LEABHARLANN CHOLÁISTE NA TRÍONÓIDE, BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH | TRINITY COLLEGE LIBRARY DUBLIN
Ollscoil Átha Cliath | The University of Dublin

Terms and Conditions of Use of Digitised Theses from Trinity College Library Dublin

Copyright statement

All material supplied by Trinity College Library is protected by copyright (under the Copyright and Related Rights Act, 2000 as amended) and other relevant Intellectual Property Rights. By accessing and using a Digitised Thesis from Trinity College Library you acknowledge that all Intellectual Property Rights in any Works supplied are the sole and exclusive property of the copyright and/or other IPR holder. Specific copyright holders may not be explicitly identified. Use of materials from other sources within a thesis should not be construed as a claim over them.

A non-exclusive, non-transferable licence is hereby granted to those using or reproducing, in whole or in part, the material for valid purposes, providing the copyright owners are acknowledged using the normal conventions. Where specific permission to use material is required, this is identified and such permission must be sought from the copyright holder or agency cited.

Liability statement

By using a Digitised Thesis, I accept that Trinity College Dublin bears no legal responsibility for the accuracy, legality or comprehensiveness of materials contained within the thesis, and that Trinity College Dublin accepts no liability for indirect, consequential, or incidental, damages or losses arising from use of the thesis for whatever reason. Information located in a thesis may be subject to specific use constraints, details of which may not be explicitly described. It is the responsibility of potential and actual users to be aware of such constraints and to abide by them. By making use of material from a digitised thesis, you accept these copyright and disclaimer provisions. Where it is brought to the attention of Trinity College Library that there may be a breach of copyright or other restraint, it is the policy to withdraw or take down access to a thesis while the issue is being resolved.

Access Agreement

By using a Digitised Thesis from Trinity College Library you are bound by the following Terms & Conditions. Please read them carefully.

I have read and I understand the following statement: All material supplied via a Digitised Thesis from Trinity College Library is protected by copyright and other intellectual property rights, and duplication or sale of all or part of any of a thesis is not permitted, except that material may be duplicated by you for your research use or for educational purposes in electronic or print form providing the copyright owners are acknowledged using the normal conventions. You must obtain permission for any other use. Electronic or print copies may not be offered, whether for sale or otherwise to anyone. This copy has been supplied on the understanding that it is copyright material and that no quotation from the thesis may be published without proper acknowledgement.

Drogheda as a Case Study of Anglo-Norman Town Foundation in Ireland, 1194-1412

VOLUME 1

Chiara Buldorini

A thesis submitted for the degree of PhD
Trinity College Dublin
2009

TRINITY COLLEGE
16 NOV 2010
LIBRARY DUBLIN

Thesis
8957.1

Declaration

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

I agree that the Library may lend or copy the thesis upon request.



Chiara Buldorini

Dublin, 17 October 2009

Acknowledgements

I would like to acknowledge, first and foremost, my supervisor, Dr. Mary Katharine Simms. Her competence in guiding my steps through researching medieval primary sources and her kind nature are a rare combination to find in the academic world. The other members of Trinity College Department of History, Medieval Studies - in alphabetic order, Prof. Terry Barry, Dr. Peter Crooks, Dr. David Ditchburn, Dr. Seán Duffy, Prof. Ian Robinson and Pamela Hillard, executive officer, who endowed me with help, advice and smiles during my reading at Trinity. The Trinity College research librarians in History, the late Anne Walsh, and above all Mary Higgins, provided indispensable assistance in catching hidden books and birds through the alcoves of the of the Berkley research floor. To the One-Year Postgraduate Research Award for Continuing Students, an award granted for my final year of doctorate studies, my gratitude and praise. To the Trinity Trust for funding copies of manuscript material and to the competence of Mr. Hugh Alexander, Image Library Deputy Manager of The National Archives, Kew (London), all of my appreciation for making possible the acquisition of primary sources crucial for this study. My immense gratitude goes to Ms Joan Lake Dittmar, for her professional proof-reading of this script. To all of my teachers and professors who have furbished my education and passion for books during the last three decades, thank you for this, your humble student.

Finally, I would like to sincerely express my gratitude to Bradley Gillis, my partner, for his intellectual as well as emotional support, both essential to this undertaking. To my parents and my brother Manuel, who have never asked me to renounce my aspirations, my most eternal thanks.

Summary

This case study addresses the foundation and evolution of Drogheda's civic government as revealed by forty-five charters and other ancillary grants bestowed on the town from 1194 to 1412. This source material will throw light on the pattern of transmission of Anglo-Norman municipal law to Ireland and on customary law of the Irish borough/town. Charters hold the key to a better understanding of Drogheda's internal administration, relationship with the central and local government and commercial functions. Charters are evaluated as a manifestation of institutional and cultural dissemination in a colonial context as well as products of contextual politics. By the same token, their chronologies and list of witnesses and political backgrounds are exploited as a source for a interpretation of Anglo-Irish relations from the late-twelfth to the early-fifteenth centuries.

Contents

VOLUME 1

Declaration i

Acknowledgments ii

Summary iii

List of maps and tables viii

List of appendices xi

Abbreviations and conventions xiii

INTRODUCTION **1**

CHAPTER 1: SOME NOTES ON PRE-NORMAN DROGHEDA **10**

1. The Estuary of the Boyne: Inber Colptha in the classical sources, archaeological evidence, hagiography, Irish sources and oral tradition **13**

2. St. Mary's Abbey of Drogheda: a pre-Norman monastery on the Boyne? **22**

CHAPTER 2: THE CREATION OF THE BOROUGH

1. The castle **28**

2. Two parishes: St. Peter's and St. Mary's **35**

3. Drogheda's first municipal charters

    3.1. Seigniorial Drogheda (1194) **38**

    3.2. Royal Drogheda (1213) **46**

4. The annual trade fair (1204) **54**

5. The walls and the municipal seal of Drogheda (1206) **56**

6. *Universitas burgensium de Drogheda* (1206x1216) **59**

7. Jurisdiction over the waters of the river Boyne and milling rights **63**

8. An analysis of the early stages of the borough **67**

CHAPTER 3: THE LAW OF BRETEUIL **76**

1. The English evidence **80**

2. The Irish evidence **85**

2.1. De Lacy's boroughs: Drogheda in Meath, Kells, Trim, Duleek, Old Leighlin and Siddan **86**

2.2 Ecclesiastical lords: Cloyne and Kilmaclennan, Cashel and Rathcoole **91**

2.3 Royal boroughs: Drogheda in Uriel, Rathmore and Dungarvan **93**

3. The nature of the law **95**

CHAPTER 4: THE LEGAL FOUNDATIONS OF DROGHEDA: FEE FARM AND MAYORALTY **104**

1. *Firma burgi* and *praepositura*

1.1 The fee-farm in Drogheda in Louth (1229) and Drogheda in Meath (1247) **110**

1.2 Provosts **114**

1.3 The Hundred Court **116**

1.4 The Guild Merchant **120**

1.5 The charter of 1247 **122**

2. Henry III's politics of *dona* et *auxilia* **125**

2.1 Pontage (1228-29; 1229-32) **126**

2.2 The town walls (murage, 1234-37; 1239-42; 1243-45) **127**

2.3 Fairs and the weekly market **131**

2.4 The castle **135**

2.5 Galleys and purveyances for the King's war in Gascony, Scotland and Wales (1222, 1241, 1244) **141**

3. Mayoralty **143**

3.1 The charter of 1252 and its privileges **145**

3.2 List of Mayors and *Praepositi-Ballivi* of Drogheda in Louth (1230-1412) **151**

3.3 The Dublin and Drogheda alliance (1252) and the League of Irish towns (1285) **172**

3.4 Prisage of wine (1252) **178**

CHAPTER 5: DROGHEDA AND EDWARD I'S WARS **180**

1. Drogheda in Uriel: the *Inspeximus* of 1268 and 1305 **181**

2. Edwardian murage-grants to Drogheda

2.1. The castle **185**

2.2. Murage to Drogheda on both sides (1278-81) **194**

2.3. Dublin's trading customs granted to Drogheda in Uriel (1295-1302) **196**

2.4. Murage to Drogheda in Meath (1296-1303) **197**

2.5. Murage to Drogheda (on both sides?) (1307-12) **198**

3. The funding of warfare: customs, taxes, provisions and vessels **200**

3. 1. The 'Gaelic revival' and the king's castles in Wales **204**

3.2. The king's wars in Gascony and Scotland **212**

CHAPTER 6: THE BRUCE INVASION

1. The internal frontier: Anglo-Norman and Irish rebellions **223**

2. The Bruce invasion and the town's charter (1315-18) **226**

3. The three wars **230**

3.1. The official war. The alleged siege of Drogheda (1316) and the beheading of Edward Bruce **230**

3.2. The racial war **234**

3.3. Magnate *versus* magnate. The seigniorial war **235**

4. The aftermath **237**

4.1. Provisions to the king's castles in Scotland, Leinster and Ulster **240**

CHAPTER 7: STANDARDIZATION OF PRIVILEGES

1. The confirmation and extension of liberties **248**

1.1. A case of duplication: the charters of 1331 **248**

1.2. The confirmation of Walter de Lacy's charter **255**

1.3. Drogheda in Louth granted the privileges of Dublin (1364) **257**

2. Merchants, clergy and pilgrims

2.1. The Black Death (1348) **260**

2.2. The interdict of 1353 **263**

2.3 Grants of murage (1356- 62; 1362- 82; 1373-82) **269**

2.4 Exemptions from the Ordinances of the Staple **274**

3. The King's debts and the town farm **280**

4. Drogheda and William Windsor **285**

CHAPTER 8: RICHARD II AND DROGHEDA

1. Charters of murage (1380; 1385-97), pardon (1386) and confirmation (1392; 1394) **293**

1.1 'Castelblathagh' **297**

1.2 'Arundelsland' **299**

2. The exile of two English justices to Drogheda **302**

3. The submission of the Irish chiefs (1395) **303**

4. A case of affiliation: Drogheda as 'mother town' of Galway (1396) **310**

5. Alienation of the town farm and revenues **314**

CHAPTER 9: THE CORPORATION OF DROGHEDA

1. Richard de Burgh and Janico Dartas: the King's esquires and the farm of Drogheda **318**

2. The murages of 1404 and the Ulster rebellion **321**

3. The Charter of Incorporation (1412) **323**

3.1 Incipit and background **323**

3.2 William Symcok, first Mayor of Drogheda Corporation **327**

4. Incorporation, county status and privileges **329**

CONCLUSION **337**

Bibliography **350**

VOLUME 2

List of Appendices **1**

Appendices **4**

MAPS and TABLES

FIG. 1 MAP: Roadways in ancient Ireland … … … … … … … … … … **12**

FIG. 2 MAP: Ireland based on Ptolemy's *Geographia* with names rendered in Latin **14**

FIG. 3 MAP: Roman material and ogam stones in Brega … … … … … .. **17**

FIG. 4 Municipal seal of Drogheda … … … … … … … … … … … **59**

FIG. 5 MAP: Medieval religious foundations, Drogheda … … … … … ... **62**

FIG. 6 MAP: Grants in Uriel, 1190 … … … … … … … … … … … **72**

FIG. 7 MAP: Medieval Drogheda, suggested development … … … … … **75**

FIG. 8 MAP: Boroughs in Wales granted the Law of Breteuil (11th -13th centuries) according to Mary Bateson … … … … … … … … … … … ... **84**

FIG.9 MAP: Boroughs in Ireland granted the Law of Breteuil (12th -13th centuries) according to M. Bateson and G. Mac. Niocaill … … … … … … . **94**

FIG. 10 MAP: Lands held by Matilda de Lacy and Peter de Geneve (and later Geoffrey de Geneville) after the division of the lordship of Meath, 1244 **106**

FIG. 11 TABLE: Genealogic table of the lords and ladies of the liberty of Trim and the lordship of Meath, 1172-1547 … … … … … … … … … …**109**

FIG. 12 MAP: Barnaby Goche, *Map of Drogheda, 1574* … … … … … **134**

FIG. 13 MAP: Robert Newcomen, *Map of Drogheda in 1649* … … … … ..**135**

FIG. 14 TABLE: List of the mayors and *praepositi-ballivi* of Drogheda in Louth (1230-1412) … … … … … … … … … … … … … … … ...**163**

FIG. 15 TABLE: Interim list of the constables of the castle of Drogheda (1189-1359) … … … … … … … … … … … … … … … … … **190**

FIG. 16 TABLE: Repairs of the castle of Drogheda (1234-1381) … … … ...**193**

FIG. 17 TABLE: Drogheda's funding of warfare in Gaelic Ireland and Wales (1258-98) … … … … … … … … … … … … … … …**207**

FIG. 18 MAP: Drogheda and the 'Gaelic Revival' (1266-98) … … … … **211**

FIG. 19 MAP: Drogheda and the Welsh wars (1258-98) … … … … … ..**212**

FIG. 20 Table: Drogheda's funding of warfare in Gascony and Scotland (1296-1307) **218**

FIG. 21 MAP: Drogheda and the war in Scotland (1296-1307) **222**

FIG. 22 MAP: Edward Bruce in Ireland (1315-16) **233**

FIG. 23 TABLE: Supplies provided by Drogheda for the king's war in Scotland (1306-26) **243**

FIG. 24 TABLE: Supplies provided by Drogheda for the defense of Ulster and Leinster (1308-19) **246**

FIG. 25 TABLE: Customs on merchandise traded (murage 1317; murage 1356-82) **272**

FIG. 26 TABLE: Mayors and constables of the Staple of Drogheda **279**

FIG. 27 William Winsdor, Lieutenant of Ireland (1369-72) **289**

FIG. 28 TABLE: Provisions and parliamentary representation **290**

FIG. 29 MAP: Richard's itinerary in 1394-5 and the location of the major Irish and Anglo-Irish families **305**

FIG. 30 TABLE: The trading activities of William Symcok **328**

VOLUME 2

APPENDICES

1) (?) April 1203. Grant of King John to the monks of the church of St. Mary, Drogheda **4**

2) 11 August 1237. Charter of Henry III confirming the monks of the church of St. Mary of Drogheda with their lands **7**

3) 5 July 1194. Charter of Walter de Lacy, lord of Meath, to Drogheda in Meath ... **9**

4) 28 July 1213. Charter of King John to Drogheda **12**

5) The Laws of Breteuil: Mary Bateson's suggested reconstruction **13**

6) 20 September 1229. Charter of Henry III to Drogheda in Uriel **17**

7) 16 June 1247. Charter of Henry III to Drogheda in Meath **22**

8) 12 April 1228. *Hibernia: De ponte de Drogheda* **29**

9) 22 September 1229. *Hibernia: De ponte de Drogheda* **31**

10) 14 June 1234. *De auxilio concesso ad villa de Drogheda claudenda* (1234-37) ...**33**
TNA C 66/44 m. 10 (duplicate) **34**

11) 25 April 1243. *Pro hominibus de Drogheda* (grant of murage, 1243-45) **36**
TNA C 66/53 m. 11 (duplicate) **36**

12) December 1252. Charter of Henry III granting the mayoralty to Drogheda Louth **37**

13) List of mayors and bailiffs of Drogheda', according to John D'Alton **42**

14) 1252. *De composicione inter burgenses de Drogheda et cives Dublin* **43**

15) 1285. *De composicione inter cives Dublin' et cives Waterford* **46**

16) 1317. Reservation of pardons connected with crimes against the men of Dublin and Drogheda in Louth **49**

17) 12 December 1268. Confirmation of the liberties of Drogheda in Louth **50**

18) 24 June 1305. Edward I's *Inspeximus* of the liberties of Drogheda in Louth ... **52**

19) 4 December 1278.

A) *De protecione* … … … … … … … … … … … … … … … **...54**

B) *De muragio ville de Drogheda* (1278-81) … … … … … … … … … **.54**

TNA C66/98 m. 26 (duplicate) … … … … … … … … … … … … … … **.56**

20) 26 August 1295. *De muragio Dubline* (1295-1302) … … … … … … … … **59**

21) 29 (August?) 1296. *De muragio ville de Drogheda* (1296-1302) … … … … **64**

TNA C 66/115 m. 8 (duplicate) … … … … … … … … … … … … … **68**

22) 11 July 1316. *Confirmatio cartae de Drogheda ex parte Urielis* … … … … **72**

23) 13 July 1316. *Patens de eodem, pro eisdem burgensibus* (1316-19) … … … **74**

24) 14 July 1316. *Pro burgensibus de Drogheda ex parte Urielis de muragi* (1316-19) … … … … … … … … … … … … … … …

36) 13 November 1334. *De muragio et pavagio villae de Drogheda, ex utraque partes aque* **126**

37) 20 July 1380. *De muragio et pavagio villae de Drogheda, ex utraque partes aque* (1356-62; 1362-82; 1373-82) **127**

38) 27 June 1375. *De majore et constabulariiis stapulae de Drogheda constitutes* **137**

39) 24 October 1385. *De muragio et pavagio pro villa de Drogheda, ex parte Urielis* (1385-97) **139**

40) 2 April 1386. *Pardonatio Senescallos et Ballivis villae de Drogheda, ex parte Uriel, concessa* **141**

41) 9 April 1392. *Privilegia ville de Drogheda ex parte Uriel a rege confirmatur* **144**

42) 16 June 1394. *Pro villa de Drogheda ex parte Midie de confirmacione* **147**

43) Grant of 'Arundelsland' to the burgesses of Drogheda in Meath

A) 4 July 1394. *Confirmacionem* **150**

TNA C66/340 m. 29 (duplicate) **151**

B) 8 March 1403. *Rex pro servicio et ad peticionem senescallorum* etc. **152**

44) 9 April 1404: *Pro maiore ballivis et burgensibus villa de Drogheda* (1404-24) **153**

TNA C 53/174 m. 1(duplicate) **157**

45) 1 November 1412. Charter of incorporation of Drogheda... ... ...**162**

ABBREVIATIONS

Affairs Ireland	*Documents on the affairs of Ireland before King's Council*, ed. G. O. Sayles (IMC, Dublin, 1979)
AFM	*Annala rioghachta Eireann: Annals of the kingdom of Ireland by the four Masters, from the earliest period to the year 1616*, ed. J. O'Donovan, 7 vols. (Dublin 1851, repr. New York 1966)
AI	*The Annals of Inisfallen (MS Rawlinson B. 503)*, ed. J. O'Donovan, 7 vols. (DIAS, Dublin 1951, repr. 1977)
ALC	*The Annals of Loch Cé. A chronicle of Irish affair from A.D. 1014 to A.D. 1590*, ed. W. M. Hennessy, 2 vols. (London 1871, repr. Dublin 1939)
ANS	*Anglo Norman Studies*, formerly *Proceedings of the Battle Conference on Anglo-Norman Studies* (1978-)
AU	*Annala Uladh ('Annals of Ulster'): a chronicle of Irish affairs, AD 430 to AD 1541*, ed. W. M. Hennessy and B. MacCarthy, 4 vols. (Dublin 1887-1901, repr. Dublin 1998)
Anal. Hib.	*Analecta Hibernica, including the reports of the Irish Manuscript Commission* (IMC, Dublin, 1930-)
BA Proc.	*Proceedings of the British Academy* (London, 1903-)
Brit. borough chart., 1042-1216	A. Ballard, *British borough charters, 1042-1216* (Cambridge, 1913)
Brit. borough chart., 1216-1307	A. Ballard and J. Tait, *British borough charters, 1216-1307* (Cambridge, 1923)
Brit. borough chart., 1307-1660	M. Weinbaum, *British borough charters, 1307-1660* (Cambridge, 1943)
C	Chancery record (TNA)
Cal. ancient rec.	*Calendar of ancient records of Dublin, in the possession of the municipal corporation of that city*, ed. J. T. Gilbert, 19 vols. (Dublin, 1889-1944).
CCR	*Calendar of the Close Rolls,* 1272-[1509], 47 vols. (PRO, London 1903-)
CChR	*Calendar of Charter Rolls*, 1226-1516, 6 vols. (PRO. London 1903-27)
CDI	*Calendar of documents relating to Ireland*, ed. H. S. Sweetman and G. F. Handcock, 5 vols. (PRO, London 1875-86)
CDS	*Calendar of documents relating to Scotland,* ed. J. Bain, 5 vols. (Edinburgh 1881-88)
CFR	*Calendar of the Fine Rolls*, 1272-[1509], 22 vols. (PRO, London

	1911-62)
chap.	Charter
Ch. priv. et imm.	*Chartae, privilegia et immunitates, being transcripts of charters and privileges to cities, towns, abbey and other bodies corporate [...], 1171-1395* (RCI, Dublin 1829-30, publ. 1889)
Chartul. St. Mary's, Dublin	*Chartularies of St. Mary's Abbey, Dublin [...] and Annals of Ireland, 1162-1370*, ed. J. T. Gilbert, 2 vols. (London 1884-86)
CHASJ	*Cork Historical and Archaeological Society Journal* (Cork 1892-)
CJR	*Calendar of the Justiciary Rolls*, 1295-1314 ed. J. Mills and M. C. Griffith, 3 vols. (Dublin 1905-56)
CLAHJ	*County Louth Archaeological and Historical Journal* (Dundalk 1904-)
Clyn, Annals	*The Annals of Ireland by Friar John Clyn*, ed. B. Williams (Dublin, 2007)
CP	G. E. Cokayne, *The Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain and the United Kingdom*, ed. V. Gibbs *et al.*, 12 vols. (London, 1910-59).
CPR	*Calendar of Patent Rolls,* 1232-[1509], 53 vols. (PRO, London 1891-1971)
d.	*denarium* (pence)
DHR	*Dublin Historical Record* (Dublin, 1938-)
DIAS	Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies
Doc. Hist. Scot.	*Documents illustrative of the History of Scotland, from the death of Alexander the third to the accession of Robert Bruce*, ed. Rev. J. Stevenson, 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1870)
Early Statutes	*Statutes and ordinances and acts of the parliament of Ireland. King John to Henry V*, ed. H. F. Berry, 2 vols. (Dublin 1907)
ed.	editor, edited
EHR	*The English Historical Review* (London 1886-)
fig.	Figure
Foedera	*Foedera, constitutiones, literae, et cuiuscunque generis acta publica etc.*, ed. T. Rymer, 4 vols. (London, 1816-69).
GAHSJ	*Galway Archaeological and Historical Society Journal* (1900-)
GSIHS Bull.	*Bullettin of the Group for the Study of Irish Historical Settlement* (1969-)
Gormanston Reg.	*Calendar of the Gormanston Register*, ed. J. Mills and M. J. McEnery (RSAI, Dublin 1916)
Giraldus, *Expugnatio*	Giraldus Cambrensis, *Expugnatio Hibernica: the conquest of Ireland,* ed. and tr. A. B. Scott and F. X. Martin (Dublin 1978)
Grace's Annals	*Jacobi Grace, Kilkennensis, Annales Hiberniae*, ed. R. Butler (Dublin 1842)
Hist. and mun. docs.	*Historical and municipal documents of Ireland, AD. 1172- 1320 from the archives of the city of Dublin*, ed. J. T. Gilbert, (RS, London 1870)

HMSO	Her Majesty's Stationery Office
IHS	*Irish Historical Studies: the joint journal of the Irish Historical Society and the Ulster Society for Irish Historical Studies* (Dublin, 1938-)
IMS	Irish Manuscript Commission
Ir.Chartul. Llanthony	*The Irish Chartularies of Llanthony Prima et Secunda*, ed. E. St. J. Brooks (IMC, Dublin 1953)
Ir. Exch. P.	*Irish Exchequer payments, 1270-1446,* P. Connolly ed. (IMC, Dublin, 1998).
'Irish Pipe Roll of 14 John'	'The Irish pipe roll of 14 John 1211-12', eds. O. Davies and D. B. Quinn *UJA*, 4 (1941), supplement, pp 1-76.
Lett. and Pap. Henry VIII	*Letters and papers, foreign and domestic, Henry VIII* (21 vols, London, 1862-1932)
m.	Membrane
MS	Manuscript
n.	Number
NAI	National Archives Ireland, formerly Public Record Office of Ireland, Dublin
Na Buirgéisí	*Na Buirgéisí, XII-XV aois*, ed. G. Mac Niocaill, 2 vols. (Dublin, 1964)
NLI	National Library Ireland, Dublin
NHI, II	*A new history of Ireland*, II: *medieval Ireland, 1169-1534*, ed. A. Cosgrove (Oxford 1987, repr. 1993).
NHI, IX	*A new history of Ireland*, IX: *maps, genealogies, lists – a companion to Irish history*, pt. ii, eds. T. W. Moody, FX. Martin and F. J. Byrne (Oxford, 1984, repr. 1998)
Normans	Orpen, G. H., *Ireland under the Normans, 1169- 1333*, 4 vols. (Oxford, 1911-20)
ODNB	*Oxford dictionary of national biography* (Oxford 2004)
ODSJ	*Journal of the Old Drogheda Society* (Drogheda, 1976-)
Ormond Deeds	*Calendar of Ormond deeds*, 1172-1350 [etc.], ed. E. Curtis, 5 vols. (Dublin, 1932-43).
Otway-Ruthven, *Med. Ire.*	A. J. Otway- Ruthven, *A History of Medieval Ireland*, (London 1968, repr. 1980)
PRO	Public Record Office, London
publ.	Published
pt.	Part
Reg. St. John's, Dublin	*Register of the hospital of St. John the Baptist without the New Gate, Dublin*, ed. E. St. John Brooks (IMC, Dublin 1936)
Rep. DKI	*Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records and Keeper of the State Papers in Ireland* (Dublin 1869-)

repr.	Reprinted
RIA Proc.	*Proceeding of the Irish Royal Academy* (Dublin, 1836-)
Riocht na Midhe	*Riocht na Midhe: Records of the Meath Archaeological and Historical Society* (Drogheda, 1955-)
Rot. Pat. Hib.	*Rotulorum patentium et clausorum cancellarie Hiberniae calendarium*, ed. E. Tresham (Dublin 1828)
RHSTrans.	*Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* (London, 1872-)
RS	*The chronicles and memorials of Great Britain and Ireland during the middle ages, published under the direction of the master of the Rolls* ('Rolls Series'), 99 vols. (London, 1858-96)
RSAIJ	*Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* (Dublin 1892-)
s.	*solidus* (shilling)
SA	*Senchas Ardmhacha. Journal of the Armagh Diocesan Historical Society* (Armagh, 1954-)
sect.	Section
Statute of the Realm	*The Statute of the realm printed by command of his Majesty King George III*, I (London, 1810); II (London, 1816).
Studia Hib.	*Studia Hibernica* (Dublin, 1961-)
TCD	Trinity College Dublin
TNA	The National Archives of England, Wales and the United Kingdom (formerly PRO)
trans.	translated by
UJA	*Ulster Journal of Archaeology* (Belfast, 1853-)
UCD	University College Dublin

INTRODUCTION

"Certain vills are more than vills; they are boroughs (*burgi*); certain boroughs are more than boroughs; they are cities (*civitates*). The latter of these distinctions has little or no meaning in Law".[1]

The most striking difference between the institutions of pre-Anglo Norman Ireland and the Ireland of the three centuries which followed the *expugnatio* of 1169 was the chartered town. The Latin charter in itself was not unknown in twelfth-century Ireland. In spite of what the limited extant evidence would indicate, Irish kings made use of it before and after this date.[2] Ecclesiastical institutions were at that time the charters' main beneficiaries as well as their drafters. Marie Therese Flanagan pointed to "the pan-European church reforming movement" as the most plausible context for their adoption in twelfth-century Ireland.[3] Medieval charters can not be evaluated outside the scope of this pan-European dimension and the basic acknowledgment that the Roman Church had been its cradle.[4] Within this context, charter scholarship of Ireland, the British Isles and Normandy must be assessed as a whole for obvious historical reasons.[5]

---

[1] With these words Pollock and Maitland opened the section dedicated to the borough in their manual of constitutional law; see F. Pollock and F. W. Maitland, *The history of English law, before the reign of Edward I*, I, p. 63.

[2] The number of Irish royal charters amounts to fifteen. Only five charters issued by Irish kings pre-date the Anglo-Norman conquest, one of which survives in original and one of which is incomplete; see M. T. Flanagan, *Irish royal charters. Texts and contents* (Oxford, 2005), pp7-24. See also a previous still valuable discussion in W. Davies, 'The Latin charter-tradition in western Britain, Brittany and Ireland in the early medieval period', in D. Whitelock *et al.* (eds.), *Ireland in Early medieval Europe. Studies in memory of Kathleen Hughes* (Cambridge, 1982), pp 258-80.

[3] Charter-making in Ireland during the twelfth century links up to the contemporary charter-tradition existing on the continent and in Britain *via* Rome; see Flanagan, 'The context and uses of the of the Latin charter in twelfth century Ireland', in H. Pryce (ed.), *Literacy in medieval Celtic societies* (Cambridge, 1998), pp 121-22.

[4] The Cistercian order seems the main promoter of the use of charters in Ireland; see Flanagan, 'Irish royal charters and the Cistercian order', in eadem and J. A. Green (eds.), *Charters and charter scholarship in Britain and Ireland* (New York, 2005), pp 120-39. Huw Pryce pointed to the monasteries as the places of production of the majority of the Welsh charters; see H. Pryce, 'Culture, power and the charters of Welsh rulers', in ibidem, pp 184-202. Broun recognized the church as main beneficiary of the charters granted by Mael Coluim IV, king of Scots (1153-65); see Broun, D., 'The charters of Gaelic Scotland and Ireland in the early and central middle ages', *Quiggin Pamphlets on the sources of medieval Gaelic history*, 2 (Cambridge, 1995).

[5] This is the main recommendation proposed by David Bates for scholars undertaking the study of medieval charters; see D. Bates, 'Charters and historians of Britain and Ireland: problems and possibilities', in Flanagan and Green (eds.), *Charters and charter scholarship*, pp 1, 7, 12.

To come to the point, the real innovation was not the charter as an instrument in itself, but its recipient: the borough. The proliferation of charters in post-Norman Ireland was determined by the necessity to dominate the newly conquered land. Charters were part of a 'strategy' as much as castles were. Besides, the continuous state of war in the colony preserved for them that original connotation. By the same token, Drogheda's medieval charters are here evaluated not as written records[6] but instead as expressions of power and vehicles of law.

The historiography of medieval Drogheda lacks a study dedicated to the royal charters of liberties that were bestowed on the town. This thesis brings together forty-five legal instruments - royal charters and other ancillary grants - issued under the English and Irish seals, all addressed to Drogheda between the years 1194 and 1412.

The aim of this exercise is three fold. It provides for the first time a comprehensive collection of the extant legal instruments for the medieval twin town. Condensed in the Appendix - volume 2 - their transcription and translation restore the link between the foundation of Drogheda and its present legal position. Secondly, this source material constitutes the basis for the discussion of the liberties, the institutions and the juridical space occupied by Drogheda in medieval Ireland. Thirdly, such material can be and is here exploited as a source for thirteenth - to early-fifteenth-century Irish history. Drogheda's charters record the names of officers of central and local administration and give an insight into themes which relate to royal and seigniorial lordship, politics and the finance of the colony. Charters directly allude to the other Anglo-Norman towns; Dublin, Waterford, Wexford, Cork, and even Galway, are therefore brought into the discussion and drawn upon for comparisons and contrasts.

The constitutional approach that drives the present investigation is one that is still quite neglected by the scholarship of medieval Ireland.[7] Dublin, Waterford and Kilkenny

---

[6] Clancy, M. T., *From memory to written record. England 1066-1307* (Harvard, 1974; repr. Oxford 1993). Clancy looked at charters and records as literary sources, reading them as ' texts', to explore the use of literacy in the middle ages. His argument was based on the assumption that the development of literacy was born 'from and for day-to-day business, rather than through creative writing'; see ibidem, p. 3.

[7] The only exceptions focus on Dublin, Waterford, Limerick, Cork, Youghal and Dungarvan. Self-government was the theme of R. D. Edwards, 'The beginning of municipal government in Dublin', *DHR*, 1 (1938-9), pp 2-10, reprinted in H. Clarke (ed.) *Medieval Dublin. The living city* (Blackrock, 1990), pp 145-52. The institutions of medieval Waterford are discusses by E. McEneaney, *A history of Waterford and its mayors from the 12th century to the 20th century* (Waterford, 1995). For Limerick, see D. Lee (ed.), *Remembering Limerick. Historical essays celebrating the 800th anniversary of Limerick's first charter*

are at the present the only three towns whose medieval records have been drawn together and published.[8] The debate on customary law in Ireland has been hindered by two factors. The first is material, the disastrous loss of records which occurred in the fire at the Four Courts in 1922.[9] The second is psychological. In a short publication dedicated to the royal charters of Waterford, Julian C. Walton courageously consolidated his points by stating that charters, as a product of external forces ruling the Irish colony, have not been the chief subject of interest during the past two centuries' historiography.[10] In this thesis it is submitted that charters, as well as public or private legal instruments, are a most precious inheritance to preserve and examine, for not only do they reveal the history of their grantors, but also that of their grantees.

The most important work carried out on the evaluation of the sources for the Irish medieval borough remains *Na Buirgéisí* by Gearóid Mac Niocaill.[11] In his first volume, Mac Niocaill transcribed ten of the charters of liberties granted to Drogheda together with the ones available for many other Irish towns.[12] The second volume, in Irish, addresses the nature of the Irish borough.[13] Prior to Mac Niocaill's publication, many of the Irish

---

granted in 1197 (Limerick, 1997); M. Potter, *The government and the people of Limerick. The history of Limerick corporation-city council 1197-2006* (Limerick, 2006). The sets of privileges of Cork, Youghal and Dungarvan are discussed A. F. O' Brien, 'The development of the privileges, liberties and immunities of medieval Cork and the growth of urban autonomy, c. 1189 to 1500', *CHAHJ* XC (1985), pp 46-64; idem, 'Medieval Youghal. The development of an Irish seaport trading town, c. 1200 to c. 1500', *Peritia*, 5 (1986), pp 346-78; idem, 'The development and evolution of the medieval borough and port of Dungarvan, County Wexford c. 1200 to c. 1530', *CHAHJ* XCII (1987), pp 85-9. Waterford Corporation sponsorized a short publication describing the town's medieval charters; see J. C. Walton, *The royal charters of Waterford* (Waterford, 1992).

[8] The medieval charters of Dublin were published in J. T. Gilbert (ed.), *Calendar of ancient records of Dublin, in the possession of the municipal corporation of that city* (Dublin, 1889), I; idem (ed.), *Historical and municipal documents of Ireland, AD. 1172- 1320 from the archives of the city of Dublin* (London, 1870). Waterford's medieval records as contained in the Great Charter Roll and the Great Parchment Book are published in E. A. McEneaney and R. Ryan, *Waterford treasures* (Waterford 2004); N. J. Byrne (ed.) *The Great Parchment Book of Waterford.* Liber antiquissimus civitatis Waterfordiae (Dublin, 2007). For Kilkenny, see J. Bradley, *Treasures of Kilkenny: Charters and civic records of Kilkenny city* (Kilkenny, 2003).

[9] For a description of what existed in the Public Record Office of Ireland at the Fourt Court, Dublin, see H. Wood, *Guide to the records deposited in the Public Record Office of Ireland* (Dublin 1919). The same author gave a sad recount of what was lost after the fire of 1922, see idem, 'The public records of Ireland before and after 1922', in *RHS Trans*, 4th series, 13 (1930), pp 17-49. Full details of the surviving material are given in the Appendix to Rep. DKI, 55 (Dublin1928).

[10] J. C. Walton, *Royal charters of Waterford* (Waterford, 1992), pp 1-2. On the interactions between modern Irish politics and historiography of late medieval Ireland, see S. G. Ellis, 'Nationalist historiography and the English and Gaelic worlds in the late middle ages', *IHS*, XXV, 97 (1986), pp 1-18.

[11] G. Mac Niocaill, *Na Buirgéisí, XII-XV aois* (Dublin, 1964), 2 vols.

[12] Ibidem, I, pp 172-210.

[13] The volume draws conclusions on many aspect of the medieval Irish borough: the dynamic of its

municipal charters were only available in manuscript form at The National Archives (formerly PRO), London; others existed only in calendared form;[14] yet others had been published by the Record Commission Ireland in abbreviated form and in 'record type' with the title *Chartae, privilegia et immunitates;*[15] finally, Dublin's charters were accessible thanks to extensive archival work carried out by Sir John Gilbert.[16]

The majority of the source material attached in the Appendix comes from these and other published records, apart from six instruments which have been transcribed from unpublished sources preserved in manuscript form at The National Archives, London.[17] The present study then seeks at least partially to fulfil the suggestion put forward by MacNiocaill in the foreword to his second volume. He stated that, using the transcriptions of the Irish towns' charters made available in the first volume of *Na Buirgéisí*, it would be possible and worthwhile to compile a series of monographs on almost every one of those towns.[18]

The civic records of early-modern Drogheda were published in 1915 after Rev. T. Gogarty's transcription of the *Council Book of the Corporation of Drogheda (1649-1734).*[19] It is worth reporting that many of the acts there recorded, refer to the existence of two earlier books, the Red Book and White Book in the town's records. They contained all of the charters of privileges conferred on Drogheda by the crown since its foundation.[20] Both the Red and the White Books survived the Cromwell's attack of 1649. They were

---

foundation, its officialdom and community, administration, jurisdiction, finance, wealth and trading. I wish to express my gratitude to Dr Mary Katharine Simms who has patiently translated much of the Irish text from the second volume of *Na Buirgéisí*, making it understandable to this non-Irish speaker.

[14] On the use of published calendars and their limitations, see P. Dryburgh and B. Smith (eds.), *Handbook and select calendar of sources for medieval Ireland in the National Archives of the United Kingdom* (Dublin, London 2005), pp 48-120.

[15] *Chartae, privilegia et immunitates, being transcripts of charters and privileges to cities, towns, abbey and other bodies corporate [...], 1171-1395* (RCI, Dublin 1829-30, publ. 1889).

[16] J. T. Gilbert (ed.), *Cal. ancient rec.* (Dublin, 1889),*I;* idem, *Historical and municipal documents of Ireland, AD. 1172- 1320 from the archives of the city of Dublin* (RS, London, 1870).

[17] TNA, C66/44 m. 10 (14 June 1234); TNA, C66/53 m. 11 (23 April 1243); TNA, C 66/98 m. 26 (4 December 1278); TNA, C66/115 m. 8 (29 August 1296); TNA, C66/340 m. 29 (4 July 1394); TNA, C53/174 m.1 (9 April 1404).

[18] *Na Buirgéisí,* II, p. vii.

[19] Rev. T. Gogarty, *Council Book of the corporation of Drogheda from the year 1649 to 1734* (Drogheda, 1915, repr. Dundalk 1988).

[20] The *Liber Albus* or White Book of Dublin (13th-17th century) contains transcripts of documents in abbreviated Latin, French and old English relating to to town's privileges and government; see *Cal. ancient rec.*, I, p. 81-204. The Chain Book of Dublin contains lists of the laws and ordinances of the city of Dublin, legal proceedings and acts, lists of prisoners in Newgate and directions for pageants on Corpus Christi; see ibidem, I, pp 205-270.

regularly consulted by the town officers until September 1730, when tracing back the ancient laws and customs of the town.[21]

Apart from three antiquarian municipal histories[22] and MacNiocaill's study on the Irish boroughs, the historiography concerning Drogheda includes a few studies carried out during the twentieth century. Some essays, focussed on the archaeological evidence of the town, have been published in the journals of *Country Louth Archaeological and Historical Society* and the *Old Drogheda Society.* They engage with the town's defences, domestic buildings, monuments, street, lanes, and burials.[23] The most comprehensive of all are: the study of the topography and layout of medieval Drogheda by J. Bradley; and D. Murphy's dissertation on *Medieval Drogheda.*[24] Three existing maps support the study of town's landscape: Barnaby Goche's map (1574)[25], Robert Newcomen's map (1649)[26] and the seigniorial (1194).[27] However, the borough was soon taken into royal hands (1213). As a

---

[21] Gogarty, *Council Book of Drogheda*, p. 399: "...ordered that the Assembly Book and White Parchment Book, be delivered to Alderm. John Leigh, there being occasion to produce them in the Chancery Court, upon a second hearing appointed next term in the cause twixt Michael Bird and ye Corporation..." (1730). The Red Book and White Book of Drogheda are mentioned in an act dating to the year 1657; see ibidem, p. 45.

[22] L. C. Johnston, *History of Drogheda* (Drogheda, 1826); J. D'Alton, *History of Drogheda* (Dublin, 1844), 2 vols; A. Hughes, The *history of Drogheda up to date with memoirs of the martyr-primate DR Oliver Plunket* (Drogheda, 1893).

[23] M. Kelly, 'Two castles of Drogheda', *CLAHJ*, IX, 3 (1939), pp 244-45; W. P. Allen, 'Some notes on the old fortifications of Drogheda, County Louth', *CLAHJ,* 10, 3 (1943), pp 233-44; H. M. Roe, 'Two decorated fonts in Drogheda, Co. Louth', *CLAHJ*, XVIII, 4 (1976), pp 255-62; M. Corcoran, 'The streets and lanes of Drogheda', *JODS*, 2 (1977), pp 22-30; Idem, 'The streets and lanes of Drogheda", *JODS* , 3 (1978-9), pp 27-39; P. D. Sweetman, 'Archaeological excavations at Shop Street, Drogheda', *RIA Proc.*, 84, C, 5 (1984), pp 171-232; H. A. King, 'A possible market cross fragment from Drogheda', *CLAHJ*, XX, 4(1984), pp 334-39; K. Campbell, 'A Medieval tile kiln site at Magdalene Street, Drogheda', *CLAHJ*, XXI, 1 (1985), pp 48-54; idem, 'Some medieval tiles from Drogheda', *JOD*, 5 (1986), pp 14-26; idem, 'The archaeology of medieval Drogheda', *Archaeology Ireland*, 1 (1987), pp 52-56; V. M. Buckley, *Archaeological inventory of County Louth* (Dublin, 1986), p. 98; A. D. Robinson, *Ancient Drogheda* (Drogheda, 1994); Thomas, *Walled towns*, 2, pp 72-79; T. Reilly, *Tracing Drogheda's medieval walls* (Drogheda, 1995); A. Halpin and L. Buckley, 'Archaeological excavations at the Dominican Priory, Drogheda, Co. Louth', *Proc. RIA, 95 C* (1995), pp 175-253; J. Garry, *The street and lanes of Drogheda* (Drogheda, 1996); E. Halpin, 'Excavations at St. Mary d'Urso, Drogheda, Co. Louth', *CLAHJ*, XXIII, 4 (1996), 252-510; D. Murphy, 'Archaeological excavations at the Magdalene tower, Drogheda', County Louth, *CLAHJ*, XXIV, 1 (1997), pp 75-128; eadem, 'Recent archaeological discoveries in Drogheda', *JODS*, 11 (1998), pp 6-17; S. Duffy (ed.), *Medieval Ireland. An encyclopaedia* (London, 2005), p. 385.

[24] J. Bradley, 'The topography and layout of medieval Drogheda, County Louth', *CLAHJ*, XIX, 2 (1978), pp 98-127; D. Murphy, *Medieval Drogheda,* M.Litt./ UCD (1998), 2 vols.

[25] A. Thomas, 'Drogheda, 1574', *CLAHJ*, XVIII, 3 (1975), pp 179-86.

[26] *CLAHJ*, I, 4, (1907), pp. 112-13.

[27] *Na Buirgéisí,* I, pp 172-73; see Appendix 3.

result, all of the other charters and instruments collected by this study were granted by the kings of England. From 1229, Drogheda became something like a twin-town.[28]

The comprehension of Drogheda's legal double nature is indeed one of the focal issues addressed by this study. The duplication of boroughs was a common feature in both medieval Ireland and England. The case of Waterford and New Ross, a royal and a seigniorial borough on the opposite banks of the river Suir, suggests analogies with the two Droghedas.[29] At Trim, on the other hand, the two walled areas separated by the Boyne had never functioned as two separated towns, as at Drogheda.[30] England and Wales show many examples of town plantation in duplicate, which were cases in which suburban growth was accorded separate borough status. L. Butler called them the 'secondary quasi-independent boroughs' adjoining the existing town.[31] The question must be asked as to whether or not Drogheda may fall into this category; and if so, to what extent legal separation may have determined its evolution. Aside from the royal and seigniorial imprints, what other forces are to be considered in the town's development?

The source material for the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries indicates that Drogheda soon became one of the five most important Anglo-Norman royal towns in Ireland.[32] Unlike Dublin, Waterford, Cork and Limerick, Drogheda is nowadays not regarded as a Norse settlement.[33]

The estuary of the river Boyne - known as Βουουίνδα, later as Inber Colptha - is referred to in classical sources, hagiography, Irish sources and oral tradition. The first

---

[28] *Ch. priv.et imm.*, pp 20-21; *Na Buirgéisí*, I, pp 185-188; see Appendix 6. By the charter of 1229 the two settlements on the opposite banks of the Boyne started living under different constitutions and appear to have stood in different positions with respect to the crown.

[29] The historiography concerning Waterford is richer than that available for Drogheda. The economic rivalry between Waterford and New Ross is the most persistent element in Waterford records for well over two centuries. It has been suggested that this was the reason for the compilation of the Great Charter Roll; see Walton, *Royal charters of Waterford*, pp 4, 10; McEneaney, *History of Waterford*, p. 71.

[30] M. Potterton, *Medieval Trim. History and archaeology* (Dublin, 2005), pp 181-82.

[31] L. Butler, 'The evolution of towns: planted towns after 1066', in M. W. Barley (ed.), *The plans and topography of medieval towns in England and Wales*, Research Report n° 14 (London, 1976), p. 46: according to Butler, economic reasons or pre-existing boundaries determined the occurrence of duplicated boroughs. He reports more than a dozen towns in England which were split between two or more parishes and four which were split between two counties.

[32] The Viking settlements of Dublin, Waterford, Cork and Limerick, were early reserved to the crown and became royal boroughs; to these were added new royal foundations such as Athlone, Dungarvan and the two Droghedas; see A. F. O'Brien, 'The royal boroughs, the seaport towns and royal revenues in medieval Ireland', *RSAIJ*, 118 (1988), p 13.

[33] J. Bradley, 'The topography and layout of medieval Drogheda, County Louth', *CLAHJ*, XIX, 2 (1978), p. 103; D. Murphy, *Medieval Drogheda,* M.Litt./ UCD (1998), I, p. 5.

chapter of this thesis addresses the pre-Norman evidence for Drogheda, discussing whether the site was occupied either by a monastic or Viking settlement.[34]

Customary law is the second subject of discussion. Unlike the four Irish towns mentioned before, Drogheda was not granted the customs of Bristol.[35] It was instead by the Law of Breteuil that Walter de Lacy's burgesses, dwelling near his castle on the southern side of the bridge, were given borough status.[36] The very nature of this affiliation requires moving the research to Wales and Normandy and considering twelfth-century Ireland in its duly European dimension.

The evolution of Drogheda's municipal government is the other theme tackled by this study: its technical expressions, burgage tenure, provost-ship, fee farm, mayoralty and incorporation, are addressed in chapters two and four. The chief difficulty facing this task is not the lack of charters granting such institutions to Drogheda, but their inadequate content. A. Ballard and J. Tait have determined this characteristic as true with regards to most British boroughs.[37] MacNiocaill has detected it as wide-ranging trait of the Irish borough.[38]

Drogheda does not have a complete list of its medieval mayors. The only study carried out on this subject is the one by John D'Alton, author of an antiquarian history of

---

[34] The role of the contemporary, indigenous, major monastic centres in the foundation of towns in Ireland was recognized by E. Curtis, *A history of Ireland* (London, 1938), p. 408; see also B. J. Graham, 'Anglo-Norman settlement in County Meath', *RIA Proc.*, 75, C (1975), pp 239-40; A. Simms and K. Simms, 'Origin of principal Irish towns', in J. P. Haughton (ed.), *Atlas of Ireland prepared under the direction of the Irish National Committee for Geography* (RIA, Dublin, 1979), p. 43; C. Doherty, 'The monastic town in early medieval Ireland', in H. B. Clarke and A. Simms (eds.), *The comparative history of urban origins in non-Roman Europe* (Oxford, 1985), I, pp 45-69; J. Bradley, 'The monastic town of Clonmacnoise', in H. A. King (ed.), *Clonmacnoise Studies*, I, Seminar Papers 1998 (Dublin 2003), pp 42-56; W. Nolan and A. Simms, *Irish towns. A guide to the sources* (Dublin, 1998), pp 10-12.

[35] Dublin, Cork, Limerick, Waterford, Rathcoole and Galway were all granted the customs of Bristol: Dublin by Henry II in 1171x1172 (*Na Buirgéisí*, I, pp 75-76); Cork by John in 1189x1199 (ibidem, I, pp 158-59); Limerick by John in 1197 (ibidem, I, pp 236-7). In the year 1207 King John granted the citizens of Waterford a murage charter 'such as the burgesses of his city of Bristol have' (Walton, *Royal charters of Waterford*, p. 16); then, in 1215 he granted the city liberties and free customs similar to those granted to Dublin in 1192 (*Ch. priv. et imm.*, p. 13). Rathcoole near Dublin was granted the same customs by Henry III in 1228x1255 (*Na Buirgéisí*, I, pp 293-4). Galway was given the same privileges as Dublin in 1484 (ibidem, I, pp 228-9).

[36] Ibidem, I, pp 172-73. The diffusion of the law of Breteuil to Wales and Ireland had been studied by M. Bateson, 'The Laws of Breteuil', *EHR* XV (1900), pp 73-78, 302-18, 496- 523, 754-757; *EHR* XVI (1901), pp 92-110, pp 332-345; R. Bartlett, *England under the Norman and Angevin Kings, 1075-1225* (Oxford, 2000), p. 337.

[37] Even when referring to the establishment of such institutions, the charters and the records of central government do not describe their operative functioning; nor do they mention their executive officers. See A. Ballard and J. Tait, *British borough charters, 1206-1307* (Cambridge 1923), pp lviii-lix.

[38] *Na Buirgeisi,* II, pp 332, 400; see also M. Potter, *History of Limerick*, p. 37.

Drogheda. His list covers the years between 1285 and 1830.[39] An additional undertaking of the present study is therefore to verify the accuracy of D'Alton list of the mayors of Drogheda and, possibly, to enrich it with new names.[40]

This thesis is not directly concerned with economic history.[41] The overseas trade which involved Drogheda during Edward I's reign is analyzed in Chapter 5 essentially in its military relevance; that is in the form of references to vessels, victuals, provisions and subsidies in aid of the king's war in Gaelic Ireland, Wales, Gascony and Scotland. The material is organized in tables as well as maps which together are an attempt to outline the town's funding of warfare.

The documentary impact of the Bruce invasion on Drogheda, as discussed in Chapter six, consists of nine charters separately bestowed upon each borough during three years (from 1316 to 1319) and one in 1322.[42] There seems to be evidence suggesting that that conflict at Drogheda was fought on three levels: official, racial and seigniorial.

The discussion in Chapter seven traces the course of the standardization of Drogheda's privileges which were partially normalized to those of Dublin during the 1330s.[43] The Black Death and Drogheda's ecclesiastical interdict of 1353 offer an insight into the clash existing between laity and clergy living within the walls. The assessment of William Windsor's appointment leads the discussion to parliamentary representation and consent in late medieval Ireland.

---

[39] D'Alton, *History of Drogheda*, I, pp 246-7. Another list is given in one of Ware's manuscript volumes transcribing fragments of anonymous annals; see Rawlinson MS. B 484, Bodleian Library, Oxford, *Collectanea Varia Jacobi Warei, Containing Extracts Relating to the Arms of the Anglo-Irish Nobility, Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin, Mayors of Drogheda and Catalogue of Irish Saints in Irish, XVII century*: 'Out of the Register of the Mayors of Drogheda written about 1591', ff. 67-71. However, Ware's list has had limited impact on this study because it is focussed on the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries only century (1470-1592). D'Alton did not use Ware's list. The two lists do not correspond and sometimes report a different mayor for the same year. See also Rev. D. MacIvor, 'Two old Drogheda chronicles', *CLAHJ*, XV (1961), p. 89.

[40] The value of D'Alton's work is certainly relevant. However, it is an antiquarian's compilation and even when it gives the impression that its affirmations were founded on original documents, he does not support them with footnotes or bibliographical references; see Appendix 13.

[41] For a general discussion on medieval Irish overseas trade see M. D. O' Sullivan, *Italian merchant bankers in Ireland the thirteen century. A study in the social and economic history of medieval Ireland* (Dublin, 1962); T. O'Neill, *Merchants and mariners in Medieval Ireland* (Dublin 1987); W. Childs and T. O'Neill, 'Overseas trade', in A. Cosgrove (ed.), A New history of Ireland, II: medieval Ireland, 1169-1534 (Oxford 1987, repr.1993), II, pp 492-524; W. Childs, 'Irish merchants in late medieval England', *IHS*, XXXII (2000), pp 22-43.

[42] At that time, individuals and communities in Ireland had received various rewards intended to ensure their loyalty to the king in the face of the Scots' threat. The details are given in R. Frame, *English lordship in Ireland, 1318-61* (Oxford, 1982), pp 250-1.

[43] See Appendices 33,34.

The long-lasting and unquestioned loyalty of Drogheda to the crown is given 'physical' evidence by two episodes: first, the sentence of exile at Drogheda of Richard II's supporters, John Beauchamp of Holt and Robert Bealknap, as a result of the Merciless Parliament (1388);[44] second, the presence there of the king in person during January and March 1394.[45]

At long last, chapter nine inquires into the background as well as the institutional changes enacted by the charter of incorporation of Drogheda into a town and its erection into a county in 1412.[46]

[44] *CCR,* 1385-89, pp 382, 474, 509-10, 515-16; D'Alton, *History of Drogheda*, 2, pp 101-3. The background of the 'Wonderful' Parliament (1386) and the 'Merciless' Parliament (1388) are analyzed in M. V. Clarke, 'Forfeiture and treason in 1388', in *Fourteenth Century studies* (Oxford, 1937), pp 115-45; A. Tuck, *Richard II and the English nobility* (London, 1973), pp 102-120.

[45] The bibliography concerning Richard II's expeditions to Ireland is limited to two names: Edmund Curtis and Dorothy Johnson; see E. Curtis, *Richard II in Ireland, 1394-95* (Oxford, 1927); D. Johnson, 'The interim years: Richard II and Ireland, 1395-99', in J. Lydon (ed.), *England and Ireland in the later middle ages* (Blackrock, 1981), pp 175-95; eadem, 'Richard II and the submission of Gaelic Ireland', *IHS*, XXII (1980-1), pp 1-20.

[46] See Appendix 45.

CHAPTER 1

SOME NOTES ON PRE-NORMAN DROGHEDA

In classical sources the estuary of the river Boyne is known as *Buvinda*. It was a well known landing point from the time of Ptolemy of Pelusium and probably served as landing point during the Roman period. Thereafter, in the pre-Christian era the mouth of the Boyne came to be known as Inber Colptha, namely 'the strait of Colpe' and later was instrumental in the evangelization of Ireland by St. Patrick.

The name Drogheda does not appear in the sources until the middle of the twelfth century. Drogheda is an anglicization of the Irish word *Droichead Átha* that is 'the bridge of the ford'. The word *Áth* is a common element in Irish toponomy and means a ford or crossing point over a river or stream; place-names including this element usually recall the nature of the settlement, as in the case of Dublin (*Áth Cliath*), Trim (*Áth Truim*), Athlone (*Áth Luain*), Athenry (*Áthan Ríght*), and Athy.[1] *Droichead* is the word universally employed to denote a bridge. The etymology clearly points to the fact that the first bridge was built over the ford where the northern road along the coast crossed the river.[2] Modern historians and archaeologists maintain that Drogheda is a town of Anglo- Norman foundation.[3] In the first available source materials Drogheda is named *ponte de Drocheda*, *novo Ponte de Drogheda, novus pons*, *civitas Pontana* or simply *Pons*.[4] The reference to the new bridge provides the earliest positive evidence that the Anglo- Norman settlement was located away from the original "*Droichead Átha*" at Oldbridge which was the pre-Norman fording point of the Boyne and was placed further up stream, at the bend of the

---

[1] P. W. Joyce, *The origin and history of Irish place names* (Dublin, 1995), I, pp 354-57.

[2] Ibidem, pp 367-69.

[3] Colmcille, *Story of Mellifont* (Dublin, 1958), pp 286-303; B. J. Graham, 'Anglo-Norman settlement in County Meath', *RIA Proc.*, 75, C (1975), p. 226; J. Bradley, 'The topography and layout of medieval Drogheda, County Louth', *CLAHJ* XIX, 2 (1978), p. 103; idem, *Walled towns in Ireland* (Dublin, 1995), p. 1; T. B. Barry, *The archaeology of medieval Ireland* (London 1987), pp 131-34; S. O'Connor, 'Tudor Drogheda 1534-1603', in *JODS*, 10 (1996), pp 86-111; D. Murphy, *Medieval Drogheda*, M.Litt./ UCD (1998), I, pp 15-18 ; T. O'Keeffe, *An archaeology of medieval Ireland* (Stroud, 2002), p. 93.

[4] See below, Chap. 2, pp 28-67.

Boyne. Before the Anglo-Norman arrival, the main north-south routes from Dublin to Ulster used to pass through Oldbridge.[5] A new site was therefore preferred by the Anglo-Norman colonists and the building of the new bridge and the castle was the starting point for the creation of a new town.

The new location was chosen for at least four important reasons. Firstly, the area was already on the intersection of the three main pre-Norman travel routes; it was also the lowest narrow bridging point on the river Boyne; further, the existence of the Millmount on the southern bank of the river guaranteed control and defence to the site; finally, because the Boyne estuary had potential as a waterway for the hinterland and as a seaport facing Britain. The existence of a religious settlement predating the invasion, the Abbey of St. Mary, could be a possible fifth factor to take into account. However, the location of the abbey is still in doubt and while in the past it was believed that the abbey did give rise to the borough, archaeologists are more inclined nowadays to locate the abbey further up stream, at Oldbridge.[6]

The mouth of the river Boyne took on a new significance under the Anglo-Normans, who made Drogheda one of Ireland's chief ports within an empire which encompassed all of England, northern and western France and part of Wales. The selection of a new site closer to the coast line and in a more advantageous position for overseas trading purposes was perhaps a planned decision: in this new capacity the mouth of the Boyne served the colonists' need to be connected with their homeland. According to Benjamin Hudson, the arrival of the colonists saw the Boyne become one of the three main routes of the Irish Sea province. Hudson identified this route as linking the river Dee and the north Welsh coast and the Isle of Man with the Boyne and the Liffey, thereby providing a link with the important ports of Chester, Holyhead and Dublin.[7]

---

[5] S. Lewis, *Topographical dictionary, Ireland* (London, 1837), II, p. 447; G. Stout, 'The Bend of the Boyne, County Meath', in F. H. A. Aalen, K. Whelan and M. Stout (eds.) *Atlas of the Irish rural landscape* (Cork, 1997), pp 305-8.

[6] See below, Chap.1.2, pp 22-27.

[7] B. Hudson, 'The changing economy of the Irish Sea province', in B. Smith (ed.), *Britain and Ireland: insular responses to medieval European change (900-1300)*, (Cambridge, 1999), p. 40.

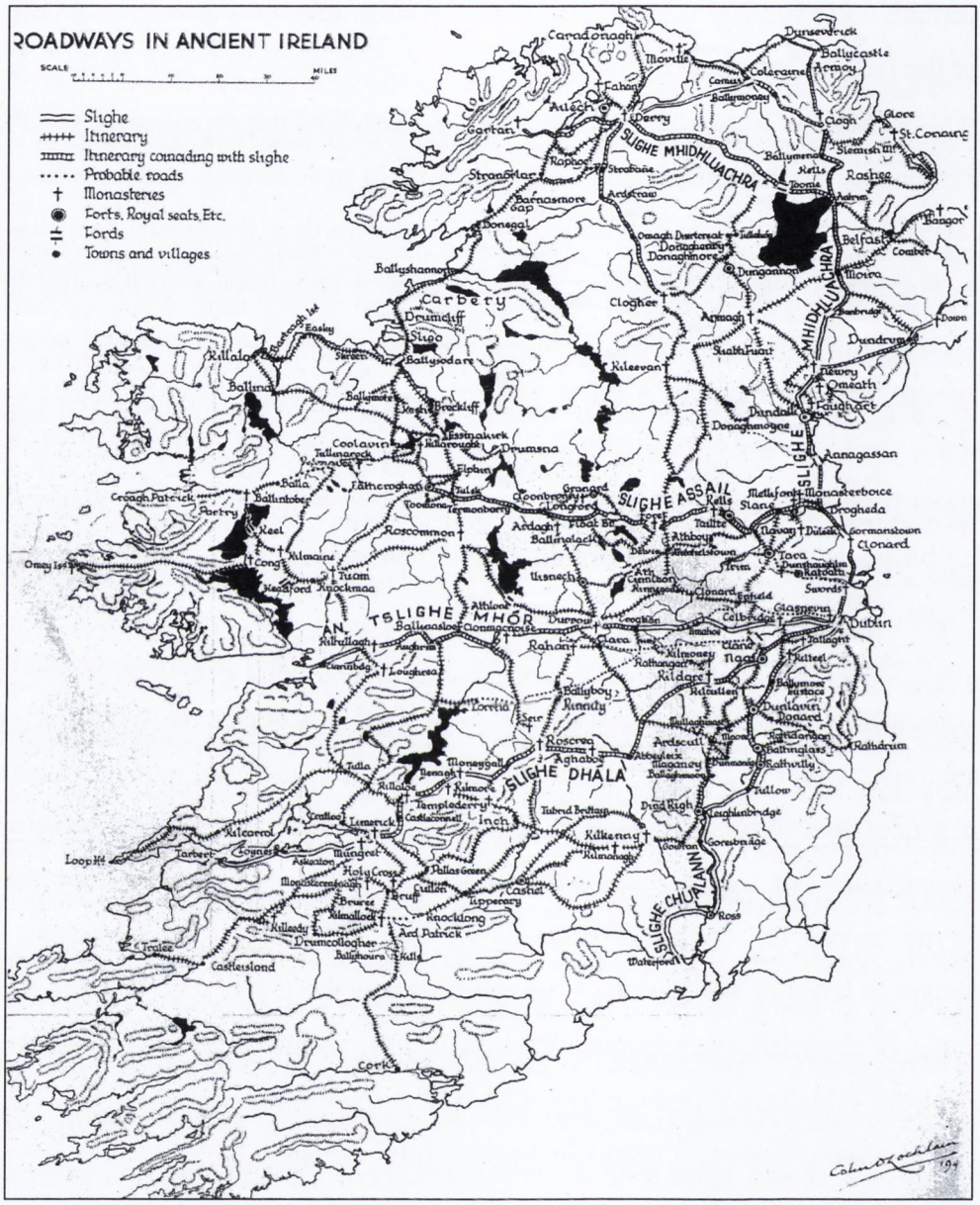


FIG. 1 O'Lochlainn, C., 'Roadways in ancient Ireland', in J. Ryan (ed.), *Essay and Studies presented to Professor Eoin MacNeill on the occasion of his seventieth birthday, May 15th 1938* (Dublin, 1940), end of the volume.

1. The estuary of the Boyne: Inber Colptha in the classical sources, archaeological evidence, hagiography, Irish sources and oral tradition

Classical sources

Documentary references to the estuary of the river Boyne are the starting point of this analysis of pre-Norman Drogheda. The territory of the Boyne was part of the old region of *Brega*, an area defined on the north by the Rivers Dee and Glyde and on the south by the river Liffey and Rye. The western border is not as easy to trace and probably extended beyond the Blackwater and the Boyne. Edel Bhreathnach suggested a line passing through Mullagh Hill and incorporating Slieve na Calliagh and Lough Sheelin. The eastern limit of Brega was the sea.[8] A recurring theme in the early sources is that this part of the coast and particularly the mouth of the Boyne were a well-known point of entry into Ireland.

The earliest known reference to the mouth of the river Boyne dates to the second century BC when Ptolemy of Pelusium - Claudius Ptolemaeus - referred to it in his treatise on geography. The Boyne was at that time known by the name of Βουουίνδα, *Buvinda*.[9] In his work Ptolemy recorded the position of fifteen river-mouths, five promontories, eleven 'towns' and nine islands. He also indicated the relative positions of sixteen tribes and gave the names of four surrounding seas. Further north of the Boyne, Ptolemy mentions a place called Ισαμνιον - *Isamnion* - which he designated as a promontory. Woluntioi - *Voluntii* - was the name of the tribe assigned by Ptolemy to the area between cape *Isamnion* and the *Buvinda*. The tribe is undoubtedly connected with the Ulaid. Historians have suggested a radical relocation of the name *Isamion* identifying it as a town rather than as a promontory.[10] Orpen put forward the identification of *Isamnion* with Dundalk, arguing that

---

[8] E. Bhreathnach, 'The medieval kingdom of Brega', in E. Breathnach (ed.), *The kingship and landscape of Tara* (Dublin, 2005), pp 410-22.

[9] E. L. Stevenson (ed. and trans.), *Claudius Ptolemy. The Geography*, (New York, 1991), p. 48. See below Fig. 2, p. 14.

[10] G. Toner, 'Identifying Ptolemy's Irish places and tribes', in D. N. Parson and P. Sims-Williams (eds.) *Ptolemy. Towards a linguistic atlas of the earliest Celtic place-names of Europe* (Aberystwyth, 2000), pp 77-78.

Ptolemy's term πόλεις is not to be regarded as towns, but instead "duns, cashels, cathairs or raths, inside of which the chieftains of the tribes dwelt in either dry-stone clochauns or round wickerwork huts".[11] O'Rahilly in his *Early Irish history and mythology* - and Byrne after him - have identified *Isamnion* with Emain, the capital of the Ulaid.[12] Ptolemy's *Geography* is considered to rely heavily on the work of a fellow geographer, Marynus of Tyre and on the works of a previous scholar, Philemon, apart from such contemporary sources as mariners, traders and merchants.[13]

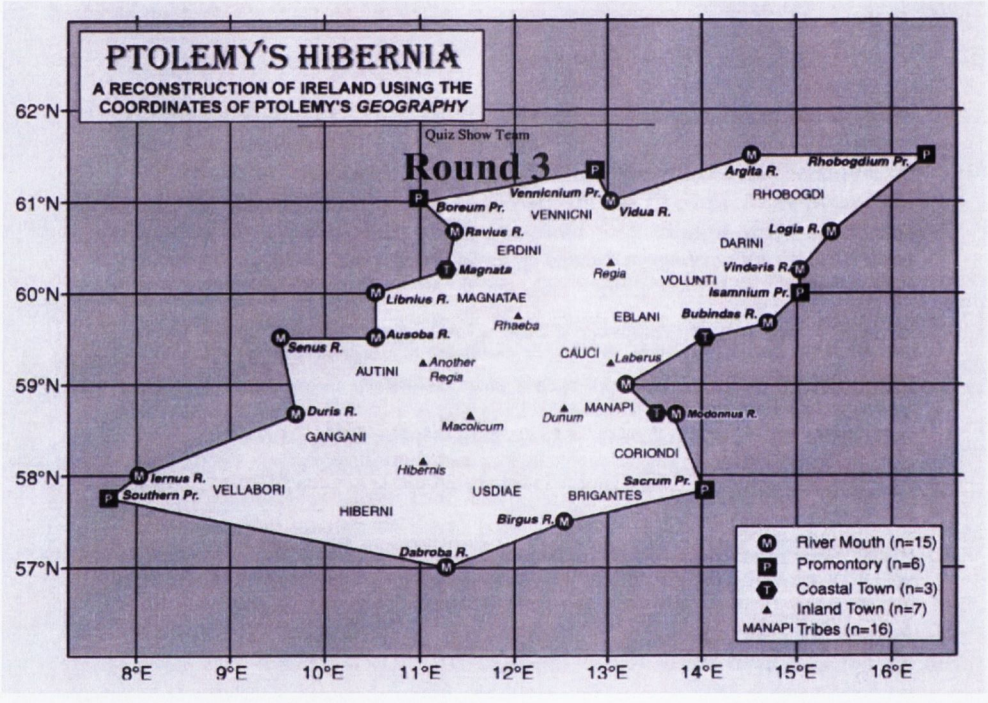


FIG. 2 Map of Ireland based on Ptolemy's Geographia with names rendered in Latin (after A. Darcy and William Flynn, 'Ptolemy's map of Ireland. A modern decoding', *Irish Geography*, 41, issue 1 (March 2008), p. 52).

[11] G. H. Orpen, 'Ptolemy's map of Ireland', *RSAIJ* 24 (1894), 2, p. 126.

[12] T. F. O'Rahilly, *Early Irish history and mythology* (Dublin 1946), pp 12-13; F. J. Byrne, *Irish kings and high-kings* (Dublin, 2001), p. 50; idem, 'Tribes and tribalism in early Ireland', *Ériu*, 22 (1971), pp 129-66.

[13] T. Condit and F. Moore, *Ireland in the Iron Age. Map of Ireland by Claudius Ptolemaeus, c. AD. 150* (Wicklow, 2003); W. Harrys, *The whole works of Sir James Ware concerning Ireland revised and improved by Walter Harris* (Dublin, 1764), II, pp 37-57; J. J. Tierney, 'The Greek ethnographic tradition and Ptolemy's evidence for Irish geography', *RIA Proc.* 76, C (1976), pp 257-65; A. Mac an Bhaird, 'Ptolemy revisited', *Ainm*, 5 (1993), pp 1-20.

Indirect reference to the Boyne might be found in the *Agricola* of Cornelius Tacitus. Writing during the end of the first century after Christ, Tacitus said about Ireland that "*melius aditus portusque per commercia et negotiatores cogniti*".[14] This quotation has been traditionally interpreted in the sense that the Irish approaches and harbours were well known through merchant traffic.[15] D'Alton has interpreted this quote as "its channels and harbours were better known to merchants, than those of Britain".[16] Orpen, on the contrary, has maintained that "*melius cogniti* does not mean known better than those of Britain, for such was not the case, but more accurately known than the habit of the people".[17] It seems likely that if the Boyne was known by Ptolemy, it might also be acknowledged at the time Tacitus was writing his tractise.

Archaeological evidence

According to classical sources the mouth of the Boyne was known during the early Roman period. In this context, it should be noted that a disproportionately high quantity of all the early Roman material found in Ireland comes from Meath, and particularly from the Boyne estuary.[18]

Inber Colptha was the natural landing point before the Viking era. Its location is still puzzling. The archaeological evidence indicates that the mouth of the Boyne was certainly a centre of trade during the sixth and seventh centuries. In 1988, during the excavations on the natural gas pipe-line at Colpe, E-ware pottery from near Bordeaux was discovered in reasonable quantities. Charles Thomas has put forward the existence of an "appropriate secular focus: a citadel? a centre of power or tribute?" somewhere in the estuary.[19] Elisabeth O'Brien believed that Inbher Colpta was located in the area of a

---

[14] E. H. Warmington (ed.), *Tacitus, Agricola, Germania, Dialogus* (Oxford, 1969), pp 70-71.

[15] Tierney, 'The Greek tradition', p. 263.

[16] D'Alton, *History of Drogheda*, I, p. xxvii

[17] Orpen, 'Ptolemy's map', p. 121.

[18] C. Newman, 'Re-composing the archaeological landscape of Tara', in Bhreathnach (ed.) *Kingship of Tara*, p. 409. Newman indicated the presence of Roman at the mouth of the Boyne; see below, Fig. 3, p. 17. See also C. Edwards, *Early Christian Ireland* (Cambridge, 2000), pp 156, 174; J. D. Bateson, 'Roman material from Ireland: a re-consideration', *RIA Proc.* 73 C (1973), pp 21-97.

[19] C. Thomas, '*Gallici Nautae de Galliarum Provinciis*. A sixth-seventh century trade with Gaul, reconsidered', *Medieval Archaeology*, 34 (1990), pp 20-21. See also E. James, 'Ireland and western Gaul in

cemetery which has been excavated at Colp, Co. Meath. The cemetery is on a slope above the south bank near the mouth of the Boyne and, according to O'Brien, it is probably associated with the original site of Inber-Colptha. The site consisted of a pre-cemetery habitation area enclosed within a deep circular ditch, with the cemetery located in the south eastern part of the enclosure. The material contained in the enclosure ditch indicates a high-status occupation of the site in the fifth to seventh centuries "and may also reflect the importance attributable to the presence of an important trading port at the mouth of the Boyne".[20]

Merovingian period', in D. Whitelock, R. McKitterick and D. Dumville (eds.) *Ireland in early medieval Europe* (Cambridge, 1982), pp 362-86.

[20] E. O'Brien, *Post Roman Britain to Anglo-Saxon England: burial practices reviewed*, British Archaeological Reports, British Series 289 (Oxford, 1999), pp 178, 182; Newman, 'Archaeological landscape of Tara', p. 409

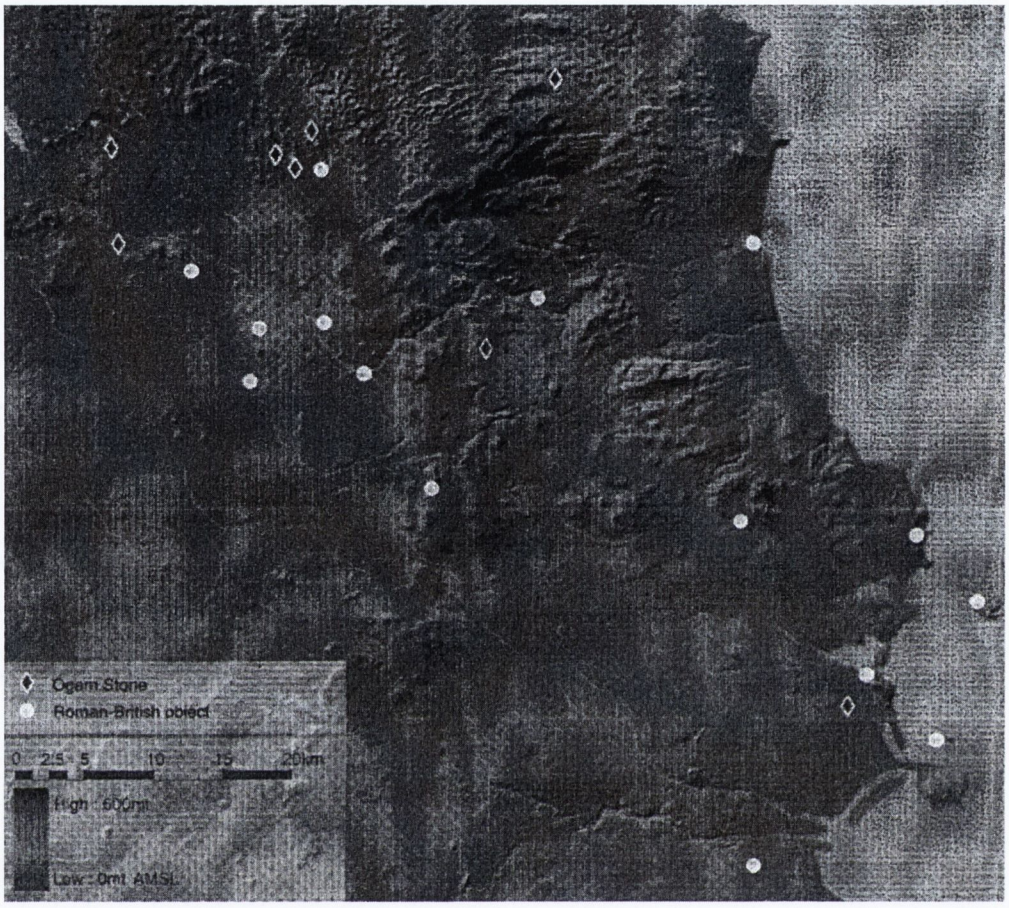


FIG. 3 'Roman material and ogam stones in Brega', after C. Newman, 'Re-composing the archaeological landscape of Tara', in E. Bhreathnach (ed.) *The kingship and landscape of Tara* (Dublin, 2005), p. 409

Hagiography

Historians have suggested that the Boyne is central to the understanding of the background against which St. Patrick worked.[21] As discussed in the previous section, the mouth of the Boyne served as landing point during the pre-Christian era, and was known as Inber Colptha, namely 'the strait of Colpe'. Muirchú, in his seventh-century *Life of St. Patrick*[22] commented that in the year 432 A.D. St. Patrick landed at Inber-Colptha when on

[21] C. Swift, *Ogham stones and the earliest Irish Christians* (Maynotth, 1997), pp 21-26; E. A. Thompson, *Who was St. Patrick*? (Woodbridge, 1985, repr. 1999), pp 113-24.

[22] J. F. Kenney, *Sources for the early Irish history of Ireland: an introduction and guide* (New York, 1929), I, pp 331-32.

his way to Tara, then seat of the kings of Ireland.[23] The commentary to the eighth- century Fíacc's *Hymn* recounts that Inber Colptha takes its name from Colptha, one of the sons of Míl.[24] It also states that Patrick was sold as a slave by Ciaran to the "shipmen who were biding in Boynemouth".[25]

There is evidence that during the eighth and ninth centuries the river Boyne was navigable as far as Trim.[26] Notes relating to Patrick in the eighth-century Book of Armagh - the *Additamenta* - mention that Lommán, a British disciple of Patrick, was left at the river's mouth to guard the saint's boat while the saint and his companions PROceeded along the southern bank of the river to Slane. Then, "in accordance to the master's commands, he sailed in his boat up the river and, under the Lord's guidance, came to Áth Truim, Trim (Co. Meath)".[27] Lommán later became bishop of Trim.[28]

Like Fíacc's *Hymn,* the *Tripartite life of St. Patrick*, written around the tenth or eleventh century[29] reports that Patrick was sold to a merchant in the Boyne estuary area.[30] It also describes the landing of the Saint at Inber Colptha; after having left their vessel at the estuary Patrick and his compainions "went along the land till they came to Ferta Fer Féicc [the Graves od Fiacc's Men]".[31] Part two of the *Tripartite life* adds that Patrick left Lommán at the mouth of the Boyne, "keeping his ship for the forty night of Lent. Patrick ordered him to row his vessel against the Boyne" until Trim.[32]

According to chapter 43 of the eighth-century *Liber historiae Francorum* the Merovingian King Dagobert II was exiled in Ireland between the years 656 and 675,

---

[23] L. Bieler (ed.), 'The Patrician texts in the Book of Armagh', *Scriptores Latini Hiberniae*, X (Dublin 1979), pp. 84-5; W. Stokes (ed.), *The Tripartite life of St. Patrick with other documents relating to that saint* (London, 1887), II, p. 278.

[24] Stokes, *Tripartite life*, II, pp 424-25.

[25] Ibidem, II, p 416-17.

[26] For an accurate analysis of pre-Norman Trim; see M. Potterton, *Medieval Trim. History and archaeology* (Dublin, 2005), pp 27-66.

[27] Bieler, *Patrician Texts*, pp 166-67; Stokes, *Tripartite life,* I, pp 66-69; Johnston, *History of Drogheda*, p. 6; A. Cogan, *The diocese of Meath, ancient and modern* (Dublin, 1862), I, p. 177.

[28] Bieler, *Patrician texts*, pp 166-69. The first entry in the *Addimenta* is a narrative account of the foundation of the Church at *Vadum Truimm* by Lommán, who was according to the text a nephew and disciple of St. Patrick.

[29] Kenney, *Early Irish history*, pp 339-40.

[30] Stokes, *Tripartite life*, I, p. 22.

[31] Ibidem, I, pp 40-1.

[32] Ibidem, I, pp 66-7.

following a conspiracy at court after the death of King Sigisbert III.[33] It is suggested that this exile might have taken place at the monastery of Slane on the north bank of the Boyne.[34]

Irish sources

An early reference to Colptha is to be found in relation to the reign of Conaire Már. It is said that seven ships used to land annually in June at Inber Colptha, as a sign of his PROsperous reign.[35]

The twelfth-century *Lebor Gabāla Ērenn* narrates the coming of the Gaels to Ireland.[36] There it is reported that Colptha, one of the sons of Míl, took part in the expedition of thirty ships guided by Éremón against Ireland "to the North-east". According to the book, "they landed in Inber-Colptha; that is, Colptha, son of Míl, he it is who landed at first, so that it is his name which is on the harbour; *unde* Colptha".[37] In the second redaction of the same book it is said that "the sons of Míl came into Inber Scéne and Inber Féile, and Érimón went left-hand-ways towards Ireland and landed in Inber Colptha".[38] The third redaction reports the same belief that Éremón and his followers landed in Inber Colptha "he who was their road-leader was Colptha son of Míl. It is he who took the harbour first, so that this is the name which the harbour has, Inber Colptha. As for the sons of Breogan, they left nothing after coming to Ireland, only their names upon the most

---

[33] B. Krusch (ed.), '*Liber historiae Francorum*', *MGH*, *SRM* 2 (1888), pp 215-38, at p. 316. For a study centred on the connection between the Irish church and the Carolingian's first attempt at wearing the royal crown see J-M. Picard, 'Church and politics in the seventh century: the Irish exile of King Dagobert II, in J-M. Picard (ed.), *Ireland and northern France, 600-850* (Dublin, 1991), pp 27-52. See also M. Archdall (ed.), *Monasticon Hibernicon*, (Dublin, 1786), I, pp 570-1.

[34] Picard, 'Irish exile of King Dagobert', pp 42-44. There is no mention of Grimoald's coup in the Irish sources. The only allusion may be an entry of the *Annals of Ulster* under the year 659; see AU, I, p. 115 (AD 658). On the Irish influences in the Merovingian dominions in the seventh century, see Kenney, *Early Irish history*, pp 489-91.

[35] E. Knott (ed.), 'Togail Bruidne Da Derga', in *Medieval and Modern Irish Studies*, VIII (Dublin, repr. 1975), 6, ll. 183-4; Bhreathnach, 'Medieval kingdom of Brega', p. 411.

[36] R. A. Stewart Macalister (ed. and transl.), *Lebor Gabāla Ērenn. The Book of the taking of Ireland* (Dublin, 1956), part. V, p. 6. According to the book, thirty-six leaders conducted the Gaedil to Ireland. They were the ten sons of Bregon, Míl and his eight sons (Donn, Colptha, Amorgen, Éber, Ír, Éremón, Airech, Érennán), the three sons of Éremón, the four sons of Éber and ten champions.

[37] Ibidem, pp 40-1.

[38] Ibidem, pp 56-7.

important fortress which they found in Ireland, *ut dixit poeta*".[39] A similar account is given by the seventeenth-century historian Geoffrey Keating.[40] He stated that, according to an ancient legend, the name Inber-Colptha derives from the Milesian brothers, the alleged ancestors of the Gaelic race. Keating recounts that when they invaded Ireland one of them, Colpa, son of Míl of Spain was drowned at the mouth of the Boyne; hence, the place was called Inber-Colptha.[41]

Oral tradition

During the nineteenth century there was a belief that Drogheda's history did not start with the coming of the Anglo-Normans. L. C. Johnston maintained that Drogheda's original name was Colpa or Colpe, a settlement two miles east from modern Drogheda and that it was founded by the Milesian brothers.[42] According to John D'Alton, Drogheda was a settlement as early as the fifth century.[43] He stated that in 443 after having evangelized Ulster and Connaught, Patrick "made his entry into Drogheda. [...] His approach this time was from Ardpatrick, near Louth, and as soon as the inhabitants of Drogheda heard that he was coming towards their town, crossing the river, they went out in a body and received him about a mile in advance on the Collon road and there standing upon a stone, since traditionally called Clogh-Patrick, the Saint preached his auditory [...] and baptized his converts in a well still more contiguous to this town, and which on its extension at the Northern side, gave name to Patrick's Well Lane".[44] D'Alton's use of the toponym Drogheda and the perception of it as a settlement during the fifth century AD seem rather anachronistic. It is more likely that if St. Patrick landed in this area at all, it was at Colpe

---

[39] Ibidem, pp 86-7.

[40] J. F.Kenney, *Early Irish history*, I, pp 44-45.

[41] D. Comyn and P. Dinneen (eds.), *Foras Feasa: A history of Ireland by Geoffrey Keating*, (London, 1908), II, p. 88. In his *Topography of Ireland,* Gerald of Wales alludes to the arrival in Ireland of the four sons of the Spanish king Milesius, but he does not gives details of the landing and does not mention Colpe; see J.J. O'Meara, *Giraldus Cambrensis. The history and topography of Ireland here translated from the Latin by John J. O'Meara with a map and drawings from a contemporary copy of c. 1200 AD* (1951; repr. Portlaoise, 1982), pp 97-99.

[42] L. C. Johnston, *History of Drogheda* (Drogheda, 1826), p. 3.

[43] D'Alton believed that south of the parish church of Colpe there is a mount, which the tradition claims to have been erected over the burial place of Colpa; see D'Alton, *History of Drogheda* (Dublin, 1844), II, pp 2, 5, 444-54.

[44] D'Alton, *History of Drogheda*, II, p. 20. Johnston had reported the same tradition; see Johnston, *History of Drogheda*, pp 23-4. None of them quote their source.

which, as said before, was a harbour from the fifth to the seventh centuries.[45] Rev. Gogarty, alluding to the Saint's landing at Colpe, has said that "St. Patrick's name is sufficiently remembered in Patrick Street, and Patrick's Well Lane in Drogheda to suppose that it is there the scene of the legend is laid".[46] Nevertheless, these stories are the product of oral tradition which added details to the well documented account of the Saint's landing at Inber-Colptha.

All of the antiquarian authors of municipal histories of Drogheda - L. C. Johnston (1826)[47], J. D'Alton (1844)[48], R. W. Wilde (1849)[49] and A. Hughes (1893)[50] - made frequent reference to a ninth - century permanent Viking settlement at Drogheda. As a result they all placed the origin of the town in Pre-Norman times. According to them Turgesius, the Danish King, was alleged to have occupied Drogheda and made it his stronghold. The Millmount was fortified with trenches, banks and ditches and a quay was built for mooring ships. Nowadays this tradition has been completely rejected: the references to Viking fleets in the ninth century state that they were on the Boyne, but "it seems extremely unlikely that any permanent settlement of the sort envisaged by D'Alton could have been established in this area with the royal centre of the king of North Brega so close at Knowth".[51] Such an idea arose from a misidentification of Linn Duachaill, a major Viking camp in Louth established at the same time as Dublin and which was thought in the nineteenth century to refer to Drogheda. Today Linn Duachaill is identified with Annagassan in Co. Louth.[52]

---

[45] Bieler, *Patrician texts*, pp 84-5.

[46] Rev. Fr. C. C. Gogarty, 'The burial place of St. Fanchea', in *CLAHJ,* I, 4 (1903), p. 44: "it is only to be expected that since the ancient commentator places the scene of his strange legend on the banks of the Boyne at a spot upon that river that was navigable, in other words at Drogheda, that traces of the legend should survive in the district in which Drogheda is situated". See also Johnston, *History of Drogheda*, pp 21, 23.

[47] Ibidem, pp 4-5, 21-31.

[48] D'Alton, *History of Drogheda* (Dublin, 1844), I, p. 86; ibidem, II, pp 25-28. On the base of the Patrician tradition, D'Alton believed that Drogheda was build on the site of a pre-Norman settlement existing on the southern banks of the river; see idem, II, p. 20.

[49] R. W. Wilde, *The beauty of the Boyne and its tributary, the Blackwater* (Dublin, 1849), p. 259.

[50] A. Hughes, The *history of Drogheda up to date with memoirs of the martyr-primate DR. Oliver Plunket* (Drogheda, 1893), pp 89, 158-59.

[51] Bradley, 'Topography and layout', p. 103; F. J. Byrne, 'Historical note on Cnogba (Knowth)', *RIA Proc.*, 66 C (1968), pp 383-400; Barry, *Archaeology of Ireland*, p. 133.

[52] E. Hogan, *Onomasticon Goedelicum, locorum et tribuum Hiberniae et Scotiae. An index, with identifications, to the Gaelic names of places and tribes* (Dublin 1910), pp 490, 167 (under Linn Duachaill and Cassán Linne); R. O'Floinn, 'The Archaeology of the early-Viking Age in Ireland', in H. B. Clarke, M. Ní Mhaonaigh and R. O'Floinn (eds.) *Ireland and Scandinavia in the early Viking Age* (Dublin, 1998), pp 162-3.

According to Samuel Lewis, St. Patrick found a vessel near Inber-Colptha, while escaping from his captivity, to convey him to the continent. However, Lewis does not quote the source supporting such a statement.[53]

2. St. Mary's Abbey of Drogheda: a pre-Norman monastery on the Boyne?

The task of researching the origins of the medieval borough of Drogheda is complicated by the fact that "in the documents between the years 1150 and 1210 the place name *Droichead Átha*, bridge of the ford, was used in five different contexts".[54] Firstly, according to Fr. Colmcille, in the Annals the name was applied to a large area, rather than to a single feature such as a bridge or a ford. Secondly, it was used as a synonym of Mellifont Abbey. Thirdly, it was also the name of a grange which formed part of the initial lands of Mellifont abbey, the *grange* of Drogheda (which later was called *grangia de vetero ponte*) together with the land of Mell and two groups of lands called Fennaur, now Fennor. Fourthly, the name referred to an area two miles west of the modern town further up stream, at Oldbridge: Father Colmcille has demonstrated that the grange of "Drochatatha" is to be identified with the grange of *vetero ponte*, otherwise Oldbridge.[55] Finally, it was the name of an area in which a pre-Norman Abbey dedicated to St. Mary stood. This study focuses on the investigation of these attestations and seeks to ascertain whether medieval Drogheda was created on the site of an early monastic settlement - the old abbey of St. Mary - like other centres in Meath were: Clonard, Kells, Trim, Duleek and Skreen.[56]

The first reference to St. Mary's in the Anglo-Norman sources is the charter granted by King John to the monks of St. Mary's Abbey of Drogheda on 1 April 1203.[57] Aubrey Gwynn has suggested that the monks secured three charters from John, two of which are

---

[53] Lewis, S., *Topographical dictionary*, I, pp 389-90.
[54] Colmcille, *Story of Mellifont*, p. 286.
[55] Ibidem, p. 295; Hogan, *Onomasticon Goedelicum*, p. 59.
[56] Graham, 'Anglo-Norman settlement', pp 239-40.
[57] Comcille, 'Seven documents from the old abbey of Mellifont', *CLAHJ*, XIII, 1 (1953), pp 36-38; see Appendix 1.

now lost.[58] The 1203 charter, issued when John was King, explicitly refers to an earlier grant conferred on the monks by him in the year 1188. This charter is now lost. The 1203 charter states that the monks received a confirmation of 'free and quiet fishery on the river Boyne as our charter given to them when we were Count of Mortain testifies'.[59] It is important to note that in 1188, namely during the lifetime of King Henry II, John was not yet Count of Mortain. In short, it is likely that the first charter dated to the year 1188; the second sometime between the years 1189 and 1199, when John was Count of Mortain; and the third to 1203. The monks of St. Mary's later received a general confirmation from Henry III, in the terms of an *Inspeximus* dated 11 August 1237.[60]

The 1188 charter could be a response to the death of Bishop Mael Ísu Ó Cerbaill of Clogher-Louth in 1187 and to the attempts made by King Donnchad Ó Cerbaill and his son Murchad to transfer Louth from the diocese of Armagh to the diocese of Clogher, which included the rest of the kingdom of Airgialla.[61] Murchad Ó Cerbaill was allied with Hugh de Lacy in 1184 in an attack on Armagh.[62] In 1189 or 1190 Prince John made grants of cantreds in Louth and Airgialla to de Verdun and Pipard.[63] In these circumstances, if the Abbey of St. Mary's Drogheda wished to have effective political support against the claims of Armagh to have jurisdiction over them, her most promising allies were the English.[64] Then, the confirmation of the year 1203 may be indirectly related to the election of a new archbishop of Armagh, following the death of Tomaltach Ó Conchobair in 1201. The majority of the Armagh chapter elected Eugenius, but King John had preferred another candidate as Archbishop of Armagh. As result of the Synod held at Dublin in 1192 Louth was designated part of the Armagh diocese and in 1203 there were two candidates for the

---

[58] A. Gwynn, 'A forgotten abbey of St. Mary's, Drogheda', *CLAHJ*, XIII, 2 (1954), p. 193.

[59] Comcille, 'Old Abbey of Mellifont', p. 36: "*Concessimus siquidem eis pischariam suam liberam et quietam in aqua de Buin, quam longe terre eorum extenduntur ex utraque parte ipsius aque de Buin. Et prohibemus nequis in aqua illa proprietatem habeat vel communam pischationis nisi per eos intra terras illorum quam longe terre eorum extenduntur ex utraque parte ipsius aque de Buin, sicut carta nostram quam eis inde fecimus dum essemus Comes de Moretone*".

[60] H. S. Sweetman and G. F. Handcock (eds.), *Calendar of documents relating to Ireland* (London 1875-86), I (1171-1252), 2399, pp 357-8; Comcille, 'Old Abbey of Mellifont', pp 46-7; see Appendix 2.

[61] Gwynn, *The Irish church in the 11th and 12th centuries* (Dublin 1992), p. 231; idem, 'Armagh and Louth in the eleventh and twelfth centuries', *SA*, 1 (1954-55), n. 1, pp 1-11; n. 2, pp 17-37.

[62] Ó hInnse (ed.), *Miscellaneous Irish Annals (A.D. 1114-1437)* (Dublin 1947), pp 72-3.

[63] J. Otway-Ruthven, A *history of medieval Ireland* (London, 1968; repr. 1980), p. 70.

[64] B. Smith, 'The Armagh-Clogher dispute and the "Mellifont Conspiracy": diocesan politics and monastic reforms in early thirteenth century Ireland', *SA,* 14, 2 (1991), pp 28-9.

archbishopric; accordingly it would have been in John's interest to show favour to a church in Drogheda.[65]

Sometime before the year 1329, the lands and appurtenances of St. Mary's Abbey mentioned in these charters passed into the hands of the monks of Mellifont and formed part of that abbey.[66] This is the reason why the 1203 charter has been transcribed by Fr. Columcille together with six other documents concerning Mellifont from originals preserved in the National Library of Ireland, Dublin. These documents were found among the collection of the Earls of Drogheda. They "evidently formed part of the archives of Mellifont Abbey before the suppression of the house in 1539 and probably passed with the abbey and its lands into the possession of the Moore family in 1566".[67] At the time Fr. Columcille was transcribing them, he believed that the monks of St. Mary's Abbey of Drogheda were the monks of Mellifont under another name.[68] Five years later he recognized, after Gwynn,[69] that Mellifont and St. Mary's Abbey of Drogheda were two different entities.[70]

The question about the abbey's location has been complicated by the fact that both the Irish Annals and the *Acallam na Senórach* refer to Mellifont as "Droichet-Atha".[71] Today this confusion has been cleared up and it is commonly accepted that St. Mary's Abbey and Mellifont were distinct houses at the time this charter was made.[72] The comparison of the granges granted to St. Mary's Abbey and the ones granted to the monastery of Mellifont makes it plain that the lands which were granted to the monks of Drogheda were entirely distinct from the lands that were granted to the monks of Mellifont.[73] This author agrees with Frs. Gwynn and Colmcille that there were two

---

[65] Ibidem, pp 30-1.

[66] Comcille, 'Old Abbey of Mellifont', pp 50-55.

[67] Ibidem, p. 35.

[68] Ibidem, pp 36-7.

[69] Gwynn, 'Abbey of St. Mary's', pp 193-4.

[70] Colmcille, *Story of Mellifont*, pp 286-303.

[71] W. M. Hennessy (ed.), *The Annals of Loch Cé. A Chronicle of Irish affaire from A.D. 1014 to A.D. 1590* (London, 1871; repr. Dublin 1939), I, p. 73: "A hosting by Donnsleibhe, king of Uladh, as far as Droichet-atha" (1084); ibidem, I, p. 173: "Derbhorcaill, daughter of Murchadh O'Maelsechlainn, went to Droiched-atha, on pilgrimage" (1186); ibidem, I, p. 187: "Derbhorcaill, daughter of Murchadh O'Maelsechlainn, mortua est in pilgrimage, in the monastery of Droichet-atha" (1193). See also A. Dooley and H. Roe (eds.), *Tales of the Elders of Ireland (Acallam na Senórach)* (Oxford, 1999), pp 4, 225.

[72] Colmcille, *History of Mellifont*, pp 288-93. For a clear and effective disentangling of the muddled origin of Mellifont; see W. Battersby, *The Synod of Kells, 1152* (Navan, 2002), pp 40-1.

[73] Colmcille, 'Old Abbey of Mellifont', pp 35-67.

different communities until, at some unrecorded date between 1237 and 1329, the Cistercians monks of Mellifont acquired legal rights to all the lands formerly owned by the monks of St. Mary of Drogheda.[74] In 1329 Edward III was petitioned to issue an *Inspeximus* in which he recognized the claim of the monks of Mellifont to the lands which had formerly belonged to the monks of St. Mary's at Drogheda.[75] This is indeed the reason why the charter of St. Mary's of Drogheda was found among Mellifont's documents.

The charter makes clear that the Abbey of St. Mary was not a Norman foundation. In fact, it states that the community of monks held lands before the coming of the Normans to Ireland, namely: the lands of Lisnamanach, and, in the land of Occaule, a salt grange, the land of Leacht garran, the land of Dun Wabair, the land of Eglas Mocabdeo and of Mullach ois. King John added to these lands the grange of Bali meic Edugian, namely four carucates of land, pasture and fallow with its appurtenances; the land of Ibar tigi liban and the land of Ynceann, with all appurtenances they had before the arrival of King Henry II in Ireland, and before John's arrival. In the year 1188, King John granted all of these lands in *frankalmoign:*[76] in free and perpetual alms of his own proper gift, as they were in his demesne. These lands were to be held by the monks well and in peace, freely and quietly, honourably and peacefully, with all their appurtenances, in wood and in plain, in meadows and pastures, in waters and mills, in ponds and warrens, in streams and fisheries, in moors and marshes, with all liberties and free customs there belonging. He also granted the monks free fishery on the river Boyne so far as their lands extend on each side of that river.[77]

The charter states that the monks held lands on both banks of the river Boyne, but the exact location of the Abbey is still puzzling. The first place mentioned in the list of the lands possessed by the monks is *Lisnamanagh*, "which suggests an early monastic settlement".[78] It should be noticed that *Lisnamanagh* is quite distinct from the other listed

---

[74] Gwynn, 'Abbey of St. Mary's', pp 190-99; Colmcille, *Story of Mellifont*, pp 286-303.

[75] This charter is preserved among the Drogheda papers in the National Library of Ireland. Colmcille gives a transcription of it; see Colmcille, 'Old Abbey of Mellifont', pp 50-5.

[76] C. Coredon and A. Williams (eds.), *A Dictionary of medieval terms and phrases* (Cambridge, 2004), p. 132. Tenure in *Frankalmoign* was usually given to people who devoted themselves to the service of God. It was conferred on the majority of monasteries: the land was free of all obligations; fealty was not owed to any lords; in return the monks were supposed to pray for the soul of the donor and his-her descendants.

[77] Colmcille, 'Old Abbey of Mellifont', pp 36-7.

[78] A. Gwynn and R. N. Hadcock, *Medieval religious houses: Ireland* (Dublin 1988), p. 106. Lisnamanagh is a purely Irish name; it can be translated as 'the enclosure of the monks'.

lands which are stated to be "in the land which Occaerwelle held from the King". Father Colmcille has conjectured that Occauel is a phonetic rendering for O'Carrol or O'Cerbaill, the principal lay founder and benefactor of the monastery of Mellifont;[79] and that undoubtedly the Southern boundary of the kingdom of Airgialla was, at that time, the river Boyne.[80] He has interpreted *grangia salinarum* as Saltersown in County Louth; *Leach gerran* as Garret's stone in Hacklim (?), *Dun Wabair* as Donore in Meath; *Mullach ois* as Mullagh ash in the barony of Slane.[81] In the appendix to his *History of Mellifont*, he has identified *Mullach ois* with Belpatrick, *Yncean* with Funshog and *Ibar tigi liban* with the modern Newtown Stalaban.[82]

The location of the Abbey of St. Mary is still uncertain. Various twentieth-century historians believed that the Abbey of St. Mary's was in the area where the medieval borough of Drogheda stood. In his article about pre-Norman monasteries in County Louth Lawrence Murray stated that "the old Abbey of Drogheda was probably the one founded by St. Edna, and occupied a site between West Street [in Drogheda] and the Boyne".[83] Rev. Gogarty in an article on the burial place of St. Fanchea affirmed that "in very old early days there was a church of St. Barr at Clogherhead and another in Drogheda" and that the latter "was situated south of the Boyne in the parish of St. Mary of Drogheda".[84] Aubrey Gwynn suggested that "St. Mary Abbey stood on the south side of the river Boyne" and that "the parish church of St. Mary of Drogheda had its origin in a monastic church, which became a parish when the rest of the monastic lands were absorbed into the estate of Mellifont".[85] He also proposed that it was possibly a Benedictine house.[86] Provided that Murray and Gwynn were right, the settlement of Drogheda would fit a recognized general pattern whereby the

---

[79] Colmcille, *Story of Mellifont*, p. 299.
[80] Gwynn, 'Armagh and Louth', 1, pp 6-7.
[81] Colmcille, 'Old Abbey of Mellifont', p. 38.
[82] Colmcille, *History of Mellifont*, p. 301
[83] L. Murray, 'Monasteries of Louth. The pre-Norman monasteries', *CLAHJ*, I, 1 (1904), p. 34.
[84] Gogarty, 'St. Fanchea', pp 34-46.
[85] Gwynn, 'Abbey of St. Mary's', p. 197. The second affirmation is plainly wrong. The parish of St. Mary existed since the end of the twelfth century, when the de Lacies donated it to the Canons of Llanthony Secunda; see below, Chap. 2.2, pp 34-37.
[86] Gwynn and Hadcock, *Religious houses: Ireland*, p. 106.

places chosen by the colonists to settle were, or had been, either early Christian monasteries or important churches.[87]

On the other hand, more recent studies place St. Mary's Abbey in the Oldbridge area. John Bradley has maintained that "most certainly the church of St. Mary of Drogheda can not be identified with either of the two dedications to St. Mary within the medieval town, both of which were in existence before the amalgamation of St. Mary's with Mellifont".[88] Accordingly, the town of Drogheda would be an entirely planned Anglo-Norman town, deliberately created on a site not occupied by any previous religious settlement.[89]

It should be noted that by the time John granted his first charter to the monks of St. Mary's Abbey in 1188, the castle of Drogheda had already been built on the south side of the Boyne, even if its first mention in the sources dates to the year 1194.[90] Gerald of Wales reports that by the time of Hugh de Lacy's death (1186), the lordship of Meath was dotted with castles and that both Meath and Leinster were fortified.[91] The forts of Drogheda, Trim, Ratoath, Clonard, Kells, Killare-Fore, Ballymore Lough Sewdy were erected by Hugh de Lacy, the first lord of Meath.

---

[87] Orpen, *Ireland under the Normans, 1169- 1333* (Oxford, 1911-20), II, pp 75-82; idem, 'Mottes and Norman castles in Ireland', *EHR*, 22 (1907), pp 228-54; J. B Graham, 'The evolution of the settlement pattern of Anglo-Norman East-Meath', in R. H. Buchanan *et al.* (eds.), *Fields, farms and settlement in Europe*, (Belfast, 1971), p. 42.

[88] Bradley, 'Topography and layout', p. 103.

[89] Murphy, *Medieval Drogheda,* I, p. 5: When discussing the early Christian settlements near Drogheda, Dr. Murphy stated that "the archaeological record would suggest that the actual town site was on a virgin land, but to date the western suburbs of the town have not been excavated yet".

[90] *Na Buirgéisí*, I, pp 172-73.

[91] A. B. Scott and F. X. Martin (eds. and trans.), *Giraldus Cambrensis, Expugnatio Hibernica: the Conquest of Ireland* (Dublin 1978), p. 190: "*Hugo de Laci, puta vir probitate pollens et prudencia, tam Lageniam quam Mediam castellis egregie communivit*". Gerald of Wales also states that Meath was much richer in castles than Leinster; see ibidem, p. 194: "*Hactenus enim Media plurimum, Lagenia parum, fuerat incastellata*".

CHAPTER 2

THE CREATION OF THE BOROUGH

1. Drogheda castle

The first documentary evidence identifies Drogheda by its bridge, the toponym from which the town derived its name. Sources refer subsequently to its churches, its castle and then to burgages. Drogheda's identity rapidly evolved from castle into borough, the turning point of the evolution being represented by the 1194 charter granted by Walter de Lacy to the settlement on the Meath side of the Boyne.[92] Drogheda's castle was erected in order to defend this bridge, built over a new ford on the river Boyne. The bridge and the castle were the first marks of the Anglo-Norman presence on the site which was to become Drogheda. The castle stood on the motte, now known as the Millmount, which overlooks the town from a bluff on the south bank of the Boyne. It is believed to have been erected sometime before 1186 by Hugh de Lacy the elder, fifth Baron of Lacy - whose family originally came from Lassy in Normandy - to guard the new opened ford over the river.[93]

Following Hugh's death, the castle came into Prince John's hands. It has been stated that, on 8 August 1210, King John was at Drogheda and he took control of the castle on the '*Millmount*' guarding the bridge.[94] Rent, by way of compensation, was then paid to Hugh's son, Walter de Lacy and his successors for over two centuries.[95]

---

[92] G. Mac Niocaill (ed.), *Na Buirgéisí, XII-XV aois* (Dublin 1964), I, pp 173-4; see Appendix 3.

[93] W. E. Wightman, *The Lacy family in England and Normandy, 1066-1194* (Oxford, 1966); Orpen, *Normans*, II, p. 51: the family received their name from their original seat at Lassy in the Vire country in Normandy. The principal estates of the family in England lay on the border of Wales at Evias Lacy, Staunton Lacy, and Weobly.

[94] T. D. Hardy (ed.), *Rotuli litterarum patentium in Turri Londinensi asservati* (London, 1835), pp 200-01; Orpen, 'Mottes and castles', pp 246-50; Otway-Ruthven, *Med. Ire.*, p. 80.

[95] When de Lacy's lands were partitioned between Peter de Geneve and John de Verdun, they both received yearly 1/3 of 50 marks for the lands, the castle of Drogheda and the castle of Blathagh; see *CDI, 1171-1251,* 2882, pp 422-3 (1246); ibidem, 3060, p. 456 (1250). Then, the share of Peter de Geneve passed to Geoffrey de Geynville, second husband of the grand-daughter of Hugh de Lacy, Matilda and then to the

Drogheda castle has left no record of itself.[96] Historians have discussed the possibility that two castles were erected in Drogheda by Hugh de Lacy - the one known as the castle of Drogheda, the other as the castle of Blathach, Blathagh, or Uenagh. All traces of them disappeared long ago. According to John D'Alton and W. P. Allen, both castles were situated on the southern bank, outside the town, at the 'Coolies'.[97] M. Kelly believed that Blathach, later called Laundry's Castle, probably stood on the northern bank at the West gate end.[98]

Various Exchequer entries record the rent due to the de Lacies' successors for the castle and vill of Drogheda. They provide two-fold evidence. First, that the Castle of Blathach was situated on the southern borough, as was the castle of Drogheda.[99] Second, that both castles were erected by Hugh, or Walter de Lacy.[100] The castle of Blatagh probably stood close to the bridge, between the west end of James Street and Pitcher Hill.[101] By 1381 it was a vacant plot.[102]

The connection between the de Lacies and Drogheda goes back to the year 1172, when King Henry II granted Hugh de Lacy the land of Meath, with its appurtenances, *per servicium quinquaginta militum*. In the charter of enfeoffement, Hugh is also mentioned as the King's bailiff for the city of Dublin.[103] Meath was granted to Hugh de Lacy as a liberty,

---

Mortimers. Reference to compensation for the seigniorial right over the castle and vill of Drogheda are recorded since the end of the fourteenth century; see P. Connolly (ed.), *Irish Exchequer payments, 1270-1446* (Dublin, 1998), p. 543 (1376-1384). See also T. E. MacNeill, *Castles in Ireland. Feudal power in Gaelic world* (London, 1997), p. 44.

[96] The design of the municipal seal represent St. Lawrence's gate; see Fig. 4, p. 59.

[97] D'Alton, *History of Drogheda*, I, p. 91; W. P. Allen, 'Some notes on the old fortifications of Drogheda', *CLAHJ*, X, 3 (1943), pp 242-44. Allen reported an instrument dated 1668 in which the Corporation of Drogheda granted "the Old Abbey walls of St. Mary *de Ursa*, together with the ground where the Old Castle stood with their appurtenances without the West gate for 61 years to Edward Singleton, which lease was subsequently renewed".

[98] M. Kelly, 'Two castles of Drogheda', *CLAHJ*, IX, 3 (1939), pp 244-45.

[99] *Ir. Exch. P.*, p. 338: "Payment of rent. Joan, widow of Roger de Mortimer, late earl of March, for arrears of annual rent of £16 13*s*. 4*d* for the site of the town and the castle of Drogheda, in the past called Castelblathagh, from the time of the death of her husband, 30 Nov. 1330, to 2 March 1333". See ibidem, p. 543: "Edmund Mortimer, earl of March and Ulster, restitution of £16 13*s*. 4*d* p.a. payable by the king for the site of castle of Blathagh, in the town and Drogheda on the Meath side, which was in the kin's hand from 26 February 1360, when his father, Roger Mortimer died, to 10 May 1381: £353 5*s*. 5 ¼*d*" (1376-1384).

[100] Since 1220, Walter de Lacy was granted a compensation of 20£ for the vill and castle of Drogheda and 20 marks for the castle of Blatagh; see *CDI, 1171-1251*, 952- 953, pp 145-6 (1220); ibidem, 2452, pp 366-67 (1238).

[101] Orpen, 'Mottes and castles', p. 249; Murphy, *Medieval Drogheda*, II, p. 54.

[102] *CPR,* 1381-8, p. 49; see below, Chap.8.1.1.'Castelblathagh', pp 297-98.

[103] J. Mills and M. J. McEnery (eds.), *Calendar of the Gormanston register* (Dublin, 1916), pp 177-79. The

an area granted to "a subject to whom the king delegated a portion of his royal prerogative".[104] Hugh was entitled to complete jurisdiction and cognisance of all pleas, including the ones reserved to the crown - arson, rape, treasure-trove and forestalling. He was given the right to have his own chancery and exchequer, with their seals, and all things pertaining to those offices.[105] This was the set of powers delegated by Henry II to Hugh de Lacy. It was indeed one of the most extensive in Ireland. It included the right to build castles and, presumably, to create boroughs, although the latter was not specifically mentioned in the charter of enfoeffment.[106]

In 1177, King Henry's son, John, then nine years of age, was made lord of Ireland. A new charter was therefore drawn, confirming the grant of Meath to Hugh de Lacy. The service was increased to one hundred knights, and the land was to be held of both Henry and the newly created Lord of Ireland, John.[107] However, by 1208, the number of knights' fee owed by Meath to the crown had reverted to fifty.[108]

The second marriage of Hugh de Lacy to the daughter of Roderic O'Connor (1180), High-King of Ireland, without royal licence, incurred the displeasure of Henry II. Hugh was recalled to London.[109] In 1186, he was slain by an Irish subject.[110] At the time his two

---

list of witnesses is supplied by Orpen, *Normans*, I, p. 286: "*Testibus: Comite Ricardo filio Gilberti; Willelmo de Braosa; Willelmo de Albin[eio]; Reginaldo de Cortenay; Hugone de Gundevilla; Willelmo filio Aldelini dapifero; Hugone de Cresy; Willelmo de Stotevilla; Raduldo de Aya (sic); Reginaldo de Pavily; Radulfo de Verdun; Willelmo de Gerpunvilla; Roberto de Ruilli; apud Wesefordam*".

[104] H. Wood, 'The muniments of Edmund de Mortimer, third earl of March, concerning his liberty of Trim', *RIA Proc.*, 40 (May 1932), p. 312. For the organization and internal government of the liberties in Ireland see Otway-Ruthven, *Med. Ire.*, pp 181-90.

[105] *CChR*, 1327-41, pp 176-7; *Ch. priv. et imm.*, pp 53-4: "*...ac idem Hugo et heredes sui successive virtute donacionis et concessionis predictarum infra terram predictam habuerint omnimodam jurisdictionem et cognitationem omnium placitorum tam de incendio thesauro invento raptu et forstallo quam aliorum placitorum quorumcumque infra terram predictam...*".

[106] B. J. Graham, 'Anglo-Norman settlements', pp 226-7.

[107] Orpen, *Normans*, II, pp 31-32: Orpen pointed out that the enlarged feudal service may have been due to the fact that at the Council of Oxford, held during the same year (1177), Hugh had been then appointed *custos* of Dublin and of the northern part of Leinster.

[108] *CDI*, 1171-1251, p. 57 (28 March 1208). See also M. Bateson, 'Irish exchequer memoranda of the reign of Edward I', *EHR*, 18 (1903), pp 498, 505; C. A. Empey, 'Conquest and settlement: patterns of Anglo-Norman settlement in North Munster and South Leinster', in *Irish Economic and Social History*, XIII (1986), p. 12: the service in the lordship of Meath was 50 knights; 100 in Leinster and 22 in the five and a half cantreds given to Theobald Walter in North Munster. Empey has pointed out that in the assessment of the knight service the king "had only the vaguest notion of the territorial extent of the grants which he issued [...] the quotas for Leinster and Meath look like wild guesses". See below, Chap. 2.3.2, p. 49.

[109] R. Howlett (ed.), 'William of Newburgh: Historia Rerum Anglicarum ', in *Chronicles of the reigns of Stephen, Henry II and Richard*, *RS* LXXXII, 1, 339-40. See also Scott and Martin (eds.), Giraldus, *Expugnatio*, p. 190.

sons, Walter and Hugh were minors. The young Lord John took possession of Hugh's castles and possibly committed them to the custody of Bertram III de Verdun (1152-1192). A *Liberate*, dated 1203, states that Bertram's son, Nicholas de Verdun (1199-1231), was to be given "custody of the bridge of Drogheda - *pontem de Drogheda* - as it was in the king's hand and as Nicholas's father held it". The mandate was addressed to Meyler FitzHenry, justiciar of Ireland, and was witnessed by John, bishop of Norwich.[111]

The wording of this mandate has a two-fold relevance. Both Orpen and Hagger believed that this grant awarded Bertram custody of Drogheda on both sides of the river.[112] Orpen's assumption has been criticized by James Tait in his review of Orpen's second volume of *Ireland under the Normans*. Tait pointed out that the settlement in question was not the one in Meath, but the one in Louth - "the truth is that the grant of 1203 has nothing to do with the castle on the Meath bank of the Boyne, which Mr. Orpen quite gratuitously reads into it, but only with the northern *tede de pont* in Louth which was known as Bridge of Drogheda. This was a borough as early as 1213".[113] Secondly, Hagger pointed out that the phrase 'as his father had held them' suggests Nicholas aimed to recover that half of de Verdun's possessions in Louth, which Thomas de Verdun had granted to Hugh de Lacy - Walter's younger brother - with his sister in marriage (1195).

John D'Alton gave a different version of the events following the death of Hugh de Lacy. He stated that, in 1189, Walter was granted the possessions of his father's lands in Ireland, with the exception of the castle and the land of Drogheda, which King Henry retained as his royal demesne. The castle was committed to the custody of Richard de Tuit,

---

[110] Rev. R. Butler (ed.), *Annales Hiberniae, Jacoi Grace Kilkennensis* (Dublin, 1842), pp 18-19; B. Williams (ed.), *The Annals of Ireland by Father Clyn* (Dublin, 2007), pp 136-7.

[111] T.D. Hardy (ed.), *Rotuli de Liberate ac de misis et Praestitis, regnante Johanne* (London 1844), p. 59; *CDI, 1171-1251*, 185, p. 129; D. M. Stenton (ed.), *The Great Roll of the Pipe for the year of the reign of John Michaelmas 1204 (Pipe Roll 50)* (London, 1940), pp 227, 229.

[112] Orpen, *Normans*, II, p. 79. Orpen interpreted this entry as referring to 'the castle' of Drogheda in Meath and he regards it as the first mention of the castle itself. This is not true, since the very first mention of Drogheda's castle is in Walter de Lacy's 1194 charter. M. S. Hagger, *The fortunes of a Norman family. The de Verdun in England, Ireland and Wales, 1066-1316* (Dublin, 2001), p. 49: Hagger believed that by the grant of 1203 de Verdun was also given custody of Hugh de Lacy's castle of Drogheda in Meath; Hagger argued that Bertram was involved in the administration of Meath as member of Adam de Feipo's household.

[113] J. Tait, 'Review of "Ireland under the Normans, 1169-1216, by G. H. Orpen", 2 vols., Oxford 1911', *EHR*, XXVII (1912), pp 142-44. Afterwards, Orpen defended his own position in Orpen, *Normans*, IV, pp 310-12.

the first castellan of Drogheda.[114] Johnston - from whose work D'Alton had probably referenced - added that the said direction "not being promptly attended by the justiciar, was subject of a mandatory letter by the king expressing his surprise at the delay".[115] It is not possible to verify either D'Alton or Johnston's statements.[116] However recent studies seem to validate 1189 as a reliable date for Walter's seisin of Meath.

It has been ascertained that following the death of Hugh de Lacy (1186), Walter inherited the family estates in Normandy (1189) and lands in Herefordshire (1191). A point longly debated by scholars is when Walter gained possession of its lands in Meath.[117] In a study focussed on the first six years of Walter de Lacy's tenure in the lordship of Meath, Colin Veach pointed out that Walter de Lacy received seisin of Meath before 1191, probably at about the same time in which he gained possession of his lands in Normandy and England.[118] Joe Hillaby and Michael Potterton share the same belief.[119]

The presence at Drogheda of the justiciar, John de Courcy, during that same year, seems a most relevant point. It was from Drogheda that, on 14 April 1189, Courcy issued an instrument confirming the abbey of Navan with the lands already held by the abbey before the coming of the English, by the gift of the Irish. The grant was drawn by Courcy

---

[114] D'Alton, *History of Drogheda*, I, p. 92: Richard de Tuit had accompanied the earl of Chepstow, surnamed Strongbow, into Ireland and obtained by the influence of that leader considerable possessions in Teffia, west Meath. When Meath became a palatinate, Richard became a palatine peer; he was killed in 1211 by the fall of a tower in Athlone.

[115] Johnston, *History of Drogheda*, p. 161. Among the lands possessed by Richard de Tuyt in 1211-12 there is also a burgage at Drogheda, see Stenton (ed.), *Great Roll of the Pipe 1204,* p. 50. Richard de Tuit was killed in 1211; see Orpen, *Normans*, II, p. 254.

[116] Perhaps they stated that Richard de Tuit was castellan simply as a conclusion drawn from a successive entry which records that, in 1218, Walter de Lacy was returned the castle of Drogheda and Armaill and the castles and lands which belonged to Richard de Tuit; see *CDI, 1171-1251*, 791-792, p. 118.

[117] M. T. Flanagan, *Irish society, Anglo- Norman settlers, Angevin kingship*: *interactions in Ireland in the late twelfth century* (Oxford, 1989), pp 282-3. Flanagans' idea that Walter did not gain seizing of Meath until 1194 when he did homage to Richard I for his Irish holdings. The same idea is forwarded by Landon, *Itinerary of Richard I*, p. 86.

[118] Veach, C. T., 'A question of timing: Walter de Lacy's seizing of Meath 1189-94', *RIA Proc.*, CIX C (2009), pp 165-94. Veach pointed out to a charter issued by Walter to his brother Hugh. This charter, which dates pre-1191, shows that Walter was exercising lordship in Meath before 1194 (ibidem, pp 176-81). Thereafter, in 1192, Walter de Lacy was disseised of Meath by John, Count of Mortain: in 1192 John was ignoring Walter's prerogative in Meath and granting out lands from the de Lacy's demesme himself (see Ibidem, pp 182-87). Then, by paying homage for Meath King Richard in 1194, Walter again gain possession of Meath.

[119] Hillaby, 'Walter de Lacy', pp 7-8. Potterton's recent analysis of the lordship of Meath shares Flanagan's point of view; see Potterton, *Medieval Trim*, p. 73.

"*de communi consilio domini Regis in Hibernia*".[120] On the basis of this allocution, Richardson and Sayles stated that "the first known 'common council' in Ireland was held at Drogheda in 1189".[121] Did this council take place in the castle of Drogheda, which, according to D'alton, had been reserved to the crow that very year?[122]

After a briefh seizure in 1192[123], Walter was restored possession of Meath on 29 March 1194 when he did homage to Richard I for his Irish holdings. One month later, on 8 April 1194, he was confirmed the grants in Ireland made by Henry II.[124] Accordingly, on 5 July 1194, Walter was able to confer the Law of Breteuil on his burgesses of Drogheda - that is to say "those colonists dwelling on the side of the bridge which is nearest my castle of Drogheda, namely on the south side of the vill".[125] This is indeed the first documentary evidence for the existence of the castle of Drogheda; it is proof that in 1194 the castle was part of Walter's tenure of Meath.

King John's confirmation charter to Walter of his lands in Meath (1208) does not mention the castle of Drogheda.[126] However, by 1210 the castle was taken in the King's hands.[127] The Pipe Roll for the years 1211-12, records that William le Petit, formerly Walter's constable and newly appointed seneschal of Meath, rendered account for the ward of Drogheda's castle, the wages of men-at-arms and the garrison there.[128] During the same years, the farm of Drogheda on both sides of the river was collected by the sheriff of

---

[120] E. St. J. Brooks, 'A charter of John de Courcy to the Abbey of Navan', *RSAIJ*, LXIII, pt. I (1933), p. 39. For a discussion on three main events which occurred in 1189 and strictly related to Drogheda, see below, Chap.2.8, p. 69.

[121] H. G. Richardson and G. O. Sayles, *The Irish parliament in the middle ages* (Philadelphia, 1952), p. 10.

[122] For a discussion on three main events which occurred in 1189 and strictly related to Drogheda, see below, Chap. 2.8, p. 69.

[123] Veach, 'A question of timing ', pp 182-87. In 1192, Walter de Lacy was disseised of Meath by John, Count of Mortain. During that year John was ignoring Walter's prerogative in Meath, granting out lands from the de Lacy's demesme himself.

[124] L. Landon, *The itinerary of King Richard I with studies of certain matters of interest connected with his reign* (London, 1935), pp 86-7: the charter is dated at Northampton and witnessed by William de Ste. Mere Eglise, Robert FitzRoger, Robert de Tresgoz, Guy de Dive.

[125] *Na Buirgéisí*, I, p. 172: "*...omnibus burgensibus meis de Drokedale ex illa parte pontis manentibus que proxima est castello meo de Drokedale, scilicet versus australem partem ville...*"; see Appendix 3.

[126] *CDI*, 1171-1251, 382, p. 57.

[127] *CDI*, 1171-1251, 407, p. 64; Hardy (ed.), *Rotuli litterarum patentium*, pp 200-01.

[128] O. Davies and D. B. Quinn (eds.), 'The Irish Pipe Roll of 14 John 1211-12', UAJ, 4 (1941), Supplement, p. 30: "*Willelmus Parvus senescallus Midie reddit compotum [...] inde liberavit xliv£ xviis 10d. ob. In custodia castellorum de Incheleffer, Loxeueth, Galetrum, Foure, Kenlis, Nober, Duilech et Pontis et stipendiis armatorum et reliquie familie*".

Dublin, on behalf of the crown.[129] The castle of Drogheda was certainly in the king's hands until 1217. Upon King John's death, the castles of Drogheda, Airmaill, Blathach and the lands and castle which belonged to Richard de Tuit were returned to Walter de Lacy. Walter gave security that he would make amends for the excesses of William de Lacy. He also received the new king's protection, notwithstanding his debts (27 June 1217).[130] A few days later, on 2 July, Henry III gave Nicholas de Verdun seisin of the half cantred of "*Ponte Ferrardi*" - i.e. Drogheda on the north side of the bridge. The king retained for himself *villa ipsa de Ponte*.[131] Drogheda's status as a royal borough, conferred in 1213, was to be a significant element in shaping its future.

Was King Henry's decision to repossess Drogheda and its castle as a royal borough the result of Hugh the eldest insubordination? Or was it the result of a wide-ranging policy of attenuating the power of the lords who had, in the early days, colonized Ireland.[132] Walter de Lacy incurred three major imbroglios with the crown, resulting in three relevant fines imposed upon him - in 1194-98, in 1215 and in 1225.[133] The fine of 1215, of 4,000 marks, was imposed on Walter for having harboured and sustained his father in law, William Braose in Ireland between the years 1209-10.[134] This action brought not only the fine, but also the seizure of the vill and castle of Drogheda which were never returned to the de Lacies or their heirs. The terms for restoration of Walter's Irish lands were agreed as follows: one quarter of that sum was to be immediately paid into the Irish Exchequer (1000 marks); Walter's son was to remain as hostage until such payment was made; the castle and

---

[129] Ibidem, p. 8: "*Idem reddit compotum de xxvi £ xviiis. 8d. de firma Pontis ex utraque parte aque. In thesauro totum. Et quietus sit*". For a full discussion on this entry and the first known fee-farm accounted by Drogheda, see below, Chap.2.3.2, pp. 48-51.

[130] *CDI*, 1171-1251, 791-792, p. 118; ibidem, 808, p. 120; ibidem, 811, p. 121; ibidem, 835, p. 124.

[131] *CDI*, 1171-1251, 790, p. 118.

[132] With the signing of the treaty of Windsor, in 1175, the king kept Dublin, Waterford and Wexford in the royal demesne. When also granting the lordship of Cork to Robert FitzStephen and Milo de Cogan he kept the town for himself; similarly he kept in his own hands the town of Limerick while bestowing the lordship on fitzHerbert; *Na Buirgéisí*, II, p. 325; Orpen, *Normans*, I, p. 349; ibidem, II, p. 32. After Strongbow had married Aife in Waterford, thereby becoming heir to the MacMurrough lands in Leinster, Henry II not only demanded his submission but also retained the city of Waterford as part of his royal demesne (1177); E. McEneaney, 'Mayors and Merchants in Medieval Waterford city (1169-1495)', in W. Nolan and T. P. Power (eds.), *Waterford. History and Society* (Dublin 1992), p. 147.

[133] J. Hillaby, 'Colonization, crisis-management and debt: Walter de Lacy and the lordship of Meath', in *RnM* VIII, 4 (1992-3), pp 10- 15. the background of the other fines imposed to Walter de Lacy are discussed below; see Chap. 2.3.2, p. 52 (1215) and Chap. 4.2.4, pp 136-138 (1225).

[134] *CDI*, 1171-1251, 596, p. 93; Hillaby, 'Walter de Lacy', pp 15-16.

the town of Drogheda were to be kept into the king's hands for three years; an annual rent of 30 marks was to be accounted for from the fine of 4,000 marks, and was to be paid to Walter for his portion of the vill during that time.[135]

2. The two parishes: St. Peter's and St. Mary's

Since the Synod of Kells, in 1152, the Boyne marked the boundary between the dioceses of Meath and Armagh.[136] Even though the Anglo-Normans had built a bridge over a new ford, creating conditions for the site to develop unitarily, the two banks were subjected to two different ecclesiastical jurisdictions. Two parishes had therefore to be formed, when the town started growing on both sides of the river. This is indeed one of the main reasons why the town of Drogheda developed as two separate boroughs, until united into a single corporation in the year 1412.

After the conquest, the process of colonization largely involved the erection of castles, the foundation of chapels, which soon evolved into churches and parishes, and finally the creation of boroughs. The success of feudal lordship was overwhelmingly dependant on the physical and political force of both castles and churches. Physically they dominated the landscape; politically they ruled it.[137] In Ireland the new conquered lands were early framed into parishes.[138] The evidence for parochial system in Drogheda confirms such pattern. Lords, such like Hugh de Lacy, made extensive use of the legitimizing power which derived from patronizing ecclesiastical institutions. The support and the clienteles secured inside the church were crucial during the early phases of

---

[135] T. D. Hardy (ed.), *Rotuli Oblatis et Finibus in Turri Londinensi Asservati Tempore Regis Johannis* (London 1835), pp 562-64, 601-03; *CDI*, 1171-1252, 596, p. 93.

[136] The principal authority for the Synod of Kells is the Book of Clonenagh, as quoted by Keeting; see Comyn and Dinneen (eds.), *Foras Feasa*, III, pp 312-17. See also Rev. H. B. Lawlor, 'A fresh authority for the Synod of Kells, 1152', *RIA Proc.*, XXXVI, C (1922), pp 11-22; A. Gwynn, 'Armagh and Louth in the 12th and 13th centuries', *SA*, 1 (1954-55), n. 1 (1954), pp 6-7; Battersby, *Synod of Kells*, pp 36-39.

[137] The relationship between castles and parish churches in England is examined by R. K. Morris, *Churches in the landscape* (London, 1989); N. J. C. Pounds, *The medieval castle in England and Wales: a social and political history* (Cambridge, 1990); O. H. Creighton, *Castles and landscapes. Power, community and fortification in medieval England* (London, 2002), pp 110-21.

[138] Empey, 'Conquest and settlement', p. 19. Empey re-opened the debate on the origin of the parochial system in Ireland; see A. Empey, 'The origin of the medieval parish revisited', in H. B. Clarke and J. R. S. Philips, Ireland , *England and the continent in the middle Ages and beyond* (Dublin, 2006), pp 29-50.

domination of newly conquered areas. Hugh de Lacy chose the priory of Llanthony as recipient of his favour and endowments. Llanthony Prima in Monmouthshire is, in fact, said to have been founded by an earlier Hugh de Lacy, ancestor of Hugh de Lacy, lord of Meath.[139] The connection of the monastery with the de Lacies, accounts for the extensive grants in Meath and elsewhere made to Llanthony by the lords of Meath and their tenants. Arlene Hogan believes the import of clergy from Wales was a planned strategy for the colonization process.[140] The Chartularies of Llanthony are therefore a precious source of information for a study of the de Lacies and the early colonization of the banks of the river Boyne.[141]

St. Mary's church was built on the south side of the Boyne at an unknown date.[142] The deed of division of Irish lands between the canons of Llanthony *Prima et Secunda*, is dated 1211. It assigned St. Mary's church to the canons of Llanthony Secunda in Gloucestershire.[143] No record of the initial grant exists in the Chartularies. However, an entry dated 1380, shows that it was the de Lacy family who, *sine memoria,* had donated the parish church of St. Mary and the chapel of St. Nicholas to the canons of Llanthony Secunda.[144] Arlene Hogan has maintained that as the bridge, connecting the two boroughs of Drogheda, bore the name of St. Mary, it is likely that the lands of the canons of St. Mary's stretched as far as the the Boyne.[145]

St. Peter's church was established in the north side before 1186 and was given by Hugh de Lacy, lord of Meath, to the Canons of Llanthony Prima in Monmouthshire. This

---

[139] E. St. J. Brooks (ed.), *The Irish chartularies of Llanthony Prima et Secunda* (Dublin 1953), p. v.

[140] A. Hogan, *The Priory of Llanthony Prima and Secunda in Ireland, 1172- 1541. Lands, patronage and politics* (Dublin, 2008), p. 21. It has to be remarked that said expedient might also be connected with difficulties in obtaining regular clergy in Ireland.

[141] The Irish Chartularies of Llanthony contain 48 charters that relate to Drogheda for the years 1217-1326: forty are to be found in the Llanthony Prima Chartulary and eight in Secunda; three further charters include Drogheda in relation to other churches.

[142] See above, Chap.1.2, particularly pp 26-27.

[143] *Ir. Chartul. Llanthony*, pp 226-7: "*Appropriacio Symonis Midiensis episcopis de ecclesiis de Duueleck, Ponte, Prato, Rathkonly et aliis*": "*Noveritis nos divini amoris intuitu et sancta religionis obtentu appropriasse et confirmasse ecclesie Sancte Marie Lanthonie iuxta Gloucestriam et canonicis ibidem Deo servientibus in puram et perpetuam elemosinam ecclesiam sancti Kynani de Duuelec, ecclesiam sancte Marie de Ponte, ecclesiam sancte Marie de Prato, ecclesias de Radhkunil, ecclesiam de Molinger et ecclesiam de Radkenni cum pertinenciis suis*"(1211); see ibidem, pp 57-9 (1213-17).

[144] Ibidem, p. 302: "*Item, habuerunt ab antique in plenam et pacificam possessionem ecclesiam parochialem beate Marie ibidem, ac illam in proprios usos tenuerunt, et sine memoria possiederunt cum capella sancti Nicholai in dicta villa, quas habuerunt ex dono dominorum de Lacies...*".

[145] Hogan, *Priory of Llanthony*, p. 117.

information is derived from a charter of John, lord of Ireland. Between the years 1186 and 1188, John confirmed to Llanthony Prima the church of St. Peter of *Novo Ponte*, in the freest and fullest manner as Hugh de Lacy had donated it to the Augustinians – including all incomes drawn from crops, animals, mills, waters and tenths.[146] The fact Hugh de Lacy was the main benefactor of St. Peter's is confirmed by a subsequent document dated 1187x1193. In confirming St. Peter's to Llanthony, the bishop of Louth, Christian, made reference to a donation made by Hugh de Lacy to Malachias. In this deed, St. Peter's is regarded as a parish church.[147] Thereafter, Hugh de Lacy the younger confirmed all his family's donations in *Anglia, Wallia et Hibernia* to the canons - among them the *ecclesiam Sancti Petri de Druchdale in Uriel* (1200x1205).[148] St. Peter's church seems very much a family concern for the de Lacy kin. The connection of Hugh de Lacy with St. Peter's, in the Louth side, is taken by John Bradley as proof of the first lord of Meath's involvement in the colonization of the northern bank of the river. Hugh de Lacy's connection with both churches is important - says Bradley - "because it shows him to be the founder of the town on both sides of the Boyne and not just on the South side as has been previously thought".[149] It must be noted that, with the

---

[146] *Ir. Chartul. Llanthony*, p. 79: "*Carta eiusdem de ecclesia sancti Petri de Drochda cumpertinenciis: Universis sancte matris ecclesie filiis presentibus et futuris Iohannes filius regis Anglie et dominus Hibernie salutem. Sciatis me pro salute anime mee et omnium antecessorum et successorum meorum dedisse et concessisse et presenti carta mea confirmasse Deo et ecclesie beate Marie et sancti Johannis Baptiste de Lanthonia et canonicis ibidem Deo servientibus in liberam et puram perpetuam elemosinam ecclesiam sancti Petri de Novo Ponte cum omnibus pertinenciis suis sicut eam melius, plenius et liberus ex dono Hugonis de Lacy habuerunt...*" (1186-88). Edward III inspected this charter in 1329, see *CPR,* 1327-30, p. 453. This confirmation was perhaps necessary because, following Hugh de Lacy's death (1186), all his lands were taken into John's hands.

[147] *Ir. Chartul. Llanthony*, p. 18: "*Carta Ch[ristiani] Ludunensis episcopis de ecclesia Sancti Petri de Drocheda.* [...] *confirmamus canonici de Lanthonia ecclesiam Sancti Petri de Novo Ponte de Drochdale cum decimis et esencionibus et oblacionibus et omnibus aliis rebus ad ipsam de iure parochiali pertinentibus ad cuius personatum precedessor noster bone memorie Malachias eosdem canonicos rationabiliter et iuste recepit ad presentacionem Hugoni de Lascy in presentia domini Iohannis Dublinensis Archiepiscopi...*"(1187-93).

[148] Ibidem, pp 82-3: *Carta H[ugonis] de Lacy filii Hugonis de Lacy de ecclesia de Drocheda.* "*Hugo de Lacy filius Hugoni de Lacy omnibus ad quos presentes carta pervenerit presentibus et futuris salutem. Sciatis me pro salute anime patris mei et matris mee et antecessorum meorum et pro salute anime mee concessisse et hac presenti carta mea confirmasse Deo et sancte Marie et sancto Johanne Baptiste et canonicis de Lanthonia omnes racionabiles donaciones quas pater meus eis dedit in Anglia, Wallia et in Hibernia et nominatim ecclesiam sancti Petri de Druchdale in Uriel cum omnibus pertinenciis sui set ecclesiam de Webbeleya et alias ecclesias et possessiones quas dominus Walterus de Lacy freter meus eis confirmavit. Quare volo ut sciatis me esse protectorem et manutectorem prefatorum canonicorum et prefatarum possessiones suarum. Et volo ut homines mei et amici mei eos et res eorum in iure suo manuteneant. Testibus domino Waltero de Lacy, Willelmo de Warewky, Roberto Fuget, Petro de Minton, Jordano coco et multis aliis*" (1200-5).

[149] Bradley, 'Topography and layout', p. 105.This same belief is shared by Murphy, *Medieval Drogheda*, I, pp 16-17. The subsequent role of Bertram de Verdun, who is said to have held custody of the

donations to both canons, the de Lacys ensured that the churches of both parishes would be staffed with men from their own lands in the Welsh marches.[150]

Following the death of Hugh de Lacy, John, Lord of Ireland, confirmed to both churches their lands. To the church of St. Peter he granted a charter between 1186 and 1188.[151] To the monks of St. Mary's Abbey he granted a charter in 1188, mention of which can be found in a confirmation of the year 1203.[152] In the latter charter, King John made a list of lands that "*ex dono nostro proprio, quia de dominico nostro fuerunt, in liberam et puram et perpetuam elemonsinam, anno ab incarnatione Domini MCLXXXVIII, tenendas bene et in pace*". The fact that the last document does not mention the de Lacy's donations to St. Mary's might indeed prove that the old Abbey of St. Mary was a different church from St. Mary's Church of Drogheda. The replacement of the seigniorial power in Drogheda is manifest by the fact that in 1210, during his visit to Ireland, King John built a chapel in St. Peter's church in Drogheda.[153] In the same year de Lacy's lands were taken into the king's hands. The extension of royal patronage over an ecclesiastical institution like St. Peter's, whose original benefactor was a lord, was, without doubt, a political act in keeping with John's policy of resumption of seigniorial powers in Ireland.

3. Drogheda's first municipal charters

3.1. Seigniorial Drogheda (1194)

After the conquest and for the rest of the twelfth and thirteenth century, the king as well as various lords, founded plenty of boroughs in Ireland. To those boroughs already existing, they granted new laws, which they imported from England. The first reference to civic government in Drogheda dates twenty five years after the Anglo-Normans arrival in

---

bridge of Drogheda, has also to be considered; see *CDI, 1171-1251*, 185, p. 129. The early development of the two boroughs of Drogheda is discussed in depth below; see Chap.2.8, pp 67-75.

[150] Bradley, 'Topography and layout', p. 105. The impact of the de Lacy's lordship on the ecclesiastical landscape was not intrusive at Drogheda as it was at Pontefract (West Yorkshire). This castle was built by Ilbert de Lacy shortly after the conquest on the top of the church and graveyard existing in that site; see Creighton, *Castles and landscape*, pp 119-120. On Pontefract see below, Chap. 2.3.1, p. 41.

[151] *Ir. Chartul. Llanthony*, p. 79.

[152] Colmcille, 'Abbey of St. Mary's', pp 36-40.

[153] D. Mac Iomhair, 'Two old Drogheda chronicles', *CLAHJ*, XV, 1 (1961), pp 88-95.

Ireland. Drogheda's earliest surviving municipal charters are the ones granted by Walter de Lacy to the borough on the Meath side, in the year 1194, and its confirmation by King John in 1213.[154]

It has to be remarked that neither of them are charters of *liber burgus*. They are instead charters by which a new borough was created, by granting the customs of another pre-existing town - i.e. the borough of Breteuil in Normandy.[155] This practice has been detected in the medieval municipalities of France, Germany and Britain and is known as affiliation.[156] Affiliation was the commonest way of founding a borough in England. The other way was to make a town a *liber burgus*, bestowing upon it a certain independence and jurisdictional privileges. The case of Drogheda is anomalous because both of these systems were used there. The affiliation with Breteuil, first enacted by Walter de Lacy (1194) and then confirmed by King John (1213); afterwards, the charters of free borough granted by Henry III to Drogheda in Louth in 1229 and to Drogheda in Meath in 1247.[157] The study compiled by Charles Gross on the British boroughs documents three main groups of affiliation. Hereford seems to be the mother-town of many settlements in Wales.[158] Newcastle looks like one of the principal sources for Scottish burghal law.[159] Bristol had the same privileged position in relation to Ireland.[160] The law of Bristol was granted to the city of Dublin (1171x1172).[161] Cork (1189x1199)[162], Waterford (1215)[163],

---

[154] *Na Buirgéisí*, I, p. 172 (1194), see Appendix 3; *Na Buirgéisí*,I, pp 184-85 (1213), see Appendix 4.

[155] A. Ballard, *British borough charters, 1042-1216* (Cambridge, 1913), pp xiv, xlii-iiii, cvii.

[156] C. Gross, *The Gild Merchant. A contribution to English municipal history* (Oxford, 1890), I, pp 241-81.

[157] *Na Buirgéisí*, I, pp 185-88 (1229), see Appendix 6; *Na Buirgéisí*, I, pp 174-78 (1247), see Appendix 7. See below, Chap.4.1.1, pp 110-124.

[158] Gross, *Gild Merchant*, pp 259-61. Rhuddlan in the first year of Henry II 's reign sent a petition to the city of Hereford in order to have an exemplification of the former's charter, due to the fact that Rhuddlan was granted by the king the laws and customs of Hereford.

[159] *Brit. borough chart., 1042-1216*, p. xlii. Hugh de Puiset, bishop of Durham, constituted the four boroughs of Durham (1153-81), Gateshead (1153-93), Norham (1153-93) and Wearmouth (1180-06) by conferring on their burgesses the customs of Newcastle-on-Tyne (1110-35).

[160] Gross, *Gild merchant*, I, pp 244-58. Gross failed to recognize the role of Breteuil in Wales and in Ireland.

[161] *Na Buirgéisí*, I, pp 75-76.

[162] Ibidem, I, pp 158-59.

[163] Walton, *Royal charters of Waterford*, p. 16: in the year 1207 King John granted the citizens of Waterford a murage charter 'such as the burgesses of his city of Bristol have'. Then, in 1215 he granted the city liberties and free customs similar to those granted to Dublin in 1192; see *Chart. Priv. et Immun*, p. 13.

Rathcoole near Dublin (1228x1255)[164], Limerick (John, 1197)[165] and Galway (1484)[166] were also granted the liberties and free customs of the citizens of Bristol and of her 'daughter town', Dublin.[167]

Drogheda is an unambiguous case of an Irish borough using a different system of laws - one originally codified in Normandy, for the town of Breteuil. By reasons which are going to be discussed in depth in the next chapter, it seems possible to link Drogheda's set of rights with Hereford, or more precisely with Ludlow, which belonged to the de Lacies and enjoyed the customs of Breteuil. The series of privileges originally conferred on the borough of Breteuil in Normandy is lost. All we have left are frequent allusions to it in both English and Irish charters of affiliation.[168]

Before analyzing the content of the 1194 charter to Drogheda, it seems worth examining its background and the hierarchy from which that charter descends. As a result, attention must be focussed on England, in the year 1194, and particularly in the settlement of the rebellion of Prince John against King Richard.[169] When Walter granted his charter to Drogheda, on 5 July of that same year, the crisis between the two brothers was at its height.

On 8 April 1194, Richard confirmed to Walter de Lacy the grant in Ireland made by King Henry II to Hugh.[170] During that same year Walter apprehended Peter Pipard, justiciar, and his comrades.[171] In April 1194 in fact, John had been deprived of his lordship of Ireland and his justiciars, Peter Pipard and William Petit were dismissed. Walter de Lacy and John de Courcy were appointed in their place.[172] This clearly suggests that Walter

---

[164] *Na Buirgéisí*, I, pp 293-4.

[165] Ibidem, I, pp 236-7; see also D. Lee, 'Prince John's charter to Limerick-1197', in D. Lee (ed.), *Remembering Limerick. Historical essays celebrating the 8ooth anniversary of Limerick's first charter granted in 1197* (Limerick, 1997), pp 17-37.

[166] *Na Buirgéisí*, I, pp 228-9.

[167] M. Bateson, 'The Laws of Breteuil', *EHR* XV (1900), p. 74.

[168] Bateson, 'The Laws of Breteuil', *EHR* XV, pp 73-78, 302-18, 496- 523, 754-757; *EHR,* XVI (1901), pp 92-110, pp. 332-345. The law of Breteuil was probably regarded as one of the best codes of burgess rights, given that it was exported from Normandy to England and then to Ireland. See below, Chap. 3.1, pp 80-83.

[169] Landon, *Itinerary of Richard I*, pp 196-208.

[170] Ibidem, p. 87: the charter is dated at Northampton and witnessed by William de Ste. Mere Eglise, Robert FitzRoger, Robert de Tresgoz, Guy de Dive.

[171] T.C.D., Ms. E, 3, 20, p. 135: "*Walterus de Lacy recevit dominium de Media et Petrus Pipard justiciarium cum suis militibus deprehendit*".

[172] A. Cosgrove ,'Principal Officers in the central government in Ireland, 1172-1922', in T. W. Moody, FX. Martin and F. J. Byrne (eds.), *A New History of Ireland*, IX: *maps, genealogies, lists - a companion to Irish history*, pt. ii, (Oxford, 1984, repr. 1998), p. 470.

supported King Richard against his brother, lord John.[173] It was as a reward for his loyalty that, in that very year, King Richard confirmed Walter with all of his lands in Ireland. This grant encompassed the same lands, previously given by King Henry to Walter's father, Hugh, as well as those awarded by others and the ones that Hugh himself had conquered during his life. This wording suggests that the lordship inherited by Walter was much larger than the one originally granted to his father.[174]

During the same year in which Walter de Lacy granted Drogheda the Laws of Breteuil, Roger de Lacy, constable of Chester, granted to his burgesses of Pontefract the liberties and free customs of Grimsby.[175] The charter confirmed them the 12*d.* burgage-rent, a customs they had been enjoying since the time of Henry de Lacy.[176]

Evidence for the tension between Walter de Lacy and Prince John is recorded by an entry of the Rawlinson MS. B498, Bodleian Library, Oxford. The deed attests that John, while Count of Mortain, released and pardoned Walter de Lacy at the instance of King Richard. He remitted to Walter and all his heirs the jeopardy, anger and indignation which he had conceived against them, and all the transgressions which they have committed against him, up till the present time.[177] This document could plausibly be dated between 1194, the year of the surrender of Nottingham, which marked the final collapse of John's

---

[173] Otway-Ruthven, *Med. Ire.*, p. 73: "it seems that John de Courcy and Walter de Lacy had been the heads of the party in Ireland which supported the king against John, thus securing the bitter enmity of a very dangerous man".

[174] *Gormanston Reg.*, pp 177-8: "*Richardus Dei gratia* [...] *Sciatis nos concessisse et hac carta nostra confirmasse Waltero de Lacy et heredibus suis pro homagio et servicio suo omnes terras et tenementa suas de Hibernia tam illas quas habet de dono Regis Henrici patris nostri quam alias quas habet de dono aliorum et de adquisicione Hugonis de Lacy patris suis sicut carte Regis Henrici patris nostri et carte aliorum donatorum quas inde habet testantur...*".

[175] *Historical MSS Commission Report*, 8, p. 269: "*Sciant presente et future quod ego Rogerus de Lasci constabularies Cestrie dedi et concessi et ...confirmavi burgensibus meis de Pontefracto et heredibus et successoribus suis libertatem et liberum burgagium et toftos suos tenendos de me et heredius meis in foedo et hereditate libere et quiete honorifice et integre...reddendo annuatim mihi vel heredibus meis 12 denarios pro quolibet tofto integro sicut fuerunt in tempore Henrici de Lascy pro omnibus servitiis reddendo medietatem ad mediam quadragesima et medietatem a festum S. Michelis [...] Preterea concessi et confirmavi prefatis burgensibus meis et successoris suis libertates et liberas consuetudines quibus utuntur burgenses domini regis de Grimesbi que tales sunt*". As enumerated by the charter these liberties included free sale of property, guarantee of the title to land if held unchallenged for one year and a day, acquisition of burgess franchise by purchase a tolf or part of one, exemption from all trial outside the borough except for pleas of the crown, assessment for forfeitures by fellow-burgesses, lands in moor, at a yearly rent of four pence for all services, and a considerable number of other juridical and mercantile privileges.

[176] The price paid for this charter was £200; see R. Bartlett, *England under the Norman and Angevin kings, 1075-1225* (Oxford, 2000), p. 337.

[177] C. Mac Neill, 'The de Verdons and the Draycotts. Norman grants in County Louth. Extract from the Register of the Hospital of St. John at Newgate, Dublin', *CLAHJ*, V, 3 (1923), p. 170.

rebellion, and 1199. John was in fact Count of Mortain between 1189 and 1199. What is important here is, that Walter's powers in issuing the charter to Drogheda, seem to be derived from King Richard rather than from John.

The reconciliation between Richard and John occurred in autumn 1194. Richard's grant of Meath to Walter de Lacy (1194)[178] was not revoked by John. He, however, issued a similar charter in which Walter had to do homage to him, as Lord of Ireland and Earl of Mortain, and not to Richard, for the lordship of Meath. This new charter, dated 1195, recits that the service owed for the lordship of Meath was the same given by King Henry to Hugh de Lacy (50 knights).[179] However, as soon as John was crowned in 1199, Walter would have to confront the new king's opposition.

In order to understand a seigniorial borough's set of rights, we have to define the extension of the rights enjoyed by Walter himself - that is to say, what being a lord in twelfth century Ireland meant. Apart from the statutory formula, "he shall hold his tenements and their pertinences in wood and plain, meadow and pastures, ways and paths, waters and mills and all of the other customary rights", Walter's enfeoffement charter does not include an exhaustive list of seigniorial rights.[180] A document issued around the same time might serve to better clarify this issue. In 1180-85, Lord John granted Peter Pipard lands in Louth to be held from the king "in moors and marshes, fishing and warrens, mills and ponds, boroughs and markets, advowsons of churches, castles, *toll and theam, infangentheof*, judgement of water, iron and *furii*, wreck and all liberties and free customs, except the pleas of the crown".[181] By 1194, Walter's lordship probably enjoyed all of the aforementioned privileges, with the exception of jurisdiction over the castle of Drogheda and the four royal pleas. By 1220, the castle and the vill of Drogheda were retained in the king's hands. Walter was allowed the tools and the aid of the vill of Drogheda in the

---

[178] *Gormanston Reg.*, pp 177-8.

[179] *Gormanston Reg.*, p. 178: "*Johannes Dominus Hibernie comes Morton' Archiepiscopis episcopis baronibus iusticiariis vicecomitibus et omnibus ministris et fidelibus suis Francie Anglis et Hiberniensibus totius Hibernie salutem. Sciatis me reddidisse et concessisse et hac presenti carta mea confirmasse Waltero de Lacy et heredibus suis pro homagio et servicio suo totam terram Midie cum omnibus pertinenciis suis sicuti Hugo de Lacy pater eius tenuit eam anno et die quo obiit. Et preterea omnia iura sua que in Hibernia habere debet tenenda sibi et heredibus suis de me et heredibus meis per servicium quod dominus Henricus Rex pater meus Hugoni patri iusdem Ualteri dedit et carta sua confirmavit ...*".

[180] *Gormanston Reg.*, p. 178.

[181] E. Curtis (ed.), *Calendar of Ormond deeds* (Dublin 1972), I, pp 364-65.

southern banks, which were certainly part of the original grant.[182] Did the revenues deriving from the court belong to de Lacy? Did he appoint the seneschals of the liberty? In 1223x1224, when a tenant of de Lacy complained to the king that he had not received justice in Walter's liberty court, the justiciar took the liberty into the king's hand. Concurrently Walter de Lacy was made sheriff and keeper of the king's pleas in his own lands.[183] Unfortunately, this information fails to adequately answer either of these questions.

Certainly, Walter de Lacy had jurisdiction over corn, ploughs and stock in his land in Meath. These rights will in fact be inherited by Peter de Geneve, together with his father in law's debts, after Walter's death.[184] In 1285 Geoffrey de Geneville, successor of Peter de Geneve, demanded an inquisition into Walter de Lacy's rights to take prise in Meath "when he was in the marches or elsewhere". This inquisition concluded that de Lacy had jurisdiction on corn, as well as "great horses, palfreys and otherhorses, oxen and cows".[185] Perhaps Walter de Lacy had also right to make truces with Irish felons. Geoffrey de Geneville was in fact able to transfer that right to his magnates of Trim.[186] Even though this picture is fragmented, this was the jurisdiction enjoyed by the lord of Meath, affording him ability to to transfer some of these rights to the burgesses of Drogheda in 1194.

Who were the grantees of Walter de Lacy's charter? Walter, in capacity of *dominus Midie*, addressed the charter to *omnibus hominibus et amicis suis Francis et Anglicis et Hiberniensibus presentibus et futuris.*[187] This evidence suggests that at the time of the colonization of Ireland, the French element, present in the newcomers' identity, was still strongly represented. The Irish native had some part in the new state of affairs expressed by

---

[182] *CDI*, 1171-1251, 952- 953, pp 145-6 (1220).

[183] This piece of information is given by an inquisition asked by John de Verdun in 1266 (see *CDI, 1252-1284*, 810, pp 130-31) and renewed by Theobald de Verdun in 1279 (ibidem, 1645, pp 334-5; ibidem, 1666, pp 342-3)[183] during their repeated attempts to regain the liberties that Walter de Lacy had held in Meath. McGrath has underlined that "whilst there is no need to doubt the fact that Walter lost his liberty in 1220s, it appears odd that he should have been made sheriff in compensation"; see G. McGrath, 'The shrining of Ireland and the 1297 Parliament', in J. Lydon (ed.) *Law and disorder in Thirteen Century Ireland. The Dublin Parliament of 1297* (Dublin, 1997), p. 114.

[184] CDI, 1171-1251, 2712, p. 404 (1244); ibidem, 2770, p. 414 (1245); ibidem, 2833, p. 423 (1246).

[185] *Gormanston Reg.*, pp 13-14.

[186] Ibidem, pp 9, 181. In the year 1290 it was emended that it was admissible to make a truce with Irish against whom the king was at war so long as neither the king nor the justiciar were actively campaigning against them at the time.

[187] *Na Buirgéisí*, I, p. 172; see Appendix 3.

the charter: they were to be respectful subjects of their lord's pvisions. The charter states that two categories of people were involved in the creation of the borough: *legales milites nostrorum et burgenses*, litterally, knights and burgesses. The fact that armed men are mentioned before civilians, suggests they were more relevant - which is not surprising, since the charter dates to a early stage of the Anglo-Norman presence in the Meath area. The colonists, defined as burgesses, were "those dwelling on the side of the bridge which is nearest my [Walter's] castle of Drogheda, namely on the south side of the vill". Every burgage was allotted fifty feet in frontage and three acres of arable land in the fields. Walter also bestowed upon them the waters of the Boyne, from the sea up to the bridge of Trim, to be free from all obstruction and hindrance from weirs and pools and fisheries, so that, with their boats and merchandise, they could come and go at will. Walter also granted them the *liberam legem Britolli* - to act in the freest manner ever held in any place in the land of the King of England. Everything was to be held by inheritance, in free burgage, for an annual rent of 12*d.* for each burgage, in lieu of all services. The rent was to be paid yearly in two moieties, at Easter and again at Michaelmas.[188]

The reference to *burgagia* to be held *in libero burgagio* needs clarification. The soil of the town, as usual in these early grants, was parcelled to the tenants who paid 12d. - corresponding to 1 shilling - for each burgage in replacement for all services.[189] The grant was accompanied by a liberty of commonage and fishery on the waters of the Boyne. Before 1199, Walter had conferred on his burgesses of Trim a similar charter giving them the same burgage tenure - three acres of arable land in the fields and an annual rent of 12*d.* - together with right of pasture and free use of the lord's forest for firewood.[190] Walter's burgesses of Kells had the same burgage tenure.[191] These clauses emphasise the plantation nature of the newly founded Anglo-Norman towns. The initial phase consisted of the garrisoned castles built by Hugh de Lacy on the banks of the Boyne. Then, colonists were sought by Walter de Lacy to cultivate the soil and develop markets. A study, conducted by Brian J. Graham on the Norman settlements in Meath, had detected this same pattern on the

---

[188] Ibidem.

[189] Murphy, *Medieval Drogheda*, I, pp 8-9. Through an analysis of the remains of burgages recovered during excavation at Dyer Street and John Street and the 1938 Ordnance Survey Map of Drogheda "it was discovered that the majority of plots conformed to approximately seven or eight meters in width and when added together they totalled fifty feet, which is the width stipulated in the de Lacy's charter of 1194".

[190] *Na Buirgéisí*, I, pp 74-5.

[191] Ibidem, I, pp 124-25.

whole area.[192] All this planning, according to John Bradley was deliberate and detailed, geared to a "special organization of the town".[193] The nature of Drogheda as a planned town is confirmed by a deed in the Cartularies of Llanthony. As part of the settlement of possession between the two houses in 1213-17, Llanthony Secunda "was awarded all revenues and payments from parishioners dwelling in the eastern part of Drogheda, above the Boyne, and all others who by chance had refused to settle in the burgages assigned to them, with tithes of the gardens only".[194] The strict assignment of burgage plots, and the expressed case of people refusing their assignments, indicated that the colonizing of Drogheda was not arbitrary but structured. People who went to live there were not free to settle wherever they wished.[195] The charters granted to Siddan (co. Meath), Cloyne and Kilmaclennan (co. Cork) at the end of the thirteenth century, explicitly mention that their founder had measured and perambulated the burgesses' land.[196] These boroughs are all regarded as Bretollian, like Drogheda.[197] In this sense Hugh de Lacy and his son could be regarded as 'town developers' - in that international culture in Europe during the twelfth and thirteenth century -[198] and the Law of Breteuil into an internationally recognized set of burgess rights.

Reading Walter's charter to Drogheda in Meath, it is difficult to understand in detail what the Law of Breteuil was. Evidence the borough of Drogheda was ruled by the Norman

---

[192] Graham, 'Anglo-Norman settlement', pp 223-48.

[193] Bradley, 'Topography and layout', *CLAHJ*, XIX, 2 (1978), p. 106.

[194] *Ir. Chart. Llanthony*, p. 59: "*Canonici vero Lanthonie Glaucestrie habebunt omnes prouentus et obuenciones parochianorum commorancium in orientali parte ville de Ponte supra Boyn et aliorum siqui forte in burgagiis tunc ibi assignatis hospitari noluerunt cum decimis ortorum tantum. Nam omnes decimaciones piscium, molendinorum et omnium eorum que extra ortos percipiuntur canonici Lanthonie prime sibi retinuerunt. Siquis vero parochianorum defraudator inventus fuerit decimarum, cappellanus sancte Marie de Ponte ad commonicionem dictorum canonicorum censura ecclesiastica eum cohercere tenebitur*" (1213-17).

[195] Hogan, *Priory of Llanthony*, p. 110.

[196] *Na Buirgéisí*, I, p. 319-20: "*...confirmavi burgensibus meis de Syddan' villam de Syddan' libere et plenarie cum placiis burgagiis et acris secundum quod eis assignata et perambulate sunt cum commune pasture...*"; ibidem, I, p. 149: "*...prout melius et liberius per venerabilem patrem nostrum fratrem David Dei gratia quondam episcopum Clone[nsem] fuit eisdem mensurara et perambulata...*"; ibidem, I, p. 151: "*...de tota terra que per venerabilem patrem David quondam episcopum Clone[nsem] pro se et suis successoribus dictis civibus et eorum eredibus ex parte aquilonali dicte civitatis fuit mensurara et perambulata...*".

[197] See below, Chap.3.2.1, pp. 89-90; and 3.2.2, pp 91-92.

[198] J. Bradley, 'Planned Anglo-Norman towns in Ireland', in H. B. Clarke and A. Simms (eds.), *The comparative history of urban origins in non-Roman Europe* (Oxford, 1985), pp 411-67; idem, 'The role of town-plan analysis in the study of the medieval Irish town', in T. R. Slater (ed.), *The built form of Western cities* (Leicester, 1990), pp 39-59.

code of laws is strengthened by the fact that, twenty years later in 1213, King John confirmed the same law to the *fidelibus burgensibus nostris de ponte de Drogheda.*[199] Precisely what those liberties and customs were, we do not know. In fact, not even this second charter gives the contents of the Law of Breteuil. It is indeed much more generic than the former.

3.2 Royal Drogheda (1213)

The early documentary evidence for Drogheda clearly shows a first phase of coexistence of two powers ruling simultaneously over the newly conquered lands. Walter de Lacy, acting as a delegate of royal jurisdiction, granted Drogheda the 1194 charter. At the beginning of the thirteenth century the seigniorial and royal powers had become competitors. The institutional mark of this division is represented by King John's patent of 1213, whereby the whole settlement of Drogheda was turned into a royal borough.[200] Such events brought about the end of the seigniorial leadership which had defined the early stages of the Anglo-Norman presence around the mouth of the Boyne. The success of these lords, ensured that it would not be long before more civil and commercial activities would take precedence over military considerations. A port of such importance had to be protected. The patent of 1213 ensured that this gateway to Ireland would remain firmly in the king's hands. The year 1213 can therefore be taken as the symbolic birth date of one of the six oldest royal corporations established by the Anglo-Normans in Ireland - Dublin, Waterford, Wexford, Cork, Limerick and Drogheda.

The background of this patent deserves close attention. King John came to Ireland determined to crush the power of the great barons - Marshall, de Braose and de Lacy. On 9 August 1210, King John was at Drogheda. He took into his hands that vill and its castle on the 'Millmount' that was guarding the bridge.[201] Since their lord, Walter de Lacy, had been disseized of his lands, the burgesses would naturally seek a new grant from the king,

---

[199] *Na Buirgéisí*, I, pp 184-185: "*J[ohannes] Dei gratia etc. Sciatis nos dedisse et concessisse et hac carta nostra confirmasse dilectis et fidelibus burgensibus nostris de ponte de Drogheda et heredibus eorum in perpetuum quod habeant et teneant legem de Bretoll cum omnibus libertatibus et consuetudinibus ad tandem legem pertinentibus...*"; see Appendix 4.

[200] *CDI, 1171-1251*, 952, p. 145.

[201] Hardy (ed.), *Rotuli litterarum patentium*, pp 200-01. Orpen, *Normans*, II, p. 261; Otway-Ruthven, *Med. Ire.*, p. 80.

confirming their 1194 seigniorial charter. Accordingly, in 1213, King John issued a patent to his burgesses of *ponte de Drocheda* confirming them with the Law of Breteuil.[202] This is not an isolated pattern. Only two years later, in 1215, King John granted Dungarvan, which was in the land of Maurice FitzGerald, "*omnes libertates et liberas consuetudines de Bretoill[io]*".[203] This patent, like the one of 1213 addressed to Drogheda, was issued by Richard de Marisco, the king's chancellor. Both patents, extremely generic, conferred royal status to settlements previously under seigniorial jurisdiction. John's 1213 patent to Drogheda recites that the king grants the burgesses the Law of Breteuil, with all the privileges and free customs pertaining to it, to be enjoyed in England as well as in Ireland, in the same manner enjoyed throughout his kingdom. The instrument, dated in Dorchester, was witnessed by Henry, Archbishop of Dublin and justiciar of Ireland, Peter bishop of Winchester and William earl of Ferrard.[204]

Generalization was a common mark in the charters of affiliation of this period and details were often omitted. According to MacNiocaill, it is thus rare to get a general description of the customs granted in any particular case where they are the customs of another town. It was responsability of the burgesses to secure the list for themselves.[205] In Drogheda's case, the conditions embodied by the Law were perhaps already well known by the addressees of the royal charter. It is likely that the Law of Breteuil was extended, by imitation, from the de Lacy to the de Verdun colony "for the Laws do not occur in connection with the Verdun estates in the English midland".[206] Most probably, the colonists dwelling on the north side of the Boyne were already using the customs of Breteuil. In 1213, King John ratified that *de facto* situation. The dignity of borough was conferred by charters, the grant of which was a royal prerogative. In Ireland, not until the end of the fifteenth century did it become necessary to obtain royal authority in order to create a

---

[202] *Na Buirgéisí*, I, pp 184-85; see Appendix 4.

[203] Ibidem, I, pp 214-15. See also A. F. O'Brien, 'The development and evolution of the medieval borough and port of Dungarvan, county Wexford c. 1200 to c. 1530', in *CHSJ,* XCII (1987), pp 85-94.

[204] *Na Buirgéisí*, I, pp 184-85; see Appendix 4.

[205] Ibidem, II, pp 332-33. Neither Henry II nor John listed the rights embodied in the law of Bristol when they bestowed it upon Dublin in 1174 and 1185; see Ibidem, I, pp 76-7. Limerick was granted the customs of Dublin in 1197 and did not receive confirmation and detailing of those customs until 1292; see ibidem, II, pp 236-42. When John granted the customs of Bristol to Cork he did not list them, see ibidem, II, pp 158-9.

[206] Bateson, 'The Laws of Breteuil', EHR, XV, p. 313.

borough.[207] Therefore, lords with semi-royal powers, as Marshall in Leinster and de Lacy in Meath, and even their sub-tenants, freely created boroughs.[208] In the year 1229, King Henry III gave a more express declaration to the privileges of Drogheda in Louth by issuing a charter of free-borough.[209] Not until 1247 was Drogheda in Meath granted its own free-borough charter.[210]

The question of who were the addressees of the 1213 patent to Drogheda is quite unclear. Some historians such as A. Hughes, E. Curtis and G. H. Orpen and the editors of the Irish Pipe Roll of 14 John, 1211-12, regarded John's patent as including and addressed to the burgesses of both banks of the river.[211] On the other hand, other scholars such as M. Bateson, A. Ballard , J. Tait, J. Otway-Ruthven, G. MacNiocaill and J. Hillaby believed that this patent was only concerned with the northern side of the settlement.[212] In truth, evidence that the 1213 patent contemplated both boroughs is corroborated by the phraseology used to signify Drogheda in two other documents belonging to those years. In 1211-12, the sheriff of Dublin accounted at the Exchequer for the rent of "*Pontis ex utraque parte aque*".[213] In contrast, the royal patent issued in 1217, stresses distinct separation between the settlements on the opposite sides of the river. This patent was issued in the first year of Henry's reign when both de Lacy and de Verdun were given back their lands. At the same time Reginald de Braose was also restored his father's lands and the town of Limerick.[214] The castle of Drogheda, Armaill and Blatach were also returned to Walter de Lacy.[215] Nicholas de Verdun was returned his castle of Dundalk and given seisin

---

[207] H. F. Berry (ed.), *Statute Rolls of the Parliament of Ireland, reign of Henry VI* (Dublin, 1910), pp 214-20.

[208] J. Otway-Ruthven, 'The character of Norman settlement in Ireland', *HS*, V (1965), p. 79.

[209] *Na Buirgéisí*, I, pp 185-188; see Appendix 6.

[210] Ibidem, I, pp 174-78; see Appendix 7.

[211] Hughes, *History of Drogheda*, p. 205; Curtis, *A History of Ireland*, p. 410; Orpen, *Normans*, II, p. 79; Ibidem, IV, pp 310-12; O. Davies and D. B. Quinn (eds.), 'The Irish pipe roll of 14 John, 1211-12', *UAJ*, 4 (1941), supplement, pp 1-76, p. 9 (in footnote).

[212] Bateson, 'The Law of Breteuil', *EHR*, XV, p. 311; Taits, 'Review of "Ireland under the Normans" ', pp 142-44; Ballard and Taits, *British borough charters*, p. xli; Otway-Ruthven, *Med. Ire.*, p. 123; *Na Buirgéisí*, I, pp 184-85; Hillaby, 'Walter de Lacy', p. 29.

[213] 'Irish Pipe Roll of 14 John', p. 8.

[214] *CDI, 1171-1252*, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, p. 118; ibidem, 814, p. 121.

[215] *CPR*, 1216-1225, pp 77-8; *CDI, 1171-1252*, 743, p. 113; ibidem, 791, p. 118.

of the half cantred of *Ponte Ferrardi*, but the king retaining for himself the *vill itself de Ponte*.[216]

According to Hagger, this record suggests that Ferrard entered in de Verdun's possession only in 1217.[217] Following the resumption of Walter's lordship in 1210, and in view of the fact that in 1211-12 Ferrard was also in the King's hands,[218] the two boroughs were referred to as *Ponte de Drogheda* and given a single charter in 1213. To conclude, the two Droghedas were subject to identical laws until Henry III's charters, when they were named respectively *Drogheda ex parte Urielis* (1229) and *Drogheda ex parte Midie* (1247).[219] From that time on, the two Droghedas were granted different privileges and were administered by different bodies. Reeves and bailiffs, later mayors and bailiffs, in Drogheda in Uriel; seneschall and bailiffs in Drogheda in Meath. [220]

King John's charter confirming Drogheda with the Law of Breteuil resurrected the seigniorial borough under royal authority. The loss of Normandy in 1204 caused several barons, such as William de Braose and William Marshall, to involve themselves deeply in Irish affairs. At the same time, King John was determined to consolidate his position in Ireland as a counterbalance for Normandy's loss.[221] From 1207 on, relations between the king and his Irish magnates deteriorated drastically. The process of centralization of authority really began in the year 1208, when Walter de Lacy and William Marshall were forced to accept significant revisions of their charter.[222] In March 1208, King John

---

[216] *CPR*, 1216-1225, p. 74: "*Rex. G. de Marisco, justiciario Hibernie, salutem. Mandamus vobis quod sine dilacione plenam saisinam habere fciatis dilecto et fideli nostro Nicholao de Verdum, de dimidio cantredo de Ponte Ferrardi, retenta in manu nostra villa ipsa de Ponte* [...] *Eodem modo scribitur eidem G. de Marisco de castro de Dundalc eidem reddendo...*" (1217); see also *CDI, 1171-1252*, 790, p. 118.

[217] Hagger, *Fortunes of a Norman family*, pp 58-9. According to Hagger, the phraseology of this entry seems to indicate that Ferrard was given in seisin - *plenam saisinam* - which stands in contrast to the command of return - *reddere* - the castle of Dundalk. On the other hand, the fact that in Bertram de Verdun was granted 'half a cantred in Louth' (1189-90) and his son Nicholas was given seizing of the 'bridge de Drogheda' with appurtenances (1203) and afterward was given seizing of 'half a cantred *de Ponte Ferrardi*' (1217) could be more than a coincidence. The repetition of the unit 'half cantred' could be the proof that Ferrard was in de Verdun possession as early as the 1189-90 grant, as believed by D'Alton; see D'Alton, *History of Drogheda*, I, pp 141-42. By the same token, if Ferrard was part of the de Verdun lands since an early stage, it was resumed by John in 1210 and therefore it makes perfect sense to find the sheriff of Dublin accounting for its rent in the 1211-12. The river Boyne was the southern border of the barony of Ferrard; see Otway-Ruthven, *Med. Ire.*, p. 71.

[218] 'Irish Pipe Roll of 14 John', p. 30.

[219] See further discussion in Chap. 2.8, pp 70-71 and Chap. 4.1, pp 110-124.

[220] *Na Buirgéisí*, I, pp 185-91; ibidem, pp 174-78.

[221] F. X. Martin, 'John, lord of Ireland, 1185-1216', in Cosgrove (ed.), *NHI*, II, II, pp 134-5.

[222] *CDI, 1171-1251*, 381, p. 57.

confirmed the grant of Meath, made by Henry II, and which he had confirmed himself in 1195, to Walter. However, and significantly, the king reserved for himself the four pleas of the crown, as well as jurisdiction in error - the royal writ in error - and the crosses - the church's land inside the liberty. The service reverted from one hundred knights (1177)[223] to fifty knights, originally granted to Hugh the elder in 1172.[224] Walter never again enjoyed the degree of authority he had inherited from his father.[225] He never again held the vill and the castle of Drogheda, which were permanently retained in the King's hand. The disfavour shown by King John towards Walter in 1208 might be connected to a more personal reason than pure general politics. Perhaps Walter was still paying for the support he had given to King Richard against Lord John, thus securing the bitter enmity of the future king. The economic factor has to be taken into account also. The profit collected by the crown from the lordship of Meath during the time it was in the king's hands, was considerable, with an annual income exceeding 700 marks in 1211-12.[226] Another factor affecting the relationship between Walter and the king was Walter's support of his father-in-law, William Braose, the king's former favourite. In 1209-10, those years of conflict between the king and Braose, Walter attempted an unsuccessful mediation. When William fled to Ireland, Walter went against the king, giving Braose refuge in Meath.[227] This, and other cases of insubordination among the Irish magnates, eventually led to the king's expedition to Ireland in 1210.[228] Notwithstanding the attempts made by William le Petit, Walter's constable, to discharge his lord before the king at Dublin (28 June 1210), both the de Lacy brothers, Walter and Hugh, were exiled and their liberties seized.[229] The lordship of Meath

---

[223] Orpen, *Normans*, II, pp 31-2.

[224] *CDI, 1171-1251*, 382, p. 57. For an a study on the royal attack on the franchises and on the means used by John to undermine the feudal power of the magnates; see J. Lydon, *The lordship of Ireland in the middle ages (*Dublin, 2003), pp 69f.

[225] When in 1172 Henry II invested Hugh de Lacy with the lordship of Meath, he granted him complete jurisdiction and cognisance of all pleas, including those which were almost always reserved to the crown, see *CChR*, 1327-41, pp 176-7; *Ch. priv. et imm.*, pp 53-4.

[226] 'Irish Pipe Roll of 14 John', pp 20-23, 40-47.

[227] Martin, 'John, lord of Ireland', pp 134-140; Hillaby, 'Walter de Lacy', pp 13-14.

[228] For a full description of John's expedition to Ireland; see Orpen, *Normans*, II, pp 242-68;; W. L. Warren, 'King John and Ireland', in J. Lydon (ed.), *England and Ireland in the later middle ages* (Dublin, 1981), pp 26-42. Duffy, 'King John's expedition to Ireland, 1210: the evidence reconsidered', *IHS*, 30 (1996), pp 1-24.

[229] The evidence of the Irish Annals and of the chronicle of Baldwin re-frame the over-acclaimed political success of John's 1210 expedition to Ireland; see Duffy, 'King John's expedition to Ireland', pp 1-24.

was put under the seneschal-ship of William le Petit.[230] In the Pipe Roll of the years 1211-12, the sheriff of Dublin, Geoffrey Lutterell, accounted for revenues from places belonging to the modern counties of Leix, Louth and Meath, including Drogheda. He accounted for the rent of Drogheda on both sides of the water, which amounted to £26 18*s*. 8*d*., about forty marks.[231] This is a most relevant piece of information because it allows us to estimate the approximate number of burgages existing in Drogheda in the years 1211-12. The £26 annual rent was certainly based on the fixed burgage rent of 12*d*. sanctioned for Drogheda by Walter's 1194 charter, leading us to conclude that there were about 520 burgages distributed on the two sides of the Boyne. This figure seems quite realistic when compared with the results of other historical evidence. Youghal had approximately 158 burgages during the twefth century;[232] Kilkenny had a total of 119 burgagesses in 1383-84.[233] According to the entries of the Archbishop Allen Register, there were 122 burgages at Swords, 32 at Clondalkin, 84 at Donahymelagh (Co. Wicklow), 160 at Ballymore, 17 at Shankill and 39 at Dalkey.[234]

Concurrently, William le Petit, now steward of Meath, rendered account for the ward of Drogheda's castle.[235] The sheriff of Dublin rendered account of £11 9*s*. 10½*d*. for the fixed rent of Ferrard.[236] It is relevant to note that after the confiscation of the seigniorial grant, the two Droghedas were, for the time being, united and rendered a single fee-farm. The 1212 Pipe Roll brings evidence that Drogheda, together with the other municipalities in Ireland, was still very young at this stage. Dublin is the only town to be responsible for

---

[230] 'Irish Pipe Roll of 14 John', pp 20-1. In footnotes it is stated that "this account appears to be the first proof of Orpen 's conjecture (*Normans*, II, p. 275) that Meath, like Uriel, was put under a steward after its confiscation"; see ibidem, p. 20.

[231] Ibidem, 'The Irish Pipe Roll John', p. 8: "*Idem reddit compotum de xxvi £ xviiis. 8d. de firma Pontis ex utraque parte aque. In thesauro totum. Et quietus sit*".

[232] A. F. O'Brien, 'Medieval Youghal: The development of an Irish seaport trading town, c. 1200 to c.

1500', *Peritia*, 5 (1986), pp 351-52. See also the results of Empey's study on the burgage rates of the capital boroughs of Theobald Walter's lordship; see Empey, 'Conquest and settlement', pp 22-3.

[233] C. McNeill (ed.), *Liber Primus Kilkennensis* (Dublin, 1931), pp 68-70.

[234] Otway-Ruthven, 'Norman settlement in Ireland', p. 81. See also the results of Empey's study on the burgage rates of the capital boroughs of Theobald Walter's lordship, see Empey, 'Conquest and settlement', pp 22-3.

[235] 'Irish Pipe Roll John', p. 30: "*Willelmus Parvus senescallus Midie reddit compotum [...] inde liberavit xliv£ xviis 10d. ob. In custodia castellorum de Incheleffer, Loxeueth, Galetrum, Foure, Kenlis, Nober, Duilech et Pontis et stipendiis armatorum et reliquie familie*". See Fig. 15, p. 190.

[236] Ibidem, 'The Irish Pipe Roll of 14 John', p. 8: "*Idem reddit compotum de xi£. ixs. xd. ob. de reddito assiso de Ferehard*". For a complete analysis of the Irish Pipe Roll of 14 John see H. G. Richardson, 'Norman Ireland in 1212', *IHS*, 3 (1942-3), pp 144- 58.

its own farm in the 1212 account, while Drogheda, Limerick and Cork paid their rents through sheriffs. Waterford is farmed with the county. Among them, Drogheda paid the smallest farm.

How reliable is this data concerning Drogheda's farm? In his analysis of the Pipe Roll, Richardson accents the importance of the fact that the amount of Dublin's rent in 1212 (£133, ca. 200 marks)[237] is the same as that laid down by the charter to the citizens of Dublin's in 1215.[238] On this point he argues that "it is evident that the charter merely confirms an arrangement of at least some years' standing".[239] This same outcome seems also to be true for Cork. In 1212 the town accounted for a rent of £50 (ca. 75 marks)[240] and by the charter of 1242 its farm was extablished at 80 marks every year.[241] In 1212, Geoffrey de Marisco, sheriff of Munster, accounted of £140 for Limerick's farm. The entry for Waterford is not useful for this comparison, because the town's rent is merged with the account of the county, for a total of £200 (ca. 300marks).[242] However, by the charter of 1232, Waterford was farmed at 100 marks every year.[243]

The chronology of the patent of 1213 matches the end of Walter's three years exile in France and his return in England. This return connects with the serious difficulties the now excommunicated king was facing with the English baronage, during the year 1212.[244] Joe Hillaby suggested that Walter's return to England was part of the king's accord with the Anglo-Irish lords who had given the king their support against the rebellious barons. The Welsh problem played a big part in the Irish events of those years also. Walter de Lacy and William Marshall played a crucial role in the relations between Ireland and Wales. Their loyalty to the king was a natural response to the alliance formed between Llewelyn, the Welsh prince, and the baronial opposition to John.[245] As a result, in July 1213, Walter was returned his lands in England, with the exception of Ludlow. However, his Irish lands were retained by the crown until 1215, when negotiation started to restore Meath to him.

---

[237] Davies and Queen (eds.), '*The Irish Pipe Roll John*', p. 13.
[238] *CDI*, 1171-1251, 597, p. 93 (1215).
[239] Richardson, 'Norman Ireland', p. 150.
[240] Ibidem, 'Norman Ireland', p. 49.
[241] *CDI, 1171-1251*, 2555, p. 381.
[242] Richardson, 'Norman Ireland', p. 147.
[243] *CDI, 1171-1251*, 1961, p. 292.
[244] The baronage's opposition led to the Magna Charta, see Curtis, *History of Ireland*, pp 116-17.
[245] Hillaby, 'Walter de Lacy', pp 15-16.

The king's pardon was not cheap. Even though Walter was recalled from exile, in 1215 he was imposed a massive fine (4000 marks) for having sheltered Braose in Ireland.[246]

By garrisoning Drogheda's castle and granting the burgesses a royal charter, King John's advantage was two-fold. First, the charter was instrumental in showing favour to all those who had remained loyal to the king. Second, John had ensured that Drogheda's overlord would be exclusively the royal administrators, avoiding the town drifting again into seigniorial control. On the other hand, Drogheda's advantage lay in the fact that, as a royal town, it had direct access to the king, without requiring the mediation of Lord de Lacy. The king could directly be relied on to grant a writ, or a charter, to Drogheda's benefit. One of the many ways to enjoy royal favour was to receive letters of protection. On 13 February 1217, a safe conduct was issued in favour of Peter Blunt (i.e. White) *de Drogheda*, for trading throughout the realm with his own ship. His ship, which previously belonged to John Cole, had been originally given by King John to William Marshall, who had sold it to Blunt. The protection stated that Peter could only be pleaded for his ship in front of a royal court.[247] The justiciar of Ireland at that time was Geoffrey de Marisco, but William Marshall who sold the ship to Peter, was regent of England during the minority of Henry III. Many Anglo-Irish aristocrats obtained favours during Marshall's term of office - and Peter White was one of them. A certain Peter Blunt (i.e. White) also appears among the witnesses to the document of agreement between Ursus de Swemele and the Canons of Llanthony Prima in 1214, referred to as *Petro Blundo de Brustollia.*[248] Letters of protection to the good men of Drogheda in the Uriel side were issued in 1225 and 1227.[249] The first protection granted to both communities is dated 4 December 1278.[250]

---

[246] *CDI*, 1171-1251, 596, p. 93.
[247] *CPR*, 1216-1225, p. 137.
[248] *Ir. Chartul. Llanthony*, p. 101.
[249] *CDI*, 1171-1251, 1301, p. 197; ibidem, 1540, p. 232.
[250] *CDI*, 1252-1284, 1515, p. 297; see Appendix 19 (A).

4. The annual trade fair (1204)

Fairs and markets were cornerstones of trade and exchange in the middle ages. Fairs were usually held in places like seaports or areas where there were established intercourses between merchants. In other words, places which were already boroughs or towns and which already had a propensity for trade. There, profiteering was reduced, tolls collected, weights and measures checked, and quality control enforced. The growing number of fairs served to reduce merchants' transportation costs, as the larger fairs were visited by many international traders.[251] The content of a mandate sent by King John to Meiler FitzHenry, justiciar of Ireland, suggests the possibility that Drogheda was granted an annual fair as early as August 1204. The document authorized the holding of annual fairs, for 8 days on the feast of the Holy Cross at Donnybrook (Dublin?); "*alia apud Pontem Beati Johannis Baptiste, similiter per octo dies, talia eis stallagia et thelonea statuentes*"; on the feast of St. Peter *ad vincula* at Waterford; on the feast of St. Martin at Limerick.[252]

D'Alton and Hughes identified *Pontem Beati Johannis Baptiste* with Drogheda.[253] However, neither Gilbert nor Sweetman supply corroboration on this point. [254] Even if primary source material writes the words *Pontem*, *Pontana*, *ponte de Drocheda,* or *Novo Ponte* Drogheda to signify Drogheda, this is the first and only time that they speak of Drogheda as the 'Bridge of St. John the Baptist'. Howard Clarke related the *Pontem Beati Johannis Baptiste*, mentioned in the 1204 mandate, to a bridge of St. John the Baptist

---

[251] For a general background to the spread of the fair and market see R. Britnell, 'The proliferation of markets in England, 1200-1349', *EHR*, XXXIV (1998), pp 209-21; idem, *Britain and Ireland, 1050-1530* (Oxford, 2004), p. 121.

[252] *Hist. and mun. doc.*, pp 61-62: "*Volumus etiam quod una feria sit apud Donibrun, singulis annis, per octo dies duratura, in invencione Sanctae Crucis; alia apud Pontem Beati Iohannis Baptiste, similiter per octo dies, talia eis stallagia et thelonea statuentes, quam alia apud Waterford ad vincula Sancti Petri, per octo dies; alia apud Limerick in festo Sancti Martini, per octo dies. Et vobis mandamus quod ita fieri et denunciari faciatis mercatores illuc venire debeant libenter*". For a further discussion on Drogheda market and fairs, see below, Chap. 4.2.3, pp 132-35.

[253] D'Alton, *History of Drogheda*, p. 144; Hughes, *History of Drogheda*, pp 204-05.

[254] Gilbert did not include this mandate among the references to Drogheda in his analytic index nor did he mention it in the paragraph he reserved to Drogheda in the 'Introduction'; see *Hist. and mun. doc.*, pp 549, xxv-xxxviii. Sweetman on the other hand simply translated the phrase as "another fair at the bridge of St. John the Baptist". Besides Sweetman substituted the name Donnybrook with Dublin; see *CDI, 1171-1252*, 226, p. 35. The reason of such substitution is probably based on the fact that in 1214 Dublin was granted a fair by John in the same period, namely at the feast of the Holy Cross for eight days; see *Hist. and mun. doc.*, p. 62; *CDI, 1171-1252*, 510, p. 81. One year later, in 1215, Dublin fair was extended for fifteenth days, see *CDI, 1171-1252*, 577, p. 90.

existing in Dublin - whose "location is unknown, perhaps over the city ditch, St. Augustine Street, John Dillon Street".[255] However, this would be the only known reference of a bridge named after St. John the Baptist in Dublin.[256]

A different resolution to the puzzle could be that for 'St. John the Baptist' the feast of the saint was intended instead of the toponymic. Since for the other three towns, Donnybrook, Waterford and Limerick, the mandate specifies days and duration of the fairs, we might accordingly expect the same kind of information for Drogheda. Accordingly, a forgetfulness of the compiler of the mandate, in adding an expression such as *in festo*, rather than *in invencione* or *ad vincula* before *Beati Iohannis Baptiste* (24 June? 29 August?), could be argued. A priory of St. John the Baptist ruled by the *fratres Cruciferi* was founded in Drogheda in Louth either by King John or Walter de Lacy - the latter recorded as its principal benefactor.[257]

This grant indicates the king's interest in developing the new born seaport's economy. A fair was granted to Drogheda as to the three biggest towns in Ireland - Dublin, Limerick and Waterford. These towns had a long urban tradition, having been Norse settlements before the Anglo-Norman conquest. They lived under the Law of Bristol - Dublin in 1192,[258] Limerick in 1197[259] and Waterford in 1215.[260] It is a relevant fact that, on 3 September 1204, King John granted fairs to be held also at the other de Lacy's boroughs - Lochseveth, Trim and Kells.[261] Drogheda, however, did not appear in this mandate related to the de Lacy's boroughs, but in the one addressed to the royal towns.

---

[255] H. Clarke (ed.), *Irish historic towns atlas, n. 11, Dublin, part 1, to 1610* (Dublin, 2002), p. 27. However, this would be the only known reference to a bridge called after St. John the Baptist in Dublin.

[256] Grace O'Keeffe, who is in the process of researching her Ph.D. (TCD) on the Hospital of St. John the Baptist, Dublin, has yet to come across another reference of a bridge with the same dedication in Dublin.

[257] E. St. John Brooks (ed.), *Register of the Hospital of St. John the Baptist without the New Gate, Dublin* (Dublin, 1936), pp 164-5 (1250). See also: Cogan, *Diocese of Meath*, I, p. 179; Gwynn and Haddock, *Religious Houses, Ireland*, pp 211-12. The location of this abbey has been identified in the vicinity of John Street - *Reg. St. John, Dublin*, p. 235: "*apud Drocheda ex parte Midie in vico Sancti Johannis*" (1317) - a narrow medieval street from St. Mary's Bridge to Donore Road which takes its name from the priory founded in the twelfth century on the nearby lands of Ballsgrove. No traces remain of St. John's gate, leading to the priory, which was situated at the John Street-Donore junction; see J. Garry, *The streets and lanes of Drogheda* (Drogheda, 1996), pp 54-5. Tradition wants that when King John was in Drogheda, in 1210, he held a parliament in the Priory of St. John the Baptist, see Hughes, *History of Drogheda*, p. 106.

[258] *Hist. and mun. doc.*, p. 51.

[259] *Na Buirgéisí*, I, pp 236-7.

[260] *Chart. Priv. et Immun*, p. 13.

[261] *CDI, 1171-1251*, 229, pp 35-6 (1204). See below, Chap.3.2, pp 86-91. For a further discussion on market and fairs, see below, Chap. 4.2.3, pp 131-34.

5. The walls and the municipal seal of Drogheda (1206)

The possession of a crown-approved seal was necessary to give authority to all acts of a ministerial nature. The king had his own seal, as well as the chancery of Dublin and all the Irish lordships, archbishoprics and towns. The iconography of Drogheda's corporate seal is emblematic of how this borough relied on the protection of the crown, from its earlier creation. The seal presents the towers and gates of a castle on the sea-side; three lions issuing from a gate at the left; a prow of a ship emerging from another gate at the right, and the motto "*Deus praesidium, mercatura decus*". The star and crescent on the top are the royal seal of King John who gave the town its charter. The three lions are the three English lions, Drogheda being an English town. [262]

There is evidence that Drogheda on the Uriel side of the Boyne had a seal in use as early as 1206. The Chartularies of Llanthony include two deeds related to the foundation of the hospital of St. Lawrence in Drogheda on the Louth side. The first document, dated 1201, concerned the chapel and chaplain of that hospital. It reports that Thomas, Archbishop of Armagh, confirmed an agreement made between the lepers of this hospital (situated near the chapel of St. Mary Magdalene beside the bridge of St. Mary) and the prior of Duleek. The chapel was prohibited admitting parishioners on specified feasts, under pain of interdiction. The document makes no mention, however, of the burgesses of Drogheda.[263] There is a second document, dated 1206, which deals with the transfer of the same hospital from the original site, beside the bridge, to a new location just outside the eastern gate. The hospital was afterwards known as the hospital of St. Lawrence the Martyr. In this second document, *Eugenius*, archbishop of Armagh, confirms the legitimacy of certain agreements which had been made between the procurators of Llanthony on one

[262] See Fig. 4, p. 59.

[263] *Ir. Chartul. Llanthony*, p. 64. Arlene Hogan dates the deed to the same year, 1201; see Hogan, *Priory of Llanthony,* p. 248. Gwynn and Hadcock on the contrary have dated the hospital of St. Lawrence to the years 1202-3; see Gwynn and Hadcock, *Religious houses, Ireland*, p. 211.

hand, and *the burgenses et leprosos de ponte de Drogheda* on the other. The municipal seal of Drogheda, together with the seal of Armagh, were appended to this document.[264]

Various valuable details, essential for reconstructing the early stages of the borough, may be derived from these documents. First, the foundation of the leper hospital pre-dates the year 1201, since the first arrangements concerning it were confirmed by Thomas, Archbishop of Armagh in 1201 and then by *Eugenius* in 1206. Second, the fact that the first leper-house was transferred outside the East gate, gives indirect evidence that by 1206 the borough on the north side was already enclosed - perhaps with earthen rampants? - and was in a phase of expansion. This assumption is confirmed by a clause contained in the same deed, reciting: "if the vill of Drogheda increase in size or if for any other reason the lepers have to find another place somewhere else, then the chapel and cemetery would remain under the control of the mother church [St. Peter]; but if for some reason the chapel should close, then the lepers could do as they wish with the building and the land outside the cemetery".[265] The clauses 'if the vill should increase in size' and 'if the chapel should close' are indicative that by 1206 the nature of Drogheda, as a nascent Anglo-Norman town, was still uncertain. It could have been developed into a town; or it could have shrunk into a little village or even been abandoned.[266]

The last, but not least, important conclusion to be derived from the said document is that, between the years 1201 and 1206, the burgesses of Drogheda began to take active interest in lepers. As a result, they appended their municipal seal to the second document. The seal is the visible sign of the corporate identity of the borough.[267]

---

[264] *Ir. Chartul. Llanthony*, pp 63-4: "*Ut autem hec convencio sive transactio rata et stabilis perseveret presens scriptum sigillo nostro una cum sigillo communi burgensium communimus*". The agreement between the canons of Llanthony and the burgesses of Drogheda Bridge provided certain rights to the chapel of the hospital of St. Lawrence: the right of burial for the patients and the people taking care of them and right to hold mass save during the enlisted feasts. In exchange for these privileges the chapel had to be subject to its mother church, St. Peter.

[265] Ibidem, p. 64: "*Si autem contigat ob crementum dicte ville vel alia de causa dictos leprosos futuris temporibus a loco suo migrare predominata capella cum cimiterio permanebit in potestate et domino matricis ecclesie sancti Petri tamquam ad eas pertinentes, ita tamen quod siquis burgensium de dicta villa pro salute anime sue et quorum canteriam ibi voluerit habere suis inpensis habeat. Sin autem capella interim cesset liceat tamen leprosis de edificiis sui set terra extra cimiterium facere quod voluerit sicut de suo*".

[266] This point has been pointed out by Hogan, *Priory of Llanthony*, pp 118-19. However, the canons seem quite optimistic concerning the borough's future growth, perhaps on the base of the preceding transfer.

[267] J. Tait, *The medieval English borough: studies on its origins and constitutional history* (Manchester, 1936), p. 235.

A question arises: how could Drogheda in Louth affix its seal in the year 1206, if the settlement on that side was only erected as a royal borough by King John in the year 1213? Two considerations seem possible. Drogheda in Uriel could be regarded as one of those cases in which there was no charter conferring the dignity of a borough. Adolph Ballard confirmed this pattern as recurrent to the English borough charters - "due to the paucity of cases of creation of boroughs by charter, we are driven to conclude that during this period [eleventh to first quarter of the thirteenth centuries] many boroughs were created by word of mouth".[268] A different hypothesis would suggest that the two Droghedas were living as a single community since 1194.[269] This would have allowed the northern borough to enjoy those privileges embodied in the Law of Breteuil, granted by Walter de Lacy to the southern borough in 1194. In this way, the expression *burgenses de ponte de Drogheda* would find some explanation and the use of the seal as early as 1206 would not be a surprise.

Attention has to be drawn to the early use of the municipal seal at Drogheda. The use of the seal became very common during the thirteenth century in Ireland - even when it was a right the citizens, or burgesses, had *de facto* assumed without a regular grant. The use of the seal was sanctioned by charter to Drogheda in Louth only in 1364, the year the borough was granted all of the privileges of Dublin. The charter stated that Drogheda's mayor and his officials were to account to the Exchequer by letters patent, with the municipal seal appended.[270] By the year 1412, stamp of the seal was mandatory. The charter of incorporation of Drogheda into a town provided that, after the mayor and sheriffs' annual election and oaths, their names were to be sent, under the common seal of the town, into the Chancery of Ireland.[271] Charters of incorporation, both in England and in Ireland, usually bestowed five main privileges on the boroughs. The use of a corporate seal was one of them, and effectively symbolized perpetuity and bound all the burgesses.[272]

---

[268] *Brit. borough chart., 1042-1216,* p. xli.

[269] See above, Chap.2. 3.1, pp 38-44 and Appendix 3.

[270] *Na Buirgéisí*, I, p. 197: "*...et quod maior et ballivi eiusdem burgi de Drogheda qui pro tempore fuerint computare possint per sufficientes attornatos suos per litteras patentes sub sigillo communitatis burgi illius deputandos coram thesaurio et baronibus ad scaccarium regium Hibernie...*".

[271] Ibidem, I, p. 204: "*...quorum nomina sub sigillo communi eiusdem ville in cancellariam nostram et heredum nostrorum Hibernie annuatim mittentur imperpetuum...*".

[272] See below, Chap. 9. 4, pp 329-30.

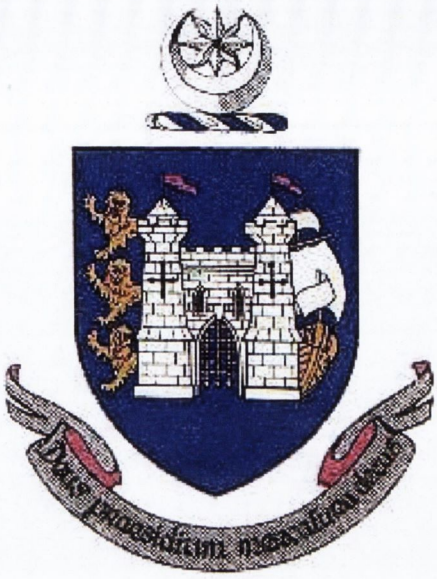


FIG. 4: Municipal seal of Drogheda. The gate is St. Lawrence's Gate, a Norman building which still stands in the town. The ship represents the town's status as a major trading port, hence the motto "God our strength, merchandise our glory". The star and crescent are the royal seal of King John who gave the town its charter. The three lions are the three English lions, Drogheda being an English garrison town.

6. *Universitas burgensium de Drogheda*

The foundation charter of a second hospital on the northern bank of the Boyne is a further piece of evidence for the early existence of the borough. The Hospital of St. Mary of Drogheda was situated outside the west gate of Drogheda (1206x1216). The group of charters which relates to this hospital show that the founder, Ursus de Swemele, negotiated this undertaking with both the corporation of Drogheda and the Llanthony Canons - the administrators of St. Peter's parish. The deeds refer to *burgagia*, *probi homines* and *universitas burgensium de Drogheda*.[273] The fact that Llanthony was involved with both the hospitals of St. Lawrence and St. Mary de Urso, suggests that the influence of the

[273] For the location of the hospital of St. Mary, see below, Fig,. 5, p. 62. Gwynn and Hadcock, *Religious houses, Ireland*, p. 211. They proposed the year 1206 as foundation date of the hospital; they also have suggested that, in spite of the lack of references to the *Fratres Cruciferi*, the foundation of St. Mary of Urso fits well within the broader context of their establishment in Ireland between 1185 and 1216. Johnston gives a different spelling for the name of the founder: Ursus de Sciamel: see Johnston, *History of Drogheda*, p. 18. For the location of the hospital of St. Mary, see below, Fig,. 5, p. 62.

canons was central to the organization of the town.[274] The charter is known from an *Inspeximus* of the year 1358, when, at the request of the archbishop of Armagh, King Edward III confirmed to the Prior of the hospital of St. Mary a charter of Ursus de Swemele, founder of that house. The price paid for the charter was 60*s*. Ursus de Swemele donated all of his lands and revenues he held in Ireland, to lay the foundation of the hospital – namely: a field of forty acres outside the west gate of Drogheda where the hospital was founded; all the land he held of the king in the mountains, for which he paid a yearly rent of 10 shillings for each service; the acres that he held at burgage tenure in Drogheda; various rents due to him by various tenants. Ursus's charter makes no mention of any religious rule, perhaps suggesting that he intended to govern it himself. After his death, the legal custodian of the hospital was not to be a prior, but a *custos* - a keeper. He was to be elected by certain "*probos homines de Drogheda*" - a phrase that generally refers to a group of burgesses elected to carry out some sort of public function. These burgesses also had authority to dismiss the custos, if he became unsuitable, and to nominate somebody else. Lastly, the *universitas burgensium de Drogheda* witnessed the charter.[275]

Scholar Maurice Sheehy dated this document to the years 1213x1215. He based this chronology on the fact that "the first known charter of incorporation of Drogheda in Louth was granted by King John in the year 1213".[276] Basing the date on John's patent of 1213 seems insufficient, since the burgesses might have acted *de facto* in this capacity, before having a *de iure* confirmation of their status. Three other documents seem to be more relevant for dating Ursus' will. In the Irish Pipe Roll of the year 1211-12, Geoffrey Luttrell, sheriff of Dublin, accounted for half an ounce of gold for the rent of Ursus de Ponte.[277] Accordingly, in 1211-12, Ursus had not yet donated all of his Irish lands and revenues to the hospital. Two other deeds are extant, concerning the agreement between *Ursus* and the

---

[274] Hogan, *Priory of Llanthony*, pp 111-118, at p. 113. The interest of Llanthony in Drogheda seems mainly directed to the care of the sick and the shipping. The Boyne must have been very important for the canons, as a way of trade and as an easy access to their cells of Colpe and Duleek: as a result, some sort of control over Drogheda was necessary.

[275] *CPR*, 1358-61, p. 26. The charter has been printed by W. Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicum* (London 1655), VI, I, p. 1139 and by M. P. Sheehy, 'A Medieval foundation in the borough of Drogheda in Oirghialla', *CLAHJ*, XIV, 3 (1959), pp 154-159. See also E. Halpin, 'Excavations at St. Mary d'Urso, Drogheda, County Louth', *CLAHJ*, XXIII, 4 (1996), pp 252-510.

[276] Sheehy, 'Medieval foundation', p. 156.

[277] 'Irish Pipe Roll of 14 John', p. 8: "...*Idem reddit compotum de dimidia uncial auri de redditis Ursi de Ponte. In thesauro totum. Et quietus sit*".

Canons of Llanthony, regarding sacramental and canonical jurisdiction over the Chapel of St. Mary, affiliated to the hospital. They both date to the year 1214. The mediator and grantor of the agreement of 1214 is *Eugenius*, Archbishop of Armagh between 1202 and 1216. Here it is stated that *Ursus* was a "*burgensis de Novo Ponte*", which is Drogheda.[278]

Not much is known about Ursus de Swemele. He had a notary in his entourage, *Willelmus capellano* - Probably William of Connacht - who drafted the foundation charter of St. Mary's hospital and who appears in two other charters related to *Ursus*. In the first, as the notary who certified an act in which *Ursus* granted ten acres of land, near Killineer, to the Church of Finnian. A certain *Benedicto clerico* is also said to be travelling with Ursus.[279] In the second, as witness to the agreement with the canons of Llanthony.[280] This suggests that *Ursus* was not just a wealthy man, but also a man of some importance, if he could retain officials such as a clerk and a notary to take care of his chancery.[281]

The hospital of St. Mary de Urso soon gained prestige. It was the venue for the signing of the agreement between Hugh de Lacy, earl of Ulster, and Roesia de Verdun in 1235. Among the witnesses of this deed they are Richard de la Corner, bishop of Meath, and Walter de Lacy.[282] By 1541, the church of St. Mary de Urso it is said to belong to the Hospitallers.[283]

In short, the activity of the municipality of Drogheda in Uriel became extremely visible with the foundation of the Hospital of St. Mary. The "*universitas burgensium de Drogheda*" appears among the witnesses of the foundation charter, together with *Eugenius*, Archbishop of Armagh and the chaplain of the parish church of St. Peter, where the hospital was situated.[284] Its founder was one of first known entrepreneurs of medieval

---

[278] *Ir. Chartul. Llanthony*, pp 68-70, 100-1. The agreement between the canons of St. Peter and *Ursus* de Swemele concerns the granting of burial right and last rites to the sick and the people working in the hospital; the right to hold Mass and to receive gifts and donations from the faithful; no right of baptism nor right to confess is granted, it being reserved to the parish church; an oath of fealty is also requested to the mother church from *Ursus* and his successors, the chaplain and all the *ministeriales*; *Ursus* has to secure the payment of 10 pence annual rent to the canons, for the land that *Rodulphus Albus*, merchant, (Ralph White) holds from him in the vill of Drogheda.

[279] Ibidem, p. 99.

[280] Ibidem, p. 101.

[281] Sheehy, 'Medieval foundation,' p. 158: "*...omnes terras et redditus quos Ego Ursus habui in Hibernia Deo et dicte domui hospitalis sancta Marie...*".

[282] *Gormanston Reg.*, pp 161-62.

[283] Rev. D. Mac Ivor, 'The knight Templars in County Louth', *SA*, 4, n. 1 (1960-1), pp 72-91.

[284] Sheehy, 'Medieval foundation', pp 158-9: "*Hiis testibus: domino Eugenio tunc Armachano archiepiscopo totius Hibernie primate, Luchas tunc archidiacono Armachano, magistro Raguele,*

Drogheda. He entrusted the hospital's custody to the *probi homines* of the borough for the purpose of maintaining a lay as well as civic jurisdiction over it. However, this clause did not hold long. By 1228, there is mention of a prior of St. Mary *de Urso* in an entry concerned with the hospital rendering a tithe to the parish of St. Peter.[285] This indicates the introduction of a religious community. It is however a fact that the funder intended to entrust the burgesses with the custody of his hospital.

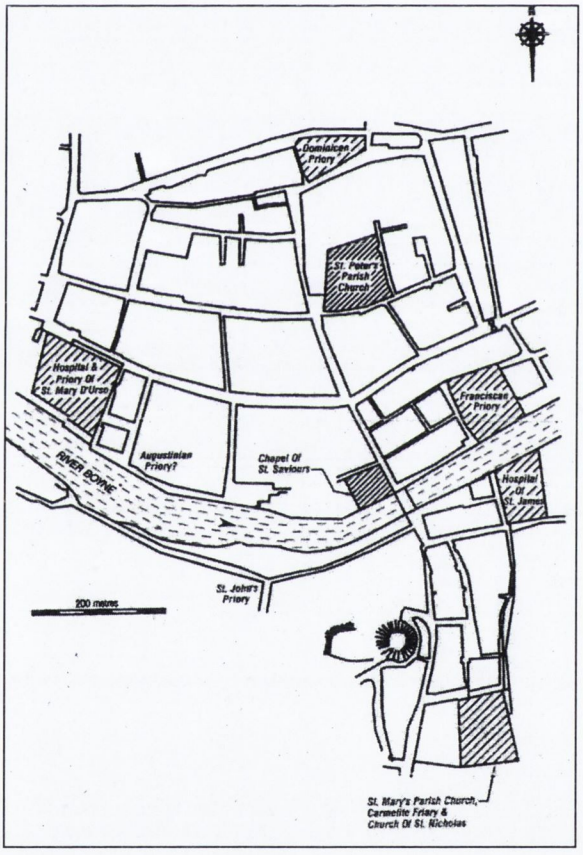


FIG. 5: 'Medieval religious foundations, Drogheda', after D. Murphy, *Medieval Drogheda,* M.Litt./UCD (1998), I, p. 173, fig. 40.

---

magistro Statio, Roberto tunc capellano de ecclesia sancti Petri, universitate burgensium de Drogheda, Willelmo capellano qui hanc cartam composuit et multis aliis".

[285] *Ir. Chartul. Llanthony*, pp 99-100.

7. Jurisdiction over the waters of the river Boyne and milling rights

It is interesting to examine the question of the jurisdiction over the river Boyne during the first stages of Drogheda's existence. Free use of the waters of the Boyne was granted by King John to the monks of St. Mary's Abbey in these terms: 'free fishery in the river Boyne so far as their lands extend on each side of the river, with the prohibition of any private or common right of fishing on that river within the limits of their lands, except by the monks themselves, as the charter made when John was Count of Mortainn testifies'.[286] The original charter, dated between 1189 and 1199, was confirmed in 1203 and in 1237.[287] It is worth noting that, in 1185, Prince John gave similar rights on the river Liffey to the Abbey of St. Mary, Dublin.[288]

Hugh de Lacy had jurisdiction over the waters, mills, fish tanks, ponds, fisheries of his lordship of Meath, and therefore over the Boyne.[289] In ca.1185, John, Count of Mortainn, granted to Peter de Pipard, *inter alia*, 'four burgages of Drogheda and one boat for fishing in the Boyne'. This grant was confirmed by Henry IV to Pipard's heirs in 1401.[290] Bertram de Verdun enjoyed rights on the waters of the Boyne since 1188-89, when he was granted four cantreds in Uriel and a half cantred in Louth.[291] Free use of the waters was among the Walter de Lacy's privileges, since he had been able to transfer this right to his burgesses of Trim and Drogheda. At the end of the twelfth century, he had granted his burgesses of Trim free passage on the river.[292] In 1194, Walter gave his burgesses of Drogheda in Meath the same privilege, specifying its extent - 'the waters of Boyne, to be

---

[286] Colmcille, 'Old Abbey of Mellifont', pp 36-40: "*Concessimus siquidem eis pischariam suam liberam et quietam in aqua de Buin, quam longe terre eorum extenduntur ex utraque parte ipsius aque de Buin. Et prohibemus nequis in aqua illa proprietatem habeat vel communam pischationis nisi per eos intra terras illorum quam longe terre eorum extenduntur ex utraque parte ipsius aque de Buin, sicut carta nostram quam eis inde fecimus dum essemus Comes de Moretone*".

[287] See above, Chap.1.2, pp22-27.

[288] Went, E. J., 'Fisheries of the river Liffey', in H. Clarke (ed.) *Medieval Dublin. The living city* (Blackrock, 1990), p. 183.

[289] *Gormanston Reg.*, p. 179: "*...per prenominatum servicium a me et ad heredis meis bene et in pace libere et quiete et honorifice in bosco et in plano in pratis et pascuis in aquis et molendinis in viuariis et stagnis in piscacionibus et venacionibus...*" (1172).

[290] *Ormond deeds*, I, pp 364-5.

[291] Hagger, *The fortune of a Norman family*, pp 51-2.

[292] *Na Buirgéisí*, I, pp 74-5.

free from the sea to the bridge of Trim, and from all obstruction and hindrance from weirs and pools and fisheries, so that with their boats and merchandise they may come and go at will'.[293] The latter grant was most important for those involved in trade between the two boroughs, as the Boyne and its tributary, the Blackwater, were the main transport routes linking the port of Drogheda with the market town of Trim and the lord's castle there. In 1213, free use of the waters was confirmed by King John to his burgesses of Drogheda, when it became a royal borough.[294] A network of towns based on the Boyne river system provided the infrastructure for trade.

An entry in the Grace's Annals is informative regarding the physical distribution of this multiplicity of jurisdictions over the actual waters. During the year 1366, Reginald Leynagh, Abbot of Mellifont, was put on trial at Trim for having built a weir on the river Boyne at Old-bridge. An inquisition was taken and a jury of twelve men, six from each side of the river, certified that, from the time of the arrival of the English, the king enjoyed free passage in the Boyne from the town of Drogheda to the bridge of Trim. This passage, called water-sarde, was twenty-four feet in breadth from each bank. It was through that passage that boats, called 'carraghs', loaded with timber for building and 'flotes', were free to constantly pass from Drogheda to the bridge of Trim. Because of this permit, the abbot was first jailed and then fined.[295]

The Canons of Llanthony also shared some rights on the river Boyne. In 1218, the justiciar of Ireland, Geoffrey de Marisco, granted to the chapel of St. Saviour, in northern Drogheda, six feet of land adjacent to the same chapel to construct an ascending stairway. This charter, given after the 1217 settlement between the Prima and Secunda Canons, reveals the existence of a private harbour of the Llanthony canons, known as St. Saviour's

---

[293] *Na Buirgéisí*, I, pp 172-73: "*Concessi eciam eis aquam de Boing deliberandam a mari usque ad pontem de Atrum ab omni obstaculo et impedimento goidi et stagni et piscature ut cum batellis et mercaturis suis ire valeant et redire*"; see Appendix 3.

[294] Even though said charter granted does not mention the free use of the waters, this privilege has to be expected: a clause concerning the use of the waters is common in any charter in which a borough is created, still more so when it is a royal borough.

[295] Rev. R. Butler (ed.), *Annales Hiberniae, Jacobi Grace, Kilkennensis,* (Dublin 1842), p. 117. D'Alton, *History of Drogheda*, II, pp 425-6. It is important to remember that by 1366 the possession of St. Mary's Abbey had already been merged with the one of Mellifont; see Gwynn, 'Abbey of St. Mary's', pp 190-99; Colmcille, *Story of Mellifont*, pp 286-303.

quay.[296] The quay, which was in use since *c.* 1200, was on the north side of the river Boyne, beside the bridge of St. Mary, which led to the church of St. Mary on the Meath side. The Secunda canons had probably equal access to the harbour and its facilities. Again, in 1234, Walter de Lacy granted a charter to the abbot of Furness, in England, permitting timber from the forest of Trim to be transported along the river Boyne to Drogheda to construction sites.[297]

Many different juridical bodies shared rights over the same waters. The Boyne was a 'common fishery' rather than an exclusive one held by the borough of Drogheda.[298] Even though the burgesses did not have monopoly on the waters, free access along the Boyne, from the sea to Trim, guaranteed flourishing trade - an essential element of the borough's success.[299] It is not surprising that as early as 1204, King John granted both Drogheda and Trim the right to hold annual fairs.[300] Water rights were therefore closely guarded. The defence of such rights frequently led to quarrels and litigations.

Directly related to the water jurisdiction were milling rights. Milling of grain was an essential part of life in the medieval towns. In the feudalized part of the Irish Lordship, every vill had at least one mill; the tenants were to bring their produce for milling there, an obligation known as 'suit of mill'.[301] Mills were a considerable source of profit to the lords who owned them. While the use of the rivers was part of any community's set of rights, mills always were a seigniorial, royal or ecclesiastical prerogative. Indirect references to the existence of mills, in the area of Drogheda, date as early as 1186. In that year King John granted the Church of St. Peter, on the northern bank, to the Canons of Llanthony Prima, with all its appurtenances and revenues of mills and fisheries.[302] The monks of St. Mary of Drogheda were also given rights upon waters and mills, lying in the

---

[296] *Ir. Chartul. Llanthony*, p. 101. The shared jurisdiction of Drogheda quayside are further discussed below, Chap. 5.2.5, pp 198-99.

[297] *Gormanston Reg.*, pp 8, 180; *CPR*, 1340-1343, p. 53.

[298] E. J. Went, 'Material for a history of the fisheries of the river Boyne', *CLAHJ*, XIII, 1 (1953), pp 18-33.This study failed to recognize the abbey of St. Mary, Drogheda in a document often attributed to Mellifont, so that the author incurred in the mistake of attributing fishing rights on the Boyne to the Cistercian monastery.

[299] *Na Buirgéisí*, I, pp 172.

[300] *CDI*, 1171-1252, 229, pp 35-6.

[301] J. Lydon, 'The mills at Ardee in 1304', in *CLAHJ* XIX, 4 (1980), pp 259-63.

[302] *Ir. Chartul. Llanthony*, p. 79.

lands assigned to them, by John's charter in 1188.[303] As mentioned before, the canons of Llanthony Prima had their own private harbour on the north quay in proximity of the bridge itself.[304]

The first clear evidence for a mill in Drogheda dates to 1208. In that year, a royal mandate gave Walter de Lacy licence to erect a mill "at the bridge of Drogheda".[305] The structure was probably a water-mill, but this entry does not specify its exact location: perhaps it was on the Meath side of the borough, as Walter was confirmed possession of his lands in Meath earlier that very year.[306] The profits derived from the mill were therefore in Walter's jurisdiction, and not part of the burgesses' liberties. After Drogheda was taken into King John's hands, in 1210, the revenue of the mills belonged to the crown. The Pipe Roll of the year 1211-12 states that the sheriff of Dublin, Geoffrey Luttrell, accounted for 2 shillings for a mill from the escheat of Drogheda. It seems likely this mill was the same licensed to Walter de Lacy in 1208, in view of the fact that, in 1210, King John seized de Lacy's lands.[307] As a result, all of the seigniorial rights, including the milling, passed into the king's hands.

The foundation charter of the hospital of St. Mary *de Ursus* which belongs to the same period (1206x13) provides evidence for one, or perhaps two, mills in northern Drogheda - one of which was a wind mill. While describing the boundaries of various plots due to pay rent to the hospital, the deed mentions a "*Rogerus molendinarius*" as owner of lands situated east of the chapel of St. Nicholas. Reference to a wind-mill belonging to Hugh de Waterville is also made.[308]

In short, there is evidence that mills in Drogheda were subjected to seigniorial, royal and ecclesiastical jurisdiction. The mills' revenues were split among the monks of St.

---

[303] Comcille, 'Old Abbey of Mellifont', pp 36-40: "*...in bosco et plano, in pratis et pastures, in aquis et molendinis, in stagnis et vivariis, in rivariis et piscariis, in moris et mariscis, et omnibus aliis locis et rebus ad ipsas terras et grangias perinentibus, cum omnis libertatibus et liberis consueudinis suis*".

[304] Hogan, *Priory of Llanthony*, pp 112-13.

[305] *CDI*, 1171-1251, 384, p. 57: the king to Meyler, justiciar of Ireland. Licence for Walter de Lacy to erect a mill at the bridge of Drogheda, witnesses Godfrey FitzPeter. Ludgershall. (3 June 1208).

[306] *CDI, 1171-1251*, 382, p. 57.

[307] 'Irish Pipe Roll of 14 John', p. 8: "*Idem reddit compotum de ii solidis de quondam molendino de escheata in Drogheda*".

[308] Sheehy, 'Medieval foundation', p. 159: "*item de terra Rogerii molendinari ad australem capelle sancti Nicholai per annum tres solidos*"; "*item de orto Ricardi de Kairdif versus molendinum ventorium Hugonis de Watervilla per annum duos solidos*". The first of these references is not assured since *Rogerii molendinari* could also be just a surname.

Mary's of Drogheda and of the Hospital of St. Mary *de Ursus*, the lord de Lacy and the king himself. It appears the town never had direct rights over mills and milling.

A wind-mill in Drogheda is also mentioned in an entry of the year 1378. This entry records the exact location of this mill by the motte on the southern side of the Boyne. John Asshewell, collector of customs in the port of Drogheda, was granted a vacant plot - called 'Castelmote of Drogheda' on the Meath side - at the yearly rent of 12*d.* at the Irish Exchequer, with licence to pull down the stone walls of an old house in a garden called 'Castelblathaghyord of Drogheda' adjacent to the said plot and use the material to build a windmill. The road to the windmill would be through a a vacant place called 'Castelblathagh', but without hindrance to the king's access to, and repair of, his prisons there. Asshwell was also given custody of an empty stone tower in the west part of the said garden, as well as of the garden itself, at the yearly rent of 12*d.* at the Exchequer. He was given licence to build a dovecote on the land, under the same construction and land condition as the prison. The price for this grant was 1 mark.[309]

8. An analysis of the early stages of the borough

In the pre-Norman era, the site where Drogheda developed was not occupied by any previous settlement.[310] The importance of the new site was military as well as economic.[311] The settlement was instrumental in controlling the bridging point and the route-ways

---

[309] *CPR,* 1381-85, p. 49; this entry isfurther discussed below, see Chap. 8.1.1, pp 297-99.

[310] See above, Chap. 1, pp 13-27.

[311] A select bibliography on theAnglo-Norman settlement in Ireland includes, in chronological order, the following studies: T. Barry (ed.), *A history of settlemens in Ireland* (London, 2000); A. Thomas, *The walled towns in Ireland* (Dublin, 1992), 2 vols; H. B. Clarke and Simms, A. (eds.), *The comparative history of urban origins in non-Roman Europe* (Oxford, 1985), 2 vols; J. Bradley, 'Planned Anglo-Norman towns in Ireland', in Clarke and Simms, *Comparative history of urban origins*, II, pp 411-67; B. J. Graham, 'Anglo-Norman settlement in Ireland' (Dublin, 1985); idem, 'The definition and classification of medieval Irish towns', *Irish Geography*, 21 (1988), pp 20-32; idem, 'The evolution of urbanization in medieval Ireland', *Historical Geography Journal*, 5 (1979), pp 111-125; idem, 'The documentation of medieval Irish boroughs', in *GSIHS Bull*, IV (1977), pp 9-20 and V (1978), pp 41-45; R. A. Butlin, *The development of the Irish town* (London, 1977); P. Shaffrey, *The Irish town* (Dublin, 1975); R. E. Glasscock, 'The study of deserted medieval settlement in Ireland', in M. W. Baresford and J. W. Hurst (eds.), *Deserted medieval villages studies*, (London, 1971), pp 279-301; idem, 'Moated sites and deserted villages and boroughs: two neglected aspects of Anglo-Norman settlement in Ireland', in N. Stephenson and R. E. Glasscock (eds.), *Irish geographical studies in honour of E. Estyn Evans*, (Belfast, 1970), pp 162-77; J. Otway-Ruthven, 'The character of Norman settlement in Ireland', in *HS*, V (1965), pp 75-84.

connecting Leinster with Ulster. It was also influential for the exploitation of the river Boyne as a trade-route between the Irish Channel and the colony's hinterland. This chapter has shown how Drogheda was planned by its Anglo-Norman founder. The assignment of burgage plots was in fact strictly regulated both for size - fifty feet in the front and three acres in the field -[312] and location. There is in fact evidence for cases of burgesses who did not want to settle in the burgages assigned to them.[313] However the town had been divided into two parts, as a result of the pre-existing ecclesiastical jurisdiction that had established, on the Boyne, the border between the Dioceses of Armagh and Meath.[314] The early existence of two parishes, St. Mary's and St. Peter's[315] and Walter de Lacy's charter to the burgesses of the Meath side only, suggests that this partition was early.

As a matter of fact, Drogheda can be considered a twin-town for all intents and purposes. Medieval twin-towns in England and Wales were usually the product of two different factors - political choice or a natural development. Sometimes the profits accruing to the founder of a town were sufficiently attractive to encourage imitation. These imitations took the form of a second settlement, within a separate jurisdiction, in close proximity to the pre-existing town.[316] With this in mind, the case of Drogheda could be seen as the result of the competition of the seigniorial power and royal power, developed during Henry II and John's reigns. In this dynamic, Bertram de Verdun seems to be a pawn used by the king against de Lacy. The fact is, there is no evidence for a charter issued by de Verdun, for northern Drogheda, similar to the one issued by de Lacy for southern Drogheda (1194). However, this does not exclude a possible seigniorial nature for both boroughs.[317] The charter could have been lost. According to D'Alton, in the year 1210, when King John erected the counties of Meath and Louth, he claimed both boroughs for himself, constituted

---

[312] *Na Buirgéisí*, I, pp 172-3.

[313] *Ir. Chart. Llanthony*, p. 59.

[314] Battersby, *Synod of Kells*, pp 36-39.

[315] See above, Chap. 2.2, pp 34-38.

[316] L. Butler, 'The evolution of towns: planted towns after 1066', in M. W. Barley (ed.), *The plans and topography of medieval towns in England and Wales, Research Report n°14* (London, 1976), pp 32-48. Exemplar of this dynamic are the cluster around Totnes: Brigetown Pomeroy, North Ford and Little Totnes; the twin-towns of Kingsbridge and its partner Dodbrooke; the twin-towns of Newton Abbot and Newton Bushel, which were separated by the river Lemon and which both possessed a market. Even though these cases look similar to Drogheda, it should be noted that the towns around the Lemon were founded fifty years apart.

[317] 'Irish Pipe Roll of 14 John', p. 9. The editors of the Pipe Roll of 14 John argued that "Drogheda comprised two borough founded by Bertram de Verdun and Hugh de Lacy, respectively, on the north and south sides of the crossing of the Boyne".

them royal boroughs, and contributed compensation to de Lacy and de Verdun for the sites of their respective portions.[318]

On the other hand, John Bradley suggested that Hugh de Lacy the elder may have been the founder of the settlements on both banks of the Boyne.[319] If this is true, Bertram de Verdun was only 'the developer' of the north side of the settlement. Hugh de Lacy found success gaining a foothold in Ferrard, across the Boyne from Drogheda. The Annals of Loch Cé described him as 'king of Meath, Bréifne and Uriel' (1186) and the Four Masters as 'lord of the English of Meath, Bréifne and Uriel'.[320] Dr. Katharine Simms suggests that this expansion into Uriel was perhaps undertaken with the consent of the king of Uriel, Murchadh Ó Cearbhaill. In 1184 in fact 'the foreigners of Meath assisted Murchadh in his attack on Triocha Cead Oiridh'.[321] The evidence that Hugh de Lacy, lord of Meath, was the main benefactor of the church of St. Peter's in Drogheda on the Uriel side[322] is taken by John Bradley as proof of the same assumption.[323] However, after Hugh's death, things seem to have changed.

The de Verduns' appearance on the scene marked the beginning of John's opposition to the de Lacies. Three major events happened in 1189. First, Walter de Lacy received seisin of Meath.[324] Second, the justiciar of Ireland, John de Courcy, was in Drogheda, attending such an official business as issuing charters "on behalf of the common council of the king in Ireland".[325] Third, in 1189-90, John, Count of Mortain, granted Bertram de Verdun four cantreds in Uriel and a half cantred in Louth. It is conjectured that such a grant was made concurrently with the death of the king of Uriel Murrough O'Carroll.[326] The charter of enfeoffment, which survives in a later copy, states that the said

---

[318] D'Alton, *History of Drogheda,* I, pp 141-2 (his source is *Rot.* 33, 34 Edw. III, in Offic. Ch. Rememb.)

[319] Bradley, 'Topography and layout', p. 105.

[320] Hennessy (ed.), ALC, p. 173; J. O'Donovan (ed.), *Annala rioghachta Eireann: Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland by the four Masters, from the Earliest Period to the Year 1616* (Dublin, 1851; repr. New York, 1966), 3, p. 71.

[321] K. Simms, 'O'Hanlons, O'Neills and Anglo-Normans in thirteenth century Armagh', *SA*, 9/I (1978), p. 74.

[322] *Ir. Chartul. Llanthony*, pp 79 (1186x1188), 18 (1187x1193), 82-3 (1200-1205); see above, Chap. 2.2, pp 36-7.

[323] Bradley, 'Topography and layout', p. 105.

[324] Veach, 'A question of timing', pp 176-81. See above, Chap. 2.3.1, pp 39-40.

[325] Brooks, 'Charter of John de Courcy', pp 39-40; see discussion above, Chap. 2.1, p 32.

[326] Hagger, *Fortunes of a Norman family*, pp 51-2. The fact that the charter differentiates between his half cantred in Louth and his 4 cantreds in Uriel suggests that most of the de Verdun land lay north of the

land was held for the service of 20 knights with 'sake and soke, toll and team and *infangentheof*, justice of iron and pit and gallows and all the other liberties pertaining to the said lands'.[327] This can indeed be taken as the date of beginning of the de Verdun's lordship in Ireland.[328]

Robert Bartlett regarded, with certainty, that neither Hugh de Lacy's nor Bertram's grants were "the result of any direct frontier links, but a consequence of royal favour, a reward for past services".[329] Accordingly, once the king took the de Lacy's estates into his hands, Bertram was granted custody of the bridge of Drogheda, as shown by the writ of *Liberate* issued by King John in 1203. This mandate notifies the justiciar of Ireland, Meyler FitzHenry, that he must transfer to Nicholas de Verdun "the custody of the *ponte de Drogheda*, as it was in the king's hand and as Nicholas's father [Bertram III] held it".[330] Both Orpen and Hagger believed that, by this grant, Bertram was given custody of Drogheda on both sides of the river.[331] James Tait, upon reviewing Orpen's second volume of *Ireland under the Normans* rejected this assumption. Tait emphasizes the settlement in question was not the one in Meath, but the one in Uriel - "the truth is that the grant of 1203 has nothing to do with the castle on the Meath bank of the Boyne which Mr. Orpen quite gratuitously reads into it, but only with the northern *tede de pont* in Louth which was

---

river Fane. According to Brendan Smith, Louth had already been subjected to Norman raids before the advent of de Verdun in Louth and Pipard in Ardee, see B. Smith, 'The concept of the march in medieval Ireland: the case of Uriel', *Proc. RIA* 88 C n. 8 (1988), p. 261.

[327] Dublin, Trinity College Library, MS 579/1, f. 199, p. 145.

[328] Otway-Ruthven reconstructed the lands contained in the said grant. "It included the Cooley peninsula, the modern barony of lower Dundalk and the barony of Upper Dundalk. It included also, as the half cantred of Louth nearest the sea, the parish of Dromiskin, or rather those parts of it which did not belong to the archbishop of Armagh. [...] What is not really clear is whether the original charter included the barony of Ferrard", see Otway-Ruthven, 'The partition of the de Verdun lands in Ireland in 1332', *Proc. RIA*, 66, C (1968), p. 405. On the contrary, D'Alton included Ferrard in the initial grant; see D'Alton, *History of Drogheda*, pp 141-42; see also Hagger, *Fortunes of a Norman family*, p. 55. See below, Fig. 6, p. 72.

[329] R. Bartlett, 'Colonial aristocracies of the middle ages', in R. Bartlett and A. McKay (eds.), *Medieval Frontier Societies* (Oxford, 1992), p. 31.

[330] Hardy (ed.), *Rotuli de Liberate*, p. 59; *CDI, 1171-1251*, 185, p. 129. See also Stenton (ed.), *Great Roll of the Pipe, 1204,* pp 227, 229.

[331] Orpen, *Normans*, II, p. 79. Orpen has intended this entry as referred to 'the castle of the bridge of Drogheda' in Meath, thus arbitrarely suppliying the term 'castle' where the entry only has custody of the '*pontem de Drogheda*'. This interpolation makes him regard this entry as the first mention of the castle itself. This is not true, since the very first mention of Drogheda's castle is in Walter de Lacy 1194 charter. Hagger believed that this grant also included the custody of Hugh de Lacy's castle of Drogheda in Meath; his assumption is grounded on the fact that Bertram was involved in the administration of Meath and that he was member of Adam de Feipo's household; see Hagger, *Fortunes of a Norman family*, p. 49.

known as Bridge of Drogheda. This was a borough as early as 1213".[332] As the river Boyne was the southern border of the barony of Ferrard,[333] Bertram de Verdun was probably assigned the northern portion of Drogheda only, which was inherited by his son, Nicholas. By regarding the name de *Ponte*, confined to the northern part of the borough, Tait assumed that, by the patent of 1213, King John was enfranchising the northern part alone.

Whether Bertram de Verdun may be considered the founder of the northern side of Drogheda - as alleged by Otway Ruthven,[334] Hillaby,[335] Davies and Quinn -[336] or just the developer of an original core founded by Hugh de Lacy - as argued by Bradley -,[337] his involvement with the north side of the Boyne originated with King John. The presence of some of de Verdun's men, on the northern bank, might be the reason why Walter de Lacy's 1194 charter is so detailed in describing the exact position of his burgesses - namely, on the side of the bridge which is nearest to Walter's castle of Drogheda namely on the south side of the vill.[338] The axiom, *'scilicet australem partem ville'* implies the existence of a northern part of the vill, subject to somebody other than Walter, - perhaps de Verdun?[339] The ultimate proof that the de Verduns were at an early stage overlords of Drogheda in Uriel comes with the above mentioned 1217 mandate. The lands granted in 1217 - "half the cantred of *Ponte Ferrardi"* -[340] could verisimilarly be the same ones originally granted to Bertram de Verdun - "a half cantred in Louth".[341]

---

[332] Taits, 'Reviews of "Ireland under the Normans" ', pp 142-44.

[333] Otway-Ruthven, *Med. Ire.*, p. 71.

[334] Ibidem, p. 123: "Drogheda on the side of Uriel founded by Bertram de Verdun and given a charter of the laws of Breteuil by the king in 1213 and Drogheda on the side of Meath, founded by Walter de Lacy in 1194, but taken into the hand of the crown under John and never restored".

[335] Hillaby maintained that the northern part of Drogheda was founded by Bertram de Verdun, see Hillaby, 'Walter de Lacy', p. 29. See also D'Alton, *History of Drogheda*, I, p. 141.

[336] 'Irish Pipe Roll of 14 John', p. 9.

[337] Bradley, 'Topography and layout', p. 105.

[338] *Na Buirgéisí*, I, p. 172: *"...omnibus burgensibus meis de Drokedale ex illa parte pontis manentibus que Proxima est castello scilicet versus australem partem ville ».*

[339] The evidence that both banks were already colonized by 1194 is followed by Bradley's map which shows that the two settlements were well formed by the time the town was taken into king's hand (1213); see below, Fig.7, p. 75.

[340] *CPR*, 1216-1225, p. 74; *CDI, 1171-1251*, 790, p. 118.

[341] Hagger, *Fortunes of a Norman family*, pp 51-2.

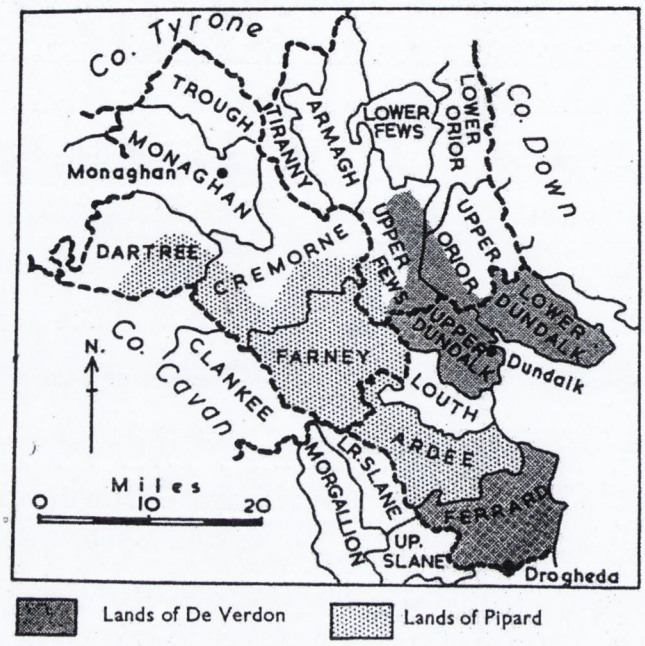


FIG. 6: Grants in Uriel, 1190, after Otway-Ruthven, *Med. Ire.*, p. 71.

The fact that the two settlements developed *in tandem* weakens the theory of seigniorial competition. What seems more likely is that King John was the real author of the design to position three lords on the opposite banks of the Boyne.[342] According to Otway-Ruthven's map of the grants in Uriel (1190), John granted de Verdun the afore-mentioned lands - the baronies of Upper-Lower Dundalk and Ferrard - bordering with Hugh de Lacy's possession. Concurrently, he granted Pipard lands bordering on de Verdun's ones - the baronies of Ardee, Farney, lands in Upper Fews, Cremorne and Dartry.[343] An entry of the Ormond Deeds states that Peter Pipard held "*de conquistato suo*" land in Uriel as early as 1180x1185 - namely, two cantreds and a half in Ferrard, with the castle of Ardee, four burgages in Drogheda and one boat for fishing in the Boyne.[344] This arrangement between de Verdun and Pipard would have constituted a brake to the

[342] This interpretation of the royal policies in Meath seems to fit with the idea expressed by Peter Crooks by introducing the idea that factionalism in Ireland might have been royally imposed, or at least facilitated; P. Crooks, 'Divide and rule. Factionalism as royal policy in the lordship of Ireland, 1171-1265', *Peritia*, 19 (2005), pp 263-307, at p. 278.

[343] Otway-Ruthven, *Med. Ire.*, p. 71: map drawing the Grant in Uriel, 1190; see above, Fig. 6, p. 72.

[344] *Ormond deeds*, I, pp 364-5. This is indeed the earliest reference to burgages existing in Drogheda and it prooves that the borough dates back to the years of Hugh de Lacy, lord of Meath.

expansion of Walter's lordship further north beyond the Boyne. On the whole, the partition of lands between three lords, de Lacy, de Verdun and Pipard, was instrumental in preventing the concentration of power in one man's hands. King Henry II's large endowments in Ireland had been shown to be hazardous when Hugh de Lacy's lordship of Meath became a threat to the crown itself. John's strategy represents a striking departure from the royal policy previously enected in the government of Ireland.

Brendan Smith stated that, by the year 1195, Uriel was still 'land of war', and "any major territorial expansion in Uriel had first to be cleared with John, Lord of Ireland".[345] When Thomas de Verdun reached an agreement with Hugh de Lacy, Walter's brother, concerning Hugh's marriage to Thomas' sister, Leselina de Verdun, he had to obtain John's permission by means of "giving money or any other way he can".[346] This marriage marked the first partition of the de Verdun's lands in Ireland (1195). It is not clear what exactly Hugh de Lacy inherited. When Hugh's daughter, Matilda, married David, Baron of Naas, her father granted her as a dowry the whole land which he had with his wife in Cooley and Uriel and in county Louth.[347] It seems improbable that the northern side of Drogheda was among the lands in Uriel. The king would have not allowed Hugh to gain possession of Drogheda in Louth only one year after Walter had officially become overlord of the Drogheda in Meath by granting his burgesses there the customs of Breteuil (1194).[348]

The cooperation of the two families in conquering territories in the 'land of war' did not last long. As soon as Nicholas de Verdun (1199-1231) succeeded his brother Thomas (1194-99), he started to contest this agreement, attempting to expel Hugh from the Dundalk lordship. In 1235, Roesia de Verdun, daughter and heiress of Nicholas de Verdun, settled

---

[345] Smith, 'Concept of March', pp 261-2.

[346] *Gormanston Reg.*, pp 144, 192-3. By the said agreement Hugh was given half of the de Verdun's lordship of Dundalk and a share of the 'land of war' eventually conquered, "except that Thomas retains for himself and his heirs, whole and undivided, the castle of Dundalk and five knights' fees neighbouring and near the castle, towards the sea and towards the land, on whatever side it shall please Thomas, and the harbour on the water of Athlone [...] And whatever the said Thomas de Verdun and Hugh de Lacy can conquer in the land of war, in their part of the land of Uriel, they will equally divide all between them, as they have divided the land of peace". The last sentence reveals that at that time Uriel was 'land of war'. The *Gormanston Register* records the marriage at the year 1195. From his castle of Dundalk, de Verdun could command the traffic between Ulster and Louth. De Verdun's reservation of the water of Athlone was dictated by strategic and economic reasons; it ensured him the customs derived from trade.

[347] Hagger, *Fortunes of a Norman family*, p. 55.

[348] The grant in Uriel to the de Verduns would have proven effective in preventing the merging of Walter's lordship of Meath with the land held by his brother Hugh de Lacy in Ulster from 1205; *Gormanston Reg.*, pp 141-2, 189.

30 years of strained relations between the de Lacy and de Verdun families. The new agreement she made with Hugh de Lacy, earl of Ulster, set up the recovery of the de Verdun's lands in county Louth on a permanent footing. The agreement was signed at Drogheda, in the house of the Hospital of St. Mary outside the Gate and was witnessed by Richard de la Corner, Bishop of Meath, Walter de Lacy and Richard de Burg. Roesia paid £200 for Hugh's renunciation of his share of the de Verdun's lands.[349] As a result, the river Boyne marked again the border between the two families' lands. In the event this settlement proved final, the de Verduns retained these lands, undivided, until the extinction of the male line in 1316.

The jurisdictional switch evidenced in the primary source material here analized, mirrors the dynamics of the physical evolution of the colony. Hugh de Lacy's castle started the colonial settlement on the south bank of the Boyne.[350] Burgages in Drogheda are mentioned as early as the years 1180-85.[351] As the population of the north side began to increase, new institutions were there created - the above mentioned hospital of St. Mary *de Ursus* outside the western gate and the hospital of St. Lawrence outside the eastern gate both on the north side of Drogheda; 'Bothestrata' (Shop Street) on the north side, recorded before 1213.[352] The outcome of Bradley's research, evidenced in the map of medieval Drogheda, suggests a larger development on the northern bank as early as the year 1215.[353] The topography of the site where Drogheda lies is another element which explains this tendency. Bradley has underlined how the contrast in the land formations, on each side of the river, influenced the development of the town. The South bank "was ideal as a defensive site because there is a formidable scarp rising to a height of just over 100 feet [...] affording both a commanding view of the surrounding countryside as well as

---

[349] *Gormanston Reg.*, pp 161-2; Hagger, *Fortunes of a Norman family*, pp 72-83.

[350] Johnston, *History of Drogheda*, pp 11; Allen, 'fortifications of Drogheda', p. 242.

[351] *Ormond deeds*, I, pp 364-5.

[352] Maurice Sheehy identified *Bothestrata*, as Bodestown, Co. Kildare; see Sheehy, 'A Medieval foundation', p. 158. An act of the Chartularies of Llanthony, dated 1294, demonstrates that *Bothestrata* is clearly a street, or an area, in the Uriel side of Drogheda; see *Ir. Chartul. Llanthony*, p. 140: "*Carta Henrici Flemying de redditu apud Drogheda que carta exemplificata remanet in custodia procuratoris de Dyueleke*": "*...unam placea terre cum pertinenciis que iacet in villa de Drogheda ex parte Urielis in Bothestrata inter terram Henrici filii Henrici Stoppil versus austrum et terram Iohannis Fullonis versus aquilonem...*". Bradley identified it with Both Street. Its modern name is Shop Street; see Bradley, 'Topography and layout', p. 127.

[353] See below, Fig. 7, p. 75 A study on the development of urban morphology in two Droghedas has been carried out by Dargan, P., *The Norman town in Ireland. A preliminary study of colonial urban form*, Urban Morphology Research Group, 4 (Birmingham, 1997), pp 41-63.

dominating the river crossing". The defensive advantage of the scarp was further increased by the presence of two ravines, each carrying small streams, which formed a natural promontory overlooking the river. By contrast, the land of the northern bank rises more gently, so that "the south side was ideal as a defensive site but the steep slope of the scarp constrained the spread of dwelling houses and shops. The north side on the other hand, was a level expanse suitable for the construction of houses and for the establishment of an extensive quayside".[354]

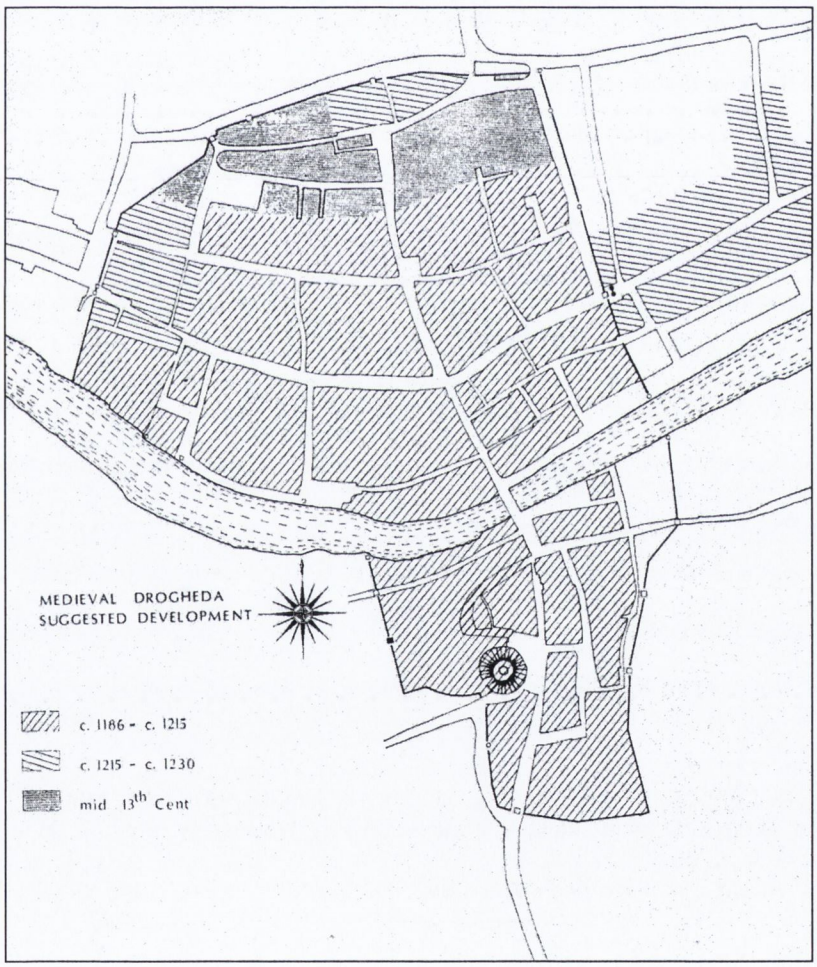


FIG. 7: Medieval Drogheda, suggested development, after J. Bradley, 'The topography and layout of medieval Drogheda, County Louth', *CLAHJ* XIX, 2 (1978), p. 119.

[354] Bradley, 'Topography and layout', p. 105.

CHAPTER 3

THE LAW OF BRETEUIL

That the word *Britolium* cannot be translated Bristol, and must be translated Breteuil, is a point that does not need belabouring. Of the forty-two ways of writing the name Bristol by Rev. Samuel Seyer in his *Memoirs of Bristol*, no one has the "s" omitted.[355] Sweetman inexplicably translated *legem de Bretoll* with "bridge-toll [Breteill]". This interpretation is inaccurate.[356]

At the beginning of the twentieth century, Mary Bateson opened a new page on the much debated origins of the English boroughs.[357] Following the printing of the Domesday Book (1783), a group of scholars began to scrutinize the origin of the English medieval towns. Outstanding among the forefathers of that discipline were: C. Gross[358], W. H. Stevenson[359], J. H. Round[360], F. W. Maitland[361] and Mary Bateson.[362] Bateson called attention to the existence of references to a Norman law-code among the English as well as Irish municipal charters - the Law of Breteuil, a set of privileges named after the Norman town Breteuil, located near the border of Maine and Blois. During the middle ages Breteuil laid in a Norman marcher territory controlled by William Fitz-Osbern.

---

[355] S. Seyer, *Memoirs of Bristol* (Bristol, 1821), I, 280.

[356] *CDI*, 1171-1252, 473, p. 76 (Drogheda in Louth); 584, p. 91 (Dungarvan). Sweeteman, after H. T. Riley, identified Breteuil as "*Breteill*, the same perhaps of *Bridthol* or *Brudthol*; bridge toll, a toll exacted for passing over or under bridges, at a later period known as pontage". See also H. T. Riley (ed.), *Munimenta Gildhallae Londoniensis: Liber Albus; Liber Custumarum; et Liber Horn*, *RBS*, 12, II, (London, 1859-62), p. 704.

[357] M. Bateson, 'The Laws of Breteuil', *EHR* XV (1900), pp 73-78, 302-18, 496- 523, 754-757; *EHR* XVI (1901), pp 92-110, 332-345. For a more general study on the English borough see eadem, 'Borough Customs', I, *Selden Society* XVIII (1904); II, *Selden Society* XXI (1906).

[358] Gross, *Gild Merchant*, 2 vols.

[359] W. H. Stevenson, *Records of the Borough of Nottingham* (London, 1882-1900), 5 vols.

[360] J. H. Round, *Records of the Borough of Leicester* (London, 1889-1905), 3 vols.; idem, *Feudal England* (London, 1895).

[361] F. W. Maitland, *Domesday Book and beyond* (Cambridge, 1897); idem, *Township and borough* (Cambridge, 1898).

[362] M. Bateson, 'The creation of boroughs', *EHR*, XVII (1902), pp 284-96; eadem, *Cambridge Gild records* (Cambridge, 1903).

The second generation of historians who devoted their study to the English towns pointed out that, over the centuries, the practice of voluntary association for trading purposes had been the main element in the growing of 'urban' societies - they were C. Stephenson[363], M. de Wolf Hemmeon,[364] A. Ballard[365] and J. Tait.[366] In his *Burgage tenure in medieval England,* Morley de Wolf Hemmeon criticized Mary Bateson's draft of the Law of Breteuil.[367] Bateson's and Hemmeon's positions disagreed fundamentally upon the idea of burgage origin. Bateson subscribed to the belief that burgage tenure was largely imported from France. Hemmeon instead maintained that burgage tenure, in fact, had a pre-conquest origin and connection with the frequent mention of landgable rent in the Domesday Book.[368] H. W. C. Davis dismissed Hammeon's position, by defining it as "destructive criticism".[369] Ballard agreed with Bateson's paraphrases of the Law of Breteuil, despite a few clarifications.[370] E. W. W. Veale, in his introduction to *The Great Red Book of Bristol,* gave a brief account of the Bateson-Hemmeon's quarrel, without taking position - albeit the subject should perhaps have been more attentively investigated in the context of his *Burgage tenure in medieval Bristol.*[371] Carl Stephenson's perception of the burgage tenure recognized a strong French contribution, without saying that burgage tenure was wholly a foreign importation.[372] Bateson's interpretation has nowadays been shared by both English and Irish historians: F. W. Maitland, A. Ballard, J. Tait, C. H. Haskins, R. Bartlett. In reviewing Orpen's *Ireland under the Normans*, James Tait remarked the superficiality with which the Irish historian approached the subject.[373] Even

---

[363] C. Stephenson, *Borough and town. A study of urban origin in England* (Cambridge, 1933).

[364] M. de Wolf Hemmeon, *Burgage tenure in medieval England* (Cambridge, 1914).

[365] Ballard, *Brit. borough chart., 1042-1216*; idem, 'The Law of Breteuil', *EHR* XXX (1915), pp 646-58.

[366] J. Tait, *Medieval English borough* (Manchester, 1936); Ballard and Taits, *British borough charters, 1216-1307 (*Cambridge, 1923).

[367] De Wolf Hemmeon, *Burgage tenure,* pp 166-72.

[368] Ibidem, pp 168-70. More specifically Hammeon's criticism of Bateson's list of Breteuil Customs is based on two assumptions. First, that all of the boroughs that followed the Breteuil model must have adopted the Breteuil customs in their entirety; so that a custom which is not universal in the group cannot have derived from Breteuil; second that no custom which ever occurs outside the Breteuil group, ought to have been included in the list.

[369] H. W. Davis, 'Review of "Burgage tenure in Medieval England" by M. de Wolf Hemmeon', *EHR*, XXIX (1914), pp 748-50.

[370] Ballard, 'Law of Breteuil', *EHR* XXX (1915), pp 646-58.

[371] E. W. W. Veale, 'The burgage tenure in medieval Bristol', Introduction to *The Great Book of Bristol* (Bristol Record Society; Bristol, 1931), I, p. 2.

[372] Stephenson, *Borough and town*, pp 88-96.

[373] Tait, 'Review of "*Ireland under the Normans*" ', pp 142-44.

though Orpen had recognized the influence of Breteuil in John's charters to Drogheda in Uriel and to Dungarvan, he erroneously concluded that the customs of Breteuil "were probably not dissimilar from those granted to Bristol in 1188".[374] Successive studies carried out by Irish historians - G. Mac Niocaill, A. J. Otway-Ruthven and more recently M. Potterton - have fully ascertained the subject.[375]

The basis of Bateson's re-interpretation is grounded on linguistics and genealogy and, of course, on the results of a cross-study of selected themes and clauses in the French, English and Irish evidence. Using a dozen cases in which the law was held up as the example for English, Welsh or Irish towns to follow, and the Customs of Verneuil,[376] Breteuil's near neighbour, Bateson sketched out the articles of the lost laws.[377] Her outcome re-framed the understanding of English and Irish municipal law. In 1171 King Henry II granted a charter to his men of Bristol, giving them the city of Dublin to inhabit 'with all the liberties and free customs that they had at Bristol'. Henry's charter was confirmed by Prince John when he was in Kildare, in 1185.[378] The men of Bristol had probably helped in the work of conquest, especially in the supplying of ships. As a reward they were to colonize the chief city of this newly conquered land. Nonetheless, the list of Dublin's citizens from the end of the twelfth century to the later years of King John's reign

---

[374] Orpen, *Normans*, II, pp 315-16.

[375] Maitland, *Domesday Book*, p. 214; Ballard, *Brit. borough chart., 1042-1216*; idem, 'The Law of Breteuil', pp 646-58; idem and J. Tait, *Brit. borough chart., 1216-1307*; C. H. Haskins, *Norman Institutions* (New York, 1918, repr. 1967), p. 43; Bartlett, *Norman and Angevin kings*, p. 337; Orpen, *Normans*, II, pp 314-16; *Na Buirgéisí*, I, II; Otway-Ruthven, *Med. Ire.*, pp 116-17, 123; Potterton, *Medieval Trim*, pp 130-31.

[376] Orderic describes Verneuil as a town of some thirteen thousand men at the time it surrendered to the Angevins and recognized the lordship of Count Geoffrey and Matilda (1141); see M. Chibnall (ed.), *The Ecclesiastical history of Orderic Vitalis* (Oxford, 1969-73), VI, pp 548-51. In 1199 King John granted the burgesses of Breteuil the liberties of the burgesses of Verneuil, see M. Giry, *Recueil des Ordonnances des Rois de France de la Troisieme Race* (Paris, 1723), IV, pp 643, 638, 289. Carl Stephenson summarized the customs of Verneuil in a chapter titled 'Elementary Liberties on the Continent'; see Stephenson, *Borough and town*, pp 30-1. Bateson stressed the greater significance of this grant "than from its late date may at first appear, for we know exactly what the liberties of the men of Verneuil were in the time of Henry I and of Henry II, being then recorded in two charters to Pontorson [...] and they happen to be in several respects remarkably like the liberties indicated in the English references to Breteuil". Bateson believed that the laws of Verneuil and of Breteuil had much in common long before John made Verneuil an example to Breteuil; see Bateson, 'Laws of Breteuil', *EHR*, XV, pp 77-78.

[377] Ibidem, pp 754-57. The methodology applied by Bateson makes use of the points of likeness between Preston and Hereford, Preston and Verneuil, and the illustrations occasionally offered in other selected English borough charters. Since Bateson's is the only study on the subject it seems worth reporting her reconstruction of the lost Law of Breteuil, warning that we are no longer dealing with primary sources, but with an historian's hypothetical draft. See Appendix 5.

[378] *Hist. and mun. doc.*, pp 1(1171), 2 (1185). For the customs of Bristol; see N. D. Harding (ed.), 'Bristol Charters, 1155-1373', *Bristol Record Society*, I (Bristol, 1930), pp 2-13.

makes it doubtful whether any large number of Bristol men availed themselves of the right of colonization. Of the large number of citizens listed in the Dublin Guild Merchant Roll, and named after places of origin, only thirty-three are called 'de Bristol'.[379] Such evidence has to take into account the possibility that many who had no local designation may however have belonged to Bristol's families. It has been suggested that the appearance in Dublin of the customs of Bristol can be justified more on political, rather than on demographical grounds. Charles Gross stated that the English port "was the chief mother town of Ireland".[380] Without dismissing the idea that the model of the town-laws of Bristol provided a prototypical system for many English and Irish towns, it is nowadays accepted that it remains in secure possession only "of eleven out of thirty-one towns ascribed to Bristol by Gross: Redcliff (1164), Lancaster (1188), Cardigan (1249), Chester (1303) in England";[381] Dublin (Henry II, 1171; John, 1185)[382], Cork (John, 1189x1199)[383], Waterford (1215)[384], Rathcoole near Dublin (1228x1255)[385], Limerick (John, 1197)[386] and Galway (1484)[387] in Ireland. The mother-town of the other English and Irish towns and boroughs was the Norman borough of Breteuil.

The aforementioned names succinctly summarize the Law of Breteuil as discussed in English and Irish historiography. This chapter analyzes the Law of Breteuil in its general context, trying to trace back the route of its migration from Normandy to England and on to Ireland. A brief survey of the occurrence of the Law in Wales paves the way for a study in depth of the Irish evidence. Two maps illustrate the spread of the Laws of Breteuil in England and Ireland.[388] The concluding paragraph recounts the terms

---

[379] *Hist. and mun. doc.*, pp 3-49; see also P. Connolly and G. Martin (eds.), *The Dublin Guild merchant roll, c. 1190-1265* (Dublin, 1992), pp 1-46.

[380] Gross, *Gild merchant,* I, p. 257. Even if Gross' statement is certainly true, he failed to recognize the role of the Breteuil code in Wales and Ireland.

[381] Bateson, 'Laws of Breteuil', *EHR* XV, p. 74.

[382] *Hist. and mun. doc.*, pp 1-2.

[383] *Na Buirgéisí*, I, pp 158-59. Bateson regards Rathcool as a Bristollian borough; see eadem, 'Laws of Breteuil', *EHR* XV, p. 74. Mac Niocaill on the contrary regards Rathcool as a Bretollian borough; see *Na Buirgéisí*, II, p. 327.

[384] Walton, *Royal charters of Waterford*, p. 16: in the year 1207 King John granted the citizens of Waterford a charter of murage 'such as the burgesses of his city of Bristol have'. Then, in 1215 he granted the city liberties and free customs similar to those granted to Dublin in 1192; see *Chart. Privil. et Immun*, p. 13.

[385] *Na Buirgéisí*, I, pp 293-4.

[386] Ibidem, I, pp 236-7; see also Lee, 'John's charter to Limerick', pp 17-37.

[387] *Na Buirgéisí*, I, pp 228-9.

[388] See Fig. 8, p. 84 (Wales): Fig 9, p. 94 (Ireland).

embodied in the Law of Breteuil in County Meath as a means of determining the nature of Drogheda's original set of rights.

1. The English evidence

The reason why the Law of Breteuil made its appearance in Ireland, particularly in the lordship of Meath, is mainly 'genealogical'. Bateson has shown that there is a connection between the borough of Breteuil, in Normandy, and the de Lacy's lands in England and in Ireland. The Herefordshire branch of the de Lacy family appeared in England in the following of William FitzOsbern, lord of Breteuil. He established them in the West Midlands as part of a policy of forming frontier *castellanies* to aid him in securing the defence of the border with Wales.[389] William FitzOsbern was a supporter of William, duke of Normandy, and grantee of Breteuil in 1060.[390] A nephew of Hugh bishop of Bayeux, FitzOsbern had been the duke's steward in Normandy, and was one of the most important landowners in central Normandy and England after the conquest.[391] He granted Hereford, Rhuddlan and Shrewsbury the favourable customs of his Norman borough of Breteuil.[392] Domesday Book mentions that Ludlow in Shropshire, at that time Stoke Lacy, had originally been granted to Walter I de Lacy by William FitzOsbern. It also reports that in 1085 Walter's son, Roger de Lacy, held Ludlow. At that time there were at Ludlow ten hides paying geld, three ploughs in demesne, twenty-two villeins with six ploughs, and in addition there could have been six others; there were eleven slaves and a mill rendering 5*s*.[393] Ludlow castle was built by Roger, son of the Walter de Lacy who was FitzOsbern's man and according to Bateson "the appearance of the laws here is therefore to be

---

[389] Wightman, *Lacy Family*, pp 134-40, 235.

[390] Chibnall, *Ecclesiastical history*, III, p. 11. Orderic Vitalis is one of the main sources for FitzOsbern's deeds, due to the fact that the FitzOsberns patronized the monastery of St. Evroul, where the chronicler was a monk.

[391] W. E. Wightman, 'The Palatine earldom of William FitzOsbern in Gloucestershire and Worcestershire, 1066-1071', *EHR* LXXVII (1962), pp 6-17; D. C. Douglas, 'The ancestors of William FitzOsbern', *EHR*, LIX (1944), pp 62-79.

[392] Bateson, 'Laws of Breteuil', *EHR*, XV, pp 303, 307, 308-313.

[393] *Domesday Book, seu liber censualis Willelmi primis Regis Angliae, inter archivos regni in domo capitulari Westmonasterii asservatus...* (London? 1783), I, f. 185; see also A. Williams and G.H. Martin (eds.), *Domesday Book, A complete translation* (London, 2002), p. 510; Bateson, 'Laws of Breteuil', *EHR* XV, pp 312-13.

expected".[394] When FitzOsbern died in 1071, King William divided up his honour among his two sons: the king granted William Breteuil all his father's possessions in Normandy[395] and to Roger, traditionally known as Roger of Breteuil, the county of Hereford in England. When Walter de Lacy granted the Law of Breteuil to Drogheda in 1194 he was also lord of Ludlow, Ewyas and Weodley.[396] It was therefore from Ludlow castle that the Law of Breteuil was transmitted to Drogheda and the other boroughs of the lordship of Meath. It seems likely that when Hugh de Lacy added the Lordship of Meath to his lands of the Southern March of Wales he exported into the newly subjected land the 'FitzOsbern model': a system of *castellaria* and privileged boroughs which had already been demonstrated to be successful in the Welsh borders.

The occurrence of the Law of Breteuil in England has been accurately analyzed by Mary Bateson who pointed out its concentration around the Welsh borders. A short report of that study seems to be therefore required to reconstruct the transmission of the Laws from Normandy to England and then on to Ireland. A map sketching the diffusion of the Law of Breteuil in Wales is also supplied.[397]

William FitzOsbern, lord of Breteuil, granted Hereford, Rhuddlan and Shrewsbury the favourable customs of his borough of Breteuil in Normandy. Among the derived cases from Hereford there is Ludlow Castle.[398] Other boroughs were granted the Law of Breteuil outside FitzOsbern's direct control.[399]

---

[394] Bateson, 'Laws of Breteuil', *EHR* XV, p. 313.

[395] William of Breteuil witnessed many charters granted by William I, see H. W. C. Davis (ed.), *Regesta regnum Anglo-Normannorum, 1066- 1154* (Oxford, 1913), pp 1, 7, 27-8, 37, 41, 46-7; and by Robert, son of the king; see ibidem, pp 78, 80.

[396] Bateson, 'Laws of Breteuil', XV, pp. 313.

[397] See Fig. 8, p. 84.The map is based on the study of Mary Bateson.

[398] Derived from Hereford are the customs of Ludlow, Denbigh, Builth, Brecknock castle (Brecon, today), Cardiff, Havfordwest, Welshpool, Carmarthen, Montgomery, Newton and Droslan, Descending from Hereford, but mediated by Montgomery, are Lampeter and Llanbardan in Cardiganshire, but these cases are probably not to be assigned to an early date. Similarly at Bala, Criccieth, Haelech and Beaumaris, Edward I made the franchises of Hereford the model for their government between 1284 and 1296, "but by that time the original features had probably become indistinguishable"; Cardigan, mediated by Carmarthen, also had the Customs of Hereford; see Bateson, 'The Laws of Breteuil, *EHR* XV, pp 515-21. The affiliation of Welshpool with Hereford is derived from Ballard-Tait, *British Borough Charters*, pp 26, 210. Derived cases from Rhuddlan are: Flint, Overton, Caerwys and Hope. Oswestry derived the Law of Breteuil from Shrewsbury; see Bateson, 'The Laws of Breteuil', *EHR* XV, pp 522-3. According to an entry of the Domesday Book, Roger de Lacy possessed Hope and Walter de Lacy, his brother held it from him; there were two hides paying geld, land for 4 ploughs and men paying 10s. 8d. for their right of settlement, see *Domesday Book*, I, f. 184.

Bateson insisted upon FitzOsbern's influence on the castle and boroughs system of the Welsh March.[400] When William I directed FitzOsbern to build castles he probably also sanctioned borough-making on a large scale.[401] The planting of boroughs around the mottes was indeed an essential part of the Norman system of colonization, in England as well as in Ireland.[402] They were cornerstones of seigniorial power in both in the Welsh earldom and in the Irish lordship.[403] In both grounds "Personality of Law" was in force and the use of laws marked the sharp separation between the colonists and the natives; such division was juridical as well as physical.[404] In England it meant that the French burgesses were living under a law different from that of the English. When the laws of Breteuil passed to Ireland the French element was attenuated and they marked the separation between the Anglo-Normans and the Irish. Prior to conclusion, one final argument must be addressed. Material evidence and archaeology give sometimes clearer evidence of the migration of ideas, patterns and techniques than written sources do. Circular towers provide the most obvious physical expression of this connection, for their distribution in the British Isles is very definitely biased towards Wales and, to a lesser extent, Ireland. The circular tower of Longtown in Wales was built by Hugh de Lacy or by his son Walter. The one at Dundrum

---

[399] Nether Weare in Somerset had the Laws of Breteuil; see Bateson, 'The Laws of Breteuil', *EHR* XV, pp 308-9. Chipping Sodbury in Gloucestershire had the same Laws through William Marshal; see ibidem, pp 314-15. The grantor of the Laws to Lichfield was Bishop Roger Clinton; see ibidem, pp 315-16. Ellesmere in Shropshire was given the laws by Johanna, Lady of Wales and illegitimate daughter of King John; see ibidem, p. 316. Hugh de Mortimer conferred the laws on Burford in Shropshire; see ibidem, p. 316. Ruyton in Shropshire had the same code; see ibidem, p. 318. Then, of course, there were the Costumals of Preston which resemble very much the ones of Verneuil; see ibidem, pp 476-512.

[400] The progress of the Norman advance in Wales, and particularly South Wales, was marked by erecting castles and garrisons with the object of controlling the lands already won and creating bases for further penetration; see Wightman, *Lacy Family*, pp 117-32; A. L. Poole, *From Domesday Book to Magna Charta, 1087-1216* (Oxford, 1951), p. 283.

[401] Further connections could be seen in the institutional profile of the two grounds. The Norman conquest of both Wales and Ireland was largely undertaken by individual lords on a piecemeal basis. Each lordship was a compact territory with a castle and a borough forming its caput. The king's influence over them was mainly limited to periods when they were forfeited for treason or were temporarily in royal control until a heir came of age; see D. E. Greenway and B. F. Harvey (eds.), *The chronicle of John of Worcester* (Oxford, 1988), III, p. 4: a. 1067, "*..castella per loca firmari praecepit...*".

[402] Giraldus, *Expugnatio*, p. 191.

[403] P. Courtney, 'Urbanism and feudalism on the periphery: some thoughts from Marcher Wales', in K. Giles and C. Dyer (eds.), *Town and countries in the middle ages. Contrast, contact and interconnections, 1100-1500* (England, 2005), pp 65-84.

[404] At Hereford there were one French and one English borough. The former was probably planted close to the castle and was granted the Laws of Breteuil by William FitzOsbern: its constitution seems to have spread to the nearby English borough. Shrewsbury had three boroughs beside the castle: John's charter to Shrewsbury granted therefore "the Law of Breteuil, the Law of the Barony and the Law of the Englishry", see Bateson, 'Laws of Breteuil', *EHR*, XV, pp 305, 307.

was built by Walter de Lacy's younger brother, Hugh, after he had been made first earl of Ulster.[405] Archaeologists suggested that the battered stone plinth added to Trim's gatehouse was inspired by the model realized at Ludlow about the year 1180.[406] Michael Potterton suggests that "due to its historical connection, the most obvious parallels for the Trim tower are those in the de Lacy castles at Ludlow and Carlingford".[407]

[405] T. E. MacNeill, 'Squaring circles: flooring round towers in Wales and Ireland', in J. R. Kenyon and K. O'Connor (eds.), *The medieval castles in Ireland and Wales*, (Dublin, 2003), p. 98.

[406] Potterton, *Medieval Trim*, p. 247.

[407] Ibidem, p. 260. Another example of similar form survives in the Augustinian priory in Inistioge (Co. Kilkenny).

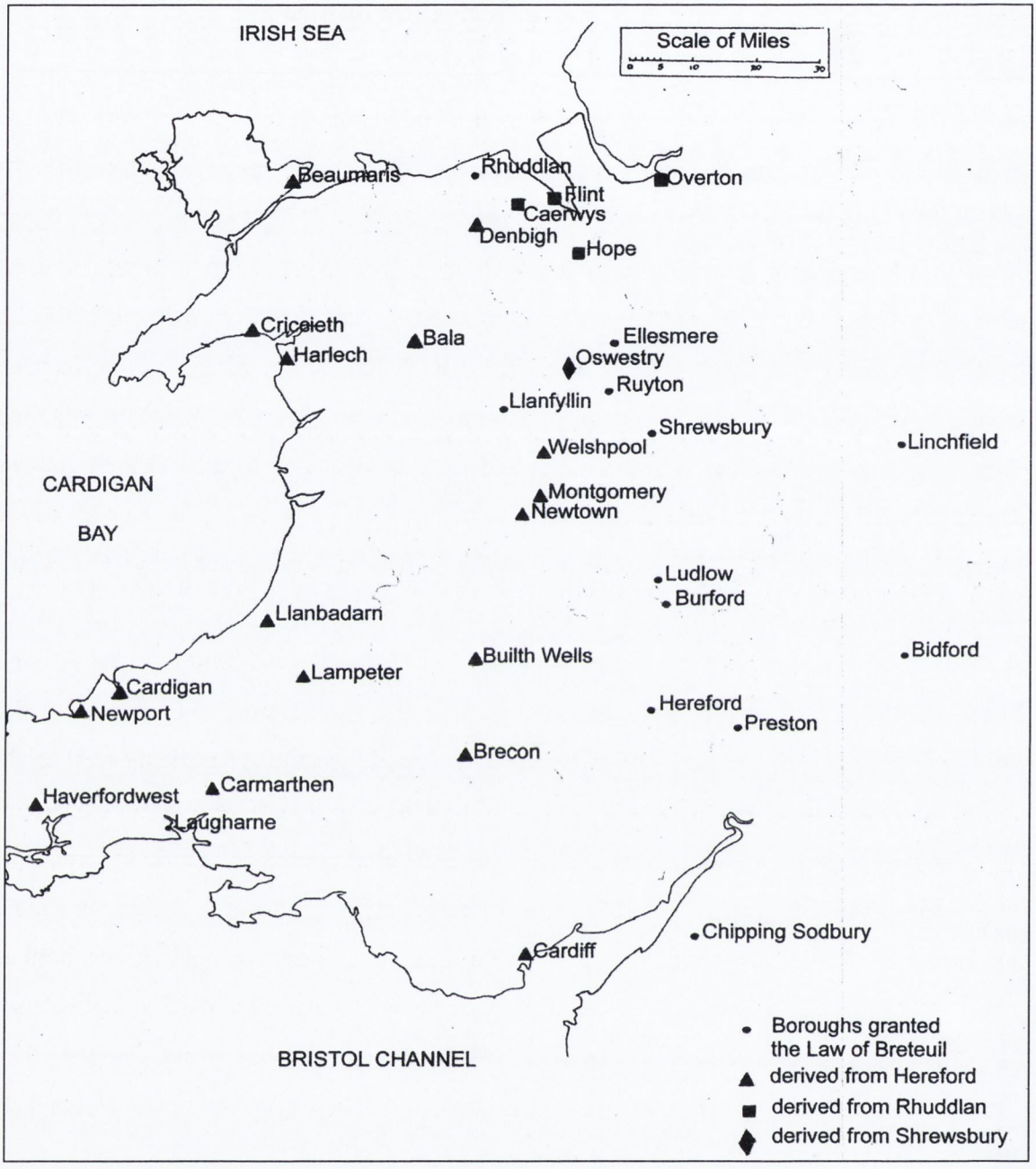


FIG. 8: Boroughs in Wales granted the Law of Breteuil (11th-13th centuries) derived from the study of M. Bateson, 'The Laws of Breteuil', *EHR* XV (1900), pp 302-18, 496- 523; *EHR* XVI (1901), pp 92-110, pp 332-345.

2. The Irish evidence

Three groups of affiliation have been marked out in Ireland as connecting boroughs and towns. The group of boroughs headed by Dublin which was affiliated to the city of Bristol;[408] the group which was granted the law of Breteuil;[409] and a third group, known as the Leinster group, which derived from Kilkenny.[410] The group which imitated Breteuil includes: Drogheda in Meath (Walter de Lacy, 1194), Kells (Walter de Lacy, 1194x1211), Trim (Walter de Lacy, at the end of the XII century), Duleek (Walter de Lacy), Drogheda in Uriel (King John, 1213), Old Leighlin (Bishop Helwin, 1201x1216), Rathmore (Maurice FitzGerald, 1195x1247), and Dungarvan (King John, 1215).[411] Geroid Mac Niocaill has included Cloyne and Kilmaclennen in co. Cork (Archbishop Daniel, 1251) and Siddan in co. Meath (Philip Telynge, around the middle of the thirteenth century) to the list of Bretollian boroughs in Ireland.[412]

Besides the diversity embodied in the customs derived from Bristol rather than Breteuil, the noticeable difference is that the Law of Bristol was always given by kings, whereas the Law of Breteuil was generally conferred by secular or ecclesiastical lords. At first glance the juridical status of the grantor seems to be a variable factor in this system, with the possible exception of King John issuing the charters for Drogheda in Uriel in 1213 and Dungarvan in 1215. Is there a case for re-examining how the choice was made to implement one charter-type instead of another as related to the distinctions between a newly founded borough and a pre-existing one? Dublin's close association with Bristol in the twelfth century and long before that date would seem to imply that the new laws in Meath were also derived from the ones in Bristol, but this was not the case.[413] This analysis

---

[408] The law of Bristol was granted to Dublin (Henry II in 1171). Afterwards, Cork (John, 1189x99), Waterford (1215), Rathcoole (1228x1255), Limerick (John, 1197) and Galway (1484) were also granted the liberties and free customs of the citizens of Bristol and of her daughter city, Dublin.

[409] Maitland, *Domesday Book*, p. 214.

[410] *Na Buirgéisí*, II, pp 328-31. The Kilkenny archetype was extended to Kells, Callan, Carlow, Moone, *Baile MhicAndain* (Thomastown), Inishtioge, *Cooliagh*, New Ross, *Ros Bearchain* (Rosbercon), Wexford, Carrick on Suir.

[411] Bateson, 'Laws of Breteuil', *EHR*, XV, pp 513-515; Ballard, *British boroughs charters*, I, p. xlii.

[412] *Na Buirgéisí*, II, pp 327-8; ibidem, I, pp 319-20, 151-2.

[413] W. Hunt, *Bristol* (London, 1887), pp 11-15. During the reign of Henry II, the long connection between Dublin and Bristol assumed a new phase; see S. Duffy, 'The 1169 invasion as a turning point in Irish-Welsh relations', in Smith (ed.), *Britain and Ireland*, pp 98-113; R. R. Davies, *Conquest, coexistence,*

seeks to ascertain when and where the laws of Breteuil were introduced in Anglo-Norman Ireland and specifically into the lordship of Meath. A map is supplied sketching the suggested evidence for the said code in Ireland.[414]

2.1 The de Lacy's boroughs: Drogheda in Meath, Kells, Trim, Duleek, Old Leighlin and Siddan

Walter de Lacy appears to have granted the Law of Breteuil to other boroughs of his lordship of Meath besides Drogheda in Meath: Kells, Trim, Duleek and Old Leighlin.[415] Even though these boroughs' charters use the wording *legem Bristolli*, and not *Britolli*, they have been pointed out as 'suspect cases' by Mary Bateson. Her extensive linguistic analysis of the expression *Lex* or *legem de Breteuil* reveals that it was never used in connection with Bristol in the undeniably authentic cases: "the phrases in connection with Bristol are '*sicut in villa nostra de Bristol*', '*homines de Bristol*', '*burgenses de Bristol*' or '*civitate de Bristol*' ".[416] Additionally, there may have been an error committed in the transcription of the charters for Kells (1562), Trim (1657), Duleek, (1835) - no full copy of the charter to Old Leighlin is extant - pertaining to the word *Britolium;* all at a time in which the difference between the two towns had no longer any practical significance. From a genealogical standpoint, these four boroughs were the creation of Walter de Lacy, and of his father Hugh, the first lord of Meath, who fortified these places; they were all given borough status during the end of the twelfth century. If Drogheda was undeniably given the law of Breteuil by Walter - and that same law was confirmed by King John - it would seem likely that the same model would have extended to Trim, Kells, Duleek and Old Leighlin as a means to create a compact base of power in the lordship. Once they had become affiliated with the same law a more intimate intercourse was able to take place among

---

and change. Wales, 1063- 1415 (Oxford, 1987), pp 10, 25, 73-5; W. L. Warren, *Henry II* (London, 2000), pp 153- 169.

[414] See Fig. 9, p. 94. The map is based on the studies carried out by Mary Bateson and Geroid Mac Niocaill.

[415] Bateson, 'Laws of Breteuil', *EHR*, XV, pp 513-515. Bateson has pointed out that these three boroughs were the work of Walter de Lacy, grantor of the Law of Breteuil to Drogheda in Meath (1194). A confirmation comes from Ballard, *British boroughs charters*, I, p. xlii; idem, 'Law of Breteuil', *EHR*, XXX (1915), p. 648.

[416] Bateson, 'Laws of Breteuil', *EHR*, XV, p. 513.

them. Trade took place along the river Boyne between Drogheda and Trim and fairs were granted to Drogheda, Trim, Kells and Lochsewby (beside Ballymore, co. Westmeath) during the same year 1204.[417]

Kells was granted the Norman code of laws sometime between 1194 and 1211.[418] Hugh de Lacy had chosen Kells as his manorial site; he built there one of his earliest castles and he may have made Kells into a borough, even though the first known evidence comes only with his son's charter.[419] The charter recites: "knowing that I, Walter de Lacy have given and by this charter confirmed my burgesses of Kells the *legem Bristolli*, to be held by them and their heirs, as it is best and most freely given and granted to any citizens anywhere according to the reasonable contents *legis Bristolli*, which was granted to them at the first foundation of the borough; I also grant them to be free and exempt from tolls throughout my whole land; that they shall answer to no man concerning any cause moved against them outside the hundred, unless the cause pertains to my own person; and that they shall have three acres in the fields for every burgage".[420] It is relevant to point out that five of the witnesses of Kells charter had also witnessed the 1194 charter to Drogheda - Richard de Tuit, William *Parvo*, Robert de Lacy, Alexander of Kells, and Robert the clerk.[421] The land tenure is also the same as the one fixed for Drogheda; three acres in the field. However, Kells' charter does not mention the 12*d*. burgage-rent.

---

[417] *Hist. and mun. doc.*, pp 61-62 (fair at Drogheda); *CDI*, 1171-1252, 229, pp 35-6 (fairs at Trim, Kells and Lochsewby); see above, Chap.2 4, pp 53-55.

[418] Bateson, 'Laws of Breteuil', *EHR* XV, pp 513-14. MacNiocaill's transcription chooses the version *legem Britolli,* in so far according with Bateson's conclusions; see *Na Buirgéisí*, I, pp 124-25. Orpen on the contrary attributed the Law of Bristol to Kells, see Orpen, *Normans*, II, p. 78.

[419] A. Simms and K. Simms (eds.), 'Kells', *Irish historic towns atlas*, 1 (Dublin, 1996), p. 2.

[420] *Na Buirgéisí*, I, pp 124-25: "*his testibus Roberto de Laci, Ricardo de Tuit, Willelmo Parvo, Hugone Tyrell, Galfrido de Kostentyn, Hugone Hosee, Gilberto de Neugent, Alexandre de Kenel, Jordano de Ponte, Richardo Albo de Trim, Edwardo le Paumer, Philippo persona de Clonard et multis aliis, Roberto clerico huius carte scriptore*".

[421] Ibidem, I, p. 125 (Kells): "*...his testibus Roberto de Laci, Ricardo de Tuit, Willelmo Parvo, Hugone Tyrell, Galfrido de Kostentyn, Hugone Hosee, Gilberto de Neugent, Alexandre de Kenel, Jordano de Ponte, Richardo Albo de Trim, Edwardo le Paumer, Philippo persona de Clonard et multis aliis, Roberto clerico huius carte scriptore*". See also Ibidem, I, p. 173 (Drogheda in Meath): "*...hiis testibus: Ricardo de Tuit, Willelmo Parvo, Roberto Flandrensi, Roberto de Laci, Ricardo de Esketon, Ricardo de Feipo, Alexandro Rodipac, Adam Dullard, Roberto de Criketot, Alexandro de Kenel, Bernardo de Rathkenny, Roberto clerico et Reginaldo clerico qui cartam exposuerunt...* ".

According to the *Song of Dermot and the Earl*, Trim was one of the first strongholds erected by Hugh de Lacy inside the lordship of Meath.[422] The earliest documentary source of Trim's borough status dates to the period in which the lordship of Meath was in the King's hands due to Walter's minority. In a letter written in November 1188 to the abbot of St. Mary's Abbey, Dublin, Pope Clement III referred to two burgages in Trim. One of the signatories to the charter was *Radulf de Molendinis, prefectus de Trim.*[423] Walter de Lacy granted the *legem Bristoll'* to Trim at the beginning of the thirteenth century.[424] Both Trim and Drogheda were held by Walter de Lacy, when, in 1194 he granted his burgesses of Drogheda in Meath free access along the Boyne from the sea as far as Trim.[425] This grant was quite important for those involved in trade between the two boroughs, as the river was the main transport route linking the port of Drogheda with the market town of Trim and de Lacy's castle. On 3 September 1204 King John granted permission to Walter de Lacy to hold annual fairs at Trim and Kells; the fair at Trim used to take place every 21 February and lasted for eight days.[426] In the same year, King John authorized the holding of an annual fair at Drogheda, named *Pontem*, beginning on the festival of St. John the Baptist and lasting for 8 days, with tolls and customs thereto belonging.[427] Such political and economic bonds suggest the possibility, if not the necessity, of similar laws for the two boroughs. Walter granted to his burgesses of Trim the right of firewood in the forest of Trim and pasture in his fallow and 'dead moors'. He also ordered that the burgesses compound at each of the four terms of the year for all prises taken through them, through him or through his bailiffs. And if perchance in the first quarter of the year there was nothing for them, they had to take out a loan till payment was

---

[422] E. Mullally (ed.), *The deeds of the Normans in Ireland. A new edition of the chronicle formerly known as* The Song of Dermot and the Earl (Dublin, 2002), p. 135.

[423] M. P. Sheehy (ed.), Pontificia Ibernica. *Medieval papal chancery documents concerning Ireland, 640-1216* (Dublin, 1962-65), II, p. 61, 18a; Potterton, *Medieval Trim*, p. 130.

[424] *Na Buirgéisí*, I, pp 74-5: "*Sciant presentes et future quod ego Walterus de Lacy dedi et concessi et presenti carta mea confirmavi burgensibus meis de Trim omnes libertates quas habuerunt et quibus usi fuerunt secundum legem Bristoll' antequam chartam meam presentem de dono meo obtinerunt...*".

[425] *Na Buirgéisí*, I, p. 172: "*Concessi eciam eis aquam de Boing deliberandam a mari usque ad pontem de Atrum ab omni obstaculo et impedimento goidi et stagni et piscature ut cum batellis et mercaturis suis ire valeant et redire et preterea liberam legem Britolli sicut in aliquo loco liberius tenta fuerit et melius et plenarius in terra domini regis Angliae*".

[426] *CDI*, 1171-1252, 229, pp 35-6.

[427] *Hist. and mun. doc.*, pp 61-62; see above, Chap.2 4, pp 53-55.

made for that term and so on for the other terms.[428] The other rights of the burgesses of Trim included freedom from tolls, the right of passage on the river, a grant of three acres of arable land with each burgage and a fixed annual rent of 12*d*.[429]

In an Act of Parliament dated1835 it is recited: "Whereas Walter de Lacy, formerly lord of Meath, would enfief his burgesses of Dyweleke and their successors with diverse privileges, laws and customs, according to the laws of Bristol, and made to them divers grants of divers other things as more fully appeareth by the letters Patents of the said Walter, ensealed by his seal". [430]

Siddan in county Meath was granted the *legem Britollie*, *consuetudines Britollie*, around the middle of the thirteenth century by Philip Telynge. The charter conferred pasture and an annual burgage rent of 12*d*.[431] According to B. J. Graham, Siddan can be classified as a rural borough.[432] The customs of Breteuil at Siddan could be indirectly attributed to the de Lacies, perhaps by imitation with Trim, Kells or Drogheda itself. There is evidence that the church of Siddan was granted by Walter de Lacy to the canons of St. Thomas Martyr, Dublin.[433] Philip Teling was a sub-tenant of the Fleming of Slane, themselves subtenants of the de Lacys.[434] An entry in the Gormanston Register records a certain Ph. (Philip?) Telyn accounting for 10*s*. as rent of a service due to Geoffrey de Geneville and his wife Matilda, daughter of Walter de Lacy, during the year 1271.[435] There is mention of a Philip Telyng junior in 1284.[436] A Philip Teling is recorded in 1290 as

---

[428] *Na Buirgéisí,* I, p. 75.

[429] Potterton, *Medieval Trim*, p. 131; *Brit. borough chart., 1042-1216*, pp 52-7.

[430] Orpen, *Normans*, I, pp 30-1; Bateson, 'Law of Breteuil', *EHR*, XV, pp 513-514; Ballard, *British boroughs charters*, I, pp 30-1.

[431] *Na Buirgéisí,* I, p. 319-20: "*...et cum omnibus aliis pertinenciis suis cum lege Britollie et cum omnibus libertatibus et liberis consuetudinibus ad dictam legem pertinentibus secundum leges [et] consuetudines Britollie que in rotulo continetur [et] nonatntur vel quocumque citra vel ultra lex Britollie melius plenius aut liberius continent, reddendo michi annuatim illi et heredes sui michi et heredes meis de quolibet burgagio cum tribus acris mensuratis per pedem palmatam xiid. Et de qualibet placea sine acris vid., medietatem scilicet ad Pasc[h]a et medietatem ad festum sancti Michaelis...*".

[432] Graham, 'Anglo-Norman settlement', pp 249-50. Other rural boroughs in Meath are Morningtown, Colpe, Drumcondrath, Greenoge and Newtown Trim.

[433] *CDI*, 1285-1292, p. 381.

[434] Graham, 'Anglo-Norman settlement', p. 227.

[435] *Gormanston Reg.*, p. 13.

[436] *CDI*, 1252-1284, p. 517.

vassal of baronial rank of the same Geoffrey de Geneville.[437] By 1252 Geoffrey de Geneville became lord of Trim and Ludlow and co-parcener of the de Lacy's lordship of Meath in right of his wife Matilda.[438] Mary Bateson did not includ Siddan in her list of Bretollian boroughs; on the other hand, Mac Niocaill regards Siddan as Bretollian by way of the wording *Britollie* in its charter.[439]

Old Leighlin, in County Carlow, is another possible case of a borough granted the Norman Laws under de Lacy's influence. The town's original Black castle, one of the earliest Norman fortresses in Ireland, was built in 1181.[440] Gerald of Wales says that Hugh de Lacy built a castle for John de Clahulla on the Barrow, not far from Leighlin, "*in loco natura munito*" and that this was the castle from which Robert le Poer, to whose keeping the king had entrusted it, had previously decamped.[441] The Song of Dermot reports that, during the subinfeudation of Leinster, Old Leighlin was granted to John de Claville by Hugh de Lacy.[442] In between 1201 and 1216 Helwin, bishop of Old Leighlin, bestowed on this borough the free *Law of Bristol*, reserving to the see a yearly rent of 12*d.* out of every burgage. No copy of this charter is extant.[443] Bateson has suggested that Bristol is a mistake for Breteuil and that the Law of Breteuil could have been introduced there by Hugh de Lacy, who built the castle, or by Roger le Poer, who was governor of Leighlin under de Lacy and who held lands in Herefordshire.[444]

Kilmeaden too was in the territory assigned to Roger le Poer, *custos* of Waterford. In the time of Edward I the burgesses of Kilmeaden asked the King for a new charter

---

[437] *Gormanston Reg.*, pp 10, 182.

[438] B. Hartland, 'Vaucouleurs, Ludlow and Trim: the role of Ireland in the career of Geoffrey de Geneville', *HIS,* XXXII, 128 (2001), pp 457-77.

[439] *Na Buirgéisí*, II, p. 327.

[440] G. H. Orpen (ed.), *The song of Dermot and the Earl, an old French poem about the coming of the Normans to Ireland* (Oxford 1892), p. 306.

[441] Giraldus, *Expugnatio*, p. 190: "*Inter que super nobilem Berue fluvium a latere Ossirie trans odronam in loco natura munito Lechlinie castrum erexit. A quo Robertus Poerius, cui regione mandato iniunctum id fuerat, ante defecerat*".

[442] Mullally, *Deeds of the Normans*, p. 132. The same information is reported by Gerald of Wales; see Gerald, *Expugnatio*, p. 194: "*...quartum Iohanni de Clahulla super aquam Berue non procul a Lechlinia*".

[443] J. Ryan, *The history and antiquities of the County of Carlow* (Dublin, 1833), p. 59; Lewis, *Topographical dictionary*, II, p, 211; Bateson, 'Laws of Breteuil', *EHR*, XV, p. 514; *Brit. borough chart., 1042-1216*, p. xxxviii.

[444] Bateson, 'Laws of Breteuil', *EHR*, XV, p. 514.

because, by mischance, hogs ate the charter given to them by Henry III, "avoient la franchise de Bristowe".[445] Waterford had undoubtedly the liberties of the burgesses of Bristol; "accordingly - says Bateson - this case must not be regarded as fully established".[446]

2.2 Ecclesiastical lords: Cloyne and Kilmaclennan, Cashel and Rathcoole

Bateson and Mac Niocaill have pointed to three other Irish boroughs outside de Lacies' influence which might have had the Norman law-code: they are Cloyne, Kilmaclennan and Cashel.[447] It is remarkable that in these cases the law of Bristol/Breteuil was granted by ecclesiastical lords: Daniel, bishop of Cloyne, and Donat, Archbishop of Cashel. Even though none of these three cases are well ascertained as to their derivation from Breteuil or Bristol, they give evidence that not only lords and kings were involved in the process of colonization: bishops and archbishops too felt the need to attract men to their lands and made use of the two codes of laws that happened to be available.

Both Cloyne (co. Cork) and Kilmaclennan (co. Cork) were established by Bishop David O'Kelly of Cloyne (1226-1238). In the year 1251 his successor, Bishop Daniel, confirmed them charters granting the *Legem Bristolii.*[448] The said charters explicitly reveal that David was the founder, having measured and perambulated the burgesses' land.[449] However, in 1251 Kilmaclennan is styled borough, while Cloyne is styled town. Glasscock

---

[445] Ibidem, p. 515: "Nos burgeys de Kilmidon avoient la franchise de Bristowe, et par la charter nostre seignur le Roy Henri pere notre seignur le Roy qe ore est, e meymes ceste charter fust mange du leur porcs par mal garde"; see also *CDI*, 1285-1292, 1179, p. 525.

[446] Bateson, 'Laws of Breteuil', *EHR*, XV, pp 514-15.

[447] Ibidem, p. 514; see also *Na Buirgéisí*, II, p. 151-2

[448] *Na Buirgéisí*, I, pp 149-52.

[449] Ibidem, I, p. 149: "*...prout melius et liberius per venerabilem patrem nostrum fratrem David Dei gratia quondam episcopum Clone[nsem] fuit eisdem mensurara et perambulata...*". Ibidem, I, p. 151: "*...de tota terra que per venerabilem patrem David quondam episcopum Clone[nsem] pro se et suis successoribus dictis civibus et eorum eredibus ex parte aquilonali dicte civitatis fuit mensurtra et perambulata...*".

has regarded Kilmaclennan as a 'rural borough'.[450] Bateson stated that in the case of Kilmaclennan, *Bristolli* must be a mistake for *Britolli*, "for the jurors reported in 1481 that the custom in the borough was that no amercement should exceed 12*d*.".[451] Mac Niocaill regards both Cloyne and Kilmaclennan as Bretollian boroughs.[452]

Cashel was erected into a borough about 1216 by Archbishop Donat O'Lonargan, who granted his burgesses burgage tenements and conferred on them the same privileges and franchises of the *free laws of Bristol*, reserving for himself a 12*d*. rent out of every burgage. This charter is no longer in existence. Bateson argued that in the case of Cashel the phrase "free Law of Bristol" is a cause of suspicion because the documents are not of early date.[453] However, it has to be noticed that when Marianus, Archibishop of Cashel, granted the same borough a charter in 1230, he did not mention the law of Bristol.[454] Mac Niocaill in fact does not regard Cashel as a Bretollian borough.[455]

Mac Niocaill considers Rathcoole near Dublin as a Bretollian borough, even if in its charter it is found as *Bristollo*. Rathcoole was originally granted a charter by John, Archbishop of Dublin, which was confirmed by Lucas between the years 1228-1255.[456]

---

[450] R.E. Glasscock, 'Land and people, c. 1300', in *NHI, II,* p. 224. During the year 1341 the community of Kilmaclennan counted 30 bourgesses, all of English origin except three. The settlement must still have been in existence until the 1380s when it disappears from the records.

[451] Bateson, 'Laws of Breteuil', *EHR*, XV, p. 514: "*...et dicti burgenses et eorum heredes nobis et successoribus nostris secundum legem Bristolii in omnibus et per omnia respondebunt, et secundum eandem legem tractabimus eosdem*". See also *Brit. borough chart., 1216-1307*, p. 21. Concerning the borough of Kilmaclennan Otway-Ruthven stated the impossibility of discovering who David's burgesses were, but a rental of the middle of the fourteen century names some twenty seven persons out of whom only four on five are Irish, the rest bearing Anglo-Norman names, see Otway-Ruthven, 'Norman settlement in Ireland', p. 79.

[452] *Na Buirgéisí*, II, p. 327.

[453] Bateson, 'Laws of Breteuil', *EHR*, XV, p. 514; Ballard, *British corough charters*, p. xxxviii; Lewis, *Topographical dictionary,* I, p. 275.

[454] *Na Buirgéisí*, I, pp 107-08. Around 1228x1230 Marian granted Cashel a fair starting from the eve of Holy Trinity and enduring for eight days; see *Brit. borough chart., 1216-1307*, p. 249.

[455] *Na Buirgéisí*, II, p. 327.

[456] *Na Buirgéisí*, II, p. 327; ibidem, I, pp 293-4.

2. 3 Royal boroughs: Drogheda in Uriel, Rathmore and Dungarvan

Two years after having granted the Law of Breteuil to Drogheda towards Uriel, King John conferred on his burgesses of Dungarvan "*omnes libertates et liberas consuetudines de Bretoill[io]*".[457] The charter was written in 1215 by Richard de Marisco, who was the same chancellor who compiled the one for Drogheda in Louth.[458] Dungarvan, co. Waterford, was in the land of Maurice FitzGerald, as was Rathmore in Kildare.[459] To Rathmore Maurice FitzGerald conferred the "*legem de Brytoylle*" in the year 1220.[460] In his charter Maurice, son of Gerald, gives his burgesses four score and sixteen burgages of various sizes with appurtenances and commons in his moors and mountains. He saved for himself and his heirs only the moor of Okone, his demesne lands in the tenement and his rent in the vill. The rent for each burgage is fixed at "*duodecim denarios sicut continetur in carta quam habent de bone memorie Geraldo patre meo*", to be paid annually in moieties at Easter and Michaelmas. This confirmation prescribed an increment on the rent, of 30*s.* 8*d.*, for small parcels of land lying between the said burgages and the vill.[461]

Bateson pointed out the fact that Maurice FitzGerald "was the grand-son of Maurice FitzGerald who received the 'middle cantred of Ophelan'. The laws may thus be traced back to a Welsh source".[462]

---

[457] *Na Buirgéisí*, I, p. 214: "*Johannes Dei gratia rex Anglie.... Sciatis nos concessisse et hac carta nostra confirmasse burgensibus nostris de Dungarvan et heredibus eorum omnes libertates et liberas consuetudines de Bretoll', habendas et tenendas de nobis et heredibus nostris in perpetuum...*". See above, Chapter 2.3.2, p. 46 and Appendix 4.

[458] *Na Buirgéisí*, I, pp 214, 185; see above, Chapter 2.3.2, p. 46 and Appendix 4.

[459] For Rathmore see Orpen, *Song of Dermot*, p. 305; for Dungarvan see *CDI*, 1171-1252, 586, p. 91: in the year 1215 Maurice FitzGerald made fine for Dungarvan castle which belonged to him by inheritance.

[460] *Na Buirgéisí*, I, pp 294-5: "*...tenenda et habenda sibi et heredibus suis de me et heredibus meis secundo legem de Britolie sicut aliquis eam in tota terra domini Regis Angliae liberius tenet reddendo inde annuatim ipsi et heredes sui mihi et heredes meis pro unoquoque burgagio XII denerios sicut continetur in carta quam habent de bonae memoriae Geraldo patre meo...*".

[461] C. McNeill (ed.), *Calendar of Archbishop Alen's register, 1172-1534* (Dublin, 1950), p. 43.

[462] Bateson, 'Laws of Breteuil', *EHR,* XV, pp 313-14.

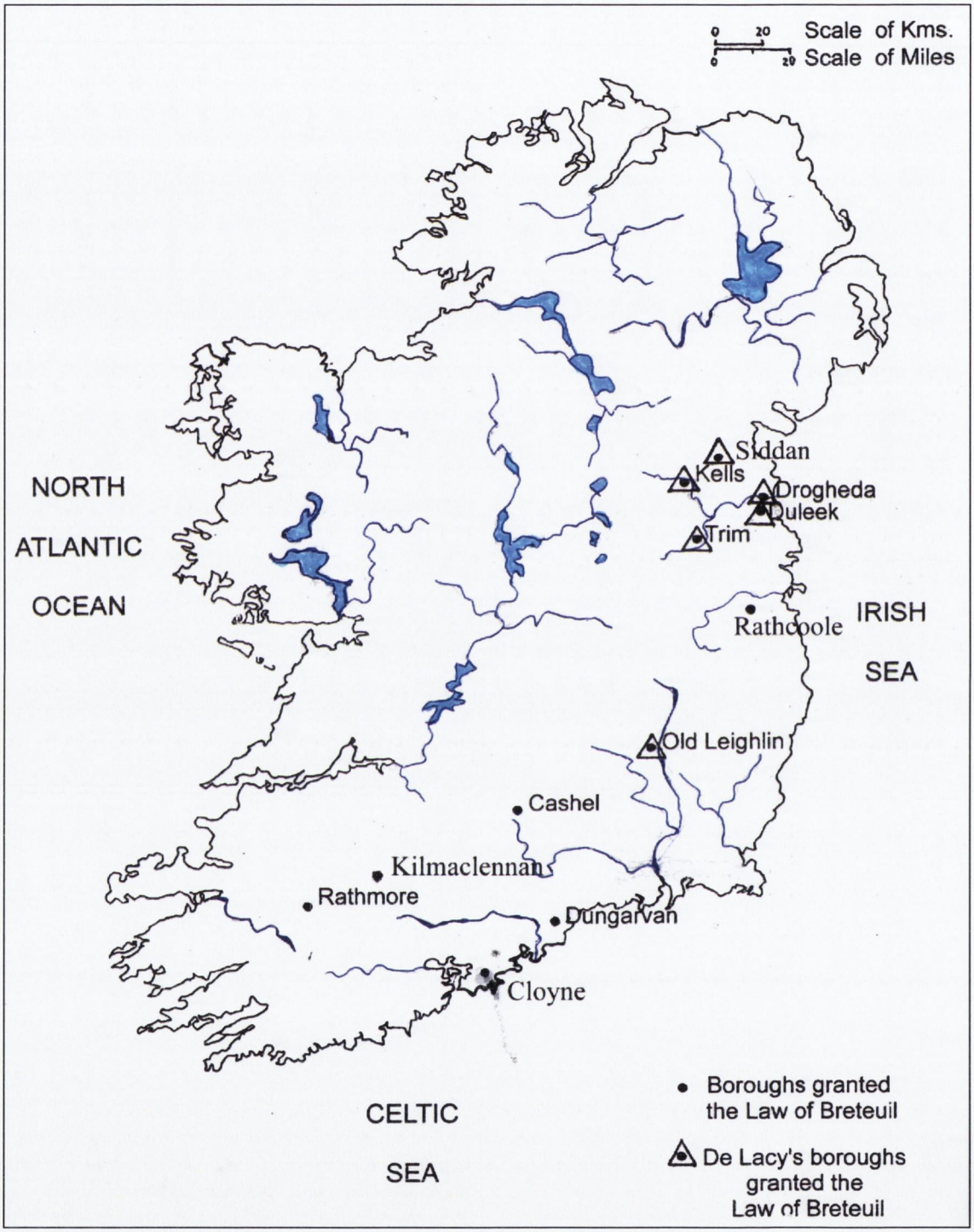


FIG. 9: Boroughs in Ireland granted the Law of Breteuil (12th -13th centuries) derived from the studies of M. Bateson, 'The Laws of Breteuil', *EHR* XV (1900), pp 73-78, 311-15, 513-15; *EHR* XVI (1901), pp 94-6 and G. Mac. Niocaill, *Na Buirgéisí*, I.

4. The nature of the Law

The conditions embodied in the Laws of Breteuil are difficult to recount in terms of their exact specificities because the original code granted to Breteuil in Normandy is lost.[463] The charters granted to Drogheda and to the other Irish boroughs affiliated to Breteuil, do not give any detailed descriptions of the contents of the Laws. The generic nature of the said charters implies that such customs were well known or at least of easy availability to their grantees; otherwise, the charters would have been useless. As a matter of fact, when Philip Telynge granted to Siddan in Meath the *consuetudines Britollie,* he made explicit reference to a roll where the said customs were contained.[464]

Some of the dispositions embodied in the Bretollian set of rights in the form granted to Drogheda can be extrapolated from the successive charters conferred on the same borough by King Henry III. Namely, the grant of free-borough to Drogheda in Uriel (1229)[465] and to Drogheda in Meath (1247).[466] Neither of these charters make mention of the Law of Breteuil. They seem, on the very contrary, quite influenced by the Law of Bristol, in the form which was granted to Dublin in 1192.[467] It is still possible to trace back part of the Norman code by analysing some of the clauses there contained, which refer to ancient customs of the borough of Drogheda. Therefore, the contents of the two Droghedas charters of free-borough (1229 and 1247) will be contrasted with those of the Dublin's charters (1192), in the attempt to detach the 'Bristollian' from the 'Bretollian' dispositions.[468]

---

[463] Bateson, 'Laws of Breteuil', E*HR*, XV, pp 76-78. The affiliation of medieval municipal charters, and Drogheda's ones in particular, is discussed below; see Conclusion, pp 343-51.

[464] *Na Buirgéisí*, I, p. 320: "*...cum lege Britollie et cum omnibus libertatibus and liberis consuetudines ad dictam legem pertinentibus secundum leges [et] consuetudines Britollie que in rotulo continetur [et] notantur vel quocumque citra vel ultra lex Britollie melius plenius aut liberius continent[ur]*".

[465] *Na Buirgéisí*, I, pp 185-88 (1129); see Appendix 6.

[466] Ibidem, I, pp 174-88 (1247); see Appendix 7 and discussion below, Chap. 4.1, pp 110-22.

[467] *Hist. and mun. doc.*, pp 51-55.

[468] Three points need to be recalled in order to justify this proceeding. Firstly, that they are all royal charters: as a result, there not will be the complication of the seigniorial role. Secondly, Droghedas' charters are clearly influenced by the law of Bristol-Dublin, as mentioned before; thirdly, by granting Drogheda new charters, Henry III did not abrogate the borough's *antiquas consuetudines*, but instead, he confirmed them. This means that they were layered beneath, and this study will attempt to bring them to the surface with the aid of other types of sources available for Drogheda.

In both the 1229 and 1247 charters, the land-tenure is set "*secundum consuetudinem burgi de Drogheda*".[469] The burgage-size and the tenure in Drogheda were therefore peculiar to Drogheda itself and perhaps different from the ones established in Dublin: hence they are points which need a close examination. Walter's charter to Drogheda in Meath (1194) establishes that every burgage was allotted 50 feet in the front and three acres of arable field.[470] John's charter granting the Law of Breteuil to Drogheda on the Uriel side (1213) says nothing explicative of the land tenure.[471] It would therefore seem likely that plots of the same dimension were allotted to both Droghedas. That is to say that the burgage-size was a custom which didn't need to be specified as to its extensions in the new charter; perhaps a custom related to Breteuil?

The Bretollian Irish burgage shows a variety of dimensions. All of the boroughs established by de Lacy in Meath seem to have the same burgage-size: fifty feet frontage and three acres in the field in Drogheda Meath; three acres in the field in Kells[472] and Trim[473]; three acres in Siddan.[474] In the ecclesiastical boroughs burgages were bigger. Each burgage was allotted four acres in the field at Rathcoole[475] and eight acres at Cloyne.[476] Seven acres in the field and a frontage, or three and a half acres in the field and a frontage, were the burgage-sizes at Rathmore.[477] The fact that Rathmore's charter quotes 'a frontage', without any other specification, suggests that a frontage corresponded to a fixed measure. The charters granted to Kells, Siddan, Rathcoole and Cloyne mention just the

---

[469] *Na Buirgéisí*, I, p. 186; ibidem, p. 174: "*...et quod terras et tenures suas et vadimonia sua debita sua omnia iuste habeant quicumque ea debeant, et de terris et tenures suis que infra metas suas sunt rectum eis teneatur secundum consuetudinem burgi de Drogheda*"; see Appendices 6, 7.

[470] Ibidem, I, p. 173: "*...ita scilicet quod unumquodque burgagium eis attribuitum quinquaginta pedes habeat de fronte et tres acra in campo*"; see above, Chap. 2.3.1,p 43 and Appendix 3.

[471] Ibidem, I, pp 184-5; see above, Chap. 2.3.2, pp 46-7 and Appendix 4.

[472] Ibidem, I, pp 124-5: "*...et tres acras ad quolibet burgagium in campis...*".

[473] Potterton, *Medieval Trim*, p. 131

[474] *Na Buirgéisí*, I, p. 320: "*...de quolibet burgagio cum tribus acris mensuratis per pedem palmatam xiid. Et be qualibet placea sine acris vid., medietatem scilicet ad Pasc[h]a et medietatem ad festum sancti Michaelis*".

[475] Ibidem, I, p. 293: "*...cum burgagiis ipsorum videlicet singukis eorum quatuor acras terre in mesuagiis prato et terra arrabili...*".

[476] Ibidem, I, p. 151: "*...civibus meis de Clone cuiuscumque nationis sint burgagium quod tenent de me et de successors meis in eadem civitate [et] octo acras ad singulos spectantes...*".

[477] Ibidem, I, pp 294: "*...quod ego Mauritius filius Geraldi dedi concessi et hac presenti carta mea confirmavi burgensibus meis de Rathmore quatuor viginti et quinque burgagia cum pertinenciis videlicet ad unumquodque burgagium septem acras terrae et frontem et undecim burgagia in eadem villa videlicet ad unumquodque burgagium dimidiam acram terrae et frontem*".

acres in the field and no frontage. It seems likelty that, for these cases, the frontage was implicit.

Burgage tenure is the second point under analysis. Many of the charters granting Breteuil include the clause establishing a 12*d.* annual rent for every burgage in replacement for all services. Payment was usually split into two moieties, at Michaelmas and Easter. There is mention of the 12*d.* rent in Drogheda in Meath (1194)[478], Trim[479], Rathmore[480], Siddan[481], Rathcoole[482] and Old Leighlin.[483] The charters granted to Kells, Dungarvan and Drogheda in Uriel do not mention it. Nonetheless, there is indirect evidence that Drogheda in Uriel had also a 12*d.* burgage-rent. The foundation charter of the Hospital of St. Mary, outside the western gate of the borough (1213-1214) reports the list of lands which Ursus de Swemele donated to the said hospice and the description of their indebtedness, namely: four hundred acres of land outside the gate; all of his land in the mountains, which were subjected to a ten shillings rent to the king for all services; and all of the burgages he owned in Drogheda, each of which paid an annual rent of 12*d.* to the king.[484] Bateson has defined the 12*d.* rent as a decisive element of Bretollian custom. Ballard and Tait have instead observed that, even if the 12*d.* burgage tenure was of decisive Norman influence, it cannot be regarded as an element of exclusively Bretollian origin.[485] There are in fact many cases of boroughs paying a 12*d.* burgage-rent, without being granted the Law of Breteuil: Cardiff, Tewkesbury, Pontefract, Swords, Burton on Trent, Walsall, Wells, Ayr in

---

[478] Ibidem, I, pp 173; see Appendix 3.

[479] Potterton, *Medieval Trim*, p. 131; *Brit. borough chart., 1042-1216*, pp 52-7.

[480] *Na Buirgéisí*, I, p. 295: "*...secundo legem de Britolie sicut aliquis eam in tota terra domini Regis Angliae liberius tenet reddendo inde annuatim ipsi et heredes sui mihi et heredes meis pro unoquoque burgagio XII denerios sicut continetur in carta quam habent de bonae memoriae Geraldo patre meo...*"

[481] Ibidem, I, p. 320.

[482] Ibidem, I, p. 293: "*...reddendo inde annuatim nobis et successoribus nostris duodecim denarios pro singulis burgagiis ad duos terminos anni, medietatem at festum sancti Michaelis et medietatem ad Pascha*".

[483] Ryan, *County of Carlow*, p. 59; Bateson, 'Law of Breteuil', *EHR*, XV, p. 514; *Brit. borough chart., 1042-1216*, p. xxxviii.

[484] Sheehy, ' Medieval foundation', pp 154-159: "*...quadriginta acras terre que iacent in una cultura extra predictam portam super quas iam sepedictam domus hospitalis fondata est; deinde totam terram in montanis quam teneo de domino rege, pro qua terra dicta domus debet reddere domino regi per annum decem solidos pro omni servicio; item et illas acras quas per legalem emptionem de burgagiis in territorio de Droheda habui*". It follows a list of burgages and then: "*Sciendum est quo dicti supranominati tenentes de illo burgagio ad cornerium; de quo burgagio predicta domus hospitalis debet solvere domino regi per annum duodecim denarios*"; see below, Chap.2.6, pp 59-61..

[485] Ballard and Tait, *British boroughs charters*, pp lxxvii-lxxviii.

England;[486] Kilkenny (1207-11)[487], Kells in Ossory (1211-16)[488], Inistioge (before 1228)[489], Carlow and Wexford in Ireland.[490] The latter group of Irish boroughs is connected to Geoffrey FitzRobert, the first William Marshall's principal agent in the government of the Irish estates.[491]

The amercement is the other feature which requires investigation. The general rule of limitation of the fine to 12*d.* for all offences - with certain specified exceptions - is regarded as one of the few indubitable Bretollian customs.[492] This evidence is given by the Domesday Book which, referring to Rhuddlan, states: "*Ipsi burgensibus annuerunt leges et consuetudines quae sunt in Hereford et in Breteuil scilicet per totum annum de aliqua forisfactura non dabunt nisi XII denarios praeter homicidium et furtum et heinfar precogitatam*".[493] The exceptions were the king's pleas: breaking of peace, predetermined house-breaking and highway robbery, which at Hereford were fined at 100s.[494] Both of Henry III's charters to Drogheda state that no burgess could be fined in money, with the only exception being in accordance to the ancient usages, "*videlicet pro misericordia XII denariorum*".[495] In the constitutional charter of Drogheda in Meath (1194) 12*d.* was the rent set for each burgage, but there is no mention of an extensive use of the 12*d.* amercement which is indeed regarded as customary practice in Henry III's charters.[496] We might therefore ascribe the *misericordia XII denariorum* to Walter's 1194 charter. Since 1208 onward, the lord's court in Drogheda could pass judgement on all offences with the

---

[486] Ballard, 'Law of Breteuil', *EHR*, XXX, p. 649.

[487] *Na Buirgéisí*, I, p. 38.

[488] Ibidem, I, p. 129.

[489] Ibidem, I, p. 230.

[490] Ibidem, I, p. 134.

[491] Bateson, 'Laws of Breteuil', *EHR,* XVI, pp. 95-6. This group of boroughs share a frontage of twenty feet of land for every burgage; the 12d. rent in lieu of all services; a 10*s.* amercement, reduced of an half, for high offences; a 12*d.* amercement for small offences reduced of an half on the first offence, but duplicated in case of reiteration.

[492] Bateson, 'Laws of Breteuil', *EHR*, XV, XVI; Ballard, 'Law of Breteuil', *EHR*, XXX (1915), p. 647; Ballard and Tait, *British boroughs charters*, II, p. lxxvii.

[493] *Domesday Book seu liber censualis,* I, *f.* 269; William and Martin, *Domesday. A Translation*, p. 737.

[494] *Domesday Book,* I, *f.* 179; William and Martin, *Domesday. A Translation*, p. 493. See also Bateson, 'The Laws of Breteuil', *EHR*, XVI, p. 93.

[495] *Na Buirgéisí*, I, pp 186, 175: *"...et quod nullus burgensis de Drogheda de misericordia pecunie iudicetur in eodem hundredo nisi secundum antiquam consuetudinem suam, videlicet pro misericordia XII denariorum*"; see Appendices 6, 7. See further discussion on the Hundred Court of Drogheda, Chap. 4.1.3, pp 116-19.

[496] *Na Buirgéisí*, I, pp 172-3; see Appendix 3.

exception of the four pleas of the crown: rape, arson, forestalling and treasure-trove.[497] Twelve pence was the maximum fine that the lord who stood in place of the public officer of justice (Drogheda in Meath, 1194) and the king (Drogheda in Louth, 1213) could take for offences committed by the burgesses within both Droghedas, "*secundum antique consuetudinem*".[498] The Customs of Bristol instead, as they were confirmed by Lord John to Dublin in 1192, established a general amercement of 40*s*. for every forfeiture; one half forgiven, and the other half to be paid.[499] That same 40*s*. amercement was applied at Cork, Waterford and Limerick. The privilege offered by the Norman code was in this sense much more convenient than the one granted by the customs of Bristol. Twelve pence purchased reconciliation and restoration to peace in the Bretollian boroughs, against the 40s. levied in the Bristollian towns.[500] The low amercements did not however mean that the law was less seriously applied or observed, but was instead part of the lord's strategy for ensuring low-cost conditions of settlement around a newly built castle, be it in Wales or Ireland.

If an amercement of 12*d*.was unquestionably prescribed by the Norman law, it comes that jurisdictional privilege was also ensured and that the Bretoillian boroughs must hence have had their own court in charge of determining the application of the said fine. A Hundred Court is referred to in both of Henry III's charters to Drogheda, but Drogheda's 1194 and 1213 charters do not mention any court.[501] However, Walter de Lacy's charter to Kells explicitly refers to a court, by these words: that no burgess of Kells could be sued outside the borough Court except for pleas concerning the lord's interest.[502] The privilege of not pleading outside the walls is not peculiar of the Breteuil Law; Dublin was granted it in the year 1192[503] and it is in fact one of the most recurrent privileges granted to European

---

[497] *CDI*, 1171-1252, 382, p. 57.

[498] *Na Buirgéisí, I,* p. 186; ibidem, I, p. 175: *"...et quod nullus burgensis de Drogheda de misericordia pecunie iudicetur in eodem hundredo nisi secundum antiquam consuetudinem suam, videlicet pro misericordia XII denariorum".*

[499] *Hist. And mun. doc.*, p. 52: "*Et quod nullus iudicetur de misericordia pecunie, nisi secundum legem hundredi, scilicet per forisfacturam xl. solidorum, unde is qui in misericordia ceciderit quietus erit de medietates; et aliam medietatem dabit in misericordia; exceptis tribus misericordiis, scilicet, de pane et cervisia, et vigilia, que misericordie sunt et de duobus solidis et vi. denariis, unde medietas condonabitur, et alia medietas reddetur in misericordia*".

[500] Bateson, 'Laws of Breteuil', *EHR*, XVI, p. 93.

[501] See Appendices 3,4. See further discussion on the Hundred Court of Drogheda, Chap. 4.1.3, pp 116-19.

[502] *Na Buirgéisí*, I, p. 124*: "...quod nulli homini respondeant de aliqua causa versus illos mota extra hundredum suum nisi proprie persone mee causa pertineat".*

[503] *Hist. and mun. doc.*, p. 52.

medieval boroughs and towns.[504] According to Henry III's charters in both Droghedas the *hundredum* had to be held once every fifteen days (1229).[505] However, it is impossible to establish if this was also stipulation of the Breteuil code. The Customs of Bristol, as confirmed to Dublin by John, contain the same clause but they call for weekly holdings of the Hundred Court.[506] Establishing a local court in which minor crimes could be dealt with, was the first step in the process towards municipal autonomy. It implied the transferring of control over internal affairs from the manorial court to the burgesses themselves. The said provision was aimed at guaranteeing the exercise of justice inside the walls, rather than being dependant on the rather intermittent legal system administered by the itinerant judges. The 'devolution' of the juridic functions would have attracted colonizers as well as foreign merchants.

Henry III allowed the burgesses of both Droghedas to have *soc sac thol et theam et infangenthef,*[507] that is to say all of the jurisdictional privileges previously belonging to the lord: the right of having a court and to do justice; the right to take toll within their vill; the right to call on the possessors of stolen property to vouch the warranty, *i.e.* to name the person from whom they obtained it; and the right to hold a court for and to hang thieves who were caught in the act of seizing of the stolen goods. Those privileges are not mentioned among the customs of Bristol as given to Dublin in 1192. They cannot however be regarded as exclusively Bretollian. First, because that terminology is at least partially Anglo-Saxon. Secondly, because it occurs frequently in many charters throughout the eleventh and twelfth centuries.[508] Nevertheless, Ballard and Tait derive the presence of this

---

[504] The clause forbidding citizens or burgesses to plead outside the walls of their town was aimed at preventing interference in the administration of justice on the part of the neighbouring feudal lords. A jurisdictional oasis lay within the walls of all towns, albeit the process of acquisition of the said privilege was different from country to country. According to Webb "the inhabitants of the towns in France reckoned not the cost in blood or money in their struggle to secure [it]. In England it was purchased with the wealth of the burghers. In Ireland it was a free gift, granted with a view to encouraging Englishmen and others to settle in Irish town"; see J. J. Webb, *Municipal government of Ireland* (Dublin, 1918), p. 21.

[505] *Na Buirgéisí*, I, pp 175, 186"; see Appendices 6, 7 and below Chap. 4.1.3, pp 116-19.

[506] *Hist. and mun. doc.*, p. 52: "*...quod nullus civis Dublin placitet extra muros ville de ullo placito, preterquam de placitis de exterioribus tenementis, que non pertinent hundredum ville* [...] *et quod hundredum tantum semel teneatur in septimana*".

[507] *Na Buirgéisí*, I, pp 186, 174: "*Concessimus insuper eisdem burgensibus et eorum heredibus quod habeant soc sac thol et theam et infangenthef*"; see Appendices 6, 7.

[508] Ballard, *British boroughs charters, 1042-1216*, pp 17 (Budford, 1055-8; Truro, 1166), 39 (Maldon, 1171), 113-15 (Oxford, 1156; Hythe, 1156; Dover, 1154-89; Dunwich, 1200; Lynn, 1204; Yarmouth, 1208; Marlborough, 1204; Ilchester, 1204; Stafford, 1206; Roitwich, 1215), 126 (London, 1133), 129 (London, 1124-8), 231 (Droiwich, 1215). See Ballard and Tait, *British Boroughs charters (1216-1307)*,

clause in Drogheda's charter from its affiliation with Hereford.[509] We might however consider that the exemption from tolls and the right of having a court were among the Bretollian liberties, because they were explicitly bestowed by Walter de Lacy to Kells.[510]

None of the burgesses of Drogheda or Dublin could wage battle touching any appeal; the citizen of Dublin could obtain compurgation by oath of 40 men of said city;[511] the burgesses of Drogheda in Meath by oath of 24 lawful men of said borough.[512] Such data is not available for Drogheda in Louth.

Another clause in the 1229 and 1247 charters refers to customary practice. It was granted "free-fishery in the waters of the Boyne, as at the time of King Henry III's predecessors".[513] This is nothing new, since the free passage and trade along the Boyne, from the bridge of Trim to the sea, was one of the privileges already conferred by Walter de Lacy to Drogheda in 1194.[514] It has to be noted that Dublin's charter does not grant the citizens free jurisdiction on the waters of the Liffey. Of main interest is Henry III's provision confirming both Droghedas all their customs, when they were not adverse to the king's dispositions.[515] The *bonae consuetudines* confirmed by Henry III to Drogheda were the customs of Breteuil.[516]

Enough can be discerned from this partial reconstruction to determine that the Law of Breteuil was distinguished by a certain 'liberality'. The 12*d.* amercement for all offences but the king's pleas and the allotment of definite building and farming areas at the

---

pp. 18 (Hemsley, 1186-1227), 147 (Hereford, 1227, and all its derivate cases; Faversham, 1252; Cinque Ports, 1278), 168 (London, 1247).

[509] Ballard and Tait, *British boroughs charters (1216-1307)*, p. 147.

[510] *Na Buirgéisí*, I, pp 124-5: "*Concessi etiam eis illos liberos et quietos esse de teloneo per totam terram meam* [...] *et quod nulli homini respondeant de aliqua causa versus illos mota extra hundredum suum nisi proprie persone mee causa pertineat*".

[511] Gilbert, *Hist and mun. doc.*, p. 52: "*...et quod nullus civis facet duellum in civitate de aliquo appello quod quisquam versum eum facere possit, sed purgabitse per sacramentum XL hominum ipsius civitatis, qui legales sint*".

[512] *Na Buirgéisí*, I, p. 176: "*...et quod nullus predictorum burgensium faciat duellum pro aliquo appello sed ipsi burgenses se possint aquietare per XXIIII legales homines eiusdem burgi*"; see Appendix 7.

[513] Ibidem, I, pp 187, 175: "*...et quod habeant piscariam suam in aqua de Drogheda sicut eam umquam melius habuerunt vel habere consueverunt temporibus predecessorum nostrorum regnum Angliae*"; see Appendices 6, 7.

[514] Ibidem, I, p. 172.

[515] Ibidem, I, pp 187, 176: "Concessimus eciam eis omnes libertates suas et omnes liberas consuetudines suas quas habuerunt vel habere consueverunt temporibus predecessorum nostrorum regnum Anglie quando bone fuerunt"; see Appendices 6, 7.

[516] For a discussion on the medieval custom; see G. Santini, *Materiali per la storia del diritto commune in Europa. Lo* ius comune *nel pensiero giuridico: una struttura di lunga durata* (Torino, 1990).

moderate rent of 12*d.* were conditions favorable enough for attracting settlers around the castles; they were accompanied with commonage in the wood and in pasture, free use of the waters of the river as a fishery and as a way of trade. These customs were initially granted to the boroughs founded in England by barons during the Norman period and settled mainly by Norman colonists. Life on the Welsh frontier was probably not such as to encourage artisans and merchants to forsake the secure and fertile fields of England and Normandy to re-establish themselves in the raw wilderness which the early frontier must have been.[517] A similar state of affairs would have characterized one century later the colonization of Ireland and the same pioneering customs turned useful again. The liberal laws of Breteuil turned first the Welsh and then the Irish frontier into lands of opportunity for all classes. It has to be remarked that for the Bretollian boroughs of later foundation, both in England as certainly in Ireland, the idea of purity has to be dismissed. The customs of Breteuil probably arrived to Ireland in an attenuated form due to their previous century-long use in Wales, as a result of which alterations of the original customs, addition by imitation of new usages, withdrawal by disuse are all to be expected. In view of all this the scattered outcome of Bateson's comparative study gains even more credibility while Hammeon's purism becomes unrealistic.

The outcome of this analysis of the customs of Breteuil in Ireland can be summarized by saying that they were granted "apparently freely and without royal authority" by secular and ecclesiastical lords as well as by the king himself to the communities of newly founded settlements usually immediately after the conquest or during the first phases of settlement of colonists in rough areas. On the other hand, the customs of Bristol were generally conferred on settlements which already had a municipal tradition before the arrival of the Anglo-Normans. This was a more evolved set of rights which suited the government of societies already settled in well established towns. As a result, the process of affiliation seems to bring out a general differentiation between a class of better privileged towns, the Bristollian ones, and another of a somewhat lesser standing, the Bretollian ones. This was a process very marked in Irish municipal history.[518] It has to be remarked that not all of the settlements founded by the Anglo-Normans in Ireland

[517] L. H. Nelson, *The Normans in south Wales, 1070-1171* (London, 1966), pp 169-70.
[518] M. Weinbaum, British borough charters, *1307-1660* (Cambridge, 1943), pp xxi s.

evolved successfully. R. E. Glasscock stated that, when a settlement survived to the difficulties accompanying its early stages of life, it could have remain a 'rural boroughs' instead than evolving into an 'urban borough'.[519] B. Graham argued that about 50 per cent of the 330 Anglo-Norman settlements identified in Ireland appear to have been rural boroughs and were essentially agricultural in function and ran by feudal economy - Siddan, Old Leighlin, Kilmeaden are cases in point.[520] On the contrary, the few settlements which eventually evolved urban criteria - such as market functions and division of labour -, would gradually attain some of the Bristol privileges. This is the reason why, by Henry III's charters, Drogheda started being granted some of privileges enjoyed by Dublin: a guild-merchant, a hanse, protection against alien traders and merchandises, a weekly market, a yearly fair, right of electing their own provosts and seneschals together with the fee farm, the right of contracting marriage without the lord's license, etc.[521] In short, starting as settlements centered on strategic castles built for military purposes some boroughs acquired a new identity and the demands of organized and thriving trading communities were fulfilled by adding Bristollian clauses. Perhaps the confusion between *Bristolium* and *Britolium* began when Bristol clauses were inserted into the charters of the two Droghedas.

---

[519] R. Glasscock, 'Moated sites and deserted villages and boroughs: two neglected aspects of Anglo-Norman settlement in Ireland', in N. Stephenson and R. E. Glasscock (eds.) *Irish geographical studies in honour of E. Estyn Evans*, (Belfast, 1970), pp 162-77; Idem, 'Land and people, c. 1300', pp. 205-39.

[520] B. Graham, 'Urbanization in Ireland during the middle ages, c. 1100 to c. 1300', in T. Barry (ed.), *A history of settlement in Ireland* (New York, 2000), p. 131; Idem, 'The definition and classification of medieval Irish towns', *Irish Geography*, 21 (1988), pp 20-32.

[521] See below, Chap. 4.1, pp 110-24.

CHAPTER 4

THE LEGAL FOUNDATIONS OF DROGHEDA: FEE FARM AND MAYORALTY

In the year 1229 the citizens of Dublin were given licence to elect a mayor.[1] That same year, King Henry III granted the borough of Drogheda in Louth the status of *liber burgus*.[2] Drogheda in Meath was not granted free-burgage until 1247.[3] Thereafter, in 1252, Drogheda in Louth was granted the mayoralty.[4] During that same year, Dublin and Drogheda sealed their alliance.[5] These repeated coincidences in timing, suggest that institutional events were somehow occurring simultaneously in the royal towns of Dublin and Drogheda in Louth. An analysis of the background of these three charters deserves close attention.

The charter of fee farm granted to Drogheda in Uriel in 1229 is strongly connected with the grant of mayoralty given to Dublin during the same year. Both charters were witnessed by Hubert de Burgh, justiciar of England, who was most certainly looking after the interest of his nephew, Richard de Burgh, justiciar of Ireland between 1228 and 1232.[6]

The background of the charter of fee farm granted to Drogheda in Meath in 1247 is instead connected with the partition of the lordship of Meath, which followed the death of Walter de Lacy in 1241.[7] The correspondence between variations occurring in de Lacy's

---

[1] *Hist. and mun. doc.,* pp 91-92. The mayoralty in royal Drogheda was established in 1252; see Ibidem, pp 132-4.

[2] *Na Buirgéisí*, I, pp 185-88; see Appendix 6.

[3] Ibidem, I, pp 174-88; see Appendix 7.

[4] Ibidem,I, pp 188-91; see Appendix 12.

[5] *Hist. and mun. doc.,* pp 130-1: "*De composicione inter burgenses de Drogheda et cives Dublin*"; see Appendix 14.

[6] *Na Buirgéisí*, I, pp 185-188; *Hist. and mun. doc.,* pp 91-2; see also Cosgrove, 'Principal officers', p. 471.

[7] The only study concerned with the Irish evidence of this partition remains the one made by Otway-Ruthven, 'The partition of the de Verdun lands', pp 401-445. In 1247 another partition was made in Leinster between the heiresses of William Marshal; see Orpen, *Normans*, II, pp 75-107. The 1240s saw the extinction in the direct male line of two of the first great families who colonised Ireland, the de Lacies and the Marshals.

lands and the issuing of charters to Drogheda is a recurring pattern that is also evident in the charter of mayoralty to Drogheda in Louth granted in 1252.[8]

The charter of 1247 was witnessed by John FitzGeoffrey, justiciar of Ireland and Peter de Geneve.[9] Both men had certainly been instrumental in arranging for the issue of this charter. John fitz Geoffrey had married Isabel, daughter of Hugh Bigod earl of Norfolk and widow of Gilbert, son of Walter de Lacy. He thus had *iure uxoris,* interests to protect in Meath.[10] The other witness to the charter was Peter de Geneve, who, following Walter de Lacy's death, had inherited part of the the lordship of Meath through his marriage to Matilda, one of Walter de Lacy's heiresses.[11] When Peter de Geneve died, Matilda married Geoffrey de Geneville (1252), brother of Louis IX's biographer.[12] The other share of the lordship of Meath was inherited by Margery de Lacy, the elder of the two heiresses. By 1244, it had passed to her husband, John de Verdun, son of Roesia de Verdun and Theobald le Butler.[13]

Initially, the de Lacy estates, with the exception of Trim castle, were held jointly by de Verdun and de Geneve.[14] By 13 June 1244, the king ordered the lands to be partitioned and John and Peter were assigned their respective purparties, with two years in which to appeal against the division.[15] By 1246 both Peter Geneve and John de Verdun inherited 1/3 of the fifty marks which was the sum that Walter de Lacy used to receive yearly for the lands, the castle of Drogheda and the castle of Blathach.[16] The charter granted to Drogheda in Meath in 1247 can therefore be regarded as a sub-product of those jurisdictional changes in Meath.[17]

---

[8] See below Chap. 4.31, p. 146.

[9] *Na Buirgéisí*, I, p. 178; see Appendix 7.

[10] Otway-Ruthven, *Med. Ire.*, p. 191.

[11] G. E. Cokayne, *The complete peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland,Great Britain and the United Kingdom, V.* Gibbs *et al.* (eds), 12 vols. (London, 1910-59), V, p. 629.

[12] *Gormanston Reg.*, p. 178.

[13] *CP*, XII, 2, p. 247. This was the second intermarriage to occur between the de Lacy and the de Verdun families: in 1195 Hugh de Lacy, Walter's brother, had married Leselina de Verdun; see *Gormanston Reg.*, pp 144, 192-3.

[14] *CDI,* 1171-1251, 2662, p. 397.

[15] *CDI*, 1171-1251, 2699, p. 402.

[16] *CPR*, 1232-1247, p. 479; *CDI*, 1171-1251, 2828, p. 422-3 (1246); ibidem, 3060, p. 456 (1250).

[17] The geographical division of the lordship of Meath (1244) has been sketched by Otway-Ruthven; see below, Fig 10, p. 106.

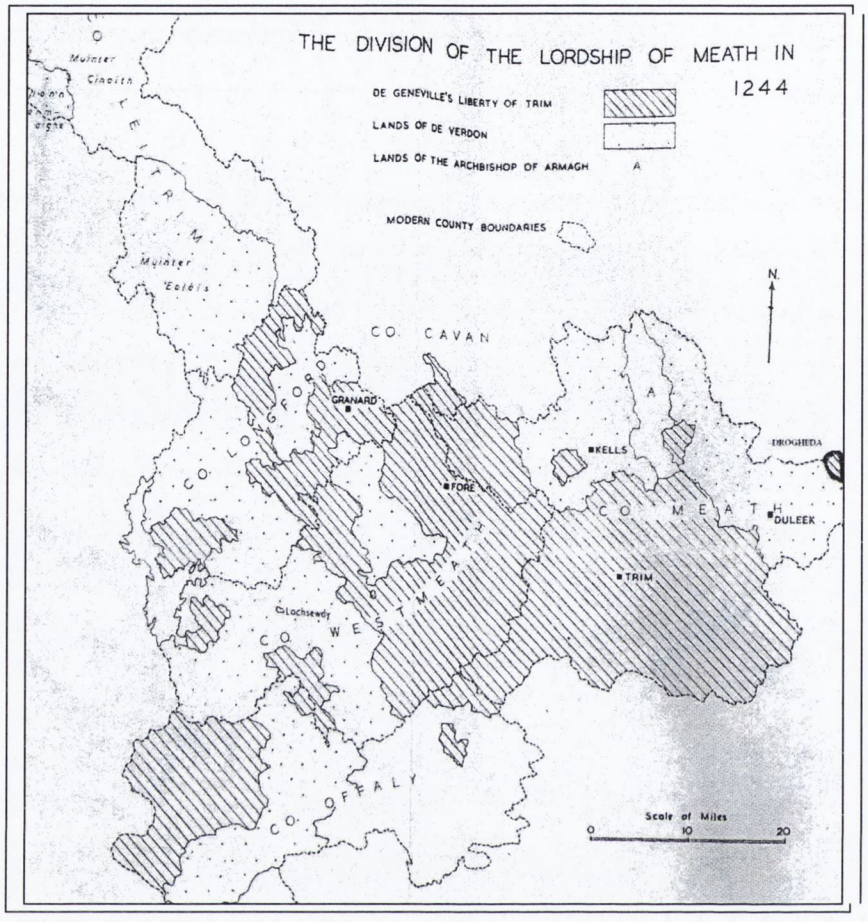


FIG. 10: The division of the lordship of Meath in 1244, after Otway-Ruthven, 'The partition of the de Verdun lands in Ireland in 1332', *RIA Proc.*, 66, sec. C (1968), plate lxiii.

Hagger's study suggests that the background to the partition of the lordship of Meath is strongly connected with the baronial movement which imposed the provision of Oxford on Henry III.[18] Hagger has put forward the idea that the three recipients of de Lacy's lands - John de Verdun, Peter de Geneve and Geoffrey de Geneville - were all members of the Savoyard party of which Queen Eleanor was the head.[19]

---

[18] For a recount of the baronial movement in Wales; see J. R. Maddicott, *Simon de Montfort* (Cambridge 1994), p. 145. Maddicott regarded the reform movement as inspired by the conflict inside the English court between the Savoyard party and the Lusignans; the new relatives of Edward I.

[19] Hagger, *Fortunes of a Norman family*, pp 90-2, p. 92: "it might be that Edward was asked, or forced, to make concession to John de Verdun and Geoffrey de Geneville by this reforming party", or "alternatively, it might have been a timely attempt to cut away the reason for [their] support of the baronial movement". Thirty years later Theobald de Verdun went to the king's Chancery at Sherborne with two letters, one sealed with the lord Edward's seal, the other with that of Geoffrey de Lezignan, brother of King Henry III and uncle of Lord Edward. Edward's letter, dated 1257-8, assigned John de Verdun to pay to Geoffrey de Lezignan, 200 marks a year, "which Sir John is bound to pay on account of the late Walter de

The third charter under examination is the one that granted mayoralty to Drogheda in Louth (12 December, 1252).[20] Its background is based in the events which had occurred a few months before. In August of 1252, the liberty of Meath, which had been in the king's hand since 1224,[21] was returned to his lord, Geoffrey de Geneville, second husband of Matilda de Lacy.[22] The conditions of that endowment were quite important.[23] Geoffrey and Matilda were given the original liberties which Walter de Lacy, Matilda's father, enjoyed in the land of Meath before 1208.[24] These consisted in the right of *"tempore pacis tam in wardis et placitis querelis quam aliis rebus"* (prerogative ward-ship)[25] together with jurisdiction over the four royal pleas.[26] Geoffrey was granted all rights appertaining to a palatinate, including the right to execute writs.[27] He was lord of Meath and Trim from 1252 up until 1307, when Roger de Mortimer succeeded into the lordship.[28] The extension of these privileges and the importance of the area assigned to him put de Geneville in repeated quarrels with the Dublin administration.[29]

Lacy's debts, until those debts be discharged". Geoffrey's letter to John de Verdun directed him to pay 100 marks at the Exchequer, Dublin, at Michaelmas 1258, see *CDI*, 1252-1284, 1897, p. 412.

[20] *Na Buirgéisí*, I, pp 188-91.

[21] *CDI*, 1252-1284, 810, p. 131. An inquisition was taken in the year 1266 to establish on what occasion the liberty of Meath was taken into the king's hand; it reported that it was in the king's hands until it was granted to Geoffrey de Geneville; see below, Chap. 4.2.4, p. 137.

[22] D'Alton, *History of Drogheda*, I, pp 97-8. Geoffrey de Geneville's grandfather and namesake was

brother of the famous Jean de Joinville, the companion and historian of St. Louis. Geoffrey de Geneville was the confidant friend of Edward I and engaged by him in almost all the great transactions of the time. He went to the crusade in the Holy Land and, at his return, he was sent to Ireland as Lord Justice (1264-5). Lydon pointed out that Geoffrey de Geneville, as temporary substitute of Richard la Rochelle, justiciar of Ireland, was instrumental in the composition of the struggle between Maurice FitzGerald and Walter de Burgh (1264-65); see J. Lydon, 'The years of crisis, 1254-1315', *NHI,* II (Oxford, 1987), pp 183-4.

[23] *Gormanston Reg.*, p. 178.

[24] *CDI, 1171-1251*, 381, p. 57; see above, Chap. 2.3.3, p. 49.

[25] Coredon and Williams, *Dictionary medieval terms*, p. 295. It is a lord's right to have lucrative control of the fief of any tenant-in-chief during a minority.

[26] *CDI*, 1252-1284, 69, p. 10, (8 Aug. 1252); ibidem, 256, p. 39 (23 July 1253). The de Geneville's liberty of Trim was therefore the only Irish liberty where the four pleas were not reserved to the king; however the royal writ of return of error and the crosses were reserved to the crown; see Otway-Ruthven, *Medieval Ireland*, p. 182.

[27] *CCR, 1253-1254,* p. 28; *CDI*, 1252-1284, 1666, pp 342-3; *CJustR*, 1305-7, p. 73. In 1306 Geoffrey de Geneville complained that the sheriff of Dublin entered into the liberty of Trim to ask Roger de Mortimer and Johanna for a summon, "in hurt of said liberty and against the [...] of the king [...] that writs from the king's chancery of Ireland should be directed to Geoffrey's seneschal of the liberty or to Geoffrey himself"; see *CJustR*, 1305-7, p. 241. See the genealogic table of the lords of Meath and Trim, Fig. 11, p. 109.

[28] *CPR*, 1307-1313, p. 33 (24 Dec. 1307).

[29] G. J. Hand, *English law in Ireland, 1290-1324* (Cambridge, 1967), p. 124s.

It appears that the other partitioners of Walter de Lacy's lordship, John de Verdun and Margery de Lacy, did not have such extensive rights in their shares. Hand has defined their share as "the attenuated liberty of Loxeudy".[30] McGrath has stated that "they seem to only have been allowed the more limited privileges that Walter de Lacy possessed after 1224, and like him they could only appoint their own seneschals". [31] It is uncertain if the full return of writs also ran in de Verdun's share as it did in de Geneville's. Both Geoffrey de Geneville and John de Verdun were entitled to an annual rent of 25 marks each for the rent of the castle and vill of Drogheda.[32] Along with this they were to provide a royal service of 25 knights each, whose monetary equivalent was £50 each.[33]

It is relevant to point out that, three days before conferring the mayoralty on Drogheda, the king had issued two mandates to the same burgesses. The first granted them the prisage of wines in their port. This charter already refers to a mayor of Drogheda on the Uriel side of the Boyne.[34] The second was a response to the same burgesses' complaint that certain lands had been alienated from the king's borough in Louth. As a result, the king granted them the right to plead *nomine suo*.[35]

In short, to counteract the grants to de Geneville and de Verdun, the burgesses of Drogheda in Louth asked for and were granted the mayoralty.[36] The mayoralty elevated

---

[30] Ibidem, p. 117.

[31] McGrath, 'Shiring of Ireland', p. 114. Mark Hagger, referring to a document of the year 1261, has put forward that "there is some evidence that the de Verdun share in Meath continued to operate as a liberty, regardless of the fact that John had not recovered the original franchise"; see Hagger, *Fortunes of a Norman family*, p. 133.

[32] *Ir. Exch. P.*, p. 6 (1274); *CDI*, 1252-1284, 1129, p. 197 (1275). In the year 1305 Geoffrey de Geneville and John de Verdun were still entitled to receive two parts of fifty marks in compensation for the vill of Drogheda towards Meath, the castle there and the castle of Blathach; see *CJustR*, 1305-7, pp 72-3.

[33] Pipe Roll, xxx Edw. I (1301-02), *Rep. DKI* 38, p. 6. At that time the feudal obligation of sending manpower to the king's wars had been substituted with a monetary equivalent see Otway-Ruthven, 'Knight service in Ireland', *JRSAI*, 89 (1959), pp 1-15; R. Frame, 'Military service in the lordship of Ireland 1290-1360: institutions and society on the Anglo-Gaelic frontier', in R. Bartlett and A. Mackay (eds.), *Medieval frontier societies* (Oxford, 1989), pp 101-26.

[34] *CDI*, 1252-1284, 118, p. 17: "*Rex concessit majori et burgensibus de Drogheda versus Uriell' prisas vinorum regis in portu suo de Drogheda...*". This evidence corroborates the idea that Drogheda was granted the mayoralty in 1252 and not in 1253. See below, Chap. 4.3.4, pp. 178-79.

[35] *CDI*, 1252-1284, 119, p. 17.

[36] A case of overlapping dates involving the 1252 charter of mayoralty seems worthy of a reflection. On 12 December 1252 Drogheda in Louth was given its charter of mayoralty; on the very same day John de Cogan was granted free warren on his demesne in Ireland and weekly markets at his manors of Clare, Ardagh, Maysketh and at his castle of Moram Desmond. The two charters have the same witnesses, the first of whose is Geoffrey de Lezignan; see *CDI*, 1252-84, 121, p. 18. On 12 December 1268, Drogheda in Louth's charter of mayoralty was confirmed; see *CDI*, 1252-84, 120, p. 138. On the very same day John de Cogan's charter was also inspected; see *CDI*, 1252-84, 853, pp 137-38. Again the two charters have the same witnesses. There not

Drogheda to the same *status* enjoyed by Dublin and was the foundation for the signing of the alliance between the two municipalities during that very same year, 1252.[37]

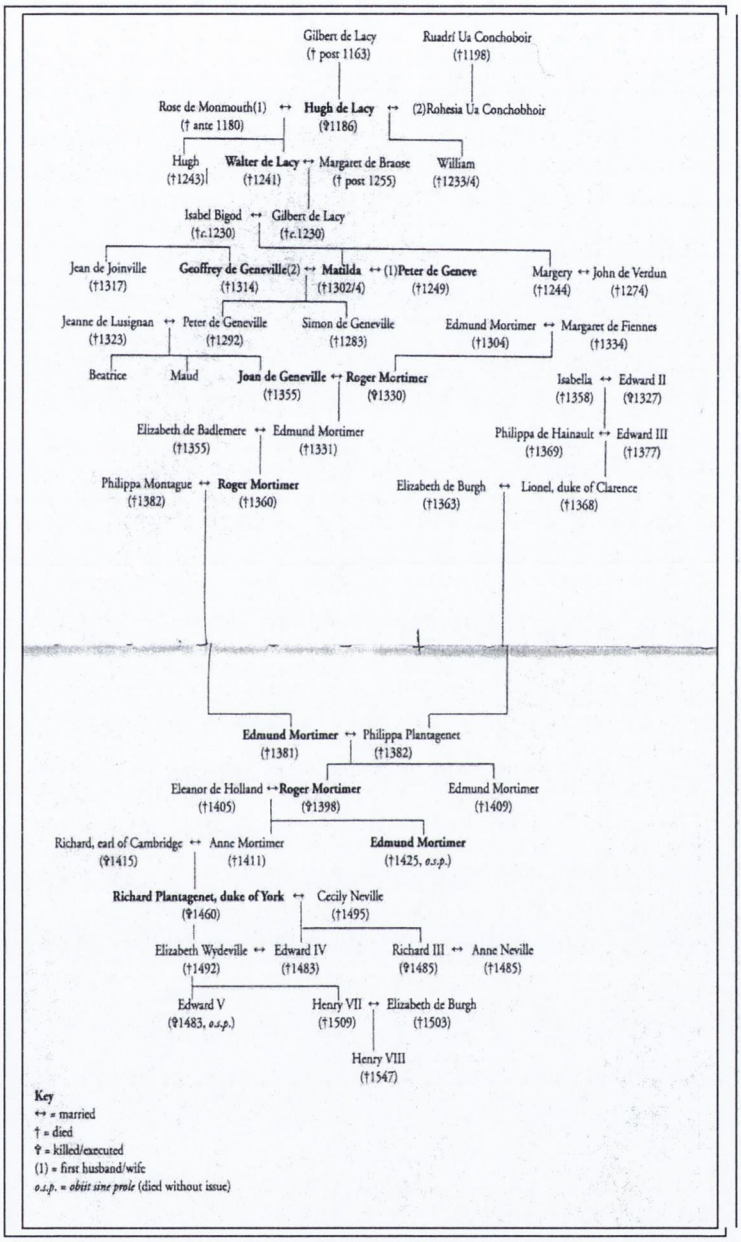


FIG. 11: Genealogic table of the lords and ladies of the liberty of Trim and the lordship of Meath, 172-1547, after Potterton, *Medieval Trim*, pp 90-1.

---

seems to be political reasons determining the simultaneous issuing of the charters to Drogheda and to Cogan. Pehaps the coincidence was only determined by the fact that the charters were enrolled at the same time.

[37] *Hist. and mun. doc.*, pp 130-1: "*De composicione inter burgenses de Drogheda et cives Dublin*"; *Cal. ancient rec.*, I, p. 89. See below, Chap. 4.3.3, pp 173-77 and Appendix 14.

1. *Firma burgi* and *praepositura*

1.1 The fee-farm. Drogheda in Louth (1229) and Drogheda in Meath (1247)

Free burgage implied a certain independence as well as jurisdictional privileges.[38] In the case of Drogheda, free burgage did not create the borough itself, but only expanded on the privileges of an already existing borough originally affiliated with Breteuil (1194, 1213).[39] The only other known charter of free borough in Ireland was granted to Dundalk during last quarter of the twelfth century.[40] The first aspect which must be highlighted in the charters of *liber burgus* is their financial significance.

In the evolution of the concept of free burgage is included the gradual acquisition of the privilege of farming the revenues which the crown drew from the borough.[41] The charters previously granted to Drogheda in 1194 and in 1213 established that each burgess was to pay individually to de Lacy (1194, Drogheda on the Meath side) or to the king (after 1213) a fixed annual rent of 12*d.* for every burgage.[42] These rents were collected by the de Lacy's seneshalls in Meath and later, by the sheriffs. By the charter of 1229 and 1247 the two communities had assumed financial responsibility, holding their respective cities in chief for the king. As a result, it was the whole body of the burgesses, in the person of their representatives, and no longer the individual burgess that was legally liable in the case of delay or default.[43]

---

38 Otway-Ruthven, *Med. Ire.*, p. 124.

39 See above, Chap. 2.3, pp 38-52.

40 *Na Buirgéisí*, I, pp 210-14.

41 For a general discussion about the *firma burgi*, see F. Pollock and F. W. Maitland, *The history of English law before the reign of Edward I* (Cambridge, 1928), I, pp 650-72.

42 *Na Buirgéisí*, I, pp 172-73; ibidem, pp 184-185; see Appendices 3, 4.

43 Basically, the king gave permission to the borough to collect all the rents due to him within the city and in return pay an annual fixed sum to the Exchequer in Dublin. As a counterpart, the town was allowed to retain the surplus above and beyond the sum designated as rent. Such practice seems, in theory at least, to have benefited both parties; the king was guaranteed an annual income while the town could increase its revenues, encouraging trade and residency.The reality was different. Any considerable decrease in a borough's resources made its payment impossible. Moreover the farm was often in arrears and this made things worse. Many cases are recorded in which a reduction of the rent had to be allowed, even though Drogheda never had to have one.

The right to farm their city was in fact one of the most basic and significant stages in the development of urban privileges in Ireland, as elsewhere during the thirteenth century. The city-dwellers could discharge their obligations to the crown by a fixed annual payment, for which they were responsible, to the exclusion of the royal officers. The role of the sheriffs throughout both England and Ireland was often heavy-handed and corrupt. Accordingly, their financial and judicial role in the urban areas was very much resented by the townspeople. Towns and boroughs soon sought to achieve self-government and to gain independence from the sheriffs. As a first step, the towns expelled the sheriffs from their financial organization, by obtaining the right of farming their town. The second step consisted of the extricating of the sheriffs from almost all kinds of internal affairs: fiscal, judicial and military obligations all together.[44]

This financial emancipation represents the first great landmark in the development of self-government. Scholar James Tait has traced this process back to its very origins as far as English towns are concerned. Tait gave an account of the early royal quibble – to temporarily or permanently grant farming privileges to the burgesses. The financial needs of Richard and John finally ended the debate in favour of a perpetual lease.[45] Drogheda in Louth and in Meath were both granted the full perpetual formula.[46] This section will simultaneously analyse the two charters of *liber burgus* and provide a reconstruction of their diverse prerogatives.

The charter of 1229 granted to Drogheda in Louth and the charter of 1247 granted to Drogheda in Meath are very much alike, both in content and in form. It is quite possible that the first one (1229) was used by the royal chancery as a model for the issuing of the second one. However, eleven clauses were added to the latter document and appended at the end of the text. There are also a few significant differences between them - specifically concerning

---

[44] This second achievement was only attained by Drogheda in Louth in 1252; see below, Chap. 4.3, pp. 143-72.

[45] J. Tait, 'The *firma burgi* and the commune in England, 1066-1191', *EHR*, XLII (1927), pp 321-59. Initially in borough where there was a joint holding, king and earl, the earl had a share (one/third). Then, after 1086, the old dualism was effectually ended and the revenue and power of the king were substantially increased (confiscation of the earl's third penny). Tait's analysis stops before the year 1191 due to the fact that the Pipe Rolls after that year were not printed yet.

[46] *Na Buirgéisí*, I, pp 185, 174 : "*Sciatis nos concessisse et hac carta nostra confirmasse burgensibus nostris de Drogheda quod villa nostra de Drogheda versus Uriel liber burgus sit imperpetuum*"; see Appendices 6, 7.

the amount of the fee-farm imposed, the officers designated for the internal government of each borough and the customs to be used by their respective Hundred Court. These very anomalies are the first evidence that the two Droghedas were becoming two distinct juridical entities.

The charter of *firma burgi* for Drogheda in Louth provided for payment to the king on an annual fee farm of 60 marks (£40).[47] This rent was to be paid to the Exchequer in Dublin, in two moieties - at the feast of St. Michael and at Easter. Concurrently, the burgesses were empowered to appoint their own chief magistrates, styled *prepositos* i.e. the provosts or reeves, whose office was prescribed to last for one year.[48] Another clause established the election "*per comune consilium eorundem burgensium*"[49] of two suitable men empowered to take assizes, to hold pleas of the crown and to control the impartiality of the provosts' behaviour.[50] They were the coroners, whose role was to assist and control the provosts in the administration of justice.[51] In particular, they were in charge of everything concerned directly with the Crown: murder, suicide, a body found in the town and suchlike.[52] Gearoid Mac Niocaill pointed out that reference to the office of the coroner can only be found in the charters granted to the two Droghedas and to Dundalk and that "nothing like this is referred to in the charters granted to Waterford, Cork, Limerick and Dublin in the thirteenth century".[53] This charter was issued in London on 20 September, 1229. A writ to the Barons of the Dublin Exchequer dated 10 days later, records that the burgesses of Drogheda in Uriel paid 100 marks for the purchase of this charter.[54]

The charter of free borough for Drogheda in Meath (1247) established the payment of a cheaper annual rent, 40 marks, namely £26, and the election of provosts (*prepositi)* and

---

47 *Na Buirgéisí*, I, p. 188; see Appendix 6.

48 *Na Buirgéisí*, I, p. 187: "*Concessimus eciam eis quod faciant prepositos de se per annum quoscumque voluerint, qui sint idonei nobis et eis*".

49 Webb, *Government of Ireland*, pp 17-20. Mention of the common council is recurrent in the Irish town-charters, but "no indication as to the qualification for membership was given, nor it is certain whether the Councils were restricted to a small number of privileged individuals or were open to all the free-men of the cities and towns".

50 *Na Buirgéisí*, I, p. 187.

51 *Na Buirgéisí*, I, p. 176: "*Concessimus eciam eisdem burgensibus quod nullus faciat aliqua attachiamenta infra metas suas nisi prepositi predicti vel coronatores electi ad placita corone nostre custodienda*".

52 The most extensive study on the office of the medieval coroner is still R. F. Hunnisett, *The medieval coroner* (Cambridge, 1961), pp 1-95.

53 *Na Buirgéisí*, II, p. 343. Ballard and Tait only recognized the coroners in the charters of the two Drogheda; see Ballare and Tait, *British borough charters*, pp lx, 357

54 *CDI*, 1171-1251, 1739, p. 260.

a steward (*seneschallus*). Two coroners were also to be elected, with the same juridical responsibilities and tasks that the coroners had in Drogheda in Louth.[55] The price paid for this charter was £100 - 50 marks more expensive than the price paid for the charter granted to Drogheda in Louth.[56]

The proportion of the rents of the two boroughs substantiates data already suggested by archaeology. Around the middle of the thirteenth century the northern part was more populated than the original settlement on the southern bank.[57] The farm was calculated on the total of the burgages, which were houses with a standard plot of arable soil existing inside the walls. The sum farmed must have been in some way based on rent revenues previously collected from the borough. It is not clear whether the borough was also empowered to decide on the amounts of individual taxation.[58] The said rent in Drogheda was certainly initially based on the annual standard 12*d.* for each burgage, which had been established by Walter de Lacy years before in 1194 and confirmed by John in 1213.[59]

The earliest evidence of Drogheda at the Exchequer is for the year 1211-12 when a rent of £26 for Drogheda on both sides of the river was accounted at the exchequer.[60] Then, by the 1229 charter, Drogheda in Louth was farmed at £40 every year. An entry of the Pipe Roll for the year 1234-35 records that Drogheda in Louth accounted that year for £40 of the farm and £53 14*s.* 10*d.* arrears, while Drogheda in Meath accounted 'for the entire year' £20 of the farm of the town.[61] The second part of this entry has a two-fold relevance. First, it shows that there was an increase of £6 from the year 1235 (£20) to the year 1247 (£26) in the farm of the borough on the Meath side. Second, it also gives evidence that 12 pence was still the rent due for each burgage on the Meath side, since the said sum was accounted from a house there escheated.

If it is true that the fee-farm amount imposed on a settlement is a gauge of its density of population, then a comparison of the farms paid annually by Irish cities can lead to a

---

55 *Na Buirgéisí*, I, pp 174-88; see Appendix 7.

56 *CDI*, 1171-1251, 2906, p. 434.

57 Bradley, 'Topography and layout', p. 119. Bradley's suggested development of Drogheda shows a larger expansion of the Northern part of city as early as 1215; see above, Fig. 7, p. 75.

58 R. D. Edwards, 'The beginning of municipal government in Dublin', in H. Clarke (ed.) *Medieval Dublin. The living city* (Dublin 1990), p. 146.

59 See Appendices 3, 4. For a discussion on the 12*d.* burgage rent see above, Chap. 2.3.1, p. 43 and Chap. 3.3, pp. 97-8.

60 'Irish Pipe Roll 14 John', p. 8.

61 Pipe Roll xix Hen III, *Rep. DKI* 35, p. 35.

classification of the Anglo-Norman settlements in Ireland. Dublin was annually farmed at 200 marks (1215);[62] Waterford at 100 marks (1232);[63] Cork at 80 marks (1242);[64] Drogheda in Louth at 60 marks (1229)[65] and Drogheda in Meath at 40 marks (1247).[66] It does not seem speculative to say that the sum of the farms paid by the two Droghedas corresponds to the sum paid by Waterford, which was the second highest farm at the Exchequer. That being said, at that time, Drogheda's jurisdiction was split in two, as confirmed by the very existence of two different charters.

1.2. Provosts

Another aspect to address is the nature of the office of *praepositura*. The existence of a *prepositus* implies that there was indeed some form of local government, though its powers would have been limited by officials of the central government operating freely within the city[67] - the sheriffs and, in the two Droghedas, the coroners. The provost collected all the rents within the town and the revenue derived from the court.

Even though the right to elect a reeve was granted to Drogheda in Louth by the 1229 charter,[68] there is evidence that Roger de Hampton was *prepositus* there as early as 1214. He witnessed the document of agreement between Ursus de Swemele and the Canons of Llanthony for the Hospital of St. Mary, Drogheda.[69] This entry suggests that *prepositi* came into power in Drogheda perhaps when, or even before King John created the borough on the North side by granting the Law of Breteuil in 1213. As a matter of fact, according to Bateson's survey, reeves are actually to be found in various boroughs granted the customs of Breteuil.[70] Besides, Ballard and Tait's study on the English borough points out that "a crown grant of free borough was sometimes given *ex post facto*".[71] In royal cities, reeves were the first step on the evolutionary ladder which led to the more meaningful and powerful office

---

[62] *CDI*, 1171-1251, 597, p. 93. Dublin charter of fee farm was paid 300 marks.
[63] Ibidem, 1961, p. 292. The price of the charter was 50 marks.
[64] Ibidem, 2555, p. 381. The price of the charter was 100 marks.
[65] *Na Buirgéisí*, I, pp 185-88. The price of the charter was 100 marks.
[66] Ibidem, I, pp 174-88. The price of the charter was £100, i.e. 150 marks.
[67] E. McEneaney, *A history of Waterford and its mayors* (Waterford, 1995), pp 27-9.
[68] *Na Buirgéisí*, I, pp 185-88; see Appendix 6.
[69] *Ir. Chartul. Llanthony*, p. 101; see above, Chap. 2.6, pp. 59-62.
[70] Bateson, 'Laws of Breteuil', *EHR*, XV, pp 754-7: clauses 7, 18, 22.
[71] *Brit. borough chart., 1216-1307*, p. lxxvi.

of mayor. However, it has to be said that the reeve was not always a proto-mayor. In seigniorial towns the *praepositura* did not always evolve into mayoralty, as can be inferred from the case of Drogheda in Meath, where the provostship never turned into mayoralty.

A question discussed at greater length in historiography is whether the direct payment to the crown of the annual rent, also implied the right to choose provosts and bailiffs. Ballard and Tait's study of the British boroughs shows that "in not more than a third of the cases is the grant of fee farm accompanied by a formal license to elect their financial official, with or without the approval of the crown".[72] Ballard solved this impasse by stating that "the grant of *firma burgi* always carried with it the right to appoint their reeves, whether that right had been mentioned in the charter or not".[73] Tait put forward the idea that, possibly, "the greater number of such towns had already secured the right of electing their head".[74] Stephenson seems to share Tait's position.[75]

The evaluation of the Irish evidence seems to support Tait's belief. Roger de Hampton was provost in Drogheda before the town was granted the prepositura, as mentioned above. *Willelmus filius Galfridi* granted Kells in Ossory the right to elect a reeve between 1212 and 1216. This very charter does not mention any fee farm, on the contrary it refers to the individual 12*d.* burgage rent.[76] Waterford had a provost as early as 1195[77] and a charter adding to its privileges was granted to the town in 1215.[78] Fee farm was also given to

---

72 Ibidem, pp lvi-lvii.

73 *Brit. borough chart., 1042-1216*, p. lxxxvi. The reason why Ballard coupled these two privileges is by an 'obvious' consideration that "the burgesses must have some control over the man who collects the dues if they are to be answerable for them or a sum paid out of them". He also takes the case of the Dublin's charter of the year 1215 as example of the close connection between the two privileges: "the king granted to the citizens the city of Dublin with the reeve-ship (*praepositura*) and all its other appurtenances" at fee farm. Is it pressing the significance of the word 'other' too far if it is suggested that the reeve-ship was usually one of the appurtenances of the borough? Both explanations seem quite weak.

74 Ibidem, p. lvii.

75 Stephenson, *Borough and town,* pp 166-69.

76 *Na Buirgéisí*, I, p. 128: "Item *concessi eisdem burgensibus meis quod prepositum et kachpoll sibi elegant cum consilio ballivi mei*". The charter establishes a burgage tenure of 12*d.* in replacement of all services, as customary practice since that vill was first built; see Ibidem, p. 129.

77 McEneaney, *History of Waterford*, pp 29-31; idem, 'Mayors and merchants', pp 147-8.

78 The year 1215 was a profitable time for Bristol, Dublin and Waterford which all obtained new privileges. King John, much harassed by the rebellion of the barons in England, was seeking political and financial support from the biggest towns of his kingdom and for that reason he granted them many charters. In May 1215 Bristol ensured the right to annually elect a mayor; see Tait, *Medieval English Borough*, p. 191. A month later Waterford received a charter which increased the town's control over its internal affairs; see Walton, *Royal charters of Waterford*, pp 17-9. Concurrently Dublin obtained the fee-farm; see *Hist. and mun. doc.,* pp 63-4. John's diplomacy did not save him however from the barons, for in July of the same year he sealed the Magna Charta.

the town in the year 1232.[79] Additionally, mayoralty was finally granted them by Edward I, sometime before his accession to the throne in 1272.[80] The case of Rathmore (Co. Kildare) is peculiar as the fee-farm was granted in 1220 by a lord - Maurice FitzGerald. However, his charter does not help this investigation as it is another case in which the election of provosts is not mentioned.[81] As a final point, we can maintain that *prepositi* were in charge in the early stages of government in Drogheda. Henry III's charters of 1229 and 1247 officially sanctioned their offices, with two conjoining stipulations. Firstly; they were to be elected, with the king's approval, by their co-burgesses. Secondly; their behaviour was to be watched over by the coroners.[82]

1.3 The Hundred Court

The examination of these two charters' content shows a noteworthy absence of any regulation in the organs of municipal life. We can assume that the crown was not concerned with the way in which provosts, bailiffs and seneschals secured the support of their community, provided that it was done peaceably and in order. Once a borough was separately farmed, the PROvosts became legally responsible to the king, whose only immediate concern was the payment due. There was one field of municipal activity - the administration of justice - in which this attitude of indifference was impracticable. The reason was two-fold. Firstly, because the exercise of justice guarantees the very existence of any kind of 'public' power. Secondly, because the exercise of justice was a source of income.

---

79 *CDI*, 1171-1251, pp 290-91.

80 Pipe Roll, I Edw. I (1272-73), *Rep. DKI* 36, p. 24; McEneaney, *History of Waterford*, p. 20.

81 *Na Buirgéisí*, I, pp 294-5: "*...reddendo etiam deinde annuatim ipsi et heredes sui mihi et heredibus meis XXX solidos et VIII denarios de incremento redditus pro hac confirmacione mea habenda et de minutis perticulis terrarium iacentium inter dicta burgagia sua in eadem villa, scilicet medietatem ad Pascha et medietatem ad festum Sancti Michaelis pro omni servitio ad me et heredes meos pertinente*".

82 *Na Buirgéisí*, I, p. 186: "*Concessimus eciam eis quod faciant prepositos de se per annum quoscumque voluerint, qui sint idonei nobis et eis*" (1229); see Appendix 6. *Na Buirgéisí*, I, p. 175: "*Concessimus eciam eis quod faciant senescallum et prepositos de se per annum quoscumque voluerint, qui sint idonei*" (1247); see Appendix 7.

Even before the year 1229, Drogheda already had a Court as part of the privileges conferred by the Law of Breteuil.[83] PROvosts were also in office in both boroughs before Henry III's charters. The PROfits of the court in Drogheda in Meath went to Walter de Lacy. In Drogheda in Louth, provosts like Roger de Hampton (1214) ensured the court's PROfits to the crown.[84] Thereafter, by Henry III's charters the PROfits of the borough's court went into the city's coffers. The court ensured the maintenance of law and order in the borough.[85] It also encouraged trade. Foreign merchants could, if defrauded by an inhabitant of the borough, bring cases before the local court and demand immediate justice. Without a local court system both burgesses and visiting merchants alike would be at the mercy of the itinerant justices - officials of Dublin's government, whose attendance at the city was infrequent and corrupt.

Drogheda's charters of free borough enlist many clauses concerned with judicial matters. The burgesses of both boroughs were granted the rights of *soc sac thol et theam et infangenthef*, namely all of the jurisdictional privileges previously belonging to the lord.[86] 'Soke and sake' was the right of having a court, the right to make justice and to intercept the fines and the other profits of justice relating to the borough, which would otherwise have gone to the overlord.[87] 'Toll' was the right to take tolls within their vill.[88] 'Team' meant the right to call on the possessors of stolen PROperty to vouch the warranty, *i.e.* to name the person from whom they obtained it.[89] '*Infangenethef*' was the right to hold a court for and to hang thieves who were caught seizing stolen goods.[90]

---

[83] The very existence of the 12*d.* amercement implies that some sort of court was held inside the borough; see above, Chap. 3.3, pp 98-100.

[84] *Ir. Chartul. Llanthony*, pp 100-1.

[85] The Hundred Court was an institution borrowed from the civic government of England, where all of the burgesses of the borough had to be present; see Webb, *Government of Ireland*, p. 14.

[86] *Na Buirgéisí*, I, pp 185, 174: "*Concessimus insuper eisdem burgensibus et eorum heredibus quod habeant soc sac thol et theam et infangenthef*"; see Appendices 6, 7. The early jurisdictional poweres resumed by this formula are discussed in Pollock and Maitland, *History of English law, I,* pp 576-79.

[87] Coredon and Williams, *Dictionary of medieval terms,* p. 245; see also, B. D. Lyon (ed.), *Medieval institutions. Selected essays by C. Stephenson* (New York 1954), pp 176-78; Maitland, *Domesday and beyond*, pp 84-107.

[88] Coredon and Williams, *Dictionary medieval terms*, p. 276; *Brit. borough chart.,1042-1216*, I, p. lvi.

[89] Ibidem, p. 176.

[90] Ibidem, p. 162; *Brit. borough chart., 1042-1216*, I, p. 276.

In both boroughs the Hundred Court was to be held every fifteen days.[91] In Drogheda in Louth, pleas of the crown were to be held according to the usage of the city of Dublin.[92] The charter for Drogheda in Meath ordered that no one should be impleaded touching any tenements within the metes save by writ of right, and thence right was to be administered to the plaintiffs, according to the custom of the borough.[93] The clause of preservation of judicial customs, listed in both charters, shows that there were two different traditions to safeguard: the 'general' law belonging to the state (the Dublin-model, in Drogheda in Louth) and the 'particular' law accorded to the town (local customs, which were the Law of Breteuil. in Drogheda in Meath)

Both Droghedas were confirmed freedom from arbitrary amercement. No burgess was to be amerced in money unless according to the customary practice of 12*d.* for each fine. Both charters define the low amercement as *antiquam consuetudinem*. It was therefore already part of the borough's privileges as part of the Bretollian dispositions.[94] Both charters exempted the burgesses from pleading, or being pleaded against outside the hundred Court of their own borough, save touching external tenures.[95] The privilege of external not-pleading, both in an active and passive sense, was general and much prized. The statement "save in pleas touching exterior tenements" defines the range of competence of the Hundred Court. As mentioned before, it is likely that this privilege was already among the rights of the boroughs as early as 1194, since it was among the stipulations of Walter de Lacy's

---

[91] *Na Buirgéisí*, I, pp 186, 175: "*Concessimus eciam eis quod hundredum teneatur apud Drogheda semel infra quindecim dies*"; see Appendices 6, 7.

[92] *Na Buirgéisí*, I, p. 186: "*et quod de placitis ad coronam nostram pertinentibus se possint disracionare secundum consuetudinem civitatis nostre Dublinie*"; see Appendix 6.

[93] *Na Buirgéisí*, I, p. 176: "*et quod nullus inplacitetur de aliquo tenimento infra metas predicti burgi nisi per breve de recto, et inde plenum rectum in hundredo predicto conquerentibus teneatur secundum consuetudinem predicti burgi*"; see Appendices 6, 7.

[94] *Na Buirgéisí*, I, pp. 186, 175: "*et quod nullus burgensis de Drogheda de misericordia pecunie iudicetur in eodem hundredo nisi secundum antiquam consuetudinem suam, videlicet pro misericordia XII denariorum*" ; see Appendices 6, 7. This disposition has been fully analized above; see above, Chap. 3.3, pp 98-100.

[95] *Na Buirgéisí*, I, pp 185, 174: "*Concessimus eciam eis quod nullus eorum placitet extra hundredum burgi de Drogheda de ullo placito preter placita de exterioribus tenuris*". The very same clause was quoted in 1305 in a plea which Olivia, wife of Thomas de Burgo, made against John le Engleys of Drogheda in Uriel: "and on this, come the bailiffs of Drogheda on the side of Uriel, and pray their liberty to be allowed them, viz., that no one of said borough should answer out of the hundred of said Drogheda, of any plea except of outside tenures, according to the king's charter". However, because said bailiffs did not produce the charter "nor prove it to be enrolled; and because the contract took origin outside the metes of the borough, viz, at Bordeaux, they are told to answer"; see *CJR*, 1305-7, pp 25-6.

charter to Kells, conferring on the borough the *legem Britolli*.[96] The same jurisdictional privilege is also mentioned in the charter granted to Dublin by John in 1192.[97]

A clause exempted the burgesses of both Droghedas from fines for *murdrum* within the boundaries of their vills.[98] On the other hand, the subject of duelling was treated differently by the two charters. Trial by battle was one of the peculiar PROcesses that pertained to the feudal system. It was hence forbidden in favour of the method of compurgation - a forerunner of our trial by jury.[99] It was established that no burgesses of Drogheda in Louth should wage battle touching any appeal.[100] By the charter of 1247 to Drogheda in Meath, the right of *compurgation* was presided over by oath of twenty-three lawful men.[101]

Both Hundred Courts had jurisdiction over debts contracted and mortgages made in their respective vills.[102] The burgesses were given right to distrain their debtors with their sureties.[103] Both charters granted the burgesses warranty of lands - namely the right to have their lands, tenures, mortgages and debts. Right was to be done to them regarding their lands and tenures within the boundaries of their vills according to the customs of their borough.[104] Said customs were presumably the ones recognized by the Law of Breteuil: 3 acres in the field and a frontage of fifty feet.[105] The last clauses of both charters confirmed the two Droghedas all of the liberties and free customs enjoyed in the time of the king's

---

[96] *Na Buirgéisí*, I, p. 124: *"quod nulli homini respondeant de aliqua causa versus illos mota extra hundredum suum nisi proprie persone mee causa pertineat"*; see above, Chap. 3.2.1, pp 87-88.

[97] *Hist. and mun. doc.*, p. 52: "*Quod nullus civis Dublin placitet extra muros ville de ullo placito, preterquam de placitis de exterioribus tenementis, que non pertinent hundredum ville*".

[98] *Na Buirgéisí*, I, pp 185, 174: "*et quod quieti sint de murdro infra metas ville sue*". *Murdrum* was a financial penalty imposed on a community when a murder occurred within its boundaries; see Coredon and Williams, *Dictionary Medieval Terms*, pp 198-99. Relief from murdrum was a boon for merchant communities like Drogheda, where people of various ethnic backgrounds met and where occasions for arguments were frequent.

[99] Otway- Ruthven, *Medieval Ireland*, p. 185.

[100] *Na Buirgéisí*, I, p. 186: "*et quod nullus eorum faciat duellum de aliquo appello*".

[101] Ibidem, I, p. 176: "*et quod nullus predictorum burgensium faciat duellum pro aliquo appello sed ipsi burgenses se possint aquietare per XXIII legales homines eiusdem burgi*". In Dublin the compurgation was given by the oath of forty men; see Gilbert, *Hist and mun. docs*., p. 58 (1200). For a discussion on the methods of trials; see *Brit. borough chart., 1042-1216*, p. lxi.

[102] *Na Buirgéisí*, I, pp 186, 175: "*et quod de omnibus debitis suis que apud Drogheda accomodata fuerint et de vadimoniis ibidem vadiatis placita apud Drogheda teneantur*".

[103] *Na Buirgéisí*, I, pp 186, 175: "*et quod possint distringere debitores suos per namia sua in Drogheda*".

[104] Ibidem, I, pp 186, 174: "*et quod terras et tenuras suas et vadimonia sua et debita sua omnia iuste habeant quicumque ea debeant, et de terris et tenuris suis que infra metas suas sunt rectum eis teneatur secundum consuetudinem burgi de Drogheda*".

[105] *Na Buirgéisí,* I, pp 172-73; see Appendix 3; Chap. 3.2.1, pp 38-44 and Chap. 3.3, pp 96-97.

predecessors, if they were good customs.[106] The safeguard of tradition is a strong corner-stone of all European Medieval civilization. Nonetheless, it was not a blind conservation, but a selective one. The *bonae consuetudines* were those customs that were not incompatible with the new laws that had been created according to the demands of an evolving society and its ruling class.

1.4 The Guild Merchant

The other crucial gain obtained by both Droghedas along with the fixed annual rent was the right to have a Guild Merchant, with a hanse and the other liberties and free customs belonging to a guild. One of the advantages of a guild was that it supplied for a town extra revenue in fees and amercements. They were, directly or indirectly, treated as part of the borough stock.[107] A guild was an oath-bound fraternal organization established for trade, religious or charitable purposes. The guild granted to Drogheda was designed to promote the interests of the local traders, retailers and master craftsmen.[108] The only detail the charter gives about the guild at Drogheda is a clause establishing that it had the monopoly of trade in the borough.[109] A policy of protectionism from goods traded by foreign merchants is expressed by a clause ordering that no foreign merchant could sell cloth in their burgh *ad decisionem* - in cut portions -, nor wine *ad brocam* - by retail.[110]

---

[106] *Na Buirgéisí*, I, pp 187, 176: "*Concessimus eciam eis omnes libertates suas et omnes liberas consuetudines suas quas habuerunt vel habere consueverunt temporibus predecessorum nostrorum regnum Anglie quando bone fuerunt*".

[107] *Brit. borough chart., 1216-1307*, pp lxx-lxi

[108] *Na Buirgéisí*, I, pp 185, 174: "*et quod burgenses nostri eiusdem burgi habeant gildam mercatoriam cum hansa et aliis libertatibus et et liberis consuetudinibus ad gildam illam pertinentibus*". The organization of a guild was analogous to that of a borough corporation "with the master performing the functions of a mayor, the wardens those of the bailiffs and the council - usually introduced during the 14th and 15th centuries - those of the Common Council. Also a guild, like a borough corporation was established by charter received from a king or a lord"; see M. Potter, *The government and the people of Limerick.The history of Limerick corporation-City Council 1197-2006* (Limerick 2006) p. 65.

[109] *Na Buirgéisí*, I, pp 185, 174: "*et quod nullus qui non sit de gilda illa mercandisam aliquam in predicto burgo faciat nisi de voluntate eorundem burgensium*".

[110] *Na Buirgéisí*, I, p. 187: "*Concessimus eciam eis quod nullus extraneus mercator pannos in predicto burgo ad decisionem vendat vel vina ad brocham nisi in grosso*"; ibidem, I, p. 175: "*et quod nullus extraneus mercator pannos in predicto burgo ad decisionem vendat vel vinum ad brocham nisi ad voluntatem eroundem burgensium*". This protectionist system was an early form of mercantilism which the municipal government of the European towns adopted in the early stages of their existence.

The guild was traditionally included among the clauses of the Law of Bristol, as it was extended to Dublin in the year 1192.[111] It was not a stipulation of the Law of Breteuil. It has to be noted that when the fee farm was granted to Dublin in 1215[112], the town had already had a guild for at least twenty years. That is to say that the guild was not necessarily connected with a charter granting the right to farm the town. The free trade association "was the first clear legal recognition of the rights of the freemen to be organized in corporate bodies".[113] Scholars have considered mercantile organization as the germ of European municipal government, along with juridical organization.[114]

Various privileges of an economic nature were conferred to the burgesses of both Droghedas. They were to be relieved of toll, lestage[115], passage[116], pontage[117] and stallage[118] in all ports of the king's dominion.[119] King Henry defined its very limits at the opening of the charters: England, Wales and Ireland, the duchy of Normandy and Aquitaine and the *comitatus Andegavie.*[120] This freedom from tolls gave the merchants of Drogheda a big advantage, allowing them to travel and sell their freight without any charge nor restriction. Free access to the port of Drogheda and exemption from taxation on merchandise was granted to the burgesses of both Droghedas.[121] The burgesses were also given free fishery in the waters of Drogheda, from the sea to the bridge of Trim,[122] just as they had in the time of the king's predecessors.[123] It was also provided that, for their own advantage, the burgesses

---

[111] Dublin had its guild in 1192 by John's charter; see *Hist. and mun. doc.*, pp 51-55: "*Item quod habeant omnes racionabiles gildas suas, sicut burgenses de Bristoll, vel melius habere, consueverunt*".

[112] *Hist. and mun. doc.*, pp 63-4.

[113] Edwards, 'Municipal government in Dublin', p. 146.

[114] Stephenson, *Borough and town,* pp 171-3; Tait, *Medioeval English borough*, pp 233-34.

[115] Coredon and Williams, *Dictionary medieval terms*, p. 173: 'lastage' is the tax paid on goods and merchandise such as wool or grain which were sold in units of lasts.

[116] J. Niermeyer, *Mediae latinitatis lexicon minus* (Leiden, 2002), II, p. 1002: '*passagium*' was a transit custom, namely the right to charge tolls to a person entering transporting goods through a town without selling them.

[117] Coredon and Williams, *Dictionary medieval terms*, p. 223: 'pontage' was the right to charge tolls to cross a bridge.

[118] Niermeyer, *Lexicon minus*, II, p. 1245: '*stallagium*' was the due paid for stalls in a market.

[119] *Na Buirgéisí*, I, pp 185, 174: "*et quod quieti sint de thelonio lestagio passagio pontagio et stallagio per omnes portus maris et per omnia dominica nostra que fuerunt in manu nostra tempore confeccionis huius carte*".

[120] *Na Buirgéisí*, I, pp 185, 174: "*Henricus Dei gratia, rex Angliae, dominum Hibernie, dux Normannie, Aquitanie et comes Andegavie*". See Appendices 6, 7.

[121] Ibidem, I, pp. 186, 175: "*et quod habeant liberum introitum et exitum in portu de Drogheda cum omnibus mercandisis suis*".

[122] Ibidem, I, p. 172 (1194); see Appendix 3.

[123] Ibidem, I, pp 187, 175: "*et quod habeant piscariam suam in aqua de Drogheda sicut eam umquam melius habuerunt vel habere consueverunt temporibus predecessorum nostrorum regnum Angliae*".

of both Droghedas could make buildings on the banks as far as the line of the water and elsewhere within their bounds.[124] The grant of burgages "*ad filum acque*" had been part of Dublin's privileges since 1192.[125] This was a clause - '*ad meliorandum*' - which seemingly intended a policy aimed at developing activity on the banks of the Boyne within the town and, in general, of building on every piece of uncultivated or waste land within the walls. By ensuring that plots within the walls were not left idle but were in fact occupied, returns derived from rents were also guaranteed.

Two protectionist clauses were conferred on both boroughs to safeguard the community against interference from the royal officers. By the 1229 charter it was ordered that no one could take up lodging 'by force or by marshals' billet'.[126] Similarly, in 1247 it was established that no one could take lodging by force in Drogheda in Meath, but there is no mention of the marshal.[127] Another clause established no billeting or purveyance inside either settlement: it was granted that nothing could be taken from the burgesses on credit or by force unless by their will.[128]

1.5 The charter of 1247

A new group of clauses, which were not contained in the charter granted to Drogheda in Louth in 1229, was added to the charter given to Drogheda in Meath in 1247. Among these 12 new clauses, 7 deal with justice, and 3 with trade; 2 are *non intromittat*-clauses, designed to exclude the royal officers and the lord's interference. One is a confirmation of the burgage tenure and of the use of the waters.

---

[124] Ibidem, I, pp 187, 175-6: "*et quod possint se emendare in edificiis faciendis quantum poterunt undem super ripam usque ad filum aque et alibi infra metas sua set in omnibus aliis que ad commodum nostrum et heredum nostrorum et predicti burgi vertentur*".

[125] *Hist. and mun. doc.*, p. 54: "*concessi etiam, quod quilibet eorum possit se emendare, quantum potuerit, in edificiis faciendis, unicum voluerit super ripam, sine dampno civium et villate*".

[126] *Na Buirgéisí*, I, p. 186: "*et quod nemo capiat hospicium in predicto burgo per vim vel per liberazione marescialli*".

[127] Ibidem, I, p. 174: "*et quod nemo capiat hospicium in predicto burgo per vim*".

[128] *Na Buirgéisí*, I, pp 187, 175: "*Concessimus eciam eis quod nullus aliquid ab eis per creanciam vel per vim capiat nisi de voluntate eorundem burgensium*".

- It was established that no one could make attachments within the metes, save the provosts or coroners elected to hold pleas of the crown; right was to be given according to the customs of the borough.[129]

- The case of retaliation is considered: if anyone within the realm had unfairly taken tolls or customs of the burgesses and not restored them when required, it would be lawful for the burgesses and provosts to take distress for them within the borough.[130]

- The regulation on restraint of dispossession provided that no burgess was to be pledged or distrained for any debts unless he be the debtor or a surety.[131]

- A clause ordered compurgation by the oath of twenty-four lawful men.[132] The very same oath of twenty-four compurgators was given to Cork in 1241 with the charter of free borough.[133] The charter granting the Law of Bristol to Waterford (1215) prescribed compurgation by the oath of twelve men.[134] Then, the 1232 charter of *liber-burgus* granted the same town the oath by twenty-four.[135] The Law of Bristol, as it was granted to Dublin by John in 1192 and confirmed in 1200, established compurgation by oath of forty men.[136] By 1292, Limerick, was granted the law of Dublin and used the oath of forty.[137]

---

[129] Ibidem, I, p. 176: "*Concessimus eciam eisdem burgensibus quod nullus faciat aliqua attachiamenta infra metas suas nisi prepositi predicti vel coronatores electi ad placita corone nostre custodienda; et quod nullus inplacitetur de aliquo tenimento infra metas predicti burgi nisi per breve de recto, et inde plenum rectum in hundredo predicto conquerentibus teneatur secundum consuetudinem predicti burgi*". This is evidence that both provosts and coroners were in charge of the administration of justice inside the borough. See Appendix 7.

[130] Ibidem, I, p. 176: "*Concessimus eciam quod si aliquis in terra vel protestate nostra ‹a dictis› burgensibus telonium vel consuetudinem ingiuste ceperint et postquam requisitus fuerit quod sic ingiuste cep[er]it non restituerit ‹eisdem burgen›sibus vel prepositis, tunc liceat eisdem burgensibus vel prepositis inde namium capere infra dictum burgum*".

[131] Ibidem, I, p. 176: "*Concessimus in super quod nulus burgensis dicti burgi in terra vel protestate nostra namietur vel distringatur pro aliquo debito nisi sit principalis debitor vel plegius*".

[132] Ibidem, I, p. 176.

[133] *Ch. Privil. et Immun.*, p. 24: "*et quod nullos cives eiusdem civitatis faciet duellam in civitate de aliquot appello quod quisquam versus eum facere possit sed purgabit se per sacramentum viginti et quatuor hominum eiusdem civitatis qui legales sint*".

[134] Ibidem, p. 13: "*et quod nullus civis Waterfordie faciet duellum in civitate nec extra de aiquo appello quod quisquam versus eum facere posit sed purgabit se per sacramentum duodecim hominum qui legalis sunt ipsius civitatis*".

[135] Ibidem, p. 22: "*et quod nullus civis eiusdem civitatis faciet duellum in civitate de aiquo appello quod quisquam versus eum facere posit sed purgabit se per sacramentum viginti et quatuor hominum ipsius civitatis qui legalis sint* ".

[136] *Hist. and mun. doc.*, p. 52: "*et quod nullos cives faciet duellum in eadem civitate de aliquo appello quod quisquam versus eum facere possit sed purgabit se per sacramentum quadraginta hominum ipsius civitatis qui legales sint*". See ibidem, p. 58.

[137] *Ch. Privil. et Immun.*, p. 36: "*et quod nullos cives faciet duellum in eadem civitate de aliquo appello quod quisquam versus eum facere possit sed purgabit se per sacramentum quadraginta hominum eiusdem civitatis qui legales sint*".

- A clause ordered preventive imprisonment only in the case of felony, in which case the offender - who could not be tried twice for the same offence - could be imprisoned before having a regular trial.[138]

- A *non intromittat*-clause directed that the burgesses were free to marry themselves, their sons and daughters and widows without licence of their lords.[139]

Then certain aspects concerning trade in Drogheda in Meath were regulated by dispositions aimed to increase local and international trade and therefore the revenues derived from it:

- A *non intromittat*-clause concerning the grant of wreck established that no bailiff was allowed to take anything from any of the burgesses' disabled ships in the port of Drogheda or elsewhere in the king's realm. The burgesses of Drogheda were granted the right to have all the armaments and ship freights in peace and they were quit of wreck of the sea.[140]

- Another clause ordered that no one could prevent any kind of merchandise from freely coming to the borough, either by sea or by land.[141]

- A yearly fair was granted to the borough on the Meath side. It was to last for 8 days, starting on the vigil and day of the Assumption and for the 6 following days (14-21 August). The same borough was also granted a weekly market - to be held there every Wednesday.[142]

---

[138] *Na Buirgéisí*, I, p. 177: "*et quod nullus ballivus noster vel alicuius alterius capiat burgensem aliquem dicti burgi nec incarceret dummodo salvos plegios possit invenire, nisi sit pro felonia quare non sit replegiabilis*".

[139] Ibidem, I, p. 176: "*et quod maritare se possint et filios suo set filias et viduas sine licentia dominorum quorum*".

[140] *Na Buirgéisí*, I, p. 177: "*et quod nullus ballivus capiat aliquid de navibus predictorum burgensium fractis in portu Drogheda vel alibi in potestate nostra sed omnium navium predictorum armamenta et omnia catalla sua in pace colligant et habeant, et quod quieti sint de wrecco maris in omnibus teris nostri et potestate nostra*". Shipwrecks were frequent in the Irish Sea. Accounts of shipwreks appear in the records because of the law of wreck. "By the Statute of Westminster (1295) it was agreed that if any man, dog or cat escaped alive out of a ship, then neither the ship nor any of its goods could be adjudged wreck"; see T. O'Neill, *Merchants and Mariners in Medieval Ireland* (Dublin 1987) p. 116.

[141] *Na Buirgéisí*, I, p. 177: "*...et quod nullus impediat aliquod genus mercandise que ad predictum burgum venire voluerit nec per mare nec per terram, sed in pace veniat et redeat sine aliquo impedimento*".

[142] Ibidem, I, p. 177: "*Concessimus in super pro nobis et heredibus nostris quod predicti burgenses et heredes sui habeant unam feriam singulis annis apud predictum burgum duraturam per octo dies videlicet in viglilia et in die Assumpcionis beate Marie Virginis et per sex dies sequentes et quod habeant singulis septimanis idem unum mercatum per die Mercurii*".

2. Henry III's politics of *dona* et *auxilia*

Henry III demanded a return for his patronage of Drogheda. Drogheda is regarded as a single town in all of the mandates and charters in which the king called for supplies, or granted *murage* and *pontage*. For these matters the dichotomy characterizing the legal separation of the two settlements disappears.[143] The only exception to this pattern concerns the prisage of wine, which was granted only to royal Drogheda in the year 1252.[144] What could at a first sight seem a contradiction is in fact the key to understanding the perception that the English Crown had of medieval Drogheda, or we could perhaps say, of medieval Ireland in general. Drogheda was a town split into two jurisdictions as result of the pre-Norman division between the dioceses of Armagh and Meath. However, from the king's point of view, Drogheda was perceived as a single entity from which to extract resources as he needed.

From the time of King John, Irish revenues had been diverted to England at the king's command.[145] Henry III's policy has been defined as 'moderate' in demanding supplies from the Irish lordship.[146] On the contrary, a very burdensome form of taxation would be practised by Henry's son, Edward (1272-1307) to provide resources to finance the king's foreign wars.[147] In details, Henry III's demands on Drogheda were to make a galley to secure the Irish Sea from the king's enemies (1222).[148] A similar demand for a galley was to be renewed twenty years later, in 1241.[149] Then, in 1244, two royal ships were farmed to the town for defence and trading purposes.[150] Additionally, soldiers and victuals were

---

[143] By 1295 the two Droghedas started to be granted separate murage charters; see *CDI*, 1293-1301, 251, p. 106; see Chap. 5.2.3, pp 196-197 and Appendix 20.

[144] *CDI, 1252-1284*, 118, p. 17.

[145] Otway-Ruthven, *Med. Ire.*, p. 166: "as in every feudal state, it originated in the obligation of the vassal to assist his lord when the lord could show that a state of necessity existed". In 1204 John appealed to both clergy and laity for an aid to recover his duchy in Normandy.

[146] J. Lydon, 'The expansion and consolidation of the colony, 1215-54', in Cosgrove (ed.), *NHI* (Oxford 1987), II, pp 176-7.

[147] Idem, 'Years of crisis', in *NHI*, II, p. 181.

[148] *CDI, 1171-1251*, 1049, p. 161 (1222).

[149] *Hist. and mun. doc.*, p. 101 (1241).

[150] *CDI, 1171-1251*, 2691, p. 401 (1244). The seamen of Drogheda were to pay an annual farm to the king foruse of the two ships. Such disposition seems designed to secure the flourishing of trade at the mouth of the Boyne but also to secure transport of victuals to the king's castles in Ireland as well as in Gascony, Scotland and Wales.

demanded to help the king's army engaged in expeditions against rebels in Wales and Scotland (1244-45).[151]

As a counterbalance for the town's loyalty and financial support to the king, Drogheda was granted *dona*: charters of pontage, various murages and prisage of wine.

2.1 Pontage (1228-29; 1229-32)

On 12 April 1228, Henry III granted the burgesses of Drogheda the right to levy tolls during one year in order to aid the making of the bridge of Drogheda.[152] The king renewed the grant of customs for another three years on 22 September 1229 [153] - two days after the issuing of the charter of free-borough to Drogheda in Uriel.[154] The content of the two charters is identical. The bridge was a facility of common interest for both settlements on the banks of the Boyne. As a matter of fact, it was the pivotal point of their economy and thus it became very important for the Crown itself to control it and keep it functional. It seems worth notising that, according to the extant documentary evidence, the pontage pre-dates the murage.

It has to be said that Drogheda had a bridge long before the year 1228. The bridge is the first urban feature mentioned in Drogheda's first municipal charters together with the castle (1194).[155] In 1204, Drogheda was referred as *Pontem,* clearly after the facility crossing the Boyne.[156] Therefore, if a new bridge was to be built in 1228, it was by no means the first existing such structure. The older structure was probably a wooden one, perhaps replaced by a stone bridge sometime around the years 1228 and 1232.[157] The harbour and the extention

---

151 *Hist. and mun. doc.*, pp 103-4 (1244-45).

152 *CDI, 1171-1251*, 1582, pp 237-8; see Appendix 8.

153 CDI, 1171-1251, 1738, p. 260; see Appendix 9.

154 *Na Buirgéisí*, I, pp 185-88 (20 September 1229); see Appendix 6.

155 Ibidem, I, p 172: "burgensibus meis de Drokedale ex illa parte pontis manentibus que poxima est castello"(1194) ; see Appendix 3.

156 *Hist. and mun. doc.,* pp 61-62: "*Volumus etiam quod una feria sit* [...] *apud Pontem Beati Iohannis Baptiste, similiter per octo dies, talia eis stallagia et thelonea statuentes...*"(1204). See above, Chap. 2.4, pp 54-5.

157 John D'Alton stated that Drogheda had a bridge before Dublin, since the bridge on the river Liffey is not mentioned until the year 1215, when King John granted Dublin the fee farm, see D'Alton, *History of Drogheda*, I, p. 46. Such statement seems not considering the eventuality of gaps in the documentary evidence for Dublin. According to Howard Clarke reconstruction of Medieval Dublin, the town had a bridge as early as 1170, and probably before that, during the Hiberno-Norse settlement (c.a. 1000), see Clarke (ed.), *Towns atlas, n. 11, Dublin, pt.1, to 1610* (Dublin, 2002), pp 3, 5.

of the quay beside the bridge recorded by the Chartularies of Llanthony may have determined the need to strengthen the bridge.[158]

As a means of alleviating the expense of building a stone-bridge, the good men of Drogheda were allowed to take customs from hides, wool, wine, merchandise, steerage and cows. This list gives an idea of the merchandise traded in the boroughs of Drogheda: for every last of hides brought into that *vill* to be sold, 4*d.*;[159] for every sack of wool, 1*d.*;[160] for every hogshead of wine, 1*d.*; for every cart conveying articles for sale, ½ *d.*; for every burden of articles for sale, except firewood, ¼ *d.*; for every ox and cow, ¼ *d.*[161] Those customs were to cease at the expiration of the above named term.[162]

2.2 The town walls (murages, 1234-37; 1239-42; 1243-45)

The earliest places to receive murage grants in Ireland were the Hiberno-Norse coastal towns plus a few other new Anglo-Norman foundations such as Drogheda. The most intensive period of grants of murage being issued was between 1250 and 1320, when about 50 per cent of all those known received a murage grant.[163] The dual role of the enclosures consisted of defence and commercial protection. The murage grant was the principal source of revenue for any town wishing to build or repair a wall and it consisted of a licence to levy toll upon goods coming into the town.[164] Sometimes a murage charter stipulated other forms of funding the walls, forms such as direct cash grants, the pardoning of debts, the use of fines and, most commonly, the partial or total remission of the fee-farm rents.[165] Murages, in whatever form they came, were provisions arranged by the central government for a major public work to benefit both the town and surrounding area. They were therefore similar to, and sometimes combined with, grants for other infrastructural projects such as the building

---

[158] Hogan, *Priory of Llanthony*, p. 113.

[159] The 1233 murage charter granted to Dublin imposed a customs of 12*d.* on one last of hides; see *Hist. and mun. doc.*, p. 97.

[160] One sack of wool was sold in Dublin at 3*d.*; see *Hist. and mun. doc.*, p. 97.

[161] One cow or ox was charged 1d. In Dublin; see ibidem, p. 97.

[162] See Appendices 8, 9.

[163] B. J. Graham and L. J. Proudfoot (eds.), *An historical geography of Ireland* (London 1993), pp 83-88.

[164] Murage may be defined as the right to levy a toll or tax in order to finance the building or repairing of town walls.

[165] A. Thomas, 'Financing town walls in medieval Ireland', in C. Thomas (ed.), *Rural landscapes and communities* (Dublin 1986), pp 68-9.

of bridges, quays and roads. Due to the Crown's involvement, those financial arrangements were recorded and the surviving evidence for Drogheda will be used to throw light on the town's economic life.

The largest walled areas in Ireland were at Drogheda and Kilkenny which were both twin-boroughs. The walled area of medieval Drogheda enclosed 113 acres, ca. 45 hectares.[166] D'Alton describes them as twenty to twenty two feet high and from four to six feet thick, "diminishing towards the summit, as so to allow a space of about two feet, with embrasures, for the soldiery to act from".[167] Drogheda has one of the most extensive series of murage grants for any Irish town with at least thirteen grants spanning the 190 years between 1234 and 1424.[168] Apart from the 1234 murage and its extentions[169], the town was granted murages in the years: 1278-81[170], 1295-1302[171], 1307-12[172], 1316-19,[173] 1317-22[174], 1333-39[175], 1356-62[176], 1362-82[177], 1373-82[178], 1385-97[179], 1404-24.[180] Apart from these, direct grants of money were made in 1316[181], 1319[182] 1322[183], 1331[184] and 1334.[185]

The first known murage charter was granted to Drogheda on both sides of the river by letter close-dated 14 June 1234.[186] Its very existence implies that the construction of the walls pre-dates that year. When were Drogheda's walls erected? Johnston referred to a grant for repairing the town's wall granted to Drogheda by King John: "but that act and the walls,

---

166 Bradley, 'Topography and layout', p. 106. The archaeology of the town's defence (town walls, gates and towers) has been studied by Murphy, *Medieval Drogheda*, I, pp 22-42; II, pp 60-112. See also A. Thomas, *The walled towns in Ireland* (Dublin 1992), 2, pp 72-9; C. Brady, *The medieval town walls of Drogheda*, Archaeology Ireland, 2003 (Heritage guide, 23).

167 D'Alton, *History of Drogheda*, I, p. 89.

168 Bradley, 'Topography and layout', p. 118.

169 See below.

170 *CDI, 1252-1284*, 1517, p. 297; see Appendix 19.

171 *CDI, 1301-1306*, 311, pp 145-6; see Appendix 20.

172 *CJustR*, 1305-1307, p. 336.

173 *Chart. Privil. et Immun.*, p. 46; Gilbert, *Mun. doc. Ire.*, pp 393-4; see Appendix 24.

174 *Hist. and mun. doc.*, pp 413-17; *Chart. Priv. et Imm.*, p. 52; see Appendix 26.

175 *Chart. Privil. et Imm.*, p. 56; see Appendix 36.

176 *Chart. privil. et imm.*, p. 78; see Appendix 37.

177 Ibidem.

178 Ibidem.

179 Ibidem, p. 82; see Appendix 39.

180 *CChR,* 1341-1417, pp. 424-26; *CPR*, 1401-1405, p. 419; see Appendix 44.

181 Pipe Roll, x Edw. II (1316-17), *Rep. DKI* 39, p. 72; see Appendix 24.

182 *Cart. pril. et imm.*, p. 51; see Appendix 30.

183 *Chart. Privil. et Imm.*, p. 52; see Appendix 31.

184 *CPR*, 1330-1334, pp 11, 115; see below, Chap. 7.2.3, pp 269-74.

185 *Chart. Privil. et Imm.*, p. 56; see Chap. 7.2.3, pp 269-74 and Appendix 36.

186 *CDI , 1171-1251*, 2135, pp 316-7; see Appendix 10.

it would seem, are to be no more remembered".[187] Johnston's statement is not supported by any bibliographical reference. A more accurate *terminus ante quem* for the construction of the town defence is the year 1206. There is mention of the eastern gate of Drogheda for the year 1206, in the charter of Eugene, Archbishop of Armagh, by which the leper hospital St. Lawrence the Martyr was transferred from the original site beside the bridge to its new location, just outside the eastern gate.[188] The 1234 murage allowed the municipal authorities to levy a tax for three years on all goods being imported through the town's port, in aids for the building of the walls. These customs were to be under the care of two men, to be assigned for that purpose by the justiciar of Ireland, Maurice FitzGerald.[189] The last statement is relevant because it confirms that before the granting of the mayoralty there were royal officials involved in some of the internal affairs of the town. The murage grant bestowed upon Drogheda in 1295 does not contain such a restrictive provision, since at that time the city had a mayor whose duty was to ensure the money was properly spent.[190]

The scale of taxable articles of the 1234 murage is much bigger than the one contained in the earlier pontage charter. Besides hides, wool, wine, cows and ox and merchandise referred in the pontage, the murage enlists corn, flour, honey, stags, goats and horses hides, Irish and English cloth, woad, salt, iron, herrings and other fish, oxen and horses, sheeps, hogs and pigs, cheese, suet, butter, lard , boards and small and large ships.[191]

Two episodes have to be mentioned in relation to this murage. First, during the same year Uriel had become a shire with its own sheriff.[192] This incident, which effected a change in the jurisdiction of the castle of Drogheda, may perhaps also have determined the issuing of the murage.[193] Second, both Dublin and Waterford were granted murages: Dublin in 1233 for three years[194] and Waterford just one week before Drogheda, on 7 June 1234.[195] Drogheda's and Waterford's charters were in some way related as results from a *mandatum* addressed to Maurice FitzGerald justiciar of Ireland in 1236 in which the king urged

---

187 Johnston, *History of Drogheda*, p. 18. Johnston does not give any bibliographical reference to this statement.

188 *Ir. Chartul. Llanthony*, pp 63-4; see above, chap. 2. 5, pp 55-58.

189 *CDI, 1171-1251*, 2135, pp 316-7; see Appendix 10.

190 *Hist. and mun. doc.,* p. 191; see Appendix 20.

191 See Appendix 10.

192 Pipe Roll xix Hen III. (1235), *Rep. DKI* 35, p. 36.

193 See below, Chap. 4.2.4, pp. 135-140.

194 *Cal. ancient rec.*, pp 8-9; idem, *Hist and mun. doc.*, pp 96-97.

195 *CDI, 1171-1251*, 2133, p. 316.

Waterford and Drogheda to "*viriliter*" enclose their vills.[196] Afterwards, on 25 April 1243, Henry III renewed the murage to both towns: to Drogheda on both sides for another two years (1243-1245)[197] and to Waterford for three years.[198] The mandate states that the burgesses of Drogheda were granted "the customs to enclose their vill already granted for three years from a.r. 24".[199] This suggests that there had been another murage grant, whose record is lost, covering the years 1239-1242.[200] The conditions of this second grant were the same as the one conferred on Drogheda by the previous one.

The cross-study of the taxable articles in Dublin (1233), Drogheda and Waterford (1234) shows that there was no imitation from one charter to another: each town had a distinct range of goods.[201] The comparison of Drogheda's and Waterford's charters throws light on the volume of traffic associated with Drogheda. In the first place it is worth reflecting on the following proportion; of the thirty-seven items mentioned in Waterford's charter, Drogheda's only included nineteen. The fact that the Waterford list is so much bigger and more detailed suggests that the town was at that time a more evolved trade centre. It is a relevant fact that Waterford was granted prisage of wine in 1232[202], whereas Drogheda in Louth obtained the same privilege only twenty years later, in 1252.[203]

A closer analysis of the entries reveals that ships loading at the port of Waterford were bigger in size than those loading in Drogheda and that they were mostly trading wine.

---

196 *CCR*, 1234-1237, p 365: "*Item rex mandavit omnibus Waterford' et Droghed' quod villis suis claudendis viriliter intendant*". Perhaps the order to enclose their vills was given to Drogheda and Waterford in relation to the war against Richard Marshall carried out in Leinster by King Henry and his justiciaary Maurice Fitzgerald. The so called 'War of Kildare' is analyzed by Orpen, *The Normans*, II, pp 60 f. Waterford's murage also contains the provision that the money collected was to be used for the enclosing of the city within the walls, by view of two lawful men appointed by the justiciar.

197 *CDI, 1171-1251*, 2614, p. 390; see Appendix 11.

198 *CDI, 1171-1251*, 2613, pp 389-90.

199 Ibidem, 2614, p. 390.

200 *CDI, 1171-1251*, 2614, p. 390.

201 Dublin customs seem to be higher than the ones applied on the same trading items at Drogheda and Waterford. The custom for one crannok of corn in Drogheda and Waterford was ¼ *d.*, whereas in Dublin ½ *d.* One horse in Drogheda and Waterford was taxed ½ *d.*, while in Dublin 1*d.* For one sack of wool in Drogheda 1 *d.*, in Waterford 2*d.* and in Dublin 3*d.* For one hogshead of wine in Drogheda and Waterford 1*d.*, in Dublin 2*d.* One weigh of salt in Drogheda and Waterford, 1*d.*, one crannok of the same in Dublin, ¼ *d.* for one crannok of woad in Drogheda, ½ *d.*, in Dublin 2*d.* For a weigh of lard, butter and cheese in Drogheda and Waterford, ½ *d.*, in Dublin 1*d.* For a hogshead of honey in Drogheda and Waterford, 2 *d.*, whereas in Dublin 4 *d.* For one mease of herring, ¼ *d.* and for 100 salmons, 1*d.* in all of the tree cities.

202 McEneaney, History of *Waterford*, p. 35. Every ship unloading wine in the port of Waterford was required to pay a tax on two tons of wine, one ton of wine from before the mast and one from behind. In 1232, Henry III allowed the authorities of the city of Waterford to keep half of that tax.

203 *CDI*, 1252-1284, 118, p. 17; see below, Chap. 4.3.4, pp 178-79.

Waterford's charter lists ships coming to Waterford and carrying 100 hogshead of wine or more (customs, 2*s*. each ship); ships carrying less than 100 hogshead of wine (12*d*.) and empty vessels coming to Waterford to load (12*d*.).[204] The international character of Waterford's trade is reflected in its division into 'wine carrying' ships and empty vessels coming to load.[205] Conversely, Drogheda's charter only refers to large ships (16*d*.), 'bussards' and smaller ships (8*d*.). Such distinction seems indicative of the entreport role of Drogheda harbour, whose river provided access to the rich area of Meath. The Boyne was navigable further up stream and Drogheda's burgesses had free use of the water stretching from the sea up to Trim by the 1194 charter.[206] Timber also was featured coming to both ports: simply as boards at Drogheda; whereas at Waterford in the form of 'timber for barrels' and 'planks for ships' - which again suggests the port's involvement in wine and shipping trades.[207] Wine seems to have been the primary trading item in those times in Waterford, whereas Drogheda traded it on a smaller scale. A comparison of their murage charters suggests that Drogheda's traffic was perhaps more involved in corn and cloth. Nevertheless, the custom for a hogshead of wine was the same in both ports, 1*d*.

2.3 Fairs and the weekly market

To be held on the feast of St. John the Baptist (29August) for eight days, the first fair was granted to Drogheda by King John in 1204.[208] In the year 1221, King Henry granted *villam nostra de Drogheda* a fair to be held on the feast of St. Peter and Paul (29 June) and lasting for eight days. The same mandate allowed fairs to be held at the castle of Athlone on the feast of the Ascension and at the vill of Louth on the day of St. Martin.[209] This entry does not specify if the fair was held on the north or south side of the borough; however it gives two valuable details. Firstly, it identifies Drogheda and Louth as *villas*, i.e.

---

204 *CDI, 1171-1251*, 2613, pp 389-90.

205 Ibidem, 2133, p. 316.

206 *Na Buirgéisi*, I, pp 172-73.

207 *CDI, 1171-1251*, 2613, p. 389; see Thomas, 'Financing town walls', pp 70-1.

208 *Hist. and mun. doc.*, pp 61-62; see above, Chap. 2.4, pp 54-5.

209 *CDI, 1171-1251*, 110, p. 155: "*Rex justiciario Hybernie, salutem. Sciatis quod provisum est pro consilium nostrum quod habeamus singulis annis unam feriam apud castrum nostrum de Althone in festo Ascencionis Domini pro utilitate terre nostre, duraturum per octo dies, et aliam apud villam nostram de Drogheda in festo apostolorum Petri et Pauli, similiter per octo dies duraturam, et tercia feriam apud villam nostram de Luueth, in festo beati Martini simili modo per octo dies duraturam. Et ideo vobis mandamus quod predictas ferias predictis diebus et locis clamari et teneri faciatis. Teste ut supra...*".

towns, whereas Athlone is styled as *castrum*. Secondly, the fair was to take place in connection with the celebration of St. Peter, the patron saint of the parish on the north bank of the river.[210] Is this evidence for the fair being held in the northern settlement?[211] It seems thereby more likely that the king would have granted the fair after having taken the borough into his hands in 1213. On the other hand, it has to be remembered that in 1220 Walter de Lacy was the one benefiting from revenues generated by tolls applied to merchandise traded in Drogheda in Meath, even though he no longer had jurisdiction over its castle.[212] This very evidence may explain the reasons behind the fact that Drogheda in Uriel was never granted the privilege of holding a market - not by the 1229 charter of free borough, (usually free-burgage included a clause conferring a weekly market) nor by the following charters. On the other hand, the absence of reference to a market in Drogheda on the Louth side is much more significant.[213]

When Henry III granted free-burgage to Drogheda on the Meath side (1247), he provided for an annual fair to be held there for eight days starting on the eve of the day of the Ascension of the Virgin Mary (14 August). Incidentally, the borough on the Meath side was in the parish of St. Mary. At the same time, a weekly market was also established to take place in that borough every Wednesday.[214] By 1318 the southern borough was granted an additional weekly market on Saturday.[215] The only other mention of a fair in royal charters dating before 1412 occurs in the 1252 charter of mayoralty granted to Drogheda in Louth. It creates even more perplexity since the borough was granted an annual fair starting on the feast of St. Luke (18 October) that lasted for 15 days.[216]

In conclusion, it seems plausible that initially Drogheda had a single fair, granted by John in 1204 on the feast of St. John the Baptist and then by Henry III in 1221 on the feast

---

[210] *Ir. Chartul. Llanthony*, p. 18. The parish of St. Peter was on the North side and had been subjected to the canons of Llanthony since 1187-93.

[211] The fact that in 1247 Drogheda in Meath was granted a fair which was to be held on the day of the patron Saint, St. Mary, seems suggesting some symmetry, see below.

[212] *CDI, 1171-1251*, 952, p. 145; see below, Chap. 4.2.4, p. 137.

[213] See below, Chap. 9.3.1, pp 323-27.

[214] *Na Buirgéisí,* I, p. 177: "*Concessimus in super pro nobis et heredibus nostris quod predicti burgenses et heredes sui habeant unam feriam singulis annis apud predictum burgum duraturam per octo dies videlicet in vigilia et in die Assumpcionis beate Marie Virginis et per sex dies sequentes et quod habeant singulis septimanis idem unum mercatum per die Mercurii*".

[215] Ibidem, I, pp 178-80; *CChR,* 1300-1326, pp 373-74 (7 February 1318); see Appendix 27.

[216] *Na Buirgéisí*, I, p. 190; see Appendix 12 and below, Chap. 4.3.1, p. 151. When Dublin was granted the right to elect a mayor in 1215, its fair was also extended from 8 to fifteen days; see *CDI, 1171-1252*, 577, p. 90.

of St. Peter and Paul. Thereafter, when the two Droghedas were given separated jurisdictions, two distinct annual fairs took place: one on the south side, on the feast of the Ascension of the Virgin Mary (1247); and one on the north side, on the feast of St. Luke (1252).[217]

The documentary evidence suggests that only the borough on the Meath side had a weekly market that was held every Wednesday (1247). This trading event was thereafter effectively doubled with not only a Wednesday but also a Saturday market (1318).[218] Even if Drogheda in Louth was never officially granted a weekly market, it seems reasonable to assume that one operated there.

The cartography available for early modern Drogheda suggests instead the existence of two separate markets. The oldest available map of Drogheda is the drawing made by Barnaby Goche in 1574. It shows two market crosses: one on the Louth side, placed in the intersection between Bothe Street, West Street and St. Laurence Street and another on the Meath side, located near the Mill Mount.[219] The market cross on the north side is also marked on the Newcomern map (1657)[220], whereas Goche's drawing is the only testimony we have for the market cross on the Meath side. Both market crosses were located on the street directly adjacent to the bridge on each side. The Bull Ring and Bothe Street were like extensions of the bridge, which looks like the pivot of the two systems. Avril Thomas, who published Goche's map in 1975 said that, even though it looks more like a sketch-map than a detailed town plan and presents many errors, "Goche might be correct and not just using the cross as a decoration, because it would have been in the street known as the Bull Ring if allowance is made for Goche's error of scale here".[221]

---

[217] A Fayre Street is recorded in Drogheda on the Uriel side since the second half of the fourteenth century; see *Gormanston Reg.*, pp 69-70 (1374), 74 (1359).

[218] Hughes, *History of Drogheda*, p. 209: "from the foundation until 1412, the principal market [of Drogheda] had been on the Meath side, near the Millmount, on the plot at the present known as Old Corn Market Hill" and that "vessels preferred to anchor at the Meath side, by reason of their freight being exempted at that side from the pontage which was levied on the north quay"; See below, Chap. 9.3.1, pp 323-27.

[219] The original map is in Public Record Office, London, State Paper Ireland, Elizabeth, 63/45, 60, I, B. Goche to Ld. Burghley, *Drogheda, 7 April, 1574*, Inclosure I. The importance of this map lay in the fact that it is the only known illustration of the town before its profile was dramatically changed by the destruction that occurred with Cronwell's arrival. See Fig. 12, p. 134.

[220] 'Map of Drogheda, 1649. Original drawings by Robert Newcomen in aid of the town survey and now in the keeping of the corporation of Drogheda', in *CLAHJ*, I, 4, (1907), p.113. See Fig. 13, p. 135.

[221] A. Thomas, 'Drogheda, 1574', *CLAHJ* XVIII, 3 (1975), p. 180: the error she refers to is Goche's



FIG. 12: Barnaby Goche's map of Drogheda, 1574, after A. Thomas, 'Map of Drogheda, 1574', *CLAHJ* XVIII, 3 (1975) p 184. The original is in National Archives, London, State Paper Ireland, Elizabeth, 63/45, 60, I, B. Goche to Ld. Burghley, *Drogheda, 7 April, 1574*, Inclosure I.

---

depiction of the Mill Mount. Its details are clear and good - the large mound with the moat at it base and the keep on its top, and the connection with the walls - but the scale has gone astray causing it to cover too larg an area. As a result the whole area of the Meath side has been enlarged; the outline of the town walls and the lay-out of th streets have been stretched. Accordingly, Goche "has extended the street from the bridge to the market cross too fa relative to the Mill Mount and the Eastern gate". Thomas suggested that "it could be argued that in a drawing rather than carefully measured plan Goche was at liberty to over-emphasize a feature which he might have considered important, an certainly the defensive role of the Mill Mount in relation to the haven and the bridge is very obvious as he has shown it".

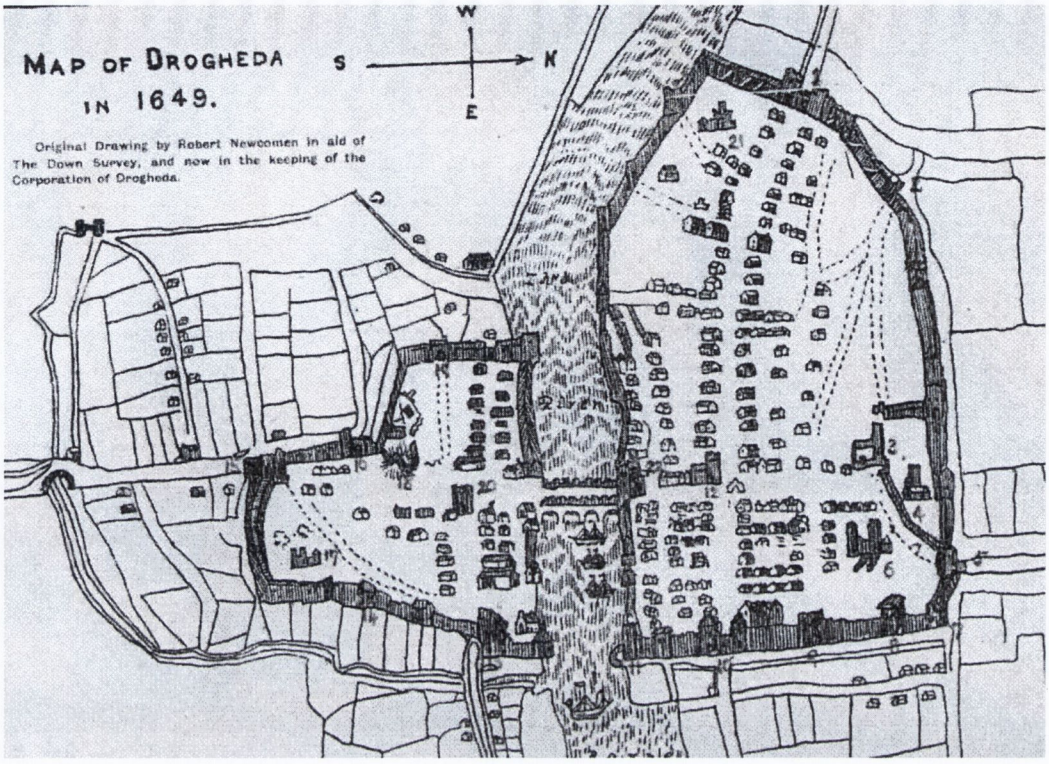


FIG. 13: Robert Newcomen, Map of Drogheda in 1649, after *CLAHJ*, I, 4, (1907), p. 113.

2.4 The castle

The death of King John in October 1216 initiated the return to Walter de Lacy and Nicholas de Verdun of their liberties. In December 1216, Henry III ordered the justiciar of Ireland, Geoffrey de Marisco, to restore to Nicholas the lands which had been confiscated when he renounced his fealty to King John.[222] This mandate was followed on 27 June 1217 by orders toreturn to de Verdun the castle of Dundalk and give him seisin of "half the cantred of *Ponte Ferrardi*, retaining in the king's hand the vill itself *de Ponte*".[223] Concurrently, on 2 July 1217, the king ordered the castle of Drogheda, Blathagh and Ardmayle (co. Tipperary) and the lands and castles which belonged to Richard de Tuit, once castellan of Drogheda's castle be delivered to Walter de Lacy - on condition he made amends for the excesses of William 'Gorm' de Lacy towards the king. Walter was granted protection and relief of the debts owed to the king.[224] The restitution of the castle was in

[222] CDI, 1171-1251, 727, p. 111.
[223] Ibidem, 790, p. 118.
[224] Ibidem, 791, p. 118; 743, p. 113; 748, p. 114; 808, p. 120; 811, p. 121; 835, p. 121.

fact a temporary one. The condition imposed on the grant was that Walter had to restore the castle when the king had reached the fourteenth year of his age, if the king pleased.[225]

Hillaby has suggested that Walter's only opportunity to recover the castle of Drogheda was soon squandered by the actions of his half brother, William "Gorm" de Lacy. He was given custody of Meath, at a time in which Hugh was still in exile and Walter was deeply involved in the defence of the march and subsequently in the Council of Regency. As soon as William arrived in Ireland he trespassed both in Meath and in Ulster.[226] These, his hot-headed actions prevented the restitution of Drogheda castle to his half brother the lord of Meath. By 1218 the castle of Drogheda was firmly in the king's hands as shown by the following entry: on August 1218 the Council of Regency refused the request of Henry Archbishop of Dublin to be relieved of the custody of the castle of Drogheda. A mandate was issued commanding the justiciar to supply him, out of the king's money, with a competent sum so that he might continue the custody without loss or inconvenience.[227]

> By 1220 Walter was restored to his liberties. All that is, except for the town of Drogheda and its castle, which were retained by the crown, while Walter was to receive an annual compensation of £20 (30 marks) from the Exchequer for them; similarly he was allowed to keep the tolls and aid of that vill on the south side and was also granted 20 marks yearly for the land of Blathac, 'which Walter says are his'. The arrears from Walter's vill of Drogheda, the castle of Blathac and the aids and tolls of Drogheda were allowed to him in the fine which he made with the King.[228] The fine referred to in this document amounted to 4000 marks and was raised for Walter in 1215 for sustaining his father in law, William de Braose in Ireland.[229]

This entry is the only one mentioning the destination of the tolls of Drogheda in Meath. The successive entries mentioning the payment granted by the crown to all of the successive lords of Meath define that rent as compensation for the castles of Drogheda and

---

[225] Ibidem, *1251*, 743, p. 113.

[226] The conflict of interest derived by appointing William as *custos* of Meath was extremely dangerous: not only was William the grandson of Ruadri O'Conchobair and thus a member of the ruling house of Connacht, but he had also married Gwenllian, daughter of Llewelyn the Great, see Hillaby, 'Walter de Lacy', pp 17-18.

[227] *CDI, 1171-1251*, 849, p. 126.

[228] Ibidem, 952- 953, pp 145-6.

[229] Ibidem, *251*, 596, p. 93.

Blathagh, but never mention the destination of tolls and aids of the town. Does this mean that such a disposition was in force for all of Walter's heirs?

By 1221 King Henry had ordered the surrender of the majority of the Irish castles, namely Dublin, Limeric, Roscrea, Clonmacnoise, Athlone, the castle of the bridge of Drogheda, Rath, Kerlingeford [Carlingford], Dundunneland, Balimichgan, Carrickfergus, and Antrum.[230] The return of Hugh de Lacy from exile in 1222 and his coming to Ireland without royal consent in 1223 was what caused the third crisis between Walter and the crown. Walter was regarded as responsible for "his men of Meath who went against the king in (his brother) Hugh de Lacy's war" and in May 1225 he was fined 3000 marks. According to the agreement between Walter and the king, the latter retained the castles of Ratour, Nober and of Drogheda.[231] Coming on the top of the sanction of 4000 marks imposed by King John in 1215, the new fine increased an already heavy burden: in 1234-5 Walter had a debt of £2747 22*d*.[232] and at his death he was still in debt to the crown. When William Mashall surrendered the office of justiciar of Ireland in June 1226, he also surrendered to the king the castles of Dublin, Althone and Drogheda.[233]

Sometime between 1223 and 1224, when a tenant of de Lacy complained to the king that he had not received justice in the liberty court, the justiciar once again took control of the lordship of Meath. Concurrently Walter de Lacy was made sheriff and keeper of the king's pleas in his own lands.[234] This piece of information was arrived at through an inquisition directed by John de Verdun (1266)[235] and renewed by Theobald de Verdun (1279)[236] during their repeated attempts to regain the liberties Walter de Lacy had held in Meath. The inquisition taken in 1266 also informs us that the liberty of Meath remained in the king's hands from 1223-24 until 1252, when it was granted to Geoffrey de Geneville.[237]

---

230 *CDI, 1171-1251*, 1015, pp 155-56.

231 Ibidem, 1298, p. 195.

232 Pipe Roll xix Hen III (1235), *Rep. DKI* 35, p. 35.

233 *CDI, 1171-1251*, 1381, p. 209.

234 McGrath, 'Shiring of Ireland' p. 114: McGrath has underlined that "whilst there is no need to doubt the fact that Walter lost his liberty in 1220s, it appears odd that he should have been made sheriff in compensation".

235 *CDI, 1252-1284*, 810, pp 130-31.

236 Ibidem, 1645, pp 334-5; ibidem, 1666, pp 342-3.

237 Ibidem, 810, pp 130-31. Otway Ruthven had stated that the liberty of Meath was in the king's hands from 1210 to 1215 and again from 1223-4 until de Lacy's death in 1241; see Otway-Ruthven, *Med. Ire.*, p. 185. The 1266 inquisition proves that the liberty stayed in the king's hands until 1252.

In 1232 both the port and the castle of Drogheda were in the custody of Peter de Rivall, treasurer and chamberlain of the Irish Exchequer.[238]

The year 1234-35 marks a change in the jurisdiction of Drogheda castle. After the 1210 resumption, the castle of Drogheda had been in the jurisdiction of the sheriffs of Meath.[239] Following the creation of county Louth, the castle came under the custody of the sheriffs of that county. It is not clear when Louth was shired, but it most likely occurred when Ulster was returned to Hugh de Lacy, in 1227.[240] By 1234, Uriel had become a shire with its own sheriff.[241]

The following entries describe well the change. In 1234-5 Nicholas de Ebroic, seneschal of County Meath accounted for a sum given to Walter de Lacy in payment for four and a half years arrears (from 1231 to 1234) for the rent of the castle and town of Drogheda on the side of Meath at £20 yearly.[242] During the same year Ralph de Picheford (Pitchford), sheriff of Co. Uriel, was appointed as constable of Drogheda with custody of the castle of that town.[243] From 1234 onward, the sheriffs of Louth accounted for the expenses of Drogheda castle.[244] In the account for the year 1234-5, Drogheda in Meath was discharged a sum of £10, which the borough had given to Pincheford with respect to a horse bought from him for Hugh de Lacy for the war of Leinster against Roger Marshal;

---

[238] *CDI, 1171-1251*, 1969, 1970, pp 293-4; ibidem, 2009, p. 299. King Henry granted for life to Peter de Rivall custody of all the ports of Ireland. Even though not specified, he was probably given custody also of the port of Drogheda. He had also custody of the castles of Athlone, Drogheda and Reindon, of the city of Limerick and its castle, the custody of Decies and Desmond, of the city of Cork and the vill of Dungarvan.

[239] 'Irish Pipe Roll of 14 John', p. 30: in 1211-12, William le Petit, seneschal of Meath rendered account for the ward of Drogheda's castle; see above, Chap. 2.1, pp 33, 50 and Fig. 15, p. 190.

[240] Otway-Ruthven, 'Anglo-Irish shire government in the thirteenth century', *IHS*, V (1946), pp 3-4. Otway-Ruthven suggested that the year 1227 may be the likely time at which Uriel became a royal county: in that year the liberty of Ulster was restored to Hugh de Lacy. Previously Louth was administered with the liberty of Ulster with the exception of the southern barony of Ferrard, which was included in County Dublin; see eadem, *Medieval Ireland*, p. 174. The same idea is shared by Smith; see B. Smith, 'The De Pitchford family in thirteenth century Ireland', in *Studia Hib.*, 27 (1993), pp 34-35.

[241] Pipe Roll xix Hen III (1235), *Rep. DKI* 35, p. 36.

[242] Pipe Roll xix Hen III (1235), *Rep. DKI* 35, p. 34; *CDI, 1171-1251*, 2261, p. 336 (1235). By the 1220 agreement between king Henry and Walter de Lacy, the latter was entitled an annual compensation of £20 for the vill and castle of Drogheda and 20 marks each year for the land and castle of Blatagh; see *CDI, 1171-1251*, 952- 953, pp 145-6.

[243] *CDI, 1171-1251*, 2208, p. 327. For a recount on the career of Ralph De Pincheford in Ireland and his connection with Walter de Lacy, William and Ralph de Pipard and Ralph FitzNicholas see Smith, 'De Pitchford family', pp 29-39.

[244] The sheriffs of Uriel had custody of the castle of Drogheda during the whole reign of Edward I ans until 1215 when the sheriffs of Meath were entrusted of the said custody; see below, Chap. 5.2.1, pp 185-193 and Fig. 15, p. 190.

and for 18s. as expenses in repairing the chapel of Drogheda Castle.[245] In the very same year Drogheda on both sides of the Boyne was granted a charter of murage for three years (1234-1237).[246]

From 1235 to 1240 the Dublin government failed to pay the sums owed to Walter de Lacy as rent for Drogheda. The king sent various mandates to the justiciar ordering the sum and its arrears to be allocated by the exchequer to Walter: a mandate in 1235, two in 1238 and, in 1240, a confirmation of Walter's compensation for the vill and castle of Drogheda and the castle of Blatach.[247] Henry III's concern in this matter did not lie in a question of honour concerning the agreement signed with a recidivist rebel like de Lacy, but instead in the king's need for money. It has to be noted that the sum Walter was to receive by the Dublin Exchequer had ultimately to be in part returned to the king himself, in payment for Walter's great debt to the crown. When de Lacy died in 1241 without leaving a male heir, his two daughters, Matilda and Margery, were summoned before the king in London. Efforts to secure possession for the two young ladies of their inheritance appear to have been further thwarted by their grandfather's outstanding debts: the king ordered the justiciar and the executors of Walter's will 'not to permit any execution to be made of the goods of said Walter before satisfaction had been made to the king for the debts of said Walter'.[248] Such satisfaction must have been made by 1244 when Walter's lands and castles in Ireland, with the exception of Trim, reverted to his daughters.[249] As we have said, the Lordship of Meath was therefore partitioned between Margery and Matilda and their respective husbands, John de Verdun and Peter de Geneve (and later Geoffrey de Geneville). Both Peter de Geneve and John de Verdun inherited the prerogative of having 1/3 of 50 marks which was the sum Walter de Lacy used to receive yearly for the vill and

---

[245] Pipe Roll xix Hen III (1235), *Rep. DKI* 35, p. 35.

[246] *CDI, 1171-1251*, 2135, pp 316-7.

[247] Ibidem, 2261, p. 336. In the year 1235 the justiciar of Ireland, Maurice FitzGerald, was ordered to search the Roll of the King's Exchequer, and establish if Walter de Lacy was entitled to have 50 marks a year or less, for the castle of Drogheda and that he compute the time when the payment ceased, and cause the arrears to be paid to him. Three years later, in 1238, a mandate addressed to the same justiciar ordered to allow Walter in the great debt which he owes to the king, 20£ for the castle of Drogheda and 20 marks for the castle of Blatach; see ibidem, 2452, pp. 366-67. On September of the same year the said mandate was renewed; see ibidem, 2465, p. 368. In the year 1240 king Henry granted Walter de Lacy 30 marks (corresponding to the before mentioned £20) a year for the custody of the castle of Drogheda, and 20 marks for that of the castle of Athlone. Mandate to the barons of the Exchequer to cause these sums to be allowed to Walter in the debt which he owes to the King; see ibidem, 2490, p. 371.

[248] Ibidem, 2519, pp 375-6.

[249] Ibidem, *251*, 2662, p. 397.

the castle of Drogheda and the castle of Blathach.[250] The other third was perhaps assigned to Walter de Godarville who in 1240-1 was sent to Ireland and assigned the custody of all Walter de Lacy's lands there.[251] A mandate delivered to the justiciar in 1241 ordered him to be assigned, for his maintenance, a portion of the lands which belonged to Walter de Lacy.[252] By 1243-44 Godarville was seneschal of Meath, as he was in charge of an inquisition regarding certain rights that the Archbishop of Armagh was demanding over the vill of Drogheda and other vills and manors which belonged to Hugh de Lacy, earl of Ulster.[253] By 1244 he was to receive an annual fee of forty marks from Peter and Matilda for the custody of Trim castle.[254] A writ was sent in the year 1250 to the treasurer and chamberlain of Dublin, for payment to John de Verdun and Margery his wife of 1/3 of the 50 marks for the castle and vill of Drogheda in Meath and for payment to Matilda de Lacy of her moiety. [255] By 1252 the fraction was reverted to half: 25 marks to Geoffrey de Geneville and 25 marks to de Verdun.[256]

Lydon mentioned an entry in the Pipe Roll for the year 1248-9 recording works being made in the castle: Walter Pyrus, was allowed 30*s*. 8*d*. spent "both in building a fence (*palivia*) between the bailey and the fosse of the king's castle of Drogheda and in doing other necessary works on the house of the castle".[257]

---

[250] Ibidem, 2828, p. 422-3 (1246); ibidem, 3060, p. 456 (1250).
[251] Ibidem, 2507, p. 374.
[252] Ibidem, 2508, p. 374.
[253] *CDI, 1252-1284*, 2618, p. 390 (6 May 1243).
[254] *CDI, 1171-1251*, 2662, p. 397.
[255] Ibidem, 3060, p. 456.
[256] Connolly(ed.), *Ir. Exch. P.*, p. 6 (1274); *CDI*, II, 1038, pp 178-9.
[257] Lydon, 'The County of Uriel account, 1281-83', *CLAHJ* XIX, 3 (1979), p. 202. His source is Pipe Roll, 33 Hen. III (British Library, Additional Mss. 4790, f. 202).

2.5 Galleys and purveyances for the king's war in Gascony, Scotland and Wales

The creation of the Irish chancery in July 1232 was the administrative goal that allowed King Henry to make full use of the resources of the colony in his various military enterprises.[258] The first documented request of aids directly made to Drogheda is dated 18 July 1222. Henry III issued a mandate directed to the men of Dublin, Waterford, Drogheda, Cork, Limerick and of the other ports of Ireland, ordering them to build a galley in each of their ports for the defence of the king's realm in Ireland, "so exerting themselves herein that the king may have to thank them".[259] The demand was not made in the form of a custom; it was through a peremptory order, based on royal prerogative which could not be defied.[260] The defection of the Cinque Ports during the war of 1216-17 alarmed the royal Court which started to build a royal galley.[261] This project directly involved Ireland and Drogheda itself. The mandate does not make distinction between cities, towns and boroughs, but referred to all of them as ports. Drogheda is regarded as a whole, which means that the burden for the building of a galley was probably shared between the two boroughs.[262] The royal command to construct a galley denotes Drogheda as a ship-building centre. The king's wars overseas thus played an important role in the development of

---

[258] Lydon, *Lordship of Ireland*, p. 87.

[259] *CDI, 1171-1251*, 1049, p. 161: "*Rex probes hominibus Dublinie, et de Waterford, et de Drogheda, et de Cork, et de Limeric, et de aliis portibus suis Hybernie, salutem. Mandamus vobis firmiter precipientes quod, omni dilatione et occasione postpositis, galias fieri faciatis singuli vestrum in singulis portibus vestris, ad defensionem et securitatem vestram et regni nostri Hybernie; talem hiis exequendis manum ad operam apponentes quod grates vobis inde merito referre debeamus. Teste ut supra...*".

[260] The first known request of aids made to Ireland is dated on 10 February 1204, when King John asked for men and money to be sent to Normandy where the king was at war against the king of France. The writ says explicitly that custom did not sanction the imposition of an aid on such an occasion, and that the king's request was made out of friendship. This mandate was directed to the archbishops, bishops, archdeacons and clergy, as also to the earls, barons, justices, sheriffs, knights, citizens, merchants, burgesses and freeholders of Ireland. By 1204 Drogheda was already a borough and probably was among those who were summoned to give supplies to the Crown. Moreover, Walter de Lacy was one of the king's agents who negotiated the aid, see J. Lydon, 'Parliament and community of Ireland', in J. Lydon (ed.), *Law and disorder in thirteenth century Ireland. The Dublin parliament of 1297* (Dublin 1997), p. 130.

[261] It has been suggested that the king's policy in creating a number of ships and galleys, was "a tentative effort to set up a group of ports in East Anglia similar to the Cinque Ports"; see F. W. Brooks, 'The king's ships and galleys mainly under John and King Henry III', *The Mariner's Mirror*, XV, 4 (1929), p. 374.

[262] From a financial point of view Drogheda was perceived unitarily: the pontage and the murage charters were granted to the town as a whole, and the aids were imposed on Drogheda without distinction. Nevertheless, the boroughs were jurisdictionally separated since a letter of protection for 3 years was granted exclusively to the burgesses of Drogheda in Uriel, their land and possessions in June 1225; see *CDI, 1171-1251*, 1301, p. 197.

medieval Drogheda; such requests bolstered the economy of the town which was probably engaged in shipbuilding on a regular basis with the construction of smaller ships and vessels for internal trade. Documentary evidence for these activities is given by the murage charter granted to Drogheda on the Meath side in 1296. The charter mentions tariffs on shipbuilding materials coming to the town such as large boards for ships, large shingles, masts, ropes for rigging, canvas for ships.[263]

The king's request to the Irish ports to manufacture galleys was soon satisfied. In 1235 Henry III had two galleys at *Sorham*, one in Hampton, two on the Thames (at Newbury), two at Dunwich, two in Bristol, two in Winchelsea, three at Romney and six galleys in Ireland.[264] It was not until the disastrous expedition to Gascony, in 1242, that the problem of sea power became urgent once more. In 1241, Henry III renewed his request. He ordered the citizens of Dublin to make a new galley, so that they would have two ready for the king's service without delay when ordered. Waterford was ordered to make two galleys, whereas Drogheda, Cork and Limerick made one galley each.[265] At that stage Dublin and Waterford were regarded as the two strongest ports of Ireland and were asked to make a double effort to satisfy the king's needs. Three years later, in 1244, a mandate to the justiciar and the treasurer of Ireland ordered two of the king's galleys to be delivered to Drogheda, two to Waterford and one to Dungarvan for trading purposes. The 'good seamen' of Drogheda, Waterford and Dungarvan had to render a farm, i.e. a rental fee, to the king at his exchequer in Dublin. [266]

Sometimes requests to the Irish towns were made in the form of purveyance of essential foodstuffs, war materials and carriage.[267] O'Sullivan has stated that the first acquisition of grain by the method of purveyance and pre-emption was made in 1244 when

---

[263] *CDI, 1293-1301*, 311, pp 145-46; see Appendix 21.

[264] *CDI, 1171-1251*, 2245, p. 333. Possibly each of the five Irish ports mentioned in 1222 built a galley each; perhaps the crown had already a galley in Ireland before that year, as result of its conquest.

[265] *Hist. and mun. doc.*, p. 101: "*Rex probes hominibus suis Dublinie, salutem. Mandamus vobis firmiter, in fide qua nobis tenemini, injungentes, quatinus unam galeam fieri faciatis novam [...] Eodem modo scribitur hominibus de Waterford de duabus galeis faciendis; et hominibus de Drogheda, et hominius de Cork, et etiam hominibus de Limerick, de una galera facienda*".

[266] *CDI, 1171-1251*, 2691, p. 401.

[267] *CDI, 1252-1284*, p. 71. Payment was made, but was usually late and often inadequate. During the month of June 1255, King Edward I ordered his Irish officials to ship a large quantity of wheat to Gascony and he gave instructions to postpone the payment for the wheat as long as possible, as all the available cash was to be sent to him.

the king was engaged in military operations in Scotland and in North Wales.[268] Purveyances for the war in Scotland were commanded by the following terms: the mayor of Dublin was to purchase 500 crannocks of wheat; the provosts of Cork were asked for 200 crannocks of wheat; the bailiffs of Waterford - 500; the provosts and bailiffs and of Drogheda were asked for 300 crannocks of wheat and 300 of dry oatmeal. The cost was to be allowed to those towns through allowances on their fee-farm. They were to retain in their port all ships and boats capable of transporting the Irish army to Carlingford (June 11 1244).[269]

In August 1244, Dublin, Waterford, Drogheda, Limerick, Cork and Carrickfergus were ordered to send all classes of victuals which could be withdrawn from their vills and vicinity, "and masons and other workmen necessary for building operations". Concurrently, the justiciar was ordered to purchase 500 marks worth of corn and to ship it 'both as flour and as grain as fast as possible' to Wales.[270] Hughes' *History of Drogheda* reports that in 1244 "the good men of Drogheda were, by royal mandate, relieved from payment of arrears of the fee-farm and of accruing gales for some prospective years, in consequence of the services rendered by them in some military expeditions against the Irishry".[271] Unfortunately this statement is not supported by bibliographical reference.

3. Mayoralty

The aspiration of the towns was to free themselves from the jurisdiction of the central government. Some of them succeeded when they were granted the right to elect their mayor.[272] Whereas the granting of the fee farm freed the townsmen from the sheriff's intrusion into their fiscal affairs, the mayoralty excluded the government officials from

---

[268] M. D. O'Sullivan, *Italian merchant bankers in Ireland the thirteen century. A study in the social and economic history of medieval Ireland* (Dublin, 1962); Idem, *Old Galway. The history of a Norman colony in Ireland* (Cambridge, 1942), p. 116. Again in 1244 Henry III declared that the services rendered by his nobles and lieges of Ireland in his expedition against the king of Scotland were to be regarded as voluntary, and not hereafter to be turned into a precedent.

[269] *CDI, 1171-1251*, 2687, p. 400; *Hist. and mun. doc.,* p. 103.

[270] *Hist. and mun. doc.,* p. 104; see also Lydon, 'Expansion and consolidation', pp 176-77.

[271] Hughes, *History of Drogheda*, p. 206.

[272] Tait, '*Firma burgi*', p. 337. For a recent complement to James Tait's classic work see S. Reynolds, *An introduction to the history of English medieval town* (Oxford, 1977).

almost every kind of internal affair: fiscal, judicial and military obligations all together.[273] Generally the mayor superseded both the provost and the aldermen of the Guild Merchant and was empowered to represent the town in dealing with all external bodies, particularly the central government. The office of the *prepositus* continued to exist after the introduction of the mayoralty, but the former was subordinated to the latter. The position was to be from then on duplicated: two provosts, or bailiffs, as they soon began to be called, being appointed each year.[274]

London was the first city in England to achieve a mayoralty (before 1193). Bristol achieved the same privilege in (1215-16).[275] Dublin led the way in Ireland (1229)[276] followed by Drogheda in Louth (1252). J. Tait and A. Ballard pointed out that after the year 1215, when London purchased the mayoralty, Bristol was refused the right to elect a mayor and no other city was given the same privilege for 50 years; "apart from two Irish cases in 1229 and 1252, no surviving royal charter gives this power between 1215 and 1284".[277] These exceptions are the charter to Dublin (1229)[278] and to Drogheda in Louth (1252). Henry III henceforth refused requests from English towns for the right to elect a mayor, fearing the creation of a new political force within his realm. It is significant that London negotiated the privilege of electing a mayor during the troubles of 1215 when the *Magna Carta* was signed.[279] Cities and towns could have made alliances threatening the king's authority. Indeed these fears were not unfounded as Drogheda and Dublin signed a pact

---

[273] E. McEneaney, 'Mayors and merchants in medieval Waterford city (1169-1495)', in W. Nolan and T. P. Power (eds.), *Waterford. History and society* (Dublin, 1992), pp 147-48.

[274] H. F. Berry, 'Catalogue of the mayors, provost, bailiffs of Dublin city, A.D. 1229 to 1447', in H. Clarke (ed.), *Medieval Dublin. The living city* (Dublin, 1990), p. 154; See below, Chap. 4.3.2, pp. 152-173.

[275] Tait, *Medieval English borough*, p. 191.

[276] *Hist. and mun. doc.,* pp 91-92.

[277] *Brit. borough chart., 1216-1307*, p. lvii. Tait, *Medieval English borough,* p. 298. On the other hand, Carl Stephenson, on the same subject, has pointed out that "many great towns had no mayors, and those which did have them almost never received special authorization to that effect"; see Stephenson, *Borough and town*, p. 174 f.

[278] *Hist. and mun. doc.,* pp 91-92. The price paid by Dublin for this charter was £312. In a dispatch of the King to his viceroy, Richard de Burgh (5 July 1229) it is stated that the grant of mayoralty to Dublin was made in consideration of an acquittance to the king for a debt of three hundred and twelve pounds, borrowed in his name by his former justiciar, Henry Archbishop of Dublin, from twelve Dublin citizens, to enable him to maintain defences against Hugh de Lacy. The viceroy was enjoined not to permit the charter for the election of the mayor to come into operation until the bonds had been delivered up. It was stipulated that the twelve citizens should be repaid their money by a tax to be levied proportionately on the entire city, including themselves. There is no knowledge of such huge payments in relation to the other towns that had a mayor; see *Na Buirgéisí, I*, p. 339. In 1215 Dublin purchased the right of farming the city's rent at 2/3 of that price, namely three hundred marks; see *CDI*, 1171-1252, pp 88-9.

[279] Tait, *Medieval English borough,* p. 191.

during the same year that Drogheda in Louth was granted the mayoralty.[280] Then, in 1285, the Irish mayors of Dublin, Waterford, Cork, Drogheda in Uriel and the seneschal of Drogheda and Meath met in Kilkenny and founded a league.[281] The change of attitude of the English crown following the end of Henry III's reign (1272) was striking. Waterford was given the right to elect a mayor in 1292, even though there is evidence for a mayor there in the 1272.[282] By 1281 Cork had a mayor[283] and Limerick was granted the same office in 1292.[284] According to Mac Niocaill, the royal towns were generally governed by a mayor, while the others had a seneschal (Drogheda in Meath and Dundalk) or a sovereign (Callan, Kells in Meath, Kilkenny, Youghal, Galway and New Ross).[285]

3.1 The charter of 1252 and its privileges

On 12 December 1252[286], Henry III granted his burgesses of Drogheda in Louth the right to elect a mayor.[287] The charter was confirmed in 1268.[288] Both the charter of 1252 and the one conferring the farm to Drogheda in Meath in 1247[289] were issued during the

---

280 *Hist. and mun. doc.*, pp 130-1; idem, *Cal. acient rec.*, I, p. 89.

281 *Hist. and mun. doc.*, pp. 196-7.

282 Walton, *Royal charters of Waterford*, p. 20. E. MacEneaney, *History of Waterford*, p. 36: "the mayor and the communality of Waterford owe 100 pounds for trespass". Mac Eneaney argued that, despite the fact that the citizens of Waterford received the right to have a mayor during the reign of Henry III, the evidence suggests that it was not Henry who made the grant. As Lord of Ireland, Edward could have granted the citizens of Waterford the mayoralty in return for a monetary payment for funding for his wars in Gascony.

283 The first mention of a mayor of Cork is in the year 1281; see *CDI*, 1252-1284, p. 382. See also J. Bradley and A. Halpin, 'The topographical development of Scandinavian and Anglo Norman Cork', in P. O'Flanagan and C. G. Buttimer (eds.), *Cork. History and society* (Dublin, 1993), p. 24.

284 The charter conferring the mayoralty was issued by Edward I in the year 1292; see *CDI*, 1285-1292, p. 463; see also Potter, *History of Limerick*, pp 39-40.

285 *Na Buirgéisí*, II, p. 338.

286 Some sources refer the document to the year 1252: *CChR*, 1226-1257, p. 412; *CDI*, 1252-1284, 120, pp 17-18; *NB*, I, pp 188-91. On the other hand, another tradition attributes the document to the year 1253: *Memorandum Roll of Ireland*, 5 Henry VIII, m. 26; *Ch. Priv. et Immun.*, p. 28; Gilbert, *Hist and mun. docs.*, pp 132-34; *Brit. borough chart., 1216-1307*, pp lvii, 91, 97, 138, 176, 194-5, 249, 308, 329, 363, 373. The first chronology (1252) is derived from a tradition which dates the charter on 12 December, a.r. 37 Hen. III. The thirty-seventh year of Henry III's reign started on 28 October 1252 and ended on 27 October 1253. The second chronology (1253) is derived from a tradition which dates the charter on 12 September, a.r. 37 Hen. III.

287 *Na Buirgéisí*, I, pp 188-91; see Appendix 12.

288 *CDI*, 1252-1284, 854, p. 138. Afterwards, Edward I confirmed this charter in 1305 and Edward II in 1316; see *Ch. Priv. et Immun.*, pp 41, 46.

289 *Na Buirgéisí*, I, pp 174-78.

justiciary of John FitzGeoffrey.[290] The cost of the charter of mayoralty was 5 gold marks and 55 silver marks.[291] Its issuing must be related to the coming to power of Geoffrey de Geneville, who in 1252 married Matilda de Lacy.[292] By August 1252 the king had restored them the liberties and customs enjoyed by Walter de Lacy in Meath.[293] Unlike Walter however, they were also permitted to issue their own writs within the liberty.[294] That meant that for the first time since 1224 the lords of Meath could enjoy the entire range of privileges granted to Hugh de Lacy in 1172.[295] Such a massive grant in Meath had to be counterbalanced by an act of royal authority in the area: the mayoralty strengthened Drogheda in Louth's affinity with the king.

The Chartularies of Llanthony record a mayor in Drogheda as early as the year 1230. *Helias Longus*, referred to as *maiore de Drogheda*, witnessed a document in which Alan Prudfot gave up all his rights to the land where the Chapel of St. Saviour in Drogheda was erected.[296] The same tendency, true for the *praepositura*, seems also to characterize the office of the mayoralty. Both offices were already extant in Drogheda before they were formally granted by charter. It also meant that, in 1229, royal Drogheda was granted the right to have a *prepositus* who, the following year, was unexpectedly referred to as *maior* in an ecclesiastical source. Are we to believe "that a revolution in legal status was thus affected, and without formal authorization, or that a mere change of fashion in titles took place?" Carl Stephensonn raised this question in relation to English boroughs. He argued that the establishment of a mayor did not make any profound change in the borough's

---

[290] Cosgrove, 'Principal Officers', p. 471.

[291] *CDI*, 1252-1284, 133, p. 20.

[292] J. T. Gilbert (ed.), *Chartularies of St. Mary Abbey, Dublin [...] and Annals of Ireland, 1162-1370*, (London 1884-86), II, p. 315.

[293] *Gormanston Reg.*, p. 7, 178; CDI, 1252-1284, 69, p. 10; ibidem, 78, p. 12; ibidem, 195, pp 30-1; ibidem, 256, p. 39.

[294] *CDI*, 1252-1284, 398, p. 63. The grant was confirmed in 1257; see *CPR*, 1232-1247, p.544.

[295] For the the grant to Hugh de Lacy see Chap. 2.1, pp 28-33; for the resumption of Walter de Lacy's lordship of Meath see above, Chap. 4.2.4, pp 136-40.

[296] *Ir. Chartul. Llanthony*, "*Carta Alani Prudefot super renunciacione terre supra quam fondata est capella sancti Salvatoris*", pp 101-2: "*...Hiis testibus Waltero capellano tunc decano de Drochda, Helia Longo tunc maiore de Drochda...*" (c. 1230). The Chapel of S. Saviour (*alias* the Chapel of the Holy Redeemer) lay in royal Drogheda beside the bridge. Its first mention is in the year 1218; see *ibidem,* p. 101. See also M. Kelly, 'The church of St. Saviour's, Drogheda', *CLAJ*, IX, 4 (1940), pp 347-51: "It would seem to have been maintained by the Llanthony canons of St. Peter's and functioned as a chantry or perhaps as a chapel of ease; it seems to have occupied no more than a standard burgage plot".

constitution.[297] However, the inferred reasons behind some changes in the civic constitution can be illuminated by examining the clauses of the 1252 charter.

This charter does not define the tasks connected to the mayor's office. It only states that the mayor was a sort of supervisor of the behaviour of the reeves and the other bailiffs and of "their impartiality in treating rich and poor people".[298] It is relevant to point out that the very same expression, *"iuste tractent tam pauperes quam divites"*, had been previously used in both the 1229 and 1247 charters to define the function of the coroners[299] - functions which were henceforth taken on by the mayor. The other tasks of the mayor can be extracted from the charter of mayoralty granted to Dublin in 1229.[300] Here it is stated that the mayor had to be chosen from among the burgesses by the freemen assembled in the court; that the term of his office was one year and that it was renewable. It is likely that up to 1760 the exercise of this right was confined to the council of aldermen, membership of which was restricted to members of the guilds.[301] The mayor was to be a loyal and discreet subject; after having been elected and before taking office he was to present himself to the king's justiciar when the king was not himself in Ireland.[302] Such disposition was aimed to reserve to the crown control over the election and avoid 'unsuitable candidates'. The mayoralty granted the town the return of writs. All the writs and mandates with regard to matters arising within the city limits were addressed to the mayor and his colleagues, or those concerned with the revenues of crown.[303] Mayors were in charge of the Hundred Court of the town and responsible for

---

297 Stephenson, *Borough and town*, p. 174.

298 *Na Buirgéisí,* I, p. 189: "*et quod possint facere de seipsis unum maiorem in predicto burgo per electionem eorundem burgensium qui videat quod prepositi et alii ballivi eiusdem burgi iuste tractent tam pauperes quam divites*"; see Appendix 12.

299 *Na Buirgéisí,* I, p. 188; *Na Buirgéisí,* I, p. 175: "*Volumus in super quod in predicto burgo per comune consilium eorundem burgensium eligantur duo de legalioribus et discrecioribus hominibus de predicto burgo coram iusticiariis nostris quando venient in villa de Drogheda ad assisas capiendas ad custodiendum placita corone nostre et ad videndum quod prepositi eiusdem burgi iuste et legittime tractent tam pauperes quam divites eiusdem burgi";* see Appendix 6, 7.

300 *Hist. and mun. docs.*, pp 91-2.

301 J. Hill, 'Mayors and lord mayors of Dublin from 1229', *NHI,* IX, p. 548. Carl Stephenson argued that the presence of a single office or the election of a particular person seems to have mattered little, since the actual government of the medieval towns was in the hand of an influential group of substantial citizens often involved with the guild merchant; see Stephenson, *Borough and town*, p. 174

302 As no English King visited Ireland between 1210 and 1394, mayors always swore their loyalty to the justiciar of Ireland.

303 *Hist. and mun. docs.*, pp 91-2. Occasionally the mayors of Dublin were called on to discharge military duties; see Berry, 'Catalogue of the mayors', pp 164-5.

tax collection within the walls.[304] During the reign of Edward I, mayors were representatives of the city in parliament and instrumental in financing the king's wars.[305]

Besides confirming the fee-farm and giving the town the right to elect a mayor, the 1252 charter granted Drogheda in Louth various privileges, which are here grouped into two sections. The first collects clauses which were drawn from Dublin's customs; the second clauses which were also enjoyed by Drogheda on the Meath side by the 1247 charter. One provision, however, will seem to be alien to both the Dublin and south Drogheda sets of rights.[306]

1. Right to elect a mayor, who had power of supervision over the activities of the provosts and bailiffs.[307]

2. Templars or Hospitallers were allowed to have only one man and one house exempted from custom inside the borough (frank-house).[308] This same clause is to be found among Dublin's privileges since 1200.[309] Municipal Law expressed its opposition towards possession by extension through religious orders within the walls, on the ground that such establishments were exempt from taxes and customary feudal duties - that is to say they were unproductive.[310]

3. The period of stay of foreign merchants with their wares was limited to forty days. This same clause was granted to Dublin by John's 1200 charter.[311]

---

[304] Central government had little or no role in tax collection, but delegated it to the municipal authority. The mayor had responsibility for organizing the collection of these various taxes and paying them into the exchequer. Taxation was composed of six elements: the incomes from the king's feudal rights; the 'rent of assize' including the fee farm rent of the town; the profits of the courts; the profits of justice; the customs and general taxation; see Otway-Ruthven, *History of Medieval Ireland*, pp 166-71.

[305] See below, Chap. 5.3, pp. 200-212.

[306] *Na Buirgéisí,* I, pp 188-91; see Appendix 12.

[307] Dublin had the same privilege since 1229; see *Na Buirgéisí,* I, pp 88-89.

[308] Ibidem, I, p. 189: "*et quod Templarii vel Hospitelarii non habeant in burgo illo aliquem hominem vel aliquod mesuagium quietum de communibus consuetudinibus preter unum solum*".

[309] *Na Buirgéisí,* I, p. 85.

[310] Mac Ivor, 'The Knights Templars', p. 73. Mac Ivor has located the Templars' establishment in Drogheda they owned property which is described in an inventory made after the seizure of the Order's goods: "It was ascertained that the said Templars had certain tenements at Drogheda which were valued per annum at 3s. 4d., which were seized into the king's hands by the mayor, seneschals and bailiffs there…". The doubts expressed by Rev. Mac Ivor in relation to this 1252 clause, as to whether it "describes an existing state of affairs, or merely provides for a future eventuality" seem unnecessary, since "de *facto oritur ius*". Medieval legislation did not know preventive action.

[311] *Na Buirgéisí,* I, p. 84.

4. A clause granted prohibition of forced bail: no burgess, unless it pleased, could be compelled to give a person bail unless the latter was dwelling on his land. This same clause was granted to Dublin by John in 1200.[312]

5. A clause about conditions of the court session. If a burgess was attached but situated outside the metes of the borough, the mayor and burgesses of Drogheda had to hold court and to give justice to the complainant. The mayor's responsibility was equivalent to an earl, baron or other magnate of Ireland who had, by the law of that country, to hold a court for their vassals.[313] The mayor took into his hands the jurisdictional functions of the town; he presided over the court, which was to be held every fifteen days and was based on the customs of Dublin.[314] In Drogheda on the Meath side, on the other hand, the administration of justice inside the borough was in the hands of the provost and seneschal and was based on the customs of the borough.[315]

Among the privileges granted in 1252 there were six clauses which had already been granted to Drogheda in Meath in1247:[316]

1. A clause regulating prises and captions: the owners of ships laden with wines bound for Drogheda's port were not to be compelled to pay prisage if driven elsewhere by storm, unless they sold wine there.

2. A significant difference involves the clause regulating marriage. The burgesses could marry themselves, their sons and daughters and widows at liberty "unless their marriage belonged to the king or others by reason of lands or foreign tenements".[317] The freedom to contract marriage was limited in the case of royal Drogheda by conditions which were not expressed for Drogheda in Meath (1247), where marriage was allowed without the licence of the lords of the borough.

3. A clause on royal writs: no burgess was to answer, within the metes of the borough, to any writ, save a writ of right, excepting the provisions made in lieu of writs which ran in external territories.

---

312 Ibidem, I, p. 84

313 Ibidem, I, p. 190. It is worth to report a case of delay in rendering justice in royal Drogheda occurred just some months before the issuing of the charter of mayoralty, on 23 July 1252; see *CDI*, 1252-1284, p. 9.

314 Ibidem, I, p. 186.

315 Ibidem, I, p. 176.

316 Ibidem, I, pp 174-78; see Appendix 7.

317 Ibidem, I, pp 188-9.

4. Exemption from interference from royal officers: neither sheriffs nor bailiffs could meddle with attachments or summonses in the borough. Only the provosts or coroners were to answer concerning pleas to the crown within the borough; royal pleas were held at Drogheda when itinerant justices were sitting there for the hearing of common pleas.

5. Liberty of access of merchandise to Drogheda: it was ordered that no one could prevent any kind of merchandise from freely coming to the borough, either by sea or by land.

6. Grant of a fair: the burgesses were granted an annual fair lasting 12 days, commencing on the morrow of the feast of St. Luke (from 17 to 31 October). Drogheda in Meath had a fair too, starting on the day of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary and lasting for eight days (from 14 to 21 August).

The following clause was particular to Drogheda in Louth: it was never granted to Dublin nor to Drogheda on the Meath side; it was instead among the privileges of the burgesses of Kilkenny by the charter granted them by William Marshall in 1223.[318] It was a clause of limitation of claims in property known as the 'one year and one day-clause' and practically provided the terms for possession. It was established that no lawsuit could be raised about a burgage if it had been in someone's peaceful possession for a period of one year and one day.[319] Residence within the borough for one year and one day was therefore the way by which a villein or a stranger acquired the franchises.[320] This disposition was frequently granted to the English boroughs and has been interpreted as a means of 'protecting a villein from the recovery of land or possesion by his lord'.[321] Bartlett pointed out the fact that by this clause the burgesses without heirs were given the freedom to sell

---

[318] Ibidem, I, p. 139; *Brit. borough chart., 1216-1307*, pp 90-91.

[319] Ibidem, I, pp. 189-90: "*et si aliquis tenuerit aliquod tenementum infra metas eiusdem burgi de dono empcione vel hereitarie per unum annum diem sine calumpnia et aliquis vendicans sibi ius in eodem tenemento extiterit in patibus Hibernie qui plene etatis fuerit et liber sui corporis et non egrotans, et nullam calumpniam in eo fecerit infra terminum predictum set maliciose se subtraxerit, amittat calumpniam suam in perpetuum*".

[320] *Brit. borough chart., 1042-1216*, pp li-lii. However some borough required more than mere residence as a mean to acquire borough-ship; Northampton, Lincoln and Dunwich required that the villain should have been member of the merchant guild for one year and one day. Bateson interpreted it as a 'Bretollian' stipulation; see Appendix 5.

[321] *Brit. borough chart., 1216-1307*, p. liv; Reynolds, *History of English towns*, p. 100.

their properties to anyone.[322] It is a disposition aimed at regulating the relations between the burgesses and preventing conflicts concerning properties within the walls. This clause was afterwards repealed by Edward III in 1331[323] and in 1364[324] and by Richard II in 1392.[325]

3.2 List of the mayors and *praepositi-ballivi* of Drogheda in Louth (1230-1412)

In his introduction to the 'Catalogue of the mayors, provosts and bailiffs of Dublin City', H. F. Barry stated that "the dates of office of the mayors and bailiffs of Dublin in ancient times are of considerable importance, as old deeds and documents were undated, and these constantly acted as witnesses in their official capacity".[326] Drogheda does not have a complete list of its mayors. The only two studies concerning this subject were carried out by Sir James Ware and by John D'Alton. A 'Register of the Mayors of Drogheda' is preserved in one of Ware's manuscript volumes transcribing fragments of anonymous annals dated to 1591.[327] Ware gives fifteen names of mayors in charge in Drogheda between the years 1470 and 1592. However, Ware's list has had limited impact on this study because it is focused on the fifteenth century. D'Alton's list of mayors covers the years between 1285 and 1830.[328] He recorded that Hugh Moyne was mayor of Drogheda in 1285, but this is the only name provided for the thirteenth century. Afterwards the list deals with the succession of the municipal officers in the fourteenth and fifteenth

---

[322] The 'a year and a day clause' was common in the English town law; see Bartlett, *Norman and Angevin kings*, pp 335-36.

[323] *Na Buirgéisí*, I, p. 192 (1331); see Chap. 7.1.1, p. 252 and Appendix 34.

[324] Ibidem, I, pp 195-200 (1364); see Appendix 35. Weinbaum argued that Edward III confirmed this clause instead of abolishing it; see *Brit. borough chart., 1307-1660*, p. 205.

[325] *Ch. priv. et imm.*, p. 89; see Chap. 8.1, p. 297 and Appendix 41.

[326] Berry, 'Catalogue of mayors', p. 153; Hill, 'Mayors of Dublin', pp 547-63.

[327] Rawlinson MS B 484, Bodleian Library, Oxford, Collectanea Varia Jacobi Warei, *containing extracts relating to the arms of the Anglo-Irish nobility, Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin, mayors of Drogheda and catalogue of Irish saints in Irish, XVII century*. In particular see the part titled 'Out of the register of the mayors of Drogheda written about 1591', ff. 67- 71. See also Rev. D. MacIvor, 'Two old Drogheda chronicles', *CLAHJ,* XV (1961), p. 89. The list was transcribed when Ware was back in Ireland and was appointed to the office of Auditor General after his exile under the protectorate. MacIvor stated that the original document does not seems to have survived, or at least is still undiscovered.

[328] D'Alton, *History of Drogheda*, I, pp 246-7. D'Alton did not avail of Ware's list since the two outcomes do not overlap; on the contrary, they sometimes report a different mayor for the same year.

centuries. The information given by D'Alton in his *History of Drogheda* shoud not be totally dismissed as he was in the position to consult documentary sources destroyed in the fire in the Irish Public Record Office (1922). However, his study has been often proved inaccurate and his affirmations are not always supported by bibliographical references. D'Alton's list of mayors, without references, is reported by A. Hughes in a more modest *History of Drogheda* compiled in 1893[329] and by A. P. Robinson in a brief popular account of *Ancient Drogheda*.[330] It is clear that both Hughes and Robinson did not conduct their own study, but they simply copied D'Alton's catalogue. The only incongruity between the three lists is that Hughes's and Robinson's ones stretch out the mayoralty of William Roche from 1330 to 1337, probably a misprint.

The double aim of the list printed below is to add to D'Alton's one and, where possible, verify its accuracy.[331] For this reason the two lists are kept separate and D'Alton's list is given in the Appendix.[332] The present research stretches from 1230, when a mayor in Drogheda is first mentioned, up to 1412, when the two boroughs of Drogheda were incorporated into a town.[333] Supplying twenty-six names of mayors, this list sheds new light on the municipal history of Drogheda.[334] In only six cases does this list match D'Alton's one.[335]

---

[329] Hughes, *History of Drogheda*, pp 225-27.

[330] Robinson, *Ancient Drogheda (*Drogheda, 1994), p. 77.

[331] The documentary sources consulted to draw up the following list include: E. Tresham (ed.), *Rotulorum Patentium et Clausarum Cancellarie Hibernie Calendarium* (Dublin, 1828); Sweetman (ed.), *CDI*, vols. I-V; Gilbert (ed.), *Hist. and mun. docs.*; E. Dowse and M. Murphy (eds.) *Rotulus Clausus de anno 48Edward III.* A reconstruction, in *Anal. Hib.*, 35 (1992), pp 87-156; *Reg. St. John's, Dublin*; *Ir. Chart. Llanthony*; *Chartul. St. Mary's*, Dublin; *Gormanston Reg.*; *Luke Wadding, Annales Minorum, in quibus res omnes trium Ordinum a S. Francisco institutorum ex fide ponderosius asseruntur, calumniae refelluntur, praeclara quaeque monumenta ab obliuione vindicatur* (Lyon, 1625-54); *Ormond deeds,* I; C. McNeill and A. J. Otway-Ruthven (eds.), *Dowdall Deeds* (Dublin, 1960); J. Mills and M. C. Griffith (eds.), *Calendar of Justiciary Rolls* (1295-1314), 3 vols. (Dublin, 1905-1914).

[332] See Appendix 13, which reprints part of D'Alton's list of Drogheda's mayors (1285 to 1412).

[333] See below, Fig. 14, p. 163.

[334] The only name provided in D'Alton's list for the thirteenth century is Hugh Moyne, who was mayor of Drogheda in 1285. The revised catalogue presented here provides evidence for an additional six mayoral names in office at Drogheda since the year 1230 to 1285; see C. Buldorini, 'List of the thirteenth century Mayors, *Prepositi* and *Ballivi* of Drogheda in Louth; reigns of Henry III and Edward I', forthcoming, *CLAHJ*, XXVII (2009).

[335] The overlapping occurs for the mayoralty of Hugh Morice in 1285 (supposing that D'Alton's Hugh Moyne stands for Hugh Morice), William Roche in 1337 (supposing that D'Alton's William de Roche stands for William Roth), __ de Bathe in 1356, William Roche in 1389 (supposing that D'Alton's William de Roche stands for William Roth), Richard White in 1405 and William Simcock in 1412.

The material collected in the *Irish Exchequer Payments, 1270-1446* and in the *Calendar of the Irish Pipe Rolls* records many names we can be sure were the provosts (later bailiffs of the borough).[336] Although they are almost never styled '*prepositi*' - with the exception of one entry related to the year 1262 -[337] the fact that they are always mentioned in couples and that they were in charge of the payment of the fee-farm of the vill at the Exchequer, confirms this assumption. Coincidentally, these entries never mention the names of the mayors. The reason behind this is that the provosts-bailiffs, and not the mayor were tasked with dealing with the Exchequer. Comparison of certain entries in different sources corroborates this evidence. Two examples are provided here. First: the Chartularies of St. Mary's Abbey, Dublin, record that Gilbert, brother of Reginald and Nicholas de Bristol were provosts in 1268-69.[338] In the same year the Pipe Roll enters the same pair of names - without indicating their office - as accounting at the Exchequer.[339] Second: the same Chartularies report that Hugh Morris and Hugh Teintrel were *prepositi* in Drogheda in the year 1272-1273;[340] the Pipe Roll reports the same names for the same year, without saying that they were provosts.[341]

The decision to include the names of all these bailiffs in this list was also determined by the fact that individuals who had previously been bailiffs frequently happened to become mayors. Gearóid MacNiocaill suggested this same pattern was in play

---

[336] *Ir. Exch. P.*; see also 'Catalogue of the Great Rolls of the Pipe' in the Appendices to the *Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records and Keeper of the State Papers in Ireland*, 35 (Dublin, 1903), p. 39-50; 36 (Dublin, 1904), pp 22-77; 37 (Dublin, 1905), pp 24-55; 38 (Dublin, 1906), pp 25-104; 39 (Dublin, 1907), pp 21-76; 42 (Dublin, 1911), pp 11-81; 43 (Dublin, 1912), pp 15-67; 44 (Dublin, 1912), pp 18-61; 45 (Dublin 1913), pp 24-56; 47 (Dublin, 1915), pp 19-77.; 53 (Dublin, 1926) pp 17-54; 54 (Dublin, 1927), pp 18-64.

[337] Pipe Roll xlvi Hen. III (1262), *Rep. DKI* 35, p. 42: Philip Roch' and Robert de Derby are styled 'provosts' of Drogheda on the side of Uriel.

[338] *Chartul. St. Mary's, Dublin,* II, p. 6: "*Charta Rogeri de Donigton, de burgagio in Drogheda ex parte Urielis. [...] Testibus: Richardo Bard, tunc Maiore; Gilberto, fratre Reginaldi, Nicholao de Bristollia, tunc Prepositis. Data die Veneris proximo ante festum Sancti Patricii, anno 1268*".

[339] Pipe Roll liii Hen. III (1269), *Rep. DKI* 35, p. 50: "Drogheda borough on the side of Uriel: Nicholas de Bristol and Gilbert son of Reginald account for £40 of the farm...". The fact that the Chartularies of St. Mary's refers to Gilbert as son, and the Deputy Keeper's Report refers to him as brother of Reginald does not compromise the fact that they were provosts. The Deputy Keeper informs us that this roll was very much injured at the time of the report (1903); see ibidem, p. 49. Furthermore the entry in question is mutilated. An error of the Deputy Keeper might easily have occurred.

[340] *Chartul. St. Mary's, Dublin,* II, p. 7: "*Anno 1272. Henrico de Trum, Mayor, Hugo Morris, Hugo Teintrel, Prepositi Droghede. Die Lune proximo ante Privicarnium*".

[341] Pipe Roll, I Edw. (1272-73), *Rep. DKI* 36, p. 24: "Drogheda borough on the side of Uriel: Hugh Maure and Hugh le Teynteureur, account for £40 farm thereof this year".

within the evidence for Dublin and Waterford.[342] Even though this was not a rule, it seems that public representatives of an elite class dominated the political scene of the Irish boroughs and towns. With regard to Drogheda, many of the names we have encountered crop up in a variety of sources as mayors, bailiffs, jurors, collectors of the fifteenth, purveyors and collectors of the customs of wool and hides or *custos* of the prisage of wine. There is evidence that pairs of individuals who were bailiffs for one mandate were often jointly re-elected for a successive year: Robert Mackanefy and Richard Black were provosts in 1260[343] and in 1276-77;[344] Hugh Bredun and Thomas de Novene were provosts in 1280-1[345] and in 1294-95;[346] Thomas le Clerk and Walter de la More were provosts in 1289-90[347] and again in 1292-3;[348] Elias Dandoun and Hugh le Blund were bailiffs for two mandates during the years 1324-26.[349]

It is also remarkable that so many of the mayors were re-elected, some of them frequently. Helia Long, for instance, was mayor of Drogheda in 1230[350] and provost of the same town at an unknown date.[351] Robert Cosyn was mayor of Drogheda in 1260[352] and provost in 1267.[353] Richard Bard was provost in 1261[354] and mayor in 1268-9.[355] Robert Mackanefy and Richard Black were provosts in 1260[356] and again in 1276.[357] Thomas le Clerk was provost in 1287-88 with Adam Chapman;[358] then with Walter de la More in

---

342 *Na Buirgéisí*, II, p. 345.

343 *Reg. St. John's, Dublin*, pp 167-8.

344 Pipe Roll, v Edw. I (1276-77), *Rep. DKI* 36, p. 38.

345 Ibidem, p. 58.

346 *Ir. Chartul. Llanthony*, pp 140-1.

347 Pipe Roll, xviii Edw. I (1289-90), *Rep. DKI* 37, p. 42. .

348 Ibidem, p. 50.

349 Pipe Roll, xviii Edw. II (1324-25), *Rep. DKI* 42, pp 63-4; Ibidem, p. 74.

350 *Ir. Chartul. Llanthony*, pp 101-2.

351 *Chartul. St. Mary's, Dublin*, I, pp 244-5; ibidem, I, "*Carta Ricardi de Calne*", p. 245.

352 *Reg. St. John's, Dublin,* pp 167-8.

353 Pipe Roll li Hen. III (1267), *Rep. DKI* 35, p. 46. Robert Cosyn is styled neither *prepositus* nor *maiore*. Even though the provosts are usually mentioned in couples, another entry for the year 1290 report only one name: Gerald, son of John, provost of Drogheda on the Uriel side. In our opinion Robert Cosyn is more likely to have been a provost rather than the mayor, because he accounted at the exchequer for the farm.

354 Ibidem, p. 39.

355 *Chartul. St. Mary's, Dublin,* II, p. 6; ibidem, II, p. 28.

356 *Reg. St. John's, Dublin*, "*Carta Johannis Maleth de ii solidatis annui reditus*", pp 167-8: *"Hiis testibus Roberto Cosyn tunc maiore de Drocheta, Ricardo Nigro, Roberto Mackanefy tunc prepositi* "(1260). See also C. McNeill, 'Some early *d*ocuments related to Uriel and towns of Drogheda and Dundalk. The Draycott family', *CLAHJ*, V, 4(1924), p. 276.

357 Pipe Roll, v Edw. I (1276-77), *Rep. DKI* 36, p. 38: "Drogheda borough on the side of Uriel: Robert Mackaneny and Richard le Neyr account for £40 farm of the borough thereof this year".

358 Pipe Roll, xvi Edw. I (1287-88), *Rep. DKI* 37, p. 31.

1289-90[359] and again in 1292-3;[360] then with William Furneys in 1295[361] and with Richard Burgeys on the following year.[362] Richard le Burgeys was then provost in 1297 with Hugh de Trim.[363] Somebody simply known as Gerald was mayor in the year 1290;[364] a Gerald, son of John, is recorded as *prepositum* of Drogheda during Nicholas de Athboy's mayoralty (1290).[365] It is not improbable that they were the same person. In 1305 John Bowneys and William Brun were bailiffs;[366] they both had previously been bailiffs: John Boweneys in 1299-1300 with William de Grafton; William Brun in 1300-01 with John Blund.[367] Hugh Morice, sometimes styled Morris, was provost in 1272-73[368] and mayor in 1285-86[369], 1286-7[370], 1294[371], 1298[372] and 1305.[373] Matthew of Bath was mayor for three mandates: 1316-17[374], 1317-18[375] and 1318- 19.[376] Somebody of Bath was also mayor of Drogheda in 1356.[377] Martin Sewel was bailiff in 1309-10[378] and then mayor in 1322.[379] Robert atte Watere was bailiff in 1310[380] and mayor in 1351.[381] William Roth was mayor in 1336[382], in 1341[383] and in 1388.[384] William Taloun was bailiff of Drogheda in Louth in 1344-45[385] and then he was mayor in 1354.[386] Simon Keppok was bailiff in 1313-14 with

---

359 Ibidem, p. 42.
360 Ibidem, p. 50.
361 *CDI*, 1293-1301, 264, pp 112, 116.
362 Ibidem, 289, p. 131.
363 Pipe Roll, xxv Edw. I (1296-97), *Rep. DKI* 38, pp 31-2.
364 *Ir. Chartul. Llanthony*, p. 107. (1290).
365 Ibidem, p. 145.
366 *CJustR*, 1305-7, pp 31-2 (27 January 1305).
367 Pipe Roll, xxix Edw. I (1300-01), *Rep. DKI* 38, pp 56-7.
368 *Chartul. St. Mary's, Dublin,* II, p. 7. See also Pipe Roll, i Edw. (1272-73), *Rep. DKI* 36, p. 24.
369 *CDI*, 1285-92, 215, p. 94
370 *CJustR,* 1295-1303, p. 113.
371 *Ir. Chartul. Llanthony*, pp 102-3.
372 *Reg. St. John's, Dublin*, pp 165-6.
373 *CJustR*, 1305-7, pp 31-2.
374 Gilbert, *Hist and mun.doc.,* pp 395-6.
375 *Ir. Exch. P.* p. 248.
376 *Gormanston Reg.*, pp 55, 61.
377 Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, viii, p. 127.
378 Pipe Roll, iii Edw. II (1309-10), *Rep. DKI* 39, p. 34.
379 *Gormanston Reg.*, p. 73.
380 *Ir. Exch. P.* p. 601.
381 C. McNeill, 'Some Drogheda gilds and properties', in *CLAHJ*, VII, 2 (1930), p. 245.
382 *Gormanston Reg.*, p. 67.
383 Ibidem, p. 37.
384 *Rot. Pat. Hib.*, 206-7, p. 141b.
385 Pipe Roll, xviii Edw. III (1344-45), *Rep. DKI* 54, p. 38. In 1341 William Taloun and Robert Bebe of Drogheda were assigned to guard the coast-line between the ports of Dundalk and Holmpatrick; they

John Louel,[387] mayor in 1349[388] and in 1355, when the same John Louel was one of the bailiffs.[389] Finally William Simcock was mayor in 1412[390] and in 1414.[391]

Historians have often discussed to what extent the officials of the towns constituted oligarchies.[392] Some of the marriage links between the officials of Drogheda could be traced using the entries of the *Gormanston Register*, the *Chartularies of St. Mary's Abbey* and the other sources available.[393] The impression we can derive from this catalogue is that certain families occupied a prominent position on the institutional scene of Drogheda. One of the families involved in Drogheda's administration from the middle of the thirteenth century until the town's incorporation was the Blund or White[394] family. Andrew Blund was mayor in 1259 while at the same time William *Albus* was provost; [395] Geoffrey was provost in 1274-5,[396] John bailiff in 1300-01[397] and Hugh in 1324-6;[398] Richard White was mayor in 1405 and John White became his deputy with Nicholas White serving as bailiff during the same year.[399] Then there is the Morris or Morice family.[400] Hugh Morris was

---

were in charge of preventing exportations of grain and fish from those ports. It is reported that they arrested three ships at Drogheda, see *Rot. Pat. Hib.*, 130, p. 57 b.

386 *Gormanston Reg.*, p. 77.

387 Pipe Roll, VII Edw. II (1313-14), *Rep. DKI* 39, p.50.

388 *Gormanston Reg.*, p. 77. John and Thomas Keppok were officials in Dublin administration around the years 1350s and 1370s.

389 Ibidem, p. 73. In 1352, Simon Kreppok, Nicholas Caume, Adam Gernon, William Mole, Adam Drak, William Roche and Richard Mole, burgesses of Drogheda, together with David de Tyrel, Robert Huny and John Taillour, burgesses of Dublin, were given licence to buy in that land 3000 quarters of wheat and other corn and take the same to England; see *CPR,* 1350-54, p. 235. John and Thomas Keppok were officials in Dublin administration around the years 1350s and 1370s; see H. G.Richardson and G. O. Sayles, *The Administration of Ireland, 1171-1377* (Dublin, 1963), pp 41, 42, 91, 97, 113, 164, 173, 178, 180.

390 Johnston, *History of Drogheda*, p. 37; D'Alton, *History of Drogheda*, I, p. 247.

391 M. J. McEnery and R. Refausse (eds.), *Christ Church deeds* (Dublin, 2001), pp 186-7.

392 G. MacNiocaill, 'Socio-economic problems of the late medieval Irish town', in D. Harkness and M. O'Dowd (eds.), *The Town in Ireland* (Belfast, 1981), pp 7-22.; idem, *Na Buirgeisi,* II, p. 345; McEneaney, *Mayors and merchants*, p. 152.

393 This study is concerned with the analysis of the town's institutions. Tracing biographies or genealogies would perhaps make this reading this more pleasant, but would also deviate from its 'institutional' perspective.

394 E. MacLysaght, *The surnames of Ireland (*Dublin, 1985), p. 20: "Norman *le Blount*, i.e. the blond or fair-haired. Now very rare, this name was one of the most numerous of the Anglo Norman names in Ireland in the middle Ages. It was usually changed to White by semi-translation". See also idem, *More Irish families* (Galway and Dublin, 1960), pp 10, 144, 281.

395 *Reg. St. John's, Dublin,* p. 165

396 Pipe Roll, iii Edw. I (1274-75), *Rep. DKI* 36, p. 27.

397 Pipe Roll, xxix Edw. I (1300-01), *Rep. DKI* 38, pp 56-7.

398 Pipe Roll, xviii Edw. II (1324-25), *Rep. DKI* 42, pp 63-4; Ibidem, p. 74.

399 *Rot. Pat. Hib.*, 7, p. 181. Richard White, burgesses of Drogheda, is recorded as "Richard White de la Lande" in another entry referred to the year 1403; see *Rot. Pat. Hib*, p. 172, 12; the entanglement of the Whites and Drogheda are discussed in Chap. 9.2, pp 321-23.

prepositus in 1272[401] then mayor in 1285-86[402] and in 1286-7[403]; then a Hugh Morice, perhaps the same person, was mayor in 1294[404], 1298[405] and 1305.[406] This family seems to have monopolized the town's council during the second half of the thirteenth century. The Roche family[407] is represented by Philiph Roch' who was provost in 1262.[408] From the Roth family[409] - perhaps the same as the Roche? - Stephen Roth, was mayor in 1306[410]; William Roth, mayor in 1336[411], in 1341[412] and in 1388.[413] According to D'Alton's catalogue Roche or Roth is the same family and it is leading the fourteenth century's section of his catalogue.[414] Adam Lowel, of the Lowel family,[415] was provost in 1275;[416] John was bailiff in 1313[417] and in 1355[418] and William in 1332.[419]

The following families were also officiating in the town's government: the Brun or Brown family[420] which disappears from our list at the end of the thirteenth century, had Simon as *prepositus* in 1234,[421] Reginald in 1281-2[422] and William as bailiff in 1300-01[423]

---

400 E. MacLysaght, *Irish families. Their names, arms and origins* (Dublin 1957, repr. 1991), p. 230.

401 *Chartul. St. Mary's, Dublin,* II, p. 7.

402 *CDI*, 1285-92, 215, p. 94

403 *CJustR,* 1295-1303, p. 113.

404 *Ir. Chartul. Llanthony*, pp 102-3.

405 *Reg. St. John's, Dublin*, pp 165-6.

406 *CJustR*, 1305-7, pp 31-2. Hugh Morice frequently appears in entries recording Drogheda supplies to the king's army in Gascony and Scotland during the years 1296-99; see Fig. 20, p. 218; Fig 23, p. 243.

407 MacLysaght, *Irish families*, p. 144; idem, *Surnames*, p. 256: Roche, a completely Hibernicized Norman name originally established in Munster and Wexford.

408 Pipe Roll xlvi Hen. III (1262), *Rep. DKI* 35, p. 42.

409 MacLysaght, *Irish families*, p. 195; idem, *Surnames*, p. 261: Roth, Rut, becoming established in Co. Kilkenny in the fourteenth century; the name derives from a Norse word meaning red.

410 *CJustR*, 1305-7, pp 188-89.

411 *Gormanston Reg.*, p. 67.

412 Ibidem, p. 37.

413 *Rot. Pat. Hib.*, 206-7, p. 141b.

414 See Appendix 13.

415 MacLysagh, *Surnames,* p. 199. From the Anglo-French *lovel* (*lupellus*), wolf cub. This surname is recorded at Clonmel as early as 1310.

416 Pipe Roll, 4 Edw. I (1275-6); *Rep. DKI* 36, p. 29.

417 Pipe Roll, VII Edw. II (1313-14), *Rep. DKI* 39, p. 50.

418 *Gormanston Reg.*, p. 73.

419 Pipe Roll, vi Edw. III (1332-3), *Rep. DKI* 43, p. 58.

420 MacLysagh, *Surnames,* p. 28: *de Brun*, *le Brun*, one of the tribes of Galway. Other important families of Browne were established in Ireland from the Anglo-Norman invasion onward.

421 *CPR*, 1340-43, p. 53.

422 Pipe Roll, x Edw. I (1281-82), *Rep. DKI* 36, p. 68.

423 Pipe Roll, xxix Edw. I (1300-01), *Rep. DKI* 38, pp 56-7.

and in 1305.[424] The Bard family[425] has two representatives on this list: Richard, provost in 1261[426] and then mayor in 1268-9[427] and Robert *prepositus* at an unknown date together with Helia Long.[428] The Cosyn family[429] is represented by Robert, who was mayor in 1260[430] and provost in 1267[431] and John bailiff in 1298-99.[432] Hugh Teintrel, perhaps a member of the Teynteurers (dyers) family, was provost in 1272-73[433] and Robert in 1275-6.[434] From the Burgey family[435], Henry Burgeis was provost in 1283-84[436] and Richard in 1296-97.[437] The Heyruns or Herons[438] are represented by William, provost in 1284-5[439] and John in 1286-7.[440] The Page family[441] appears in the list with Thomas, provost in 1285-86[442] and William mayor in 1311.[443] The family name of the earls of Drogheda is Moore.[444] Their ancestors settled early in Drogheda since Walter de la More was provost in 1289-90[445] and in 1292-93[446] both times jointly with Thomas le Clerck. David Mour - de la

---

424 *CJustR*, 1305-7, pp 31-2.

425 MacLysagh, *Surnames,* p. 12.

426 Pipe Roll xlv Hen. III (1261), *Rep. DKI* 35, p. 39.

427 *Chartul. St. Mary's, Dublin*, II, pp 6, 28.

428 *Chartul. St. Mary's, Dublin*, I, p. 245: "*Hiis testibus: Philippo de Nugent; Waltero Norreis; Henrico Rudipach; Pagano Dullard; Petro Augustin; Helia Longo, Roberto Bard, tunc Prepositis; Galfrido Bard; Rogero Litekene; et aliis*". See ibidem, p. 245: "*Hiis testibus: Walnero de Wileleie, Petro Austin; Helia Longo, Roberto Bard, tunc Prepositis; Galfrido Bard; et multis aliis*". These entries are undated. Helia Long was mayor of Drogheda in the year 1230, see *Ir. Chartul. Llanthony*, p. 102. Probably he was provost before 1230.

429 MacLysaght, *More families*, pp 79, 281: "The Cussens have been in Ireland since 1295, if not earlier, and may be regarded as hibernicized Normans. At the beginning of the fourteenth century they were to be found in Counties Cork and Tipperary and also in the Meath-Louth area".

430 *Reg. St. John's, Dublin*, pp 167-8.

431 Pipe Roll, li Hen. III (1267), *Rep.* DKI 35, p. 46.

432 Pipe Roll, xxix Edw. I (1300-01), *Rep. DKI* 38, pp 56-7.

433 *Chartul. St. Mary's, Dublin*, II, p. 7; Pipe Roll, I Edw. (1272-73), *Rep. DKI* 36, p. 24.

434 Pipe Roll, iv Edw. I (1275-76), *Rep. DKI* 36, p. 29.

435 MacLysaght, *More families*, pp 44-5, 281: Burgeys (Burgess) is classified as an Anglo-Norman surname. Idem, *Surnames*, p. 31.

436 Pipe Roll, xii Edw. I (1283-84), *Rep. DKI* 36, p. 75.

437 *CDI*, 1293-1301, 289, p. 131.

438 MacLysaght, *Surnames*, p. 155: an English name of nickname type, seldom of that origin in Ireland.

439 *CDI*, 1285-92, 149, pp. 57- 58; ibidem, 180, p. 83; ibidem, 215, p. 94.

440 Pipe Roll, xv Edw. I (1286-87), *Rep. DKI* 37, p. 28.

441 MacLysaght, *Surnames*, p. 240: this English surname, in Ireland since the sixteenth century and in a few isolated cases earlier, is well known in Ulster and Galway.

442 *CDI*, 1285-92, 215, p. 94; ibidem, 271, p. 119.

443 *Hist. and mun. doc.*, p. 544.

444 See also V. Hussey Walsh, 'The Moores of the city of Drogheda', in *The Genealogist*, N.S. XXXIII (1916), pp 127-8.

445 Pipe Roll, xviii Edw. I (1289-90), *Rep. DKI* 37, p. 42.

446 Ibidem, p. 50.

More? Morice? - was bailiff in 1322-23.[447] The Rathfodans[448] are represented by John de Rathfodan bailiff in 1301-02[449] and Stephen Rathodan mayor in 1260.[450] From the Dandaloun family, Roger was bailiff in 1319[451] and Elias in 1324-26.[452] Toponymics are also quite frequent among the names of town's officers, mainly during the last third of the thirteenth century. Bristol and Trim are the places represented. A certain Nicholas of Bristol was *prepositus* in 1268-69[453] and John de Bristol had the same office in 1274-5. [454] Henry de Trim was mayor in 1272;[455] Adam de Trim, *prepositus* in 1286-7[456]; Hugh de Trim, *prepositus* in 1296-97[457] and Michael de Trim was bailiff in 1298-99. [458]

Many of these public officers were part of the Council of the town since they appear as jurors (*iurati*) in the pleas which were held in the town of Drogheda.[459] Sources often reveal that the majority of them were engaged in trade. We can quite reasonably state that several of these families built their capital out of trade, which is not surprising when we look back to the foundation charter of the borough. By the charter of 1194 the burgesses of Drogheda were given free trade on the Boyne. Trade was the burgesses' main occupation, especially living in a seaport like Drogheda. All things considered, a certain amount of wealth and a standing in the town's society were the only requisites for participation in the public scene in medieval communities.[460]

This catalogue is divided into four sections. The very first three entries, referring to Roger de Hampton (1214), Robert Bard and Helia Long (?) and Robert [of London] (?) have a particular place in the list, since they were *prepositi* of Drogheda in Louth before the introduction of the mayoralty there. That is to say, their office was not subordinate to any

---

447 Pipe Roll, xvi Edw. II (1322-23), *Rep. DKI* 42, p. 47.

448 We were not able to trace back the surname Rathfodans; see MacLysaght, *Surnames*, p. 254: *Rath* is a rare toponimyc still extant in east Leister, especially in Co. Louth.

449 Pipe Roll, xxxi Edw. I (1302-03), *Rep. DKI* 38, p. 71.

450 *Gormanston Reg.*, p. 72.

451 Ibidem, pp 55, 61.

452 Pipe Roll, xviii Edw. II (1324-25), *Rep. DKI* 42, pp 63-4, 74.

453 *Chartul. St. Mary's, Dublin,* II, pp 6, 28.

454 Pipe Roll, iii Edw. I (1274-75), *Rep. DKI* 36, p. 27.

455 *Chartul. St. Mary's, Dublin*, II, p. 7.

456 Pipe Roll, xv Edw. I (1286-87), *Rep. DKI* 37, p. 28.

457 Pipe Roll, xxv Edw. I (1297), *Rep. DKI* 38, pp 31-2.

458 Ibidem, pp 56-7.

459 P. Dryburgh and B. Smith (eds.), *Inquisitions and extents of medieval Ireland*, List and Index Society, National Archives (Kew, 2007); see also *CJustR.*, 1295-1303; 1305-07; 1308-14.

460 *Na Buirgeisi*, II, p. 355.

mayor and, certainly, their capacity was different from all of the other *prepositi-ballivi* listed below. The second section of this list gives mayors and *prepositi* (1230-1298); the third has mayors and bailiffs (1301-1405) and the last lists mayors and sheriff (1412-14).

After the introduction of the mayoralty, the term *praepositi* - provosts or reeves - was applied to the mayor's coadjutors. In Dublin the mayor's coadjutors were styled *prepositi* during the period 1229-1292, from which date they were called 'bailiffs'.[461] *Praepositi* with this capacity are recorded in Drogheda starting from the year 1259 (possibly 1234)[462] until the year 1298. In 1301, John de Cartmel, William le Comber, Michael de Trim, John Cosin, William de Grafton, John Boweneys, William Brun and John Blund are called bailiffs.[463] From that date onward, all of the mayor's assistants are styled bailiffs. The title of bailiff was abolished in Drogheda by the 1412 charter and was substituted with that of sheriff.[464]

The entry of the Pipe Roll for the year 1301 is relevant for two reasons. First, it reports the names of eight bailiffs, instead of the usual two; and second, in 1301 John de Cartmel and William le Comber were called bailiffs, while in an entry from 1297 the same two men were named provosts.[465] The first anomaly is easily explained by the content of the entry where it says that they account for £40 farm of that year 'and arrears amounting to £180'. The last amount corresponds to four and a half years arrears. The entry lists four pairs of bailiffs. As a result we can hypothesize that each pair of officials must have been in service during the previous years - back to 1297, when, for some reason, the farm of royal Drogheda had stopped being paid. Then, in 1300-1301 they were all summoned to answer for the farm. In short, it is likely that John de Cartmel and William le Comber officiated in 1297-98; Michael de Trim and John Cosin in 1298-99; William de Grafton and John Boweneys in 1299-1300; William Brun and John Blund in 1300-01.

---

[461] Berry, 'Catalogue of mayors', p. 154. In Drogheda's documentation the earliest reference to the bailiffs, in the general sense - that is without specification of the names - is for the year 1277-8; see *CDI*, 1252-1284, 1429-30, pp 271-2.

[462] *CPR*, 1340-43, p. 53; see below, Fig 14, p. 163.

[463] Pipe Roll, xxix Edw. I (1300-01), *Rep. DKI* 38, pp 56-7.

[464] *Na Buirgéisí*, I, p. 203: "*Et quod hoc instanti anno maior senescallus et ballivis qui nunc sunt in eadem villa statim visis presentibus de eorum officiis se exonerent et quod burgenses et communitas eiusdem ville ut burgenses et communitas unius libertatis et franchisie ad electionem maioris et vicecomitem regimen ville predicte quo ad residuum presentis anni suscepturorum licite procedant...*"; see Appendix 45.

[465] *Reg. St. John's, Dublin*, pp 165-6: "*Hiis testibus Hugone Morice tunc maiore de Drogheda, Johanne de Cartmel, Willelmo le Comber tunc prepositis...*" (1298).

If this is true, we can also justify the second inconsistency. The fact that John de Cartmel and William le Comber are styled bailiffs in 1301 is only due to the fact that they are listed among other people, the majority of whom were perceived as bailiffs. However, John and William were undeniably *prepositi* in 1297-8 and, that year, they did not pay the farm due to the king. On this evidence, it is reasonable to attribute the change from *prepositi* to *ballivi* in Drogheda to the year 1298-99.

In short, between the years 1298 and 1300 something happened which modified the terminology applied to the mayor's assistants or, possibly, which modified the office itself. Specifically the years 1297 and 1298 can be seen as the sharp point of this change. In fact an entry of the Pipe Roll for the year 1297 refers to Hugh de Trim and Richard Burgeys as bailiffs.[466] However, a year later, in 1298, John de Cartmel and William le Comber were termed in the old fashion - provosts.[467] The fact that the second entry is an ecclesiastical source might in some way explain the delay in assimilating this relatively minor technicality relating to the commune's administrative sphere. Such change may perhaps be linked to the administrative reform associated with the 1297 Dublin Parliament, one of whose enactments was the creation of county Meath.[468] The four years arrears for the farm of the town recorded by the Pipe Rolls in 1301 are probably somehow connected to the same parliament. The Pipe Roll for the following year, 1302-1303, show that the gap was not recovered yet. The entry records that four bailiffs, Richard Passauant, John de Rathfodan, Nicholas the goldsmith and John Jakes accounted for the farm of that year and arrears amounting to £88 6*s*.[469] Those arrears correspond more or less to two years of farm.

---

[466] Pipe Roll, xxv Edw. I (1297), *Rep. DKI* 38, p. 31: "Drogheda borough on the side of Uriel: Hugh de Trim and Richard Burgeys, account for £40 farm of this year and the like sum for previous year [...] John Passauand owes 100*s*. received from Robert Cosyn and Gerald son of John collectors of the new customs; and 2£ 2*s*. 8*d*. from the mayor and the bailiffs for the Fifteenth of the lord the King. Sum £71 2*s*. 8*d*.".

[467] *Reg. St. John's, Dublin,* pp 165-6: "*Hiis testibus Hugone Morice tunc maiore de Drogheda, Johanne de Cartmel, Willelmo le Comber tunc prepositis...*" (1298). See also McNeill, 'The Draycott family', p. 275.

[468] The creation of county Meath affected the possessions in Meath of Theobald de Verdun and Geoffrey de Geneville and the town of Drogheda itself; see P. Connoly, 'The enactments of the 1297 Parliament', in J. Lydon (ed.) *Law and disorder in thirteen century Ireland. The Dublin parliament of 1297* (Dublin, 1997), pp 148-161; see below, Chap. 5.2.1, pp 185-86.

[469] Pipe Roll, xxxi Edw. I (1302-03), *Rep. DKI* 38, p. 71: "Drogheda borough on the side of Uriel: Richard Passauant, John de Rathfodan, Nicholas the goldsmith and John Jakes, account for £40 farm of this year and arrears amounting to £88 6*s*. Paid the sums amounting to £78 6*s*. and they owe 10£. Accounted for a.r. xxxiv".

That is to say, Richard Passauant and John de Rathfodan were bailiffs in 1301-1302; Nicholas the goldsmith and John Jakes in 1302-1303.

G. Mac Niocaill stated that bailiffs were officiating in those towns where there was a mayor and provosts in the other towns.[470] Even though this statement seems basically correct, it also appears a bit generic. According to Drogheda in Louth's evidence in fact, provosts had assisted the mayor from 1230 to 1297 but from 1301 onwards bailiffs started to be mentioned beside the mayors. As a result a gap of fifty years occurs between the granting of the mayoralty in 1252 and the first appearance in Drogheda of bailiffs assisting the mayors.

[470] *Na Buirgéisí*, I, p. 340.

FIG. 14: LIST OF THE MAYORS AND PREPOSITI-BALLIVI OF DROGHEDA IN LOUTH (1230-1412)

Drogheda in Louth: provosts (1214-)

YEAR	*PROVOSTS*
1214	Roger de Hampton[471]
?	Robert Bard, Helia Long[472]
?	Richard of London[473]

Drogheda in Louth: Mayors and provosts (1230-1298)

YEAR	MAYORS	*PROVOSTS*
1230	Helia Long[474]	
1234		Simon Brun and Robert Tel[475]

[471] *Ir. Chartul. Llanthony*, "*Conventio facta inter domum Lanthonie Prime et Ursum burgensium de eadem ospitale*", pp 100-1: "*Hiis testibus* "*Hiis testibus Simone Midensi episcopo, Luca Armachansi archidiacono, Radulpho Paruo archidiacono Midie, magistro Raguel tunc officiali domini Armachansis archiepiscopi, magistero Gerardo de Kusak tunc officiali episcopi Midie, magistero Stacio clerico domini archiepiscopi, Rogero de Hamptona tunc preposito de villa de Drochda, Petro, Augustnio, Willelmo, Sampsone, Daniele de Tantona, Petro Blundo de Brustollia, Huberto Sorthals, Waltero Brun, Herreberto de Cestaia, Willelmo de Concia et multis aliisi*" (1214).

[472] Two undated entries of the Chartularies of St. Mary's Abbey record that Robert Bard and Helia Long were provosts of Drogheda; see *Chartul. St. Mary's, Dublin,* I, "*Carta Warneri de Wileleie*", p. 245: "*Hiis testibus: Philippo de Nugent; Waltero Norreis; Henrico Rudipach; Pagano Dullard; Petro Augustin; Helia Longo, Roberto Bard, tunc Prepositis; Galfrido Bard; Rogero Litekene; et aliis*". See ibidem, "*Carta Ricardi de Calne*", p. 245: "*Hiis testibus: Walnero de Wileleie, Petro Austin; Helia Longo, Roberto Bard, tunc Prepositis; Galfrido Bard*; et multis aliis". It seems likely to assign their *prepositura* to the very early stage of our second section since Helia Long is referred as mayor of Drogheda in 1230; see *Ir. Chartul. Llanthony*, pp 101-2. The general pattern was that individuals were first officiating as bailiff and afterwards as mayors. Even though there is evidence for some individuals who became mayors without ever have previously been bailiffs, we have never encountered a case in which a former mayor officiated afterwards as bailiff.

[473] Another undated entry of the Chartularies of St. Mary's records that a certain Richard [of London] was provost of Drogheda; see *Chartul. St. Mary's, Dublin*, I, "*Carta Radulfi Albi*", p. 244: "*Hiis testibus: Ricardo* [of London], *Preposito de Ponte; Ricardo de Calne; Waltero Brun; Johanne Albo; Roberto Albo, et aliis*". A gross data for this entry has to take into account that Walter Brun, one of its witnesses, can be also found in the list of witnesses of the deed in which Helia Longus is recorded as mayor (1230).

[474] *Ir. Chartul. Llanthony*, "*Carta Alani Prudefot super renunciacione terre supra quam fondata est capella sancti Salvatoris*", pp 101-2: "*Hiis testibus Waltero capellano tunc decano de Drochda, Helia Longo tunc maiore de Drochda*"(1230). Helia Longus was also provost of Drogheda with Robert Bard at an unknown date; see *Chartul. St. Mary's, Dublin,* I, p. 245.

1259	Andrew Blund	William White, Geoffrey the clerk[476]
1259	Nicholas *Mercarius*	William Mose, Simon Flanders[477]
1260	Robert Cosyn	Richard Black, Robert Mackanefy[478]
1260-61		John the clerk, Richard Bard[479]
1261-2		Philiph Roch' and Robert de Derby[480]
1266-67		Robert Cosyn[481]
1268-69	Richard Bard (1269)	Gilbert, brother of Reginald, Nicholas of Bristol[482]
1272	Henry de Trim	Hugh Morris, Hugh Teintrel[483]
1272-73		Hugh Maure and Hugh le Teynteureur[484]

[475] *CPR,* 1340-43, p. 53: "Gilbert, dean of Drogheda, Simon Brun and Robert Tel, mayors of the same town", witnessed the charter granted by Walter de Lacy, lord of Meath to the Abbey of St. Mary's Furness in England concerning lands in Marinestown. This entry presents some inconsistency since it reports the names of two mayors. It we accept that the term "mayors" is not an error of the transcribers, we have to assume that one of the two people was mayor in royal Drogheda and the other was perhaps one of the *prepositi.* The mayoralty was by charter an individual office which could not be shared. Otherwise, if we take into account an erroneous translation of an original *prepositis* - and not *maioribus* -, we could assume that Simon Brun and Robert Tel were reeves of Drogheda in Louth, or perhaps of Drogheda in Meath.

[476] *Reg. St. John's, Dublin*, "*Ceroggrafum inter Domum Sancti Johannis et Matildam quondam uxoris Alexandri Corvisarii*", p. 165. "*Andrea Blundo tunc maiore de Drocheda, Willelmo Withie et Galfrido clerico tunc prepositiis…*" (1259). See also McNeill, 'De Verdons and Draycotts', p. 172.

[477] *Chartul. St. Mary's, Dublin*, II, "*Carta Johanni Cissoris de Bristollia burgagio in Drogheda*", p. 6: "*Testibus: Nicholao Mercero tunc Maiore; Willelmo Mose, Simone Flandrensi, tunc Prepositis. Data in crastino Sancti Thome Apostoli, anno Regis Henrici Tertii 44*".

[478] *Reg. St. John's, Dublin*, "*Carta Johannis Maleth de ii solidatis annui reditus*", pp 167-8: "*Hiis testibus Roberto Cosyn tunc maiore de Drocheta, Ricardo Nigro, Roberto Mackanefy tunc prepositi* "(1260). See also McNeill, 'Draycott family', p. 276.

[479] Pipe Roll xlv Hen. III. (1261), *Rep. DKI* 35, p. 39: "Drogheda on the side of Uriel: John the clerk and Richard Bard for it, account for £40 farm of the borough this year and 40*s.* remnant of same for previous year. Sum £42".

[480] Ibidem, p. 42: "Drogheda on the side of Uriel: Account a.r. xlvi Hen. III. Philiph Roch' and Robert de Derby, the provosts, for it, account for £40 of the farm of said borough".

[481] Ibidem, p. 46: "Drogheda borough on the side of Uriel: Robert Cosyn, for it, account for £40 farm thereof this year". Robert Cosyn is styled neither prepositus nor *maiore*. Even though the provosts are usually mentioned in couples, another entry for the year 1290 report only one name: Gerald, son of John, provost of Drogheda on the Uriel side. Robert Cosyn is more likely to have been a provost rather than the mayor, because he accounted at the exchequer for the farm. Robert Cosyn and Gerald son of John, were custodians of the new customs in Drogheda in 1296-97; see Pipe Roll, xxv Edw. I (1296-97), *Rep. DKI* 38, p. 32.

[482] *Chartul. St. Mary's, Dublin*, II, "*Charta Rogeri de Donigton, de burgagio in Drogheda ex parte Urielis*", p. 6: "*Testibus: Richardo Bard, tunc Maiore; Gilberto, fratre Reginaldi, Nicholao de Bristollia, tunc Prepositis. Data die Veneris proximo ante festum Sancti Patricii, anno 1268*". See ibidem, II, p. 28: "*Johannes, Abbas Beate Marie, Dublin. A tempore Jo. De Dubilton, Archidiaconi Midie; Bricii, Archidiaconi Amarcani; et Richardi Bard, Maioris de Drogheda*". In margin: "*Iste Richardus fuit Maior mense Aprilis 1269*"'. The names of the two provosts are confirmed by an entry of the Pipe Roll, see Pipe Roll liii Hen. III (1268-69), *Rep. DKI* 35, p. 50: "Drogheda borough on the side of Uriel: Nicholas de Bristoll and Gilbert son of Reginald account for £40 of the farm". The entry is incomplete; the roll is very much injured.

[483] *Chartul. St. Mary's, Dublin,* II, p. 7: "*Anno 1272. Henrico de Trum, Mayor, Hugo Morris, Hugo Teintrel, Prepositi Droghede. Die Lune proximo ante Privicarnium*".

[484] Pipe Roll, i Edw. (1272-73), *Rep. DKI* 36, p. 24: "Drogheda borough on the side of Uriel: Hugh Maure and Hugh le Teynteureur, account for £40 farm thereof this year".

1274-75		John de Bristoll and Geoffrey le Blund[485]
1275-76		Adam Lowel and Robert le Teynteureur[486]
1276-77		Robert Mackaneny and Richard le Neyr[487]
1278-79		Walter son of John and Ralph le Feure[488]
1279-80		Richard son of Ingrith and James Bomes[489]
1280-81		Hugh Bredin and Thomas le Joefne [490]
1281, Hilary		Philip Smith and John Galdut[491]
1281-82		Reginald Brun and Hugh de Portogyn[492]
1282-83		John Taxagard and Adam Taxagard[493]
1283-84		William Matheu and Henry Burgeis[494]
1284-1285		Geoffrey FitzJohn and William Heyrun[495]
1285-86	Hugh Morice[496]	Thomas Page and John le Englys[497]

[485] Ibidem, p. 27: "Drogheda on the side of Uriel: "John de Bristoll and Geoffrey le Blund, account for £40 farm of the same borough this year".

[486] Ibidem, p. 29: "Drogheda borough on the side of Uriel: Adam Lowel and Robert le Teynteureur, account for £40 farm of the borough this year".

[487] Ibidem, p. 38: "Drogheda borough on the side of Uriel: Robert Mackaneny and Richard le Neyr account for £40 farm of the borough thereof this year".

[488] Ibidem, p. 45: "Drogheda on the side of Uriel, borough: Walter son of John and Ralph le Feure, account for £40 farm of the borough thereof this year".

[489] Ibidem, p. 45: "Sum £ 115and they have overpaid £75 which is allocated, £40 to Richard son of Ingrith, and James Bomes, and £35 to Peter le Feure and John Galdule in the account a.r. viii". See also Pipe Roll, viii Edw. I (1279-80), *Rep. DKI* 36, p. 49: "Drogheda borough on the side of Uriel: Richard son of Ingrith and James Bomes account for 40£ farm of the borough thereof this year".

[490] Ibidem, p. 58: "Drogheda on the side of Uriel, borough: Hugh Bredin and Thomas le Joefne account for £40 farm of the borough thereof this year and £5 balance from preceding year. Sum £45. Paid £60 into the treasurer and they have overpaid 15£ which is allowed to Reginald Brun and Hugh de Portogyn in following roll". See also ibidem, p. 68; *CDI*, 1252-1284, 1814, p. 381: from farm of Drogheda towards Uriel, by Hugh de Bredone and Thomas Juvene, £20 (1281, Easter).

[491] *CDI*, 1252-1284, 1780, p. 372.

[492] Pipe Roll, x Edw. I (1281-82), *Rep. DKI* 36, p. 68: "Drogheda borough on the side of Uriel: Reginald Brun and Hugh de Portogyn account for £40 farm of the borough thereof this year. Paid into the treasury £20, and allowed them other sums, with the money overpaid by Hugh Bredin and Thomas le Joefne in a previous roll, all amounting to £40 16*s.* 10*d.* and they have overpaid 16*s.* 10*d.*, which is allowed to Geoffrey son of John and William Herun, in account of farm of the borough a.r. xiii.

[493] Ibidem, p. 70: "Drogheda borough on the side of Uriel: John Taxagard and Adam Taxagard account for 40£ farm of the borough thereof this year".

[494] Ibidem, p. 75: "Drogheda borough on the side of Uriel: William Matheu and Henry Burgeis account for 40£ farm of the borough thereof this year and £104*s.* 5*d.* balance".

[495] Ibidem, p. 68: "all amounting to £40 16*s.* 10*d.* and they have overpaid 16*s.* 10*d.*, which is allowed to Geoffrey son of John and William Herun, in account of farm of the borough a.r. xiii". The Calendar of Document of Ireland reports the same entry, but with a different name: Gerald FitzJohn instead than Geoffrey FitzJohn; see *CDI*, 1285-92, 149, pp 57- 58; ibidem, 180, p. 83; ibidem, 215, p. 94.

[496] *CJustR,* 1295-1303, p. 113. During the xiv and xv years of reign of Edward I, pleas were held at Drogheda before Nicholas Taaf, justice assigned and Hugh Morice, mayor of that town and his fellows, William de Spineto, Nicholas de Netterville and Hugh de Repenteny. The litigants were Richard, prior of the house of St. Leonard of Dundalk and Theobald de Verdun.

[497] *CDI*, 1285-92, 215, p. 94; ibidem, 271, p. 119.

1286-87	Hugh Morice[498]	John Heyrun and Adam de Trim[499]
1287-88		Thomas le Clerck and Adam le Chapman[500]
1288		Walter of Galway[501]
1289		Henry le Grey[502]
1289-90		Thomas le Clerk and Walter de la More[503]
1290	Gerald[504]	
1290	Nicholas de Anthboy	Gerald son of John[505]
1292-93		Thomas le Clerc and Richard Morice[506]
1294	Richard de Weston	Thomas de Novene and Hugh Bredun[507]
1294	Hugh Morice[508]	
1295		Thomas le Clerc and William de Furneys[509]

[498] *CJustR,* 1295-1303, p. 113.

[499] Pipe Roll, xv Edw. I (1286-87), *Rep. DKI* 37, p. 28: "Drogheda borough on the side of Uriel: John Heyrun and Adam de Trim, account for £40 farm of the borough thereof this year and £14 2*s.* 6 ¼ *d.* arrears for preceding years".

[500] Ibidem, p. 31: "Drogheda borough on the side of Uriel: Thomas le Clerck and Adam le Chapman, account for £40 farm of the borough thereof this year and £26 8*s.* 6 ¼ *d.* arrears for preceding years".

[501] *CDI,* 1285-92, 371, pp 164-71. Roll of receipt Easter Term, a.r. 16: farm of Drogheda towards Uriel, by Walter of Galway, £7 13*d.* 10 ¾ *s.* (p. 164); from the same for the same, 1 mark (p. 165); from the same for the same, 4 marks (p. 166). This entry and the following represent an anomaly because they mention only one baliff accounting at the exchequer for the farm.

[502] *CDI,* 1285-92, 475, p. 220: Roll of receipt Easter Term, a.r. 17: farm of Drogheda towards Uriel, by Henry de Grey.

[503] Pipe Roll, xviii Edw. I (1289-90), *Rep. DKI* 37, p. 42: "Drogheda borough on the side of Uriel: Thomas le Clerc and Walter de la More, account for £40 farm of the borough thereof this year and £49 1*s.* arrears for preceding years". In 1306 Walter de la More, burgesses of Drogheda, supplied 100 tuns of wine to the king for the war in Scotland; see *CJustR*, 1305-7, p. 242. Walter was collector of the New Customs at Drogheda in 1306-7, when a sum was provided by the town to be used in an expedition against Robert Bruce in Scotland; see Pipe Roll, i Edw. II (1307-8), *Rep. DKI* 39 (Dublin, 1907), p. 25; see Fig. 23, p. 243.

[504] *Ir. Chartul. Llanthony*, "*Carta Symonis Stopol de relazione xii d. annui redditus de renella in Drogheda*", p. 107: *"Hiis testibus Geraldo tunc maiore de Drocheda ex parte predicti..."* (1290).

[505] Ibidem, "*Memorandum de muro capelle in parte australi constructo obturante lumen cancelli*", p. 145: "*...et sciendum quod Nicholaus de Anthboy maior de Drocheda ex parte Uriel, Gerardus filius Iohannis prepositus ibidem, Philippus Wodelock, Richardo de Weston, et Symon de Kyrkeby burgenses pro communitate predictorum burgensium de Drocheda premissa recognoverunt et ea hic inrotulari concesserunt*" (1290). Gerald son of John, and Robert Cosyn were custodians of the new customs in Drogheda in 1296-97; see Pipe Roll, xxv Edw. I (1296-97), *Rep. DKI* 38, p. 32

[506] Pipe Roll, xxi Edw. I (1292-93), *Rep. DKI* 37, p. 50: "Drogheda borough on the side of Uriel: Thomas le Clerc and Richard Morice, account for £40 farm of the borough thereof this year and £80 for farm of two preceding years. Sum £120".

[507] *Ir. Chartul. Llanthony*, "*Carta Henrici Flemyngde reddita apud Drogheda que carta esemplificata remanet in custodia procuratoris de Dyuleke*", pp 140-1: *"Hiis testibus Ricardo de Weston tunc maiore, Thoma de Novene et Hugone Bredun tunc prepositis"* (1294). This is an *Inspeximus* of King Richard II of a document by which Henry Flemyngle rented a land in Bothestrata, Uriel Drogheda.

[508] Ibidem, "*Carta Iohanni Prodfot filii Ricardi Prodfot de eisdem*", pp 102-3: *"Hiis testibus Hugone Morice tunc maiore de Drochda, domino Galfrido Dorun tunc vicario ecclesie sancti Petri de eadem villa..."* (1294).

1296		Thomas le Clerck and Richard Burgeys[510]
1296-97		Hugh de Trim and Richard Burgeys[511]
1297		Ralph de Wolton[512]
1298	Hugh Morice	John de Cartmel, William le Combe[513]

Drogheda in Louth: Mayors and Bailiffs (1298-1412)

YEAR	MAYORS	*BAILIFFS*
1297[514]		
1300-01		John de Cartmel,[515] William le Comber, Michael de Trim, John Cosin, William de Grafton, John Boweneys, William Brun and John Blund[516]
1302-03		Richard Passauant, John de Rathfodan, Nicholas the goldsmith and John Jakes[517]

---

[509] *CDI*, 1293-1301, 264, pp 112, 116. In the roll of great receipt on the year 1295, William de Forneis accounted for £20, of the farm of Drogheda in Uriel; in the same roll Thomas le Clerc and William de Furneys accounted for 100s, of arrears of the same vill.

[510] *CDI*, 1293-1301, 289, p. 131: Thomas le Clerck and Richard Burgeys accounted for £10 farm of Drogheda in Uriel.

[511] Pipe Roll, xxv Edw. I (1296-97), *Rep. DKI* 38, pp 31-2. "Drogheda borough on the side of Uriel: Hugh de Trim and Richard Burgeys, account for £40 farm of this year and the like sum for previous year". See also *CDI*, 1293-1301, 329, p. 150.

[512] *CDI*, 1293-1301, 391, p. 179. Ralph de Woltone accounted for £7 in the roll of gross receipt of Easter term, a.r. 25. Two years later, in 1299, Ralph de Woltone accounted for 100s. arrears for the farm of the same borough, see ibidem, 658, p. 313.

[513] *Reg. St. John's, Dublin, "Cerograffum inter Domum predictam et Walterum filium Johannis"*, pp 165-6: "*Hiis testibus Hugone Morice tunc maiore de Drogheda, Johanne de Cartmel, Willelmo le Comber tunc prepositis...*" (1298). See also *CDI*, 1293-1301, 550, p. 246: Drogheda in Uriel, of farm of the vill, by John de Kertmel and William de Combe, £8. 6*s*. 8*d*; McNeill, 'Draycott family', p. 275.

[514] Sometimes between 1297 and 1301, the *praepositi* started to be styled bailiffs. The first evidence of the change is to be found in the entry of the Pipe Roll for the year 1297, when Hugh de Trim and Richard Burgeys are indirectly referred as bailiffs; see Pipe Roll, xxv Edw. I (1297), *Rep. DKI* 38, pp 31-2: "John Passauand owes 100*s*. received from Robert Cosyn and Gerald son of John collectors of the new customs; and £2 2*s*. 8*d*. from the mayor and the bailiffs for the Fifteenth of the lord the King. Sum £71 2*s*. 8*d*.". However, a year after, in 1298, John de Cartmel, William le Combe are called in the old fashion *prepositi*.

[515] John de Cartmel and Thomas Page were purveyors at Drogheda on the Uriel side for three consecutive years, from 1305 to 1308; see *Ir. Exch.P.*, pp 188, 196,199; see Fig. 23, p. 243.

[516] Pipe Roll, xxix Edw. I (1300-01), *Rep. DKI* 38, pp 56-7: "Drogheda borough on the side of Uriel: John de Cartmel, William le Comber, Michael de Trim, John Cosin, William de Grafton, John Boweneys, William Brun and John Blund, account for £40 farm of this year and arrears amounting to £180". It seems likely that John de Cartmel and William le Comber officiated in 1297-98 as *prepositi*; the other three pairs instead were *ballivi*: Michael de Trim and John Cosin in 1298-99; see *CDI*, 1293-1301, 658, p. 313; ibidem, 613, pp 292-3; William de Grafton and John Boweneys in 1299-1300; see *CDI*, 1293-1301, 825, pp 373-380; William Brun and John Blund in 1300-01.

1305	Hugh Morice	John Bowneys, William Broun[518]
1306	Stephen Roth[519]	
1309-10		William Brian and Martin Sewall[520]
1310-11	Robert Bran	Robert atte Watere, Richard Don[521]
1311	William Page[522]	
1313-14		John Louel, Simon Keppok[523]
1316-17	*Mattheum de Baa*[524]	Roger Irp and Laurence Doget[525]
1317-18	Matthew de Baa[526]	

[517] Pipe Roll, xxxi Edw. I (1302-03), *Rep. DKI* 38, p. 71. "Drogheda borough on the side of Uriel: Richard Passauant, John de Rathfodan, Nicholas the goldsmith and John Jakes, account for £40 farm of this year and arrears amounting to £88 6*s*. Paid the sums amounting to £78 6*s*. and they owe £10. Accounted for a.r. xxxiv". It is likely that Richard Passauant, John de Rathfodan were bailiffs in 1301-1302; Nicholas the goldsmith and John Jakes in 1302-1303.

[518] *CJustR*, 1305-7, pp 31-2 (January 27, 1305), p. 59 (May 16, 1305). In between his various mandates as mayor (1286, 1287, 1294, 1298, 1305), Hugh Morice had been justice assigned at Drogheda for the years 1296-7; see *CJustR*, 1295-1303, pp 221-22, 280-81. He was also purveyor with Gerald son of John at Drogheda in the years 13001-2; see Pipe Roll, xxx Edw. I (1301-02), *Rep. DKI* 38, p. 67.

[519] *CJustR*, 1305-7, pp 188-89 (January 27, 1306). Stephen Roth had been purveyor in Drogheda in the year 1300-01; see *Pipe Roll*, xxix Edw. I (1300-01), *Rep. DKI* 38, p. 58: "Account of Peter le Feurre and Stephen Roth, burgesses of Drogheda on the side of Uriel, purveyors there, to procure corn, wine and other provisions for the Scotch war".

[520] Pipe Roll, iii Edw. II (1309-10), *Rep. DKI* 39, p. 34. Drogheda borough on the Uriel side: "William Brian and Martin Sewall account for £20 farm of the town, for Michaelams term a.r. iii Edw. II and arrears, all amounting to £154. Payment into the Treasury and they are quit".

[521] *Ir. Exch. P.*, p. 601: "Robert Bran, Robert atte Watere and Richard Don, mayor and bailiff of Drogheda on the side of Uriel and purveyors of victuals for the king there, to buy and purvey 60 crannoks of wheat, 10 tuns. Of wine and 20 crannoks of salt to victual the ship of John Dergail crossing to Scotland for the expedition of the king's war there in 1310-11: £50 10*s*. 7 ¼ *d*" (1308-14).

[522] *Hist. and mun. doc.*, p. 544. In 1311 Richard Lawless was elected mayor of Dublin; concurrently William Page was elected mayor of Drogheda on the Uriel side and William de Ulveston seneschal for Drogheda on the Meath side. All of them were presented at the Exchequer, Dublin, and took the oaths of their office there: "*Memorandum quod in predicto crastino Sancti Michaelis communitas ville de Drogheda, ex parte Urielis, protulit in scaccario hic Willielmum Page, maiorem suum, in eadem villa, de anno presenti electum de communi assensu totius comunitatis ville predicte; et eodem die idem Willielmus Page prestitit sacramentum de officio suo bene et fideliter faciendo in forma consueta quamdiu, etc.*".

[523] Pipe Roll, VII Edw. II (1313-14), *Rep. DKI* 39, p. 50: "Drogheda borough on side of Uriel. John Louel, Simon Keppok, bailiffs, account for £40 farm thereof from Michaelmas term to Easter term *a.r.* vi and £20 for Michaelmas term *a.r.* vii Sum £60" (1313).

[524] *Hist. and mun. doc.*, pp 395-6. In consideration of various perils, permission was given to the burgesses and commonalty of Drogheda towards Uriel not to present their mayor, Matthew Baa, at the exchequer at Dublin on the morrow of St. Michael (30 September), as it was customary practice. This decision was taken under the extraordinary circumstances of Bruce's progression through Meath and because the burgesses and Matthew were at the Exchequer about a week before, on the morrow of Saint Matthew (22 September).

[525] Pipe Roll, x Edw. II (1316-17), *Rep. DKI* 39, p. 72: "Drogheda borough on side of Uriel. Roger Irp and Laurence Doget, bailiffs account for £20 of the farm for Michaelmas term a.r. x, £40 for a.r. ix. Sum £60. Paid £20 into the treasury".

[526] *Ir. Exch. P.*, *1270-1446*, p. 248. Wages of hostage in Drogheda castle. "Matthew de Baa, mayor of Drogheda on the side of Uriel, for the wages of William, son of William Sendale and Roger, son of William Savage, with two nurses, staying as hostages in the town of Drogheda, 2 Feb.- 10 Aug. 1317, at 4*d*

1319	Matthew Bathe	Roger Daundon, Andrew de Chaundons[527]
1322	Martin Sewell[528]	
1322-23		David Mour , John le Bottiler[529]
1324-25		Elias Daundoun , Hugh le Blound[530]
1325-26		Elyas Daundon, Hugh le Blond[531]
1330-1		Hugh Sompter, Richard le Byey[532]
1332-3		John Bretnagh , William Louel[533]
1336	William Roth[534]	
1339-40		Matthew Maresch', Richard Parmeter[535]
1341-2	William Roth	Henry fitz Elys and William Asshe[536]
1344-5		William Taloun and Nicholas Siftoun[537]
1346x1366	Richard Mole[538]	

per day: £9 7*s*" (1317-18). In the year 1319, Simon Keppok and Matthew de Bathe are referred as merchants of Drogheda; see *CPR* (1317-21), pp 346, 373.

[527] *Gormanston Reg.*, pp 55, 61: Matthew de Bathe, mayor of Drogheda, Roger Daundon and Andrew de Chaundos, bailiffs witnessed a quit-claim on 31January 1319.

[528] Ibidem, p. 73. "Martin Sewell, mayor of Drogheda on the side of Uriel" witnessed a charter dated in Drogheda on 31 October, 1322. He had been bailiff in 1309-10, see Pipe Roll, iii Edw. II (1309-10), *Rep. DKI* 39, p. 34.

[529] Pipe Roll, xvi Edw. II (1322-23), *Rep. DKI* 42, p. 47: "Drogheda borough on the side of Uriel: David Mour and John le Bottiler account for £ 20farm thereof from Michaelmas term a.r. xvi and arrears, all amounting to £80".

[530] Ibidem, pp 63-4: "Drogheda borough on the Uriel side: Elias Daundoun and Hugh le Blound, bailiffs, account for £40 farm thereof, for Michaelmas term a.r. xviii and Easter term a.r. xvii".

[531] Ibidem, p. 74: "Drogheda borough on the Uriel side: Elyas Daundon and Hugh le Blond, bailiffs, account for £20 farm thereof, for Michaelmas term a.r. xix; £20 for Easter term a.r. xviii. Sum £40".

[532] Pipe Roll, iv Edw. III (1330-1), *Rep. DKI* 43, pp 38-9: "Drogheda borough on the Uriel side: Hugh Sompter and Richard le Byey, bailiffs, account for £40 farm thereof from Easter and Michaelmas a.r. iv and £60 for 1 ½ years preceding. Sum £100".

[533] Ibidem, p. 58. "Drogheda borough on the Uriel side: JohnBretnagh and William Louel, bailiffs, account for 40£ farm of the borough, for Easter and Michaelmas terms *a.r.* vi".

[534] *Gormanston Reg.*, p. 67. William Preston and John, son of John Bouneys, made an agreement in front of "William Roth, mayor" of Drogheda and the jurats of the town, concerning a wall in Both Street. The indenture is dated on 1 February 1336.

[535] Pipe Roll, xiii-xv Edw. III (1339-40), *Rep. DKI* 47, p. 34: "Drogheda borough on the side of Uriel: Matthew Maresch' and Richard Parmeter, bailiffs, account for £ 20 farm of said borough, for Michaelmas a.r. xiii and £80 for two preceding years. Sum £100".

[536] *Gormanston Reg.*, p. 37. William Roth, mayor, Henry Hasilbeth and William Serle, bailiffs of Drogheda, witnessed a quit-claim on 20 July, 1341. The names of these two bailiffs have a different spelling in an entry of the Pipe Roll; see Pipe Roll, xv Edw. III (1341-2), *Rep. DKI* 47, p. 60: "Drogheda borough on the side of Uriel: Henry fitz Elys and William Asshe, bailiffs, account for 20£ farm of said borough, for Michaelmas a.r. xv and £60 for the three preceding terms at £40 yearly. Sum £80".

[537] Pipe Roll, xviii Edw. III (1344-45), *Rep. DKI* 54, p. 38: "Drogheda borough on the side of Uriel: William Taloun and Nicholas Siftoun, bailiffs, account for £20 farm thereof for Michaelmas term *a.r.* xviii and £60 for the preceding year and a half at £40 yearly. Sum £80".

[538] Curtis, *Ormond deeds*, III, p. 344. The account of James le Botiller for the king's prise in Ireland (1348-66) brings evidence that Richard Mole was mayor of Drogheda on the Louth side at some unspecified date between 1348 and 1366. D'Alton's list registers Richard Mole as mayor of Drogheda in the

1349	Simon Keppok[539]	
1351	Robert atte Watre	Adam Drak and Henrico Palmar'[540]
1354	William Taloun[541]	Richard Payn, Richard Lang[542]
1355	Simon Keppok	John Louell', Thomas Aylbryght[543]
1356	--- de Bathe[544]	
1360	Stephen Rathodan[545]	
1371	John Frombold[546]	
1374	Thomas Talbot	Nicholas Howth[547]
1388	William Roth	*Jo mercator*, Alexander Demet; William Rath (deputy) [548]

year 1380 and Robert Mole as bailiff in the year 1397; see D'Alton, *History of Drogheda*, I, p. 246. In 1352 Richard and William Mole together with other burgesses of Drogheda were given licence to buy wheat and other corn to send to England, for the king's use; see *CPR,* 1350-54, p. 235. Richard Mole represented Drogheda at the 1371 Parliament at Kilkenny, and was one of the burgesses of Drogheda forced by William de Windsor to go to the defence of Limerick in 1370; see below, Fig. 28, p. 291. He attended that 1372 Great Council at Dublin, together with other five burgesses of Drogheda; see *Rot. Pat. Hib.*, I, 46 Edw. II, p. 84; see also W. Lynch, *A view of the legal institutions, honorary hereditary offices and feudal baronies established in Ireland during the reign of Henry II* (London, 1830), p. 321. He is referred as owning 10 shops in Drogheda Meath before 1401; see *Rot. Pat. Hib.,*80, p. 162. Richard and William belonged to the same family; see *Rot. Pat. Hib.*, 41, p. 188b.

[539] *Gormanston Reg.*, p. 77. On 25 May 1249 the Hundred Court was held in front of Simon Keppok, mayor of Drogheda in Uriel.

[540] McNeill, 'Drogheda gilds and properties', p. 245. In 1352 Adam Drake together with other burgesses of Drogheda were given licence to buy wheat and other corn to send to England, for the king's use, see *CPR,* 1350-54, p. 235.

[541] *Gormanston Reg.*, p. 77. On 19 May 1354 a quit-claim was enrolled before William Taloun, mayor of Drogheda.

[542] An entry of the Ancient Petitions dated on April 22 1354 gives evidence for the names of the bailiffs, Richard Payn, Richard Lang; see G. O. Sayles (ed), *Documents on the affairs of Ireland before King's council* (Dublin 1979), pp 285-86.

[543] *Gormanston Reg.*, p. 73. Quit-claim in the time of Simon Keppok, mayor, and John Louell' and Thomas Aylbryght, bailiffs of Drogheda (6 January 1355). Simon Keppok was twice mayor of Drogheda, in 1349 and in 1355; his appointment could had been favoured by the fact that Thomas Keppok was the king's attorney during the years 1351-52; see Richardson and Sayles, *Administration of Ireland*, p. 178.

[544] Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, viii, p. 127; D'Alton, *History of Drogheda*, 1, p. 129.

[545] *Gormanston Reg.*, p. 72. Stephen Rathodan, mayor, witnessed the enrolment of a quit-claim between two burgesses of Drogheda in the Uriel side, on 28 July 1360.

[546] *CCR,* 1369-74, p. 265. Ordinance of Edward III to release the mayor of Drogheda, John Frombold, who was unjustly arrested and imprisoned for not having paid 100 marks, a sum extorted from the town by William Windsor, lieutenant. Frombold is recorded as merchant in the year 1370; see Clarke, 'William Windsor', p. 118. In the year 1384, John Frombold was rendering a rent to the king for two messuages, three shops, a pigeon hole, a garden and an apple tree in Drogheda in Louth; see *Rot. Pat. Hib.*, I, 5, p. 119; see chap. 7.4, pp 285-292 and Fig. 28, p. 290

[547] *'Rotulus Clausus 48 Edw. III'*, p. 149 (8 September 1374).

[548] *Rot. Pat. Hib.*, 206-7, p. 141b: "*Rex, recitasse quod Yo, mercator, unum ballivum de Drogheda, trans mare sit perfecturus, concessisse ei quod facere posit Willelmum Rath de Drogheda deputatum suum. 8 Oct. Et mandatum Willelmo Roth majoris de Drogheda et Alexandro Demet uni ballivorum quod ipsum admit*" (1388). William Roth represented Drogheda at the 1371 Parliament of

1389	Thomas David[549]	
1404		Peter Chepman (John Beke, deputy)[550]
1405	Richard White (Thomas Day, John White, deputies)[551]	Nicholas White (John Daltoun, deputy)[552]

Drogheda in Louth: Mayors and Sheriffs (1412-1414)

YEAR	MAYORS	SHERIFFS
1412	William Symcock[553]	
1414	William Symcock	Richard Frapestoune, Robert Ball[554]

Kilkenny; see *CCR,* 1369-74, p. 246. William Roth was mayor of the staple of Drogheda in 1402; see *Rot. Pat. Hib.*, 60, p. 161b.

[549] *Rot. Pat. Hib.*, 219, p. 137: "*Idem licentiam dedisse Thomase David majori et Willelmo Symcock senescallo ville de Drogheda quod ipsi victualia pro hospicium Johannis episcopi Sodor', de tempo in tempo, providere et ad loca ubi dictum episcopum morat trahere contingit, tam per terram quam per acqua, mittere valeant; proviso quod inimicis not mittantur. Dubline, 16 Feb.*" (1389). This entry is problematic for the reason that mention a mayor, Thomas Davis, and a seneschal, Symcock. Mayors and bailiffs were officiating in Drogheda in Louth, whereas seneschals and bailiffs were officiating in Drogheda in Meath. Perhaps the explanation is that both boroughs were requested to provide victuals to John Bishop of Sodor'. See Chap. 9. 3.2, pp. 327-28.

[550] *Rot. Pat. Hib.*, 5, p. 178b: "*Rex, (recitans quod Peter Chepman, alteris ballivorum ville de Drogheda, in Anglie perfecturus, constituerat Johannem Beke, burgensem eiusdem ville, deputatum suum,) mandat quod omnes eidem Johannem intendentes sint*" (14 April 1405).

[551] In the year 1405 Richard White, mayor of Drogheda in Louth, went to England after having left deputies in the borough to carry out his office; see *Rot. Pat. Hib.*, 7, p. 181: "*Rex licencia dedit Ricardo White majori ville Drogheda ex parte Urielis, ad Angliam perfecturi, quod ipse Thomam Day et Johannem White burgenses eiusdem ville facere posit deputatos suos in officio predicto. Dublino 7 Oct.*" (1405).

[552] During the same year Nicholas White, one of the bailiffs of Drogheda in Louth went *trans mare* and John Daltoun was appointed as his deputy. It seems likely that Richard White, mayor, and Nicholas White, bailiff, went together to England since the patents are dated on the same day and witnessed by the same people; see *Rot. Pat. Hib.*, 8, p. 181: "*Rex omnibus mandate quod Johanni Daltoun burgensis de Drogheda, quem Nicholas White unus ballivorum ville predicte, trans mare, de licencia Regis, prefecturi, faceat deputatum suum in dicto officio, intendentes sit. Teste ut supra*" 1405).

[553] Johnston, *History of Drogheda*, p. 37; D'Alton, *History of Drogheda*, I, p. 247. About William Simcock, see below Chap. 9. 3.2, pp. 327-28.

[554] *Christ Church deeds*, pp 186-7.

3.3 The Dublin and Drogheda alliance (1252) and the League of Irish towns (1285)

The year 1252 had an intense institutional impact on Drogheda. As mentioned before, on 8 August, 1252, Geoffrey de Geneville inherited the lordship of Trim.[555] Four months later, on 8 December, 1252, Drogheda in Louth was granted the prisage of wines in their port.[556] The grant of mayoralty is dated on 12 December.[557] Sometime during that very same year an alliance was formed between Dublin and Drogheda. Gilbert has defined this coalition as a "vestige of temporary confederation of Anglo-Irish towns".[558] Gearóid MacNiocaill defined it as a pact of cooperation.[559] The document states that the citizens of Dublin and the burgesses of Drogheda in Louth established an eternal agreement of mutual peace and amity between them.[560] Gilbert's transcription from the *White Book* is incomplete, missing the closing part: the grantor, the witnesses, the day and month and place of its issuing.[561] It seems likely that it was made in concert by the two communities; however the pre-eminence of Dublin is evident by the dynamic of the agreement. The terms of the pact were the following:

- The citizens of Dublin were to be free (from taxes and suchlike) in Drogheda and throughout its liberties.
- Some of the burgesses of Drogheda, elected by the citizens of Dublin, were to convene with the citizens of Dublin. The citizens of Dublin, elected in like manner, were to attend the council of the burgesses of Drogheda. During these councils, any number of matters advantageous to either community was to be discussed.

---

555 *Gormanston Reg.*, p. 178.

556 *CDI*, 1152-1284, 118, p. 17.

557 *Ch. priv. et imm.*, p. 28; *Na Buirgéisí*, I, pp 188-91.

558 Gilbert, *Hist. et mun.docs.*, p. xxviii.

559 *Na Buirgéisí*, II, pp. 335-36.

560 Gilbert, *Hist. et mun. docs.*, pp 130-1: "*De composicione inter burgenses de Drogheda et cives Dublin*"; *Cal. ancient rec.*, I, p. 89; see Appendix 14.

561 The deed of the compact refers to the reeves of Drogheda (*prepositos*) - and not to the mayor and *prepositos* - as those who were in charge to compel Drogheda debtors to pay their obligation to the Dublin citizens. As a result we might attribute the document to the time in which Drogheda was still governed by provosts and bailiffs -before 12 December 1252- instead than by mayor and bailiffs.

- Requests to the king, or to other subjects, were to be made by the united council of the citizens and the burgesses.
- They had to mutually resist oppressors. That is to say the enemies of Dublin were the enemies of Drogheda.
- If any inhabitant of Dublin or Drogheda injured another person in foreign parts, complaints were not to be laid there, but an adjustment made on their return home. The consuetudinary right of the municipalities to plead inside their own walls was not to be modified by the alliance. Namely, the judicial autonomy of royal Drogheda was preserved and its Court was not incorporated into Dublin's.
- Debtors in Drogheda to citizens of Dublin were to be compelled by the provosts of the borough to pay their debts, and vice versa.

All matters ordained for common benefit were to be firmly observed on both sides.

There is evidence for these stipulations being in force twenty years after their issuing. In 1272 the authorities of Dublin prayed redress for Alicia Augustin and other burgesses of Drogheda against the authorities of Southampton. They also asked the king to enforce the payment of £100 of silver due to her by a citizen of Bristol.[562] The significance of this entry really comes to the fore with respect to external politics. The royal communities of Dublin and Drogheda in Louth seem to be involved in a political alignment in which they could act as equals. Decisions were to be made in common; objectives and strategies were to equalize the profit of both parties. Mutual protection was guaranteed. One single voice was to be heard by the king's chancery. Nonetheless, internal administration was to be left to the separate jurisdictions, which maintained their own autonomy - which we can infer from the following mandate dealing with a case of delay in rendering justice in royal Drogheda.

On 23 July 1252 Henry Malonis and Walter Long, the king's burgesses of Drogheda, went to the King in England to complain about the delay of the Court of Drogheda in Louth in dealing with an appeal made against them and concerning the death of Luke Cythared, killed within the walls of Drogheda. They were prepared to purge themselves of the homicide "before the coroners and assizes of that borough, granted to it by the king's charter of liberties". But they were somehow not able to complete the

---

[562] *CDI*, 1252-1284, 932, p. 160.

admonishment, which left them vulnerable to be molested by strangers outside the burgh. The king ordered the justiciar to cause Henry and Walter to have their purgation, according with the king's charter and the usage of the borough.[563] The fact that Mylonis and Long went to England, as private burgesses without the patronage of Dublin, to complain about the Court of Drogheda, seems to validate our interpretation of the compact.

Thirty years after the 1252 Dublin and Drogheda-alliance a second bigger pact was sanctioned among Irish royal cities.[564] In 1285 a conference was held in Kilkenny at which the mayors of Dublin, Cork, Limerick, Waterford and Drogheda in Louth along with the seneschal and bailiffs of Drogheda in Meath made a coalition "to mutually maintain their liberties, to hold council together for common benefit, and to bear proportionately the expenses there incurred".[565]

The charter for the foundation of this league was issued by the mayor of Waterford - Roger le Lom.[566] Loyalty to the crown was expressly declared in the document - the meetings of the coalition were to be *salvis iure domini regi, fide et fidelitate ei debitis.* However, there is not evidence for this enterprise being ratified by royal charter. The league involved both sides of Drogheda: the charter was addressed to the mayor and the burgesses of Drogheda in Uriel and to the seneschal and burgesses of Drogheda in Meath, whereas the 1252 pact only concerned Drogheda in Louth. Two or three of the most distinguished men of the five towns and boroughs were to meet every three years at the neutral venue of Kilkenny. It was agreed that any person found infringing upon that ordinance or failing to observe its terms, would be forced to forfeit twenty pounds sterling to the other members. He could be arrested if payment was not made and his goods be seized to that amount.[567]

The deed does not mention the names of the mayors of the other royal cities involved in the league. An entry in the Justiciary Roll reports that Hugh Morice was mayor

---

[563] Ibidem, 62, p. 9.

[564] *Hist. and mun. docs.,* pp 130-1: "*De composicione inter burgenses de Drogheda et cives Dublin*"(12 December 1252).

[565] Ibidem, pp 196-7: "*De composicione inter cives Dublin et cives Waterford*"; see Appendix 15.

[566] D'Alton has attributed the issuing of this document to the mayor and citizens of Cork, instead of Waterford; see D'Alton, *History of Drogheda*, I, pp 155-7.

[567] *Hist. and mun. doc.,* pp 196-97.

of Drogheda in 1285.[568] According to the list of Dublin mayors, Walter Unred was mayor in Dublin in 1285.[569] Edward Longane was the mayor of Limerich in the same year.[570] The content of this deed is as vague as the pact of 1252.

The nature of this second coalition could have been trade and external policy, on the model of the Drogheda-Dublin compact.[571] Both assemblies were convoked by the towns themselves, not by the central government - they were attended by elected representatives of the cities who were asked to swear to respect decisions taken during the summons and make also those in their jurisdiction to respect. Those decisions had the force of laws. The terms of the 1285 pact are not expressed, except for one: their contravention would have caused a fine. The last statement suggests that perhaps the coalition had a common deposit fund and some sort of internal administration able to share fines and expenses proportionally.[572] It is a remarkable fact that the league opposed its own seal at the end of the document.[573]

McEneaney has put forward the idea that the calling of this very meeting caused King Edward to take Waterford into his hands in 1285. The city was given back to its mayor, Roger le Lom a year later.[574] However, it has to be noted that in the same year the king suspended the mayoralty in London; the city was not allowed to elect its representative for the following thirteen years, until 1298.[575] Aside from the efficacy and the duration of this confederation[576], the very fact that the Irish royal cities gathered in

---

[568] *CJustR,* 1295-1303, p. 113. According to D'Alton's list, Hugo Moyne was the mayor of Drogheda in 1285; see D'Alton, *History of Drogheda*, I, p. 246.

[569] Berry, 'Catalogue of mayors', p. 158; Hill, 'Mayors of Dublin', p. 549.

[570] Potter, *History of Limerick Corporation*, p. 518.

[571] The alliance of Dublin and Drogheda was still operating in the year 1272, as mentioned above. It might have been a close enough model to be used, on a larger scale, in 1285.

[572] *Hist. and mun. docs.,* p. 196: "*...et pro rata porcionem illarum misarum secundum quantitatum predictarum civitatum et burgorum ad predictas libertates sustinendas, secundum provisionem illorum civium et burgensium sine qualibet dificultate seu contraddicione eisdem respondebimus*".

[573] Ibidem, p. 197: "*In cuius rei testimonium presentibus literis sigillum nostrum commune apponi fecimus*".

[574] McEneaney, *History of Waterford*, pp 43-4.

[575] Prestwich, *Edward I* (London 1988), p. 265. The circumstances that caused London to be taken into the king's hands are connected with the murder of Lawrence Duket and the disorders which erupted in the town. Royal intervention in the form of suspension of mayoralty, appointing of commission and fines is recorded during the years 1280-85 in the cities of York, Canterbury, Scarborough, Bristol.

[576] An alignment between Drogheda and Dublin was certainly in force in 1293, as suggested by the following mandate. King Edward received complaints from Bartholomew Creyk, John le Decer, and Thomas White, citizens and merchant of Dublin, and of Robert and John Cosyn, John English and John Heyrun, burgesses and merchants of Drogheda, about the seizure of their merchandises at Calais where they

Kilkenny is the mark of their political force.[577] Medieval cities were major sources of ready cash. Trade was the main factor determining the wealth inside the walls and mayors frequently belonged to the merchant class. Kings became more and more dependant on that wealth. It was not by chance that the coalition of the Irish royal cities took place during the reign of Edward I, when Ireland was one of the most important sources of revenue for the king's wars. What Henry III had feared during the end of his reign, finally came to pass: in 1285 not only the baronage, but also the cities were powerful enough to threaten the authority of the crowned head.

Various episodes attest to the fact that Dublin and Drogheda were aligned and the two royal towns often took action in concert during the reign of Edward II. Roger de Mortimer, justiciar of Ireland, had obtained the power to grant pardons in Ireland. As a result of a petition of the men of Dublin and Drogheda in Louth the king curtailed such grant by reason that "others could be encouraged to commit crime on account of the facility of obtaining such pardons". In the year 1317 Roger Mortimer was instructed to consult the Irish council before pardoning; and whenever offences such as homicides, robberies, arsons and other felonies were committed against the citizens of Dublin and Drogheda, he was to consult the king himself.[578] The royal towns could negotiate directly with the king, without interference from the Dublin government - this was the scale of privileges extended to the royal cities in Ireland.

In 1317 and again in 1319 the king exempted both Dublin and Drogheda from purveyances and from housing anybody against the citizens' will.[579] During the year 1319, the men of Dublin and Drogheda, trading with Normandy, asked for redress against people

---

were for trading purposes. The King therefore commanded the justiciar to seize and keep safely all of the goods and merchandises of the men and merchants of Calais, wherever found in Ireland, until further orders. The mandate was signed at Beaulieu. Similar letters were sent to the mayor of Bristol; see *CDI*, 1293-1301, 77, p. 39. It is hard to say if this understanding was the product of the allegiance signed by Dublin and royal Drogheda in 1252, or of the more recent pact of the five Anglo-Norman Irish cities.

[577] Webb, *Government of Ireland*, p. 59. Webb pointed out to the fact that Medieval Irish towns seem to have enjoyed a more independent existence than the English boroughs, whose activities were restricted by a stronger central power.

[578] *Hist. and mun. doc.*, pp 399-400; *CCR*, 1313-18, p. 405; Hand, *English Law in Ireland,* pp 28-9; see Appendix 16.

[579] *CCR*, 1313-18, p. 476; *CPR,* 1321-24, p. 95. However, when the king was preparing for his last assault in Scotland in the spring of 1322 he ordered the purveyances to be taken also from Dublin, Cork and Drogheda, even though those cities were exempted.

of Portland (Dorset) who seized goods carried in one of their ships which had been driven ashore there by a storm.[580]

Dublin and Drogheda stood up against William Windsor, lieutenant in Ireland between 1369 and 1372,[581] as shown by the inquisitions taken in both towns in May-June 1373. [582]

---

[580] *Affairs Ireland*, p. 94; P. Connolly, 'Irish Material in the Class of Ancient Petitions, (SC8) in the Public Record Office, London', in *Anal. Hib.*, 34 (Dublin, 1987), p. 102. There is evidence for Drogheda and Dublin jointly trading with Conway in 1322; see idem, p. 61.

[581] Cosgrove, 'Principal officers', p. 474.

[582] See below, Chap. 7.4, pp 285-92. For a discussion on the repercussion of the said alliances on the relation between Ireland and England, see Conclusion, pp 338-50.

3.4. Prisage of wine (1252)

On 8 December 1252, Drogheda in Louth was granted the prisage of wines in its port. The king ordered the justiciar to inquire into what the value of the prisage was and to commit it to the mayor and burgesses of Drogheda. They had to answer yearly at the Exchequer, Dublin, for that value.[583] Waterford obtained the same privilege twenty years earlier, in 1232.[584] The prisage was imposed on every ship landing in every port of the royal demesne in Ireland, namely Dublin, Waterford, Limerick, Drogheda and Dungarvan. For this very reason such privilege was not extended to Drogheda on the Meath side. On arrival at the pre-arranged port the first requirement was to pay the prise of wine, or prisage, which was the royal tax imposed on wine imports. This was a custom by which the king exacted one tun of wine from every ship arriving in England or Ireland with less than twenty tuns of wine. The price was two tuns for ships laden with twenty or more tuns, paying the merchants 20*s*. for each tun.[585] Prisage's collectors, appointed by the town, were to account for it before the exchequer at Dublin. It has to be said that the accounts were not given on an annual basis, as they were for the fee-farm. Sometimes the accounts coincided with the appointment of new keepers and often accumulated over a period of years. This study have failed to detect a pattern in the occurrence of the accounting. The prise was not to be taken from ships that were in port sheltering from storms - a general disposition which was to be mentioned in the charter granted to Drogheda in Louth four days after that of prisage, on 12 December.[586]

---

[583] *CDI*, 1252-1284, 118, p. 17: "*Rex concessit majori et burgensibus de Drogheda versus Uriell' prisas vinorum Regis in portu suo de Drogheda, ita quod de recto valore earundem singulis annis respondeant ad scaccarium Regis Dublin' ad terminus quos justiciarius Hibernie eis dederit, donec rex aliud inde preceperit. Et mandatum est J. filio Galfridi, justiciario Hibernie, quod per sacramentum proborum etc. per quos etc. diligenter inquirat quantum predicte prise regis valeant per annum in omnibus exitibus; et cum per inquisicionem illam de valore prisarum illarum plenius certioratus fuerit, eas prefatis majoris et burgensibus pro valore illo regi respondendo, sicut predicto est, committat, donec aliud inde rex preceperit; et eis inde sub forma illa litteras regis patentes fieri faciat. Teste rege apud Blaneford' viii Die dicembris*". Prisage's collectors, appointed by the town, were to account for it before the exchequer at Dublin. It has to be said that the accounts were not given on an annual basis as happened for the fee-farm. Sometimes the accounts coincide with the appointment of new keepers and often accumulate over a period of years; we have failed to detect a pattern in the occurrence of the accounting.

[584] McEneaney, *History of Waterford*, p. 35.

[585] O'Neill, *Merchants and mariners*, pp 50-1.

[586] *Na Buirgéisí*, I, p. 190: "*...et si aliquis ducere voluerit aliquam navem vinis oneratam ad predictum burgum et tempestate cogente alibi applicaverit, non compellatur ad prisas inde dandas nisi vina illa ibidem vendere voluerit*". The same privilege was granted to Drogheda on the Meath side in 1247, see Ibidem, p. 177*:* "*et quod nullus ballivus capiat aliquid de navibus predictorum burgensium fractis in portu Drogheda vel alibi in potestate nostra sed omnium navium predictorum armamenta et omnia catalla sua in pace colligant et habeant, et quod quieti sint de wrecco maris in omnibus terris nostri et potestate nostra*".

Figures relating to the wine prise in Ireland are scattered and incomplete. Therefore, it is not always possible to compare the volume of wine traffic in the various Irish ports. The earliest surviving mention of prisage in Drogheda in Louth is to be found in the Pipe Roll of the year 1260-61, but the entry is quite vague and only refers to "sums due for prise of wines".[587] The Pipe roll for the following year, 1262-3, refers to "sums due and received in respect of prise of wines" in the account of Drogheda in Meath.[588] Such evidence is quite unexpected considering that in 1252 prisage was exclusively granted to the mayor and bailiffs of Drogheda in Louth. The first numeric figures concerning prisage in Drogheda are registered in the account given by Theobald Botiller[589] in 1284. The account gives evidence for 6 tuns of wine taken in Drogheda in the year 1274 and 34 taken in 1282.[590] Unfortunately, figures for other Irish ports are not available for the same years.[591]

---

[587] Pipe Roll xlv Hen. III (1260-1), Rep. DKI 35, p. 39. The vagueness of these entries might be imputed to the transcription made by the Deputy Keeper.

[588] Ibidem, p. 42.

[589] In Ireland the Butlers took the prise 'from time out of mind', see O' Neill, *Merchants and mariners*, p. 52. The butlership of Ireland, *Pincerna Ibernie*, was given by John, king of England, to Theobald Walter, who added the name Butler to his own around the year 1192; see *CDI*, 1252-1284, p. 551. The appellation then became the surname of his descendant, the earls, dukes and marquesses of Ormond.

[590] *CDI*, 1252-1284, p. 551.

[591] Gearoid Mac Niocaill has carried out a comparative study of the Irish boroughs' trade; see *Na Buirgéisí*, II, p. 512.

CHAPTER 5

DROGHEDA AND EDWARD I'S WARS

The impact of Edward's reign on the constitutional status of Drogheda has to take into account the pre-existing evidence. One of the first provisions made by King Henry III, when he acceded to the crown, was to reserve Drogheda as a royal possession.[592] In 1254, the king bequeathed to his son Edward the lordship of Ireland. Drogheda was part of that endowment,[593] with its jurisdictional status remaining as before - the town was still regarded as a dual entity. Henry III's reign stands out as 'the time of legislation'. The cornerstones of Drogheda's administrative autonomy - free-burgage, provostship and mayoralty - were all achievements of King Henry's time.[594] During the lordship and sovereignty of Edward, no addition or alteration was made to the town's privileges. Conversely, the continuity of protection granted to both boroughs is symptomatic of the financial aspect of Edward I's policy.[595]

The Irish records for the years of Edward's lordship are almost totally lacking.[596] The extant documentation for Drogheda, during the same period, is no exception. The records only count two charters. A confirmation charter was granted to Drogheda in Louth on 12 December 1268, inspecting Henry III's charter of mayoralty.[597] The second charter, dated 11 July 1266, confirmed free waters to the burgesses of the Meath side. This confirmation was made "by unanimous agreement of the burgesses on both sides of the

---

[592] *CDI, 1151-1251*, 790-791, p. 118.
[593] *CDI*, 1252-1284, 341, pp 52-3; ibidem, 371, p. 59.
[594] See above, Chap. 4, pp 104-179.
[595] *CDI*, 1252-1285, 1515, p. 297; ibidem, 1947, p. 444; *CDI*, 1293-1301, 31, p. 22.
[596] H. G. Richardson and G. O. Sayles, *The Irish parliament in the middle ages* (Philadelphia, 1952), p. 57; Lydon, 'Years of crisis', p. 182.
[597] *CDI*, 1252-1284, 854, p. 138; see Appendix 17

Boyne".[598] This grant was perhaps a sub-product of Geoffrey de Geneville's justiciarship (1265). There is also scattered evidence that Drogheda supplyed victuals to Irish castles (Athlone) and gave aids to the king for the war in Wales.

After Edward's accession to the crown, in 1272, records concerning Drogheda become more frequent. Various charters were issued by the royal chancery. Three letters of protection were granted to the town: in 1278[599] and 1282[600] for both Droghedas; in 1293, for Drogheda in Meath only.[601] In 1278, a murage-grant was granted for three years to both sides of the town.[602] In 1295, Drogheda in Uriel was granted the same trading customs of Dublin, for seven years.[603] A different murage charter was given to Drogheda in Meath, for seven years, in 1296.[604] Finally, a murage-grant was addressed to Drogheda as a whole, from 1305 to 1312.[605] The last of Edward I's charters to Drogheda was issued in 1305 - an *Inspeximus* of the liberties and franchises of Drogheda in Louth.[606]

The Irish Pipe Rolls record how Drogheda, for the last quarter of the thirteenth century, resisted the Irish uprising, while, at the same time, the town contributed to the king's wars in Wales, Gascony and Scotland.

1. Drogheda in Uriel: the Inspeximus of 1268 and 1305

Whenever a medieval town pleaded for a confirmation of liberties, it is necessary to explore the background behind that request. Every single document produced by the royal Chancery, whether it was a writ or a charter, directed to a town or to a private subject, had its economic and political relevance.

---

[598] *CPR*, 1321-24, p. 307. This charter was purchased at 40s. The same grant was confirmed by Edward II in 1323; *CPR, 1321-24*, p. 307.

[599] *CDI*, 1252-1285, 1515, p. 297 (1278); see Appendix 19 (A).

[600] *CDI*, 1252-1285, 1947, p. 444 (1282).

[601] *CDI*, 1293-1301, 31, p. 22 (1293). The protection was granted 'during pleasure'. It has to be remarked that Drogheda in Meath had never received an individual letter of protection before the one granted in 1293. Drogheda in Louth was granted various letters of protection; see *CDI*, 1171-1251, 1301, p. 197 (1225); ibidem, 1540, p. 232 (1227).

[602] *CDI*, 1252-1285, 1517, p. 297 (1278); see Appendix 19 (B).

[603] *CDI*, 1293-1301, 251, p. 106 (1295); see Appendix 20.

[604] Ibidem, 311, pp 145-46 (1296); see Appendix 19 (A).

[605] *JustR*, 1305-1307, p. 336.

[606] *Ch. priv. et imm.*, p. 41; *CDI*, 1302-1307, 429, p. 134; see Appendix 18.

On 12 December 1268 Drogheda in Louth was inspected its charter of mayoralty.[607] The reasons, for royal Drogheda requesting this confirmation, are unlikely to be found in Ireland's state of civil war documented for those years.[608] The disturbances caused by the discords between Maurice FitzGerald and Walter de Burgh (1264-5) do not find echoes in Drogheda's documentation. No murage-grants are recorded for those years. It is more likely that the charter was the product of the events occurring in July 1268. This was the year when Henry of Almain - Henry III's nephew, son of his brother Richard of Cornwall, and known as the King of Almain - was sent to Ireland. His task was to recover the crown-lands that had been alienated by Lord Edward, without the king's licence.[609]

To understand the circumstances of this act requires a step back. On 14 February 1254, Henry III appointed his son and heir, Edward, as Lord of Ireland. This endowment was part of an extensive package which included Chester, Bristol, the Channel Islands, Gascony and lands in Wales and England.[610] At first, King Henry reserved for himself the royal towns and counties of Dublin, Limerick and Athlone, as well as all the crosses and custodies of vacant churches. Such reservation greatly diminished the value of the grant.[611] Nevertheless, three months later, on 20 July 1254, the king granted Dublin, Limerick and Athlone to Edward, still reserving to the crown the ecclesiastical regalian rights.[612] The crown's interference in the administration of the Irish lordship, in 1268, was caused by the transgression of Lord Edward, who completely disregarded one of the major reservation-clauses contained in this endowment - "that Ireland should not be separated from the

---

[607] *CDI*, 1252-1284, 854, p. 138: *Inspeximus* of the 1252 charters granting Drogheda the mayoralty; see *CDI*, 1252-84, 120, pp 17-18 (1252); see Appendix 17

[608] The royal castles of Dublin and Arklow were armed and prepared to withstand a siege and in the South the citizens of New Ross, alarmed by the war, hurriedly decided to enclose their town; see Lydon, 'Years of crisis', pp 182-4.

[609] *CDI*, 1252-84, 844, p. 136 (12 December 1268). According to a royal letter of Henry III, dated on 22 December, Lord Edward also usurped the regalian rights over the crosses of the church of Ulster; see *CDI*, 1252-84, 860, pp 139-40.

[610] T. Rymer (ed.), *Foedera, conventiones, litterae et cuiuscunque generis acta publica etc.*, (London, 1816-69) I, p. 270. See the observations of J. R. Studd, 'The Lord Edward and King Henry III', *IHR. Bull.*, 1 (1977), pp 4-19. Such an award was intended to provide Edward with a suitable income of 15,000 marks annually. The reason behind this act might be the pressure that Alphonse of Castille exercised on Henry: during the same year, in fact, Edward married Eleonore, Alphonse's sister; see Prestwich, *Edward I*, pp 9-10.

[611] *CDI*, 1252-1284, 341, pp 52-3.

[612] Gilbert, *Hist. et mun. doc.*, pp 135-6. *CDI*, 1252-1284, 371, p. 59. In 1254 Henry exercised his right established in *Magna Carta* of levying an aid on Ireland for making his eldest son knight; see *CDI*, 1252-1284, 373, p. 59.

Crown of England".[613] With such a statement of inalienability, Henry III reinforced his royal authority, by emphasizing overriding rights of sovereignty of the English crown over Ireland.[614] As a result, on 12 June 1268, Henry of Almain was sent to Ireland to hear and determine pleas, plaints and demands from all men. He was given authority to act as though he were, for this purpose, the king himself. Unfortunately, no rolls recording his judgments survive.[615] Henry III's mandate does not list the usurped lands. Perhaps the royal town of Drogheda was among the crown-lands that had been taken over by Edward. The fact that the mandate of the King and the charter to royal Drogheda are dated on the same day - 12 December 1268 - makes this assumption at least reasonable.

The Pipe Roll for the year 1282 records a fine of £100 paid by the community of Drogheda in Louth, "for having their liberty".[616] Such a sum seems too high for a charter of confirmation, for which there is no mention in the sources.[617] During the same year, the burgesses of Drogheda were granted a letter of protection.[618] The entry, however, refers to a fine incurred for "having their liberty" and not for obtaining protection. The actual reason for such a fine was instead an offence against the king made by the community and recorded the following year. The town as a whole was fined £100 and five burgesses 500 marks. We do not know what the offence consisted of, but the town begged for, and then obtained, favourable terms for the payment of that fine.[619]

The other charter granted to Drogheda in Louth is dated 24 June 1305, confirming the town the grants of 1229 and 1252.[620] The charter was purchased for £40.[621] Why did

---

[613] Gilbert, *Hist. et mun. doc.*, p. 136.

[614] Prestwich, *Edward I*, p. 11.

[615] Richardson and Sayles, *Irish Parliament*, p. 65: "but it seems clear that the procedure followed must have resembled closely that of the justiciar of England in the eyres after the parliament of Oxford, at which very large number of plaints were heard and determined".

[616] Pipe Roll, x Edw. I (1281-82), *Rep. DKI* 36, p. 68.

[617] On 18 March 1304-5 Drogheda paid only £40 to have confirmation of two charters; see *CDI*, 1303-1307, 381, p. 126.

[618] *CDI*, 1252-1284, 1947, p. 444: letter of simple protection for the men and burgesses of Drogheda in Ireland (11 August 1282).

[619] *CDI*, 1252-1284, 2149, p. 496. The mayor and commonality of Drogheda, having been distrained for £100 and five other men of the same community of 500 marks for an offence against the king, had prayed for mercy and for terms to pay the residue; mandate that if they are unduly charged the justiciar treat them with moderation, or grant them terms.

[620] *Ch. priv. et imm.*, p. 41; *CDI*, 1302-1307, 429, p. 134; see Appendix 18. This very charter was to be inspected by Edward II in 1316; see *Ch. priv. et imm.*, p. 46; see Appendix 22.

[621] *CDI*, 1302-1307, 381, p. 126. On 18 March 1305, the men of Drogheda made a fine of £40 with the King to have confirmation of two charters.

Drogheda ask for another confirmation? This grant is possibly related to two pleas that the town was involved with during that very year. Both pleas concerned seigniorial interference with the town's privileges. On Easter 1305, a plea against Simon Feypo, lord of Scryne, was heard at Dublin. The Justiciary Roll reports a complaint, made by the seneschal and community of Drogheda in Meath and the mayor and community of Drogheda in Uriel, that Feypo had distrained them to pay tolls to him at his market at Scryne, even though they were exempt from tolls throughout the king's demesne. The court ruled that the burgesses would forever be free from payment of tolls and other customs in Feypo's market of Scryne and through his whole land. Simon Feypo was to pay one and a half marks "for licence to agree".[622]

A similar incident occurred on 10 May 1305. The mayor and community of Drogheda in Louth pleaded against Theobald de Verdun, complaining that he was distraining them to pay tolls at his market of Duleek, through his bailiffs - Roger le Mouner and William de Stokes - despite the fact that, as tenants of the king, they should not have been liable for such tolls. The opening of the plea in Dublin, before Edmund Butler, *custos*, on 10 May, involved both Drogheda in Louth and in Meath.[623] However, the plea was later executed by the mayor and community of Drogheda in Louth only. Drogheda's claim was discussed in court at Casteldermot, Co. Kildare, on 13 October, but Theobald did not appear. As a result, the sheriff of Louth was commanded to distrain him of all his land and chattels.[624] On 27 January 1306, the court convened in Dublin, before John Wogan, justiciar, presiding and all plaintiffs present. Theobald defended himself by saying that the toll was "a profit belonging to his manor at Dyuelek" and that Walter de Lacy had taken such tolls from the burgesses of Drogheda, thereby awarding him that same right. He also said that he ought not to answer for it, without the other heir of Walter de Lacy's lordship - Roger de Mortimer and Johanna his wife. The De Verduns, Geoffrey de Geneville and later

---

[622] *CJustR*, 1305-7, pp 66-7 (Easter, 1305). It is interesting to highlight a detail reported by the calendar, namely that Simon Feypo gave one and a half a mark for licence to agree "by pledge of Hugh Morice and Stephen Roth". Hugh Morice was mayor of royal Drogheda in 1305 and John Bowneys and William Broun were his bailiffs and Stephen Roth was mayor in 1306; see Chap. 4.3.2, p. 168. On the other hand, in 1306 Roger Roth (and not Stephen) was seneschal of Drogheda in Meath and Robert Quitaker and Robert le Southerne were his bailiffs, see *CJustR*, 1305-7, pp 31-2 (27January 1305), p. 58 (16 May 1305), p. 246 (24April 1306), p. 491 (27 January 1306).

[623] *CJustR*, 1305-7, p. 60 (May 16, 1305).

[624] Ibidem, p. 145 (Quizane of St. Michael, 1305).

Roger Mortimer were purparties of the lordship of Meath. In 1307 Roger Mortimer inherited Geoffrey's land, by right of marriage with Joan de Geneville.[625] The plot thickened, when the sheriff of Dublin summoned Roger and Johanna to the manor of Trim, in order to answer, with Theobald, to the mayor of Drogheda.[626] On 24 April 1306, the plea was held again in Dublin. The verdict complicated by the fact that de Geneville had complained that the sheriff of Dublin, in entering the liberty of Trim to summon Roger and Johanna, had violated their right of returning writs.[627] Therefore the seneschal of the liberty was ordered to summon said Roger and Johanna.[628] We do not know the conclusion of these events.

2. Edwardian murage-grants to Drogheda

2.1 The castle

From 1210 onward, the Dublin government had jurisdiction over the castle of Drogheda. There is evidence for the seneschal of Meath and various justiciaries and treasurers having custody of it.[629] Things changed after the year 1234, when Uriel became a shire with its own sheriffs.[630] In the year 1234-35, Ralph de Pitchford, sheriff of County Uriel, was given custody of Drogheda castle.[631] Pitchford is the first known sheriff of Co. Louth.[632] Afterwards, and during the whole lordship and reign of Edward I, the sheriffs of Uriel maintained custody over that castle and an adjacent meadow known as 'the King's meadow near the castle of Drogheda'. Even after the Parliament of 1297 and the creation of

---

[625] *CPR*, 1307-1313, p. 33. In 1307 Geoffrey de Geneville had resigned his lordship of Trim to his grand-daughter and her ambitious husband, Roger de Mortimer who therefore succeeded to Geneville as lord of Trim; see Otway-Ruthven, 'Partition of de Verdun lands', pp 401-445; see Chap.4.1.5, pp 122-25.

[626] *CJustR*, 1305-7, p. 188 (January 27, 1306).

[627] Because it was so sensitive for an outside authority to interfere in the affair of a liberty, it was a condition that, in case of default, only the sheriff in person could enter the liberty to execute the government orders: he could not delegate any of these tasks to one of his sub-ordinate sergeants.

[628] *CJustR*, 1305-7, p. 241 (April 24, 1306).

[629] See Chapter 4.2.4, pp 136-40 and Fig. 15, pp 190-93.

[630] Pipe Roll xix Hen III (1235), *Rep. DKI* 35, p. 36; Otway-Ruthven, 'Anglo-Irish shire', p. 4.

[631] *CDI, 1171-1251*, 2208, p. 327.

[632] Smith, 'De Pitchford family', p. 34.

county Meath[633], the sheriffs of Louth remained *custos* of the castle. The expected change in the castle's jurisdiction did not occur until about 1310, when the sheriffs of Meath began their role as keeper of that castle. The tables below assemble the names of various constables who succeeded in the custody of Drogheda castle during the time of Edward I and Edward II, together with the references to works of repairing of the castle in 1281-83, 1286-88 and 1300-1302.[634]

During the year 1275-6, William Taloun had custody of the castle of Drogheda.[635] In 1279 Thomas Mynimes was allowed a fee for a sum he spent in the custody of Walter Ekervyl - Walter O'Cearbhaill -[636] while in the castle's jail, and while that castle was in his custody.[637] The account of County Louth, in the years 1281-83, reports that Thomas Memmys - probably Mynimes - was allowed a fee for the custody of the castle of Drogheda. The entry also states that the castle had recently been repaired, on the instruction of the justiciar, Stephen of Fulburn, bishop of Waterford, and that four locks had been bought for the doors of the hall, the chapel, the 'chamber' and the gaol - which suggests that these were the four main rooms in the castle at that time. There is also evidence of timber being brought into the castle for the repair of the bridge.[638] Probably the bridge referred to in this entry was the drawbridge and not the bridge on the Boyne, as elsewhere suggested.[639]

---

[633] Connolly, '1297 Parliament', pp 148-161. The summoning of the 1297 Parliament was intended to 'establish peace more firmly' in Ireland; the creation of county Meath was one of the administrative edicts of that parliament and affected the possessions in Meath of both Theobald de Verdun and Geoffrey de Geneville: both liberies were to become a county with its own right, its own sheriff, a county court sitting at Kells and meeting every Thursday after the county court of Dublin; de Verdun owed suit of court at Kells and the sheriff of Meath had to carry out executions in the liberty of Trim whenever a defect of justice was found there. As a result all those who had owed suit to the county court of Dublin were to appear at Kells. Theobald de Verdun and his tenant Almaric de St. Amand agreed that, henceforth, they would do suit at the country court of Meath, on condition that they would be absolved from the suits which they owed at the county court of Dublin, which compromise was accepted by the parliament, see ibidem, p. 150. The effects of the reorganization of Meath are analyzed by McGrath, 'Shiring of Ireland', pp 107-24. Lydon has investigated the thread connecting the legislation of the 1297 Parliament to the royal financial policy of Edward I; see J. Lydon, 'Ireland after 1297: At peace after its manner', in idem (ed.), *Law and disorder*, pp 11-24.

[634] Pipe Roll viii Ed. II (1314-15), in *Rep. DKI* 39, p. 53. See Fig. 15, p. 190-93 and Fig. 16, p. 193.

[635] *CDI*, II, 1294, p. 237.

[636] K. W. Nicholls (ed.), 'The Register of Clogher' in *Clogher Record*, VII, 3 (1971-72), p. 415.

[637] CDI, 1252-1284, 1535, p. 302. In the year 1285 the said sum had not been delivered to Thomas yet; see *CDI*, 1285-1292, 169, p. 66.

[638] Pipe Roll, x Edw. I (1281-82), *Rep. DKI* 36, pp 66, 70.

[639] Lydon, 'County Uriel account', p. 199.

In his account for the year 1287-88, William de Spineto, sheriff of County Uriel, was paid various sums for the custody of the castle and prison of Drogheda and for repairs to the castle itself.[640] William de Spineto accounted for 15s. for the rent of a meadow near the castle of Drogheda during the years 1287-91.[641] Thomas de Stanley was sheriff of Uriel in 1291-92.[642] In the following year, he accounted for 15s. for the rent of the King's meadow near the castle of Drogheda.[643]

The entries dated shortly after the Parliament of 1297 records that the sheriffs of Louth still retained custody of the castle. In 1303, William de Hatch - who had been sheriff of county Louth in 1296-99[644] - was pardoned at the instance of Nigel le Brun for the escape of John Mimmes and Isabella Kayok and four of their accomplices from the prison of Drogheda castle.[645] It was probably during those years that the prisoners escaped and works were executed at the castle of Drogheda, as inferred from the account of Drogheda in Louth for the year 1302-03. John Taxsagard received £27 9s. 8d. from William de Hatch, sheriff of Uriel, for carrying out the works of the castle of Drogheda.[646] Tassagard accounted for sums received from Hatch, for the same purpose, in the years 1339[647], 1341[648], 1344[649] and in 1348-9.[650]

Roger Gernoun and Roger Roth, sheriffs of Uriel in the year 1300-01, accounted for 15*s* rent of the king's meadow near Drogheda Castle and were paid a sum for the custody of Drogheda castle.[651] Again, the account of Drogheda in Louth for the same year, records

---

[640] Pipe Roll, xvi Edw. I (1287-88), *Rep. DKI* 37, pp 38-9. William de Spineto was an Italian banker, see B. Smith, *Colonization and conquest in medieval Ireland. The English in Louth, 1170-1330* (Cambridge, 1999), p. 135.

[641] *CDI*, 1285-1292, 434, pp 185-186; ibidem, 780, p. 352. William de Spineto was sheriff of Louth in 1288-1289, see CDI, 1285-1292, 371, pp 161-71; ibidem, 821, p. 273.

[642] *CDI*, 1285-92, 884, p. 394

[643] *CDI*, 1293- 1301, 4, p. 1. In 1312 Thomas de Stanley joined the de Verduns in their rebellion and was fined £40 for the king's grace; see Smith, *Colonization and conquest*, p. 104.

[644] *CDI*, 1293-1301, 300, p. 138 (1296); ibidem, 408, pp 189-90 (1297); ibidem, 391, p. 179 (1297); ibidem, 550, pp 247, 252 (1298); ibidem, 587, p. 278 (1298).

[645] *CPR, 1301-1307*, p. 162.

[646] Pipe Roll, xxxi Edw. I (1302-03), *Rep. DKI* 38, p. 71. In the account of Drogheda in Uriel for the year 1348-9, John Tassagard accounts for £17 18s. received from William Hatch, sheriff of Uriel for works to be made in the castle of Drogheda; see Pipe Roll, xxii Edw. II (1348-49), *Rep. DKI* 44, p. 63.

[647] Pipe Roll, xiii-xv Edw. III (1339-40), *Rep. DKRI* 47, p. 34.

[648] Pipe Roll, xv Edw. III (1341-2), *Rep. DKI* 47, p. 61.

[649] Pipe Roll, xviii Edw. III (1344-45), *Rep. DKI* 54, p. 39.

[650] Pipe Roll, xxii Edw. II (1348-49), *Rep. DKI* 44, p. 63.

[651] Pipe Roll, xxix Edw. I, (1300-01) *Rep. DKI* 38, p. 52.

sums for repairing the castle.[652] In 1300 to 1303, Roger Roth, sheriff of Uriel was discharged of 100s. for custody of the castle of Drogheda.[653] It is said that in 1304, when Gernoun was appointed as the new sheriff of Uriel, Roger Roth was commanded to deliver writs and rolls and also "the custody of the castle of Drogheda".[654] These sheriffs - Thomas de Stanley, William Hatch, Roger Gernoun and Roger Roth - were at some stage imprisoned for their misdeeds.[655]

Attention has to be drawn to the fact that compensation for the castles of Drogheda and Blathag and for the town of Drogheda in Meath, due to Geoffrey de Geneville and Theobald de Verdun - 25 marks each - , was much in arrears.[656] In 1303 he was discharged of £116 13*s*. 4*d*. from his debt with the crown for arrears of the rent of Castle of Blathag and the town of Drogheda, for the last 7 owing years, from 1296 to 1304.[657] By 1307, Geoffrey de Geneville complained to the king's council that annual fees, due to him for his lands in Meath, had not being paid to him for more than thirty years - namely since the year 1275.[658]

The first indication for the jurisdictional change in the custody of Drogheda castle, is evidenced in the 1315 merged account of the counties of Dublin and Meath. This entry suggests that, from 1310 onward, the sheriffs of county Meath were given custody of the castle.[659] Otway-Ruthven stated the creation of county Meath did not make a real difference in practice, since "the new shire normally shared a sheriff with Dublin". The change - she said - occurred after the year 1302, when Adam de Sancto Bosco, sheriff for both Dublin and Meath (1300-1302), was replaced by John Wodeloc.[660] Conversely, it has to be remarked that the accounts of the counties Meath and Dublin were still merged for the

---

[652] Ibidem, p. 57.

[653] Pipe Roll, xxxi Edw. I (1302-03), *Rep. DKI* 38, p. 72. Roger Roth is the only known sheriff of Louth in this period to have been previously seneschals of Drogheda in Meath,

[654] Lydon, 'County Uriel account', p. 199. Richard Gernon was sheriff of Louth from 1310 to 1311, when was murdered by the men of that county; see below Chap. 6.1, pp 223-25.

[655] Smith, *Colonization and conquest*, p. 137.

[656] *CDI*, 1285-92, 857, p. 389. In 1290, Theobald de Verdun claimed arrears from the king.

[657] Pipe Roll, xxxi Edw. I (1302-03), *Rep. DKI* 38, p. 72. After the discharge Theobald's debt was still relevant: £233 13*s*. 6 ½ *d*.

[658] *CCR*, 1302-1307, p. 416; *CJustR*, 1305-1307, pp 72-74.

[659] Pipe Roll viii Ed. II (1314-15), in *Rep. DKI* 39, p. 53; see Fig. 15, p. 191.

[660] Otway-Ruthven, 'Anglo-Irish shire', p. 6. Otway Ruthven stated that from 1302 onward the county of Meath and Dublin went separate ways.

years 1301-02,[661] 1314-15[662] and 1321-22.[663] The first evidence for co. Meath individually accounting at the Exchequer, is in the year 1324-25.[664] The merged account of 1315 records that the late sheriff of Meath, Henry le Cruys,[665] was discharged of £10 which he had paid to Richard de Balybyn, constable of the castle of Drogheda.[666] The Justiciary Rolls record that Richard de Balybyn (Ballybin, bar. Ratoath, Co. Meath) was constable in 1310. In that year Richard Gernon, sheriff of Louth, had captured an Irish criminal, William O'Neill, and had him taken to the castle of Drogheda for incarceration. We are told that Balybyn refused to acknowledge de Gernon's letters ordering this arrest, and that O'Neill was therefore transferred to Ardee, from where he escaped.[667] The same account of 1315 also reports that Richard Dardiz, late sheriff of Meath, was allowed £11 15s. which he had paid to Robert le Clerk, constable of the castle of Drogheda.[668] Richard Dardiz was sheriff of Meath between 1310 and 1311.[669]

In 1317 Edmund de Banwalle - perhaps Barnewall? -[670] was appointed constable of the Drogheda castle.[671] One year later, the town was enclosed on the Meath side. The town walls were carried up the steep river bank to join the walls of the castle-bailey, as can be inferred from the murage grant of 1317.[672] In 1319 Adam Cusack petitioned the king to be granted the constableship of Drogheda castle. Adam had rebelled with Robert de Verdun

---

[661] Pipe Roll, xxx Edw. I (1301-02), *Rep. DKI* 38, p. 61

[662] Pipe Roll viii Ed. II (1314-15), *Rep. DKI* 39, p. 53

[663] Pipe Roll, xv Edw. II (1321-22), *Rep. DKI* 42, p. 30.

[664] Ibidem, p. 62.

[665] Henry, son of William de Cruys was sheriff of Meath in 1311; see *CJustR*, 1308-14, p. 224.

[666] Pipe Roll viii Ed. II (1314-15), in *Rep. DKI* 39 (Dublin, 1907), p. 53.

[667] *CJustR*, 1308-14, pp 169-70; Smith, *Colonization and conquest*, p. 136.

[668] Pipe Roll viii Ed. II (1314-15), in *Rep. DKI* 39 (Dublin, 1907), p. 53. Richard de Balybyn, referred as late constable of the castle of Drogheda, is also mentioned in the account of county Meath for the 1324-25 as owing sums for the escaping of many felons from Drogheda castle, see Pipe Roll, xviii Edw. II (1324-25), *Rep. DKI* 42, p. 62. In 1303-4 Richard de Balybyn was deputy keeper of Dublin castle; see *Ir. Exch. P.*, p. 173.

[669] *CJustR*, 1308-14, pp 155, 211.

[670] MacLysaght, *More families*, p. 29: since about the year 1300 the Barnewalls or Barnevilles are to be found in Co. Meath and in other parts of what was later known as the Pale, where the family became of great influence.

[671] *Rot. Pat. Hib.*, 21, p. 21b. See also Pipe Roll, xv Edw. II (1321-22), *Rep. DKI* 42, p. 30: the merged account of the counties of Dublin and Meath mentions that Edmund de Banewell, constable of the castle of Drogheda, owes £20 for the escape of Richard le Miller, John son of Peter Fot, Robert le Lung of Ulster and Patrick McGilbrid, felons.

[672] *Hist. and mun. doc.*, p. 413: "*Sciatis quod in subsidium ville predicte claudende usque ad muros castri nostri eisdem ville...*"; see below, Chap.6.2, p. 219 and Appendix 26.

in 1312, but sought reward for his role at Faughart.[673] Geoffrey le Wollebeter - Wolbeter - was constable there sometimes before 1324-25;[674] Lawrence Calf in 1324[675] and Richard de Preston in 1327.[676]

FIG. 15: INTERIM LIST OF THE CONSTABLES OF THE CASTLE OF DROGHEDA (1186-1359)

YEAR(S)	NAME	TENURE OF THE CASTLE	IN THE CAPACITY OF	JURISDIC-TION	SOURCE
... - 1186	Hugh de Lacy	Lord of Drogheda castle	lord of Meath	seigniorial	?
1189-1211	Richard de Tuit	constable			D'Alton, *History of Drogheda*, I, p. 92; Johnston, *History of Drogheda*, p. 161. *CDI, 1171-1251*, 791-792, p. 118?
1211-12	William le Petit	custody of	seneschal of Meath	Dublin	'The Irish Pipe Roll 14 John', p. 30
1217	Walter de Lacy	custody	lord of Meath		*CDI*, I, 791, p. 118; 743, p. 113; 748, p. 114808, p. 120; 811, p. 121; 835, p. 121.
1218	Henry, Archbishop of Dublin	custody of	justiciar	Dublin	*CDI*, I, 849, p. 126
1224-26	William Marshall	custody of	justiciar	Dublin	*CDI,1171-1251*, 1381, p. 209
1232	Peter de Rivall	custody	treasurer and chamberlain of the Irish Exchequer	Dublin	*CCR*, 1231-1234, p. 102; *CDI*, I, 1969, 1970, pp 293-4; ibidem, 2009, p. 299
1234	Ralph de Pitchford	conestable	sheriff of Co. Uriel	Uriel	*CCR*, 1231-1234, p. 529;

[673] Smith, *Colonization and conquest*, p. 112; see below, Chap. 6.1, pp 223-25.

[674] Pipe Roll, xix Edw. II (1325-26), *Rep. DKI* 42, p. 74: in the account of Drogheda in Meath, Geoffrey owed £1 for the escaping of Adam le Fleming, as noted in the account of Meath for the previous year (1324-25). Geoffrey Wollebetere is also mentioned in pleas held in 1308; see *CJustR*, 1308-1314, pp 41, 51, 102.

[675] *Rot. Pat. Hib.*, 14, p. 30b; *Ir. Exch P.*, p. 297.

[676] *Rot. Pat. Hib.*, 107, p. 36b; *Ir. Exch P.*, pp 314, 325, 363; *Gormanston Reg.* p. v (1326).

					CDI, I, 2208, p. 327
1245	John FitzGeoffrey	custody	justiciar	Dublin	*CDI*, I, 2792, p. 417
1260	William Taloun	custody			*Rep. DKI* 35, pp 39, 42
1275-6	William Taloun	custody			*CDI*, II, 1294, p. 237.
1279	Thomas de Mynimes	custody	sheriff of Co. Uriel	Uriel	*CDI*, 1252-1284, 1535, p. 302; ibidem, , 169, p. 66
1281-83	Thomas de Mynimes and Nicholas de Netterville	custody	sheriffs of Co. Uriel	Uriel	*Rep. DKI* 36, p. 66
1283-84	Nicholas de Netterville	custody	sheriff of Co. Uriel	Uriel	*Rep. DKI* 36, p. 70
1285-...	Nicholas de Netterville and William de Spineto	custody	sheriffs of Co. Uriel	Uriel	*Rep. DKI* 36, p. 75
1287-89	William de Spineto	custody	sheriff of Co. Uriel (1285-91)	Uriel	*Rep. DKPRI* 37, pp 38-9
1291-93	Thomas Stanley	custody	sheriff of Co. Uriel	Uriel	*CDI*, 1293-1301, 4, p. 1
1296-99	William Hatch	custody	sheriff of Co. Uriel (1296-99)	Uriel	*CPR, 1301-1307*, p. 162
1300-01	Roger Gernon and Roger Roth	custody	sheriffs of Co. Uriel	Uriel	*Rep. DKI* 38, p. 52
1300-03	Roger Roth	custody	sheriff of Co. Uriel	Uriel	*Rep. DKPRI* 38, p. 72
1304	Roger Gernon	custody	sheriff of Co. Uriel	Uriel	Lydon, 'County Uriel account', p. 199
1310-1311 (at the time of Henry le Cruys, late sheriff of Co. Meath)	Richard de Balybyn	constable		Meath	*Rep. DKPRI* 39, p. 53; *Rep. DKPRI* 42, p. 62
1310-1311 (at the time of Richard Dardiz, late sheriff of Co. Meath)	Robert le Clerk	constable		Meath	*Rep. DKPRI* 39, p. 53
1317	Edmund de Barnewall	constable			*Rot. Pat. Hib.*, 21, p. 21b; *Rep. DKPRI* 42, p. 30
1319	Adam Cusack	constable			Smith, *Colonization and conquest*, p. 112
before	Geoffrey le	constable		Meath	*Rep. DKPRI* 42,

1324-25	Wollebeter (Wolbeter)				p. 74; *CJustR*, 1308-1314, pp 41, 51, 102
1324	Lawrence Calf	constable			*Rot. Pat. Hib.*, 14, p. 30b; *Ir. Exch. P.*, p. 297
1326	Richard de Preston	constable		Meath	*Rot. Pat. Hib.*, 107, p. 36b; *Ir. Exch. P.*, pp 314, 325, 363; *Gormanston Reg.*,p. v (1326)
1332	Walter de Bykenor	constable			*Rep. DKPRI* 43, p. 58; *CPR*, 1330-1334, p. 111, 115
1334	Walter de Bykenor	constable			*Rot. Pat. Hib.*, 36, p. 38b; *Liber Munerum*, I, pt. II, p. 224
1337-38	Alano Corc'	custody, during the king's pleasure			*Rot. Pat. Hib.*, 15, p. 43; *Liber Munerum*, I, pt. II, p. 224 (1336)
1346, May	Gerald of St. Michael	constable			*Rot. Pat. Hib.*, 13, p. 51
1346, Octber	Maurice de Stokes	constable			*Rot. Pat. Hib.*, 66, p. 52; *Affairs of Ireland*, p. 187; *Liber Munerum*, I, pt. II, p. 224
1355-56	Thomas Regget	constable			*Rot. Pat. Hib.*, 119, p. 63
1358-59	John de Wodestok	constable			*Rot. Pat. Hib.*, 71, p. 70; ibidem, 85, p. 70b; ibidem, 85, p. 78b; *Liber Munerum*, I, pt. II, p. 224 (1356)

FIG. 16: REPAIRS OF THE CASTLE OF DROGHEDA (1234-1381)

YEAR	REPAIRS
1234-35	works for repairing of the chapel of Drogheda castle.[677]
1248-49	money spent in "both in building a fence (*palivia*) between the bailey and the fosse of the king's castle of Drogheda and in doing other necessary works on the house of the castle".[678]
1281-83	the castle was repaired on the instruction of the justiciar, Stephen of Fulburn. Four locks were bought for the doors of the hall, the chapter, the 'chamber' and the gaol. Timber was brought into the castle for the repair of the bridge.[679]
1286-88	repairs of the castle.[680]
1296	in 1302-03 John Taxsagard was accountable of a sum received from William de Hatche, sheriff of Uriel for making the works of the castle of Drogheda.[681] Tassagard accounted for sums received from William Hache, sheriff of Uriel for the same purpose in the years 1339[682], 1341[683], 1344[684] and in 1348-9.[685] William Hatche was sheriff of Uriel and constable of Drogheda castle in 1296, and that is probably when the works were executed.[686]
1300-03	sums for repairing the castle.[687]
1330	expenses incurred in repairing "the house of the king's castle at Drogheda by the advice of and testimony of Walter de Bykenor, constable of the castle".[688]
1378-81	the castle-mote became a mill, rented to John Asshwell.[689]

[677] Pipe Roll xix Hen III, Rep. DKPRI 35, p. 35.

[678] Lydon, 'County Uriel account', *CLAHJ* XIX, 3 (1979), p. 202.

[679] Pipe Roll, x Edw. I (1281-82), *Rep. DKI* 36, pp 66, 70. which suggests that these were the four main rooms in the castle at that time

[680] Pipe Roll, xvi Edw. I (1287-88), *Rep. DKI* 37, pp 38-9.

[681] Pipe Roll, xxxi Edw. I (1302-03) *Rep. DRI* 38, p. 71.

[682] Pipe Roll, xiii-xv Edw. III (1339-40), *Rep. DKRI* 47, p. 34. John Tassagard accounted for £24 2*s*. 11*d*. received from William Hache, sheriff of Uriel to execute the works of the castle of Drogheda.

[683] Pipe Roll, xv Edw. III (1341-2), *Rep. DKPRI* 47, p. 61.

[684] Pipe Roll, xviii Edw. III (1344-45), *Rep. DKPRI* 54, p. 39.

[685] Pipe Roll, xxii Edw. II (1348-49), *Rep. DKPRI* 44, p. 63.

[686] *CPR, 1301-1307*, p. 162.

[687] Pipe Roll, xxix Edw. I (1300-01) *Rep. DRI* 38, p. 57.

[688] Pipe Roll, vi Edw. III (1332-3), *Rep. DKPRI* 43, p. 58; *CPR*, 1330-1334, p. 111, 115.

[689] *CPR,* 1381-1388, p. 49.

2.2 Murage grant to Drogheda on both sides (1278-81)

A policy of defence was enacted in Drogheda during the last quarter of the thirteenth century. Even though there is no evidence for Irish attacks against the town, three murage grants were conferred upon Drogheda. The distinctive mark of the Edwardian murage grants in Ireland and England, is the length of time for which they were granted.[690] Henry III's murage to Drogheda were given for limited periods: three years (1234-37; 1239-42) and then renewed for another two (1245-47).[691] During the reign of Edward I the terms stretched up to seven years.

The first of the Edwardian murage charters was granted to Drogheda on both sides of the river on 4 December 1278 for three years.[692] On that very same day a letter of protection was also bestowed on the same community.[693] The list of taxable articles was enlarged and the rates increased, relative to the previous grants. The detailed character of the Edwardian grants crops up by comparing the customs imposed on the ships: Henry III's murages lists customs on large ships, 16*d.*, and bussards and smaller ships, 8*d.*[694] By 1278, a complete range of cargoes is listed: every ship or boat laden with timber bark, or brushwood entering or leaving the port of Drogheda, 12*d.*; any ship carrying 100 hogsheads of wine for sale, 12*d.*; any ship large or small freighted with other merchandise, more or less according to that proportion.[695]

Defence and access of ships to Drogheda port were improved by the construction of a quay. In 1306, the mayor and bailiff of Drogheda in Uriel petitioned the king to be allowed to build a quay "next to the wall of the close of the Friars Minor within the precinct of the liberty of the town" and "a stone tower next said quay and outside said walls towards the east, for the security of the town". The project was approved despite the opposition of the Friars. The dimensions of the quay were to be of 20 perches length and 14

---

[690] Bradley, 'Topography and layout', p. 118: "by the end of the thirteenth century the period had lengthened to ten years and at by the middle of the fourteenth century twenty was common". It was the mayor who sought permission from the king to levy the tax. The mayor and the council used to appoint officials who collected these taxes. During the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, the collectors were often required to attend at the Exchequer in Dublin to have their accounts audited.

[691] *CDI*, 1171-1251, 2135, pp 316-7 (1234-37); Ibidem, 2614, p. 390 (1239-42); Ibidem,, 2614, p. 390 (1243-45); see above, Chap.4. 2.2, pp 127-32 and Appendices 10, 11.

[692] *CDI*, 1252-1284, 1517, p. 297 (1278); see Appendix 19 (B).

[693] *CDI*, 1252-1284, 1517, p. 297 (1278); see Appendix 19 (A).

[694] *CDI*, *1171-1251*, 2135, p. 317.

[695] *CDI*, 1252-1284, 1517, p. 297 (1278); see Appendix 19 (B).

feet breadth.[696] The Franciscan friary is believed to have been founded in 1240 and was situated on the northern bank.[697]

The taxable articles listed in the charter of 1278, demonstrate the range of trade occurring in the town between 1278 and 1281.[698] The increase of the variety of trading goods is relevant when compared to the murage of 1234.[699] Some of these entries can be juxtaposed to determine increase or inflation of certain trading products. The custom for a hogshead of wine laden or un-laden at the vill doubled.[700] Salt is another commodity which boosted its cost: in 1278 each hundred of salt sold was charged 4*d.*, whereas previously each weight of salt sold was charged 1*d.*[701] The custom for a mease (five hundred) of herrings sold in 1234 was ¼*d.*[702] In1278, each last (400 pounds) of herrings sold was 2*d.* The trade of sheep and hogs increased, as tabulated by the Henrician charters - the customs exacted for the selling of sheep is fixed by the ten (1*d.*),[703] while in 1278 by the two-hundred (1*d.*). On the other hand, the custom for horses and oxen remained the same, ½*d.*[704] The custom for each sack of wool, in 1278, was 4*d.* and for half sack, 2*d.*; whereas in 1234 for a weigh of wool, 1*d.*[705] The custom exacted for a weight of cheese butter or tallow for sale doubled, from ½ *d.*[706] to 1*d.* Finally, by the 1278 charter, each assisa of woad was charged 1*d.*; the custom previously exacted for every crannock of woad on sale was a ½ *d.*[707] The custom for each

---

[696] *CJustR*, 1305-1307, pp 188-89. The mayor asked for an inquisition to be taken. The Friars Minor made opposition to the project. Their house adjoined the river and was granted *ad filum acque.* However, the project was approved because it was demonstrated that it would have been to the vantage of the king and the defence of the town: "because ships could more safely and better received and more freely come there with merchandise. And in time of war or disturbance, the town would be more protected by the tower and the quay".

[697] Gwynn and Hadcock, *Medieval Houses. Ireland*, pp 247-48; Hughes, *History of Drogheda*, p. 95. The Canons of Llanthony Prima had their own quay in Drogheda since 1217: it was located beside the bridge of St. Mary, adjacent to the Chapel of St. Saviour; see Hogan, *Priory of Llantony*, pp 112-14; see Chap. 2.7, pp 63-5.

[698] *CDI*, 1252-1284, 1517, p. 297 (1278); see Appendix 19 (B).

[699] *CDI*, 1171-1252, 2135, pp 316-7 (1234); see Appendices 10, 11. The list of the taxable articles of the murage of 1234 is increased by about forty new goods: timber, bark, brushwood, rye, barley, oats, cow, mare and ox skins, fleeces, skins (of lamb, sheep, goat, rabbit, cow, mare and ox), furs (of squirrel and grey), avoirdupois, millstones, laths, cordwain, pitch and cinders, yarn for ropes, mulves, garlic, onions basil.

[700] *CDI*, 1171-1251, 2135, pp 316-7.

[701] Ibidem, 2135, pp 316-7.

[702] Ibidem, 2135, pp 316-7.

[703] Ibidem, 2135, pp 317.

[704] Ibidem.

[705] Ibidem.

[706] Ibidem.

[707] Ibidem.

dicker of hides for sale remained the same, 1*d.*;[708] as well as the one for a hundred boards, 1*d.*[709] and for a hogshead of honey, 2*d.*[710]

2.3. Dublin's trading customs granted to Drogheda in Uriel (1295-1302)

The second of Edward I's murages was granted to Drogheda on 26 August 1295 for seven years.[711] The anomaly of this concession is that it was bestowed on Drogheda in Louth only, whereas all of the previous charters were jointly granted to both sides of the town. The fact that this charter is the same, word-for-word, as that granted to Dublin on the very same day, explains the anomaly well.[712] It also implies that, by the end of the thirteenth century, the double nature of the town was still extremely marked. Northern Drogheda was favoured in many ways: the town had a mayor, was granted prisage of wine, and enjoyed the same exact trading privileges as Dublin. Conversely, southern Drogheda was granted, one year later, a different murage also for seven years (1296-1302).[713]

We can assume that financial reasons, namely Edward's need of money, might have determined the granting of two different charters. At the same time, the extension to Drogheda of Dublin's trading privileges, suggests that the unofficial alignment of the two royal towns (the alliances sealed in 1252[714] and 1285[715]) was in some way sanctioned by the king. A further consideration has to be made: the very fact that we are in front of a 'case of imitation', prevents us from perceiving this charter's list of items as representative of Drogheda in Louth's trade.[716] On the contrary, they are more representative of Dublin's trading scene, and in said capacity they will be juxtaposed to the 1396 murage granted to southern Drogheda.

---

[708] Ibidem.

[709] Ibidem.

[710] Ibidem.

[711] *CDI*, 1293-1301, 251, p. 106. Grant to the bailiffs and good men of Drogheda towards Uriel, the same from word to word as that granted to the bailiffs and good men of Dublin, by the king and petition of council. Westminster, Aug. 26.

[712] Gilbert, *Hist. et mun. doc.*, pp 191-194; *CDI*, 1293-1301, 250, pp 105-6: grant to the bailiffs and good men of Dublin, in aid of enclosing their city; see Appendix 20.

[713] *CDI*, 1293-1301, 311, pp 145-46; see Appendix 21.

[714] Gilbert, *Hist. et mun. doc.*, pp 130-1; see Appendix 14.

[715] *Gilbert, Hist. et mun. doc.*, pp 196-7; see Appendix 15.

[716] *CDI*, 1293-1301, 250, pp 105-6; Gilbert, *Hist. et mun. doc.*, pp. 191-194; see Appendix 20.

2.4. Drogheda in Meath; murage (1296-1303)

One year after the murage bestowed on Dublin and Drogheda in Louth, Drogheda in Meath was also granted a murage charter for seven years, from 1296 to 1302.[717] A comparison of these two documents may throw light on the diverse nature of trade in Dublin and Drogheda. The first conclusion to emerge is that the charter granted to southern Drogheda is more detailed than the one granted to Dublin and northern Drogheda - eighty nine entries in the former versus fifty two in the latter. The examination of the contents reveals a substantial presence of entries related to the sea and river trade in Drogheda in Meath. A group of entries suggests that the trading items were transported to Drogheda's port via water routes, more than by land. At Drogheda, a toll of 1*d.*was exacted on each boat laden with tan, while in Dublin tan is measured by cartload by the week.[718] Drogheda has a few entries related to shipping which were not listed in the Dublin murage - boats and ships laden with firewood;[719] boats laden with large or small timber; ships coming to the borough laden with articles for sale; fish sold directly from ships or boats in Drogheda. A group of entries refers to tools and implements related to ship-making in Drogheda in Meath, evidence for which is absent from the Dublin charter - large boards for ships, mast of ships, ropes for rigging of ships, canvas for ships, pitch and rosin.[720]

Some of the customs applied to merchandise in Drogheda in Meath were double the ones applied on the same products in Dublin and consequently in Drogheda on the Uriel side. This evidence is striking considering that the two murage charters were conferred on the towns at an interval of less than one year. For instance, on ten fleeces of wool sold in Drogheda on the Meath side was levied, 1*d.*, where in Dublin, it was only ½*d.*; on each mill-stone sold in Drogheda was levied 1*d.*, against ½*d.* in Dublin; the toll for each sack of wool sold in Drogheda was 4*d.*, whereas in Dublin it was 2*d.*

In contrast, the selling of other products in Drogheda was charged less than in Dublin, as in the case of hogsheads of wine, each of which was taxed 2*d.* in Drogheda,

---

[717] *CDI*, 1293-1301, pp 145-46. *CPR*, 1292-1301, p. 196; see Appendix 21.

[718] *CDI*, 1293-1301, 250, p. 105.

[719] The toll applied in Drogheda on the Meath side to each ship laden with firewood was double the one applied on the same item in Dublin (1*d.* instead than. ½ *d*)

[720] For the use of larger timber products in association with shipbuilding see P. Slattery, *Forest and woods, boards and beams, in Anglo-Norman Ireland, 1169-c. 1350*, forthcoming in *RSAIJ*, 138 (2008), pp 48-50.

when in Dublin 3 ½ pence were levied; as well as for each struss of cloth brought by cart to Drogheda, 2*d.*, whereas in Dublin the charge on the same item was 3*d.*; the toll for one hundred boards in Drogheda was ¼*d.*, in Dublin ½*d.* On the other hand Dublin's murage is very detailed concerning the selling of salt: each quarter of salt, ¼*d.*; each cartload of salt, 1*d.*; each horseload of salt by the week, ¼*d.*, while Drogheda's grant has only one, namely for 12 crannocks of salt, ½*d.*

2.5. Murage to Drogheda (on both sides?) (1307-12)

The *Calendar of the Justiciary Rolls* mentions for the year 1307 a murage charter to Drogheda, apparently granted to the two sides, for five years. In that very year, Roger Mortimer inherited *iure uxoris* Geoffrey de Geneville's land.[721] The actual charter of murage is not extant, but it is mentioned in a writ sent by King Edward to John Wogan, justiciar, and Richard de Beresford, treasurer of Ireland.[722] The cost of the grant was 100*s.*

The last sentence of this writ is significant: it states that the burgesses have to produce letters "according to articles in murage grants accustomed to be granted in those parts". The reference to the customary practice of the town validates McEneaney's hypothesis about the way the lists of taxable items were made. In his study on the Waterford's mayors, McEneaney suggested that, since the murage grants of the towns were different "we can only presume that the mayor sent a list of the items on which he wished to levy the tax to the king".[723] Drogheda's writ confirms the fact that each town made its own list, according to its specific volume of traffic, which is according to the customs of that town. One question remains open: which list was to be the customary practice followed between 1307 and 1312? The one of Dublin, reflected by the 1295 charter to Drogheda in Louth, or the one of South Drogheda, as reflected by the 1296 charter? Perhaps both?

---

[721] *CPR*, 1307-1313, p. 33. In 1307 Geoffrey de Geneville had resigned his lordship of Trim to his grand-daughter and her ambitious husband, Roger de Mortimer who to Geneville as lord of Trim; see Otway-Ruthven, 'The partition of the de Verdun lands', pp 401-445; see above, Chap.4.1.5, pp 122-25.

[722] *CJustR*, 1305-1307, p. 336: "Whereas for a fine of 100*s.* which the burgesses of Drogheda paid to the Exchequer, the king grants that they might receive, to the end of five years, certain customs of things brought to the town to be sold; to build a tower within the walls of the town for its defence and to enclose the town. They are to cause the king's letters to be made according to articles in murage grants accustomed to be granted in those parts. Teste at Melkhus, 1 July *a.r.* xxxiii".

[723] McEneaney, *History of Waterford*, p. 50.

The issuing of this murage may be related to an incident that occurred one year before. In 1306 the defences and Drogheda's port were improved by the construction of a quay on the north side of the Boyne. This construction also protected the access and safety of the ships. The mayor and bailiff of Drogheda in Uriel petitioned the king to build a quay "next to the wall of the close of the Friars Minor within the precinct of the liberty of the town." They also asked permission to build "a stone tower next said quay and outside said walls towards the east, for the security of the town". The project was approved in spite of the opposition of the friars and the quay was prescribed to be 20 perches in length and 14 feet broad.[724] The Franciscan friary was situated close to the river on the northern bank and it is believed to have been founded in 1240.[725]

This evidence suggests that the quay frontage was divided into three main sections: two owned by two religious houses (the Canons of St. Saviour[726] and the before mentioned Franciscan friary) and one by the community itself.[727]

---

[724] *CJustR*, 1305-1307, pp 188-89. The mayor asked for an inquisition to be taken: the Friars Minor, whose house adjoined the river and whom was granted *ad filum acque*, made opposition to the project. However, the project was approved because it was demonstrated that it would have been to the vantage of the king and the defence of the town: "because by this ships could more safely and better received and more freely come there with merchandise. And in time of war or disturbance, the town would be more protected by the tower and the quay".

[725] Gwynn and Hadcock, *Religious Houses. Ireland*, pp 247-48; Hughes, *History of Drogheda*, p. 95. The archaeological evidence for the Franciscan friary are examined in Murphy, *Medieval Drogheda*, I, pp 66-70.

[726] It has to be remembered that, since 1217, the Canons of Llanthony Prima had a quay: it was located beside the bridge of St. Mary, adjacent to the chapel of St. Saviour; see Hogan, *Priory of Llantony*, pp 112-14; see above, Chap. 2.7, pp 63-5.

[727] Murphy, *Medieval Drogheda*, II, pp 113-118.

3. The funding of warfare: customs, taxes, provisions and vessels

During the king's wars in Gascony, Wales and Scotland, Drogheda was required to pay a grant of customs to the crown; to supply and transport provisions to the king's castles and to provide naval force to the king's armies.[728] The obtaining of extraordinary aids was one of the principal causes of convoking parliaments during Edward I's reign.[729] The relevance of the information analyzed in this chapter is two-fold. Apart from showing Drogheda's involvement with international warfare, these facts have an institutional relevance for general history, contributing towards tracing back the evolution of the English and Irish parliament.[730] The emergence of the principle of representation, and the accompaining notion of consent, was an achievement of those years.[731] Three legislative measures were enacted concerning financing internal and 'international' warfare in Wales, Gascony and Scotland.

The first measure was a perpetual tax on wool called New Customs, which was exacted from Drogheda and the Irish seaports as result of the 1275 Parliament of London.[732] That parliament was attended by twelve magnates - among them, Theobald de Verdun, pouparty of the annual rent for Drogheda in Meath. The twelve gave their consent to a

---

[728] The policy of exploitation pursued by Edward I is evident when considering that "between 1278 and 1306, he drew £40,000 out of Ireland, at a time when the Irish exchequer usually produced an income of £ 5,000per annum"; see Potter, *History of Limerick*, p. 79. For a full discussion of the decline of the Irish lordship under Edward I, see Lydon, *Lordship of Ireland*, pp 120-42; idem, 'Years of crisis', pp 179-201.

[729] Webb, *Government of Ireland*, pp 65-8; Richardson and Sayles, *Irish Parliament*, p. 66: the other recurrent subjects discussed in the Irish parliaments were administrative business like renewal of local warfare against the king's enemies, garrisoning and provisioning of castles, payments of fees and expenses of various kinds, questions of wardship, petitions among co-heiresses, marriage, grants of lands, enrollments of private charters, homage, alienations, pardons. See also Otway-Ruthven, *Med. Ire.*, pp 166-73.

[730] H. G. Richardson, 'The Irish Parliament of Edward I', *Proc. RIA*, XXXVIII (1928-9), pp 128-47: W. Stubbs, *Constitutional History of England*, II (Oxford, 1896); M. V. Clarke, *Medieval representation and consent: a study of early parliaments in England and Ireland, with particular reference to the* Modus tenendi parlamentum (London, 1936, repr. 1964); H. G. Richardson and G.O. Sayles, *Parliaments and councils in Medieval Ireland* (Dublin, 1947); Richardson and Sayles, *Irish Parliament*.

[731] Lydon, 'Years of crisis', p. 196. Whereas it was not until the fourteenth century that parliamentary subsidy became firmly established in Ireland, "the practice was established in the last decades of the thirteenth century, based on the principle of consent and the accepted obligation of every free man to help the king in his necessity, with elected representatives having full power to bind their communities to whatever was agreed on in parliament".

[732] A full transcription of the writ of summons of the 1275 Parliament is given in Lynch, *Legal institutions*, pp 304-5. It was provided that the towns were to elect two collectors of the customs who kept one piece of a seal, while the king nominated an official who kept the other part of the seal. None of such wool, woolfells and hides could leave the realm without letters patent or the seal. A temporary block on the exportation of such goods was also commanded on pain of forfeiture; see *CFR*, 1272-1307, p 47.

perpetual grant, owed to the crown - ½ mark on each sack of wool; ½ mark on each 300 woolfells making a sack and 1 mark on each last of hides leaving the largest towns and ports of the realm, in Ireland, Wales and England. It is a relevant fact that the grant was drawn "saving to them [the magnates] the forfeiture of all such merchandise as passed through their fees or liberties without paying these customs to the king, and so that in all their ports where the king's writs had no currency, two of the more discreet men should be elected and should be sworn to arrest such merchandise".[733] That means that the lords' right of tolls was still in force in 1275, in the ports where the king's writ had no validity. In the other places, the seigniorial right was reduced to the retention of the forfeitures for illegal transport of the goods listed in the new customs. By 1275, both Drogheda in Louth and in Meath were royal. Drogheda in Meath was partitioned between Geoffrey de Geneville, justiciar of Ireland, and Theobald de Verdun who annually received 25 marks each, as compensation for the vill (the tolls) and the castle of Drogheda. Accordingly, it is likely that they only had rights of forfeiture for illegal transport of wool in that vill. Drogheda on both sides accounted for the New Custom from May 1275 until April 1281[734] and regularly during the reign of Edward I: in 1281-84[735], 1286,[736] 1287-88,[737] 1289-90,[738] in 1292-93,[739] in 1295, 1296, 1296-97 and 1289-99;[740] 1301-1303.[741]

The second legislative measure concerning the financing of warfare was the grant of the Fifteenth, which was obtained in Ireland after the Dublin Parliament of 28 January 1292.[742] Writs of summons for this parliament have not survived. It is likely, however, that

---

[733] *CFR*, 1272-1307, p. 60.

[734] *CDI*, 1252-1284, 1902, pp 413-17.

[735] *CDI*, 1285-92, 1, p. 1.

[736] Pipe Roll, xv Edw. I (1286-87), *Rep DKI* 37, p 24; CDI, 1285-1292, 271, p. 119.

[737] Pipe Roll, xvi Edw. I (1287-88), *Rep. DKI* 37, p. 38. Collectors: Bouruncinus Bandinus and his associates, merchant of Lucca were assigned to collect the New Customs in all of the Irish ports.

[738] Pipe Roll, xviii Edw. I (1289-90), *Rep. DKI* 37, p. 39. Collectors: Gerold Chymbard, Reymund La Pund, and their associates, merchant of Lucca.

[739] Pipe Roll, xx Edw. I (1292), *Rep. DKI* 37, p. 48. Collectors: Francis Melisard, Gerald Chymbard and their associates, merchants of Lucca.

[740] *CDI*, 1293-1301, 226, p. 94; *CDI*, 1293-1301, 300, p. 140; Pipe Roll, xxv Edw. I (1296-97), *Rep. DKI* 38, pp 30, 31-32; *CDI*, 1293-1301, 658, p. 313. Collectors: Gerald FitzJohn and Robert Cosyn.

[741] Pipe Roll, xxx Edw. I (1301-02), *Rep. DKI* 38, pp 63, 85. Collectors: Arnald Garcy, Stephen Dubrock and Bernard de Monte Acuto.

[742] CDI, 1284-1293, 1090, p. 485. Thomas Cantok, a special agent of the king, arrived in Dublin and arranged for an assembly of the barons, magnates and *fidelis communitas* of Ireland at Dublin. The negotiations were carried on successfully and he attained "a fifteenth out of their goods and chattels; their arms, horses and all kind of utensils, treasure and debts in which they are bound to be excepted". The *fidelis communitas* attended this council, whereas in 1275 exclusively *magnates and prelates* were summoned; see

Drogheda sent representatives who agreed to the customs. Records show that the Fifteenth was collected at Drogheda in Meath and Louth in the years 1293-94,[743] 1294-1297,[744] 1297-8[745] and 1299.[746]

The third legislative measure was a direct subsidy, obtained at the 1300 parliament of Dublin, which will be discussed in relation to the second campaign of the Scottish war.[747]

The other wide-ranging expedient used in Edward I's exploitation of Irish resources was the system of purveyances. This thesis is not directly concerned with economic history.[748] The overseas trade, which involved Drogheda during Edward I's reign, is here analyzed essentially in its military relevance - ie., when it comes by the form of references to vessels, victuals, provisions and loans in aid of the king's war. The available data for Drogheda has been 'geographically' examined. The entries have been researched and analyzed in relation to their destination, rather than on the basis of the type of merchandise they relate to. The frequent chronological overlapping of aid, delivered to the different theatres of war, is worth noting. The ports of call for Drogheda's supplies were Westmeath (castles of Roscommon, Randown and Athlone) and Wicklow (Newcastle McKinegan); Wales (castles of Beaumaris, Aberconway, Caernarfon, Chriccieth, Harlech, Hawarden and Chester), Gascony (Bayonne) and Scotland (Skinburness, Carlisle, Newcastle of Ayr and the Scottish Islands). The records relating to these supplies show that the two Droghedas were perceived as two distinct entities.[749]

As result of the intensive agricultural policy of the Anglo-Normans, Ireland became something of a granary for neighbouring countries, particularly for the armies of 'the three

---

Richardson and Sayles, *Parliaments and councils,* p. 193. Lydon suggested that in 1292, the magnates and the representatives of the towns acted in unison: "there does not seem to be any question of the magnates leading and the commons merely following. It seems that the commons were already beginning to exercise some degree of influence in taxation"; see Lydon, 'Parliament and community', p. 131.

[743] *CDI*, 1293-1301, 113, p. 60 (Drogheda in Louth)

[744] Pipe Roll, xxv Edw. I (1296-97), *Rep DKI* 38, pp 30-1. See also *CDI*, 1293-1301, 261, p. 111 (1295, Meath); Pipe Roll, xxv Edw. I (1296-1297), *Rep. DKI* 38, pp 31-2.

[745] *CDI*, 1293-1301, 475, p. 224 (Drogheda in Uriel)

[746] Ibidem, 612, p. 291 (Drogheda in Meath)

[747] See below, Chap. 5.3.2, pp 212-22.

[748] For a general discussion on medieval Irish overseas trade see W. Childs and T. O'Neill, 'Overseas trade', in *NHI*, II, pp 492-524.

[749] Only one entry refers to Drogheda as a whole: in 1283-4 Drogheda on both banks of the Boyne supplied 10 tons of wine, which were sent to provision the castles of Randown and Roscommon; see *Ir. Exch. P.*, p. 96. See Fig. 17, pp. 207-11; Fig. 18, p. 211; Fig. 19, p. 212; Fig. 20, pp 218-22.

Edwards'.[750] At the end of the thirteenth and beginning of the fourteenth centuries the Irish trade of foodstuff and wine was dominated by direct demand and supply of Edward I's wars in Scotland and Wales. Resources of Ireland were purveyed by collectors all over the east and south-east, and prepared for transport from New Ross, Wexford, Waterford, Drogheda and Dublin. The town hinterland remained relatively productive until the Bruce invasion. Corn, wheat, oats, malt, flour and other cereals, meat, cheese, hogs and salt were the goods mainly provided by Drogheda. The town acted as a storage point for cereals coming from Meath and transported to Wales and Scotland.[751] Besides wheat, the other main consumer good mentioned, in the entries concerning Drogheda, is wine.[752] The wine came to Ireland from France - from the royal dependencies of Aquitaine and Gascony.[753] It has been ascertained that Waterford was the biggest importer of wines and a significant *entrepot* for French wine, re-exported to supply the armies of the English Crown fighting in Wales. James Lydon pointed out that Dublin and Drogheda were the main ports, during the reigns of Edward I and Edward II, supplying necessities during the protracted struggle in Scotland. The reason was because they were geographically nearer to Scotland, whereas Waterford and New Ross were ports used more for French campaigns.[754] Wine was conveyed at Drogheda from Bordeaux,[755] Gascony (Dordogne)[756] and Calais.[757]

---

[750] Otway-Ruthven, 'Anglo-Irish Agriculture in the Middle Ages', *RSAIJ*, LXXXI (1951), 1, pp 1-13.

[751] In 1283-4, wheat levied from Slane and other parts of Meath was gathered in Drogheda to be sent to Wales: sums were allowed to the town for "hire of houses to store wheat when brought to Drogheda from Slane and other parts of Meath"; see Pipe Roll, xii Edw. I (1283-84), *Rep. DKI* 36, p. 75. In 1299, flour, "of sufficient quality" provided by the liberty of Trim for the army in Scotland, was transported to Drogheda and loaded in a vessel; see *CJustR*, 1295-1303, pp 262-3.

[752] For a general introduction to the wine trade between England, Ireland and France, see M. K. James, *Studies in the medieval wine trade* (Oxford, 1971).

[753] O'Neill, *Merchants and mariners*, p. 44.

[754] J. Lydon, 'Edward I, Ireland and the war in Scotland', in idem (ed.), *England and Ireland*, pp 52-3. See also O'Sullivan *Italian merchant bankers,* p. 106; *Na Buirgéisí,* II, pp 505-35. As early as 1258 a certain Reymund Makayn, citizen of Bordeaux, is said to have brought 50 hogsheads of wine to Drogheda for the King's Welsh army, wine which the king did not require; see *CDI*, 1252-1284, 596, p. 97.

[755] *CDI*, 1252-1284, 596, p. 97.

[756] Pipe Roll, xxi Edw. I (1292-93), *Rep. DKI* 37, p. 50. The account of Drogheda in Uriel for the year 1292-93 records that Henry de Trim accounted for a sum for 37 tuns of wine shipped at Dordogne which he bought from Peter Beg', a merchant from Gascony. Henry de Trim was mayor of Drogheda in Louth in 1272; Hugh Morris and Hugh Teintrel were provosts; see Fig. 14, pp 163-4. The 1293 Roll of receipt reports that Geoffrey Pylet, merchant of Bordeaux, gave 44s. as custom for 11 hogshead of wine of Dordogne at Drogheda: see *CDI*, 1293-1301, 41, p. 27.

[757] Ibidem, 77, p. 39. In 1293, men of Drogheda were trading with Calais, as mentioned in a close letter from Beaulieu: Bartholomew Creyk, John le Decer, and Thomas White, citizens and merchants of Dublin, and Robert and John Cosyn, John English and John Heyrun, burgesses and merchants of

Finally, the port of Drogheda was a gathering area for troops as well as for food supplies and wine. In 1296, Drogheda was in fact one of the points of embarkation of the Irish contingents joining the first expedition to Scotland.[758] Carpenters, masons and ship builders embarked from Drogheda to the royal castles in Ireland and Wales.

3. 1. The 'Gaelic revival' and the king's castles in Wales

During the last quarter of the thirteenth century, Drogheda's resources were diverted to the king's castles in Ireland and in Wales. The evidence for Drogheda's contribution to these two wars is merged in the table below. Chronology of the two conflicts overlaps and sometimes the destination of the supplies allocated is not specified.

The castles supplied by Drogheda in Ireland were all located on the border between the 'land of peace'[759] and the 'land of war' - the frontier-line between the Anglo- Norman territories and enclaves under Irish control. The castles of Roscommon, Randown (St. John's Point, co. Roscommon) and Athlone (co. Westmeath) were sent aids between the years 1275[760] and 1284.[761] The Wicklow Mountains were the other frontier of war which involved Drogheda between 1279[762] and 1282[763] and intermittently until 1301,[764] with supplies sent to Newcastle McKinegan (Newcastle, co. Wicklow) against the Irish of Glenmalure. Warfare in Connacht, Thomond and Offaly was also funded by Drogheda.[765]

Wine was the main item provided by Drogheda to the royal castles in Ireland. Entries also mention beans, salt, cloth, wax, hemp, wheat together with various sum of

---

Drogheda, complained to the king that their goods and merchandises conveyed to Calais for trading purposes had been seized and detained there. Similar letters were sent to the mayor of Bristol. The King commanded the justiciar to detain and safely keep until further orders all goods and merchandises belonging to the men and merchants of Calais wherever found in Ireland.

[758] J. Lydon, 'An Irish army in Scotland, 1296', in *The Irish Sword*, V (1961-2), pp 184-90.

[759] B. Smith, 'Keeping the peace', in J. Lydon (ed.), *Law and Disorder*, p. 64: "when the English used the word 'peace' they did not employ it was an alternative for 'harmony', but rather as a substitute for 'control' ".

[760] *CDI*, 1252-1284, 1038, pp 178-9.

[761] *Ir. Exch. P.*, p. 96.

[762] Pipe Roll, vii Edw. I (1279), *Rep. DKI* 36, p. 45.

[763] Pipe Roll, xvi Edw. I (1287-88), *Rep. DKI* 37, pp 38-9.

[764] Pipe Roll, xxxi Edw. I (1302-03), *Rep. DKI* 38, p. 70.

[765] Drogheda's contribution to the defence of the royal castles in Ireland is summarized in the table below, Fig. 17, pp 207-11 and mapped in Fig. 18, p. 211.

money, granted by the town in the form of loans. Some of the town's local workers were employed in various ways. The town also sent masons and carpenters to Newcastle McKynegan and Roscommon castles.[766] In 1280, the borough was refunded a sum for iron, nails, steel, salt, pitch and other small articles and for their carriage during the justiciarship of of Robert Ufford 1276-81).[767] The strengthening of the royal castles was part of the king's strategy to reconfirm his military and personal authority in the lands threatened by his enemies. There is evidence for Drogheda in Meath being involved in the building of a galley at Athlone sometime before 1272-73.[768]

From the 1280s onward, Drogheda served two different frontiers of war - the internal one and the Welsh one.[769] Supplies of wine, wheat, oak and material for carpentry were shipped by Drogheda to royal castles in Wales between the 1260s[770] and 1298.[771] The large amount of provisions sent to Wales from the 1280s onward relates to the second campaign, conducted there by King Edward (1282-1283).[772]

The Welsh castles which received aids from the Irish towns were Harlech, Chricchieth, Caernarfon, Beaumaris and Aberconway. Prestwich argued that "the victory of 1283 was consolidated by a massive programme of castle rebuilding; Snowdonia was ringed round on the coast by Conway, Caernarfon, Chricchieth and Harlech".[773]

---

[766] Pipe Roll, x Edw. I (1281-82), *Rep. DKI* 36, p. 68; *CDI*, 1252-1284, 2169, p. 502; *CDI*, 1285-1292, 169, p. 72; Pipe Roll, xvi Edw. I (1287-88), *Rep. DKI* 37, pp 38-9.

[767] *CDI*, 1252-1284, 1739, p 355. Perhaps these aids were related to the rebuilding of Roscommon castle, which involved Robert Ufford twice, in 1269-70 and 1278. The castle of Roscommon was of high importance on the royal agenda: between 1275 and 1285 there are records of some 3,500£ being spent on the castle, the bulk of it being accounted for by the justiciar in the Pipe Roll of the year 1277-8. After 1285, there are records of repairs and of victualling, but no further substantial sums were expended; see MacNeill, *Castles in Ireland*, pp 96-100, 125, 233

[768] *Pipe Roll*, I Edw. I (1272-73), *Rep. DKI* 36, p. 24. In 1272-73 Drogheda in Meath was discharged £10 for a galley made at Athlone for the king's service. The galley was built sometime during Edward's lordship.

[769] For an introduction to the Edwardian war in Wales; see J. E. Morris, *The Welsh wars of Edward I* (Oxford, 1901).

[770] Only a few entries record the participation of Drogheda to the Welsh affairs during the 1260s. Perhaps its contribution at that time was only occasional; on the other hand, the scarceness of evidence could be imputed to the lack of the Pipe Roll records before the 1270s. However, Drogheda does not seem to have been involved with the first (1277-1278) of the two campaigns carried out by Edward I in Wales.

[771] *CDI*, 1293-1301, 508, p. 234.

[772] M. Prestwich, *War, politics and finance under Edward I* (London, 1972), pp 27-30.

[773] Ibidem, p. 29; J. G. Edwards, 'Edward I's castle building in Wales', *Proc. B.A.*, XXXII (1946), pp 15-81. Drogheda's funding of warfare in Wales is resumed in the table below, Fig. 17, pp 207-10 and sketched in a map, Fig. 19, p. 212.

Prestwich's Anglo-centred perspective did not take into account how Irish cities contributed to consolidate the royal authority in Wales. As a matter of fact, not only victuals, but also boards, timber and nails were shipped by Drogheda to the Welsh castles.[774]

The last rebellion of Wales took place in 1294.[775] Three ships landed from the port of Drogheda to Caernarfon or Conway - the 'Mariot' of Chester, belonging to William of Doncaster; the 'Mariot' of Dundalk, and the 'Garland' of New Ross.[776] 1294-5 also marked the opening of two new fronts of war, Scotland and Gascony, and supplies for the wars there start to appear among Drogheda's records.[777] The town was engaged in a triple-fronted effort, simultaneously supplying aid for the campaign in Scotland, the war in Wales and the war in Gascony. After the year 1298 the provisions would all be destined for Scotland.[778]

---

[774] *CDI*, 1293-1301, 345, p. 160.

[775] Prestwich, *Edward I*, pp 219-22. The outbreak of this new conflict coincided with two circumstances: the final instalment of payment of the Fifteenth - the tax imposed in 1290 - and the military preparations for the war in Gascony, when the majority of the English magnates were to leave Wales for Gascony

[776] *CDI*, 1293-1301, 345, pp 159-60.

[777] Pipe Roll, xxv Edw. I (1296-1297), *Rep. DKI* 38, pp 30-1.

[778] *CDI*, 1293-1301, 508, p. 234; *Ir. Exch. P.*, p. 144.

FIG. 17: DROGHEDA'S FUNDING OF WARFARE IN GAELIC IRELAND AND WALES (1258-98)

YEAR	PEOPLE/ BOROUGH	PRODUCT/ SERVICE	SUM	DESTINATION / PURPOSE	SOURCE
1258	Reymund Makayn, of Bordeaux	brought 50 hogshead of wine to Drogheda		to Wales, for the kin's army	*CDI*, 1252-1284, 596, p 97
1260-61	Drogheda in Louth Drogheda in Meath	farm remitted farm remitted	£40 40 marks	in payment for the king's debt with William de Dene, justiciar	*Rep DKI* 35, p 39
1261-62	Drogheda in Louth	wine bought and shipped	£68 1*s.* 4*d.*	to the kin's army in Wales	*Rep DKI* 35, p 42
1266-67	Drogheda in Louth	expenses for carriage of 3 tuns of wine	£18 9*s.* 8*d.* And 37*s.*	to Athlone castle	*Rep DKI* 35, p 46
1265-67	Nicholas FitzJohn, William Bencol, Thomas Preest, Hugh Cryne, burgesses of Drogheda in Meath	provided victuals granted a loan	 £24 13*s.* 4*d.*	to the castles of Boston and Awarden for business in Cheshire	*CDI*, 1252-1284, 1718, p 352.
1266-67	Drogheda in Meath	80 crannock of corn, carriage and guarding	63*s.* 9*d.*	to Chester	*Rep DKI* 35, p 46
1270-72	Richard of Bolton, Drogheda merchant	12 hogshead of wine bought of him	£18	to J. de Audley, justiciar	*CDI*, 1252-1285, 889, p 145
1270-72	Drogheda in Meath	grants a loan	£20 £12	to J. de Audley, in aid for the war for freight of the justiciar's ship	*CDI*, 1252-1285, 889, p 146
1270-72	Drogheda in Louth Roger Bonneys, burg. Of Drogheda	grants a loan grants a loan wine, bought of him	100 marks 100 marks 7 marks	to J. de Audley, justiciar to Robert Burnel, for the king's affairs for the King's use	CDI, 1285-1292, 169, pp 68, 71; *CDI*, 1252-1284, 1907, p 421; *CDI*, 1285-92, 169,p 71
1272-73	Drogheda in Louth	40 crannocs of salt	£4	to John de Verdun, for Athlone castle	*Rep DKI* 36, p 24
1272-73	Drogheda in Meath	expenses for carriage of wine building of one galley	£19 4*s.* 5 ½*d.* £10	to Athlone castle for the king's service	*Rep DKI* 36, p 24
1274-75	Simon Scopell, Drogheda merchant	3 hogsheads of wine, bought of him	£6 10*s.* 10*d.*	to Randown castle	*CDI*, 1252-1284, 1038,

	Robert of Slane, burg. of Drogheda	cloth, bought of him	£6 6*s.* 8*d.*	to John de Gait, custodian of Athlone and Randown castles	pp 178-79
	Richard Burgh, merch. of Drogheda	1 hogshead of wine, bought of him	41*s.* 8*d.*	to G. de Geneville, justiciar, for Randown castle	
	Hugh Morice	cloth, bought of him	£42 14*s.* 2*d.*	to G. de Geneville, justiciar, in part payment of a sum	
1274-75	Drogheda in Louth	provisions	£20	to G. de Geneville, justiciar, for Roscommon castle	*Rep DKI* 36, p 27
		loan	£20	to G. de Geneville, justiciary,for the king's business	
1273-76	Simon de Kartmel, burgess of Drogheda	5 tuns of wine, bought of him	£16 40*d.*	to G. de Geneville, justiciar	*CDI,* 1252-1284, 1907,p 421; *Ir.Exch.P.,* p 75
1273-76	Walter FitzJulian, Drogheda burgess	wine, bought of him	17 ½ marks	to G. de Geynville, justiciar	CDI, 1252-1284, 1650, p 338.
1275	Drogheda	grant of New Customs		to the king	Lynch, *Legal institutions,* pp 304-5
1275-77	Drogheda	New Customs	£133 13*s.* 10*d.*		*CDI,* 1252-1284, 1902, p 414-17
1277-78	Drogheda	Idem	£168 3*s.* 6 ¼ *d.*		
1278	Drogheda	Iidem	£94 10*s.* 4 ½ *d.*		
1279-80	Drogheda	idem	£124 2*s.* 1 ¼ *d.*		
1276-81	Drogheda in Meath	grants a loan	£40	to R. d'Uffort, justiciar, for the king's business in Connacht and Thomond	*Ir.Exch.P.,* p 74

1278-79	Drogheda in Louth	grants a loan grants a loan	£55 £60	to Thomas le Clare, for the 1276 campaign in Glenmalure for the king's business	*Rep DKI* 36, p 45
1279-80	Drogheda in Meath	grants a loan	£20	to Thomas le Clare, for the 1276 campaign in Glenmalure.	*Rep DKI* 36, p 49
1279	Drogheda in Louth	grants a loan	£106 13*s.* 4*d.*	to Thomas de Guneys	*CDI*, 1252-1284, 1535, p 302
Mich. 1280-Mich. 1281	Hugh Morice, Philip Wodelock, collectors	New Customs	£145 19*s.* 10 ¾ *d.*	to the king	*Rep DKI* 36, p 54; CDI, 1252-1284, 1902 p 417.
1280-81	Drogheda in Meath	wine	£23 2*s.* 4 ¾ *d.*	to Walter de Braybuf, constable of Athlone	*Rep DKI* 36, p 57
1276-81	Drogheda	expenses for iron, nails, steel, salt, pitch and carriage	£12 0*s.* 3 ½ *d.*	to Robert de Ufford, justiciar (for Roscommon castle?)	*CDI*, 1252-1284, 1739, p 358
1281-82	Drogheda in Louth	beans and salt carpenters 14 carpenters expenses of a messenger sent with the wine	 14*s*	to Athlone to Roscommon and Newcastle McKynegan going from Drogheda to Newcastle McKynegan to Wales	*Rep DKI* 36, p 68; *CDI*, 1252-1284, 2169, p 502; CDI, 1285-1292, 169, p 72
1282	Drogheda in Meath	7 tuns of wine an 20 crannoks of wheat other expenses	£24 6*s.* 8*d.* £8	to Chester, to sustain the king's army in Wales	TNA (TNA), E 101/234/21*
1282-83	Drogheda in Louth Hugh Morice, Philip Wodelock, collectors of	50 crannocs of wheat 25 white flour, carriage and expenses New Customs	£29 15*s.* 7*d.* £82 8*s.* 4*d.*	to Gregory de Cokisl', for the king's army in Wales to the king	*Rep DKI* 36, pp 71-2
1284	Droghedas	10 tuns of wine, bought of them	44 marks	to Randown and Roscommon	*CDI*, 1285-1292,

				castle	169, p 72; *Ir.Exch.P.*, p 96
1283-84	Drogheda in Uriel	white wheat hire of houses to store wheat when brought to Drogheda from Slane and other parts of Meath	 £30 4*s.* 9 ¾ *d.*	to Connacht to Wales, for the kin's army	*Rep DKI* 36, p 75
Nov. 1286-Nov. 1287	Hugh Morice, Philip Wodelock, collectors	New Customs	£165 16*s.* 8 *d.*	to the king	*Rep DKI* 37, p 24; CDI, 1285-1292, 271, p. 119
1287-88	Drogheda in Meath Drogheda in Uriel	wheat, oats, making flour and carriage wine wine, wax, hemp, wheat, grinding and cost of carriage	£81 17*s.* 8 ½ *d.* £58 15*s.* 8 ¾ *d.*	to Wales, for the king's army to Portlek, for the castle there to Portlek, for Randown castle	*Rep DKI* 37, p 31
Nov. 1287-Nov. 1288	Drogheda	New Customs	£123 6*s.* 10 ½ *d.*	to the king	*Rep DKI* 37, p 38
?-Nov. 1290	Drogheda	New Customs	£194 16*s.* 10 1 ¼ *d.*	to the king	*Rep DKI* 37, p 39
Nov. 1290-Nov. 1291	Drogheda	New Customs	£164 6*s.* 7*d.*	to the king	*Rep DKI* 37, p 39
Nov. 1292-Nov. 1293	Drogheda	New Customs	£196 6*s.* 7*d.*	to the king	*Rep DKI* 37, p 48
1295	Gerald Fitzjohn andRobert Cosyn, collectors	New Customs	£22 11*s.*	to the king	*CDI*, 1293-1301, 226, p 94
1296	Ships: the "Mariot" of Chester the "Mariot" of Dundalk	 freight: 120 quarters of wheat, 20 crannocs of oats, granaries, porterage, etc. freight: 72 quarters of wheat; boards, timber, nails, granaries, etc. freight: 40 quarters of	 £58 0*s.* 14*d.* £34 11*s.* £32 12*s.* 8*d.*	sailed from Drogheda to Caernarfon or Conway sailed from Drogheda to Wales sailed from	*CDI*, 1293-1301, 345, pp 159-60

	the "Garland" of NewRoss	wheat, 50 crannocs of malt of oats, granaries, porterage, etc.		Drogheda to Caernarfon or Conway	
1298	Hugh Morice, Gerald son of John, purveyors at Drogheda	20 crannoks of malt of wheat, 60 quarters of malt of oats, freight of one ship,etc.	£18 13*s.* 1 ½ *d.*	to Hugh of Leominster, chamberlain of Wales, for the king's castles there	*CDI*, 1293-1301, 508, p 234

* (This reference was made available to me by P. Crooks).

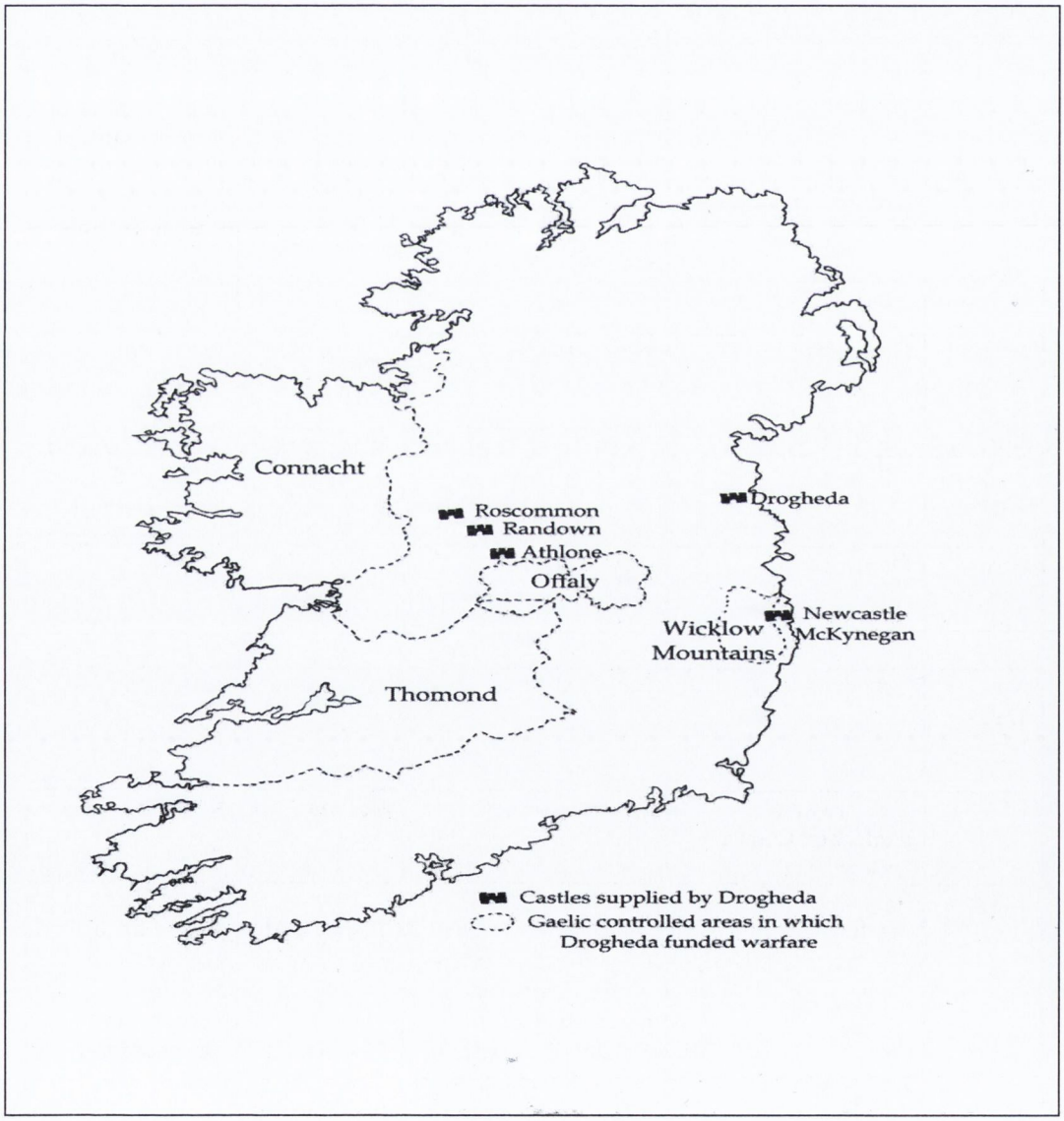


FIG. 18: Drogheda resisting the 'Gaelic Revival' (1266-1298)

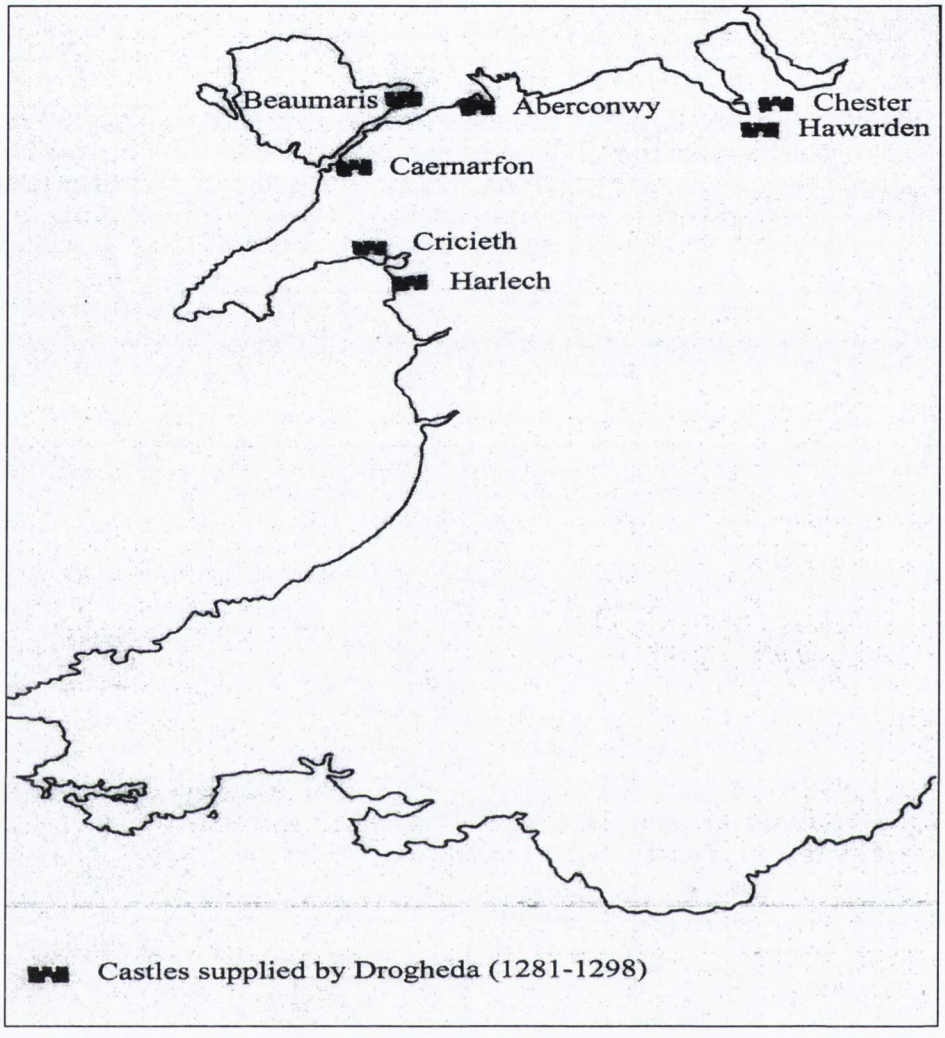


FIG. 19: Drogheda and the Welsh Wars (1258-98)

3.2. The king's wars in Gascony and Scotland

The years 1296 and 1297 marked the opening of two new fronts of war. The Pipe Rolls and the Irish Exchequer record aids provided by Drogheda for the war in Gascony and in Scotland. The two conflicts were interrelated, since the Scots, in the person of King John Balliol, Edward's vassal, signed a defensive treaty of mutual assistance with France in

1295.[779] This agreement put Edward in jeopardy and caused him to take action. The impact of these two outbreaks on Drogheda is jointly analyzed below, by reason of their political link and partial chronological overlapping.[780]

The navy assumed a more significant role than ever during these wars: defence and control of the coasts was only one part of its function. Of greater importance was the activity of the Anglo-Norman shipping of men and supplies to France, Scotland and Flanders.[781] Ireland, and in particular Drogheda, were involved in these tasks during the years 1296 and 1297.

Drogheda supplied corn and wheat to Bayonne. On 16 February 1296, letters were sent to the keeper of the king's stores in Gascony, notifying that three ships had been sent from Drogheda to Gascony laden with supplies for the king's army - the 'Nicholas' of Lynn, the 'Ave Maria' of Drogheda and the 'Nicholas' of Cork all sailed from Drogheda. [782] The Justiciary Roll records that the ship 'Mychel', owned by Hugh Moriz of Drogheda went to Gascony in 1297.[783] Hugh Morice was mayor of Drogheda in 1298.[784] However, this entry suggests that Morice supplied the ship as a merchant, rather than in any official capacity. This evidence confirms the fact that Irish merchant ships were also taken into the royal service during a war that employed naval forces on a massive scale.[785] The existence

---

[779] Prestwich, *Edward I*, pp 372-3, 376-400; idem, *Plantagenet England, 1225-1350* (Oxford 2007), pp 298-305. The war with France originated in 1293, when English and French sailors clashed in the Channel. The Cinque Ports and men of Bayonne set off a full scale naval-war against Norman sailors. This provided Philip IV with the opportunity to define his right, claiming authority over Edward. The real problem in Anglo-French relations was the fact that by the Treaty of Paris (1259) the king of England held Gascony as a vassal of the king of France.

[780] Data concerning purveyances, subsidies and victuals provided by Drogheda to the king's army in Gascony and Scotland are listed in detail in the table below; see Fig. 20, pp 218-21 and sketched in a map, Fig. 21, p. 222.

[781] Prestwich, *War, politics and finance*, pp 137-50.

[782] *CDI*, 1293-1301, 368, p 173. According to O'Neill, "there seems to be no reason to doubt that ships named as 'of' a particular port, were actually constructed in that port"; see O'Neill, *Merchants and mariners,* p. 112.

[783] *CJustR*, 1295-1303, p. 80

[784] *Reg. St. John's, Dublin,* pp 165-6; see Fig. 14, p. 167. Mayors were responsible for the collection of provisions for the king's army; they were entrusted with money by the Treasurer of Ireland to buy supplies. This aspect of the mayor's role really serves to illustrate the king's dependence on the municipalities with respect to his armies and their rations. Usually it was the town council that elected the two men who were to act as purveyors for the king in that town. The position of purveyor was a lucrative one and often a purveyor could subsequently become mayor or bailiff.

[785] Another example of this practice is recorded in 1306. On 24 April 1306, Walter de la More burgess of Drogheda granted to the king victuals for Scotland; he granted all the wine which he had at Waterford, in his ship called the 'Plenteye', namely 100 tuns of wine, each tun for the value of 40*s*. 40 *d*. The wine had to be brought to Drogheda at Walter's risk and therefrom to Scotland at the king's risk; see *CJustR*, 1305-7, p. 242.

of a shipyard at Drogheda is corroborated by the murage granted to the town on the Meath side during that very same year (1296) where shipbuilding materials are mentioned among the taxable goods.[786] Edward's war with France "injected a new and dangerous element into Anglo-Scottish relations".[787] The conflict gave to Scotland a potential ally against the English Crown. The war against Scotland was on its eve.

Drogheda supplied victuals to the king's army in Scotland continuously from 1296 to 1306. Skinburness, the port which supplied the castle of Carlisle, was the destination for cargoes of corn, wheat, oats, malt, wines, flour, meat, cheese, hogs, salt and other victuals supplied by Drogheda and by its hinterland during the first and the second campaigns of Scotland.[788]

The first campaign started in 1296.[789] Dalkey (Dublin), Drogheda and Carrickfergus were the ports of embarkation for the twenty four contingents serving in the first expedition against Scotland. They were regrouped under nine leaders and two commands. Those at Dublin were under the command of the justiciar, John Wogan; those at Drogheda and Carrickfergus under the earl of Ulster. This event was significant. It was the first time any Dublin administration was officially involved in a war outside of Ireland. The fleet sailed sometime at the end of April 1296. The Irish contingents were with the king during his marches through Scotland; then, on 7 August, on their way back home, they set out for the coast. Sources indicate that there was a delay in providing them with their transport. Lydon suggested the delay might have been caused by the fact that "some of the ships that had carried the army from Ireland had been used to attack Alexander de Argyle in the Scottish islands".[790] Lydon's hypothesis is corroborated by two documents relating to Drogheda. Robert Cosyn and Gerald son of John, collectors of the New Customs in Drogheda in Louth, for the year 1296-97, accounted for expenses for the expedition against Alexander of Argyll and the islands of Scotland".[791] Whereas this entry only proves that aid was

---

[786] *CDI*, 1293-1301, 311, pp 145-46; see above, Chap. 5.2.4, pp 197-98 and Appendix 21.

[787] Prestwich, *Edward I*, p. 372. The war in France was fought on the level of diplomacy more than on the field; no attempt was ever made to wage actual battle between the French and the Anglo-Norman armies. With the truce in 1297, and the peace in 1303, Edward achieved the fundamental aim of his war with Philip: the retention of Gascony; see Prestwich, *War, politic and finance*, pp 31-2.

[788] See map below, Fig. 21, p. 222.

[789] For a complete account of the war in Scotland, see Prestwich, *Edward I*, pp 469-516.

[790] Lydon, 'An Irish army in Scotland', p. 187.

[791] Pipe Roll, xxv Edw. I (1296-1297), *Rep. DKI* 38, p. 31.

granted by Drogheda to the expedition to the Scottish Isles, a payment, recorded two years later, proves that some Anglo-Irish personally took part in that mission. Drogheda's account for the year 1298 records a sum of £20 allowed "to Peter de Paris in part payment of wages for himself and other seamen of thirty ships sent against Alexander de Argyll and the Scottish islands".[792]

The efforts for organizing the second campaign of Scotland (1303-1304) started in 1300.[793] In February 1301, the king wrote to the justiciar of Ireland, John Wogan, that the total repression of the Scots required a navy and Ireland was to supply ten ships - Dublin, Drogheda and Waterford were to procure one vessel each; Cork and NewRoss two ships; Youghal three ships.[794] The joint effort of Dublin, Drogheda and New Ross allowed nine ships to be sent to Scotland, loaded with wheat, oats, fish and wine: 4 ships arrived from Dublin, 2 vessels from New Ross and three ships from Drogheda. Drogheda was discharged of expenses connected to three ships, in its account of the year 1303.[795]

The third of the aforementioned legislative measures enacted by Edward I to fund warfare was a direct subsidy. On 24 April 1300, King Edward issued a writ of summons to the earls, barons, knights and faithful subjects and also to the cities and boroughs throughout Ireland, asking for a subsidy to carry on the war in Scotland.[796] This document

---

[792] The account for county Dublin for the xxvii years of reign of Edward I, as reported in the thirty-eight Report of the Deputy Keeper is mutilated: "it consists of nine membranes containing a vast amount of information concerning the counties of Dublin, Meath, Kildare and Kilkenny"; see Pipe Roll, xxvii Edw. I (1298-1299), *Rep. DKI* 38, p. 52. The entry relating to Peter de Paris was found by Lydon in the Royal Irish Academy MS. 12/D/10, p. 119; from the same source he has also learned that the entire force was made of three constables, 499 mariners and the masters of the thirty ships; see Lydon, 'Irish army, 1296', p. 187.

[793] *CDI*, 1293-1301, 717-718, p. 338. In January 1300 the King ordered the mayor, bailiffs of Dublin, Cork, Drogheda, Waterford, Limerick, Kilkenny and New Ross to cause merchants to send victuals to Carlisle in aid of the war against Scotland. The same request was renewed on 28 June 1300; see CDI, 1293-1300, 754, p. 354.

[794] Rymer, *Foedera*, I, p. 928. The bailiffs and good men of Drogheda were required to supply one vessel to be collected at Dublin for the service of the Scottish war; see *CDI*, 1293-1300, 777, p. 358. Lydon gave a valuable account of the allocation for shipping; see J. Lydon, 'Irish levies in the Scottish wars, 1296-1302', *Irish Sword*, V (1961-2), pp 215-17.

[795] Pipe Roll, xxxi Edw. I (1302-03), *Rep. DKI* 38, p. 85. John Oure, Walter le Paumer and Michael Hopere, purveyors at Drogheda in 1303, accounted for sums paid for wheat, oats, wine, expenses of freight in three ships to Scotland, carriage, wood, boards, nails, carpenters for making granaries and stores and other expenses.

[796] *CJustR,* 1295-1303, pp 303-4. The entries are printed in H. F. Berry (ed.), *Statutes and ordinances and Acts of the parliament of Ireland. King John to Henry V*, 2 vols. (Dublin 1907), pp 228-36. We must disagree with James Lydon's statement that the 1300 Parliament was the first one which included representatives of shires, liberties and towns and with his definition of that representation as "popular"; see Lydon, *Irish lordship*, pp 110-11. Cities, boroughs and mercantile towns had in fact already been summoned in the 1281 Parliament and were requested a subsidy for the Welsh war; see Lynch, *Legal institutions*, pp 49,

deserves close attention. The writ of summons states that the counties, the cities and the boroughs were to elect two, three or four persons, with *plena potestate,* to represent their communities at that parliament.[797] Prior to the meeting, justiciar John de Wogan, negotiated individually with each town. In the first instance he went to Drogheda, on the vigil of Palm Sunday. The mayor, bailiffs and the community assessed as their due payment 260 marks - 200 of which were to be levied from the town on the Louth side and 60 marks from that on the Meath side.[798] From there, Wogan continued on to Dublin, which gave 200 marks. Then, on to the borough of Ross, where the earl of Norfolk, contributed with £40. The royal town of Waterford gave 100 marks; Limerick, 40 marks; Cork, 260 marks etc.[799] By the time the parliament met, Wogan and Geoffrey de Geneville, lord of Trim, were empowered to negotiate similarly with the magnates of the liberties and also with the communities of the counties.[800] The clergy agreed to contribute too, the amount to be negotiated with each single diocese.[801]

On the basis of the enrolled list of contributors, Glasscock concluded that Drogheda and Cork were the wealthiest provincial towns, having both supplied 260 marks to the king.[802] Are these sums actually proportioned to the prosperity of the respective places which contributed them? The fact that an arbitrary amount was not imposed by the king, entrusting John Wogan to negotiate with each community, suggests a positive answer to

---

306. More relevant is that in 1300 the King's request was considered in a parliament where magnates and prelates were for the first time to convene in person. Besides, the Third State had not a role to play in the parliament yet.

[797] For a full transcription of the writ of summons of the 1300 Parliament see Lynch, *Legal institutions*, pp 310-11; Richardson and Sayles, *Irish parliament*, p. 67.

[798] *Early Statutes*, pp 228-34: "*Et primo venit apud Drogheda scilicet in vigilia dominice Ramis Palmis, ubi porrectis litteris domini Regis Maiori et communitatis Burgi illius per ipsum dominum regem directis et abito cum eis super hiis diligenti tractatu predicti Maior, Ballivi, Communitas ex utraque parte aque ad promerendam benivolenciam domini Regi set gratiam de mercandisis que emerunt per mone[tas] inhibitas etc, optulerunt domino Regi CC et lx marcas unde super villam ex parte urielCC marcas et super villam ex parte midie lx marcas. Et exinde prefatus Justiciarius circuivit Civitates et Burgos, etc.*". The sum allocated by Drogheda in Louth, i.e. 200 marks, is registered in the Pipe Roll for the year 1302-1303; see Pipe Roll, xxxi Edw. I (1302-03), *Rep. DKI* 38, p. 71.

[799] *Early Statutes*, pp 233-35.

[800] Ibidem, pp 232-34; CDI, 1293-1301, 849, pp 387-88. In return for 100 days service of the king offered the magnates pardon of one third of all their debts at the exchequer, the remaining third to be allowed as wages, compensation for horse lost on campaign or other expenses incurred. The community of Geoffrey de Geneville's liberty of Trim granted a subsidy of 200 marks to the king; said sum is enrolled in the Pipe Roll; see Pipe Roll, xxxi Edw. I (1302-03), *Rep. DKI* 38, p. 70. The contribution of de Verdun is not indicated, being perhaps merged into the one granted by the new established County Meath.

[801] *Early Statutes*, pp. 234-37.

[802] Glasscock, 'Land and people', p. 239.

this query. However, compromises are involved in any kind of negotiation. The list reports, in fact, that the mayor, bailiffs and community of Drogheda on both sides offered 260 marks, 'so as to earn the goodwill of the king and after having obtained pardon for some merchandise they had bought with forbidden money'.[803] If a discharge was considered inside the sum agreed for Drogheda, something similar had probably happened also for the other towns' assessments. They also may have been quit of fines for any sort of trespass incurred with the king. This reflection by itself seems sufficient for re-evaluating the worth of this source as an index of wealth and catalyst for comparative analysis ot the towns.

A consideration of the space assigned by the document to Drogheda seems more pertinent. If compared with the other towns, cities or boroughs mentioned, the amount of details concerning Drogheda, in the acts of the 1300 Parliament, is striking. No other place is given such a detailed report of the process of the negotiations. The fact that northern Drogheda contributed so much more than southern Drogheda - which at that time was partitioned between Geoffrey de Geneville and Theobald de Verdun -[804] is also significant. Northern Drogheda was annually farmed at 60 marks, compared with 40 marks due by southern Drogheda.[805] Besides, the former had greater privileges than the latter, at the point where, in 1295, Edward I granted Drogheda in Louth the same charter of murage conferred on Dublin.[806] All at once, in time of war, Drogheda in Louth was asked for more efforts to aid the king. Each and every one of these data indicates the wealthier status of Drogheda in Uriel and its higher prestige.

After the collapse of Edward's Scottish settlement - with the murder of John Comyn by Robert Bruce in February 1306 -, the king again turned to Ireland for victuals and supplies. Writs of *Liberate* were sent to Dublin, Drogheda in Meath and Louth.[807] The Pipe Roll for the year 1306-7, records that a sum was provided by Drogheda to finance an expedition against Robert Bruce in the island of Scotland.[808] This is indeed the very first

---

[803] *Early Statutes*, p. 230: "*...ad promerendam benivolenciam domini Regi set gratiam de mercandisis que emerunt per mone[tas] inhibitas etc...*".

[804] See above, Chap. 4.1, pp. 104-09 and Fig. 10, p. 106.

[805] *Na Buirgéisí*, I, pp 185-88 (1229); ibidem, pp 174-88(1247); see Chap. 4.1.1, pp 110-13 and Appendices 6, 7.

[806] *CDI*, 1293-1301, 251, p. 106; see above, Chap. 5.2.3, pp 196-98 and Appendix 20.

[807] *CDI*, 1302-1307, 500, p. 150; ibidem, 552, p. 161; ibidem, 579, p. 166.

[808] Pipe Roll, i Edw. II (1307-8), *Rep. DKI* 39, pp 25, 35.

mention of the involvement of Drogheda in a campaign against the Bruces, a conflict that will mark the reign of Edward II and is the main subject of the next chapter.

FIG. 20 DROGHEDA'S FUNDING OF WARFARE IN GASCONY AND SCOTLAND (1296-1308)

YEAR	PEOPLE/ BOROUGH	PRODUCT/ SERVICE	SUM	DESTINATION/ PURPOSE	SOURCE
1296	Drogheda port	one of the ports of embarkation		for the first campaign in Scotland (1996-98)	Lydon, 'An Irish army', p. 187
1296-97	Drogheda in Louth	loan	£5 15*s.* 2*d.*	to Eustace le Poher, going to Scotland with the army	*Rep. DKI* 38, p 31
1296	Hugh Morice, Gerald son of John, purveyors at Drogheda	to buy corn	assigned £100	to Gascony	*CDI*, 1293-1301, 360, pp 169, 217; *Ir.Exch.P.*, p 135
1296	Robert Cosyn, Gerald son of John, collectors of the New customs at Drogheda	to buy corn	assign £27 4*s.* 8*d.*	to Bayonne, for the king's army in Gascony	*Rep. DKI* 38, p 32
1296	Ships: the "Nicholas" of Lynn the "Ave Maria" of Drogheda the "Nicholas" of Cork	 freight: 196 quarters wheat freight: 192 quarters of wheat freight: 212 quarters of wheat		sailed from Drogheda to Gascony, to supply the king's army	*CDI*, 1293-1301, 368, p 173
1297	the "Mychel", of Hugh Moriz			sailed from Drogheda to Gascony, for the king's army	*CJustR*, 1295-1303, p 80
1296-97	Hugh Morice, Gerald son of John, purveyors at Drogheda Hugh Morice	to buy provisions: 702 ½ crannocs and 3 pecks of wheat to buy provisions	assigned £100 assigns £33 10*s.* 7½*d.*	for the king's army in Gascony for the king's army in Gascony	*Rep. DKI* 38, p 44
1294-Nov. 129	Robert Cosyn, Gerald son of John, collectors of the New customs	New Customs	£468 13*s.* 11 ¾ *d.* £62 4*s.* 8*d.*	to the king for the king's castles in Wales and the expedition	*Rep. DKI* 38, pp 30-1

	at Drogheda			against Alexander of Argyll in Scotland	
1298	Drogheda	loan	assigns £20	wages of Peter de Paris and other seamen of thirty ships sent against Alexander of Argyll	Royal Irish Academy, MS. 12/D/10, p 119
298	Hugh Morice, John le Mareschal, purveyors at Drogheda	to buy victuals: wheat, malt, flour, oats, wine, meat, fish	assigned £200	to Carlisle, for the king's army in Scotland	*CDI*, 1293-1301, 524,p.238; *Ir.Exch.P.*, p 146
Feb.-Easter 1298	Hugh Morice, Gerald son of John, purveyors at Drogheda	to buy provisions	assigned 100 marks	for the war in Scotland	*Rep. DKI* 38, p 45
May-October 1298	Hugh Morice, John le Mareschal, purveyors at Drogheda	to buy corn, wheat, oats, wheat malt, oat, malt, wine, cheese, hogs, salt and wheaten flour	assigned £582 1*s.* 10*d.*	for the war in Scotland	*Rep. DKI* 38, p 46; *CDI*, 1293-1301, 526, p 239
Hilary, 1299	Hugh Morice, Gerald son of John, purveyors at Drogheda	to buy wheat, oats, malt, wine, meat, fish	assigned £600	to Skinburness, for the king's army in Scotland	*CDI*, 1293-1301, 589, p 284
Feb.-Aug. 1299	Drogheda: Hugh Morice, Gerald fitzJohn, purveyors	to buy 149 crannocs of bran from the flour at Drogheda, Dundalk and Ardee; old sacks, bolthing cloth, bushels	assigned £1100	for the war in Scotland	*Rep. DKI* 38, p 50
1300, Dublin Parliam.	Drogheda in Louth Drogheda in Meath	subsidy subsidy	assigns £200 assigns £60	for the second campaign in Scotland (1300-1304)	*Early Statutes*, pp 230-1; *Rep. DKI* 38, p. 71
May-Oct. 1301	Peter le Feurre, Stephen Roth, purveyors at Drogheda in Louth	to buy 5 quarters of wheaten flour, 1 quarter 1 bushel of beans and peas; 5 crannocs of oats, 20 quarters of bran 6 old sacks, wages, expenses of a granary and	assigned £308 6*s.* 2¼*d*	for the war in Scotland	*Rep. DKI* 38, p. 58

		storehouses, wages of a superintendent and clerks			
1301	Drogheda	requested to provide one ship		for the war in Scotland	*CDI*, 1293-1300, 777, p 358
1301-2	John Roth, Gervase Ingelberd, purveyors at Drogheda	to buy provisions	assigned £80 13*s* 4*d*	for the war in Scotland	*Ir.Exch.P.*, p 170
April 1302-April 1302	Drogheda	New Customs	£102 3*s*. 8 ½ *d*	to the king	*Rep.DKI* 38, pp 63, 85
April 1303-Nov. 1304	Drogheda	idem	£80 0*s*. 4*d*	to the king	
Easter-August 1303	John Oure, Walter le Paumer, Michael Hopere, purveyors at Drogheda	to buy wheat, oats, wine; expenses of freight in three ships to Scotland; carriage, wood, boards, nails, carpenters for making granaries and stores and other expenses	assigned £107 17*s*. 7*d*	for the war in Scotland	*Rep.DKI* 38, p. 85
1303-04	Drogheda: Thomas de Ulveston, Gervase Ingelberd, purveyors at Drogheda	to buy corn, wine, other victuals, freight and expenses for shipping	assigned £318 17*s* 11 ½ *d*	for the war in Scotland	*Ir.Exch.P.*, p 178
1303	Drogheda: Thomas de Dundalk and Thomas de Bayns, purveyors	to buy victuals	assign £45 18*s*. 6¼*d*.	for the war in Scotland	*Rep. DKI* 38, p. 86
April? June? 1306	Thomas Page, John de Cartmel purveyors at Drogheda in Louth	to buy corn and victuals	assigned £200	for the king's affairs in Scotland	*CDI*, 1302-1307, 550-1, p 161; *Ir.Exch.P.*, p 188
1 Jan. 1307	Thomas Page, John de Cartmel purveyors at Drogheda in	to buy wheat, malt, wine	assigned £700	to Skinburness, for consumption of the king's household	*CDI*, 1302-1307, 603, p 170

	Louth				
May to Oct. 1306	Thomas Page and John Cartmel, purveyors at Drogheda	to buy wine, wheat, oats, oat malt, pigs, carcases of cows, wages and freight	assigned £366	to Scotland	*Rep. DKI* 39, p. 33.
Oct. 1306	Thomas Page, John de Cartmel, junior, purveyors at Drogheda in Louth	to buy wheat, malt and wine	assigned £100 assigned £521 5*s.* 1 ¼ *d.*	to Skinburness, for the war in Scotland	*CDI*, 1302-1307, 582, p 167; *Ir.Exch.P.*, p 196.
Apr. 1306	Richard Cotyn, Thomas de Dundalk, purveyors at Drogheda in Meath	to buy corn and supplies	assigned £200	to Scotland	*CDI*, 1302-1307, 514, p 153
Oct. 1306	Richard Cotyn, Thomas de Dundalk, purveyors at Drogheda in Meath	to buy wheat, malt and wine	assigned £100	to Skinburness, for the war in Scotland	*CDI*, 1302-1307, 581, p 166
Oct. 1306	Richard Cotyn, Thomas de Dundalk, purveyors at Drogheda in Meath	to buy wheat, malt and wine	accounted £76 3*s.* 6 ½ *d.*	to Skinburness, for the war in Scotland	*Ir.Exch.P.*, p 196
1306-07	Walter de la More, collector of the New Customs, Drogheda	subsidy	assigns £13 6*s.* 8*d.*	for the expedition against Robert Bruce in Scotland	*Rep. DKI* 39, p. 25.
Oct. 1306-March 1307	Walter de la More, Gerald son of John, collector of the New Customs	loan	assign 20 marks	to Hugh Byset, going to Scotland with a fleet	*Rep. DKI* 39, p. 35
May-Oct. 1306 Nov. 1306-July 1308	Thomas Page, John de Cartmel purveyors at Drogheda in Louth	to buy wine, wheat, oats, malt, pigs, carcassas of cows, wages, freights, expences idem	assigned £366 assigned £621 5*s.* 1¼*d.*	for the war in Scotland idem	*Rep. DKI* 39, p. 33

July-August 1307		idem	assigned £196 10s 3 ¾*d*	to Newcastle of Ayr, for the war in Scotland	*Ir. Exc.P.*, p. 199
May-August 1308	Drogheda in Louth: Thomas de Ulveston, John de Cartmel, junior, purveyors	to buy wheat, oats, wine	assigned £444 18*s.* 10 ½*d.*	for the war in Scotland?	*Rep. DKI* 39, p. 33

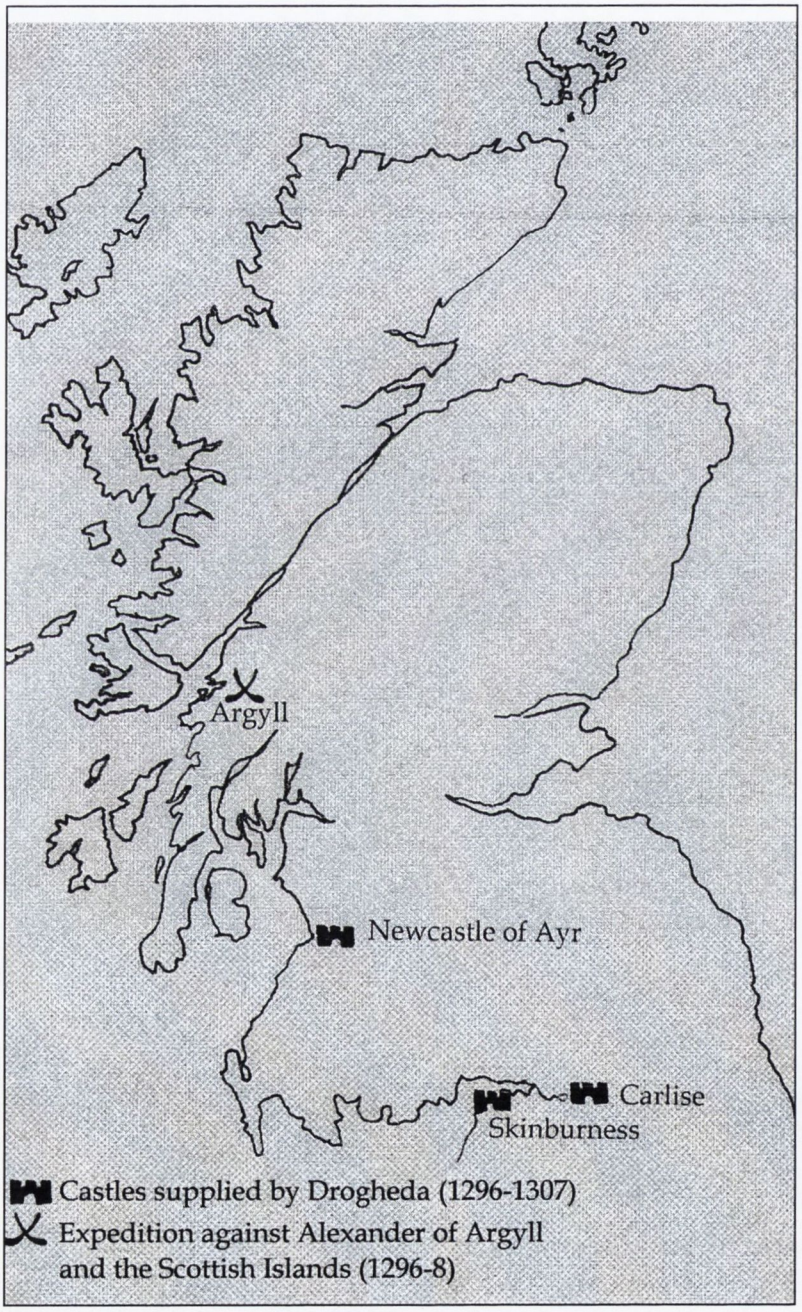


FIG. 21: Drogheda and the war in Scotland (1296-1307).

CHAPTER 6

THE BRUCE INVASION

1. The internal frontier: Anglo-Norman and Irish rebellions

At the opening of Edward II's reign, English and Irish rebels were rioting in Leinster. The rebellion of some of the gentry of County Louth and warfare in the Wicklow Mountains - theatre of an enduring conflict which, during Edward II's reign, started to be labelled as the 'common war' -[1] engaged the Dublin government in the years preceding the Bruce invasion. The other two frontiers threatened by rebellions were: Ulster and Scotland.[2]

The rebellion of Louth in the years 1311-13 is documented by various sources.[3] The riot was led by Theobald II de Verdun's brothers, Robert, Nicholas and Milo, who formed an army against the King.[4] Far more momentous than rivalry between colonial families, this was a rebellion, - an act of "repudiation of the authority of the crown in the most unequivocal fashion".[5]

---

[1] J. Lydon, 'Medieval Wicklow: a "land of war" ', in K. Hannigan and W. Nolan (eds.), *Wicklow. History and society: interdisciplinary essays on the history of an Irish county* (Dublin, 1994), p. 167; *CJustR*, 1305-7, p. 28. Some historians have pointed out the connection between the tenacity of both the Welsh and Scots in standing up to Edward I and the impetus of the 'Gaelic Revival'; see S. Duffy, 'The Bruce invasion of Ireland: a revisited itinerary and chronology', in idem (ed.), *Robert the Bruce's Irish wars. The invasion of Ireland, 1306-1329* (Brimscombe Port Stroud, 2004), pp 31-2; McEneaney, *History of Waterford*, p. 55.

[2] See below, Chap.6.4.1, pp 240-47.

[3] *Chartul. St. Mary's, Dublin,* II, pp 417-23; *CJustR*, 1308-14, pp 237-8. The Dublin Annals reports that "*...in vigilia Cathedre Sancti Petri, incepit riota Urgalie per Robertum de Verdon*": see *Chartul. St. Mary's, Dublin,* II, pp 340-1.

[4] Stubb compiled a list of persons who were implicated in the disturbances of County Louth and a list of the places plundered by Robert de Verdon, Walter de la Pulle and Robert Olyver; see G. Stubb, 'Disturbances in County Louth, 1312', *CLAHJ*, IV, 4 (1919-20), pp 304-7. See also Rev. D. Murphy, 'The de Verdons of Louth', *JRSAI*, 25 (1895), p. 324.

[5] Smith, *Colonization and conquest,* p. 101. Brendan Smith underlined the fact that the rebels displayed royal banners, took an oath of fealty from the king's men and imposed a fine on those who did not give them homage. For a general picture of the militarized society in Louth, see idem, 'Concept of march', pp 257-69.

Drogheda, however, maintained its loyalty to the crown.[6] As a result, while a heavy fine was thereafter imposed on County Louth (£500), the burgesses of Drogheda in Louth were exempted from payment.[7] The Justiciary Rolls report that Dunbeng was also fined £20 yearly for the same trespass.[8] Robert de Verdon and his rebel companions presented themselves at the king's prison at Dublin and were granted pardon.[9]

The presence at Drogheda of the justiciar, John Wogan, with a small force during the year 1312 corroborates the evidence that the town joined forces with the central government against the rebels. In that circumstance, the community of county Louth made two requests to Wogan. First, to allow the community to guard their own county, at their expense, thus preventing the insurgencts of an army outside from inflicting greater destruction and injury to their territory. Second, to place the same community under the custody of Nicholas and Milo de Verdon, who had sworn on the gospel to fight the rebels, thus putting an end to the conflict.[10]

From all historical refrences, it is known that the presence in Ireland of 'rebel English' became an increasing problem from the early fourteenth century onward.[11] The

---

[6] During the year 1311 William Page was mayor of Drogheda; see Gilbert, *Hist and mun. doc.*, p. 544; see above, Fig. 14, p. 168.

[7] *Chartul. St. Mary's, Dublin,* II, p. 422: "*...tota communitas comitatus predicti admittitur ad finem faciendum cum Domini Rege, pro secta pacis Domini Regis sibi inde perdonanda, per quingentas libras de tota communitate comitatus predicti, exceptis tantum burgensibus, et omnibus aliis hominibus ville de Drogheda ex parte Urielis, ad opus Domini Regis levandas.*" See also *CJustR*, 1308-14, p. 278. In 1315-16 the county of Louth owed £282 13s. 8d.; see Pipe Roll, ix Edw. II (1315-16), *Rep. DKPRI* 39, p. 68. In 1324-5 the same community still owed £215 13*s.*; see Pipe Roll, xviii Edw. II (1324-25), *Rep. DKPRI* 42, p. 63.

[8] *CJustR*, 1308-14, p. 239.

[9] *CCR*, 1307-1313, p. 525: Robert de Verdun and many of his accomplices were ordered to go and serve the king army in Scotland in reparation for their crimes.

[10] *Chartul. St. Mary's, Dublin,* II, pp. 417-18: "*Ipse Iusticiarius, relicto apud Dublin residuo exercitu predicti, scilicet, majori parte, cum paucis se divertit usque partes de Drogheda, ubi communitas comitatus illius rogavit, quod ipsa communitas ad precavendum damno, quod venire posit patrie per adventum exercitus, custodire posset patriam contra predictos felones, sumptibus suis propriis, et quod predictus Nicholaus, et Milo de Verduno, frater eius, haberent inde custodiam, quo eis concesso, ipsi, tactis sacrosantis, iuraverunt quod viriliter expugnarent predictos felones, et redderent eos vivos vel mortuos, si moram traherent in patria sin autem tenerent ipsos extra patriam ita quod per ipsos malum patrie non evenirent. Et facta eis inde commissione per literas Domini Regis patentes, sub testimonio ipsius Iusticiarii, ipse Iusticiarius exercitum, quem sic reliquerat apud Dublin, ad propria redire fecit*". See also Smith, *Colonization and conquest*, p. 157. John Wogan, newly appointed justiciar, was at Drogheda in Louth on 6 Dicember 1312 taking an inquisition; see Dryburgh and Smith, *Inquisitions and extents*, p. 94.

[11] J. Lydon, 'The impact of Bruce's invasion, 1315-27', *NHI*, II (Oxford, 1987), pp 279-80. The 'Braganstown massacre' in 1329 and the rebellion in Meath of 1328-30 are other examples; see below, Chap.7.1.1, pp 248-55. In 1402 some members of the White family, together with Stephen Gernoun and Bartholomew de Verdun, was implicated in the murder of the sheriff of Louth; see below, Chap. 9.2, pp 321-23.

misconduct of the Anglo-Irish magnates was indeed the main subject at the table of the 1310 Kilkenny Parliament. Magnates were there instructed to protect the marches, punish crimes in their lands, control their retainers and abandon private wars. In the acts of that parliament these magnates are styled as "malefactors".[12]

The real causes of the uprising are unknown. Two murders occurring immediately before the rebellion, however, might have broken the peace in the marches of Louth, opening the way for the uprising of 1312 - the murder of Richard Gernoun, sheriff of Louth, in 1311 murdered while hunting partridges,[13] and, a few months later, Ralph MacMahon killed by his own kin's men.[14]

All this being the general frame, it is worth drawing attention to the fact that both the de Verduns and the de Lacies, two families historically linked to Drogheda since its foundation, went against the royal authority during the same years. The de Verduns' rebellion in Louth in 1312 and the support given by the de Lacies to Robert and Edward Bruce between 1315 and 1329 are a turning point in the town's relations with the surrounding aristocracy. Treason by these lords was caused by the fact that both families had lost their liberties in Meath. The de Lacies were succeeded in the lordship of Trim by Geoffrey de Geneville and then by Roger Mortimer - who, coincidentally was the mediator in the surrendering of the de Verduns in 1312.[15] The de Verduns had lost their already 'attenuated lordship' in 1297, following the creation of the County of Meath.

Faced with the rebellion of its traditional lords, Drogheda always chose to maintain its loyalty to the crown, proving that the town no longer depended on those century old seigniorial powers. The appointment in June 1314 of Theobald de Verdun the younger, as justiciar of Ireland, may have been the means of the baronial party to curb the power of his

---

[12] *Early Statutes*, pp 259-77. The reason for such appellation was connected with their habit of stealing from merchants without making reasonable payments. In 1310 writs of summon were send to eighty-eight secular persons and to seven towns: Dublin, Drogheda in Louth, Drogheda in Meath, Waterford, Youghal, Cork and Limerick. Towns were at that period loyal to the crown and very hostile to the magnates. Accordingly, the presence of town's representative in Parliament was no doubt intended to assist the executive in passing legislation to reduce the lords' power. Drogheda in Louth and in Meath probably returned two or three members each - as was customary practice since the 1300 Parliament - but no record of their names is extant.

[13] *CJustR*, 1308-14, p. 225; B. Smith, 'The murder of Richard Gernon, sheriff of Louth, 1311', in *CLAHJ*, 21 (1989), pp 7-15.

[14] Hagger, *Fortunes of a Norman family*, p. 117. Hagger excluded links between events in England and the rebellion of Louth.

[15] *CJustR*, 1308-14, p. 239; *CCR*, 1307-1313, p. 188; Smith, *Colonization and conquest*, pp 97-105.

young brother in Louth.[16] According to Brendan Smith "only the arrival of an invading Scottish army led by Edward Bruce in the summer 1315 prevented a complete breakdown of royal authority in the area".[17]

2. The Bruce invasion (1315-18) and the town's charters

In 1315, letters close were sent to sixteen prelates, thirty six Anglo-Irish magnates and to the governing bodies of seven Irish towns - Dublin, Drogheda, Waterford, Cork, Ross, Kilkenny and Trim - urging everybody to the defence of the lordship against Bruce.[18] In the context of the Bruce invasion, Drogheda proved again its committed loyalty to the crown. The administrative bodies of the town cooperated with the Dublin government.[19] The laity supported the crown and went in arms against the invaders. The regular clergy took a position against Bruce and his Irish allies. The lords of the southern side of the town, Roger Mortimer and Milo de Verdun, continued their allegiance to Edward II and defended their own interest against the Bruces, as did most magnates of Anglo-Norman Ireland - with the notable exception of the de Lacies of Meath.

At that time, individuals and communities in Ireland had received various rewards intended to ensure their loyalty to the king in the face of the Scots' threat.[20] In 1316, Roger Mortimer was granted all lands forfeited by reason of his Irish tenants' rebellion in the Scottish war. In 1317 he was appointed the king's lieutenant in Ireland, to cope with the

---

[16] Hand, *English law,* p. 24. However, Theobald spent only eight months in Ireland and Edmund Butler ruled the country from 1312 to 1317; see Cosgrove, 'Principal officers', p. 472.

[17] Smith, *Colonization and conquest*, p. 105.

[18] M. V. Clarke, 'Irish Parliaments in the reign of Edward II', in L. S. Sutherland and M. McKisack eds.) *Fourteenth century studies* (Oxford, 1937), p. 6. Twenty-two letters were also sent to the Irish chiefs requesting them o give credence to the justiciar and carry out some of the king's affairs, namely the defence against Bruce's invasion. This vas the only occasion in which Edward II attempted to conciliate and make use of the Irish chiefs.

[19] As early as 1316 Drogheda was the port of embarkatim of Sir Thomas de Mandeville sailing up o the east cost, and landing at Carrickfergus, whose castle was held by Bruce; see Duffy, 'Bruce invasion of Ireland', pp 8-9.

[20] The Geraldines of Offaly had obtained their comital title, together with the liberty of Kildare; the Butlers had gained Carrick-on-Suir and Roscrea; Arnold le Poer had been granted Castlewarden and Oughterard in Kildare; ee R. Frame, *English lordship in Ireland, 1318-61* (Oxford, 1982), pp 250-1.

emergency.[21] The cities of Dublin,[22] Drogheda,[23] Cork[24] and other urban centres received confirmations and extensions of their liberties. Similarly, they hurriedly prepared to resist the Scots by acquiring murage-charters enabling them to fortify their walls.[25]

The impact of the Bruce invasion on Drogheda's charters consists of two sets of documents, independently bestowed upon each borough: one during the invasion and another in the aftermath of the war.[26] On the eve of Bruce's invasion, on 11 July 1316, both the communities of Drogheda in Louth and Dublin were granted charters confirming their liberties.[27] Two days later, Drogheda in Louth was granted a murage for three years (1316-19) in aid of repairing the walls which were in a ruinous state. The grant provided the town with an allowance of 300 marks for three years - 60 marks from the fee-farm and 40 marks from the town's customs each year.[28] On September of the same year, the mayor of Drogheda in Louth, Matthew Baa, was exempted from presenting himself at the Dublin exchequer on the morrow of St. Michael (30 September), as was customary practice. Such decision was taken under the extraordinary circumstances of Bruce's progression through Meath. The mandate states that said dispensation was given in order "to avoid the various perils and the dangerous conditions of the roads" and because the burgesses and Matthew

---

[21] *CPR*, 1313-1317, p. 563. Then, in 1317 Mortimer was granted all lands forfeited within the liberty of Trim; see Wood, 'Muniments of Edmund de Mortimer', p. 333. For the career of Roger Mortimer in those years, see P. Dryburgh, 'Roger Mortimer and the governance in Ireland, 1317-1320', in B. Smith (ed.), *Ireland and the English world in the late middle ages. Essays in honour of Robin Frame* (New York, 2009), pp 89-102.

[22] *Cal. ancient rec.*, I, pp 11-12.

[23] *Ch. priv. et imm.*, p. 46 (1316, Drogheda in Uriel), see Appendix 22; *Na Buirgéisí*, I, pp 178-80 (1318, Drogheda in Meath), see Appendix 27.

[24] *Na Buirgéisí*, I, pp 163-66. The confirmation charter to Cork is dated from Northampton on 20 July 1318.

[25] *CPR*, 1313-17, p. 471; *CPR*, 1317-21, p. 204; Otway Ruthven, *Medieval Ireland*, p. 238.

[26] The second group of charters is discussed below; see below, Chap.6.4, pp 237-40.

[27] *Ch. priv. et imm.*, p. 46: *"Confirmatio cartae de Drogheda"* (11 July 1316): this is an *Inspeximus* of the charter granted by King Edward I to the town on 24 June 1305; see Appendix 22. The confirmation charter to Dublin is dated from Westminster on the same day; see *Cal. ancient rec.*, I, pp 11-12.

[28] The evidence for this murage consists on a patent issued on 13 July 1316; see Appendix 23; and a charter dated on the next day; see Gilbert, *Hist and mun. doc.*, pp 394-5 (13 July 1316); *Ch. priv. et imm.*, p. 47 (14 July 1316); see Appendix 24. An entry of the Pipe Roll confirm the said allowances; see Pipe Roll, x Edw. II (1316-17), *Rep. DKPRI* 39 (Dublin, 1907), p. 72: "Drogheda borough on the Uriel side: they take credit for £20 allowed them in part payment of 120£ granted them by the king for repair their walls and the towers of the town.

"who has been already elected as their mayor for the following year" were at the Exchequer about a week before, on the morrow of Saint Matthew (22 September).[29]

Mayors used to take the oath of their office at the Dublin Exchequer before starting their mandate, as stated by the charter of mayoralty granted to Dublin in 1229.[30] The established term for such ceremony was the morrow of St. Michael, as recorded by an entry of the year 1311. William Page, mayor of Drogheda in Uriel, and William de Ulveston, seneschal of Drogheda in Meath, took their oaths in Dublin *in crastino Sancti Michaelis*.[31] However, during the fourteenth century, the tendency to delegate some of the mayors' personal obligation to representatives became a general practice.[32]

A group of charters was also bestowed upon Drogheda on the Meath side. In November 1317, the borough was given a charter of murage, pontage and quayage for five years to repair the walls, the bridge, the quay and the town gates (1317-20).[33] The king, just as he had done in Drogheda in Louth, granted to the borough in Meath an allowance of 300 marks for three years: 40 marks out of their farm and 60 marks out of the customs of the town.[34] This is indeed the first recorded remission of fee farm at Drogheda. Threafter, in 1331, both boroughs were remitted 60 marks out of their farm, to be deducted for a period of three years.[35] Dublin obtained the same dispensation in 1319 and again in 1334, as a result of the destruction that occurred during the Bruce invasion.[36] Cork was also

---

[29] Gilbert, *Hist. et mun. doc.*, pp 395-6: "*Drogheda, ex parte Urielis: De presentacione maioris sui ex eadem parte*" (1316); see Appendix 25.

[30] *Hist. and mun. docs.*, p. 91 (1229): see above, Chap.4.3.1. The charter of 1252 and its privileges.

[31] Gilbert, *Hist and mun. doc.*, p. 544: "*Drogheda, ex parte Urielis: De maiore electo: Memorandum quod in predicto crastino Sancti Michaelis communitas ville de Drogheda, ex parte Urielis, protulit in scaccario hic Willielmum Page, maiorem suum, in eadem villa, de anno presenti electum de communi assensu totius communitatis ville predicte; et eodem die idem Willielmus Page prestitit sacramentum de officio suo bene et fideliter faciendo in forma consueta quamdiu, etc. Drogheda, ex parte Midie: De senescallo ibidem electo: Memorandum quod, eodem die, communitas ville de Drogheda, ex parte Midie, protulit in scaccario hic Willielmum de Ulueston, senescallum suum, ibidem de anno presenti electum, de communi assensu totius coomunitatis predicte; et eodem die idem Willielmus prestitit sacramentum de officio suo bene et fideliter faciendo in forma consueta quamdiu, etc.*"

[32] The same concession was allowed to Waterford in 1331; see McEneaney, *History of Waterford*, p. 53: the mayors of Waterford were given permission to appoint attorneys to travel to the Exchequer, Dublin, to have the city's accounts audited. They were no longer compelled to go to the Exchequer to take the oath of office, "on account of the divers wars and perils of the way".

[33] *CPR*, 1317-1321, p. 57 (18 November 1317). Gilbert dated this charter to the year 1318; see Gilbert, *Hist and mun. doc.*, pp 413-17; see Appendix 26

[34] *CPR*, 1317-1321, pp 54, 61 (22 November 1317). The allowance is recorded in the account of Drogheda in Meath for the year 1322; see Pipe Roll, xvi Edw. II (1322-23), *Rep. DKPRI* 42, p. 48.

[35] *CPR*, 1330-1334, pp 11, 115; see below, Chap.7. 1.1, pp 248-55 and Appendices 33, 34.

[36] *Affairs Ireland*, pp 86-87; Connolly, 'Irish material in class of ancient petitions', pp 51-52.

remitted its farm in 1316, but for different reasons.[37] In 1332, Limerick had sought remission of the arrears of its fee farm on account of the fact that the town was ravaged by the Irish.[38] The practice of remission due from the royal boroughs was more widespread in Ireland than in England; it produced a great shortfall in the revenues and contributed to the financial crisis of the lordship.[39] The increase of prices on goods for sale is evident by comparing the 1317 charter to Drogheda in Meath with the one previously granted to the same borough by Edward I in 1296.[40] According to the acts of the Kilkenny Parliament of 1310, this rise was caused by those Anglo-Irish of great lignage, 'malefactors' who used to rob merchants as they passed through the country selling their merchandise. As a result merchants did not dare to expose their products for trade in their towns. This caused dearth of provisions in the colony and rise of prices.[41]

A charter of confirmation and extension of franchises was granted to Drogheda in Meath on 8 February 1318. This charter extended the burgesses' privileges over debts, mortgages, distrain and arrests.[42] The interest of the borough from external pressure was protected by reserving the jury of pleas held in the borough to the burgesses only, to the exclusion of strangers - on condition that pleas did not touch the king, his officers' or the community's interest. The burgesses were given right of building on every square within the walls on condition of not harming anyone living there.[43] They were, for the first time, freed from murage and pavage throughout all of the king's territory, land or sea. As a means to

---

[37] Otway-Ruthven, *Med. Ire.*, p. 238.

[38] Connolly, 'Irish material in class of ancient petitions', p. 20.

[39] O'Brian discussed the decline of the revenues from the farm and the costumes of the Irish royal boroughs and sea towns; see A. F. O'Brien, 'The royal boroughs, the seaport towns and royal revenues in medieval Ireland', in *RSAIJ*, 118 (1988), pp 13-26.

[40] *CDI*, 1293-1301, 311, pp 145-46 (1296); see Appendix 21. Here are given some examples: the toll for every horse or mare, sheep, ox and cow was ½ *d.* in 1296 and 1*d.* in 1317; one hundred big eels increased from ¼ *d.* to ½ *d.*; each salmon from ¼*d.* to ½*d.*; each jar of wine and cinders from 2*d.* to 4d.; each jar of beer from 1*d.* to 2*d.*; 10 sheep, goat, pigs for sale were taxed 1*d.* in 1296, while in 1317 the same tax was applied to one single sheep, goat or pig; each *assiza* of garment increased from ½*d.* to 1*d.*; a hundred big boards for ships, from ¼*d.* to 1*d.*; each ship laden with timber, big or small, for sale, from 1*d* to 3*d.*; each ship laden with shrubs firewood from 1*d.* to 3*d.*; each boat laden with firewood from 1*d.* to 3*d.*; each dozens of gridirons and grills from ¼*d.* to ½ *d.* Some goods traded decreased their value, instead than increasing it: every dozen of rope for the armament of the ships from ½ *d.* to ¼ *d.*; each dozen kitchen utensils from ½*d.* to ¼*d.*; every hundred of white glass from 1*d.* to ½*d.*

[41] *Early Statutes*, pp 264-65.

[42] *Na Buirgéisí*, I, pp 178-80; *CChR,* 1300-1326, pp 373-74 (7 February 1318): *Inspeximus* of the charter granted to Drogheda in Meath by King Henry III in 1247 and extension of the town's privileges; see Appendix 27.

[43] Previously it was granted them the right of building on the river Boyne as close as its embankment - *ad filum aquae Boyne*; see *Na Buirgéisí*, I, p. 175 and Appendix 7.

increase the volume of trade, Drogheda in Meath was allowed to have two weekly markets: a newly granted market to be held every Saturday added to the one already taking place every Wednesday since the year 1247.[44]

3. The three wars

The Dublin Annals refer to the involvement of Drogheda's men in the decisive battle of Faughart (near Dundalk) where Edward Bruce lost his life in 1318.[45] The Anglo Norman army, headed by John de Bermingham,[46] included Sir Richard Tuyt, Milo de Verdun, Hugh de Tripeton, Herbert de Sutton, John de Cusak, Edmund and Walter de Bermingham, the primate of Armagh, Roland de Jorz, and Walter de la Pulle, plus twenty men at arms from Drogheda. The opposition to the Scots was for the most part led by the local gentry of Meath and Louth.[47]

The Scots, headed by Edward Bruce, lined up a *militia* composed of many Scots and joined by: Philip de Mowbray, Sir Walter de Sules, Alan Steward with his three brothers, Sir Walter de Lacy and Hugh de Lacy, Robert and Armory de Lacy, John de Kermerdyne and Walter White and three thousand other men. Even though the Dublin Annals do not mention them, among the Bruce's forces there were also many Irish.[48]

The alignment of the armed forces shows that, beneath the official war between the English and the Scottish crowns, two other conflicts were simultaneously taking place in Ireland. First, the perpetual fight between the native Irish and the colonists; second, the internal clash among the Anglo-Norman seigniorial powers, which exploited the conflict to extend or regain their territorial power.

---

[44] *Na Buirgéisí,* I, p. 178 (1247); see Appendix 7.

[45] *Chartul. St. Mary's, Dublin,* II, pp 359-60.

[46] J. Lydon, 'The Braganstown Massacre', *CLAHJ*, XIX (1997), pp 6-7: Roger Mortimer was responsible for John Bermingham's rise to power in Ireland.

[47] Duffy, 'Bruce invasion of Ireland', p. 42.

[48] Clyn, *Annals*, pp 161-62.

3.1. The official war. The alleged siege of Drogheda (1316) and the beheading of Edward Bruce

There seems to be two episodes in which Drogheda and Bruce were directly connected. The first - an alleged siege of the town by Bruce in 1316. The second - the kill of that same Edward by the hand of a burgess of Drogheda.

James Lydon stated that neither Robert nor Edward Bruce, who several times raided the counties of Meath and Louth, ever attempted to take the town of Drogheda. The Scots never involved themselves in the siege of walled towns. One known exception is the siege of Carrickfergus.[49] A different tradition is handed down by a fragment of the anonymous annals transcribed by Sir James Ware.[50] The extract titled "Register of the mayors of Drogheda" states that, on 20 May 1316 [1315], Edward Bruce entered Ireland, attacked Dublin and came back again to Drogheda. Hearing that all of the riches of the country were within the said town he approached from the north with his army and, from a place called Catylcroft and Lequerell fields, he laid siege to the walls of Drogheda on 20 September 1316). After many assaults he came back to his brother, the king of Scotland, with a rich booty.[51]

According to this narrative it was from the north side that Bruce laid siege to Drogheda. Considering that he was coming from Dublin, he should have approached the town from the South side; but he did not. It is therefore possible to suggest that he may have made his route through Duleek, crossing the Boyne at Oldbridge, which was some miles upstream. This was indeed the pre-Norman roadway used prior the foundation of the new bridge at Drogheda.[52] The town's treasures that so attracted Bruce's attention were probably the wheat and corn produced by Drogheda's hinterland and the wine stored in its harbour.

The fourteenth-century poem written by the Scot John Barbour, indirectly confirms the siege. It reports that the Scots rode even "before Drogheda and Dublin but found none

---

[49] Lydon, 'Impact of Bruce's invasion', p. 292; R. Frame, 'The Bruces in Ireland, 1315-18', *IHS* XIX (1974-5), pp 3-37. For an itinerary of Bruce in Ireland, see Fig. 22, p. 233.

[50] Bodleian Library, Oxford, Rawlinson MSS B 484, "Collectanea Varia Jacobi Warei", ff. 67- 71. The chronicles are discussed by MacIvor, 'Two Drogheda chronicles', pp 88-95.

[51] Rawlinson MSS B 484, 'Out of the Register of the Mayors of Drogheda written about 1591, f. 67 v.

[52] O' Lochlainn, 'Roadways in ancient Ireland', pp 472-3. Oldbridge was a station point on two of the five ancient roads: the Slige Midluachra and the Slige Assail; see Chap.1.1, pp 11-14 and Fig. 1, p. 13

to give battle".[53] Barbour and Ware are the only two pieces of evidence for a direct attack on Drogheda.[54] Whether Drogheda was the object of an assault or not, the enactment of a policy of defence is corroborated by the aforementioned murage charters and allowances in aid to reinforce the town walls. The proximity of the battlefields brought about financial breakdown as shown by the following entries. After having made petition to the king, in 1317, the burgesses and merchants of Drogheda were allowed to trade with England and Wales, notwithstanding the king's ban against exporting corn and victuals from Ireland. The petition states that they could not trade in Ireland "as the Scotch rebels were very near to their town".[55] In 1318 Pierre de Besaz asked the king to be assigned the customs of wool, skins and hides at Waterford. The customs of Dublin and Drogheda, already assigned to him, "were worth very little because of the Scottish war".[56]

The Annals of Dublin attribute the death of Edward Bruce to a townsman of Drogheda. During the battle of Faughart (1318) a certain Johannes Maupas - one of the twenty burgesses of Drogheda headed by Walter de La Pulle - killed Edward. After the battle, Maupas' body was found covering that of Bruce.[57] The anonymous annals transcribed by Ware states that Maupas and his heirs were given "40 marks rent for his service".[58]

Barbour corroborates the evidence that Edward Bruce met his fate by the hand of 'Johne Mawpas'. Then Barbour adds an inconsistency: after having killed Bruce, Mawpas carried the head of who he believed to be Bruce to the English king. In truth the head was actually that of Gib Harper, one of Bruce's bodyguards.[59] In spite of the fact that somebody from Drogheda had or had not killed Bruce, what seems certain is that the men of Drogheda took active part in resisting his invasion. An entry of the Public Record Office,

---

[53] '*The Brus*: the history of Robert the Bruce King of Scots by John Barbour', G. Eyre-Todd (transl.), in Duffy (ed.), *Robert the Bruce's Irish wars*, p. 174.

[54] Irish scholars have not regarded as reliable these allusions to a Scot siege of Drogheda; see Duffy (ed.), *Robert the Bruce's Irish wars*; Frame, 'The Bruces in Ireland', pp 3-37; Lydon, 'Impact of Bruce's invasion', pp 273-302.

[55] *CCR*, 1313-18, p. 396.

[56] Ibidem, p. 184.

[57] *Chartul. St. Mary's, Dublin,* II, p. 60; *AU*, p. 443; Clyn, *Annals*, p. 170; Rawlinson MSS B 484, f. 68. For a description of the battle of Faughart; see G. O. Sayles, 'The battle of Faughart', in Duffy (ed.), *Robert the Bruce's Irish Wars*, pp 107-118. A certain Simon Maupas acted as juror in an inquisition taken at Drogheda on 28 June 1334; see P. Dryburgh and B. Smith (eds.), *Inquisitions and extents*, pp 136-7.

[58] MacIvor, 'Two Drogheda chronicles', p. 90.

[59] Eyre-Todd, '*The Brus*', pp 177-78. The story of the 'mistaken heads' has been dismissed by Orpen, *Normans*, IV, pp 203-4.

London, records that the townsmen of Drogheda asked to be exempted from paying their annual rent to the crown because some of their number had been killed at the battle of Faughart.[60]

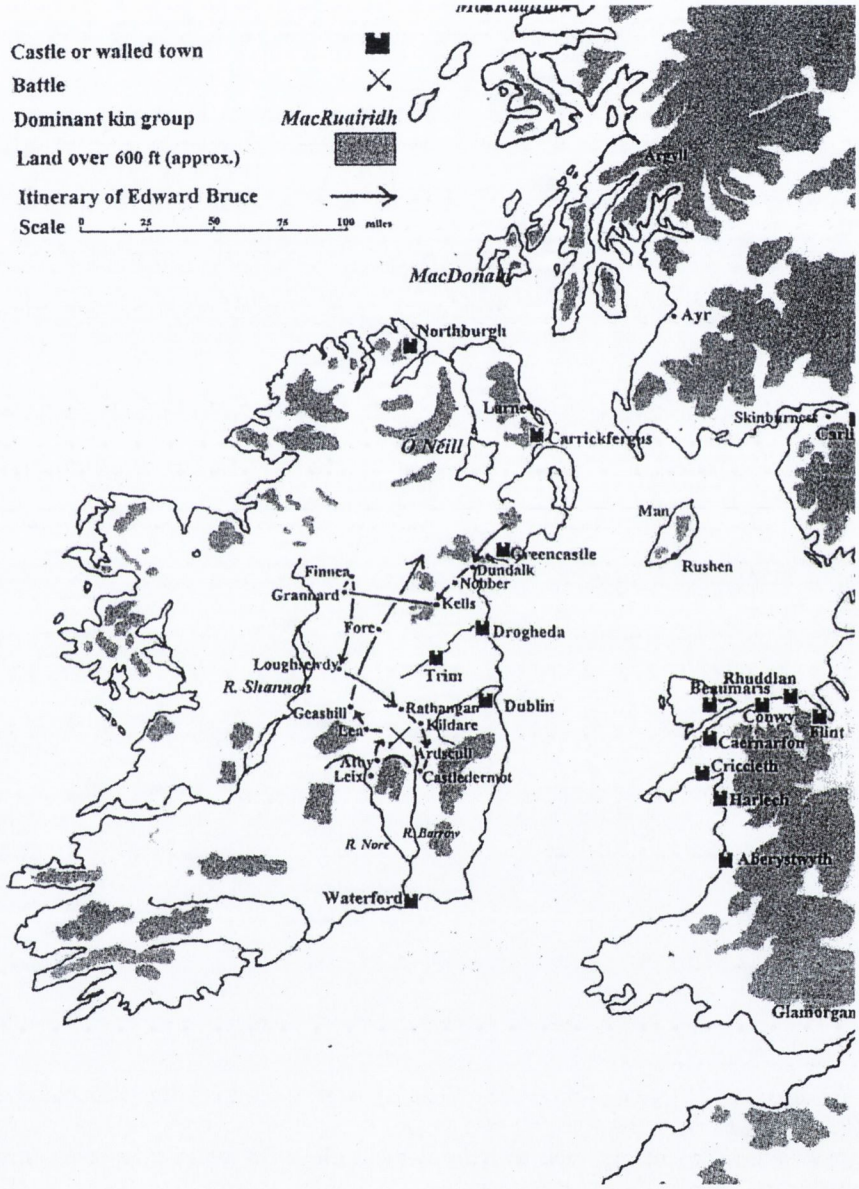


FIG. 22: Edward Bruce in Ireland, 1315-16; after S. Duffy, 'The Bruce invasion of Ireland: a revisited itinerary and chronology', in S. Duffy (ed.), *Robert the Bruce's Irish wars.The invasion of Ireland, 1306-1329* (Brimscombe Port Stroud, 2004), p. 28.

[60] Smith, *Colonization and conquest*, p. 108.

3.2 The racial war

Barbour's poem reports that "beside the Irish who rode with him in great bands", Edward Bruce's army did not count more than two thousand men.[61] The annals of Clyn states that "at the time they [the Scots] were in Ireland almost all of the Irish of the land adhered to them with only a few keeping faith and fealty".[62] The Irish saw Bruce as the champion of their battle against the colonists, as shown by the 1317 *Remonstrance* addressed to Pope John XXII by the Irish princes, led by Domnall O'Neill.[63] In this document they lamented the injustices suffered by the Irish people at the hands of the English inhabitants of Ireland, who hated the natives, and asked the pope for recognition of Edward Bruce as King of the Irish.[64] This letter refers to a member of the Drogheda community of Friars Minor - Friar Simon le Mercer. He is there accused of being "the chief formulator of this heresy... that it is no sin to kill a man of Irish birth and if he were to commit it himself he would none the less for that celebrate mass".[65] It is understood that Friar Simon had spoken in the presence of Bruce in Armagh, in a dispute with others, and when the debate grew hot he made his racial statement.[66] Frances Cotter suggested that "the often-quoted opinion of Friar Simon may have meant that Anglo-Irish Friars Minor were

---

[61] Eyre-Todd, '*The Brus*', p 175. Barbour's account states that all of the Irish chiefs, except one or two, did homage to Edward and that he had the Irish and Ulster on his side. The presence of the Ulstermen in the Scots army is also reported in the Annals of Clyn: in 1317 many citizens of Ulster were killed near Drogheda, among whom William Savage who was the chief of those killed. These and other Ulstermen, had been expelled from their homelands by the Scots and pursuing the Scots through Meath, Leister and Munster, they inflicted injury on the people of the land, beside burning and killing, as though they themselves were Scots; see Clyn, *Annals*, p. 166. It seems relevant to point out that the son of William Savage was hostage in Drogheda castle in the same year; see *Ir. Exch. P.*, p. 248: "Matthew de Baa, mayor of Drogheda on the side of Uriel, for the wages of William, son of William Sendale and Roger, son of William Savage, with two nurses, staying as hostages in the town of Drogheda, 2 Feb.- 10 Aug. 1317, at 4*d* per day: £9 7*s*" (1317-18).

[62] Clyn, *Annals*, pp 161-62 (1315); the statement is repeated in an entry of the following year; see ibidem, pp 164-65 (1316).

[63] W. Bower (ed.), *Scotichronicon* (Aberdeen, 1991), 6 pp 384-403. The background of the *Remonstrance*
is analyzed by J. R. S. Phillips, 'The Irish remonstrance of 1317: an international perspective', *IHS* XXVII (1990), pp 112-29.

[64] Bower, *Scotichronicon*, 6, pp 400-401.

[65] Ibidem, pp 396-97, 476-77.

[66] In his study on the Franciscan order in Ireland Cotter interpreted this unfortunate outburst as a reaction to the slaughter of twenty three friars in Dundalk by Bruce's army in 1315, the destruction of the friary of Casteldermot and the plundering of the one of Downpatrick in 1317. It was probably as a result of those murders that early in the year 1317 the same Simon le Mercer along with Adam White, a friar from Dundalk, were sent as ambassadors to the King; the mission was perhaps aimed at pleading for further assistance for the English colony of Ireland with conviction; see F. J. Cotter, *The Friars Minor in Ireland from their arrival to 1400* (New York, 1944), p. 157. A gift of the king's alms was granted for their expenses; see *Calendar of Chancery Warrants, 1244-1326* (TNA, London, 1927), p. 561.

viewed as being particularly anti-Irish and so the anger of the invading soldiers would have been particularly directed against them".[67] The laity in Drogheda used to have a similar racial attitude towards the Irish society, as recorded by the diary of Archbishop FitzRalph.[68]

3.3. Magnate *versus* magnate. The seigniorial war.

The de Lacy family openly joined Bruce's rebellion from its beginning. They intended perhaps to recover for themselves what they considered to be their ancestral patrimony - the lordship of Meath, which in 1242 had been partitioned between Geoffrey de Geneville and the de Verduns.[69]

Roger de Mortimer had inherited *iure uxoris* Geoffrey de Geneville's lordship (between 1306[70] and 1307[71]). Through the marriage with Joan de Geneville, Mortimer also succeeded to Geneville as beneficiary of the rent for Drogheda and its castle.[72] The other share of Meath still held by the de Verduns.[73] In 1316 Theobald de Verdun died and the de Verdun's inheritance - half of Meath and a great part of Louth - came into the king's hands due to the minority of his four daughters, the co-heiresses.[74] This was perhaps an added reason for the de Lacy kin to hope for Bruce's triumph.

It is interesting to note that none of the manors still in de Lacy control were plundered by Bruce.[75] For the exact opposite reason the de Verduns, supporters of the king, had several manors destroyed, particularly Loughsewdy, caput of their 'attenuated

---

[67] Cotter, *Friars Minor in Ireland*, p. 43.

[68] See below, Chap.7.2.2, pp 263-68.

[69] *CDI*, I, 2699, p. 402: partition of Walter de Lacy's lands between John de Verdun and Peter de Geneve (13 June 1244); see above, Fig. 10, p. 106.

[70] *CJustR*, 1305-7, pp 188, 241, 307, 331 (1306). During a plea held by the mayor and community of Drogheda in Uriel against Theobald de Verdun, he said that "he ought not to answer without Roger son of Edmund de Mortuo Mari and Johanna his wife". Therefore the sheriff of Dublin was commanded to summon Roger and Johanna at the manor of Trim, which Geoffrey de Geneville holds by the law of England.

[71] *CPR*, 1307-1313, p. 33 (24 Dec. 1307). On 15 December 1308, King Edward II at the first year of his reign, ordered the justiciar of Ireland to deliver to Roger de Mortimer all of the lands which his father, Edmund de Mortimer, had held in Ireland of Edward I. The justiciar had do it without delay, as a "special favour", since Roger was at that time still a minor.

[72] *CJustR*, 1308-14, pp 48-49.

[73] Ibidem; see above, Chap. 5.1, pp 184-85.

[74] Pipe Roll, xii Edw. II (1318-9), *Rep. DKPRI* 42, pp 24-6. See also Hagger, *Fortunes of a Norman family*, pp 119-23.

[75] Duffy, 'Bruce invasion of Ireland', p. 21.

lordship' of Westmeath.[76] The annals of Dublin report that when Roger Mortimer landed at Youghal (1317) with thirty eight knights, he created two new knights - John de Bermingham and Nicholas de Verdun.[77] No doubt Mortimer was seeking for local supporters to arm against the de Lacies.[78] Sean Duffy put forward that the choice of John de Bermingham as commander of the royal army was methodical and well thought out. "There was a history of friction between John de Bermingham and the de Lacies: twice in 1310 the king had referred to controversies and contentions between de Bermingham on one hand and Walter, Hugh and Richard de Lacy on the other, ordering them to appear before the king's council and solve the dispute".[79]

According to Clyn, during the summer 1317, Mortimer, joined by Bermingham, expelled from Ireland "*omnes de nacione et cognomina de Lacy*" and forced them to flee to Scotland.[80] This provision ensured that they would not regain a foothold in the lordship, nor claim rights on the succession in Meath. However, not all of the de Lacies were banned from Ireland - or if they were, it was not for long. In 1327, John and Philip de Lacy were jurors of an inquisition held in Drogheda.[81] The accusation against the de Lacies was of having sent letters to Edward Bruce inviting him to come to Ireland[82] and furthermore of having acted as his guide in Meath and Offaly.[83] No doubt the route through Oldbridge was revealed to Bruce by somebody who knew the Meath area well: an Irish deep-throat? Or perhaps the de Lacies themselves?

Mortimer took into his hands all of the de Lacy lands and goods, which were enfeoffed to his two newly knighted sustainers. A part of the lands were given to Lord

---

[76] *Chartul. St. Mary's, Dublin*II, p. 347. Bruce set up home for Christmas in the manor house of Loughsewdy. He only left when all its supplies had been consumed and he razed it to the ground. It has to be remembered that in 1302 Theobald II de Verdun had married the daughter of Edmund Mortimer, see Hagger, *The de Verduns in England*, p. 115.

[77] Clyn, *Annals*, pp 168-9.

[78] The Chartularies of St. Mary's Abbey report that John Bermingham and four others were knighted and that Mortimer held a great feast at Dublin's castle, see *Chartul. St. Mary's, Dublin*II, p. 357.

[79] Duffy, 'The Bruce invasion of Ireland', p. 39.

[80] Clyn, *Annals*, pp 166-7.

[81] Dryburgh and Smith (eds.), *Inquisitions and extents*, p. 131.

[82] *Chartul. St. Mary's, Dublin,* II, p. 407.

[83] Ibidem, II, pp 296, 298-99. Walter and Hugh de Lacy were taken to court and restored to the king's peace for a fine of £200. In their defence they claimed that they had in fact "patriotically" guided the Scots away from soft English targets in Meath and took them on a meandering journey through Irish lands further west, delaying them from reaching Leinster for a fortnight and in the process causing them to lose both men and horses; see Ibidem, pp 407-9.

Nicholas de Verdun and another part to De Bermingham. The de Lacies then retreated to the castle of Carrickfergus and remained there with Bruce.[84]

4. The aftermath

The effects of the Bruce invasion on the municipality of both Droghedas are multifaceted. Jurisdictional changes in Louth and Meath were counteracted by the request of charters confirming the town's privileges. At the same time, murages and allowances for reinforcing the town walls were renewed. In 1326 Drogheda was granted the staple.

After Faughart, the Dublin government rewarded those who had been present at the defeat of Bruce.[85] On 12 May 1318 John de Bermingham was granted the newly created Earldom of Louth to hold it as a liberty for life (1319-1329).[86] The creation of the earldom was a necessity since Louth had long been a centre of disorder. The sheriff of Louth, Richard Gernoun, was murdered in 1311.[87] Then, in 1312, the Verdun's rebellion caused havoc over much of Louth, as mentioned above.[88] The choice of de Bermingham as earl was the result of Roger Mortimer's influence.[89] It was perhaps as a reaction to the creation of the Earldom of Louth that Drogheda in Louth asked for and received confirmation of its privileges on 8 June 1319.[90] A letter of protection to the burgesses of the same town dates on the same day.[91]

---

[84] Duffy, 'Bruce invasion of Ireland', p. 39. In the year 1324, Walter de Lacy, exiled from Ireland, died in Scotland; see Clyn, *Annals*, pp 178-9.

[85] Among the individuals who received grants of lands or were pardoned for previous crimes were John and Roger Gernoun, Robert de Tuit, John and Adam de Cusack, Nicholas and Milo de Verdon; see Smith, *Colonization and conquest*, pp 113-14.

[86] *CChR*, 1300-1326, p. 408; *Chartul. St. Mary's, Dublin*, II, p. 360; *CPR*, 1317-1321, pp 334-35. Consequently, the de Verduns were deprived for a certain period of their position of tenants in chief and were subjected to Bermingham, "who was interposed as lord between the king and the de Verdun's co-heiresses and others tenants in chief"; see Otway-Ruthven, *Med. Ire.*, p. 239; eadem, 'Partition of de Verdun lands', p. 418. For a discussion of the local impact see Smith, *Colonization and conquest*, p. 113.

[87] *CJustR*, 1308-14, p. 225; Smith, 'Murder of Richard Gernon', pp 7-15.

[88] See above, Chap.6. 1, pp 223-26.

[89] Lydon, 'Braganstown Massacre', p. 7. James Lydon has suggested that as one of the leading members of the magnates of Pembroke, "Mortimer was able to put pressure on the king and secure the spoils of victory". As mentioned before, Bermingham was knighted by Mortimer in 1317; see Clyn, *Annals*, pp 168-9.

[90] *Ch. priv. et imm.*, p. 50; see Appendix 29

[91] Ibidem; see Appendix 28.

Drogheda was a royal settlement since the year 1213.[92] Since its creation, in 1234, County Louth had always been a royal county, with the only exception of the very period between 1319 and 1330. The confirmation charter of 1319 can be interpreted as a defence mechanism, activated by the municipality, to assert its autonomy from the newly born earldom (12 May 1318) - above all considering that the town had been confirmed in its rights just three years before (1316).[93] The appointment of Roger Mortimer to the justiciary of Ireland on 15 March 1319 is also relevant to the issuing of these instruments.[94] Both the confirmation and the protection were addressed to Roger de Mortimer, justiciar of Ireland and lord of Trim and they shared the same tenor. They ordered that the burgesses of royal Drogheda should not be disturbed nor troubled by the king's justiciar, Roger de Mortimer, in their jurisdiction, particularly in the privileges of their Hundred Court, as were conferred them under former charters.[95]

On 8 June 1319, Drogheda in Louth was granted a new murage for five years (1319-24)[96] - since the term of the previous one had expired (1316-19).[97] It conferred on the town a new allowance of 300 marks, which this time was allotted over a period of 5 years, instead of 3 as in the previous murage; the town was only released from payment of the annual fee-farm (60 marks), while it was obliged to account for the customs. The document alludes to the strengthening of the walls and turrets and also to certain unspecified works executed "between their town on that side and the river".[98] The favour of the king towards Drogheda is shown by the fact that both boroughs were exempted from purveyances in the year 1317[99] and 1319,[100] but not in 1322.[101]

---

[92] *Na Buirgéisí*, I, pp 184-185; see Appendix 4.

[93] *Ch. priv. et imm.*, p. 46: *"Confirmatio cartae de Drogheda"* (11 July 1316); see Appendix 22.

[94] Cosgrove, 'Principal officers', p. 472.

[95] Webb, *Government in Ireland*, p. 25.

[96] *Ch. priv. et imm.*, p. 51: "*Pro maiore et burgensibus de Drogheda ex parte Urielis de muragio concesso*" (8 June 1319); see Appendix 30.

[97] See Appendix 24.

[98] *Ch. priv. et imm.*, p. 51; see Appendix 30. The remission of the farm Drogheda in Louth is recorded in the town account; see Pipe Roll, xviii Edw. II (1324-25), *Rep. DKPRI* 42, p. 47(1322-23), 64-65 (1323-24).

[99] *CCR*, 1313-18, p. 476 (1317).

[100] *CPR*, 1317-21, p. 346. In 1319 there was a 'royal service' planned to enter Ulster to assist Richard de Burgh, 'the Red Earl' to re-impose his authority there but, at the earl's request, the royal expedition was cancelled; see *CCR*, 1318-23, pp 55-90; *Foedera*, II, pt. I, p. 387.

[101] *CPR*, 1321-24, p. 95. Even though the cities of Dublin, Cork and Drogheda were exempted from purveyance, in 1322 this right was not to be taken in any consideration.

During the years 1321-24, Roger Mortimer had ceased to enjoy royal favour; in the same years Bermingham became justiciar of Ireland.[102] By 1322 Mortimer was prisoner in the Tower of London, from which he managed to escape in 1323.[103] His lands - Trim in Ireland and Leix - were taken into the king's hands. There is evidence for County Meath and Drogheda in Meath being in the king's hands in 1322.[104] It was perhaps for this reason that during the years 1322-3 Drogheda in Meath claimed for allowances on its farm and customs, according to their grant in aids for the walls.[105] In 1323 an *Inspeximus* confirmed the same town's right on the water of the river Boyne.[106]

James Lydon stated that "the disturbed state of the country was very evident and resulted in a collapse of the rule of the law in some localities".[107] Evidence for Drogheda suggests a failure of the municipal administration to carry out one of the ordinary activities of government - keeping account of the expenditure of the murage. In 1320 the mayor, the seneschals and the bailiffs of Drogheda on both sides of the Boyne with the collectors there, were called upon to settle the accounts of their receipts and expenditure for murages during the reigns of Edward II and his father. They justify their failure to account for

---

[102] Cosgrove, 'Principal officers', p. 472. This evidence suggests that de Bermingham detached himself from Mortimer to share the rise in England of the Dispensers when Roger Mortimer fell from the king's favour. The waning of Mortimer's power was shown when in December 1321 the new justiciar, John de Bermingham, earl of Louth, was empowered to remove the judges appointed by him and commissioned to correct errors in pleas held before him; see *CPR,* 1321-24, pp 40, 43. For a detailed description of the Mortimer-Dispenser rivalry and its effects on Irish policy; see Frame, *English lordship*, pp 156-95. See also Smith, *Colonization and conquest*, pp 117-18; Richardson and Sayles, *Administration of Ireland*, p. 84.

[103] Clyn, *Annals*, pp 178-9. In 1323, after Mortimer's flight from the Tower of London, orders were given to everybody to appoint spies upon Roger Mortimer in Ireland; see *CCR,* 1323-27, pp 133-4.

[104] *CCR,* 1318-23, p. 610: on 8 November 1322 the king ordered the justices in eyre in County Meath to supersede holding their eyre until further orders, as the men of that county, and especially the burgesses of Drogheda on the Meath side, would have been necessarily so occupied about the pleas summoned in the eyre that they would be unable to attend to the king's affairs. See ibidem, p. 613: the burgesses of Drogheda in Meath were also granted relief until Midsummer for fines and amercements made before the said justices and to replevy to them until then the liberty of the town, and certify the king before Midsummer of the cause for taking the liberty into his hands, and of the causes and amount of said fines and amercements, the burgesses having prayed the king to pardon the fines and amercements and to restore the liberty to them, as they have expended great sums in enclosing their town and in making and repairing turrets in the wall thereof for the protection of the town against the Scotch rebels and against the Irish at war with the king, and for the expenses of armed men in the king's service in Scotland and the Isle of Man. The suspension of the eyre in Meath was perhaps a measure taken in order to encourage the inhabitants of Meath to contribute towards the Scottish expedition. The suspension ceased in 1324; see *CCR,* 1323-27, pp 107-8.

[105] *Ch. priv. et imm.*, p. 52; see Appendix 31. There is evidence for Drogheda in Meath being allowed sums in the town's accounts for 1322-23 and 1324-25; see Pipe Roll, xvi Edw. II (1322-3), *Rep. DKPRI* 42, p 48; Ibidem, pp 64-5, 74 (1324-25).

[106] *CPR*, 1321-24, p. 307: this grant confirmed a patent issued by Edward I in 1266; see above, Chap.5. 2. 2, p. 195. The same patent will be confirmed in 1366; see *Grace's Annals*, p. 117.

[107] Lydon, 'Impact of Bruce's invasion', p. 296.

murage prior to 1318 with two reasons. First, the accounts concerning Edward I were lost because the collectors died long since, without leaving either rolls or responsible representatives. Second, the accounts relating to the reign of the present king were not extant because of the Bruce invasion.[108] The *memorandum* quotes that the town officers were so occupied with the works of their walls 'for the defence of themselves and the adjacent parts', that they had no time to account and enroll receipts and payments. They also asserted that they had expended much beyond the sum granted them by the king (300 marks for three years, from 1316 to 1319)[109] one thousand pounds was in fact provided by their own means. They therefore prayed to be admitted to make a fine with the king, for their discharge, which was accorded to them. Drogheda on the side of Uriel remitted to the king a fine of 40*s*., while Drogheda on the Meath side paid a fine of 26*s*. 8*d*.[110]

4.1. Provisions to the king's castles in Scotland, Leinster and Ulster

In opposing the Bruce invasion of Ireland, Drogheda played a big part in the conflict fought by the king against the Scots. In addition, the town was strenuously involved in supplying provisions to the king's castles of Carrickfergus in Ulster and of Carlisle in Scotland. Two isolated entries refer to Leinster: supplies of wine, wheat and corn were delivered to Newcastle MacKynegan in 1309.[111] The 1322 account of Drogheda in Louth mentions the discharge of a sum for the carriage of free stone from Drogheda to Dublin for the works at Dublin castle.[112] One entry mentions that, in 1316, Drogheda was requested to provide wheat for the defence of the earl of Lancaster's castles.[113] The tables

---

[108] *Hist. and mun. doc.,* pp 417-20: "*Drogheda, ex utramque parte aque: De quibusdam finibus pro compoto muragii relaxando*" (1320); see Appendix 32.

[109] *Hist. and mun. doc.,* pp 393-4; *CPR,* 1317-21, pp 54, 61; see Appendix 24

[110] The proportion of the fines imposed respectively on the two settlements can be explained by the fact that the borough on the north side was a bigger settlement and paid a bigger fee-farm than the one on the south side. On the same grounds we could speculate that liquidity available in each of the two boroughs was diverse. However, both amercements seem very small, considering that the misconduct of Drogheda was probably caused by the corruption of the officers.

[111] Pipe Roll, vi Edw. II (1312-13), *Rep. DKPRI* 39, p. 38.

[112] Pipe Roll, xvi Edw. II (1322-23), *Rep. DKPRI* 42, p. 47.

[113] *Hist. and mun. doc.,* pp 390-1. The mayor, seneschals and bailiffs were ordered to permit Richard Attewode to purvey twenty crannocks of wheat and sixteen crannocks of corn for the earl's castle of Lancaster. Then the sheriff of Dublin was ordered to set free a ship with oats bought at Dalkey to proceed

provided below record the list of Drogheda's provisions for the defence of Ulster and Leinster[114] and for the war in Scotland during Edward II's reign.[115]

Large demands of supplies for the king's armies during the Scottish war increased traffic between Drogheda, Scotland and the north of England. The wheat production of Drogheda's hinterland and the town's trade in wine were further stimulated. Wine from Bordeaux could be conveniently shipped to Drogheda and on to the military base at Skinburness and Carlisle, on the west coast of Scotland. There is evidence for Drogheda acting as an assembly point for the wheat purveyed in the counties of Louth and Meath. There the victuals were inspected by the collectors and shipped away.[116] In 1313, the chief sergeant of county Meath was to attend daily to the carriage of victuals at Drogheda.[117] The town enjoyed frequent refunds for wine and grain storage in cellars.[118] There are as well refunds for ullage, hoisting, stowage, stillage of wine, boat-hire, wine-porterage, dunnage and hooping barrels.[119] In 1311 the king ordered Drogheda to provide three ships fully armed and provisioned for seven weeks against Robert Bruce. It is a relevant fact that the same request was made to Cork, Waterford, New Ross, Dublin and Youghal. Wexford, Carrickfergus and Coleraine were instead asked for two ships each. All ships had to convene at Carrickfergus.[120] In 1322, it was decided Drogheda, rather than Dublin, was a more suitable place to assemble shipping requirements for John de Bermingham's expedition to Yorkshire.[121] The men of Bristol were ordered to convey ships and barges to

---

toward Drogheda for earl of Lancaster. Purveyances in Ireland resulted from the fact that in 1315 Lancaster gained permission for his men to go to Ireland to purvey corn; see J. R. Madicott, *Thomas of Lancaster, 1307-22. A Study in the Reign of Edward II* (Oxford 1977), p. 178. Following the defeat of Bannockburn (1314) the English political scene of the following years was dominated by Thomas Earl of Lancaster (1314-16); see J. C. Davies, *The baronial opposition to Edward II. Its character and policy* (London 1967), pp 504-5. By the end of 1316 a middle party was emerging, led by the Earl of Pembroke - who had interests in Ireland, since he was earl of Wexford - and including Roger Mortimer, lord of Trim, Hugh le Dispenser, husband of the Gloucester co-heiresses, Roger Damory and Hugh D'Audeley, joint lords of Kilkenny. The personal interest of these men in Ireland may well explain the effective attention paid to Ireland after the year 1316; see Otway-Ruthven, *Med. Ire.*, pp 231-32.

[114] See Fig 24, pp 246-47.

[115] See Fig 23, pp 243-45.

[116] Gilbert, *Hist. and mun. doc* , pp 321-22.

[117] Ibidem, p. 325.

[118] Ibidem, pp 331, 352.

[119] Ibidem, pp 330-31.

[120] *CPR, 1307-1313,* pp 352-3.

[121] *CCR,* 1318-23, p. 530. The expedition took place in the autumn of 1322 near Byland Abbey. The force consisted of 73 men-at-arms, 199 hobelards and 93 foot soldiers; see Lydon, 'Braganstown

Drogheda, to carry horsemen and footmen from Ireland to Carlisle.[122] Ship building and maritime activities, together with the long continuance of the wars, may well have increased the wealth and power of the merchant class of the town.

These compelling opportunities were probably the reason the Preston family moved to Drogheda at the beginning of the fourteenth century. The editors of the 'Gormanston Register' suggested that economic reasons had driven the Prestons to Ireland: the flourishing of Drogheda, standing nearly opposite Preston on the western side of the sea may have determined their transfer. Political reasons, as background of their transfer, are not to be totally discounted either. In 1318 the names of William and his brother Richard Preston are found among the adherents of the Earl of Lancaster who were pardoned by the King.[123] In 1326, Richard de Preston was constable of Drogheda castle.[124] During the same year, Roger Preston, a lawyer, joined his brothers in Drogheda and obtained a post as justice of the justiciar's bench.[125]

---

massacre', p. 9. See also P Connolly (ed.), 'List of Irish entries on the Memoranda Rolls of the English Exchequer, 1307-27', *Anal. Hib.*, 36 (1995), p. 102.

[122] *CCR,* 1318-23, pp 528-9.

[123] *Gormanston Reg,* p. iv.

[124] *Rot. Pat. Hib.*, 107, p. 36b; *Ir. Exch. P.*, pp 314, 325, 363; *Gormanston Reg.* p. v (1326).

[125] Richardson and Sayles, *Administration of Ireland*, pp 169-170.

FIG. 23 SUPPLIES PROVIDED BY DROGHEDA FOR THE KING'S WAR IN SCOTLAND (1306-26)

YEAR	BOROUGH/ PEOPLE	PRODUCT/ SERVICE	SUM	DESTINATION/ PURPOSE	SOURCE
May-October 1306	Thomas Page, John Cartmel, purveyors	Provision of corn, wine, wheat, oats, oat malt, pigs, carcasses of cows, wages, freight	£366	Scotch war	*Rep. DKPRI* 39 (Dublin, 1907), p 33.
March-July 1307	Walter de la More, receiver, Stephen Roch, controller, Drogheda in Louth	Loan to Hugh Byset	£20	Going with a fleet against the rebels in the islands of Scotland	*Rep. DKPRI* 39 (Dublin, 1907), p 35.
July-Aug. 1307	Thomas Page, John Cartmel, purveyors	wheat, oats, oat malt, wine, pigs, carcasses of cows	£196 10*s.* 3 ¾ *d.*	idem	*Rep. DKPRI* 39 (Dublin, 1907), p 33.
1306-08	Thomas Page, John Cartmel, purveyors	provision of corn, wine, wheat, oats, oat malt, pigs, carcasses of cows, wages, freight	£621 5*s.* 1 ¾ *d.*		*Rep. DKPRI* 39 (Dublin, 1907), p 33.
May-Aug. 1308	Thomas de Ulveston, John Cartmel, purveyors	idem	£444 18*s.* 10 ½ *d.*		*Rep. DKPRI* 39 (Dublin, 1907), p 33.
1308	of both Droghedas	Corn, wine, victuals	300 pounds	Skinburness, for Carlise castle	*CJustR* (1308-14), p. 77.
1310	William O'Kelly	100 crannoks of grain		England	*Rot. Pat. Hib.*, I, 3 Edw. II, p. 12.
1311	Drogheda	3 sheep for 7 weeks		against Robert Bruce	*CPR, 1307-1313*, p. 353
1312	John de Cartmel,	purveyances		Skinburness, for Carlise castle	Gilbert, *Hist. and*

	Tomas de Ulveston, purveyors at Drogheda				*mun. doc.*, p. 322.
1313-14	John de Cartmel and John de Arden were purveyors at Drogheda	124 ½ crannoks of grain	£304 10*s.* 4*d.*	Skinburness, for Carlise castle	Gilbert, *Hist. and mun. doc.*, pp 329-30.
		144 crannocks and 4 pecks of oats	£20 12*s.* 11 ½ *d.*	Idem	
		60 hogshead of wine	£104	Idem	
		Freight of various ships	£24 10*s.* 10*d.*	Idem	
		Ullage, hoisting, stowage, stillage of wine	101*s.* 4*d.*	Idem	
		Boards, nails, beams, saddle cloth and hay and boat-hire, wine-porterage, dunnage and hoping barrels	£19 13*s.* 1 ¼ *d.*	Idem	
1314	John de Rathfodan and Philip de la Ryvere were purveyors	253 quarters and 3 peks of grain	£404 9*d.*	Skinburness, for Carlise castle	Gilbert, *Hist. and mun. doc.*, pp 330-32.
		180 quarters and 5 ½ bushels of oats	£302 15*s.* 4 *d.*	idem	
		80 and 11 hogsheads of wine	£267 6*s.* 8*d*	idem	
		Freight of divers ships carrying 84 quarter of grain, 69 hogshead of wine and pilotage	£22 12*d*	idem	
		Ullage of wine	60*s.* 8*d*	idem	
		hoisting, stillage stowage, wine-porterage, hoping barrels of wine and for boards, nails, beams, saddle cloth	£16 18*s.* 9*d*	idem	

		and hay and storage of wine and grain loan to Alexander le Conners, clerk loan to William de Somery and Alexander le Conners, clerks and Richard Chasteleyn purveyors	 £10 16*d* £12 18*s*. 8*d* discharge	 business in Connacht and Munster	
1316	Drogheda on both sides	20 crannocks grain, 16 crannoks oats		Lancaster, for the castles of Thomas, Earl of Lancaster	Gilbert, *Hist. and mun. doc.*, pp. 390-1.
1317	Drogheda	exempted from purveyances			*CCR*, 1313-18, p. 476
1319	Drogheda	exempted from purveyances			*CPR*, 1321-24, p. 95.
1322	Drogheda on both sides	request of victuals		John de Bermingham 1322 campaign against the Scots	*CCR*, 1318-23, p. 530.
1322	Drogheda	assembling point for shipping army and victuals		Carlise castle, for John de Bermingham 1322 campaign against the Scots	*CCR*, 1318-23, p. 530.
1321-22	Various men of Drogheda	loan to the king	£40 18*s*. 7 ½ *d*.	War against Scotland	*Anal. Hib.*, 36 (1995), p. 193.
1323-24	John de Rathfodan, Jordan Bretnagh, purveyors of Drogheda in Louth	freight of 5 ships carrying 268 quarters of wheat and 380 quarters of oats	£16 12*s*. 4*d*	Skinburness	*Rep. DKPRI* 42, pp 65-6.
1325-26 1326	Drogheda	Small New Customs Small New Customs	£2 15*s*. £8 16*s*. 10 ½ *d*		*Rep. DKPRI* 42, p. 78.

FIG. 24 SUPPLIES PROVIDED BY DROGHEDA FOR THE DEFENCE OF ULSTER AND LEINSTER (1308-19)

YEAR	BOROUGH/ PEOPLE	PRODUCT/ SERVICE	SUM	DESTINATION/ PURPOSE	SOURCE
1308	Drogheda on both sides	Request for shipping and provision to army		Ulster and Scotland, against Thomas Dun	Gilbert, *Hist. and mun. doc.*, pp. 377-8.
1309	Reginald Irpe, John de Egge, purveyors	Corn, wine and other provisions	100 marks	Newcastle MacKynegan	*Rep. DKPRI* 39, p. 38.
1308-09	Drogheda	a sum		to Robert de Burtoun, vicar of the church of Newcastle MacKynegan	*Rep. DKPRI* 39, p. 38.
1316	Drogheda in Louth	Victuals victuals	£9 11*s.* 8*d.* £20	Thomas de Mandeville, for expedition in Ulster against Edward Bruce	Gilbert, *Hist. and mun. doc.*, pp 350-1.
1316	John de Colp, burgesses of Drogheda in Meath	2 barrels of wine	£6	Thomas de Mandeville, for expedition in Ulster against Edward Bruce	Gilbert, *Hist. and mun. doc.*, pp. 351-2.
1316	Richard de Ulveston and John Bonneis, purveyors at Drogheda	Victuals, storage in cellars of wine and grain	£7 6*s.* 8*d.*	Thomas de Mandeville, for expedition in Ulster against Edward Bruce	Gilbert, *Hist. and mun. doc.*, p. 352.
1316	Drogheda	Men of Drogheda		Thomas de Mandeville expedition to the castle of Carrickfergus	*Grace's Annals*, pp 71-72.
1316	Drogheda	7 ships loaded with victuals		Carrickfergus/ for the release of William de Burgh who was prisoners of the Scots	*Grace's Annals*, p. 73. .
1316-17	Drogheda in Louth	Payment of the king's debt	£13 6*s.* 8*d*	to Alexander Atteberne, for the fitting up of the 'Aliasote' of Bristol, ship going to Ulster for the king's	*Rep. DKPRI* 39, p. 72.

				service	
1317	Drogheda	Exempted from purveyances			*CCR*, 1313-18, p. 476
1318	Drogheda	20 men		Battle of Faughart	*Chart. St. Mary's, Dublin*, II, pp 359-60; *AU*, p. 443; Clyn, *Annals*, p. 170.
1319	Drogheda	Exempted from purveyances			*CPR*, 1321-24, p. 95.

CHAPTER 7

STANDARDIZATION OF PRIVILEGES

1. Confirmation and extension of liberties

During Edward III's reign Drogheda was granted various charters: in 1331 the two boroughs were granted two distinct even if almost identical charters. In 1340 an exemplification of Walter de Lacy's charter was conferred to Drogheda in Meath. Finally, in 1364, Drogheda in Louth was given Dublin's privileges. All of these charters shared common backgrounds. They were all issued during phases of tension between the crown and the Anglo-Irishmen and at a time in which various royal attempts were made to reform the Dublin administration.

1.1. A case of duplication: the 1331 charters

The victory of Queen Isabella and Roger Mortimer, the deposition and the murder of King Edward II and replacement by his son, Edward III on January 1327,[1] meant that the English government was dominated by Mortimer for the next few years.[2] The triumph of Mortimer, over the Despensers, affected the distribution of power in England as well as in Ireland. As long as the Despensers ruled England, various offices in Ireland would be bestowed on Arnold le Poer. However, after 1328-9, le Poer was left to die in prison, James Butler was created earl of Ormond and Maurice FitzThomas, earl of Desmond. During this time, Mortimer was carving for himself a large territorial jurisdiction on the doorstep of

[1] *Jean Froissart, Chronicles*, ed. G. Brereton (London 1968, repr. 1978), pp 39-46. The death of Edward II has been discussed by Prestwich; see M. Prestwich, *The three Edwards. War and state in England, 1272-1377* (London, 1980), pp 97-100.

[2] Otway-Ruthven, *Med. Ire.*, pp 243f; Frame, *English lordship*, pp 157-195.

Dublin itself.[3] In 1330 however, history was changed dramatically, with Edward III's coming of age.[4]

Following the murder of John de Bermingham, earl of Louth[5], Roger Mortimer procured for himself the grant of the vacant earldom in the form of a palatinate.[6] In April 1330 he was given similar palatinate rights over County Meath, which Edward II had withheld from the de Verdons.[7] Mortimer had therefore added to his own franchise of Trim, a semi-royal jurisdiction throughout all Louth and Meath. However, all of these grants lapsed within a few months because of Mortimer's execution in November 1330. Although "they were ultimately revived for Meath, Louth remained a royal county".[8] All of Mortimer's lands were taken into the king's hands, without regard to the fact that his liberty of Trim, was strictly his wife's inheritance as granddaughter of Geoffrey de Geneville.[9] In April 1331, Joan Geneville-Mortimer made a petition to Westminster in order to establish that she held the liberty in her own right.[10]

---

[3] Orpen, *Normans*, IV, pp 224-5.

[4] J. A.Watt, 'The Anglo-Irish colony under strain, 1327-99', in A. Cosgrove (ed.), *NHI, II* (Oxford, 1987), p. 378.

[5] Clyn, *Annals*, pp 95-6, 101, 192. Clyn reports that "all of his county conspired against him". For a detailed analysis of the event; see Lydon, 'Braganstown Massacre', pp 5-16. Lydon has suggested that the hostility of the people of Louth was caused by the presence of native Irish kerns retained by the earl at his manor. Brendan Smith argued that the massacre of Braganstown in 1329 and the rebellion of the de Verdun in 1312 are symptomatic of the nature of Louth as a frontier territory: a tradition of independent action had developed among the local elite. Smith underlined some links in terms of personnel between the two episodes: "three of those present at the murder of de Bermingham had also rebelled in 1312, while nine more had acted as pledges for rebels seventeen years before"; see Smith, *Colonization and conquest*, p 119.

[6] Ibidem, pp 117-19. Smith alleged the idea that Roger de Mortimer could have perhaps been the instigator of the massacre. Mortimer had at least two reasons: the desire of revenging Bermingham's support for Despenser during Mortimer's period of royal disfavour and the aspiration to accumulate lands. On 31 May 1330, a time in which Roger Mortimer was again in the king's favour, all of those who were involved in the massacre were pardoned; see *CPR, 1327-30*, p. 438. The earldom of Louth was granted to Mortimer with all royal jurisdiction and cognisance of all pleas, as well as arson, treasure trove, forestall arising in the county; and with the privilege of having a chancery and an exchequer and that he might appoint a chancellor, a treasurer, barons of the exchequer, sheriffs for the said county and other needed ministers.

[7] *CChR*, 1327-41, pp. 175-6.

[8] Otway-Ruthven, 'Partition of de Verdun lands', p. 418.

[9] Pipe Roll, iv Edw. III (1330-1), *Rep. DKPRI* 43, p. 38: "the Treasurer of Ireland Robert Poer with the deputy of the justiciar, John de Darcy, went to seize the lands of Roger de Mortimer, late earl of March at Trim. They stayed there for 15 days".

[10] *CCR,* 1330-33, pp 489-90, 503. On 22 April 1331, Joan Mortimer asked for and obtained an exemplification of the original grant from King Henry II to Hugh de Lacy, as her document was becoming worn with age; see Wood, 'Muniments of Edmund de Mortimer', p. 317. It has to be said that a more likely reason was perhaps the execution of her husband in 1330, instead of the old age of the document in her possession.

The earl's fall and Edward III's assumption of personal government determined changes at Court. Various and severe measures were brought about in England as well as in Ireland. The purveyors, in office during Edward II's reign in Dublin, Drogheda, Cork and Waterford were asked to appear in person at the Exchequer, London.[11] Soon after, the king ordered the resumption of all castles, lands, liberties and charters granted during his minority - from 1327 up to 1331 - namely, all those issued under de Mortimer's influence.[12] The resumption was aimed at taking control over lands, lords and ministers by dismantling the political framework created by Mortimer.[13] In 1330 both the earldom of Louth and Theobald II de Verdun's lordship of Meath[14] were taken into the king's hands.

This political departure is mirrored in Drogheda's documentary evidence and was the determining factor in clarifying the town's independence. Six months after Mortimer's execution and two months after the order of resumption, the privileges of both Droghedas were confirmed and extended by two distinct charters. They are both dated at Havering, on 6 May 1331, and signed by the same witnesses.[15] The 1331 resumption was based on political rather than financial grounds. This assumption is corroborated by evidence that both Droghedas were exempted from payment for these charters - at the cost of 100 marks each, "in consideration of their costly labours in the service of the king and his progenitors".

The analysis of the background for the 1331 charters must take into account another factor: Drogheda was instrumental in suppressing the rebellion in Meath which occurred during the years 1328-30. The Pipe Roll records that, on November 1329, John Darcy, the justiciar, intervened with an army against MacGeoghegan and his de Lacy adherents, in Meath. The royal army was composed of 20 knights, 75 men at arms, 217

---

[11] *Affairs Ireland*, pp. 159-60.

[12] *Early Statutes*, pp 323-31.

[13] This provision would have affected the earl of Desmond particularly. Under the new rule, William de Burgh, Earl of Ulster, was taken into high favour, and the earl of Desmond and William Bermingham, Mortimer's two chief beneficiaries, were thrown in prison; see Orpen, *Normans*, pp 235-8; Frame, *English lordship*, pp 205-7.

[14] The partition of Theobald de Verdun's land between his four daughters came to its definitive assessment in 1332; see Otway-Ruthven, 'Partition of de Verdun lands', pp 401-445; Hagger, *Fortunes of a Norman family*, pp 119-23.

[15] *Na Buirgéisí*, I, pp 180-84 (Drogheda in Meath); see Appendix 33; *Na Buirgéisí*, I, pp 191-94 (Drogheda in Louth); see Appendix 34. The only other Irish town which was granted a charter in 1331 was Cork; see *Na Buirgéisí*, I, pp 171-72.

hobelards and 72 footmen.[16] Among the magnates that fought the rebels there were Roger Preston, burgess of Drogheda and Matthew de Bathe, who had previously been twice mayor of Drogheda.[17] In 1330 Matthew de Bathe obtained an exemption for life from serving on assizes, juries or recognisance. He was also given exemption appointment as mayor, sheriff, coroner, bailiff or minister of the king, against his will[18] - perhaps on account of his service in the royal army in 1329?

A comparison of the contents of the two charters of 1331 shows that the two Droghedas were granted the same privileges. The two legal instruments present three incongruities, however. First, in confirming its set of rights to Drogheda in Louth, one clause was apparently abrogated.[19] This clause had been originally granted by Henry III in 1252 and concerned the limitation of claims to property - no lawsuit could be raised about a burgage if it had been in someone's peaceful possession for a period of one year and one day.[20] Two conclusions are drawn from this evidence. In the first place it must be argued that, the abolition of a clause normally occurred after the burgesses' request; the other point worthy of attention is the fact that Drogheda in Meath never did enjoy such a clause. The other difference between the two charters concerns two clauses regulating trading issues granted to Drogheda in Meath and not to Drogheda in Louth.[21] The reason was, they were already part of that borough's rights from 1252.[22]

There has never been such a degree of similarity in previous charters bestowed to the two Droghedas. Standardization is a common mark for Irish municipal history in the

---

[16] Pipe Roll, ii Edw. III (1328-9), *Rep. DKPRI* 43, pp 28-9. The 1329 rebellion in Meath is a sign that Mortimer's success in ruling that land in 1328-30 was more apparent than real.

[17] *Ir. Exch. P.*, p. 248; *Gormanston Reg.*, pp. 55, 61; see Fig. 14, pp 168-69.

[18] *CPR,* 1327-30, p. 470 (10 January 1330). The exemption was renewed in 1333; see *CPR*, 1330-1334, p. 318. There is evidence that many people were reluctant to be mayors or bailiffs or take any kind of office. There are references here and there to letters of freedom from municipal office: in 1318 Walter Turle from Cork received such letters; John Elys from Dublin was dispensed in 1374; see *Na Buirgéisí*, II, pp 345-6. The exemption from mandatory office in government became part of the privileges of both Droghedas by the 1331 charters, see below.

[19] *Na Buirgéisí*, I, p. 192; see Appendix 34. In 1364 Drogheda was confirmed in its liberties and conferred the privileges of Dublin; see *Na Buirgéisí*, pp 195-200 and Appendix 35. It seems reasonable that by confirming his previous charter (1331), King Edward also confirmed the suppression of the clause. In 1392, Richard II also reverted the same clause; see below, Chap.8.1, pp 296-7 and Appendix 41.

[20] *Na Buirgéisí*, I, pp 189-90; see above, Chap. 4.3.1, pp 150-51 and Appendix 12.

[21] *Na Buirgéisí*, I, p. 183; see Appendix 33: the first clause limited the presence in town of alien merchants with their merchandise to forty days, after which term they were free to take the unsold goods elsewhere. The second clause ordered that no merchant could buy foreign merchandises in the port of Drogheda and from there take them away against the will and the authorization of the burgesses.

[22] *Na Buirgéisí*, I, p. 189; see Appendix 12.

fourteenth century, where previously there had been significant differences in the privileges conferred on individual towns.[23] The homogeneity of these two instruments - issued on the same day and signed by the same witnesses -, is manifest by the following: the clause granting Drogheda in Meath the right of holding assizes of bread and ale and the custody of the standards of the market, is exactly the same, word for word, as the one granted to Drogheda in Louth. As a result, the mayor and the bailiffs are referred to as the officials in charge in Meath,[24] when, in reality that borough was governed by a seneschal and two bailiffs since 1247[25] and, certainly, until 1412.[26] It can therefore be inferred, that while duplicating the charter the clerk had forgotten to change the names of the officers. Perhaps the charter was first made for Drogheda in Louth, and then reproduced - with few adjustments and the said inaccuracy -, for Drogheda in Meath.[27]

It seems relevant at this point to draw attention to an entry dated 1334 which is preserved in the Chancery Warrants of the Public Archive in London. It is a petition from the mayor of Dublin to the king, stating that "Dublin, Cork and Drogheda used to have the same franchises but in the fourth and fifth years of his reign [1330-31] the king enlarged the franchises of Cork and Drogheda". The council, gathered at the parliament at Westminster, ordered by writ to search the roll of chancery for the franchises of Cork and

---

[23] Watt, 'Anglo-Irish colony', pp 367-8. The Irish town charters assembled in the first volume of *Na Buirgéisi* confirms such a trend; see *Na Buirgéisi, I.*

[24] *Na Buirgéisí*, I, p. 183: "*...quod maior et ballivi dictis burgi in premissis faciendis et exequendis negligentes fuerint et remissi... et si dictos maiorem et ballivos in eo de quo querelam sic fieri contigerit negligentes legitime invenerit et remissos, tunc illud corrigi faciat prout decet et dictos maiorem et ballivos modo debito puniat et castiget, finibus et amerciamentis ipsorum maioris et ballivorum in hac parte et punicione illius quod per dictum iusticiarium vel deputandum ab ipso ut est dictum corrigi contigerit nobis et heredibus nostris semper salvis*".

[25] *Na Buirgéisí*, I, p. 175 By the charter of 1247 Drogheda in Meath was to be governed by a seneschal and two bailiffs; see above, Chap. 4.1.5, pp 122-25 and Appendix 7.

[26] The charter of incorporation granted in 1412 expressly states it, see *Na Buirgéisí*, p. 200: '*Sciatis quod cum villa nostra de Drogheda infra terram nostram Hibernie in comitatibus de Loueth et Midia situata et per quandam aquam vocatam Boyne in duas partes sit divisa, unde una pars hominum et burgensium in dicto comitatu de Loueth ex parte Uriel commorancium per maiorem et duos ballivos, et altera pars hominum et burgensium in dicto comitatu de Midia ex parte Midie commemorancium per senescallum et duos ballivos gubernantur et gubernari consueverunt divisim diverseque libertates et franchesie eis per cartas progenitorum nostrorum quondam regum Anglie quas confirmavimus separatim concesse existant ac separates foedi firmas...*'; see Appendix 45.

[27] This is the only evidence in all of Drogheda's documentary sources for a mayor officiating in the Meath side of the town. It is therefore likely to be explained as a mistake of the clerk which does not weaken the certainty that the borough on the Meath side was governed by seneschals and bailiffs. As a result we have to disagree with Mac Niocaill when saying that the seneschal in Drogheda Meath is sometimes called mayor; see *Na Buirgéisí*, II, p. 338.

Drogheda and to make letters and charters for Dublin.[28] As a result, Dublin was granted a charter on 13 October 1334. This charter imitates the one granted to Drogheda in Louth, with the single addition of a clause of murage, pavage, pontage, passage and quayage, specifically requested by Dublin in the aforementioned petition.[29] Consistent with the aforesaid tendency, only one month later, on 13 November 1334, Drogheda in Meath and in Louth were granted a single charter of murage and pavage for five years.[30]

Not only does this writ confirm the trend to homogenize the municipal rights, but, by affirming that "Drogheda and Cork and Dublin used to have the same privileges" also implies that the standardization of privileges had occurred sometime before 1334. Furthermore, the fact that it was the capital city which asked to have its rights enlarged on the model of the ones of a town - Cork - and a borough - Drogheda - implies that such practice of assimilation was not determined by the size, or the hierarchy of settlements, but was working in both directions - from bottom to top and vice versa.[31]

In short, the two Droghedas were confirmed in their former privileges, which were dissimilar; concurrently, both boroughs were granted the following new franchises.[32] Five clauses relate to their juridical privileges before the town's court:

- Exemption from being put upon any assize before the king's justices or ministers touching their external land and tenements or the infringement of contracts or agreements conducted outside the vill, as long as they live in that borough.
- The juridical privileges of the burgesses were enlarged with exemption from appeals, indictments and pleas touching direct injury, felony, calumny moved against them

---

[28] P. Connolly (ed.), 'Irish material in the class of the Chancery Warrants Series I (C 81) in the Public Record Office, London', *Anal. Hib.*, 36 (1995), p. 151. The mayor of Dublin also petitioned for the town to be quit of murage, pavage, pontage, passage, quayage and all other customs, considering the great expenses which the town incurred in strengthening the city and maintaining the surrounding marches and in fighting the Irish rebels during Anthony de Lucy's justiciar. For the charter to Cork; see *Na Buirgéisí*, I, pp 171-72 (15 July 1330). By this charter the burgesses of Cork were exempted from officiating as vice-counts, coroners, roll's officers, bailiffs or ministers, collectors of money or revenue of the king or of his heirs, outside their borough against their own will, as long as they lived or had residence in that borough.

[29] *Na Buirgéisí*, I, pp 89-92 (13 October 1334).

[30] *Ch. priv. et imm.*, p. 56: "*Maior Senescallus ballivii et comunitas ville de Drogheda ex utraque partes aque habent pavagium et muragium pro utraque parte per quinque annis duraturis sub testis J. Darcy etc. apud Dublin XIII die Novembris Teste ut supra*".

[31] The pattern of transmission of Anglo-Norman municipal law to Drogheda discussed below, see Conclusion, pp 342-49.

[32] See Appendices 33, 34.

by outsiders - unless that situation touched the interests of the king, his heirs or his ministers, or the same community of Drogheda.[33]

- The burgesses were not to be sued in any pleas of misckenning.[34]

- A clause defined the nature of the jury. It was ordered that the jury of any kind of pleas, held inside the borough, was to be exclusively made of burgesses with the exclusion of strangers. This clause, which had already been granted to Drogheda in Meath by Edward II in 1318[35], was now also conferred upon royal Drogheda.

- The burgesses were not be forced to became sheriffs, coroners, controller of the customs (*contrarotulatores*), bailiffs or ministers, collectors of money or revenue of the king or of his heirs, outside the afore-mentioned borough against their own will, as long as they live in that borough.

Trade is regulated by two clauses:

- None of the justiciars, bailiffs or ministers of the king could seize belongings or merchandises of the burgesses, or of foreign merchants, against their will, unless for the king's service in aid of securing the king's castles.

- The boroughs were given right of holding assizes of bread and ale[36] and to keep all the derived profits in aid of the fee farm. The borough had custody of the measure and weight system and of the other things related to the market - saving the right of approbation, supervision and, when necessary, correction of the standards and measures by the royal ministers. In case of negligence the borough's officials were to be fined.[37]

---

[33] However, a burgess of Drogheda had to answer to pleas touching the aforementioned subjects when moved by a co-burgess.

[34] Coredon and Williams, *Dictionary of medieval terms*, p. 194: 'miskening', a minor offence consisting in retracting a declaration while giving evidence.

[35] *Na Buirgéisí*, I, p. 183; see Appendix 27.

[36] The regulation of the assize of bread and ale was a sliding scale of prices that determined the cost of these basic foodstuffs according to the rise and fall of the grain market and which checked the weights and measures used. Having the power to impose fines for improper changes of weights, the assize was central to the regulation of the local market; see J. Bradley, *Treasures of Kilkenny: charters and civic records of Kilkenny city* (Kilkenny, 2003), p. 12. See also Coredon and Williams, *Dictionary of medieval terms*, p. 23.

[37] Webb, *Municipal Government*, pp 7-8: the mayor and the bailiffs had to be amerced and fined if they neglect their duty in respect of these matters.

1.2. Confirmation of Walter de Lacy's charter

On 23 May 1340, the king confirmed to his burgesses of Drogheda in Meath the charter granted them by Walter de Lacy in 1194.[38] That very day, the king granted to the same town quayage for eight years to aid the repair of their quays, towers and walls, which were in ruins.[39] Both deeds were issued after the appointment of John Darcy to the justiciarship of Ireland (3 March 1340) and a new team of ministers was appointed.[40]

It is not clear why Drogheda in Meath asked for this exemplification. Perhaps, it was needed in order to claim certain rights which were being violated. But violated by whom? Perhaps by the lord himself - in 1340 Roger Mortimer was twelve years old and Joan de Mortimer was lady of Trim -[41] or by another town or by the king. Possibly the reason is not be found in politics or law, but simply in the charter being worn out after such a long time from its issuance.[42]

The contents of the one hundred and fifty years old charter of foundation of the borough must have been in part anachronistic by the 1340s. By the 1194 charter the burgesses of Drogheda in Meath were granted burgages of standard measures and the burgage tenure was fixed at 12*d*. There is evidence that the 12*d*. burgage rent was still in use in Drogheda in Meath in 1380.[43] Another clause granted free use of the water of the river Boyne from the sea to the bridge of Trim. Ultimately Walter de Lacy conferred the Law of Breteuil to his burgesses of the Meath side.[44] The Norman code was certainly outdated in 1340 and it had been completely superseded by the customs of Bristol. proof of it comes with the before mentioned petition of 1334, when Dublin complained that "Dublin, Cork and Drogheda used to have the same franchises".[45]

---

[38] *CPR*, 1338-40, p. 525; see above, Chap. 2.3.1, pp 38-45 and Appendix 3.

[39] *CPR,* 1338-40, pp 544-45. See also Pipe Roll, xiii-xv Edw. III (1339-40), *Rep. DKPRI* 47, p. 34.

[40] The events preceding the crisis of 1341-42 are discussed in Frame, *English lordship*, pp 242-61.

[41] Potterton, *Medieval Trim*, pp 98-103.

[42] Medieval municipalities were always very scrupulous in preserving their deeds: charters were the depositaries of the customs of the communities; they were sometimes obtained by the communities after strenuous battles with their overlords; they were expensive; besides they were instruments able to turn customary practice into law.

[43] *CPR,* 1381-85, p. 49. John Asshewell, collector of customs in the port of Drogheda was granted for 60 years a vacant plot called 'Castelmote of Drogheda' on the Meath side, at the yearly rent of 12*d*. at the Irish Exchequer.

[44] See above, Chap. 2.3.1, pp 38-45 and Appendix 3.

[45] Connolly, 'Irish material in class of chancery warrants', p. 151; see above, Chap. 7.1.1, pp 252-53.

There does not seem to be a connection between this confirmation and the political crisis which erupted in 1341, when King Edward ordered a second resumption of the charters granted in Ireland since 1307.[46] The resistance by the Anglo-Irish lords, and cities, which gathered at Kilkenny in 1341 can not however be assumed as the background for the *Inspeximus* of 1340.[47] Causative conditions must be sought for somewhere else. Perhaps this confirmation was asked in reaction to Joan de Geneville-Mortimer's tenure of Trim after her husband's execution.[48] It was probably needed since Joan's lordship was on and off in the king's hand during the 1330s and 1340s.[49] There is evidence for the castle and town of Drogheda being in the king's hands from 2 March 1339 until 1345.[50]

---

[46] *CFR*, 1337-47, p. 234. Otway-Ruthven has stressed the link between the confrontation in Ireland and the crisis in England in 1341-42; see Otway-Ruthven, *Med. Ire.*, pp. 257-8. For a detailed analysis of the events in Ireland see R. Frame, 'English policies and Anglo-Irish attitudes in the crisis of 1341-1342', in J. Lydon (ed.), *England and Ireland in the later middle ages* (Dublin, 1981), pp 86-103.

[47] *Chartul. St. Mary's, Dublin*, II, pp 383-4.The Kilkenny meeting can not be regarded as a parliament since it was held in opposition to the king's minister in Ireland. Even though the Annals do not give a list of who attended the assembly at Dublin in October and at Kilkenny in November, it is not improbable to suggest the presence of Drogheda's mayors among them. William Roth was mayor of Drogheda that year; see *Gormanston Reg.*, p. 37; see Fig. 14, p. 169. As a results of the Kilkenny meeting, the king abandoned his intentions and called back the resumption; see *Early Statutes*, pp 332-63; *CChR*, 1341-43, pp 508-16.

[48] Wood, 'Muniments of Edmund Mortimer', pp 317, 328; *CP*, V, p. 634. The execution of Roger Mortimer in 1330 did not affect his wife's inheritance of the liberty of Trim. Joan was the only heir to Geoffrey de Geneville and Maud de Lacy. Joan Mortimer, retained lands and liberties until the year 1348 when Roger II Mortimer, the late earl's grandson, inherited them for a rent of 500 marks to be paid yearly to the countess. In case of default the countess had right of re-entry into the said premises; see *CPR,* 1348-50, p. 49. Roger II became earl of March in 1354.

[49] Potterton, *Medieval Trim*, pp 98-103. Simon de Geneville acted as custodian of the liberty of Trim whenever it reverted to the crown; see Pipe Roll, xiii Edw. III (1339-40) *Rep. DKPRI* 47, p. 43.

[50] An entry of Close Rolls reports that in 1345 the king ordered his ministers to pay Joan de Mortimer, the earl's widow, arrears of 25 marks yearly for the site of the castle and town of Drogheda, lately called Castelblathagh, which had been seized since the said 2 March 1339. The king ordered an inspection which demonstrated that she was entitled to receive the arrears of that rent from 1339 to 1345; see *CCR*, 1343-46, p. 627.

1.3. Drogheda in Louth granted the privileges of Dublin (1364)

The Treaty of Bretigny (1360) and the ransom agreement with Scotland, gave Edward the occasion to turn his attention to Ireland.[51] In answer to the petition of the 1360 council of Kilkenny, Lionel of Antwerp, the king's second son was appointed the king's lieutenant in Ireland.[52]

Philomena Connolly has maintained that both Lionel's military expeditions (1361-64, 1365-66) and those of William Windsor (1369-73, 1374-76) had a financial explanation. Their appointment was aimed at restoring stability in Ireland and reforming its administration - particularly the Exchequer, which was moved to Carlow - in the hope of increasing the revenue of a land that had once been profitable.[53] Lionel's expedition was also connected with more personal interests. The death of Lionel's wife, Eliszabeth de Burgo, on 4 November 1360[54] urged him to take personal possession of her lands in Ulster. Then, the king's son turned his attention to Meath. A marriage was in fact planned between his daughter, Philippa, and the heir of the liberty of Trim, Edmund Mortimer - a union which was sealed in 1368.[55] At the end of Lionel's first military expedition to Ireland (1361-64) and one month before Lionel's departure to England, Drogheda in Louth was granted all of the liberties of Dublin (12 February 1364).[56] In early December 1365, Lionel was again in Ireland. There is evidence of his presence in Drogheda during that same

---

[51] Frame, *English lordship*, pp 310-26. The pressure for the war in Leinster, the taxation associated with it and the erosion of land of peace by attacks of the Irish are seen as the main elements which determined the intervention of Edward III in Ireland at a time when the French and Scottish wars were temporarily on hold.

[52] E. Curtis, 'The viceroyalty of Lionel, Duke of Clarence in Ireland, 1361-67', in *RSAIJ* XLVII, 7 (1917), pp 165-90; Otway-Ruthven, *Med. Ire.*, pp 284-5; Lydon, *English Lordship*, pp 215-16.

[53] P. Connolly, 'The financing of English expeditions to Ireland, 1361-1376', in Lydon (ed.), *England and Ireland*, pp 104-05, 111-12.

[54] Otway-Ruthven, 'Partition of the de Verdun lands', pp 401, 445. The marriage was decided as a result of the Westminister Parliament of Hilary 1348, during which had been discussed the question of what would happen to Elizabeth's lordship should she die without bearing children; see *CPR,* 1345-48, pp 87, 228. The king may well have realized that among the potential co-heirs was David II Bruce.

[55] B. Smith, 'Lionel of Clarence and the English of Meath', in *Peritia*, 10 (1996), p. 300.

Smith hasdrawn attention to the fact that the resistance encountered by Lionel of Clarence in Meath, and later by William Windsor, was connected with the kind of patronage the two lieutenants imposed on that land. Lionel had used members of his household from England to staff posts in the liberty of Trim and had granted lands there to men from England. This caused resentment among the colonists, who were not averse to receiving support or patronage, as long as it was on their terms. On the other hand, says Smith, Roger Mortimer who employed the colonial gentry - men such as Walter de Cusak - had a relatively easy life in Ireland. The second statement is contradicted by the episode of the rebellion in Meath occurred in 1328-30; see above Chap.7.1.1, pp 252-53.

[56] *Na Buirgéisí*, I, pp 195-200; see Appendix 35.

winter.[57] Then, in February 1366, he held at Kilkenny a parliament which produced the most celebrated statute of medieval Ireland.[58]

The chronology of this chapter suggests its shared background with the shake up of the Irish Exchequer and judiciary that took place that very February 1364.[59] Drogheda in Louth and Dublin shared the same privileges since sometime before the year 1331, as mentioned before.[60] Once more, the imitation of privileges between the major Irish towns is manifested on this occasion: on 22 November 1363, a new charter extended to Dublin all of the liberties enjoyed by the cities of Waterford, Cork and by the burgesses of Drogheda.[61] Three months later, on 12 February 1364, Drogheda in Louth was granted all of the liberties of Dublin.[62] The prologue of Drogheda's charter states that it had been granted in compensation for efforts made by its burgesses for the defence of their town and its surroundings against the Irish enemies and as a reward for the supplies provided by the town to the king's army. This wording could be interpreted, in a broad sense, as an allusion to the role that royal Drogheda had always played in the defence of the the king's interests in Ireland. The wording also might allude to a more specific circumstance: the first military expedition led in Leinster by Lionel during the years 1361-64. The following privileges were conferred on Dublin and Drogheda:

- Confirmation of the mayor's office.
- Return of all the royal writs, with the exception of the four pleas reserved to the crown.[63]
- The mayor and the bailiffs of Drogheda were to have enough attorneys able to notify without delay to the Exchequer accounts and debts concerning that borough.

---

[57] Otway-Ruthven, *Med. Ire.*, p. 291.

[58] *Early Statutes*, pp 430-68.

[59] *CPR*, 1361-1364, p. 468. An hight point of disaffection was reached in Ireland in 1364. Complaints about administrative corruption reached the court of Westminster in April of that year. The causes of such anti-ministerial feelings and particularly the involvement of the earl of Ormond in these events have been examined by Peter Crooks; see Crooks, ' "Hobber", "dogs" and politics in the Ireland of Lionel of Antwerp, c. 1361-6', in S. Morillo (ed.), *Haskins Society Journal*, 16 (2005), pp 117-48.

[60] See above, Chap.7. 1.1, pp. 251-52.

[61] *Na Buirgéisí*, I, pp 92-99. This charter comes after the petition made by the citizens of Dublin in 1363; they asked the king for the maintenance of their franchises, for an amendment to the statute of the staple and for equality with Cork, Waterford and Drogheda; see *Affairs Ireland*, pp 216-17.

[62] *Na Buirgéisí*, I, pp 195-200; see Appendix 35.

[63] That meant the exclusion of the royal ministers from the borough jurisdiction, unless the mayor or the bailiffs failed in carrying out their duties.

- No burgess could be convicted nor jailed as long as a firm guarantee was found, with the exception of felony or other major crimes.

- Exemption from lodging or billeting by the king's ministers without the burgesses' consent, except in the king's customary sites.

- Exemption from seizure of belongings or merchandises of the burgesses or the merchants present in town against their will, saving the royal right of purveyance in aid of the king's wars.

- Definition of the jurisdiction of the town's officers: they had cognisance of all pleas concerning both internal and external tenements, transgressions of contracts or agreements and had to execute justice, saving the ordinances of the staple, which were of the king's competence.

- Exemption from pleading or being pleaded against outside the borough touching tenements inside or outside the same borough, trespass, contracts or agreements made inside that borough or its *suburbium*, unless these pleas touched the king's or the community's interests.[64]

- The burgesses of Drogheda, Waterford[65] and Dublin[66] were exempted from two ordinances of the Statute of the Staple. The king granted the burgesses of Drogheda that all the foreign merchants selling and buying goods inside the vill were obliged to pay tolls and the other taxes existing in that borough. The king also allowed the burgesses to send away and carry over their cloths of wool, hide and the other merchandises to the regions of the English Gascony, and wherever they wanted, just as they were used to do before the dispositions of the staple.[67]

These trading exemptions were granted after a complaint, made by Drogheda, regarding two dispositions of the statute of the staple that reduced the borough's former liberties.[68] According to a disposition going back to the year 1229, no foreign merchant

---

[64] For the first time the charter speaks about a *suburbium*, instead of *villa*, alluding to the lands surrounding the borough.

[65] *Na Buirgéisí*, I, pp 260-62.

[66] Ibidem, I, pp 97-98.

[67] *CCR*, 1364-68, p. 8.

[68] See below, Chap.7.2.4, pp 278-79.

was allowed to sell, by retail, inside that borough.[69] The burgesses maintained that many merchants bought and sold their goods in Drogheda, as freely as the burgesses themselves, and without contributing to the expenses of that vill. The foreign merchant would in fact claim that, by the Statute of the Staple, they were allowed to sell their merchandises, by retail, gross or parcel in all of the staple cities of England, Wales and Ireland. Drogheda's burgesses also complained that, according to the same Statute, they were forced to conduct all of their foreign trade on wool, hide and other merchandises through the staple of Calais.[70] They protested that their merchandise - namely old clothes made of wool, hide and all the other small typical Irish goods - was sold for minimal market value in Calais. They were not even able to find there other basic commodities - such as wine, iron, salt - that they wished to import to Ireland. As a result, after having sold their merchandise for a pittance, they were obliged to look elsewhere for products to import to their town. They complained that they were consequently forced to pay double freights for imports and that is was causing to them loss and impoverishment.

2. Merchants, Clergy and Pilgrims

The Black Death (1348)

The volume of trade in Drogheda and the other Irish ports decreased during Edward III's reign, as a result of both natural and political circumstances. The famine (1315-17; 1330)[71] and the various outbreaks of Black Death caused a severe setback to commercial agriculture in the town's hinterland. Concurrently, the continuous state of warfare wreaking havoc on the Irish colony, and ultimately the Hundred Years War (1337-1453), drained the

---

[69] *Na Buirgéisí*, I, p. 187: "*Concessimus eciam eis quod nullus extraneus mercator pannos in predicto burgo ad decisionem vendat vel vina ad brocham nisi in grosso*"; see Appendix 6. The same clause was granted to Drogheda on the Meath side in 1247; see *Na Buirgéisí*, I, p. 175 and Appendix 7.

[70] The staple at Calais was established in 1348 and renewed in 1362; see D. Greaves, 'Calais under Edward III', in G. Unwin (ed.), *Finance and trade under Edward III* (Manchester, 1962), pp 340-1.

[71] *Chartul. St. Mary's, Dublin*, II, pp 372-3.

already worn out resources of Ireland, "to an extent from which it never really recovered during the middle Ages".[72]

The famine which hit Ireland in the second decade of the fourteenth century, was caused by the recurrence of 'wet years'.[73] The super-abundance of rain destroyed or rotted wheat harvests causing shortage also along the river Boyne region.[74] The Irish Annals report that, in 1330, the Boyne overflowed its channel and carried away all its bridges, both the ones made of wood and of stone - except Babe's bridge. Trim and Drogheda were seriously damaged.[75] It has been stated that the Franciscan Friary built on the north quay was flooded.[76] As a result, in 1331, both Droghedas were remitted 60 marks annually from each farm for a period of three years in aid for rebuilding the bridge 'which had been pulled down'.[77] On 13 November 1334 both Droghedas were then granted pavage and murage for five years.[78]

The Dublin Annals report that in 1330 the shortage caused increases of price for basic food stock: a crannok of wheat was selling for 20 *s*., oats for 8*s*., peas, beans and

---

[72] Otway-Ruthven, *Med. Ire.*, p. 267. All northern Europe was experiencing economic crisis before the outbreak of the plague; see A. R. Bridbury, 'Before the Black Death', *Economic History Review*, xxx (1977), pp 407-10.

[73] Gwynn, 'The Black Death in Ireland', in *Studies*, XXIV (1935), pp 25-42; W. Wilde, 'Table of Irish famines, 900-1850', in E. M. Crawford (ed.), *Famine. The Irish experience*, 900-1900: subsistence crises and famines in Ireland (Edinburgh, 1989), pp 41-46.

[74] Famines in Ireland were recurrent during the late Middle Ages, as shown by both Gaelic Annals and Anglo Irish Annals. The subject of medieval climate changes in Europe has been investigated by E. Le Roy Ladurie, *Times of feast, times of famine: a history of climate since the year 1000*, trans. by B. Bray (London, 1972). For a discussion focussed on Northern Europe, see J. W. Chester, *The great famine. Northern Europe in the early fourteenth century* (Princeton, 1996). The Irish medieval famine is studied by M. C. Lyons, 'Weather, famine, pestilence and plague in Ireland, 900-1500', in E. M. Crawford (ed.), *Famine. The Irish experience, 900-1850*: *subsistence crises and famines in Ireland* (Edinburgh, 1989), pp 1-30.

[75] *Chartul. St. Mary's, Dublin*, II, pp 372-73; *Grace's Annals*, p. 117; D'Alton, *History of Drogheda*, II, p. 81.

[76] M. J. Kelly, 'Three monasteries of Drogheda', *CLAHJ*, X, 1, (1941), p. 40; see below, Chap. 7.2.3, p. 269.

[77] *CPR*, 1330-1334, pp 11, 115; Pipe Roll, vi Edw. III (1332-3), *Rep. DKPRI* 43 (Dublin, 1912), p. 58.

[78] *Ch. priv. et imm.*, p. 56: "*Mayor, Seneschallus, Ballivi et communitas ville de Drogheda ex utraque parte aque habent pavagium et muragium per utraque parte aque per quinque annos duraturos, sub testibus J. Darcy etc. apud Dublin xiii die Novembris Teste ut supra*" (13 November 1334); see Appendix 36. This provision followed the same privilege granted to Dublin one month before; see *Na Buirgéisí*, I, pp 89-92 (13 October 1334).

barley for 8*s*.[79] The examination of the murage customs imposed on trading items at Drogheda during the reign of Edward III, corroborate this evidence.[80]

The visitation of the plague had a cumulative effect on the mortality of a population already weakened by massive food shortage. The plague raged against Ireland recurrently in 1348-49, 1361, 1370, and perhaps in 1384, 1389 and 1425. The Annals of Clyn report that the plague started in Ireland near Dublin, at Howth, and Drogheda in the year 1348. Clyn stated that Drogheda and Dublin were almost destroyed and wasted of inhabitants.[81] The Franciscan friaries of Drogheda[82] and Dublin were seriously affected too; twenty five monks died in Drogheda's friary and twenty three in Dublin's, from the beginning of the plague to Christmas.[83] It is difficult to give a specific connotation to these numbers since we do not know the population of those friaries before the pestilence. However, the reading of Clyn suggests that the friaries were not as seriously affected as the towns, where almost everybody died. Three papal bulls, issued during the fourteenth century, granted the friars authority to establish new foundations, with the presumption that a community of at least twelve friars would be suitably maintained at Monasteroris (1325), Carrickbeg (1347) and Isle of Man (1367).[84] Accordingly, twenty three and twenty five might represent at least half the total number of friars living in these communities.[85] As result of the loss of clergy, spiritual as well as secular, in the year 1351 FitzRalph, Archbishop of Armagh, petitioned the pope in what was an obvious attempt to increase the availability of priests in his diocese.[86]

---

[79] *Chartul. St. Mary's, Dublin,* II, pp 372-3.

[80] See below, Chap.7.2.3, pp 269-74 and Fig 25, p. 272.

[81] Clyn, *Annals,* pp 246-7.

[82] On the Franciscan Friary in Drogheda see *CJustR*, 1305-1307, pp 188-89; see also above, Chap. 2.7, pp 63-6 and Chap. 5.2.2, pp 194-95.

[83] Clyn, *Annals*, pp 250-1. The editor and translator of Clyn's Annals pointed out how Clyn's account does not dramatize the deaths in the friaries; as a result "these Franciscan figures ring true and, if they do, then the number of fourteen thousand deaths in Dublin - reported by the Annals - should be given serious consideration, not as an actual figure, but as an estimate of deaths in the greater Dublin area"; see ibidem, p. 111.

[84] Cotter, *Friars Minor in Ireland*, pp 188-9.

[85] E. B. Fitzmaurice and A. G. Little, *Materials for the history of the Franciscan province of Ireland, A. D. 1230-1450*, British Society of Franciscan Studies, 9 (Manchester, 1920; repr. 1966), p. 141. The existence of such a large local fraternities gives some idea of the impact of the Franciscans on these towns.

[86] K. Walsh, *A fourteenth-century scholar and primate. Richard FitzRalph in Oxford, Avignon and Armagh* (Oxford, 1981), pp 281-2.

The Annals of Clyn are the only available source which gives a gauge on the effects of the plague at Drogheda.[87] The English calendar of the Irish Pipe Rolls only extends to the year 1348: this prevents any attempt to verify the impact of the plague on the tax returned by Drogheda at the exchequer.[88] It is believed that the disease appeared in Howth and Dalkey, from where it soon overran Dublin. This suggests that the plague arrived by sea, perhaps transported by ships from Bristol.[89] It can be accepted that Drogheda was one of the towns severely affected. The incidence of plague was greatest where the concentration of population was highest. The standard of hygiene encouraged plague-bearing rats to breed in towns, ports and in the crop storing areas - places such as Drogheda.[90]

The crisis affected Irish trade, as shown by the records of total receipts at the Irish Exchequer and the customs of wool and hides conveniently tabulated by Mac Niocaill. Trade at the ports of Dublin, Cork, Limerick, Drogheda, Youghal, Galway, Wexford, Waterford and New Ross was at its height in the 1270s and 1280s. Exports dropped dramatically in the 1290s and by the mid-fourteenth century ran at about one-quarter of their peak.[91]

2.2. The Interdict of 1353

Drogheda is mentioned in two literary sources, dated about the middle of the fourteenth century, during the archbishopric of Richard FitzRalph, Archbishop of Armagh (1346-1360): in the sermon diary of the same archbishop[92] and in the account of George

---

[87] For a study on the urban mortality caused by the plague and a wide ranging discussion on its effect on municipal societies, see R. Britnell, 'The black death in English towns', in *Urban History*, 21, pt. 2 (Oct. 1994), pp 195-210.

[88] Pipe Roll, xxii Edw. III (1348-49), *Rep. DKI* 54 (Dublin 1927). The destruction of the Four Courts in 1922 meant the total loss of the original accounts and since then historians have had to base their studies on the inadequate English Calendar, which only extends to the year 1348.

[89] Otway-Ruthven, *Med. Ire.*, p. 267; Walsh, *Fourteenth-century scholar,* pp 279f.

[90] A. Gwynn pointed out that the frequency of references to the disasters caused by the epidemic in the Anglo-Irish chronicles, by comparison with the sparseness in the Gaelic-Irish sources, can be explained with the major incidence of the epidemic in urban areas. Leading a more rural way of life the Gaelic population was less effected by mortality; see Gwynn, 'The Black Death', pp 25-7; Walsh, *Fourteenth-century scholar,* p. 279.

[91] *Na Buirgéisí*, II, pp 523-28.

[92] Gwynn, 'The sermon diary of Richard FitzRalph, Archbishop of Armagh', *RIA Proc.* 44 C (1937), pp 1-58.

Grissaphan's pilgrimage to Lough Derg.[93] Each source offers a most precious description of the success of the aggressive merchant class ruling Drogheda's community.

Archbishop FitzRalph centred his reforming activity in two provincial Synods held in Drogheda, respectively in 1352 and 1355.[94] Even though neither of these assemblies left a surviving record of the legislation enacted, information can be pieced together from the archbishop's diary. The diary keeps details of eight sermons, given at Drogheda by the archbishop between the years 1348 - in which the pestilence made its first appearance - and 1356.[95]

In a sermon, preached in Drogheda on 2 December 1352, the archbishop fulminated against the fraud practiced by local merchants in order to avoid paying tithes. The oration was one of the most violent attacks expressed in his sermon diary. Accusations were moved against the widespread abuse of duties and obligations of those who owned property and their abusive means of accumulating wealth.[96] As a result, in the following year, Drogheda was put under interdict by FitzRalph (1353). This evidence begs the question how could the merchant class be so aggressive just four years after the outbreak of the plague? Was it not affected by mortality? It certainly was. But it was also true that whoever survived could make opportunity. Walsh suggested that the Black Death determined a state of lawlessness within Drogheda, perhaps providing the merchant community with the opportunity to usurp the archbishop's rights, as well as the opportunity to engage in plunder and extortion against the more helpless population that survived the epidemic.[97]

---

[93] L. L. Hammerich (ed.), *Visiones Georgii. Visiones quas in purgatorio Sancti Patricii vidit Georgius miles de Ungeria, A.D. MCCCLIII* (Copenhagen, 1930). For a discussion on this see: Gwynn, 'Archbishop FitzRalph and George of Hungary', in *Studies*, XXIV (1935), pp 558-72; M. Haren, 'Two Hungarian pilgrims', in M. Haren and Y. de Pontfarcy (eds), *The Medieval pilgrimage to St. Patrick's Purgatory, Lough Derg and the European tradition* (Clogher, 1988), pp 120-68.

[94] For a detailed analysis of the Church reform promoted by FitzRalph, see Walsh, *Fourteenth-century scholar,* pp 318-48.

[95] Gwynn, 'Sermon diary of FitzRalph', pp 48-57. The sermons were given "*apud Pontem*" on 4 May 1348; "*in vulgari apud Carmelitas in Drogheda"* on 25 March 1349; "*in concilio suo provinciali in latino apud Drogheda"* on 7 February 1352; "*ad populum apud Drogheda*" on 18 December 1351; "*ad populum in vulgari apud Drogheda*" on 2 December 1352; "*in concilio provinciali apud Drogheda"* on 5 February 1355; "*apud Drogheda [...] ad populum*" on 8 March 1355; "*apud Drogheda [...] ad populum*" on 15 March 1355; "*in cimiterio Sancte Marie de Droghda*" on 28 June 1355; "*apud Drogheda*" on 17 April 1356. There is evidence that the archbishop was in Drogheda in the Church of St. Peter also on 9, 14, 16 June; see, *Affairs Ireland*, p. 294.

[96] Walsh, *Fourteenth-century scholar,* pp 314-15. In this sermon the archbishop refers to a wide range of commodities upon the sale of which he expected to receive tithes.

[97] Ibidem, p. 288.

The *Visiones Georgii* is an account of George Grissaphan's pilgrimage to St. Patrick's Purgatory (1353).[98] According to this source, when George returned from the pit he had with him five messages - one of which was addressed to the primate of Armagh, FitzRalph. The message, from the underworld, was concerned with the "absolution of certain city of his archiepiscopate which the primate unjustly interdicted and excommunicated and held subject to interdict and excommunication, although not from malice and injustice, in as much seemed, but because it seemed to him that the city in certain points did not do its due, nor wished to do so".[99] Aubrey Gwynn suggested that FitzRalph's target was the merchants of Drogheda, the biggest and wealthiest trade centre of his diocese.[100]

Historians have tried to identify the authority George sourced to produce the message to Archbishop FitzRalph. According to Dr. Walsh, it seems unlikely that the Augustinian monastery of Lough Derg, which was under the control of the Gaelic clergy and chieftains, had any interest in controlling the events in Drogheda. On the other hand, the letters sent by the archbishop to his nephew in Avignon, provided an outline account of the pilgrimage, but they say nothing about the "messages". The *Visiones Georgii* was written in Avignon, by a unnamed provencal Augustinian friar, on the basis of a verbal report which he received from George himself. Dr Walsh, after Hammerich, put forward the idea that the messages were not the product of Ireland, but of Avignon - in particular of the Augustinian compiler's desire to produce a book which laymen could appreciate.[101] On the other hand, Haren's hypothesis seems more plausible. He suggested that either the prior of Kilmainham, on behalf of general opinion within Leinster, or the archdeacon of Armagh, on behalf of the immediate hinterland of Drogheda, are more suitable candidates to have manipulated George.[102]

What were the reasons for the quarrel between the primate of Armagh and Drogheda? The fourteenth-century community of Drogheda was certainly familiar with

---

[98] Archbishp Colton was also instrumental to Ramon de Perellós' pilgrimage Lough Derg (1397), see Chap. 8.3, p. 308.

[99] Haren, 'Hungarian Pilgrims', p. 156.

[100] Gwynn, 'FitzRalph and George', p. 571; idem, 'Sermon diary of FitzRalph', p. 29. Katherine Walsh and Michael Haren share the same belief, see Walsh, *Fourteenth-century scholar*, pp 298, 304-24; Haren, 'Hungarian Pilgrims', pp 156-59.

[101] Walsh, *Fourteenth-century scholar*, pp 315-16.

[102] Haren, 'Hungarian Pilgrims', pp 157-58.

most of the methods condemned by the archbishop in his various sermons. The one preached on December 1352 brings the first indication of a serious friction between the archbishop and the people of Drogheda. Katherine Walsh pointed out how a great many sermons preached in Drogheda refer to themes of economic usury and malpractices, of land speculation, rent-evasion and interference with the process of ecclesiastical justice.[103] The very fact that all of the abovementioned practices were preached against in Drogheda, suggests that they were happening there. Tithe-evasion resulted from the merchants' practise of paying tithes after having set losses against profit, instead of paying them as each sale was complete. Archbishop FitzRalph had probably failed to secure proper payments from them; consequently he attacked a practice which was depriving his diocese of the revenue derived from trade.[104]

FitzRalph's concerns were not only of an economic nature. As a peace-negotiator between the 'two nations', he was deeply involved in politics. Active as a diplomat in charge of settling disputes between the Gaelic community and the Dublin administration, he would also oppose illegal customs with the aim of preventing conflicts in his diocese. According to his sermons, preached at Drogheda in 1349, 1352 and 1355, the killing of Irishmen, the burning and the seizure of their property by the hand of simple burgesses, without official consent, were common practices in his dioceses.[105] Then again, we are told that members of the Gaelic race - both men and women - were prevented from freely disposing of their properties by testament. As a result, the truces between the two nations, secured by the diplomatic activity of the archbishop himself, were constantly put at risk.[106]

The target of one particular sermon, preached at Drogheda in 1355, was once more the trade and craft-guilds of that town. According to the sermon, the members of the guilds in Drogheda used to bind themselves, by taking oaths, to exclude the Irish from membership. They were, therefore, left out from the trading privileges and apprenticeship

---

[103] Walsh, *Fourteenth-century scholar*, pp 322-24.

[104] R. R. Betts, 'Richard FitzRalph, Archbishop of Armagh, and the doctrine of dominion', in *Essays in British and Irish history in honour of James Eadie Todd* (London, 1949), pp 46-60.

[105] Walsh, *Fourteenth-century scholar*, pp 325, 342. The archbishop stressed that only officials appointed by the crown were entitled to act like that, without being murderers or thieves.

[106] By 1355 the archbishop had managed to reach some form of peaceful settlement with the O'Neills; see A. Gwynn, 'Richard FitzRalph, Archbishop of Armagh', in *Studies*, XXV (1936), pp 88-89, 91; see also K. Simms, 'The archbishops of Armagh and the O'Neills', *IHS*, 19 (1974), pp 44-45.

of craftsmen. The guilds were also accused of spending money extravagantly on feasts and wax candles for their processions.[107]

The conclusion ultimately derived from this diary of sermons is that racial discrimination and moral and economic abuses were constantly carried out towards the Gaelic society. This attitude was peculiar in both the laity and the Franciscans of Drogheda - as referenced in the racial statements of Friar Simon le Mercer of Drogheda in 1317.[108] Were said condemnations and appeals to promote tolerance based on FitzRalph's Christian piety or on a purely practical attempt to create peace inside his diocese?

Another recurrent theme in FitzRalph's diary is the controversy with the Mendicants.[109] In the year 1356, he preached in London against the Mendicant Order of Armagh. As a result, the order cited him to Avignon, but before being cleared from the accusation, he died in 1360.[110] The final series of sermons, which the archbishop preached throughout the dioceses of Armagh and Meath, after the synod held in Drogheda in 1355, marks the most acute phase of Mendicant dissension. Among the Anglo-Irish there were prominent friaries at Drogheda and Dundalk and smaller houses at Downpatrick and Carrickfergus. There was also an influential community of Irish friars living beside Armagh cathedral, in Gaelic Ulster - "a cathedral which the Anglo-Irish FitzRalph would only rarely have visited and then only with caution".[111]

In the year 1356, FitzRalph found himself in open conflict with the Franciscan friars of Drogheda and Dundalk. He accused them of absolving sinners from sentences of excommunication imposed by himself as archbishop of his own diocese.[112] Even though little is known about the pastoral situation in Drogheda, there is evidence that the Franciscans were a big part of the town's community. Since 1245, in fact, the Friars Minor of Drogheda were granted annual funds by the English Crown, together with the houses of

---

[107] Walsh, *Fourteenth-century scholar*, pp 341-2.

[108] E. Curtis and R. B. McDowell (eds.), *Irish historical documents, 1172-1922*, (London, 1943), pp 38-46; see above, Chap.6.3.2, pp 234-35.

[109] The primate's action against the Franciscan Order is well documented. FitzRalph's criticism of the Franciscans started from condemning the gap existing between the order's *regula* and its application. Then it spread to the privileges enjoyed by the order; see Gwynn, 'Richard FitzRalph', pp 81-96; Walsh, *Fourteenth-century scholar*, pp 349-451.

[110] J. Ware, 'A commentary of the prelates of Ireland from the first convention of the Irish nation to the Christian faith down to our times', in *The Antiquities and History of Ireland by Sir James Ware* (Dublin, 1705), p. 14.

[111] Cotter, *Friars Minor in Ireland*, p. 111.

[112] Gwynn, 'Sermon diary of FitzRalph', p. 31.

Dublin, Waterford, Cork, Athlone and Kilkenny.[113] As early as 1252, Drogheda was one of the four custodies, together with Dublin, Cashel and Cork.[114] Payments became more regular starting from the last quarter of the thirteenth century.[115] Royal alms were regularly recorded for the reigns of Edward I and Edward II. However, during the time of Edward III royal alms are recorded very infrequently, probably as a result of the famine,[116] Black Death[117] and French War.[118] Then, during the third year of Henry IV's reign, the Friars Preachers of Dublin, Wexford, Cork, Limerick and Drogheda asked confirmation for the grant of 35 marks yearly at the Exchequer, Dublin.[119]

The quarrel between the archbishop and the Franciscan Order was sharpened by an incident that happened in Drogheda in 1356, reported by the seventeenth-century Irish Franciscan historian Luke Wadding, in his *Annales Minorum*. He argued that FitzRalph attempted to seize an ornament, kept in the Franciscan convent of Drogheda, and appropriate it for his own palace. The vigilant mayor of Drogheda, a member of the Bathe family, prevented him from doing so, thus protecting the rights of the Friars. Wadding also stated that FitzRalph was so outraged by this incident that he began his campaign against

---

[113] *CDI*, 1171-1252, 2776, p. 414. Mandate to the treasurer and chamberlain of the Exchequer, Dublin, that they yearly spend 20l. of the King's treasure in purchasing 100 tunics for the use of the friars minors of Dublin, Waterford, Drogheda, Cork, Athlone and Kilkenny, of the King's alms, during pleasure (25 October 1245). In the year 1285 the Dominican friars of Drogheda were also granted a royal alms: the allotment was of 25 marks to be divided in equal portions as the convent shall provide between the friars of Dublin, Cork, Waterford, and Drogheda; see *CDI*, III, 97, pp. 38-9. From 1296 onward royal alms were jointly bestowed to the Franciscans and Dominicans of Drogheda.

[114] Cotter, *Friars Minor in Ireland*, p. 47.

[115] *CDI*, 1252-1284, 1907, p. 419 (1282); *CDI*, 1293-1301, 105, p. 52 (1293); ibidem, 273, p. 122 (1295); Ibidem, 328, p. 149; ibidem, 346, p. 163 (1296); ibidem, 438, p. 207; ibidem, 456, p. 216 (1297); ibidem, 548, p. 244; ibidem, 565, p. 266 (1298); ibidem, 660, p. 317; ibidem, 682, p. 326 (1299); ibidem, 826, p. 380 (1301); *CDI*, 1302-1307, 128, p. 52 (1302); ibidem, 461, p. 142 (1305); ibidem, 578, p. 166 (1306). Mould states that the friars Preachers in Dublin and Drogheda also "seemed to have continued to receive alms from the king until the reformation"; see D. D. Mould, *The Irish Dominicans* (Dublin, 1957), p. 52.

[116] Cotter, *Friars Minor in Ireland*, p. 57. In the year 1320 Henry Russell, custodian of the manor of Balygore, was ordered to pay the alms to the friars of Drogheda; it was common for a royal official in the area of a friary to be ordered to pay allotted sums to the friars from local funds. Henry refused and was therefore fined. It is possible that his refusal was due to a lack of prosperity in the region, as combined result of famine and Bruce invasion.

[117] On the effects of the Black Death on the Franciscan community of Drogheda; see above, Chap. 7.2.1, pp 262-63.

[118] The need of money during Edward's reign might perhaps explain the following anomaly: in the year 1324 the friars of Drogheda received royal alms "in kind" rather than as money; see E. B. Fitzmaurice and A. G. Little, *Materials for the history of the Franciscan province of Ireland, A. D. 1230-1450*, British Society of Franciscan Studies, 9 (Manchester, 1920; repr. 1966), p. 222.

[119] *CPR*, 1399-1401, p. 334. The charter, confirming letter patent given by Richard II, was priced 1 mark.

the privileges of the friars.[120] This episode has a two-fold relevance. First, the name of Drogheda's mayor is identified for the year 1356 - even though in its partial form. The de Bathe family had previously given Drogheda a mayor - Matthew Bathe, who held office at the time of the Bruce's invasion in the years 1317, 1318 and 1319.[121] Second, FitzRalph's conflict with Drogheda's Friars confirms the tension between the municipal government and the archbishop - still continuing four years after the interdiction of 1352. The fact that the mayor took a position in favour of the regular clergy against the archbishop is not a surprise. The list of Drogheda's mayors indicates that the town's representatives were usually chosen among the members of the merchant class, the same merchant class so violently attacked by FitzRalph in his sermons. Wadding, a Franciscan himself, wrote about this accident three hundred years after the event took place. His testimony is regarded as reliable, with the exception of the last statement. According to Gwynn, the episode had probably been the occasion, and not the actual cause, of FitzRalph's campaigning against the Franciscans' privileges and pastoral activity.[122]

2. 3 Grants of murage (1356- 62; 1362- 82; 1373-82)

The Irish Annals report that in 1330 the Boyne overflowed its channel, carried away all its bridges, both the ones made of wood and of stone, except Babe's bridge. Trim and Drogheda were seriously damaged.[123] Kelly stated that the Franciscan Friary build on the north quay was flooded.[124]

In 1331 both Droghedas were remitted 60 marks out of their farm, to be deducted for a period of three years in aid for rebuilding the bridge 'which had been pulled down'.[125]

---

[120] Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, viii, p. 127; D'Alton, *History of Drogheda*, I, p. 129. Gwynn, 'Richard FitzRalph', p. 82.

[121] *Hist. and mun. doc.,* pp 395-6; *Ir. Exch. P.*, p. 248 (1317-18); *Gormanston Reg.*, pp. 55, 61 (1319); see Fig. 14, pp. 168-69.

[122] Gwynn, 'Richard FitzRalph', pp 82-3.The first allusion in the sermon-diary of difficulties with the friars comes from the sermon preached on 26 February 1354; here the friars were accused of abuses in the sphere of confession, namely of granting absolution on easy terms. Then, during the 1355 provincial Council at Drogheda FitzRalph alludes to some disputes as to the ownership of certain lands, or else the ease with which the friars were dispensing their penitents from the duty of tithe-paying. The other criticisms were about burial rights.

[123] *Chartul. St. Mary's, Dublin*, II, pp 372-73; *Grace's Annals*, p. 117; D'Alton, *History of Drogheda*, II, p. 81; see above, Chap.7.2.1, p. 261.

[124] Kelly, 'Three monasteries', p. 40.

[125] *CPR*, 1330-1334, pp 11, 115; Pipe Roll, vi Edw. III (1332-3), *Rep. DKPRI* 43, p. 58.

Then on 13 November 1334 both Droghedas were granted pavage and murage for five years.[126]

Edward III granted to both Droghedas three murage charters, as shown in an *Inspeximus* of King Richard II (1380): in 1356-62; in 1362-82 and in 1373-82.[127] The distinctive aspect of Edward III's grants is that they were bestowed upon both boroughs of Drogheda and were so frequently granted, to the point of being almost continuous. By the 1356 murage the town on both sides was given licence to levy tolls for six years on goods coming there by sea or by land, in order to rebuild their pavage and walls, the towers of the quays and the bridge (1356-1362). It has to be noted that, during the same year, Roger Mortimer inherited the lordship of Trim and Meath, succeeding to Joan Mortimer.[128] The prologue of this grant states that the grant came as result of the poverty of the town which had been devastated by the plague and which had lost many cargoes during shipwrecks. The decline of the population caused by the continuous state of war and exacerbated by the Black Death, produced an economic decline. Various rescuing measures were adopted. Murage charters were one of them.

The town's previous known list of trading items dates to the Bruce period - it is seen in the charter conferred on Drogheda in Meath in 1317.[129] The comparison between the two lists presents two main issues. First, it appears that Edward III's charter contains about thirty taxable items which were not listed in the previous murage. This evidence can be easily explained by the fact that the charters were addressed to both Droghedas. As a result, the extended list resulted from the merging of Drogheda in Meath's range of trading items, with the one of Dublin-Drogheda in Louth.[130] Specialization of trade in Drogheda is expressed by the variety of new products listed and by the fact that the clauses are much more detailed in describing both the type of product and the capacity (i.e. measure of

---

[126] *Ch. priv. et imm.*, p. 56: "*Mayor, Seneschallus, Ballivi et communitas ville de Drogheda ex utraque parte aque habent pavagium et muragium per utraque parte aque per quinque annos duraturos, sub testibus J. Darcy etc. apud Dublin xiii die Novembris Teste ut supra*" (13 November 1334); see Appendix 36. This provision followed the same privilege granted to Dublin one month before; see *Na Buirgéisí*, I, pp 89-92 (13 October 1334). Drogheda in Meath was in fact discharged a sum when accounting in 1339-40; see Pipe Roll, xiii Edw. III (1339-40), *Rep. DKPRI* 47, p. 35.

[127] *Ch. priv. et imm.*, p. 78; see Appendix 37.

[128] Wood, 'Muniments of Roger Mortimer', p. 331; *CP*, VIII, pp 443-44.

[129] *Hist. and mun. doc.*, pp 413-17; see above, Chap. 6.2.1, p. 228 and Appendix 26.

[130] Cfr. the list of trading items in the charter of murage granted to Dublin in 1338; see *Cal. ancient rec.*, I, pp 14-16.

weight, solid, liquid...).[131] The range of items already traded in Drogheda was enhanced with hooks, pepper, galindale, cloves, maces, ginger, grains of Paradise and other spices, candles, almonds and rice, figs and raisins, alum, silk, *Bolt de Elyeshabum* (some kind of cloth?), wild thistles, covers for bed, English cloths, *seme de slabbes,* Spanish iron, female pigs, locks and nails; plough-shares, *Batry* (kitchen ware?), cooking pots, saddles, calfs, ordinary malt and best quality malt, carts with two wheels, carriages cars.

Secondly, the juxtaposition of the articles in common to both charters shows an increase of the customs during Edward III's reign. It appears that the customs imposed on almost all of them - both raw material and craftwork - doubled their expenses. Prices were sharply affected by scarcity of labour as result of the plague.[132] On the other hand, a few taxable goods were reduced: woolfells, together with salmon, pig, sheep and goats for sale. The customs relative to a few items were unvaried. The data extracted from the murage grants of 1317 and of 1356-82 are compared in the table below.[133]

These customs were then confirmed to Drogheda on both sides for twenty years (1362-1382); Lionel of Antwerp, lieutenant of Ireland witnessed this charter. At the same time, the burgesses were exempted from the payment of the fee-farm and from giving yearly accounts of their receipts and expenditure for the repair of walls, pavements and towers, on condition that they would not use the money elsewhere. However, at the end of the six years, the seneschal and the bailiffs of Drogheda in the Meath side were ordered to provide accounts to the Exchequer.[134]

---

[131] The case of Irish clothing is illustrative of this tendency: in Edward III's charter there are three clauses related to Irish cloths while in 1318 only two; again, four clauses are concerned with butter, while the 1318 charter counts only one.

[132] It has been argued that the prices of some basic urban goods and services were driven up appreciably higher than those of agricultural products; see Britnell, 'Black Death', p. 210.

[133] See Fig. 25, pp 272-73.

[134] *Ch. priv. et imm.*, p. 78; see Appendix 37. The interest of Lionel towards Meath has been discussed above; see above, Chap. 7.1.3, pp 257-58.

FIG. 25 CUSTOMS ON MERCHANDISE TRADED AT DROGHEDA (MURAGE 1317; MURAGE 1356-82)

Increased customs

STOCK	**1317**	**1356-1382**
12 pound of onion seeds 10 pound of onion seeds		1*d.*
12 felt hats 10 felt hats	 ¼*d.*	½ *d.*
each piece of Irish cloth each piece of Irish linen cloth containing twelve ells each Irish cloak (*fallynga)*	 ½*d.* ¼*d.*	1*d.*
each head of stiffened cendal	¼*d.*	1*d.*
each band of iron for sale,	½ *d.*	1*d*
100 pieces of iron each cart-load of iron	 1*d.*	2*d.*
each kind of 'averdepeys' for the value of 12*d.*		¼ *d.*
each hundred avoirpois	1*d*	
each crannock of flour of oats and other types of grain burden of flour and any mixture of cereals for brewing	 ¼*d.*	1*d.*
each burden of butter	½ *d.*	1*d.*
each load of wheat	¼*d.*	
each crannock of barley, horse-beans and peas for sale	¼ *d.*	1*d.*
each *mesia* of fish	¼ *d.*	½ *d.*
each crannock of salt	¼*d.*	1*d.*
1 large jar of herrings each thousand herrings	 1*d.*	4*d.*
each hide of lambs	½*d.*	1*d.*
each 100 hides of rabbits	½*d.*	1*d.*
each horse of the value of 40*d.* or more	1*d.*	2*d.*
each 100 dried fishes	½*d.*	1*d.*
each 100 *merlynges* eels	½*d.*	1*d.*
every kind of merchandise worth not less than 2*s.*	¼ *d.*	½ *d.*

Inflated customs

STOCK	1317	1356-1382
each 100 woolfells each hundred furs of sheep, goat, stag, hinds, fallow-deer, male or female	1*d.*	½*d.*
each pig, sheep or goat	1*d.*	¼*d.*
each salmon	½*d.*	¼*d.*

Unvaried customs

STOCK	1317	1356-1382
100 pound of seeds of leek	4*d.*	4*d.*
each jar of wine	2*d.*	2*d.*
each sack of wool	4*d.*	4*d.*
each hide tanned, fresh or salted	¼*d.*	¼*d.*
each cloth of fine material (silk or linen)	1*d.*	1*d.*
each load of fishes	½*d.*	½*d.*
each *petra* of tallow	½*d.*	½*d.*

Then, on 23 March 1374, the prearranged term of twenty years was confirmed. The mayor, seneschals and bailiffs of both vills were exempted from giving accounts of their receipts and expenditure concerning both the past and the successive nine years. At the end of the twenty years they had to present the accounts before two legal burgesses, elected by the community and not before the Exchequer. The charter was witnessed by the justiciar of Ireland Robert Ashton.[135] Three months later, on 3 June 1374, the seneschals and bailiffs of Drogheda in Meath were pardoned a fine of 40*s.* for not having given accounts at the Exchequer. The sum was to be used in the reparation of bridge and walls.[136]

[135] *Ch. priv. et imm.*, p. 78; see Appendix 37.
[136] *Rot. Pat. Hib.*, 45, p. 86b; ibidem, 109, p. 89.

2.4 Exemptions from the Ordinances of the Staple

Drogheda's documentation shows that the trade's decline was related to two main factors: the plague and the Edwardian staple policies which penalized the town's wool trade.

The 1326 ordinance proclaimed Drogheda, Dublin and Cork as staple towns.[137] This choice evinces the commercial relevance attributed to the three ports. The curious absence of Waterford from this list was probably due to the royal disfavour that the town was experiencing at the time.[138] However, by 1354, Waterford was added to the staple towns.[139] D'Alton reported that the privilege of the staple "was attended with the jalousies and conflicts between the two boroughs [of Drogheda], which records are yet preserved in the Tower of London".[140] If this evidence has to be believed - unfortunately, D'Alton does not specify his source - a new scenario opens on the relationship between the two Droghedas. In fact, none of the documents examined up to here have ever suggested an economic rivalry between the two boroughs. It will be only in the year 1412 that sources refer again to tensions between the two communities.[141]

The staple was a fixed place through which the export of some goods was compulsorily directed. The staple commodities were raw materials: wool, hides, sheep-skins, lead and tin. The object of the ordinances was to facilitate the collection of the royal customs; it has been said that "the staple system was established as one of the methods of financing the Hundred Years War".[142] At the same time, staples were advantageous for the

---

[137] *CPR*, 1324-1327, p. 269 (1 May 1326). The terms of these ordinances are set forth in *CPR, 1327-1330,* pp 98-99 (1 May 1327); *Early Statutes*, I, pp 315-21. In 1331 Edward III sent a mandate to the mayors of the three towns to observe the ordinance of the staple of wools, hides, wool-fells; see *CPR*, 1330-1334, pp 362-63.

[138] McEneaney, *History of Waterford*, p. 59. McEneaney has pointed out that the absence of Waterford from the list of staple ports did not make economic sense, since Waterford was one of the Ireland's most important ports and it was situated in the greatest wool-producing area of the country. "There can be little doubt - says McEneaney - that it was for political reasons that Waterford was not favoured". The town's mayor, Andrew Gerard, was at the time in serious trouble with the king, because he was involved with disorders in Munster. King Edward might have therefore used the weapon of the staple to apply economic pressure to the city.

[139] O'Neill, *Merchants and mariners*, p. 62.

[140] D'Alton, *History of Drogheda*, I, p. 160.

[141] Johnston, *History of Drogheda*, pp. 35-37. The sermon preached by Father Philip Bennet to the burgesses of Drogheda in 1412 refers to rivalry and economic competition between the two boroughs on the Boyne; see discussion below, Chap.9.3.1, pp 323-27.

[142] E. Miller, 'The economic policies of government. France and England', in M. M. Postan, E. Rich and E. Miller (eds.), *The Cambridge economic history of Europe*, III (Cambdrige, 1965), p. 336: the

townsmen because it secured them monopoly in almost every branch of the wool trade. Special arrangements for encouraging foreign merchants to trade in those ports were also provided: they were under the king's protection. The 1326 ordinances of the staple established that men of Gascony were to be treated as denizens; that courts of Law merchants were to be held in each of the staple towns; a Mayor of the Staple, who had to know Merchant Law, and two constables were originally appointed by the wool merchants. By the 1352-3 ordinance however, they were appointed by the commonality.[143] The mayors, bailiffs and the sheriffs of these towns were to assist them to carry out their orders. In the staple towns all foreign merchants could buy the said merchandises; then they must pay the royal customs and seal the goods with the 'cocket'. A clause ordered that the wares had to stay at the same staple for forty days[144] before being carried away, presumably in order to ensure natives could obtain sufficient supplies of raw material. After that term, they might export it to any country not at war with the king. All merchants were to obey the Law Merchant. It was provided that merchants were not to conspire to lessen prices. Several clauses were concerned with clothing: it was established that citizens were to use only cloth made in England, Ireland and Wales; that they could be long or short; that fullers, spinners and dyers were to be offered franchises in the towns, probably to encourage the cloth industry. Moreover, each town was responsible for the conduct of its sailors abroad.[145]

In 1353 a new Statute of the Staple was enacted to regulate trade in England, Ireland and Wales.[146] Then, in 1357, it was reinforced with new ordinances concerned with the excess of mayors and constables of the staple.[147] Merchants of Ireland often sought

---

staple was applied by the king as a diplomatic lever to induce the Flemish towns to support the English side in the Hundred Years' War. It was administratively convenient to levy those taxes at a single centre. At the same time, the payments of customs was exacted at the point where merchants had already money at their disposal from the sale of their cargo and where the proceeds could be disbursed to finance military operations or maintain an English base (such as Calais) across the channel.

[143] W. G. Strickland, 'The ancient official seals of the city of Dublin', in Clarke (ed.), *Medieval Dublin*, p. 169.

[144] *CPR*, 1324-1327, p. 269: the editor of the Patent Roll stats that in reality the term was fifteen days, and not forty, which resulted from a "clerical error" of the scribe of Edward III.

[145] *CPR*, 1327-30, pp 98-99.

[146] *The Statute of the Realm printed by Command of his Majesty King George III*, I (London, 1810), pp 332-343.

[147] Ibidem, I, p. 360.

exemption from certain obligations of the staple. During the 1350s Drogheda was exempted from 4 ordinances of the statute of the staple: in 1354, 1356, 1358 and 1364.

In 1354 the king granted Robert More, William White, Ellis de Preston, John Dyere, John Talon and John Forester, merchants of Drogheda, licence to carry and sell their hides to Flanders, notwithstanding the ordinance that ordered the hides to be stapled and sold at Winchester.[148] During the same year the burgesses of Drogheda received a letter of protection to trade in England and elsewhere in the kingdom and that they were not to be harassed or imprisoned for debts incurred by their fellow burgesses in any ports, market town or other place in England or elsewhere.[149] According to the statute of the staple each town was held responsible for the conduct of its sailors abroad.[150]

This exemption suggests that the merchant class was suffering for the economic crisis, producing many unpaid debts and bankruptcies. As a result, the English merchants, anxious to recover debts owed by Drogheda, were holding to ransom any other merchant coming from the same town whom they found operating in England. The same letter of protection was granted to Waterford in 1355.[151] During the same year, a ban on the exportation of grain and fish was imposed on Drogheda in Meath.[152]

By 1356 the economic effects of the plague had been so devastating that the mayors of the staple cities in Ireland, Dublin, Drogheda Waterford Cork and Youghal appealed to the king to be exempted from another ordinance of the staple. They complained that foreign merchants 'do not commonly come to trade in Ireland'. They therefore sought permission to sell their merchandise to England and to the continent - that is to say, Gascony, and Flanders. The king agreed to the request, provided that the export duty was paid in Ireland. Again they complained that the price offered for hides in England was very poor, with the result that the king granted them licence for three years to sell hides - but not wool, woolfells or lead - on the continent, provided that they did not trade with the king's enemies.[153]

---

[148] *CPR,* 1354-58, pp 73-4. On the same episode see also *CCR,* 1349-54, pp 578, 579, 580.
[149] *CPR,* 1354-58, p. 47.
[150] *Early Statutes*, I, pp 318-9.
[151] *CPR,* 1354-58, p. 278, 484.
[152] *Rot. Pat. Hib.*, 44, p. 60.
[153] *CPR,* 1354-58, p. 434.

The exemption obtained by Drogheda on 4 November 1358 is more revealing as it shows that large ships were unable to berth at the quaysides of Drogheda. On account of the perils of Drogheda's port, large ships used to lie at the islands of Dalkey, Lambay and Howth, about 26 leagues from Drogheda waiting for the merchants to go there.[154] The ships did not approach the town with their freight until the merchants and the other buyers had received the price for their merchandise or at least an earnest, and not until the buyers had found for the merchants a lodeman to bring the ships to the town through the port at their peril. That practice was prohibited by a 1353 ordinance of the staple against forestalling and was therefore liable to penalties and forfeitures.[155] The burgesses of Drogheda in Louth made petition to the king to be exempted from that ordinance, otherwise ships would have started going to other ports and many merchants proposed to leave the town. They remarked how the last eventuality would have left the town "situated by the march of the king's enemies" exposed to attack and incapable of defending the king's lands in Ireland. The king therefore granted Drogheda for twelve years the right to buy wine, iron, salt and other goods in ships at the said places, bring them to Drogheda and sell them to whomever they would, in spite of the ordinance of the staple.[156] It has to be remarked that Drogheda's successful request imitated the one made by Dublin about four months before, June-July 1358. Dublin's merchants also complained to the king that the shallow nature of their harbour precluded large ships from docking and unloading their cargo. As a result they had to sell goods on shipboards at Dalkey.[157] As a counterbalance, on May of the same year another ban on the export of goods without special licence by the king, was imposed on the Anglo-Irish ports.[158]

The fourth exemption from the statute of the staple came in 1364. It resulted from complaints made by Drogheda[159], Dublin[160] and Waterford[161] about the ordinance which

---

[154] O'Neill, *Merchants and mariners*, p. 85; N. Brady, 'Dublin's maritime settings and the archaeology of its medieval harbours', in J. Bradley, A. J. Fletcher and A. Simms (eds.), *Dublin in the medieval world. Studies in honour of H. B. Clarke* (Dublin, 2009), p. 296.

[155] *Statute of the Realm*, I, pp. 332-43.

[156] *CPR*, 1358-61, p. 114.

[157] *Cal. ancient rec.*, I, pp 19-20. The terms of the documents are greatly similar. Dublin complained that large ships were choosing other ports causing the loss to the city and to the king himself. Moreover, they pointed out that their impoverishment would have precluded the city's capacity to defend the borders against the Irish enemies.

[158] *Rot. Pat. Hib.*, 95, p. 71.

[159] *Na Buirgéisí*, I, pp 195-200; see Chap. 7.1.3, pp 257-59 and Appendix 35.

forced them to conduct all their foreign trade through the staple of Calais. That restriction affected them negatively in two ways: first because clothes made of wool, hide and all the other small typical Irish goods were sold for hardly any market value at Calais. In the second place because they could not buy at Calais suitable imports of wine, iron and salt and they were obliged to look elsewhere for these merchandises thus paying double freights for their imports. As a result of their pleas, permission was given them to trade with Gascony, just as they used to do before the dispositions of the staple.[162] It is a relevant fact that in 1364 Drogheda in Louth was granted the privileges of Dublin.[163]

By 1373, as a result of an existing scarcity, the sheriff of Louth and the authorities of Drogheda were ordered to prevent the exportation and sale of grain to any foreign country.[164] The following year, a general ban on the exportation was imposed on both Droghedas.[165] According to this provision, in 1375 John Keppock was ordered to inquire into the irregularities of the grain trade in Louth, Meath and the vill of Drogheda.[166]

In 1375 Dublin, Waterford, Drogheda, Cork and Limerick were confirmed the staple of wool, hide, furs and lead. provision was made for the election of mayors and constables of the staple and for the creation of courts of Law Merchant in the staple towns to determine the mercantile transactions and engagements that grew out of trade. Nicholas FitzHugh, a merchant faithful to the king, was appointed first mayor of the staple for both Droghedas. He was responsible for all pleas and lawsuits held in Drogheda concerning the staple and he had to keep the seal assigned to that office. Walter of Lenford and John White, merchants, were appointed as constables of the same staple.[167] A new staple was established at Galway, but in 1377 the cocket seal was removed and Galway merchants were obliged once more to travel to Cork for customs clearance.[168]

---

[160] *Na Buirgéisí*, I, pp 97-98.
[161] Ibidem, I, pp 260-62; *CChR*, 1341-1417, p. 184.
[162] Ibidem, I, pp 199-200; *CCR,* 1364-68, p. 8.
[163] Ibidem, I, pp 199-200; see Chap. 7.1.3, pp 257-59 and Appendix 35.
[164] D'Alton, *History of Drogheda*, II, p. 95.
[165] *Rot. Pat. Hib.*, 112, 118, p. 89b.
[166] Ibidem, 209, p. 96.
[167] *Ch. priv. et imm.*, p. 69; see Appendix 38. See also Fig. 26, p. 279.
[168] '*Rotulus Clausus 48 Edward III*', p. 100. It seems that other staple were established in Ireland by royal officers, but declared illegal in 1380. In that year the staple towns of Dublin, Waterford, Cork and Drogheda complained to the king that some of his ministers had appointed staples in other places, different from the one indicated in the ordinance of the Staple and that it had caused their impoverishment. The king ordered the statute to be observed; see *CCR*, 1377-81, p. 311. See also J. Hardiman, *The history of*

FIG. 26 MAYORS AND CONSTABLES OF THE STAPLE OF DROGHEDA

DATE	MAYORS	CONSTABLES	SOURCE
1375	Nicholas FitzHugh	Walter of Lenford, John White	*Ch. priv. et imm.*, p. 69
1386	John Asshewell	James Rossell, Richard Boyde	*Rot. Pat. Hib.*, 167, p. 135
1388	John Asshewell	Stephen Marchall	*Rot. Pat. Hib.*, 196, p. 141
1389	John Deyer	James Rossell	*Rot. Pat. Hib.*, 184, p. 146
1392	John Deyer	James Rossell, Stephen Marchall	*Rot. Pat. Hib.*, 98, p. 149
1402	William Rath	William Malton, Robert Bragane	*Rot. Pat. Hib.*, 60, p. 161b
1402-03	John Gosner	Thomas Thomesoum, William Maltoun	*Rot. Pat. Hib.*, 43, p. 173b Ibidem, 55, p. 177b
1405	John White junior	Thomas Thomesson, William Maltoun	*Rot. Pat. Hib.*, 31, p. 181b
1408	John Maltoun	William Maltoun, William Aungier	*Rot. Pat. Hib.*, 124, p. 192
1419		John Scott	*Rot. Pat. Hib.*, 79, p. 196b
1414	John White	Richard Grenane, William Daby	*Rot. Pat. Hib.*, 67, p. 205

the town and county of Galway from the earliest period to the present time (Dublin 1820; repr. Galway, 1958), pp 58-9.

3. The king's debts and the town farm

Ireland was a source of profit to the king until the Bruce invasion. After 1315 and throughout all of Edward III's reign the Irish revenues suffered a sharp decline. From 1361 onward the colony became a burden to the English Exchequer.[169]

The financial embarrassment derived from the expensive foreign policy of the "three Edwards" manifested itself with the adoption of different strategies aimed at boosting the treasury. Evidence from Drogheda shows that, besides the before mentioned taxation, loans, imposition of Small and Great Customs and purveyances,[170] a new expedient was introduced during Edward III's reign: tallies on the towns' farm and customs.[171] The farm of the Drogheda and the other Irish towns had always been a secure contribution for the king's revenue, even when it was paid in arrears. The assignment to various people of various sources of the town's revenues marks the departure from that consuetudinary practice.[172]

Other times, Drogheda was granted a total or partial remission of the farm in aid of repairing the walls and the bridge.[173] The latter practice was designed to bolster the fortunes of the towns, which were the bastions of the king in Ireland.

In 1327 the customs of the ports of Drogheda and Dublin were used to pay part of the debts the crown had incurred with some men in Aquitaine, for whom Peter de Bezas was proctor. The debts derived from arrears of wages due to them from the time of Edward

---

[169] H. G. Richardson and G. O. Sayles, 'Irish Revenue, 1278-1384', in *Proc. RIA*, (c) 62 (1962), pp 87-100. Robin Frame has pointed out to the decline of the Irish revenue between 1331 and 1340; see Frame, *English lordship*, pp. 240-42.

[170] See above, Fig. 17, pp 207-11; Fig. 20, pp 218-22; Fig. 23, pp 243-45; Fig 24, pp 246-47 and Fig. 28, pp 290-92.

[171] The system used at the Exchequer for payments was the tally, a tally stick marked with notches or cuts, which indicated payments made; the stick was then cut in half lengthwise by the 'talliator' at the Exchequer so each party to the transaction had a copy of the exchange, in effect a receipt. This system was used for both internal and external transactions of the Exchequer. With regard to payments made by anticipating revenues, the creditor could present his tally to the mayor of the towns and then cash his money from their farms or customs; see Coredon and Williams, *Dictionary of medieval terms*, p. 270.

[172] It has to be said that being assigned tallies for customs was not as convenient as being assigned tallies for the farm: the amount of customs was never secure, while the farm was a fixed revenue. For a general framing of the impact of the revenue system on the Irish royal town; see A. F. O'Brien, 'The royal boroughs, the seaport towns and royal revenues in medieval Ireland', *RSAIJ*, 118 (1988), pp 13-26.

[173] Both Droghedas were remitted the farm during and after the Bruce invasion in 1316, 1319 and 1322; see above, Chap. 6.2, pp 226-28. Remission of farm is recorded for the years 1331, 1334 and 1362; see above Chap.7.2.3, pp 269-73.

I.[174] In 1335 a portion of the small customs of both Droghedas was allowed to *Johannes de Insulis*, probably John Mac Donald[175], for his good service in respect of the custom of 4 lasts of hides, 6 tuns of wine and merchandises to the value of £20 6*s* bought for the use of said John at Drogheda.[176] In 1336 the king ordered £20 to be given to Thomas Cros, the king's clerk, from the customs of the ports of Drogheda or Dublin or from their farms.[177] This evidence corroborates the already stated impression that, on a financial ground, Dublin and Drogheda were perceived as equal by the crown.[178] On the other side, the institutional difference between the borough in Meath and in Louth was still marked.[179]

The first evidence for Drogheda's farm being regularly tallied is in 1337. Simon FitzRichard[180] was granted £20 yearly out of the farm of Drogheda in Louth until he received in fee the equivalent of land or rent in Ireland. Concurrently, he was assigned a sum of £100 at the Exchequer of Dublin as a gift. This grant was made as a reward for having captured Henry de Maundeville, who rebelled against William de Burgh, brown earl of Ulster and justiciar of Ireland.[181] The grant to FitzRichard corresponded to half of the annual farm of the borough on the Louth side.[182]

In 1344-45 Simon's grant was forfeited. The £20 from the farm of Drogheda in Louth was taken into the king's hand and re-granted to Nicholas Gernoun for his good service.[183] That sum, which was previously to be taken from the farm of Drogheda in

---

[174] *CPR,* 1327-30, pp 14, 65.

[175] W. D. H. Sellar, 'Hebridean Sea Kings: the Successors of Somerled, 1164-1316', in E. J. Cowan and R. A. MacDonald (eds.), *Alba: Celtic Scotland in the Medieval Era* (Edinburgh, 2000; repr. 2005), p. 194.

[176] Pipe Roll, ix-Edw. III (1335-6), *Rep. DKPRI* 44, pp 60-1.

[177] *CCR,* 1333-37, p. 596.

[178] At the Kilkenny parliament of 1371 Dublin and Drogheda were imposed a subsidy of 100 marks each; see below, Fig. 28, p. 291.

[179] In 1364 Drogheda in Louth was granted the same privileges as Dublin, whereas Drogheda in Meath was to be ruled under the privileges of the 1331 charter; see above, Chap. 7.1, pp 248-60

[180] Simon FitzRichard was one of the king's pleaders, justiciar of common bench, justice of justiciar's bench and then deputy escheator between the thirties and forties of the fourteenth-century; see Richardson and Sayles, *Administration of Ireland*, p. 288.

[181] *CPR,* 1334-38, p. 408 (22 March 1337). A mandate ordering the payment to Simon FitzRichard was sent to the mayor of Drogheda on 12 March 1338; see *CCR*, 1337-9, p. 363. The circumstances of the murder of William de Burgh are fully described in Orpen, *Normans*, IV, pp 239-49.

[182] Pipe Roll, xiii-xv Edw. III (1339-40), *Rep. DKPRI* 47, p. 34. In 1339-40 £50 from Drogheda's farm were allowed to FitzRichard as arrears of 2 ½ years in respect of the sum granted him by the king; the entry states that the grant was temporary, until the king would have provided for said Simon twenty librates of land and rent yearly in Ireland. Then, in 1342, he was given £30 out of the same farm; see Pipe Roll, xv Edw. III (1341-2), *Rep.* DKPRI 47, p. 60.

[183] Pipe Roll, xviii Edw. III (1344-45), *Rep. DKPRI* 54, p. 39.

Louth, was from 1345 onwards to be paid in equal proportions by the two boroughs of Drogheda, namely £10 each.[184] The Gernoun family had often officiated in the administration of County Louth[185] and many from that kin represented Drogheda at parliament during the time of William Windsor.[186]

On 8 October 1340, Thomas bishop of Hereford, justiciar of Ireland, was assigned various sums out of the farms and customs of Dublin, Waterford and Drogheda in payment of a debt the king owed to him. He was granted £60 out of the farm of Drogheda and £60 out of the customs there.[187] That ordinance was never executed and it was revoked in January 1341.[188]

On 26 September 1340, Raymund de Burgh was yearly granted £46 13*s* 4*d* from the farm of Drogheda. The grant was given during life, or until lands and tenements of the same value would have been provided for him by the king in Meath or Uriel.[189] That sum was to be yearly taken from the farm of both Droghedas, by equal portions. The grant was made as compensation for the expenses which Raymund had sustained in the king's service in Ireland, Scotland and in parts beyond the sea.[190] The grantee, probably Reymund *an Mhuine* de Burgh, was one of the three sons of William *Liath* de Burgh, lord of lower Connacht and Mayo. During the 1330s, Reymund and his brother Edmund Albanach got involved in the struggle against Edmund, son of Richard the Red Earl for the control of Connacht. In the year 1340, the two brothers were pardoned for the murders and the

---

[184] Pipe Roll, xxii Edw. III (1348-9), *Rep. DKPRI* 54, p. 63.

[185] Roger Gernon was sheriff of Co. Uriel and had custody of Drogheda castle; see Lydon, 'County Uriel account', p. 199. Richard Gernoun, sheriff of Louth, was killed in 1311 during the 'Riot of Louth'; see Smith, 'Murder of Richard Gernon', pp 7-15; see Chap.6.1, pp 223-25. John Gernoun was sheriff of Louth in the years 1331-32; see Pipe Roll, iv Edw. III (1331-2), *Rep. DKPRI* 43, pp 52-3. He had been the king's pleader during the years 1327-30; see Richardson and Sayles, *Administration of Ireland*, pp 42, 176-77. Adam Gernoun is referred as a burgess of Drogheda in Louth in 1352; *Affairs Ireland*, p. 286; *CPR,* 1350-54, p. 235. Adam was one of the representatives for County Louth at the 1360 Dublin Parliament; see Lynch, *Legal institutions*, pp 315-17. Roger Gernoun was elected as representative for Louth at the 1370 Dublin Parliament; see *CCR*, 1369-74, p. 257; at the parliaments in 1374 and 1375; see Otway-Ruthven, *Med. Ire.*, pp 131-2. Roger Gernon represented county Louth in 1388 in occasion of Archbishop John Colton's trip to Westminster to made representation on behalf of the Anglo-Irish colonists and discuss with the king the state of Ireland; see *Rot. Pat. Hib.*, 187-89, p. 141. Stephen Gernon was an officer depending on the diocese of Armagh; he was interpreter and notary at the oath of submission of Shane MacMahon' and Maurice Magennis' at Drogheda in 1395; see below, Chap.8.3, p. 308.

[186] Parliamentary representation is summarized in the table below; see below, Fig. 28, pp 290-92.

[187] *CPR,* 1340-43, p. 40.

[188] *CCR,* 1339-41, p. 601.

[189] *CPR,* 1340-43, p. 49.

[190] Pipe Roll, xv Edw. III (1341-2), *Rep. DKPRI* 47, pp 60-1.

offence committed.[191] In the same year Reymund was preparing a force of men at arms and holders to go to France for the war there: the Irish treasurer was ordered to provide shipping and pay for the voyage.[192] In October 1340 the treasurer was ordered to pay £89, for divers horses supplied by Reymund for the king's service.[193] The grant from Drogheda's farm probably resulted from Reymund's involvement in those circumstances. Reymund's grant elapsed in 1345 and was re-granted to Nicholas Gernoun.[194] Nicholas Gernoun, was at that time one of the attorneys of Maud, countess of Ulster and widow of William de Burgh.[195] In 1344 Maud had married Ralph d'Ufford, justiciar of Ireland.[196] She was in Ireland from 1344 until 1346 when she went back to England following the death of her husband. The appointment of Gernoun as her attorney was perhaps due to her departure from Ireland. As a result, in the year 1345, Gernoun became beneficiary of two incomes from Drogheda: £10 yearly from the farms of each borough[197] and £46 13*s* 4*d* originally granted to Reymund de Burgh. Even though these grants were at some stage forfeited, because Nicholas was absentee,[198] they were confirmed to him by King Richard II in 1377.[199] We know that Nicholas was still entitled to them in 1381, when he was "verging on old age".[200]

Finally, in their 1344-45 accounts, Drogheda in Meath and in Louth were allowed £6 8*d*. each from their farm, since they gave those sums to John son of John Morice in part payment of £10 granted by the king to him for some business in Ireland.[201]

Two considerations have to be made in respect of this evidence; one is general and one in particular. In the first place, it has to be said that the use of the town's farm as a form

---

[191] *CPR,* 1338-40, p. 440. In the year 1338 they killed Edmund Burke, son of the Red Earl; see Otway-Ruthven, *Med. Ire.*, p. 255.

[192] *CCR,* 1339-41, p. 397.

[193] Ibidem, p. 547.

[194] *CPR,* 1343-45, p. 546. The Pipe Roll for the year 1348 records the payment made to Nicholas Gernoun; see Pipe Roll, xxii Edw. III (1348-9), *Rep. DKPRI* 54, p. 63.

[195] *CPR,* 1345-48, pp 372, 401.

[196] Cosgrove, 'Principal officers', p. 473.

[197] Pipe Roll, xviii Edw. III (1344-45), *Rep. DKPRI* 54, p. 39.

[198] The forfeiture of Gernon's grant is dated 1369 and was caused by the fact that Gernon did not comply with the king's disposition that "anyone holding lands in Ireland, should be in that land or send people there before Easter 1369"; see *NLI*, Ms. 3, ff. 124-25 (thanking P. Crooks who has made available this reference); see also '*Rotulus Clausus 48 Edw. III*', pp 112-13; *CPR,* 1377-81, pp 237, 603; *CCR,* 1377-81, pp 8-9.

[199] *CCR,* 1377-81, pp 8-9; see below, Chap. 8.5, pp 314-17.

[200] *CPR,* 1381-85, p. 161.

[201] Pipe Roll, xviii Edw. III (1344-45), *Rep. DKPRI* 54, pp 38-9.

of payment for the royal debts was a short-sighted solution which did not solve the crown's financial problems. Such a practice seems to be symptomatic of the shrinking of the lordship of Ireland. Grants of land were the most frequently used means of rewarding the colonists during the time of the Anglo-Norman conquest and settlement. During the second half of the fourteenth century on the contrary, the land of peace was in a phase of contraction and the available tenements were fewer and fewer. If the crown had access to new lands we can be sure that she would not have deprived itself of the revenue derived from the Irish towns' farm.

The second considertion is that, during Edward III's reign, the two Droghedas were not regularly paying their farm. At that time the farm of the two Drogheda was still the same as that fixed by Henry III more than a century before - 60 marks for Drogheda in Louth (1229)[202] and 40 marks for Drogheda in Meath (1247).[203] The entries in the Pipe Rolls recorded by the Deputy Keeper - even though they stop at the year 1348-9 - show a clear tendency to default or arrears in the payments of the rent. Both boroughs accounted for arrears of their farm in 1330-33[204], in 1339-42,[205] in 1344-45[206] and in 1348-49.[207] In 1373 Drogheda in Meath was fined 40s. for not accounting at the Exchequer; the fine was then resumed due to the great expenses the burgesses occurred in repairing the bridge.[208]

A study carried out by O'Brien, on Cork's accounts for its fee farm, has demonstrated that royal revenue from this source declined sharply from the middle of the fourteenth century onward.[209]

---

[202] *Na Buirgéisí*, I, pp 185-188; see above, Chap. 4.1.1, pp 110-114 and Appendix 6.

[203] *Na Buirgéisí,* I, pp 174-78; see above, Chap. 4.1.5, pp 122-24 and Appendix 7.

[204] In 1330-31 Drogheda in Louth paid arrears for 1 ½ year rent; see Pipe Roll, iv Edw. III (1330-1), *Rep. DKPRI* 43, pp 38-9. In 1332-33, Drogheda in Meath paid a moiety of rent for the preceding year; see Pipe Roll, vi Edw. III (1332-3), *Rep. DKPRI* 43, p. 58.

[205] In 1339-40, Drogheda in Louth paid arrears for two years farm and Drogheda in Meath paid arrears for the preceding year; see Pipe Roll, xiii-xv Edw. III (1339-40), *Rep. DKPRI* 47, p. 34. In 1341-42, Drogheda in Louth paid arrears for 1 ½ year rent and Drogheda in Meath for two years; see Pipe Roll, xv Edw. III (1341-2), *Rep. DKPRI* 47, p. 60.

[206] In 1344-45 Drogheda in Louth paid arrears for 1 ½ years rent and Drogheda in Meath for two years; see Pipe Roll, xviii Edw. III (1344-45), *Rep. DKPRI* 54, p. 38.

[207] Arrears are accounted also in the accounts of both boroughs for the year 1348-49; see Pipe Roll, xxii Edw. III (1348-9), *Rep. DKPRI* 54, p. 63.

[208] *Rot. Pat. Hib.*, 45, p. 86b.

[209] A. F. O'Brien, 'Irish Exchequer records of payments of the fee farm of the city of Cork in the later middle ages', in *Anal. Hib.*, 37 (1998), pp 139-190. O'Brien does not consider the issue of tallies on the town farm of Cork. Perhaps Cork did not experience such a practice (?)

4. Drogheda and William Windsor

William Windsor was the king's lieutenant in Ireland between 1369 and 1372.[210] His appointment in Ireland was the continuation of a policy of large-scale military intervention funded by the English exchequer since 1361, when Lionel of Antwerp was appointed lieutenant.[211] The heavy request for subsidies made by Windsor to the reluctant Irish towns during six parliaments and two Great Councils, in less than five years, provoked discontent.[212] The source material concerning Windsor's appointment returns the names of various burgesses of Drogheda elected to represent the town at those parliaments.[213]

Drogheda was among the towns which had emerged by the 1370s as being of parliamentary status, together with Dublin, Cork, Galway, Kilkenny, Limerick, New Ross, Waterford, Wexford, Athenry and Youghal.[214] The first record of Drogheda being summoned at a parliament dates to 1360. In that year a famous Parliament was held in Kilkenny.[215] The record states that the mayor and seneschal of Drogheda did not comply with the king's instructions and were therefore ordered to appear before the Archbishop of Dublin, together with four of the most discreet burgesses of that town; otherwise they would have been fined £40.[216] It is a relevant fact that, since the first recorded summoning, the two Droghedas always appears at parliaments as a whole.[217]

---

[210] Cosgrove, 'Principal officers', p. 474. For an overall depiction of Windsor's career in Ireland; see Curtis, *History of Ireland*, pp 248-52.

[211] P. Crooks, 'Negotiating authority in a colonial capital: Dublin and the Windsor crisis, 1369-78', in S. Duffy (ed.), *Medieval Dublin*, IX (Dublin 2009), pp 134-35.

[212] Richardson and Sayles, *Irish parliament*, pp. 341-42; eidem, *Parliaments and councils*, pp. 26-50; Curtis, *History of Ireland*, p. 252.

[213] See below, Fig. 28, pp 290-92.

[214] Watt, 'Anglo-Irish colony', p. 368.

[215] Richardson and Sayles, *Irish parliament*, p. 340.

[216] A complete transcription of the writ of the 1360 Parliamentary summon can be found in Lynch, *Legal institutions,* pp. 315-17.

[217] It is likely that Drogheda attended parliaments since perhaps a century earlier. According to Lynch, shires, towns and boroughs were for the first time summoned to a parliament in 1281; see Lynch, *Legal institutions*, pp. 49, 306. Richardson and Sayles suggested the year 1292; see Richardson and Sayles, *Parliaments and councils,* p. 193; Lydon instead put forward the year 1300; see Lydon, 'Parliaments and communities', p. 133. In the year 1300, the privilege of legislative representation was extended to eight other Irish cities and towns: Dublin, Cork, Limerick, Waterford, Kilkenny, Ross, Clonmel and Wexford; see *Rot. Pat. Hib.*, I, 33 Edw. III, p. 77; D'Alton, *History of Drogheda*, I, p. 162. It has to be reminded that Drogheda accounted for grants of New Custums and Fifteenth to the crown respectively since 1275 and 1292; see Fig. 17, pp 207-11; Fig. 20, pp 218-22.

The entanglement of Drogheda and Windsor started in 1368. The king's mandate ordered that all of the ships of 20 tuns burden and upwards to 200 tuns which were to be found in the ports of Dublin, Drogheda and Waterford were to be arrested and sent to Liverpool to serve the passage of the king's lieutenant to Ireland. At the same time it was commanded that no commodities had to leave Ireland.[218]

Windsor's taxation on a national scale, local levies and the burden of purveyances resulted in the 1371 complaints of the Anglo-Irish communities to the king's council.[219] The transcript of the inquisitions against Windsor shows that Drogheda and Dublin were aligned against the lieutenant and his government.[220] As a matter of fact, they took place at Drogheda and Dublin between May and June 1373 and were held by Robert Ashton. The records of these inquisitions refer to the fact that both the mayors of Dublin, Walter Passavaunt, and Drogheda, John Frombold, were arrested by Windsor during the parliament of 1371 because found recalcitrant to pay the subsidies imposed.[221]

Windsor was dismissed in 1272. In that year the king ordered the mayor, bailiffs and seneschal of Drogheda on both sides of the river to arrest all soldiers and archers from the lieutenant's retinue, who went to the shore there trying to cross over to foreign parts without royal licence. All persons, except mariners and merchants were prohibited from embarking.[222] That disposition suggests that the soldiers were unwilling to remain, since their wages were probably much in arrears. The ex-lieutenant's army was breaking up.

Which were Drogheda's cries made against the lieutenant? In the year 1369, Windsor held a council at Dublin. Lynch reported that a tax of £20 each was imposed on the town of Drogheda on both sides. They later complained that £5 were taken from them *per extorsionem*

---

[218] *CCR* (1364-68), p. 453.

[219] S. Harbison, 'William Windsor, the court party and the administration of Ireland', in J. Lydon (ed.), *England and Ireland*, pp 153-74. Harbison analyzed the background of the allegations against William Windsor's lieutenancy in Ireland, adjusting some of the outcomes of a previous study carried out by Clarke; see Clarke, 'William Windsor in Ireland, 1369-76', *RIA Proc.*, XLI, C (1932-34), pp 55-130. The subject, as analyzed by Peter Crooks, reveals that not only the commons but also the magnates of Ireland, in particular Ormond, were fiscal recusant; see Crooks, Factionalism and noble power in English Ireland, c. 1361-1423 Ph.D./TCD (2007), pp 105-25.

[220] The interactions between the lieutenant and the municipal elite of Dublin are addressed by Crooks, 'Negotiating authority, pp 130-51: Dublin was among the first communities crossing the sea denouncing Windsor to the king.

[221] *CCR,* 1369-74, p. 265; details of the incident are given below.

[222] *Rot. Pat. Hib.*, p. 84, no. 139. The same disposition was renewed in 1374; see *Rot. Pat. Hib.*, p. 88, no. 96, p. 89, no 112, 118.

by the lieutenant.[223] Concurrently, all Irish ports were forced to pay the New Customs on exported goods.[224] Roger Leonys and John White were collectors of these customs in Drogheda on the Louth side from 8 August 1369 until 2 February 1371. In the year 1373, the burgesses of Drogheda on both sides complained that, because of the new customs, foreign merchants had altogether given up trading in their port.[225]

John Fulpot and Walter Milys were "*electi milites pro communitate ville de Drogheda ex utraque partes*" to attend the Dublin Parliament of 15 April 1370.[226] The subsidy there asked by Windsor to the town was refused, because of the heavy burden of the new customs. Windsor then summoned by royal writ the mayor, seneschals and bailiffs of both Droghedas and twelve of their burgesses, refusing to let them leave Dublin before payment of 40 marks. They were regarded as personally responsible for the town.[227] They therefore complained that, that same sum, was paid twice by them. Another protest was rised against the fact that, during the same year, Windsor had forced some citizens of Dublin and some burgesses of Drogheda - Richard Mole, Thomas Asshe, Henry Gernoun and Roger Heyn - to go to the defence of Limerick, under pain of arrest. Then they were forced to stay in Dublin till they had paid heavily for permission to leave the town.[228]

The Parliament held at Kilkenny in 1371 was attended by John Frombold, mayor of Drogheda in Louth, together with some burgesses - i.e. Robert Dover, Nicholas FitzHugh, Thomas Skinner[229], Robert Forster, Adam Maule and Adam FitzSimond.[230] The subsidy

---

[223] Lynch, *Legal institutions*, p. 61.

[224] The list of the customs imposed on exportable goods is given in *CCR*, 1369- 74, p. 257.

[225] Clarke, 'William Windsor', p. 115-19.

[226] Eadem, p. 117. In the year 1381, John Fulpot was granted pardon for all seditions; see *Rot. Pat. Hib.*, 25, p. 110.

[227] The right to sue and be sued by specific name of the corporation in a court of law was a privilege only obtained by Drogheda in 1412; see below Chap. 9.4, pp 330-32.

[228] Clarke, 'William Windsor', p. 118.

[229] In 1382 Thomas Skinn of Drogheda, going to England, appointed Thomas Chepman and Richard White his attorneys in Ireland,; see *Rot. Pat. Hib.*, 121,p. 112b. On 28 November 1392, the Justiciar of Ireland, James le Botiller ordered the mayor and bailiffs of Drogheda to arrest Thomas Skinner and Ralph Whith and bring them at court to Trim, under penalty of forfeiture of 40 pounds to be taken from the town's goods; see *A Roll of the Proceedings of the king's council in Ireland, for a portion of the sixteenth year of the reign of Richard II, A.D. 1392-93*, ed. J. Graves (London, 1877), p. 48. According to Archbishop Fleming's register the death of Thomas Skinner occurred sometime before the year 1410. The deed states that he had given a sum of money for purchasing ornaments for the high altar of St. Peter's in Drogheda and that the money was placed in charge the mayor and commonality and that they converted part of it to their own use. The archbishop, in accordance with a special custom of the Church of Armagh, commands St. Peter's chaplain to warn said mayor to restore the sum within eight days; and, if the warning was ineffectual, to cease from public celebration of divine service and the ringing of the bells till he received further orders from him;

imposed by Windsor on Dublin and Drogheda was a levy of 100 marks each.[231] The refusal to such request caused the mayor of Drogheda, Frombold, to be arrested. The king then ordered his release because he was unjustly detained for not having paid 100 marks, a sum extorted by coercion.[232] As a result of the pleas of the men of Drogheda, the king ordered the suspension of that subsidy.[233]

The 1372 Great Council at Dublin was attended by six burgesses of Drogheda - i.e. William Roche, Nicholas Fitzhugh, William Symcok, Thomas Ashe, Richard Mile and John Ashwell.[234] Windsor was dismissed during that same year.[235]

The list of grievances against Windsor throws light on the relationship towards the community of Drogheda and the central government as well as with the crown during the end of the fourteenth century. It has to be noted that Windsor imposed an extraordinary taxation on the Irish towns. That was what determined such a hostile reaction. It is also worth noticing that in the occurrence of that conflict, the king always leaned on the towns, revoking the decisions of his lieutenant in Ireland and finally dismissing him.[236]

This document returns the names of some of the town officers as well as of many of its representatives at the parliaments. The latter, elected by the community, were probably the most powerful merchants in town. It also reports data on subsidies provided by the

---

see B. Smith (ed.) *The Register of Nicholas Fleming Archbishop of Armagh, 1404-1416* (Dublin, 2003), pp. 136-7.

[230] Clarke, 'William Windsor', p. 117. That Parliament established a subsidy of 3000 marks to be levied in Ireland; see *CCR* (1369-74), p. 257.

[231] Clarke, 'William Windsor', p. 117. The incident occurred at Kilkenny was recounted by the community of Drogheda by these terms: the lieutenant asked some of the burgesses - Robert Babe, Richard Mole, William Roth and John Frombold - either for a loan of 200 marks under penalty of full forfeiture, or a service of thirty men at arms for thirty days in the district of Adare. When they refused to submit to that disposition, Windsor summoned them to Kilkenny forbidding them to leave that place without special licence. At the end the mayor, Frombold, was forced to pay 100 marks on behalf of Drogheda on both sides of the Boyne. John Frombold, mayor of Drogheda in Louth, paid 50 marks to the Exchequer at Carlow, but was arrested.

[232] *CCR,* 1369-74, pp 265-66.

[233] *CCR,* 1369-74, p. 246

[234] *Rot. Pat. Hib.*, 117, p. 84; Lynch, *Legal institutions*, p. 321; D'Alton, *History of Drogheda*, I, pp 243-44. In relation to John Ashwell; see *Rot. Pat. Hib.*, 14, p. 110; 27, p. 123b; 167, p. 135; 196, p. 141;

[235] The replies of the treasurer of Ireland on behalf of William Windsor to the charges made against him before the king's council are reported in *Affairs Ireland*, p. 230

[236] Windsor came back to Ireland in 1374 with the less prestigious title of guardian and keeper of that land; he was then recalled to England in 1376 and the investigations on his administration converged in the Good Parliament of 1376, with the English movement of resistance to the inner circle of household officials and financiers who were dominant at court; see Clarke, 'William Windsor', p. 57.

town. These aids are merged in the table below with many other data showing Drogheda's involvement with the king's war in Scotland, Wales and Ireland.



FIG. 27: William Winsdor, Lieutenant of Ireland (1369-72), as portraited in the Great Charter Roll of Waterford, after *The royal charters of Waterford* (Waterford, 1992), p. 9.

FIG. 28 PROVISIONS AND PARLAMENTARY REPRESENTATION AT DROGHEDA IN THE 14TH CENTURY

YEAR	BOROUGH/ REPRESENTATIVES	PRODUCT/ SERVICE	SUM	DESTINATION/ PURPOSE	SOURCE
1335	Drogheda	subsidy and shipping		expedition to Scotland to help in imposing Edward Balliol as king upon the Scots.	Clyn, *Annals*, pp 26, 216, 217.
1337	Drogheda	victuals	£40	Dumbarton castle, Scotland, for the release of Robert de Stoke, prisoner there	*Rot. Pat. Hib.*, 17, p. 42.
1352	Simon Keppok, Nicholas Caume, Adam Gernon, William Mole, Adam Drak, William Roche and Richard Mole, burgesses of Drogheda	wheat and other corn		England	*CPR,* 1350-1354, p. 235.
1355-57	Robert Bebe and William Taloun, collectors at Drogheda	6 weys of grain		England, in aid of Roger of Gloucester	*Rot. Pat. Hib*, 128, p. 61.
1360, Dublin Parliament	the mayor and the seneschal of Drogheda	asked for a subsidy, they did not comply and were fined	£40 fine	to oppose the insurrection of Art Cavanagh	Lynch, *Legal institutions,* pp 315-17.
1368	Drogheda	ships arrested at the port of Drogheda		sent to Liverpool to serve the passage of William de Windsor in Ireland	*CCR,* 1364-68, p. 453.
1369, Dublin Parliament	Drogheda in Louth and in Meath	tax	£20 each		Lynch, *Legal institutions*, p. 61.
1369 1370 1371	Robert Dover, Thomas Asshe, merchants of Drogheda John Frombold, Henry Rath, Henry Asshewell and Robert Sextoun, merchants of Drogheda John Stamen and John	1 ship loaded with hides 1 ship loaded with salt		seized by Windsor seized by Windsor	Clarke,'William Windsor,' p. 118.

	White, merchants of Drogheda in Meath	2 ships loaded with salt		seized by Windsor	
1370, Dublin Parliament	John Fulpot and Walter Milys, representatives for both Drogheda Richard Mole, Thomas Asshe, Henry Gernon and Roger Heyn, burgesses of Drogheda	subsidy	80 marks	forced to go to the defence of Limerick	Clarke, 'William Windsor', pp 117-118.
1371, Kilkenny Parliament	John Frombols, (mayor), Robert Dover, Nicholas FitzHugh, Thomas Skinner, Robert Forster, Adam Maule, Adam FitzSimon, representatives for Drogheda	subsidy	100 marks		Clarke,'William Windsor', p. 117.
1371, Ballydoyle Parliament	Adam FitzSimond, representative for Drogheda	subsidy	240 marks		Clarke,'William Windsor', p. 119.
1372, Dublin Parliament	William Roche, Nicholas Fitzhugh, William Symcok, Thomas Ashe, Richard Mile and John Ashwell, representatives for Drogheda				*Rot. Pat. Hib.*, 117, p. 84; Lynch, *Legal institutions*, p. 321.
1374, Dublin Parliament	William White and Nicholas Starkey, representatives for both Droghedas				Clarke, 'William Windsor', pp 123-30.
1374	Drogheda	victuals and shipping		Wales, Prince Edward	*Rot. Pat. Hib,* 207, 221, pp 96, 96b.
1374	John Gerre	1 ship		seized because it did not go to England	*Rot. Pat. Hib.*, 14, p. 85b.
1375,	William Simcock and	subsidy	20s.	in aid of the	*Rot. Pat. Hib.*, 200,

Dublin Parliament	John Ashwell representatives of Drogheda		each	justiciar's government	p. 95.

CHAPTER 8

RICHARD II AND DROGHEDA

1. Charters of murage (1380; 1385-97), pardon (1386) and confirmation (1392; 1394)

The beginning of Richard II's reign was not marked by the political earthquake which generally used to shake both London's Court of Westminster and Dublin's government in a transition between reigns.[1] Drogheda's documentation validates this pattern. The town did not ask for charters confirming its rights until the fifteenth and seventeenth years of Richard's reign (1392; 1394), namely at the eve of the king's expedition to Ireland.

What seems to be more relevant than Richard's ascension to the throne is instead the appointment of Edmund Mortimer (d. 1381) - third earl of March, lord of Trim, earl of Ulster and lord of Connacht in right of his wife Philippa, the only child of Lionel duke of Clarence and Elisabeth de Burgo - as lieutenant of Ireland in 1379.[2] After having secured his lordship of Ulster,[3] Mortimer turned to Meath and recovered the lordship there. Drogheda's documentary evidence contains two instruments under the great seal of Ireland which strictly relate to this event. The first, a confirmation of the town murage on 20 July 1380;[4] the second the restitution to Edmund of the rent for the castle of Blathagh in Drogheda on the Meath side on 2 July 1381. The castle had been in the king's hand since

---

[1] See above, Chap.7.1, pp 248-59.

[2] *CPR,* 1377-81, p. 383. For a description of Edmund's career and of his lordship; see R.R. Davies, *Lords and lordship in the British Isles in the middle ages* (Oxford, 2009), pp 45-50.

[3] K. Simms, 'The Ulster revolt of 1404- An anti-Lancastrian dimension?', in Smith (ed.), *Ireland and the English world*, pp 144-46.

[4] *Ch. priv. et imm.*, p. 78; see Chap. 7.2.3, pp 269-74 and Appendix 37.

26 February 1360, when Edmund's father, Roger, died.[5] Edmund died after Christmas 1381, leaving a seven year old heir, Roger.[6]

On 20 July 1380 Drogheda was confirmed three murage charters previously granted by Edward III to both boroughs (1356-62; 1362-82; 1373-82).[7] The promptness of this confirmation, which came two years before the expiration term of the Edwardian murages and which only covered the two successive years[8] can be attributed to the lieutenancy of Edmund Mortimer, who witnessed the document itself.

Mortimer was appointed as lieutenant under very special conditions. He was to receive all revenues of Ireland, all profits and issues including taxes, tallages and subsidies granted by the clergy and the laity including all subsidies, without being accountable for them.[9] On a constitutional ground, Mortimer's appointment can be seen as a turning point in the concept of lieutenancy.[10] From 1379 onward the crown, so far as it could, contracted out of the burden of governing Ireland, as can be understood from the form of indenture entered into by Mortimer and two successive lieutenants, Philip Courtenay (1383) and the abortive Duke of Gloucester (1393).[11] The material implication of this departure is the scarcity of available records for the study of late fourteenth-century Ireland.[12] Data concerning taxation, fee farms, fines, trading issues and whatever used to pass through

---

[5] *Rot. Pat. Hib.*, 10, p. 116; see below, Chap.8.1.1, pp 297-99.

[6] Richardson and Sayles, *Parliaments and councils,* I, pp 115-16; Otway-Ruthven, *Med. Ire.*, pp 314-315. The politic relevance of Mortimer inheritance in the English policy of the 1380s and 1390s are discussed in A. Dunn, 'Richard II and the Mortimer inheritance', in C. Given-Wilson (ed.), *Fourteenth century England*, II (Woodbridge, 2002), pp 159-70.

[7] *Ch. priv. et imm.*, p. 78; see Appendix 37. The content of the charter was not modified: the range of goods and the amount of tolls exacted on their sale continued to be the Edwardian ones.

[8] On this regard A. Hughes stated that the granting of the customs duties was grounded on "the suffering of the people of Drogheda caused by the ravages of pestilence"; see Hughes, *History of Drogheda*, p. 162.

[9] *CPR,* 1377-81, p. 383. Lydon argued that "such financial independence was unprecedented and would be taken even further in 1385 when Robert de Vere was granted the lordship of Ireland in a manner which more or less made it an independent palatinate"; see Lydon, *Lordship of Ireland*, p. 162.

[10] For a definition and discussion on the title of king's liutenant, see H. Wood, 'The office of chief governor in Ireland, 1172-1509', *RIA Proc.*, XXXVI, sec. C (1922), pp 207-09.

[11] Richardson and Sayles, *Irish parliament*, pp 154-55; eidem, 'Irish revenue', pp 87-100. Crooks has recently addressed Richard II's "contentious experiment in devolution" and the pivotal position occupied by Ireland in the English policies of the late fourteenth century; see P. Crooks, 'The "calculus of faction" and Richard II's duchy of Ireland', in N. Saul (ed.), *Fourteenth century studies*, V (Woodbridge, 2008), pp 95-6. Did the process culminating in Robert de Vere's marquisate and dukedom (1285; 1286) start perhaps with Edmund de Mortimer's lieutenancy?

[12] D. Johnston, 'Chief governors and treasurers of Ireland in the reign of Richard II', in Barry, T.B., Frame, R., and Simms, M.K. (eds.), *Colony and frontier in medieval Ireland* (London, 1995), pp 97-99.

Dublin's central government ceased to be audited at Westminster and inexorably vanished with the fire in the Four Courts in 1922.

Drogheda's documentary evidence for the years following Edmund's lieutenancy reflects this state of affairs and is actually very scant. The town's records lack the sort of data which were instead copious for the regnal years of Edward III. The figures concerning the supplies granted by the town to the crown[13] and information concerning Drogheda attendance at parliaments during Richard II's reign are almost non-existent.[14]

The second murage granted to Drogheda dates 24 October 1385, three years after the elapsing of the previous grant, and was bestowed on the town for twelve years (1385-1397).[15] It has to be noted that whereas the Edwardian murages and Richard's 1280 confirmation referred to both Droghedas, the 1385 charter is addressed only to the mayor and bailiffs of Drogheda in Louth. However, according to an entry belonging to the reign of Henry IV, it appears that Richard II had granted murage also to Drogheda in Meath, on 10 October 1385, for twenty years.[16] The issuing of these murages could perhaps be associated with a real problem of defence: after his success in Ulster, in 1385 O'Neill was threatening Louth in alliance with MacMahon.[17]

---

[13] The only three exceptions are an entry for the years 1385-86 recording a force of ships assembled in Drogheda 'on account of the depredations of the Scottish enemies on the coast'; see *Rot. Pat. Hib.*, 243, p. 127b; a licence given in 1387 to Thomas David, mayor of Drogheda to provide victuals to John bishop of Sodor (Sudrey, diocese of Western Isles of Scotland) and to carry them, by land or by sea, wherever he used to dwell; see *Rot. Pat. Hib.*, 219, p. 137; and a subsidy promised by the town in 1388 on the occasion of Archbishop John Colton's trip to Westminster to made representations on behalf of the Anglo-Irish colonists and discuss with the king the state of Ireland; see *Rot. Pat. Hib.*, 187-89, p. 141.

[14] The study carried out by Richardson and Sayles on the Irish parliaments has detected that no list of writs of summons is available after the year 1382; see Richardson-Sayles, *Irish parliament*, p. 134. Even in the absence of evidence, it is likely that Drogheda was summoned to all of the twenty known assemblies called by the king during the fourteenth century. Drogheda appears among the towns summoned to the parliament at Castledermot in 1378; see *Rot. Pat. Hib.*., 81, p. 105 and Lynch, *Legal institutions*, p. 328. To the Dublin Parliament in 1382; see *Rot. Pat. Hib.*, 131, p. 119 and Lynch, *Legal institutions*, p. 328. To the parliament at Kilkenny in 1396; see *Rot. Pat. Hib.*, 70-71, p. 155 and Lynch, *Legal institutions*, p. 333. However, these entries do not mention the names of the town's representatives before the parliament. Since 1440 onward, Drogheda became headquarter of parliaments held during the fifteenth century; see Berry (ed.), *Statute Rolls, Henry VI*, pp 228-30; Richardson and Sayles, *Irish parliament*, pp 189-90, pp 313, 353-65.

[15] *Ch. priv. et imm.*, p. 82; see Appendix 39.

[16] *Rot. Pat. Hib.*, 1, p. 178b. Henry IV, 'by view of letter patents "*pro quodam termino datas*" by Richard II on 10 October 1385', confirmed to the seneschal and bailiffs and burgesses of Drogheda on the Meath side the grant of customs for twenty years, see below, Chap. 9.2, p. 321.

[17] Otway-Ruthven, *Med. Ire.*, p. 318. On the other hand, the issuing of murage charters to towns with continuity was a common practice by the middle of the fourteenth century by reason of the incessant state of warfare.

The charter was witnessed by Philip Courtenay, on his second term as lieutenant of Ireland.[18] This chronology suggests that the charter was an outcome of the Council held at Dublin the day before, on 24 October 1385, and which was attended by Courtenay.[19] The lieutenant was at that time facing the hostility of the magnates, prelates and commons of Ireland and after their petition he was arrested during Easter 1386.[20] Soon before being discharged, Courtenay witnessed two royal charters of pardon granted to Drogheda. On 12 January 1386 the seneschals and bailiffs of Drogheda in Meath were granted a letter of pardon for having sold wine and victuals, contrary to the ban.[21] William Symcok was one of the seneschals of Drogheda in Meath in that year.[22] On 2 April 1386 the mayor, bailiffs and commons of Drogheda on the Louth side were also granted a charter of pardon: for a fine of twenty marks, the town was discharged all of the escapes of thieves and all transgressions and excesses done by the mayor and bailiffs concerning custody of supplies, the selling of wine or other provisions against the provisions of the statutes.[23] Its background seems to be more grounded on financial issues than on politics.

Before the arrival of Richard II in Ireland, the two boroughs of Drogheda had secured two distinct confirmation charters. On 9 April 1392 Richard inspected Edward III's 1364 charter which conferred on Drogheda in Louth the same liberties as Dublin.[24] The charter was witnessed among others by Thomas duke of Gloucester, who had been appointed as lieutenant of Ireland a month before.[25] His appointment was cancelled three months later, on 23 July, and the earl of Ormond was appointed as justiciar of Ireland.[26] Drogheda's privileges were confirmed with *clause licet*, namely excepting the clause

---

[18] Courtenay was lieutenant from 1383 to 1384 and then from 1385 to 1386; see Cosgrove, 'Principal officer's, p. 474.

[19] *Early Statutes*, pp 484-7.

[20] *CCR*, 1385-1389, p. 49. Courtenay was dismissed before the expiring of his mandate and replaced as lieutenant by John de Stanley, the new lieutenant from 30 August 1386. The background to these events is analyzed in Crooks, 'Calculus of faction', pp 101-07.

[21] *Rot. Pat. Hib.*, 137, p. 125; D'Alton, *History of Drogheda*, 2, pp 99-100.

[22] *Rot. Pat. Hib.*, 138, p. 125b; see Chap. 9.3.2, pp 327-29 and Fig. 30, p. 328. See also Fig. 14, p. 171.

[23] *Ch. priv. imm.*, p. 83: *Pardonatio Senescallos et Ballivis villae de Drogheda, ex parte Uriel, concessa* (2 April 1386); see Appendix 40.

[24] *Ch. priv. imm.*, p. 89; see Appendix 41.

[25] *Ch. priv. imm.*, p. 89. The price for the charter was 40s. paid at the hanaper.

[26] Cosgrove, 'Principal officers', p.475; N.Saul, *Richard II* (London, 1997), pp. 276-77.

concerning the limitation of claims on property. That clause had been originally granted by Henry III in 1252[27] and was afterwards repealed by Edward III in 1331[28] and in 1364.[29]

On 16 June 1394, the burgesses of Drogheda in Meath were also confirmed all of their privileges enjoyed under the 1331 charter. Roger Mortimer, fourth earl of March, witnessed the charter, together with William Lescrope, Thomas of Gloucester and many others.[30] Mortimer had become of age two months before, on March 1394. He was entitled of a rent of the castle of Drogheda. This chronology of events shows how much the history of the lordship and Drogheda on the Meath side were interconnected. Afterwards, on 4 July 1394, the same burgesses were confirmed in those tenements known as 'Arundelsland.'[31]

1.1. 'Castelblathagh'

Since the year 1220, Walter de Lacy was annually allowed 20 marks as compensation for the land and castle of Blathach (or Blathagh); another 30 marks were due to him for the vill and castle of Drogheda.[32] This fee was inherited by Geoffrey de Geneville and then by the Mortimers who succeeded to the lordship of Trim.[33] It seems therefore likely that Walter or his father erected both castles. The castle of Blathagh stood on the Meath side of Drogheda close to the bridge; it is believed that it was located between the west end of James Street and Pitcher Hill.[34]

On 2 July 1381 the king ordered the Treasurer of Dublin to restore to Edmund Mortimer, earl of March and Ulster, arrears amounting to £353 5*s*. 5 ¼ *d. pro situ castri Blathagh* payable by the king to him and his heirs at a yearly rent of 25 marks.[35] There is evidence for £16 13*s*. 4*d.* being paid by Alexander Balscot, bishop of Ossory and treasurer

---

[27] *Na Buirgéisí*, I, p. 190. The clause prescribed that no lawsuit could be raised about a burgage if it had been in someone's peaceful possession for a period of one year and one day; see Chap. 4.3.1, p. 150 and Appendix 12.

[28] *Na Buirgéisí*, I, p. 192 (1331); see Chap. 7.1.1, p. 251 and Appendix 34.

[29] In 1364 Edward III inspected the 1331 charter and the abolition of the clause; see *Na Buirgéisí*, I, pp 195-200 (1364): see below, Chap. 7.1.3, pp 257-59 and Appendix 35. Martin Weinbaum argued that the clause was confirmed by Edward III, instead of abolished, see Weinbaum, *British Borough Charter*, p. 205.

[30] *Ch. priv. imm.*, p. 90. The price for the charter was 40s. paid at the hanaper; see Appendix 42.

[31] *CPR,* 1391-96, p. 465; see below, Chap. 8.1.2, pp 299-302 and Appendix 43 (A).

[32] *CDI, 1171-1251*, 952- 953, pp 145-6; see above, Chap. 4. 2.4, pp 136-40.

[33] See above, Chap. 4.1, pp. 105-07; Chap.5.2.1, p. 188.

[34] Orpen, 'Mottes and castles', p. 249; Murphy, *Medieval Drogheda*, II, p.54; see above, Chap.2.1, pp 28-34.

[35] *Rot. Pat. Hib.*, 10, p. 116.

of Ireland to Edmund in restitution for "the site of castle of Blathagh, in the town of Drogheda on the Meath side, which was in the king's hand from 26 Feb. 1360, when his father, Roger Mortimer, died, to 10 May 1381".[36]

According to the following entry, by 1381, Castle Blathagh was a vacant plot. On 28 October 1381, John Asshewell,[37] collector of customs in that port of Drogheda, received confirmation of two letters patent dated three years before at Tristeldermot - 26 March 1378 - and witnessed by the then justiciar of Ireland James le Botiller, earl of Ormond. Asshewell was granted a vacant plot called 'Castelmote of Drogheda' on the Meath side, at the yearly rent of 12*d.* at the Irish Exchequer, with licence to build a windmill and for that purpose to pull down the stone walls of an old house in a garden called 'Castelblathaghyord of Drogheda' adjacent to the said plot and re-use the material; he was also granted to make a way to that mill through a vacant place called 'Castelblathagh', but without hindrance to the king's access to and repair of his prisons there. He was also given custody of an empty stone tower in the west part of the said garden, and of the garden itself at the yearly rent of 12*d.* at the Irish Exchequer, with licence to build a dovecote in it, under the same condition as regards the prison. The price for this charter was 1 mark.[38]

The significance of this entry is two-fold: it describes the topography of the castle site and its burgage tenure. At the end of the fourteenth century the "Castelmote" was a vacant plot where a wind mill replaced the stronghold which had given rise to the borough two centuries before. One of the towers facing the western side of the castle's yard was empty. The whole area seems in a phase of restructuring and the material was re-used *in loco*. This evidence suggests that the borough had expanded and that the defence of fourteenth-century Drogheda was entrusted to the town walls rather than to the castle. The presence of the gaol preserved the idea of power, but the mote had lost its defensive connotation and acquired an economic significance. Ultimately, Castel Blathagh was the symbol of the two centuries old seigniorial power which had founded the town. Even though at the time of Richard II it was a deserted plot, the king was still compelled to

---

[36] *Ir. Exch. P.,* p. 543. The chronology for this entry, assigned by Connolly between 1376 and 1384, could be better calibrated between 2 July 1381, when Balscott received order to give compensation to Mortimer, and September 1384, when his account stops.

[37] John Ashwell represented Drogheda at two parliaments: the Dublin Parliament of 1372, see *Rot. Pat. Hib.*, 117, p. 84; Lynch, *Legal institutions*, p. 321; and the Dublin Parliament of 1375; see *Rot. Pat. Hib.,* 200, p. 95; see above, Fig. 28, pp 290-92.

[38] *CPR,* 1381-8, p. 49.

compensate the heirs of Hugh de Lacy for its expropriation which occurred in 1220. The detail given about the rental fee is most relevant since it shows that during the fourteenth century the rent for a plot on the Meath side was the same 12*d.* established by Walter de Lacy's charter of 1194.[39] In 1529 King Henry VIII granted the "Mill mote, alias the Windmill mote" to the corporation in perpetuity.[40]

1.2. 'Arundelsland'

The only charter granted to Drogheda by King Richard during his sojourn in Ireland dates 4 July 1394. It confirmed a plot called 'Arundelsland' to the burgesses of Drogheda in Meath, for a yearly rent of 50s. at the Exchequer.[41] Six months later, on 17 January 1395, Richard endowed the said land to the burgesses of Drogheda in Meath to be held for ten years without rendering rent. Both Henry IV (1403)[42] and Henry V (1414)[43] confirmed the town in these possessions without rent and with exemption from the payment in arrears.

According to the 1394 document, Arundel's land had been a possession of the burgesses on the south side since the year 1266, when King Henry III granted that community "32 acres of land outside the town late belonging to Gilbert Thedrich and a rent of 18*s.* of the lands belonging to said Gilbert inside the town, an escheat of the grantor, at the yearly rent of 50s. at the Exchequer".[44] Even though in 1266 the land was not yet called 'Arundels land', the following entry confirms that they were the same tenement. The *Inspeximus* of Henry IV (1403) records that sometime during the reign of Edward III the steward and burgesses of Drogheda in Meath were granted thirty-two acres of land called 'Arondelesland', late of Gilbert Thedryk, adjoining the said town and 18*s.* of rent late of the said Gilbert in the said town, which were the king's escheat, at a rent of 50*s.* yearly.[45]

---

[39] *Na Buirgéisí,* I, p 172: "*reddendo annuatim de unoquoque burgagio duodecim denarios scilicet sex denarios ad clausum Pasche et sex denarios ad festum beati Michaelis pro omni servicio*"; see Appendix 3.

[40] Hughes, *History of Drogheda*, p. 211; D'Alton, *History of Drogheda*, I, p. 180.

[41] *CPR,* 1391-96, p. 465; see below, Chap. 8.3, pp 303-10; see Appendix 43 (A).

[42] *Rot. Pat. Hib.*, 126, p. 175 (8 March 1403); see Appendix 43 (B).

[43] *CChR*, 1341-1417, pp 476-77 (10 November 1414).

[44] See Appendix 43 (A).

[45] *CChR*, 1341-1417, p. 476; see Appendix 43 (B).

The existence of Arundel's lands in southern Drogheda is well documented from the very beginning of Edward I's reign until the end of Henry IV's reign - closing date of this study. All during this period the rent had always been 50*s*. a year. The borough's account for the year 1274-75 already registers 68*s*. 8*d*. arrears of the farm of the land which belonged to Thomas Arundel.[46] This entry suggests that the grant to Thomas Arundel was made sometime between the years 1266, when the land is still described as late belonging to Gilbert Thedrich and the years 1274-5, when the same land is referred to as "late belonging to Thomas Arundel". The borough on the Meath side accounted for the same land in the years 1277[47], 1284[48], 1286-87[49], 1287-88[50], 1292[51], 1298[52], 1300[53], 1301[54], 1314-5[55], 1339-40[56]. At some stage the land was taken into the king hands, briefly given as compensation to Robert and Thomas Henbryge in 1393[57] and then permanently restored to the community on the Meath side in 1394.

The identity of Thomas of Arundel is worth investigating. Why was he beneficiary of such an extensive grant in southern Drogheda and, above all, why was his land thereafter bestowed upon the community? Two possible identities may be suggested for Arundel. The first and most likely assumption is that the name Arundel was a toponym, that Thomas was simply from Arundel. A deed of *Christ Church* dated 1260 records a Thomas of Arundel among the witnesses of a document concerning the rent of some lands in Drogheda on the Meath side which was donated to the canons of Llanthony Secunda.[58] Both the chronology and the fact that the deed refers to south Drogheda suggest that he was our 'Arundelsland'-man. As already mentioned, the canons of Llanthony Secunda held many of their benefices

---

[46] Pipe Roll, iii Edw. I (1274-75), *Rep. DKPRI* 36, p. 27.
[47] Pipe Roll, v Edw. I (1277), *Rep. DKPRI* 36, p. 38.
[48] *CDI,* 1252-1284, 2329, p. 550.
[49] Pipe Roll, xv Edw. I (1286-87), *Rep. DKPRI* 37, p. 28.
[50] Ibidem, p. 31.
[51] *CDI,* 1293-1301, 550, pp 246.
[52] Ibidem.
[53] *CDI,* 1293-1301, 705, p. 331.
[54] Ibidem, 825, p. 373
[55] Pipe Roll, viii Edw. II (1314-15), *Rep. DKPRI* 39, p. 56.
[56] Pipe Roll, xiii-xv Edw. III (1339-40), *Rep. DKPRI* 47, p. 35.
[57] *Proceedings of the King's council*, pp 247-48. On 16 April 1393, Robert and Thomas Henbryge were granted for the term of twenty years without paying rent all of the lands which belonged to Thomas Arundel in Drogheda on the Meath side, which was at that time in the king's hands. The grant was made in compensation for the damages and loss during the time they were at the king's service. This grant lasted for one year only.
[58] *Christ Church deeds*, p. 131.

within the town south of the Boyne, where they had possession of the Church of St. Mary.[59] The Dublin Guilds Merchant Roll (1190-1265) records four people with the denomination 'of Arundel', but nobody named Thomas.[60]

The second and probably the weaker of the two hypotheses is that Thomas Arundel was one of the earls of Arundel or was related to them. The FitzAlans were earls of Arundel between the years 1266 and 1275, when the grant was conferred on Thomas. Those thirty-three acres adjoining Drogheda in Meath could have been in possession of the earls of Arundel as part of Rohesia de Verdun's dowry or as part of Isabel de Mortimer's dowry. In fact, sometime before the year 1260 John FitzAlan (1223-1267), 6th Earl of Arundel, married Maud le Botiller, daughter of Theobald le Botiller and Rohesia de Verdun who was the daughter of Nicholas de Verdun. Their son, John FitzAlan (1246-1272), succeeded his father in 1267 as Lord of Clun and Oswestry and as owner of the title and honour of the castle of Arundel. As 7th Earl of Arundel, he married Isabel de Mortimer, daughter of Roger Mortimer de Wigmore and Maud de Briouse. When John died, his son Richard was minor (1272-1302); he became the 8th earl of Arundel in 1298.[61] However, there is no trace of such a Thomas among the FitzAlan pedigree for those years.

It may however be worth mentioning the fact that at the time of the 1394 charter confirming Arundelsland to the burgesses of Drogheda, Roger Mortimer and the earl of Arundel were strictly interrelated: Mortimer's wife (1388), Eleanor was the niece of the earl of Arundel; Mortimer's sister, Philippa, married the earl of Arundel in 1390.[62]

---

[59] *Ir. Chartul. Llanthony*, pp 226-7; Hogan, *Priory of Llanthony*, pp 45-71, 107-24; see above, Chap.2.2, pp 34-37.

[60] *Dublin Guild Merchant Roll*, pp 4, 56, 69, 81: Willelmus de Arundel, Radufus de Arundel (1226-7), Robertus de Arundel Kockesbrayn (1235-6) and Robertus le Hopere de Arundel (1244-59).

[61] *CP,* I, pp 239-41. Richard FitzAlan, earl of Arundel, was one of the biggest the opponents of Richard II during the years 1387-88; he was accused of treason and executed; see M. Bennett, *Richard II and the revolution of 1399* (Sutton, 1999), pp 102-3. His successor, Thomas FitzAlan, was a supporter of Richard during his last days; see ibidem, pp 151-2.

[62] *CP*, I, p. 245; ibidem, VIII, p. 449. Mortimer and Arundel appear to have enjoyed a cooperative relationship; see Dunn, 'Mortimer inheritance', pp 163-165.

2. The exile of two English justices at Drogheda

On 1 December 1385, Robert de Vere, Earl of Oxford, was created marquess of Dublin, with the lordship and dominion of Ireland with all its profits for the term of his life. On October 1386, he was made duke of Ireland. All writs would have run in his name and he had in effect palatine rights.[63]

The opposition of part of the English aristocracy towards the king exploded in the 'Merciless' Parliament convened at Westminster on 3 February 1388.[64] Intimidated by the powerful army of the duke of Gloucester, of the earls of Arundel and Nottingham the king was obliged to acquiesce with the appellants' demands. De Vere was impeached for treason and exiled.[65] Many of Richard's more prominent followers were removed from court; others were arrested and accused of treason: Sir Robert Bealknap, chief Justice of common pleas, Sir John Beauchamp of Holt, Roger Fulthrop and William Burgh, justices of the king's bench, Sir John Carey, chief baron of the exchequer, Sir John Lokton, the king's serjeant at law. Some of them were executed. Six royal justices had their death sentence ultimately commuted into exile to Ireland. [66]

A mandate dated on 12 July 1388 registers that John Beauchamp of Holt and Robert Bealknap, knights, were sentenced to spend the rest of their life in Drogheda, 'or within two or three leagues round about'. Two other knights, Roger Fulthrope and William Burgh were exiled to Dublin; John Carey and John Lokton to Waterford. The following annuities were ordered for their support: 40 marks each to Holt, Bealknap, Burgh and Fulthrop; 20 marks each to Carey and Lokton.[67] From the Tower of London, where they were all kept in custody, they were escorted to their respective ports of embarkation. Bealknap, Burgh, Holt and Fulthrop were delivered to Edward Dee, sergeant in arms for safe conduct to the port of

---

[63] *CPR*, 1385-1389, p. 115; Saul, *Richard II*, pp 182-3, 274-5.

[64] The background of the 'Wonderful' Parliament (1386) and the 'Merciless' Parliament (1388) are analyzed in M. V. Clarke, 'Forfeiture and treason in 1388', in *Fourteenth Century studies* (Oxford, 1937), pp 115-45; A. Tuck, *Richard II and the English nobility* (London, 1973), pp 102-120. For the role played by Ireland in these events and the links between English and Anglo-Irish politics; see Crooks, 'Calculus of faction', pp 94-115.

[65] Tuck, *Richard II,* pp 118, 121.

[66] Bennett, *Revolution of 1399*, pp 31 f.; C. Given-Wilson, *The royal household and the king's affinity* (London, 1986), pp 187-88.

[67] *CCR,* 1385-89, pp 382, 474, 509-10, 515-16; D'Alton, *History of Drogheda*, 2, pp 101-3.

Chester; Lockton and Cary were instead escorted to Bristol by Thomas Mille, from where they would have easier embarked to Waterford.[68]

The concept of Ireland as a traditional place of exile, religious or political, is recurrent and dates back as far as the eighth century.[69] However, the land of exile was not necessarily a terrible place: Ireland could also represent a land of opportunity for those who had been sent away there. Waterford, Dublin and Drogheda were probably chosen because they were coastal towns loyal to the crown where the banished could be easily under control; on the other hand, they were also places of a certain affluence and in tone with the rank of the banished, who, ultimately, were king's favourites.

The presence of John Beauchamp of Holt and Robert Bealknap at Drogheda has not left evidence in the local sources. It is however likely that the judges were in Ireland: Peter Cooks has drawn my attention to the fact that their sentence was repealed nine years later, in 1397.[70]

3. The submission of the Irish chiefs (1395)

Nine years after the appeal of the 1385 Dublin Parliament[71] Richard II came personally to Ireland (2 October 1394-15 May 1395). The presence of the king in Ireland was unprecedented: not since 1210 had the absentee lord of Ireland visited the lordship.[72]

Richard, as Lord of Ireland and Roger Mortimer, as Earl of Ulster, received at Drogheda the homage of the native chieftains of Ulster: O'Neill, his galloglass constable MacDonnell, O'Hanlon, Mac Mahon and others. The official ceremonies took place in the hall of the Dominican priory of St. Mary Magdalene of Drogheda between January and

---

[68] *CCR,* 1385-89, p. 521. As result of the change of power at Westminster, various officers of the Dublin government were investigated and dismissed, see Crooks, 'Calculus of faction', p. 111.

[69] E. Rambo, *Colonial Ireland in medieval English literature* (London, 1992), pp 40-44, 119-21; see above, Chap. 1.1, pp 18-22 and Chap. 7.2.2, pp 264-65 and Chap. 8.3, p. 308.

[70] P. Crooks, *Factionalism and noble power*, p. 226.

[71] *Early Statutes*, I, pp 484-86.

[72] D. Johnston, 'Richard II and the submission of Gaelic Ireland', *IHS*, XXII (1980-1), pp 1-20; J. Lydon, 'Richard II's expedition to Ireland', *RSAIJ*, 93 (1963), pp 135-49; Saul, *Richard II*, pp 277-92.

March 1395.[73] The memorandum of John Salisbury, treasurer of Ireland, enrolled at the Exchequer in the eighteenth year of Richard's reign preserves in seventeen membranes the letters sent to and by the king and all of the legal instruments connected to these submissions.[74] This source, edited by E. Curtis, records that Richard II was in Drogheda on 19 January 1395[75] and on 5,[76] 8,[77] 10,[78] 14,[79] 16[80] and 21[81] of the following March.

There is evidence proving the presence of the king at Drogheda also on 17 March, when he confirmed from Drogheda a charter to the monks and abbots of Mellifont, as shown by an *Inspeximus* of Henry IV.[82] Possibly he was at Drogheda also when he issued the charter granting 'Arundlelsland' to the burgesses of Drogheda in Meath, on 17 January.[83] As a matter of fact the king was undeniably at Drogheda two days later, when he received in person Niall Mór O'Neill, king of Ulster "in a certain room within the

---

[73] Lewis, *Topographical dictionary*, p. 498; D'Alton, *History of Drogheda*, I, pp 122-25. Gwynn and Hadcock, *Religious houses*. Ireland, p. 224. The submission of other Irish chiefs took place at Drogheda, Dublin, Waterford and Kilkenny; see Otway-Ruthven, *Medieval Ireland*, pp 326-33. For the itinerary of Richard II in Ireland in 1295, see Fig. 29, p. 305.

[74] Curtis, *Richard II in Ireland, 1394-95* (Oxford, 1927).

[75] Curtis, *Richard II*, pp 105-07: On 19January 1395, King Richard received in person at Drogheda Niall Mor O'Neill, king of Ulster.

[76] Ibidem, pp 85-90. On 5 March the king was again in Drogheda, where he produced three letters of submission: one from O'Neill junior, dated 6 January 1395 giving his father power to conclude a general peace and swearing as "*Capitaneus nacionis sue*" fealty to the king and the earl of Ulster. The second letter was from John MacDonald, who offered to be captain of all the king's Irish forces and styled himself "*Capitaneus et constabularius Hibernicorum Ultonie*". The third letter, from Maurice or Muirchertach Magennis of Iveagh, offering to come into the king's peace.

[77] Ibidem, pp 67-68. On 8 March 1395 King Richard was (still?) in Drogheda. He showed the notary a letter of Tatheus MacCarthy, prince of Desmond, in which the latter expressed his intent to swear loyalty to the king

[78] Ibidem, pp 102-03. On 10 March Shane MacMahon of Monaghan - diocese of Clogher - did liege homage to the king at Drogheda.

[79] Ibidem, pp 100-03. On March 14 various other chiefs submitted to the king at Drogheda: Conor O'Melaghlin, who, according to the Irish Annals was "*de iure rex of Midia*", Niall O'Molloy, Melachlin and Muirchertach Mageoghegan - diocese of Meath - and three of the O'Farrells - diocese of Ardagh. See also ibidem, pp 117-18: Gilla-Isa and Maolmuire O'Reilly - diocese of Clogher - submitted at Drogheda.

[80] Ibidem, pp 68-70: on 16 March Drogheda witnessed the submission of Niall Og O'Neill himself; Maurice Magennis of Iveagh, Niall and Cu-Uladh O'Hanlon of Orior in Armagh.

On the same day John MacDonald did liege homage to the king; see Ibidem, pp. 57-60.

[81] Ibidem, pp 109-11.On 21 March the king received the same convent of St. Mary's, Drogheda, the letter of submission of Malachy O'Kelly of Connacht. He asked his notary to make copy of it and the document was witnessed by William Lescrope the king's chamberlain.

[82] *CPR*, 1399-1401, pp 509-10. On April 26 1401, Henry IV confirmed to the monks of Mellifont **a** charter dated at Drogheda on 17 March 1395, inspecting a charter dated at Westminster on 28 Sept 1348 and granting that they may make weirs and hatches in their fishery and that they and their men shall be quit of service.

[83] *CChR*, 1341-1417, pp 476-77; see above, Chap. 8.1.2, pp 299-301and Appendix 43 (A).

enclosure of the friars Preachers at *Villa Pontana* alias Drogheda".[84] It seems worthwhile investigating the choice of this location; thereafter addressing the role of some of the protagonists and their relation to the town.

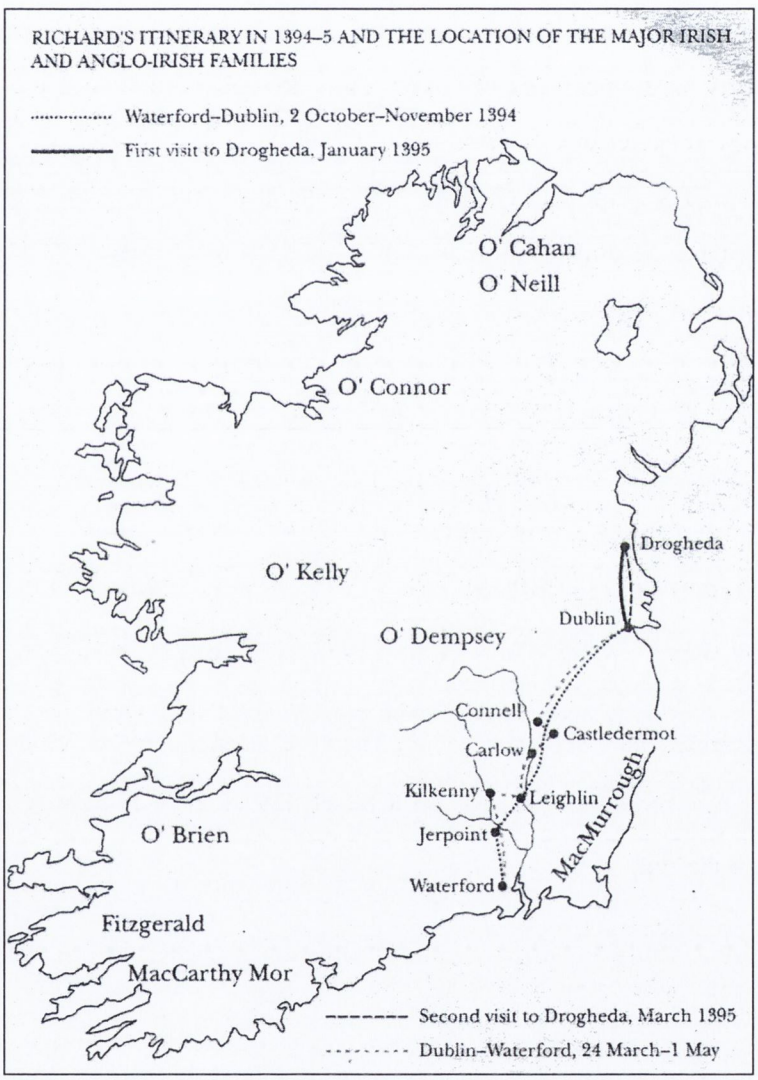


FIG. 29: King Richard's Itinerary in 1394-5 and the location of the major Irish and Irish families'; after N. Saul, *Richard II* (London, 1997), p. 278.

[84] Curtis, *Richard II*, pp. 105-07.

Why the submissions took place in Drogheda and why in the hall of the Dominican priory of St. Mary Magdalene in the Meath side? Drogheda was, after Dublin, a loyal and secure centre of royal power in Ireland. Furthermore, the town was the residence of John Colton, Archbishop of Armagh (1383-1404) the man who had made many of those capitulations possible.[85]

The primates of Armagh used to have two archiepiscopal manors: one at Dromiskin, about five miles south of Dundalk and the other at Termonfeckin, four miles north of Drogheda. Since the early thirteenth century they resided in Drogheda. Archbishop Luke de Netterville was resident in the town of Drogheda among the canons of St. Peter's when in 1223-24 he had to flee from the town and take shelter in the house of Llanthony Secunda in Hereford.[86] The registers of the archbishops Sweteman, Fleming and Swayne mention the church of St. Peter in Drogheda as one of the official settings used by the archbishops: in St. Peters' they used to hold their provincial councils and to hold their court.[87] Some of the letters of Archbishop Milo Sweteman (1361-80) and of his entourage are dated from Drogheda.[88] The clergy of the deanery of Drogheda was summoned to Drogheda in the church of St. Peter for Sweteman's ordinary visitation in the years 1367, 1369 and 1371.[89] There is evidence for Colton obtaining custody of a messuage with appurtenances in Drogheda on the Louth side in 1393.[90] Archbishop Fleming possessed a

---

[85] See below, pp 307-09.

[86] Gwynn, 'Armagh and Louth', pp 31, 36; Smith, 'Armagh-Clogher dispute', p. 32.

[87] Gwynn, *The medieval province of Armagh, 1470-1545* (Dundalk, 1946), pp 73-75; Simms, 'Armagh and the O'Neills', pp 38-9; Walsh, 'A fourteenth-century scholar', pp 296-7. The diocese of Armagh was divided into an 'English' and an 'Irish' half". The English portion – Louth, Drogheda, Dundalk – was tiny compared with the extensive Irish area, which covered the modern County Armagh, east Tyrone and south-west Derry, while the cathedral city lay between the lands of the O'Hanlon and the O'Neill. Since the election of FitzRalph in 1346 and until the year 1479, the primates of Armagh were of English or Anglo-Irish blood. With the exception of occasional visits to the cathedral city of Armagh, the primates rarely went outside the territory *inter Anglicos*. They found it more comfortable and safer to reside in the town of Drogheda and Dundalk from where they used to address their correspondence and administer the diocese; see *CPR*, 1399-1401, p. 506.

[88] B. Smith (ed.), *The register of Milo Sweteman, Archbishop of Armagh, 1361-1380*, (Dublin, 1996), pp 5, 167-68.

[89] Ibidem, pp 209-11 (1367), 161-2 (1369). Another visitation was held in St. Peter's church in the year 1371; see ibidem, pp 195-6, 204-5, 211-13. A metropolitan visitation of County Meath was held by archbishop David Mag Oireachtaigh in the church of St. Mary, Drogheda, in the years 1335x1345; see ibidem, pp 1-3.

[90] *Proceedings of the King's council*, pp 87-88. This deed is dated at Kilkenny on 21 January 1393. The messuage previously belonged to a certain John de Coupeland, burgess of the same town. Archbishop Colton's charter of confirmation to the Cistercian house of St. Mary de Viridi Ligno, Dromore,

dwelling-house outside the walls of Drogheda on the Meath side[91] and John Swayne had a residence in Drogheda.[92] The market of Drogheda was a typical stage for the archbishops' proclamations: in the year 1366 Sweteman commanded the excommunication of a certain Richard, on Sundays and festivals at mass in the several churches of the diocese and in the public market at Drogheda.[93] Public proclamations were made in the same market by Archbishop Swayne in 1433.[94]

The capitulation of the king of Ulster, one of the most important of the Irish chiefs, was achieved through diplomacy.[95] The intervention of John Colton, Archbishop of Armagh had been crucial for the success of the negotiation.[96] According to various letters, it was by the archbishop's advice that Niall Mór O'Neill had summoned all of the Irish magnates of Ulster in order to convince them to follow him in submitting to the English crown.[97] Colton witnessed the act of submission act of Niall Mór O'Neill[98] and he is referred to as mediator and guarantor in the letters of submission of O'Neill junior, John MacDonald and Maurice Magennis of Iveagh.[99]

A recurring figure of Colton's entourage was Thomas Talbot. This name relates to Drogheda since a Thomas Talbot had been mayor there some twenty years before, in 1374.[100] They might have been the same person. In 1393 a Thomas Talbot was accused of

---

dates at Drogheda on 14 May 1390; see B. Smith (ed.), *The Register of Nicholas Fleming Archbishop of Armagh, 1404-1416* (Dublin, 2003), pp 225-26.

[91] Ibidem, p. 215. The register contains many letters dated at Drogheda and dealing with the town's business.

[92] D. A. Chart (ed.), *The register of John Swayne, Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of Ireland, 1418-1439* (Belfast, 1935), p. 172 (1437).

[93] Smith, *Register of Milo Sweteman*, pp 119-20.

[94] Chart, *Register of John Swayne,* pp 142-3.

[95] It seems that a correspondence between the two kings was carried on before Richard's expedition to Ireland; see Curtis, *Richard II*, p. 129: "*Litteras vestre regie maiestatis recepi continentes quod in parte causa adventus vestri ad Hiberniam extiterat ut iusticiam unicuique faceretis*". According to this letter written to the English king by Niall Óg O'Neill of Tyrone, after his father's submission, Richard had come prepared to make a peaceful settlement with the Irish.

[96] J. A. Watt, 'John Colton, justiciar of Ireland (1382) and Archbishop of Armagh (1383-1404)', in J. Lydon (ed.), *England and Ireland*, pp 196-213. Colton was associated with officialdom. Not only he was chancellor in 1380 and Justiciar in 1382, but he was also politically active within his province: in local assemblies called to raise taxation, in making representation to Westminster (1388; see *Rot. Pat. Hib.*, 187-89, p. 141) and in mediating between the English and the Irish.

[97] Curtis, *Richard II*, pp 129-33, 144-46; see also Simms, 'Ulster revolt of 1404', pp 149-51

[98] Curtis, *Richard II*, pp 105-07.

[99] Ibidem, pp 85-90.

[100] '*Rotulus claususde anno 48 Edw. III'*, p. 149 (8 September 1374); see Fig. 14, p. 170.

having unlawfully seized a messuage belonging to Thomas Walton in Drogheda in Louth.[101] According to John D'Alton's list of Mayors, Thomas Walton was bailiff of Drogheda in Louth in the year 1401.[102] Thomas Talbot is referred to as interpreter and officer depending on the diocese of Armagh in the record of O'Hanlon's oath, which took place at Drogheda on 16 March 1395.[103] His name also occurs in two other letters addressed from Armagh to King Richard: one written by MacDonald on 25 February 1395[104] and the other by O'Neill the younger on 26 February 1395. In the second letter Talbot is not just styled as interpreter, but as the Archbishop's esquire and mediator between the O'Neill and the king in relation to some Irish hostages which O'Neill begged to be taken under the king's custody.[105] Among the hostages alluded to in the letter was Felim, a younger son O'Neill's. One month later Niall Óg complained to the King about the suffering and the tortures inflicted on his son Felim and the other hostages under Mortimer's custody at the castle of Trim.[106] Another interpreter at the archbishop's service was Stephen Gernon.[107]

Two years after the episode of the submission, in 1397, Archbishop Colton sealed another successful negotiation with Niall O'Neill. The occasion was the pilgrimage of

---

[101] *Proceedings of the King's council*, pp 124-25. Walton accused Talbot of having entered into the messuage and damaged buildings (Kilkenny, 27 January 1393).

[102] D'Alton, *History of Drogheda*, I, p. 247; see Appendix 13. Thomas Walton is mentioned as land owner in the year 1381; see *Rot. Pat. Hib.*, 14, p. 110.

[103] Curtis, *Richard II*, pp 60, 70-1.

[104] Ibidem, p. 88.

[105] Ibidem, pp 143-4. O'Neill says that "*ut plus inde animate erimus scientes quod Thomas Talbot vester armiger viriliter and fideliter circa prefata negocia habuit*".

[106] Ibidem, pp 37, 134-36. The letters are dated on 24 and 25 March 1395. On the captivity of Niall Óg's son at Trim; see Potterton, *Medieval Trim*, pp 107-8, 414. The political background of the release of Niall Óg in exchange for the captivity of his son is discussed by Simms, 'Ulster revolt of 1404', p. 147. It was common practice for the Irish chiefs to deliver their children to the English lords as hostage for their obedience to their dictates; see K. Simms, 'The king's friend: O'Neill, the Crown and the Earldom of Ulster', in Lydon (ed.), *England and Ireland*, pp 214-36. In 1392-93 a safe conduct was ensured for Ona, Neill's wife, and twelve men and women in her company, on their journey from the castle of Trim to Drogheda and return. The purpose of her presence at the town of Drogheda was to treat the release with the justiciar and the council. The deed is dated from Trim on 18 March 1393; see *Proceedings of the King's council*, p. 191.

[107] Curtis, *Richard II*, pp 102-03. Stephen Gernon was the interpreter who attended Shane MacMahon's oath on 10 March 1395. He translated the chief's oath from Irish into English and then into Latin. The same Stephen Gernon was also interpreter during the ceremony of submission of Maurice Magennis', which took place six days after, on 16 March as well in Drogheda. He is said to be an officer depending on the diocese of Armagh. The Gernon family was associated with the office of sheriff and other official positions in County Louth since the beginning of the fourteenth century; see above, p. 282, footnote 185.

Ramon de Perellós to Lough Derg.[108] In the account of his journey to St. Patrick's Purgatory, Ramon says that the Archbishop from Dundalk sent a message to O'Neill, who was in Armagh, and obtained from the king a safe-conduct, one knight and a messenger to guide him through the wild lands.[109] The presence of O'Neill in Armagh and the fact that the king "immediately" issued a safe-conduct confirms once more that Colton and O'Neill were constantly cooperating.[110] Another figure linked with the same episode and with Colton's entourage is John Talbot. He was appointed by Roger Mortimer, Earl of March, as squire and interpreter for Ramon de Perellós during his trip from Dublin to Drogheda. Perellós's account gives a precious piece of information about Drogheda, saying that it was a town as big as Puigcerà or Tarragona. In Drogheda, Ramon met Colton, who gave him another interpreter, Thomas Talbot, first cousin of John Talbot, who accompanied the pilgrim to Lough Derg and was with him during his sojourn at O'Neill court.[111] During the 1390s John was part of Mortimer's entourage and Thomas was performing in Colton's court. They both were involved with first class diplomatic businesses. They were probably members of the Irish Talbots of Malahaide and not of the English Talbots who were often justiciars of Ireland during the first half of the fifteenth century.

---

[108] The image of Ireland as the Otherworld Island and Otherworld underground in the middle English chronicles, romances and hagiography is discussed by Rambo, *Colonial Ireland in literature*, pp 97-101, 121-23; The involvement of Colton in George Grissaphan's pilgrimage to Lough Derg (1353) are given above, see Chap.7.2.2, pp 264-65.

[109] D. M. Carpenter, 'The pilgrims from Catalonia-Aragon: Ramon de Perellós, 1397', in Haren and de Pontarcy (eds.), *Pilgrimage to St. Patrick's Purgatory*, p. 109. Ramon de Perellós met Roger Mortimer in Dublin. This account is particularly valuable for the description of his sojourn at the court of Niall O'Neill. It is therefore a precious source for the customs of Gaelic society at the end of the fourteenth century; see A. Cosgrove, *Late medieval Ireland, 1370-1541* (Dublin, 1981), pp 73-4.

[110] The Irish church, and particularly the primates of Armagh, used to act as mediator between the crown and the Gaelic society. In 1355 the archbishop of Armagh Fitzralph treated for peace with the O'Neill; see K. Simms, 'The Archbishops of armagh and the O'Neills', p. 45; eadem, 'The concordat between the Primate John Mey and Henry O'Neill (1445)', *Arch. Hib.* 34 (1976-77), pp 71-82. In 1395, the king availed of the mediation of various archbishops: John Colton of Armagh in dealing with the Irish of Ulster; Maurice O'Kelly, archbishop of Tuam, in dealing the Irish of Connacht. Concurrently, John, son of the earl of Desmond and James, earl of Ormond were commissioned to negotiate with the Irish of Munster and Thomond; see Curtis, *Richard II*, pp 39-40.

[111] J. P. Mahaffy, 'Two early tours in Ireland', in *Hermathena* XL (1914), p. 6. In the provencal text of Perellos' pilgrimage translated by Rudmose Brown, Thomas Talbot is named as the interpreter given by Archbishop Colton to Perellos, together with 100 men-at-arms to enter "the land of the savage heretics, where king O'Neill was lord". Carpenter's translation of the above passage is taken from the Catalan version: it said that Colton gave Perellos another interpreter "who was first cousin of John Talbot", but he omitted to mention his actual name, Thomas Talbot; see Carpenter, 'Ramon de Perellós, 1397', pp 108-9. Carpenter also suggested that John Talbot could be the later first earl of Shrewsbury, which is plainly wrong.

4. A case of affiliation: Drogheda as 'mother town' of Galway (1396)

During his second year of reign King Henry IV confirmed for the town of Galway some letters patent of Richard II issued in 1396. One of them, dated at Dublin on 26 January 1396, granted the provost and burgesses of Galway the right to elect a sovereign every year, whose task was the maintenance of the town's law and customs; it gave the burgesses the monopoly of trade within the town walls; finally, granted them all of Drogheda's privileges and franchises, saving the profits due to the lord of the town. The letter was granted in return for a payment of 10 marks and was witnessed by: Roger Mortimer, earl of March and Ulster and lieutenant of Ireland, Stephen Lescrope, justiciar, Alexander bishop of Meath, chancellor, James Botiller, earl of Ormond, Gerald FitzMorice, earl of Kildare, Peter Rowe, Justice of Bench, John FitzAdam etc...[112]

This document has a twofold relevance. Besides being the first known case of affiliation in which Drogheda has the role of 'mother town', it also reveals that in 1396 Drogheda on both sides of the Boyne was *de facto* ruled under the same customs. Galway was in fact conferred all of the privileges that "*burgenses nostri ville de Drogheda ex utraque parte aque in dies gaudent et utuntur*".[113] It seems important to stress the allocution *de facto* in view of the fact that, formally, the two boroughs of Drogheda were at that time still granted different liberties. As mentioned above, only a few years before King Richard confirmed to Drogheda in Louth the same liberties s Dublin (1392)[114]; while in 1394, Drogheda on the Meath side was confirmed in its privileges, which were the ones granted them by Edward III in 1331.[115] In practical terms, in 1394 Drogheda in Meath was

---

[112] *CPR,* 1401-05, p. 86. Concurrently, Henry IV confirmed the charter of murage and pavage granted by his predecessor to Galway for the term of forty years, to render account before the treasurer of the lordship of Connacht rather than at the Exchequer.

[113] *Na Buirgéisí*, I, pp 225-229, at p. 227: "*...et eciam quod ipsi heredes ac successores sui burgenses villa predicte [Galway] de cetero imperpetuum libere habeant gaudeant et utantur in villa predicta et alibi ubicumque infra regnum potestatem et dominium nostra laboraverint universis et singulis libertatibus franchesiis iurisdiccionibus privilegiis cognitionibus placitorum costumes et liberis consuetudinibus ita libere et quiete quibus burgenses nostris ville de Drogheda ex utraque parte aque in dies gaudent et utuntur et per cartas et confirmaccione nostras et progenitorum nostrorum habent seu de iure abere solebant adeo libere et quiete et eodem modeo prout dictis burgenses ville de Drogheda eis usi fuerint et gavisi...*".

[114] *Ch. priv. imm.*, p. 89; see Appendices 41.

[115] *Ch. priv. imm.*, p. 90; see Appendices 42. See above, Chap. 8.1, pp 296-97.

ruled by a seneschal and two bailiffs, whereas Drogheda in Louth had a mayor and two bailiffs.[116]

A question rises: which set of privileges did king Richard grant Galway? The more extensive set belonging to Drogheda in Louth; the other; or a sum of them? The fact that Galway was granted a sovereign and two provosts - and not a mayor and bailiffs -[117] seems to exclude the first assumption, but the question remains puzzling. What it is certain is that we can not support what Mary O'Sullivan has stated in this regard, namely that "Galway's first charter in 1396 gave it the rights and privileges of Drogheda, that is the Law of Breteuil".[118] As a matter of fact, Drogheda in Louth enjoyed the liberties of Dublin, i.e. the Law of Bristol, since the year 1364[119] and in 1394 Galway was conferred with the liberties of Drogheda *ex utraque partes*.

By attaining Drogheda's set of rights, Galway became a royal borough, with an exception, namely: "saving the profits deriving from services, fines, amercements issues and other profits belonging to the lords of said town, as they and their ancestors were used to receive".[120] Hitherto, Galway was governed by magistrates appointed by the de Burghs, who in their capacity of feudal lords were also empowered to collect port revenues and raise taxes.[121] After 1396 the lords of Galway had a reduced jurisdiction. But who were those lords? And why was Drogheda chosen as 'mother town' of Galway?

Galway was built in 1270 and remained *de facto* a de Burgo town, until 1396 even though, after the murder of Earl William de Burgh in 1333, the title was transferred in English hands: to Lionel, duke of Clarence and husband of Elisabeth de Burgh and then to Edmund Mortimer, through his marriage with Lionel's daughter, Philippa de Burgh. On the death of the Earl of March in 1381 the crown became guardian of the Mortimer estate[122]

---

[116] See Appendices 7 (1247) and 12 (1252) and Chap. pp 110-14, 145-150. The proemium of the charter of 1412 confirms the fact that the two Droghedas lived under diverse offices; see Appendix 45 and Chap.9.4, pp 329-50.

[117] The mayoralty was conferred to Galway only on 15 December 1484; see J. Hardiman, *History of the of Galway*, pp 68-9.

[118] O'Sullivan, *Old Galway*, p. 40.

[119] *Na Buirgéisí*,, I, pp 195-200; see Appendix 35 and Chap. 7.1.3, pp 257-60.

[120] *Na Buirgéisí*, I, p. 227: "*...salvis domino ville predicte de Galuy et heredibus suis redditibus serviciis finibus amerciamentis exitibus et aliis proficuis eis ut dominis ville predicte de eadem villa et curiis eiusdem spectantibus sive pertinentibus et prout ipsi et antecessores sui domini ville predicte ea hactenus liberius et quiecius habuerunt seu percipere de iure consueverunt debuerunt et solebant*".

[121] Hardiman, *History of Galway*, p. 61.

[122] *CP,* VIII, p. 450.

and in 1385 appointed Thomas O'Casey as seneschal of Galway and receiver of the king's rents in Connacht.[123] The de Burghs resisted this attempt to restore royal authority and Mortimer's legitimate claims and thence revolted against the crown. Disturbances broke out in that town in the year 1385-1388 and some Galway merchants, headed by Henry Blake, joined William de Burgh, 'the king's enemy'. In November 1388 the town of Galway did homage to William, surrendering the town and all its rents to him.[124] Even though a charge of high treason was brought against Blake in 1391 he was pardoned.[125] In 1395 William de Burgh and the Irish chiefs of Connacht made their submission to Richard at Waterford.[126] Thus we arrive at the 1396 charter which extended royal protection and patronage over a town which was previously of seigniorial rank. Galway was reconciled to the crown and became a bulwark of English influence in Connacht. The traditional lords were still part of the town business, but their jurisdiction was reduced to services, fines and profits derived from the seigniorial court.[127]

The allusion to the town's lord in the 1396 charter might refer to Roger Mortimer himself, as the legitimate lord of Connacht.[128] However, it seems odd that, by witnessing the charter, Roger is only referred to as Earl of March and Ulster, lieutenant in Ireland for the king and not as lord of Connacht. The other hypothesis is that the charter refers to de Burgh. The Irish annals report for the year 1395 that Thomas de Burgh of Mayo "went to the king's house and received great honour and the lordship over the English of Connacht".[129] However, the deeds of submission of the Irish chiefs to Richard II do not mention any investiture.[130] Both Thomas de Burgh of Mayo and William de Burgh of Clanrickard were usurpers of Mortimer's lands in Connacht. They were regarded as the

---

[123] Hardiman, *History of Galway*, p. 66.

[124] O'Sullivan, *Old Galway,* pp 39-40.

[125] E. Curtis, 'Pardon of Henry Blake', *GAHSJ*, XVI (1934-5), IV, pp 186-89.

[126] Curtis, *Richard II*, pp 47-8, 99-100, 180-1.

[127] The clause was even more necessary since Drogheda was a royal borough since the year 1213 and the lords which succeeded there - the de Lacies, Genevilles, Verduns and Mortimers - had no jurisdiction inside the walls with the exception of a compensation for the castles of Drogheda and Blatach and the tolls and aids of that vill on the south side; see above, Chap. 4.2.4, pp 136-40.

[128] Lydon, *Lordship of Ireland*, pp 174-5; on the political career of Roger Mortimer, see above, Chap. 8.1, pp 293-96 and below, Chap. 8.5, pp 315-16.

[129] *AFM*, p. 740-1.

[130] Curtis, *Richard II*, pp 52, 227-8.

king's enemies: William was so merged with the Irishry that he needed an interpreter during his act of submission.[131]

A document issued seven years later by Henry IV solves the puzzle: the Mortimers were the *de iure* lords of Galway. At the same time, de Burgh had not renounced his claim to Galway and, only two years later he had the chance to re-establish his influence in this town. Roger Mortimer had died in the year 1398, leaving his son, Edmund as a minor. In 1403, Henry IV appointed the *quondam* rebel William de Burgh as Deputy for Connacht with power to inquire into Mortimers's lands in the province and, among other things, to receive all the rents and profits of the town of Galway due to the king as guardian of the young Mortimer, together with the great new customs of the port.[132]

This very evidence seems also to be the answer to our second issue, namely why Drogheda's set of rights was chosen as a model for Galway. Roger de Mortimer himself might have suggested it to the king, given that he was involved with both Drogheda on the Meath side and Galway.[133] There is evidence that, between 1381 and 1384 Roger Mortimer was receiver of the rent for the castle of Drogheda and Blathagh.[134] He witnessed the charter of 1394 granted to Drogheda on the Meath side.[135] Besides, he was entitled to receive all rents and profit of Galway.

For all of these reasons it is possible to point to Roger Mortimer as the 'father' of this affiliation. He was perhaps the one who suggested exporting to Galway Drogheda's privileges since they were not only familiar to him, but also were a set of rights of proven success in the government of a seaport. Hence, it occurred that the positive experience of a market-town on the Irish east coast was emulated by one on the west coast. The 1396 charter to Galway highlights in fact three main points: the rebellion occurring within the town and Connacht; the damage to the town's economy and the new provisions regulating

---

[131] Curtis, *Richard II*, p. 91. Such a concession to de Burgh would seem unlikely even keeping in mind the conciliatory attitude characterizing King Richard's policy in 1395. It would also have damaged the interests of the earl of March, who was at that time lieutenant and the possible king's heir.

[132] O'Sullivan, *Old Galway*, p. 42. It was only in the year 1484 that William de Burgh of Clanrickard and his heirs were deprived of all power within the town; in that year, by charter of Richard III, Galway was granted to elect a mayor and two bailiffs; see Hardiman, *History of Galway*, pp 68-9.

[133] The Mortimers had shares of the rent of the castle of Drogheda since the year 1306, by right of the marriage of the first earl of March, with Joan de Geneville; see *CJustR*, 1305-7, p. 188, 241, 307, 331 (1306); see above, Chap. 5.1, p. 185 and Chap. 6.3.3., pp 235-36.

[134] *Ir. Exch. P.*, p. 543; see above, Chap. 8.1.1, pp 297-98.

[135] *Ch. priv. imm.*, p. 90; see Appendix 42.

trade and the presence of merchants within the town; in the end, the grant of Drogheda's customs. The nature of both towns as centres of trade is certainly another main factor which has to be considered in this analysis.

On another occasion Galway followed Drogheda's pattern: when it was given county status in the year 1609.[136] Other cases of imitation of Drogheda's customs are to be found in 1414: in that year both Ardee and Naas (Kildare) were granted cognizance of all pleas as in Drogheda.[137] Then, Limerick was granted that same privilege in the year 1423.[138] In 1515, Kildare was granted corporate status: the town was to be held by a mayor and two provosts and pleas were to be held "in the same manner as the mayor and the sheriffs of Drogheda".[139] Carrickfergus and Carlingford were incorporated respectively in 1569 and 1571 and were conferred the same customs as Drogheda.[140]

5. Alienation of the town farm and revenues

The process of 'devolution' of the lordship of Ireland to a marquess or duke[141] was a tendency mirrored in micro history. The dynamic underlying the endowments of the farm of Drogheda to individuals and palatinates confirms such a pattern.

Drogheda's farm had been fractioned between many individual grants since the reign of Edward III. At the beginning of Richard's reign Nicholas Gernoun was beneficiary of two incomes from Drogheda, which were confirmed by the new king in 1377.[142]

---

[136] *Brit. borough chart., 1307-1660*, pp 179-80.

[137] *CPR*, 1413-16, p. 253 for Ardee. For what concerns Naas; see *Brit. borough chart., 1307-1660*, p. 220.

[138] *CPR*, 1422-29, p. 222. In 1423, Limerich was granted cognizance of all pleas as in Drogheda in confirmation of a charter granted in 1412, in which Drogheda is not mentioned; see *Na Buirgéisí*, I, pp 242-46.

[139] J. S. Brewer (ed.), *Letters and papers, foreign and domestic, of the reign of Henry VIII preserved in the Public Record Office, the British Museum and elsewhere in England* (Vaduz, 1965), II, pt. I, p. 268.

[140] *Brit. borough chart., 1307-1660*, pp 197-8.

[141] Saul, *Richard II*, pp 291-92: "It seems that a semi-viceregal role was envisaged in Ireland for de Vere in 1386; and possibly something of the same sort was planned for Gloucester in 1389". Similar experiments were carried out by King Richard outside Ireland: in 1392 William Lescrope was given the Isle of Man with its concomitant claims to a kingly title there; then again, a life interest was granted to Gaunt in the duchy of Aquitaine.

[142] *CCR*, 1377-81, pp 8-9; see Chap. 7. 3, p. 283.

Nicholas was still entitled to them in 1381, when he was "verging on old age".[143] There is a gap in the sources for the years 1381 to 1392, after which it appears that the whole farm, and not only portions of it, was assigned to single individuals. It was probably after Nicholas de Gernoun's death that his grant was re-assigned to the de Burgh family.[144] In 1392, the entire farm of Drogheda in Louth, £40, was yearly granted to Richard de Burgh, esquire of the king, for his good service.[145] On January 1395, the grant was given him during life.[146]

Subsequently, and during Richard's reign, grants became bigger and bigger. From 1395 onwards, the sum of the farms of Drogheda in Louth and in Meath became a single grant bestowed on magnates such as William Lescrope, James de Cottenham and Thomas, duke of Surrey. Not only that, but their endowments also included all of the town's revenues and customs, which marks the fact that the town had been alienated from the crown, even if by/during the king's pleasure. Such a trend suggests that the two boroughs of Drogheda were perceived as a single entity, at least from a financial point of view. It also marks the fact that in those years Drogheda was linked to County Louth and not County Meath: in fact both Lescrope and Cottenham were appointed keepers of the lordship of Louth; and Thomas duke of Surrey was also made keeper of County Louth. The details regarding the grants to these magnates are very relevant.

On 20 February 1395 William Lescrope, chamberlain of Ireland, was appointed as keeper of the king's lordship of Louth. He was entitled to hold the town of Drogheda on both sides at fee farm, with the offices of escheator, gauger, clerk of the market, customer of the king's coket, together with goods, chattels of fugitives, felons, escaped prisoners, etc.[147] He was not compelled to account for the issue of the lordship of Uriel nor for Drogheda.[148] Lescrope's extensive grants in Louth and Drogheda resulted from the king's decision to appoint him and Roger Mortimer as joint governors of Ireland after his first expedition to Ireland. The arrangement was extraordinary and was perhaps intended as a

---

[143] *CPR,* 1381-85, p. 161.

[144] Reymund de Burgh had been beneficiary of a sum from the farm of Drogheda from 1340 to 1345, when the grant was restored to Nicholas Gernon; see above, Chap. 7.3, pp 282-83.

[145] *CPR,* 1391-96, p. 34.

[146] *Rot. Pat. Hib.*, 9, p. 153b.

[147] The date of the grant is given in the letter by which Lescrope surrendered the grant; see *CPR,* 1396-99, p. 174; see Crooks, *Factionalism and noble power*, p. 214.

[148] 'Irish Material in the class of ancient petitions', p. 80.

means of keeping Leinster secure with double wards and two retinues.[149] On 25 April 1396, Mortimer was appointed as lieutenant and was given authority over Meath, Ulster and Connacht, the very areas where his vested interest in land lay; whereas Lescrope was appointed justiciar with independent control of Louth, Leinster and Munster.[150] It is a remarkable fact that Drogheda was attached to Lescrope's grant of Louth and not Mortimer's of Meath, even though the latter was still recipient of the rent for the town's castle.

On 25 April 1397 Lescrope voluntarily surrendered his whole estate[151] and Roger Mortimer was made lieutenant with responsibility for the whole Ireland.[152] During the same month, James de Cottenham was appointed as new keeper of the king's lordship in County Louth and the town of Drogheda on both sides for three years. The content of Cottenham's indenture with the king shows that he was beneficiary of royal prerogatives over the town, with the right of appointing its officers. He was also appointed as keeper of the royal castles of Wicklow, Newcastle McKynegan and Kendleston in Ireland.[153] It seems worth noticing that the deed does not mention the ward of Drogheda castle, because at that date the castle was a windmill.[154]

On the eve of King Richard's second expedition to Ireland, on 1 March 1399, Thomas Holland, duke of Surrey, the king's nephew, was appointed lieutenant and sent to Ireland.[155] He succeeded Roger Mortimer, the king's cousin and heir to the crown, who was

---

[149] D. Johnston, 'The interim years: Richard II and Ireland, 1395-99', in Lydon, *England and*, p. 180: the decision to divide the responsibility of the government of Ireland "may suggest some attempt to limit Mortimer's activities as governor". The same interpretation is given by Dunn; see Dunn, 'Mortimer inheritance', p. 164: "the appointment of Lescrope, a Richardian of impeachable loyalty, is the indication of Richard's lack of faith in his royal lieutenant". It has to be said that in 1395 Mortimer was only twenty one and his inexperience in governing might have needed to be addressed or restrained by a veteran able to preserve peace in Ireland after the king's departure.

[150] Lydon, *Lordship of Ireland*, pp 174-5.

[151] *Affairs Ireland*, p. 268.

[152] Cosgrove, 'Principal officers', p. 475.

[153] *CPR,* 1396-99, p. 187. Cotthenam was entitled to receive profits and revenues from the fee-farm of the borough on both sides, together with all the fee-farms, lands, tenements, rents and services belonging to the king within said county and town; as well as those from escheats, forfeitures, wardships, marriages, with the obligation not to sell such lands, tenements and marriages to anyone; he was also appointed sheriff, escheator, clerk of the market, customer of coket, customer of petty custom, gauger of wines, bailiffs, serjanties etc. in those places, with all issues arising in Drogheda, together with all forfeitures of goods and chattels of traitors, fugitives, felons, fines and amercements and escapes forfeited and adjudged before the king and his ministers, without account to the king or any of his officers.

[154] See Chap.8.1.1, pp 297-99.

[155] Saul, *Richard II*, p. 287.

slain on 20 July 1398 while fighting against the Irish.[156] Cottenham's grant was re-addressed to Holland[157] and therefore to Janico Dartas, the King's esquire.[158]

In the report sent by the Dublin Council to England in 1399 about the state of Ireland it is said that the revenue of the obedient counties was greatly diminished on account of the existence of the liberties, or Counties Palatine, and the reckless grants to individuals. The document states that "the County of Louth and the fee farm of Drogheda, and all other profits and forfeitures, fees, wards, marriages, fee farms and custom, cocket and all other things" were granted to "others" and therefore did not provide revenues to the king.[159]

---

[156] The death of the Earl and the power vacuum left in Ulster has been seen as one the reasons for Richard's second expedition to Ireland; see E. Curtis, 'Janico Dartas, Richard the Second's 'Gascon squire': his career in Ireland, 1394-1426', *RSAIJ, 4th* ser., 63 (1933), p. 189.

[157] *CPR,* 1396-99, p. 483.The grant was made on the information of William Lescrope, earl of Wiltshire.

[158] See below, Chap. 9.1, pp 318-21.

[159] *Proceedings of the King's council*, p. 265.

CHAPTER 9

THE CORPORATION OF DROGHEDA

1. Richard de Burgh and Janico Dartas: the King's esquires and the farm of Drogheda

In the years following Henry IV's succession to the crown, the fee-farm of Drogheda and its customs were simultaneously granted to two individuals, causing a judicial struggle between the two sides. Richard de Burgh and Janico Dartas were two esquires of the king. In 1392, Richard de Burgh was annually given £40 out of the farm of Drogheda in Louth,[1] a grant which was given him for life in 1395.[2] De Burgh's grant became precarious in 1399, when Janico Dartas was granted 100 marks yearly from the same revenues in the Droghedas.[3] Who was Janico Dartas?[4]

Dartas had arrived in Ireland as a young man in 1394. On 1 March 1399, Thomas Holland, duke of Surrey and the king's nephew, was sent to Ireland and granted County Louth without rent during the king's pleasure, together with the the Droghedas and their customs.[5] During the warfare against the Irish, Dartas was Surrey's valiant right-hand man and was in the train of Richard II during his second expedition in Ireland.[6] He followed the king's fortunes in England, but returned to Ireland when the king was later overthrown. Janico's lifelong loyalty to King Richard was corroborated by Creton's metric chronicle

---

[1] *CPR,* 1391-96, p. 34.

[2] *Rot. Pat. Hib.*, 9, p. 153b.; see above, Chap. 8.5, p. 315.

[3] *CPR*, 1399-1401, p. 74.

[4] Walker, S., 'Janico Dartassso: chivalry, nationality and the man at arms', in *History*, 84, 273 (1999), pp 31-51.

[5] *CPR*, 1396-99, p. 483. The grant was made on the information of William Lescrope, earl of Wiltshire. From 1395 to 1397 Lescrope held the town of Drogheda on both sides at fee farm, with the offices of escheator, gauger, clerk of the market, customer of the king's coket, together with goods, chattels of fugitives, felons, escapes prisoners, etc; see *CPR,* 1396-99, p. 174; see above, Chap. 8.5, pp 315-16.

[6] *CPR*, 1396-1399, p. 498. Letter of protection for a year to Janico Dartas on the king's service in Ireland; D'Alton, *History of Drogheda*, II, pp 106-10.

which described Richard II's downfall and calls Dartas "the Gascon squire".[7] When he transferred his allegiance to the Lancastrian line, he was rewarded with several grants[8]. One of those grants was the barony of Norragh, which had belonged to Thomas Holland since 1399.[9] A second grant came out of a petition made to the new king Henry IV by Dartas on 11 November 1399.[10] The request was obliged and he was given 100 marks yearly from the farm, costumes and cockets of Drogheda and the same sum from the revenues of London.[11]

On 1 December 1401, Richard de Burgh, also the king's esquire, reacted against these actions. Richard claimed his right to receive £40annually from the fee-farm of Drogheda in Louth, a grant which he asserted had been removed from him by the colour of Dartas' grant. As a result, de Burgh was restored to his £40 allowance.[12] Concurrently, in 1402, Dartas was renewed his grant in Drogheda and assigned £40 yearly from the town of Dublin as compensation for losing the barony of Norragh.[13] In 1421, Dartas was yet again renewed the 100 marks out of Drogheda's revenues.[14] The problem was evident; two men being granted similar sums from the same resources.

There is evidence that de Burgh was staying in England during the time of this quarrel.[15] Conversely, Dartas was in Ireland and was one of the most loyal and respected officers of the new king. In 1402 he was constable of Dublin Castle; he was given custody of the young Edmund Mortimer, earl of March and Ulster. In 1403 he was made guardian of the manor of Trim and justice of peace of the counties Meath and Louth.[16] In 1404 he was appointed admiral of Ireland. Finally, he was provost of Bordeaux.[17] In 1408-09, Dartas was building a *'nave de guerra'* at Drogheda. William Symcok, future mayor of

---

[7] Curtis, 'Janico Dartas', pp 182-3.

[8] The redistribution of power following the Richardian deposition is examined in D. Biggs, 'The reign of Henry IV: the revolution of 1399 and the establishment of the Lancastrian regime', in N. Saul (ed.), *Fourteenth century england*, I (Woodbridge, 2000), pp 195-210.

[9] Curtis, 'Janico Dartas', p. 185.

[10] *Affairs Ireland*, pp 269-70.

[11] *CPR*, 1399-1401, pp 74, 247.

[12] *CPR*, 1401-05, pp 10, 22.

[13] Ibidem, p. 162; *Rot. Pat. Hib., 15,* p. 226b.

[14] D'Alton, *History of Drogheda*, II, p. 113.

[15] *CPR*, 1399-1401, p. 291. On 1 June 1400 he had letter patents nominating Henry Chambre and Thomas Thomlynson of Drogheda his attorneys in Ireland for three years. That appointment was renewed for other three years on 1 July 1402; see *CPR*, 1401-05, p. 104.

[16] *Rot. Pat. Hib., 15,* p. 226b.

[17] Curtis, 'Janico Dartas', pp 193-4; Potterton, *Medieval Trim*, pp 110-111.

Drogheda Corporation,[18] was also involved in that project. One of the king's letters patent ordered the provision of *cementarios* (builders) and other things which would have been necessary for carrying out that task.[19] O'Neill suggested that such an enterprise was motivated by the fear of an alliance between the Irish chieftains of Ulster and the Scots of the Isles.[20]

The reasons behind the overlapping grants could be attributed to the confusion in the English administration following the change from king to king. Nevertheless, indirect evidence proves that Richard II's grant to de Burgh was confirmed by Henry IV during his first year of reign.[21] Accordingly, the assignment of the same revenue to two people at the same time might not have been a 'mistake', but a circumstance arising from the scarcity of revenues available for collection in Ireland. This idea is corroborated by an entry belonging to the same year. On 13 November 1399 a third man, Lawrence de Merbury, 'chivaler', was granted £20 yearly for life from the customs and cockets of Drogheda in Louth. The grant, however, was cancelled when, on 3 June 1406, the king granted Malbury £30 yearly, this time out of the fee-farm of Waterford.[22] One of the stated reasons for this change was the fact that he could not obtain payment because the costumers and collectors [of Drogheda] were overcharged".[23] The solution though, seems to have been temporary since in 1411, it appears that Melbury was still entitled to the sum from Drogheda's farm. He was in fact given arrears for the three preceding years out of the farm of northern Drogheda, the statute of absentees notwithstanding.[24] Continuing to overextend Drogheda's revenues, Henry V again confirmed the same grant to Melbury in the year 1415.[25]

---

[18] See below, Chap. 9.3, pp 323-29 and Fig. 14, p. 171.

[19] *Rot. Pat. Hib.*, 184, p. 193b.

[20] During the first decade of the fifteenth century the inhabitants of Drogheda were united with those of Dublin in predatory warfare against their common enemies, which extended even to the coasts of Scotland; see O'Neill, *Merchants and mariners*, pp 112, 121.

[21] *CPR*, 1401-1405, p. 22 (4 November 1399).

[22] *Rot. Pat. Hib.*, 103, p. 183; *CPR*, 1399-1401, pp 69, 378; *CCR*, 1399-02, p. 12.

[23] *CPR*, 1405-08, p. 210. The other reason was that de Merbury was assigned by the king 40 marks yearly from the issues of the manor of Ardmulghhan in Meath was because Edward Cherleton and his wife Eleonore, who had the manor, were absent from Ireland, in contravvention to the statute.

[24] *CCR*, 1409-13, pp 252-53, 256.

[25] *Rot. Pat. Hib.*, 128, p. 207.

2. The murages of 1404 and the Ulster rebellion

During the year 1404 Drogheda received confirmation of two distinct murage charters. A letter patent granted murage for twenty years to the seneschal, bailiffs and burgesses of Drogheda in Meath (30 January 1404).[26]

A charter of murage was also bestowed on Drogheda in Louth in April 1404.[27] An entry of *Ancient Petitions* dated the same year reports that the mayor and bailiffs of Drogheda petitioned the king to have the said murage confirmed in perpetuity.[28] The grant was in fact given in perpetuity with exemption for the borough to render account at the Exchequer, Dublin.[29] The charter was witnessed by Stephen Lescrope, deputy of the king's son Thomas of Lancaster, lieutenant of Ireland, and was issued in return for 4 marks.[30] Thereafter, Henry V then extended the exact same charter to "the town formerly called the town of Drogheda on the side of Meath" in return for 5 marks, following the incorporation of the borough.[31] Henry IV's murage to Drogheda in Louth simply reconfirmed the customs applied to the trading goods by Edward III's charter of 1356. There were neither additions of new articles nor the increasing or inflation of the tolls applied.[32] The only addition was saffron, onto each pound of what was levied 1*d*.[33]

The background of these charters to the two Droghedas seems connected to the uprising of 1403-1404 in eastern Ulster. The Irish there, in alliance with the Scots of the Isles, threatened the very existence of the Ulster colony.[34] It has been suggested that the disturbances in Ulster had an 'anti-Lancastrian dimension' and were stirred by the

---

[26] *Rot. Pat. Hib.*, 1, p. 178b: "*Rex senescallis, ballivis et burgensis ville de Drogheda ex parte Midie (recit' certas custumas per letteras patentes de 10 Octobre 9 Richardi secundi eis pro quodam termino datas;) concessisse quod easdem, unacum aliis specificatis, per viginti annos tunc proximos levare possint, reddendo computo coram dues burgenses et non ad scaccarium. Dublino, 30 Jan.*" The charter confirmed letter patents issued by Richard II on 10 October 1385; see above, Chap. 8.1, p. 295.

[27] *CChR*, 1341-1417, pp 424-26; see Appendix 44. The grant confirmed Richard II's charter dated on 24 October 1385; see *Ch. priv. imm.*, p. 83 and Appendix 39.

[28] 'Irish Material in the class of ancient petitions', p. 61.

[29] *Ch. priv. imm.*, p. 78

[30] *CPR*, 1401-05, p. 419.

[31] *CCR*, 1341-1417, pp 476-77 (10 November 1413).

[32] See Chap. 8.2.3, pp 269-73 and Appendix 39.

[33] M. Toussaint-Samat, *A History of food* (Cambridge, 1992), pp 518-19. Saffron started being traded in late medieval towns and Spain was the major centre of saffron production. At various times during the fifteenth century England (Essex) and France (Provence) competed with the Spanish production.

[34] Otwat-Ruthven, *Medieval Ireland*, pp. 343 f.; Simms, 'O'Neill, the crown and Ulster', p. 219.

Mortimers' dynastic claim to the crown. The chronological closeness between the rebellions of the Percies of Northumberland and the turmoil in Ulster may indicate a shared background.[35] During the emergency a great council was held at Castledermot (1404) and subsidies were granted by the whole of Leinster, which included counties Meath, Louth, Waterford and Tipperary. Dublin, Waterford, Drogheda and the other towns contributed proportionally.[36]

There is clear correlation between the policy in Ulster and the personnel in office at Drogheda in Louth during those years. In 1405, Richard White was mayor of Drogheda and Nicholas White was bailiff there.[37] The White family, together with Stephen Gernon and Bartholomew de Verdun, were implicated in the murder of the sheriff of Louth in 1402. At the same time, James White joined the rebels in Ulster.[38] However, in 1403 they were all pardoned for their treasons.[39] In 1404 Robert White became chancellor and treasurer of Ulster, while Edmund Savage was seneschal, showing how the Whites advanced steadily from Louth to Ulster.[40] Richard, Nicholas and John White simultaneously officiated at Drogheda in 1405.[41]

---

[35] Simms, 'Ulster revolt of 1404', pp 151-53.

[36] *Proceedings of the King's council,* pp 270-71. A subsidy of 6*s* and 8*d* on each carrucate of plough land was granted to the earl of Ormond, deputy of Lescrope, by the counties of Meath, Louth, Waterford and Tipperary and a rateable proportion was granted from the prelate, the clergy and the cities of Dublin and Waterford, the towns of Drogheda *ex utraque partes* and other towns to defray his expenses for the war against the Irish enemies.

[37] Deputies were appointed also in 1405, when both the mayor, Richard White and one of the bailiffs, Nicholas White went to England. It seems likely that Richard and Nicholas White, went together to England since the two patents are dated on the same day and witnessed by the same people. Perhaps their business in England was in some way concerned with the rebellion in Ulster? Thomas Day and John White were deputies for the mayor; see *Rot. Pat. Hib.*, 7, p. 181: "*Rex licencia dedit Ricardo White majori ville Drogheda ex parte Urielis, ad Angliam perfecturi, quod ipse Thomam Day et Johannem White burgenses eiusdem ville facere posit deputatos suos in officio predicto. Dublino 7 Oct.*" (1405). John Daltoun was acting as deputy for the bailiff; see *Rot. Pat. Hib.*, 8, p. 181: "*Rex omnibus mandate quod Johanni Daltoun burgensis de Drogheda, quem Nicholas White unus ballivorum ville predicte, trans mare, de licencia Regis, prefecturi, faceat deputatum suum in dicto officio, intendentes sit. Teste ut supra*" (1405); see above, Fig. 14, p. 170.

[38] The affinity of the Whites to the Mortimer's interests is marked by the fact that as soon as Edmund Mortimer became of age, James White was appointed seneschal of Ulster, see Simms, 'Ulster revolt of 1404', p. 152. On the other hand, De Verdun and Gernon may have opposed the Lancastrian succession to re-affirm their traditional influence in the Louth area.

[39] *CPR*, 1404-1405, pp. 242, 481.

[40] Simms, 'Ulster revolt of 1404', pp 153-55.

[41] According to D'Alton's list of Drogheda's mayors William White was mayor at Drogheda in 1399; John White in 1401, together with Thomas Walton, John Symcock, bailiffs; Richard White was mayor in 1405 and 1406; see D'Alton, *History of Drogheda*, I, pp 246-7; see Appendix 13.

3. The Charter of Incorporation (1412)

3.1 Incipit and background

The two boroughs of Drogheda in Louth and in Meath had been two distinct legal entities since the year 1229. On 1 November 1412 King Henry IV incorporated them into a town which was given county status.[42] This charter's background is investigated here using three perspectives: the first, by discussing its very prologue; the second, by reporting three antiquarians' evaluations; the third, by addressing Irish and English politics during the first decades of the fifteenth century.

The prologue of the 1412 charter asserts that the decision to unify the two boroughs was the result of the burgesses' will to overcome the complications of having two separate jurisdictions. By virtue of their separated privileges, the two boroughs used to separately collect tolls, customs and taxes from the merchants coming to trade in Drogheda. As a result, merchants were often obliged to pay double charges and various disputes often arose between the two vills - each one trying to claim theright to levy customs. Accordingly, merchants stopped trading in Drogheda, causing damage to the economies of both boroughs and the impoverishment of the vill. The king therefore issued the charter, aiming to re-establish peace between his lieges and compensate them for the losses sustained in the king's service during war.[43]

This is the first evidence for a trading rivalry between the two boroughs. The economic competition between Drogheda's southern and northern parts suggests analogies with the situation that was occurring with Waterford *versus* New Ross. The most striking difference between the two situations is that the rivalry of the two ports on the Suir is the most persistent theme in Waterford records for well over two centuries.[44] On the contrary, this study has never come across data of the like while researching the previous 220 years of Drogheda's municipal life. Water transport was certainly important for the economic development of both coastal towns. Nevertheless, the seigniorial powers at Drogheda were

---

[42] *Na Buirgéisí*, I, pp 200-210.

[43] Ibidem, I, pp 200-02; see Appendix. 45.

[44] McEneaney, *History of Waterford*, p. 71; Walton, *Royal charters of Waterford*, pp 4, 10. The Great Charter Roll of Waterford, which contains all of the charters given to the city from 1215 to 1370, was compiled during the years 1372-4 when Waterford's trade monopoly was under scrutiny. The manuscript was produced to provide the legal backing for Waterford's case against New Ross.

never allowed to attempt what they achieved in New Ross - when William Marshall's seneschal, Geoffrey FitzRobert, began the construction of a deep-water port on the Barrow, to free the export trade of Leinster from royal interference at Waterford.[45] Waterford was a royal borough and had direct access to the king, while New Ross was part of the lordship of Carlow.[46] Similarly, Drogheda in Louth was a royal borough and Drogheda in Meath was seigniorial by foundation, even though it soon taken into the king's hands.[47]

All things said, the years preceding 1412 were without doubt marked by a very tense situation between the two boroughs of Drogheda. If rivalry was there before the fifteenth century, it has not left records in documentary sources.

Three municipal histories - Ware's *MS B 484* (1591)[48], Johnston's *History of Drogheda* (1826)[49] and Hughes' *History of Drogheda* (1893)[50] - all refer to the aforementioned conflict and add to it with details concernrd with two Drogheda men: a friar, Philip Bennet and a merchant, William Symcok.[51]

What follows has been stated by both Johnston and Hughes. They narrated that before the north and the south boroughs of Drogheda were united, the principal market was held in the south town, near Millmount fort, on the plot known as Old Cornmarket Hill. Several wares were brought into town there by shipping merchants and put on sale. The presence of a market in southern Drogheda has been recorded by several charters granted to the town since its foundation.[52] Ships preferred to anchor on the south side of the river by

---

[45] Martin, 'John, Lord of Ireland', pp 150-51.

[46] For a discussion on the rivalry between Waterford and New Ross; see E. Mc Eneaney and R. Ryan (eds), *Waterford Treasures* (Waterford, 2004), pp 66-78; Walton, *Royal charters of Waterford*, pp 20-22.

[47] The de Lacy, de Geneville and de Mortimer families which succeeded in that lordship were allowed a rent in compensation for the seizure of the castle of Drogheda and Blathach. According to the 1220 compromise, Walter de Lacy was allowed to keep the tolls and the aids of the vill; see *CDI, 1171-1251*, 952-953, pp 145-6. Perhaps Walter and his heirs received also some or all of the profits of the town court, although the evidence for it is lacking; see above, Chap. 4.2.4, pp 136-41.

[48] Rawlinson MS B 484, ff 67- 71.

[49] Johnston, *History of Drogheda*, pp 35-37.

[50] Hughes, *History of Drogheda*, p. 209.

[51] It has to be said that all of these histories of Drogheda are lacking bibliographical references and can not be therefore considered totally reliable sources; see Chap. 4.3.2, pp 151-52 and Conclusion, pp 341-42.

[52] The right to hold a weekly market was only granted to Drogheda on the Meath side: by the 1247 charter the market was to be held every Wednesday, see Appendix 7. By the 1318 charter the market on the southern borough was held twice a week, on Wednesday and Saturday; see Appendix 27. On the other hand, Drogheda in Louth was granted fairs, but never a weekly market; see above Chap. 4.2.3, pp 132-36.

reason of their being exempt on that side from paying pontage which was levied from the north quay. The burgesses of south Drogheda therefore had a monopoly on imported merchandise, which they sold to the people of the northern town at raised prices. This was a perpetual source of grievance and caused a contention between the inhabitants of both places, whose jealousies and animosity often arose to great heights. They pursued separate interests and seemed to hold no friendly intercourse, no exchange of fellowship, and although so closely allied, lived like enemies ever in arms against each other. Battles often ensued in which much blood was shed and many lives lost. Both authors recount that the Bridge of Drogheda was the scene for a terrible confrontation between the two neighbouring communities. Missile weapons were used by the opponents and in this dreadful and shameful contest, many were wounded and died. It was in vain that the ecclesiastics of the town and the respectable inhabitants used all their efforts to stop the course of such desperate proceedings.[53]

Johnston stated that, according to the MSS Annals of Ireland, in St. Sepulchre's Library, Dublin, *ad annum* 1412, Father Philip Bennet, master of theology and Dominican friar from the priory of St. Mary Magdalene, Drogheda,[54] invited the burgesses of both parties to hear a sermon at the collegiate church of St. Peter on the festival of Corpus Christi. He quoted 132 Psalm from the Bible: "Behold how good, and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity." During the sermon he thrice asked the congregation with energy, "Will you be united to the body of Christ?" to which Alderman William Symcok answered in the name of all: "We will".[55] A bond of peace was made and after having consulted Father Bennet about their disputes, a joint petition was made by his recommendation to King Henry IV asking him to consolidate the two bodies. The said petition was signed by Nicholas Fleming, archbishop of Armagh. Hughes also stated that the same archbishop was sent to London to bring back the charter of incorporation dated 1 November 1412.[56] Johnston, on the contrary, stated that it was a certain Robert Bail who returned to Drogheda on the 15 of December 1412 with a charter from the king. The charter sanctioned the union of the two sides into one town under a single mayor and formed

---

[53] Johnston, *History of Drogheda*, pp 35-6; Hughes, *History of Drogheda*, p. 209.

[54] In the same priory King Richard II received the submission of the Irish kings in the year 1394, see Gwynn and Hadcock, *Religious houses. Ireland*, p. 224; see above, Chap. 8.3, pp 303-10.

[55] Johnston, *History of Drogheda*, p. 36.

[56] Hughes, *History of Drogheda*, p. 209.

Drogheda into a county.[57] The day after receiving the incorporative document, Archbishop Fleming gave his solemn blessing to the united people. William Symcok, who had given voice to the common desire for coalition, was elected as first mayor. Hughes mentioned that "a mock ceremony, commemorative of this joyful occurrence, was annually celebrated up to the year 1800".[58]

Evidence for William Symcok as the town's first mayor is found in one of the deeds of Christ Church, Dublin. It records that in 1414 Symcok was mayor of Drogheda and was assisted by two sheriffs, Richard Frapestoune[59] and Robert Ball.[60] Robert Ball was probably the same Robert Bail who, according to Johnston, brought the charter back to Drogheda.

Competition and financial rivalry may have helped to bring 'standardization' as outlined in Drogheda since the reign of Edward III to its highest peak.[61] However, politics played just as fundamental a role in the incorporation of the Droghedas as it did in any of the other legal processes examined by this study. It is likely that the catalyst for the issuing of the 1412 charter was Edmund Mortimer's coming of age. He was seven years old when his father Roger Mortimer died in battle in July 1398.[62] By 1412 he had turned twenty one. The incorporation of Drogheda may have been a measure used by the crown to cut off Mortimer's claim to lordship over Drogheda in Meath. In 1415 an *inspeximus* of Henry II's charter to Hugh de Lacy was confirmed to Mortimer.[63] Drogheda was not included in the package.

---

[57] Johnston, *History of Drogheda*, p. 37.

[58] Hughes, *History of Drogheda*, p. 210.

[59] Frampestoun was a merchant from Drogheda; see *Rot. Pat. Hib.,* 223, p. 142: in 1390, Richard Frampestoun was given licence to carry *trans mare* ten weights of wheat and other grains.

[60] *Christ Church deeds*, pp 186-7.

[61] See above, Chap. 7.1, pp 248-59.

[62] Edmund Mortimer was seven year old in 1998 when his father Roger Mortimer died in battle on July 1398; see R. R. Davies, 'Mortimer Roger (VII), fourth earl of March and sixth earl of Ulster (1374-1398), *ODNB*; *CP,* VIII, pp. 450-53.

[63] *Rot. Pat. Hib.*, 94, p. 162.

3.2 William Symcok, first Mayor of Drogheda Corporation

William Symcok was an eminent merchant from Drogheda who held several offices in the town government. His activities both as merchant and politician were recorded over a long period: from the final years of Edward III's reign, through all of Richard II's reign up to 1420 when he died.

His *cursus honorum* in politics, besides being one of the best documented is also extremely varied. He was three times seneschal of Drogheda in Meath (1375[64], 1386[65], 1389[66]), twice representative to Parliaments for that town (1372[67], 1375[68]), collector of customs there (1399)[69], often nominated attorney[70] and engaged at Drogheda shipyard in the building of a '*nave de guerra*' with one of the king's most important esquires, Janico Dartas.[71] Symcok managed to steadily build his fortune even while navigating the unstable seas of three different royal courts.

---

[64] *Rot. Pat. Hib.*, 239, p. 97, where he is styled '*seneschal de Drogheda ex parte Midie'*. See also *Rot. Pat. Hib.*, 218, p. 96: in 1375 the king ordered him and two other burgesses of the same vill, John Asshwell and John Stamen, to sell beer and wine to John del Ontyles, a Scots man, who was in the king's peace, at his arrival at that town with his galley.

[65] Ibidem, 138, p. 125b. In 1386 Symcok was seneschal of Drogheda in Meath and on 12 January he appointed a deputy by reason of his travelling to England. In 1387 Richard II issued a ban on the export of grain, malt, falcons from the ports of Dublin, Meath and Louth; Symcok, perhaps by his capacity of seneschal, was assigned to control the ban's application; Ibidem, 172, p. 135b.

[66] Ibidem, 219, p. 137: the mayor of Drogheda, Thomas Davis, and the seneschal, Symcok, were given licence to provide victuals to John Bishop of Sodor' during his stay. The patent seems therefore to assign responsibility for the Bishop to both Droghedas; see above Fig. 14, p. 171 and p. 295, footnote 13.

[67] *Rot. Pat. Hib.*, 46, p. 84. The Dublin Parliament of 1275 was attended by six burgesses of Drogheda: William Roche, Nicholas Fitzhugh, William Symcok, Thomas Ashe, Richard Mile and John Ashwell. For the complete transcription of the writ of the 1372 parliamentary summons see Lynch, *Legal institutions*, p. 321; see above, Chap. 7.4, pp 285-92. According to J. D'Alton (D'Alton, *History of Drogheda*, 1, p. 173) and A. Hughes (Hughes, *History of Drogheda*, p. 210), Symcok was among Drogheda's representatives attending the Parliament of 1371: he was made personally liable for the subsidy granted to Windsor which had never been paid. It is not clear if D'Alton and Hughes referred to the Parliament at Kilkenny (3 May 1371) or to the one which took place at Ballydoyle later that same year (1-8 June 1371). Whatever the case may be, the only attested evidence for Symcok's attendance at a parliament comes in relation to the Dublin Great Councils of 1372 and of 1375.

[68] At the Dublin Parliament of 1275 William Symcok and John Ashwell 'spontaneously' granted 20s. each in aid of the justiciar; see *Rot. Pat. Hib.*, 200, p. 95; see above, Fig. 14, p. 292.

[69] In the year of Henry IV's accession to the crown, Symcok was appointed as collector of the customs in the port of Drogheda, in substitution for Richard Gille, who had been captured by certain rebels, see *Rot. Pat. Hib.*, 43, p. 156. An order was issued to Gille's wife ordering her to hand over the cocket's seal to Symcok; see *Rot. Pat. Hib.,* 6, p. 159b.

[70] In 1387 Symcok and John Norton were nominated for one year attorneys of John Bret, a Bristol man, who was dwelling in England, see *CPR,* 1385-89, p. 370; One year later he was appointed attorney for John Hably who stayed in England, together with Henry Chaumbr'; see *Rot. Pat. Hib.*, 46, p. 138b.

[71] Ibidem, 184, p. 193b; see above, Chap.9.1, pp 319-20.

His mercantile activity consisted of wine trade to Ulster and Scotland and corn and wheat to Gascony, Spain, Wales and Bordeaux. He rented the Bann fishery and contributed to the building of a galley at the shipyard of Drogheda in Meath. The following table resumes Symcok trading activities and shows his enormous capacity to turn even a war into good business.

FIG. 30: THE TRADING ACTIVITIES OF WILLIAM SYMCOK

YEAR	PRODUCT/SERVICE	DESTINATION	SOURCE
1386	6 jars of wine	to Scotland	*Rot. Pat. Hib.*, 199, p. 136b
1386-87	licence to fish in the Bann and river Lynne		*Rot. Pat. Hib.*, 162, p. 135
1389	licence to load eight weys of wheat on a ship in the port of Drogheda	to Gascony and Spain	*Rot. Pat. Hib.*, 223, p. 137
1390	6 barrels of wine and twelve barrels of beer	to Ulster	*Rot. Pat. Hib.*, 237 p. 142b
1403	licence to transport and sell wine	to Ulster	*Rot. Pat. Hib.*, 11, p. 176b
1405	licence to transport two jars of old wine which he was not able to sell in England together with four jars of beer	to Ulster, at Loughfoyle, for the use of his men	*Rot. Pat. Hib.*, 25, p. 179
1405	trading four weys of wheat	to the vill of Tynbegh in Wales	*Rot. Pat. Hib.*, 37, p. 181b
1408	Building a '*nave de guerra*' at Drogheda		*Rot. Pat. Hib.*, 184, p. 193b
1412	licence to carry 12 weys of wheat	to Boudeaux in aid of the king's lieges therein	*Rot. Pat. Hib.*, 26, p. 198

4. Incorporation, county status and privileges

'Incorporation' was a royal grant that raised a community to the rank of a legal personality.[72] Incorporation meant that the mayor and the council of a town collectively formed a corporate borough and constituted a separate legal entity from the individual members. The county status was a further evolution and sanctioned the formal recognition of the town, exercising territorial unity. The creation of a county involved the establishment of a whole new set of jurisdictions and the suppression of old ones. This section addresses the institutional weight of these designations.

Drogheda was the first Irish town to be granted a charter of incorporation; Waterford was next in 1461[73], Galway in 1484,[74] Dublin[75] and Youghal[76] in 1485. This chronology does not imply that Drogheda was more pre-eminent than any of the other towns that followed it. In many cases, in fact, incorporation charters only served to officialize a *de facto* condition that already existed. In England, the first formal grant of incorporation occurred in the case of Coventry in 1345. The first example however, where all of the 'five conditions' were satisfied was Kingston-upon-Hull in 1460.[77] London's corporate capacity was so taken for granted that the city did not receive a formal charter until 1608.[78]

According to the model fifteenth-century formulation, the Hull charter, charters of incorporation usually bestowed five main privileges on a borough:

1) Perpetual succession, which assured the corporation's continuous existence.

2) The use of a corporate seal; which effectively symbolized perpetuity, binding all of the burgesses together.

3) The right to own, rent or lease lands or properties.

---

[72] *Brit. borough chart., 1307-1660,* p. xxiii. Weinbaum in his study of the medieval English boroughs has pointed out that the real innovation in the charters of the period 1307-1660 was their incorporation.

[73] *CChR*, 1427-1516, p. 171.

[74] Hardimann, *History of Galway*, pp vi-xxvi (Appendix). Weinbaum has stated that Galway's formal incorporation dates to the year 1578; see *British borough charters*, pp lxiv, 211.

[75] *Cal. ancient rec.,* I, p. 32.

[76] *Brit. borough chart., 1307-1660*, p. lxvi.

[77] Ibidem, pp 47-68.

[78] Reynolds, *History of English towns*, pp 113-14.

4) The right to make bye-laws; which implied a level of self-government.

5) The right to sue and be sued as a legal entity by the specific name of their corporation in a court of law.[79]

How many of these conditions were, either *de iure* or *de facto,* enjoyed by Drogheda before 1412?

1) Drogheda in Louth and Meath were granted to be *imperpetuum liber burga* and hold their liberties at fee-farms by Henry III in 1229 and 1247.[80] In 1412 the boroughs on the opposite banks of the river were united and granted a perpetual fee farm of 100 marks.[81] Drogheda was also permanently settled as a separate county from the counties of Louth and Meath. Perpetuity ensured the impersonal character of the alternating town administrations.

2) The use of the municipal seal is expressly mentioned in the 1412 charter. It states that after the mayor and sheriffs' election and oaths, their names were to be sent yearly to the Chancery of Ireland under the town's common seal.[82] However, the use of a corporate seal was first documented in Drogheda in Louth around the year 1206.[83] A case of exploitation of the municipal seal for personal purposes is documented in the year 1346. William Preston, burgess of Drogheda in Louth, granted one of his relatives a messuage in Preston, Lancaster. Preston asked that the seal of the community of Drogheda in Louth be appended to the document, as his own seal, which was also attached, had become unknown to many in Preston.[84] Again, by the charter of 1363, Drogheda in Louth was granted the same privileges as Dublin and sanctioned the use of the seal.[85]

3) The right to own rent or lease lands or properties had been a much sought after freedom by boroughs. It had been part of northern Drogheda's set of rights since 1229 and of southern Drogheda since 1247. By the charters of *free burgage*, the burgesses held the land directly from the crown, an arrangement which allowed them to inherit, alienate and

---

[79] *Brit. borough chart., 1307-1660*, pp. xxiii-xxvi. For a discussion on the subject, see Idem, *The incorporation of boroughs* (Manchester, 1937).

[80] *Na Buirgéisí*, I, pp 185, 174; see above, Chapt. 4.1.1, pp. 110-13 and Appendices 6, 7.

[81] *Na Buirgéisí*, I, p. 202; see below, p. 334 and Appendix. 45.

[82] *Na Buirgéisí*, I, p. 204: "*... quorum nomina sub sigillo communi eiusdem ville in cancellariam nostram et heredum nostrorum Hibernie annuatim mittentur imperpetuum*,

[83] *Ir. Chartul. Llanthony*, p. 64: "*Ut autem hec convencio sive transactio rata et stabilis perseveret presens scriptum sigillo nostro una cum sigillo communi burgensium communimus*"; see above, Chap. 2.5, pp 56-9.

[84] *Gormanston Reg.*, pp 89-90.

[85] *Na Buirgéisí*, I, p. 197. The accounts to the exchequer were to be made by Drogheda's mayor and his officials by letters patent to which they had to append the municipal seal; see Appendix 35.

otherwise profit from their property, provided that any improvement did not interfere with the common good.[86] Sanctioned by Henry III by conferring the burgesses the right of free marriage, the free transferability of land was a most valuable right.[87] Tangentially, both communities were granted the right of building houses "*ad filum acque*".[88] Drogheda in Meath was freed to build everywhere in the waste lands within the walls (1318).[89] In 1252 the burgesses of Drogheda in Louth were granted the so called 'one year and one day-clause', which established 'one year and one day' as the term after which the occupation of a plot inside the walls turned into property.[90] By extension, the said clause involved the selling of houses and properties and was later abrogated by Edward III in 1331[91] and in 1364,[92] by Richard II in 1392[93] and by Henry V in 1413.[94] It is a relevant fact that Drogheda in Meath never enjoyed this clause. These were all quite generic provisions regulating the property of land. Through the charter of 1412, the town was given jurisdiction over all the pleas of *novel disseisin* and *mort d'ancestor* which touched all the land and the tenements inside the vill and its suburbs.[95]

4) In 1412 the mayor, the sheriff, the burgesses and the community were given power to meet annually in a place of their own choice inside the vill and make ordinances and statutes for the government of that vill.[96] As often underlined by this study, Drogheda as well as all of the English and Irish towns were given autonomy of government since the

---

[86] *Na Buirgéisí*, I, pp 186, 174: "*et quod terras et tenuras suas et vadimonia sua et debita sua omnia iuste habeant quicumque ea debeant, et de terris et tenuris suis que infra metas suas sunt rectum eis teneatur secundum consuetudinem burgi de Drogheda*"; see Appendices 6, 7.

[87] Ibidem, I, pp 176, 188-9: "*...videlicet quod libere possint maritare se filios et filias suas viduas pro se voluntatis arbitrio nisi maritagium eorum ad nos vel alios de terra nostra Hibernie racione terrarum vel tenementorum forinsecorum pertineat*".

[88] Ibidem, I, pp 175-76, 187.

[89] Ibidem, I, p. 179; see Appendix 27.

[90] Ibidem,I, pp 189-90; see above, Chap. 4.3.1, pp 150-51 and Appendix 12.

[91] Ibidem,I, p. 192; see above, Chap.7.1.1, p. 251 and Appendix 34.

[92] *Na Buirgéisí*, I, pp 195-200; see above, Chap. 7.1.3, pp 257-60 and Appendix 35.

[93] *Ch. priv. et imm.*, p. 89; see above, Chap. 8.1, pp 296-97 and Appendix 41.

[94] *CCR*, 1341-1417, pp 476-77.

[95] *Na Buirgéisí*, I, p. 207: "*... quod ipsi ac heredes et successores suis ville predicte habeant cognitionem omnimodorum placitorum assisarum nove disseisine et mortis antecessoris de omnimodis terries et tenimentis infra villam suburbia...*".; see p. 336 and Appendix 45.

[96] Ibidem, I, p. 203: "*Ac eciam quod predicti maior et vicecomites ac burgenses et communitas ville predicte in comitatum de Drogheda sit erecte in quodam loco infra eadem villam prout eis melius placuerit pro communi utilitate eiusdem ville singulis annis convenire necnon ordinaciones et statute licita et honesta inter seipos pro sana gubernacione ville predicte facere possint licite impune*". The same right was given to Limerick on the following year; see Ibidem, I, p. 243.

early stages of their municipal growth.[97] However, they were never sanctioned any legislative power. It seems worth noting that the burgesses were empowered to take part in civic legislation. The beginnings of democracy?

5) The right to sue and be sued by the specific name of the town in a court of law was unprecedented in Drogheda's *de iure* or *de facto* set of rights before 1412. On the contrary, Dublin's administration used to hold the officers of the borough personally responsible in case of financial damage caused by the town itself. According to the 1331 charters granted to both Droghedas, the mayor and bailiffs were responsible for any negligence or fraud committed in the town. They were personally liable and punished with fines.[98] At the Dublin parliament of 1370, the mayor, seneschals and bailiffs of both Droghedas and twelve of the burgesses were responsible for the town. At the Dublin Parliament of 1371, William Windsor arrested John Frombold, mayor of Drogheda in Louth, because the town only paid half of the subsidy requested by the lieutenant.[99] After 1412 this injustice was set right by a declaration stating that the community was a legal body. There was only one place where Drogheda acted as a real corporation before Henry IV's charter; as a staple town (1326). As such, Drogheda was held responsible for the conduct of its merchants abroad.[100]

To sum up: four conditions out of the five listed were *de facto* among Drogheda's privileges before 1412, even though they occurred in an attenuated form: perpetual succession, the corporate seal; property of land; by-laws. The right to sue and to be sued seems to be the only entirely new privilege granted to the incorporated community. This condition freed the town's officials of personal liability while representing their co-burgesses in court. In this, municipal status had been lifted to a higher plane.[101]

---

[97] *Brit. borough chart., 1307-1660*, p. xxiv: "when the crown had established its centralized system, it gladly left local matters to local decisions and even used town government as royal agencies"; see also Pollock and Maitland, *History of English law*, I, p. 662.

[98] Appendices 33, 34.

[99] Clarke, 'William Windsor', pp 11-18; *CCR,* 1369-74, pp. 265-66; see above, Chap. 7.4, pp 285-92.

[100] *Early Statutes*, I, pp 318-9; see above discussion on the staple, Chap.7.5.2, pp 274-80.

[101] Weinbaum, *Incorporation of Boroughs*, pp 18-22.

County status

The first English urban area to receive the county status was Bristol in 1373.[102] Drogheda had the same preheminence in Ireland, receiving it along with incorporation in 1412.[103] This was due to the fact that previously there were two local authorities in Drogheda under the respective jurisdictions of counties Louth and Meath. Dublin was next in 1548[104] followed by Carrickfergus in 1569,[105] Waterford in 1574[106] Kilkenny in 1609[107] and Cork in 1631.[108] Limerick[109] and Galway did not obtain this status until 1609.[110]

As well as with incorporation, the attainment of county status was an official act sometimes confirming a pre-existing state of affairs. Most of the major Irish cities and towns had already escaped from the control of the county sheriff before being formally erected into counties. Perhaps Drogheda had freed itself from the interference of the sheriffs of Louth in 1252, when the town was granted the right of returning writs.[111] Definitely she did in 1364, when the burgesses were granted the same privileges as Dublin.[112] It is a remarkable fact that Drogheda in Meath was never granted such a right and had been always subjected to the control of the sheriffs of County Meath. Colin Platt has stated that "in securing the cooperation of the king in excluding his sheriff from the borough, they had won the first round in the long battle that would eventually bring to many of the greater boroughs the freedom of independent county status".[113] Scholars have pointed out that the most important features of incorporation were not the 'five points', but the grants of new jurisdictions linked to the county status.[114] Invariably, the county status

---

[102] Weinbaum, *Incorporation*, pp 54-7.

[103] *Na Buirgéisí*, I, p. 202: "*ac die dictis comitatibus de Louet and Midia et eorum altero ex nunc imperpetuum penitus et omnino separatus sit et exemptus ac comitatus de Drogheda sit et nuncupetur et ut comitatus per se in omnibus pertractetur*".

[104] Weinbaum, *Incorporation*, p. 208.

[105] Ibidem, p. 198.

[106] Ibidem, p. 226.

[107] Bradley, *Treasures of Kilkenny*, pp 78-81.

[108] Ibidem, p. 204.

[109] Potter, *History of Limerick,* p. 44; *Brit. borough chart., 1307-1660,* p. 218.

[110] Hardimann, *History of Galway*, pp 99-100; *Brit. borough chart., 1307-1660*, p. 212.

[111] See above, Chap. 4.3, pp 143 and Appendix 12

[112] Right of returning writs meant the privilege to execute for themselves the royal precepts, excepting the four pleas reserved to the king's court; see *Na Buirgéisí*, I, pp 196-7: "*...et quod iidem burgenses dicti burgi de Drogheda habeant retorna omnium brevium nostrorum et heredum nostrorum tam summonicionum quam attachiamentorum...* ".; see Chap. 7.1.3, pp 257-60 Appendix 35.

[113] Platt, *English medieval town* (London, 1976), p. 135.

[114] Reynolds, *English medieval towns*, p. 114.

substituted the office of bailiffs in the town with that of sheriffs, as the latter position denoted country status. Here below follows a summary of the new institutions enacted by the 1412 charter.[115]

The charter assigned the government of county Drogheda to a mayor and two sheriffs to be elected by the burgesses. Concurrently, the offices of the seneschals and bailiffs was abolished and substituted by the sheriffs, the traditional office of the county.[116]

The charter ordered the immediate dismissal of the current mayor and the bailiffs of Drogheda in Louth, together with the seneschals and bailiffs of Drogheda in Meath; a new mayor and two sheriffs were to be elected by the burgesses to take up the rule of the vill during the remainder of that present year. The mayor, after being elected, had to take his oath in front of the representative of the Council "who were hitherto called *iurati*" and were to be from then on referred to as Aldermen; the sheriffs were to take oath in front of the mayor and aldermen and there was no need to wait for writ of *Dedimus potestatem* from the chancery or any other mandate. The guild-hall was the place where the official acts were to take place. The mayor and sheriffs' names were to be yearly sent to the chancery of Ireland under the common seal of the town. The charter provides for regulations concerning the vacancy of said offices. County Drogheda was to be held of the crown at a yearly fee-farm of 100 marks, the aggregate of the respective customary rents of each side, namely 60 marks in Louth and 40 marks in Meath. The sheriffs were to yearly account for that farm at the exchequer, Dublin at the usual terms.[117]

The mayor was empowered for two new tasks: he was created the king's escheator, namely the collector of royal revenues.[118] Formerly the escheator was a royal officer travelling and collecting the revenues. Furthermore, the mayor and four aldermen were

---

[115] See Appendix 45.

[116] *Na Buirgéisí*, I, pp 202-3: "*...sub gobernacione unius maioris et duorum vicecomitum dumtaxat per burgenses et communitatem ville predicte de tempore in tempus eligendorum deletis penitus de eorum communi assensu et cessantibus nominibus et statibus dictorum senescalli et ballivorum ut villa unius libertatis et franchesie tam ex una parte aque quam ex altera maneat et teneatur perpetualiter et habeatur*".

[117] Ibidem, I, p. 202: "*Et quod dicta villa teneatur de nobis imperpetuum unam integram foedi firma solvendam nobis et heredibus nostris annuatim ad scaccarium nostrum Hibernie per manum vicecomitum ville predicte pro tempore existencium super compotum suum centum marcas ad terminus inibi usuales*".

[118] Ibidem, I, p. 203: "*Et quod maior ville predicte pro tempore existens sit inibi escaetor noster et heredum nostrorum imperpetuum*".

made justices of peace. They were given jurisdiction over all of the matters, plaints, defects, causes and articles belonging to the office of the justice of peace, over labourers and craftsmen, as fully as such justices used to do in the two said counties, and without the interference of any other justices. They were obliged to obtain the king's special mandate in order to proceed to the determination of felony. All of the fines, revenues, forfeitures, amercements, belonging to the office of justice of peace were to be used in aid of the repairing of the bridge of the vill and other daily necessary expenses occurring in the said vill.

By the early 1400s the mayors of Irish towns had acquired the privilege of exercising the role of justice of the peace in virtue of their own offices: Limerick[119] and New Ross[120] on 20 January 1412; Drogheda on 1 November 1412;[121] Dublin on 6 February 1420;[122] Waterford on 6 May 1413[123] and Cork on 28 March 1442.[124] Other towns had varying degrees of exemption from interference by county keepers: Kilkenny, Dundalk, Youghal and Kinsale.[125] The eyres disappear from the scene about the same time and the justice of the peace took over tasks and duties of the old justices itinerant. The tasks of the early fifteenth-century justices of the peace in Ireland were the same as the previous keepers of peace, namely: array of the troops and punishment of those who failed to fulfil the obligation to defend the lordship; they acted as captains in march warfare; they had power of truce-making and negotiating with the English and Irish rebels. According to Robin Frame, the Irish keepers-later justices of the peace never lose their military functions because of the continuous state of warfare; at the same time they never were recipient for the broad spectrum of judicial power acquired by the English justices.[126] By extending this

---

[119] Ibidem, I, pp 244-45 .

[120] Ibidem, I, p. 317.

[121] Ibidem, I, pp 207-8: "*...imperpetuum habeant plenam correccionem punicionem auctoritatem et potestatem ad inquirendum audiendum et terminandum per maiorem ville predicte ac alios quatuor probiores et legaliores hominess eiusdem ville per eundem maiorem et successors suos eligendos omnes materias querelas defectus causas et articulos qui ad officium iusticiarii pacis laboratorum et artificum pertinent ac alias res quascumque infra villam suburbia bundas metas limites et procinctus predicta tam per terram quam per aquam emergentes vel contingents et qui aliquot modo coram iusticiariis pacis laboratorum et artificum inquiri poterunt et terminari adeo plene et integer sicut iusticiarii pacis laboratorum et artificum in predictis comitatibus de Lueth et Midia ante hec tempora habuerunt vel executerunt...*".

[122] *Na Buirgéisí*, I, p. 100.

[123] Ibidem, I, pp 269-70.

[124] *CPR*, 1441-46, pp 63-4.

[125] *Na Buirgéisí*, I, pp 146, 213, 218-20; *Ch. priv. et imm.*, p. 84.

[126] Frame, *Ireland and Britain*, pp 301-17.

office to the boroughs, "the crown forged another link between central and local government, at the same time, strengthened the responsibilities of the municipalities".[127]

A clause empowered the mayor, sheriffs, burgesses and commonalty to meet every year and make ordinances and statutes for the safe government of the town.

The county court was to be held by the sheriffs in every place of their choice inside the vill every first Monday of the month.[128] The profits arising from the court and all amercements were to be of common advantage for the communities dwelling on both sides of the river in aid for the payment of the fee-farm. Tolls and customs levied from merchants were to be collected jointly, as of one franchise and no more separately as before.[129] This was in fact the main cause of the rivalry among the two boroughs before 1412. The vill was also given all fines resulting from the other burdens daily arising there and forfeitures of victuals like bread, wine, ale and other things not connected with merchandise.

Two clauses deal with the jurisdiction of the county: on directs that none should plead or be impleaded before the king's justices out of the town, but before the mayor and the sheriffs concerning lands and tenements within said vill; a very general jurisdiction was given them within the limits in cases of trespass, covenants, contracts and debts, assizes of *novel disseisin* and *mort d'ancestor* of lands and tenements.

---

[127] *Brit. borough chart., 1307-1660*, pp xviii-xix. In seeking an explanation for the failure of the elaborate machinery of royal justice during the later Middle Ages, Powell put forward two connected arguments: the demise of the itinerant eyre, substituted by the justices of peace and the corruption of the institutions and process of justice by the magnates and gentry who filled the commissions of peace; see E. Powell, 'Arbitration and the law in England in the later middle ages', *RHS Trans.,* ser. V, 33 (1983), pp 49-67. The appointment of the king's favourites to the office of Justice of peace is examined by D. Biggs, 'Henry IV and his JPs: the Lancastrianization of Justice', in D. Biggs (ed.), *Traditions and transformations in late medieval England* (Leiden, 2002), pp 59-79.

[128] One of the most important works on English medieval exercise of justice is J. G. Bellamy, *Crime and public order in England in the later middle ages* (London, 1973), pp 2, 12-29.

[129] According to the proemium of the charter of 1412 the trading competition between the two vills on the Boyne was the ultimate reason for the issuing of the charter itself; see above, Chap. 9.3.1, pp 323-27.

CONCLUSION

This study has produced three outcomes: one is political and focuses on the political forces which shaped the evolution of medieval Drogheda. The second is institutional and reconstructs the framework of the offices assigned to the town's government. The third is legal and delineates a pattern in the transmission of Anglo-Norman municipal law to Drogheda.

Political

The reason why medieval Drogheda was a twin town, a focal issue discussed in this thesis, has as much to do with topography as with politics. The duality of Drogheda was a product of the pre-existing ecclesiastical jurisdictions in the area where the town was founded. The river Boyne was defined as the boundary between the dioceses of Meath and Armagh by Pope Gregory IX, demonstrating that the original southern boundary of Armagh, defined at the Synod of Rath Breasail as 'Sliabh Breagh' (on a line from Collon to Clogherhead, county Louth), had been moved southwards to this great river in the reign of Donnchad Ó Cerbaill (d. 1168), King of Argialla, during the temporary transfer of the Louth area from Armagh to Clogher diocese. This was an arrangement which lead to a long dispute, finally resolved by Pope Gregory's decision.[1]

The evidence that this partition occurred early is suggested by the existence of two parishes at Drogheda - St. Peter's and St. Mary's - and by the fact that Walter de Lacy's charter was only addressed to the burgesses dwelling on the south side of the Boyne.[2] The Anglo-Norman jurisdiction lay on the same axis. Initially the Boyne marked the separation between the lands of Hugh de Lacy, lord of Meath, and Bertram de Verdun (1190).[3] From 1229, the river marked the jurisdictional division between the borough of Drogheda in

---

[1] Gwynn, 'Armagh and Louth', pp 6-7; Lawlor, 'Synod of Kells, 1152', pp 11-22; Battersby, *Synod of Kells*, pp 36-39.

[2] See Appendix 3. The debate on the origin of the parochial system in Ireland was re-opened by A. Empey: 'The origin of the medieval parish revisited', in H. B. Clarke and J. R. S. Philips, Ireland , *England and the continent in the middle Ages and beyond* (Dublin, 2006), pp 29-50.

[3] See Fig. 6, p. 72 and Chap. 2.8, pp 69-74.

Louth and the borough on the Meath side.[4] It was not long, however, before it became the southern boundary of County Louth (1234 ca.)[5] and the northern border of County Meath (1296).[6]

The series of liberties granted to the Irish boroughs and towns from the late twelfth century was the fruit of a process of negotiation.[7] At Drogheda those negotiations were initially carried out between Lord Walter de Lacy, son of the town's founder, and his colonists. The 1194 charter represents the embodiment of this negotiation.[8] In 1210, however, King John resumed royal possession of Drogheda on both sides of the Boyne.[9] By colour of the patent of 1213 Drogheda became a royal borough.[10] Following the forfeiture of lands and lordship to King John, the lord of Meath lost jurisdiction in Drogheda.[11] By the charter of 1247, the seneschals and provosts of Drogheda in Meath were elected by the burgesses; the borough held pleas in its own court and paid the farm to the king.[12] Traces of the original seigniorial nature of Drogheda in Meath are manifest only in finance, in the rent paid by the crown to Walter's successors for the following two centuries as compensation for the vill and the castles of Drogheda and Blathagh.[13] Castles were one of the various forms through which lords displayed their status and magnificence,

---

[4] See Chap. 4.1, pp. 104-23 and Appendices 6, 7.

[5] Pipe Roll xix Hen III (1235), *Rep. DKI* 35, p. 36; Otway-Ruthven, 'Anglo-Irish shire', pp 3-4; Smith, 'De Pitchford family', pp 34-35; see above discussion, Chap.4.2.4, pp 138-39 and Fig. 13, p. 190-91.

[6] Connolly, '1297 Parliament', pp 148-161; Lydon, 'Ireland after 1297', pp 11-24; see above, Chap. 5.2.1, pp 185-92.

[7] Crooks, 'Negotiating authority', p. 133. In the preliminary paragraph to his analysis of the appointment of William Windsor in Ireland, Crooks asserted that in the colony "negotiations were carried on between the king and the Dublin government; the king and the resident nobility; the king and the town's ruling elites".

[8] See above, Chap. 2.3.1, pp 38-45 and Appendix 3.

[9] This author believes that John's patent of 1213 contemplated both Droghedas. The issue concerning the identity of the addressees of this patent is addressed above; see Chap. 2.3.2, pp 45-53 and Appendix 4.

[10] *Na Buirgéisí*, I, pp 184-185. The reduction of the seigniorial powers in Ireland in favour of a more centralized royal authority is shown by the reservation contained in the confirmatory charters granted in 1208 to the great barons in Ireland: William Marshall, earl of Pembroke, who held lands in Leinster and Walter de Lacys, lord of Meath (*CDI, 1171-1251*, 381, p. 57). The other target of the king was William de Braose, grantee of the honour of Limerick and father-in-law of Walter. See Orpen, *Normans*, II, pp 172-77, 236-58; see above, Chap. 2.3.2, pp 45-53 and Appendix 4.

[11] Stephenson, *Borough and town*, p. 140: "All distinction between seigniorial boroughs and the rest was quickly lost as escheat or forfeiture brought the former into the king's hands".

[12] See above, Chap. 4.1., pp 110-24 and Appendix 7.

[13] *CDI, 1171-1251*, 952- 953, pp 145-6. See above, Chap. 4.2.4, pp 136-40; Chap. 5.2.1, pp 185-93; Chap. 8.1.1, p 297-99.

even when they were under forfeiture.[14] The extent of the 1220 agreement by which the lordship was returned to Walter suggests that he could keep the aids and tolls of the southern town.[15] Even if not exerted directly on the town, the influence of the lords of Meath was a deep-seated force in the town's development during the following two centuries. Why?

Meath was perhaps the richest prize of Ireland, both in a political and economic sense. During the span of time addressed by this thesis the lordship of Meath (later Trim) was held successively by four important families: de Lacy (1172-1241); Peter de Geneve (1242-1249);[16] Geoffrey de Geneville (1252- 1308)[17] and the Mortimers (1308-1425).[18] It is no surprise that almost all of the lords of Meath and Trim happened also to be justiciars or lieutenants of Ireland.[19] The descendants of Edmund Mortimer, earl of March and Ulster, held a claim to the throne of England.[20] Roger Mortimer was arguably proclaimed by Richard II as a presumptive heir to the crown (1385), and his great-grandson finally attained the throne of England as the Yorkist king Edward IV.[21] Lastly, the control of the

---

[14] Davies, *Lords and lordship*, pp 82-113.

[15] The entry of 1220 is the only one to mention the destination of the tools of Drogheda in Meath. Mention of the rent as compensation for the vill and castles of Drogheda and Blathagh crops up in later sources, but these never specify the destination of the tools and aids of the town. Shall we therefore think that that disposition was in force for all of Walter's successors to the lordship? If this was the case, the fact that the privilege of a weekly market was only granted to Drogheda in Meath would find explanation; see above, Chap. 4.2.3, pp 132-36 and Chap. 4.2.4, pp 136-40.

[16] See Chap. 4.2.4, pp 139-40.

[17] The Great Charter Roll of Waterford illustrates Geoffrey de Geneville among other Irish justiciars. See McEneaney and Ryan (eds.), *Waterford Treasures*, p. 74.

[18] In 1425, when Edmund Mortimer died childless, his estates and claims were inherited by Richard, duke of York, who was the son of Mortimer's sister Anne and her late husband Richard, earl of Cambridge; see Fig. 11, p. 109.

[19] Hugh De Lacy officiated - as keeper? - in Ireland in 1172-73; *procurator generalis* in 1177-81 and in 1181/2- Sept. 1185. Walter de Lacy was justiciar in 1194-95 in association with John de Courcy (Cosgrove, 'Principal officers', p. 470). Geoffrey de Geneville was justiciar between 6 Dec 1264 and Apr. 1265 and between Mich. 1273 and Mich 1276 (ibidem, p. 471). Roger Mortimer was lieutenant between 7 April 1317and 5 May 1319 and justiciar between 12 June 1319 and 12 Dec. 1320 (ibidem, p. 472). Edmund Mortimer, third earl of March acted as lieutenant from May 1380 to 26 Dec 1381 (ibidem, p. 474). Roger Mortimer, fourth earl of March acted as lieutenant between 3 Mar. 1382 and autumn 1383; his uncle Thomas Mortimer acted as deputy during his minority. Thomas Mortimer was then appointed justiciar in 1389, but the appointment was ineffective (ibidem, p. 475). Roger Mortimer was lieutenant between 15 May 1395 and 23 Jan 1397 and again from 24 April 1397 until his death on 20 July 1398; his brother Edmund Mortimer acted as lieutenant and deputy lieutenant between 23 Jan. 1397 and 18 July 1397 and in Apr. 1398 (ibidem, p. 475). His son Edmund was to hold the same office 9 May 1423 to his death on 18 Jan 1425 (ibidem, p. 476).

[20] In 1368 Edmund Mortimer married Philippa, countess of Ulster and daughter of Lionel, duke of Clarence and Elisabeth de Burgh, becoming son-in-law of King Edward III; see *CP,* VIII, p. 445.

[21] *CP,* VIII, p. 448.

Mortimer inheritance was one of the most significant aspects in determining the course of Richard II's final years of reign.[22] It was in this environment that the borough of Drogheda in Louth was shaped as a royal bastion. The town's political purpose was to control and balance the power of the lords of Meath and later Trim.

Thus the political forces which shaped Drogheda's evolution were two: the lords of Meath-Trim; and the town's merchant class patronized by the crown.

The examination of the town charters shows that the progression of privileges at Drogheda followed two patterns. First: it is evident that there is a frequent chronological correlation between developments inside the lordship of Meath - partitions or the coming of age of the successive lords - and the issuing of charters to the two Droghedas. The charters correspond with the political peaks and troughts of the lordship of Meath, together with the counterbalancing reaction of the royal burgesses of Drogheda in Louth. Secondly: repeated coincidences in timing suggest that institutional events occurred somehow simultaneously in the royal towns of Dublin and Drogheda in Louth. Dublin was a model for the town of Drogheda; it soon became an ally. The following are a few cases in point.

In 1229 the citizens of Dublin were given licence to elect a mayor.[23] During that same year, the borough of Drogheda in Louth was farmed.[24] Farming did not begin in Drogheda in Meath until 1247, when the king gave legal shape to the partition of Meath between John de Verdun and Geoffrey de Geneville.[25] Then again, Drogheda in Louth purchased the mayoralty and sealed an alliance with Dublin during the year 1252.[26] It is no coincidence that in that very year Geoffrey de Geneville, second husband of Matilda de Lacy, inherited the lordship of Meath, which had been in the king's hands since 1224.[27]

In 1317 King Edward II ordered that only the crown could grant pardon for offences against the men of Dublin and Drogheda. This decision was taken because Roger

---

[22]Tuck, *Richard II*, pp 205-07; the entanglement between King Richard and the earls of March and Ulster has been re-assessed by A. Dunn, 'Mortimer inheritance', pp 159-70.

[23]*Hist. and mun. doc.*, pp 91-92. The mayoralty in royal Drogheda was established in 1252; see Appendix 12.

[24] See above, Chap. 4.1, pp 104-21 and Appendix 6.

[25]*Na Buirgéisí*, I, pp 174-88. By 13 June, 1244 the king ordered the lands to be partitioned and John and Peter were assigned their respective shares, with two years in which to appeal against the division; see *CDI*, 1152-1252, 2699, p. 402; see above, Chap. 4.1, pp 104-25 and Appendix 7.

[26] See Appendix 12; the alliance of Dublin and Drogheda is addressed above, Chap. 4.3.3, pp 172-78 and Appendices 14, 15, 16.

[27] *CDI*, 1252-1284, 810, p. 131. See Chap. 4, pp 107-09.

Mortimer, justiciar, had abused his powers.[28] The defensive reaction of Drogheda in Louth against the creation of the earldom of Louth (1319-1329) was manifest in the town's request for a charter confirming its privileges (8 June 1319);[29] and it was also given a letter of protection expressly stating that the burgesses should not be disturbed by Roger Mortimer in exerting their privileges, especially the one connected with the Hundred Court.[30]

In 1394 Roger Mortimer, fourth earl of March, came of age. In that year Drogheda in Meath was confirmed in its privileges[31] and granted a charter endowing the burgesses with those tenements known as 'Arundelsland.'[32]

In conclusion, competition and financial rivalry may have contributed to the incorporation of Drogheda as a single town in 1412. However, is it coincidence that Edmund Mortimer came of age in that very same year?[33] By the same token, incorporation may have been a measure taken by Henry IV to discourage successors to the lords of Meath from ever again claiming rights on Drogheda on the Meath side.[34]

Institutional

The charters examined have revealed the political, judicial and mercantile status of the boroughs. Their content shows that the evolution of the municipal autonomy in Drogheda was built up through the following phases: burgage tenure, *praepositura*, fee-farm, mayoralty - only in royal Drogheda - and incorporation. In this respect Drogheda's case-study reflects the pattern of other major Irish towns, confirming that seaports especially prospered under Anglo-Norman rule and organization in Ireland.

The contemporary primary source material has revealed the names of many people who carried out their offices at Drogheda between 1214 and 1412: three *prepositi* of Drogheda (1214-1230); twenty-seven mayors and about one hundred provosts - later

---

[28] See above, Chap. 4.3.3, p. 176 and Appendix 16.

[29] See above, Chap. 6.4, pp 237-38 and Appendix 29.

[30] See Appendix 28. Roger Mortimer was justiciar in 1317-1318 and 1319-1320; see Cosgrove, 'Principal officers', p. 472.

[31] See above, Chap. 8.1, p. 297 and Appendix 42.

[32] See above Chap. 8.1.2, pp299-301and Appendix 43 (A).

[33] Edmund Mortimer was seven years old in July 1398, when his father Roger Mortimer died in battle; see, *CP*, VIII, pp 450-53.

[34] See above, Chap. 9.3.1, p. 326 and Appendix 45.

bailiffs - officiating in northern Drogheda (1230-1412).[35] The difference between this result and D'Alton catalogue of Drogheda mayors is striking. The only name provided by D'Alton for the thirteenth century is Hugh Moyne, mayor of Drogheda in 1285.[36] The revised catalogue presented here provides evidence for an additional six mayors during the thirteenth century (1230-1285).[37] More extended comparison of the two studies shows that in only six cases does our list match that of D'Alton's.[38] To sum up, the antiquarian's catalogue has been found unreliable in its sequence of mayors, erroneous in dates and corrupt in transcription.

Legal

The last result of this study has been the identification of the patterns that brought Anglo-Norman municipal law to Drogheda. These patterns can be distilled into the following stages: affiliation, confirmation, specification, standardization and incorporation.[39] All generalization has to be tested on local investigations. Further study will be therefore required to determine whether the other Irish towns followed a similar model. This would re-open the debate initiated by Mac Niocaill on customary law in Anglo-Norman Ireland and develop the study of the Irish borough charters on the model of that established by Ballard, Tait and Weinbaum. [40]

'Affiliation' was a common practice in the founding of boroughs in medieval Europe. It was defined by the replication and granting of one town's customs to another.[41] At the time of John's charters "the burgesses did not need more protection than the general

---

[35] See Fig. 14, pp 163-71.

[36] D'Alton, *History of Drogheda*, I, p. 246. See Appendix 13.

[37] They were Helia Long (1230), Andrew Blund (1259), Nicholas Mercarius (1259), Robert Cosyn (1260), Richard Bard (1268-69), Henry de Trim (1272), Hugh Morice (1285). See above, Chap. 4.3.2, pp 151-71.

[38] The two lists concur with regard to Hugh Morice in 1285 (presuming that Hugh Moyne in D'Alton's catalogue stands for Hugh Morice); William Roche in 1337 (presuming that William de Roche in D'Alton's catalogue stands for William Roth); __ de Bathe in 1356; William Roche in 1389 (presuming that William Roche in D'Alton's catalogue stands for William Roth); Richard White in 1405; and William Simcock in 1412. See Appendix 13 and Fig. 14.

[39] Beneath the dryness of the expressions - affiliation, confirmation, specification, standardization and incorporation - lies the fact that urban life evolved late in Ireland if compared with European standards. The model of municipal law imported to Ireland had already been distilled from previous usage, first in Normandy and then in Wales.

[40] *Brit. borough chart., 1042-1216; Brit. borough chart., 1216-130; Brit. borough chart., 1307-1660.*

[41] Gross, *Gild merchant*, I, pp 240-81.

blanket clause which conferred on individual towns the customs of an older-established, or more privileged, neighbour".[42] The concept of the chartered borough was borrowed from Normandy. It is therefore logical that the boroughs founded in England after 1066 were indebted to Norman law.

In twelfth-thirteenth-century Ireland affiliation involved two codes of law - the customs of Bristol and the laws of Breteuil. The first was usually granted to the old-established Norse settlements; the second was preferred for new foundations like Drogheda.[43] The Norman code was the model chosen by Walter de Lacy when he granted the burgesses of Drogheda their first charter of privileges (1194).[44] The other De Lacy boroughs in Meath - Kells, Trim, Duleek and Old Leighlin - were also affiliated with Breteuil.[45] The influence of the continental legal tradition on Drogheda and the other Meath boroughs can be readily explained through genealogy. The transmission of the code of Breteuil from Normandy to Wales came about through the interrelation between William FitzOzbern, lord of Breteuil at the time, and the de Lacies. FitzOsbern gave Ludlow castle to Walter I de Lacy sometime before 1085.[46] Affiliation through use of the code implied that 'Personality of Law' was in force in both Wales and Ireland. It marked a sharp separation, both juridical as well as physical, between colonists and natives.[47]

The second stage of the process was royal 'confirmation'. The incident that initiated this second phase was King John's seizure of Walter's estates in Ireland in 1210. By the patent of 1213 the crown confirmed Drogheda's right to the Law of Breteuil, thus drawing the contents of the seigniorial charter into the orbit of royal rights.[48] Charters of confirmation were always political acts; they were requested and purchased by towns after changes of regime in order to resecure liberties that were already in place. It is no surprise that neither de Lacy's nor the king's charters listed the specific privileges granted.

---

[42] Platt, *English medieval town*, p. 129.

[43] See Chap. 3, pp 76-79.

[44] See above, Chap. 2.3.1, pp 38-45 and Appendix 3.

[45] Bateson, 'Laws of Breteuil', *EHR*, XV, pp 513-515; *Brit. borough chart.,1042-1216*, I, p. xlii; Ballard, "Law of Breteuil", *EHR*, XXX (1915), p. 648. See above, Chap. 3.2, pp 85-94 and Fig. 9, p. 94.

[46] *Domesday Book seu liber censualis*, I, f. 185; Bateson, 'Laws of Breteuil', *EHR*, XV, pp 312-313.

[47] See above, Chap. 3.1, pp 80-85 and Fig. 8, p. 84 (Wales) and Chap. 3.3, pp 95-103.

[48] *Brit. borough chart., 1307-1660*, p. xxi: at an early stage "royal grants were supplementary to, or based on, existing customs". See above, Chap. 2.3.2, pp 45-53 and Appendix 4.

Affiliation was by nature a vague act, and it was up to the grantees to procure for themselves the text of the law.[49]

'Specification' seems a common trend for the thirteenth century, when the boroughs' autonomy grew and developed in Ireland.[50] The borough charters soon began to list the rights conferred upon burgesses, thus giving more definition to their previous ambiguity.[51] 'Specification' for Drogheda came through the charters of 1229 and 1247, as result of which the two boroughs were separately farmed.[52] Concurrently, 'specification' defined the juridical distance between the two Droghedas, making them two distinct, legal entities.

The two communities on the opposite banks of the Boyne lived under one common Law of Breteuil (charters of 1194 and 1213)[53] until the year 1229. From then until 1412[54] they were granted different privileges and evolved into two distinct types of boroughs. The charter granted to Drogheda *ex parte Urielis* in 1229 was the institutional marker of that separation.[55] This departure is marked by the definition of the addresses in all of the following royal charters: Drogheda in the side of Meath or to Drogheda in the side of Louth, seldom *ex utramque partes*. The northern side was preferred by the crown and favoured with greater privileges and monopolies. It was farmed at a higher rent and its

---

[49] This is also true for the grants of the customs of Bristol to Dublin (Henry II in 1171), Cork (John, 1189x99), Waterford (1215), Rathcoole (1228x1255), Limerick (John, 1197) and Galway (1484).

[50] A. F. O'Brien, The development of the privileges, liberties and immunities of Medieval Cork and the growth of urban autonomy, c. 1189 to 1500', in *Cork HASJ*, 90 (1985), p. 46: "Legal and jurisdictional rights were closely bound up with social and economic privileges and were increasely strengthened and reflected in borough charters as the thirteenth century progressed". See also Reynolds, *History of English towns*, pp 91-116; Platt, *English medieval town*, pp75-96.

[51] The case of Limerick is exemplar. In 1274 the burgesses of Limerick petitioned King Edward I asking, among other things, for clarification of their liberties under John's charter (1197-98); therefore an inquisition was made to certify the liberties of Dublin, mother town of Limerick, and if the citizens of Limerick did enjoy the same liberties. In 1292 the king granted Limerick a charter specifying for the first time the liberties granted to its burgesses; see Lee, *Remembering Limerick*, p. 41.

[52] The only other known charter of free borough in Ireland was granted to Dundalk in the last quarter of the twelfth century; see *Na Buirgéisí*, I, pp 210-14.

[53] See Appendices 3, 4.

[54] See Appendix 45.

[55] Gogarty, in the council book of Drogheda reports an inquisition taken by William Henn in 1844-46 about the "Common fund and the poor of St. John's". In his report he stated that "...I have enquired into the matter so to me referred , and I find that by the Earliest Records of the said Borough two Distinct Corporations appear to have existed by prescription at Drogheda one in the County of Louth and the other in the County of Meath [...] and respectively received separate grants of additional privileges and aids from the Crown during the Interval from the year 1228 until the year 1412 when by Royal Charter of King Henry IV...", see Gogarty (ed.), *Council book of Drogheda*, Appendix 1, pp 1-2.

government granted the office of *prepositus* (reeve) and two bailiffs.[56] The *praepositura* soon evolved into a mayoralty in royal Drogheda (1252).[57] Meanwhile from the year 1247 Drogheda in Meath was saddled with the rule of a seneschal and two bailiffs.[58]

Henry III's 'specification' of the two Drogheda's rights shows two things. Firstly, some of the ancient customs of the town were officially confirmed - tenure of land, amercement and free-use of the waters among them.[59] Secondly, and importantly, some Bristollian clauses were introduced into both constitutions.[60] It is here that the Dublin/Bristol model begins to supersede the old Norman code.

Northern Drogheda's legal affinity with Dublin soon found more weight (charter of mayoralty, 1252)[61] and evolved into a political (charters of alliance in 1252 and 1285)[62] and financial alignment (murage charter, 1295).[63] Conversely, southern Drogheda became something of second-class borough. The consequences of this departure from the previous *status quo* may perhaps be reflected in the wording of Henry III's charters granted to the two towns. The charter of 1229 established that in Drogheda in Louth pleas concerning the crown were to be held "*secundum consuetudinem civitatis nostre Dublinie*";[64] whereas in Drogheda in Meath pleas concerning tenements within the walls were to be held "*secundum consuetudinem predicti burgi*".[65]

After developing the municipal liberties, the crown's next task was to formally amalgamate the different classes of boroughs and borough charters. This segment of the evolution of municipal law can be defined as the 'standardization' of privileges.[66] Where previously there had been significant differences in the privileges conferred on individual towns, this new tendency to homogenize municipal constitutions starts to be more

---

[56] See above, Chap. 4.1, pp 110-14 and Appendix 6.
[57] See above, Chap. 4.3.1, pp 145-51and Appendix 12.
[58] See above, Chap. 4.1, pp 110-14, 122-25 and Appendix 7.
[59] See the discussion in Chap. 3.3, pp95-103.
[60] See above, Chap. 4.1.5, pp 122-25 and Appendices 6, 7.
[61] See Appendix 12.
[62] The pact between Drogheda and Dublin and the league of Irish towns are addressed above, see Chap. 4.3.3, pp 172-78 and Appendices 14, 15.
[63] See above, Chap. 5.2.3, pp 196-97 and Appendix 20.
[64] See Appendix 6.
[65] See Appendix 7 and discussion in Chap. 4.1.3, pp 117-18.
[66] *Brit. borough chart., 1307-1660*, p. xxii.

commonplace in fourteenth-century Ireland.[67] When were the privileges of the Droghedas standardized? The answer to this question requires drawing a distinction between financial and judicial facets. By the murage charter of 1295, Drogheda in Louth was granted the same trading privileges as Dublin.[68] The anomaly of this concession lies in the fact that whereas all of the previous murages were jointly granted to both sides of the town, this one was bestowed on Drogheda in Louth only. One year later, in 1296, Drogheda on the Meath side was granted a different murage.[69] The contents of the two charters were quite dissimilar. This shows that the line of division traced by Henry III's charters continued to cut across the two Droghedas, whose identities still fell into two diverse classes of boroughs. Even though Drogheda as a whole was a royal *villa*, the northern side was preferred to the southern side and its trading customs were normalized like those of the capital.

The judicial standardization of franchises occurred with the individual charters granted by Edward III to the two Droghedas in 1331.[70] Apart from three small incongruities, their content is identical. The charters previously bestowed to the two boroughs had never seen such a degree of similarity. There is enough evidence to assume that the deed for southern Drogheda was a duplicate of the one issued for the northern settlement.[71] What determimed this homogeny? For most of Edward II's reign, Ireland was engaged in a strenuous defence against the Bruce invasion and native Gaelic rebellions. The crown and the lord of Meath, Roger Mortimer,[72] were united in facing the threats these encroachments posed to their respective authorities. The significance of the institutional differences between the two Droghedas was lessened when faced with a common enemy.[73]

---

[67] Watt, 'Anglo-Irish colony', pp 367-8. A reading of the Irish town charters assembled in the first volume of *Na Buirgéisi* confirms such a trend; see *Na Buirgéisi,* I.

[68] The charters to Dublin and to royal Drogheda were issued on the very same day; *s*ee above, Chap. 5.2.3, pp 196-97 and Appendix 20.

[69] See above, Chap. 5.2.4, pp 197-98 and Appendix 21

[70] Appendices 33, 34

[71] The political background to these confirmations was Roger Mortimer's execution and Edward III's majority. The basic juridical diversity of the two boroughs was untouched: Drogheda in Louth was governed by a mayor and two bailiffs, whereas Drogheda in Meath by seneschals and bailiffs. Both topics are discussed above, Chap. 7.1, pp 248-55.

[72] *CJustR*, 1305-7, pp 188, 241, 307, 331 (1306); *CPR*, 1307-1313, p. 33 (24 Dec. 1307).

[73] See above, Chap. 6.2, pp 226-30. At the time of the Bruce invasion individuals and communities in Ireland had received various rewards intended to ensure their loyalty to the king in the face of the Scottish threat; see Frame, *English lordship*, pp 250-51. The frequency with which confirmation charters,

Concurrently, Roger Mortimer's political impact on both England and Ireland may have contributed to the standardization of privileges between the two Droghedas as revealed by the 1331 charters.[74]

Standardization overturned any concept of modern hierarchy. It worked from both bottom to top and vice versa. A complaint made by the mayor of Dublin in 1334 shows the idea in action. He petitioned the king asking to update his town's privileges so that they would equate to those granted to Drogheda (1330)[75] and Cork (1331)[76] on the reasoning that "Drogheda, Cork and Dublin used to have the same privileges".[77] As a result, Dublin received a charter on 13 October 1334 which imitated that granted to Drogheda in Louth. With the single addition of a clause of murage, pavage, pontage, passage and quayage (specifically requested by Dublin in the petition), it was a perfect replication.[78] Not only does this writ confirm the trend towards standardazing municipal rights, but it also implies that standardization between Dublin, Drogheda and Cork pre-dated 1334. When did this amalgamation start exactly and who was its *Deus ex machina*? The answer to this question is grounded in Irish, not English, politics. The league of Irish towns sealed in 1285, which included Dublin, Cork, Drogheda in Uriel and Meath, Limerick and Waterford was never officially sanctioned by the king.[79] Nonetheless, it created a new rank of boroughs which became depositories of a standard set of privileges. Eventually these same boroughs were able to claim the privilege of the Staple (1326, 1354).[80]

The imitation of rights bestowed on these Irish towns was again evident in 1363-64. On 22 November 1363 a new charter extended to Dublin all of the liberties enjoyed by

---

murages, subsidies of money and reductions of the fee farm were granted to the two Droghedas, Dublin, Cork the other Irish towns on the eve and after the invasion makes it difficult to engage in analysis of micro politic.

[74] The victory of Queen Isabella and Roger Mortimer, the deposition and the murder of King Edward II and his replacement by his son, Edward III in January 1327 meant that for the next few years the English government was dominated by Mortimer; see Otway-Ruthven, *Med. Ire.*, pp 243f. Mortimer carved out his own large territorial jurisdiction on the doorstep of Dublin; see Orpen, *Normans*, IV, pp 224-5; Prestwich, *Three Edwards,* pp 97-100. See Appendices 33, 34.

[75] See Appendices 33, 34.

[76] *Na Buirgéisí*, I, pp 171-72 (15 July 1330).

[77] Connolly, 'Irish material in class of chancery warrants', p. 151.

[78] *Na Buirgéisí*, I, pp 89-92 (13 October 1334). See Chap. 7.1.1, pp 252-53.

[79] *Hist and mun. doc.*, pp 196-7; see above, Chap. 4.3.3, pp 174-77 and Appendix 15.

[80] *CPR*, 1324-1327, p. 269 (1326); Waterford was added to the list of staple towns in 1354; see O'Neill, *Merchants and mariners*, p. 62. The staple, its ordinances and exemptions are discussed above; see Chap. 7.2.4, pp 274-79.

Waterford, Cork and by the burgesses of Drogheda.[81] Three months later, on 12 February 1364, Drogheda in Louth was sanctioned with the same liberties as Dublin.[82] They were confirmed in 1392.[83]

Drogheda achieved a firstrank institutional profile during the fourteenth century. This is substantiated by the fact that its liberties and customs were transmitted to Galway in 1396.[84] Within the process of affiliation as traced above, Drogheda was a 'daughter town' first of Breteuil (charters of 1194 and 1213) and then of Dublin (charters of 1364 and 1392). Eventually, it now served as 'mother town' to a seaport on the west coast of Ireland. The paternity of this last affiliation could be assigned to Roger Mortimer, who had interests in both Drogheda in Meath and Galway.[85] Sections of Drogheda's rights were thereafter used as *exempla* when making grants to Ardee and Naas (1414, cognisance of all pleas as in Drogheda);[86] Limerick (1423, pleas as in Drogheda)[87] and Kildare (1515, pleas as Drogheda).[88] When Carrickfergus and Carlingford were incorporated - in 1569 and 1571 respectively - they were conferred with the same customs as Drogheda.[89] Galway followed Drogheda's model again when it was granted county status in 1609.[90]

This leads us to consider the fifth and last segment under examination: 'incorporation'. Weinbaum argued that the incorporation of boroughs was the real innovation in British municipal history between 1307 and 1660.[91] The two separated

---

[81] *Na Buirgéisí*, I, pp 92-99. This charter came after the petition made by the citizens of Dublin in 1363; they asked the king for the maintenance of their franchises, for an amendment to the statute of the staple and for equality with Cork, Waterford and Drogheda; see *Affairs Ireland*, pp 216-17.

[82] See above, Chap. 7.1.3, pp 257-60 and Appendix 35.

[83] See above, Chap. 8.1, pp 296-97 and Appendix 41.

[84] See above, Chap. 8.4, pp 310-13. This same charter was afterwards confirmed to Galway in 1544 and 1578; see *Brit. borough chart., 1307-1660,* pp 211-12.

[85] By 1306, the Mortimers were in receipt of a rent for the castle of Drogheda and Blathach; see *CJustR*, 1305-7, p. 188, 241, 307, 331; see above Chap. 5.2.2, pp 185-93. In 1381x1384 Roger Mortimer was receiver of that rent; see *Ir. Exch. P.,* p. 543 and above, Chap. 8.1.1, pp 297-99. At the same time, Roger Mortimer was lord of Galway and was entitled to receive all rents and profit of that town; see O'Sullivan, *Old Galway*, p. 42. See above, Chap. 8.4, pp 310-13.

[86] *CPR*, 1413-16, p. 253. The charter conferred on Ardee in 1414 granted cognizance of all pleas as in Drogheda; return of writs; infangthief, outfangthief, with all issues and profit there from. For what concerns Naas; see *Brit. borough chart., 1307-1660,* p. 220.

[87] *CPR*, 1422-29, p. 222. In 1423, Limerich was granted cognizance of all pleas as in Drogheda in confirmation of a charter granted in 1412, in which Drogheda is not mentioned; see *Na Buirgéisí*, I, pp 242-46.

[88] *Letters and Papers,* II, pt. I, p. 268.

[89] *Brit. borough chart., 1307-1660,* pp 197-8.

[90] Ibidem, pp 179-80.

[91] Ibidem, p. xxiii.

constitutions of Drogheda were finally merged and sanctioned by a comprehensive charter of incorporation in 1412.[92] The royal villa of Drogheda henceforth abandoned its division between the two counties of Louth and Meath and formed a unity in itself. This achievement completed the emancipation of the town from government ministers. By 1412 Drogheda had its own elected sheriff who received writs directly from the crown as well as a mayor acting as royal escheator. Living under the protection of an absentee king and assuming control of the suburbs was indeed the best attainable condition for towns in late medieval Ireland.

[92] See above, Chap.9.3, 9.4, pp. 323-36 and Appendix 45.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. MANUSCIPT MATERIAL

A) Unprinted sources

Bodleian Library, Oxford, Rawlinson MS B 484, *Collectanea Varia Jacobi Warei*, Containing extracts relating to the arms of the Anglo-Irish Nobility, Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin, mayors of Drogheda and catalogue of Irish Saints in Irish, XVII century.
Bodleian Library, Oxford, Rawlinson MS. B 498.

TCD Library, Dublin:

MS E, 3, 20.

MS 579/1, f. 199, p. 145.

MS E, 3, 20.

MS 579/1.

The National Archives of England, Wales and the United Kingdom (TNA - formerly the Public Record Office, PRO, and the Historical Manuscript Commission, HMC):

TNA, C66/44 m. 10 (14 June 1234);

TNA, C66/53 m. 11 (23 April 1243);

TNA, C 53/58 m. 5 (1268);

TNA, C 66/98 m.. 26 (4 December 1278);

TNA, C66/115 m. 8 (29 August 1296);

TNA, C66/340 m. 29 (4 July 1394);

TNA, C53/174 m.1 (9 April 1404).

B) Unpublished thesis

Backer, P., An analysis of the Dublin guild merchant Roll, c. 1190-1225, M. Phil./TCD (1995).

Crooks, P., Factionalism and noble power in English Ireland, c. 1361-1423 Ph.D./TCD (2007).

Duffy, S., Ireland and the Irish Sea region, 1014-1318, Ph.D./TCD (1993).

Murphy, D., Medieval Drogheda, M.Litt./ UCD (1998), 2 vols.

2. PRINTED SOURCES

A) Annals, chronicles, maps, etc.

Annala Uladh ('Annals of Ulster'): a chronicle of Irish affairs, AD 430 to AD 1541, ed. W. M. Hennessy and B. MacCarthy, 4 vols. (Dublin, 1887-1901; repr. Dublin,1998.

Annales Hiberniae, Jacobi Grace, Kilkennensis, ed. R. Butler (Dublin 1842).

The Annals of Ireland by Father Clyn, ed. B. Williams (Dublin, 2007).

Annala rioghachta Eireann:Annals of the kingdom of Ireland by the four Masters, from the earliest period to the year 1616, ed. J. O'Donovan, 7 vols. (Dublin, 1851; repr. New York, 1966).

The Annals of Loch Cé. A chronicle of Irish affairs from A.D. 1014 to A.D. 1590, ed. W. M. Hennessy, 2 vols. (London, 1871; repr. Dublin, 1939).

The antiquities and history of Ireland by Sir James Ware (Dublin, 1705).

'*The Brus*: the history of Robert the Bruce King of Scots by John Barbour', transl. G. Eyre-Todd, in S. Duffy (ed.), *Robert the Bruce's Irish wars. The invasion of Ireland, 1306-1329* (Stroud, 2004), pp 163-86.

The chronicle of John of Worcester, eds. D. E. Greenway and B. F. Harvey, vol. 3 (Oxford, 1988).

Claudius Ptolemy. The Geography, ed. and trans. E. L. Stevenson (New York, 1991).

The deeds of the Normans in Ireland. A new edition of the chronicle formerly known as "The song of Dermot and the Earl", ed. E. Mullally (Dublin, 2002).

The ecclesiastical history of Orderic Vitalis, ed. M. Chibnall (Oxford, 1969-73).

Foras Feasa: A history of Ireland by Geoffrey Keating, eds. D. Comyn and P. Dinneen, 4 vols. (London, 1908).

Geoffrey Keating, The history of Ireland, ed. and transl. D. Comyn, pt. I (London, 1902).

Giraldus Cambrensis, *Expugnatio Hibernica: the conquest of Ireland,* ed. and trans. A. B. Scott and F. X. Martin (Dublin, 1978).

Giraldus Cambrensis, The history and topography of Ireland here translated from the Latin by John J. O'Meara with a map and drawings from a contemporary copy of c. 1200 AD., ed. J. J. O'Meara, (Dundalk, 1951; repr. Portlaoise, 1982).

The Irish chartularies of Llanthony Prima et Secunda, ed. E. St. J. Brooks (IMC; Dublin, 1953).

Jean Froissart, Chronicles, ed. G. Brereton (London, 1968; repr. 1978).

'Joseph Ravell's map of Drogheda (1749)', *CLAHJ*, I, 4, (1907), p. 40.

Lebor Gabāla Ērenn. The book of the taking of Ireland, ed. and transl. R. A. Stewart Macalister, pt. V (Dublin, 1956).

Liber primus Kilkennensis, ed. B. McNeill (Dublin, 1931).

'Maps of Drogheda. Barnaby Gooche' Map of Drogheda (1574)', *CLAHJ*, XVIII, 3 (1975), pp 179-86.

Miscellaneous Irish Annals (A.D. 1114-1437), ed. Ó hInnse (Dublin, 1947).

'*The Patrician texts in the Book of Armagh*', ed. L. Bieler, Scriptores Latini Hiberniae, X (Dublin, 1979).

'The register of Clogher', ed. K. W. Nicholls, *Clogher Record*, VII, 3(1971-72), pp 361-430.

'Robert Newcomen's map of Drogheda (1649)', *CLAHJ*, I, 4, (1907), p. 113.

Scotichronicon, ed. W. Bower, 6 (Aberdeen, 1991).

The song of Dermot and the Earl, an old French poem about the coming of the Normans to Ireland, ed. G. H. Orpen (Oxford, 1892).

Tacitus, Agricola, Germania, dialogus, ed. E. H. Warmington (Oxford, 1969).

Tales of the elders of Ireland (Acallam na Senórach), eds. A. Dooley and H. Roe (Oxford, 1999).

'*Togail Bruidne Da Derga*', ed. E. Knott, in Medieval and modern Irish studies, VIII

(Dublin 1936; repr. 1975).

The tripartite life of St. Patrick with other documents relating to that saint, ed. W. Stokes, 2

vols. (London, 1887).

Visiones Georgii. Visiones quas in purgatorio Sancti Patricii vidit Georgius miles de Ungeria, A.D. MCCCLIII, ed. L. L. Hammerich (Copenhagen, 1930).

Wadding Luke, Annales minorum, in quibus res omnes trium Ordinum a S. Francisco institutorum ex fide ponderosius asseruntur, calumniae refelluntur, praeclara quaeque monumenta ab obliuione vindicatur, ??? vols. (Lyon, 1625-54).

'William of Newburgh: *historia rerum Anglicarum*', R. Howlett (ed.), *Chronicles of the reigns of Stephen, Henry II and Richard, RS* LXXXII, 4 vols. (London, 1884-89).

B) Records

'Borough customs', ed. M. Bateson, I, *Selden Society*, XVIII (London, 1904); II, *Selden Society*, XXI (London, 1906).

'Bristol charters, 1155-1373', ed. N. D. Harding, *Bristol Record Society*, I (Bristol, 1930).

Calendar of ancient records of Dublin, in the possession of the municipal corporation of that city, ed. J. T. Gilbert, 19 vols. (Dublin, 1889-1944).

Calendar of Archbishop Alen's register, 1172-1534, ed. C. McNeill (Dublin, 1950).

Calendar of Chancery Warrants, 1244-1326 (TNA, London, 1927).

Calendar of charter rolls, 1226-1516, 6 vols. (TNA; London, 1903-27).

Calendar of the close rolls, 1272-[1509], 47 vols. (TNA; London, 1903-).

Calendar of documents relating to Ireland, ed. H. S. Sweetman and G. F. Hadcock, 5 vols. (TNA; London, 1875-86).

Calendar of documents relating to Scotland, ed. J. Bain, 5 vols. (Edinburgh, 1881-88).

Calendar of the fine rolls, 1272-[1509], 22 vols. (TNA; London, 1911-62).

Calendar of the fine rolls of the reign of Henry III, 1216-1224, eds. P. Dryburgh and B. Smith (London, 2007).

Calendar of the Gormanston register, ed. J. Mills and M. J. McEnery (Dublin, 1916).

Calendar of the justiciary rolls, 1295-1314, eds. J. Mills and M. C. Griffith, 3 vols.

(Dublin, 1905-56).

Calendar of Ormond deeds, 1172-1350 [etc.], ed. E. Curtis, 6 vols. (Dublin, 1932-43).

Calendar of patent rolls, 1232-[1509], 53 vols. (TNA; London, 1891-1971).

'A Calendar of salved chancery pleading concerning county Louth', K. W. Nicholls ed., *CLAHJ*, XVII, 4, (1972), pp 250-60.

'Catalogue of the great rolls of the pipe', in the Appendices to *Rep. DKI,* vols. 35 (Dublin 1903), 36 (Dublin 1904), 37 (Dublin 1905), 38 (Dublin 1906), 39 (Dublin 1907), 42 (Dublin 1911), 43 (Dublin 1912), 44 (Dublin 1912), 45 (Dublin 1913), 47 (Dublin 1915), 53 (Dublin 1926), 54 (Dublin 1927).

Chartae, privilegia et immunitates, being transcripts of charters and privileges to cities, towns, abbey and other bodies corporate [...], 1171-1395 (RCI; Dublin, 1829-30, publ. 1889).

Chartularies of St. Mary's Abbey, Dublin, ed. J. T. Gilbert, 2 vols. (London, 1884).

Christ Church deeds, eds. M. J. McEnery and R. Refausse (Dublin, 2001).

Council book of the corporation of Drogheda from year 1649 to 1734, ed. Rev. T. Gogarty (Drogheda, 1915; repr. Dundalk, 1988).

Documents on the affairs of Ireland before king's council, ed. G. O. Sayles (Dublin, 1979).

Domesday Book. A complete translation, eds. A. Williams and G.H. Martin (London, 2002).

Domesday Book, seu liber censualis Willelmi primis Regis Angliae, inter archivos regni in domo capitulari Westmonasterii asservatus..., 2 vols. (London?, 1783).

Dowdall deeds, eds. C. McNeill and A. J. Otway-Ruthven (Dublin, 1960).

The Dublin guild merchant roll, c. 1190-1265, eds. P. Connolly and G. Martin (Dublin, 1992).

Foedera, constitutiones, literae, et cuiuscunque generis acta publica etc., ed. T. Rymer, 4 vols. (London, 1816-69).

The great roll of the pipe for the year of the reign of John Michaelmas 1204 (Pipe Roll 50), ed. D. M. Stenton (London, 1940).

The Great Parchment Book of Waterford. Liber antiquissimus civitatis Waterfordiae, ed. N. J. Byrne (Dublin, 2007).

Handbook and selected calendar of sources for medieval Ireland in the National Archives

of the United Kingdom, eds. B. Smith and P. Dryburgh (London-Dublin, 2005).

Historical and municipal documents of Ireland, AD. 1172- 1320 from the archives of the city of Dublin, ed. J. T. Gilbert, (RS; London, 1870).

An inquiry into the ancient corporate system of Ireland, and suggestions for its immediate restoration and extension. With an appendix, containing numerous original documents, P. Gale (London, Dublin 1834).

Inquisitions and extents of Medieval Ireland, eds. P. Dryburgh and B. Smith (Kew, 2007).

The Irish chartularies of Llanthony Prima et Secunda, ed. E. St. J. Brooks (Dublin, 1953).

'Irish exchequer memoranda of the reign of Edward I', ed. M. Bateson, *EHR*, 18 (1903), pp 497-513.

Irish exchequer payments, 1270-1446, ed. P. Connolly (IMC; Dublin, 1998).

Irish historical documents, 1172-1922, eds. E. Curtis and R. B. McDowell (London, 1943).

Irish material in the class of ancient petitions, (SC8) in the Public Record Office, London', ed. P. Connolly, *Anal. Hib.*, 34 (Dublin, 1987), pp 1-106.

'Irish material in the class of the chancery warrants series I (C 81) in the Public Record Office, London', ed. P. Connolly, *Anal. Hib.*, 36 (1995), pp 135-61.

'The Irish pipe roll of 14 John 1211-12', eds. O. Davies and D. B. Quinn *UJA*, 4 (1941), supplement, pp 1-76.

Letters and papers, foreign and domestic, Henry VIII, 21 vols. (London, 1862-1932).

Liber munerum publicorum Hiberniae, ab an. 1152 usque ad 1827, or the establishment of Ireland, from the nineteenth of King Stephen to the seventh of George IV, during a period of six hundred and seventy-five years, 2 vols. (London? 1824).

Liber primus Kilkenniensis, ed. C. McNeill (Dublin, 1931).

'List of Irish entries on the memoranda rolls of the English exchequer, 1307-27', ed. P. Connolly, *Anal. Hib.*, 36 (1995), pp 163-218.

Memoranda rolls, 16-17 Henry III Preserved in the Public Record Office, Michaelmas 1326- Michaelmas 1327, ed. R. A. Brown (London, 1991).

'Miscellanea of the Chancery, London', ed. J. Hogan, *Anal. Hib.*, 1, pp 179-218 (Dublin, 1930).

Monasticon Anglicanum, ed. W. Dugdale (London, 1655).

Monasticon Hibernicum, ed. M. Archdall, 2 vols (Dublin, 1786).

Na Buirgéisí, XII-XV aois, ed. G. Mac Niocaill, I (Dublin, 1964).

Parliaments and councils in medieval Ireland, eds. H. G. Richardson and G. O. Sayles (Dublin, 1947).

Pontificia Hibernica. *Medieval papal chancery documents concerning Ireland, 640-1216,* ed. M. P. Sheehy, 2 vols. (Dublin, 1962-65).

Records of the borough of Leicester, ed. J. H. Round, 3 vols. (London, 1889-1905).

Records of the borough of Nottingham, ed. W. H. Stevenson, 5 vols. (London, 1882-1900).

Regesta regnum Anglo-Normannorum, 1066- 1154, ed. H. W. C. Davis (Oxford, 1913).

Register of the hospital of St. John the Baptist without the New Gate, Dublin, ed. E. St. J. Brooks (IMC; Dublin, 1936).

The register of John Swayne, Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of Ireland, 1418-1439, ed. D. A. Chart (Belfast, 1935).

The register of Milo Sweteman, Archbishop of Armagh, 1361-1380, ed. B. Smith (Dublin, 1996).

The register of Nicholas Fleming, Archbishop of Armagh, 1404-1416 ed. B. Smith (Dublin, 2003).

A Roll of the proceedings of the King's council in Ireland, for a portion of the sixteenth year of the reign of Richard II, A.D. 1392-93, ed. J. Graves (London, 1877).

Rotuli chartarum in turri Londinensi asservati, *1199-1216*, ed. T. D. Hardy (London, 1837).

Rotuli litterarum patentium in Turri Londinensi asservati, ed. T. D. Hardy (London, 1835).

Rotuli de liberate ac de misis et praestitis, regnante Johanne, ed. T. D. Hardy (London, 1844).

Rotuli oblatis et finibus in turri londinensi asservati tempore Regis Johannis, ed. T. D. Hardy (London, 1835).

Rotulorum patentium et clausorum cancellarie Hiberniae calendarium, ed. E. Tresham (Dublin, 1828).

'Rotulus clausus de anno 48 Edward III. A reconstruction', eds. E. Dowse and M. Murphy, *Anal. Hib.*, 35 (1992), pp 87-156.

The Statute of the realm printed by command of his Majesty King George III, I (London, 1810); II (London, 1816).

Statute rolls of the parliament of Ireland, first to the twelfth years of the reign of King Edward IV, ed. H. F. Berry (Dublin, 1914).

Statute rolls of the parliament of Ireland, reign of Henry VI, ed. H. F. Berry (Dublin, 1910).

Statutes and ordinances and acts of the parliament of Ireland. King John to Henry V, ed. H. F. Berry, 2 vols. (Dublin, 1907)

Tacitus, Agricola, Germania, Dialogus, ed. E. H. Warmington (Oxford, 1969).

A view of the legal institutions, honorary hereditary offices and feudal baronies established in Ireland during the reign of Henry II, ed. W. Lynch, (London, 1830).

3. STUDIES

Allen, W. P., 'Some notes on the old fortifications of Drogheda, County Louth', *CLAHJ,* X, 31(1943), pp 233-44.

Amt, E., *The accession of Henry II in England. Royal government restored, 1149- 1159* (Woodbridge, 1993).

Asplin, P. W. A., *Medieval Ireland, c. 1170-1495* (Dublin, 1971).

Ballard, A. *British borough charters, 1042-1216* (Cambridge, 1913).

Idem, 'The Law of Breteuil', *EHR* XXX (1915), pp 646-58.

Idem and Tait, J., *British borough charters, 1216-1307* (Cambridge, 1923).

Beresford, M.W. and Finberg H.P.R., *English medieval boroughs: a hand list* (Newton Abbot, 1973).

Barry, T. B., *The archaeology of medieval Ireland* (London, 1987).

Idem (ed.), *A history of settlement in Ireland* (New York, 2000).

Barry, T.B., Frame, R., and Simms, M.K. (eds.), *Colony and frontier in medieval Ireland* (London, 1995).

Bartlett, R., 'Colonial aristocracies of the middle ages', in R. Bartlett and A. Mackay (eds.), *Medieval frontier societies* (Oxford, 1989), pp 22-47.

Idem, *England under the Norman and Angevin kings, 1075-1225* (Oxford, 2000).

Idem, *The making of Europe: Conquest, colonization and cultural changes, 950-1350* (London, 1993).

Idem and Mackay, A. (eds.), *Medieval frontier societies* (Oxford 1989).

Basset, G.H., *County Louth guide and directory, including the town and county of the town of Drogheda. A Book for manufacturer, merchants, traders, land-owners, farmers, tourists, anglers and sportsmen generally* (Dublin, 1886).

Bateson, J. D., 'Roman material from Ireland: a re-consideration', *RIA Proc.* 73 C (1973), pp 21-97.

Bateson, M., 'The creation of boroughs', *EHR*, XVII (1902), pp 284-96.

Eadem, *Cambridge gild records* (Cambridge, 1903).

Eadem, 'Irish exchequer memoranda of the reign of Edward I', *EHR*, 18 (1903), pp 497-513.

Eadem, 'The Laws of Breteuil', *EHR* XV (1900), pp 73-78, 302-18, 496- 523, 754-757; *EHR* XVI (1901), pp 92-110, pp 332-345.

Eadem, *Medieval England, 1066-1350* (London, 1903).

Battersby, W., *The Synod of Kells, 1152* (Navan, 2002).

Bellamy, J. G., *Crime and public order in England in the later middle ages* (London, 1973).

Bennett, M., *Richard II and the revolution of 1399* (Sutton, 1999).

Berry, H. F., 'Catalogue of the mayors, provost, bailiffs of Dublin city, A.D. 1229 to 1447', in H. Clarke (ed.), *Medieval Dublin. The living city* (Dublin, 1990), pp 153-62.

Betts, R. R., 'Richard FitzRalph, archbishop of Armagh, and the doctrine of dominion', in *Essays in British and Irish history in honour of James Eadie Todd* (London, 1949), pp 46-60.

Bhreathnach, E., 'The medieval kingdom of Brega', in E. Breathnach (ed.), *The kingship and landscape of Tara* (Dublin, 2005), pp 410-22.

Biggs, D., 'Henry IV and his JPs: the Lancastrianization of justice', in D. Biggs (ed.), *Traditions and transformations in late medieval England* (Leiden, 2002), pp 59-79.

Idem, 'The reign of Henry IV: the revolution of 1399 and the establishment of the Lancastrian regime', in N. Saul (ed.), *Fourteent- century England*, I (Woodbridge, 2000), pp 195-210.

Idem (ed.), *Traditions and transformations in late medieval England* (Leiden, 2002).

Bliss, A. and Long, J., 'Literature in Norman French and English to 1534', in A. Cosgrove (ed.) *NHI*, II (Oxford 1987, repr. 1993), pp 709-36.

Bradley, J., *Discover Kilkenny* (Dublin, 2000).

Idem, 'The medieval towns of County Meath', *RnM* VIII, 2 (1988-89), pp 30-39.

Idem, 'The medieval towns of Tipperary', in W. Nolan (ed.), *Tipperary: history and society* (Dublin, 1985), pp 34-59.

Idem, 'The monastic town of Clonmacnoise', in H. A. King (ed.), *Clonmacnoise Studies*, I (seminar Papers 1994), pp 42-56.

Idem, 'Planned Anglo-Norman towns in Ireland', in H. B. Clarke and A. Simms (eds.), *The comparative history of urban origins in non-Roman Europe*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1985), II, pp 411-67.

Idem, 'The role of town-plan analysis in the study of the medieval Irish town', in T. R. Slater (ed.), *The built form of Western cities* (Leicester, 1990), pp 39-59.

Idem (ed.), *Settlement and society in medieval Ireland*: *studies presented to F.X. Martin, o.s.a.* (Kilkenny, 1988)

Idem, 'A Tale of three cities. Bristol, Chester, Dublin and the coming of the Normans', in H. Clarke and J. R. S. Phillips (eds.), *Ireland, England and the continent in the middle ages and beyond* (Dublin, 2006), pp 51-66.

Idem, 'The topography and layout of medieval Drogheda', *CLAHJ* XIX, 2 (1978), pp 98-127.

Idem, *Treasures of Kilkenny: charters and civic records of Kilkenny city* (Kilkenny, 2003).

Idem, *Walled towns in Ireland* (Dublin, 1995).

Idem, Fletcher, A. J. and Simms, A. (eds.), *Dublin in the medieval world. Studies in honour of H. B.Clarke* (Dublin, 2009).

Idem and Halpin, A., 'The topographical development of Scandinavian and Anglo Norman Cork', in P. O'Flanagan and C. G. Buttimer (eds.), *Cork. History and Society* (Dublin, 1993), pp 15-44.

Brady, C., *The medieval town walls of Drogheda*, Archaeology Ireland, 2003 (Heritage guide, 23).

Brady, J., 'Anglo-Norman Meath', *RnM* 2, 3 (1961), pp 38-45.

Brady, N., 'Dublin's maritime settings and the archaeology of its medieval harbours', in J. Bradley, A. J. Fletcher and A. Simms (eds.), *Dublin in the medieval world. Studies in honour of H. B. Clarke* (Dublin, 2009), pp 295-315.

Brand, P., 'English royal justices in the lordship of Ireland, c. 1300', in H. Clarke (ed.), *Ireland, England and the continent in the middle ages and beyond* (Dublin, 2006), pp 128-44.

Bready, Rev. J., 'The kingdom and Country of Meath', *Riocht na Midhe*, 1, 2 (1956), pp 6-13.

Bridbury, A. R., 'Before the black death', *Economic History Review*, xxx (1977), pp 407-10.

Britnell, R., 'The black death in English towns', *Urban History*, 21, pt. 2 (Oct. 1994), pp 195-210.

Idem, *Britain and Ireland, 1050-1530* (Oxford, 2004).

Idem, 'The proliferation of markets in England, 1200-1349', EHR, XXXIV (1998), pp 209-21.

Brooks, E. St. J., 'A charter of John de Courcy to the Abbey of Navan', *RSAIJ*, LXIII, pt. I (1933), pp 38-45.

Brooks, F. W., 'The king's ships and galleys mainly under John and King Henry III', *The Mariner's Mirror*, XV, 1 (1929), pp 15- 48; XV, 4 (1929), pp 351-90.

Broun, D., 'The charters of Gaelic Scotland and Ireland in the early and central middle ages', *Quiggin pamphlets on the sources of medieval Gaelic history*, 2 (Cambridge, 1995).

Buchanan, R. H. *et al.* (eds.), *Fields, farms and settlement in Europe*, (Belfast, 1971).

Buckley, V. M., *Archaeological inventory of County Louth* (Dublin, 1986).

Buldorini, C., *Brisighella. Istituzioni di una citta,* Centro Studi Lotario 825, 7 (Rimini,

2004; repr. 2005).

Eadem, 'List of the thirteenth century mayors, *prepositi* and *ballivi* of Drogheda in Louth; reigns of Henry III and Edward I', forthcoming in *CLAHJ*, XXVII (2010).

Butler, L., 'The evolution of towns: planted towns after 1066', in M. W. Barley (ed.), *The plans and topography of medieval towns in England and Wales*, Research Report n° 14 (London, 1976), pp 32-48.

Idem, 'Planned Anglo-Norman towns in Wales', in H. B. Clarke and A. Simms (eds.), *The comparative history of urban origins in non-Roman Europe*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1985), II, pp 469-76.

Butlin, R. A., *The development of the Irish town* (London, 1977).

Byrne, F. J., 'Historical note on Cnogba (Knowth)', *RIA Proc.*, 66 C (1968), pp 383-400.

Idem, *Irish kings and high-kings* (Dublin, 2001).

Idem, 'Tribes and tribalism in early Ireland', *Ériu*, 22 (1971), pp 129-66.

Campbell, K., The archaeology of Medieval Drogheda', *Archaeology Ireland*, 1 (1987), pp 52-56.

Idem, 'A medieval tile kiln site at Magdalene Street, Drogheda', *CLAHJ*, XXI, 1 (1985), pp 48-54.

Idem, 'Some medieval tiles from Drogheda', *JOD*, 5 (1986), pp 14-26.

Caravale, M., *Ordinamenti giuridici dell'Europa medievale* (Bologna, 1994).

Carpenter, D. M., 'The Pilgrims from Catalonia-Aragon: Ramon de Perellós, 1397', in M. Haren and Y. de Pontarcy (eds.), *The medieval pilgrimage to St. Patrick's Purgatory, Lough Derg and the European tradition* (Clogher, 1988), pp 99-119.

Cheney, C. R., *Handbook of dates for students of English history* (London, 1970).

Chester, J. W., *The great famine. Northern Europe in the early fourteenth century* (Princeton,1996).

Chibnall, M., *Debate on the Norman conquest* (Manchester 1999).

Idem, *The Normans* (Oxford, 2000).

Childs, W., 'Irish merchants in late medieval England', *IHS*, XXXII (2000), pp 22-43.

Eadem and O'Neill, T., 'Overseas trade', in A. Cosgrove (ed.), *NHI*, II (Oxford, 1987), pp 492-524.

Clancy, M. T., *From memory to written record. England 1066-1307* (Harward, 1974; repr. Oxford 1993).

Clare, L., *On the edge of the Pale. The rise and decline of an Anglo-Irish community in County Meath, 1170-1530* (Dublin, 2006).

Clarke, H. B., 'The early English pipe roll as a source for Irish History', in G. MacNiocaill and P. Wallace (eds.), *Keimelia: Studies in medieval archaeology and history in memory of Tom Delaney*, (Galway, 1988), pp 416-34.

Idem, (ed.), *Medieval Dublin. The living city* (Dublin 1990).

Idem, (ed.), Dublin to 1610, *Irish historic towns atlas*, no. 11 (Dublin, 2002).

Idem and Philips, J. R. S., (eds.), *Ireland, England and the continent in the middle ages and beyond* (Dublin, 2006).

Idem and Simms, A. (eds.), *The comparative history of urban origins in non-Roman Europe* (Oxford, 1985), 2 vols.

Clarke, M. V., 'Forfeiture and treason in 1388', in L. S. Sutherland and M. McKisack (eds.), *Fourteenth-century Studies* (Oxford, 1937), pp 115-45.

Eadem, 'Irish parliaments in the reign of Edward II', in L. S. Sutherland and M. McKisack (eds.), *Fourteenth-century Studies* (Oxford, 1937), pp 1-35.

Eadem, *Medieval representation and consent: a study of early parliaments in England and Ireland, with particular reference to the* Modus tenendi parlamentum (London, 1936, repr. 1964).

Eadem, 'William of Windsor in Ireland, 1369-76', *RIA Proc.*, XLI, C (1932-34), pp 55-130.

Cogan, A., *The Diocese of Meath, ancient and modern* (Dublin, 1862), 3 vols.

Cokayne, G. E. *The complete peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain and the United Kingdom*, V. Gibbs *et al.* (eds.), 12 vols. (London, 1910-59).

Colmcille, Fr., 'An important Mellifont document', *CLAHJ*, XIV, I (1957), pp 1-13.

Idem, 'Seven documents from the old abbey of Mellifont', C*LAHJ*, XIII, 1 (1953), pp 35-67.

Idem, *Story of Mellifont* (Dublin, 1958).

Condit, T. and Moore, F. (eds.), *Ireland in the Iron Age. Map of Ireland by Claudius Ptolemaeus, c. AD. 150* (Wicklow, 2003).

Connoly, P., 'An account of military expenditure in Leinster, 1308', *Anal. Hib.*, 30 (Dublin, 1982), pp 1-6.

Eadem, 'The enactments of the 1297 Parliament', in J. Lydon (ed.), *Law and disorder in thirteen century Ireland. The Dublin parliament of 1297* (Dublin, 1997), pp 148-161.

Eadem, 'The financing of English expeditions to Ireland, 1361-1376', in J. Lydon (ed.), *England and Ireland in the middle ages* (Dublin, 1981), pp 104-21.

Eadem and Martin, G.,*The Dublin guild merchant roll, c. 1190-1265* (Dublin, 1992).

Corcoran, M., 'The streets and lanes of Drogheda', *ODSJ*, 2 (1977), pp 22-30.

Idem, 'The streets and lanes of Drogheda', *ODSJ*, 3 (1978-9), pp 27-39.

Coredon, C. and Williams, A., *A dictionary of medieval terms and phrases* (Cambridge, 2004).

Cosgrove, A., *Late medieval Ireland, 1370-1541* (Dublin, 1981).

Idem (ed.), *A new history of Ireland*, II: m*edieval Ireland, 1169-1534* (Oxford 1987, repr. 1993).

Idem, 'Principal officers in the central government in Ireland, 1172-1922', in T. W. Moody, F. X. Martin and F. J. Byrne *(*eds.), *NHI*, IX: *maps, genealogies, lists – a companion to Irish history*, pt. ii, (Oxford, 1984; repr. 1998), pp 469-85.

Cotter, F. J., *The friars minor in Ireland from their arrival to 1400* (New York, 1944).

Courtney, P., 'Urbanism and feudalism on the periphery: some thoughts from marcher Wales', in K. Giles and C. Dyer (eds.), *Town and countries in the middle ages. Contrast, contact and interconnections, 1100-1500* (England, 2005), pp 65-84.

Crawford, E. M. (ed.), *Famine. The Irish experience, 900-1850* (Edinburgh, 1989).

Creighton, O. H., *Castles and landscapes. Power, community and fortification in medieval England* (London, 2002).

Crooks, P., 'The "calculus of faction" and Richard II's duchy of Ireland', in N. Saul (ed.), *Fourteenth -century England*, V (Woodbridge, 2008), pp 94-115.

Idem, 'Divide and rule. Factionalism as royal policy in the lordship of Ireland, 1171

-1265', *Peritia*, 19 (2005), pp 263-307.

Idem, 'Factions, feuds and noble power in the lordship of Ireland, c. 1356-1496', *IHS*, XXXV, n. 140 (2007), pp 425-54.

Idem, 'Further reading- Government, war and society in England, 1171-1541: a guide to recent work', in Idem (ed.), *Government, war and society in medieval Ireland: essays by Edmund Curtis, A. J. Otway-Ruthven and James Lydon* (Dublin, 2008), pp 353-75.

Idem (ed.), *Government, war and society in medieval Ireland: essays by Edmund Curtis, A. J. Otway-Ruthven and James Lydon* (Dublin, 2008).

Idem, 'Negotiating authority in a colonial capital: Dublin and the Windsor crisis, 1369-78', in S. Duffy (ed.), *Medieval Dublin*, IX (Dublin 2009), pp 130-51.

Idem, ' "Hobber", "dogs" and politics in the Ireland of Lionel of Antwerp, c. 1361-6', in *Haskins Society Journal*, 16 (2005), pp 117-48.

Cunningham, G., *The Anglo-Norman advance into the south west midlands of Ireland, 1185-1221* (Roscrea, 1987).

Curtis, E., *History of Ireland* (London, 1923).

Idem, 'Janico Dartas, Richard II's "Gascon squire": his career in Ireland, 1394-1426', *RSAIJ,* 4th ser., 63 (1933), pp 182-205.

Idem, 'Pardon of Henry Blake', *GAHSJ*, XVI (1934-5), IV, pp 186-89.

Idem, *Richard II in Ireland, 1394-95* (Oxford, 1927).

Idem, 'The viceroyalty of Lionel, duke of Clarence in Ireland, 1361-67', *RSAIJ* XLVII, 7 (1917), pp 165-90.

D'Alton, J., *The History of Drogheda* (Dublin, 1844), 2 vols.

Douglas, D. C. 'The ancestors of William FitzOsbern', *EHR*, LIX (1944), pp 62-79.

Darcy A. and Flynn, W., 'Ptolemy's map of Ireland. A modern decoding', *Irish Geography*, 41, issue 1 (March 2008), pp 49-69.

Dargan, P., *The Norman town in Ireland. A preliminary study of colonial urban form*, Urban Morphology Research Group, 4 (Birmingham, 1997).

Davies, J. C., *The baronial opposition to Edward II. Its character and policy* (London, 1967).

Davies, O., 'Old churches in County Louth. Drogheda barony', *CLAHJ,* XI, 1 (1945), pp 21-27.

Idem, 'Old Churches in County Louth. Ferrard barony', *CLAHJ,* X,4 (1944), pp 277-96.

Idem, 'Old churches in County Louth. Louth barony', *CLAHJ,* X, 2 (1942), pp 101-107.

Davies, R. C. H., *The Normans and their myth* (London, 1976).

Davies, R. R., *Domination and conquest. The experience of Ireland, Scotland and Wales, 1100-1300* (Cambridge, 1990).

Idem, *Conquest, coexistence, and change. Wales, 1063- 1415* (Oxford, 1987).

Idem, *Lords and lordship in the British Isles in the middle ages* (Oxford, 2009).

Idem, 'Mortimer, Roger (V), first earl of March (1287-1330), *ODNB*.

Idem, 'Mortimer, Roger (VI), second earl of March (1328-1360), *ODNB*.

Idem, 'Mortimer, Roger (VII), fourth earl of March and sixth earl of Ulster (1374-1398), *ODNB*.

Davis, H. W., Review of M. de Wolf Hemmeon, *Burgage tenure in Medieval England* (Cambridge, 1914), *EHR*, XXIX, pp 748-50.

Davies, W., 'The Latin charter-tradition in western Britain, Brittany and Ireland in the early medieval period', in D. Whitelock, McKitterick R., and Dumville, D. (eds.), *Ireland in Early medieval Europe. Studies in memory of Kathleen Hughes* (Cambridge, 1982), pp 258-80.

De Wolf Hemmeon, M., *Burgage tenure in medieval England* (Cambridge, 1914).

Doherty, C., 'The monastic town in early medieval Ireland', in H. B. Clarke and A. Simms (eds.), *The comparative history of urban origins in non-Roman Europe*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1985), I, pp 45-69.

Douglas, D. C., 'The ancestors of William FitzOsbern', *EHR*, LIX (1944), pp 62-79.

Dryburgh, P., 'Roger Mortimer and the governance in Ireland, 1317-1320', in B. Smith (ed.), *Ireland and the English world in the late middle ages. Essays in honour of Robin Frame* (New York, 2009), pp 89-102.

Duffy, S., *Atlas of Irish History* (Dublin, 2000).

Idem, 'The Bruce invasion of Ireland: a revisited itinerary and chronology', in Idem (ed.), *Robert the Bruce's Irish wars. The invasion of Ireland, 1306-1329* (Stroud, 2004), pp 9-44.

Idem, 'Historical revisit. Goddar Henry Orpen, *Ireland under the Normans, 1169-1333* (1911-20)', *IHS*, xxxii, n. 26 820009, pp 246-59.

Idem, *Ireland in the middle Ages* (London, 1997).

Idem, 'King John's expedition to Ireland, 1210: the evidence reconsidered', in *IHS*, 30 (1996), pp 1-24.

Idem (ed.), *Ireland under the Normans, 1169-1333, Goddard Henry Orpen*, a re-edition with introduction by S. Duffy (Dublin 2005).

Idem, *Medieval Ireland. An encyclopedia* (London-New York, 2005).

Idem, 'The 1169 invasion as a turning point in Irish-Welsh relations', in B. Smith (ed.), *Britain and Ireland: insular responses to medieval European change (900-1300)* (Cambridge, 1999), pp 98-113.

Idem (ed.), *Robert the Bruce's Irish wars. The invasion of Ireland, 1306-1329* (Brimscombe Port Stroud, 2004).

Dunn, A., 'Richard II and the Mortimer inheritance', in C. Given-Wilson (ed.), *Fourteenth century England*, II (Woodbridge, 2002), pp 159-70.

Edwards, J. G., 'Edward I's castle building in Wales', *B.A. Proc.*, XXXII (1946), pp 15-81.

Edwards, T. C., *Early Christian Ireland* (Cambridge, 2000).

Edwards, R. D., 'The beginning of municipal government in Dublin', *DHR*, 1 (1938-9), pp 2-10; reprinted in H. Clarke (ed.) *Medieval Dublin. The living city* (Blackrock, 1990), pp 145-52.

Empey, C. A., 'Conquest and settlement: patterns of Anglo-Norman settlement in north Munster and south Leinster', in *Irish Economic and Social History*, XIII (1986), pp 5-31.

Idem, 'The origin of the medieval parish revisited', in H. B. Clarke and J. R. S. Phillips (eds.), Ireland, *England and the continent in the middle Ages and beyond* (Dublin, 2006), pp 29-50.

Everard, J. 'The justiciarship in Brittany and Ireland under Henry II", *ANS*, XX (1997), pp 87-105.

Beresford, M.W. and Finberg H.P.R., *English medieval boroughs: a hand list* (Newton Abbot, 1973).

Fitzmaurice, E. B. and Little, A. G., *Materials for the history of the Franciscan province of Ireland, A. D. 1230-1450*, British Society of Franciscan Studies, 9 (Manchester, 1920; repr. 1966).

Flanagan, M. T., *Irish royal charters. Texts and contents* (Oxford, 2005).

Eadem, *Irish society, Anglo-Norman settlers, Angevin kingship: Interactions in Ireland in the late twelfth century* (Oxford, 1989).

Eadem, 'Lacy, Hugh de (d. 1186)', *ODNB* (2004).

Eadem, 'Lacy, Walter de (d. 1241)', *ODNB* (2004).

Eadem, 'Strategies of lordship in pre-Norman and post-Norman Leinster', *ANS* XX (1997), pp 107-126.

Eadem, 'The context and uses of the of the Latin charter in twelfth-century Ireland', in H. Pryce (ed.), *Literacy in medieval Celtic societies* (Cambridge, 1998), pp 113-32.

Eadem and Green, J. A. (eds.), *Charters and charter scholarship in Britain and Ireland* (New York, 2005).

Ford, C. J., 'Piracy or policy: the crisis in the Channel, 1400-1403', *RHS Trans.*, ser. V, 29 (1979), pp 63-78.

Frame, R., *Britain and Ireland, 1170-1450* (London, 1998).

Idem, 'The Bruces in Ireland, 1315-18', *IHS* XIX (1974-5), pp 3-37.

Idem, *English lordship in Ireland, 1318-61* (Oxford, 1982).

Idem, 'English policies and Anglo-Irish attitudes in the crisis of 1341-1342', in J. Lydon (ed.), *England and Ireland in the later middle ages* (Dublin, 1981), pp 86-103.

Idem, 'Military service in the lordship of Ireland 1290-1360: institutions and society on the Anglo-Gaelic frontier', in R. Bartlett and A. Mackay (eds.), *Medieval frontier societies* (Oxford, 1989), pp 101-26.

Idem, 'Power and society in the lordship of Ireland, 1272-1377', in *Past and Present*, 76 (1977), pp 3-33.

Idem, 'Select documents: xxix The justiciar and the murder of MacMurroughs in 1282', *IHS*, XVIII, n. 70, pp 223-229.

Garry, J., *The streets and lanes of Drogheda* (Drogheda, 1996).

Giles, K. and Dyer, C. (eds.), *Town and country in the middle ages. Contrast, contact and interconnections, 1100-1500* (England, 2005).

Given-Wilson, C., *The royal household and the king's affinity* (London, 1986).

Idem (ed.), *Fourteent- century England*, II (Woodbridge, 2002).

Glasscock, R. E., 'Land and people, c. 1300', in A. Cosgrove (ed.), *NHI*, II, (Oxford, 1987) pp 205-39.

Idem, 'Moated sites and deserted villages and boroughs: two neglected aspects of Anglo-Norman settlement in Ireland', in *Irish geographical studies in honour of E. Estyn Evans*, eds. N. Stephenson and R. E. Glasscock (Belfast, 1970), pp 162-77.

Idem, 'The study of deserted medieval settlement in Ireland', in *Deserted medieval villages studies*, M. W. Baresford and J. W. Hurst eds., (London, 1971), pp 279-301.

Gogarty, C. C., 'The burial place of St. Fanchea', *CLAJ,* I, 4 (1903), pp 34-46.

Graham, B. J., 'Anglo-Norman settlement in County Meath', *RIA Proc.*, 75, C (1975), pp 223-48.

Idem, Anglo-Norman settlement in Ireland (Dublin, 1985).

Idem, 'The definition and classification of medieval Irish towns', *Irish Geography*, 21 (1988), pp 20-32.

idem, 'The documentation of medieval Irish boroughs', *GSIHS Bull.*, IV (1977), pp 9-20 and V (1978), pp 41-45.

Idem, 'Economy and town in Anglo-Norman Ireland', in J. Bradley (ed.), *Settlement and society in medieval Ireland: studies presented to F. X. Martin, o.s.a.* (Kilkenny, 1988), pp 241-60.

Idem, 'The evolution of the settlement pattern of Anglo-Norman east-Meath', in R. H. Buchanan et alii (eds.) *Fields, farms and settlement in Europe*, (Belfast, 1971), p. 42.

Idem, 'The evolution of urbanization in medieval Ireland', *Journal of Historical Geography* 5 (1979), pp 111-125.

Idem, 'Medieval settlements in County Meath', *Riocht na Midhe,* 5,4 (1974), pp 40-59.

Idem, 'Urbanization in Ireland during the high Middle Ages, c. 1100- c. 1350', in T. Barry (ed.), *A history of settlement in Ireland* (New York, 2000), pp 124-139.

Idem and Proudfoot, L. J. (eds.), *An historical geography of Ireland* (London, 1993).

Greaves, D., 'Calais under Edward III', in G. Unwin (ed.), *Finance and trade under Edward III* (Manchester, 1962), pp 313-350.

Gross, C., *A bibliography of British (and Irish) municipal history, including gilds and parliamentary representation* (London, 1897; repr. G. H. Martin (ed.), Leicester, 1966).

Idem, *The gild merchant. A contribution to English municipal history* (Oxford, 1890), 2 vols.

Gwynn, A., 'Archbishop FitzRalph and George of Hungary', *Studies*, XXIV (1935), pp 558-72.

Idem, 'A forgotten abbey of St. Mary's, Drogheda', *CLAHJ*, XIII, 2 (1954), pp 190-99.

Idem, 'Armagh and Louth in the 12th and 13th centuries', *SA*, 1 (1954-55), n. 1 (1954), pp 1-11; 1, n. 2 (1955), pp 17-37.

Idem, 'The Black Death in Ireland', *Studies*, XXIV (1935), pp 25-42.

Idem, *The Irish church in the XI and XII centuries* (Dublin, 1992).

Idem, 'Medieval Bristol and Dublin', *IHS*, 5 (1946-7), pp 275- 286.

Idem, *The medieval province of Armagh, 1470-1545* (Dundalk, 1946).

Idem, 'Richard FitzRalph, Archbisop of Armagh', *Studies*, XXV (1936), pp 81-96.

Idem, 'The sermon diary of Richard FitzRalph, Archbishop of Armagh', *RIA Proc.* 44 C (1937), pp 1-58.

Gwynn A. and Hadcock, R. N., *Medieval religious houses: Ireland* (Dublin, 1988).

Hagger, M. S., *The fortunes of a Norman family. The de Verduns in England, Ireland and Wales, 1066-1316* (Dublin, 2001).

Halpin, A. and L. Buckley, 'Archaeological excavations at the Dominican Priory, Drogheda, Co. Louth', *Proc. RIA, 95 C* (1995), pp 175-253.

Halpin, E., 'Excavations at St. Mary d'Urso, Drogheda, County Louth', *CLAHJ*, XXIII, 4

(1996), pp 252-510.

Hand, G.J., *English law in Ireland, 1290-1324* (Cambridge, 1967).

Idem, 'Material used in *Calendar of Documents relating to Ireland'*, *IHS*, XII (1960), pp 99-104.

Harbison, S., 'William of Windsor, the court party and the administration of Ireland', in J. Lydon (ed.), *England and Ireland in the later middle ages* (Dublin, 1981), pp 153-74.

Hardiman, J., *The history of the town and county of Galway from the earliest period to the present time* (Dublin, 1820; repr. Galway, 1958).

Haren, M., 'Two Hungarian pilgrims', in M. Haren and Y. de Pontfarcy (eds), *The medieval pilgrimage to St. Patrick's purgatory, Lough Derg and the European tradition* (Clogher, 1988), pp 120-68.

Haren, M. and de Pontfarcy Y. (eds.), *The medieval pilgrimage to St. Patrick's purgatory,Lough Derg and the European tradition* (Clogher, 1988).

Harkness, D. and O'Dowd, M, *The town in Ireland* (Belfast, 1981).

Harrys, W., *The whole works of Sir James Ware concerning Ireland revised and improved by Walter Harris* (Dublin, 1764).

Hartland, B., 'Vaucouleurs, Ludlow and Trim: the role of Ireland in the career of Geoffrey de Geneville', *IHS* XXXII, 128 (2001), pp 457-77.

Haskins, C. H., *Norman Institutions* (New York, 1918; repr. 1967).

Idem, *The Normans in European history* (New York- London 1959).

Haughton, J. P. (ed.), *Atlas of Ireland prepared under the direction of the Irish National Committee for Geography* (RIA, Dublin, 1979).

Herbert, T., and Jones, G.H. (eds.), *Edward I and Wales* (Cardiff, 1988).

Hill, J., 'Mayors and lord mayors of Dublin from 1229', in W. Moody, F. X. Martin and F. J. Byrne (eds.), *NHI,* IX (Oxford, 1984), pp 547-63.

Hillaby, J., 'Colonization, crisis-management and debt: Walter de Lacy and the lordship of Meath', *RnM* VIII, 4 (1992-3), pp 1-50.

Hogan, A., *The Priory of Llanthony Prima and Secunda in Ireland, 1172- 1541. Lands, patronage and politics* (Dublin, 2008).

Hogan, E., *Onomasticon Goedelicum, locorum et tribuum Hiberniae et Scotiae. An index,*

with identifications, to the Gaelic names of places and tribes (Dublin, 1910).

Hollister, C. W., *Henry I* (London, 2001).

Idem, *Monarchy, magnates and institutions in the Anglo Norman world* (London, 1986).

Hudson, B. T., 'The changing economy of the Irish Sea province', in B. Smith (ed.), *Britain and Ireland 900-1300* (Cambridge, 1999), pp 39-66.

Hughes, A., *The history of Drogheda up to date with memoirs of the martyr-primate D. Oliver Plunket* (Drogheda, 1893).

Hunnisett, R. F., *The medieval Coroner* (Cambridge, 1961).

Hunt, W., *Bristol* (London, 1887).

Hussey Walsh, V., 'The Moores of the city of Drogheda', *The Genealogist*, N.S. XXXIII (1916), pp 127-8.

Hutchinson, H. F., *Edward II* (London, 1971).

James, E., 'Ireland and western Gaul in the Merovingian period', in D. Whitelock, R. McKitterick and D. Dumville (eds.), *Ireland in early medieval Europe*, (Cambridge, 1982), pp 362-86.

James, M. K., *Studies in the medieval wine trade* (Oxford, 1971).

Joice, P. W., *The origin and history of Irish place names* (Dublin, 1995), 3 vols.

Johnston, D., 'Chief governors and treasurers of Ireland in the reign of Richard II', in Barry, T.B., Frame, R., and Simms, M.K. (eds.), *Colony and frontier in medieval Ireland* (London, 1995), pp 97-116.

Eadem, 'The interim years: Richard II and Ireland, 1395-99', in J. Lydon (ed.), *England and Ireland in the later middle ages* (Blackrock, 1981), pp 175-95.

Eadem, 'Richard II and the submission of Gaelic Ireland', *IHS*, XXII (1980-1), pp 1-20.

Eadem, 'Richard II's departure from Ireland, July 1399', *EHR*, XCVII (1953), pp. 785-803.

Johnston, L. C., *History of Drogheda* (Drogheda, 1826).

Keefe, K., *Feudal assessment and the political community under Henry II and his son* (London, 1983).

Kelly, M. J., 'Two castles of Drogheda', *CLAHJ*, IX, 3 (1939), pp 244-45.

Idem, 'The church of St. Saviour's, Drogheda', *CLAHJ*, IX, 4 (1940), pp 347-51.

Idem, 'Three monasteries of Drogheda', *CLAHJ*, X, 1, (1941), pp 25-41.

Kenney, J. F., *Sources for the early Irish history of Ireland: an introduction and guide*, I, *Ecclesiastical* (New York, 1929).

King, H. A., 'A possible market cross fragment from Drogheda', *CLAHJ*, XX, 4 (1984), pp 334-39.

Landon, L., *The itinerary of King Richard I with studies of certain matters of interest connected with his reign* (London, 1935).

Lawlor, H. B., 'A fresh authority for the Synod of Kells, 1152', *RIA Proc.*, XXXVI, C (1922), pp 11-22.

Lee, D., (ed.), *Remembering Limerick. Historical essays celebrating the 8ooth anniversary of Limerick's first charter granted in 1197* (Limerick, 1997).

Lee, G., *Leper hospitals in medieval Ireland* (Dublin, 1996).

Le Roy Ladurie, *Times of feast, times of famine: a history of climate since the year 1000*, trans. B. Bray (London, 1972).

Leslie, J. B., 'Records of Country Louth', *CLAHJ*, VII, 2 (1930), pp 276-81.

Lewis, S., *Topographical dictionary of Ireland* (London, 1837), 2 vols.

Lydon, J. F., 'The Braganstown Massacre', *CLAHJ*, XIX (1997), pp 5-16.

Idem, 'The County of Uriel account, 1281-83', *CLAHJ* XIX, 3 (1979), pp 197-205.

Idem, 'Edward I, Ireland and the war in Scotland', in idem (ed.), *England and Ireland in the later middle ages* (Dublin, 1981), pp 43-61.

Idem (ed.), *England and Ireland in the later middle ages* (Dublin, 1981).

Idem, 'The enrolled account of Alexander Bicknor treasurer of Ireland, 1308-14', *Anal. Hib.*, 30 (1982), pp 7-46.

Idem, 'The expansion and consolidation of the colony, 1215-54', in A. Cosgrove (ed.), *NHI,* II (Oxford, 1987), pp 156-78.

Idem, 'The impact of Bruce's invasion, 1315-27', *NHI*, II (Oxford, 1987), pp 273-302.

Idem, 'Ireland after 1297: At peace after its manner', in J. Lydon (ed.), *Law and disorder in thirteen century Ireland. The Dublin parliament of 1297* (Dublin, 1997), pp 11-24.

Idem, 'Ireland and the English crown, 1171-1541', *IHS* XIX (1994-5), pp 281-94.

Idem, 'An Irish army in Scotland, 1296', *Irish Sword*, V (1961-2), pp 184-90.

Idem, 'Irish levies in the Scottish wars, 1296-1302', *Irish Sword*, V (1961-2), pp 207-17.

Idem, 'A land of war', in A. Cosgrove (ed.), *NHI*, II (Oxford, 1987), pp 240-302.

Idem (ed.) *Law and disorder in thirtee- century Ireland. The Dublin parliament of 1297* (Dublin, 1997).

Idem, *The lordship of Ireland in the middle ages* (Dublin, 2003).

Idem, 'Medieval Wicklow: a "land of war" ', in K. Hannigan and W. Nolan (eds.), *Wicklow. History and society: interdisciplinary essays on the history of an Irish county* (Dublin, 1994), pp 151-90.

Idem, 'The mills at Ardee in 1304', *CLAHJ* XIX, 4 (1980), pp 259-63.

Idem, 'Parliament and community in Ireland', in J. Lydon (ed.) *Law and disorder in thirteen century Ireland. The Dublin Parliament of 1297* (Dublin, 1997), pp 125-38.

Idem, 'Richard II's expedition to Ireland', *RSAIJ*, 93 (1963), pp 135-49.

Idem, 'Survey of the memoranda rolls of the Irish Exchequer, 1294-1509', *Anal. Hib.*, 23 (1966), pp 49-134.

Idem, 'William of Windsor and the Irish parliament', *EHR* LXXX (1965), pp 252-67.

Idem, 'The years of crisis, 1254-1315', *NHI,* II (Oxford, 1987), pp 179- 204.

Lynch, A., 'Five documents of Drogheda interest from the registers of the archbishops of Armagh', *CLAHJ*, XXI, 4 (1988), pp 407-14.

Lynch, W., *The Law of election in the ancient cities and towns of Ireland traced from original records* (London, 1831).

Lyon, B. D. (ed.), *Medieval institutions. Selected essays by C. Stephenson* (New York 1954).

Lyons, M. C., 'Weather, famine, pestilence and plague in Ireland, 900-1500', in E. M.

Crawford (ed.), *Famine. The Irish experience, 900-1850* (Edinburgh, 1989), pp 31-74.

Mac an Bhaird, A., 'Ptolemy revisited', *Aimn*, 5 (1993), pp 1-20.

Mac Cotter, P., 'Functions of the cantred in medieval Ireland', *Peritia*, 19 (2005), pp 308-32.

Mac Iomhair, D., 'Two old Drogheda chronicles', C*LAHJ*, XV, 1 (1961), pp 88-95.

MacIvor, D., 'The Irish cartularies of Llanthony, I and II', *CLAHJ*, XIII, (1954), pp 203-4.

Idem, 'The knights Templar in County Louth', *SA*, 4, n. 1 (1960-1), pp 72-91.

MacLysaght, E., *Irish families. Their names, arms and origins* (Dublin, 1957; repr. 1991).

Idem, *More Irish families* (Galway-Dublin, 1960).

Idem, *The surnames of Ireland (*Dublin, 1985).

MacNeill, T. E., *Castles in Ireland. Feudal power in a Gaelic world* (London, 1997).

Idem, 'Squaring circles: flooring round towers in Wales and Ireland', in J. R. Kenyon and K. O'Conor (eds.), *The Medieval castle in Ireland and Wales*, (Dublin, 2003), pp 96-106.

Mac Niocaill, G., *Na Buirgéisí, XII-XV aois* (Dublin, 1964), II.

Idem, 'The colonial town in Irish documents', in H. B. Clarke and A. Simms (eds.), *The comparative history of urban origins in non-Roman Europe*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1985),II, pp 373-78.

Idem, 'Socio-economic problems of the late medieval Irish town', in D. Harkness and M. O'Dowd (eds.), *The town in Ireland, IHS* XIII (Belfast, 1981), pp 7-22.

Madicott, J. R., *Simon de Montfort (*Cambridge 1994).

Idem, *Thomas of Lancaster, 1307-22. A study in the reign of Edward II* (Oxford, 1977).

Mahaffy, J. P., 'Two early tours in Ireland', *Hermathena* XL (1914), p. 17.

Maitland, F. W., *Domesday Book and beyond* (Cambridge, 1897).

Idem, *Township and borough* (Cambridge, 1898).

Marongiu, A., *Medieval parliaments: a comparative study*, trans. By S.J. Wolf (London, 1968).

Martin, F. X., 'Diarmait Mac Murchada and the coming of the Anglo- Normans', in A.

Cosgrove (ed.), *NHI*, II, (Oxford, 1987), pp 1-154.

Idem, 'John, lord of Ireland, 1185-1216', in A. Cosgrove (ed.), *NHI*, II (Oxford, 1987), pp 127-55.

Martin, G., 'Plantation boroughs in medieval Ireland, with a hand-list of boroughs to1500' in D. Harkness and M. O'Dowd (eds.), *The town in Ireland*, *IHS* XIII (Belfast, 1981), pp 7-22.

McEneaney, E., *A history of Waterford and its mayors from the 12th century to the 20th century* (Waterford, 1995).

Idem, 'Mayors and merchants in medieval Waterford city (1169-1495)', in W. Nolan and T. P. Power (eds.), *Waterford. History and society* (Dublin, 1992), pp 147-176.

Idem and R. Ryan, *Waterford treasures* (Waterford 2004).

McGrath, G., 'The shiring of Ireland and the 1297 parliament', in J. Lydon (ed.) *Law and disorder in thirteenth-century Ireland. The Dublin parliament of 1297* (Dublin, 1997), pp 107-24.

McGrat, P., *A history of the society of merchant venturers of the city of Bristol from its origin to the present day* (Bristol, 1975).

McNeill, C., 'The de Verdons and the Draycotts. Norman grants in County Louth. Extract from the register of the Hospital of St. John at Newgate, Dublin', *CLAHJ*, V, 3 (1923), pp 166-72.

Idem, 'Some early documents related to Uriel and the towns of Drogheda and Dundalk. The Draycott family', *CLAHJ*, V, 4 (1924), pp 270-77.

Idem, 'Some Drogheda gilds and properties', *CLAHJ*, VII, 2 (1930), pp 241-46.

Miller, E., 'The economic policies of government. France and England', in M. M. Postan, E. E. Rich and E. Miller (eds.), *The Cambridge economic history of Europe*, III (Cambridge, 1965), pp 281-396.

Moody, T. W., Martin, F. X. and Byrne F. J. (eds.), *A new history of Ireland*, IX: *maps, genealogies, lists. A companion to Irish history,* pt. ii (Oxford, 1984; repr. 1998).

Moore, M. J., *Archaeological inventory of County Meath* (Dublin, 1987).

Morris, J. E., *The Welsh wars of Edward I* (Oxford, 1901).

Morris, R. K., *Churches in the landscape* (London, 1989).

Mortimer, I., *The greatest traitor: the life of Sir Roger Mortimer, first earl of March, ruler*

of England, 1327-1330 (London, 2004).

Mould, D. D., *The Irish Dominican* (Dublin, 1957).

Murphy, D., 'Archaeological excavations at the Magdalene tower, Drogheda, County Louth', *CLAHJ*, XXIV, 1 (1997), pp 75-128.

Eadem, 'Recent archaeological discoveries in Drogheda', *JODS*, 11 (1998), pp 6-17.

Murphy, Rev. D., 'The de Verdons of Louth', *RSAIJ*, 25 (1895), pp 317-328.

Murray, L., 'Monasteries of Louth. The pre-Norman monasteries, *CLAHJ*, I, 1 (1904), pp 23-35.

Idem, "Monasteries of Louth. The post-Norman monasteries", *CLAHJ*, I, 4 (1907), pp 75-99.

Nelson, L. H., *The Normans in south Wales, 1070-1171* (London, 1966).

Newman, C., 'Re-composing the archaeological landscape of Tara, in E. Bhreathnach (ed.) *Kingship and landscape of Tara'* (Dublin, 2005), pp 395-409.

Nicholson, R., 'An Irish expedition to Scotland in 1335', *IHS* XIII (1962-3), pp 197-211.

Niermeyer, J., *Mediae latinitatis lexicon minus* (Leiden, 2002), 2 vols.

Nolan, W. and Power, T. P. (eds.), *Waterford. History and society* (Dublin 1992).

Nolan, W. and Simms, A., *Irish towns. A guide to the sources* (Dublin, 1998).

O' Brien, A. F., 'Commercial relations between Aquitaine and Ireland, c. 1000 to c. 1550', in *Aquitaine and Ireland in the middle ages*, ed. J. M. Picard (Dublin, 1995), pp. 31-80.

Idem, 'The development and evolution of the medieval borough and port of Dungarvan, county Wexford c. 1200 to c. 1530', *CHASJ* XCII (1987), pp 85-94.

Idem, 'The development of the privileges, liberties and immunities of medieval Cork and the growth of urban autonomy, c. 1189 to 1500', *CHASJ*, XC (1985), pp 46-64.

Idem, 'Irish Exchequer records of payments of the fee farm of the city of Cork in the later middle ages', *Anal. Hib.*, 37 (1998), pp 139-190.

Idem, 'Medieval Youghal: the development of an Irish seaport trading town, c. 1200 to c. 1500', *Peritia*, 5 (1986), pp 346-78.

Idem, 'The royal boroughs, the seaport towns and royal revenues in medieval Ireland', *RSAIJ*, 118 (1988), pp 13-26.

O'Brien, E., *Post Roman Britain to Anglo-Saxon England: burial practices reviewed*, British Archaeological Reports, British Series 289 (Oxford, 1999), pp 178-86.

O'Connor, S., 'Tudor Drogheda 1534-1603', *JODS*, 10 (1996), pp 86-111.

Ó Croinín, D., *Early medieval Ireland, 400- 1200* (London, 1995).

Ó Floinn, R., 'The archaeology of the early-Viking age in Ireland', in H. B. Clarke, M. Ní Mhaonaigh and R. Ó Floinn (eds.) *Ireland and Scandinavia in the early Viking age* (Dublin, 1998), pp 131-65.

O'Keeffe, T., *An archaeology of medieval Ireland* (Stroud, 2002).

Ó Lochlainn, C., 'Roadways in ancient Ireland', in J. Ryan (ed.), *Essay and studies presented to Professor Eoin MacNeill on the occasion of his seventieth birthday, May 15th 1938* (Dublin, 1940), pp 465-74.

O'Neill, A., 'Franciscan foundation at Drogheda. Points of historical interest', *CLAHJ*, X, 3 (1943), pp 257-59.

O'Neill, T., *Merchants and mariners in medieval Ireland* (Dublin, 1987).

O'Rahilly, T. F., *Early Irish history and mythology* (Dublin, 1946).

Orpen, G. H., *Ireland under the Normans, 1169- 1333* (Oxford, 1911-20).

Idem, 'Ptolemy's map of Ireland', *RSAIJ 24* (1894), 2, pp 115-28.

Idem, 'Mottes and Norman castles in County Louth', *RSAIJ*, XXXVIII (1908), pp 241-269.

O' Sullivan, M. D., *Italian merchant bankers in Ireland the thirteenth- century. A study in the social and economic history of medieval Ireland* (Dublin, 1962).

Idem, *Old Galway. The history of a Norman colony in Ireland* (Cambridge, 1942).

Otway-Ruthven, A. J., 'Anglo-Irish agriculture in the Middle Ages', *RSAIJ*, LXXXI (1951), 1, pp 1-13.

Eadem, 'Anglo-Irish shire government in the thirteenth century', *IHS* V (1946-7), pp 1-28.

Eadem, 'The character of Norman settlement in Ireland', *HS*, V (1965), pp 75-84.

Eadem, *A History of medieval Ireland* (London, 1968; repr. 1980).

Eadem, 'Knight service in Ireland', *JRSAI*, 89 (1959), pp 1-15.

Eadem, 'Medieval Ireland, 1169-1485', in T. W. Moodey (ed.), *Irish historiography, 1936-1970* (Dublin, 1971), pp 16-22.

Eadem, *The medieval Irish chancery* (Paris, 1961).

Eadem, 'The native Irish and English law in medieval Ireland', *IHS*, XXV, 7 (1980), pp 1-16.

Eadem, 'The partition of the de Verdun lands in Ireland in 1332', *RIA Prec.*, 66, C (1968), pp 401-45.

Parson, D. N. and Sims-Williams P. (eds.) *Ptolemy. Towards a linguistic atlas of the earliest Celtic place-names of Europe* (Aberystwyth, 2000).

Phillips, J. R. S., 'The Irish remonstrance of 1317: an international perspective', *IHS* XXVII (1990), pp 112-29.

Idem, *The medieval expansion of Europe* (Oxford, 1988).

Idem, 'The mission of John de Hothum to Ireland, 1315-1316', in J. Lydon (ed.), *England and Ireland in the later middle ages* (Dublin, 1981), pp 62-85.

Picard, J-M. (ed.), *Aquitaine and Ireland* (Dublin, 1995).

Idem, 'Church and politics in the seventh century: the Irish exile of King Dagobert II, in J-M. Picard (ed.), *Ireland and northern France, 600-850* (Dublin, 1991), pp 27-52.

Platt, C., *The English medieval town* (London, 1976).

Pollock, F. and Maitland, F. W., *The history of English law before the reign of Edward I*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1923).

Poole, A. L., *From Domesday Book to Magna Charta, 1087-1216* (Oxford, 1951).

Poole, R. L., *The Exchequer in the twelfth century* (London, 1912).

Postan, M. M., Rich, E. and Miller, E. (eds.), *The Cambridge economic history of Europe*, III (Cambdridge, 1965).

Potter, M., *The government and the people of Limerick. The history of Limerick corporation-city council 1197-2006* (Limerick, 2006).

Potterton, M., *Medieval Trim. History and archaeology* (Dublin, 2005).

Pounds, N. J. C., *The medieval castle in England and Wales: a social and political history* (Cambridge, 1990).

Powell, E., 'Arbitration and the law in England in the later middle ages', *RHS Trans.*, ser.

5, 33 (1983), pp 49-67.

Prestwich, M., *Edward I* (London, 1988).

Idem, *Plantagenet England, 1225-1350* (Oxford 2007).

Idem, *War, politics and finance under Edward I* (London, 1972).

Idem, *The three Edwards. War and state in England, 1272-1377* (London, 1980).

Plucknett, T. F., *Legislation of Edward I* (Oxford 1949).

Rambo, E., *Colonial Ireland in Medieval English literature* (London, 1992).

Reilly, T., *Tracing Drogheda's medieval walls (*Drogheda, 1995).

Reynolds, S., *An introduction to the history of English medieval towns* (Oxford, 1977).

Richardson, H. G., 'The Irish parliament of Edward I', *RIA Proc.*, XXXVIII (1928-9), pp 128-47.

Idem, 'Norman Ireland in 1212', *IHS* III (1942-3), pp 144-58.

Idem, 'The origin of parliament', *RHS Trans.*, IV, XI (1928), pp 137-83.

Richardson H. G. and Sayles, G. O., *The administration of Ireland, 1171-1377* (Dublin, 1963).

Eidem, *The Irish parliament in the middle ages* (Philadelphia, 1952).

Eidem 'Irish Revenue, 1278-1384', *RIA Proc.*, LXII, C (1962), pp 87-100.

Eidem, *Parliaments and councils in medieval Ireland* (Dublin, 1947).

Richter, M., 'The European dimension of Irish history in the eleventh and twelfth centuries', *Peritia*, 4 (1985), pp 328-45.

Robinson, A. D., *Ancient Drogheda* (Drogheda, 1994).

Round, J. H., *Feudal England* (London, 1895).

Ryan, J., *The history and antiquities of the County of Carlow* (Dublin, 1833).

Santini, G., *Materiali per la storia del diritto commune in Europa. Lo* ius comune *nel pensiero giuridico: una struttura di lunga durata* (Torino, 1990).

Saul, N., *Richard II* (London, 1997).

Idem (ed.), *Fourteenth-century England*, I (Woodbridge, 2000).

Idem (ed.), *Fourteenth-century England*, V (Woodbridge, 2008).

Sayles, G. O., 'The battle of Faughart', in S. Duffy (ed.), *Robert the Bruce's Irish wars. The invasion of Ireland, 1306-1329* (Stroud, 2004), pp 107-118.

Sellar, W. D. H., 'Hebridean Sea kings: the successors of Somerled, 1164-1316', in E. J.

Cowan and R. A. MacDonald (eds.), *Alba: Celtic Scotland in the Medieval Era* (Edinburgh, 2000; repr. 2005), pp 186-218.

Seyer, S., *Memoirs of Bristol* (Bristol, 1821).

Shaffrey, P., *The Irish town* (Dublin, 1975).

Sheehy, M. P., 'A medieval foundation in the borough of Drogheda in Oirghialla', *CLAHJ*, XIV, 3 (1959), pp 154-159.

Simms, A., 'Core and periphery in medieval Europe: the Irish experience in a wider context', in W. J. Smit and K. Whelan (eds.), *Common ground: essay on the historical geography of Ireland* (Cork, 1988), pp 22-40.

Eadem, 'Interlocking spaces: the relative location of medieval parish churches, churchyards, marketplaces and town halls', in H. Clarke and J. R. S. Philips (eds.), *Ireland, England and the continent in the middle ages and beyond* (Dublin, 2006), pp 222-34.

Eadem, 'Perspectives on Irish settlement studies', in T. Barry (ed.), *A history of settlement in Ireland* (London, 2000), pp 228-247.

Eadem and Simms, K., Kells, *Irish Historic Town Atlas*, 4 (Bray, 2004).

Eadem and Simms, K., 'Origin of Irish towns', in J. P. Haughton (ed.), *The atlas of Ireland prepared under the direction of the Irish National Committee for Geography* (RIA, Dublin, 1979), p. 43.

Simms, K., 'The archbishops of Armagh and the O'Neills, 1347-1471', *IHS*, XIX (1974-5), pp 38-55.

Eadem, 'The concordat between the Primate John Mey and Henry O'Neill (1445)', *Arch. Hib.* 34 (1976-77), pp 71-82.

Eadem, *From Kings to warlords. The changing political structure of Gaelic Ireland in the later middle ages* (Woodbridge, 1987).

Eadem, 'The king's friend: O Neill, the crown and the earldom of Ulster', in J. Lydon (ed.), *England and Ireland in the Later Middle Ages* (Blackrock, 1981), pp 214-36.

Eadem, 'O'Hanlons, O'Neills and Anglo-Normans in thirteenth-century Armagh', *SA*, 9, n. 1 (1978), pp 70-94.

Eadem, 'The Ulster revolt of 1404- an anti-Lancastrian dimension?', in B. Smith (ed.), *Ireland and the English world in the late middle ages:essays in honour of Robin Frame* (New York, 2009), pp 141-160.

Slater, T. R. (ed.), *The built form of Western cities* (Leicester, 1990).

Slattery, P., 'Forest and woods, boards and beams, in Anglo-Norman Ireland, 1169-c. 1350', *RSAIJ*, 138 (2008), forthcoming.

Smith, B., 'The Armagh-Clogher dispute and the "Mellifont Conspiracy": diocesan politics and monastic reforms in early thirteenth-century Ireland', *SA,* 14, n. 2 (1991), pp 26-38.

Idem (ed.), *Britain and Ireland: insular responses to medieval European change (900-1300)* (Cambridge, 1999).

Idem, *Colonization and conquest in medieval Ireland.The English in Louth, 1170-1330* (Cambridge, 1999).

Idem, 'The concept of march in medieval Ireland: the case of Uriel', *RIA Proc.*, 88 (1988), pp 257-69.

Idem, 'The De Pitchford family in thirteenth-century Ireland', *Studia Hib.*, 27 (1993), pp 29-43.

Idem, (ed.), *Ireland and the English world in the late middle ages. Essays in honour of Robin Frame* (New York, 2009).

Idem, 'Keeping the peace', in J. Lydon (ed.), *Law and disorder in thirteenth century Ireland. The Dublin parliament of 1297*, (Dublin, 1997), pp 57-64.

Idem, 'Lionel of Clarence and the English of Meath', *Peritia*, 10 (1996), pp 297-302.

Idem, 'The murder of Richard Gernon, sheriff of Louth, 1311', *CLAHJ*, 21 (1989), pp 7-15.

Stephenson, C., *Borough and town. A study of urban origins in England* (Cambridge, 1933).

Stout, G., 'The bend of the Boyne, County Meath', in F. H. A. Aalen, K. Whelan and M. Stout (eds.) *Atlas of the Irish rural landscape* (Cork, 1997), pp 299-315.

Strickland, W. G., 'The ancient official seals of the city of Dublin', in H. Clarke (ed.), *Medieval Dublin. The living city* (Dublin 1990), pp 163-71.

Stubbs, W., *The constitutional history of England*, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1896-97).

Stubb, G., 'Disturbances in County Louth, 1312', *CLAHJ*, IV, 4 (1919-20), pp 304-7.

Idem, 'Inhabitants of Louth in the thirteenth-century', *CLAHJ*, V, 3(1923), pp 189-92.

Studd, J. R., 'The Lord Edward and King Henry III', *IHR. Bull.*, 1 (1977), pp 4-19.

Sutherland L. S., and McKisack, M. (eds.), *Fourteenth-century studies* (Oxford, 1937).

Sweetman, P. D., 'Archaeological excavations at Shop Street, Drogheda', *RIA Proc.*, 84, C, 5 (1984), pp 171-232.

Swift, C., *Ogam stones and the earliest Irish Christians* (Maynotth, 1997).

Tait, J., 'Common Council of the borough', *EHR* XLVI (1931), pp 1-29.

Idem, 'The *firma burgi* and the commune in England, 1066-1191', *EHR*, XLII (1927), pp 321-59.

Idem, 'The origin of the town councils in England', *EHR,* XLIV (1929), pp 177-202.

Idem, *The medieval English borough: studies on its origins and constitutional history* (Manchester, 1936).

Idem, 'Review of *Ireland under the Normans , 1169-1216*, by G. H. Orpen, 2 vols, Oxford 1911', *EHR*, XXVII (1912), pp 142-44.

Tierney, J. J., 'The Greek ethnographic tradition and Ptolemy's evidence for Irish geography', *RIA Proc.* 76, C (1976), pp 257-65.

Thomas, A., 'Drogheda, 1574', *CLAHJ*, XVIII, 3 (1975), pp 179-186.

Eadem, 'Financing town walls in medieval Ireland', in C. Thomas (ed.), *Rural landscapes and communities* (Dublin, 1986), pp 65-92.

Eadem, *The walled towns of Ireland* (Dublin 1992), 2 vols.

Thomas, C., 'Gallici Nautae de Galliarum provinciis. A sixth-seventh century trade with Gaul, reconsidered', *Medieval Archaeology*, 34 (1990), pp 1-26.

Thomas, H., *The English and the Normans. Ethnic hostility, assimilation and identity, 1066-1220* (Oxford, 2003).

Thompson, E. A., *Who was Patrick*? (Woodbridge, 1985; repr. 1999).

Thornton, D., *Kings, chronologies and genealogies. Studies in the political history of Earl y medieval Ireland and Wales* (Oxford, 2005).

Toner, G., 'Identifying Ptolemy's Irish places and tribes', in D. N. Parson and P. Sims-Williams (eds.) *Ptolemy. Towards a linguistic atlas of the earliest Celtic place-names of Europe* (Aberystwyth, 2000), pp 73-82.

Toussaint-Samat, M., *A History of food* (Cambridge, 1992).

Tuck, A., 'Anglo-Irish relations, 1382-1393', *RIA Proc.* 69(1970), C, 2, pp15-31.

Idem, *Richard II and the English nobility* (London, 1973).

Van Houth, E. M. C., *The Normans in Europe* (Manchester, 2000).

Veach, C. T., 'A question of timing: Walter de Lacy's seizing of Meath 1189-94', *RIA Proc.*, CIX C (2009), pp 165-94.

Veale, W. W., 'The Burgage Tenure in Medieval Bristol', Introduction to *The Great Book of Bristol* (Bristol, 1931), vol. 1.

Walker, S., 'Janico Dartassso: chivalry, nationality and the man at arms', *History*, 84, no. 273 (1999), pp 31-51.

Walsh, L., 'The mayoral myth', in D. Lee (ed.), *Remembering Limerick. Historical essays celebrating the 800th anniversary of Limerick's first charter granted in 1197* (Limerick, 1997), pp 39-45.

Walsh, K., *A fourteenth-century scholar and primate. Richard FitzRalph in Oxford, Avignon and Armagh* (Oxford, 1981).

Walton, J. C., *The royal charters of Waterford* (Waterford, 1992).

Warren, W. L., *Henry II* (London, 2000).

Idem, 'King John and Ireland', in J. Lydon (ed.), *England and Ireland in the later middle ages* (Dublin, 1981), pp 26-42.

Watt, J. A., 'The Anglo-Irish colony under strain, 1327-99', in A. Cosgrove (ed.), *NHI, II* (Oxford, 1987), pp 352-96.

Idem, 'John Colton, justiciar of Ireland (1382) and Archbishop of Armagh (1383-1404)', in J. Lydon (ed.), *England and Ireland in the later middle ages* (Dublin, 1981), pp 196-213.

Webb, J. J., *Municipal government in Ireland* (Dublin, 1918).

Weinbaum, M., *British borough charters, 1307-1660* (Cambridge, 1943).

Idem, *The incorporation of boroughs* (Manchester, 1937).

Went, E. J., 'Fisheries of the river Liffey', in H. Clarke (ed.) *Medieval Dublin. The living*

city (Blackrock, 1990), pp 182-91.

Idem, 'Material for a history of the fisheries of the river Boyne', *CLAHJ*, XIII, 1 (1953), pp 18-33.

Wightman, W. E., *The Lacy family in England and Normandy, 1066-1194* (Oxford, 1966).

Idem, 'The palatine earldom of William FitzOsbern in Gloucestershire and Worcestershire, 1066-1071', *EHR* LXXVII (1962), pp 6-17.

Wilde, W. R., *The beauty of the Boyne and its tributary, the Blackwater* (Dublin, 1849).

Wilde, W., 'Table of Irish famines, 900-1850', in E. M. Crawford (ed.), *Famine. The Irish experience*, 900-1900*: subsistence crises and famines in Ireland* (Edinburgh, 1989), pp 1-30.

Williams, A. and Martin, G.H. (eds.), *Domesday Book, A Complete Translation* (London, 2002).

Wood, H., *Guide to the records deposited in the Public Record Office of Ireland* (Dublin, 1919).

Idem, 'The muniments of Edmund de Mortimer, third earl of March, concerning the liberty of Trim', *RIA Proc.*, XL, C (1931-2), pp 312-55.

Idem, 'The public records of Ireland before and after 1922', *RHS Trans*, 4th series, 13 (1930), pp 17-49.

Idem, 'The office of chief governor in Ireland, 1172-1509', *RIA Proc.*, XXXVI, C (1922), pp 206-38.