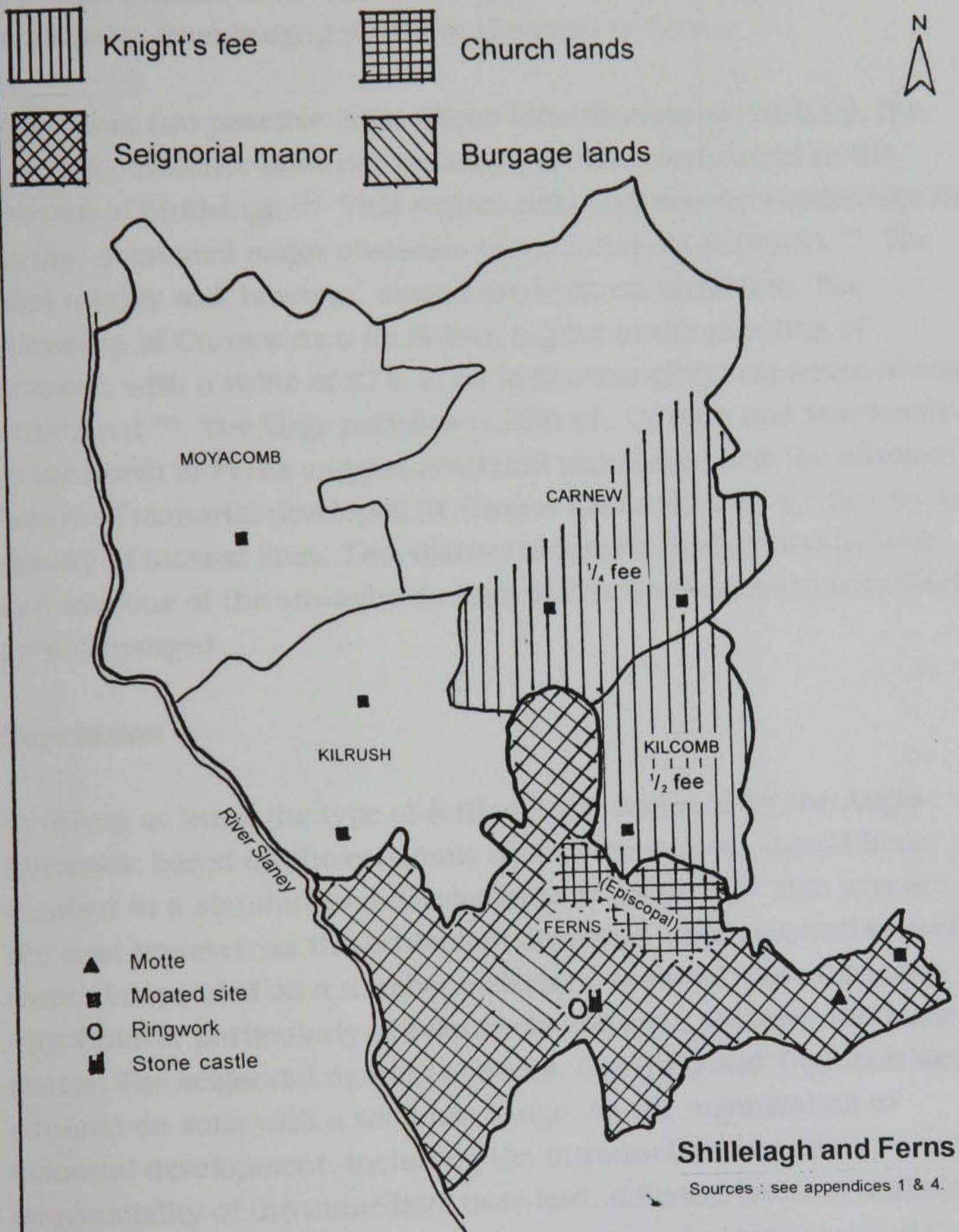
¹¹⁹ *Hoveden*, ii, p. 134.

¹²⁰ *Cal. doc. Ire.*, ii, no. 1950.

¹²¹ *I. p.m.*, 1 Ed. II, quoted in Hore, *Wexford*, vi, p. 9.

¹²² *Cal. i.p.m.*, vi, p. 326.

Fig. 46. Cantred of Shillelagh (with Ferns): manorial and parochial structure. (see Fig. 32 and Appendix 1)



3 miles
5 km

the lands held by the bishop in the middle of the seventeenth century in conjunction with the church lands shown on the Down Survey.¹²³ In 1282 the manor had an income of £11, the second lowest of six episcopal manors in the diocese. This included £2 burgage rent, presumably from burgages held in the town of Ferns.

Apart from two possible fiefs, whose identification is doubtful, the available evidence does not indicate extensive settlement in the cantred of Shillelagh.¹²⁴ This region, hilly and heavily wooded like the Duffry, presented major obstacles to manorial development.¹²⁵ The good quality soil, however, must have been an attraction. The allocation of Carnew as a de Bohun manor at the partition of Leinster, with a value of £74 is an indication of the existence of some settlement.¹²⁶ The large parishes of Kilrush, Carnew and Moyacomb to the north of Ferns suggest scattered population and the ultimate failure of manorial development. This is also indicated by the very low density of moated sites. This district remained predominantly Irish and was one of the strongholds from which fourteenth-century Gaelic revival emerged.

Conclusion

In theory at least, the type of settlement introduced by the Anglo-Normans, based on the economic unit of the manor, should have resulted in a standardised development in all fiefs.¹²⁷ This was not the case however, as the settlement structure which evolved in each cantred depended on a number of factors. Location was of primary significance, particularly in relation to soil type, security and trade routes. The seignorial manors of Ferns, Old Ross and Taghmon were situated on soils with a wide use range. As the organisation of manorial development, including the introduction of settlers, was the responsibility of the immediate over-lord, different levels of ambition, ability and resources resulted in the creation of a varied manorial structure. Following the death of Hervey de Montmorency without

¹²³ *Civil survey*, p. 267; Down survey maps, N.L.I. MSS 725.

¹²⁴ Brooks, *Knights' fees*, pp. 40, 143.

¹²⁵ Smyth, *Celtic Leinster*, pp. 63, 156.

¹²⁶ *Cal. doc. Ire.*, ii, no. 933.

¹²⁷ Bloch, *Feudal society*, ii, p. 443.

issue, the organisation of the four southern cantreds was in the hands of William Marshal and his administration. The comprehensive nature of sub-infeudation in this region is an indication of the effectiveness of his organisation.

The organisation of settlement in the cantreds for which Marshal was responsible contrasts sharply with settlement on the lands held by the Prendergasts. Following the acquisition of the Duffry by marriage, the Prendergasts, by the service of ten knights, held the largest fief in the county, consisting of the cantreds of Duffry, Kinelaon and half of Schyrmal. There is no indication that an intensive exploitation of their manors was ever planned, no doubt partly due to the inhospitable nature of the Duffry and Kynelaon. The lack of evidence for boroughs on their lands is another indication of a low level of settlement. The contrast in the cantred of Schyrmal between development on the Prendergast lands, represented by the large western parishes, and the more complex settlement indicated by the parochial structure of the de Borrard manor of Offelimy in the east, indicates different levels of manorial activity. Access to the sea may have been a contributing factor in the case of Offelimy. The coastal cantred of Fernegenel, alienated by the Prendergasts to the Roches, like Offelimy, seems to have been more intensively settled than the Prendergast lands. An unusual feature of Anglo-Norman settlement in the county was the concentration of church lands in the cantred of Shelburne where almost half the land was in the hands of religious orders. The importance of securing Waterford Harbour probably influenced the decision to locate the Cistercians at Dunbrody and the Templars at Kilcloggan. The foundation of a second Cistercian house in the cantred, as a result of Marshal's vow when in danger of shipwreck, was more fortuitous in nature.

By the end of the thirteenth century, the speculative nature of settlement in the northern region was becoming more evident. The value of the liberty had decreased from £300 to £150 by 1296,¹²⁸ due to abandonment of manors, mostly in the north of the county. On the manor of Ferns, 18 carucates and 49 burgages were waste and even in

¹²⁸ *Cal. i.p.m.*, iii, p. 223.

Wexford town 128 burgages had been abandoned.¹²⁹ The manor of Glascarrig on the east coast had been devastated by the MacMurchada in 1311¹³⁰ and by 1325 manors in the four northern cantreds were being described as 'waste and abandoned' because of the wars of the Irish.¹³¹ The nature of manorial organisation, shaped by topographical, political and strategic considerations, can be assessed from the contemporary emergence of the parochial structure which provides an index to the density and permanence of settlement. The small parishes created by the complex settlement of the south-east contrasted dramatically with the large sprawling parishes associated with sporadic speculative settlement in the wooded uplands bordering the Blackstairs and Wicklow Mountains. There is an obvious change in parochial size north of a line running approximately from New Ross to Cahore Point. By 1325, all of the identified manors north of this line were abandoned due to pressure from the MacMurchada and their allies.

The distribution of moated sites also acts as an indicator of manorial settlement. There were contrasting reasons for the low density of sites in the south and north. Defence was not a primary consideration in the more secure south where a high level of initial settlement ruled out the second wave with which moated sites are usually associated. The low number of sites in the north reflects the speculative nature of initial settlement and subsequent withdrawal from the region. The high density of moated sites across the centre of the county, where there was extensive colonisation combined with a high requirement for defence, represents the interface between the two extremes. The seignorial manors provide the best example of the diverse nature of settlement. In theory, the four manors of Rosslare, Taghmon, Ferns and Old Ross should have evolved along similar lines but due to geographical, political and military factors, each manor developed in a distinctive way.

Manorial Organisation

Although it is possible to reconstruct the broad outlines of sub-

¹²⁹ *38th Rep. D.K.I.*, p. 41.

¹³⁰ *Cal. just. rolls*, ii, p. 159.

¹³¹ *Cal. close rolls*, 18 Ed. II, p. 363; *Cal. i.p.m.*, vi, p. 325; Brooks, *Knights' fees*, passim.

infeudation, it is not as easy to examine the internal organisation of individual manors. Documentary evidence for the initial stages of settlement is rare, as the arrival of ordinary tenants, so essential for manorial development, was not recorded. They were doubtlessly attracted by the offer of better conditions and a higher social status. In many ways the movement of people to Ireland in the thirteenth century must have paralleled the migration by Europeans to America four centuries later.¹³² In the absence of early documentation, evidence for manorial organisation is based on late thirteenth and early fourteenth-century extents and inquisitions which, because of the permanence of initial arrangements, reflect the feudal landscape created one hundred years earlier. However, available information is of a limited nature as it refers only to demesne lands on seignorial manors. An examination of the manors for which there is some evidence, principally Old Ross, the Island and Rosslare, gives some indication of the broader perspective of manorial social and economic development.

Generally speaking, manors were divided into four types of holding; demesne land worked by the lord, large holdings held by individual free tenants, scattered unenclosed strips in the manorial open fields held by lower categories of tenant and the lands held by native Irish, usually referred to as *betaghs*.¹³³ Land on the manor was classed as arable, meadow or pasture.¹³⁴ Arable land was cultivated using a three-field system in which a three-year rotation of wheat, oats and fallow was observed.¹³⁵ References to the fallow lands at Kilcolman and Cumbam being fertilised with sand from the Barrow and harrowed, indicate that the usual system of three-crop rotation was implemented at Old Ross.¹³⁶ Manorial economy was generally based on mixed agriculture, with cereal growing predominating¹³⁷ but sheep rearing may have taken precedence at Old Ross where there were

¹³² D.W. Meinig, *The shaping of America* (Yale, 1986), i, p. 7.

¹³³ Otway-Ruthven, 'Agriculture,' p. 3; for a description of dispersed strip holdings see M.M. Postan, *The medieval economy and society*, (London, 1972), p. 49.

¹³⁴ H. Jager, 'Land use in medieval Ireland: a review of the documentary sources,' *Irish economic and social history*, x, (1983), p. 53.

¹³⁵ J. Mills, 'Tenants and agriculture near Dublin in the fourteenth century,' *R.S.A.I. Jn.*, xxi, (1891), p. 60.

¹³⁶ Hore, *Wexford*, i, p. 38.

¹³⁷ Jager, 'Land use in medieval Ireland,' p. 64.

usually about 1500 sheep on the demesne lands.¹³⁸ Corn, particularly oats, was also important; in 1284, for example, there were 25 acres of wheat and 106 acres of oats.¹³⁹ Evidence for farming elsewhere in the county is meagre; in 1287, the corn on the manor of Killegney was worth £20¹⁴⁰ and in 1311 there were 20 acres of wheat and 20 acres of oats on the demesne lands of Glascarrig.¹⁴¹ Following the suppression of the Templars in 1307, an inventory of their goods gave a clear picture of agricultural activity on their manor of Kilcloggan where the haggards contained the following : 80 crannocs of wheat, 100 crannocs of oats, 8 crannocs of beans and peas, 18 cows, 2 bulls, 36 oxen, 12 heifers, 18 horses, 3 wagons, 2 ploughs, 120 pigs and 700 sheep.¹⁴² The emphasis on sheep rearing, as at Old Ross, combined with the flocks from the Cistercian estates of Tintern, Dunbrody and Duiske, explains the very high figures generated at the port of New Ross in 1275 - 80, by the Great Custom, introduced in 1275 on wool and hides.¹⁴³

Demesne land at Old Ross, initially concentrated around the manorial centre, was probably represented by the large townland of the same name, 1000 acres in extent, recorded in the seventeenth century.¹⁴⁴ At present there is no townland of that name as it was divided by the Ordnance Survey of 1841 into the townlands of Dunanore, Springpark, Bushpark, Heathpark, Millquarter and Moorfield.¹⁴⁵ These townlands are, for the most part, bounded by roads which converge on the old manorial centre and it seems likely that these names represent the demesne land open-fields, later designated as townlands (fig. 47). In the second half of the thirteenth century, there was a general trend towards increasing the amount of land farmed in demesne.¹⁴⁶ On the manor of Old Ross, new demesne farms were developed at Ballyconnor (?Meylerspark) and Kilcoleman (?Kilclammon).¹⁴⁷ The payment of £35 6s 8d to recover the lands of

¹³⁸ Hore, *Wexford*, i, p. 34-5.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

¹⁴⁰ *Cal. doc. Ire.*, iii, no. 463.

¹⁴¹ *Cal. just. rolls*, iii, p.160.

¹⁴² Hore, *Wexford*, iv, p. 275.

¹⁴³ *Cal. doc. Ire.*, ii, nos. 1117, 1902.

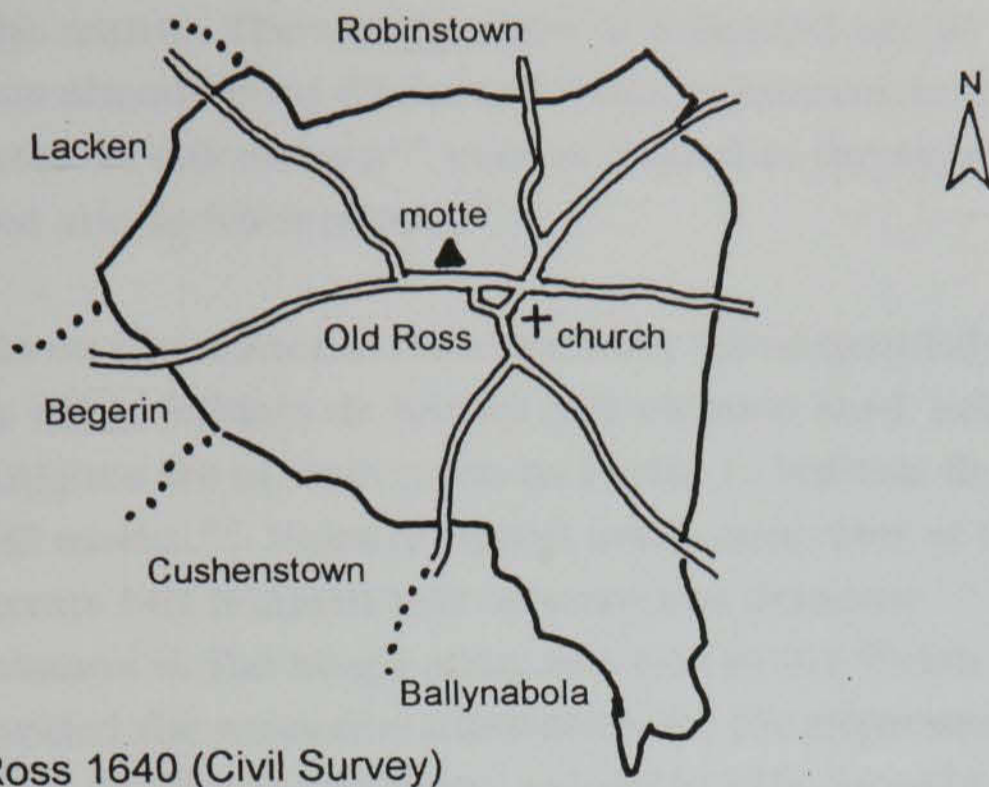
¹⁴⁴ *Civil survey*, p. 207.

¹⁴⁵ *O. S. Wexford*, 30.

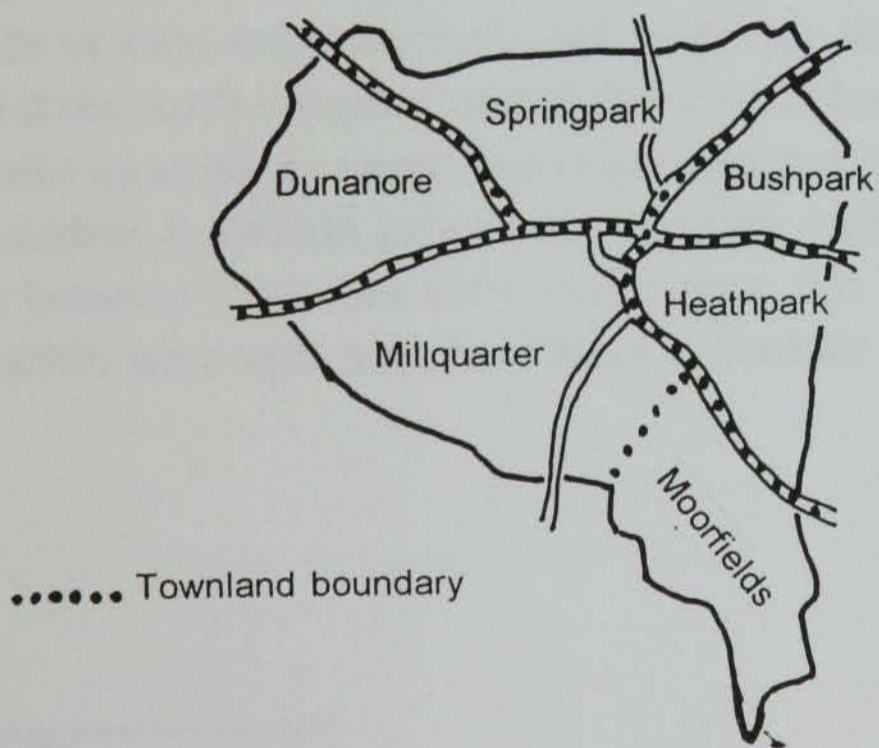
¹⁴⁶ Down, 'Society and economy,' p. 460.

¹⁴⁷ Hore, *Wexford*, i, pp. 36-7.

Fig. 47. The townlands of Old Ross.



Old Ross 1640 (Civil Survey)



Old Ross: divided into new townlands 1841.

The townlands into which Old Ross was divided by the Ordnance Survey in 1841 may have originated as manorial open fields.



Sources :
 Civil survey, p. 206.
 O.S. Townland index map.

Kilcoleman from William Severne, a burgess of New Ross, indicates the priority placed on expanding the demesne lands.¹⁴⁸ If these identifications are correct, both districts were peripherally located to the south of the manor. The construction of a moated site at Ballyconnor has already been discussed¹⁴⁹ and references to the 'great gate' and 'houses' at Kilcoleman¹⁵⁰ may be related to the surviving circular moated site at Kilclammon.¹⁵¹

Demesne lands on the manor of Rosslare were also expanded during this period. In 1291, William de Kernet quit-claimed land, held by quarter of a knight's fee at Ballyregan in Forth, to William de Valence in return for 80 marks.¹⁵² Valence rented seven carucates of the land to five free tenants but retained two carucates in demesne.¹⁵³ The supply of provisions to the king's army involved in the Welsh war of the 1280s provided the economic motivation for the expansion of demesne farming.¹⁵⁴ The varied cargo, valued at £69, brought by a ship from New Ross to the earl marshal in Wales in 1282, provides an example of the lucrative nature of this trade.¹⁵⁵ Corn to the value of £120 was purchased from the provost of Old Ross, as well as eighty sheep, beef, cheese, fish, beer and boards for ship-building. Eighteen hogsheads of wine were also included, probably imported, as it is doubtful if the earl's vineyard at Old Ross could have produced grapes in sufficient quantity to supply an export market.¹⁵⁶ In general, political unrest in Britain provided a lucrative outlet for manorial produce; between 1299 and 1301, corn, meat, fish and wine to the value of £855 were sent from New Ross to Carlisle for the Scottish war.¹⁵⁷

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 149.

¹⁴⁹ See p. 104.

¹⁵⁰ Hore, *Wexford*, i, p. 34.

¹⁵¹ Moore, *Archaeological inventory*, p. 104, no. 1041.

¹⁵² *Cal. doc. Ire.*, iii, no. 1052.

¹⁵³ *Cal. i.p.m.*, iv, p. 222.

¹⁵⁴ Lydon, 'The years of crisis,' *N.H.I.*, ii, p. 196.

¹⁵⁵ *Cal. doc. Ire.*, ii, no. 2009.

¹⁵⁶ Hore, *Wexford*, i, p. 12.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 165.

Manorial tenants

Manors were populated by tenants who were attracted from England and Wales by offers of easier tenures and other advantages.

Although there were some Irish tenants, the high number of English tenants must have been the result of a substantial immigration in the early years of the colony.¹⁵⁸ However, all manorial tenants did not enjoy equal status. At the top of the social scale were the free tenants, some holding by military service, others by the payment of a fixed rent and doing suit at the lord's court. Free tenants, usually English in origin, held in fee and inheritance with services fixed in perpetuity by charter. On large manors a free tenant could hold sub-manors with free tenants of his own. Where settlements were given borough status, the burgesses enjoyed a position equal to that of the smaller free tenants. Next to the free tenants came the farmers who rented their lands for a term under conditions fixed by their lease. Below the farmers were the gavillers who held their land at the will of the lord for a money rent. They were mostly of English origin and were personally free. The Irish tenants usually belonged to the unfree betagh class.¹⁵⁹ The betaghs' land, which seems to have been separate from the other tenants, appears to have been held and cultivated in common. They paid a money rent and performed certain labour services.¹⁶⁰ Below the betaghs came the cottiers, English or Irish, who held about half an acre for which they paid a small money rent and performed labour services.¹⁶¹

Norfolk's ministers' accounts and the manorial extent of 1307 record the names of sixty-eight tenants on the manors of Old Ross and the Island.¹⁶² There were twenty-one free tenants, six of them holding by military service. English surnames can be taken as indicating English descent,¹⁶³ and on this basis it appears that all of the free tenants on the two manors were of English or Welsh descent. Forty-seven other tenants are mentioned by name, presumably farmers and gavillers,

¹⁵⁸ Otway-Ruthven, 'Character of Norman settlement,' p. 83.

¹⁵⁹ G. MacNiocaill, 'The origins of the betagh,' *Irish jurist*, new series, i, (1966), pp. 292-8.

¹⁶⁰ E. Curtis, (ed.), 'Rental of the manor of Lisronagh, 1333, and notes on betagh tenure in medieval Ireland,' *R.I.A. Proc.*, xliii c (1936), pp. 51-2.

¹⁶¹ Otway-Ruthven, 'Anglo-Norman agriculture,' p. 11.

¹⁶² Hore, *Wexford*, i, pp. 5-39; *Cal. just. rolls*, ii, pp. 347-50.

¹⁶³ Otway-Ruthven, 'Character of Norman settlement,' p. 78.

holding parcels of land varying in area from eleven acres to seven carucates. Some tenants held land in different locations; Philip Bentre's holding, for example, was in six separate lots. In some instances, land was held jointly by a number of tenants; twelve tenants, two with Irish names, held two carucates in Finshoge at a rent of 100s. per annum, and rent was received from 'divers tenants' for the districts of Ffythlegan (Lacken) and Scatherek (Scark). The holdings of farmers -at-will consisted of small, unenclosed strips scattered in a number of different open fields.¹⁶⁴ At Old Ross unnamed tenants held a total of 30 carucates scattered in twenty-three different locations and at the Island seven carucates spread over seven locations were held by unnamed tenants.¹⁶⁵ Information for the manor of Rosslare is not as precise.¹⁶⁶ Thirteen free tenants, holding by the payment of a money rent or socage, held 35 carucates in thirteen locations. Farmers-at-will, some of them Irish, held 8 carucates at c. £2 per carucate; gavillers held four carucates, also at £2. At Rosslare, the value of tenants services ranged from 6d. to 11s. plus a hen at Christmas. Labour services were restricted to certain activities and were not sufficient to provide all of the work that was required on the demesne lands. Bigod's ministers' accounts, which provide a detailed description of routine manorial activity, show that at Old Ross a permanent team of labourers was employed to perform various tasks on the manor. These included shepherds, cowherds, a dairyman, a forester, ploughmen, harrowers and a waggoner. Extra workers were employed at different times of the year; for example, reapers and binders at harvest time. Tradesmen, including smiths, masons, carpenters and ditchers, were employed to carry out maintenance work on houses and pallisades and to construct new granges. The manorial provost was responsible for administration, assisted by a constable, a clerk and a number of bailiffs. The officials wore fur-trimmed robes, provided by the lord of the manor.¹⁶⁷

The records clearly show that free tenants were a more privileged class

¹⁶⁴ For an account of a surviving example at Hook Head of scattered strip holdings in open fields, see Colfer, *Medieval Shelburne*, pp. 112-4.

¹⁶⁵ Hore, *Wexford*, i, pp. 10-13.

¹⁶⁶ *Cal. i.p.m.*, vi, pp. 324-6; Hore, 'Forth', i, p. 67.

¹⁶⁷ Hore, *Wexford*, i, pp. 9-39, passim; J. Mills, 'Accounts of the earl of Norfolk's estates,' passim.

than those of lower status. For example, John de Sutton (presuming that there was only one man of that name) held 12 carucates in five different lots for £2 12s 9d as a free tenant on the manor of Old Ross, but Roger Wykeman, a tenant of lower status, paid 16s 8d for half a carucate. On average, free tenants on the manors of Old Ross and the Island paid 7s 8d per carucate but tenants-at-will paid an average of £1 6s 0d for the same amount of land. Rents paid by free tenants at Rosslare are not fully recorded but those that are show that they paid on average £1 per carucate:¹⁶⁸ lower classes of tenant paid in the region of £2 per carucate. Higher rents were associated with lands held on a short-term basis: there are several references to tenants holding lands formerly held by others. The status of free tenants was reflected in names of districts where they held their lands, as 40% of these can be identified with modern townlands. In the case of tenants of lower status, only 20% of place-names can be equated with townlands, indicating smaller holdings and less permanent tenure.

The ethnic mix in medieval county Wexford

The multi-ethnic nature of society in Anglo-Norman controlled Ireland was sometimes reflected in the dedications of late twelfth and early thirteenth-century charters. For example, in 1175, Raymond le Gros issued a charter to 'all present and future, French, English, Flemish, Welsh and Irish,'¹⁶⁹ and in 1200, William Marshal's charter to Tintern Abbey was addressed to 'all his men, French and English, Welsh and Irish.'¹⁷⁰ Because of their disparate origins, there has been much discussion as to whether 'Anglo-Norman' is the most suitable term to describe the migrants who colonised Ireland following military intervention in the 1170s. For the most part, they called themselves 'English,' but from the earliest days of the colony experienced what might be called a crisis of identity, as, to quote the phrase attributed by Gerald de Barry to Maurice FitzGerald, 'they were Irish to the English and English to the Irish.' Although there is a fairly general consensus that Anglo-Norman is not the most accurate title, it is still

¹⁶⁸ *Cal. i.p.m.*, iv, p. 222; Hore, 'Forth,' i, p. 68.

¹⁶⁹ Brooks, 'Unpublished charter,' p. 167.

¹⁷⁰ Hore, *Wexford*, ii, p. 16.

used, but there is a noticeable tendency towards describing the colonists as English. The following analysis of recorded settlers, who came to county Wexford during the first century of the colony, is presented in an attempt to understand the diversity which was so carefully referred to in early charters. It is not possible to give an estimate of the population of the county, nor of the ratio of settlers to native Irish. The suggestion that 90% of the free population consisted of immigrants and 90% of the unfree population was made up of indigenous Irish, may perhaps be taken as a reasonable indication of the actual situation.¹⁷¹

The Irish on the manors

The native Irish can be divided into two categories: those who continued to observe customary life-styles and land-holding practices, and another group, perhaps relatively small in number, who, as betaghs, became part of the manorial structure and, as economic assets, were recorded in manorial extents. Occasionally, Irish were fully integrated into the feudal system, receiving charters to hold land in some instances.¹⁷² In county Wexford, for example, Donenald O'helell held two carucates at Dernach (unidentified) in 1230, on the manor of Duffry¹⁷³ and a branch of the MacMurchada held the manor of Curtun (Courtown) in the early fourteenth century¹⁷⁴ but the majority of the native Irish are virtually invisible in thirteenth- and fourteenth-century documents.¹⁷⁵ There is some evidence, particularly in the ministers' accounts for the manor of Ross, to show that the Irish played a significant part in manorial affairs in county Wexford. There was a district known as Balibetagh at Old Ross, but in 1281 it was occupied, not by betaghs, but by Robert the Clerk who paid 66s.8d. rent for two carucates there. In the same year William O'Dermot and his companions paid 16s. 2d. rent for 54 acres in Balidermot (not identified) and Raymond O' Dermot was referred to as 'one of the betaghs of the earl,' indicating that the betaghs were

¹⁷¹ Empey, 'Knocktopher,' i, p. 338.

¹⁷² Nichols, 'Anglo-French Ireland,' pp. 373-5.

¹⁷³ Hore, *Wexford*, vi, p. 347.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 642.

¹⁷⁵ C.A. Empey, 'The Anglo-Norman settlement in the cantred of Eliogarty,' in Bradley (ed.), *Settlement and society*, p. 216.

members of the O' Dermot family group and occupied the district known as Balidermot.¹⁷⁶ An unspecified number of betaghs paid £17 5s 3d rent for nineteen carucates spread over eleven locations.¹⁷⁷

A distinction was made between these and 'certain *betagii*' who held their lands by labour dues which were worth 4s 2d and nineteen hens (one each) at Christmas.¹⁷⁸ In two instances where land was held collectively, some of the tenants had Irish names: the farm of Kilsanlan was held by twelve tenants including Richard O'Murkth, Reginald O'Dermot and Nic. O'Lorkan; Donald O'Brienan and Muriardagh O'ffenol were among the fifteen tenants who collectively held 2 carucates at Finshoge.¹⁷⁹ On one occasion, at least, an Irishman may have served as an official as in 1286 Donewth O'Hony was provost of the manor.¹⁸⁰ On occasion, the betaghs appear in the record because of fines imposed on them. Raymond O'Dermot, described as 'not a farmer but a labourer', paid 9s 1d for entry into land; John and Thomas O'Donegin were fined 2s for unspecified offences and the goods and chattels of Adam O'Brien and Nicholas O'Lorcan, 'fugitive felons,' were confiscated. The betaghs were mentioned a number of times in connection with the work which they did during the harvest. They were paid and fed for this work so it cannot have been part of their customary duties. They appear to have been quite few in number. Part of their fixed custom was to contribute a hen at Christmas and in 1285 only seventeen hens were received, with the comment that 'if there had been more betaghs, there would have been more hens,' suggesting that there was room on the manor for more labourers and tenants. Although the district had been securely held since the earliest days of the conquest, difficulties were still being experienced in attracting settlers at the end of the thirteenth century as, in two instances, lands were recorded as lying waste 'for want of tenants.'¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁶ Hore, *Wexford*, i, p. 12.

¹⁷⁷ *Cal. i.p.m.*, iv, p. 306; *Cal. doc. Ire.*, v, no. 617. In these two sources the lands are described as being rented to *betagii*; the same extent in *Cal. just. rolls*, ii, p. 348 does not refer to betaghs in relation to these lands.

¹⁷⁸ *Cal. just. rolls*, ii, p. 348.

¹⁷⁹ Hore, *Wexford*, i, pp. 11, 20.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 157.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 9-39, *passim*.

Although documentary evidence relating to the Irish is rare, there are indications that their presence on the manors in the county was pervasive. It is generally considered that, in a manorial context, betaghs held specific townlands which were cultivated in the Irish system.¹⁸² This was the case on the manor of Taghmon where two carucates of uncultivated land and wood were held by the Irish.¹⁸³ On the manor of Rosslare the 'betagii' held six carucates at Hathethart or Athard (not identified)¹⁸⁴ and unnamed Irish and English tenants paid £2 rent for two carucates at Ballyregan and Ballysampson.¹⁸⁵ The importance of betaghs, usually in an economic sense, is indicated by the support they received from offialdom. In 1295, William, son of Elyas, paid £5 fine for trespass by his betaghs in an unknown location in county Wexford¹⁸⁶ and in the same year Maurice MacMurchada was instructed to 'make satisfaction' for damage done to betaghs and other tenants of the king.¹⁸⁷ Betaghs were an important element on three of the six episcopal manors in the county, particularly at Mayglass and Polregan where their rents contributed one-third of the manorial income.¹⁸⁸ An incident which occurred in 1299 emphasised the importance of the betaghs to the diocesan economy. Richard de Pevensey, seneschal of the liberty, helped by the sheriff, Richard Cadell, and Philip de Barry, constable of Ferns castle, accused Gillekeyn le Clerk, Murghuth O'Murthy, Simon Ogehyn, Cormok Ocarwl, Henry M'yoghwyk (?MacEochaidh) and Richard Obryn of being felons, and took goods and chattels from them, to the value of £40, at 'Balikeleker (unidentified) in the cross', The bishop challenged the action and the seneschal was obliged to return the goods.¹⁸⁹

There is evidence to suggest that, at least in thinly-settled districts, Irish septs maintained their identity and way of life on the core area of traditional lands.¹⁹⁰ There are some indications that this was the

¹⁸² Otway-Ruthven, 'Agriculture,' p. 3.

¹⁸³ *Cal. doc. Ire.*, iv, no. 538.

¹⁸⁴ *Cal. i.p.m.*, vi, p. 327.

¹⁸⁵ Hore, 'Forth,' i, p. 67.

¹⁸⁶ *38th Rep. D.K.I.*, p. 100.

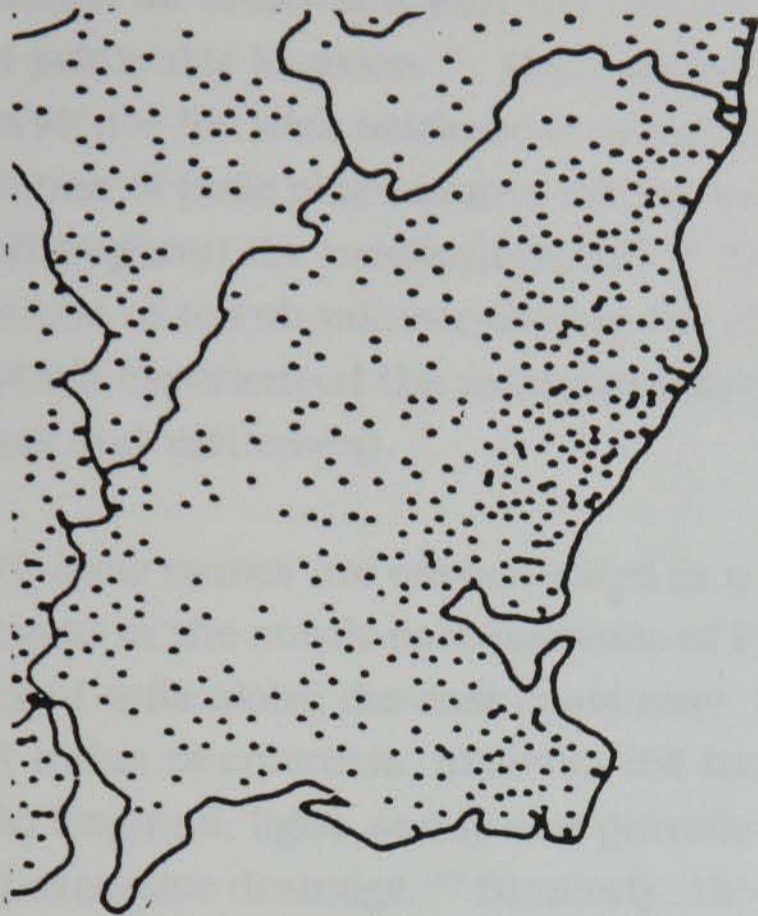
¹⁸⁷ *Cal. just. rolls*, i, p. 61.

¹⁸⁸ Hore, *Wexford*, vi, pp. 189-91.

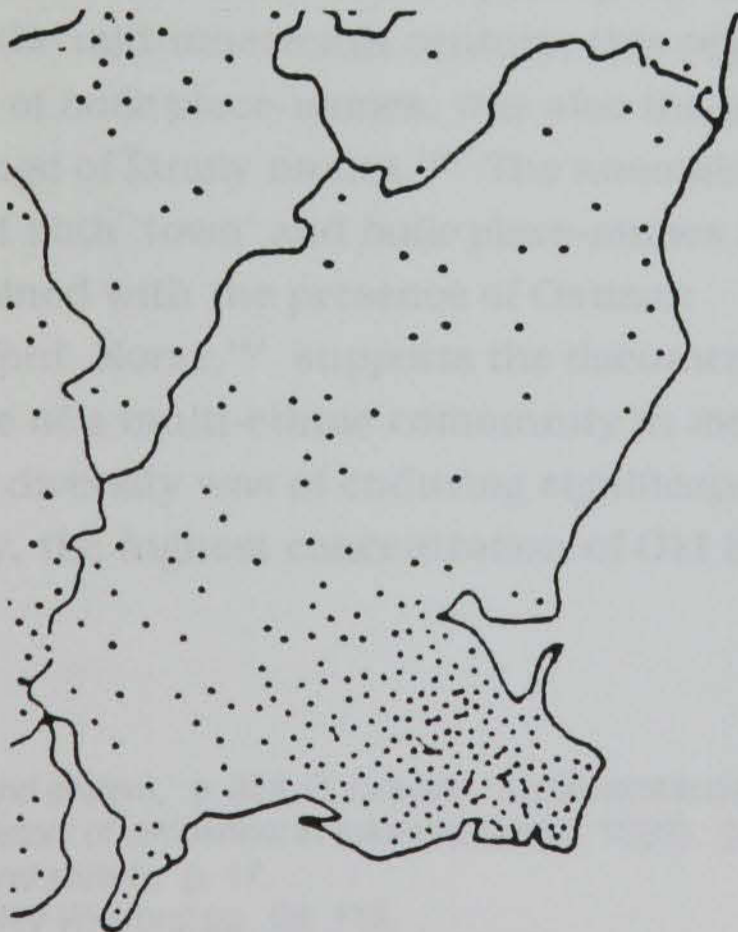
¹⁸⁹ *Cal. just. roll*, i, p. 254.

¹⁹⁰ Empey, 'Anglo-Norman settlement in Eliogarty,' p. 224.

Fig. 48. Town and *baile* townland names (after T. Jones-Hughes).



Townland names in county Wexford containing the prefix *baile* (bally). *Baile* names are concentrated along the east coast north of Wexford Harbour and in the barony of Forth.



Townlands containing the suffix 'town.' The barony of Forth is the only place in Ireland where there is a concentration of both 'town' and *baile* place-names.

case in county Wexford, particularly in the northern part. In 1324, for example, the hostages of the O'Breens of Duffry were delivered to Wexford castle, an indication that the O'Breens existed as a cohesive group in a particular location.¹⁹¹ Place-names can also provide valuable evidence for Irish settlement: it has been argued that concentrations of *baile* place-names are an indication of a Gaelic presence throughout the medieval period.¹⁹² Conversely, concentrations of townlands containing the element 'town' are found in areas which experienced the most durable impact of Anglo-Norman colonisation and settlement.

In Wexford, *baile* names are concentrated in a broad band along the east coast and in the south-east baronies of Forth and Bargy (fig. 48). The quality of soils along the east coast may have militated against a significant influx of colonists, allowing the Irish to remain dominant. In medieval England, light, sandy and gravelly soils were avoided because of excessive drainage.¹⁹³ Similarly, the glacial sands of the extensive 'kame and kettle' region north of Wexford Harbour and the poorly drained Macamore series along the remainder of the coast may not have proved attractive to settlers who were principally interested in arable farming.¹⁹⁴ In the mid-nineteenth century, this region where there is a concentration of *baile* place-names, was also the most Gaelic in terms of its range of family names.¹⁹⁵ The anomalous, and unique, concentration of both 'town' and *baile* place-names in the barony of Forth,¹⁹⁶ combined with the presence of Ostman descendants of the Wexford Norse,¹⁹⁷ supports the documentary evidence for the presence of a multi-ethnic community in medieval times. The legacy of this diversity was of enduring significance: in the mid-seventeenth century, the highest concentration of Old English

¹⁹¹ *Cal. pat and cl. rolls.*, p. 30b.

¹⁹² T. McErlean, 'The Irish townland system,' p. 326; C. Doherty, 'Settlement in early Ireland: a review,' in T. Barry, (ed.), *A history of settlement in Ireland* (London, 1999), p. 66.

¹⁹³ Postan, *Medieval economy and society*, p. 17.

¹⁹⁴ Gardiner & Ryan, *Soils of county Wexford*, pp. 58, 113.

¹⁹⁵ T. Jones-Hughes, 'Continuity and change in rural county Wexford in the nineteenth century,' in K. Whelan (ed.), *Wexford: history and society* (Dublin, 1987), p. 346.

¹⁹⁶ T. Jones Hughes, 'Town and baile in Irish place-names,' in N. Stephens & R. Glasscock (eds.), *Irish geographical studies* (Belfast, 1970), pp. 246-56.

¹⁹⁷ Curtis, *Medieval Ireland*, p. 406.

personal names in Ireland was to be found in Forth and Bargy¹⁹⁸ and in this district, isolated by topographical features and described as the Wexford Pale,¹⁹⁹ a unique dialect known as Yola survived until the mid-nineteenth century.

The origins of settlers

A search of contemporary accounts, charters, manorial extents, inquisitions and justiciary rolls has yielded 455 surnames of individuals who lived within the feudal structure in thirteenth-century Wexford (appendix 2). Many of these names recur frequently but have been included only once for the purposes of identifying place of origin. These names represent a broad cross-section of society, ranging from the holders of major fiefs to tenants-at-will and tradesmen. Only three women are recorded as land-holders: in 1240, Margery, the wife of Giles, quit-claimed land to Dunbrody Abbey in return for 20m; Alina de Heddon held the manor of Maigharnai (Adamstown) in 1247 and, later in the century, Christinia de Mariscis held the manor of Curtun (Courtown).²⁰⁰ Another woman is mentioned in a different context: when Roger Bigod paid £35 6s 8d to recover lands on the manor of Old Ross from William Severne, Severne's wife received 40s. to buy a new robe as part of the agreement!²⁰¹ The names of principal military tenants, and some free tenants, are well known and, in most cases, have survived to the present time. Some of the names of ordinary settlers are also in current use but most did not survive. It is likely that some of the individuals whose names were recorded, particularly officials of various kinds, spent only a short time in Ireland where they were paid to perform a specific task. Of these names, 360 (79%) are listed in genealogical dictionaries as accepted surnames.²⁰² No information could be found on the remaining 95 (21%). By entering these names

¹⁹⁸ W.J. Smyth, 'Society and settlement in seventeenth-century Ireland,' in W.J. Smyth & K. Whelan, (eds.), *Common ground* (Cork, 1988), p. 61.

¹⁹⁹ Nicholls, 'Anglo-French Ireland,' p. 401.

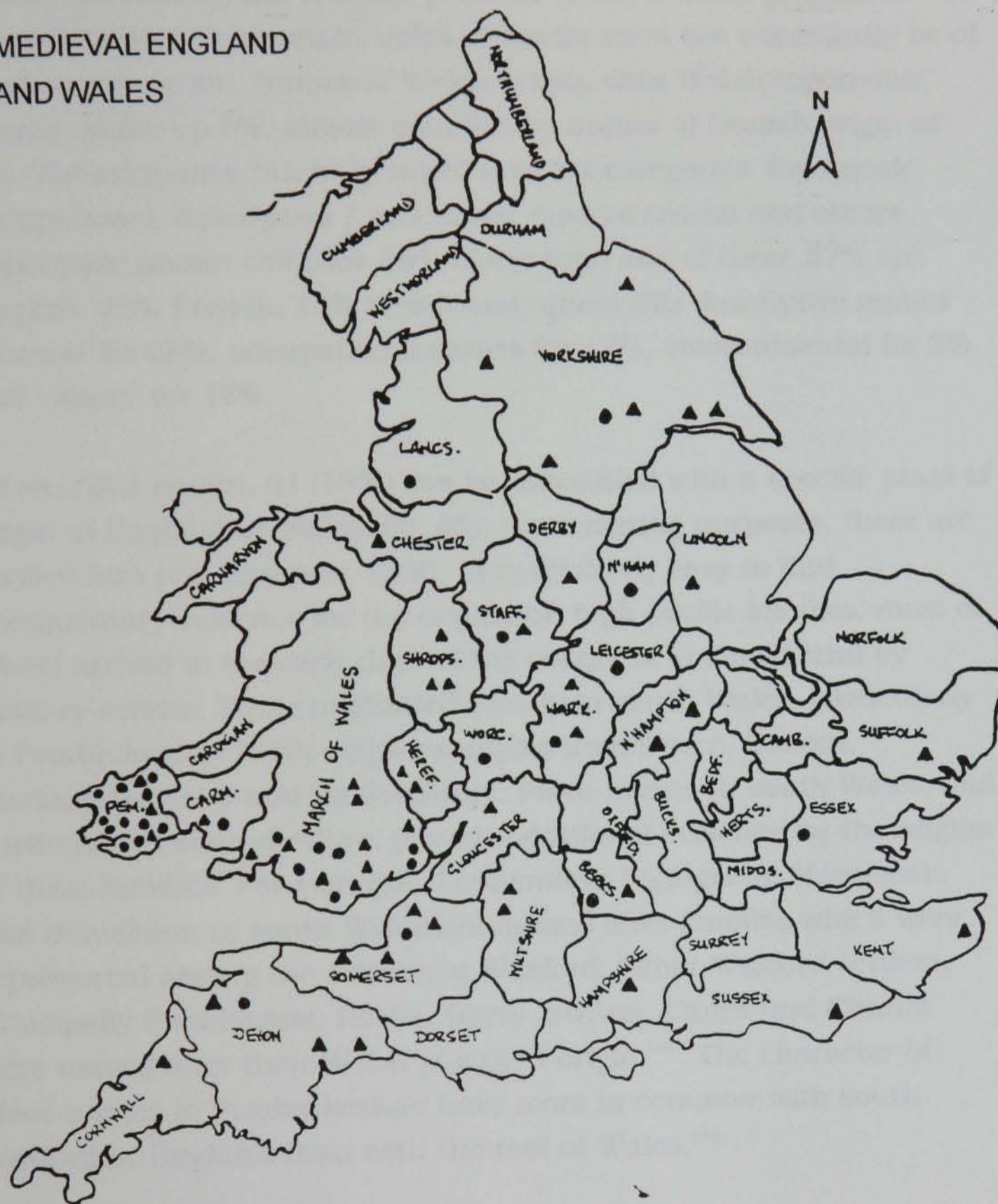
²⁰⁰ Hore, *Wexford*, iii, p. 62; *Cal. pat. rolls*, 40 Ed. III, p. 273; *Cal. doc. Ire.*, ii, no. 1505.

²⁰¹ Hore, *Wexford*, i, p. 149.

²⁰² P.H. Heaney, *A dictionary of British surnames* (London, 1976); L.C. Lyod, *The origins of some Anglo-Norman families* (Baltimore, 1985); C. W. Bardsley, *A dictionary of English and Welsh surnames* (Baltimore, 1968); P. Hanks & F Hodges, *A dictionary of surnames* (Oxford, 1988).

Fig. 49. Known origins of colonists recorded in county Wexford 1169 - 1324.

MEDIEVAL ENGLAND
AND WALES



- Origins of names occurring in county Wexford before c. 1250
- ▲ Origins of names occurring in county Wexford 1250 - 1324.

0 50 miles

on to a database, they can be sorted under origin, category, meaning and distribution (fig. 50). Anglo-French names, at 25% (including 6% toponymic names), are in a slender majority over English names, at 24%. English names could be as high as 38% with the inclusion of toponymic names, but it is not possible to say if these persons are of English origin; for example, John of Exeter need not necessarily be of English extraction. Names of Welsh origin, with Welsh toponymic names, make up 5%, almost equalled by names of Danish origin at 4%. The surnames can be grouped into five categories: toponymic, occupational, descriptive / nickname, environmental and others. Toponymic names compose 35% of the total and of these 57% are English, 25% French, 15% Welsh and others 3%: descriptive names account for 28%, occupational names for 17%, environmental for 3% and 'others' for 17%.

Of recorded names, 81 (18%) can be associated with a specific place of origin in England or Wales (fig. 49). For mapping purposes, these are divided into pre- and post-1250. It is relatively easy to find documentary evidence for the origins of high profile families, most of whom arrived in the early days of the conquest and held land by military service. These originated mostly in south Wales, particularly in Pembrokeshire, with single examples from Devon, Sussex, Buckinghamshire and Staffordshire. Place-names in south Wales, and particularly Pembrokeshire, provide additional evidence for the origins of these families. For example, Bosherton, Sigingston, Hayscastle and Bonvilston in south Wales are named after families which were represented among the settlers in Wexford. Other Wexford settlers, principally Prendergast, Roche, Barry, Sutton, Carew and Canton were named after their Welsh places of origin.²⁰³ The character of place-names in Pembrokeshire have more in common with south Wexford or England than with the rest of Wales.²⁰⁴

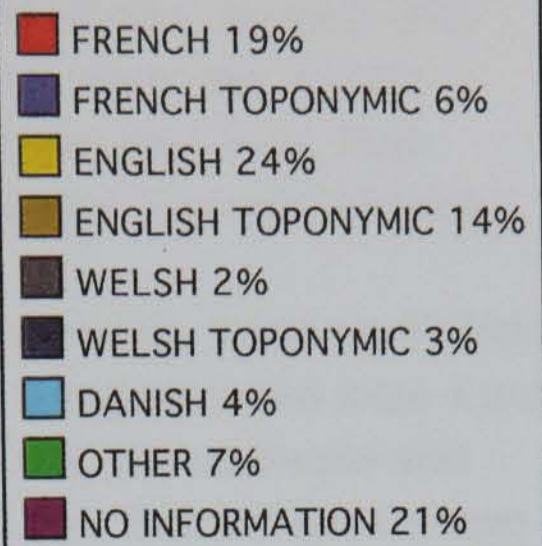
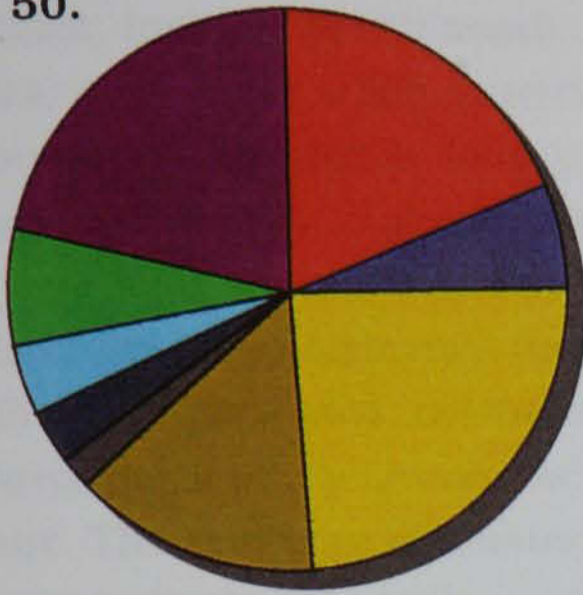
Evidence of former links with France, particularly Normandy, is provided in 28 topographic surnames, including de Montmorency, de Quency, de Boisrohard, de Valle, Neville, Devereux, Rochford, Tracy, Bataille and Cullen. Descriptive surnames, referring to a physical or

²⁰³ *Collins road atlas of Britain*, (1996), pp. 16-9.

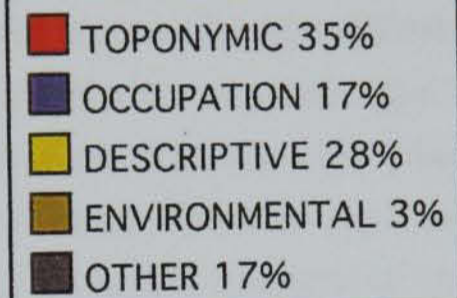
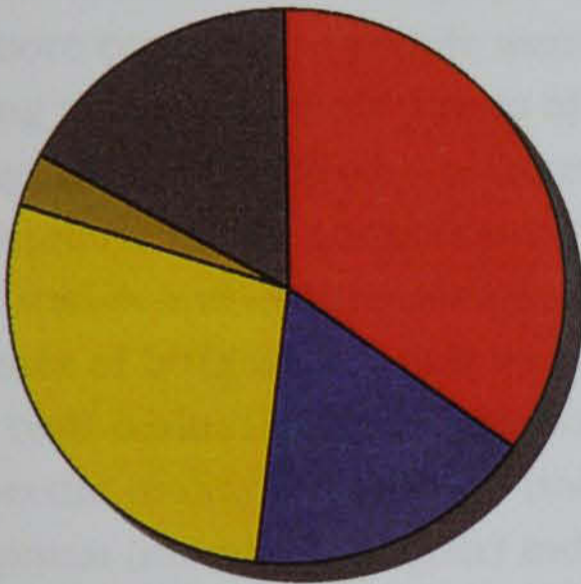
²⁰⁴ *Ibid.* p. 16.

ORIGINS OF 445 COLONISTS RECORDED IN COUNTY WEXFORD 1169 - 1324

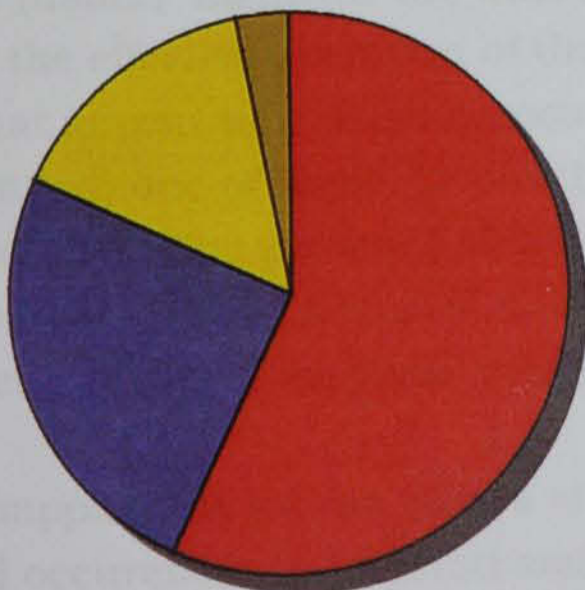
Fig. 50.



CATEGORIES



TOPONYMIC SURNAMES

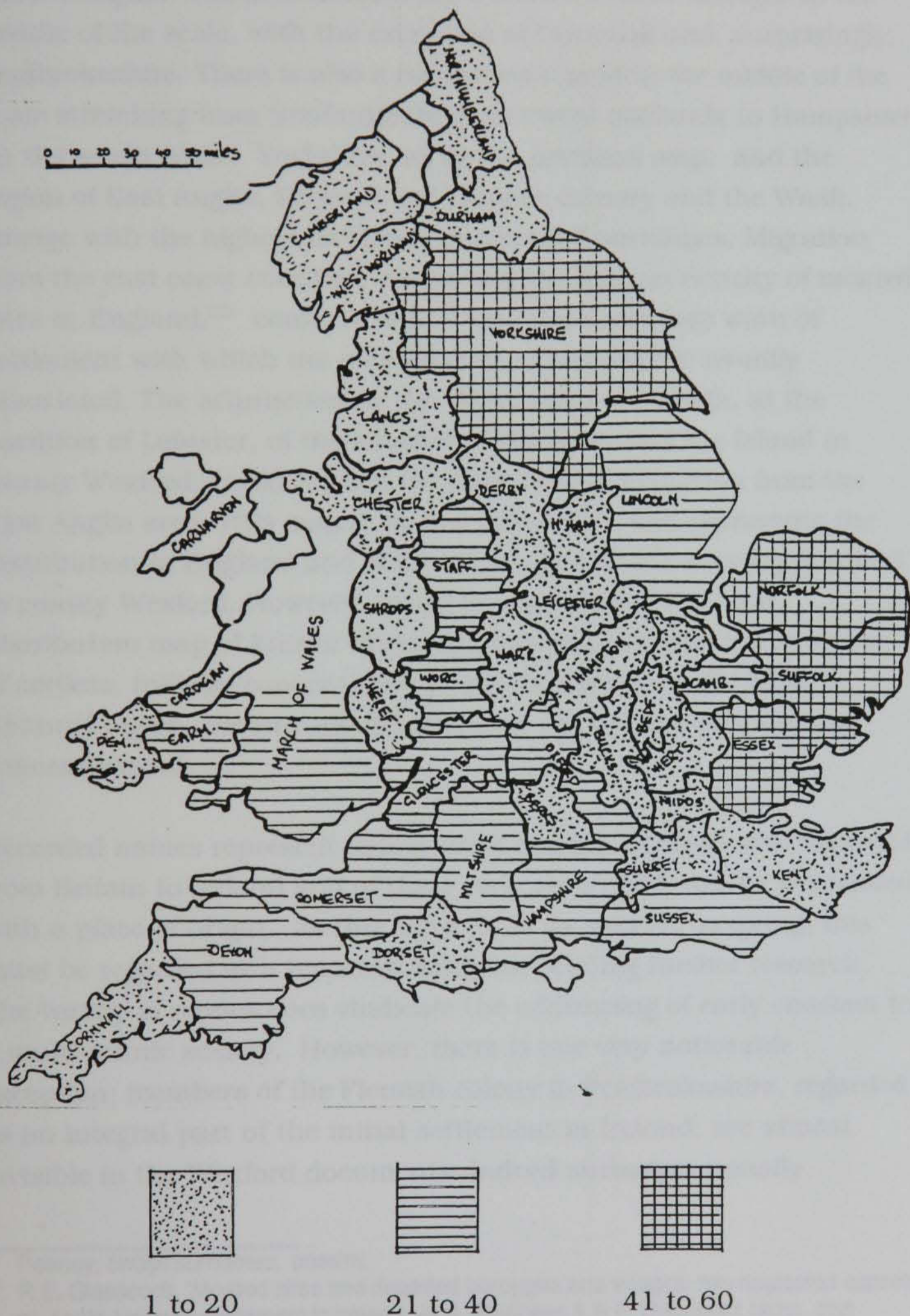


personality trait, make up 28% of the total. Examples, both English and French, include: Pettit: small, Browne: brown, Russell: red, Cheevers: goat, Hore: white-haired, Whitty: white-eye, Curtis: courteous, Sinnott: bold in victory, Esmonde: east man, Prat: cunning, Pigeon: easy to pluck, Payne: villager, Bennett: blessed.

Records of the later thirteenth century show that, while south Wales was still well represented, colonists were being attracted from a much wider area, particularly Devon and Somerset, the midlands and Yorkshire. The existence of clusters in Devon, Sussex and the midlands may indicate that earlier colonists from these areas attracted others to Ireland at a later stage. There is an obvious difference in the type of name being recorded, as most belonged to the lower categories of society. Names like de Derby, de Stanton, de Warrick and de Isham became more common as people were more frequently identified by associating them with their places of origin. However, this type of name may not have indicated a direct link with a particular place but rather a historic family connection. Names, both French and English, based on trades and occupations make up 12% (56 names) of the total. Names of burgesses, such as le Napper (cloth-maker), le Wympler (veil-maker), Vitrear (glass-maker), Hoser (hose-maker), le Nedler (needle-maker), le Tailleur (tailor), Merser (fabric merchant) and Chapman (merchant/trader) indicate the industrial nature of urban activity. Various trades used as surnames, for example, Slater, Porter, Palmer (pilgrim), Archer, Sherman, Shepherde, Sergeant, Meyers (physician), Dorebar (plasterer / dauber), le Leche (physician) and Hussier (usher) highlight the wide range of specialist activity required for the effective operation of the colony. Ten people (about 2%) with what appear to be Irish names were mentioned in a manorial or urban context; one of these, Donewth O'Hony, was provost of the manor of Old Ross. The presence of six Italian customs collectors at New Ross, probably doing a tour of duty as 'consultants,' emphasised the diverse ethnic mix of medieval port towns.

As well as mapping the known places of origin, a distribution map of the recorded occurrences in England and Wales of the 355 identified surnames recorded in medieval Wexford can be compiled, as documentary evidence usually associated surnames with a number of

Fig. 51. Known occurrences in England and Wales of surnames recorded in county Wexford 1169-1324.



English and Welsh counties (fig. 51).²⁰⁵ By calculating all recorded mentions of names, it is possible to create a map showing three levels of evidence for the existence of the identified Wexford surnames. There is some correlation between this map and the distribution of known origins. The area around the Bristol Channel emerges in the middle of the scale, with the exception of Cornwall and, surprisingly, Pembrokeshire. There is also a continuous band in the middle of the scale stretching from Staffordshire in the west midlands to Hampshire on the south coast. Yorkshire, as in the previous map, and the region of East Anglia, between the Thames estuary and the Wash, emerge with the highest incidence of recorded surnames. Migration from the east coast counties, which had the highest density of moated sites in England,²⁰⁶ could be linked with the secondary wave of settlement with which the moated sites in Ireland are usually associated. The acquisition by the Bigod earls of Norfolk, at the partition of Leinster, of the manors of Old Ross and the Island in county Wexford, could explain the high level of migration from the East Anglia area. This map is source dependent, and represents the distribution in England and Wales of families which were represented in county Wexford. However, taken in conjunction with the distribution map of known origins, it does suggest that the sourcing of settlers, initially concentrated in south Wales and the Bristol Channel region, became much more wide-spread but with regional concentrations.

Recorded names represent only a small fraction of those who migrated from Britain to Ireland and of these only about 16% can be associated with a place of origin. As this work is, of its nature, on-going, this must be regarded as a tentative analysis, pending further research. The variety of names does vindicate the addressing of early charters to a multi-ethnic society. However, there is one very noticeable exception: members of the Flemish colony in Pembrokeshire, regarded as an integral part of the initial settlement in Ireland, are almost invisible in the Wexford documents. Indeed surnames usually

²⁰⁵ Reaney, *British surnames*, passim.

²⁰⁶ R.E. Glasscock, 'Moated sites and deserted boroughs and villages; two neglected aspects of Anglo-Norman settlement in Ireland,' in N. Stephens & R.E. Glasscock (eds), *Irish geographical studies* (Belfast, 1970), p. 164.

regarded as Flemish, including Cheevers, Sinnott, Whitty, Siggins and Busher, have proved to be of English origin. Perhaps the most obvious factor to emerge from a study of thirteenth-century settlers' names in county Wexford is the extent to which names introduced at that time (including Roche, Browne, Busher, FitzHenry, Neville, Furlong, Barry, Sutton, Hore, Butler, Whitty, Stafford, Codd) are still so strongly represented in the profile of surnames in the county.

Chapter 6

Nucleated Settlement: Manorial villages, boroughs and towns

Manorial villages

The European system of feudal land holding was introduced into Ireland as part of the settlement imposed by the Anglo-Normans. This involved not only the sub-division of land into manors but also the creation of new settlement forms. In a European context, due to the dispersed nature of holdings, many of the manorial tenants lived in a cluster of houses around a topographical or economic centre which usually included the parish church. While small hamlets and detached dwellings also existed, these nucleated manorial villages were the social, economic and administrative centres of the manor.¹ The study of these villages, many of which were subsequently abandoned, is well established on the continent and in Britain² but has not been developed to a great extent in Ireland.³ The utilisation by the Anglo-Normans of the existing townland system may have led to a more dispersed form of manorial settlement in Ireland with consequently smaller manorial villages.⁴

Although most of these villages did not survive as settlements in the landscape, it is possible in some instances to identify their locations. There is general agreement in relation to relict features which provide evidence for the existence of a medieval nucleated settlement, frequently represented in the landscape by the remains of a church

¹ Postan, *Medieval economy and society*, pp. 111-20. Although set in nineteenth-century France, Emile Zola's *The Earth* (translated London, 1980), captures the atmosphere of a medieval village whose inhabitants' unconsolidated farms consisted of scattered fields in the surrounding land.

² For example, M.W. Beresford & J.G. Hurst, (eds.), *Deserted medieval village studies* (London, 1971).

³ The study of manorial villages in Ireland was initiated by Glasscock's paper 'Moated sites and deserted boroughs and villages.' Subsequent work is summarised in Barry, *Arch. med. Ire.*, ch. 4; T. Barry, 'Rural settlement in medieval Ireland,' in T. Barry (ed.), *A history of settlement in Ireland* (London and New York, 2000), pp. 113-16; T. O'Keefe, *Medieval Ireland, an archaeology* (Stroud, 2000), pp. 58-102.

⁴ A. Simms, 'The geography of Irish manors: the examples of the Llanthony cells of Duleek and Colp in county Meath,' in Bradley (ed.), *Settlement and society*, p. 315.

and associated castle.⁵ In county Meath they have been defined as rural settlements containing a church and generally, but not necessarily, a castle and mill.⁶ Church sites have also been identified as a reliable index to population centres in county Kilkenny.⁷

From written and cartographic sources⁸ it is possible to identify forty-five sites in county Wexford where church and castle, and at times a mill, are found in close proximity (appendix 3). Thirty-two of these sites can be identified as manorial / parish centres which strengthens the case for identifying them as manorial villages. Nine survive as villages in the present-day landscape; seven show some signs of nucleation and twenty-seven are deserted (fig. 52). Nine of the castles are of the earthen variety, either motte or ringwork; eleven are moated sites, and in twenty-nine instances the castle is represented by either the site or the surviving remains of a later tower house. In instances where the tower house was built at a distance from the church, the original, presumably earthwork, defences may have been abandoned in favour of a 'modern' residence. Examples of this are evident at Templetown (1km), Adamstown (.8km), Ballyhealy (.5km) and Ballybrennan (.5km). There is some documentary evidence for former settlement at two of the sites. Tellarought was described in the 1830s as

formerly a considerable village, which, with the church, has altogether disappeared, and the site has been turned up by the plough, which is frequently obstructed by the foundations of old buildings.⁹

At Adamstown, where the modern village is focused on the church, it would seem, from the following account, that, in the seventeenth century, the houses were clustered around the tower house:

at Adamstown there is an old Irish castle to which there was a large house or barn like house adjoining, but down many years since, and of late rebuilt by William Meddowe, the present tenant. It is walled around with a stone wall at least fourteen foot high, the entrance by one gate with a small house over it. The yard or court within about a

⁵ Glasscock, 'Moated sites and deserted boroughs and villages,' p. 171.

⁶ B. Graham, 'Anglo-Norman settlement in county Meath,' *P.R.I.A. Proc.*, lxxv (1975), p. 225.

⁷ Empey, 'Knocktopher,' i, p. 332.

⁸ Wexford O.S. sheets 1841; Moore, *Archaeological inventory ; Civil survey ; Down survey maps superimposed on O.S., N.L.I.*; Jeffrey, *Castles of county Wexford*; ; A. J. Jordan, 'Date, chronology and evolution of the county Wexford tower house,' *Wex. Hist. Soc. Jn.*, xiii, (1990-'91), pp. 30-81.

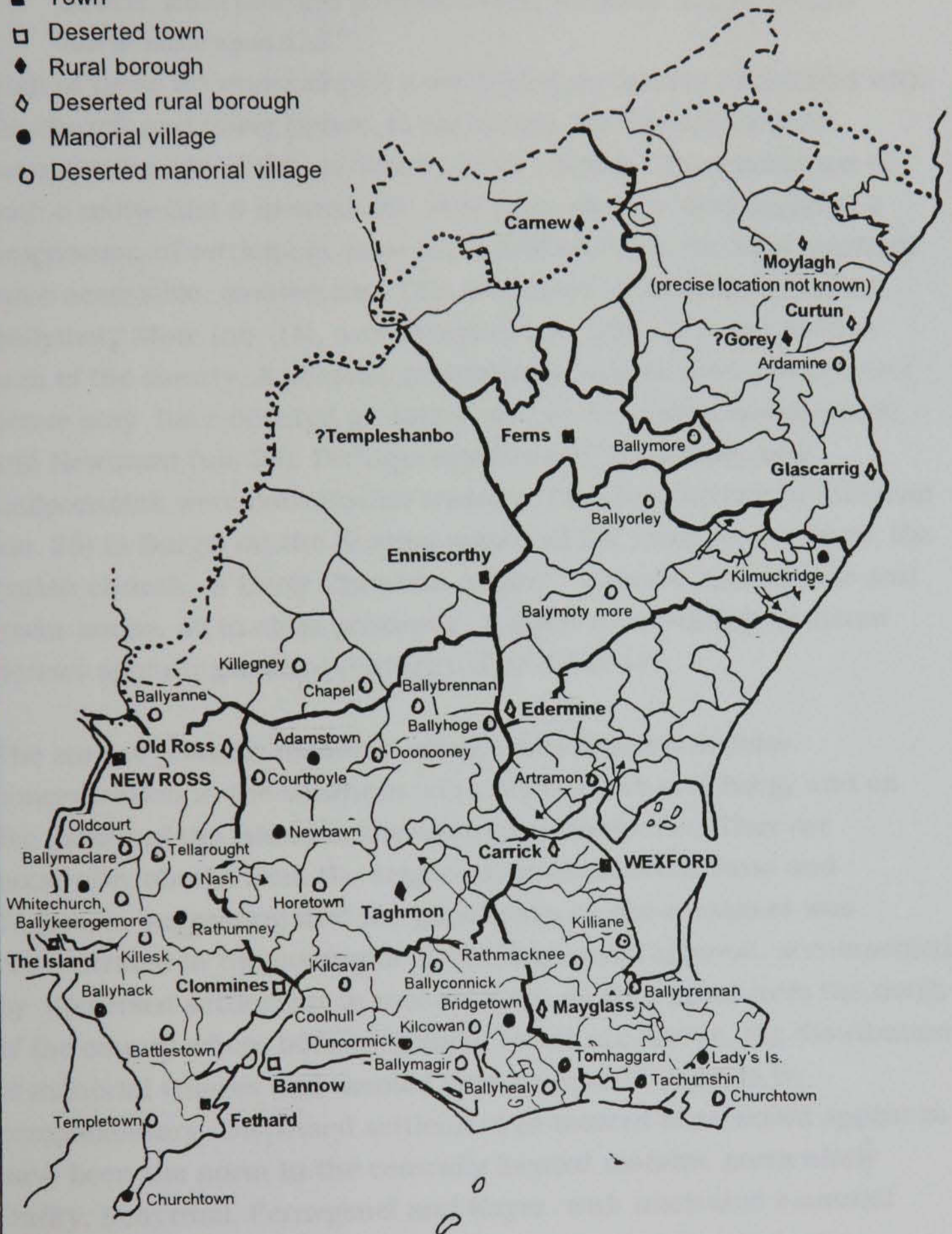
⁹ S. Lewis, *Topographical dictionary* (1837) ii, p. 588.

Fig. 52. Towns, rural boroughs and manorial villages.

(see Appendices 3 & 4)



- Town
- Deserted town
- ◆ Rural borough
- ◇ Deserted rural borough
- Manorial village
- Deserted manorial village



6 miles



10 km

Sources : see appendices 3 & 4.

quarter of an acre, without is a ruined garden on the east side and on the south and west side is a fair green about two acres round, on which stands the tenants' cabins straggling. There is not any wood in all of the premises, except that of Oldcourt, little bogs, small springs, no river, much furze and generally barren. Not twenty acres of meadow can be made upon it all.¹⁰

Both of these accounts depict a nucleated settlement associated with the church and tower house. In each case, the modern church occupies the site of the medieval parish church. The association of both a motte and a moated site with some church sites suggests a progression of settlement from the initial motte to the later, perhaps more accessible, moated site. This is evident at Ballymore (no. 13), Ballymoty More (no. 14), and Killegney (no. 28), all in the frontier area of the county. A possible progression from moated site to tower house may have occurred at Ballyanne (no. 3), Ballyconnick (no. 6) and Newbawn (no. 35). Perhaps significantly, Ballyanne and Ballyconnick were both Boshier manors. The deserted site of Kilcowan (no. 25) in Bargy, on the Keating manor of the same name, where the parish church, of Early Christian origin,¹¹ a motte, moated site and tower house, all in close proximity, suggest a succession of manor houses spanning several centuries (figs. 53 & 54).

The map of possible manorial village sites shows a definite concentration in the southern cantreds of Forth and Bargy and on the manor of the Island in the cantred of Shelburne. They are noticeably absent from the seignorial manors of Old Ross and Taghmon, suggesting that the population on these manors was concentrated in the boroughs of Old Ross and Taghmon, accompanied by dispersed settlement in moated sites. In fact, apart from the north of the county where both settlement forms are scarce, the distribution of manorial villages and moated sites in general seem to be complimentary. Dispersed settlement in moated sites would appear to have been the norm in the centrally located manors, particularly Duffry, Schyrmal, Fernegenel and Kayer, with nucleated manorial villages dominating in the south. The tendency towards larger manors in the centre and north of the county encouraged dispersed

¹⁰ Survey of the lands of the duke of Albemarle 1669. Huntington HAM, Box 78. I am grateful to Rolf Loeber for a transcript of this material.

¹¹ E. Culleton, *Celtic and Early Christian Wexford* (Dublin, 1999) p. 159.



Fig. 53. Kilcowan (Cambridge collection).

The surviving remains at the Keating manor of Kilcowan provide impressive evidence for continuity of occupation. The small motte (A) was located inside the circular enclosure (B) of an Early Christian church (C). A moated site (at D just out of picture) was located to the north of the motte. A later tower house (site at E) was built between the motte and the moated site. (see Fig. 39)

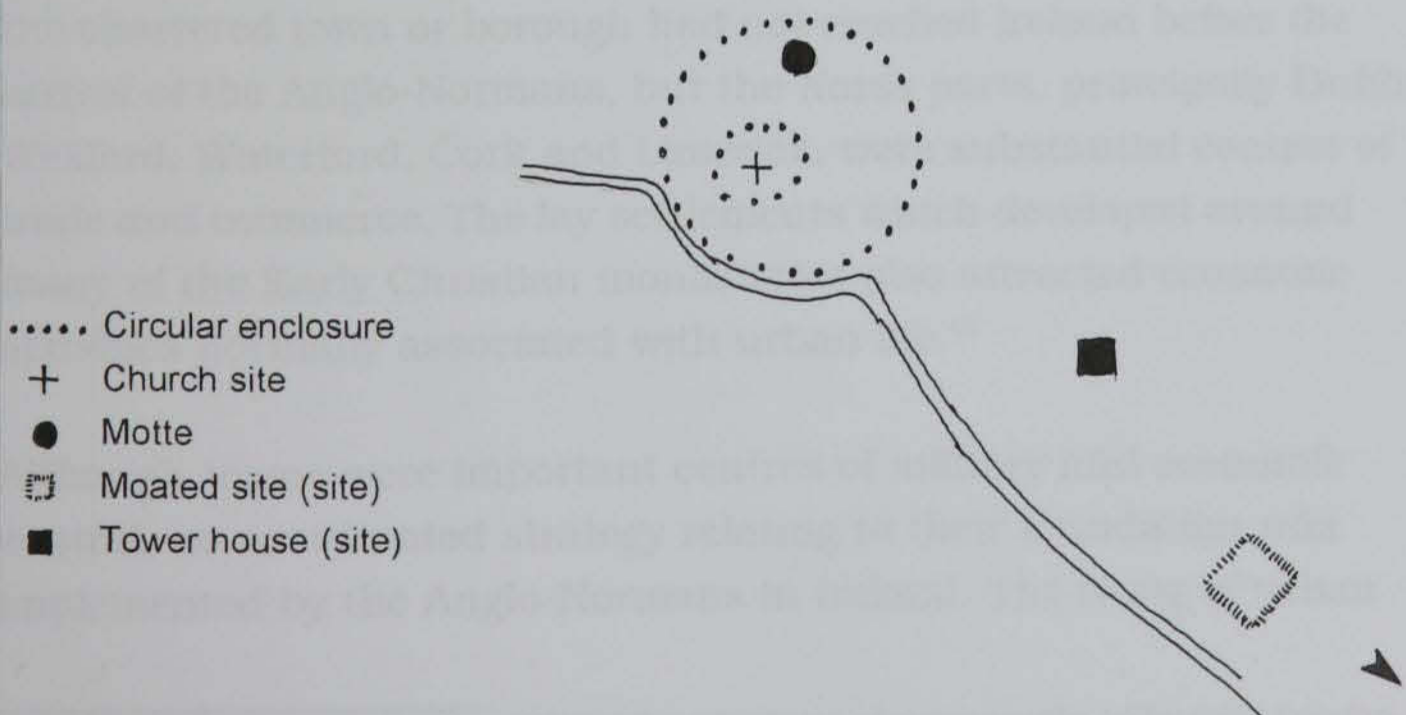


Fig. 54. Interpretive plan of settlement features at Kilcowan manorial centre. (not to scale)

settlement as a central nucleus would have been too far from the periphery of the manor. Conversely, in the south, smaller manors encouraged the proliferation of nucleated villages. Of nine manorial nucleated settlements functioning as villages in the present-day landscape, six are in the south, on or near the coast, with Kilmuckridge as a lone example on the east coast. Adamstown and Newbawn are the only examples in an inland location. These survivals indicate continuity of settlement due to stable conditions in the more secure part of the county.

Towns and rural boroughs

The emergence of towns can be attributed to the fundamental division of labour between work in the fields and the more economic based activities of the market place, usually associated with the urban dweller. Major periods of expansion were accompanied by an accelerated rate of town building, and the urban explosion which occurred in eleventh-century Europe marked the beginning of the continent's rise to eminence.¹² Urban origins were associated with centres such as pilgrimage sites, the intersection of routeways, river-crossings and navigable estuaries to which people were attracted by the offer of protection and commercial activity. Most towns eventually received a set of privileges defined in a charter of liberties granted to them by the lord on whose land they were situated.¹³ The concept of the chartered town or borough had not reached Ireland before the arrival of the Anglo-Normans, but the Norse ports, principally Dublin, Wexford, Waterford, Cork and Limerick, were substantial centres of trade and commerce. The lay settlements which developed around many of the Early Christian monasteries also attracted economic activities normally associated with urban life.¹⁴

Although towns were important centres of military and economic control, no coordinated strategy relating to their foundation was implemented by the Anglo-Normans in Ireland. The siting of urban

¹² F. Braudel, *Civilization and capitalism: the structures of everyday life*, i (Re-print, London, 1988), pp. 479-509.

¹³ Postan, *Medieval economy and society*, pp. 207-23.

¹⁴ Doherty, 'Exchange and trade,' pp. 71, 81-2.

initiatives, directly related to the sub-infeudation process, depended on the character of a particular land-holding. The land division structure led to an urban hierarchy, as the availability of sites with strategic and economic advantages inevitably diminished as ownership progressed down the feudal pyramid. For the purposes of classification, the fiefs of the great lords will be described as 'capital'; those of the principal land-holders as 'baronial' and the single manors as 'manorial'. Records of capital boroughs tend to be more plentiful, as the affairs of the great lords, such as Marshal, were more subject to scrutiny by officialdom. Even though some consideration may have been given to the broader economic picture, most towns were founded to capitalise on the trade of a particular manor and to exclude others from trading with the tenants, so it is not surprising that many borough settlements did not evolve to any great extent.¹⁵ Braudel stresses that every town was primarily a market, attributing the extraordinary number of small towns to geographical factors combined with the slowness of transport, which led to towns situated about four to five hours apart, acting as relay stations.¹⁶

The concept of the chartered town was introduced into Ireland by the Anglo-Normans who were subsequently responsible for most of the towns and boroughs which were established in Ireland in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The recipients of large fiefs, who needed settlers for their newly acquired lands, offered the bait of burgess status as a strategy to attract colonists from Britain.¹⁷ Foundation charters to towns granted plots of land to burgesses within the borough, on which a house could be built and sometimes an outside plot also, for the customary rent of 1s a year. Other privileges included freedom of movement, trial before equals, freedom from certain taxes and the right to self-administration. Privileges conferred by a foundation charter were usually referred to as the laws of Breteuil, as they were based on the liberties of the town of that name in France. In return for these privileges, the town founder received revenue in the form of burgess rent, market tolls and court fines, and the town became a market-place for the produce of his manors. The

¹⁵ Empey, 'Conquest and settlement,' p. 9.

¹⁶ Braudel, *Civilization and capitalism*, p. 501.

¹⁷ Otway-Ruthven, 'Character of Norman settlement,' p. 79.

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Fig. 55. Ballyhack (Cambridge collection).
Ballyhack was developed by the Cistercians as a grange on the lands of Dunbrody Abbey to exploit the commercial possibilities of Waterford Harbour.



Fig. 56. Site of Bannow town (Cambridge collection).
The town of Bannow, located at the site of the first landing of the Anglo-Normans in Ireland, was deserted by the seventeenth century. The ruins of the medieval parish church (A) and a castle site (B) are the only visible remains.

number of towns and boroughs established in Ireland between 1169 and 1300 indicates that the offer of burgess tenure succeeded in attracting large numbers of urban colonists into Ireland during that period.¹⁸

Because of gaps in both the historical and archaeological record, the formulation of an accurate definition of a medieval town presents some problems. A reliance on documentary evidence for the existence of a charter can be misleading: many chartered boroughs never became towns and in some cases no evidence survives for charters that were granted.¹⁹ While all towns were boroughs, not all boroughs were towns, as in their efforts to promote settlement, manorial lords sometimes attempted to make towns of villages, or even of 'green-field' sites devoid of any urban attributes, simply by conferring on them a charter of urban liberties. Given the proper circumstances, some of these, like New Ross, flourished, but many were never more than villages in morphology or function. To distinguish these villages, which were in fact failed urban initiatives, from the chartered town with true urban characteristics, Glasscock called them rural boroughs.²⁰ In an effort to distinguish between rural boroughs and genuine towns, Bradley has proposed a list of attributes which, with, or even without, a charter, would indicate that a settlement was of urban status.²¹ These consist of location on a routeway, street pattern with burgage plots, a market place and church, with at least three of the following: town walls, castle, bridge, cathedral, religious Orders, hospital, quays, school, suburbs, administration building and specialist technology. By applying these criteria, it is possible to identify sixteen settlements which were given borough status as part of the feudalisation of county Wexford: of these eight were capital, three baronial (two of which reverted to capital) and five manorial. There were also settlements at Gorey and Carnew which may have been granted borough status, and a settlement with market status at

¹⁸ Bradley, 'Planned Anglo-Norman towns,' pp. 414-21.

¹⁹ B. Graham, 'The towns of medieval Ireland,' in R.A. Butlin (ed.), *The development of the Irish town* (London, 1977), pp. 29-30; the difficulties relating to the definition of a town are discussed in B.J. Graham, 'Economy and town in Anglo-Norman Ireland,' in Bradley (ed.), *Settlement and society*, pp. 241-60.

²⁰ R. Glasscock, 'The study of deserted medieval settlement in Ireland (to 1968), in M. Beresford & J. Hurst (eds.), *Deserted medieval villages studies* (London, 1971), p. 288.

²¹ Bradley, 'Planned Anglo-Norman towns,' p. 419-20.

Templeshanbo (Appendix 4).

The continuity which can be demonstrated in the use of land divisions was also apparent in the selection of some urban sites. Great importance was attached to the infrastructure associated with the Norse towns and Early Christian monastic centres. The Norse town of Wexford was the first settlement in Ireland to be taken over by the Anglo-Normans and became a capital borough and the administrative centre of the county. Burgesses were recorded at Wexford as early as 1172 when Henry II's grant to the Templars included 'Agnile, burgess of Wexford, with all his chattels.'²² However, the charter of 1307 records that the town was not created a borough until about 1200, when Robert FitzGeoffrey, Marshal's seneschal, granted it a charter.²³ Three Early Christian monastic centres were selected as sites for early boroughs, presumably because of the existing settlement structure and strategic possibilities. Ferns, the most substantial monastic centre, with the added attraction of being the headquarters of the *Uí Cheinnselaig* dynasty, was chosen by Strongbow as one of his seignorial manors, and may have been created a borough by him as there were burgesses there by 1175.²⁴ The monastic centre of Taghmon²⁵ was reserved as a seignorial manor and granted borough status. The town of the Island, whose exact site is not known, was associated with the monastic centre of Kilmokea, on Greatisland, identified only from its archaeological remains.²⁶ The island, located in the river Barrow where it enters Waterford Harbour, was ideally positioned as a trading centre. It also straddled the road from Wexford to Waterford which crossed the river by ferry at this point. The town must have been founded by Hervey de Montmorency who established his *caput* on the island, subsequently known as Hervey's Island.²⁷

The process of urbanisation in the county was greatly influenced by two events: the succession of William Marshal to the lordship of

²² *Cal. doc. Ire.*, i, no. 85.

²³ Hore, *Wexford*, v, p. 118.

²⁴ *Pembroke deeds*, p. 11.

²⁵ Culleton, *Early Christian Wexford*, p. 140-3; Moore, *Archaeological inventory*, pp. 160-1.

²⁶ Moore, *Archaeological inventory*, p. 117, no. 1163; Culleton, *Early Christian Wexford*, pp. 152, 210.

²⁷ Orpen, *Normans*, i, p. 393.

Leinster after the death of Strongbow and the reversion of Hervey de Montmorency's lands to Marshal.²⁸ Marshal's decision to relocate the borough of Ross was to have far-reaching implications. Marshal's experiences in France and on Crusade²⁹ may have made him more aware of the advantages of siting a new town in a location where it could be involved in international trade. He may also have been influenced by current developments in England: the town of Hull, like New Ross located on an estuary, had recently been founded and Liverpool, also on a tidal estuary, received its first charter in 1207.³⁰ The initial decision to establish a borough at Ross (later Old Ross), would appear to have been taken with little consideration for broader economic opportunities. Strongbow, the likely founder, may have had a more limited vision than Marshal and may not have been concerned about the economic possibilities offered by the rivers Barrow and Nore. Marshal, no doubt briefed by his officials who had been administering the lordship in his absence, was determined to exploit the potential of the rivers and the Waterford Harbour estuary. The communications network provided by the two waterways meant that New Ross could become the port of Leinster; the Barrow, for example was navigable as far as Athy.³¹ The concentration of medieval towns and boroughs along the two rivers is a clear indication of their economic significance. The importance of this navigation system can be assessed from a description given in the seventeenth-century *Civil survey*. Of the twelve towns mentioned, nine were established as part of Marshal's development of the lordship of Leinster.³²

And the said river Barroue which partes the said town (New Ross) from the county of Kilkenny runneth northwards navigable for boates fifty milles. Upon which river stands the town of Timolingue (St. Mullins) five miles distant from the said town of Rosse and thereunto ebbs and flows. From which lieth the town of Graige (Graignamanagh) distant three miles from which lyeth the town of Laghlinbridge ten miles distant, from which lieth the town of

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Crouch, *Marshal*, pp. 37-51.

³⁰ M. Beresford, *New towns of the middle ages* (London, 1967), pp. 515, 461; R. Glasscock, 'Some parallels to New Ross,' *Old Wex. Soc. Jn.*, vii, (1978-9), pp. 32-3.

³¹ *Cal. just. rolls*, i, p. 202.

³² Graham, 'Development of the Irish town,' p. 52-3.

Carlow five miles distant, from which lieth the towne Athy distant seven miles, from which lieth the town of Munstereven tenne miles distant, and from thence to the --- of Eskermore tenne miles, where the navigation for boates ends. Then there is another river called the Nowre which lyeth norwarde of the said town meetinge the river Barrow a mile distant from the said town of Rosse which is navigable for boats fouerteen miles distant. Upon which lyeth the towne of Enisteage (Inistiogue) five miles distant whereunto it ebbs and flows, from which lyeth the town of Thomastowne three miles distant, from which lyeth the town of Gerpund (? Newtown Jerpoint) one mile distant, thence to the towne of Bennettsbridge two miles distance, from thence lyeth the city of Kilkenny three miles distant. Which Nowre runeth west-norwest from the said town of Rosse and the navigation for boates endes at Kilkenny aforesaid.³³

Marshal probably initiated the foundation of the port during his first visit to Ireland in 1200.³⁴ In 1207 it was referred to as *la Novele ville*³⁵ and at the same period 'one burgage of Ross, on the south side of the bridge' is mentioned in Marshal's charter to Tintern Abbey.³⁶ When King John visited Ireland in 1210, he stopped at New Ross, referred to as *Pons novus, villa Willielmi Marescalli* (a new bridge, the town of William Marshal).³⁷ The building of the bridge, which facilitated a road link between Wexford and Marshal's *caput* of Kilkenny, obviously a crucial element in the infrastructure of the lordship, indicated Marshal's commitment to the development of the site. The most dramatic symbol of his determination to create an international port was the construction, early in the thirteenth century, of the massive Tower of Hook as a light-tower and navigation aid at the entrance to Waterford Harbour. The care and maintenance of the tower was entrusted to the monks of the monastic foundation of Rinndubháin, the contemporary name for the peninsula.³⁸ The town, known as Ross or Rospont, took its name from the initial land-locked borough, located about 6 miles (10km) to the east, which came to be known as Old Ross. The older foundation, which never achieved

³³ *Civil survey*, p. 233.

³⁴ The location was close to an Early Christian site associated with St. Abban (Culleton, *Early Christian Wexford*, p. 97; Moore, *Archaeological inventory*, p. 118, no. 1168).

³⁵ G. Orpen, *New Ross in the thirteenth century* (Monksgrange, no date), p. 7.

³⁶ Hore, *Wexford*, ii, p. 19.

³⁷ Orpen, *New Ross*, p. 3.

³⁸ *Cal. doc. Ire.*, i, nos. 2811, 2872.

more than rural borough status, continued to function as the manorial centre of the manor of Old Ross and its significance was emphasised by the construction of an early thirteenth-century castle which succeeded the original motte castle.

As well as the old borough of Ross, Marshal inherited two other boroughs: the town of the Island, already referred to, and Bannow, located at the site of the first Anglo-Norman landing in Ireland. Hervey de Montmorency's attempt to found a monastery at Bannow is a strong indication that he was the founder of the borough.³⁹ Located on the south coast, Bannow was well placed for overseas trade but the harbour, like that of Wexford, was shallow and difficult for shipping. It may be that it was established partly to take advantage of the lucrative fishery off the south Wexford coast: in 1298 the 'fishery of the island of Keyrach' - a small island off Bannow - was a significant item of manorial income.⁴⁰ The town of the Island, located beside deep water in a sheltered area on the river Barrow, continued in use as a port throughout the thirteenth century⁴¹ but was eventually abandoned in favour of Ross. Marshal, rather than Montmorency, was the probable founder of the town of Clonmines: it is unlikely that Hervey would have founded a second borough on the same estuary. Marshal's involvement is suggested by the relationship between the lands of Clonmines, represented by the parish, and the surrounding lands of Tintern Abbey, which indicates that the land for Clonmines was reserved before, or contemporaneous with, the founding of the abbey.⁴² The claim that Marshal granted a liberty to Clonmines also points to him as the founder of the borough.⁴³

It is difficult to reconcile the establishing of Clonmines at the head of Bannow Bay with the development of New Ross as the port of Leinster. It was inevitable that Clonmines, located on a torturous channel and with a limited hinterland, would always be at a disadvantage. Indeed, this may well have been the case, leading

³⁹ Ward, 'Monastic endowment,' p. 445.

⁴⁰ *38th Rep. D.K.I.*, p. 41; c.1200, Christ Church, Canterbury appointed a vicar to the church of St. Mary's in Bannow but retained part of the tithes of fish (Hore, *Wexford*, iv, p. 452).

⁴¹ *Cal. doc. Ire.*, i, nos. 912, 2361.

⁴² The foundation of Tintern Abbey by Marshal will be discussed in the next chapter.

⁴³ *Cal. doc. Ire.*, ii, no. 1330.

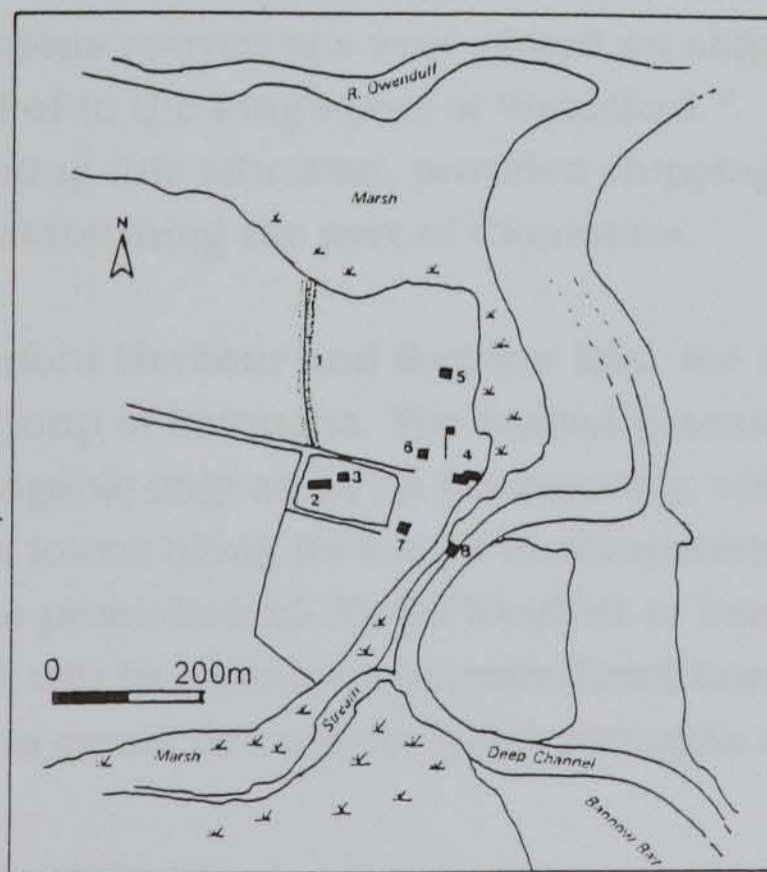


Fig. 57. The deserted town of Clonmines.

There are extensive remains of medieval buildings on the site of Clonmines which, like Bannow, was deserted by the seventeenth century.

Fig. 58. Clonmines; medieval features.

1. Possible remains of town ditch.
2. Parish church
3. Fortified church
4. Augustinian Priory
5. Tower house
6. Remains of fortified house
7. Tower house (incorporated in dwelling house)
8. Quay



ultimately to its abandonment. However, a closer examination of the situation suggests a number of factors which may have influenced the decision, at least in the short term. One of these is related to Marshal's narrow escape from shipwreck on the occasion of his first visit to Leinster and the subsequent construction of the Tower of Hook as a navigation aid. In bad weather, it is notoriously difficult for boats and smaller ships, coming from the east, to round the point of Hook and gain entrance to Waterford Harbour. In quite recent times mail-boats from Liverpool sometimes dropped the mail at Fethard rather than attempting to reach Waterford Harbour in unsuitable weather conditions. By avoiding the dangers off Hook Head, a port at Clonmines gave Marshal a sheltered alternative to New Ross during the winter months. The land journey of fifteen miles between the two ports was relatively straight-forward so that goods could be transported between them for import or export. In 1233 the 'main road' which existed between Clonmines and Wexford shows that attention was given to developing a road network.⁴⁴ Presumably, the port of Bannow could have been used as an alternative but the harbour was exposed to winter storms and the longer land journey to New Ross was made difficult by the wide marshy valleys of the Owenduff and Corock rivers. There may also have been a political factor in Marshal's decision to establish Clonmines. From the early thirteenth century, continuous restrictions were placed on shipping going to New Ross instead of to the king's port of Waterford.⁴⁵ Marshal, possibly anticipating this situation, provided shipping with a 'back-door' to Ross by establishing the port of Clonmines.

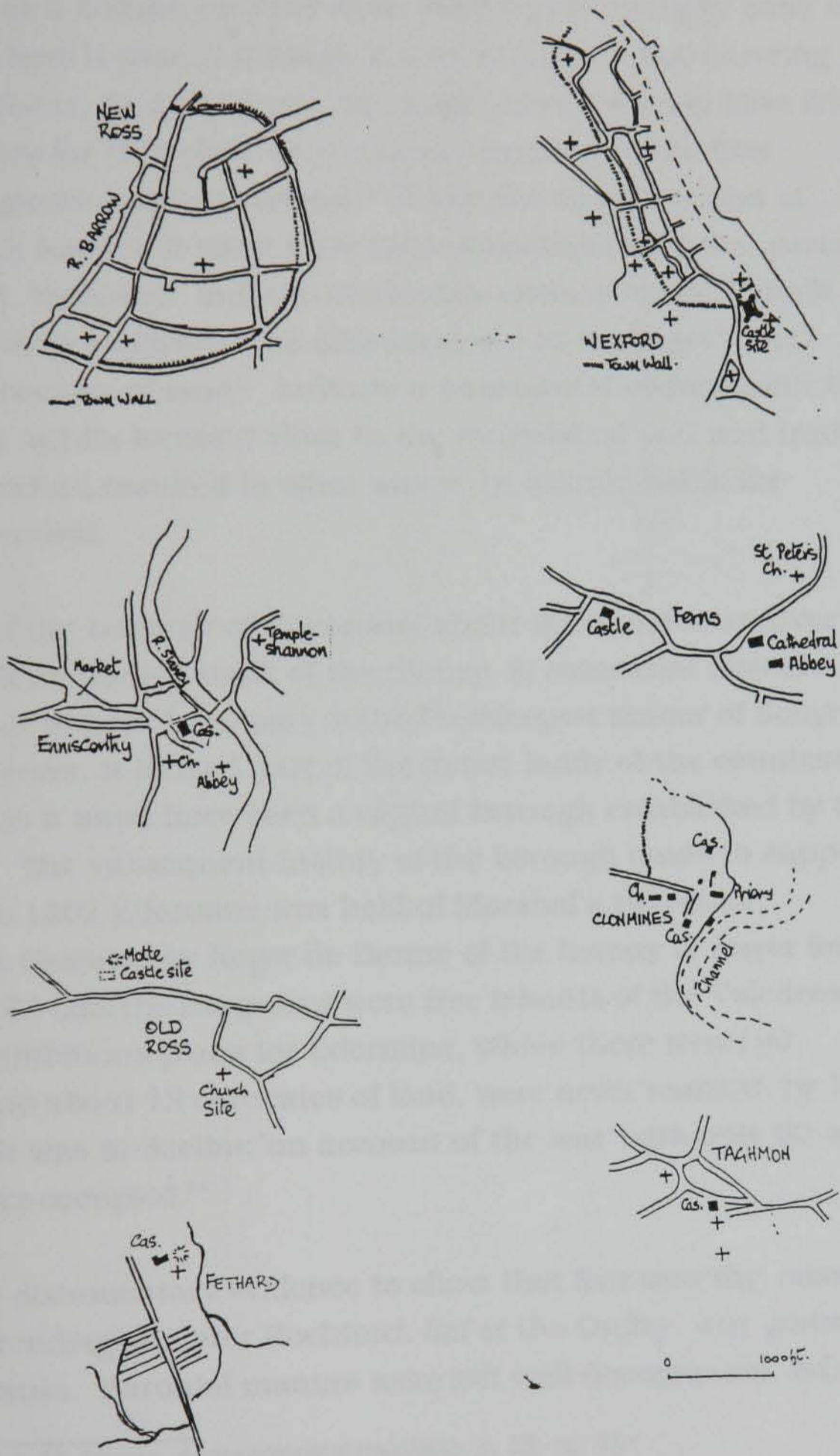
Like the estuaries of Waterford Harbour and Bannow Bay, the river Slaney attracted its own group of boroughs. The limited potential of the Slaney, which was navigable only as far as Enniscorthy, resulted in the creation of far fewer towns along its length in comparison to the Barrow and Nore.⁴⁶ The promotion of Norse Wexford to borough status, already mentioned, will be examined in more detail later in the chapter. The decision to create two other capital boroughs on the

⁴⁴ Orpen, 'Forests of Ross and Taghmon,' p. 56.

⁴⁵ This will be developed later.

⁴⁶ See map in B. Graham, 'The definition and classification of medieval Irish towns,' *Irish geography*, xxi, (1988), p. 25.

Fig. 59. Towns and boroughs: comparative sizes.



Slaney, in close proximity to Wexford, is difficult to comprehend from an economic point of view. The capital borough of Carrick was founded about 2.5 miles up-river from Wexford on the right bank of the Slaney where it passes through a narrow gorge before entering Wexford Harbour. As at Bannow, the Anglo-Normans may have felt a certain affinity for this place as it was the location of the first recorded ringwork castle in Ireland.⁴⁷ While the exact location of Carrick is not known, it must have been associated with the parish church of St. Nicholas⁴⁸ and the thirteenth-century castle,⁴⁹ built close to the early ringwork. The allocation of 110 burgages⁵⁰ and about 10 carucates of land⁵¹ indicate a substantial commitment to the borough but its location close to the established port and trading centre of Wexford resulted in what was to be a futile battle for economic survival.

The origin of the borough of Edermine, about seven miles up-river from Carrick on the left bank of the Slaney, is somewhat obscure. It would appear to have been part of the Prendergast manor of Schyrmal. In 1232, however, it formed part of the dower lands of the countess of Pembroke, so it must have been a capital borough established by the Marshals.⁵² The subsequent history of the borough tends to support this view: in 1302 Edermine was held of Marshal's successor, Johanna de Valence, by Roger de Denne of the barony of Kayer for a rent of £9 10s and the burgesses were free tenants of the Valences.⁵³ The initial ambitious plans for Edermine, where there were 190 burgages and about 13 carucates of land, were never realised: by 1324 the borough was in decline 'on account of the war' with only 60 of the 190 burgages occupied.⁵⁴

There is no documentary evidence to show that Enniscorthy, *caput* of the large Prendergast, later Rochford, fief of the Duffry, was granted borough status. Baronial manors were not well documented, but lack

⁴⁷ *Expugnatio*, p. 53; Moore, *Archaeological inventory*, p. 93, no. 961.

⁴⁸ Moore, *Archaeological inventory*, p. 134, no. 1282.

⁴⁹ *Cal. doc. Ire.*, i, no. 1872.

⁵⁰ *Cal. i.p.m.*, vi, p. 327.

⁵¹ Based on the parish of Carrick.

⁵² *Cal. doc. Ire.*, ii, no. 1950.

⁵³ *Cal. just. rolls*, i, p. 403. (Edermine originally extended across the Slaney; *C.S.*, pp. 67,221)

⁵⁴ *Cal. i.p.m.*, vi, p. 324.

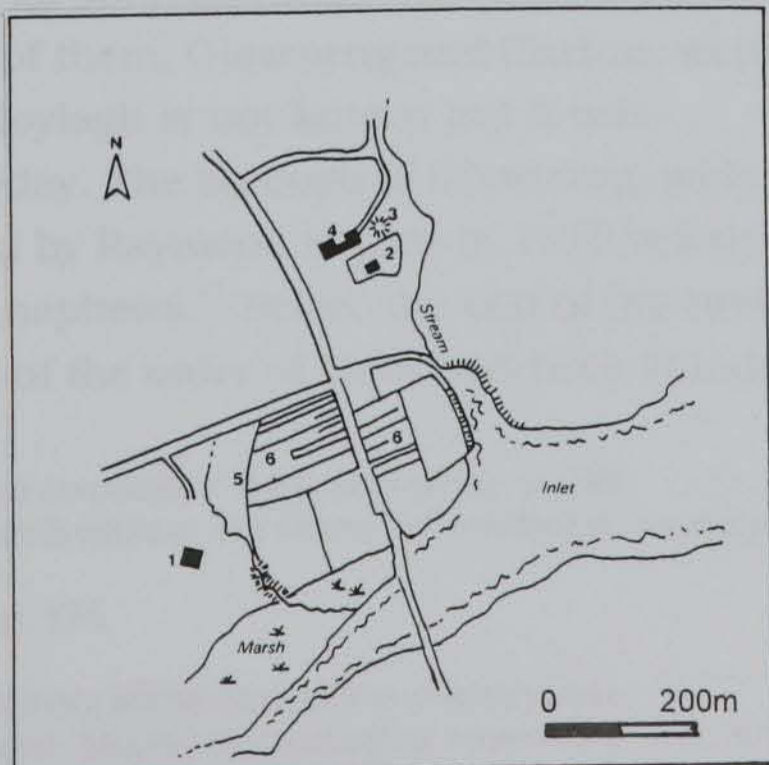


Fig. 60. Fethard (Cambridge collection).

The medieval church, motte and castle formed the core of the episcopal town of Fethard. There is evidence for the existence of a town ditch and burgage strips.

Fig. 61. Fethard; medieval features.

1. Castle site
2. Parish church
3. Motte
4. Episcopal castle
5. Possible remains of town ditch
6. Burgage strips



of documentary evidence does not mean that boroughs were not created.⁵⁵ Although no manorial extent survives, it is almost certain that Enniscorthy, situated at the head of the tidal waters on the Slaney, possessed borough status, particularly as no other borough is recorded on the Prendergast manors of Schyrmal and the Duffry, the largest fief in the county.⁵⁶ The likelihood of borough status is supported by the existence of a thirteenth-century castle⁵⁷ and the foundation of the priory of St. John for the Augustinian Canons early in the thirteenth century by Philip de Prendergast.⁵⁸ A Franciscan friary was established in the town in the fifteenth century.⁵⁹ Because of the reversion of the boroughs founded by Hervey de Montmorency to Marshal, Enniscorthy was the sole baronial town in the county. Enniscorthy castle was the only thirteenth-century castle in the county which was not located on a capital manor.

The episcopal town of Fethard, the most significant manorial borough, could possibly be classed as a baronial town, as the bishop, owner of six manors, held extensive estates.⁶⁰ Located on a small inlet at the entrance to Bannow Bay, the town provided a private port for the bishop's manors (figs. 60 & 61). The castle, constructed in the late fourteenth century,⁶¹ became the residence of the bishop when Ferns was abandoned due to the state of war in the north of the county. The other episcopal borough at Mayglass, where there were only eleven burgages, could never have been more than a manorial village. The principal group of three manorial boroughs were concentrated in the north-east of the county. Two of them, Glascarrig and Curtun, were on the coast: the location of Moylagh is not known but it was somewhere in the cantred of Oday. The borough of Glascarrig, with 48 burgages, had been established by Raymond le Gros in 1175 before the manor passed to his Cantiton nephews.⁶² Before the end of the twelfth century, a priory of the monks of the order of Tiron had been founded

⁵⁵ Empey, 'Cantred of Eliogarty,' p. 221.

⁵⁶ Enniscorthy is described as 'anciently a corporation' in the *Civil survey*, p. 293.

⁵⁷ The castle was rebuilt in the late sixteenth century; see Moore *Archaeological inventory*, p. 154-5.

⁵⁸ Gwynn & Hadcock, *Med. rel. houses*, p. 175.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 250.

⁶⁰ *39th Rep. D.K.I.* p. 43; the episcopal manors will be dealt with in chapter seven.

⁶¹ Pers. comm. Ben Murtugh, archaeologist; Moore, *Archaeological inventory*, p. 156, no. 1448.

⁶² Brooks, 'Unpublished charter,' p. 168; *Cal. just. rolls*, iii, p. 159.

there by the Cantitons as a dependency of St. Dogmael's in Pembrokeshire.⁶³ The site of the priory lies about 200m to the south of the motte-and-bailey. Both are located on the cliff edge at present but on the 1840 O.S. sheet are shown about 40m inland. This calculation agrees with Wexford County Council's estimate of erosion at 30m per century on Wexford's east coast.⁶⁴ It is likely that part, if not all, of the site of the rural borough has been destroyed by coastal erosion. Apart from Glascarrig, the Cauntetons held other unidentified lands in the cantred of Oday on which the borough of Moylagh was situated. In 1305, David de Caunteton was 'granted a subsidy to build a fortalice in his manor of Moylagh to resist the malice of the Irish.'⁶⁵ Even if he did construct the fortalice (?tower house), it was not successful, as in 1311 the tenants had fled and the 40 burgages had 'fallen and were not rebuilt'.⁶⁶

The fate of the manor and borough of Curtun followed a similar pattern. By 1280 it was claimed that the manor, where there was one carucate of burgage land, was waste and uninhabited because of the war⁶⁷ and after various negotiations the manor was eventually taken into the king's hands.⁶⁸ The manor and rural borough of Curtun must have been located in the townland of Courtown in the parish of Kiltannel. The name was transferred to the modern Courtown Harbour, in the townland of Ballinray Lower and the parish of Ardamine, developed as a harbour by the Courtown estate.⁶⁹ There is some evidence to suggest that legal status was given to three other settlements in the north of the county. Some settlements, distinguished from manorial villages by holding charters to hold markets and fairs, are classified as *Villae mercatoriae*:⁷⁰ the episcopal manor of Templeshanbo, in the cantred of Duffry, granted a weekly market and annual fair in 1226,⁷¹ belonged to this category. Although

⁶³ Gwynn & Hadcock, *Med. rel. houses*, p. 112.

⁶⁴ Pers. comm. Mr. Phil Callery, Wexford county engineer; this figure is also given in R. Glasscock, 'Land and people, c. 1300,' *N.H.I.* ii, p. 208. According to these calculations, from now on, the motte at Glascarrig will disappear at a rate of 3m every ten years.

⁶⁵ *Cal. just. rolls*, ii, p. 13.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, iii, p. 159.

⁶⁷ *Cal. doc. Ire.*, ii, no. 1801.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, nos. 1210, 2339, 2340.

⁶⁹ Wexford O.S. sheet 12.

⁷⁰ Graham, 'Classification of medieval Irish towns,' p. 28.

⁷¹ *Cal. doc. Ire.*, i, no. 1429.

no other evidence has emerged, there may have been a rural borough at Gorey, as tax returns for the year 1297 show that the 'commonalty of the town of Wexford' paid 26s; the vill of Old Ross paid 15s and the 'commonalty of the vill of Gory' paid 13s.⁷² Similarly, in 1248, a reference to the assises and pleas in the vills of 'Ross, Carnew and Clonmines' indicate that Carnew in the cantred of Shillelagh may have possessed a charter.⁷³ This is supported by the fact that the manor of Carnew was treated as a capital manor in 1245 at the partition of Leinster.⁷⁴

In the long term, boroughs established in county Wexford either succeeded as towns, never developed beyond the village stage, or were abandoned. The survival or failure of boroughs depended on a complex set of circumstances related to status of founder, choice of site, previous settlement and economic potential. Out of eighteen boroughs established in the county, four (22%), became towns, comparable to the survival rate of 25% at a national level.⁷⁵ Another four boroughs survive as villages, giving an overall survival rate of 44%. Capital boroughs enjoyed a 56% success rate with baronial and manorial foundations at 33%. Boroughs located at an existing settlement site had a success rate of 80%, making this the most critical factor relating to survival in the county. This is best illustrated by the examples of Wexford, Ferns and Taghmon. Wexford, the first settlement to be taken over by the Anglo-Normans, continued as a successful town even after the foundation of the superior port of New Ross. The inland monastic centres of Ferns and Taghmon, selected as demesne manorial centres because of their strategic importance, survive as villages to the present day. The commitment to Ferns in the form of a major stone castle must have contributed to its survival. The six boroughs located on navigable rivers, with a survival rate of 33%, were the least successful, but the ones that did survive, New Ross and Enniscorthy, achieved town status. Surprisingly, of the five coastal boroughs, only Wexford survived as a town and Fethard as a

⁷² Hore, *Wexford*, v, p. 97; the existence of a medieval borough at Gorey would explain why it was selected as the site for a plantation town in the early seventeenth century; see R. Loeber & M. Stouthamer -Loeber, 'The lost architecture of the Wexford plantation,' in Whelan (ed.), *Wexford: history and society*, p. 183.

⁷³ *Cal. doc. Ire.*, i, no. 2983.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, ii, no. 933.

⁷⁵ Bradley, 'Anglo-Norman towns,' p. 425.



Fig. 62. Taghmon (Cambridge collection).

The borough of Taghmon was associated with the Early Christian site of the same name. The circular feature which can be identified in the aerial photograph (shown by a dotted line) indicates that the borough was located inside the monastic enclosure.

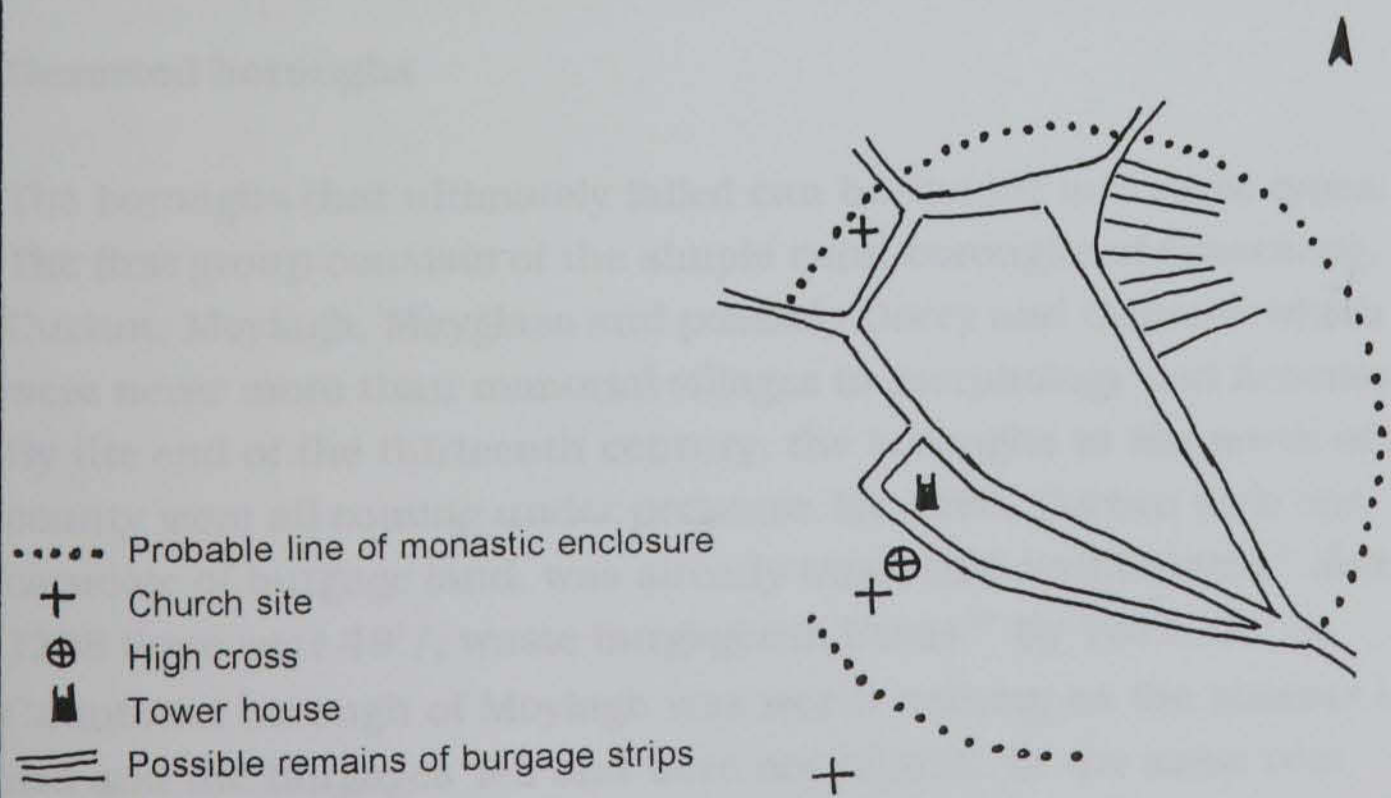


Fig. 63. Interpretive plan of Taghmon (not to scale).

village, giving a success rate of 40%. Fethard's survival, when ports around it failed, must have been due to its role as the port for the episcopal manors of the diocese. The construction of a castle in the late fourteenth century symbolized the bishops' commitment to the town. The success or failure of coastal towns was related to their ability to compete successfully as ports. The lack of a harbour at the east coast boroughs of Glascarrig and Curtun, where the coastline consists of a continuous beach, was a fundamental drawback. In theory, the Town of the Island on the river Barrow was ideally located to prosper as a port. Located at a monastic centre, on the road between Wexford and Waterford, adjacent to deep water and the river system, it had all the required attributes usually associated with a successful town. In reality, its failure was due to the death of its founder and the decision by Marshal to locate his port of Ross higher up on the Barrow. The building of a bridge at Ross may also have contributed to the Town of the Island's demise as bigger boats coming from up-river would have been prevented from continuing on to the Island. The dominance of New Ross ultimately contributed to the abandonment of Bannow and Clonmines, both located on a barred and difficult estuary. The survival rate of 57% for inland boroughs is surprising. These consisted of the small town of Gorey and the villages of Ferns, Taghmon and Carnew.

Deserted boroughs

The boroughs that ultimately failed can be divided into three types. The first group consists of the simple rural boroughs of Glascarrig, Curtun, Moylagh, Mayglass and possibly Gorey and Carnew, which were never more than manorial villages in morphology and function. By the end of the thirteenth century, the boroughs in the north of the county were all coming under pressure. By 1280, Curtun with one carucate of burgage land, was already waste and uninhabited⁷⁶ and in 1298 there were 49¹/₂ waste burgages in Ferns.⁷⁷ By 1311, the de Caunteton borough of Moylagh was worth nothing as the tenants had fled and the burgages 'fell and were not rebuilt'. In the same year

⁷⁶ *Cal. doc. Ire.*, ii, no. 1801.

⁷⁷ *38th Rep.D.K.I.*, p. 41.

Glascarrig was 'devastated'⁷⁸ and by 1335 was waste and occupied by the Irish.⁷⁹ At the same time, the possible rural borough of Gorey, with the north of the county in general, was also in decay.⁸⁰ The survival of Gorey and Carnew, and Fethard in the south of the county, as functioning settlements, owes much to estate development of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. While there was a general lack of coordination and advance planning in the establishment of boroughs, the reason behind the foundation of the borough of Edermine on the banks of the Slaney is most puzzling. Its location between Wexford and Carrick to the south and Enniscorthy to the north gave it little chance of economic success. An allocation of 190 burgages indicates a commitment to a substantial settlement but there is no evidence of any further development. It is possible that, in this instance, the primary reason for granting burgage status was to attract settlers from England. Ultimately, this was not successful as by 1324 the burgage rent had dropped from £9 10s to £3 and the manor was in decline.⁸¹

Included in the second category of boroughs which became deserted were the manorial centres of Old Ross, the Town of the Island and Carrick. It may have been intended to develop them as towns when they were originally founded but, from a practical perspective, it is doubtful if this was feasible, following the upgrading of Wexford and the foundation of New Ross. The embargo placed on shipping going to Marshal's ports may have caused more damage to the town of the Island than to New Ross which was better placed to attract trade from manors throughout Leinster.⁸² Nevertheless, during the thirteenth century, some development took place; by 1231 stone castles had been constructed in all three boroughs.⁸³ By the late thirteenth century, however, signs of decay were becoming apparent at the Town of the Island. Bigod's ministers' accounts for 1286 record that 'scarcely any tenant remained in the town' and 'scarcely anyone came to the oven because of the impoverishment of the community'. In the same year,

⁷⁸ *Cal. just. rolls*, iii, p. 159.

⁷⁹ *Cal. pat. and cl. rolls*, p. 39.

⁸⁰ *Cal. i.p.m.*, vi, p. 325.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 324.

⁸² For example *Cal. doc. Ire.*, i, nos. 912, 1046, 1552, 2361.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, i, no. 1872.

the mill was 'flooded by the sea' and had to be rebuilt. In spite of the unfavourable economic outlook, and perhaps in an effort to reverse it, considerable money was spent on repairing and re-roofing the castle. Three years later the situation had not improved as the 'town remained waste'.⁸⁴

Although the manor of Old Ross was in a better state financially, the manorial centre, presumably the location of the borough, had also deteriorated. In 1306 it was described as:

an old hall without a roof surrounded by stone walls, a stone house without a roof outside the gate almost razed to the ground, a little hall in which is a chapel and a kitchen in ruins, a sheepfold thatched with straw, all of no value because no one will rent them.⁸⁵

References in the accounts to dogs and greyhounds kept at Old Ross and the Island, suggest that the manors were used by the Marshals and Bigods as 'country seats' during hunting expeditions. Following Roger Bigod's death in 1306, the manors reverted to the crown,⁸⁶ probably accelerating the decay of the two boroughs. Old Ross, however, as the following description from 1684 shows, survived as a settlement for several centuries:

About three miles eastward (from New Ross) stands a large old castle, which is quite out of repair, called Old Ross. where there is also an old ruined church, and about fifty cabins or thatched houses and has belonging to it about 1200 acres of land.⁸⁷

The towns of Bannow and Clonmines enjoyed a longer life-span than the other deserted boroughs. The burgage rent at Bannow remained consistent at £8 0s 10d up to 1324, and in the early seventeenth century the town had a portreeve and was held by burgage tenure.⁸⁸ In the middle of the seventeenth century the town was still functioning as a settlement with streets and house plots.⁸⁹ On the Down survey

⁸⁴ Hore, *Wexford*, iii, pp. 201-19.

⁸⁵ *Cal. i.p.m.*, iv, p. 306.

⁸⁶ Otway-Ruthven, *Medieval Ireland*, p. 212.

⁸⁷ 'A chorographic account of the southern part of the county of Wexford, written anno 1684 by Robert Leigh esq., of Rosegarland in that county,' ed. H.F. Hore, *R.S.A.I.Jn.*, v, (1858-9), pp.453-4.

⁸⁸ Hore, *Wexford*, iv, pp. 452- 7.

⁸⁹ In a late seventeenth-century survey of the town of Bannow (Hore, *Wexford*, iv, p. 459) the following street names are given: Lackey, High, New, Little, Lady, Weavers; a church, castle and market cross are also mentioned.

map of 1656 Bannow island was shown with a channel to the east and west.⁹⁰ By 1684, however, Bannow was described as:

the first corporation built by the English after their landing at Bagg and Bunn, and was a considerable place of trade for many years until the sand filled up the river mouth between the town and the island of Bannow and turned the current to the west side of the island, a dangerous place for any ship of burden to come in at. The town of Bannow is now quite ruined, there being nothing there but the ruins of an old church and several stone houses, and ancient streets of some few cabins, yet it sends two burgesses to parliament still but the charter is long since worn out with time.⁹¹

According to an account from the middle of the nineteenth century, traces of the town were still in evidence but were being removed for building and agricultural purposes.⁹² At present nothing survives, over ground at least, except the ruins of the parish church of St. Mary's and the castle site about 100m to the east.⁹³

Documentation for Clonmines is scarce, possibly because it was economically detached from the rest of the county at the partition of Leinster.⁹⁴ It was functioning as a town in the fourteenth century; in 1356, the provost, bailiff and community were fined for having the pillory broken and in 1364 a sheriff for the county was elected there. In the early fifteenth century, it was the venue for a number of inquisitions and in the late sixteenth century Clonmines was still referred to as a town. In the seventeenth century, the town had a portreeve, and burgage lands 'within and without' the town.⁹⁵ It is possible that the mining operation which was carried on briefly on the opposite shore of the estuary during the sixteenth century may have given the town an economic boost.⁹⁶ In 1684, however, it was described as:

a place of great trade in times passed, and a harbour for shipping of indifferent bulk until the sand filled up the ancient passage near the town of Bannow, which was the destruction of both these towns, so

⁹⁰ *Down survey maps 1656*, NLI, MSS 725.

⁹¹ 'Chorographic account,' p. 465.

⁹² J. Graves & J.C. Tuomey, 'The bay and town of Bannow,' *Transactions of the Kilkenny Arch. Soc.*, i, part 2, (1850), pp.187-210.

⁹³ Moore, *Archaeological inventory*, p.152, nos., 1423, 1424, 1425.

⁹⁴ See pp.81-2.

⁹⁵ Hore, *Wexford*, ii, pp. 211-62.

⁹⁶ D. Cowman, 'The German mining operation at Bannow Bay, 1551-52', *Wex. Hist. Soc. Jn.*, xi, (1986-7), pp. 67-82.

that there is now only a narrow passage for boats on the west side of the island, between it and the lands of Fethard; for on the east side towards the town of Bannow, where the ancient passage was, and ships used to come in, it is now a perfect dry strand and may be walked over from the island to the town.⁹⁷

The surviving remains include an Augustinian priory, two tower houses, a fortified church, the parish church of St. Nicholas and the ruins of a Jacobean house.⁹⁸ An account in 1826 which described 'the foundations of numerous other buildings throughout an extent of at least twenty acres',⁹⁹ has been backed up by a limited resistivity survey carried out in the early 1990s which identified a number of underground features.¹⁰⁰ Part of the town defences, described a 'vallum and fosse' in 1837,¹⁰¹ may be represented by a large bank and fosse, running northwards from the parish church, which, when it was complete, protected the landward side of the headland on which the town was situated (figs. 57 & 58).¹⁰²

Successful boroughs and towns

The survival of thirteenth-century towns and boroughs as settlements in the present-day landscape can be attributed to various reasons. Three settlements benefited from a second phase of development in the seventeenth century: Fethard was given a new charter in 1613 and subsequently developed as a town on the Loftus estate;¹⁰³ a town, briefly known as Newborough, developed at Gorey as part of the early seventeenth-century Wexford plantation, was surrounded by defences and issued with a charter of incorporation in 1619.¹⁰⁴ Enniscorthy, strategically placed for the exploitation of the oak forests of the Duffry, emerged as an industrial town in the first half of the

⁹⁷ 'Chorographic account,' p. 455.

⁹⁸ Moore, *Archaeological inventory*, pp. 153-4.

⁹⁹ J.N. Brewer, *The beauties of Ireland, being original delineations, topographical, historical and biographical, of each county*, 2 vols., (1826), i, pp. 362-3.

¹⁰⁰ Byrne, M.E., 'The results of a resistivity survey undertaken at Clonmines, co. Wexford', *Wex. Hist. Soc. Jn.*, xv (1994-5), pp. 67-73.

¹⁰¹ S. Lewis, *A topographical dictionary of Ireland* (1837), i, p. 372.

¹⁰² Moore, *Archaeological inventory*, p. 153, no. 1429.

¹⁰³ Hore, *Wexford*, iv, p. 328.

¹⁰⁴ Loeber & Stouthamer-Loeber, 'Lost architecture,' in Whelan, (ed.), *Wexford: history and society*, p. 183. It was stipulated that Gorey should be surrounded with 'a good and sufficient wall.' The Down Survey shows a fort and town walls but it is not known if they were of clay or stone.

seventeenth century.¹⁰⁵ The factors which led to the development of Ferns and Taghmon as pre-Norman settlement centres also contributed to their long-term survival. Ferns continued in its dual role as a centre of ecclesiastical and political power. Because of its castle and strategic location, it was the centre of resistance in the north of the county against the MacMurchada and their allies and had the added advantage of being the episcopal centre of the diocese. In 1538, Ferns was described as having 'a great castle of the king, the great cathedral church, an abbey and a town.'¹⁰⁶ Following the suppression of the monasteries, the lands of Ferns Abbey, and the castle, were granted to Thomas Masterson in 1583 and Ferns continued to function as a village on the estate.¹⁰⁷

Located in the gap between the river Corock, flowing west into Bannow Bay, and the Polehore river, flowing east into the Slaney, Taghmon, as a pre-Norman monastic centre, controlled access to the *Uí Bairrche* district of south Wexford. As an Anglo-Norman borough, it continued to function in the same capacity, forming a second line of defence, after Ferns, for the protection of the southern baronies of Forth and Bargy. In 1383 a sessions was held at Taghmon 'on the marches of the county' for five weeks with sixteen men-at-arms and horses, by which 'the malice of the Irish of those parts had been greatly curbed.'¹⁰⁸ In the fifteenth century, £300 was spent on improving the defences of the 'waters of Taghmon' and tower houses were built along the length of the river.¹⁰⁹ The building of the castle in Taghmon, which was held as a manor by the Talbot lords of Wexford, can probably be attributed to this period.¹¹⁰ Taghmon's status as a frontier post must have contributed to its survival as a settlement; in the late sixteenth century it was still being listed among the towns of the county.¹¹¹ It suffered a decline in the seventeenth century and in 1684 was described as

¹⁰⁵ K. Whelan, 'Enniscorthy', in A. Simms & J. Andrews (eds.), *Irish country towns* (Dublin, 1994), p. 74.

¹⁰⁶ Hore, *Wexford*, vi, p. 26.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 81.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, v, p. 419.

¹⁰⁹ See below, p. 274.

¹¹⁰ Moore, *Archaeological inventory*, p. 160, no. 1466.

¹¹¹ Hore, *Wexford*, v, p. 418.

an ancient corporation it is now quite waste in a manner, there being but a ruinous old castle, the ruins of two small chapels, a small parish church and about a dozen cabins; yet it sends two burgesses to parliament.¹¹²

Taghmon's subsequent survival as a village can be attributed to its success as a market centre and its location on what used to be the main road between Wexford and New Ross (figs. 62 & 63).

Wexford and New Ross: layout and morphology

The principal achievement in urban development associated with Anglo-Norman settlement in county Wexford was the expansion of the Norse port of Wexford and the founding of the new port of Ross. Wexford had the advantage of being an existing settlement with an established infrastructure and trade connections. When Henry II visited Ireland in 1171-2, he took Wexford into his own hands and stayed in the town for about six weeks awaiting favourable weather for his crossing to Wales. His prolonged stay may have added impetus to the development of the town. In 1173, he granted the town to Strongbow and it became the principal town of the lordship. Under the Marshal regime, Wexford became the administrative centre of a county of the same name. A burgess charter could be granted before the conferring of full borough status¹¹³ and this may have happened at Wexford where burgesses were mentioned as early as 1172¹¹⁴ even though a full charter was not conferred until about 1200.¹¹⁵ The takeover of the town by the Anglo-Normans was not without opposition in the initial stages when the success of the Anglo-Norman venture was still in the balance. In 1173, a revolt planned by the Ostmen of Wexford was prevented only by the arrival from Wales of Raymond le Gros and Meiler FitzHenry with a large force. Shortly after his arrival, le Gros married Strongbow's sister, Basilia, in the town.¹¹⁶ A few years later, in 1176, Maurice FitzGerald, one of the most prominent of the first arrivals, died, and presumably was buried, in Wexford.¹¹⁷

¹¹² 'Chorographic account,' p. 464.

¹¹³ Clarke & Simms, 'Towards a comparative history of urban origins,' pp. 691-2.

¹¹⁴ *Cal. doc. Ire.*, i, no. 85; *Pembroke deeds*, p. 13.

¹¹⁵ Orpen, *Normans*, iii, p. 86.

¹¹⁶ *Expugnatio*, p. 141; *Song*, ll. 2994-3004.

¹¹⁷ *Expugnatio*, p. 171.

There is very little information about the transfer of the town from the Hiberno-Norse to the Anglo-Normans. The town was taken over as a 'going concern' and probably experienced no drastic changes for a considerable period. The possible extent of the Norse town has been discussed in chapter one.¹¹⁸ It is very likely that no alterations in layout were introduced: a limited excavation at Bride street revealed that property boundaries have remained consistent from about 1200AD.¹¹⁹

Medieval town walls, apart from their obvious defensive function, were symbols of the independence and freedom of medieval towns and acted as lines of economic and social demarcation.¹²⁰ When the Anglo-Normans took Wexford it already had defences, perhaps even walls of stone.¹²¹ The relationship between the wall, the intramural church sites and parishes of the Norse town indicates that, as with internal property boundaries, the line of the town defences was retained by the new Anglo-Norman lords. It is not known when the Normans strengthened, or replaced with stone walls, the ramparts of the Ostman town. There is some evidence, including parochial boundaries and the architecture of the surviving mural towers, to suggest that the Anglo-Norman wall followed the line of the Norse defences as far as Cornmarket with an extension enclosing the market place, the ferry landing and the monastic site, creating the parish of Selskar in the process. An excavation outside this section of wall did not reveal the ditch which Gerald of Wales described in his account of the attack on Wexford in 1169¹²² and the mural towers are circular in contrast to the square tower which survives near John's Gate, suggesting a different period of construction.¹²³ The extension with circular towers may have been built before the Norse ramparts were renovated (fig. 64).

No records survive for early murage grants for the building of walls at

¹¹⁸ See p. 18.

¹¹⁹ Bourke, 'Two early eleventh-century houses,' p. 59.

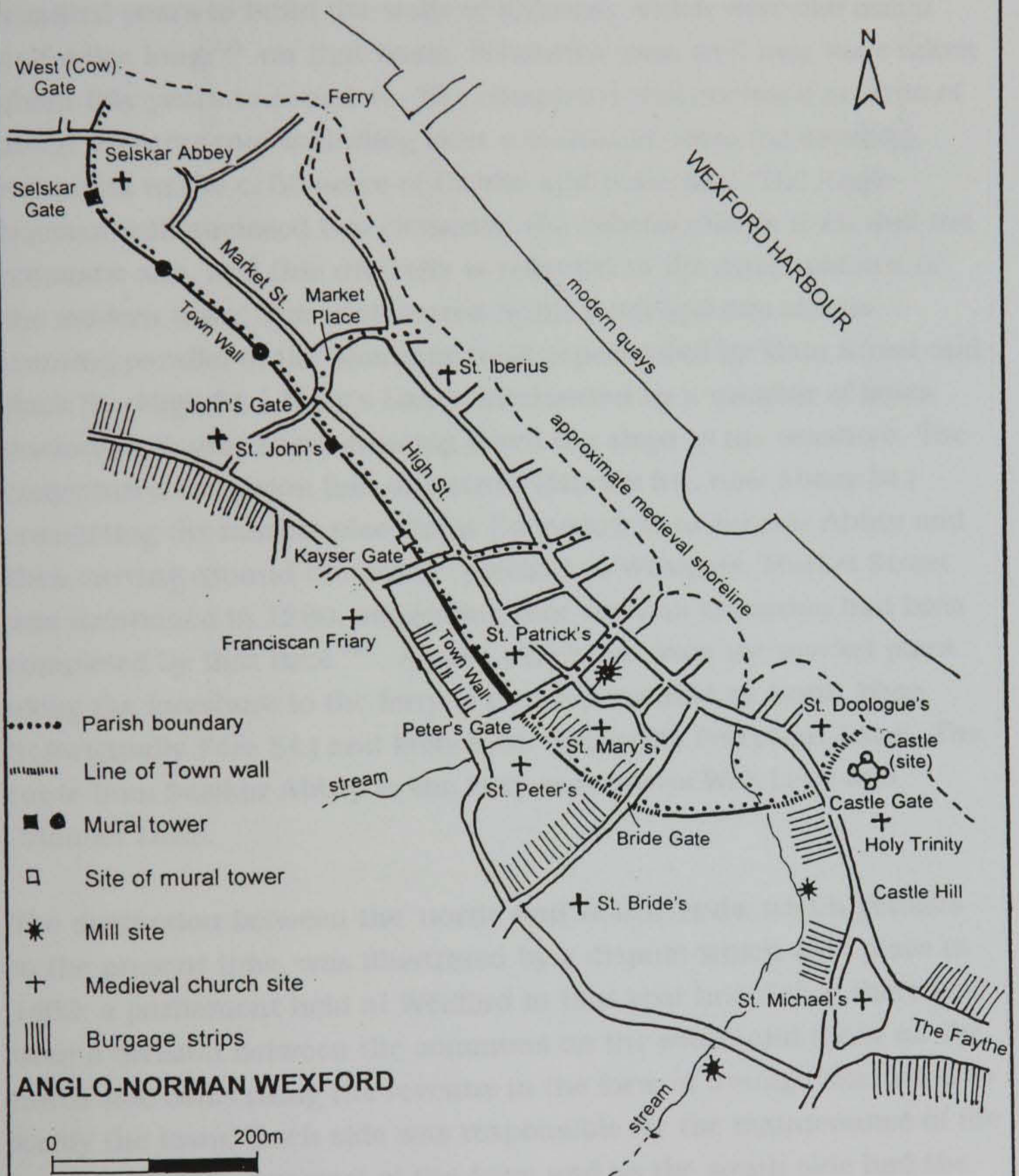
¹²⁰ Braudel, *Civilization and capitalism*, pp. 492-5.

¹²¹ *Expugnatio*, p. 33.

¹²² M. Ryan & M. Cahill, 'An investigation of the town wall at Abbey Street, Wexford,' in *Old Wex. Soc. Jn.*, viii, (1980-1), pp. 56-64.

¹²³ The top of this square tower would appear to have been restored, probably in the 1850s when one of Wexford's twin churches was built just outside the wall at this point. A similar mural tower, located about 100m to the south, was demolished at the same time.

Fig. 64. Anglo-Norman Wexford town.



Based on O.S. (1841)
Wexford, 37.

Wexford but there are records for the other Hiberno-Norse towns: Dublin 1215, Cork 1218, Waterford 1224 and Limerick 1237.¹²⁴ Wall building activity possibly began in Wexford during the first quarter of the thirteenth century. The wall, when completed, was just three-quarters of a mile (1.2km) long. It has been estimated that it took one hundred years to build the walls of Kilkenny which were one and a half miles long:¹²⁵ on that basis, Wexford's town wall may have taken about fifty years to complete. The completed wall enclosed an area of about 40 acres (not including later reclamation from the estuary), compared to the c. 50 acres of Dublin and Waterford. The Anglo-Norman wall enclosed two elements: the Hiberno-Norse town and the monastic site, and this diversity is reflected in the street pattern of the modern town. The conjectured Norse town had two streets running parallel to the shoreline (now represented by Main Street and Back St./High St./ Mary's Lane), intersected by a number of lanes (including Kayser Lane) running down the slope to the seashore. The conjectured extension had one street (Market St., now Abbey St.) connecting the market place (now Cornmarket) to Selskar Abbey and then curving around the abbey precinct to Westgate. Market Street was mentioned in 1280, suggesting that the wall extension had been completed by that time.¹²⁶ A path which ran from the market place along the foreshore to the ferry is now represented by North Main St.(originally Fore St.) and Monck St. (originally Ferryboat Lane). The route from Selskar Abbey to the ferry survives as Well Lane and Trimmer Lane.

The distinction between the 'north' and 'south' ends, which persists to the present time, was illustrated by a dispute which took place in 1462: a parliament held at Wexford in that year heard that there had been a division between the commons on the south and those on the north side concerning the revenue in the form of murage tax raised to fortify the town. Each side was responsible for the maintenance of the town wall in its own part of the town and as the south side had the capacity to generate more revenue, there was dissatisfaction with the condition of the walls on the north. The parliament directed that in

¹²⁴ Bradley, 'Anglo-Norman towns,' p. 441.

¹²⁵ Ibid., p. 442.

¹²⁶ Hore, *Wexford*, v, p. 92.

future the combined revenue should be spent on the entire wall without reference to either side.¹²⁷ The area represented by the present Bullring seems to have been held in common by both 'sides'. In 1621 it was referred to as the Common Plain, and the adjacent quay was known as Common Quay, a name still surviving in Common Quay Street.¹²⁸

The town wall, of which about two-thirds survives in various stages of preservation, was built near the top of the slope on which the town is situated.¹²⁹ References to the collection of murage tolls in 1331, 1381 and 1537 for the repair of the town defences indicate that the wall needed continuous maintenance work so it is probable that part, at least, of the original structure may have been replaced.¹³⁰ In places where the structure has been removed, the line of the wall, which is of symbolic significance, can be traced. The original fabric would appear to survive in places, for example adjacent to Selskar Abbey where putlog, or scaffolding, holes can still be seen. A section of double wall with the intervening space of about four metres packed with earth, survives at High Street.¹³¹ Traces of the benched wall-walk can be seen near the mural towers at Abbey Street and Cornmarket. Just south-east of the site of Bride Gate, a section of breast work, surviving above the wall-walk, has five musket loops, some of them restored, and possible traces of battlements. Three mural towers survive, a square one at Cornmarket with battlements restored, probably in the 1850s, and two circular towers at Abbey Street, one restored in the 1990s. All towers were entered from the wall-walk at first floor level. There was a mural tower near St. Patrick's church,¹³² a square tower near Rowe St.¹³³ and another beside John's Gate¹³⁴ but they no longer survive (fig. 66). A reference, in 1561, to 'the gate of the castle of Cow Street' (now Westgate St.), indicated that there was a tower located there also.¹³⁵

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 132.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 200.

¹²⁹ Moore, *Archaeological survey*, pp. 161-2.

¹³⁰ Hore, *Wexford*, v, pp. 107, 122, 141.

¹³¹ The earthen bank may date to the Cromwellian siege of the town in 1649.

¹³² Hore, *Wexford*, v, p. 176.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, p. 60.

¹³⁴ Shown in a drawing kept in the Corporation archives.

¹³⁵ Hore, *Wexford*, v, p. 170.

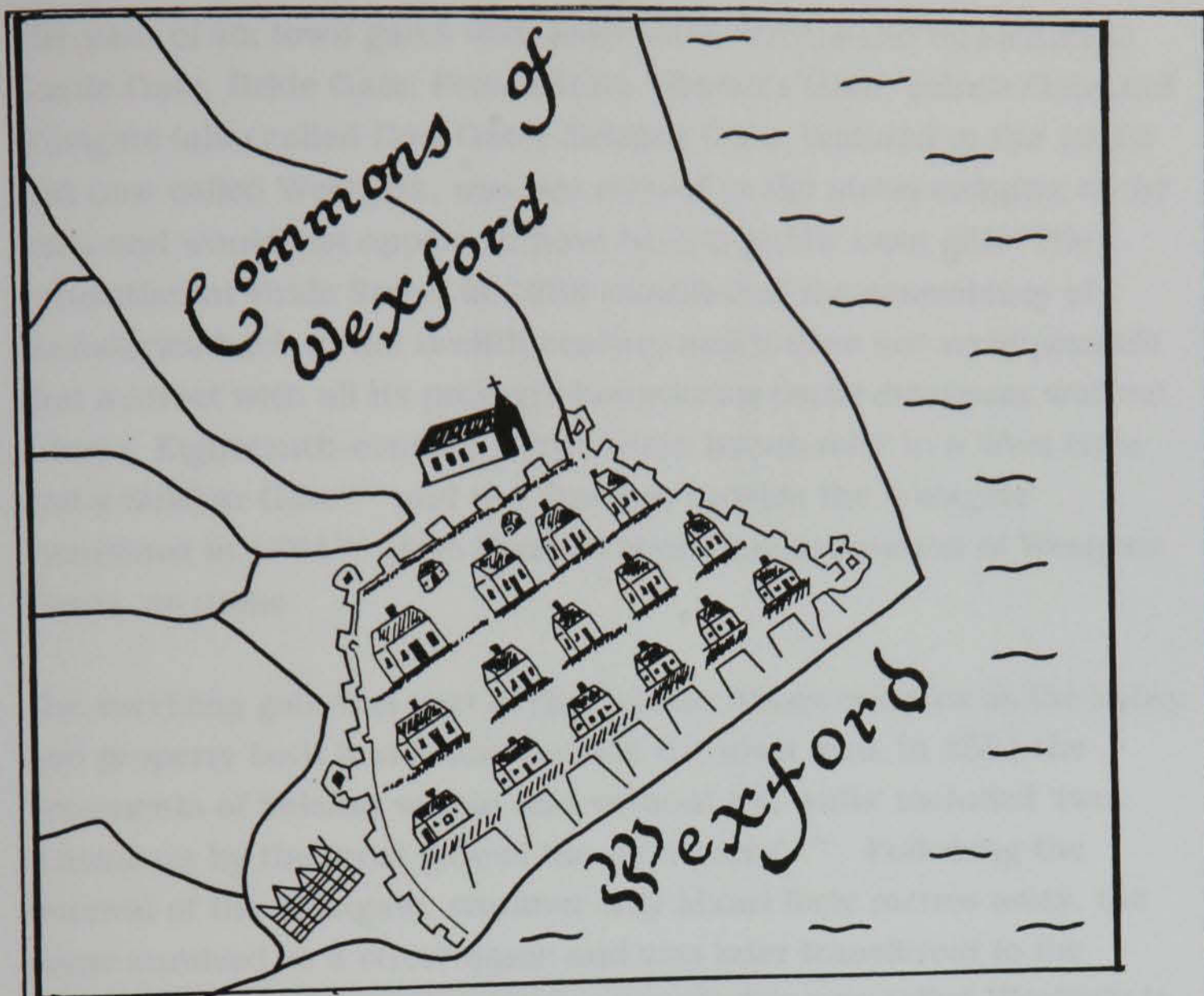
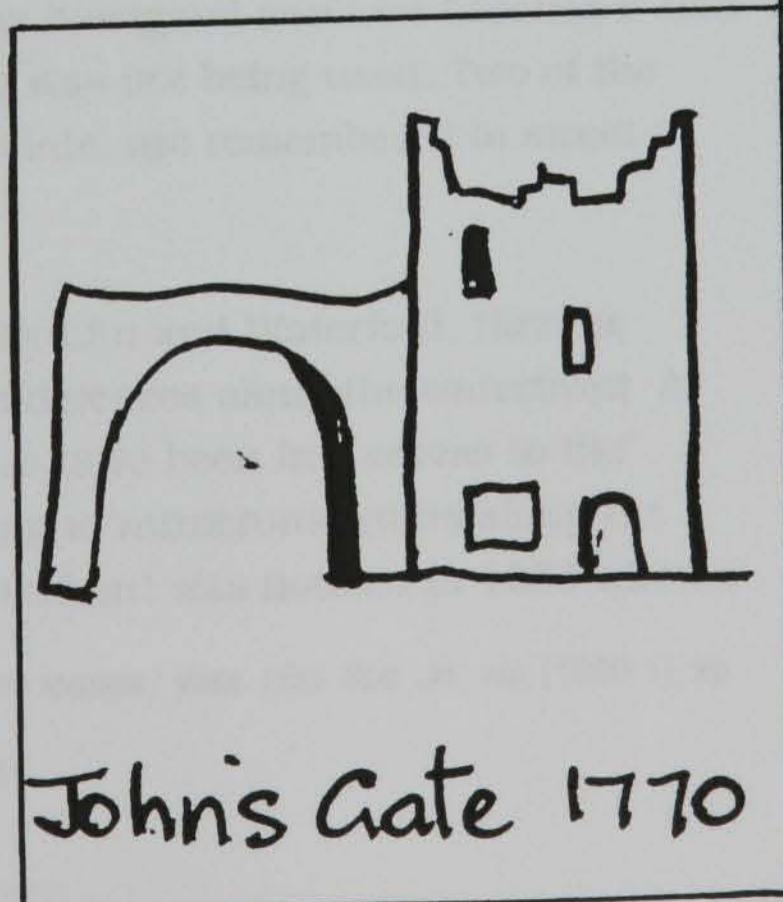


Fig. 65. The representation of Wexford town on the Down Survey.

This stylized drawing shows a crenellated town wall with gates and towers. The castle, with four towers, is accurately placed, just outside the wall to the south-east. The Franciscan church, also outside the wall, is the only church shown. The waterfront has a series of jetties extending into the harbour.

Fig. 66. John's Gate.

A document from the archives of Wexford corporation shows a drawing made in 1770 of John's Gate with an adjoining rectangular mural tower.



The sites of six town gates with associated streets can be identified: Castle Gate, Bride Gate, Peter's Gate, Kayser's Gate, John's Gate and Westgate (also called Cow Gate). Selskar Gate, restored in the 1980s and now called Westgate, was not related to the street complex of the town and would not appear to have been a public town gate. The excavation at Bride Street in 1988 established the consistency of boundaries back to the twelfth century and it does not seem possible that a street with all its property boundaries could disappear without a trace. Eighteenth-century Corporation leases refer to a West Gate and a Selskar Gate¹³⁶ and the 'fine spa outside the Westgate' mentioned in 1764¹³⁷ gave Spawell Road, a continuation of Westgate Street, its name.

The surviving gate was part of the Selskar Abbey complex as the abbey had property both inside and outside the town wall. In 1551 the 'tenements of Selskar within and without the walls' included 'two tenements by the great gate of the monastery'.¹³⁸ Following the removal of the Westgate, situated only about forty metres away, the name survived as a street name and was later transferred to the adjacent Selskar Gate. The tower over what is now called Westgate is actually a small tower house, added probably in the fifteenth century. A sketch of John's Gate in 1770 shows a different type of gate with a tower adjacent to, but not over, the gate.¹³⁹ When the town gates were removed by the Corporation in the late eighteenth century to facilitate traffic, Selskar Gate (now Westgate) survived because it had no associated street and therefore was not being used. Two of the town gates, Westgate and John's Gate, are remembered in street names.

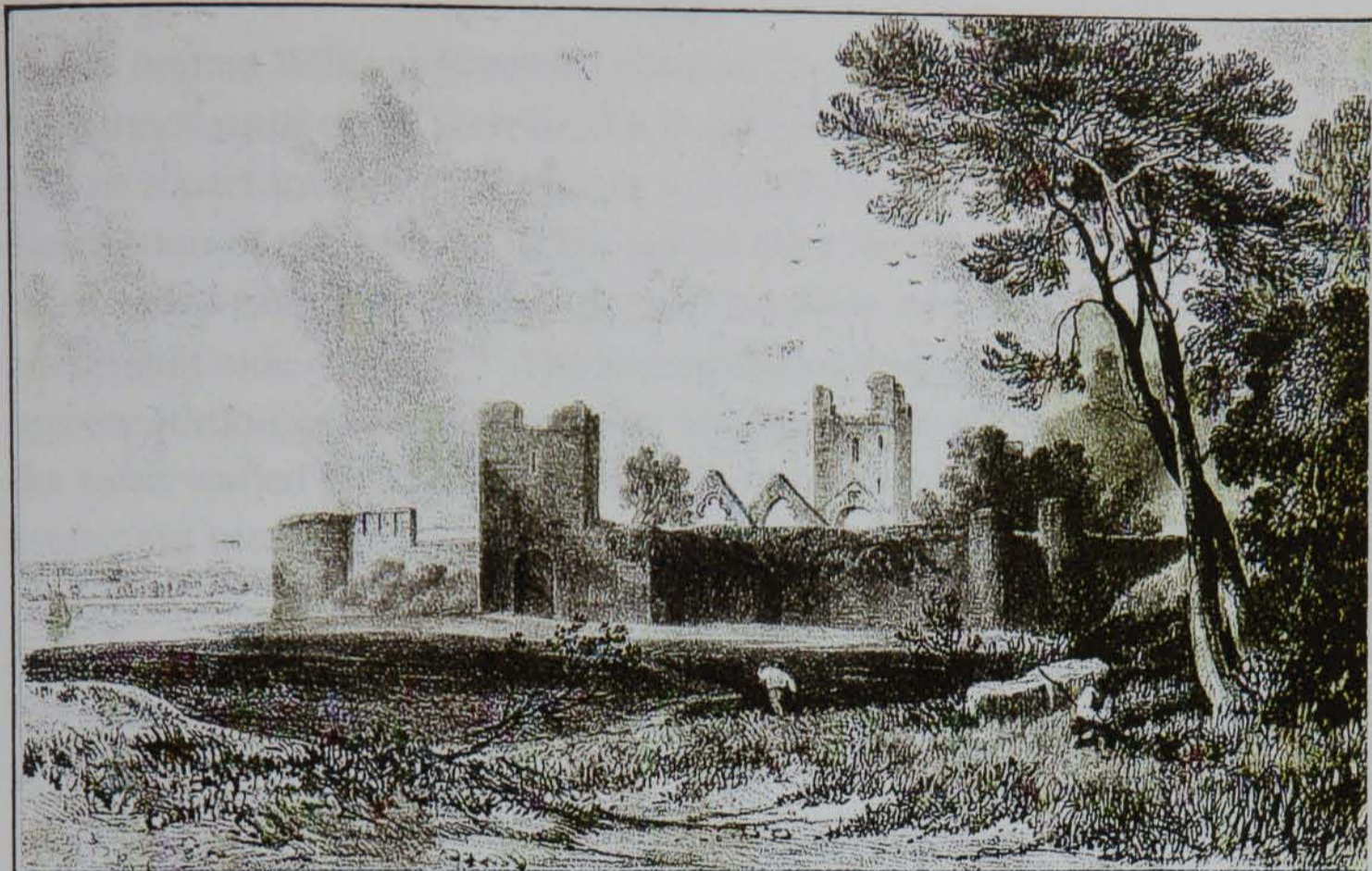
In a number of towns, including Dublin and Waterford, there is evidence for the existence of town defences along the waterfront. At Wexford, however, there appears to have been free access to the harbour, with narrow lanes leading to numerous jetties along the shore. The open nature of the waterfront was noticed in 1634 when a

¹³⁶ 'Wexford corporation's eighteenth-century leases,' *Wex. Hist. Soc. Jn.*, xiii, (1990-1), pp. 144-5.

¹³⁷ A. Griffith, *Dublin magazine*, (Sept., 1764).

¹³⁸ Hore, *Wexford*, v, p. 159.

¹³⁹ Wexford Corporation archives.



WEXFORD.

WEXFORD.

Drawn on Stone by J. D. Harding from a Sketch by Robert O'Callaghan Newenham Esq. Printed by C. Hullmandel.

Fig. 67. Wexford town wall and Selskar Abbey c. 1800.



Engraved by G. Kneller Sep 23 1794

Kneller sc

S. VIEW of the ABBEY of SELSKAR in the TOWN of WEXFORD.

Fig. 68. Selskar Abbey 1794.

visitor named William Brereton commented that 'there belonged sometimes unto every merchant's house seated on the shore, either a key, or a part interest in a key, or a private way to a key'.¹⁴⁰ A description of the town in 1682 stated that 'Wexford is a walled town on all sides except to the sea-pool or harbour, which washeth the north-east side thereof'.¹⁴¹ These descriptions agree with the stylised representation of Wexford town on the Down Survey which depicted the town walled on the land side only, with a series of jetties projecting into the harbour along the waterfront (fig. 65).¹⁴²

First mentioned in 1231,¹⁴³ Wexford castle, part of the town defences but also separate from them, was located to the south-east of the town, on a natural mound just outside the town wall.¹⁴⁴ This was not unusual, as out of thirty-six castles associated with towns in medieval Ireland, only four were within the walls, sixteen were on the perimeter and eleven were outside.¹⁴⁵ Although defensive in structure and appearance, the castle's real significance was to make Wexford town a centre of administration and military control. From their base in the castle, the seneschal, sheriff and other officials of the earl of Pembroke administered his lands and affairs in the county. Certain lands were included in the demesne of the castle: thirty acres of arable land, one acre of meadow below the castle, and a certain park with oak trees containing sixty acres, possibly represented by either the present townland of Park to the north of the town or the area known as Townparks.¹⁴⁶ There were two water-mills near the castle, presumably on the Bishopswater stream in the vicinity of the present-day Mill Road.¹⁴⁷ Towns where the emphasis was on trade and commerce, did not always have castles: Waterford and New Ross being good examples. The fact that New Ross collected £744 in custom dues

¹⁴⁰ Hore, *Wexford*, v, p. 247.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 363.

¹⁴² Down survey, (1655), N.L.I. Mss. 725.

¹⁴³ *Cal. doc. Ire.*, i, no. 1872.

¹⁴⁴ See p. 74; the suggestion that the castle was built on the site of a Norse fortress (Hore, *Wexford*, v, p. 52) cannot be substantiated at present.

¹⁴⁵ Bradley, 'Anglo-Norman towns,' p. 444.

¹⁴⁶ Hore, *Wexford*, v, p. 105.

¹⁴⁷ Wexford castle was removed in the 1720s to make way for the military barracks which now occupies the site. There is a report that the castle foundations survive underneath the barracks (Hore, *Wexford*, v, p. 70). The memory of the castle survives in the name of the adjacent Castle Hill Street (officially Kevin Barry Street).

in 1275 compared to £10 in Wexford serves to illustrate this point, even though the great custom figures must be treated with caution as they did not apply to all commodities.¹⁴⁸

The Burgesses

The development of the Anglo-Norman town of Wexford was basically an economic venture and to be successful it was necessary to attract settlers to take up residence as burgesses in the town. Although the records for the development of Wexford are very sparse, it is possible to piece together at least an outline picture from the available evidence. The campaign to attract settlers seems to have been quite successful initially as all of the 365 and a half burgage plots in the town were initially occupied at a rent of 1s each.¹⁴⁹ However, this success was not maintained, as in 1298 there were 128¹/₂ burgages waste in Wexford town¹⁵⁰ and by 1307 the value of the burgages had dropped from £18 to £12 with 127 burgages waste as the tenants had become paupers.¹⁵¹ By the year 1324, the situation had deteriorated even further with 221¹/₂ burgages waste and vacant, due in part to the Bruce war.¹⁵² The land granted to burgesses for their one shilling rent was in the form of a long narrow strip which gave them a street frontage on which to build and a long garden or back for cultivation. Archaeological excavations, including the one at Bride Street in Wexford, have shown that property boundaries have remained consistent right back to the twelfth century. In many Anglo-Norman towns, burgage strips survive in some form and can frequently be identified on the 1840 Ordnance Survey maps.¹⁵³ In the case of Wexford the strips are not so much in evidence within the walls, possibly due to the town's Norse origin and a high density of building, but in some cases it is possible to identify the shape of strips where they are reflected in the lines of later building. Outside the town wall, however, the strips can easily be identified in the two suburb areas of the Faythe (from the Irish *Faithche*, a green level space) and John's

¹⁴⁸ *Cal. doc. Ire.*, ii, no. 1902.

¹⁴⁹ Hore, *Wexford*, v, p. 102.

¹⁵⁰ *38th Rep. D.K.I.*, p. 41.

¹⁵¹ Hore, *Wexford*, p. 102.

¹⁵² *Cal. i.p.m.*, vi, p. 324.

¹⁵³ Bradley, 'Anglo-Norman towns,' p. 429.

Street.¹⁵⁴ There is some documentary evidence for these burgages: in 1325 Mary, widow of Aymer de Valence, was assigned 66¹/₂ waste burgages in the north of the town;¹⁵⁵ in 1562 the manor of Kilcloggan (formerly held by the Knights Hospitallers) held 23 extramural burgages in John Street as well as 24 acres of burgage lands and in 1578 Kilcloggan also held the farm of 24 burgages in the Faythe.¹⁵⁶ As well as holding a burgage strip, some of the burgesses held land outside the town. In 1324 certain burgesses held half a carucate (about 150 st. acres) for a rent of £8 p.a.,¹⁵⁷ an area perhaps represented by the townland of Burgess at Ferrybank.

The presence of 365¹/₂ burgages makes it possible to calculate an approximate population for Wexford in the mid-thirteenth century, presuming that all the burgages were occupied and that there was not multiple ownership of plots. Two methods are used. The 365 burgesses were heads of households and a multiplier of five will give a rough estimate of total population.¹⁵⁸ However, not all urban dwellers were burgesses and it has been suggested that a more accurate estimate for the population of boroughs can be arrived at by allowing 100 - 120 persons to the hectare.¹⁵⁹ These calculations give a population of between 1,825 and 2,400 for the walled town and suburbs. Based on these figures, an estimate of 2,000 for the population of the medieval town seems reasonable. Gerald de Barry gave the same figure for the Norse town in 1169,¹⁶⁰ indicating that, even if his estimate was exaggerated, a figure of that magnitude was not unreasonable.

Land Reclamation

Due to pressure on space within the walls, reclamation of land from the harbour was a continuing process. Reclamation was also necessary as part of the development of a proper waterfront and quay system. At Dublin, for example, between the tenth and thirteenth centuries, the waterfront was extended by about 60m by the

¹⁵⁴ O.S. Wexford 37 (1841).

¹⁵⁵ *Cal. close rolls*, 18 Ed. II, p. 363.

¹⁵⁶ Hore, *Wexford*, v, pp. 173, 182.

¹⁵⁷ *Cal. i.p.m.*, vi, p. 324.

¹⁵⁸ Otway-Ruthven, 'Character of Norman settlement,' p. 80.

¹⁵⁹ J. Russell, 'Late thirteenth-century Ireland as a region,' *Demography*, iii, (1966), p. 504.

¹⁶⁰ *Expugnatio*, p. 33.

construction of a series of nine banks.¹⁶¹ The charter granted to New Ross in 1283 gave specific permission for the extension of burgages by the reclamation of land from the river.¹⁶² However, just as in more recent times when low-lying parts of the quays and adjacent streets have been flooded by a combination of high tides and heavy rain, this was not always successful. In 1325, for example, six burgages in Wexford were of no value because they were submerged by the sea¹⁶³ and in 1395 the value of a messuage (plot for a house and out-buildings) of land in Wexford was reduced as it had become so much damaged and broken by the subsidence of the soil: it was to be rebuilt and repaired within eight years and rendered 'stiff and staunch'.¹⁶⁴ Eventually as much as one-third of the walled town was constructed on reclaimed land. Evidence for the location of the original shoreline was revealed during pipe laying operations in 1991 when a trench in the Bullring exposed sea sand several metres below the present road surface.¹⁶⁵

Medieval Churches

The complex nature of Wexford's medieval ecclesiastical structure resulted from the combination of Gaelic, Hiberno-Norse and Anglo-Norman foundations both inside and outside the walls, leading to the establishment of five intramural and five extramural parishes. The association of eight of the twelve churches with the complex Norse parochial system indicates that they were pre-Norman in origin. The dedications of seven of these churches are paralleled in Waterford and Dublin. It is significant that the extramural churches are located outside the gates of what is believed to have been the original Norse town. Of the five parishes inside the walls, four of the church

¹⁶¹ P.F. Wallace, 'Archaeology and the emergence of Dublin as the principal town of Ireland,' in Bradley (ed.), *Settlement and society*, pp. 130-5.

¹⁶² MacNiocail, *Na Buirgéisí*, i, p. 303.

¹⁶³ *Cal. close rolls*, 18 Ed. II, p. 363.

¹⁶⁴ Hore, *Wexford*, v, p. 124.

¹⁶⁵ Personal observation. The trench exposed sea-sand about 3m below the present road surface. An oak pile, or timber, about 1.5m long appeared to be embedded in the sand. Above the sand a black layer, about 20cm in width, containing bones, teeth, shells and what appeared to be medieval pottery, was visible. Above that seemed to consist of infill, except for another possible thin black layer about half way between the sand and the surface.



Fig. 69. St. Patrick's parish church, Wexford.

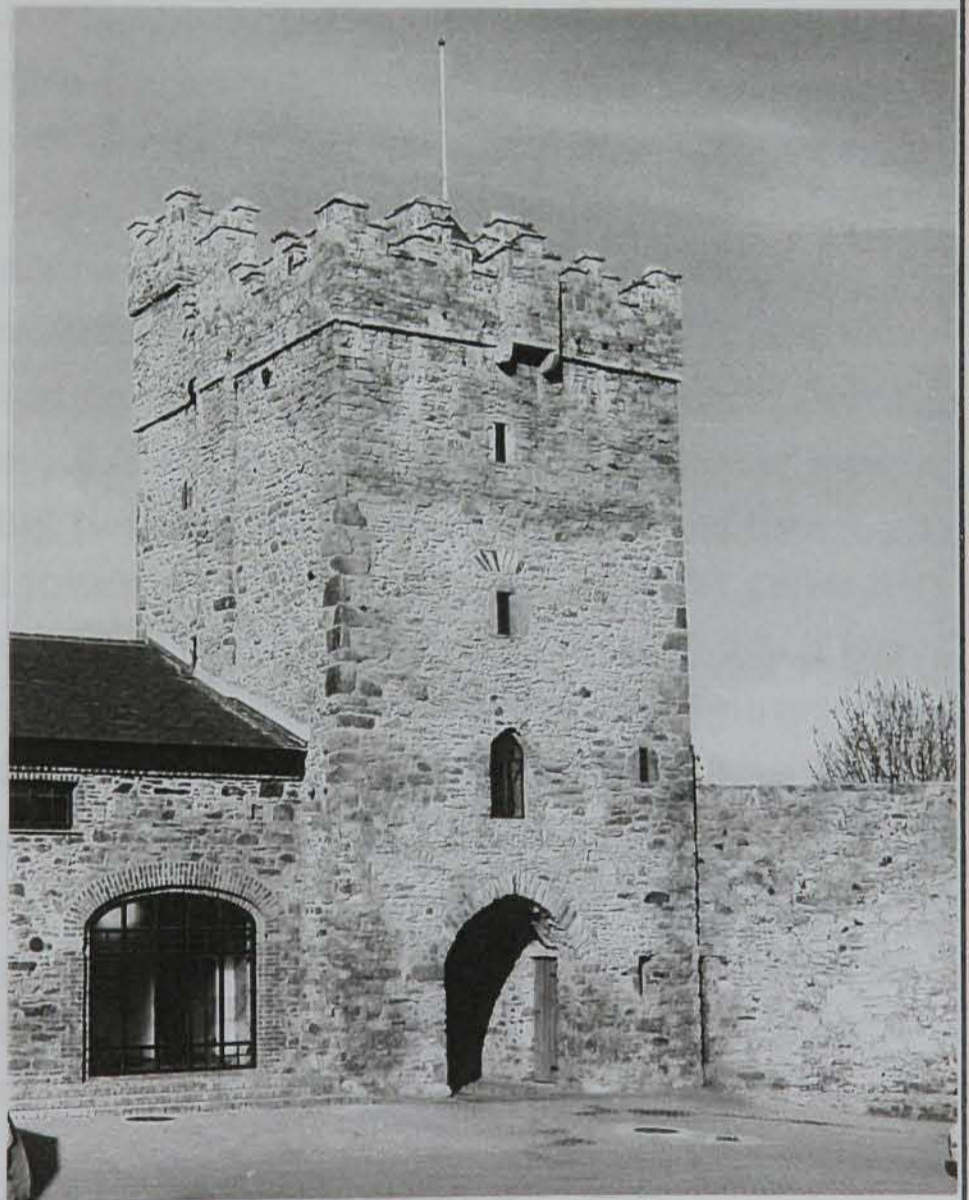


Fig. 70. Selskar Gate, Wexford
(restored; now called Westgate).

dedications, St. Doologue's, St. Mary's, St. Patrick's and St. Iberius, were Hiberno-Norse as the parishes predated the arrival of the Anglo-Normans. The modern church of St. Iberius is believed to occupy the site of the medieval church of the same name: no trace survives of St. Doologues; one gable of St. Mary's survives and there are substantial remains of St. Patrick's.¹⁶⁶

Four churches just outside the gates of the town (Holy Trinity, St. Michael's, St. Bride's and St. Peter's) were also associated with the Norse town. Of these only the graveyard of St. Michael's survives, the others are remembered in street names. The grant by Strongbow before 1176 of a free hospital at Wexford is probably represented by the church of St. Mary Magdalene at Maudlintown, 1.5km to the south of the town.¹⁶⁷ Hospitals, dedicated to Mary Magdalene, were typically located outside towns: there is a Maudlintown across the river from Clonmines and a district known as the Maudlins about 1km outside New Ross. The principal Anglo-Norman foundation in Wexford was the priory of St. Peter and Paul of Selskar founded as a priory for the Canons Regular of St. Augustine, probably on the site of an earlier foundation as Irish monastic houses frequently adopted the Augustine rule in the twelfth century.¹⁶⁸ The double- naved church, possibly of thirteenth-century date, is largely destroyed, except for the gables containing remnants of west windows and an arcade of four pointed arches separating the aisles.¹⁶⁹ The battlements of the somewhat later fortified tower at the east end, described in 1834 as 'much decayed',¹⁷⁰ were restored in the nineteenth century when the tower was adapted as a belfry for a new church. The extramural church of St. John, at the junction of John's Street and John's Gate Street, was part of the preceptory of Knights Hospitallers, probably brought to Wexford by Strongbow who granted them the church of St. Michael in the town. A grant of the churches of Sts. Patrick, Brigid, and Mary Magdalene were confirmed to the Hospitallers by Marshal about 1210.¹⁷¹ Their great rivals, the Knights Templars of Kilcloggan,

¹⁶⁶ Moore, *Archaeological inventory*, p. 162-3.

¹⁶⁷ Hore, *Wexford*, v, p. 37.

¹⁶⁸ *Med. rel. houses*, p. 151.

¹⁶⁹ Moore, *Archaeological inventory*, p. 162, no. 1481.

¹⁷⁰ *Dublin Penny Journal* (1834)

¹⁷¹ *Pembroke deeds*, pp. 11-13.

also had a connection with the town as their charter from Henry II granted them mills in Wexford, probably located on the mill-stream that ran from Peter's Square to the harbour.¹⁷² The Franciscans were the only medieval religious order to be established in Wexford, arriving about the middle of the thirteenth century. Their foundation, located just outside Kayser Gate, is still occupied by the order, providing a direct ecclesiastical link with the medieval town.¹⁷³ The influence of churches on the development of the medieval town can be gauged from the number of modern street names which originated as church dedications.

The location of New Ross, a carefully planned commercial venture on a 'green field' site, was dictated by the commercial potential of the river system associated with Waterford Harbour. The site of the town, sloping from the river to a height of 60m within 1km, and situated between a steep cliff to the north and extensive marshes to the south, was not ideal for development. The problems associated with the site were compensated for by the quality of the sheltered harbour. Located 30km from the open sea, it was described as 'one of the best for shipping in the kingdom' with deep water close to the shore where a 'ship of 500 tons burden could ride afloat fast by the quay.'¹⁷⁴ As many as 400 ships could be accommodated at the same time: 100 at anchor and 300 by the quay.¹⁷⁵ The location of the town, at a point just above the widening of the river, making it possible to construct a bridge, must also have been taken into consideration.

Information on the early development of the town relates mostly to ecclesiastical affairs. In contrast to Wexford, Ross, with its lands, consisted of one large parish of 4,922 st. acres (c.16 carucates). The construction of the early thirteenth-century parish church of St. Mary's, located near the top of the slope on which the town is built, is attributed to William Marshal the elder or his wife Isabella (fig. 74).¹⁷⁶

¹⁷² *Cal. doc. Ire.*, i, no. 85; A mill-stone was uncovered during recent construction work in this vicinity (personal observation).

¹⁷³ F. Grannell, *The Franciscans in Wexford* (Wexford, no date).

¹⁷⁴ Hore, *Wexford*, i, p. 289.

¹⁷⁵ Leigh, 'Chorographic account,' p. 451.

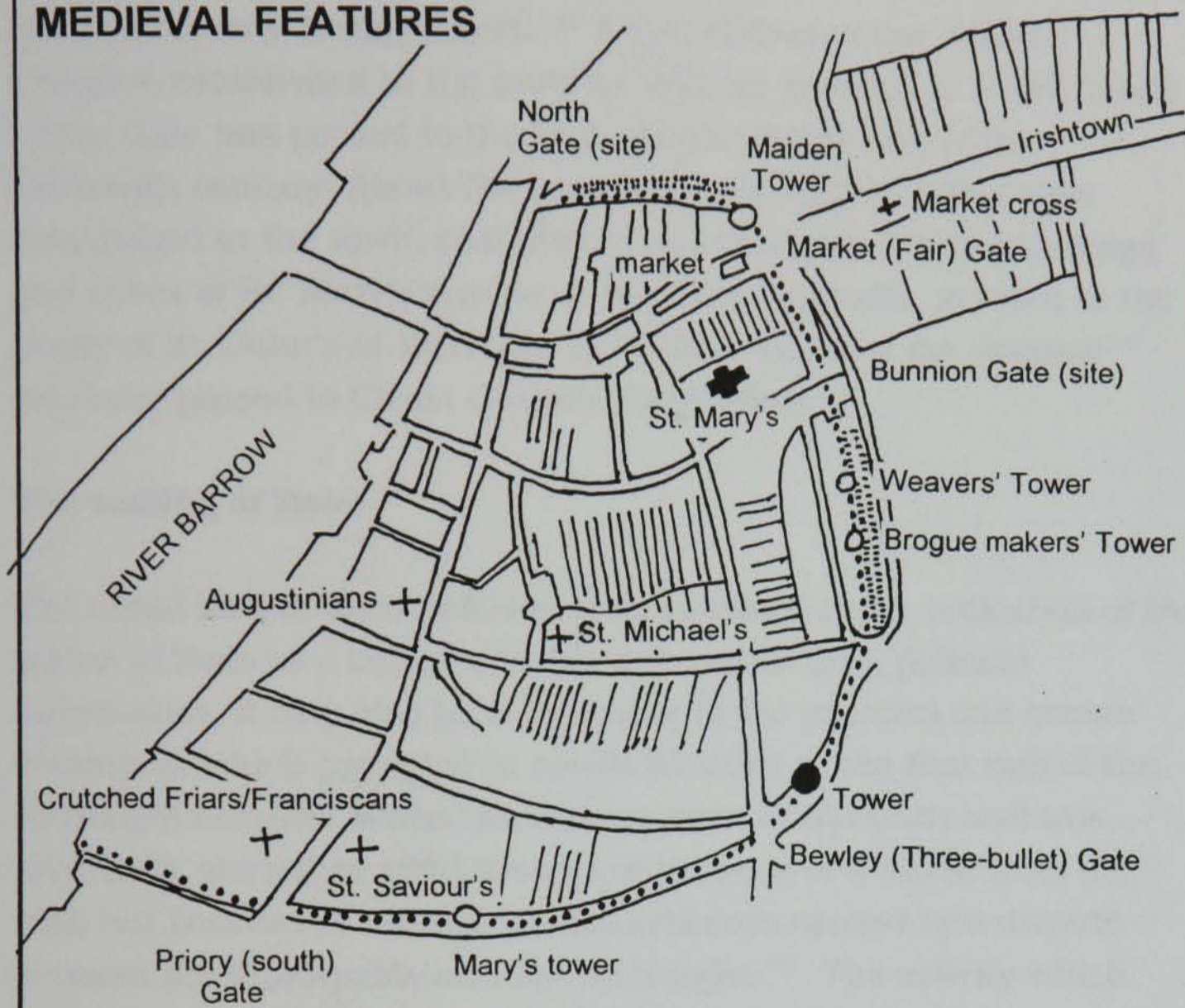
¹⁷⁶ H. Leask, *Irish churches and monastic buildings*, ii, p. 85.

Fig. 71. Map of medieval New Ross.

Based on county Wexford O.S. sheet 29 (1841).



NEW ROSS MEDIIEVAL FEATURES



- line of Town Wall
- Fosse (1841 O.S.)
- Mural tower
- Site of Mural Tower
- ||||| Burgage strips



Extensive remains survive, part of which has been converted for use as a modern church.¹⁷⁷ Of the other medieval churches, only the sites are known: St. Michael's, formerly located at Michael Street, St. Saviour's at South Street, and St. Evin's, possibly associated with Neville (formerly Nevin) Street.¹⁷⁸ A foundation of the *Fratres Cruciferi*, established in the town by William Marshal c. 1195, inside Priory Gate had passed to the Franciscans by the end of the thirteenth century. About the same time the Augustinians were established in the town, probably at South Street.¹⁷⁹ The patronage and tithes of St. Mary's and St. Evin's was originally granted to the priory of St. John's in Kilkenny by William Marshal the younger¹⁸⁰ and later passed to Christ Church, Canterbury.¹⁸¹

The walling of Ross

The initial lack of town defences may be taken as an indication of the status of Ross as a centre of economic rather than political significance. It may also have been due to the peaceful and secure conditions which prevailed in south Wexford in the first half of the thirteenth century. When the construction of the town wall was eventually started in 1265 it was not because of a threat from the Irish but because of widespread disturbances caused by a dispute between the FitzGerald and the de Burghs.¹⁸² The activity which accompanied the excavation of the fosse was described in a contemporary Norman-French poem entitled *The walling of Ross*.¹⁸³ The poem describes the excavation of the fosse to a depth of twenty feet, extending to a full league around the town. Although a wall of 'stone and mortar' is mentioned, the poem does not deal with its construction. The building of the wall must have continued, as in 1279 the burgesses had holdings 'inside and outside the wall'; in 1282 one of the town gates was known as the Earl's Gate and by 1320

¹⁷⁷ Moore, *Archaeological inventory*, p. 158, no. 1457.

¹⁷⁸ Hore, *Wexford*, i, p. 48.

¹⁷⁹ Gwynn & Hadcock, *Med. rel. houses*, pp. 215, 257, 301; Moore, *Archaeological inventory*, p. 159, nos. 1460, 1461.

¹⁸⁰ G.H. Orpen, *New Ross in the thirteenth century*, p. 11.

¹⁸¹ *Cal. doc. Ire.*, ii, no. 2145.

¹⁸² Lydon, 'Expansion and consolidation,' *N.H.I.*, ii, p. 183.

¹⁸³ H. Shields, 'The walling of New Ross', pp. 24-33.



THE BISHOP'S GATE.

Figs. 72 & 73. Fair (Market, Bishop's) Gate and Three-bullet (Bewley) Gate, New Ross.

These drawings were made of the gates before their removal in the second half of the nineteenth century (Hore, Wexford, i, frontpiece, p. 49).



THE THREE BULLET GATE.

murage tax was being levied.¹⁸⁴ Apart from the remains of Fair Gate (also known as Market, Maiden, or Bishop's gate), part of a mural tower and a remnant of the wall on the south side of the town, nothing of the medieval wall of Ross remains (figs. 72 & 75).¹⁸⁵ However, it is possible to establish the line of the wall with some certainty. An extensive length of fosse, presumably the one described in the thirteenth-century poem, is shown on the first edition of the Ordnance Survey map.¹⁸⁶ The positions of North Gate, Bunnion Gate, Bewley (Three bullet) Gate and Priory (South) Gate are also known. A map of the town as it was c.1700 shows five mural towers, including Maiden Tower, Weavers' Tower, Brogue makers' Tower and Mary's Tower.¹⁸⁷ An examination of the extant remnants in conjunction with the cartographic evidence establishes the line of the wall and shows that it is reflected in the street pattern of the town. The circuit of the wall extended for 1 mile (1.6km), enclosing an area of c.105 st. acres (42ha) which was divided into a 'grid' pattern by a medieval street system which still substantially survives. Medieval street names included St. Mary's, St. Saviour's, St. Michael's, St. John's, Royal, Stoc, Market, English, Bridge, South, Beale, Maiden Lane, Church Lane, Cross Lane and Beulan (modern Bullawn). The suburb of Irishtown was located outside Market Gate.

Within the grid pattern layout was contained the system of long burgage plots which were characteristic of Anglo-Norman towns and which represent, in general, the property boundaries of the medieval town.¹⁸⁸ The charter of 1283-6 stipulated that the burgage strips in New Ross should be 20 feet wide¹⁸⁹ and many of these strips are depicted on the first edition of the Ordnance Survey map.¹⁹⁰ The strips shown in the suburb of Irishtown may explain the reference in 1307 to burgess holdings inside and outside the wall.¹⁹¹ Burgage rent amounted to £25 6s 8d,¹⁹² indicating that there were 507 burgage plots

¹⁸⁴ Hore, *Wexford*, i, pp. 142, 148, 182.

¹⁸⁵ Moore, *Archaeological inventory*, p. 158.

¹⁸⁶ O.S. (1841), *Wexford*, 29.

¹⁸⁷ Hore, *Wexford*, i, p. 51.

¹⁸⁸ Bradley, 'Anglo-Norman towns,' p. 429.

¹⁸⁹ Mac Niocaill, *Na buirgéisí*, i, p. 303.

¹⁹⁰ O.S. (1841), *Wexford* 29.

¹⁹¹ *Cal. just. rolls*, ii, p. 349.

¹⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 348.



Fig. 74. The medieval parish church of St. Mary's,
New Ross.



Fig. 75. The only surviving mural tower
at New Ross.

at the usual rent of 1s each and probably a somewhat smaller number of burgesses as it is probable that some burgesses held multiple plots.¹⁹³ If this is taken as the approximate number, a burgess household population of about 2,500 can be calculated.¹⁹⁴ It cannot be assumed, however, that this was the total population of the town as it has been shown that burgesses were not the only inhabitants of boroughs.¹⁹⁵ The thirteenth-century poem on the walling of Ross details the variety of craftsmen and tradesmen in the town, including merchants, drapers, vintners, tailors, saddlers, butchers, bakers, carpenters, smiths, masons and priests, but there is no way of telling how many of these were burgesses. The claim in the poem that there were 4,667 men in the town who bore arms has led to the suggestion that the population was as high as 10,000.¹⁹⁶ This was probably an exaggeration, just as the length of the town wall was said to be one league (3 miles) when, in reality, it was one mile. Based on a figure of 100 -120 persons per hectare, the population of the town would have been in the region of 4,500-5,000.¹⁹⁷ This was about twice the probable burgess household population and seems a more reasonable figure than the number suggested in the thirteenth-century poem. As well as their plots in the town, burgesses held land outside the walls, in the town lands represented by the parish of St. Mary's. Fourteen of the townlands in the parish are under 50 acres in extent and a number are as small as 6 acres. In the *Civil survey* they are referred to as 'Staffordsland', 'Dormersland', 'Ormondsland', etc. and it seems probable that they originated as medieval burghal lands.¹⁹⁸

The contrast in the quality of the harbours constituted the most fundamental difference between Wexford and New Ross (figs. 76 & 77). Wexford's shallow harbour, reflected in the name of the town, with barred entrance and torturous channel, may have provided an element of security to the Norse founders whose shallow-draught ships were

¹⁹³ C.A. Empey, 'Medieval Knocktopher: a study in manorial settlement,' ii, *Old Kilkenny review*, vi, (1983), p. 443.

¹⁹⁴ Otway-Ruthven, 'Character of Norman settlement,' p. 80.

¹⁹⁵ Graham, 'Development of the Irish town,' p. 44.

¹⁹⁶ Shields, 'The walling of Ross,' ll. 30-190; p. 26.

¹⁹⁷ Russell, 'Late thirteenth-century Ireland,' p. 504.

¹⁹⁸ Jones-Hughes, 'Town and baile,' p. 253.

able to cope with such conditions.¹⁹⁹ Subsequently, the nature of the harbour prevented the town of Wexford from developing as a major port. However, by maintaining a large fleet of its own ships, small enough to cope with the harbour, Wexford did continue to function as a trading centre.²⁰⁰ Wexford's thriving fishing industry compensated to some degree for its deficiencies as a port. The herring fishery was particularly lucrative: when Henry II stayed in the town in 1172, £40 was spent on herrings to feed his retinue.²⁰¹ Fishing boats travelled considerable distances in search of catches: in 1217, for example, there was a report that Wexford fishermen were killed in the Isle of Man.²⁰² The great variety of fish bones recovered in the Bride Street excavations provide further evidence for the important fishery in thirteenth-century Wexford.²⁰³ A description of the town in 1635 highlighted the former importance of the fishing industry:²⁰⁴

Trade much decayed in this town (Wexford), and it is very poor by reason of herring fishing here failing. They report here of an incredible multitude of herrings ordinarily taken in one night, in this large and vast harbour by five or six men in one boat of 10 tons burthen, sometimes to the value of £20, sometimes £40, sometimes more. This was informed me and affirmed by one that ordinarily fished here and took his proportion. Now of later times the herrings have forsaken this coast, this town is much impoverished and decayed. Their haven was then furnished with 5,000 sail of ships and small vessels for fishing, and is now naked.

As the lack of shipping, many probably of foreign origin, was attributed to the disappearance of the herring, most of the craft must have been engaged in either catching or exporting fish. At the present time, the fish motif on the seal used by the mayor and corporation is testimony to Wexford's former dependence on the fishing industry. Unlike Wexford, the prime location of New Ross ensured its rapid rise

¹⁹⁹ The estuary was referred to as 'the sandy Slaney' in *The Faerie Queene* (Book iv, canto xi, stanza 41), written by Edmund Spenser in Cork at the end of the sixteenth century.

²⁰⁰ Longfield, *Anglo-Irish trade*, p. 212.

²⁰¹ *Cal. doc. Ire.*, i, no. 34.

²⁰² *Ann. Loch Cé*, i, p. 256.

²⁰³ Bourke, 'Life in the sunny south-east; housing and domestic economy in Viking and medieval Wexford', *Archaeology Ireland*, xxxiii, (Autumn, 1995), p. 35-6.

²⁰⁴ Account by Sir William Brereton, printed in Hore, *Wexford*, v, p. 247.

Fig. 76. Waterford Harbour river system.

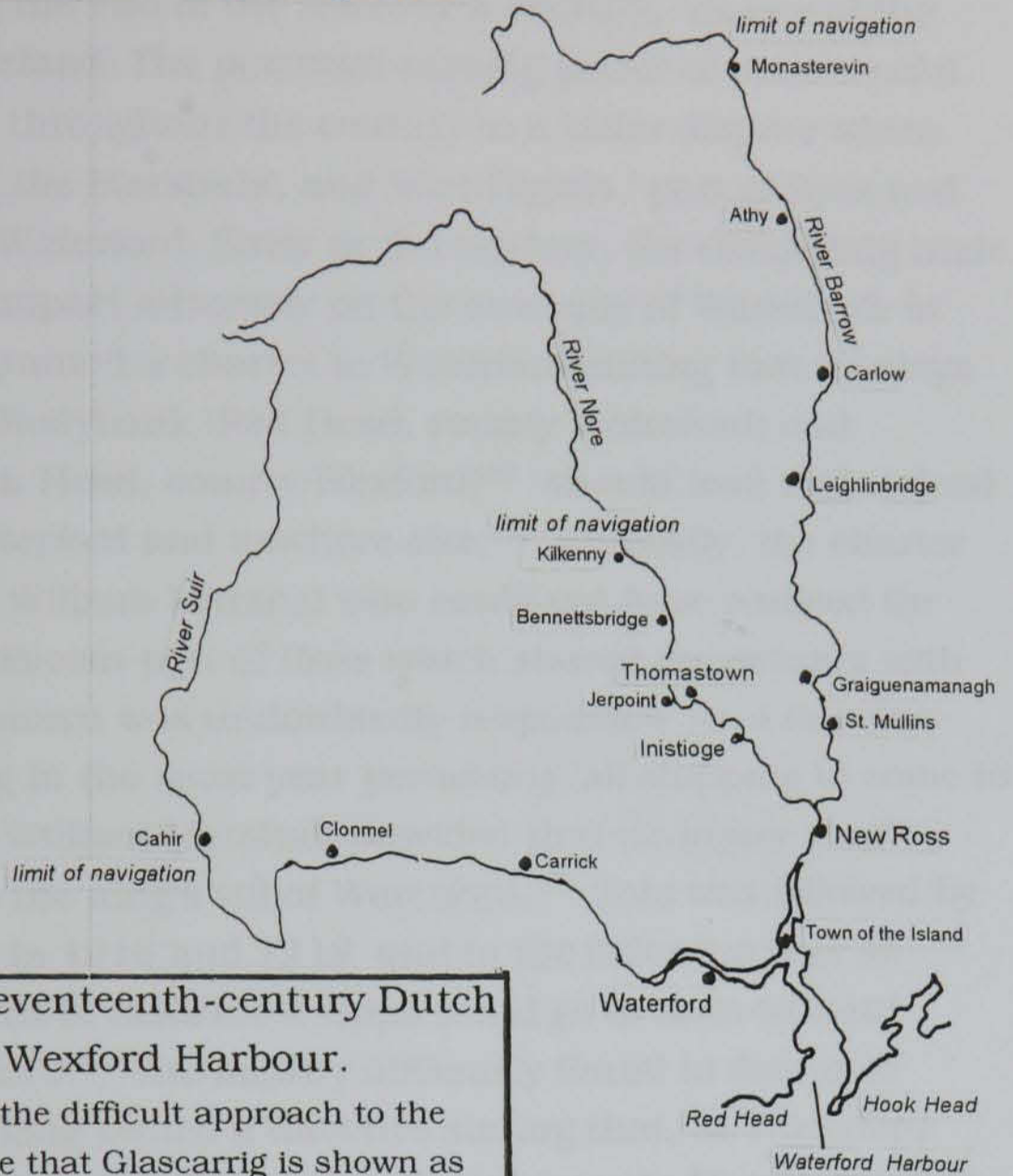


Fig. 77. Early seventeenth-century Dutch map of Wexford Harbour.

This chart recorded the difficult approach to the port of Wexford. Note that Glascarrig is shown as a substantial settlement.



to prominence, by the end of the thirteenth century, as one of the leading ports in Ireland. The potential earning power of a successful port was reflected throughout the century in a bitter dispute which persisted between the Marshals', and later Bigods,' port of Ross and the king's port of Waterford. Early in the century, the developing trade at Ross began to impact adversely on the economy of Waterford: in 1215 King John granted a charter to Waterford stating that all ships entering between Rodybank (Red Head, county Waterford) and Rinndowane (Hook Head, county Wexford)²⁰⁵ should load and unload at the quay of Waterford and nowhere else.²⁰⁶ Ironically, the charter was witnessed by William Marshal who could not have realised the implications for his own port of Ross which shared the estuary with Waterford. His concern was undoubtedly responsible for a directive issued by the king in the same year permitting 'all shipping to come to Ross, the land of William Marshal, provided that no injury shall thereby accrue to the king's vill of Waterford.'²⁰⁷ This was followed by similar mandates in 1216 and 1218 and in the following year an inquiry was ordered to discover if ships could go to Ross without damage to Waterford.²⁰⁸ The inquiry obviously found in favour of Waterford as the king issued a directive stating that, as Waterford would be much injured if ships were allowed to go to Marshal's ports of the Island and Ross, ships should, until further notice, diverge to Waterford, as they used to.²⁰⁹ William Marshal died in the same year and this situation was obviously not in the best interests of his heir, William Marshal the younger. The directive was repeated in 1222,²¹⁰ but by 1227 Marshal had arrived at a compromise with the king which was to form the basis for all future agreements. The essence of this was that Marshal's own ships could trade freely with Ross, but all other ships were to trade with Waterford.²¹¹

Because of the access provided by its river system to an extensive hinterland, Ross continued to prove more attractive to merchants and

²⁰⁵ Once a ship had entered the harbour by crossing a line between these points, it was liable for customs dues.

²⁰⁶ *Chartae, privilegia et immunitates*, (Dublin, 1889), p. 13.

²⁰⁷ *Cal. doc. Ire.*, i, no. 646.

²⁰⁸ *Cal. doc. Ire.*, i, nos. 725, 862, 890.

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, no. 912.

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*, no. 1046.

²¹¹ *Ibid.*, no. 1552.

traders. The river Suir, on which Waterford was situated, had less potential and flowed through a more sparsely settled region.²¹² Waterford's prosperity depended on a series of increasingly severe trade restrictions imposed on the port of Ross. By 1236, the king was ordering Gilbert Marshal to prohibit all ships, except his own, from going to Ross and the Island and mandating the justiciar to confiscate all offending ships.²¹³ Even this threat was not effective as in 1266 the citizens of Waterford sent a deputation to Edward, son of Henry III, claiming that Waterford was being greatly damaged because ships were being brought to Ross by the use of armed force. An inquisition of inquiry found this to be true, and further directives were issued in 1267, 1275 and 1277 ordering that all ships except those of 'the land and liberty of the heirs of Leinster' to load and unload at the port of Waterford.²¹⁴ The repetitive nature of these directives serves to highlight the difficulty that was experienced in enforcing them in the liberty of Leinster, resulting in the failure of Waterford's attempts to impose trade restrictions on New Ross. This failure occurred in spite of the king's support for Waterford, whose citizens were protecting his own vested interests. The complicated, and presumably costly, legal process which followed the arrest of a ship called the *Alice of Harwich*, whose master was accused of illegally entering the port of Ross in 1292, may have prevented the authorities from taking similar action against all offending vessels.²¹⁵

In spite of this rivalry, both ports prospered. A contemporary source states that there were 600 seamen in Ross in 1265 with more than 500 more at sea.²¹⁶ Even allowing for exaggeration, it is evident that a large number of sailors lived in the town. It was also implied that the ships crewed by the sailors were owned by the town which could be one of the reasons why it prospered in spite of the many directives issued in favour of Waterford. In 1275 a custom was imposed on wool, skins and leather in aid of the crown.²¹⁷ The amounts collected for the next sixteen years suggest that Ross was the leading exporter of these

²¹² *Atlas of the Irish rural landscape*, p. 54.

²¹³ *Cal. doc. Ire.*, i, no. 2361.

²¹⁴ *Chart. priv. et immun.*, p. 31; *Cal. doc. Ire.*, ii, no. 1344.

²¹⁵ *Cal. doc. Ire.*, iii, no. 1087.

²¹⁶ Shields, 'The walling of Ross,' ll. 73-6.

²¹⁷ *Cal. doc. Ire.*, ii, no. 1117.

commodities, followed closely by Waterford.²¹⁸ The appointment of Stephen de Fulburne, former bishop of Waterford, as justiciar (1281-88),²¹⁹ gave an added impetus to Waterford's claims for trade restrictions on Ross.²²⁰ Counter claims, including one by William de Valence, lord of Wexford, to allow ships to go to Ross as 'in the time of William Marshal'²²¹ elicited the almost plaintive reply that 'the port was always the port of Waterford, before and after the coming of the English, that ships always went to Waterford until Marshal built the vill of Ross. When that vill began to get rich, shipping left Waterford and transferred to Ross. The citizens of Waterford had recourse to the king and recovered their position.'²²² This response provides a synopsis of the conflict between the two ports.²²³ Royal directives proved ineffective when opposed by the economic reality of the market place. The risks presented by the embargo to merchants and ship-owners were compensated for by the business opportunities available in Ross. The expansion of Ross as a successful port reached a pinnacle in the late thirteenth century, partly because of trade generated by the supply of provisions for the wars in Wales and Scotland.²²⁴

In the following century, continuing trade restrictions, combined with political unrest, led to a sharp decline in trade. The status of the town was weakened on the death of Roger Bigod in 1306, by the reversion of the liberty of Carlow, which included Ross, to the crown.²²⁵ The granting of twenty years pontage dues in 1313 was a vote of confidence in the future but in the same year a meeting was held at Ross to organise the suppression of the growing threat from Irish rebels.²²⁶ The granting of the Bigod possessions to the king's brother, Thomas de Brotherton, saw the lifting of the embargo on ships coming to Ross but it was quickly reinstated on appeal from

²¹⁸ *Ibid.*, no. 1902.

²¹⁹ Otway-Ruthven, *Med. Ireland*, p. 204.

²²⁰ *Cal. doc. Ire.*, v, no. 100.

²²¹ *Ibid.*, iii, no. 1086; v, 100.

²²² *Ibid.*, iii, no. 1160.

²²³ The rivalry between the two ports is discussed in E. McEneaney, 'Waterford and New Ross trade competition, c. 1300,' *Decies*, xii (1979), pp. 16-24.

²²⁴ *Cal. doc. Ire.*, ii, no. 2009; Hore, *Wexford*, i, p. 165; see J. Lydon, 'Ireland in 1297: at peace after its manner,' in J. Lydon, (ed.), *Law and disorder in thirteenth-century Ireland* (Dublin, 1999), pp. 11-24.

²²⁵ *Mem. rolls*, P.R.O. cal. ex 2/2, p. 251.

²²⁶ Hore, *Wexford*, i, pp. 177-8.

Waterford. The ships arrested for ignoring the trade restrictions were used to send supplies to the Scottish war.²²⁷ The Bruce war exerted further pressure on the town, and in 1317 the plight of the burgesses was recognised in a special charter of protection issued by the crown.²²⁸ The 1340s brought a renewal of the dispute, with contradictory concessions granted to the two ports. As usual, following an inquiry, the concession to Ross was revoked and, in compensation, a token grant of £40 per annum was allowed. At this stage, so many people were fleeing the town that a special directive was issued preventing anyone, except merchants, from leaving.²²⁹ In 1349 a pestilence, presumably the Black Death, appeared in Ross and conditions, in general, were so bad that a debt of £100 due to the king was reduced by £33, the money to be spent on the defences because of the town's crucial value to the whole county.²³⁰ When, eventually, the restrictions were lifted by Richard II in 1378, conditions in Ross had sunk to a crisis level.²³¹ The worst fears of the citizens were realised in 1394 when the town was taken and burned by Art MacMurchada²³² and by 1403 conditions had reached such a low ebb that the burgesses were given permission to trade with the Irish and to pay an annual 'black rent' of 10m to MacMurchada.²³³

A description of Ross in 1684 indicates that, three centuries later, the town had not recovered from the reverses suffered during the fourteenth century and had not been developed as originally intended when the walls were built.²³⁴

New Ross is surrounded with a strong wall, built of lime and stone, seated upon a rock, which is cut on the outside of the wall in the nature of a ditch and adds much to the strength of it. It is in circumference above a mile, and is fortified by the waterside by a citadel and fort, and has twelve strong towers or castles, and four gates to the land side, besides some slips to the waterside. The town, so much as now remains thereof built, being about 150 stone houses, slated, and as many thatched ones, lies on the side of a steep hill or

²²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 178-83.

²²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 179-80.

²²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 188-9.

²³⁰ *Mem. rolls*, NAI, 24 Ed. III; Hore, *Wexford*, i, p. 190.

²³¹ Hore, *Wexford*, i, p. 210.

²³² *A.F.M.*, iv, p. 731.

²³³ *Cal. pat. and cl. rolls*, p. 169.

²³⁴ Leigh, 'Chorographic account,' p. 451-2.

rock, shelving down to the river which lies to the west of it and is navigable for ships of great burden. There are two quays now in good repair, where a ship of 500 tons may ride afloat at low water and discharge her load securely. Not above one half of the ground within the walls is built upon and many even of those buildings ruined. There is a fair parish church (one of the largest parish churches in Ireland) upon the very top of the said hill or rock, within the walls of the town.

The contrasting origins and subsequent functions of the towns of Wexford and New Ross contributed to a diversity which persists to the present day. The income generated in the early fourteenth century, when Wexford was worth £32 and Ross £66, gives an indication of their relative economic values at that time.²³⁵ As the principal town of the liberty after the partition of Leinster, the emphasis in Wexford was on administration and organisation, a role which persists to the present day. New Ross, administered from Carlow, served as the port of Leinster and could be described as a medieval 'financial centre.' However, the vast difference in customs dues generated by the two ports must be looked at in conjunction with the largely unrecorded income from fishing generated at Wexford. This can be detected in the seventeenth-century, for example, when there were seventeen fish processing establishments in Wexford and none in Ross.²³⁶ The contrasting nautical activities of the towns persists to the present time: Wexford has a thriving mussel fishery but no commercial shipping whereas New Ross is one of Ireland's leading ports. The commercial rivalry between New Ross and Waterford survives also, although of a more benign nature!²³⁷ The factors which influenced the founding of boroughs at Wexford and New Ross, including status of founder, pre-existing settlement and strategic location, contributed to the development of Wexford and New Ross and their contrasting functions as successful towns.

²³⁵ Hore, *Wexford*, v, p. 102; *Cal. just. rolls*, ii, p. 41.

²³⁶ Hore, *Wexford*, v, pp. 338-54; *Civil survey*, pp. 234-54.

²³⁷ Pers. comm. with New Ross Harbour Master.

Chapter 7

Monastic grants and Church lands¹

The transformation of church organisation in western Europe, instigated by the reform movement of the eleventh and early twelfth centuries, highlighted the archaic nature of the church in Gaelic Ireland where the emphasis was on monastic rather than diocesan structures.² By the end of the eleventh century, exposure to outside influences, including the link between Dublin and Canterbury, led to a recognition of the need for change within the Irish church. The reforming synods of Cashel (1101) and Rathbreasail (1111) began the task of constructing a diocesan system in order to establish the supremacy of episcopal authority. The introduction of the continental orders in the 1130s and 40s, particularly the Cistercians and the Canons Regular of St. Augustine, had a greater impact than anything else on the Irish church.³ Before the arrival of the Anglo-Normans, the Canons Regular had sixty-five foundations in Ireland, many of them pre-existing monastic centres which had adopted the Augustinian rule.⁴ In 1158, for example, the canons were installed by Diarmuid Mac Murchada in the monastery of Ferns.⁵ The flexibility of the Augustinian rule allowed the canons to perform a great variety of tasks, including work in parishes, hospitals and schools.⁶ Fourteen Cistercian abbeys were established in Ireland before the arrival of the Anglo-Normans, none of them located in county Wexford.⁷

In spite of the achievements of the reform movement in Ireland and the completion of the diocesan structure at the synod of Kells (1152), the papacy believed that effective reform would ultimately depend on

¹ Church estates in medieval Wexford were concentrated in the cantred of Shelburne; sections of this chapter are developed from work presented in W. Colfer, *Anglo-Norman settlement in medieval Shelburne*, unpublished M.Litt. thesis, T.C.D. (1986).

² Ó Corráin, 'Prehistoric and early Christian Ireland,' p. 41; see Watt, *The church in medieval Ireland*, chs. 1 & 2 for a general background.

³ For a general account of the Cistercians see R. Stalley, *The Cistercian monasteries of Ireland* (London, 1987), pp. 7-29; G. MacNiocaill, *Na manaigh liatha in Éirinn 1142-c. 1600* (Dublin, 1959).

⁴ *Med. rel. houses*, pp. 146-52.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 175.

⁶ Their appointment as custodians of Marshal's light tower at Rinn Dubháin (Hook Head) was an indication of the versatility of the order (*Cal. doc. Ire.*, i, nos. 2811, 2872).

⁷ Stalley, *Cistercian monasteries*, p. 13.

the political domination of Ireland by England. Although the actual Anglo-Norman intervention in Ireland was instigated by Diarmuid Mac Murchada, the possibility had already been considered as part of a wider political and religious agenda which led in 1155 to the granting of Ireland to Henry II by the English pope, Adrian IV. His decision to do so may have been at the urging of Canterbury whose influence in Ireland had been diminished by the success of the reform movement.⁸ Because of the perception of Henry as an agent of the papacy, his arrival in Ireland was welcomed by many, as a means of advancing the programme of reform. The restructuring of the church continued after the arrival of the Anglo-Normans and was given further impetus by the imposition of a tithing system at the council of Cashel in 1172.⁹ The parochial network which subsequently evolved was closely related to the manorial framework in areas controlled by the Anglo-Normans.¹⁰ The granting of land for the foundation of religious houses was an integral part of the organisation of a manorial land-holding system in areas of Anglo-Norman domination. The colonists established ten new Cistercian houses, two of which, Dunbrody Abbey and Tintern Abbey, were in county Wexford,¹¹ and ten establishments for Canons Regular, including houses at Wexford and Enniscorthy. The early introduction of the Templars and Hospitallers was a crucial element in the feudal organisation of the county.

The Cistercians

The determination shown by Hervey de Montmorency to endow an ecclesiastical foundation on his fief in south Wexford illustrated the priority given, within feudal society, to the establishment of religious houses. Having failed in his attempt to attract monks to Bannow,¹² he offered a large estate in the manor of the Island to the monastery of Buildwas in Shropshire, in 1172, for the foundation of the first Anglo-Norman Cistercian house in Ireland.¹³ Hervey may have

⁸ Flanagan, *Irish society, Anglo-Norman settlers, Angevin kingship*, p. 55.

⁹ *Expugnatio*, p. 99.

¹⁰ Otway-Ruthven, 'Parochial development,' p. 111-22.

¹¹ R. Stalley, *Cistercian monasteries*, p. 16.

¹² Ward, 'Fashions in monastic endowment,' p. 445.

¹³ The foundation charters are given in *Chartul. St. Mary's*, ii, pp. 151-4; Hore, *Wexford*, iii, pp. 34-44.

regarded the grant to the Cistercians as the best way of organising part of his extensive fief. The location of the grant along the eastern shore of Waterford Harbour may also have been planned as a deliberate tactic to pacify the area and provide security for the vital waterway. His reasons for selecting Buildwas as a mother house are not known but may have been related to the presence of the abbot, Ranulf, at the Council of Cashel in 1172.¹⁴ Following a most unfavourable report on the location and the natives,¹⁵ Buildwas declined the grant, offering it instead to St. Mary's Cistercian Abbey in Dublin. The offer was accepted in 1182 and in 1201 the new monastery, called the Port of St. Mary of Dunbrody, was consecrated by Herlewyn, bishop of Leighlin, a nephew of the founder.¹⁶

In the early thirteenth century, disputes over land as well as some small grants from individuals resulted in variations in the amount of land held by the abbey.¹⁷ In 1227, the general chapter increased the Dunbrody estate by a grant of the impoverished abbey of Ghinewadam in county Waterford.¹⁸ It is possible to calculate the extent of the monastic lands in Wexford: of twenty place-names mentioned in the foundation charter, twelve can be identified with townlands in the modern landscape. When these are used in conjunction with the possessions of the abbey at dissolution in 1537,¹⁹ an accurate estimate of the lands of the monastery can be ascertained. The monastic estate of 13,000 statute acres (c. 40 carucates) corresponded to the medieval parish of Dunbrody and part of Killesk²⁰ with the townland of Kilmannock in the parish of Kilmokea (fig. 78).²¹

¹⁴ *Expugnatio*, p. 99.

¹⁵ *Chartul. St. Mary's*, i, p. 357.

¹⁶ Hore, *Wexford*, iii, p. 60.

¹⁷ *Chartul. St. Mary's*, ii, 177-98.

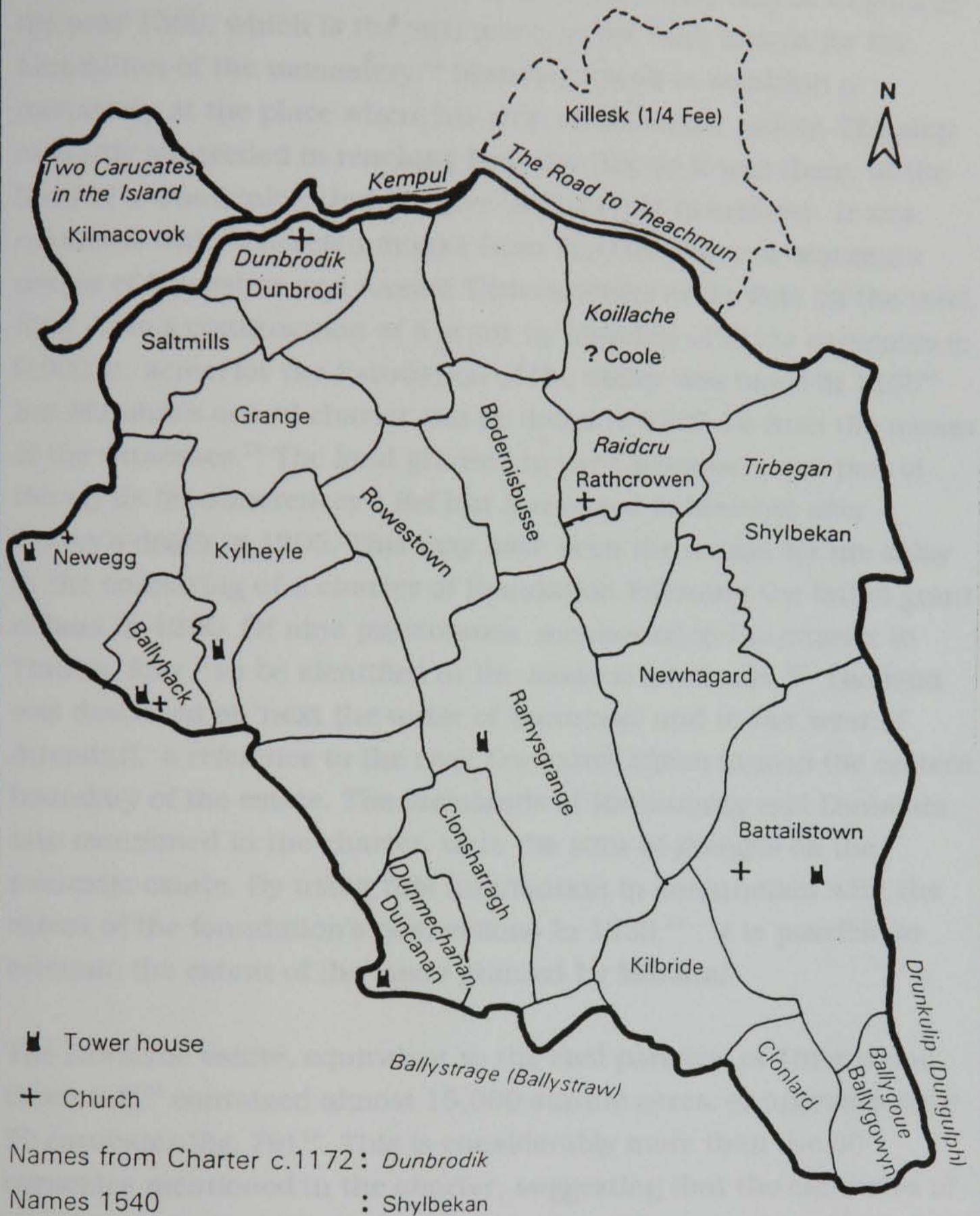
¹⁸ *Cal. doc. Ire.*, i, no. 1993.

¹⁹ *Irish monastic possessions*, pp. 353-7; *Chartul. St. Mary's*, ii, p. 209.

²⁰ *Civil survey*, pp. 187-9.

²¹ Cill : church; manach : monk; i.e. the monk's church. In the foundation charter this district was described as 'two carucates in the island' (the manor of the Island).

Fig. 78. Dunbrody Abbey estate.



Dunbrody Abbey Lands

Sources :
Chartul. St. Mary's, ii, pp. 151-4.
Hore, Wexford, iii, pp. 34-44.
Irish monastic possessions, (1540) pp. 353-7.
Civil survey, pp. 187-9.



Tintern Abbey was founded as a result of William Marshal's narrow escape from shipwreck on the occasion of his first visit to Ireland in the year 1200, which is the year given in the Irish annals for the foundation of the monastery.²² Marshal vowed to establish a monastery at the place where his ship would reach safety. The ship evidently succeeded in reaching Bannow Bay as it was there, at the head of a small inlet, that he gave land for the monastery. It was colonised with Cistercian monks from Tintern Abbey in Marshal's manor of Chepstow and named Tintern Minor or de Voto (of the vow). King John's confirmation of a grant by Marshal of thirty carucates (c. 9,000 st. acres) for the foundation of the abbey was made in 1200²³ but Marshal's actual charter can be dated to 1207-13 from the names of the witnesses.²⁴ The land granted to the Cistercians was part of Hervey de Montmorency's fief but it reverted to Marshal after Hervey's death in 1205. This may have been the reason for the delay in the conferring of a charter of foundation following the initial grant of land in 1200. Of nine placenames mentioned in the charter to Tintern, four can be identified in the modern landscape.²⁵ The land was described as 'next the water of Bann(ow)' and to the 'west of Auanduff,' a reference to the river Owenduff which formed the eastern boundary of the estate. The townlands of Rathumney and Dunmain, also mentioned in the charter, were the sites of granges on the monastic estate. By using this information in conjunction with the extent of the foundation's possessions in 1539,²⁶ it is possible to estimate the extent of the lands granted by Marshal.

The monastic estate, equivalent to the civil parishes of Tintern and Owenduff,²⁷ contained almost 15,000 statute acres, or approximately 50 carucates (fig. 79).²⁸ This is considerably more than the 30 carucates mentioned in the charter, suggesting that the carucates of the charter contained a larger acreage, possibly comprising waste land

²² *Chartul. St. Mary's*, ii, pp. 307-8.

²³ Bernard, 'The foundation of Tintern Abbey,' p. 527.

²⁴ Orpen, *Normans*, ii, p. 207.

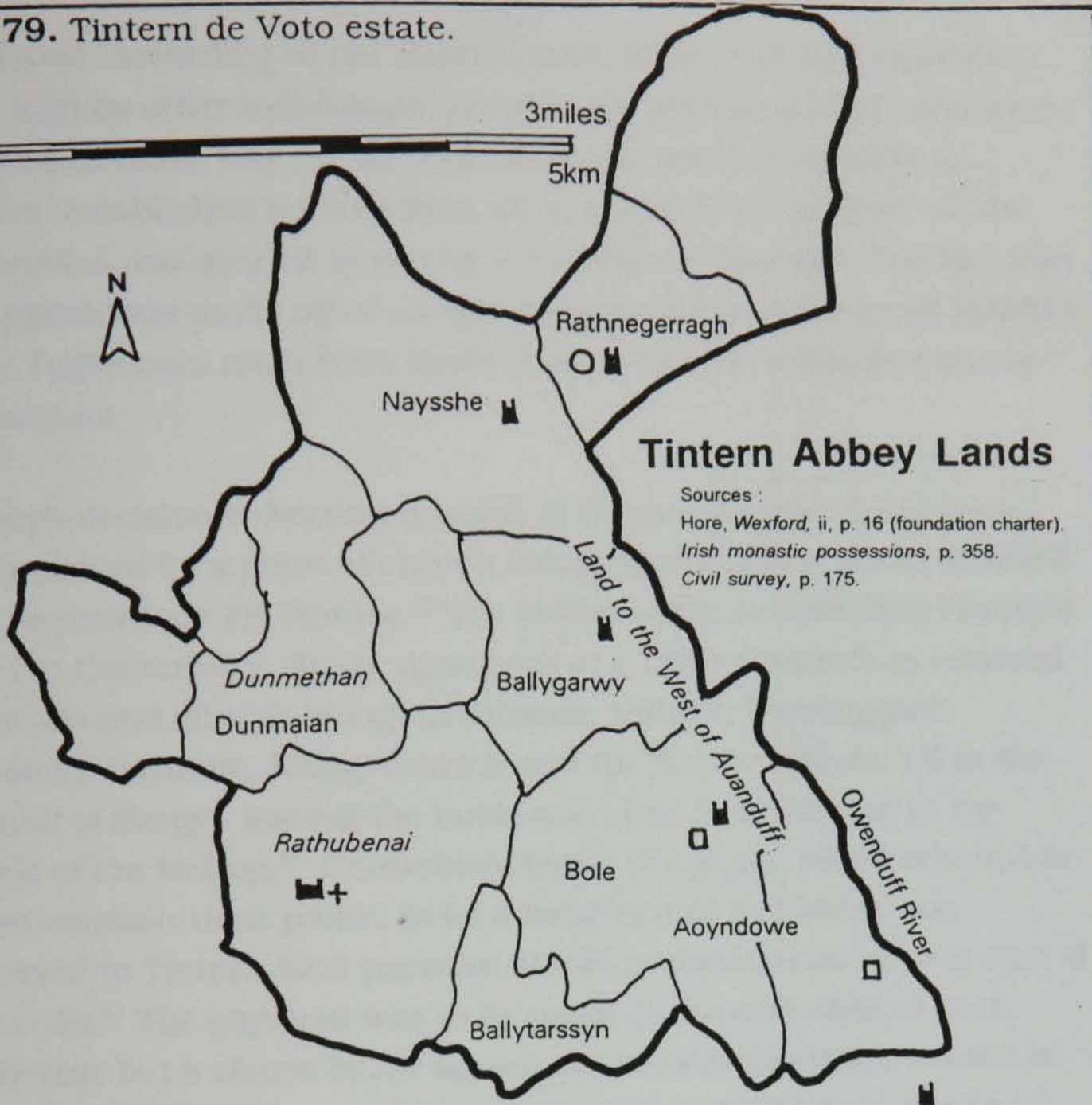
²⁵ Hore, *Wexford*, ii, p. 16.

²⁶ *Irish monastic possessions*, p. 358; 'Fiants', *8th Rep. D.K.I.*, p. 138.

²⁷ *Civil survey*, p. 175.

²⁸ Allowing 300 statute acres to the carucate as an approximation; Otway-Ruthven, 'Knight service,' p. 10.

Fig. 79. Tintern de Voto estate.








Tintern Abbey Lands

Sources :
 Hore, *Wexford*, ii, p. 16 (foundation charter).
Irish monastic possessions, p. 358.
Civil survey, p. 175.

Names from Charter c.1200: *Rathubennai*

Names 1540 : Bole

-  Tower house
-  Church
-  Possible ringwork
-  Moated site
-  Hall



and forest. According to the charter, part of the land had formerly been held by other individuals, presumably tenants-at-will, who were removed to make way for the Cistercians. It was not possible to remove established tenants from all of the land as the grant to the Cistercians was divided in two by the parish of Kinnagh. The fact that this parish was made up of an episcopal manor and the small knight's fee of Tullostown must have made it impossible to alienate it to the Cistercians.

Hervey's decision to become a monk in Christ Church, Canterbury, accompanied by a grant of church livings and lands in south Wexford, had implications for Tintern.²⁹ The bishop of Ferns contested Hervey's grant to Canterbury. By an agreement of c.1230, Canterbury retained the lands and church livings of Kilmore, Kilturk, Tomhaggard, Kilcowan, Bannow, Killag, Carrick and the Saltee Islands, all in the cantred of Bargy, leaving the lands and church of Fethard in the hands of the bishop.³⁰ Canterbury found the grant, which resulted in 'more vexation than profit', to be a liability and in 1245 it was conveyed to Tintern for a payment of 625 marks and an annual rent of 10 marks.³¹ The payment was to be made at the cathedral of Bath every year but a clause in the agreement allowed for delays caused by stormy seas. This arrangement was to prove a continuous source of contention between the two monasteries as Canterbury was perpetually demanding arrears of rent.³²

Settlement on Cistercian estates

Dunbrody, situated where the Campile river enters Waterford Harbour, and Tintern, at the mouth of a small river flowing into Bannow Bay, were quite similarly located. The rivers provided the essential water supply and the estuaries afforded access to the world of trade and commerce. These locational attributes were shared by

²⁹ *Expugnatio*, p. 189.

³⁰ *Letter books of Christ Church, Canterbury*, J.B. Sheppard, (ed.), 3 vols., (London, 1887-9), iii, pp. 248, 363.

³¹ *Ibid.*, iii, p. 361.

³² *Ibid.*, passim.

many Irish Cistercian houses.³³ The tidal waters near Tintern and Dunbrody were harnessed to operate tidal mills, referred to as salt mills,³⁴ remembered in the names of the two townlands of Saltmills. The founding of Tintern Abbey at a distance of only five miles from Dunbrody was contrary to the statutes of the order which stated that new monasteries should not be founded within 12 leagues (36 miles) of another house.³⁵ The location of Tintern was dictated by Marshal's vow when in danger of shipwreck and his request to establish a monastery, following an investigation by the abbots of Mellifont and St. Mary's, was granted.³⁶ The lands of the two monasteries were separated by a narrow corridor of lay grants, possibly deliberately arranged to provide a 'buffer zone' between the two estates in order to prevent disputes.

The development of settlement on the lands of the Cistercians varied significantly from normal manorial practice. The early Cistercians had no tenants: the monastic lands were divided into granges or out-farms which were worked by numerous lay-brothers. In 1220 a decree was passed permitting the leasing of land and during the thirteenth century the practice of renting the monastic granges to lay tenants increased.³⁷ In 1302 a papal bull was issued allowing Cistercian lands to continue to be free of tithes even though worked by serfs or tenants. This, allied to political strife and the effects of the Black Death of 1348-9 led to the introduction of numerous lay-tenants on Cistercian lands during the fourteenth century and there was little to distinguish the abbot from a secular landlord.³⁸ The granting of lands to lay tenants was accompanied by the acquisition of feudal rights and privileges, although these were also banned by the statutes of the order.³⁹

With one exception, there is no evidence for the construction of early

³³ Stalley, *Cistercian monasteries*, p. 31. The Campile stream beside which Dunbrody is located was mentioned by name in the foundation charter (*per aquam que vocatur Kempul*), *Chartul. St. Mary's*, ii, p. 151. Cam=winding, poll/pill=small tidal estuary; an accurate description of the river.

³⁴ Hore, *Wexford*, ii, p. 92; *Monastic possessions*, pp. 354, 358.

³⁵ Stalley, *Cistercian monasteries*, p. 34.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

³⁷ MacNiocaill, *Manaigh liatha*, 45-8.

³⁸ Fr. Colmcille, *The story of Mellifont* (Dublin, 1958), p. xxiv - xxxiv.

³⁹ Stalley, *Cistercian monasteries*, p. 20.

defensive earthworks on the lands of the two abbeys. Presumably, the monks felt that the religious nature of the estates provided adequate protection. The location of at least some granges can be identified. On the lands of Dunbrody, out-farms were located in the townlands of Grange, Ramsgrange, Kilhile and Haggard. Settlements at Ballyhack, and Nook, located on Waterford Harbour to take advantage of the economic opportunities offered by the estuary, were commercial rather than agricultural granges. The building of a church and tower house at each place represented a considerable investment by the monks. The tower house at Ballyhack, which has a chapel on the second floor, is maintained as a National Monument.⁴⁰ Tower houses were also erected, probably by lay tenants, on the granges of Battlestown, Kilhile and Ramsgrange.⁴¹ The names of lay tenants are recorded in the townland names of Battlestown and possibly Rosetown.⁴²

The principal granges on the Tintern Abbey estate were located at Rathumney, Dunmain, Nash, Rathnageeragh, Ballygarvan, Boley and Yoletown on the detached northern portion of the lands. Rathumney, mentioned in the foundation charter, where the remains of an early thirteenth-century hall-house⁴³ and a church site survive, may have been developed as the headquarters of the detached portion of the estate (fig. 80). Moated sites at Boley and Yoletown could indicate that these lands were more vulnerable than the rest of the Cistercian estate.⁴⁴ The circular earthwork at Rathnageeragh may have been an early ringwork castle, possibly based on a pre-existing ringfort, as the name suggests.⁴⁵ The site, about 40m in diameter, is surrounded by a stream-fed fosse about 7m in width. The masonry rubble on the site may represent the remains of a later tower house.⁴⁶ In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the exposed nature of this district resulted in the construction of a defensive line of tower houses at Boley,

⁴⁰ Moore, *Archaeological inventory*, p. 121, no. 1187, p. 168, no. 1503, p. 134, no. 1283, p. 177, no. 1539.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 173, no. 1529, p. 184, no. 1583; Jeffrey, *Castles*, p. 163.

⁴² John Battaile was a tenant of the abbey in 1390. Hore, *Wexford*, iii, p. 106.

⁴³ Sweetman, *Medieval castles*, p. 95-6. Rathumney Hall is a national monument.

⁴⁴ Moore, *Archaeological inventory*, p. 98, no. 989, p. 114, no. 1155.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 41, no. 371, where it is classified as a ringfort; for a general account of ringworks see Barry, *Medieval archaeology*, pp. 45-55.

⁴⁶ Jeffrey, *Castles*, p. 167.



Fig. 80. Rathumney.

Mentioned in Marshal's foundation charter, Rathumney became an important grange on the Tintern Abbey estate. The thirteenth-century hall (left foreground) is a National Monument. The church site is at centre right.



Fig. 81. Seal of Tintern Abbey (British museum).

Tellarought, Taylorstown, Ballygarvan, Nash and Rathnageeragh, just to the west of the Owenduff river which formed the eastern boundary of the Tintern lands.⁴⁷ The vulnerability of the northern lands was evident at the dissolution, when much of the district was 'waste because of the wars of the Irish'.⁴⁸

The high level of taxes generated at New Ross by the new custom imposed on wool and hides in 1275⁴⁹ indicates that, in common with other Cistercian houses, Dunbrody and Tintern became involved in sheep farming during the thirteenth century. The produce of the Cistercian abbeys of Jerpoint on the Nore and Duiske on the Barrow would also have been exported through Ross. A considerable part of the Duiske estate was located in county Wexford, on the eastern slopes of the Blackstairs mountains.⁵⁰ In 1233, the deforestation charter of Ross referred to 'the bridge of the sheep of the monks' in the vicinity of Rathnageeragh on the Tintern estate.⁵¹ The Irish placename of Rathnageeragh (Rath of the sheep) would suggest that the monks depended on Irish tenants to look after the sheep on the northern part of the estate. In fact, the townland names on the Tintern estate were almost exclusively Irish, unlike Dunbrody, where there was a core of townlands with English names, indicating that the monks of Tintern may have depended to a greater extent on Irish tenants.

History of Dunbrody and Tintern

Early in the thirteenth century there was much disorder and conflict between the Cistercians of the Irish Mellifont affiliation and the foundations established after the arrival of the Anglo-Normans.⁵² In 1227 Stephen of Lexington was sent by the general chapter to investigate the 'Mellifont conspiracy' and despite initial resistance succeeded in restoring a certain amount of discipline. He received

⁴⁷ Moore, *Archaeological inventory*, pp. 170, 179, 180, 183, nos. 1512, 1553, 1554, 1572; Jeffrey, *Castles*, pp. 166, 167.

⁴⁸ *Monastic extents*, p. 359.

⁴⁹ Mac Niocaill, *Na Buirgéisí*, ii, p. 528.

⁵⁰ "Duiske charters", p. 17; *Ir. mon. poss.*, p. 195. The Duiske estate in county Wexford, known as Monksgrange, was later the home of the medieval historian, G.H. Orpen.

⁵¹ *Chartul. St. Mary's*, ii, p. 155.

⁵² *Ibid.*, pp. 17-20.

strong support from Dunbrody and Tintern which were not part of the Mellifont group and supported the general chapter. During his visitation of the Irish houses, he was accompanied by a monk from Dunbrody and he completed his work by holding an assembly of Irish abbots at Tintern.⁵³ During the fourteenth century, the temporal power of the Cistercian foundations assumed a greater importance and the monasteries were frequently in disagreement with one another. In 1341, the abbot of Dunbrody, Philip de Chirchull, was deposed for refusing admission to the abbot of the parent house, St. Mary's, Dublin. However, when the dispute was brought before the general chapter in 1342, Dunbrody was made independent of St. Mary's.⁵⁴

The monks of Tintern and Dunbrody were not always neighbourly or Christian in their dealings with each other: in fact the opposite was sometimes the case. In 1341, a monk of Tintern was thrown into prison in Dunbrody Abbey as a result of a dispute over land.⁵⁵ In 1355, William de Ross, abbot of Dunbrody, and Adam and Hugh Barry were charged with arresting Thomas Herhyn, a monk of Tintern, putting him in prison and robbing him of a horse and 40s. They were also charged with expelling the abbot of Tintern from his abbey and robbing him of six horses and other goods.⁵⁶ In the following year, the abbot of Tintern accused the abbot of St. Mary's of similar acts and in 1357 the abbot of Jerpoint was accused of expelling the abbot of Tintern and of other crimes. On each occasion the abbot of Tintern lost his case.⁵⁷ The fact that the temporalities of Dunbrody were taken into the king's hand in 1348 because the monastery was not exercising hospitality in accordance with the rules of the order is a further indication that the Cistercians were no longer observing the rules of their founder. The temporal role of the Cistercians was further emphasised in 1374 when the abbot of Dunbrody was made a lord of parliament and a guardian of the peace in county Wexford.⁵⁸ The abbot of Tintern, who was also a peer and sat in parliament,⁵⁹

⁵³ *Med. rel. houses*, p. 177.

⁵⁴ J.F.M. Ffrench, 'Dunbrody and its history,' *R.S.A.I. Jn.*, xxvi (1896), p. 343.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 344.

⁵⁶ Hore, *Wexford*, ii, p. 54.

⁵⁷ *Med. rel. houses*, p. 143.

⁵⁸ Ffrench, 'Dunbrody,' pp. 343-4.

⁵⁹ *Med. rel. houses*, p. 142.



Fig. 82. Dunbrody Abbey.



Fig. 83. Tintern Abbey.

was one of those appointed in 1381 to collect the subsidy of £8 in the diocese of Ferns for the raising of men-at-arms and archers for the defence of the county. In 1414 John Young, abbot of Dunbrody, and John Calff, abbot of Tintern, were commissioned to elect a sheriff of the cross for county Wexford.⁶⁰ Even though the abbot of Dunbrody was a guardian of the peace, he was quite capable of ignoring the law when it suited him: in 1390 Abbot Cornwalshe and six monks were accused of assaulting a royal commissioner who was investigating acts of violence in the district, and of imprisoning him for sixteen days until he swore not to prosecute anyone.⁶¹

During the fifteenth century, the growing secularisation of the Cistercians contributed to the political impetus which eventually led to their downfall. In the case of Dunbrody, the right of sanctuary written into its charter must have been an added incentive for its closure.⁶² In 1492 the Baron of Finglas advised that Dunbrody and Tintern, with other abbeys, should be suppressed because they were 'adjoining the Irish and giving more support to those Irishmen than to the king or his subjects.'⁶³ The abbeys of Tintern and Dunbrody were suppressed on the same day, 6th May, 1536. In both cases a considerable amount of land had been lost before dissolution. Some of the lands of Tintern were alienated as a result of a power struggle within the abbey and Alexander Devereux, the last abbot of Dunbrody, transferred monastic lands to members of his own family.⁶⁴ At dissolution the services owed by the tenants of Dunbrody included fifteen hookdays, fifteen weeding days, fifteen hens, sixty gallons of beer and five sheep. The monks also received income from three weirs, a mill called 'Shaltmille' (Saltmill) and tithes on corn. At Ballyhack, the fishermen lived in houses owned by the abbey and contributed a proportion of their catch to the monks. Similar services were owed at Tintern.⁶⁵ The feudal nature of these services illustrates the extent to which the original Cistercian philosophy had been abandoned in favour of a more feudal, and secular, land-holding system.

⁶⁰ Hore, *Wexford*, ii, pp. 59, 63.

⁶¹ *Med. rel. houses*, p. 131.

⁶² *Chartul. St. Mary's*, ii, p. 152.

⁶³ French, 'Dunbrody,' p. 347.

⁶⁴ *Med. rel. houses*, pp. 131, 143.

⁶⁵ *Irish monastic possessions*, pp. 353-7, 358-363.

At Dunbrody, there are extensive remains of the early thirteenth-century abbey church and the massive central tower which was added in the fifteenth century. There are also substantial remains of the conventual buildings to the south of the church. Following dissolution, a Tudor house was constructed over the south transept. Of the medieval church at Tintern, the presbytery, crossing tower, nave and part of the south transept survive. After dissolution, the abbey with its lands was granted to Anthony Colclough whose descendants adapted the church and tower for use as a manor house. The conventual buildings were destroyed but the foundations have recently been exposed by archaeological excavation.⁶⁶

The Military Orders

The great military orders of Knights Templars and Knights Hospitallers, described as 'the most distinctive institution to arise from the crusading movement; a fusion of opposites, monks who were fighters,'⁶⁷ were introduced into county Wexford in the early days of the Anglo-Norman occupation.⁶⁸ Although their original mandate was of a dual military -religious nature, in Ireland the military aspect took precedence as the Orders' primary role was related to maintaining law and order.⁶⁹ The Templars were introduced into Ireland by Henry II who had vowed to provide for the support of two hundred Templars as part of his reparation for the murder of Thomas Becket. Henry's charter, dated 1172,⁷⁰ granted to the Templars 'the vill of Clontarf, mills in Waterford, mills in Wexford, Crook and Kilbarry in Waterford and the church of St Aloch near Wexford with the lands belonging thereto.'⁷¹ The location of the church of St. Aloch with its lands has been a source of contention but an examination of the subsequent history of the Templars in the county shows that the church of St. Aloch can be identified as Kilcloggan in the parish of Templetown. The words 'near Wexford' have been the source of the confusion but in

⁶⁶ Stalley, *Cistercian monasteries*, pp. 244, 249.

⁶⁷ Bartlett, *The making of Europe*, p. 264.

⁶⁸ For a general background see H. Wood, 'The Templars in Ireland' in *R.I.A. Proc.*, C,xxvi (1907), pp. 327-371; C. Falkiner, 'The Hospital of St John of Jerusalem in Ireland' in *Ibid.*, pp 275-317.

⁶⁹ Watt, *The Church in medieval Ireland*, p. 49.

⁷⁰ Orpen, *Normans*, i, p. 274.

⁷¹ *Cal. doc. Ire.*, iii, no. 666.

later charters of confirmation dated 1199, 1226 and 1280 these words are omitted.⁷² In 1290 the original grant from Henry II was described as referring to the lands of Crook and Kilbarry in county Waterford and Kilcloggan in county Wexford,⁷³ identifying the church of St. Alloch of the charter as Kilcloggan (pronounced Kiloggan) on the Hook peninsula, the site of an early Christian monastery founded by Alloch.⁷⁴

It is not known when the Templars occupied their lands at Kilcloggan but it was probably before the end of the twelfth century, as the grants to the Military Orders in Ireland were confirmed in 1183,⁷⁵ establishing their headquarters at Templetown which still bears their name. Two other areas associated with Templar foundations, Temple House in county Sligo and Templetown in county Louth, were similarly named.⁷⁶ They located their church at the head of a small valley overlooking a landing beach, now called Templetown bay. In the field to the north of the church, the degraded remains of an earthwork, located at the top of a steep slope, may represent the initial ringwork castle fortification erected by the Templars.⁷⁷ The Military Orders were used to provide security at strategic locations throughout Europe and it seems probable that they were installed on the eastern shore of Waterford harbour for the same purpose, their presence at Crook and Kilbarry on the opposite shore adding weight to this suggestion. The construction of the Tower of Hook early in the thirteenth century, as a navigation aid for Marshal's port of New Ross, emphasised the importance of the estuary.⁷⁸ The relationship between manor and medieval parish is well established:⁷⁹ at Kilcloggan the manor consisted of the combined medieval parishes of Hook and Templetown, with a combined area of c. 5,162 statute acres (fig. 84).⁸⁰

⁷² *Ibid.*, i, nos. 85, 1488; ii, no. 1763.

⁷³ Hore, *Wexford*, iii, p.83,n2.

⁷⁴ Culleton, *Early Christian Wexford*, pp. 128, 206.

⁷⁵ *The annals of Ireland by Friar John Clyn and Thady Dowling*, ed. R. Butler (1849), p. 6; *Chartul. St. Mary's*, ii, p. 305.

⁷⁶ *Med. rel. houses*, p. 329

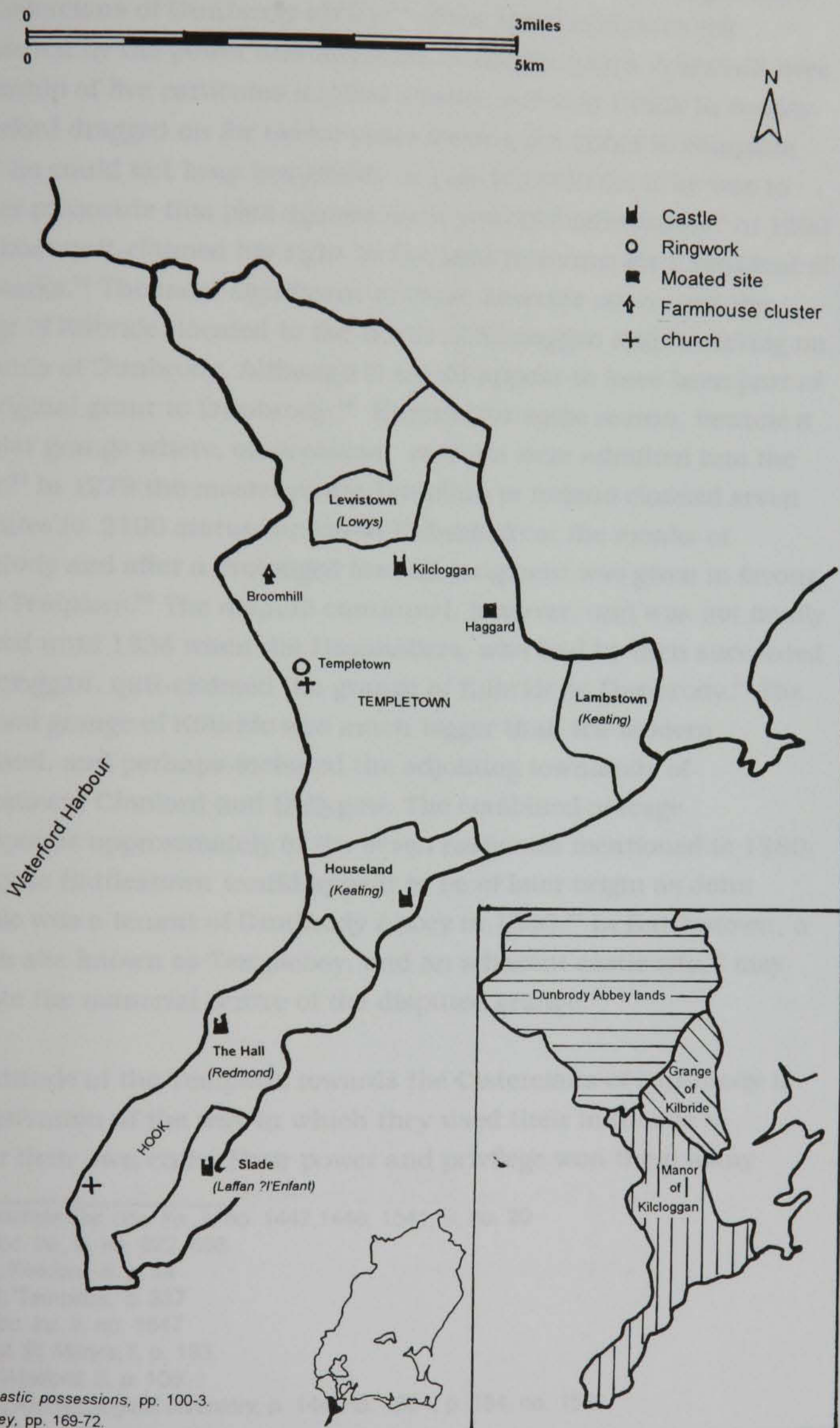
⁷⁷ Moore, *Archaeological inventory*, p. 89 no. 927

⁷⁸ *Cal. doc. Ire.*, i, nos. 2811, 2872

⁷⁹ Otway-Ruthven, *Medieval Ireland*, pp. 119-20

⁸⁰ *Irish monastic possessions*, pp. 100-103; *Civil survey*, pp. 169-72.

Fig. 84. Templar/ Hospitaller manor of Kilcloggan: principal tenants and settlement features.



Sources:
Irish monastic possessions, pp. 100-3.
Civil survey, pp. 169-72.

What little is known of the activities of the Templars at Kilcloggan is due to their aggressive pursuit of law-suits against their neighbours, the Cistercians of Dunbrody abbey.⁸¹ Even the Cistercians felt threatened by the power and influence of the Templars. A lawsuit over ownership of five carucates (c.1500 statute acres) at Crook in county Waterford dragged on for twelve years forcing the abbot to complain that 'he could not keep hospitality or rule his convent if he was to further prosecute this plea against such powerful adversaries.' In 1290 the abbot quit-claimed his right to the land in return for a payment of 100 marks.⁸² The most significant of these lawsuits concerned the grange of Kilbride, located to the north of Kilcloggan and bordering on the lands of Dunbrody. Although it would appear to have been part of the original grant to Dunbrody,⁸³ Kilbride for some reason, became a Templar grange where, on occasion, recruits were admitted into the Order.⁸⁴ In 1279 the master of the Templars in Ireland claimed seven carucates (c. 2100 statute acres) in Kilbride from the monks of Dunbrody and after a prolonged lawsuit judgment was given in favour of the Templars.⁸⁵ The dispute continued, however, and was not finally resolved until 1334 when the Hospitallers, who had by then succeeded to Kilcloggan, quit-claimed the grange of Kilbride to Dunbrody.⁸⁶ The medieval grange of Kilbride was much bigger than the modern townland, and perhaps included the adjoining townlands of Battlestown, Clonlard and Ballygow. The combined acreage corresponds approximately to the seven carucates mentioned in 1280. The name Battlestown would appear to be of later origin as John Battaile was a tenant of Dunbrody Abbey in 1390.⁸⁷ In Battlestown, a church site known as Templeboy, and an adjacent castle site,⁸⁸ may indicate the manorial centre of the disputed grange.

The attitude of the Templars towards the Cistercians of Dunbrody is an illustration of the way in which they used their influence to further their own ends. Their power and privilege won them many

⁸¹ For example *Cal. doc. Ire.*, ii, no. 1447, 1448, 1541; iii, no. 20

⁸² *Cal. doc. Ire.*, iii, no. 622, 666

⁸³ Hore, *Wexford*, iii, p. 34

⁸⁴ Wood, 'Templars,' p. 337

⁸⁵ *Cal. doc. Ire.*, ii, no. 1647

⁸⁶ *Chartul. St. Mary's*, ii, p. 183.

⁸⁷ Hore, *Wexford*, iii, p. 106

⁸⁸ Moore, *Archaeological inventory*, p. 144, no. 1364, p. 184, no. 1583

enemies and when Philip of France, anxious to acquire their possessions, ordered their arrest in 1307 he received the backing of the pope and Edward II of England. The justiciar, John Wogan, was ordered that all brothers of the Military Order of the Temple should be 'attached by their bodies for certain causes,' their lands seized and an inventory made of their possessions.⁸⁹ After the arrest of the Templars the Preceptory of Kilcloggan was placed in charge of the sovereign and bailiffs of New Ross.⁹⁰ The Templars were imprisoned in Dublin castle and the issues of the manors of Kilcloggan in county Wexford and Crook and Kilbarry in county Waterford were allocated for their upkeep.⁹¹ The king lost no time in putting the possessions of the Templars to his own use. In 1307 the justiciar was ordered to provide 'victuals for the war in Scotland against Robert de Brus, 1000 qrs. of wheat, 1000 qrs. of oats, 200 qrs. of beans and peas, 300 tuns of wine, 3 tons of honey, 200 qrs. of salt, 10,000 hard fish, to be levied from the Templars goods in Ireland in the king's hand.'⁹² Following the dissolution of the Templars by the pope in 1312, their manors were handed over to their great rivals, the Knights Hospitallers, who were ordered to continue paying the 2d. per day which had been allowed for the support of each Templar. Shortly afterwards the manor of Kilcloggan was handed over to the Hospitallers but they were unable to gain possession until 1326.⁹³

The inventory of the Templars' possessions provides a detailed picture of activity on the manor of Kilcloggan early in the fourteenth century.⁹⁴ Scores of household and farmyard items are listed as well as church fittings and furniture. The military aspect of the Templars is not reflected in the inventory as the only weaponry to be mentioned consisted of a balista, a bow and two belts but the individual knights may have been allowed to bring their personal arms with them. In the haggard at Kilcloggan, there were 60 crannocs of wheat, 80 of oats and 27 of barley. Livestock consisted of 12 cows and 1 bull; 24 oxen and 8 ploughing heifers; 8 horses for 3 wagons and 1 horse as a

⁸⁹ *Memoranda roll*, N.A.I., cal. Ex 2/2, 1 Ed. II, p. 298; *Chartul. St. Mary's*, ii, p. 336.

⁹⁰ Hore, *Wexford*, iv, p. 277

⁹¹ Wood, 'Templars,' p. 350

⁹² *Mem. roll*, p. 350

⁹³ Wood, 'Templars,' p. 357-9

⁹⁴ The inventory is printed in Hore, *Wexford*, iv, pp. 275-7

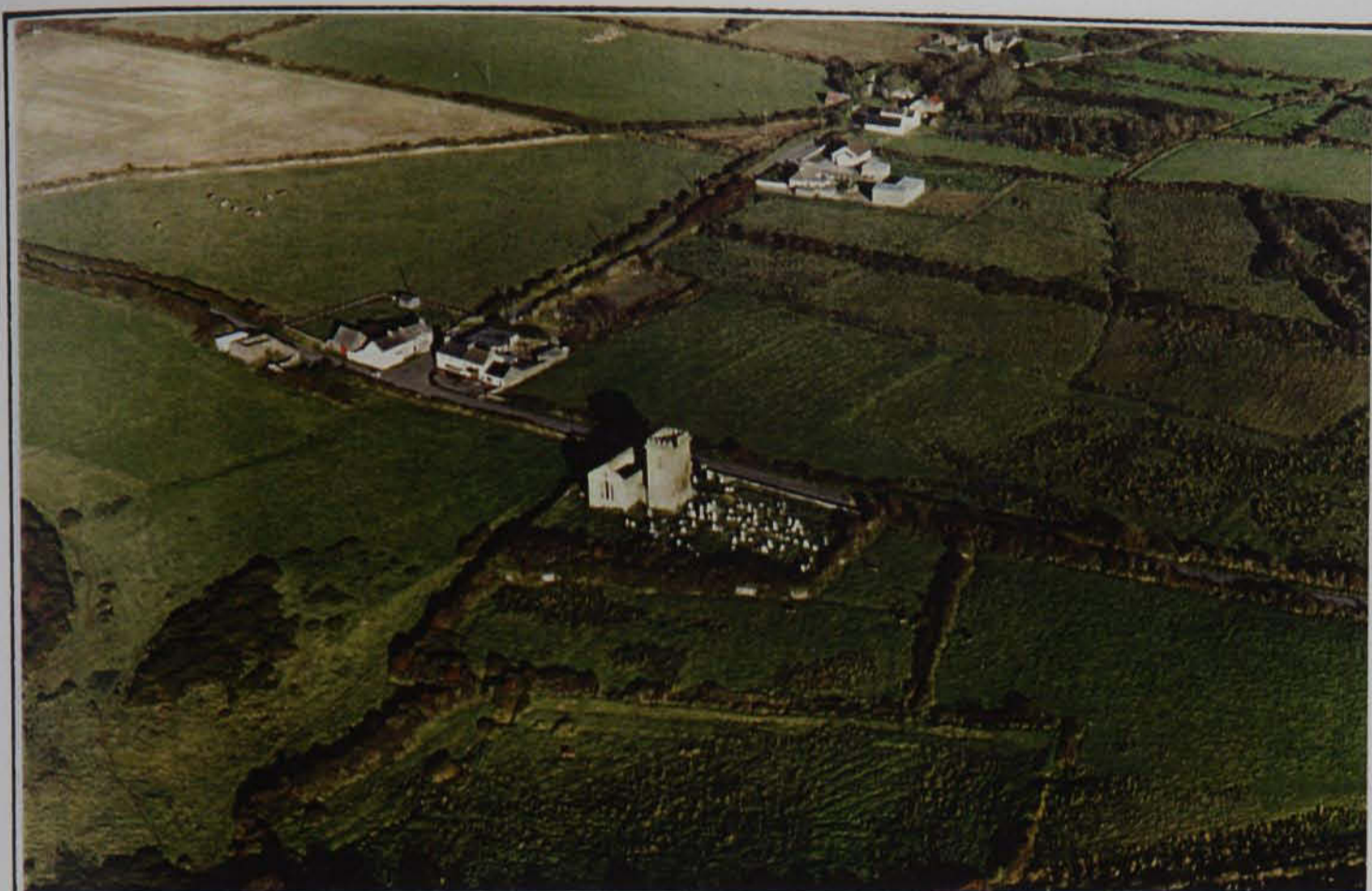
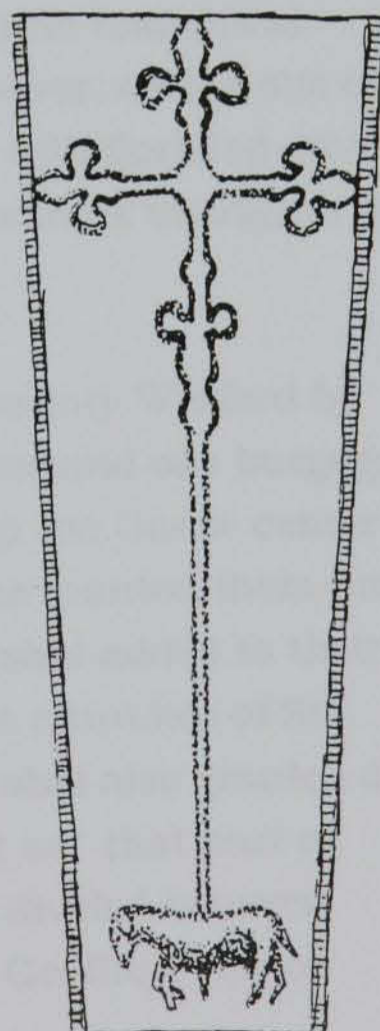


Fig. 85. Templetown.

The medieval church tower of Templetown marks the site of the Templar, and later Hospitaller, manor. The cultivation ridges and possible house plots, visible from the air, suggest the former existence of a manorial village. The mound at the bottom left corner may represent an early defensive earthwork or possibly a windmill mound.

Fig. 86. Templar graveslab at Templetown.

The twelfth-century floriated cross (pers. comm. Roger Stalley) and *Agnus Dei* (used as a seal by the Templars) are strong indications of Templar origin.



*Templar Graveslab
Templetown.*

hackney; 500 sheep and 60 pigs. There were also eleven hives of bees. Until recently there was a rectangular moated site in the townland of Haggard which is adjacent to Kilcloggan. This site could represent the haggard mentioned in the inventory, as moated sites were typically the defended farmsteads of the late thirteenth century.⁹⁵ At Templetown there were 20 crannocs of wheat, 26 of oats and 10 of beans and peas; 16 oxen for 2 ploughs; 3 horses for 1 wagon and 60 sheep. The total value of the agricultural produce was calculated at £40 4s 6d. Milling was a substantial source of income for the Templars: their charter granted them mills in Waterford and Wexford. Perhaps unusually, at Templetown they used wind power, as the inventory lists 'iron for the broken sail of the windmill' in spite of the existence of a stream suitable for a watermill.⁹⁶ This tradition of using windmills has persisted at Templetown down to the present century. The lands, whose rents were valued at £45 11s 11d, were surrendered with the free tenants so it seems likely that the landholding structure which can be identified under the Hospitallers had been initiated by the Templars. The final source of income was £12 17s 4d from the tithes of the churches of Kilcloggan, Meelnagh and Killurin. Apart from the possible ringwork site little remains at Templetown that may be of Templar origin. However, on the site of the church, a thirteenth-century stone coffin lid,⁹⁷ with floriated cross and *Agnus Dei*, can probably be attributed to them as the *Agnus Dei* was used as a Templar seal.

The Knights Hospitallers were introduced into county Wexford by Strongbow c. 1175. He granted them ten carucates and one burgage at Ferns, an indication that he intended to develop the Gaelic centre of power as a seignorial manor. In Wexford town he granted them the church of St. Michael. About 1210 William Marshal added to their possessions in Wexford town, granting them the churches of Sts. John, Patrick, Brigid and Mary Magdalene. Marshal also granted other unidentified lands to the Hospitallers described as 'that part of Baliocynan which remained when the land was divided between Brother Maurice, Prior of the Hospitallers, and Geoffrey, son of

⁹⁵ Barry, *Arch. med. Ire.*, pp. 85-95

⁹⁶ It is possible that the mound near the church could have been a windmill mound. See T. O'Keeffe, *Medieval Ireland, an archaeology*, (Stroud, 2000), p. 67.

⁹⁷ Pers. comm. Roger Stalley

Robert.⁹⁸ At St. John's church, in Wexford town, the Hospitallers established the Hospital of St. John, located just outside the town wall near a town gate which became known as John's Gate. At dissolution, as well as the tithes of St. John's and St. Brigid's, the Hospitallers held 48 burgages in Wexford located in the Faythe and John Street.⁹⁹

In 1212 a number of churches in the diocese of Ferns were confirmed to the Hospitallers. These included St. Peter's of Selskar, Sts. Michael's, John's, Patrick's, Brigid's and Magdalene's in Wexford town; Enniscorthy church, St. Mary's of Slievecoilta (Whitechurch), St. John's de terra Helye de Prendergast, the church of the Duffry and St. John's of Ballyschauc.¹⁰⁰ This is the first mention of Ballyschauc which was the principal thirteenth-century Hospitaller holding in the county (possibly the Baliocynan of Marshal's grant). The identification of Ballyschauc (variously written Ballyscaok, Balicaoc etc.) with Ballyhack on the east shore of Waterford harbour was first made over two hundred years ago¹⁰¹ and has been repeated by numerous commentators, including the present writer,¹⁰² despite a number of difficulties presented by this identification. For example, Ballyhack was included among the possessions of Dunbrody Abbey in 1540¹⁰³ and the church of Ballyhack was dedicated to St. James,¹⁰⁴ not St. John as at Ballyscaok. A more rigorous examination of the sources has shown that Ballyhack and Ballyscaok were, in fact, different places, but all historical references to either one have been assumed to refer to Ballyhack.¹⁰⁵ In instances where the place in question can be definitely identified as the modern Ballyhack, the

⁹⁸ *Pembroke deeds*, pp. 11-13

⁹⁹ Hore, *Wexford*, iv, pp. 285-6

¹⁰⁰ *Register of Kilmainham*, ed. C. McNeill (Dublin, 1932), pp. 138-141

¹⁰¹ M. Archdall, *Monasticon Hibernicum* (London, 1786), p. 732

¹⁰² For example, Hore, *Wexford*, iii, pp. 241-50; *Med. Rel. Houses*, pp.334-5; B. Colfer, 'Anglo-Norman settlement in county Wexford,' in Whelan (ed.), *Wexford: history and society*, pp. 65-101

¹⁰³ *Ir. mon. possessions*, p. 355

¹⁰⁴ Hore, *Wexford*, vi, p. 269

¹⁰⁵ Particularly in Hore, *Wexford*, iii, pp. 237-250

spelling is invariably given as Ballyhac / Ballyhake / Ballyhack.¹⁰⁶ Where the name can definitely be associated with the Hospitaller foundation, the spelling varies from the Balischauc of 1212 to Ballykeok of four centuries later.¹⁰⁷ This, inevitably, raises the issue of the location of Ballyscaok. This can be answered, not from sources that are contemporary with Hospitaller occupation but by examining the distribution of Hospitaller lands following dissolution. In 1580 the lands of the Hospitallers, including Ballikeocke, were given to Thomas, earl of Ormond.¹⁰⁸ A grant to Adam Loftus in 1618 of the lands of the Hospitallers was more specific as it listed Forest, Kereight, Galbally, Ballymorris and Garranstackle as part of Ballykeok.¹⁰⁹ These townlands made up the parish of Ballykeoge, consisting of c. 4270 statute acres, situated on the right bank of the Slaney south of Enniscorthy. Called Ballykeoge in the *Civil Survey*¹¹⁰ and written Ballykeoge as late as 1794,¹¹¹ the area is now known as Ballyhoge (fig. 87). The placing of the Hospitallers at Ballyhoge ensured control of the river Slaney. The strategic significance of the area, from a military perspective, is highlighted by the integration of the manor of Ballyhoge into the diagonal defensive line of thirteenth-century earthworks and stone castles running from south-west to north-east across the county (Fig. 21).

Other evidence, of a more circumstantial nature, supports the identification of Baliscauc as the modern Ballyhoge. Three families, the Prendergasts of the Duffry, the FitzHenrys of Mackmine and the Keatings of Kilcowanmore,¹¹² from manors located in close proximity

¹⁰⁶ For example: 1395, 'a merchant of Ballyhak'; 1422, 'inquisition held at Ballyhak on castle and domain of Hervey's Island'; 1453, 'Ballyhack and Dunbrody'; 1538, 'Ballyhacke part of Dunbrody'; 1550, ship at Ballihake and Dulkanan', 1570, tithes of fishes from Ballihake on Dunbrody lands'; 1575, John FitzDaniell of Ballihacke, fisherman'; 1649, 'castle of Ballyhack on Waterford harbour', in Hore, *Wexford*, iii, pp. 241-250

¹⁰⁷ For example: 1212, 'church of St. John of Balischauc,' *Reg. Kilm.* p. 138; 1311, 'master of Balycaock,' *Cal. just. rolls*, iii, p. 159; 1320, 'clerk of Balicauke,' *Reg. Kilm.*, p. 1; 1326, 'in our house of Balycauke,' *Reg. Kilm.*, p.6; 1326, 'preceptor of Kilclogan and Baliscaoke,' *Reg. Kilm.*, p.14; c. 1541, 'preceptor of Kilclogan and Ballikeiocke,' *7th Rep. D.K.I.*, p. 54, no. 230; 1580, former possessions of Hospitallers included Ballikeocke,' *Fiants*, Eliz. I, no. 3693; 1618, former lands of Hospitallers included Ballykeok, *Cal. pat. rolls*, 16 Jas. I, p. 422.

¹⁰⁸ *Fiants*, Eliz. I, no. 3693

¹⁰⁹ *Calendar patent rolls James I*, (1618), p. 422.

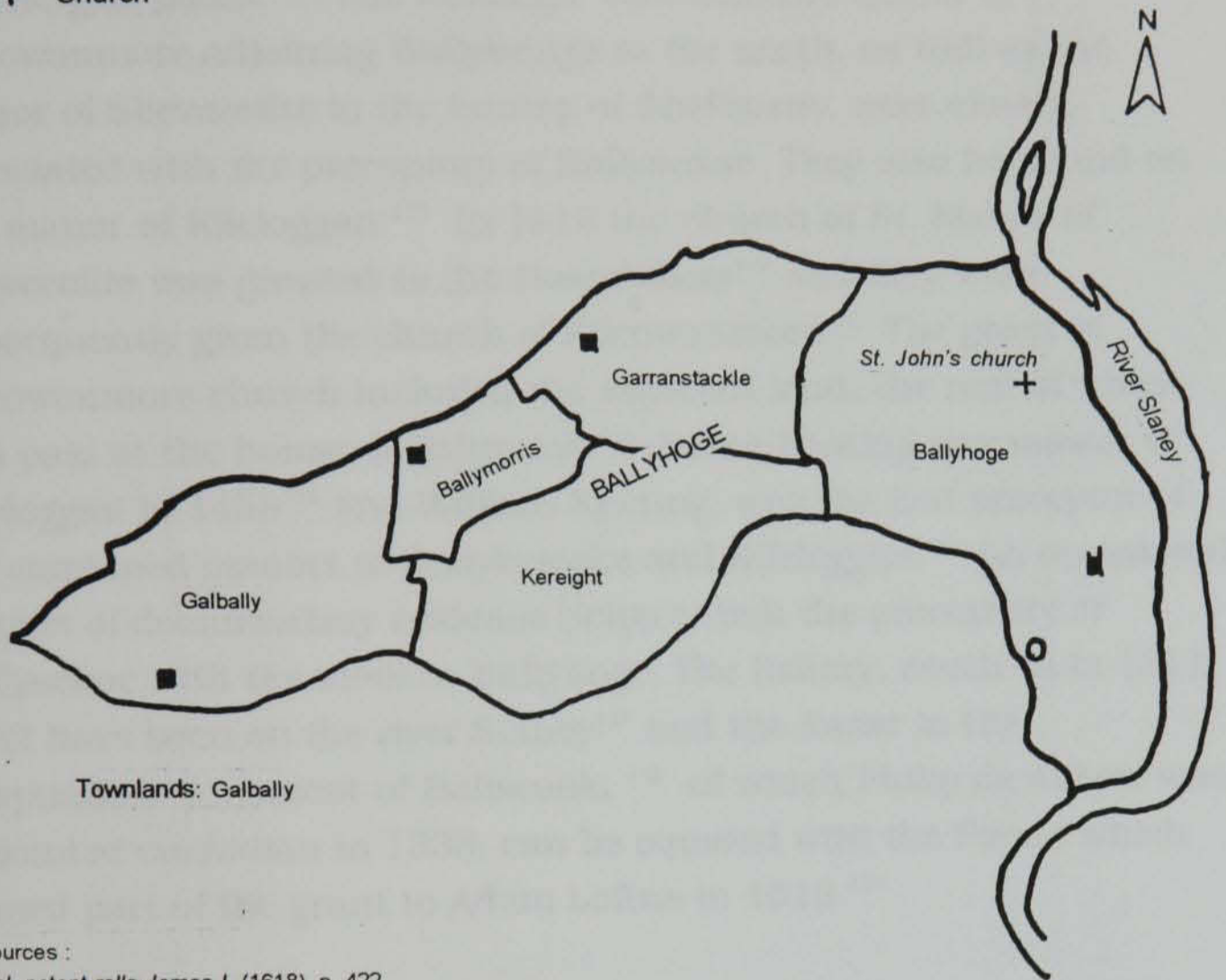
¹¹⁰ *Civil survey*, p. 198

¹¹¹ John Rocque, *A map of the kingdom of Ireland*, 1794

¹¹² Brooks, *Knights' fees*, pp. 129, 189, 115. 10

Fig. 87. Hospitaller manor of Baliscauc (Ballyhoge).

- Moated site
- Possible ringwork
- ⌂ Tower house (site)
- ⊕ Church

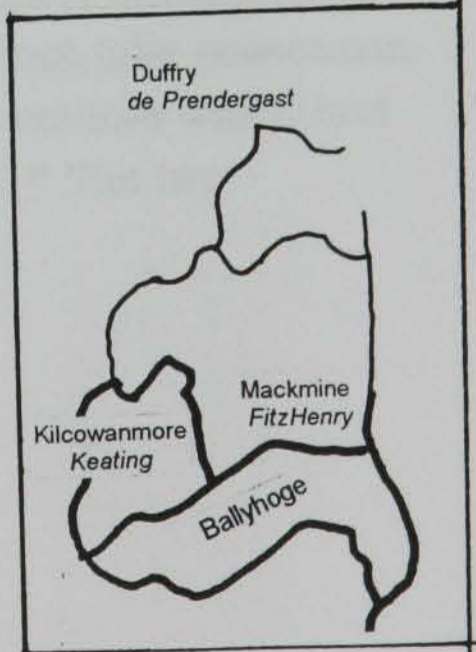


Townlands: Galbally

Sources :

Cal. patent rolls James I, (1618), p. 422.

Civil survey, p. 198.



to Ballyhoge, had close links with the Hospitallers. These families provided three priors of the Hospitallers' principal preceptory at Kilmainham; Maurice de Prendergast, in 1201; John FitzHenry, in 1419 and James Keating in 1461.¹¹³ In 1212 the Hospitallers were granted the churches of the Duffry, of Enniscorthy and St. John's 'de terra Helye de Prendergast' (perhaps Castleellis), all located on Prendergast lands.¹¹⁴ The Keatings, who held the manor of Kilcowanmore adjoining Ballykeoige to the north, as well as the manor of Slievecoilte in the barony of Shelburne, were closely associated with the preceptory of Ballyscauc. They also held land on the manor of Kilcloggan.¹¹⁵ In 1212 the church of St. Mary's of Slievecoilte was granted to the Hospitallers¹¹⁶ and they were subsequently given the church of Kilcowanmore.¹¹⁷ The grant of Kilcowanmore church included the adjacent land, the rent of which was paid at the house of Baliscaok.¹¹⁸ James Keating was master of Kilcloggan in 1458¹¹⁹ and William Keating was the last preceptor of the combined manors of Ballykeiocke and Kilcloggan.¹²⁰ An occasional snippet of documentary evidence helps to link the preceptory of Ballyscauc with the modern Ballyhoge. The fishery, worth 3s in 1311, must have been on the river Slaney¹²¹ and the forest in the Hospitallers' tenement of Baliscaok,¹²² of which Philip de Autres was appointed custodian in 1338, can be equated with the Forest which formed part of the grant to Adam Loftus in 1618.¹²³

Following the suppression of the Templars, the manor of Kilcloggan was granted to the Knights Hospitallers. They did not take possession until 1326, however, as Kilcloggan was one of the manors which had been retained to provide support for the Templars.¹²⁴ The two

¹¹³ Falkiner, 'Hospital of St. John,' p. 316-7

¹¹⁴ *Reg. Kilm.*, p. 138

¹¹⁵ *Irish monastic possessions*, pp. 100-103

¹¹⁶ *Reg. Kilm.*, p. 138.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 95, 128

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 95

¹¹⁹ Hore, *Wexford*, iv, p. 282

¹²⁰ *7th Rep. D.K.I.*, p. 54

¹²¹ *Cal. just. rolls*, iii, p. 159

¹²² *Reg. Kilm.*, p. 93

¹²³ *Cal. pat. rolls Jas. I*, p. 422

¹²⁴ Hore, *Wexford*, iv, p. 281

Hospitaller manors were administered as one preceptory: in 1327, John FitzDavid was commendator of Balliscaok and Kilclogan.¹²⁵ The development of settlement on the two manors followed a similar pattern. As at Templetown, there is a possible ringwork castle fortification at Ballyhoge,¹²⁶ perhaps an indication that the Military Orders favoured this type of defensive structure. There are fragmentary remains of the parish church at Ballyhoge near the site of St. John's well.¹²⁷ At Templetown, there are some traces of the early parish church, possibly built by the Templars. The Hospitallers were probably responsible for the fortification of the building by the addition of the surviving square tower,¹²⁸ which was restored and altered in the early nineteenth century as the belfry and sacristy of a new church. Old field patterns and possible house plots revealed by aerial photography in the fields adjacent to Templetown church, together with stray finds of thirteenth-century pottery, indicate the former existence of an associated nucleated settlement. There is no evidence to suggest that a chartered borough was established on any Templar or Hospitaller manor in county Wexford. The rectangular moated site at Haggard suggests that settlement was being expanded at Kilcloggan in the late thirteenth century. Similar expansion at Ballyhoge is indicated by the presence of rectangular moated sites at Galbally, Garranstackle and possibly Ballymorris.¹²⁹

As the colony came under increasing pressure in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the Hospitallers were active in military affairs. In 1411, for example, 300 marks was given to Sir Thomas le Botiler, prior of Kilmainham, by the community of county Wexford for his service with the Knights Hospitallers against the MacMurchada, the O'Byrnes and other Irish.¹³⁰ From about 1300 onwards, but particularly during the fifteenth century, tower houses were built as a response to endemic low level warfare.¹³¹ The Hospitallers played their part in establishing a network of these small castles, for example at Killeel in county Kildare where they constructed a five-storied tower

¹²⁵ *Monasticon Hibernicum*, p. 732

¹²⁶ Moore, *Archaeological inventory*, p. 93, no. 957

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 121, no. 1188

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 137, no. 1302

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 102, nos. 1024, 1027; p. 110, no. 1110

¹³⁰ Hore, *Wexford*, ii, p. 162

¹³¹ Barry, *Arch. med. Ire.*, pp. 181-90

house on the line of the Pale ditch.¹³² Their manors in county Wexford were similarly fortified. In 1334 'the stone chamber which he had built near the gate of the house' at Balyscauc was granted to friar John fitzDavid during his lifetime,¹³³ indicating that there was a structure with associated enclosure there at that time. It is not possible to say if this was the the tower house of Ballyhoge which was recorded on the Down Survey. Ballyhoge tower house no longer survives, but the tower house at Kilcloggan, which originally had an accompanying enclosure or bawn, is substantially intact. The contrasting fate of the two tower houses may be seen an indicator of the success and failure of the two manors. As the Irish revival progressed, manors in the northern, more exposed, parts of the county were increasingly described as 'waste' and abandoned in contrast to survival of settlement in the more secure conditions of the south. The lands of Ballyhoge were not listed among the Hospitallers' possessions in 1541, which could indicate abandonment of manor and tower house. Kilcloggan, on the other hand, was valued at £19 7s 11d, with a 'castle or fortilage in good repair, very necessary for the defence of the country in time of war of the Kavanaghs and other Irish, near whose countries the castle lies'.¹³⁴

The extent made at the time of dissolution provides a detailed description of manorial organisation at Kilcloggan, where surname evidence indicates that 10% of the tenants were native Irish. As the Hospitallers had inherited the landholding structure from the Templars, it seems reasonable to suggest that the landholding pattern of 1541 had its origins in the thirteenth century. There is no evidence to show that any of the tenants on Hospitaller manors held their land by military tenure. There were twelve free tenants who held by socage tenure. The lands held by the principal free tenants can be identified: Alexander Redmond of the Hall (now Loftus Hall) held most of the parish of Hook; Nicholas Laffan held the townland of Slade in the Hook; Henry Keating held the townland of Houseland; James Lowys held the townland of Lewistown and Robert Keating held the townland of Lambstown. There were castles at the manorial centres

¹³² C. Manning, 'Excavations at Killeel church, county Kildare,' *Kildare Arch. Soc. Jn.*, 16 (1981-2), pp. 173-229

¹³³ *Monasticon Hibernicum*, p. 732

¹³⁴ *Irish monastic possessions*, pp. 100-103

of Slade, Houseland and the Hall.¹³⁵ The other free tenants held smaller farms whose locations cannot be precisely identified. Eighteen other tenants, probably tenants-at-will, held plots of between three and eighteen acres in the parish of Templetown, paying a small amount of rent in money as well as rendering customary services; typically two capons and one hookday (presumably a day's work with the reaping-hook). The areas occupied by tenants-at-will cannot be identified. The status and permanence of free tenants is reflected in the names of the districts where they held their lands, as 50% of these can be identified with modern townlands. None of the lands held by tenants of lower status can be equated with townlands, indicating smaller holdings and less secure tenure. The lands described as 'mountain common,' which were waste and vacant, must refer to the high ground of Templetown hill and Broomhill. The farmhouse cluster on Broomhill, with an associated agrarian landscape of unconsolidated holdings, could represent the Irish quarter on the manor as many of these clusters are considered to be medieval in origin.¹³⁶

The Military Orders were established in county Wexford during the initial stages of Anglo-Norman settlement. Although the provision of security by the Orders may have initially been a vital consideration, surviving records indicate that manorial development was of equal, if not greater, significance. The contrasting success and failure of the two manors was due to their location within the county: Ballyhoge, close to the land of war, felt the full impact of the Irish revival and had become subordinate to Kilcloggan by the mid-fourteenth century. Abandoned before dissolution, the title to Ballyhoge remained with the Hospitallers and surfaced again in post-dissolution grants. Kilcloggan was one of the few preceptories which continued until dissolution.¹³⁷ It subsequently became part of the Loftus estate which survived until the early years of the twentieth century. The impact of the settlement pattern established by the Military Orders on the manor of Kilcloggan, and outlined in the extent of 1541, can still be traced in the modern landscape.

¹³⁵ *Civil survey*, pp. 170, 172

¹³⁶ J. Burtchaell, 'The south Kilkenny farm villages,' in Smyth & Whelan (eds.), *Common ground*, pp. 110-123

¹³⁷ *Med. rel. houses*, p. 336

Grants to churches outside the county

As well as the granting of estates in county Wexford for the establishment of ecclesiastical foundations, there was also a certain amount of land granted within the county to churches located either in Britain or in Ireland. In the 1180s the Roches granted four carucates in Fernegenel and the island and church of Begerin in Wexford Harbour to the priory of St. Nicholas in Exeter,¹³⁸ probably explaining the origin of the parish of St. Nicholas in Fernegenel (Fig. 43). The church of Begerin was transferred to Selskar Abbey in Wexford town c. 1400.¹³⁹ The connection between the Roches, usually associated with Pembroke, and Exeter in Devon is not known. Exeter also received another two carucates in county Wexford from Roger son of Christopher in unrecorded locations.¹⁴⁰ The Cauntetons, originally from south Wales, granted land on their manor of Glascarig to the abbey of St. Dogmael's in Pembrokeshire. A priory of the monks of the order of Tiron (the only one in Ireland), subordinate to St. Dogmael's, was subsequently founded at Glascarrig. In 1223 Adam de Caunteton granted two carucates in Bantry to Glascarrig Priory but this was transferred to Duiske Abbey by agreement between the abbots. Duiske received a further three carucates in Bantry from Gerald de Prendergast.¹⁴¹

A number of Wexford churches were granted to religious houses outside of the county. About 1230, Gerald de Prendergast granted the priory of St. John's with its lands to the abbey of St. Thomas in Dublin;¹⁴² the lands presumably equivalent to the small parish of St. John's just south of Enniscorthy. There was also an ecclesiastical connection between New Ross and Kilkenny as, c. 1227, William Marshal the younger granted the patronage and tithes of St. Mary's and St. Evin's in New Ross to the Priory of St. John in Kilkenny.¹⁴³ These churches were later unsuccessfully claimed by Christ Church, Canterbury and Tintern de Voto.¹⁴⁴ Another Kilkenny link was forged

¹³⁸ 'Exeter charters,' nos. 1, 2, 42.

¹³⁹ *Med. rel. houses*, p. 104.

¹⁴⁰ 'Exeter charters,' no. 39.

¹⁴¹ 'Duiske charters', p. 35; no. 41; *Med. rel. houses*, p. 112.

¹⁴² *Register of the abbey of St. Thomas's*, p. 186.

¹⁴³ *Monasticon Hibernicum*, ii, p. 334.

¹⁴⁴ *Cal. doc. Ire.*, ii, no. 2145; Orpen, *New Ross*, p. 11.

by Thomas Boshier who granted the church of Disertmachen on his manor of Ballyanne to the Priory of Kells.¹⁴⁵ The nunnery of Timolin, in the barony of Narragh, county Kildare, also benefited from church livings in county Wexford, as c. 1188, Richard de Norath, who had feudal holdings in both counties, granted it the church of Edermine with a carucate of land as well as the church of Killinick in the cantred of Forth.¹⁴⁶

Religious Orders

The arrival of the friars in the thirteenth century launched a new wave of monastic foundations, confined mostly to urban locations.¹⁴⁷ The *Fratres Cruciferi*, brought by William Marshal to New Ross in the early years of the century, were the first to be established in the county.¹⁴⁸ However, their stay in Ross was of short duration as, due to the misconduct of one of their members in the 1270s, some of the friars were murdered by the townspeople and their convent destroyed.¹⁴⁹ Following this incident, the interdict placed by the Vatican on the inhabitants of Ross was in place until 1435 when the pope authorised the bishop of Ferns to grant them absolution.¹⁵⁰ The Franciscans, arriving in Ross in the mid-thirteenth century, occupied the former *Fratres Cruciferi* priory.¹⁵¹ They may have been introduced to the town by Roger Bigod following his acquisition of Ross at the partition of Leinster as part of the liberty of Carlow.¹⁵² In the early fourteenth century he granted them twenty oak trees from his wood at

¹⁴⁵ Brooks, *Kn. fees*, p. 111.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 155.

¹⁴⁷ Watt, *Church in medieval Ireland*, p. 47.

¹⁴⁸ *Med. rel. houses*, p. 215.

¹⁴⁹ Orpen, *New Ross*, p. 12-3; Hore, *Wexford*, i, pp. 63, 97, 225-7.

Richard Stanihurst, in *Holinshed's chronicles* (1586), gave the following account of the episode: 'a woman of the town a prettie poppet, began to be a fresh occupieng giglet at home and became too well acquainted with a religious cloisterer of the town her husband on his return found his fingers to nibble, his teeth to grin, his eyes to trickle, his ears to dindle and his head to dazell, became scared with gelousie and mad as a march hare the people killed the friars and left them goaring in their blood the Pope excommenged the towne, the towne accursed the friars, so that there was much cursing and banning of all hands.'

¹⁵⁰ Hore, *Wexford*, vi, p. 214. In spite of this absolution, the burgesses continued to blame the economic and political misfortunes which befell the town on the 'curse' placed on their ancestors. As late as 1632 the bishop of Ferns applied to Rome for a further absolution and blessing (Hore, *Wexford*, vi, p. 316).

¹⁵¹ *Med. rel. houses*, p. 257.

¹⁵² See pp. 79-81.

Pollmounty in county Carlow, possibly to be used in the reconstruction of the priory.¹⁵³ About 1268, the Franciscans were established in Wexford town where their friary was located outside the Kayser gate.¹⁵⁴ A later Franciscan house was established, in 1460, by the MacMurchada in Enniscorthy.¹⁵⁵ New Ross attracted the greatest concentration of religious foundations, probably because of the town's success as a centre of trade and commerce. The significance of this for religious orders can be estimated from the grant to the Franciscans in 1300 of a duty on all ships entering the port.¹⁵⁶ The Dominicans, who established a house at Rosbercon on the opposite side of the river c.1267, owned the church of St. Saviour in Ross.¹⁵⁷ Early in the fourteenth century, the Augustinians arrived in the town and about the same time were established in Clonmines, reputedly by the MacMurchada.¹⁵⁸ Late in the fourteenth century, the only religious house in a rural setting in county Wexford was founded by the Carmelites at Horetown.¹⁵⁹ At Taghmon, a pre-Norman convent for nuns became a cell of Arroasian nuns of de Hogges at Dublin before the end of the twelfth century.¹⁶⁰

Episcopal Manors

Episcopal manors differed from lay holdings in two basic aspects: succession was related to the office and not to family and, more crucially, the cross lands were independent of the liberty, with a parallel administrative structure responsible to the bishop and chapter of the diocese. Aidan, or Mogue, the seventh-century abbot of the monastery of Ferns, is regarded as the first bishop of the diocese of Ferns, ratified as one of five Leinster dioceses at the Synod of Rathbreasail in 1111.¹⁶¹ Some of his successors were referred to as

¹⁵³ *Cal. just. rolls*, ii, p. 351.

¹⁵⁴ *Med. rel. houses*, p. 261; F. Grannell, *The Franciscans in Wexford* (no date).

¹⁵⁵ *Med. rel. houses*, p. 250.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 257.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 229.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 301, 297; T.C. Butler, *Near restful waters: the Augustinians in New Ross and Clonmines* (Dublin, 1975).

¹⁵⁹ *Med. rel. houses*, p. 289.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 324.

The continuing presence of the Franciscans in Wexford and the Augustinians in New Ross constitute a direct link with medieval ecclesiastical foundations in the county.

¹⁶¹ *Med. rel. houses*, p.78-9.

bishops of *Uí Cheinnselaigh*, the Gaelic kingdom in which Ferns was situated. In addition to his ecclesiastical role, the bishop played a vital part in the secular aspects of Anglo-Norman settlement. It seems probable that the bishop of Ferns, Joseph Ua hAeda, was one of the two bishops who negotiated the surrender of the Norse town of Wexford to Diarmuid MacMurchada and Robert FitzStephen in 1169.¹⁶² As a member of the *Uí Aeda*, a collateral branch of the *Uí Cheinnselaig*, it may be assumed that Ua hAeda was an associate and supporter of Diarmuid.¹⁶³ The other bishop present in the town may have been Dúngal Ua Cáellaide, bishop of Leighlin, a member of the *Uí Cáellaide* family with whom Diarmuid had been fostered. However, the second bishop may have been Malachias Ua Brain, bishop of Kildare, who, according to Gerald de Barry, was present with the bishop of Wexford when FitzStephen was taken prisoner at Carrick in 1170.¹⁶⁴ It seems coincidental that two bishops were in Wexford and it prompts the thought that their presence had been arranged by MacMurchada as part of a strategic ploy for gaining control of the town.

Because of the significance of his ecclesiastical status within the feudal system, the bishop was the only landowner in *Uí Cheinnselaig* who was in a position to protect his rights during the process of sub-infeudation and settlement. There is evidence to show that Ua hAeda's successor, Ailbe Ua Maolmhuidhe, was at least partially successful in challenging grants of land which he considered to rightfully belong to the diocese. Following the taking of Wexford town, Hervey de Montmorency's gift of churches and lands in Bargy and Shelburne to Christ Church, Canterbury, was contested by the bishop who claimed that some of them belonged to the diocese of Ferns. Following a long dispute, Canterbury quit-claimed the church and manor of Fethard to Ferns in return for the churches of Bannow, Kilcowan, Kilmore, Kilturk and Tomhaggard.¹⁶⁵ This agreement was arrived at before the year 1245 as in that year Canterbury leased the

¹⁶² *Expugnatio*, p. 35.

¹⁶³ Flanagan, 'Strategies of lordship', p115.

¹⁶⁴ *Expugnatio*, p. 85.

¹⁶⁵ *Letter books of Christ Church, Canterbury*, iii, p. 248, 363.

churches to the Cistercians of Tintern de Voto.¹⁶⁶ There is some evidence, including the dedication to St. Aidan, to suggest that there was an early Christian foundation at Fethard¹⁶⁷ where the small motte may date to c.1200 when Canterbury reserved a site to the north of the church as a 'fit place to hold a court'.¹⁶⁸ The bishop's right to Fethard was again challenged in 1308 by a John Lyneyt who claimed that his wife's ancestor, Richard de Londres, had been granted Fethard by Canterbury. However, an appeal to Canterbury resulted in the confirmation of the grant to the diocese.¹⁶⁹ The status of Fethard as an episcopal manor and residence is reflected by the architectural quality of the surviving castle, built by the bishop possibly in the late fourteenth century.¹⁷⁰

Ailbe Ua Maolmhuidhe was also in dispute with William Marshal the elder concerning diocesan lands which Marshal had appropriated, possibly in the process of establishing the seignorial manor of Ferns.¹⁷¹ The bishop took the extreme step of obtaining a letter from Rome threatening Marshal with excommunication if the lands were not returned. This ultimate sanction did not, apparently, have the desired effect as when Marshal died in 1219 he was under excommunication by the bishop of Ferns for seizing and keeping two episcopal estates.¹⁷² The determination of the bishop to protect the diocesan lands did not depend on the ethnic background of the incumbent. In 1223 Ua Maolmhuidhe was succeeded by John de St. John, treasurer of Ireland and the first Anglo-Norman bishop of Ferns,¹⁷³ whose family later occupied land at Tomhaggard in the south of the county.¹⁷⁴ All subsequent pre-Reformation bishops were of Anglo-Norman origin;¹⁷⁵ five of them, Hugh de Lamport (1258-82), John Esmonde (1349), Thomas Denne (1363-1400), Robert Whitty (1416-59) and Laurence Neville (1480-1505), were members of prominent Wexford Anglo-Norman families.

¹⁶⁶ Hore, *Wexford*, ii, p. 27.

¹⁶⁷ *Med. rel. houses*, p. 384.

¹⁶⁸ Hore, *Wexford*, iv, p.312.

¹⁶⁹ *Letter books Christ Church, Canterbury*, iii, p. 363.

¹⁷⁰ Ben Murtagh, archaeologist, pers. comm.

¹⁷¹ Orpen, *Normans*, iii, p. 29.

¹⁷² Crouch, *Marshal*, p. 107.

¹⁷³ *Med. rel. houses*, p. 79.

¹⁷⁴ Brooks, *Knights' fees*, p. 36.

¹⁷⁵ *Med. rel. houses*, p. 80.



Fig. 88. Ferns Cathedral.

As well as occupying the site of the chancel, the cathedral church at Ferns incorporates elements of the medieval building.



Fig. 89. Episcopal Effigy.

The thirteenth-century episcopal effigy shown in this drawing, located in Ferns cathedral, is thought to represent John St. John, the first Anglo-Norman bishop of Ferns (1223-43).

St. John was obviously intent on developing his estates: in 1226, he was granted weekly markets and annual fairs at his manors of Ferns, Enniscorthy and Templeshanbo.¹⁷⁶ In the same year he brought a suit in the ecclesiastical court against Philip de Prendergast, lord of the Duffry, and his wife, Matilda de Quincy, for the return of various lands which, he claimed, belonged by right to the diocese. These were possibly the same lands which the bishop had earlier disputed with Marshal. Compelled by the authority of the Apostolic See, Prendergast, 'for peace sake', handed over sixteen carucates at Templeshanbo¹⁷⁷ and Killalligan, twelve carucates at Clone, one carucate near the church of Killegney and one carucate near the church of Crosspatrick. St. John also agreed with Prendergast to exchange land on the left bank, or St. Senan's side, of the Slaney at Enniscorthy, in return for a further five carucates at Ballyregan near Ferns and one carucate at Clone. The diocesan authorities quit-claimed for ever any right to all other lands owned by Philip and Matilda.¹⁷⁸ By this agreement the bishop was confirmed in possession of thirty-six carucates (c. 11,000 statute acres). He rented the carucate at Killegney to Duiske Abbey in Graigenamanagh at a rent of 10s. per annum.¹⁷⁹

As well as providing information about episcopal manors, the agreement, by providing a valuable insight into the location and extent of the Prendergast fief, also contributes to an understanding of the overall settlement pattern. There is evidence for at least one other dispute over land involving the bishop. In 1238 Roger de Hyde, Marshal's seneschal in Leinster, took a suit of novel disseisin (a recent wrongful appropriation of lands) against the bishop of Ferns in respect of the unidentified tenements of Newtown and the vill of Moyll'.¹⁸⁰ Roger de Hyde, who is mentioned in Marshal's deforestation charter as holding lands near the bishop's manor of Ballingly,¹⁸¹ also

¹⁷⁶ *Cal. doc. Ire.* i, no. 1429.

¹⁷⁷ Templeshanbo was the site of an Early Christian foundation (*Med. rel. houses*, p. 406). Aerial photography has shown that the modern church, in a sub-circular graveyard, is located at the centre of a large circular enclosure (Moore, *Archaeological inventory*, opposite p. 102).

¹⁷⁸ Hore, *Wexford*, vi, p. 343.

¹⁷⁹ 'Duiske charters', no. 38.

¹⁸⁰ *Cal. doc. Ire.*, i, no. 2455.

¹⁸¹ *Chartul. St. Mary's*, ii, p. 154.

held lands at an unidentified location called Lisbegge.¹⁸² Moyll' might possibly be the Moylagh where the Cauntetons founded a borough somewhere in the vicinity of Gorey¹⁸³ which would place the disputed lands in the north of the diocese.

Following the death of bishop Hugh de Lamport in 1282, the seneschal of the county palatine rendered an account for the temporalities for the five months which elapsed before the election of a new bishop.¹⁸⁴ This account outlines the economic and, to some extent, the social activity on the six manors held by the bishop at that time.¹⁸⁵ The well-established connection between medieval manors and parishes¹⁸⁶ helps in the identification of the bishop's estates as, apart from Ferns, they were all substantially related to medieval parishes. Information contained in the seventeenth-century *Civil Survey* in relation to episcopal lands is also of significance.¹⁸⁷

The following manors were held by the bishop in 1282 (fig. 90) :

Fethard : previously referred to in relation to a dispute with Canterbury.

Kinnagh : A parish in the barony of Shelburne. This identification is confirmed by a reference in 1295 to the bishop's manor of Kinnagh adjoining the lands of Dundrody Abbey.¹⁸⁸ A circular enclosure around the surviving graveyard suggests a pre-Norman origin.

Ballingly : Represented by the parish of Ballingly at the head of Bannow Bay. This episcopal manor was referred to in Richard Marshal's deforestation charter of the forests of Ross and Taghmon issued c.1234.¹⁸⁹ The seventeenth-century *Civil Survey* recorded that the bishop held the townlands of Ballingly, Coolbrook and Kilderry in

¹⁸² Brooks, *Knights' fees*, p. 23.

¹⁸³ *Cal. just. rolls*, iii, p. 159.

¹⁸⁴ Hore, *Wexford*, vi, 188.

¹⁸⁵ *36th Rep. D.K.I.*, p. 61.

¹⁸⁶ Otway-Ruthven, 'Parochial development', pp. 111-22.

¹⁸⁷ *Civil survey*, passim.

¹⁸⁸ Brooks, *Knights' fees*, p. 13.

¹⁸⁹ *Chartul. St. Mary's*, ii, p. 154.

the parish of Ballingly.¹⁹⁰ The neighbouring parish of Ballymitty may have been included in the manor.

Mayglass : The parish of Mayglass in the barony of Forth. In the seventeenth century the bishop held seventeen townlands in this parish.¹⁹¹

Polregan : The parish of Ardcolm to the north of Wexford Harbour. The townlands of Castlebridge, Pollregan, Ballycarran and Ardcolm in this parish were held by the bishop in the seventeenth century.¹⁹²

Ferns with Clone : The large parish of Ferns contained the seignorial manor of the Marshals as well as the episcopal manor. The lands given to the bishop by de Prendergast, previously referred to, were in the neighbouring parish of Clone. In the seventeenth century the bishop held the townlands of Lower Ferns, Kilboro, Kilthomas and Bolinasbog (Baile an Easpog) in the parish of Ferns.¹⁹³

The lands acquired by the bishop in 1226, at Templeshanbo in the Duffry and Crosspatrick in the north of the diocese, are not included in the list of manors, possibly because by the 1280s these districts were in the marches and no longer profitable. Five of the manors are located in the land of peace in the south of the county, the exception being the manor of Ferns which had the protection of the seignorial manor and castle of Ferns.¹⁹⁴ In 1313 the temporalities were again in the king's hand and an extent lists the same six manors as in 1282¹⁹⁵ indicating that they continued to be regarded as the principal episcopal estates.

By using the relationship between parish and manor, it is possible to estimate the amount of land held by the bishop. Because of the flexibility of medieval land measurement, it is not possible to be more specific. The carucate, or ploughland, is generally thought to have

¹⁹⁰ *Civil survey*, p. 86.

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 301.

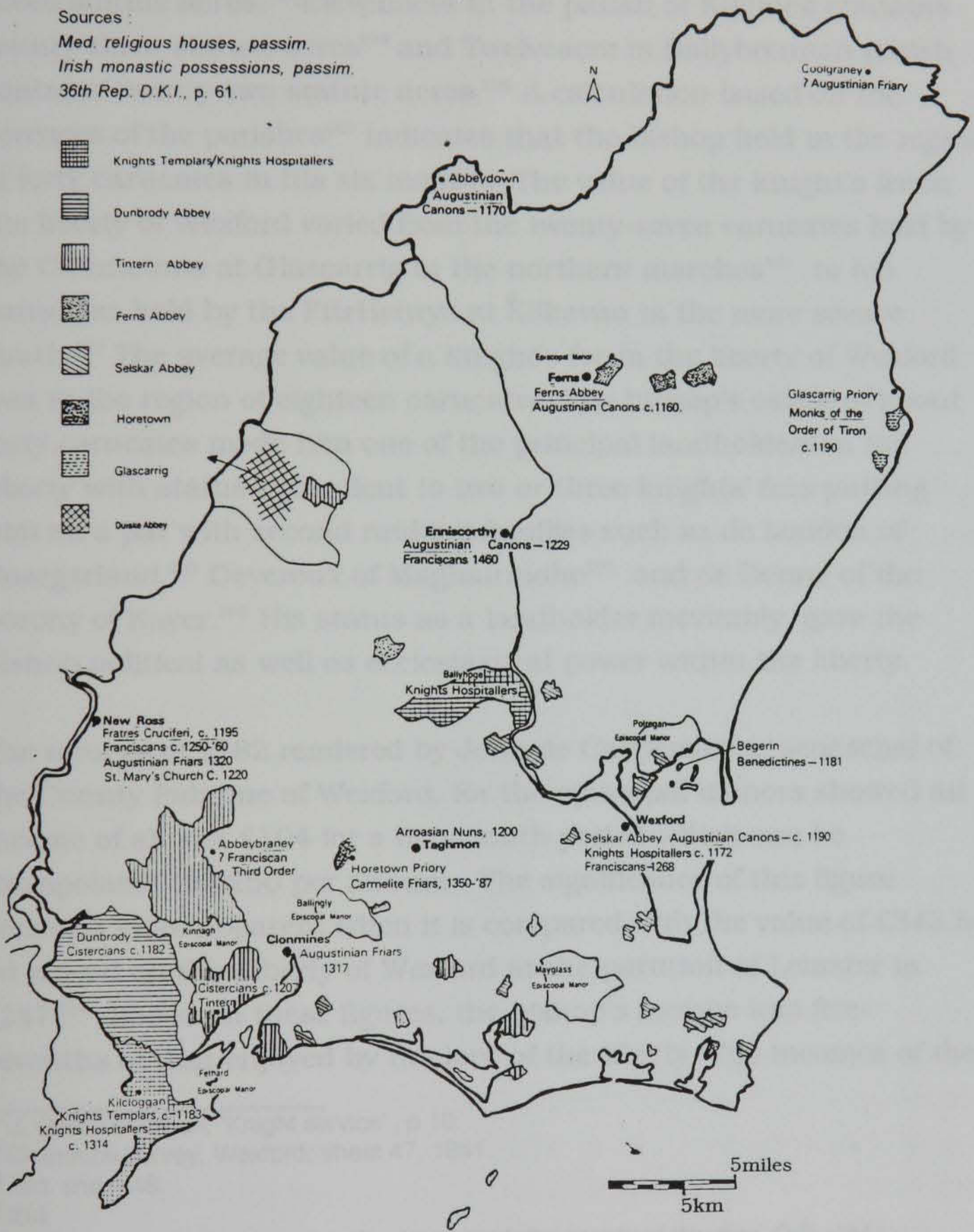
¹⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 116.

¹⁹³ *Ibid.* p. 266.

¹⁹⁴ The castle of Ferns was first mentioned in 1232; *Cal. doc. Ire.* ii, no. 1950.

¹⁹⁵ *39th Rep. D.K.I.*, p. 43.

Fig. 90. Medieval church lands and Religious Orders in county Wexford.



contained 120 medieval acres of arable land as well as unspecified waste land and the medieval acre could contain up to two and a half statute acres.¹⁹⁶ The fluctuating relationship between medieval acres and statute acres is illustrated by a number of townland names in south Wexford. Tenacre in the parish of Tomhaggard contains twenty-seven statute acres;¹⁹⁷ Elevenacre in the parish of Killinick contains twenty-three statute acres¹⁹⁸ and Twelveacre in Ballybrennan parish contains twenty-two statute acres.¹⁹⁹ A calculation based on the acreages of the parishes²⁰⁰ indicates that the bishop held in the region of forty carucates in his six manors. The value of the knight's fee in the liberty of Wexford varied from the twenty-seven carucates held by the Cauntetons at Glascarrig in the northern marches²⁰¹ to ten carucates held by the FitzHenrys at Kilkavan in the more secure south.²⁰² The average value of a knight's fee in the liberty of Wexford was in the region of eighteen carucates. The bishop's estate of about forty carucates made him one of the principal landholders in the liberty with status equivalent to two or three knights' fees putting him on a par with second ranking families such as de London of Rosegarland,²⁰³ Devereux of Maghairnidhe²⁰⁴ and de Denne of the barony of Kayer.²⁰⁵ His status as a landholder inevitably gave the bishop political as well as ecclesiastical power within the liberty.

The returns of 1282 rendered by John de Castlemartin, seneschal of the County Palatine of Wexford, for the episcopal manors showed an income of almost £104 for a five-month period which can be extrapolated to £250 per annum. The significance of this figure becomes more apparent when it is compared with the value of £343 5s 6d placed on the Liberty of Wexford at the partition of Leinster in 1247.²⁰⁶ Based on these figures, the bishop's income was five-sevenths of that enjoyed by the lord of the liberty. The incomes of the

¹⁹⁶ J. Otway-Ruthven, 'Knight service', p. 10.

¹⁹⁷ Ordnance survey, Wexford, sheet 47, 1841.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.* sheet 48.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁰ Shown on the *Index to the townland survey of the county of Wexford*, O.S. 1841.

²⁰¹ *Cal. pat. and cl. rolls*, p. 39.

²⁰² Brooks, *Knights' fees*, p. 21.

²⁰³ *Ibid.* p. 103.

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.* p. 96.

²⁰⁵ *Ibid.* p. 43.

²⁰⁶ *Cal. doc. Ire.* 2,933.

manors ranged from £27 10s. 1d. for Mayglass to £9 13s 7d for Polregan. Ballingly, apparently the smallest manor, at £20 18s 2d, generated the second largest revenue. This is a strong indication that it incorporated the adjacent parish of Ballymitty which, in fact, is inferred in the deforestation charter of c.1233. The four southern manors were the largest and most valuable. Rent contributed by free tenants was the principal item of income, especially on the manors of Kinnagh and Ballingly. The burgesses at Ferns, presumably located in the seignorial borough where the burgage rent was £8,²⁰⁷ contributed £2; at Mayglass a burgess rent of 10s 9d would suggest an attempt to establish a rural borough and at Fethard a burgess rent of £6 indicates that it may have been planned as the principal episcopal borough, perhaps because of its maritime location. There were mills on each manor, including a windmill at Polregan. The income from the mills came to £11, of which £7 6s 8d came from the three manors in the south-west, Fethard, Kinnagh and Ballingly, perhaps indicating that corn was more important in this region where the free tenants were also concentrated. There were settlements of betaghs at Ballingly, Polregan and, principally, Mayglass where they contributed £8 7s 6d in rent.

The bishop's status as a landowner, combined with his influential ecclesiastic position, gave him an influential role in the political and administrative life of the liberty. Organisational ability was an essential episcopal requirement as cross lands were independent of the liberty with an autonomous administrative structure. Interference in the affairs of church lands by the civil authorities was strenuously resisted by threats of ecclesiastical censure, including excommunication. In 1260 a number of dioceses, including Ferns, were instructed by Pope Alexander to warn the justiciary and his officials, under pain of ecclesiastical censure, to desist from infringing on the liberties of the church, especially in financial matters.²⁰⁸ The diocesan authorities also pursued private individuals who encroached on with the rights of the church. In 1299, for example, the bishop complained to the king that two years previously, at his denunciation, the sheriff was instructed to proceed against Richard Horewode,

²⁰⁷ Hore, *Wexford*, vi, p. 9.

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.* p. 187.

Walter Stakepol, Henry le Gros and Henry McGillemory, 'as excommunicated persons and despisers of the keys of the Church,' until satisfaction was made for injuries done by them. In response the sheriff was commanded to summon the accused parties to answer the charges.²⁰⁹ The bishop's situation as a landowner with Irish tenants in the north of the county placed him in an awkward situation at the end of the thirteenth century when the Irish began to exert pressure on the colony. In 1299 bishop Richard de Northhampton complained that Richard de Peveneseye, seneschal of the Liberty of Wexford, Richard Cadel, sheriff of the liberty, Philip de Barry, constable of Ferns castle, and others entered the cross lands and took cattle and other goods from the betaghs of the bishop, to the value of £40. The accused denied any injury, claiming that the betaghs had been outlawed five years previously. The matter was resolved at the king's court where the seneschal was ordered to deliver said chattels back to the bishop.²¹⁰

Tenants on church lands were subject to a separate tax regime, as in the year 1300, for example, when the tenants of the cross contributed 12 marks towards a subsidy for the war in Scotland compared to 80 marks from the community of the liberty of Wexford.²¹¹ Again in 1375 the king levied 40 marks on the liberty of Wexford and 9 marks on the cross lands of Ferns.²¹² Following the death of a bishop, the cross lands were taken into the king's hands until the appointment of a successor, contributing valuable resources to the royal treasury. In 1253, for example, the king mandated John FitzGeoffrey, the justiciary of Ireland, to take in the park of the See of Ferns, being in the king's hands, twelve wild cattle or more, at his discretion, provided that the king may not be answerable for restoring John's Park.²¹³ At least two bishops of Ferns were involved in administration on a wider scale: John de St. John was treasurer of the exchequer at Dublin from 1226 to 1232,²¹⁴ and Patrick Barrett was appointed Lord High Chancellor in 1410.

²⁰⁹ *Cal. just. rolls*, i, p. 269.

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 254.

²¹¹ Hore, *Wexford*, vi, p. 193. A mark was worth 13s 4d.

²¹² *Ibid.* p. 203.

²¹³ *Cal. doc. Ire.* ii, no. 297.

²¹⁴ Hore, *Wexford*, vi, p. 185.

In the fourteenth century the bishop was actively involved in the military affairs of the liberty. In 1316, during the Bruce Invasion,²¹⁵ bishop Adam de Northampton was pardoned a debt of £26 13s 4d, in consideration of his services and expense in keeping men-at-arms, hobelars and footmen in the marches of the county of the liberty of Wexford in time of war. However, in the following year, possibly as a result of his pragmatic approach to political matters, he was accused of treason for supplying men, money and provisions to the Bruce campaign.²¹⁶ In 1331 the 'Irishmen of Leinster' burned the castle of Ferns and devastated the liberty of Ferns.²¹⁷ The bishop responded to this situation by moving to the relative security of his manor of Fethard in the south-west of the county as in that year an agreement made between him and the abbot of Dunbrody Abbey concerning the church of Rathcro was ratified at Fethard.²¹⁸

As the security situation deteriorated, the middle years of the century were turbulent ones for the bishopric. In 1347 the value of the temporalities had dropped to £26 13s 4d²¹⁹ compared to £250 at the end of the previous century. In the same year Hugh de Salte was appointed and deposed as bishop. He was succeeded by Geoffrey de Groseld who died of the plague in 1348, one of the few specific references to the Black Death in the county. His successor, John Esmonde, was also deposed by the pope in 1349 but occupied the castle and had to be forcefully removed by the authorities at the request of William Charnells, his successor.²²⁰ Charnells was actively involved in the defence of the liberty and was appointed constable of Ferns castle in 1354 at a salary of £20 a year.²²¹ In 1358 Ferns castle was taken by the Irish and the walls and bridge were levelled. Bishop Charnells recovered the castle and repaired the damage at a cost of £100.²²² The north of the liberty was coming under increased pressure, however, and by 1360 the MacMurchada had taken Ferns

²¹⁵ J.F.Lydon, 'The Bruce invasion of Ireland', *Historical studies*, iv, 1963, pp. 111-25.

²¹⁶ Hore, *Wexford*, vi, p. 195.

²¹⁷ *Ibid.* p. 196.

²¹⁸ *Chartul. St. Mary's*, i, p. 526.

²¹⁹ Hore, *Wexford*, vi, p. 197.

²²⁰ *Ibid.* pp. 198-9.

²²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

²²² *Ibid.* p. 13.

and occupied the castle.²²³

During the last quarter of the century, because of the volatile political situation, bishop Thomas Denne, appointed in 1363, may have been forced to concentrate his activities in the south of the county.

Fethard castle dates to about 1375²²⁴ at which time Denne was acting as custodian of the peace in county Wexford with powers in the administration of both civil and martial law.²²⁵ He may have decided to construct a dwelling at Fethard in keeping with his status (fig. 92). Denne's connection with Fethard is also suggested by a grave slab, now in the churchyard but originally in the church, which, almost certainly, bears an inscription to Denne in Anglo-Norman French, a language which he is known to have used.²²⁶ The move to the more secure south was continued by Patrick Barrett who succeeded in 1400. He obtained papal permission to move the diocesan seat from Ferns to New Ross where he intended to restore St. Mary's church as his cathedral. In 1409 he constructed Mountgarret castle, just to the north of the town, having been granted royal permission to recruit competent stone masons in the neighbouring counties (fig. 91).²²⁷ He acted as Lord Chancellor for a number of years and was very involved in civil administration.²²⁸ The plight of the north of the county was highlighted in 1420 when a subsidy of 19s. on every carucate of 120 acres in the diocese was granted by the Dean and Chapter to the Lord Deputy, James Butler, towards his expenses in protecting and defending the lands about Ferns.²²⁹ It is not clear how long the bishop's association with New Ross lasted. Bishop Robert Whitty can be placed in the town in 1436 when, authorized by the pope, in St. Mary's parish church he absolved the town from all sentence of excommunication and removed the interdict which had been placed on the townspeople in the 1260s, following the murder of the Crutched Friars.²³⁰

²²³ *38th Rep. D.K.I.*, p. 42.

²²⁴ Ben Murtough, archaeologist, pers. comm.

²²⁵ Hore, *Wexford*, vi, p. 204.

²²⁶ S. Cloney, 'Some stone artifacts of south-west Wexford,' *Wexford Hist. Soc. Jn.*, xii, (1988), pp. 92-97.

²²⁷ Hore, *Wexford*, vi, p. 210.

²²⁸ *Ibid.* p. 212.

²²⁹ *Ibid.* p. 213.

²³⁰ *Ibid.* p. 214.



Fig. 91. Mountgarrett Castle



Fig. 92. Fethard Castle.

The construction of Fethard and Mountgarrett castles represented the move by the bishop from the 'land of war' in the north of the county to the 'land of peace' in the south.

The Bishop of Ferns played a significant and influential part in the sub-infeudation of *Uí Cheinnselaig*, both as a landowner and administrator. His ecclesiastical stature helped him to aggressively resist encroachment on diocesan lands which may have been consolidated in the immediate pre-Norman period by Bishop Joseph Ua hÁeda through his kinship with Diarmait MacMurchada. When the episcopal manor of Ferns, located in the vulnerable north of the diocese, came under threat from the resurgent Irish, the bishop was forced to become involved in military affairs and, eventually, the centre of diocesan power moved, at least temporarily, to the more secure south where Fethard and Mountgarret castles were constructed. The move was not of a permanent nature as in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries the church in the town of Ferns was again regarded as the cathedral church²³¹ and, at present, the Church of Ireland cathedral at Ferns incorporates significant sections of its thirteenth-century predecessor.²³²

Conclusion

The endowment of monastic foundations by the holders of principal fiefs was an essential element in the process of sub-infeudation. Only those near the top of the feudal hierarchy could give sufficient land to attract a community of monks to establish a new religious house. Some manorial lords further down the feudal scale donated smaller land grants or church livings to religious houses in Britain or Ireland. The preambles to endowment charters indicate that grants to the church were regarded as a form of religious insurance for the souls of the grantor and his family. They may also have been motivated by a desire to make reparation for holding land which had been won by the sword. In some instances, the granting of a large estate for the founding of a religious house was used as a strategy to ensure the peace and security of an area. The unusual concentration of church lands in south-west Wexford suggests that the endowments were at least partly motivated by the security requirements of Waterford Harbour and, to a lesser extent, Bannow Bay. The grant by Henry II in 1172 of the Hook peninsula to the Templars, coincided with

²³¹ Ibid. p. 266.

²³² Moore, *Archaeological inventory*, p. 156, no. 1445.

Hervey's attempted endowment of Buildwas. Henry's grant to the Templars of part of de Montmorency's fief could be seen as an intervention by the king to reduce the size of what was an inordinately large grant, initially conferred on Hervey by Diarmuid Mac Murchada.²³³ As part of his campaign to bring the first arrivals under control, he had already rescinded the grant of Forth to FitzStephen and FitzGerald also made by Mac Murchada.²³⁴ The involvement of the king suggests that the introduction of the Templars and Cistercians in south-west Wexford represented a coordinated approach to the securing of Waterford Harbour, by removing extensive tracts of land from the system of military feudalism. The placing of the Templars at Crook and Kilbarry on the Waterford side of the estuary supports this interpretation.²³⁵ The retention of the port of Waterford in the king's hand also emphasised the significance of the estuary.

Apart from the Hospitallers manor of Ballyhoge, the principal ecclesiastical estates were located in the more secure south-west of the county, a region that was the focus of the first Anglo-Norman landings in Ireland. As well as providing security for the two estuaries, the concentration of monastic estates in the south-west may also have been influenced by the availability of essential port facilities. The manor of Ballyhoge, situated in a more politically vulnerable location in the centre of the county, was abandoned in the fifteenth century. Episcopal lands, with four out of six manors located in the south, followed a similar trend. The episcopal manor of Templeshanbo, in the north-west of the county, was abandoned by the end of the thirteenth century. The volatile situation in the north of the county forced the bishop to abandon Ferns, at least temporarily, at the end of the fourteenth century, for New Ross and Fethard. The relationship between manorial and parochial development represented the most ubiquitous connection between secular feudalism and ecclesiastical organisation. Of sixty-eight identified knights' fees in the county, twenty-seven were equivalent to medieval parishes, mostly in the south of the county. Other parishes were based on the burghal lands

²³³ *Expugnatio*, p. 35.

²³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 95.

²³⁵ *Cal. doc. Ire.*, i, no. 85.

of boroughs and towns. By removing extensive tracts of land from the system of military feudalism, the creation of ecclesiastical estates had a fundamental impact on the development of settlement.²³⁶

Administrative structures were also effected by the unusual concentration of church estates in Wexford as this removed much of the south-west of the county from the authority of the liberty. The cross lands of the liberties, under the jurisdiction of the sheriff of Dublin, were subject to royal administration.²³⁷ Once established, this concentration of church lands inevitably influenced the pattern of settlement and its subsequent impact on post-dissolution land ownership can be identified in the present-day landscape.

²³⁶ Otway-Ruthven, 'Knight service,' p. 2.

²³⁷ Otway-Ruthven, 'Shire government,' p. 4-5.

Chapter 8

Survival and decline

During the first half of the thirteenth century, the area under Anglo-Norman control in Ireland was expanded and consolidated.¹ The leadership of the MacMurchada had been decimated in the aftermath of the Anglo-Norman arrival and their successors disappear from the record for almost a century.² The MacMurchada and their followers must have continued to occupy at least part of their traditional lands, especially to the north and north-west of the county, in the wooded uplands of the Blackstairs and Wicklow mountains. Very little is known about landholding in Gaelic Ireland at the end of the twelfth century.³ The landscape provided a natural segregation between native and colonist: the Irish, whose pastoral economy required a nomadic existence in flimsy dwellings, occupied the forests and mountains, leaving the settlers to develop an arable economy in the coastal lowlands and river valleys.⁴ An account of Richard II's expedition to Ireland in 1394 which describes the burning of MacMurchada's house in the wood of Leverough in north Wexford, as well as 'some fourteen villages round about the same wood' and the taking of four hundred cattle, describes an Irish lifestyle which may have changed little during the two preceding centuries.⁵

From the mid-thirteenth century onwards, the development of the colony experienced a reversal. This was related to the emergence of a more efficient opposition from a new generation of Gaelic leaders which led to a gradual recovery of lands and assimilation of settlers.⁶ The Irish recovery was aided by the complicated partition of Leinster in 1247 which had a long-term damaging effect on the colony in Leinster.⁷ The crisis of lordship associated with partition probably explains why the justiciar had to raise an army to deal with

¹ Orpen, *Normans*, iii, p. 291.

² For a summary see Flanagan, *Irish society*, pp. 108-11; Nicholls, *Gaelic and Gaelicised Ireland*, pp. 170-1.

³ Nicholls, 'Gaelic society,' *N.H.I.*, ii, p. 403.

⁴ Smyth, *Celtic Leinster*, 107-17; Nicholls, 'Land of the Leinstermen,' p. 540-2.

⁵ J. Lydon 'Richard II's expedition to Ireland,' *R.S.A.I.Jn.*, xciii, (1963), p. 146.

⁶ Nicholls, 'Anglo-French Ireland,' pp. 371-2; Lydon, 'A land of war,' p. 268.

⁷ Lydon, 'Expansion and consolidation,' p. 169.

disturbances in Leinster in 1249.⁸ The situation of the colony in Ireland was further weakened by baronial rebellion and reform in England during the 1260s and simultaneous, but apparently unrelated, disturbances in Ireland in 1264-5 caused by factional conflict between the Geraldines and de Burgos.⁹ The impact of these disturbances combined with the failure of the Irish administration to deal with the problems related to the fragmentation of Leinster and an increasing number of absentee landlords led to a gradual decline in the colony and an increase in lawlessness.¹⁰ By the 1270s the Leinster Irish were in a state of general revolt. They may have been at least partly motivated by the need for subsistence due to a famine caused by the severe weather of 1271.¹¹ The annals for that year recorded 'very bad weather' and 'a great famine and pestilence' so that 'multitudes of poor people died of cold and hunger and the rich suffered hardship'.¹² A number of military expeditions, led by the justiciar Geoffrey de Geneville against the Irish, ended in disaster. In 1274, for example, the Irish won a great victory at Glenmalure where the prior of the Hospitallers was one of the many who lost their lives.¹³ By 1275 the MacMurchada had emerged as the leaders of the Leinster mountain Irish and were devastating the manors of the colonists. Another expedition led by the justiciar in 1276 again ended in failure and 'a great killing of the English'.¹⁴ In the following year, a new justiciar, Robert de Ufford, eventually succeeded in bringing the situation under control.¹⁵

During the rebellion the MacMurchada emerged as leaders of an Irish coalition that included the O'Nolans, O'Tooles and O'Byrnes. Muirchertach was captured in 1275 and his brother Art was subsequently regarded as leader of the rebellion.¹⁶ Although the war had ended, the MacMurchada leaders continued to be regarded with suspicion. The authorities, establishing a precedent that would

⁸ Otway-Ruthven, *Medieval Ireland*, p. 193.

⁹ *Ann. Loch Cé*, i, p. 449; R. Frame, *Ireland and Britain, 1170-1450*, pp. 59-69.

¹⁰ Lydon, 'The years of crisis,' p. 188.

¹¹ For a general account of this period see Lydon, 'A land of war,' pp. 256-262.

¹² *Ann. Inisf.*, p. 371; *Clyn's ann.*, p. 9; *Chartul. St. Mary's*, ii, p. 290; *Ann. Conn.*, p. 157.

¹³ *Chartul. St. Mary's*, ii, p. 318; *36th Rep. D.K.I.*, p. 37.

¹⁴ *Clyn's ann.*, p. 9.

¹⁵ *Cal. doc. Ire.*, ii, nos. 1400, 1476. See Orpen, *Normans*, iv, pp. 15-18; Otway-Ruthven, *Med. Ire.*, pp. 201-2.

¹⁶ *Chartul. St. Mary's*, ii, p. 318; *Cal. doc. Ire.*, ii, no. 1935.

continue for centuries, used a mixture of threat and reward in an effort to maintain the peace. In 1280, the exchequer paid 20s to Muirchertach 'for his carriage', 21s for a robe and a loan of 10s each to him and his wife.¹⁷ Later in the year, however, the sheriff of Dublin was paid £10 for bringing Muirchertach to prison in Dunamase and from there to Dublin 'for fresh imprisonment',¹⁸ Roger Bigod, marshal of England, was involved in the campaign to control the MacMurchada. As a Marshal heiress, Bigod's wife was related, if distantly, to them and as lord of Carlow Bigod was, in theory at least, their feudal lord. Bigod visited his Irish estates in 1279 and in the following year the accounts of Bigod's manor of Ross contain details of a 'fee' of £12 paid to Art and 33s 4d to Muirchertach: Art was also presented with a robe, hood and furs.¹⁹ In an effort to maintain the peace, Bigod planned to take the MacMurchada brothers, described as his kinsmen, back to England with him. On two occasions in 1280, letters of safe conduct, valid for one year, were issued allowing them to travel but there is no way of telling if they actually went.²⁰ In spite of Bigod's efforts, a new justiciar, Stephen Fulbourne, decided to take a more drastic course of action and in 1282 he arranged to have Art and Muirchertach murdered at Arklow.²¹ A levy of 2s per carucate imposed on the counties of Leinster to pay for the killings was objected to by Bigod who claimed that the brothers had not been outlawed with his consent.²² From the settlers' perspective, the murder of Muirchertach and Art was justified as it was followed by comparative peace for twelve years until another rebellion led by the MacMurchada erupted in 1294.

There was great unrest in Ireland during the last decade of the thirteenth century due to factional struggles between the great magnates whose private armies were strengthened by alliances with the Irish.²³ The conflict came to a head in 1294 with the capture of

¹⁷ *Cal. doc. Ire.*, ii, nos. 1739, 1781.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, no. 1860.

¹⁹ Hore, *Wexford*, i, pp. 14, 15, 144; Mills, 'Norfolk's estates,' p. 55; W.F. Nugent, 'Carlow in the middle ages,' *R.S.A.I. Jn.*, lxxxv, (1955), p. 74.

²⁰ *Cal. doc. Ire.*, ii, nos. 1716, 1873.

²¹ *Chartul. St. Mary's*, ii, p. 318; *Ann. Conn.*, p. 173; R. Frame, 'The justiciar and the murder of the MacMurroughs in 1282,' *I.H.S.*, xviii, (1972-3), pp. 223-30.

²² *Cal. doc. Ire.*, ii, nos. 238, 1284, 1919, 2333, 2334.

²³ See Lydon, 'The years of crisis,' p. 185.

the de Burgh earl of Ulster by the Geraldine fitzThomas of Offaly which led to 'confusion throughout Ireland'.²⁴ The provisioning of Ferns castle as a precaution against expected attack indicated the widespread nature of the disturbances.²⁵ The unrest, exacerbated by another famine accompanied by pestilence,²⁶ predictably resulted in another rebellion in Leinster which was repressed at a cost of £336.²⁷ In 1295 Muiris MacMuirchertach Mac Murchada 'with all his nation' was received into the king's peace and gave Art MacArt as a hostage. The O'Byrnes and O'Tooles also gave hostages and six hundred cows were handed over as satisfaction for damage done to the king's tenants.²⁸

The government's ability to respond militarily to the Gaelic revival was limited by an acute lack of resources due to the demands for men, provisions and financial aid for the king's war in Wales, Scotland and Flanders. During the 1290s, for example, Ireland contributed almost £30,000 towards the construction of castles in Wales.²⁹ There are numerous accounts of ships leaving Irish ports carrying provisions to feed the king's armies. In 1282, supplies including corn, fish, wine, cattle, pigs and sheep were exported from Ross for the army in Wales: in 1295, £650 was spent in Ross on corn for the army in Gascony and in the following year a ship called the *Snake de Rosponde* brought corn and beans from Ross to Bayonne for the army in France.³⁰ The situation in Ireland was seriously affected by the removal of large numbers of men to fight abroad.³¹ This facilitated the spread of lawlessness, including attacks by both Irish and English on poorly defended manors. The situation was exacerbated by the offering of pardons to wrong-doers as an inducement to serve overseas.³² The deteriorating situation at the end of the century was reflected in the liberty of Wexford by a fall in revenue and a decline in the colony. In

²⁴ *Ann. Conn.*, p. 193; *Cal. doc. Ire.*, iv, no. 273; *Clyn's ann.* p. 10.

²⁵ *Cal. just. rolls*, i, p. 148.

²⁶ *Clyn's ann.* pp. 9,10; *Chartul. St. Mary's*, ii, 323.

²⁷ *38th Rep. D.K.I.*, p. 87; *Chartul. St. Mary's*, ii, p. 324.

²⁸ *Cal. just. rolls*, i, p. 61.

²⁹ Lydon, 'The years of crisis,' p. 196.

³⁰ *Cal. doc. Ire.*, ii, no. 2009; *38th Rep. D.K.I.*, p 44-5; *Cal. doc. Ire.*, iv, nos. 273, 307, 308.

³¹ See, for example, J. Lydon, 'An Irish army in Scotland, 1296,' *Irish Sword*, v (1961-2), pp. 184-90.

³² For a discussion on this see, J. Lydon, 'Ireland in 1297: at peace after its manner,' in J. Lydon, (ed.), *Law and disorder in thirteenth-century Ireland* (Dublin, 1997), pp.11- 24.

1296 the value of Valence's demesne lands had fallen from £300 to £150 with four carucates in the north of the county completely waste. By 1299, waste lands included two carucates and 49 burgages in the manor of Ferns, and 128 burgages and twenty-four carucates in Wexford town and the manor of Rosslare.³³ There is some evidence for the relocation of tenants: in 1296, Hugh de Sampford and Gilbert de Lyvet, former holders of manors in the frontier cantred of Shillelagh, had been given lands by William de Valence in the more secure cantred of Forth.³⁴

In order to comply with the king's continuous demands, it was necessary for the Dublin government to minimise expenditure on maintaining the peace and also to increase revenue by increased taxation. To further these ends, in 1297 the king summoned a parliament in Dublin to formulate policies which would 'establish peace more firmly' in Ireland with a consequent reduction of costs to the exchequer. The parliament decreed that, instead of being funded by the exchequer, defence should be the responsibility of tenants and settlers at regional level and absentee landowners were to allocate resources for the defence of their lands. A directive preventing Englishmen from wearing Irish dress or keeping their hair in the Irish manner signalled an incipient system of apartheid which would find fuller expression in the statutes of Kilkenny in 1366.³⁵ The success of the policy was short-lived, however, as by 1301 the Irish were again at war and the government, in an implicit acceptance of the failure of its strategy, was forced to fund a large army for the preservation of the peace in Leinster.³⁶ By the beginning of the fourteenth century, war was endemic in Ireland: the MacMurchada and their followers were in a state of rebellion and in 1305 Gilbert de Sutton, the seneschal of the liberty of Wexford, was killed by the Irish.³⁷ The situation was a complex one as the government frequently had to cope with quarrels between settlers as well as the problem of rebel English, sometimes

³³ *Cal. doc. Ire.*, iv, no. 306; *38th Rep. D.K.I.*, p. 42.

³⁴ Brooks, *Knights' fees*, pp. 143-4, 40-1; *Cal. i.p.m.*, iv, p. 222.

³⁵ P. Connolly, 'The enactments of the 1297 parliament,' in Lydon, (ed.), *Law and disorder*, pp. 139-161.

³⁶ *Chartul. St. Mary's*, ii, 328; J. Lydon, 'Medieval Wicklow—"a land of war",' Hannigan & Nolan (eds), *Wicklow: history and society*, p. 106.

³⁷ *Cal. doc. Ire.*, v, no. 3; *Chartul. St. Mary's*, ii, p. 332.

allied with the native Irish.³⁸ The government counter-balanced the threat from English rebels to some extent by the employment of Gaelic allies: members of the MacMurchada, for example, who were frequently paid a retainer for their efforts in keeping Irish felons under control, alternated between open rebellion and acting as paid peace-keepers for the authorities.³⁹

The law-and-order situation in Wexford was made even more precarious by the rebellion of the de Caunteton family of the manor of Glascarrig. It is not clear why this important settler family, whose status was acknowledged in 1275 by a grant from the king of a fee and robes,⁴⁰ decided to take this course of action. Their decision to resort to violence seems to have been taken quite suddenly. In 1303 Maurice de Caunteton, who had been seneschal of the liberty in 1297, was paid £100 for having forty footmen in Scotland fighting for the king and two years later his brother, David, was granted a subsidy by the community of Wexford to build a fortalice in his manor of Moylagh 'to resist the malice of the Irish of that march.'⁴¹ The dispute may have originated in Cork where, in 1302, a branch of the family lost disputed lands to the Roches.⁴² It is also possible that it was somehow related to the murder of the seneschal, Gilbert de Sutton, in 1305 whose wife, Agatha, later married David de Caunteton. In 1311, £66 was levied on the lands of David de Caunteton and given to the executors of Sutton's will.⁴³

Whatever the motivation, by 1306 the Cauntetons, allied with the O'Byrnes, were in revolt: perhaps their location in the northern marches of the county made it easier to resort to warfare as a recognised means of settling disputes. In that year the justiciar was in action with a force of horse and foot to suppress the rebellion of the Cauntetons and O'Byrnes who were devastating the countryside. The

³⁸ For an account of rebel English in Ireland see J. Lydon, 'The impact of the Bruce invasion,' *N.H.I.*, ii, p. 279-80.

³⁹ In 1313, for example, Muiris MacMurchada was given wages for 1 horseman, 30 hobelars and 20 footmen, with £10 maintenance, to wage war against felons; Hore, *Wexford*, i, p. 177.

⁴⁰ *Cal. doc. Ire.*, ii, no. 1294.

⁴¹ *38th Rep. D.K.I.*, p. 70; *Cal. just. rolls*, ii, p. 13.

⁴² *38th Rep. D.K.I.*, p. 70; *Cal. just. rolls*, i, pp. 148, 383-4. Brooks, *Knights' fees*, pp. 27-32.

⁴³ *Cal. just. rolls*, iii, pp. 18, 159.

Talon family in county Carlow, in particular, was targeted by the rebels.⁴⁴ The Cauntetons, accompanied by Domhnall MacMurchada, stole cattle from the Talon manor and drove them to Glascarrig.⁴⁵ Richard Talon was subsequently killed by Maurice de Caunteton who was then killed by the Talons and, perhaps significantly, the Roches. David de Caunteton was imprisoned in Dublin castle.⁴⁶ After the rebellion a large number of people, both English and Irish, were pardoned various crimes because they had fought against Maurice de Cauntetons and the O'Byrnes who 'openly put themselves at war with the king with standards displayed doing many murders, robberies and other evils.' Others, who had supported Caunteton, were pardoned for subsequently joining with the crown forces to fight against the felons of the Leinster mountains.⁴⁷ Muiris MacMurchada did not take part in the rebellion but was paid by the government to guard the marches of Wexford and to subdue Irish felons.⁴⁸

Following the defeat of the Cauntetons, their manor of Glascarrig was devastated by the MacMurchada, 'Irish enemies of de Caunteton and the others,' possibly in retaliation for the involvement of David de Caunteton with Edmund le Bottiller in the murder of Murrough Ballagh MacMurchada for which they received a reward of 100marks.⁴⁹ Because of his felony the possessions of Maurice de Caunteton were later confiscated by the crown.⁵⁰ The account of the manor of Glascarrig following the raid by the MacMurchada presents a picture of destruction and desertion which serves as an illustration for the rest of the march lands in the north of the county. It also demonstrates the effectiveness of the Irish tactics in clearing the land of settlers and reclaiming it for themselves. The lands of Glascarrig were 'in the march and sterile' because no one dared to 'put hands on them' for fear of the MacMurchada. The houses were ruinous and beyond habitation. Perhaps most significantly, at least some of the tenants fled the manor; possibly to the more secure south of the

⁴⁴ *39th Rep. D.K.I.*, pp. 31, 49; *Cal. pat. and cl. rolls*, p. 12, no. 9, p. 14, no 222; the Talons held the barony of St. Mullins (*Cal. doc. Ire.*, v, no. 617).

⁴⁵ *Cal. just. rolls*, ii, p. 395, iii, p. 25.

⁴⁶ *Chartul. St. Mary's*, ii, pp. 294, 338.

⁴⁷ *Cal. just. rolls*, iii, pp. 145-6, 200, 237.

⁴⁸ *39th Rep. D.K.I.*, p. 49.

⁴⁹ *Cal. just. rolls*, iii, pp. 159, 22.

⁵⁰ *42nd Rep. D.K.I.*, p. 63.

county or even across the Irish Sea to Wales or England. The tenants of the priory of Glascarrig were not disturbed as they were later fined 100s for supporting the Cauntetons and O'Byrnes, felons who 'put themselves at war with the king with banners displayed.'⁵¹ As well as the Cauntetons, other settlers of English origin, some of them allied with the Irish, were involved in lawlessness in the county. In 1312, for example, Adam and William Hay were charged with robberies and felonies and the death of William Estmonde. In the same year, Margery, wife of Geoffrey Bybyry, was fined 100s for giving food and shelter to a group of robbers who later killed John Estmonde and went to various parts of county Wexford to commit robberies. The names of the group members (O'Brodur, de Rupe, Hay, de Bydeford, Otauley, Omouroun) suggest that they were of mixed racial origins.⁵²

During the first decade of the fourteenth century, the Irish of the Leinster mountains were in a state of almost continuous war. In 1307, £814 was spent on repairs to Castlekevin in Wicklow and payment for a company of horse and foot led by Piers de Gavastoun in an effort to suppress the rebellion: similar forces were led by the justiciar and Thomas le Botiller in 1312.⁵³ Although some minor members of the MacMurchada may have been allied with the rebels at this time, the principal figures were not involved. The MacMurchada were not natural allies of the O'Byrnes and O'Tooles and it may have been part of the MacMurchada strategy to ally themselves with the government against their traditional rivals.⁵⁴ The resources of the county were still being depleted by demands from the king and it would appear that every attempt was made to prevent the MacMurchada from joining the rebels.⁵⁵ For example, Theobald le Botiller and John de Sanford provided surety for the good behaviour of Art M'Morchud and some family members actually held land as tenants of Roger Bigod.⁵⁶ As in other parts of Ireland, the frontier

⁵¹ *Cal. just. rolls*, iii, p. 237.

⁵² *Ibid.*, iii, pp. 236, 235.

⁵³ *39th Rep. D.K.I.*, pp. 33-4; *Cal. pat. and cl. rolls*, p. 19, nos. 14, 29.

⁵⁴ Frame, 'Two kings in Leinster,' p. 160-1; The O'Byrnes and O'Tooles had been expelled from the plains of Kildare to the Wicklow mountains by Diarmuid MacMurchada and his Anglo-Norman allies (*Orpen Normans*, iv, p. 10).

⁵⁵ In 1303, for example, and again in 1311, Wexford town provided two fully armed ships for the Scottish war (Hore, *Wexford*, v, p. 101). In 1303 the community of the county contributed 80m and the town of Ross £40 for the king's wars (*38th Rep. D.K.I.*, p. 70).

⁵⁶ *38th Rep. D.K.I.*, p. 70; *Cal. just. rolls*, ii, p. 347.

situation in north Wexford inevitably led to the growth of private armies and groups of armed retainers. This was sometimes organised by means of an indenture system by which men entered the service of a lord and followed him into battle when requested.⁵⁷ There is some evidence for the operation of this system in county Wexford: in 1313, Adam de la Roche of Doonooney made a covenant with Edmond le Botiller to be his man when required, in return for a fee of 100 marks.⁵⁸ Surviving records suggest that members of these two families were to the fore in military activities in the county. The adventurous nature of the Roches was epitomised by the offer made by John Roche in 1284 to take over the manor of Curtun which was waste and abandoned because of the war.⁵⁹ The independent activities of these factions presented a serious threat to the peace. The anxiety of the government to keep the MacMurchada placated was indicated by the indictment in 1305 of members of the Hay and Roche families who killed Henry, Murrough and Domhnall Óg who were in Ferns under safe conduct by order of the justiciar.⁶⁰

The career of Muiris MacMurchada provides a good example of the government's peace-keeping strategy. In 1310 he spent some time in Dublin castle, presumably as a prisoner.⁶¹ In the same year, possibly for political as well as financial reasons, he agreed to guard the marches of Wexford. He fought with the king's army against the O'Byrne and O'Tooles and delivered two of the O'Byrnes as captives to Wexford castle.⁶² Because of the deteriorating security situation, the king's council ordered that a special meeting, presided over by Edmond le Botiller, should be held at Ross in 1312 to organise the suppression of the rebels. Three custodians were appointed, each to be provided with 20 horsemen, 30 hobelars and 26 foot, to be stationed at Clonmore in county Carlow, Arklow and Wicklow.⁶³ The seneschal of the liberty of Wexford and Adam Roche were to raise a force to be based at Ferns. Muiris MacMurchada, who undertook to wage war

⁵⁷ See Lydon, 'The years of crisis,' p. 185.

⁵⁸ *Ormond deeds*, i, no. 478.

⁵⁹ *Cal. doc. Ire.*, ii, no. 2340.

⁶⁰ *Cal. just. rolls*, ii, p. 466.

⁶¹ *Cal. pat. and cl. rolls*, p. 13, no. 40.

⁶² *39th Rep. D.K.I.*, p. 49.

⁶³ The hobelars were lightly armed archers mounted on fast ponies. See J. Lydon, 'The hobelar: an Irish contribution to medieval warfare,' *Irish Sword*, v (1954), pp. 12-16.

against the Irish rebels, was employed to travel about to trouble spots with a force of one horseman, 30 hobelars and 24 foot-soldiers.⁶⁴ In 1314 he was paid a total of £76 for fighting the O'Byrnes and guarding the marches of Wexford and was given the manor of Courtown in the north of the county.⁶⁵ It would seem that Muiris remained loyal to the government during the Bruce invasion and did not take advantage of the disturbed state of the country to attack English settlements.

The war in Scotland continued to make demands on the Irish economy in the early fourteenth century. In a dramatic expansion of the war, Edward Bruce invaded Ireland with an army of perhaps 6,000 men in 1315.⁶⁶ Bruce had himself crowned as king of Ireland and hoped to unite the Irish in an attempt to expel the English. His plan was unsuccessful and after a bitterly fought campaign Bruce was killed at the battle of Faughart in county Louth in 1318.⁶⁷ The campaign, which coincided with the worst famine of the middle ages, caused widespread hardship and destruction.⁶⁸ County Wexford, perhaps because of its natural defences of mountain and river, was not directly involved in the war⁶⁹ although the neighbouring liberty of Carlow was devastated.⁷⁰ Bigod's town of Ross sent provisions to the army which was fighting 'the Scottish and Irish felons' near Carlow.⁷¹ The community of county Wexford must have been kept in a state of readiness in case of attack: in 1315, for example, the bishop of Ferns was pardoned a debt of £26 13s 4d for keeping men-at-arms, hobelars and footmen in the marches of the county. The long list of felons in county Wexford, mostly Roches and O'Brodids, pardoned for fighting against the Scottish in 1316 may have been part of this force.⁷² Two years later, however, the bishop was accused of giving aid to the

⁶⁴ Hore, *Wexford*, i, p. 177-8.

⁶⁵ *39th Rep. D.K.I.*, p. 49; Frame, *Ireland and Britain*, p. 268.

⁶⁶ *Chartul. St. Mary's*, ii, pp. 291, 344, 358; For a full account see J. Lydon, 'the impact of the Bruce invasion,' *N.H.I.*, ii, pp. 275-302; R. Frame, 'The Bruces in Ireland, 1315-18,' *I.H.S.*, xix (1974), pp. 3-37; Otway-Ruthven, *Medieval Ireland*, pp. 224-51.

⁶⁷ *Chartul. St. Mary's*, ii, p. 360; *Ann. Conn.*, p. 253.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 345; *Ann. Conn.*, p. 241.

⁶⁹ See map of Bruce's campaign, Lydon, 'Bruce invasion,' p. 281.

⁷⁰ Lydon, 'Bruce invasion,' p. 294.

⁷¹ Hore, *Wexford*, i, p. 179.

⁷² *Just. rolls*, 8-9 Ed. II, N.A.I., KB 2/7.

Bruces.⁷³ There is some evidence to suggest that county Wexford experienced some unrest at this time. In 1317, a chaplain named Robert O'Farall, accused of being a spy and a messenger for the Brynnes (Breens) of the Duffry was handed over to the bishop for suitable punishment. In the same year, Thomas Olayuff and other 'malefactors' came to the town of Ross 'with banners flying' and, helped by 'felons and outlaws' from within tried to take the town. The attempt failed, however, and those involved were executed.⁷⁴ The destructive nature of the Bruce campaign, combined with the effects of famine, had a devastating effect on the economy and population of Ireland. This led to a general breakdown in the rule of law and added to the growing momentum of the Gaelic revival.⁷⁵

The MacMurchada were reluctant to relinquish their role as paid peace keepers: in 1323, Muirchertach MacMurchada was paid £2 13s 9d to provide 23 hobelars and 33 footmen for an expedition against the O'Byrnes.⁷⁶ In the following year, however, Maurice de Rupeforte (Rochford) the seneschal of the liberty, delivered the hostages of the Ua Braoin of the Duffry, the MacMurchada and the O'Murchada to the custody of Wexford castle, an indication that the Irish of north Wexford were a growing cause of concern to the authorities.⁷⁷ This may have been as a result of a crisis caused by the partition of the liberty of Wexford between the families of the two sisters of Aymer de Valence, lord of Wexford, who died without heir in 1324. The castle of Ferns was subsequently taken into the king's hands because of neglect by its absentee owners.⁷⁸ Following Valence's death, a survey of his possessions detailed lands that were waste because of the war. Deserted lands included the manor and borough of Ferns, twelve and a half knights' fees, and 221 burgages in Wexford town. Most deserted lands were in the north of the county but even in the manor of Carrick, just north of Wexford town, the tenants were 'destroyed by war'.⁷⁹

⁷³ *39th Rep. D.K.I.*, p. 70; *Chartul. St. Mary's*, ii, p. 348.

⁷⁴ *Just. rolls*, 11 Ed. II, N.A.I., KB 2/12.

⁷⁵ Lydon, 'Bruce invasion,' pp. 297-302.

⁷⁶ *53rd Rep. D.K.I.*, p. 45.

⁷⁷ Hore, *Wexford*, v, p. 105,

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, vi, p. 10.

⁷⁹ *Cal. i.p.m.*, vi, pp. 324-7.

In the aftermath of the Bruce invasion society in Ireland was under severe threat from disputes between magnates who frequently maintained private armies. Continuous raiding and warfare led to a state of chaos which exerted severe pressure on the rule of law, creating favourable conditions for the spread of the Gaelic revival and making the official policy of creating divisions among the Irish more difficult to implement. Isolated by its natural defences, county Wexford may have been spared to some extent from the worst excesses. The MacMurchada may have considered that circumstances were favourable for a decisive move to recover their former position as kings of Leinster. In 1327, in an event which perhaps symbolised the extent and scope of the revival, 'the Irish of Leinster came together and made a certain king, that is Donal, son of Art MacMurrough, who, when he had been made king, ordered that his banner should be placed within two miles of Dublin and afterwards to travel throughout all the lands of Ireland'. Even though Donal was subsequently captured and imprisoned in Dublin castle, the ambitious nature of the event signalled the beginning of a more menacing and persistent challenge to the government by the Leinster Irish.⁸⁰ Donal's escape in 1331 precipitated a rising during which the castle of Ferns was taken and county Wexford ravaged. The English of the county attacked and defeated the Irish, many of whom drowned in the river Slaney while attempting to escape. Those who had taken part in the rebellion were subsequently excommunicated.⁸¹

The unrest continued, however, as in 1334-5 Robert de Poer, the seneschal, was paid £40 for quelling serious disturbances in Wexford between the Irish and English and the prior of Selskar claimed that the lands and rents of the abbey had been destroyed by the war of the MacMurchada.⁸² Donal MacMurchada came to the peace and was given a robe and £10 'for good service': in 1335 he even travelled to Scotland with a force organised by the justiciar. Subsequently, his fee was increased to 80marks and at some point he regained possession of the manor of Courtown. After this he alternated between being in the pay of the government and rebellion.⁸³ The strategy of alternating

⁸⁰ *Chartul. St. Mary's*, ii, pp. 365-6.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 372, 376.

⁸² Hore, *Wexford*, v, p. 110; Otway-Ruthven, *Med. Ire.*, p. 252.

⁸³ *Clyn's ann.*, p. 29; Frame, *Ireland and Britain*, p. 269.

between war and peace may have been related to a power struggle between different factions of the MacMurchada; in 1349, for example, Donald, son of Donald, son of Art, 'king of Leinster', was killed by his kinsmen.⁸⁴ The ambivalent attitude of the MacMurchada continued throughout the 1340s. In 1339, for example, John de Botiller, constable of the king's castle of Ballytrent, was granted 100s for expenses in repelling MacMurchada and other Irish.⁸⁵ In 1343 Muirchertach was paid to lead a force of 23 hobelars and 33 footmen against the O'Byrnes and other rebels but two years later the MacMurchada lands of *Uí Cheinnselaig* were ravaged by crown forces.⁸⁶ This must have been part of the campaign initiated by Ralph de Ufford who succeeded during his short term as justiciar (1344-6), with the help of Irish forces including MacMurchada, in asserting authority over both English and Irish and improving returns to the exchequer. Following his death in 1346, however, the situation again deteriorated.⁸⁷

The disruption and suffering caused by the disturbed political situation in Ireland escalated dramatically with the arrival of the plague known as the Black Death. Appearing in Europe in 1347, the plague spread rapidly along the trade routes and arrived in Dublin and Drogheda in 1348. The terror provoked by the outbreak resulted in the convergence of pilgrims, from all over Ireland and from all levels of society, at the monastic site of St. Mullins to pray for deliverance from the pestilence.⁸⁸ The Black Death of 1348-9, combined with the sporadic outbreaks which continued into the next century, devastated the population.⁸⁹ An estimated initial mortality rate of twenty-five to thirty-five per cent among the colonists may have risen to forty or fifty per cent by the end of the century, due to recurring outbreaks.⁹⁰ The Anglo-Irish, concentrated in the towns, suffered to a greater extent

⁸⁴ *Chartul. St. Mary's*, ii, p. 390.

⁸⁵ Hore, 'Forth,' i. p. 69.

⁸⁶ *53rd Rep. D.K.I.*, p. 45; *Chartul. St. Mary's*, ii, p. 330.

⁸⁷ R. Frame, 'The justiciarship of Ralph Ufford: warfare and politics in fourteenth-century Ireland,' *Studia Hibernica*, xiii (1973), pp. 7-47.

⁸⁸ *Clyn's ann.*, p. 35; for a general account of the Black Death see Otway-Ruthven, *Med. Ire.*, pp. 267-70; A Gwynn, 'The Black Death in Ireland,' *Studies*, xxiv (1935), pp. 25-42.

⁸⁹ For example in 1361 & 1370 (*Chartul. St. Mary's*, ii, pp. 395, 397).

⁹⁰ Down, 'Colonial society and economy,' pp. 449-50.

than the more dispersed Irish population.⁹¹ As one of the most heavily settled counties, with as many as seven ports trading with Britain and the continent, Wexford must have been badly affected by the epidemic. It is quite likely that it contributed to the eventual abandonment of four of the port towns: the Island, Bannow, Clonmines and Carrick. One of the few mentions of the plague in the county refers to the town of Ross. An account of the town in 1349 described it as being

on the borders of the enemy, divers persons killed, as often by frequent hostile invasions as by warlike conflicts for the defence of the town, as by mortality from pestilence, impoverishment, and even total destruction-----the community are in such an unaccustomed state of misery, poverty and helplessness-----a great part of the men of the said town are ready to leave and fly to foreign parts.

Because of the state of emergency which existed in Ross, a debt to the king of £100 was reduced by 50m, the money to be spent on the defence of the town and adjacent countryside.⁹² The only other known mention of the Black Death in county Wexford refers to the town of Ferns where bishop Groseld died of the plague in 1348.⁹³ The destabilising effects of the Black Death eventually led to an expansion in the power of the MacMurchada with a resultant deterioration in the security of Leinster.

Thomas de Rokeby was appointed justiciar in 1349 and during the early 1350s used a combination of war and diplomacy to maintain law and order.⁹⁴ In a reversal of earlier policy, the government's ability to respond was aided by money and troops from England, a trend that was to continue for the rest of the century.⁹⁵ Rokeby was soon involved in campaigns in an effort to control the Leinster Irish, holding sessions in Wexford and New Ross in late 1350.⁹⁶ In 1354 Muirchertach MacMurchada was in rebellion but following his capture by Patrick de la Freigne he was brought by sea to Wicklow where he

⁹¹ For settlement patterns see T. Barry, 'The people of the country.....dwell scattered' the pattern of rural settlement in Ireland in the later middle ages,' in Bradley, (ed.), *Settlement and society*, pp. 345-60.

⁹² Hore, *Wexford*, i, p. 190.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, vi, p. 197.

⁹⁴ J. Otway-Ruthven, 'Ireland in the 1350s: Sir Thomas de Rokeby and his successors,' *R.S.A.I. Jn.*, xcvi (1967), pp. 47-54.

⁹⁵ P. Connolly, 'The financing of English expeditions to Ireland, 1361-76,' in J. Lydon, (ed.), *England and Ireland in the later middle ages* (Dublin, 1981), pp. 104-21.

⁹⁶ Hore, *Wexford*, v, p. 113; i, p. 190; Otway-Ruthven, 'Ireland in the 1350s,' p. 49.

was executed. This was followed by a bitter conflict which Rokeby succeeded in bringing under control with the help of the new MacMurchada leaders, Art Caomhánach (the elder), who was recognised as the 'MacMurrough' and Dónal Riabhach his heir, who agreed to serve the king against the Leinster Irish.⁹⁷ North Wexford was under continuous pressure during this period: Ferns castle was repeatedly taken and 'destroyed' by the Irish in 1357-8. It was retaken and repaired by the bishop at a cost of £100.⁹⁸ During the same period John Meyler, the sheriff of the county, was allowed £20 for horses and equipment lost in conflict with the Ua Brain of the Duffry.⁹⁹ In 1359 the justiciar defeated a force led by Art in Laois and in 1362, during the campaign of Lionel of Clarence, Art and Dónal were both taken and died in prison.¹⁰⁰ At a parliament summoned by Lionel in Kilkenny in 1366, the laws known as the statutes of Kilkenny were enacted in an effort to preserve English race, law and culture in 'the land of peace'. Many were re-enactments of earlier laws, mostly related to the defence of the colony, and had little real impact. Prohibited activities included the game called 'hurlings, with great clubs at ball upon the ground' which was to be abandoned in favour of 'other gentle games which pertain to arms!'¹⁰¹

The government policy of formally recognising Irish leaders as 'chiefs of their nations' with responsibility for controlling their followers did not guarantee long-term cooperation. Of six MacMurchada leaders killed by English officials between 1354 and 1375, three had been in receipt of a fee from the crown.¹⁰² The choice between rebellion and paid service to the crown was influenced by pragmatic political and practical considerations, possibly exacerbated by friction between the descendants of the two brothers killed by the authorities in 1282. In the mid-1370s, however, the emergence of Art Caomhánach, of Muirchertach's line, as leader of the MacMurchada, signalled the

⁹⁷ See Frame, *Ireland and Britain*, 274-5.

⁹⁸ Hore, *Wexford*, vi, pp. 13-4.

⁹⁹ *Cal. of pipe rolls*, 39 Ed. III, N.A.I., 999/184/18.

¹⁰⁰ *A.F.M.*, iii, p. 623; see Curtis, *Med. Ire.*, p. 228; *Ann. Conn.*, p. 336; Frame, 'Two kings,' p. 165-6.

¹⁰¹ *Statutes and Ordinances and Acts of Parliament of Ireland, King John to Henry V*, (ed.) H.F. Berry (Dublin, 1907) pp. 330-69.

¹⁰² These included Muirchertach in 1354, *Ann. Conn.*, p. 311; Art Caomhánach the elder and Donal Riabhach in 1362, *ibid.*, p. 336; Diarmuid Láimhdhearg and Gearalt in 1369, *ibid.*, *A.F.M.*, iii, p. 644; Donnchadh in 1375, *Ann. Conn.*, p. 345, *A.F.M.*, iv, p. 661.

emergence of a new force in Leinster. The killing of Domhnall Ua Murchada, chief of *Uí Felmeda* (Offelimy) by the *Uí Cheinnselaig* in 1381 may have been related to Art's rise to supremacy.¹⁰³ The emergence of a strong leader of the Leinster Irish resulted in repeated directives to the custodians of the peace, including the bishop of Ferns, the abbot of Dunbrody and the preceptor of the Hospitallers at Ballyhoge, to organise the defence of the county and to have regular musters of men-at-arms. They were also authorised to negotiate and make treaties with the Irish enemies.¹⁰⁴ By 1378 Art was claiming to be 'chief of the Irish of Leinster' and 'king of Leinster' and was in receipt of a fee of 80marks during the 1380s.¹⁰⁵ He also extracted a 'tax', or Black Rent, from communities throughout Leinster. Perhaps guided by the experiences of his predecessors, Art skillfully maintained the delicate balance which allowed him to fulfill conflicting roles: he succeeded in ruling as Gaelic king of Leinster while in receipt of a fee from the crown and contributions from the English settlements in Leinster.¹⁰⁶ The pressure exerted by Art on the colony resulted in a flight from the manors and towns which the authorities attempted to prevent by allowing no one, except merchants, to travel to foreign parts.¹⁰⁷ In 1389, a sessions held at Taghmon for five weeks with 16 men-at-arms and horse 'greatly curbed the malice of the Irish'. Taghmon was described as being 'in the marches', an indication that due to expanding Irish influence, the frontier between English and Irish had moved from the north to the south of the county.¹⁰⁸ This was typical of the general expansion of Irish controlled lands as a result of the fierce Gaelic revival which, at the end of the fourteenth century, threatened the survival of the English colony in Ireland. The time was ripe for a supreme effort to secure the future of the lordship.

The English in Ireland had made repeated requests to the king to come to Ireland to deal with the threat posed by the activities of English and Irish rebels. Because of a truce with France and

¹⁰³ *A.F.M.*, iv, p. 685.

¹⁰⁴ *Cal. pat. and cl. rolls*, p. 99 nos. 275, 277; p. 137, no. 215.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 10, nos. 31-2; p. 105, nos. 92, 104; p. 117, no. 51; p. 131, no. 42.

¹⁰⁶ The town of Castledermot, for example, bought him off with a tribute of 84m (Otway-Ruthven, *Med. Ire.*, p. 324); For a general discussion see Frame, 'Two kings,' pp. 168-75.

¹⁰⁷ Hore, *Wexford*, v, p. 123; Otway-Ruthven, *Med. Ire.*, p. 316.

¹⁰⁸ Hore, *Wexford*, v, p. 419.

temporary peace in Scotland, the political climate allowed Richard II to consider the problems in his Irish lordship where the English had lost ground on every side.¹⁰⁹ The situation had deteriorated to such an extent, in particular from the activities of Art MacMurchada and the Irish of the Leinster mountains, that the king had no option but to intervene in person. Extensive preparations were made for the organisation of a large army and all emigrants were ordered to return to Ireland under pain of forfeiture. Richard landed at Waterford in October 1394 with the largest army to be sent to Ireland in the middle ages, perhaps as many as 8,000 men accompanied by a naval force.¹¹⁰ Art MacMurchada burnt New Ross and withdrew into the woods of the Blackstairs.¹¹¹ By placing a ring of garrisons around this district, the king confined MacMurchada to the woods while establishing control over the rest of Leinster. The king's forces harried MacMurchada and his followers. On one occasion Art narrowly escaped capture in the wood of Leverough in north Wexford: among the items taken was a seal describing him as king of Leinster.¹¹² The size of Richard's army, and the success of his strategy, forced the submission of MacMurchada and most of the other Gaelic leaders. The terms of MacMurchada's submission show that the king planned to create a new English land in Leinster. Art and his followers were to leave Leinster to make war on rebels elsewhere; any lands which they conquered were to be held of the king. In practical terms, this remarkable plan could hardly have been implemented as following the submissions of the Irish leaders there were very few rebels left in Ireland. Richard seems to have been serious about a new plantation, however, as he made a number of new land grants before his departure in May, 1395. To his admiral, Sir John de Beaumont, he granted a vast estate in north-east Wexford consisting of most of the land between the Slaney and the sea. The grant, bounded by the Slaney to the west, the sea to the east and the river Blackwater at Arklow to the north, must have represented the lands controlled by

¹⁰⁹ For a general account see, Curtis, *Med. Ire.*, pp. 263-77; Otway-Ruthven, *Med. Ire.*, pp. 326-38.

¹¹⁰ J. Lydon, 'Richard II's expedition to Ireland,' *R.S.A.I. Jn.*, xciii (1963), 139-41.

¹¹¹ *A.F.M.*, iv, p. 731.

¹¹² Lydon, 'Richard II's expedition', p. 146.

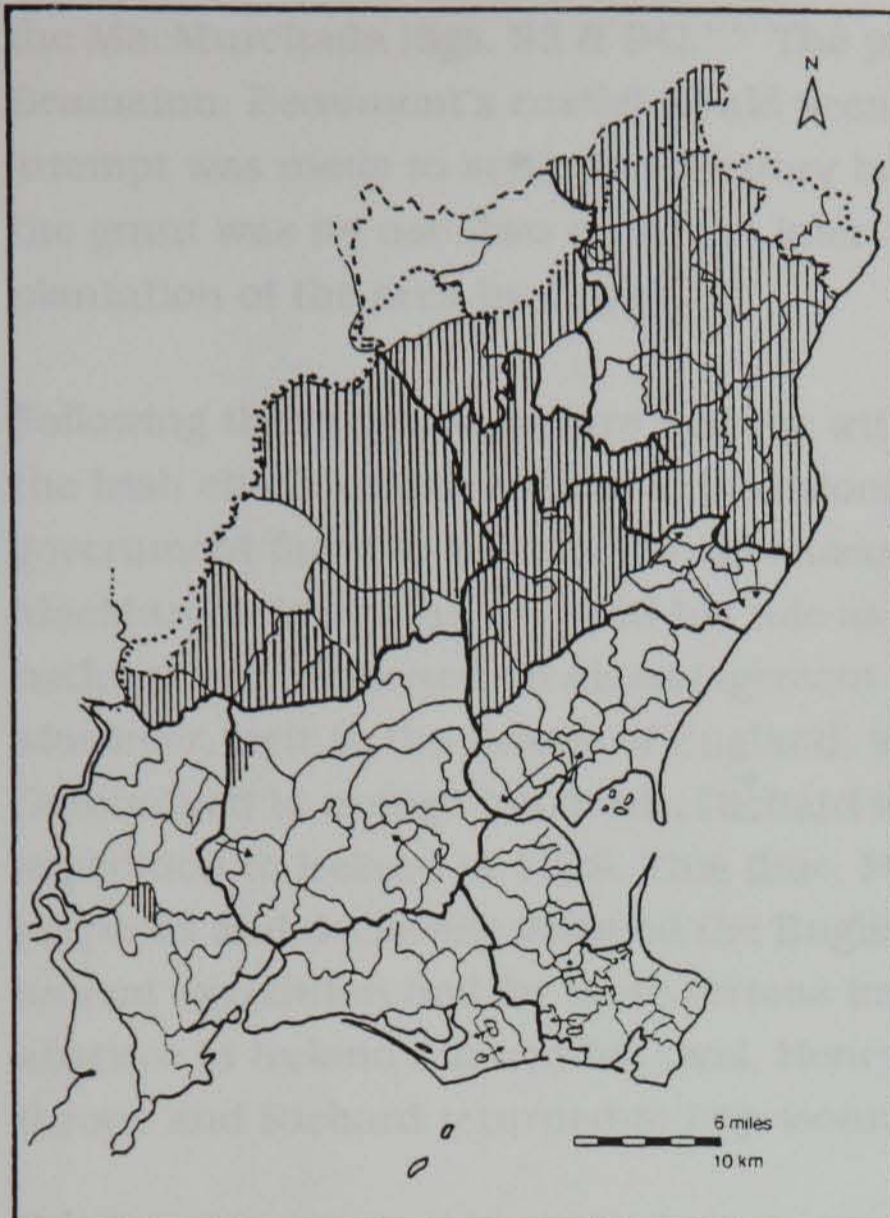


Fig. 93. Manors 'in decay', 1324.

Sources :

Cal. just. rolls, iii, pp. 237, 247.

38th Rep. D.K.I., p. 41.

Cal. close rolls, 18 Ed. ii, p. 363.

Cal. i.p.m., iv, p. 220.

Brooks, *Knights' fees*, *passim*.

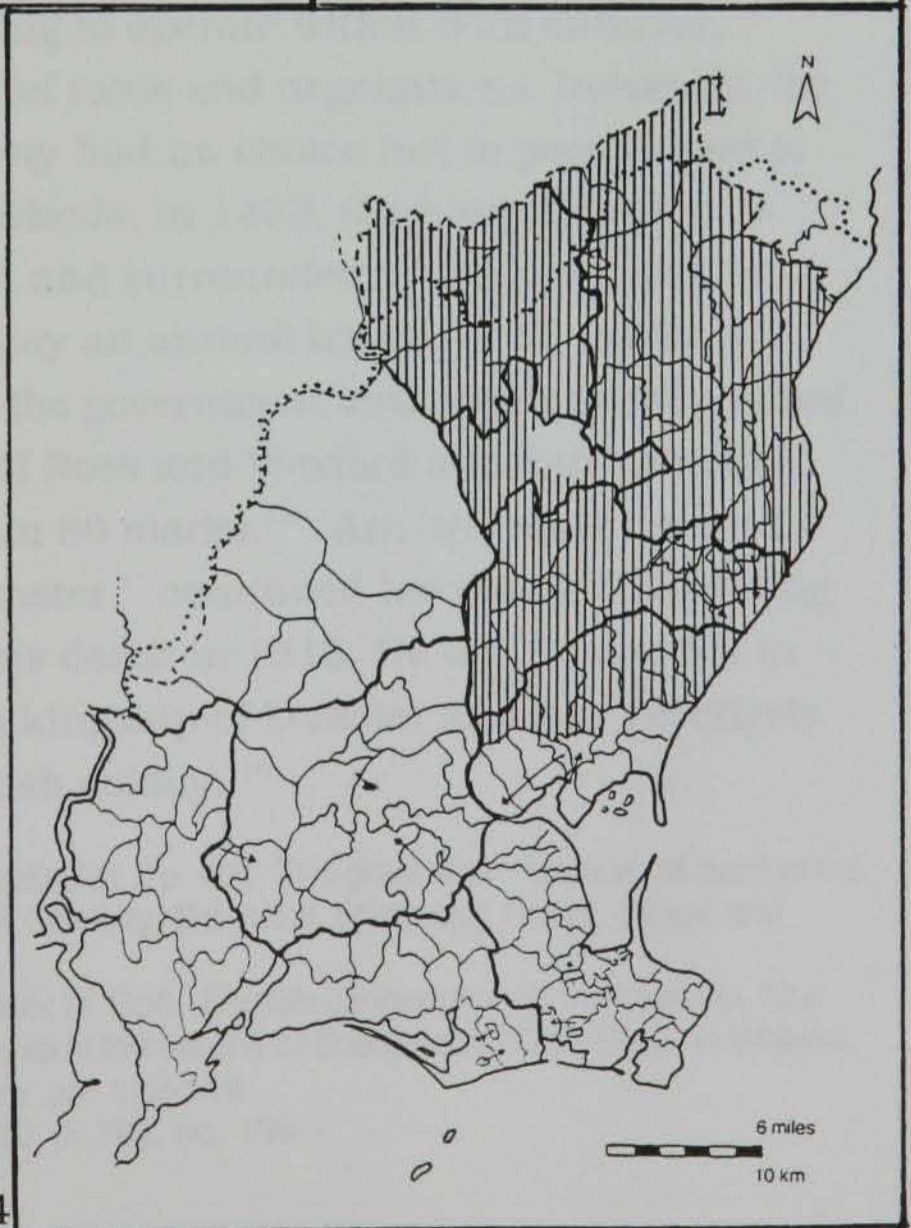
Hore, *Wexford*, vi, *passim*.

Fig. 94. Richard II's grant to Beaumont 1394

Sources :

Cal. pat. and cl. rolls, p. 152.

Pat. rolls Jas. I., p. 401.



the MacMurchada (figs. 93 & 94).¹¹³ The place-name Clobemon (Cloch Beamainn: Beaumont's castle) would seem to indicate that some attempt was made to settle the territory but the real significance of the grant was its use, two centuries later, as a justification for the plantation of the area by James I.¹¹⁴

Following the king's departure and the withdrawal of the garrisons the Irish chiefs renounced the submissions and returned to war. The government failed to honour the agreement made with Art MacMurchada and he resumed his role as king of Leinster as if nothing had happened. In an engagement with the Irish, Roger Mortimer, heir to the throne of England, was killed in county Carlow. Determined to avenge his death, Richard led a second, smaller, expedition to Ireland in 1399. This time, MacMurchada was better prepared and decisively defeated the English army. However, the second expedition had far more serious implications for Richard: his absence in Ireland allowed his rival, Henry of Lancaster, to claim the throne and Richard returned to imprisonment, deposition and death.

Art MacMurchada, continuing to operate within both cultures, resumed his former pattern of raids and negotiations. Ironically, the institutions of colonial society had no choice but to permit, and to some extent legalise, his methods. In 1403, the king allowed New Ross, 'situated in the march and surrounded by Irish enemies,' to trade with the Irish and to pay an annual tribute of 10 marks to MacMurchada and in 1409 the government authorised the seneschal of Wexford, the sovereigns of Ross and Wexford and four principal men of the county to pay him 80 marks.¹¹⁵ Art, 'the most dreaded enemy of the English in Leinster,' continued his policy of operating within both cultures until his death in 1318. He had succeeded in restoring the MacMurchada kingship of Leinster and had effectively destroyed much of the English colony.¹¹⁶

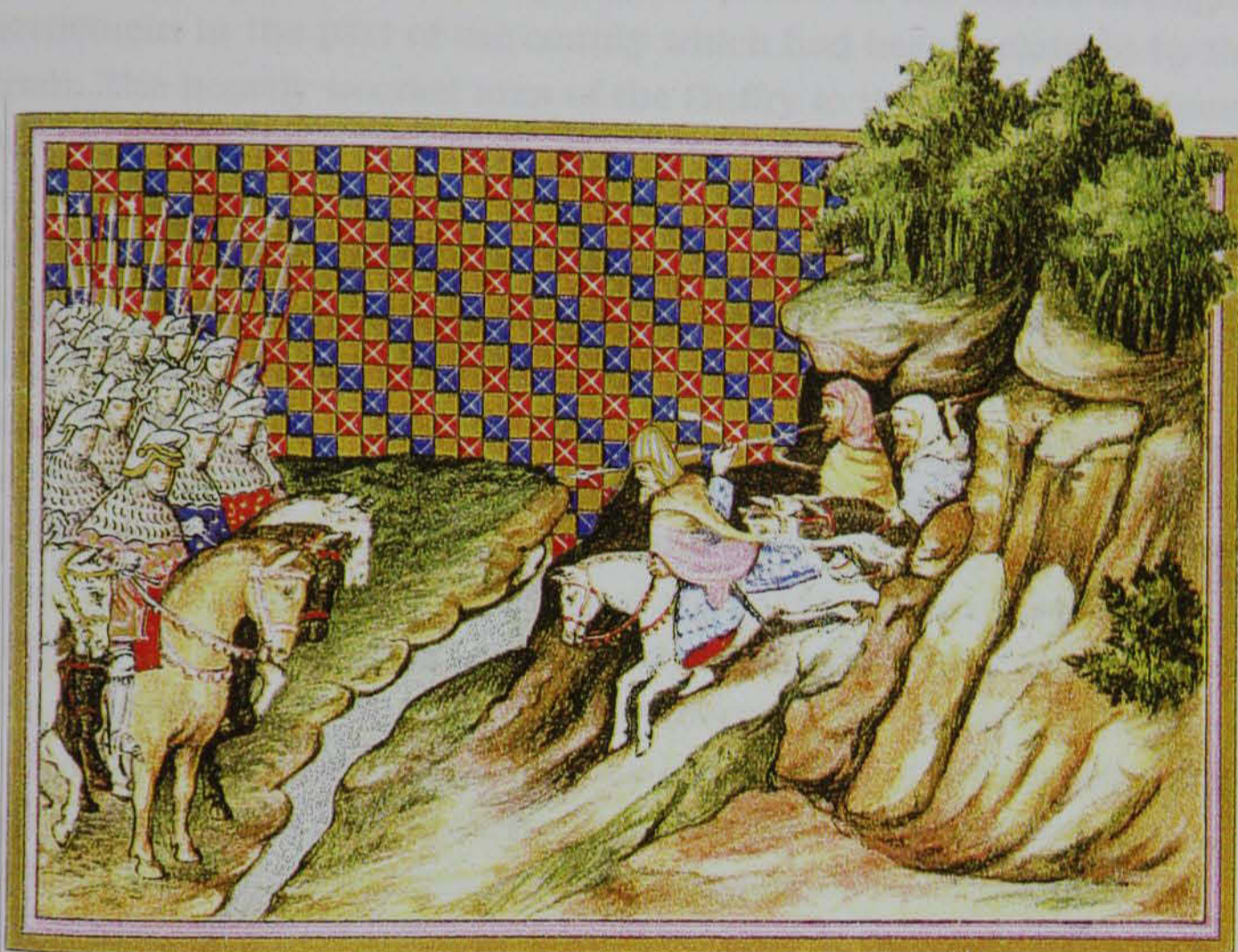
¹¹³ *Cal. pat. and cl. rolls*, p. 152; *Pat. rolls Jas. I*, p. 401. The grant was made up of most of the land of the manors of Fernegenel, Offelimy, Schyrmal, Shillelagh, Gorey, Deeps and Lymalagoughe (?Kynalaon).

¹¹⁴ Nicholls, 'Anglo-French Ire.', p. 395; H. Goff, 'English conquest of an Irish barony. The changing patterns of land ownership in the barony of Scarawalsh 1540-1640,' in Whelan (ed.), *Wexford: history and society*, pp. 122-149.

¹¹⁵ *Cal. pat. and cl. rolls*, p. 169, no. 30, p. 193, no. 158.

¹¹⁶ Curtis, *Med. Ire.*, p. 293;

Fig. 95. Meeting of Art MacMurchada and the earl of Gloucester.



By placing the organised and well-armed colonists on the fertile plain and the impetuous, lightly-armed Irish in the wooded mountains, Jean Creton, a Frenchman who accompanied Richard II on his second visit to Ireland, succeeded in creating a stereotypical image of the two cultures.

Summary and conclusion

The re-grant by Richard II of extensive lands in north Wexford was a landmark event in the history of settlement in county Wexford. Predicated on the removal of the MacMurchada leadership to other parts of Ireland, it was an implicit acceptance of the failure of English settlement in the part of the county which had been reclaimed by the Irish. The heavily wooded area of the Duffry to the west of the Slaney, also in the hands of the Irish, was not included in Beaumont's grant so it is possible that this district was intended as a 'reservation' for the Irish of the county. The extent and success of the English settlement in county Wexford at the end of the fourteenth century differed greatly from the planned colonisation of the entire county which had been envisaged two centuries previously, in the early days of the conquest. Before his death in 1176 Strongbow had made several grants in the north of the region: *Magh dá Chonn* (Moyacomb) in the cantred of Shillelagh formed part of a grant of four knights' fees to William de Angulo and Kinelaon in the cantred of Oday formed part of Strongbow's grant to Maurice de Prendergast. The lands held from the crown by Maurice FitzGerald on the coast south of Arklow, although included in the modern county, were not part of the medieval liberty.¹¹⁷ Strongbow's grant of the 'kingdom of *Uí Cheinnselaig*' to Muirchertach MacMurchada must have been accommodated within the pattern of feudal manors which was imposed on the county.¹¹⁸ It is likely that Murtough's territory was confined to the wooded, hilly area in the cantred of Shillelagh, north of Ferns, which subsequently formed part of the MacMurchada heartland for several centuries.

Although available evidence indicates that the initial intention was to sub-infeudate practically all of the area represented by the modern county, there were wide variations in the implementation of that policy. The contrasting development of settlement in the northern and southern parts of the county provided the most dramatic example of diversity. In the more secure, low-lying region, approximately south of Enniscorthy with an extension up the east coast, where access to ports was relatively easy, settlement was implemented on a

¹¹⁷ *Orm. deeds*, i, no. 2; Brooks, *Knights' fees*, pp. 129-31; 159, 240.

¹¹⁸ *Song*, II, 2185-90.

comprehensive scale. In the hilly, wooded, district to the north-west, closer to the Irish of the Leinster mountains, settlement was never more than speculative. Although an attempt was made to settle the north-western district, it remained march land; the line of principal mottes and stone castles stretching diagonally from Ross to Ferns and up the east coast to Arklow castle show that this was the real frontier area. The distribution of later thirteenth-century moated sites follow a similar orientation.

The success or failure of Anglo-Norman settlement can be linked to a number of factors. The failure of the newcomers to impose complete military domination over the native Irish had obvious long-term implications. Strategic considerations related to location and topography were also of fundamental significance. The status and ability of the fief holder was an essential component as principal magnates could retain the most desirable lands for their own use. In Wexford, the successful colonisation of the southern cantreds was organised by William Marshal, lord of Leinster: however, the settlement of the manor of Ferns, also in his hands, ultimately failed because of its exposed location. Political events in both Britain and Ireland, beyond the control of the settlers, impacted fundamentally on the progress of the colony. The institutional demands of the feudal system could also have a weakening effect: following the death of the last Marshal heir without issue, the inevitable partition of Leinster in 1247 initiated a process which led to the gradual disintegration of the lordship. By the early fourteenth century, the English settlement in county Wexford, weakened by internal conflict, was under severe pressure from the resurgent Irish. The disruptive impact of the Bruce invasion and contemporary famine in the early part of the century, followed by the devastating Black Death in mid-century, helped to determine the ultimate extent of the colony in Wexford.

By the end of the fourteenth century, the north of the county had been abandoned by the settler community and was controlled by the Irish. The beginning of this process can be traced back to the early part of the century: a distribution map of decayed manors in 1324 shows a close correlation with the abandoned manors regranted by Richard II seventy years later. The colony in the southern English

cantreds of Forth, Bargy, and part of Shelmalier, was relatively secure, protected by the natural defences of Forth Mountain and the Corrock river. The frontier, originally across the centre of the county, had moved south to the vicinity of Ross and Taghmon.¹¹⁹ The retreat to the south was epitomised by the bishop's abandonment of Ferns for the security of Ross and Fethard.¹²⁰ Official directives issued in the fifteenth century acknowledged that the southern baronies of Forth and Bargy were functioning as a second Pale.¹²¹ In 1429, a subsidy was issued to anyone who built a tower or castle within the Dublin Pale¹²² and this policy was extended to county Wexford in 1441 when an Act of Parliament was passed for 'building towers upon the waters or river of Taghmon in the county of Wexford.' The 'waters' referred to were the river Corrock, flowing into Bannow Bay and a small river, or pill, flowing into the Slaney at Polehore. The rivers were also to be dammed so that by deepening the water a greater obstruction would be created. A further order was issued in 1453 that 'none shall break the fortifications of Taghmon in county Wexford nor shall make no ways on the same water from the wood of Bannow to the pill adjoining the river Slaney'.¹²³ The defences were further strengthened by the construction of up to fourteen tower houses along the line of the rivers (fig. 96)).¹²⁴

The contrasting development of the colony in the north and south of the county led to the creation of a characteristic administrative and settlement landscape in both areas. This distinctiveness was expressed in a variety of ways. The granting of much larger estates to attract settlers to the dangerous march lands of the north led to a dramatic difference in the creation of ecclesiastical administrative divisions. The large parishes of the north and north-west, created by a small, scattered population on large manors are in marked contrast to the complex of diminutive, sometimes fragmented parishes, created by

¹¹⁹ The fluctuating frontier is discussed in J. Lydon, 'The problem of the frontier in medieval Ireland,' *Topic*, xiii (Washington, 1967), pp. 5-22.

¹²⁰ See above p. 174.

¹²¹ Nicholls, 'Anglo-French Ire.,' p. 401.

¹²² Leask, *Irish castles*, p. 76.

¹²³ Hore, *Wexford*, v, p. 412-3.

¹²⁴ The distribution map of tower houses is based on available documentary and cartographic evidence, most of which has been collated in Jeffrey, *Wexford castles*, passim.

Fig. 96. The Wexford Pale (15th-16th centuries)

Sources :
 Hore, *Wexford*, v, p. 412-3.
 Jeffry, *Wexford castles*, *passim*.

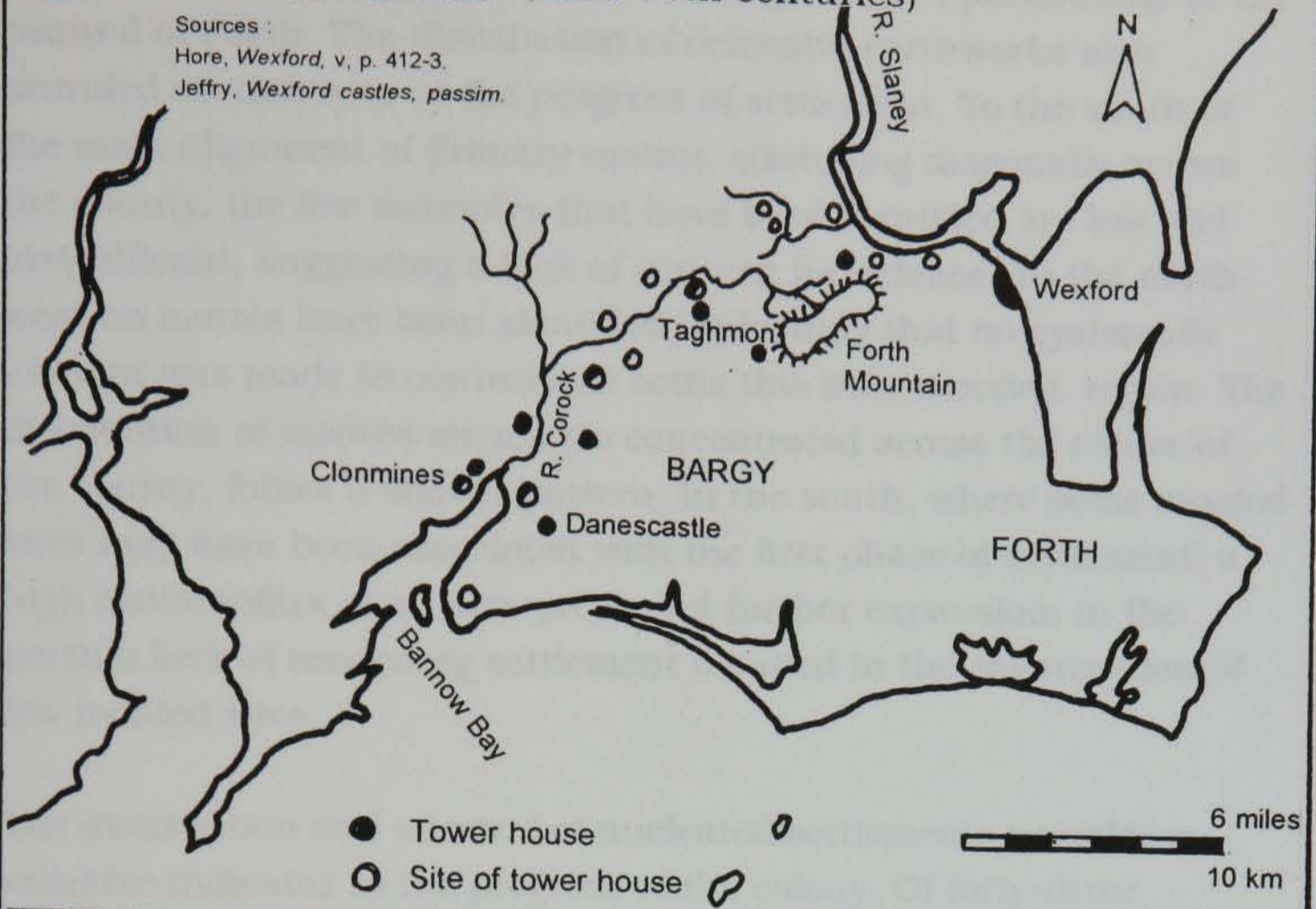
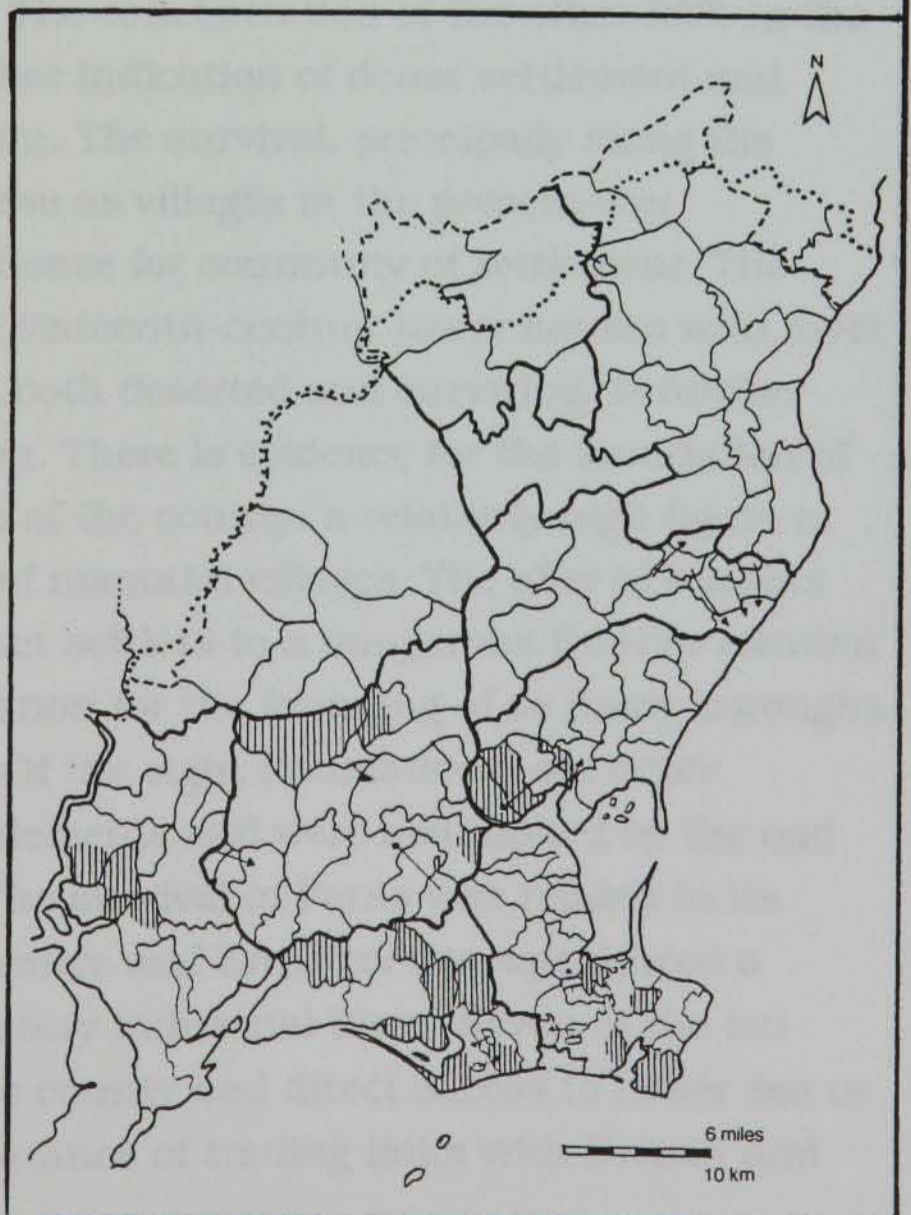


Fig. 97. Lands in the possession of the same families 1247 and 1640.

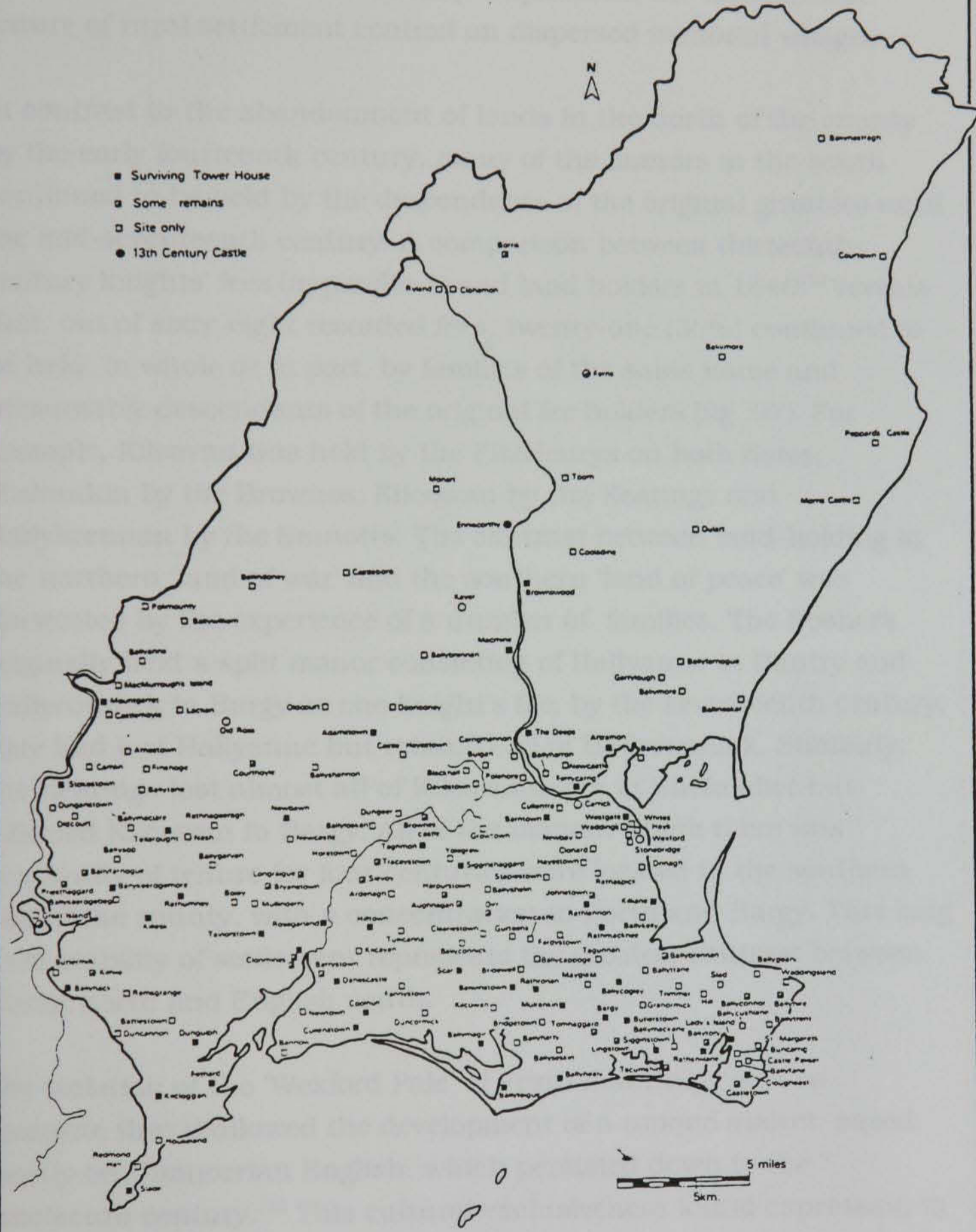
Sources :
Cal. patent rolls, 1364-7 pp. 271.
Civil survey, *passim*.



the small, densely populated, manors in the south, particularly in the cantred of Forth. The distribution of defensive earthworks also provided an indicator of the progress of settlement. To the south of the main alignment of primary mottes, stretching diagonally across the county, the few examples that have been identified are low and insignificant, suggesting a lack of concern for defence. To the north-west no mottes have been identified, indicating that no systematic attempt was made to control and settle this hilly, wooded, region. The distribution of moated sites, also concentrated across the centre of the county, follow a similar pattern. In the south, where some moated sites may have been associated with the first phase of settlement, a high initial influx of settlers prevented further expansion; in the north a lack of secondary settlement resulted in the construction of few moated sites.

The distribution and survival of nucleated settlements provides a valuable indicator to the progress of the colony. Of forty-three identified manorial villages (fig. 52; appendix 3), six (14%) were located in dispersed locations in the north of the county. Of these only one example survives. The concentration of the other 86% in the southern cantreds is a further indication of dense settlement and smaller manors in this region. The survival, principally along the south coast, of eleven of these as villages in the present-day landscape provides firm evidence for continuity of settlement. The association of fifteenth and sixteenth-century tower houses with most southern manorial villages, both deserted and surviving, is further proof of enduring occupation. There is evidence for the foundation of eight boroughs in the north of the county: a relatively high figure in comparison to the number of manorial villages. The offer of burgess status as a strategy to attract settlers to a dangerous frontier location could be seen as an explanation for the founding of so many boroughs in the north of the county. Of the eight foundations, six never developed as significant settlements and were abandoned by the end of the fourteenth century. The survival of Ferns was related to its status as an ecclesiastical centre and Enniscorthy experienced a revival as a seventeenth-century industrial town. Seven of the ten boroughs in the south of the county had direct access to either sea or river, emphasising the importance of trading links with Britain and

Fig. 98. Distribution of tower houses in county Wexford.



Sources :
 Down survey.
 Civil survey, *passim*.
 Jeffrey, *Wexford castles. passim*.
 Moore, *Archaeological inventory*, pp. 165-87.
 Field work.

the continent. However, even in the well-settled south of the county only four boroughs survived as settlements, two of them, Wexford and Ross, as successful towns. The low survival rate of boroughs in the densely settled south of the county emphasised the fundamental nature of rural settlement centred on dispersed manorial villages.

In contrast to the abandonment of lands in the north of the county by the early fourteenth century, many of the manors in the south continued to be held by the descendants of the original grantees until the mid-seventeenth century. A comparison between thirteenth-century knights' fees (appendix 1) and land holders in 1640¹²⁵ reveals that, out of sixty-eight recorded fees, twenty-one (30%) continued to be held, in whole or in part, by families of the same name and presumably descendants of the original fee holders (fig. 97). For example, Kilcavan was held by the FitzHenrys on both dates; Mulrankin by the Brownes; Kilcowan by the Keatings and Ballybrennan by the Sinnotts. The contrast between land-holding in the northern 'land of war' and the southern 'land of peace' was illustrated by the experience of a number of families. The Boshers originally held a split manor consisting of Ballyanne in Bantry and Ballyconnick in Bargy as one knight's fee: by the seventeenth century, they had lost Ballyanne but retained all of Ballyconnick. Similarly, the Keatings lost almost all of Kilcowanmore in Shelmalier but retained Kilcowan in Bargy. All of the manors where there was continuity of tenure for four centuries were located in the southern half of the county, with a concentration in Forth and Bargy. This long term stability of settlement represents the greatest contrast between Gaelic north and English south.

The isolation of the 'Wexford Pale' of Forth and Bargy was so complete that it allowed the development of a unique dialect, based mostly on Chaucerian English, which persisted down to the nineteenth century.¹²⁶ This cultural exclusiveness found expression in other ways also: the greatest concentration of Old English 'town' place-names in Ireland is found in Forth and Bargy and in the

¹²⁵ *Civil survey*, passim.

¹²⁶ R. Roche, 'Forth and Bargy - a place apart,' in Whelan, (ed.), *Wexford: history and society*, p. 114; D. O'Muirthe & T. Dolan, 'Poole's glossary,' in *The Past*, xiii (1979), pp. 1-69.



Fig. 99. The river Corock north of Taghmon (Cambridge collection)

The meltwater channel (thought to be the pre-Ice-Age course of the Slaney) through which the river Corock flows formed a natural defence for the southWexford Pale.



Fig. 100. Danescastle tower house.

This tower house was typical of the towers built in the fifth century to protect the Wexford Pale.

seventeenth century the region had the highest percentage of families of Old English origin in the country.¹²⁷ Tower houses, built in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries by the descendants of the thirteenth century settlers, provide the most dramatic visual evidence for the contrasting settlement of north and south. Up to 170 of these distinctive buildings existed in the county; about sixty-five survive, in various states of preservation (Fig. 98). The distribution of tower houses, almost completely absent from the Gaelic north, scarce in the central hybrid frontier area and concentrated in the English south, illustrates the three enduring cultural divisions within the county. The concentration is particularly heavy in the Wexford Pale of Forth and Bargy, described in 1598 as 'the most civil part, contained within a river called the Pill, where the most ancientest gentlemen descended of the first conquerors do inhabit.'¹²⁸

The imposition of Anglo-Norman sub-infeudation on Gaelic Ireland introduced a complex society and a wide range of settlement features. The progress of feudal society in county Wexford served as a microcosm for the country as a whole: expansion during the thirteenth century followed by contraction and consolidation within a limited Pale area. The adoption by the colonists of Gaelic land divisions and settlement centres led to their survival as cultural and administrative units, in some instances still in use as part of present-day infrastructure. The manorial system installed by the Anglo-Normans had profound implications for subsequent land-holding patterns. The large ecclesiastical estates established in the south-west of the county, following confiscation by the crown in the sixteenth century, became lay estates which survived until the twentieth century. The manors, particularly in the south, formed the basis of a new estate system following the Cromwellian confiscations of the mid-seventeenth century. The failure of settlement in the north of the county led to the redistribution of the land and the introduction of new owners in the seventeenth century. The survival of earthworks, castles, churches, towns, villages and place-names represent an eloquent record of the Anglo-Norman migration into Wexford that occurred in the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

¹²⁷ Jones-Hughes, 'Town and baile,' p. 247; Smyth, 'Society and settlement,' p. 61.

¹²⁸ Hore, *Wexford*, v, p. 413.

However, the most remarkable testament to the resilience and endurance of the migrants comes from their numerous descendants whose names continue to be prevalent in south county Wexford.

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Appendix 1

Knights' fees in county Wexford

See fig. 32

Sources:

Song, ll., 2744-9; ll. 3040-83; ll. 3114-7.

Cal. pat. rolls, (1364-67), pp. 271-3.

Cal. i.p.m., iv, pp. 306-9; vi, pp. 324-6.

Cal. doc. Ire., v, no. 617.

Cal. just. rolls, ii, pp. 347-50.

Brooks, *Knights' fees*, *passim*.

Appendix 1: Knights' fees in county Wexford

* indicates parishes based on manors

same=same family 1247 and 1640

numbers refer to fig. 31, p. 99

V=Valence fee: B= Bigod fee

Cantred Shelburne 1 Fee holder Keating Name of fee Slievecoilta Value Half fee B Extent 5282 st. ac. c. 17 car. Parish Whitechurch * Earthwork 1640 (C.S.) 4 townlands held by Keatings. same	Cantred Shelburne 7 Fee holder 1. de la Bell; 2. FitzHenry Name of fee Ballykeeroge beg Value Quarter fee V Extent Parish Part of Kilmokea Earthwork 1640 (C.S.) 1 townland held by FitzHenry. same
Cantred Shelburne 2 Fee holder Tullos Name of fee Tullerstown Value Quarter fee B Extent Parish Part of Kinnagh Earthwork Moated site 1640 (C.S.)	Cantred Bargy 8 Fee holder FitzHenry Name of fee Kilcavan* Value One fee B Extent 3204 st. ac. c. 10 car. Parish Kilcavan Earthwork 1640 (C.S.) most of parish held by FitzHenry's. same
Cantred Shelburne 3 Fee holder 1 Russel; 2. Sutton Name of fee Ballybrazil Value Half fee B Extent 2370 st. ac. c. 8 car. Parish Ballybrazil * Earthwork 1640 (C.S.) 4 townlands held by Suttons. same	Cantred Bargy 9 Fee holder Cheevers Name of fee Ballyhealy Value Half fee B Extent 2206 st. ac. c. 7 car. Parish Kilturk * Earthwork 1640 (C.S.) 6 townlands held by Cheevers. same
Cantred Shelburne 4 Fee holder 1. Maunsel; 2. Furlong Name of fee Connagh Value Quarter fee B Extent Parish Part of Fethard Earthwork Moated site 1640 (C.S.)	Cantred Bargy 10 Fee holder Browne Name of fee Mulrankin Value Half fee B Extent 2433 st. ac. c. 8 car. Parish Mulrankin * Earthwork ? Oldhall motte 1640 (C.S.) almost all of parish held by Brownes. same
Cantred Shelburne 5 Fee holder le Lu (Lounde) Name of fee Ballydermot Value Quarter fee B Extent Parish Part of Old Ross Earthwork 1640 (C.S.)	Cantred Bargy 11 Fee holder 1. Hore; 2. le Rede Name of fee Tilladavin Value Half fee B Extent 2180 st. ac. c. 7 car. Parish Tomhaggard * Earthwork 1640 (C.S.)
Cantred Shelburne 6 Fee holder 1. de Pontechardun; 2. Fitzgerald Name of fee Killesk Value Quarter fee V Extent Parish Part of Killesk Earthwork 1640 (C.S.) 3 townlands held by FitzGerald's. same	Cantred Bargy 12 Fee holder Keating Name of fee Kilcowan Value Half fee B Extent 2082 st. ac. c. 7 car. Parish Kilcowan * Earthwork Motte / moated site 1640 (C.S.) almost all of parish held by Keatings. same

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 numbers refer to fig. 31, p. 99
 V=Valence fee: B= Bigod fee

<p>Cantred Bargy 13 Fee holder 1. de Heddon; 2. Devereux Name of fee Ballymagir Value Two fees (with Adamstown) V Extent 1953 st. ac. c. 6 car. Parish Ballymagir * Earthwork Moated site 1640 (C.S.) all of B'magir held by Devereux. same</p>	<p>Cantred Forth 19 Fee holder 1. de Owemell; 2. St. John's, Kilkenny Name of fee Ballygarvey & Trimmer Value Half fee V Extent Parish Part of Kilscoran Earthwork 1640 (C.S.)</p>
<p>Cantred Bargy 14 Fee holder de London Name of fee Duncormick Value Three fees (with Rosegarland) V Extent 5710 st. ac. c. 19 car. Parish Duncormick * Earthwork Motte 1640 (C.S.)</p>	<p>Cantred Forth 20 Fee holder 1. Purcell; 2. Maunsel Name of fee Ballyfistlane (? Ballycushlane) Value Quarter fee V Extent 597 st. ac. c. 2 car. Parish Lady's Island * Earthwork 1640 (C.S.)</p>
<p>Cantred Bargy 15 Fee holder Ambrois Name of fee Ambrosetown Value One fee V Extent 2197 st. ac. c. 7 car. Parish Ambrosetown * Earthwork 1640 (C.S.)</p>	<p>Cantred Forth 21 Fee holder 1. de Akevill; 2. Stafford Name of fee Ballymacane Value Half fee V Extent Parish Part of Tacumshin Earthwork 1640 (C.S.)</p>
<p>Cantred Bargy 16 Fee holder Boscher Name of fee Ballyconnick Value One fee (with Ballyanne) V Extent 1610 st. ac. c. 5 car. Parish Ballyconnick * Earthwork 1640 (C.S.) parish of B'connick held by Bushers. same</p>	<p>Cantred Forth 22 Fee holder 1. Not; 2. Codd Name of fee Ballyell Value Quarter fee Extent Parish Part of Kilscoran Earthwork 1640 (C.S.) 1 townland held by Codds. same</p>
<p>Cantred Bargy 17 Fee holder Whitty Name of fee Ballyteigue Value Half fee V Extent 4233 st. ac. c. 14 car. Parish Kilmore* Earthwork 1640 (C.S.) 4 townlands held by Whittys. same</p>	<p>Cantred Forth 23 Fee holder Sinnott Name of fee Ballybrennan Value Quarter fee V Extent 1041 st. ac. c. 3 car. Parish Ballybrennan * Earthwork 1640 (C.S.) All parish held by Sinnotts. same</p>
<p>Cantred Forth 18 Fee holder Kernet Name of fee Ballyregan Value Quarter fee V Extent Parish Part of Ballymore Earthwork 1640 (C.S.)</p>	<p>Cantred Forth 24 Fee holder 1. Codd; 2. Lamport Name of fee Ballywitch (Ballyhire) Value Quarter fee V Extent 670 st. ac. c. 2 car. Parish St. Helen's * Earthwork 1640 (C.S.) All parish held by Lamports. same</p>

Appendix 1: Knights' fees in county Wexford

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same=same family 1247 and 1640

numbers refer to fig. 31, p. 99

V=Valence fee: B= Bigod fee

Cantred Forth 25 Fee holder French Name of fee Ballytory Value Quarter fee V Extent Parish Part of Tacumshin Earthwork 1640 (C.S.) 2 townlands held by Frenches. same	Cantred Shelmalier 31 Fee holder Howell Name of fee Carrigbyrne Value Half fee V Extent Parish Part of Newbawn Earthwork 1640 (C.S.)
Cantred Forth 26 Fee holder Codd Name of fee Carne Value Half fee V Extent 1963 st. ac.; c. 6 car. Parish Carne * Earthwork 1640 (C.S.) 5 townlands held by Codds. same	Cantred Shelmalier 32 Fee holder de London Name of fee Rosegarland Value Three fees (with Duncormick) V Extent Parish Three parishes Earthwork Newcastle motte 1640 (C.S.)
Cantred Forth 27 Fee holder 1. de Norath; 2. Sinnott Name of fee Ballydusker Value Quarter fee V Extent 1283 st. ac.; c. 4 car. Parish Killinick * Earthwork 1640 (C.S.) 2 townlands held by Sinnotts. same	Cantred Shelmalier 33 Fee holder Keating Name of fee Kilcowanmore Value Half fee V Extent 2760 st. ac.; c. 9 car. Parish Kilcowanmore * Earthwork 1640 (C.S.) 1 townland held by Keatings. same
Cantred Shelmalier 28 Fee holder de Denne Name of fee Kayer Value Three fees B Extent Parish Five parishes Earthwork Dunanore ringwork 1640 (C.S.)	Cantred Shelmalier 34 Fee holder 1. le Lu; 2. Hay Name of fee Balyen (?Ballyhine) Value Half fee V Extent Parish Part of Kilbrideglynn Earthwork 1640 (C.S.) 1 t'd held by Hay. same
Cantred Shelmalier 29 Fee holder 1. de Heddon; 2. Devereux Name of fee Magharnaidhe (Adamstown) Value Two fees (with Ballymagir) V Extent 8133 st. ac.; c. 27 car. Parish Adamstown* Earthwork 1640 (C.S.) most of parish held by Devereux. same	Cantred Shelmalier 35 Fee holder FitzHenry Name of fee Mackmine Value One fee V Extent Parish Part of Clonmore Earthwork 1640 (C.S.)
Cantred Shelmalier 30 Fee holder Roche Name of fee Doonooney (with Ballyvaldon) Value Half fee B Extent 1081 st. ac.; c. 3 car. Parish Doonooney * Earthwork Motte 1640 (C.S.)	Cantred Fernegenel 36 Fee holder 1. Prendergast; 2. Roche Name of fee Fernegenel Value Five fees V Extent Parish 12 parishes Earthwork Castlesow & Toberfinick ringworks 1640 (C.S.) 2 parishes held by Roches. same

Appendix 1: Knights' fees in county Wexford

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<p>Cantred Fernegenel 37 Fee holder Roche Name of fee Baldwinstown Value Half fee (with Doonooney) B Extent 3911 st. ac.; c. 13 car. Parish Ballyvaldon * Earthwork Ballingowan motte 1640 (C.S.)</p>	<p>Cantred Oday 43 Fee holder 1. le Gros; 2. de Caunteton Name of fee Glascarrig Value One fee B Extent 7477 st. ac.; c. 25 car. Parish Donaghmore * Earthwork Glascarrig motte 1640 (C.S.)</p>
<p>Cantred Schyrmal (Aymellach)38 Fee holder 1. Prendergast; 2. Roches c. 1300 Name of fee Schyrmal(Aymellach) Value Two + half fees (with Kynelaon) V Extent Parish Five parishes Earthwork Motabeg motte 1640 (C.S.)</p>	<p>Cantred Oday 44 Fee holder Bloet Name of fee Kilcorky Value One- fifth fee B Extent Parish Part of Monamolin Earthwork 1640 (C.S.)</p>
<p>Cantred Schyrmal(Aymellach) 39 Fee holder de Borrard Name of fee Offelimy & Kilmuckridge Value Two fees B Extent Parish Four parishes Earthwork Kilmuckridge motte 1640 (C.S.)</p>	<p>Cantred Oday 45 Fee holder Neville Name of fee Gorey Value One-eighth fee V Extent Parish Part of Kilmakilloge Earthwork 1640 (C.S.)</p>
<p>Cantred Duffry 40 Fee holder 1.de Quency;2.Prenderg. 3.Rochfort Name of fee Duffry Value Five fees V Extent Parish Five parishes Earthwork Killegney motte 1640 (C.S.)</p>	<p>Cantred Oday 46 Fee holder Neville Name of fee Ballycanew Value Quarter fee V Extent 3627 st. ac.; c. 12 car. Parish Ballycanew * Earthwork 1640 (C.S.)</p>
<p>Cantred ?Duffry 41 Fee holder Boscher Name of fee Ballyanne Value One fee (with Ballyconnick) V Extent 4577 st. ac.; c. 15 car. Parish Ballyanne * Earthwork moated site 1640 (C.S.)</p>	<p>Cantred Oday 47 Fee holder Avenal Name of fee Liskinfere Value Quarter fee V Extent 5386 st. ac.; c. 18 car. Parish Liskinfere * Earthwork 1640 (C.S.)</p>
<p>Cantred Oday 42 Fee holder 1. Prendergast; 2. Roche Name of fee Kynelaon Value Two+half fees (with Schyrmal) V Extent Parish Three parishes Earthwork Pallis motte 1640 (C.S.)</p>	<p>Cantred Oday 48 Fee holder de Katenore Name of fee Torkil Value One-twentieth fee V Extent Parish Part of Kilcavan Earthwork 1640 (C.S.)</p>

Appendix 1: Knights' fees in county Wexford

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<p>Cantred Oday 49 Fee holder de Valle Name of fee Ballicarnall Value Half fee V Extent 15360 st. ac.; c. 51 car. Parish Kilnahue * Earthwork 1640 (C.S.)</p>	<p>Cantred Duffry 55 Fee holder de Denne Name of fee Ballymascoly (Ballymackasy) Value one fee; secondary; held of Roches Extent 3588 st. ac.; c. 12 car. Parish Chapel * Earthwork 1640 (C.S.)</p>
<p>Cantred Shillelagh 50 Fee holder 1. de Kernet; 2. Levet Name of fee Kilcony Value Half fee B Extent Parish Kilcomb * Earthwork 1640 (C.S.)</p>	<p>Cantred Not known 56 Fee holder Belet Name of fee Ballyinchy Value quarter fee B Extent Parish not known Earthwork 1640 (C.S.)</p>
<p>Cantred Shillelagh 51 Fee holder de Samford Name of fee Machrem Value Quarter fee V Extent Parish Part of Carnew Earthwork 1640 (C.S.)</p>	<p>Cantred Not known 57 Fee holder de Camera Name of fee Ballicoan Value One-tenth fee B Extent Parish not known Earthwork 1640 (C.S.)</p>
<p>Cantred Duffry 52 Fee holder de Denne Name of fee Rosdroit Value One fee. secondary. held of Roches Extent 8166 st. ac.; c. 27 car. Parish Rosdroit * Earthwork 1640 (C.S.)</p>	<p>Cantred Not known 58 Fee holder 1. de Hida 2. Wythe Name of fee Lisbegge Value ? Extent Parish not known Earthwork 1640 (C.S.)</p>
<p>Cantred Oday 53 Fee holder Barry Name of fee Crosspatrick & Ardamine Value one fee. secondary; held of Prendergasts Extent 4216 st. ac.; c. 14 car. Parish Crosspatrick * & Ardamine * Earthwork ? Loggan Motte; Ardamine motte 1640 (C.S.)</p>	<p>Cantred Not known 59 Fee holder le Waleis Name of fee Ballyrankin Value Quarter fee B Extent Parish not known Earthwork 1640 (C.S.)</p>
<p>Cantred Shelmalier 54 Fee holder de London Name of fee Newbawn Value One fee; secondary, held of Devereux Extent Parish Part of Newbawn Earthwork Moated sites 1640 (C.S.)</p>	<p>Cantred Not known 60 Fee holder Galgel Name of fee Ballycally Value One-tenth fee B Extent Parish Not known Earthwork 1640 (C.S.)</p>

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<p>Cantred Not known 61 Fee holder 1. Pincerna; 2. de Botiller Name of fee Ballirodain Value Quarter fee V Extent Parish not known Earthwork 1640 (C.S.)</p>	<p>Cantred Not known 67 Fee holder de Herdescot Name of fee Monyharly Value quarter fee Extent Parish not known Earthwork 1640 (C.S.)</p>
<p>Cantred Not known 62 Fee holder Stafford Name of fee Killagh Value quarter fee V Extent Parish not known Earthwork 1640 (C.S.)</p>	<p>Cantred Not known 68 Fee holder le Petit Name of fee Ballytally Value Half fee B Extent Parish not known Earthwork 1640 (C.S.)</p>
<p>Cantred Not known 63 Fee holder de Prendergast Name of fee Ballichery Value Half fee V Extent Parish not known Earthwork 1640 (C.S.)</p>	
<p>Cantred Not known 64 Fee holder de Intteberg Name of fee Rathouan Value one-eight fee V Extent Parish not known Earthwork 1640 (C.S.)</p>	
<p>Cantred not known ? Oday 65 Fee holder de Cantiton Name of fee Moyamy Value Quarter fee V Extent Parish not known Earthwork 1640 (C.S.)</p>	
<p>Cantred Not known 66 Fee holder Slymack Name of fee Ballyforken Value One-twentieth fee. V Extent Parish not known Earthwork 1640 (C.S.)</p>	

Appendix 2

Surnames and origins of settlers recorded in county Wexford 1169-1324.

See fig. 49, p. 142; fig. 50, p. 144; fig. 51, p. 146.

Sources:

Expugnatio, passim.

Song, passim.

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Tintern Abbey charter (Hore, *Wexford*, ii, p. 16).

Cal. pat. rolls, (1364-7), pp. 271-3.

Cal. i.p.m., iv, pp. 306-9; vi, pp. 324-6.

Cal. doc. Ire., v, no. 617.

Cal. just. rolls, ii, pp. 347-50 and *passim.*

Bigod's ministers' accounts (Hore, *Wexford*, i, pp. 9-39; 142-63; iii, pp. 199-218).

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Appendix 2

Surnames and origins of settlers recorded in county Wexford 1169-1324

E = England; F = France; W = Wales

one = one known place of origin

see fig. 49, p. 142; fig. 50, p. 144; fig. 51, p. 146.

Surname origin category meaning distribution	Carew ? toponymW Wales one	Surname origin category meaning distribution	Nott English descriptive cropped head Som., Staff.
Surname origin category meaning distribution	FitzGerald ? patronym Pembroke one	Surname origin category meaning distribution	Barry French / Norm. environ. dweller at the rampart Wales, Suff., Suss. one
Surname origin category meaning distribution	Roche (FitzGodebert / de Rupe) Welsh also Som., Corn., Suss. environmental dweller at the rock Pembroke one	Surname origin category meaning distribution	de Quency French toponymF Oxf., Lon.
Surname origin category meaning distribution	FitzHenry ? patronym Pembroke one	Surname origin category meaning distribution	de Boisrohard French toponymF Bucks. one
Surname origin category meaning distribution	le Gros French descriptive fat. big Pembroke one	Surname origin category meaning distribution	Browne French / English descriptive brown Nthampton, Suff., Shrops., Suss., Warws.
Surname origin category meaning distribution	Cantitun ? toponymW ?Canton, Glam. one Glam. one	Surname origin category meaning distribution	Keating ?Katin English patronym from Cyta (Kite) Warw.
Surname origin category meaning distribution	de Montmorency French toponymF Sussex one	Surname origin category meaning distribution	Hay French toponymF Suss., Hayscastle Pembroke, one
Surname origin category meaning distribution	Pettit French descriptive small Ess., Hamps.	Surname origin category meaning distribution	Avenal German Shrops., Ess., Yorks., Oxfords., Herefs.
Surname origin category meaning distribution	de Poer French descriptive / generic a Picard Suff., Glos., Lon.	Surname origin category meaning distribution	Russel French descriptive red Dors., Som., Suff.
Surname origin category meaning distribution	de Prendergast ? Flemish (Welsh- Reaney) toponymW taker of poor land Pembroke one wales	Surname origin category meaning distribution	Codd English descriptive / occupation bag maker ? Dev., Lon. one

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Surnames and origins of settlers recorded in county Wexford 1169-1324

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see fig. 49, p. 142; fig. 50, p. 144; fig. 51, p. 146.

Surname origin category meaning distribution	Mansel French occupation worker in manse Hersfs., Hamps.	Surname origin category meaning distribution	of York ? ToponymE york. one
Surname origin category meaning distribution	Bloet French descriptive blueish Som., Hamps. Striguil one	Surname origin category meaning distribution	Sutton ? toponymW Camb., Lincs., Kent, Suff., Som., Pemb. one
Surname origin category meaning distribution	de London ? toponymE Kent, Carm. one Wales	Surname origin category meaning distribution	Howel Welsh one wales
Surname origin category meaning distribution	de Leicester ? toponymE Leic. one	Surname origin category meaning distribution	de Bosco / Boscher French (Boscherton, Pemb.) occupation wood-man Dors., Warw. Wales one Pembroke
Surname origin category meaning distribution	de Dene English Suss., Kent	Surname origin category meaning distribution	de Tuluse French ToponymF
Surname origin category meaning distribution	Belet French descriptive ?beautiful Suff., Dors.	Surname origin category meaning distribution	Hore / le Chanu English descriptive white-headed Staff., Suff., Worc., Suss., Dev.
Surname origin category meaning distribution	Purcell French descriptive 'little pig' Staff., Leic.	Surname origin category meaning distribution	de Sotwell ?
Surname origin category meaning distribution	Cheevers French descriptive goat Suss., Lincs.	Surname origin category meaning distribution	Ace French Hamps., Lon., Suss.
Surname origin category meaning distribution	de St. John French toponymF	Surname origin category meaning distribution	Lowelinus ?
Surname origin category meaning distribution	de Valle French ToponymF Warw., York, Norf., Pembroke one wales	Surname origin category meaning distribution	Reymund ?

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Surnames and origins of settlers recorded in county Wexford 1169-1324

E = England; F = France; W = Wales

one = one known place of origin

see fig. 49, p. 142; fig. 50, p. 144; fig. 51, p. 146.

Surname	de Hyda	Surname	de Heddon
origin	English	origin	?
category	occupation	category	toponymE Haydon
meaning	holder of a hide of land	meaning	
distribution	Dor., Suss., Worc.	distribution	Dor., Som., Wilts., Camb., Norf., Nthumb.
Surname	Christopher	Surname	de Owemell
origin	?	origin	?
category		category	
meaning		meaning	
distribution		distribution	
Surname	Huscard / ?Hosker	Surname	Whitty
origin	English	origin	English
category	descriptive	category	descriptive
meaning	god-spear	meaning	white eye / wise man
distribution	Bedf., Rutl.	distribution	Oxf., Lincs., Suss.
Surname	le Botiller	Surname	de Akeville
origin	French	origin	?
category	occupation	category	
meaning	servant in charge of wine	meaning	
distribution	Hunt., Kent, Worcs.	distribution	
Surname	Ambrose	Surname	de Stafford
origin	French	origin	?
category	descriptive	category	ToponymE environ.
meaning	divine	meaning	dweller by the ford marked with staves
distribution	Norf., Suss.	distribution	Staff., Dor., one (Staff.)
Surname	de Lu	Surname	Nott
origin	French	origin	English
category	descriptive	category	descriptive
meaning	wolf	meaning	cropped head
distribution	Glos., Dev., Worc.	distribution	Som., Staff.
Surname	de Camera / Chaumbre	Surname	Sinnott
origin	English / French	origin	English
category	occupation	category	descriptive
meaning	chamber attendant	meaning	victory-bold
distribution	Dby, ess.	distribution	Suff., Staff., Herts., Camb.,
Surname	le Waleys	Surname	de Sancto Dionisio
origin	welsh	origin	?
category	toponymic / generic	category	
meaning	from wales	meaning	
distribution	one	distribution	
Surname	Galgefel / Galgel	Surname	de Sandford
origin	?	origin	?
category		category	toponymE
meaning		meaning	
distribution		distribution	Dev., Som., Dor., Berks., Ess., Oxf., Westm.
Surname	de Kernet	Surname	Neville
origin	?	origin	French
category		category	ToponymF
meaning		meaning	Newtown
distribution		distribution	War., Wales, Lon., wilts

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Surnames and origins of settlers recorded in county Wexford 1169-1324

E = England; F = France; W = Wales

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see fig. 49, p. 142; fig. 50, p. 144; fig. 51, p. 146.

Surname origin category meaning distribution	de Norath ? 	Surname origin category meaning distribution	Wyche / White English descriptive white Suff., Som., Hamps., Dev.
Surname origin category meaning distribution	de Ponte Chardun French ToponymF / Norm. Dev. / one	Surname origin category meaning distribution	le Rede English descriptive red Dev., Glos., Lancs.
Surname origin category meaning distribution	de Inteberg ? 	Surname origin category meaning distribution	de Lyvet French ToponymE Glos., Suff., Norf., Hunt.
Surname origin category meaning distribution	Everard German Linc., Camb., Bed., Leic.	Surname origin category meaning distribution	de Wellesley ? toponymE Som. one
Surname origin category meaning distribution	de la Bell French descriptive beautiful Staff., Hunts.	Surname origin category meaning distribution	Devereux French ToponymF Evreux, Norm. Heref., one (Smith. Col.&Front.) p. 36
Surname origin category meaning distribution	le Engles descriptive / generic England	Surname origin category meaning distribution	Lampton from Rosayin in Norm. French / Flanders Lamb. of Hersfeld occupation (Germ.) 'lamb herd' Norf., (DB), Yorks., Lon., Worc., Hamp., Suff.
Surname origin category meaning distribution	Slymath (mach) ? 	Surname origin category meaning distribution	de Rupi Forti / Rochford French ToponymF ToponymE (in Poitou) Rochford in Ess., & Worc. (placename)
Surname origin category meaning distribution	de Herdescote ? 	Surname origin category meaning distribution	Franceys English descriptive / generic Frenchman Wilts., Staff.
Surname origin category meaning distribution	de Catenore ? Som.	Surname origin category meaning distribution	de Cogan ? ToponymW Glam. one
Surname origin category meaning distribution	Furlong English Furrow long Dev., suff.	Surname origin category meaning distribution	de Doveont ?

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Surnames and origins of settlers recorded in county Wexford 1169-1324

E = England; F = France; W = Wales

one = one known place of origin

see fig. 49, p. 142; fig. 50, p. 144; fig. 51, p. 146.

Surname origin category meaning distribution	de Mariscis ? 	Surname origin category meaning distribution	de Villars French - Norm. toponymF Yorks., Suss., Dors.
Surname origin category meaning distribution	de Angulo / Corner English / french environmental dweller in a nook Glos., Worc.	Surname origin category meaning distribution	Martyn English Hamps., Camb.
Surname origin category meaning distribution	Christopher ? name Hants., Warw., Lon.	Surname origin category meaning distribution	House English Oxf., Suff., Hunts.
Surname origin category meaning distribution	Boddynham ? 	Surname origin category meaning distribution	de Arderne ?
Surname origin category meaning distribution	Cosyn French descriptive kinsman Camb., Linc., Norf., Suff.	Surname origin category meaning distribution	Pers / Pierce French Peter Lon., Ess., worc.
Surname origin category meaning distribution	Tryllauch ? ToponymE - Trellech Glos. one	Surname origin category meaning distribution	Coul Norse Yorks., Norf., Worc.
Surname origin category meaning distribution	Ocle ? toponymE Ogle, Nthumb. one	Surname origin category meaning distribution	le Harpur English / French occupation harper Hamps., worc.
Surname origin category meaning distribution	le Blund French descriptive blond Dev., Leic., Som.	Surname origin category meaning distribution	le Mareschall French occupation horse tender Linc., suff., Worc.
Surname origin category meaning distribution	de Lount Norse ToponymE ?dweller by the grove Placename Lancs., Suff., Norf., York., Lincs	Surname origin category meaning distribution	de Roucestre / Rossiter ? toponymE lincs. one
Surname origin category meaning distribution	Tracy French toponymF Dev., Oxf., Hamps.	Surname origin category meaning distribution	Estmond / Esmonde English descriptive / generic eastman Ess., Worc., Suff.

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Surnames and origins of settlers recorded in county Wexford 1169-1324

E = England; F = France; W = Wales

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see fig. 49, p. 142; fig. 50, p. 144; fig. 51, p. 146.

Surname	Scurlock	Surname	Vicar
origin	English	origin	French
category	descriptive	category	occupation
meaning	fair-haired	meaning	vicar
distribution	Lon. wales / Gower one	distribution	Oxf., Som. Ess.
Surname	Wadding ?Waddington	Surname	Kempe
origin	?	origin	English
category	? toponymE	category	occupation
meaning		meaning	warrior, athlete
distribution	Lincs., Surr., Yorks.	distribution	Norf., Suff., Wilts.
Surname	de Mora	Surname	Stakepol
origin	?	origin	?
category		category	toponymW
meaning		meaning	
distribution		distribution	Pembroke. one
Surname	Lyguyn	Surname	Casse
origin	?	origin	English
category		category	
meaning		meaning	
distribution		distribution	Camb. one
Surname	FitzHugon	Surname	de Plecy
origin	?	origin	French
category	patronym	category	toponymF
meaning		meaning	
distribution		distribution	
Surname	Renward	Surname	Benter
origin	French	origin	English
category	descriptive	category	environ.
meaning	counsel brave	meaning	dweller by the grassy heath
distribution	Norf., Hamps.	distribution	Staff. one
Surname	de Boly	Surname	le Espicer
origin	?	origin	?
category	ToponymE - Bulley	category	occupation
meaning		meaning	
distribution	Glos., Dev.	distribution	
Surname	de Gravan	Surname	Wykeman
origin	?	origin	English
category	ToponymE - Graveney, Kent	category	occupation
meaning		meaning	dairy-farm man
distribution	Kent, Suff.	distribution	Norf., Suff.
Surname	Colper	Surname	Cilorkan
origin	?	origin	? Irish
category		category	
meaning		meaning	
distribution		distribution	
Surname	le Grant	Surname	Ivory
origin	English / French	origin	French
category	descriptive	category	toponymF - Norm.
meaning	great, elder	meaning	
distribution	Wilts., Oxf., Norf., suff.	distribution	Bucks., Oxf.

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Surnames and origins of settlers recorded in county Wexford 1169-1324

E = England; F = France; W = Wales

one = one known place of origin

see fig. 49, p. 142; fig. 50, p. 144; fig. 51, p. 146.

Surname Slatere origin English category occupation meaning slater distribution Worc.	Surname FitzRoger origin ? category patronym meaning distribution
Surname de Kaya origin English / French category location meaning at the Quay distribution Wales cornwall, Glos.	Surname FitzWalter origin ? category patronym meaning distribution
Surname de Moniman origin ? category meaning distribution	Surname de Germanica origin ? category toponymG meaning from Germany distribution
Surname Lyguin origin ? category meaning distribution	Surname Rinals origin ? category meaning distribution
Surname le Clodier origin English category occupation meaning maker of cloth distribution Norf., Oxf.	Surname Lutelprut origin ? category meaning distribution
Surname le Denels origin English / French category descriptive meaning Danish distribution Lon., Som., York., Ess., Surr., Kent.	Surname Sugon origin ? category meaning distribution
Surname Chinne origin English category descriptive meaning cleft distribution Worc., Camb.	Surname de Odingohon origin ? category meaning distribution
Surname de Deveney origin ? category toponymE meaning from devon distribution Dev. one	Surname de Bocland origin ? category toponymE meaning distribution Dev., Berks. one
Surname Hervey origin French category descriptive meaning battle-worthy distribution Suff., Lon., Ess., Suss.	Surname Wade origin English category action meaning to go distribution Ess., Suff., Shrop.
Surname Borun origin French category descriptive meaning one-eyed distribution Norf., Dor.	Surname Grey origin French / English category ToponymF / description meaning Graye (Norm), grey-haired distribution Suss., Notts.

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Surnames and origins of settlers recorded in county Wexford 1169-1324

E = England; F = France; W = Wales

one = one known place of origin

see fig. 49, p. 142; fig. 50, p. 144; fig. 51, p. 146.

Surname origin category meaning distribution	de St. Omero ? 	Surname origin category meaning distribution	Porter French occupation door keeper / carrier of burdens Berks., Lincs.
Surname origin category meaning distribution	Summetar French occupation pack-horse driver Glos. Worc.	Surname origin category meaning distribution	de Bristol ? toponymE Bristol one
Surname origin category meaning distribution	Reymond French descriptive counsel of right protection Suff., Warw., Ess.	Surname origin category meaning distribution	de Bramford ? toponymE Bramford, Suff. one
Surname origin category meaning distribution	Maubin ? 	Surname origin category meaning distribution	Joppe French / english various various Linc., Suff., Norf., Suss., Surr.
Surname origin category meaning distribution	de Gernemut ? 	Surname origin category meaning distribution	Willot English dim. of Will Suss., Som., Suff
Surname origin category meaning distribution	Dullum ? 	Surname origin category meaning distribution	Knockat ?
Surname origin category meaning distribution	de Sas ? 	Surname origin category meaning distribution	Weyn English occupation wain Ess. one
Surname origin category meaning distribution	de ffulvan ? 	Surname origin category meaning distribution	Sparowe English descriptive 'flutterer' Norf.
Surname origin category meaning distribution	de Wyvans ? 	Surname origin category meaning distribution	Sakespere English occupation spearman Glos., Staff.
Surname origin category meaning distribution	Gugun ? 	Surname origin category meaning distribution	de St. Craru

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Surnames and origins of settlers recorded in county Wexford 1169-1324

E = England; F = France; W = Wales

one = one known place of origin

see fig. 49, p. 142; fig. 50, p. 144; fig. 51, p. 146.

Surname origin category meaning distribution	de Rath ? 	Surname origin category meaning distribution	la Ware English descriptive / occupation way / one who looked after a weir Glos., Herts., Surr.
Surname origin category meaning distribution	Walens welsh descriptive / generic from Wales Wales one	Surname origin category meaning distribution	Corkt (Coldicot) ? environ Cold huts Dev., Camb., Bucks.
Surname origin category meaning distribution	Abirdonwe ? toponymW Aberduhonw Wales one	Surname origin category meaning distribution	Young English descriptive young Staff., Suss.
Surname origin category meaning distribution	le Seount ? 	Surname origin category meaning distribution	James (Jacob) English common
Surname origin category meaning distribution	Anger French / Norse toponymF Suff., War., som. Wilts.	Surname origin category meaning distribution	O'Murrough Irish
Surname origin category meaning distribution	Huwe French descriptive heart, mind Suff., Bucks. etc,	Surname origin category meaning distribution	Passer ?
Surname origin category meaning distribution	Juvene ? 	Surname origin category meaning distribution	Robin ?
Surname origin category meaning distribution	le Napper French occupation changer of table linen Hamps., Ess.	Surname origin category meaning distribution	Valec ?
Surname origin category meaning distribution	de Fidon ? 	Surname origin category meaning distribution	Odermat ?
Surname origin category meaning distribution	de Stokys ? toponymE Som., Darb., Warw.	Surname origin category meaning distribution	de Legrowe ?

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see fig. 49, p. 142; fig. 50, p. 144; fig. 51, p. 146.

Surname origin category meaning distribution	Vallanus ? 	Surname origin category meaning distribution	le Enveyse ?
Surname origin category meaning distribution	Godale English occupation good ale Suff., Bedf.	Surname origin category meaning distribution	Slim ?
Surname origin category meaning distribution	Long English descriptive tall, long Suff., Glos.	Surname origin category meaning distribution	Mey English descriptive young person Linc., York., Norf., Suff., Glos.
Surname origin category meaning distribution	O'Hony Irish 	Surname origin category meaning distribution	le Priur English / French occupation prior Som., Ess.
Surname origin category meaning distribution	Willot ? 	Surname origin category meaning distribution	Beaucomp French ToponymF Ess., Herts.
Surname origin category meaning distribution	de Derby ? ToponymE Derby one	Surname origin category meaning distribution	de Seynde ?
Surname origin category meaning distribution	le Espicer spice seller ? 	Surname origin category meaning distribution	Hasard (Hazard) English ? various Hamps., Surr., York.
Surname origin category meaning distribution	de Severne ? ToponymW from the severn Severn one	Surname origin category meaning distribution	Amavyn ?
Surname origin category meaning distribution	Brodhey English descriptive broad eye Oxf., Notts.	Surname origin category meaning distribution	Maubin ?
Surname origin category meaning distribution	le Wympler french ? occupation maker of veils 	Surname origin category meaning distribution	de Exonia ?

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Surnames and origins of settlers recorded in county Wexford 1169-1324

E = England; F = France; W = Wales

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see fig. 49, p. 142; fig. 50, p. 144; fig. 51, p. 146.

Surname origin category meaning distribution	de Coventre ? toponymE Coventry one	Surname origin category meaning distribution	Hune English / ? Norse descriptive ? - nickn. in E. Ang. Norse Hun- young bear Linc., Norf., Camb., Suff.
Surname origin category meaning distribution	Slobeh ?	Surname origin category meaning distribution	Brisbon French / English descriptive break bone Middx.,
Surname origin category meaning distribution	Palmer French occupation pilgrim Dev., Linc.	Surname origin category meaning distribution	Ballart English descriptive bald Camb., Nthhants.
Surname origin category meaning distribution	Pow English / French descriptive peacock Suff., Linc., York.	Surname origin category meaning distribution	Cornubiens ?
Surname origin category meaning distribution	Kerdif ? toponymW Cardiff one	Surname origin category meaning distribution	King English descriptive king / nickn. Camb., Surr., Dev., Ess., Suff.
Surname origin category meaning distribution	Padyn English Patrick Bed., N'umber.	Surname origin category meaning distribution	Brian French (Breton) name York., Suff., Camb., Wilts.
Surname origin category meaning distribution	le Stamer English descriptive stammerer Suss., Norf., Lon., Suff.	Surname origin category meaning distribution	Vitrear French occupation glass- maker
Surname origin category meaning distribution	de Aswill ?	Surname origin category meaning distribution	Archull Norse Hunt., N'ham., york.
Surname origin category meaning distribution	de Tengemuthe ?	Surname origin category meaning distribution	Taillepas ?
Surname origin category meaning distribution	Hutlaye (Outlaw) English occupation Outlaw Suff., Glos.	Surname origin category meaning distribution	de Stanton ? toponymE Stanton, Suff., Glos., Norf., Staff.

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Surnames and origins of settlers recorded in county Wexford 1169-1324

E = England; F = France; W = Wales

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see fig. 49, p. 142; fig. 50, p. 144; fig. 51, p. 146.

Surname Beke origin French / English / Norse category ToponymF meaning a beak distribution dors., Bucks., Ess., Lon.	Surname Serman origin English category occupation meaning shearman distribution Suff., Leic., Ess.
Surname O'Kedy origin Irish category meaning distribution	Surname le Blake origin England category descriptive meaning black distribution Wales, Norf.
Surname Padin origin ? category meaning distribution	Surname Hoser origin French / English category occupation meaning stocking maker distribution Ox., Lon.
Surname Andrew origin English category meaning distribution widespread	Surname le Verrur origin French category occupation meaning glass maker distribution Norf., York.
Surname Lentian (clan) origin ? category meaning distribution	Surname Allen origin French category saint meaning distribution Suff., Leic., Lon., york.
Surname Scilbe origin ? category meaning distribution	Surname seyl origin ? category meaning distribution
Surname Halbe origin ? category meaning distribution	Surname de Bustell origin ? category meaning distribution
Surname Somery origin French category ToponymF meaning distribution Ess., camb.	Surname de Fonte origin ? category meaning distribution
Surname le archer origin French category occupation meaning bowman distribution Hamps., wilts.	Surname de la Lysore origin ? category meaning distribution
Surname de la Rokel origin ? category meaning distribution	Surname de Bonville origin French category toponymF meaning distribution Bonville, Glam., wales one

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Surnames and origins of settlers recorded in county Wexford 1169-1324

E = England; F = France; W = Wales

one = one known place of origin

see fig. 49, p. 142; fig. 50, p. 144; fig. 51, p. 146.

Surname origin category meaning distribution	de Pembroke ? ToponymW Pembroke Wales one	Surname origin category meaning distribution	Helle English petname Hunt., Ess., Norf.
Surname origin category meaning distribution	de Aswill ? 	Surname origin category meaning distribution	de Drogheda ? toponymIr
Surname origin category meaning distribution	de Botingore ? 	Surname origin category meaning distribution	Briselon ?
Surname origin category meaning distribution	de Exeter ? toponymE Exeter, Dev. one	Surname origin category meaning distribution	le Tonker ?
Surname origin category meaning distribution	Lanthyn ? 	Surname origin category meaning distribution	Piscor ?
Surname origin category meaning distribution	Sausser ? 	Surname origin category meaning distribution	Eytham ?
Surname origin category meaning distribution	Cadwelly ? toponymW Wales, one	Surname origin category meaning distribution	le Teynturer ?
Surname origin category meaning distribution	de Marche English / French environ. from the boundary Camb., Oxf.	Surname origin category meaning distribution	de Wyncester ? toponymE Winchester, Hamps. one
Surname origin category meaning distribution	Mangaunt ? 	Surname origin category meaning distribution	Dobyn (Tobin) Flemish ?
Surname origin category meaning distribution	Horlowe ? toponymE Ess., York.	Surname origin category meaning distribution	Prat English descriptive cunning Berks., Ess., Suff., Kent.

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Surnames and origins of settlers recorded in county Wexford 1169-1324

E = England; F = France; W = Wales

one = one known place of origin

see fig. 49, p. 142; fig. 50, p. 144; fig. 51, p. 146.

Surname origin category meaning distribution	de Aberdew ? toponymW Aberedw, Wales one	Surname origin category meaning distribution	de la Cornere ?
Surname origin category meaning distribution	le Rous English / French descriptive red Wilts., Staff.	Surname origin category meaning distribution	le Breton French descriptive / generic from Brittany
Surname origin category meaning distribution	Meyler English / welsh occupation enameller; personal name wales Shrops., Warw., wales	Surname origin category meaning distribution	le Taillour French occupation Tailor Som., Camb.
Surname origin category meaning distribution	Harding English descriptive hard Suff., Oxf., Nthham.	Surname origin category meaning distribution	Duke / Dake French descriptive 'leader' Buck., Warw., Dev.
Surname origin category meaning distribution	Cole English descriptive swarthy Kent, Hamps, York. Ess,	Surname origin category meaning distribution	levebody ?
Surname origin category meaning distribution	de Abbeyville ? 	Surname origin category meaning distribution	Prouttaillour ?
Surname origin category meaning distribution	Germayn French descriptive / generic the German Dors., Norf.	Surname origin category meaning distribution	Sandhull English environ. dweller by a sandy slope Som., Suss.
Surname origin category meaning distribution	de Istelep ? 	Surname origin category meaning distribution	Olyf Norse Shrop., Worc., suss.
Surname origin category meaning distribution	de Monetia ? 	Surname origin category meaning distribution	Pygon French descriptive easy to pluck! Norf., Som.
Surname origin category meaning distribution	le Nedler English occupation needle maker Shrop., Oxf., Ess.	Surname origin category meaning distribution	Sage French descriptive wise Shrop., Staff.

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Surnames and origins of settlers recorded in county Wexford 1169-1324

E = England; F = France; W = Wales

one = one known place of origin

see fig. 49, p. 142; fig. 50, p. 144; fig. 51, p. 146.

Surname origin category meaning distribution	Lengleys ? ToponymE dweller by the wood York., Shrop.	Surname origin category meaning distribution	Wallop ?
Surname origin category meaning distribution	Bataille French ToponymF 	Surname origin category meaning distribution	Monmuth ? toponym W wales one
Surname origin category meaning distribution	Duraunt French descriptive ? obstinate Hamps., Lon., Yorks., Surr.	Surname origin category meaning distribution	Attehawe English environ. dweller by the ridge Suss., one
Surname origin category meaning distribution	Shepherde English occupation shepherd Oxf., Suss., Suff.	Surname origin category meaning distribution	Albreda ?
Surname origin category meaning distribution	Malenfaunt French descriptive bold child Suff. one	Surname origin category meaning distribution	Cok english occupation cook Ess., Som.
Surname origin category meaning distribution	Payn French descriptive villager / rustic / heathen Som., Worc., Hamps., Lon., Camb.,	Surname origin category meaning distribution	Ffysse English descriptive fish Suff., Notingh.
Surname origin category meaning distribution	de Cornwalleys ? toponymE Cornwall one	Surname origin category meaning distribution	Smith English occupation smith Som., Suff., Oxf., Dur.
Surname origin category meaning distribution	Sergeant French occupation official Oxf., Leic., Staff.	Surname origin category meaning distribution	Wise Eng. descriptive wise Dev., Suss.
Surname origin category meaning distribution	del Hulle ? toponymE Yorks., Derby. one	Surname origin category meaning distribution	ffermun ?
Surname origin category meaning distribution	de Warrick ? toponymE warrick, one	Surname origin category meaning distribution	Walsh welsh descriptive / generic from Wales Wales one

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see fig. 49, p. 142; fig. 50, p. 144; fig. 51, p. 146.

Surname origin category meaning distribution	Hethan ? 	Surname origin category meaning distribution	Malgill ? Irish
Surname origin category meaning distribution	Turbut Norse name toponymF Suff., Bedf., Berks., Herts., Ess., Camb.	Surname origin category meaning distribution	Porle ?Parlour French / English occupation lawyer / talker Wilts., Hunts.
Surname origin category meaning distribution	Barronage ? 	Surname origin category meaning distribution	Arnold English / french toponymE descriptiveF eagle power Yorks., Notts.
Surname origin category meaning distribution	Toppe Norse Herts., Lon., Norf., York.	Surname origin category meaning distribution	Callyth ?
Surname origin category meaning distribution	Collyn (?Cullen) French toponymF from Cologne Suff., York., Dev.	Surname origin category meaning distribution	Oweyn Welsh Shrop., Oxf., Dev., Heref., Warw.
Surname origin category meaning distribution	Lyng ? toponymE Lynn, Norf., one	Surname origin category meaning distribution	Pree ? toponymE Prees in Lancs., Shrop.
Surname origin category meaning distribution	Colle Norse / English descriptive swarthy York., Bedf., Norf., Linc.	Surname origin category meaning distribution	Howe ? toponymE toponymN ridge / mound Ess., Norf.
Surname origin category meaning distribution	Syayn Norse occupation boy, servant Ess., Norf., Suff.	Surname origin category meaning distribution	Ameroys ?
Surname origin category meaning distribution	Max ? 	Surname origin category meaning distribution	Underhull ? toponymE Underhill, Dev. one
Surname origin category meaning distribution	Saymour French toponymF Hunts., Staff.	Surname origin category meaning distribution	Benet French descriptive blessed Oxf., York., Notts., Lincs.

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Surnames and origins of settlers recorded in county Wexford 1169-1324

E = England; F = France; W = Wales

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see fig. 49, p. 142; fig. 50, p. 144; fig. 51, p. 146.

Surname Colpe origin English category descriptive meaning egg on bacon! ?cook distribution Ess., Camb.	Surname de Eston origin ? category toponymE meaning distribution Eshton in Yorks. one
Surname de Bromford origin ? category meaning distribution	Surname Meskyn origin French category descriptive meaning young man distribution Warw., Yorks.
Surname Greyto le Lombard origin Italian category ToponymIt meaning distribution	Surname le Norreys origin French category descriptive meaning northerner distribution Hamps., Glos., Yorks.
Surname Mallizard origin Italian category meaning distribution	Surname Curteys origin French category descriptive meaning courteous distribution Warw., Camb., Beds., Dev., Lon., York., Suss.
Surname Gerardi origin Italian category meaning distribution	Surname of Chester origin English category meaning distribution Ches.
Surname Emericus origin Italian category meaning distribution	Surname de Lupo (Wolf, Lu) origin English category descriptive meaning wolf distribution Linc., Beds.
Surname Bettinus origin Italian category meaning distribution	Surname Sherman origin English category occupation meaning shear man distribution Leic., Suff.
Surname le Parmenter origin Italian category meaning distribution	Surname de St Alland origin ? category toponymE meaning distribution St. Allen, Cornw.
Surname Herford origin ? category toponymE meaning distribution Hereford one	Surname de Cale origin French category toponymF meaning from Calais distribution Calais, France
Surname Prout origin English category descriptive meaning proud distribution Dev., Glos., Som.	Surname Uteys ? Otway origin French category meaning distribution Suss., Oxf.

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Surnames and origins of settlers recorded in county Wexford 1169-1324

E = England; F = France; W = Wales

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see fig. 49, p. 142; fig. 50, p. 144; fig. 51, p. 146.

Surname origin category meaning distribution	de Clere ? toponymE Hunt., Oxf., Hamps.	Surname origin category meaning distribution	Dorebar French occupation plasterer - dauber Yorks., Berks.
Surname origin category meaning distribution	de Meyers French occupation physician Berks., Nthumber.	Surname origin category meaning distribution	Cane English Surr., Suss., Norf., Berks., Heref.
Surname origin category meaning distribution	de Isham ? toponymE Isham in Nthants. one	Surname origin category meaning distribution	Bideford ? toponymE Bideford, Devon one
Surname origin category meaning distribution	Chatnel ? 	Surname origin category meaning distribution	Lamb English descriptive Lamb Norf., Suss., Kent., Camb.
Surname origin category meaning distribution	of Exeter ? toponymE Exeter, Dev.	Surname origin category meaning distribution	Don English descriptive dark swarthy Glos., Hert., Staff., Worc.
Surname origin category meaning distribution	de Mantone ? toponymE Manton Lincs., Notts., Rutl., Suff., wilts.	Surname origin category meaning distribution	Bonderam ?
Surname origin category meaning distribution	de Hotham ? toponymE Wilts., Leic.	Surname origin category meaning distribution	le Veyl French descriptive calf / old Suff., suss., Lon.
Surname origin category meaning distribution	Chymbard ? 	Surname origin category meaning distribution	Ainet english descriptive noble daring Middx., Surr., Norf., Ntham., Ess., Kent
Surname origin category meaning distribution	Symon ? Norf., Lon., Notts. Suss.	Surname origin category meaning distribution	de Pavensey ? toponymE Pevensey, Kent one
Surname origin category meaning distribution	Fautenel France toponymF 	Surname origin category meaning distribution	de Hampton ? toponymE Hampton, Shrops. one

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Surnames and origins of settlers recorded in county Wexford 1169-1324

E = England; F = France; W = Wales

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see fig. 49, p. 142; fig. 50, p. 144; fig. 51, p. 146.

Surname origin category meaning distribution	de Saham ? 	Surname origin category meaning distribution	Dess ?
Surname origin category meaning distribution	Elliot English descriptive elf-ruler Linc., Som., Suff., Suss.	Surname origin category meaning distribution	de la Pull English environ. from the pool Dev., Wilts., Camb., Ess.
Surname origin category meaning distribution	de Matingley ? toponymE Mattingley, Berks. one	Surname origin category meaning distribution	Merser French occupation merchant in fabrics Glos., Lon., Oxf.
Surname origin category meaning distribution	Calamyn ? 	Surname origin category meaning distribution	de Widewort toponymE Widworthy, Dev. one
Surname origin category meaning distribution	Tope Norse Lon., Glos., Norf.	Surname origin category meaning distribution	Avenaunt French descriptive suitable handsome Dev., Suff., Norf.
Surname origin category meaning distribution	le Curtiller French occupation gardiner Ess., Suss., Wilts., Suff.	Surname origin category meaning distribution	de Aldesheles ?
Surname origin category meaning distribution	Waddy Norse Lon., York., Hamps., Staff., Worc., Nthumb.	Surname origin category meaning distribution	Lengynour ?
Surname origin category meaning distribution	Moyne French descriptive / occupation monk Ess., Suss.	Surname origin category meaning distribution	de Harleston toponymE Harleston, Nthants. one
Surname origin category meaning distribution	de Ebor ? toponymE York one	Surname origin category meaning distribution	Geraud German Lon., Dor., Wilts., Suff., York., Nthants.
Surname origin category meaning distribution	de Monella ? 	Surname origin category meaning distribution	le Leche English occupation physician Hunts., Camb., Oxf.

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see fig. 49, p. 142; fig. 50, p. 144; fig. 51, p. 146.

Surname origin category meaning distribution	Granereyn French ? Granger	Surname origin category meaning distribution	Sandeby English
Surname origin category meaning distribution	Motoun ? toponymE Mitton / Myton Lancs., Worc., Yorks.	Surname origin category meaning distribution	Larcher French occupation the bowman Hamps., wilts.
Surname origin category meaning distribution	de Dent ? toponymE Dent, Yorks. one	Surname origin category meaning distribution	Talbot French descriptive ? bandit Staff., Ess., Kent, Bedf., Dor., Heref., Som.
Surname origin category meaning distribution	Pickering ? toponymE Pikering Yorks. one	Surname origin category meaning distribution	Daveney ? toponymE from devon Dev. one
Surname origin category meaning distribution	Ruggeleye ? toponymE Rugeley Staff. one	Surname origin category meaning distribution	de Custancia Swiss ? toponym Lon., Camb.
Surname origin category meaning distribution	O'Maleth Irish	Surname origin category meaning distribution	Kynay ? Irish
Surname origin category meaning distribution	Tyby ?	Surname origin category meaning distribution	Martel French occupation hammer / smith Norf., Ess.
Surname origin category meaning distribution	de Ellerker ? toponymE Ellerker, Yorks one	Surname origin category meaning distribution	Asteley ? toponymE Asteley, Shrops one
Surname origin category meaning distribution	Parys French toponymF from Paris Som., Lon.	Surname origin category meaning distribution	Wyet French Lon., Notts., Glos., York., Beds., Som.
Surname origin category meaning distribution	de Bitterly ? toponymE Bitterly, Shrops. one	Surname origin category meaning distribution	Withers Norse English environ. dweller by the willow Norf., Lon., Staff., Glos.

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E = England; F = France; W = Wales

one = one known place of origin

see fig. 49, p. 142; fig. 50, p. 144; fig. 51, p. 146.

Surname Hassan origin ? category meaning distribution	Surname Botllston origin Norse category toponymE meaning distribution
Surname Rodan origin ? category meaning distribution	Surname More origin English category toponymE environ. meaning living near a moor distribution Ches., Salop.
Surname Gybbe origin English category name meaning distribution Notts., Lon., Norf., Som.	Surname Chapman origin English category occupation meaning merchant trader distribution York., Dby., staff., Som., Hamps.
Surname Kuneston origin ? category toponymE meaning distribution Kynaston, Heref. one	Surname Hogan origin ? category meaning distribution
Surname Bodman origin English category occupation meaning messenger distribution York. one	Surname Trokill origin Norse category meaning distribution Suff., Norf., Herts., Lon., Notts., Worc., Oxf., Ess
Surname Rochyngton origin ? category ? ToponymE meaning distribution ? Rockingham Nthhants one	Surname Bagan origin English category ? occupation meaning ? maker of bags distribution Norf., warw.
Surname Story origin Norse category meaning distribution Camb., York., Ess.	Surname Cachyl origin ? category meaning distribution
Surname Reve origin English category occupation meaning official distribution Leic.	Surname Moron origin french category meaning dim. of More distribution York., Norf., Lon.
Surname de North origin English category descriptive meaning from the north distribution Suff., Suss., Ess.	Surname Cadel (Caldwell) origin English category environ. meaning cold spring distribution Warw., Yorks., Worc., Notts., Glos., Ess., wilts.
Surname Challoner origin English category occupation meaning blanket maker distribution Suff., Wilts., Surr., Staff.	Surname Geruet origin English category meaning distribution Staff., Wilts., Surr., Som., Cumb., Nthhants.

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E = England; F = France; W = Wales

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see fig. 49, p. 142; fig. 50, p. 144; fig. 51, p. 146.

Surname Selyman origin english category descriptive meaning happy man distribution Nthhants., wilts.,	Surname Kayot origin english category descriptive meaning rapacious distribution Durh., som., Suss., Camb.
Surname Cadok origin French category descriptive meaning infirm / frail distribution Suss., camb.	Surname Mignot origin French category description meaning dainty / pleasing distribution Kent, Oxf., York., Suff.
Surname Pauetar origin French category occupation meaning paver distribution York, Lon.	Surname Hye origin English category descriptive meaning tall / high distribution Suss. one
Surname Perceual origin French category descriptive meaning pierce-the -valley distribution Wilts., Som., Shrops.	Surname Lagheles origin ? category meaning distribution
Surname Malur origin French category descriptive meaning unlucky distribution Dor., Notts., Dby.	Surname Horewood origin English category toponymE meaning distribution Horewood, Bucks., Dev.
Surname de Hussier origin French category occupation meaning usher / door-keeper distribution Ess., Som., Camb., beds., Cumb.	Surname M'Gillemory origin Irish category meaning distribution
Surname le Mounre origin ? category meaning distribution	Surname Kyft origin ? category meaning distribution
Surname Curk origin ? category meaning distribution	Surname Maneys origin ? category meaning distribution
Surname Bleyr origin Norse category meaning distribution	Surname Carr origin English category meaning distribution York., Lancs., Norf.
Surname Wyking origin English category environ. meaning distribution Som., Worc., wilts.	Surname Myagh origin ? category meaning distribution

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see fig. 49, p. 142; fig. 50, p. 144; fig. 51, p. 146.

Surname origin category meaning distribution	Turnehonde ? 	Surname origin category meaning distribution	Giffard French / German descriptive chubby-cheeked / bloated Lon., camb., Warw.
Surname origin category meaning distribution	Brideshale ? 	Surname origin category meaning distribution	Sperhawk English Patronym / descriptive sparrowhawk Notts., Suff., Nthamp.
Surname origin category meaning distribution	de Derne ? 	Surname origin category meaning distribution	Elliott French Lon., Suff., Som., Suss.
Surname origin category meaning distribution	Seys welsh descriptive saxon shrops. one	Surname origin category meaning distribution	Godebert German descriptive god-bright Ess. (DB), Norf., York., Notts., Suff.
Surname origin category meaning distribution	O'Maccus Irish 	Surname origin category meaning distribution	Schortalls (Shortall) English descriptive 'short neck'
Surname origin category meaning distribution	O'Murkth Irish 		
Surname origin category meaning distribution	O'Dermod Irish 		
Surname origin category meaning distribution	O'ffenol Irish 		
Surname origin category meaning distribution	Callan ? toponymlr. from Callan		
Surname origin category meaning distribution	Siggins (Compound of Siggs) Norse patronymic Norf., Dor., Suff.		

Appendix 3

Possible manorial villages in county Wexford

Fig. 52, p. 151.

Sources:

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Appendix 3
Possible manorial villages
* = site only
see fig. 52, p. 151

Village manor parish features status	1. Adamstown Maigharnai (Adamstown) Adamstown Church* / tower house Village	Village manor parish features status	11. Ballymaclare Slievecoiltia Whitechurch Church* / tower house* / moated site Deserted
Village manor parish features status	2. Artramon Part of Fernegenel Artramon Church / tower house Deserted	Village manor parish features status	12. Ballymagir Ballymagir Ballymagir church (Killag) / moated site Deserted
Village manor parish features status	3. Ballyanne Ballyanne Ballyanne Church / tower house* / moated site* Group of houses	Village manor parish features status	13. Ballymore Ferns Ferns Motte / church* / moated site* Deserted
Village manor parish features status	4. Ballybrennan Ballybrennan Ballybrennan Church / tower house* / mill* Deserted	Village manor parish features status	14. Balymoty more Part of Schyrmal Ballyhuscard Motte / church* / moated site Deserted
Village manor parish features status	5. Ballybrennan Kilcowanmore Kilcowanmore Church / tower house* Deserted	Village manor parish features status	15. Ballyorley Part of Schyrmal Kilcormick Ringwork / church* Deserted
Village manor parish features status	6. Ballyconnick Ballyconnick Ballyconnick Church / tower house* / moated site* Deserted	Village manor parish features status	16. Battlestown Dunbrody (Cistercians) Dunbrody Church* / tower house* Deserted
Village manor parish features status	7. Ballyhack Dunbrody (Cistercians) Dunbrody & St. James Church* / tower house / quay / ferry Village	Village manor parish features status	17. Bridgetown Mulrankin Mulrankin Church* / tower house* Village
Village manor parish features status	8. Ballyhealy Ballyhealy Kilturk Church* / tower house Deserted	Village manor parish features status	18. Chapel ?Ballymackesey Chapel Church / moated site* Group of houses
Village manor parish features status	9. Ballyhoge Ballyhoge (Hospitallers) Ballyhoge Church / tower house* Deserted	Village manor parish features status	19. Churchtown Carne Carne Church / tower house (Clougheast) Deserted
Village manor parish features status	10. Ballykeerogemore Ballybrazil Ballybrazil Church* / castle Deserted	Village manor parish features status	20. Churchtown Hook Hook Church / Redmond Hall* Group of houses

Appendix 3
Possible manorial villages

* = site only
see fig. 52, p. 151

Village	21. Coolhull	Village	31. Kilmuckridge
manor	Part of Bannow	manor	Kilmuckridge (Offelimy)
parish	Bannow	parish	Kilmuckridge
features	Church* / tower house	features	Church* / motte
status	Deserted	status	Village
Village	22. Courthoyle	Village	32. Ladys Island
manor	Courthoyle	manor	
parish	Newbawn	parish	Lady's Island
features	Church* / tower house	features	Church / tower house
status	Deserted	status	Village
Village	23. Doonooney	Village	33. Ardamine (Middletown)
manor	Doonooney	manor	Ardamine
parish	Doonooney	parish	Ardamine
features	Church* / motte*/moated site	features	Church* / motte
status	Deserted	status	Deserted
Village	24. Duncormick	Village	34. Nash
manor	Duncormick	manor	Tintern (Cistercians)
parish	Duncormick	parish	Owenduff
features	Church / motte / tower house*	features	Church* / tower house*
status	Village	status	Group of houses
Village	25. Kilcowan (Hooks)	Village	35. Newbawn
manor	Kilcowan	manor	Newbawn
parish	Kilcowan	parish	Newbawn
features	Church* / motte / moated site* / tower house*	features	Church* / tower house / two moated sites**
status	Deserted	status	Village
Village	26. Horetown	Village	36. Oldcourt
manor	Horetown	manor	Slievecoiltea
parish	Horetown	parish	Whitechurch
features	Church* / tower house*	features	Church* / tower house*
status	Deserted	status	Deserted
Village	27. Kilcavan	Village	37. Rathmacknee
manor	Kilcavan	manor	Rathmacknee
parish	Kilcavan	parish	Rathmacknee
features	Church / tower house	features	Church / tower house / mill
status	Deserted	status	Deserted
Village	28. Killegney	Village	38. Rathumney
manor	Killegney	manor	Tintern (Cistercians)
parish	Killegney	parish	Owenduff
features	Church / motte / two moated sites*	features	Church* / hall
status	Deserted	status	Group of houses
Village	29. Killesk	Village	39. Tachumshin
manor	Killesk	manor	Tachumshin
parish	Killesk	parish	Tachumshin
features	Church / ?tower house*	features	Church (Churchtown) / tower house
status	Deserted	status	Group of houses
Village	30. Killiane	Village	40. Tellarought
manor	Killiane	manor	Tellarought
parish	Killiane	parish	Tellarought
features	Church / tower house	features	Church* / tower house
status	Deserted	status	Group of houses

Appendix 4

Boroughs and towns in medieval county Wexford

See fig. 52, p. 151.

Sources:

Cal. i.p.m., iv, pp. 244, 307, 347; v, p. 22; vi, p. 324-7.

Cal. doc. Ire., i, nos. 39, 1429, 2983; ii, nos. 70, 1950, 1330, 1801; iv, no. 538; v, nos. 537, 538.

Cal. just. rolls, ii, p. 13, 159, 349.

36th Rep. D.K.I., p. 61.

38th Rep. D.K.I., p. 41.

Cal. close rolls (1325), pp. 362-4.

Pembroke deeds.

'Duiske charters', no. 3.

Hore, *Wexford*, iii, p. 207; iv, p. 452-4; v, p. 97, 102; vi, pp. 342-50, 418, 609.

Mac Niocaill, G., *Na Buirgéisí* (Dublin, 1964), pp. 232, 300.

Moore, *Archaeological inventory, passim*.

Appendix 4

Towns and Boroughs (see fig. 52, p. 151)

Founders are classified as follows : Great lords (e.g. Marshal) = Capital;
Baronial lords (lords of a cantred) = baronial; Lords of manors = manorial

* = site only

<p>BOROUGH 1. WEXFORD</p> <p>Manor Capital</p> <p>Location Navigable estuary. port</p> <p>Previous Norse town.</p> <p>Legal Charter mentioned in Ross charter 1283.</p> <p>Defences Town wall, castle*</p> <p>Burgages 365 (CIPM, 1307)</p> <p>Burgage land</p> <p>Churches Ten parish churches; two religious Orders</p> <p>Buildings Hospital*</p> <p>Commercial Market, quays</p> <p>Layout Linear; suburbs (?Irishtown- Faythe)</p> <p>Classification Town</p> <p>Current Town</p>	<p>BOROUGH 4. TAGHMON</p> <p>Manor Capital</p> <p>Location Inland</p> <p>Previous Monastic centre</p> <p>Legal</p> <p>Defences Traces of monastic enclosure</p> <p>Burgages 48 (CIPM. vi, p. 325)</p> <p>Burgage land 5 car. (CDI. v, 537.)</p> <p>Churches Parish church*</p> <p>Buildings</p> <p>Commercial</p> <p>Layout</p> <p>Classification Rural borough</p> <p>Current Village</p>
<p>BOROUGH 2. NEW ROSS</p> <p>Manor Capital</p> <p>Location Navigable river. port</p> <p>Previous New site</p> <p>Legal Charter 1283</p> <p>Defences Town wall*</p> <p>Burgages 507 (CIPM, iv, p. 347)</p> <p>Burgage land 16 car. (St. Mary's parish)</p> <p>Churches Three churches**; three religious Orders**</p> <p>Buildings Hospital, school</p> <p>Commercial Quays, market, bridge*</p> <p>Layout Grid pattern, suburbs (Irishtown)</p> <p>Classification Town</p> <p>Current Town</p>	<p>BOROUGH 5. BANNOW</p> <p>Manor Baronial; reverted</p> <p>Location Coastal; shallow estuary port</p> <p>Previous New site</p> <p>Legal Charter referred to in Ross charter 1283</p> <p>Defences Castle*</p> <p>Burgages 161 (Hore, Wexford, iv, p. 452)</p> <p>Burgage land</p> <p>Churches Parish church</p> <p>Buildings</p> <p>Commercial Quays, market (cross)*, Weaver St.</p> <p>Layout</p> <p>Classification Town</p> <p>Current Deserted</p>
<p>BOROUGH 3. CLONMINES</p> <p>Manor Capital</p> <p>Location On shallow estuary port</p> <p>Previous New site</p> <p>Legal Liberty granted by Wm. Marsh. CDI. ii. 1330</p> <p>Defences ?Town ditch</p> <p>Burgages</p> <p>Burgage land 5 carucates (CDI. v, 538)</p> <p>Churches Parish church, Augustinian priory.</p> <p>Buildings Fortified church, 3 def. town houses, ?hosp</p> <p>Commercial Quays; road from C'mines to Wex. Defor. ch.</p> <p>Layout</p> <p>Classification Town</p> <p>Current Deserted</p>	<p>BOROUGH 6. OLD ROSS</p> <p>Manor Capital</p> <p>Location Inland</p> <p>Previous New site</p> <p>Legal</p> <p>Defences Motte; stone castle*</p> <p>Burgages 59</p> <p>Burgage land 5 car. (CIPM. iv, 307)</p> <p>Churches Parish church*</p> <p>Buildings</p> <p>Commercial</p> <p>Layout</p> <p>Classification Rural borough</p> <p>Current Deserted</p>

Appendix 4

Towns and Boroughs (see fig. 52, p. 151)

Founders are classified as follows : Great lords (e.g. Marshal) = Capital;
 Baronial lords (lords of a cantred) = baronial; Lords of manors = manorial

* = site only

<p>BOROUGH 7. CARRICK Manor Capital Location Navigable river; port Previous New site Legal Defences Ringwork, stone castle* Burgages 110 (CIPM. vi, 327) Burgage land Churches Parish church (St. Nicholas)* Buildings Commercial Layout Classification Rural borough Current Deserted</p>	<p>BOROUGH 10. EDERMINE Manor ?Capital; given in dower 1232 (CDI. ii, 1950) Location Navigable river. port Previous New site Legal Defences Burgages 190 (CIPM. vi, 325) Burgage land Churches Parish church* Buildings Commercial ? Quays Layout Classification Rural borough Current Deserted</p>
<p>BOROUGH 8. TOWN OF THE ISLAND Manor Baronial; reverted Location Island in the river Barrow; river crossing; port Previous Monastic centre. Legal Defences ?Monastic enclosure; ringwork; stone castle* Burgages 110 Burgage land 3 car. (CIPM. iv, 307; C.J.R. ii, 349) Churches Parish church (monastic)* Buildings Hospital* Commercial Quays Layout Classification Town Current Deserted</p>	<p>BOROUGH 11. ENNISCORTHY Manor Baronial Location Navigable river; river crossing port Previous New site; monastic centre opposite Legal Defences ?Ringwork* / stone castle* Burgages Burgage land Churches Parish church*; two religious Orders** Buildings Commercial Quay, market & fair (CDI, ii, 1330) Layout Forked-linear; suburb (?Irishtown) Classification Town Current Town</p>
<p>BOROUGH 9. FERNS Manor Capital & episcopal Location Inland Previous Monastic centre / Dynastic centre. Legal Defences Stone castle Burgages 160 (CIPM. 1 Ed. II) Burgage land Churches Cathedral; parish church; Canons Regular Buildings Commercial Market & fair (CDI. i, 1429) Layout Linear Classification Town Current Village</p>	<p>BOROUGH 12. FETHARD Manor Manorial (Episcopal) Location Coastal (minor estuary) port Previous Probable episcopal estate. Legal Defences ?Town ditch; motte; stone castle Burgages 120 Burgage land Churches Parish church (St. Mogue's) Buildings Commercial Quays; market (cross)* (Orm. deeds, x) Layout Classification Town Current Village</p>

Appendix 4

Towns and Boroughs (see fig. 52, p. 151)

Founders are classified as follows : Great lords (e.g. Marshal) = Capital;
 Baronial lords (lords of a cantred) = baronial; Lords of manors = manorial
 *= site only

<p>BOROUGH 13. GLASCARRIG Manor Manorial Location Coastal (beach), port Previous New site Legal Defences Motte & bailey Burgages 48 (Cal. j. r. ii, 159) Burgage land Churches Religious Order* Buildings Commercial ? quay Layout Classification Rural borough Current Deserted</p>	<p>BOROUGH 16. MAYGLASS Manor Manorial (episcopal) Location Inland Previous ?Episcopal estate Legal Defences Burgages 11 Burgage land Churches Parish church Buildings Commercial Layout Classification Rural borough Current Deserted</p>
<p>BOROUGH 14. MOYLAGH Manor Manorial Location Not known; in north of county Previous new site Legal Defences Burgages 40 (Cal. j. r. iii, 159) Burgage land Churches Buildings Commercial Layout Classification Rural borough Current Presumably deserted</p>	<p>BOROUGH 17. ? Templeshanbo Manor Manorial (episcopal) Location Inland Previous monastic centre old Legal weekly market, annual fair; CDI. i, no. 1429 Defences Burgages Burgage land Churches Parish church Buildings Commercial Layout Classification 'Villa mercatoriae' Current Deserted</p>
<p>BOROUGH 15. CURTUN Manor Manorial Location Coastal Previous New site Legal Defences Burgages 32 (CDI. ii, 1801) Burgage land 1 car. Ibid. Churches Buildings Commercial Layout Classification Rural borough Current Townland of Courtown</p>	<p>BOROUGH 18. ? Gorey Manor manorial Location Inland Previous new site Legal community of the vill of Gory pd. 13s tax Defences (Hore, v, p. 97) Burgages Burgage land Churches Buildings Commercial Layout Classification ? rural borough Current Town</p>

Appendix 4

Towns and Boroughs (see fig. 52, p. 151)

Founders are classified as follows: Great lords (e.g. Marshal) = Capital;

Baronial lords (lords of a cantred) = baronial; Lords of manors = manorial

* = site only

<p>BOROUGH 19. ? Carnew</p> <p>Manor Carnew (Partition of Leinster), capital</p> <p>Location Inland</p> <p>Previous new site</p> <p>Legal vill of Ross, Carnew & Clonmines. CDI.i,</p> <p>Defences 2983</p> <p>Burgages</p> <p>Burgage land</p> <p>Churches</p> <p>Buildings</p> <p>Commercial</p> <p>Layout</p> <p>Classification ? Rural borough</p> <p>Current Village</p>	

