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The English and Ostmen in Ireland

AS is well known, the adventurers of Norman and English blood who landed in Ireland in the years 1169-1170 found themselves confronted not only by the Celtic natives, but also by a race who, like themselves, were Teutonic in blood and as colonists and invaders had preceded them by but a few hundred years. These were the descendants of Norwegian and Danish settlers who had blended now into a race, called by the generic name of Ostmen, both among themselves and by the English.¹ This race was practically an urban one. The Ostmen held five cities which they had founded, and within whose walls they lived the lives of merchants, sometimes varied by acts of piracy, those cities being Dublin, Waterford, Limerick, Wexford, and Cork. The first three were governed by petty kings, but it is uncertain whether the last two had dynasties of their own. Yet their colonies were not exclusively urban. The Dublin Ostmen had an indefinite rule and colonies extending over a district roughly corresponding to the modern county Dublin, stretching west to the modern Leixlip, the name of which indicates in Norse 'Salmon-Leap,' south to Wicklow, and north over a much wider area extending to the borders of Meath, called by the Irish themselves Finegall, or 'boundary of the foreigners.' The whole formed a small kingdom, called in the Icelandic Landnamabok 'Dyflinaraki.' Waterford, a walled city

¹ Or rather by some form corresponding to the modern word Ostman. The Norse original was certainly *Austmadr*, 'Eastman.' Contemporary forms of the word are *Ostmanni*, *Houstmanni*, *Eustmanni*, *Hostmanni*, &c. The modern 'Ostmen' has become accepted; but a good case might be made out for 'Ostmans' on the analogy of 'Normans,' &c.

in 1170, had probably rural settlements all along its fine harbour. A barony on the west side of the harbour, now called Gualtier, took its name from an Irish word, *gall-tir*, 'foreigners' land,' and has probably a like significance with Fine-gall. It is possible that the other three cities had a similar dependent district.

The circumstances of the conquest of these towns are well enough known. It is sufficient to say that by the year 1200 all of them were in the hands of the English. What now happened to the Ostmen? It is probable that of this powerful and numerous race the greater part sailed off to the free Norse-land which remained in Man and the Scottish islands. Others, perhaps, went over to England to practise maritime trades. The pilots of the English seaports are called *Esturmanni* in the documents of the thirteenth century. This itself is most certainly a Scandinavian word, implying 'steersmen,' and the pilots were probably mainly of Northman stock.² Here then was an occupation to which many of the Ostmen could turn. Those who remained were in the main practically excluded from those privileges, legal and commercial, which the English brought with them, though they received some favour not shown to the Irish.

In the first place they were obliged to remove outside the walled towns. The idea was that 'cantreds,' or 'hundreds,' should be created for the Ostmen, outside of which they should not dwell. This kind of suburb was likely to be called after them. Thus there was the well-known Ostmantown, on the north side of the Liffey, which afterwards became Oxmantown by corruption.³ To this new town without the town the Dublin Northmen were compelled to migrate. Similarly there was a 'cantred' of the Ostmen near Limerick,⁴ and near Waterford a 'vill of the Ostmen' was set up.⁵ This compulsory migration took place either immediately after the cities fell into the hands of the new-comers or subsequently to a later rising of the older race, as, for instance, after the revolt of the Waterford Danes in 1174.⁶ Of the land held by Ostmen far out in the country probably most was confiscated or taken over, the owners having fled or been slain in the stand which the Northmen of Ireland had made. The royal race of Dublin had now for some time been designated by the Irish name *MacTurcaill*, a patronymic derived from that Torquil who was king

² Order of Edward I to the *Esturmanni* of his dominions, *Cal. Doc. Ireland*, iv. 59. In Dugdale's *Monasticon*, vi. 1167, in a charter of William II, a certain *Kytellus Estermannus* of Chichester is mentioned. The names of the man and of his trade are both Scandinavian.

³ There are abundant references to Ostmantown in the *Chart. of St. Mary's, Dublin* (Rolls Series), vol. I, and in the first two volumes of the *Cal. Doc. Ireland*.

⁴ 'Cantred of Ostmen and Holy City,' *ibid.* I. p. 24.

⁵ 'Vill of the Ostmen near Waterford,' *ibid.* II. 428.

⁶ Giraldus Cambrensis, vol. v. p. 318 (Rolls Series).

of Dublin in 1183. The Asgall or Hasculf who was king in 1169, and whose attempt, by means of a viking rally, to recover Dublin ended in his own defeat and death, probably had all his lands confiscated. Yet various members of his family remained, and much of their land in the neighbourhood of Dublin was granted away by the conquerors. Thus Richard Strongbow granted to Walter de Riddlesford Brien and the land of the sons of Torquil.⁷ Some of the family however received permission to keep their land on various tenures. Thus Hamund Torquilson was allowed to keep Kinsaley (Kennsalich), near Portmarnock.⁸ Yet even this land was by 1230 in the hands of Christ Church, Dublin;⁹ for in an inquest of that date the church claims 'Ballyhamund' and the lands of 'Hamund' among its possessions. In the main the Ostmen of Dublin confined themselves to Ostmantown, where they formed a wealthy class of merchants and landowners, continuing to hold and let valuable property; for instance, the municipal records of Dublin show an Englishman, Henry Tuche, holding land in the middle of the thirteenth century from Elicia, daughter of Athelstan, and Richard Peel holding a house of Arfinus Macardor, an Ostman in Ostmantown.¹⁰ Yet even here land was apparently continually falling vacant, and we can only conjecture that there was a continuous exodus of the race back to the free Norse world. In the numerous grants of land in Ostmantown during the thirteenth century in favour of the church of St. Mary's, Dublin, frequent reference is made to land 'formerly belonging' to persons of distinctively Norse names.¹¹

A second feature of the fate of the Ostmen was that they were granted the special protection of the crown. Wealthy and defenceless, they were a fit subject for royal consideration. Also they had to be saved from English rapacity and prevented from joining the ranks of the Irish enemy. Hence the crown threw over the Ostmen the same invidious kind of protection which it accorded to the Jews in England. They were to become the 'king's Ostmen,' and possibly the royal intention was to distinguish them from the English, who constantly sought charters and immunities, as a semi-subject class from which revenue might be obtained in return for protection from popular aggression. Thus, while the towns and the rest of the land were being incorporated or granted out in the usual feudal way the Ostmen were placed in most cases under the crown. Thus King John, in granting the honour of Limerick

⁷ *Rot. Pat. et Claus. Cancell. Hib. Cal.* i. i. 4 no. 52.

⁸ 'Cal. Christchurch Deeds,' 1-3, in appendix to 20th Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records, Ireland.

⁹ *Ibid.* nos. 44, 364.

¹⁰ Gilbert, *Hist. and Municipal Records, Ireland*, p. 480.

¹¹ *Chart. St. Mary's, Dublin*, i. p. 477, land which Maurice le Manisk (? Manxman) formerly held; see also pp. 474, 478.

to William de Breouse, declares, 'We keep the cantred of the Ostmen in our own demesne.'¹² Giraldus states that all South Munster was granted by Henry II to FitzStephen and Miles de Cogan, 'excepting however the city of Cork and the adjacent cantred of the Ostmen.'¹³ But a better illustration is found in the charter of Henry II to the Ostmen of Waterford. This is preserved in the Lambeth Palace library, and has been thoroughly examined by Dr. Alexander Bugge, who has done so much to make clear the early relations of Ireland and the Northmen.¹⁴ The charter describes the Hostmanni of Waterford as 'the king's liege men.'

The mixed treatment of expulsion and royal favour which the old Ostman citizens received is well illustrated by what took place at Waterford on the landing of Henry II there. This is described in the course of a lawsuit concerning the legal rights of a reputed Ostman which took place in Waterford about the year 1310. One Robert le Waleys was charged of felony for having killed one John MacGillemorey. As he asserted that the deceased was an unfree Irishman, and the crown replied that MacGillemorey was entitled to English law by charter of Henry II, the jury had to make an historical investigation. They found that on Henry II's landing in Ireland an attempt was made by the Ostmen of Waterford to prevent his entrance. For this they were expelled from the city. The king however assigned to them certain places outside the city, and here they constructed a town called Villa Oustmannorum.¹⁵ One Ostman however, the ancestor of the deceased, on account of his exceptional loyalty had been allowed to remain in the city, and afterwards was given the privileges for himself and his heirs of English law.¹⁶ Not only the suburban but also the rural Ostmen of county Waterford were put into special relations with the crown. Thus in Henry III's reign there were in county Waterford some Norse tenants under the Norman lord Johannes le Poer. These are called *Ostmanni domini regis*. There are also mentioned *Ostmanni alii domini regis*, who paid 6s. to the crown.¹⁷ Again, on the outskirts of Waterford Ostmen are spoken of in royal

¹² *Cal. Doc. Ireland*, i. p. 24.

¹³ Giraldus Cambrensis, vol. v. 347.

¹⁴ See his interesting article entitled 'Nordisk Sprog og Nordiske Nationalitet i Irland,' in *Aarbog for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie* for 1900 (Copenhagen), p. 370. The charter which is given there begins, 'Henricus rex . . . Sciatis quod Hostmanni de Waterford homines mei ligei sunt.' See also *Cal. Doc. Ireland*, i. no. 2188.

¹⁵ Extract from *Judiciary Roll*, 3-7 Ed. II., memb. 18, in *Record Office*, Dublin. The text is given by Dr. Bugge, *Aarbog*, ubi supra, p. 327.

¹⁶ See Mr. G. H. Orpen's note to the *Song of Dermot and the Earl*, line 1606, p. 278.

¹⁷ *Pipe Roll*, 19-20 Henry III., no. 2; appendix to 85th Report of the *Deputy Keeper of the Public Records, Ireland*, p. 86.

documents as *Custmanni nostri*, 'our Ostmen.'¹⁸ In pursuance of its policy of protection the crown also made an effort to secure for the older Teutonic race equal legal rights with the English themselves. The concession of privilege of English law to the John MacGillemorey of the lawsuit would seem to imply that that law was denied to the rest of his Ostman neighbours. Yet it is evident, as we have seen, that Henry II granted the full rights of English law, at least locally, to the Ostmen of Waterford, and perhaps the privilege was intended to apply generally to other communities of that race. For more than a century they remembered this grant, as is attested by the frequent confirmations to petitioning Ostmen of 'English law as Henry FitzEmpress promised it.'¹⁹ This was no small privilege in Ireland, where from the first the unhappy precedent was made of refusing to the Celtic natives all rights of law, except in the solitary concession of the same to the five 'royal bloods' of O'Neil, O'Brien, O'Connor, MacMurrough, and O'Melaghlin.

But the English colonists strove to thwart this royal design. As always in Ireland, the crown's intention was good, but its effective power feeble. The English incomers got the bit between their teeth from the first, and the Ostmen suffered no less from their lawlessness than did the Celts. They were a small people, wealthy and pacific, unable to retaliate in tribal raids, and moreover were tainted with that Celtic strain which the English always abominated before they themselves succumbed to it. In the main the common English and perhaps local authorities seem to have denied them the promised participation in legal rights, and to have treated them like rightless Irishmen. To enter an Irishman's house by force, to slay him, and occupy his lands and tenement as one's own was no felony. What could have been more tempting, then, than to treat the Ostmen offhand as Irishmen? for they possessed to a large degree the rich lands and tenements which the Irish among the colonists generally lacked. In short, the English colonists attempted to drive back the Ostmen solely to the enjoyment of the Brehon laws. The persistence of the Ostmen in claiming that they ought to be taken in all things for Englishmen is easily intelligible, and their petitions to the crown to save them from fraud and violence are very pathetic. Yet they seem to have had little effect. In Edward I's reign a petition was forwarded to the crown from certain Ostmen which pointed out that it would be more useful to the king to have 300 Englishmen rather than that

¹⁸ *Cal. Doc. Ireland*, vol. II. no. 2314. *Custmanni* is the form given, but as the document refers to the MacGillemoreys, who were Hibernicised Ostmen, and to Henry II's grant of English laws to that family, the word must be a mistake for, or variant to, *Ostmanni*.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* vol. II. no. 2314, etc.

they should be made Irishmen by false inquisition and against the king's liberty.²⁰ This petition was granted, but such petitions were so numerous that the redress given by a distant potentate can have been of little effect.

The advantage to the English colonists of treating the older race as outlaws is obvious. They were the better enabled to do this successfully because, to the superficial eye of the law, the Ostmen were hard to distinguish from the rightless Irish. Separated from the great Norse world, few in numbers, the original Norsemen of Ireland had become in the course of three centuries more than half Hibernicised. It is evident that intermarriage between Irish kings and Dublin or other Northman princes had been complicated and numerous during the tenth and eleventh centuries, and the advantage was all on the side of the natives.²¹ Intermarriage must have been as common among members of both races in the lower ranks. The extent to which the Ostmen had by the end of the twelfth century become Hibernicised is shown by the prevalence of partially Celtic patronymics among them and the common appearance of the Irish 'mac' in their surnames. The majority of petitioners and witnesses, &c., of that race whom we find in the state documents and grants are distinguished in this way: good instances are to be found in 'Philip mac Gothmond, an Ostman of Waterford,' and 'Gillecrist, William, and John macgillemary,' of the same city, who petition at various times for English law, and in 'Hodo macfoye' and 'Arfinus macardor,' prominent house-owners in Ostmantown in the first half of the thirteenth century.²² For the first time Ireland had begun to exercise that magic fascination over Teutonic invaders which has resulted in the absorption of great masses of non-Gaelic settlers. And when we consider how universal Celtic patronymics had become by the time of the Conquest among the Ostmen we can only conclude that they were already largely absorbed in speech and customs by Irish influence, and so found it difficult to make out a case for their own ancestry. The petition of the Philip mac Gothmond, alluded to above, illustrates well the grievances of the Ostmen, their state of partial Hibernicisation, and the legal violence to which they were exposed by the English. In 1290 this man of mixed Norse-Irish name, 'an Ostman and Englishman of Waterford,' prayed a remedy against persons greedy of his demeane, for he was rich, who 'exact five marks payment when a man is killed' and 'wish to prove that Philip and others of his race . . . are Irishmen.' Evidently English neighbours had not only denied him English law, as if he were an

²⁰ *Cal. Doc. Ireland*, vol. iii. p. 208.

²¹ See appendices to the *Wars of the Gael with the Gaill*, ed. Todd (R.S.)

²² *Cal. Doc. Ireland*, iii. p. 305 and no. 700; *ibid.* vol. ii. no. 2124; and Gilbert, *Hist. and Municipal Records, Ireland*, pp. 149, 480.

Irishman, but had also appealed to Brehon law when homicide was committed by his people and got him fined an eric, so that they gained immunity for their own misdeeds in the first case and compensation for his in the second.

A further feature of the treatment of the Ostmen was their exclusion from gilds and burgess rights. As we see the numbers of this people must have been considerable, considering how few at first the English themselves probably were. In Waterford Philip mac Gothmond had '400 of his race' about him. In the early part of the thirteenth century there were in the county Wexford a hundred freeholders of this race, with their families; and yet, if we went by burgess rolls only and lists of the members of gilds, we should be almost left ignorant of the existence of a surviving Ostman race. It is clear that the English townsmen at once rigorously excluded these born traders from all participation in gild and borough rights. In the earliest burgess roll of Dublin, which dates from about the end of the twelfth century, out of many hundreds of names only three seem to be of Norse origin; these are Cullin filius Seafani, Torsten utlag, and Turstein filius Simundi.²² In a list dated 1225-50 out of 114 names only five seem to be those of Ostmen.²⁴ Again, in a roll of the Dublin merchant gild of the date 1226 out of 188 names only five may be considered to be those of Ostmen, viz. Gillefintan, Liolf, William filius Turstein, Thomas Turcivil, and Gunnig *forestarius*.²⁵ In a similar list of 1256-7 out of 178 names there is only one which might be that of an Ostman, Stephanus Algar de Weseford.²⁶ On the other hand a man whose name seems of undoubted Scandinavian origin rose to be mayor of Dublin in the early fourteenth century, one Ricardus Olof.²⁷ We must consider, then, the Ostmen of Dublin as shut out at once from the walls and the privileges of Dublin citizens. And from what we know of the early history of English Limerick, Waterford, Wexford, and Cork we must infer there a similar exclusion from the benefits of charters and trade associations.

The position of the rural Ostmen, and their treatment, is as interesting, but more obscure. The members of this race who held land in the counties around the cities they had built were probably considerable in number. In the level and fertile districts along the great rivers and harbours they must have settled early in that kind of free-farmer tenure which the Scandinavians established always in their colonies, and their numbers would be swelled by Ostmen, excluded from the cities. We find some of them dwelling in the

²² Gilbert, *Hist. and Municipal Records, Ireland*, p. 3.

²⁴ *Ibid.* p. 112.

²⁵ *Ibid.* p. 82.

²⁶ *Ibid.* p. 126.

²⁷ Mayor of Dublin 1316-7 (*Chart. St. Mary's*, i. 511)

most inland or remote parts of Irish Munster. There was one of this race, Reginald Macotter (Ragnall son of Othere), so far inland as Tipperary in 1258, and another, Maurice Macotere, far away in Clonmel, 'at the world's end,' lived surrounded by 800 of his people.²⁸ These solitary land-holders in a tribal country had to be fitted into the feudal system which the Norman lords began to set up over as much of Ireland as they could reach. But they must have formed as puzzling anomalies to the establishment of the system as ever the *sochemanni* and *libere tenentes* of England formed for William the Conqueror's lawyers. We have enough evidence to show that they were exempted from the feudal régime and left as non-military tenants in an exceptional and privileged position.

An unpublished charter of the late thirteenth century throws an interesting light not only on the numbers and tenure of the Ostman landholders of county Wexford, but also on the mysterious disappearance of their race.²⁹ At the extinction in 1245 of the male line of the Marshall family, heirs to the estates of Richard Strongbow and lords of Leinster, their vast territories were divided among the five heiresses, of whom Joan obtained Wexford. She was given in marriage to Henry III's half-brother, William de Valence, who thus obtained the liberty of Wexford. In 1288 an inquisition was made by his orders upon the services and customs of the Ostmen of county Wexford. The finding of the jurors was favourable to the existing Ostmen, and the seneschal of Wexford issued in the name of his lord the following charter, reciting the terms of the verdict and giving effect to it :—

Omnibus has litteras visuris et audituris Robertus de Ymer senescallus Wexfordiæ salutem. Noverit universitas vestra me ex mandato nobilissimi viri domini W. de Valence inquisitionem cepisse super redditibus, servitiis, et consuetudinibus Oustmannorum forinsecorum Com. Wexfordiæ per iuratos subscriptos, viz. [here follow the names of twelve jurors]. Qui iurati dicunt quod tempore Marescallorum Dominorum Lageniæ fuerunt infra Com. Wexfordiæ] quingules viginti Oustmanni forinseci valde divites plura animalia habentes. Quorum quilibet suis temporibus reddere consueverat³⁰ per annum præpositis Wexfordiæ ad duos terminos anni sex denarios pro corpore suo, scilicet ad Pascham et ad festum Sancti Michaelis, et duos denarios ad festum Sancti Petri quod dicitur ad Vinculum pro qualibet vacca quam habebat propriam, et quatuor denarios ad festum Omnium Sanctorum ne iret in exercitum. Et tres obolos in

²⁸ *Cal. Doc. Ireland*, vol. ii. no. 889, and vol. iii. p. 306.

²⁹ This Latin document is now in the Public Record Office, London, and has been examined several times. It is given by Dr. Bugge in *Aarbog for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie*, 1904, p. 312. My transcript is taken from another copy of the document, in the possession of Mr. G. H. Orpen, to whom I have to offer my warm thanks for lending it to me.

³⁰ The transcript has *consueverint*.

autumpno pro blado domini sui metendo apud Rosclær²⁰ per unum diem, et quatuor denarios pro quolibet affrenato et bove quem habebat in festo Sancti Martini vel arrare pro unoquoque affrenato et bove dimidium acrum terrae ibidem ad opus domini. Dicunt vero quod nunc non sunt infra dictum comitatum nisi quadraginta Oustmanni parum boni habentes et duodecim qui serviant Anglicis et aliis pro victu suo nihil in bonis habentes. Et dicunt quod tempore Marescallorum solebant praedicti Oustmanni terram tenere de quo domino volebant infra comitatum pro praedictis redditibus et serviciis domino Marescallo solvendis et reddendis. Et quod praedictus dominus horum Willelmus de Valence ipsos in eodem statu vel maiore pro salute animae suae et antecessorum suorum et successorum affectat tenere. Nec vult quod aliquis vivens generis portat vel sustentat mortuarium²¹ nec pro mortuis distringatur. Praedictos Oustmannos nunc existentes ab omnibus oneribus, redditibus, et serviciis quae mortui solebant sustinere dum vixerunt ex mandato praedicti domini viri Willelmi de Valence in perpetuum clamo quietos, dans eisdem ex eodem mandato domini viri licentiam terram tenere de quo domino voluerint infra comitatum. Ita quod de caetero non distringantur pro aliquo redditu reddendo vel serviciis faciendis nisi pro ipsis qui vivi fuerint et secundum eorum facultates.' [Then follow the seals.]

This document throws a clearer light upon the position of the Ostmen after the Conquest than any record we possess.

It is not easy to explain why a hundred Ostmen at the beginning of the thirteenth century should at the end have dwindled down to forty. The free and non-military tenure by which the hundred held is however very interesting, as being a relic of an early non-feudal land system set up in a tribal country. The phrase 'they are accustomed to go with their land to whatever lord they will' might, indeed, come from our eleventh-century Domesday Book as applied to some puzzling *sochemannus* or *libere tenens*, awkwardly free and useless to legal eyes. Yet at the same time these Ostmen had been forced to pay certain money dues to the reeves of Wexford, and had also submitted to some boon days on the lord's land. Such a tenure recalls those cases mentioned not infrequently in Domesday Book of those freeholders who had the freedom of 'withdrawing themselves and their land.' And yet, like many of those English yeomen, though free from the more servile week work, these Ostmen had personal field labour to do on certain occasions for a lord.²² Nothing more of moment is told us of such Ostman landowners as these who, with their racial stubbornness, had planted themselves out in the troubled open country. In the constant wars of Celtic clans and Norman adventurers, amid the universal decay of the English

²⁰ The modern Rosclære, on Wexford harbour.

²¹ This, which is Dr. Bugge's reading of the word, would mean some kind of duty payable at death.

²² Maitland, *Domesday Book and Beyond*, p. 72 and note.

interest and the universal resurgence of the Irish tribes which distinguish the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, such isolated communities must have failed to keep their footing.

It was in the suburb of Dublin north of the Liffey to which they were forced to retire that the descendants of the founders of that city had the best chance of surviving and maintaining a racial distinctiveness. In Ostmantown for a century and a quarter after the Norman invasion these people remained distinct and apart, considerable in numbers and wealthy, judged by the amount of land and number of tenements which they held. In the early part of the thirteenth century they were recognised by the crown as being both very distinct and worthy of equal credence with the English; witness an order by the crown that a jury composed of the Ostmen and English of Dublin should inquire into a right claimed by Holy Trinity.²² Charters concerned with the transfer of land in this district in the early part of the thirteenth century are generally attested by a full list of Ostman witnesses; as, for instance, a grant of land in Ostmantown, proclaimed by Abbot Adam of St. Mary's in 1205, which is attested by seven chief witnesses, to wit, Turkil 'Ostmannus,' Arfin, Walter his son, Roger Anel, and Hamund Heraut (Haralt).²³ In this same quarter of the century we get many grants attested by Arfin mac Ardor, a very prominent Ostman, whose name indicates well the extent to which the old Northman population had been Hibernicised. The wealth and numbers of the race are well indicated in a long list of annual rents in Dublin which were transferred by the abbot of St. Mary's to the city of Dublin in the years 1213-1244.²⁴ In the section referring to Ostmantown are mentioned numerous Ostman landowners with such unmistakeable names as Cristinus, Yvor, Mathie de Trig de Man, Polyn, and Thurkil. The decrease in the number of Ostman names appended to grants affecting Ostmantown, which is noticeable as the century went on, testifies to the gradual decay in numbers and importance of the people of this race. Towards the end of the century such charters are attested by few or no Ostman witnesses; as, for instance, a grant made by Stephanus Blundus either in 1276 or 1283 (in which years the chief witness, Walter Unred, was mayor), the witnesses to which are all English, though the land was in Ostmantown.²⁵ The testator was, of course, English, but there seems to have been no objection to Ostman witnesses in the case of grants by Englishmen.

²² *Cal. Doc. Ireland*, vol. i. no. 641. In 1215 the justiciary was to hold an inquiry by means of the Ostmen and English of Dublin upon claim of Holy Trinity to have a boat on the Anna Liffey.

²³ *Chart. St. Mary's, Dublin*, i. 506.

²⁴ Gilbert, *Hist. and Municipal Records, Ireland*, p. 474.

²⁵ *Chart. St. Mary's, Dublin*, i. 499.

Towards the end of the century such evidences as the documents afford us as to the existence of a separate Ostman race begin to fail us. The Ostmen of Dublin practically disappear. English owners began to intrude into Ostmantown and to acquire property there. The best instance of this is seen in the various grants of land in that suburb made by Werburg, daughter of Thurkil, one of the old royal race, about the year 1270, in favour of Thomas de Lexington, citizen of Dublin.³⁷ Most of this land was granted again at his death by the same Thomas to the church of St. Mary, which gradually acquired most of Ostmantown.³⁸ Again, Ostmen began to grant or bequeath land extensively to churches. They possessed to the full that piety and passion for providing for their spiritual welfare which was always characteristic of the Norman race.³⁹ The anomalous position they held could not last. The wealthier would make good their claim to be 'Englishmen, and sharing in English law,' and so would be absorbed by the newcomers.⁴⁰ The rest probably sank into the ranks of the broken Irish of the Pale. The records of the fourteenth century contain scarcely a trace of this isolated race, and suddenly and completely it vanished out of the history of Ireland.

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³⁷ *Chart. St. Mary's, Dublin*, i. 477, and also pp. 489, 490, 492; &c.

³⁸ *Ibid.* pp. 480-2.

³⁹ *Ibid.* pp. 230, 233, 304, &c.

⁴⁰ 'Gymlbal mac Lotan fuil Estman et habuit legem Anglicorum,' circa 1244; Gilbert, *Hist. and Municipal Records, Ireland*, p. 142.