The Impact of the Anglo-Normans on Munster

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Prelude to Invasion

The Anglo-Norman invasion of Ireland in the late 12th century must be seen as part of a wider movement of western European colonial expansion. The invasion, conquest and settlement of much of Ireland in the late 12th and early 13th centuries, therefore, was part of a general movement of expansion and colonisation extending from the core areas of western Europe to the European periphery, which, by that time, included Ireland. A vibrant feudal socio-economic system was at the heart of this development. Accordingly, the western European feudal aristocracy, which inspired the movement, imposed the stamp of their own political and socio-economic organisation on the conquered lands. Thus, this movement of expansion and colonisation had the effect of integrating the newly conquered lands with the old, the core areas of western Europe.[1]

Moreover, the Anglo-Norman (or English) invasion and colonisation of much of Ireland from the late 12th century onwards was in many respects similar to, for example, the contemporary German penetration of the Slav regions of central and eastern Europe.[2] Both processes of colonisation were prompted by similar expansionary impulses and were underpinned by similar notions of cultural and racial superiority. Furthermore, both reflected the contemporary spirit of militant Christianity which produced, by the late 11th century, the crusading ideal. That ideal, it must be remembered, was by no means confined to the waging of war against Islam, whether in the middle east or Islamic Spain. It could be, and in fact was, directed against all perceived enemies of western or Latin Christianity. In this connection, it should be said that the term 'enemy' could be interpreted widely so as to include Christians whose practices and mores were at variance with those prescribed by the norms of contemporary Latin or western Christianity.

By the 12th century, Christianity as practised in Ireland was archaic by the standards of contemporary western Europe. Indeed, in important respects its norms were utterly aberrant from the new western European orthodoxy. This was particularly so in the matter of ecclesiastical organisation and in regard to marital and sexual mores. Although the differences between church organisation and structure in Ireland and that which obtained in the western European core had been narrowed to some degree by a series of church councils held in Ireland in the course of the 12th century, important structural differences remained, notably in the matter of the role of the episcopate. Moreover, from the contemporary papal point of view and that of ecclesiastical reformers within and without Ireland the church in Ireland continued to be subject to control by the secular power to an unacceptable degree. Likewise, Irish marriage law was attacked by church reformers. As the western church came to control and

regulate marriage in the course of the 12th century, 'Celtic marriage law was regarded as thoroughly disreputable ... Thus, it is not surprising that it should be in the matter of sex and marriage and within the circle of eccle-siastical reformers that we can detect the earliest signs of the approach of a new and hostile attitude to Celtic peoples.'[3] Accordingly, Irish sexual mores and marriage laws increasingly came to be regarded as 'scandalous'. Thus, the aberrant situation in Ireland was not only criticised by native reformers but was used as a pretext for invasion by the Anglo-Normans.[4] Accordingly, the crusading ideal was invoked as a pretext for the invasion. Indeed, in 1154-55, Henry II had been granted a papal bull, *Laudabiliter* authorising him to invade Ireland in order to reform the church. At that time, Henry II did not proceed further in the matter, but, on coming to Ireland in the aftermath of the invasion, he convened the Synod of Cashel (1172) 'to undertake the reformation of the Irish church along English lines and in compliance with the papal mandate *Laudabiliter*, which had called upon Henry and his lieges to extirpate the "filthy abominations" and "enormous vices" of the Irish'.[5] Thus, from the outset, the principle of the crusade had been invoked by the invader. While pointing to the aber-rant ecclesiastical and moral situation in Ireland, and in justifying inva-sion by invoking the principle of holy war and crusade, however, the invader, clerical or lay,

'...made a neat elision. For, while twelfth-century Anglo-Norman incursions into Ireland were motivated, in the words of a contemporary source, by the desire for "land or pence, horses, armour or chargers, gold and silver ... soil or sod", the invaders were able to claim "some show of religion" by portraying the Irish, in the words of St Bernard, as "Christians only in name, pagans in fact".'[6]

The consequences for the Irish were dire. Thus,

'...although Christianity was ancient in Ireland, the history of the country in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries seems to be marked by processes very similar to those that were taking place in the areas of northern and eastern Europe being incorporated into Latin Christendom at that same time. The incursion of a feudal cavalry elite, the immigration of peasant settlers, the formation of chartered towns, the introduction of a more widely diffused documentary literacy and coinage – all those aspects of Irish history can be paral-leled in other areas experiencing the expansionary wave of the High Middle Ages. A colonial settlement in Munster would have a strong resemblance to one in Brandenburg. Ireland ... [was] subject to many of the same processes of conquest, colonisation and cul-tural and institutional transformation as eastern Europe or Spain.'[7]

Clearly, this passage raises several points which require amplification and explication, and this will be done, directly or indirectly, in the course of the present lecture. There is, however, one further matter which should be addressed immediately, because it throws further light not only on some of the issues raised so far, but also on the crucial question of the making of an English colonial attitude, an attitude which was central to the whole

thrust of invasion, conquest and domination.

In England, by the 12th century, Ireland and the other Celtic countries 'were perceived as poor and primitive societies – primitive in that they had failed to climb the ladder of evolution of human societies which twelfth-century intellectuals like Gerald [de Barri or Gerald of Wales] took for granted. By contrast the English saw themselves as prosperous, peaceful, law-abiding, urbanised and enterprising.'[8] These attitudes reflected the thinking of another 12th-century commentator, William of Malmesbury, whose system of classification of peoples 'divided men and women into the civilised and the barbarians' on the basis of the level of their socio-economic development. What this amounted to was nothing less than 'the creation of an imperialist culture'.[9] By the time of the Anglo-Norman or English[10] invasion of Ireland, ideas such as these were well established and current. Accordingly, Irish society was condemned as 'economically underdeveloped and indeed culpably backward. [Its] agriculture was primitive and pastoral; town life, trade and money were more or less absent; forms of economic exploitation and exchange were primitive.' Moreover, 'defects of character were the obvious explanation for economic backwardness.' Furthermore, Irish society, since, unlike contemporary England, it lacked a centralised political authority, was 'politically immature'. Finally, 'the social customs and moral, sexual and marital habits' of Irish society showed that at best it was at 'an early stage of social evolution ... at worst that "this barbarous nation" was "Christian only in name" and was ... in fact pagan.'[11]

Such ideas could be deployed to advantage in the process of conquest and colonisation. Thus, the characterisation of the invasion and conquest of Ireland 'as the struggle of "civilization" with "barbarism" ... was immensely satisfying to advocates of the dominant life-style, who thereby assured themselves of their own superiority and of the desirability of the conquest or conversion of their rivals'.[12]

These ideas are strongly reflected in the writings of Gerald of Wales. His commentaries on the condition of Ireland at the time of the invasion and on the early course of that invasion are particularly important, not least because of the fact that he was 'a member of one of the leading families involved in the venture [and] could draw on the memories of his uncles and cousins who had been battling in Ireland for twenty years'.[13] His uncle, Robert fitz Stephen, had led the first party of invaders who landed at Bannow Strand, county Wexford, on 1st May 1169, and, as we shall see, together with Miles de Cogan, was enfeoffed by Henry II of the whole demesne of Desmond, essentially the Mac Carthy kingdom of Cork, while Gerald's brother, Robert de Barri, who also had landed at Bannow, was the first of the Barry family in Ireland.

Gerald joined the entourage of Henry II in 1184, and came to

Ireland with Henry's son, the future King John, in 1185, and he made a third visit in 1199. 'The result of his literary work during 1185 and the following two or three years was his first account of Ireland and its early history, his *History* or *Topography of Ireland*.' Again, 'within twenty years of the coming of the Anglo-Normans to Ireland in 1169 Gerald of Wales had composed his Conquest of Ireland (*Expugnatio Hibernica*).'

Gerald's writings reflect both the militaristic, entrepreneurial attitudes of the class to which he belonged – the feudal military aristocracy – and the disparaging, dismissive, even racist attitude to the Irish to be found in contemporary England.

'Gerald saw the native Irish as typical barbarians, whose life, lived so close to nature, promoted vigour, hardiness and courage but denied them the "arts" of civilization. Drawing upon classical ideas about the progress of civilization, he speculated as to the causes of their poverty and backwardness. Unlike most peoples who progressed from pastoralism to agriculture to urban life, the Irish had remained wedded to the pastoral pursuits of their ancestors. This accounted for their sloth and poverty... The seclusion of Ireland from the benevolent influence of more advanced societies left them hopelessly and helplessly wrapped in the cocoon of their antiquated and limited way of life.'[14]

These attitudes served to engender a sense of mission on the part of English colonists in later medieval Ireland. Moreover, it is not without significance that these same arguments were made by the English conquerors and colonisers of Ireland in the later 16th and early 17th centuries and that, in that context, the works of Gerald of Wales were consulted and his arguments and assertions reiterated.[15]

Irish society, a traditional kindred based society, was politically and economically inferior to feudal society, with its intensive arable farming based on manorial organisation, which English society had become long before the invasion of Ireland. Moreover, Irish economic inferiority had important military consequences also and English superiority in arms was clearly demonstrated as the invasion and conquest of Ireland progressed. Thus, 'the use of mailed soldiers was itself an indication of socio-economic development... We have here an unequal struggle between an industrially advanced power and a pastoral economy.'[16]

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The Anglo-Norman Invasion:
The Domination of Munster

As is well known, the proximate cause of invasion was the conflict which developed in the mid-12th century between Diarmait Mac Murchada, king of Leinster, and Tigernán Ua Ruairc, king of Bréifne, primarily for supremacy over the declining kingdom of Meath. In fact, given the robust, vibrant and expansionist nature of Anglo-Norman society with a ruling aristocracy whose ethic was military, people totally committed to warfare, an invasion of Ireland was quite likely at some stage. Indeed, as we have seen, Henry II himself had considered undertaking such a venture in 1154-5 and to that end had sought and obtained papal blessing thereby raising his projected invasion to the status of crusade or holy war. In the event, the invasion when it came was remarkably successful from the outset because of both massive Anglo-Norman military superiority, as far as technology and tactics were concerned, and competing interests and rivalries between Irish kings.

With regard to the Anglo-Norman conquest of almost all of Munster in the space of thirty years or so, therefore, three elements are particularly striking. First, there is the matter of the contribution made by political rivalries between Irish kings and contention within ruling Irish dynasties to Anglo-Norman success. In many cases these rivalries antedate the invasion. A striking example of this was the continuing struggle between the Mac Carthys and the O'Briens for domination of Munster, a struggle which often involved the high king, Ruaidrí Ua Conchobair especially, who had his own political objectives. Second, the sheer military prowess and superiority of the Anglo-Normans, made a major contribution to their success, although, as we shall see, that did not always guarantee victory. Finally, a major element in the situation was the way in which, certainly within two or three decades of the first invasion, many of the original invaders or their descendants were marginalised by the English crown in favour of other interests, often courtiers or persons close to the English king who were in receipt of a flow of patronage.

The story of the conquest itself is rather complicated, and for that reason, for present purposes, as far as possible should be reduced to essentials. My starting point in Munster is the city of Waterford itself and the western part of the present county Waterford. On his arrival in Ireland in October 1171, Henry II, for several reasons, not the least of which was his desire to curb Strongbow's power, detached from his lordship of Leinster the town of Wexford and the cities of Dublin and Waterford (in the autumn of 1170, Waterford was captured by Richard fitz Gilbert de Clare, Strongbow, and Raymond le Gros) and retained them for himself.[17] In 1173 Strongbow embarked on an attack on Munster. 'The Normans plun-

dered Lismore, and defeating both an Ostmen fleet from Cork and [Diarmait Mac Carthaig, king of Desmond] brought back a considerable prey to Waterford.'[18] Early in 1174, under Hervey de Montmorency, 'the attack on Munster was resumed, only to meet with complete defeat near Thurles. Strongbow retreated to Waterford, and, according to Giraldus [Gerald de Barri] "all the people of Ireland with one consent rose against the English".'[19] Further territorial arrangements affecting Waterford were made by Henry II at the council of Oxford in 1177. 'Ossory was separated from [Strongbow's lordship of] Leinster and attached to the royal demesne lands of Waterford, now defined as extending to the Blackwater beyond Lismore and given into the custody of Robert le Poer.'[20] In the course of the Anglo-Norman settlement, 'a large part of the [present] county [Waterford] was reserved to the royal demesne in the form of the honor of Dungarvan (comprising six of the eight cantreds and corresponding roughly to the modern baronies of Decies).'[21] By the so-called treaty of Windsor between Henry II and the high king of Ireland, Ruaidrí Ua Conchobair, in 1175 this region was included in the lands reserved to the English.[22] In the period 1177 to 1182 – the years immediately following the council of Oxford – the Anglo-Normans, under William fitz Audelm, appear to have consolidated 'the occupation of [county] Waterford though we hear nothing of the process'.[23] By the 1180s, not only were the city of Waterford and the territories immediately adjacent to it firmly under Anglo-Norman control, but also the colony was in process of expansion in that region. These developments were further promoted by King John on his arrival in Ireland in 1185. Thus, 'in the march between Leinster, the heartland of the lordship, and the Irish kingdom of Desmond lay what is nowadays Co Waterford; and one of John's first actions was to build castles in the area to protect this vital march.'[24] By the closing decade or so of the 12th century, there is clear evidence of a continuing penetration by the Anglo-Normans of the territories comprising the western part of the present county Waterford. Thus,

'...in 1204, the province of Dungarvan, as it was called, amounting in all to one cantred[25] was granted to King John, by Domhnall Ó Faoláin, apparently as part of the continuing political settlement of the region. This grant was followed immediately by consequential grants of land in the area, including one of five burgages at Dungarvan, made in September 1205, to the priory of Conall (near Newbridge, County Kildare) and the Augustinian canons of Llanthony. This grant is particularly revealing for the reference to burgage tenements would suggest that the borough or town of Dungarvan had been founded some time about 1205 at latest; it is a reasonable surmise that it was founded shortly after the transfer of the territory of Dungarvan to the [English] crown, that is to say about 1204-5. Once founded, however, the English crown seems to have made determined attempts to promote the fortunes of its new borough. This included, notably, the grant, made by King John on 3 July 1215 to his burgesses of Dungarvan, of all the liberties and free customs of Breteuil,[26] the small Norman town whose liberties and customs

became the model for so many of the smaller boroughs in England ... and in Ireland in the thirteenth century.'[27]

The developing colony in county Waterford was further secured by John's programme of castle building, to which reference has already been made, and by other action taken by him. Thus,

'...north of Waterford lay what is now co. Tipperary and again to provide security here for the borders of Leinster and to reduce Leinster's vulnerability to attack from Munster, he granted vast estates in the area to his trusted vassals, among them William de Burgh, ancestor of the famous Burke family, and Theobald Walter, ancestor of the Butlers ... what [John] was doing here was providing a buffer-zone between the English settlers in Leinster and the native kings of Munster.'[28]

The situation regarding both the O'Brien kingdom of Thomond, corresponding broadly to the present counties Clare, Limerick, and Tipperary and the Mac Carthy kingdom of Desmond, roughly the present county Cork, must now be examined.

Our starting point here is the submission made by both Diarmait Mac Carthaig, king of Desmond, and Domnal Ua Briain, king of Thomond, to Henry II shortly after his arrival in Ireland in October 1171. Mac Carthaig, we are told by Gerald de Barri, came to King Henry at Waterford and

'...was drawn forthwith into a firm alliance with Henry by the bond of homage, the oath of fealty, and the giving of hostages; an annual tribute was assessed on his kingdom and he voluntarily submitted to the authority of the king of England. The king moved his army from there [Waterford] and went first of all to Lismore, where he stayed for two days, and from there continued to Cashel. There, on the next day, Domnall king of Limerick met him by the river Suir. He obtained the privilege of the king's peace, tribute was assessed on his kingdom in the same way as on Diarmait's, and he too displayed his loyalty to the king by entering into the very strongest bonds of submission.'[29]

After Henry II's departure from Ireland in 1172, 'the submissions of the Irish [kings] still had to be translated into fact, though the agreement of the kings of Desmond and Thomond had enabled Henry to put garrisons in Cork and Limerick.'[30]

The political situation in Ireland in the 1170s and 1180s was chronically unstable. Thus, 'several of the Irish province-kings had willingly submitted to Henry II when he came to Ireland in 1171. They did so for a variety of reasons, but partly at least because they believed that he would act as their protector against the aggression of the English barons. In the interval between 1171 and 1185 the Irish had become all the more aware of the need to find themselves a protector, because the expansion of the colony was proceeding apace and their status was being rapidly undermined.'[31]

Anglo-Norman pressure on Desmond intensified in 1176,[32] despite

the provisions of the treaty of Windsor of 1175. 'It is fairly clear what Henry II wanted out of the treaty with [Ruaidrí] Ua Conchobair. He sought to safeguard whatever gains had already been made in Ireland.' By the terms of the treaty, Ua Conchobair was obliged 'not [to] meddle with those lands which the lord king has retained in his lordship and in the lordship of his barons'. 'Those lands were Meath, Dublin, Wexford and all Leinster, and that part of Munster from Waterford to Dungarvan.' The rest of Ireland would be subject to Ua Conchobair as high king of Ireland.[33] Nonetheless, notwithstanding the provisions of the treaty, Anglo-Norman expansion continued beyond the designated English colonial area, the invasion of Ua Briain's kingdom of Thomond was but one example of this, indicating that, however acceptable to Henry II the treaty with Ua Conchobair may have been, it made no appeal to Anglo-Norman military adventurers intent on carving out lordships for themselves. Indeed, as events were to show, the significance of the treaty, as a key element in English royal policy towards Irish rulers, quite quickly diminished. Accordingly, at the council of Oxford in 1177, Henry II made speculative grants of the kingdoms of Cork and Limerick.[34] Thus,

'...Cork from the Blackwater to Brandon Head in Kerry [was granted] to Robert fitz Stephen and Miles de Cogan, who were to hold it between them by the service of sixty knights,[35] and Limerick to three courtiers, none of whom had any previous connection with Ireland, and who surrendered the grant later in the year on the grounds that the land had still to be conquered [36] when it was granted to Philip de Braose ... The grant of Limerick led to no immediate occupation, for when de Braose, accompanied by fitz Stephen and de Cogan, advanced on the town the [Ostmen] citizens set fire to it, and de Braose decided to abandon all attempt at conquest...

But though Limerick was left for the time being, Cork was successfully occupied, the Normans being assisted by [Muirchertach Ua Briain, son of Domnall Mór Ua Briain, king of Thomond]. The city itself was already held by a Norman governor, Richard of London (it had been expressly reserved to the king at Oxford, but there seems to be no evidence as to how or when it had been occupied), and the Normans thus had a secure base from which to operate. They seem to have come to an agreement with [Diarmait Mac Carthaig] after a conflict of which we have no details, and obtained seven cantreds, which they divided by lot, while ... the remaining twenty-four cantreds of the kingdom [of Desmond], evidently left in [Mac Carthaigh's] possession, were to pay a tribute which was to be divided between them, while they acted jointly as the king's representatives in his city of Cork and its cantred; Fitz Stephen took the area east of the city, where consider-able progress seems to have been made with Norman settlement in the next few years; de Cogan had the cantreds west of it, but we have little evidence as to the occupation of this area. The twenty-four cantreds [which had been left to Mac Carthaig] of course included south Kerry ... De Cogan himself was assassinated in 1182, and a general rising of the Irish under [Diarmait Mac Carthaig] followed, but fitz Stephen, who was besieged in Cork, was relieved by Raymond le Gros, and the position was restored.'

Thus, in the period immediately following Henry II's council of Oxford in 1177 when Henry dropped 'all pretence of abiding by the Treaty of

Windsor' and 'took the cities of Cork and Limerick into his own hands',[37] the Anglo-Normans made massive incursions into Munster occupying not only much of the Mac Carthy kingdom of Desmond, but also significantly penetrating the O'Brien kingdom of Thomond and establishing control over much of the present county Tipperary. Plainly, conquest on this scale in such a short period of time testifies strongly to the superior military organisation of the Anglo-Normans, and to the outstanding military technology and tactics which they deployed. That military supremacy, however, was reinforced by other factors, notably the political tensions existing between rival Irish kings. Thus, the policies and attitudes of Irish kings, pursuing their own competing interests, also made a marked contribution to Anglo-Norman success. Irish kings were quite capable of enlisting Anglo-Norman support.[38] Some examples of this, particularly germane to our consideration of the political situation in Munster in the 1170s and 1180s, will illustrate this point.

In 1170, in resisting Ruaidrí Ua Conchobair's disposition of the province of Munster whereby it had been divided into two kingdoms, the O'Brien kingdom of Thomond and the Mac Carthy kingdom of Desmond, Domnall Ua Briain, who was Diarmait Mac Murchada's son-in-law, seized upon Ruaidrí's failure to recapture Dublin from the Anglo-Normans and 'sought and readily obtained the assistance of some of his father-in-law's foreign allies'. In the event, 'the temporary assistance of the foreigners was of little avail to Domnall, but the foreigners themselves had learned the way to Limerick, and had learned, moreover, that they could go with a small expeditionary force across Ireland and return in safety.'[39] Again, it has been argued that after the Treaty of Windsor, Ruaidrí Ua Conchobair's attitude to the Anglo-Normans changed, 'for he invited the Normans to join him in an expedition against Donnell O'Brien of Thomond: Limerick was taken about the time the treaty was being drawn up and a Norman garrison placed in the town.'[40]

The city of Limerick was subsequently lost by the Anglo-Normans, but by 1195[41] 'the Normans were in occupation in the city of Limerick, apparently with the consent of the O'Briens, and, probably in 1197, John gave the city a charter granting it all the liberties of Dublin. At the same time he granted Hamo de Valognes [land in Co Limerick]. The sons of Maurice fitz Gerald all had grants in the county, as had William de Burgo... By the end of the [12th] century, the Norman occupation of Munster was well on the way to consolidation, for in north Tipperary (the medieval county of Tipperary represents the eastern half of the former kingdom of Limerick[42]) we find Theobald Walter active around Nenagh.' Any significant advance into Thomond had been frustrated by Domnall Mór Ua Briain. 'His death in 1194 and the return of Philip of Worcester in the following year added impetus to the efforts of William de Burgo to

colonise south Tipperary. The effective and widespread colonisation in those parts by the closing years of the century gave Theobald [Walter] a solid Norman backing to his frontier lands in Ely [O'Carroll] and Ormond.'[43] The late 12th century, therefore, saw significant Anglo-Norman advances in Thomond. Thus,

'...the dominant figure in the early part of [this renewed] movement [of expansion] was William de Burgh, to whom John granted lands in south Tipperary and the east of modern County Limerick at the time of his 1185 expedition. Other magnates, notably Theobald Walter, Philip of Worcester, and Hamo de Valognes ... were also active in the area. For Anglo-Norman expansion, Donal's death in 1194 was crucial. He left three sons who ... often competed with one another for control of Thomond; they were also involved in constant disputes and alliances with the O'Connors of Connacht to the north and the Mac Carthys of Desmond to the south. William de Burgh in particular benefited from these conditions. He had married one of Donal's daughters, thus insinuating himself into Thomond politics, and was in an excellent position to lend support – at a price – to one or other, or all, of his brothers-in-law. His power was also increased by a period spent in charge of the city of Limerick. By the turn of the century much of County Limerick had been granted by John to William de Burgh, Hamo de Valognes and other lords; and the O'Briens had little alternative but to acquiesce in the endowment of men on whom they were frequently dependent.'[44]

By the late 12th century, therefore, 'the newcomers had ... absorbed much of O'Brien's kingdom of Thomond, and had removed eastern Cork from Mac Carthy's control.'[45] Having forced Diarmait Mac Carthaig to surrender to them seven cantreds of his kingdom of Desmond, it now fell to Robert fitz Stephen and Miles de Cogan to parcel them out among their military followers, their vassals, by a process called sub-infeudation. 'It is not possible to give a full account of the early sub-infeudation of the "kingdom of Cork", or even to be sure how far it was carried in the lifetime of the original grantees.'[46] We know that fitz Stephen

'...besides making large grants out of the three cantreds to the east of Cork [city] originally ... allotted to him ... made what we may call "speculative grants" of lands far removed from the cantreds. Thus, by his charter to Philip de Barry he granted not only Olethan [Uí Liatháin], but also two other cantreds, to be determined by lot. What these two cantreds were ultimately decided to be, we know from John's confirmatory charter to William de Barry, Philip's son, made in 1207. They were "Muscherie Dunegan" [Muscraige Donnagáin] and [Killeedy], of which the former is roughly represented by the barony of Orrery and Kilmore [including small adjacent parts of the baronies of Duhallow and Fermoy], County Cork, and the latter was comprised in the barony of Glenquin, County Limerick.'[47]

Elsewhere in east Cork Anglo-Norman settlement continued.

Thus, 'to Alexander, son of Maurice Fitz Gerald, Fitz Stephen seems to have made a grant of Imokilly, which was the origin of the Fitz Gerald property there.'[48] The name Imokilly is an anglicisation of Uí Meic Caille. 'The territory of Imokilly, sometimes referred to as Oglassyn, con-

sisted of the southern portion of the Uí Liatháin territory. The lands which it comprised included Inchiquin, Clonpriest, Killeagh and Kilcredan. At the time of the Anglo-Norman invasion of Munster, the territory was ruled by the family of Ó Mic Thíre, described in the annals as kings of Uí Meic Caille or of Uí Glaisín. These two were not entirely synonymous, and the former name of the territory was derived from an earlier ruling family – the Uí Meic Caille – whom the Uí Meic Thíre had superseded as kings.'[49] In fitz Stephen's time, other landholders in Imokilly were Raymund Mangunel, who held Cahirultan in the parish of Ballyoughtera, and Robert and Thomas des Auters or de Altaribus while Alexander and Raymond fitz Hugh were established in Fermoy.[50] It is possible that fitz Stephen's castle 'was at, or was proposed to be built at, Castlemartyr'. He seems to have given Castlemartyr to the des Autirs (de Altaribus later Sawters) brothers, but he may have retained the site of the castle. 'Early in the 13th century, Castlemartyr was acquired from the des Autirs brothers by Richard de Carew, apparently the first of the Carews who were heirs to Fitz Stephen's seigniory of half of the kingdom of Cork.'[51]

We know rather less about de Cogan's lands. 'As to the four cantreds assigned to Miles de Cogan on the western side of Cork we have no direct information, but they perhaps included the barony of Muskerry and a broad strip along the coast between the harbours of Cork and Glandore. In 1207 King John made large grants within these districts to Richard de Cogan, Philip de Prendergast and Robert Fitz Martin, to hold of the king in fee. Also a grant [was made] to David de Rupe [Roche] of the cantred of Rosselither (Rosscarbery).'[52] The lands given to Philip de Prendergast were 'in the district between Cork and Innishannon, where the important manor of "Beuver" (Beauvoir) or Carrigaline was afterwards formed', while Richard de Cogan received lands in Muskerry 'where his descendants long held the manors of Dundrinan and Carrigrohane More'.[53] Other names in this region which can be mentioned are Philip de Barry, who held the borough of Innishannon, where both a market and fair existed certainly by 1256 but probably earlier,[54] and the de Courcys who appear to have begun the settlement at Kinsale. Here, in the early thirteenth century, they built 'strongholds at Ringrone opposite Kinsale, and at Oldernass or the Old Head of Kinsale'.[55] The growth and development of the town 'occurred in the course of the thirteenth century'.[56]

Subsequently, 'a number of castles were placed along the south coast of County Cork at important natural harbours or inlets,' notably between Bantry Bay and Dunmanus Bay, at Baltimore, or Ringarogy Island, in the neighbourhood of Glandore, and at Timoleague and Dundeady (or Galley Head).[57] Further advances in Desmond were made by the English in the period 1206 to 1215.[58] The death of Domnall Mac Carthaig in 1206 gave rise to a struggle between his sons for the succes-

sion. In these circumstances, 'an attempt was now made by the English to gain control over the whole of Desmond.' The conditions which now obtained favoured the English. 'As usual the invaders supported one Irish claimant against the other.' With Irish support, the English succeeded in penetrating further into Desmond. By 1215 we have record of at least the beginning of a programme of castle-building in Desmond. 'A string of castles was built along the valley of the river Maine in Kerry ... and the line was completed to the sea by a castle at Killorglin near the mouth of the river Laune. This was the line which for centuries separated Kerry proper from Desmond, and the castles were evidently intended to protect the settlement in Kerry ... from attacks of the Irish of Desmond. These castles seem to have been erected by John and Maurice ... grandsons of the first Maurice Fitz Gerald, whom we soon find as the principal landowners in Kerry.' About 1215 they also built another castle 'at Dunlo to the west of the lower lake of Killarney'. In addition, 'another group ... was erected by [Robert de] Carew about the head of the estuary of Kenmare, and he also erected another castle at Dunnamark near Bantry.' Dunnamark, however, was burned by the Irish in 1260 in the course of their recovery of lost territories.[59]

Conquest and settlement on this scale, of course, precipitated large-scale movements of people and resettlement of population. Not only was there an inward movement of people, immigration by new Anglo-Norman rulers and settlers, but also a significant displacement of the existing Irish population. This latter movement, however, could be quite complex because it could be brought about as much by rivalry and contention between different Irish kindred groups as by Anglo-Norman conquest. Pressure by the Anglo-Normans, however, complicated and exacerbated relations between different Irish kindred groups. Some instances of this kind of induced population movement have been noticed by Orpen.[60] Thus,

'...the O'Mahonys would ... appear to have been supreme in Kinalea and Kinalmeaky until extruded by the Prendergasts and Cogans, but even before the coming of the Normans the clan is said to have extended westward up the Bandon River to West Carbery, where they wrested some lands from the O'Driscolls, O'Cowhigs, and others ... the O'Mahonys were eventually subjected to a branch of the Mac Carthys, and confined by them to the district between Bantry Bay and ... Roaring Water [Bay].
In 1178 and subsequently the O'Briens expelled the O'Donovans from Croom and Bruree in the valley of the Maigue, and other Eoghanacht septs from different parts of County Limerick, and their expulsion paved the way for the Geraldine settlement there. The O'Donovans fled southward across Mangerton and settled in the northern parts of Carbery, where Castledonovan preserves their name and marks their principal centre. The O'Driscolls and their kinsmen, thus pressed by the O'Donovans and the O'Mahonys on the north-west, and afterwards by the Normans on the east, were eventually confined to the district between Ivahagh and Castlehaven, only a comparatively small portion of

their ancient tribe-land, which is said to have been at one time coterminous with the diocese of Ross.

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

Thus, by the early 13th century, within fifty years of their invasion of Ireland, the Anglo-Normans controlled much of the province of Munster and, indeed, large parts of Leinster and virtually all of eastern Ulster. Only Connacht remained outside their grasp and quite soon that was to be threatened also. These conquests were followed by substantial settlement, both urban and agrarian, by the invader. Thus, 'the late twelfth and earlier thirteenth centuries saw the formal distribution and practical occupation of the Irish land that was being won by the military energies and political skills of the Anglo-Norman invaders.'[61] At this juncture, the broad pattern of settlement and change, as far as the province of Munster is concerned, should be examined.

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Town walls, Youghal, Co Cork

The First Munster Plantation:
Settlement and Socio-Economic Change and Development

While the conquered areas came under new political management (and that in itself was sufficiently important to make the Anglo-Norman conquest and settlement one of the formative developments in Irish history, indeed the formative development in the modern era), the impact of the invasion was far greater than that. The conquest and settlement struck very deep roots indeed, for it brought about marked socio-economic change also. That observation, of course, is intended to set the conquest and settlement in context; it is not intended to diminish in any way its political significance. It would be hard to exaggerate the political consequences, in the context of Irish history as a whole, of the events of the late 12th and early 13th centuries. As Empey has pointed out, 'in spite of everything – the Gaelic recovery, economic decline, the virtual collapse of royal authority – the fact remains that Ireland would never again be Gaelic in the sense that it had been before 1169.'[62]

Plainly, therefore, the Anglo-Norman conquest of much of Ireland was a development of the greatest magnitude. The invasion, moreover, profoundly affected not only the politics and racial composition but also the economy of medieval Ireland.[63] While some of the changes which occurred in the 12th and 13th centuries were due to causes other than the invasion, not the least of which was the demographic revolution and burgeoning economic growth which Europe as a whole witnessed in this period, there is no doubt that the invasion and settlement, quite apart from its political consequences, brought pronounced social and economic innovation. This included the introduction into Ireland of the feudal socio-economic system. Part of this process was the establishment of the manorial economy in the conquered areas. Thus, an inflow of settlers increased the population of Ireland way beyond any level which could have occurred by way of natural increase, undermined finally in the conquered and planted areas the traditional bonds of kindred society, and contributed greatly to the considerable growth which 13th-century Ireland witnessed. An increased population also made available to lords the labour services necessary to sustain the labour-intensive, arable farming, manorial economy. These were the conditions which underpinned the vast economic growth of the 13th century. Canon Empey's description of the social composition of later medieval Knocktopher, county Kilkenny,[64] is particularly informative in this regard, since that situation, in all essentials, was replicated in other parts of the English lordship of Ireland where colonisation and settlement were most intense, giving, in his memorable phrase, 'demographic depth to the colony'. Thus,
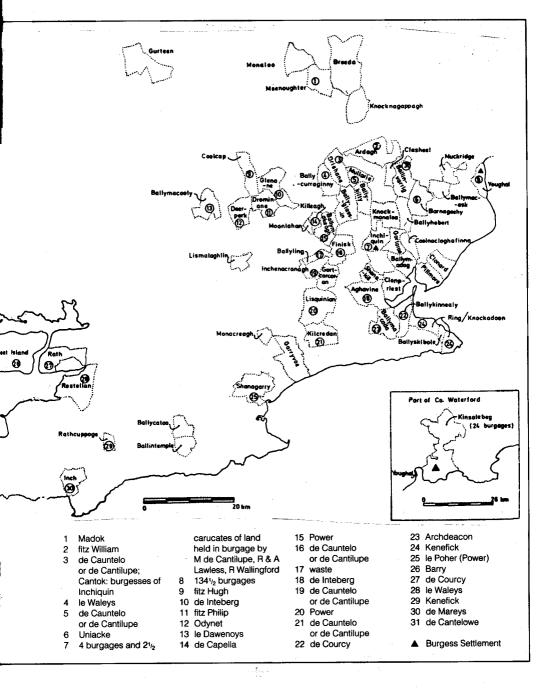
'...that the knights played a vital military role, supplied leadership, constructed mottes, is not open to question, but to the extent that they formed a numerically small aristocracy they can hardly be regarded as typical of the large number of immigrants who manned the manors, villages, and towns that sprang up in the wake of the conquest. In the cantred of Knocktopher not more than eight men would have ranked among the knights, including the lord of the manor himself. Far more representative of the colonial population would be the small free tenant holding a few acres at most, or the poor burgess holding on average about six acres of land. Naturally the arrival of such humble folk remained unsung. All we know for certain is that numerous manorial extents from about 1275 onwards testify to the presence of a frequently dense settlement of these poorer settlers. Let us look at the evidence of the Knocktopher extent. In 1312 ... the proportion of small free tenants to tenants holding 60 acres and upwards is about 3:1. In fact there was almost certainly a sizeable number of cottiers and gavelers occupying the lowest rung of the immigrant population, but they are not mentioned in this particular extent... The cottiers seem to have occupied the lowest rung of the social ladder: they inhabited hovels ... standing on a plot of less than an acre. They owed labour services on the manor, and they must have depended upon seasonal employment on the demesnes to supplement whatever they could wring from their wretched plots. Such people can only have been recruited from a surplus, landless proletariate in England and Wales. Starvation drove them from England; near starvation attracted them to marginally better conditions on the Irish frontier. Yet, together with the burgesses [the inhabitants of the newly founded or promoted boroughs], small immigrants of this type were vital to the long-term stability and endurance of the settlement, and vital to the survival of its distinctive culture. It gave demographic depth to the colony. Alone the knights would have been submerged by Gaelic culture like the Norse before them.'

Immigration, therefore, was essential for the maintenance of the later medieval English lordship of Ireland which rested on conquest, settlement and colonisation. From his examination of the sources relating to Knocktopher, Empey has concluded that, while there was a certain French or Fleming presence, the majority of the newcomers, or planters, were either English or Welsh. Thus, as he points out,

'...a number of surnames that frequently recur in our sources indicate that the burgess and small tenant population was predominantly English, with a strong Welsh element: Prout, Datoun, Shortal, Harper, Thundyr, White, Grant, Den, Dobyne, Porter, Bath, Long, Ellis, Salter, Robok; and Howel, Howling ... Griffin, Walsh, Rys (Rice). Others, like Power (le Poer), de la Barre, Barret, Roch, Fleming, suggest French or Flemish origins. The strength of the Welsh element in the population is reflected in the dedication of the parish church (St. David's) in Knocktopher. The ethnic structure of the manor population consisted of three classes: a predominantly 'French'[65] knighthood forming a landowning aristocracy; a numerically significant immigrant population composed mainly of poor English and Welsh elements, constituting perhaps 90% of the free population; and the indigenous Irish population, forming perhaps 90% of the unfree population.'[66]

This basic structure appears to have been widespread throughout the colony as can be seen from other studies.

Thus, studies[67] of the manor of Inchiquin in east county Cork, of which the seaport town of Youghal was a major component, likewise indicate heavy migration and settlement, particularly in the late 12th and

Map labels: Gurteen, Monalee, Breeda, Meanoughter, Knocknagappagh, Coolcap, Ardagh, Clasheel, Muckridge, Bally-curraginny, Glena-ne, Dromin-ane, Killeagh, Ballymac-esk, Youghal, Ballymacooly, Deer-park, Moonlahan, Knock-monalea, Ballyhebert, Barnageehy, Lismalaghlin, Finisk, Inchi-quin, Coolnacloghafinna, Ballyling, Ballymadog, Inchenacranagh, Gort-corcor-an, Clenp-riest, Aghavine, Lisquinlan, Ballykinnealy, Ring/Knockadoon, Monacreagh, Kilcredan, Ballyskibole, Great Island, Rath, Restellan, Barryroe, Shanagarry, Ballycatoo, Ballintemple, Rathcuppoge, Inch

Inset: Part of Co. Waterford — Kinsalebeg (24 burgages); Youghal

1	Madok	carucates of land	15 Power
2	fitz William	held in burgage by	16 de Cauntelo
3	de Cauntelo	M de Cantilupe, R & A	or de Cantilupe
	or de Cantilupe;	Lawless, R Wallingford	17 waste
	Cantok: burgesses of	8 134½ burgages	18 de Inteberg
	Inchiquin	9 fitz Hugh	19 de Cauntelo
4	le Waleys	10 de Inteberg	or de Cantilupe
5	de Cauntelo	11 fitz Philip	20 Power
	or de Cantilupe	12 Odynet	21 de Cauntelo
6	Uniacke	13 le Dawenoys	or de Cantilupe
7	4 burgages and 2½	14 de Capella	22 de Courcy

23	Archdeacon
24	Kenefick
25	le Poher (Power)
26	Barry
27	de Courcy
28	le Waleys
29	Kenefick
30	de Mareys
31	de Cantelowe
▲	Burgess Settlement

Manor of Inchiquin
(with key to townlands and their principal free tenants)

early 13th centuries. Among the names of burgesses of Youghal in the 13th and early 14th centuries we find the following: Unak, Madoks, Frend, Mey, White, fitz Robert, Magnoll, Bryt, Lang, Lawles, Gunstall, Taillour, Cotiller, Lydeford, Wace, Adlard, Flemyng, Don, Hore, Masoun, Beaufo, Lerstowe, Porpeys, Everard, Brown, Samson, Fulbourn, Baker, Lyndesay, Olyver, Faunt, Wallen or Wallens and Walsh (plainly relating to Wales), Cosyn, Gent, Deget, Pollard, Paynton, Wynchecombe, Astole, Hanedon, Gannow, Byng, Crok, Wyppell, Gannow, Davy, Enyas, Blak, Keyr, Stakepoll, More, Smyth, Harnes, Kerd (described as a carpenter), Helyer, Yong, des Autirs (or Sawters), Ley, Boys, Ryng, Fernok, Crokker, Morwagh (or Morrogh), Parys, England, Danyel, Wanibo, Barred (or Barret), Russell, Rossilly, Newport, Roche, Cordew, Lilly, Smoyll, Haket, and Cristofre.

With regard to Waterford, in 1304 we find reference to one Jordan of Bristol, citizen of that city.[68] Jordan served as provost of Waterford in 1305.[69] Other mayors of Waterford in the 13th and early 14th centuries were John le Tyler (1294-6), Ralph de Hampton (1296-1300), and Eymar de Godar (1304-5 and 1311). Examples of Waterford burgesses in the same period are Richard de Barry, Adam Botingdon, Servasius Copale, Roger Goldsmith, Robert le Paumer, Gilbert Nest, and Nicholas of Portsmouth.[70] It has been pointed out that in the city of Waterford (as, indeed, in the other major towns of the colony)

'...in practice the city government was oligarchical in nature. In the thirty years between 1280 and 1310 eleven men dominated the main positions within the city government. The same names crop up in a variety of sources as mayor, bailiff, collector of the fifteenth, purveyor, custos of the prisage of wine, and collector of the custom of wool and hides.

Many of the officeholders were immigrant traders and merchants who rose to high office within a few years. Eymar de Godar referred to in 1295 as a merchant of Gascony is mayor of Waterford by 1305. He was a man of great wealth for in 1306 he acted as pledge for the sheriff of the county who owed a large sum of money to the exchequer. de Godar was again elected mayor in 1311 and previously he held the post of bailiff, custos of the prisage of wine and collector of the custom of wool and hides. Jordan of Bristol, who bought the franchise of the city, was elected bailiff on a number of occasions, collector of the custom of wool and hides, collector of the small custom and purveyor for the king's army. Ralph de Hampton held the office of mayor for four years, between 1296-1300, and was bailiff in 1288. de Hampton was involved with the Ricardi of Lucca the Italian bankers and was also a purveyor. He held lands in the county and was a man of some wealth when he died in 1301.'[71]

A similar immigrant merchant elite governed the city of Cork and manned the offices of local government there under the English crown.

Some examples of 13th and early 14th-century Cork burgesses and merchants, whose names clearly indicate their immigrant status, are Walter of Gloucester (1217),[72] Bernard de Montibus (1285),[73] William le Ware (1286),[74] Alexander of London (1295),[75] Peter de Parys (1295),[76]

Richard de Hereford (1330),[77] and John Donati (1338).[78]

Later medieval Cork, too, had its urban patriciate, which came into being in the aftermath of the Anglo-Norman conquest. The basic composition of that oligarchy remained unchanged certainly from the 14th century until the revolutionary changes of the late 1640s and early 1650s. Thus, as KW Nicholls has pointed out,

'...a list of the "ancient natives and inhabitants of the citty of Cork", drawn up in 1652, after they had been finally expelled from the city by the New English, contains 253 names; they include 36 Goolds,[79] 28 Roches, 19 Tirrys,[80] 18 Gallweys,[81] 18 Coppingers[82] and 18 Meades or Miaghs (two forms of the same name). The Sarsfields,[83] Morroghs[84] and Mortells[85] each numbered ten.

More than half the freemen of the city at the end of the old order, therefore, belonged to six surnames, an illustration of the degree to which control of the city, its trade and administration at this period was exercised by a "patriciate" of great merchant families.'[86]

All of these had migrated to Cork, directly or indirectly, and most appear to have established their commercial ascendancy there in the course of the 14th or 15th centuries, many if not all of them, presumably, rising from the second rank by means of successful trading ventures to displace merchants and burgesses who had entrenched themselves in the mercantile, social and political life of Cork in the first phase of the colony's development in the late 12th and 13th centuries. Indeed, many of them had migrated to Ireland in the company of many others too numerous to mention here,[87] although reference at least should be made to names such as Bordeaux (Burdeux), Creagh, Droup (Drop), Gayner, Heyne (Heine), Llewellyn (Leboulyn, Lawelen, Lewelyn), Lombard, Mangnel, Pollard, de la Pulle, Reith (Reyth, Reche, Reyht), Skiddy (Skide, Skydy), Stakpoll (Stakepol), Staunton (Stawnton), Tanner (Tannour), Taverner, Taylor (le Taillour, Tailliour), Vincent, Walsh (Walshe, Walsch, le Waleys, Walens),[88] Water or Waters, White, Whitty(Whittey, Wythie, Wythy), and de Wynchedon.[89]

This list, of course, excludes such an important Cork merchant family as the Ronayne (O'Ronayne or Ronan) family for the simple reason that the Ronaynes, while they migrated to Cork and to Youghal and Kinsale, were not immigrants to Ireland. On the contrary, this family was Gaelic Irish in origin, which, by means of a grant of denization secured for them by the earl of Desmond in the late 15th century, 'enjoyed the benefits of English law which permitted them to engage in trade in the king's dominions and to secure their interests in English law'. The Ronaynes went on to acquire 'considerable property in Cork, Kinsale, and Youghal', as a consequence of which activities they 'ranked among the urban patriciate there from the later fifteenth century onwards'.[90]

Thus, although people who were ethnically Irish were to be found

within and without later medieval Cork – some like the Ronaynes being in the first rank of Cork merchants and members of the ruling urban oligarchy, while others like Rore Honethan,[91] mariner and merchant, being active in trade on a more modest scale – most merchants and burgesses and almost all the urban patriciate in Cork, Youghal, and Kinsale in the late Middle Ages were in origin immigrants.

As Empey has pointed out,[92]

'...that this immigration occurred was due only indirectly to the conquest, which did no more than create an opportunity for potential settlers. Such people had to exist and exist in considerable numbers. The fact they did exist was due to the quite exceptional economic and demographic factors which prevailed over most of feudal Europe at the particular moment when the Normans launched their assault on Ireland. The timing was coincidental, but it was a coincidence which transformed the whole character of the conquest, and ultimately the composition of the population of this island.'

Individual case studies confirm this assessment. Thus, McEneaney has shown that 'the development of Waterford was further enhanced by population growth in Europe which ensured that enough merchants, traders and craftsmen of continental and English origin could be encouraged to settle in the city. As early as 1212, Waterford had to be enlarged from its original nineteen acres by a further thirty-three. The city paid the second highest farm at the exchequer, and as the farm was originally calculated on house totals, it implies that Waterford had, after Dublin, the greatest density of settlement and probably population in the colony.'[93]

In response to these buoyant economic conditions which brought about a remarkable growth in trade, there was considerable expansion of settlement, both agrarian and urban, in 13th-century Ireland. Particularly important in this connection was a striking urban growth and expansion. Existing towns flourished and expanded, and many new ones were founded. This is particularly so in the case of the seaport towns of Viking origin, but growth was by no means confined to them. Urban growth was accompanied by the development of an extensive network of weekly markets and yearly fairs, which, apart from their local trading significance, acted as points for the distribution and marketing of imported goods and the collection for export of goods produced in their localities. Thus, together with boroughs, markets (some but not all of which were associated with boroughs) and fairs constituted an impressive commercial infrastructure. This, of course, was the situation throughout the English lordship of Ireland, and not just Munster, but some examples from Munster, largely but not exclusively from county Cork, will illustrate these developments.

Most of the markets and fairs were established in the course of the 13th century, very many of them in the first half of that century. Thus, in 1234, markets were established at Youghal, Buttevant and Carrigtwohill, county Cork, and Buttevant also acquired a yearly fair. In 1242, Dun-

garvan, county Waterford, was given the right to hold a yearly fair, while, by mid-century, Innishannon, county Cork, had both a market and a fair. Examples of yearly fairs established before 1230 are the cities of Limerick and Waterford; Tipperary (1226), Athassel (1224), Clonmel (1225) and Cashel (1228), county Tipperary; and Adare and Knockainy (1226), county Limerick. By 1230, also, weekly markets existed, for example, at Emly (1215), county Tipperary, and Mungret (1225), county Limerick.

By the end of the 13th century, in county Cork alone, at least thirty-seven market towns were known to the English government in Ireland. At that time, they were well within the English lordship of Ireland. These market towns were the city of Cork and the towns of Timoleague, Carrigtwohill, Buttevant, Ballyhay, Midleton, Castlemartyr, Cloyne, Mogeely, Tallow, Corkbeg, Glanworth, Castlelyons, Shandon, Mallow, Bridgetown, Ballynamona, Carrig, Kilworth, Mitchelstown, Ballynoe, Carrigrohane, Ballinacurra, Doneraile, Dunbulloge, Innishannon, Grenagh, Ballyhooly, Kinsale, Ringrone, Ringcurran, Ovens, Castlemore, Ballinaboy, Carrigaline, Douglas, and 'del Fayth', which was located in the bishop's town in the present Barrack Street/Dean Street area of Cork city.

It will be noted that all these markets and fairs were located in the areas most densely settled and heavily manorialised by the Anglo-Normans in the late 12th and 13th centuries. In the case of county Cork, that consisted, for the most part, of the north and east, where the soil was particularly fertile. This was replicated elsewhere. In counties Limerick and Tipperary, for example, 'the manors that emerged should be regarded as sizeable lordships, dependent on the centres such as Nenagh, Dunkerrin, Thurles, Knockgraffon, Castleconnell or Grean, from which they came to take their names.'[94] Manors and boroughs such as these constituted the heartland of the lordship, places where the colony had taken deepest root. Political security and the productivity of the soil had encouraged large-scale settlement based on inward migration by settlers from England and Wales, and, not infrequently, even further afield. This was to be particularly significant for the long-term survival of the colony in the face of the very serious adverse political and economic conditions which set in in the course of the 14th century.[95] In Munster, as indeed in other areas of the colony, the Irish recovery, which was certainly under way early in the second half of the 13th century, 'loosened the colonial hold in the marginal areas that had not been heavily settled'.[96] Where the colony was strongly entrenched, however, it managed to survive, and in this it was aided by objective, political realities. Thus, for example,

'Gaelic Ireland, because of its own weaknesses and rivalries, was never able completely to overrun the colony even when the latter was at its weakest and subject to greatest threat. The position of the colony was further strengthened by the fact that it continued to dispose of certain resources and to enjoy certain advantages. The development of urban life

had been one of the great achievements of the colony in the epoch of its foundation in the thirteenth century. However damaged the towns were by the catastrophic events of the fourteenth century [as the colony encountered Irish recovery and the loss of territory and massive economic and political contraction and decline], much of the life they had generated survived. This is particularly true of the major port towns of the region [Munster], Cork, Youghal, Kinsale, [and Waterford and Limerick]. By surviving they were particularly well placed to form bridges between Gaelic and English Ireland, not least by way of trade, and, as the economy in Ireland and in western Europe generally recovered in the later fifteenth century, these towns, as the major maritime trading centres of the region, grew increasingly wealthy and their urban patriciates stronger.'[97]

If the Irish could not overturn the colony, even had they in fact wished to do so, the colonists, the 'English of Ireland', as they called themselves, could not complete the conquest of Ireland or even adequately defend themselves by military means, since they no longer had the requisite financial resources or manpower.[98] In these circumstances, a *modus vivendi* between both ethnic groups evolved, and a symbiotic relationship between the two developed. This served to diminish, if not altogether dissipate, the racial antipathy to the Irish which was endemic in the English colony from the outset.

Henceforward, 'the political interests of both could be accommodated as circumstances warranted and trading relations of all kinds entered into to the mutual advantage of both.'[99] These were the conditions which existed in late-medieval Ireland as a whole, and they were strongly pronounced in the province of Munster. The complete English conquest of Ireland in the late 16th and early 17th centuries brought to completion a programme of conquest begun in the late 12th century, and 'marked in Munster, as indeed in Ireland as a whole, the passing not only of the mixed polity which was so striking a feature of later medieval Ireland, but even of the Gaelic order itself'.[100]

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Acknowledgements

Illustrations

Photographs courtesy of the Archaeological Survey of Co Cork
Map by the author

Notes and References

1   For a discussion of these developments, see R Bartlett, *The Making of Europe: Conquest, Colonisation and Cultural Change 950-1350* (London, 1993)
2   For what follows, see AF O'Brien, 'Ireland: conquest, settlement and colonisation c.1169 to c.1641' in D Ó Ceallaigh (ed.), *New Perspectives on Ireland: Colonisation and Identity* (forthcoming)
3   J Gillingham, 'The beginnings of English imperialism', *Journal of Historical Sociology*, v (1992), pp392-409: 403-5
4   *ibid.*
5   WR Jones, 'England against the Celtic fringe: a study in cultural stereotypes', *Journal of World History*, xiii (1971), pp155-171: 166-7
6   Bartlett, *The Making of Europe*, pp22-3
7   *ibid.*, p21
8   Gillingham, 'English imperialism', p401
9   *ibid.*, pp 405-6; idem 'The English invasion of Ireland', in B Bradshaw et al (eds.), *Representing Ireland: Literature and the Origins of Conflict 1534-1660* (Cambridge, 1993), pp24-42
10 For the argument that the term 'English', rather than Norman, Anglo-Norman or Norman-French, is the appropriate one for the invaders of Ireland in the late 12th and 13th centuries, see Gillingham, 'English invasion'.
11 RR Davies, *Domination and Conquest: the Experience of Ireland, Scotland and Wales 1100-1300* (Cambridge, 1990), pp20-23
12 Jones, 'England against the Celtic fringe', pp155-6
13 JJ O'Meara (ed.), *Gerald of Wales: the History and Topography of Ireland* (Harmondsworth, 1982) pp12, 14; Bartlett, *The Making of Europe*, p97
14 Jones, 'England against the Celtic fringe', p160

[15] For a fuller discussion of these points, see O'Brien, 'Ireland: conquest, settlement and colonisation'

[16] Gillingham, 'English imperialism', pp402-3; see also Bartlett, *The Making of Europe*, pp76-7

[17] S Duffy, *Ireland in the Middle Ages* (Dublin, 1997) p86

[18] AJ Otway-Ruthven, *A History of Medieval Ireland*, (2nd ed., London, 1980) pp54-5

[19] *ibid.*

[20] *ibid.*, p61

[21] CA Empey, 'County Waterford in the thirteenth century', *Decies*, 13 (Jan 1980), pp7-16: 8; see also his 'Anglo-Norman county Waterford, 1200-1300' in W Nolan and TP Power (eds.), *Waterford: History and Society – Interdisciplinary Essays on the History of an Irish County* (Dublin, 1992) pp131-46

[22] Duffy, *Ireland in the Middle Ages*, pp90-91

[23] Otway-Ruthven, *Medieval Ireland*, pp61-3

[24] Duffy, *Ireland in the Middle Ages*, pp99-100

[25] A cantred is described as 'the name applied by the Anglo-Normans (usually when making grants of land) to pre-existing territorial units', the term being later applied to the 'administrative divisions of certain counties' (R Frame, *Colonial Ireland, 1169-1369* (Dublin, 1981) p144). Unlike contemporary German expansion in central and eastern Europe, which in many other respects was similar to Anglo-Norman expansion in Ireland, the Anglo-Normans, since they 'came into a settled country and inherited pre-existing land divisions', having conquered territory 'made as much use as possible of the pre-existing land divisions' (A Simms, 'Core and periphery in medieval Europe: the Irish experience in a wider context' in WJ Smyth and K Whelan (eds.), *Common Ground: Essays on the Historical Geography of Ireland Presented to T Jones Hughes* (Cork, 1988) pp22-40, 26, 33-4).

[26] In that same year, 1215, the city of Waterford was given a charter of liberties by King John (Otway-Ruthven, *Medieval Ireland*, p123). For a discussion of the grant of liberties, privileges and immunities made, by way of charters of one kind or another, to Irish boroughs in this period, see AF O'Brien, 'The development of the privileges, liberties and immunities of medieval Cork and the growth of an urban autonomy c.1189 to 1500' in *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society*, xc (1985) pp 46-64. For the laws of Breteuil, see M Bateson, 'The laws of Breteuil', in *English Historical Review*, xv (1900) pp73-8, 302-18, 496-523, 754-7; xvi (1901), 92-110, 332-45.

[27] AF O'Brien, 'The development and evolution of the medieval borough and port of Dungarvan, county Waterford, c.1200 to c.1530' in *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society*, xcii (1987) pp85-94

[28] Duffy, *Ireland in the Middle Ages*, pp99-100. The Butlers, later earls of Ormond, were to play a major role in the politics of later medieval Ireland, not least because of their conflict with successive earls of Desmond until the total collapse of the Desmond earldom in 1583.

[29] AB Scott and FX Martin (eds.), *Expugnatio Hibernica: the Conquest of Ireland by Giraldus Cambrensis* (Royal Irish Academy, Dublin, 1978) pp93-5

[30] Otway-Ruthven, *Medieval Ireland*, p49

[31] Duffy, *Ireland in the Middle Ages*, p101

[32] Otway-Ruthven, *Medieval Ireland*, pp61-3

[33] Duffy, *Ireland in the Middle Ages*, pp89-90

[34] For what follows, see Otway-Ruthven, *Medieval Ireland*, pp.61-3

[35] This can be compared with the service of one hundred knights by which Strongbow had held Leinster, and the service of fifty knights due from Hugh de Lacy's lordship of Meath which consisted of the modern counties of Meath and Westmeath.

36 This is a striking illustration of a process whereby Anglo-Norman lords and their followers in the vanguard of conquest in Ireland could be marginalised as a consequence of grants of lands in Ireland made by the English crown to the king's intimates or persons in his entourage or service who played no part whatever in the conquest of Ireland.

37 Duffy, *Ireland in the Middle Ages*, pp90-91; see also Frame, *Colonial Ireland*, p18

38 Essentially, Anglo-Norman lords were opportunists (in the nature of things they simply had to be), and, accordingly, they too could ally themselves with ruling Irish dynasties or rival Irish dynastic segments (Irish polity was particularly prone to segmental rivalries), but the difference was that it was Irish kingdoms which were under attack and in jeopardy. Cross-racial alliances of this kind, of course, further complicated Irish politics.

39 GH Orpen, *Ireland under the Normans 1169-1333* (4 vols, London, 1911-20), i, pp177-8

40 Otway-Ruthven, *Medieval Ireland*, pp56-7

41 *ibid.*, p73

42 CA Empey, 'The Norman period, 1185-1500' in W Nolan and TG McGrath (eds.), *Tipperary: History and Society – Interdisciplinary Essays on the History of an Irish County* (Dublin, 1985) pp71-91: 71. Thomond (the kingdom of Limerick) 'meant the present counties of Limerick, Clare, Tipperary and North Kerry, "as Domnall Mór [Ua Briain] then enjoyed them", or ... the territory defined by the dioceses of Killaloe, Kilfenora, Limerick, Emly and Cashel' (G Cunningham, *The Anglo-Norman Advance in the South-West Midlands of Ireland 1185-1221* (Roscrea, 1987) pp54-5).

43 Cunningham, *Anglo-Norman Advance*, pp55-7

44 Frame, *Colonial Ireland*, pp32-5

45 *ibid.*

46 Orpen, *Normans*, ii, p43

47 *ibid.*, pp43-4. Olethan corresponds to the modern baronies of Barrymore and Kinnatalloon and the north liberties of Cork city (L Ó Buachalla, 'An early 14th-century place-name list for Anglo-Norman Cork', in *Dinnseanchas*, ii, 3 (1967), pp61-5). Philip de Barry, to whom his uncle Robert fitz Stephen granted the cantred of Olethan, 'arrived in Cork in February, 1183, to undertake the governance of the cantred' (L St John Brooks, 'Unpublished charters relating to Ireland, 1177-82', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, xliii C (1936) p333).

48 Orpen, *Normans*, ii, pp43-5

49 D Ó Murchadha, 'The Uí Meic Thíre of Imokilly' in *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society*, lxxxii (1977) pp93-101. For the descent of the manor of Imokilly in the later middle ages which involved an extension of the fitz Gerald interest in east Cork and west Waterford, see AF O'Brien, 'The settlement of Imokilly and the formation and descent of the manor of Inchiquin, Co. Cork' in *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society*, lxxxvii (1982) pp21-6, and idem 'The territorial ambitions of Maurice fitz Thomas, first earl of Desmond, with particular reference to the barony and manor of Inchiquin, Co. Cork' in *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, lxxxii C (1982) pp59-88.

50 Orpen, *Normans*, ii, pp44-5

51 Brooks, 'Unpublished charters', pp348-9. Carew's right to succession was challenged by the English crown early in the 14th century on the grounds that fitz Stephen 'was a bastard and died without heir of his body' (O'Brien, 'Territorial ambitions', pp61-5).

52 Orpen, *Normans*, ii, pp45-6

53 Orpen, *Normans*, iii, p118

54 AF O'Brien, 'Politics, economy and society: the development of Cork and the Irish south-coast region c.1170 to c.1583' in P O'Flanagan and CG Buttimer (eds.), *Cork: History and Society – Interdisciplinary Essays on the History of an Irish County* (Dublin,

1993) pp83-154: 93

55 Orpen, *Normans*, iii, p129

56 O'Brien, 'Politics, economy and society', pp89-90, 93

57 Orpen, *Normans*, iii, pp128-9

58 For what follows, see *ibid.*, pp125-9.

59 Carew succeeded to the lands of Robert fitz Stephen. At his death, fitz Stephen held in demesne of the king-in-chief, in his moiety of the lordship of Desmond, the manor of Dunnamark (the castle appears to have been built later) in Kilmocomoge, near Bantry, with demesne lands there. An inquisition into fitz Stephen's lands and their descent, made in 1331, found that 'the castle, manor and lands [of Dunnamark] were by then worth nothing yearly because of war and destruction by the Irish' (O'Brien, 'Territorial ambitions', pp61-2, 61 n.10).

60 Orpen, *Normans*, iii, pp120-22

61 Frame, *Colonial Ireland*, p69

62 CA Empey, 'Conquest and settlement: patterns of Anglo-Norman settlement in north Munster and south Leinster' in *Irish Economic and Social History*, xiii (1986) pp5-31

63 For what follows, see O'Brien, 'Politics, economy and society'; idem 'Economy, growth and settlement in medieval Ireland' in *Group for the Study of Irish Historic Settlement Newsletter*, no.3 (Autumn 1994) pp3-7; idem 'Medieval Youghal: the development of an Irish seaport trading town, c.1200 to c.1500', in *Peritia*, 5 (1986) pp346-78; idem 'Medieval Dungarvan'; idem 'The royal boroughs, the seaport towns and royal revenue in medieval Ireland', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 118 (1988) pp13-26; idem 'Commercial relations between Ireland and France c.1000 to c.1550' in J-M Picard (ed.), *Aquitaine and Ireland in the Middle Ages* (Dublin, 1995)

64 CA Empey, 'Medieval Knocktopher: a study in manorial settlement', part I, *Old Kilkenny Review*, ii (1982), pp329-42: 337-9

65 With regard to the meaning of French in this context, Empey points out that 'by "French" I mean a feudal aristocracy whose outlook, values, and social attitudes were fashioned by French chivalry. Whether French was still widely used by members of this class in Ireland is less important than the wider cultural tradition to which I am referring. Language and cultural tradition are not synonymous' (*ibid.*, p338n. 25).

66 *ibid.*, p338

67 For what follows see AF O'Brien, 'Medieval Youghal: the development of an Irish seaport trading town, c.1200 to c.1500', *Peritia*, v (1986), pp346-78: 352-5

68 E McEneaney, 'Mayors and merchants in medieval Waterford city, 1169-1495', in Nolan and Power (eds.), *Waterford: History and Society*, pp147-76: 151

69 *ibid.*, 174

70 *ibid.*, Appendix I, pp173-5

71 *ibid.*, pp152-3

72 *Calendar of Documents Relating to Ireland, 1171-1251*, no.806; *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1216-25*, p105

73 *CDI 1285-92*, no.169

74 Public Record Office, London, Exchequer Accounts Various, E101/231/6; *CDI, 1285-92*, no.251; *1293-1302*, no.520; *Calendar of Close Rolls, 1296-1302*, pp157-8

75 PRO, Exchequer Accounts Various, E101/232/16; *CDI, 1293-1301*, no.226

76 *CDI, 1293-1301*, no.226

77 *CCR, 1330-33*, p138

78 John Donati, son of Thaddeus Donati, an Italian banker operating in Ireland at the end of the 13th century, was a Lombard born in Ireland. In 1338 he was in dispute with the mayor, bailiffs and commonalty of Cork because, to his legal disadvantage, they refused to accept him as a denizen (PRO, Chancery Miscellanea, C47/10/19).

79 Gowelys, Gowildis

80 Tyrry, Tirry

81 Galway

82 Copyner, Copener

83 Sareffield, Saresfild

84 Morragh, Morbagh, Morogh

85 Martell

86 KW Nicholls, 'Two islands, one street' in *Cork Examiner*, 13 March 1985

87 I hope to develop this in future studies of later medieval Irish society and economy.

88 With regard to Walsh or its variant forms, Empey has pointed out that 'the name Walsh, or Welsh ... appears in our sources in its latin form 'Walensis', which may mean either 'the Welshman' or 'from Wales', so that he could as well be a Norman or a Fleming from Wales as a native Welshman' (Empey, 'Knocktopher', pp337-8).

89 The de Wynchedon family was one of the leading merchant families of Cork in the later Middle Ages. They flourished, particularly, in the 13th and 14th centuries, but as late as the end of the 15th century 'a William de Wynchedon was active in Cork's trade with Bristol'. It is possible that the family had declined by the time of the Cromwellian expulsion, perhaps in the course of the 16th century. For the de Wynchedon family, see O'Brien, 'Politics, economy and society', pp103-6.

90 *ibid.*, pp134-5

91 Rore Honethan (the name has all the appearances of an Anglicisation of the Gaelic) was master of the *Jamez of Cork*, which was trading in the port of Bristol in 1479-80. Among the Cork merchants whose goods were shipped on that vessel by Honethan were Edmund Staunton, William Wynchedon, John Galway, Patrick Creagh, Thomas Goolde, Thomas Skiddy, Geoffrey White, Morris Seisena, Thomas Sarsfield, William Water, Edmund Roche, Denis Morgan, and Nicholas Walshe (EM Carus-Wilson, *The Overseas Trade of Bristol in the Later Middle Ages* (2nd ed., London, 1967), pp218-89).

92 Empey, 'Knocktopher' p339

93 McEneaney, 'Waterford mayors and merchants', p153. For the growth of the city of Cork in this period, see O'Brien, 'Politics, economy and society'.

94 Frame, *Colonial Ireland*, p71

95 These conditions are discussed in some detail in O'Brien 'Politics, economy and society'.

96 Frame, *Colonial Ireland*, p122

97 O'Brien, 'Politics, economy and society', pp129-30

98 *ibid.*, pp114-29

99 *ibid.*, p133

100 *ibid.*, pp142-3