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University of Durham

Thesis for Ph.D.

THE GOVERNING OF THE LANCASTRIAN LORDSHIP OF IRELAND IN THE TIME OF JAMES BUTLER, FOURTH EARL OF ORMOND

c. 1420-1452

E.A.E. MATTHEW

1994



27 JUN 1994

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Abbreviations

A. deeds	*Catalogue of ancient deeds*
A.F.M.	*Annals of the kingdom of Ireland by the Four Masters*
A.U.	*Annals of Ulster*
An. Hib.	*Analecta Hibernica*
B.I.H.R.	*Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*
B.J.R.L.	*Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*
B.L.	British Library
'Benet'	'John Benet's chronicle for the years 1400 to 1462', ed. G.L. and M.A. Harriss
Betham, *Early parliaments*	W. Betham, *The origin and history of the early parliaments of Ireland*
Brut	*The brut or the chronicles of England*, part ii
C.C.R.	*Calendar of the close rolls*
C.F.R.	*Calendar of the fine rolls*
C.O.D.	*Calendar of Ormond deeds*
C.P.	G.E. Cokayne, *The complete peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain and the United Kingdom*
C.P.R.	*Calendar of patent rolls*
Cal. Carew MSS (Howth)	*Calendar of the Carew MSS (Book of Howth and miscellaneous MSS)*
Cosgrove, *Late medieval Ireland*	A Cosgrove, *Late medieval Ireland, 1370-1541*
D.K.R.	*Reports of the deputy keeper of the public records*
Devon, *Issues*	*Issues of the exchequer, Henry III - Henry VI*, ed. F. Devon
E.E.T.S.	Early English Text Society
E.H.R.	*English Historical Review*
Ellis, *Original letters*	*Original letters illlustrative of English history*, ed. H. Ellis
Ellis, *Reform and revival*	S.G. Ellis, *Reform and revival: English government in Ireland, 1470-1534*

Foedera	*Foedera, conventiones, litterae et cujuscunque generis acta publica*
Frame, *English lordship*	R. Frame, *English lordship in Ireland, 1318-1361*
G.O. Dub.	Genealogical Office, Dublin Castle
Gilbert, *Viceroys*	J.T. Gilbert, *A history of the viceroys of Ireland*
Graves, *King's council*	*A roll of the proceedings of the king's council in Ireland, 1392-93, with an appendix*, ed. J. Graves
'Gregory's Chron.'	'Chronicle of William Gregory, skinner' in *The historical collections of a citizen of London in the fifteenth century*, ed. J. Gairdner
Griffiths, *Henry VI*	R.A. Griffiths, *The reign of King Henry VI*
H.B.C.	E.B. Fryde, D.E. Greenway, S. Porter and I. Roy (eds.), *Handbook of British chronology*, 3rd edn.
Harriss, *Beaufort*	G.L. Harriss, *Cardinal Beaufort: a study of Lancastrian ascendancy and decline*
I.H.S.	*Irish Historical Studies*
J.R.S.A.I.	*Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*
Johnson, *Duke Richard*	P.A. Johnson, *Duke Richard of York, 1411-1460*
Liber mun. pub. Hib.	*Liber munerum publicorum Hiberniae*
Lydon, *Ire. in later middle ages*	J. Lydon, *Ireland in the later middle ages*
Lydon, *Lordship of Ireland*	J.F. Lydon, *The lordship of Ireland in the middle ages*
'MacFirbis'	'The annals of Ireland from 1443-68, translated by ... Duald MacFirbis', ed. J. O'Donovan
Marleborough, 'Chron.'	'Chronicle of Ireland' by Henry Marleburrough
N.L.I.	National Library of Ireland
N.H.I., ii	A. Cosgrove (ed.), *A new history of Ireland*, ii, *Medieval Ireland, 1169-1534*
N.H.I., ix	T.W. Moody, F.X. Martin and F.J. Byrne (eds.), *A new history of Ireland*, ix, *Maps, genealogies, lists*

Otway-Ruthven, *Medieval Ireland*	A.J. Otway-Ruthven, *A history of medieval Ireland*
P.P.C.	*Proceedings and ordinances of the privy council*
P.R.I.A.	*Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*
P.R.O.	Public Record Office, London
P.R.O.I.	National Archives of Ireland, formerly Public Record Office of Ireland, Dublin
Pollard, *John Talbot*	A.J. Pollard, *John Talbot and the war in France*
R.C.H.	*Rotulorum patentium et clausorum cancellariae Hiberniae calendarium*
R.S.	Rolls Series
Reg. Mey	*Registrum Iohannis Mey: the register of John Mey, archbishop of Armagh, 1443-56*
Reg. Swayne	*The register of John Swayne*
Richardson and Sayles, *Ir. parl.*	H.G. Richardson and G.O. Sayles, *The Irish parliament in the middle ages*, 2nd edn.
Richardson and Sayles, *Parls. and councils*	*Parliaments and councils of mediaeval Ireland*, ed. H.G. Richardson and G.O. Sayles.
Rot. parl.	*Rotuli parliamentorum*
Stat. Hen. VI	*Statute rolls of the parliament of Ireland, reign of King Henry VI*
Stat. John - Hen. V	*Statutes, ordinances and acts of the parliament of Ireland, King John to Henry V*
Steele, *Secreta*	*Three prose versions of the secreta secretorum*, ed. R. Steele
Stevenson, *Letters*	*Letters and papers illustrative of the wars of the English in France during the reign of Henry VI*, ed. J. Stevenson
T.C.D.	Trinity College, Dublin
T.R.H.S.	*Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*
Warner, *Libelle*	*The libelle of Englyshe polycye*, ed. G. Warner
Wolffe, *Henry VI*	B. Wolffe, *Henry VI*

MAP 1:

CHIEF PLACE-NAMES IN IRELAND MENTIONED IN THE TEXT



INTRODUCTION

'... The kynge clepid is *rex Anglie*
And is *dominus* also *Hibernie,*
Of old possessyd by progenitours ...'[1]

The three Lancastrian kings each assumed in turn the same royal style which Richard II had inherited from his grandfather - *dei gratia rex Anglie et Francie et dominus Hibernie. Rex Francie* had been inserted by Edward III in 1340, but *dominus Hibernie* was an older acquisition. This title - first used in the 1180s by the young John, whom Henry II had planned, abortively, to crown king of Ireland -[2] had become part of the royal style when John eventually became king of England in 1199. It then took precedence, after rex Anglie, of the ducal and comital titles to Normandy, Aquitaine and Anjou which John inherited from Richard I.[3]

Yet while the kings' title to Ireland dated back over two centuries, the lordship of Ireland in the Lancastrian era was no longer the profitable asset which John had bequeathed to his immediate successors. By the mid-thirteenth century a thriving colony of settlers from England, Wales and Scotland (some too from France and Flanders) had been firmly established throughout eastern and southern Ireland, also in Connacht and parts of Ulster,[4] returning an annual revenue of some £5,000 to the royal exchequer at Dublin.[5] But by the early fifteenth century the area of Ireland

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[1] Warner, *Libelle*, p. 34.
[2] See W.L. Warren, *King John* (London, 1961), pp. 35-7 and 'John in Ireland, 1185', *Essays presented to Michael Roberts*, ed. J. Bossy and P. Jupp (Belfast, 1976), pp. 11-23.
[3] For examples of the various royal styles John - Henry VI, see P. Chaplais, *English royal documents, 1199-1461* (Oxford, 1971), pp. 54-76.
[4] For the origins of the settlers, see Otway-Ruthven, *Medieval Ireland*, pp. 113-16, also J.R.S. Phillips, 'The Anglo-Norman nobility', *The English in medieval Ireland*, ed. J. Lydon (Dublin, 1984), pp. 87-104; for a map of colonial settlement in Ireland *c.* 1240, see R. Frame, *Colonial Ireland, 1169-1369* (Dublin, 1981), p. 46.
[5] See J.F. Lydon, 'Three exchequer documents from the reign of Henry III', *P.R.I.A.*, lxv, C, no. 1 (1966), pp. 1-27, esp. p. 9.

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normally responsive to the demands of royal government had shrunk considerably, the annual revenue by as much as five times to little more than £1,000.[6] This change had a variety of causes - Edward I's over-exploitation of the profits of the lordship for his campaigns in Wales and Scotland;[7] the passing of key, Anglo-Norman lordships to indirect, absentee heirs who remained in England;[8] the blow to royal authority dealt by the Bruce invasion of Ireland, 1315-18, and the disruption and famine which followed in its wake;[9] recurrent outbreaks of plague which, by 1350, weakened many colonial settlements; and the opportunity which all these misfortunes gave to the native, Gaelic Irish (whom the colonists had displaced, rather than assimilated) to regain control in territories from which they had earlier been ousted.[10]

Attempts by Edward III, especially after 1361, and later by Richard II, to reverse the contraction of the lordship both by substantial injections of English money and troops and by trying to persuade absentees to return to defend their lands and communities against Gaelic attack, achieved little lasting success.[11] Royal subjects in Ireland came to feel dependent upon a high level of English support: under Richard II and

---

[6] An average calculated from the series of Irish treasurers' accounts for 1420-46 (P.R.O., E 101/247-8; /540; E 364/57-80) by Lydon, *Lordship of Ireland*, p. 259; for indications of the poor state of the Irish exchequer earlier in the fifteenth century, see Otway-Ruthven, *Medieval Ireland*, p. 343.

[7] See J.F. Lydon, 'Edward II and the revenues of Ireland in 1311-12', *I.H.S.*, xiv (1964), pp. 39-53.

[8] Frame, *English lordship*, pp. 52-74.

[9] J.F. Lydon, 'The Bruce invasion of Ireland', *Historical Studies*, iv (1963), pp. 111-25.

[10] See R. Frame, *Colonial Ireland*, pp. 111-35; Lydon, *Lordship of Ireland*, pp. 146-89, and *Ire. in later middle ages*, pp. 47-85.

[11] Lydon, *Lordship of Ireland*, pp. 216-40; P. Connolly, 'The financing of English expeditions to Ireland, 1361-76', *England and Ireland in the later middle ages*, ed J. Lydon (Dublin, 1981), pp. 104-21; Cosgrove, *Late medieval Ireland*, pp. 10-28; D. Johnston, 'Richard II and the submissions of Gaelic Ireland', *I.H.S.*, xxii (1980), pp. 1-20.

Henry IV magnates of the lordship became reluctant to fill gaps in English lieutenancies on the grounds that a temporary chief governorship unsupported by English funds entailed too great a financial burden.[12] However, soldiers and officials from England often found it hard to grapple with the particular problems which the late-medieval lordship presented. It was a land of endemic, harrying-and-plundering warfare between those who professed their loyalty to the crown, and Gaelic and rebel elements which only acknowledged royal authority intermittently, if at all;[13] of shifting frontiers between the 'land of peace' under English rule and other areas where royal government was at best merely an occasional military presence; of colonial towns, many beleaguered by Gaelic or rebel attack and geographically isolated from the 'land of peace', yet which still maintained their trading links with English and European markets, and thus some degree of economic prosperity;[14] of continuing social, cultural and ecclesiastical division between the Gaelic Irish and the descendants of the original waves of Anglo-Norman settlement, who became in certain respects

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[12] See Lydon, *Lordship of Ireland*, p. 253; Cosgrove, *Late medieval Ireland*, pp. 8-12; Otway-Ruthven, *Medieval Ireland*, pp. 313-6, 325; also a letter of 1405 from the third earl of Ormond to Henry IV asking to be relieved of his temporary appointment as justiciar by the Irish council because of his inability to find sufficient funds, *Royal and historical letters during the reign of King Henry IV*, ed. F.C. Hingeston, ii (R.S. 18, 1965), pp. 29-32.

[13] For the peculiar characteristics of warfare in Ireland and the difficulties these presented to English soldiers, see K. Simms, 'Warfare in the medieval Gaelic lordships', *Irish Sword*, xii, no. 47 (1975), pp. 98-108; R. Frame, 'War and peace in the medieval lordship of Ireland', *The English in medieval Ireland*, ed. J. Lydon, pp. 118-41.

[14] E.M. Carus-Wilson, *Medieval merchant venturers* (2nd edn., London, 1967), pp. 13-28; J. Lydon, 'The city of Waterford in the later middle ages', *Decies*, xii (1979), pp. 5-15; W. Childs and T. O'Neill, 'Overseas trade', *N.H.I.*, ii, pp. 492-524.

un-English, yet often remained determinedly un-Gaelic, frowning on others who were more open to Gaelic or 'degenerate' influences.[15]

English officialdom recognised that the long-standing royal lordship over Ireland - however incomplete - set it in a special category amongst the various dominions in royal hands. In Normandy and Gascony existing organs of administration were simply adapted to English purposes; in Ireland, as in Wales, but more completely, royal administration had been modelled on the English system.[16] Ireland had its own council, parliament, chancery and exchequer. The hierarchy of officials and justices, the pattern of counties, liberties and independent towns mirrored those of England.[17] Travellers from England to Dublin, Drogheda or Waterford were described as journeying 'to Ireland', never 'beyond the seas', though the voyage might be longer and more perilous than crossing the English Channel.

Yet at the same time men in England often found the niceties of the relationship between realm and lordship, and the realities of life in Ireland, baffling. The lordship was the only outlying dominion subject to English law and legislation, but its parliament also enacted its own statutes, while Gaelic Ireland retained its own, native law.[18] In the famous Pilkington case (a dispute over the possession of the escheatorship

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[15] J.A. Watt, *The church and two nations in medieval Ireland* (Cambridge, 1970), pp. 198-216; A. Cosgrove, *'Hiberniores ipsis Hibernis', Studies in Irish history presented to R.D. Edwards*, ed. A. Cosgrove and D. McCartney (Dublin, 1979), pp. 1-14; J. Lydon, 'The middle nation', *The English in medieval Ireland*, ed. J. Lydon, pp. 1-26.

[16] W.T. Waugh, 'The administration of Normandy, 1420-22', *Essays in medieval history presented to T.F. Tout*, ed. A.G. Little and F.M. Powicke (Manchester, 1925), pp. 349-58; M.G.A. Vale, *English Gascony, 1399-1453* (London, 1970), pp. 6-8; R.R. Davies, 'Colonial Wales', *Past and Present*, lxv (1974), pp. 3-23.

[17] Otway-Ruthven, *Medieval Ireland*, pp. 144-90.

[18] Richardson and Sayles, *Ir. parl.*, p. 252; G.J. Hand, 'English law in Ireland, 1172-1351', *Northern Ireland Legal Quarterly*, xxiii (1972), pp. 393-422.

in Ireland which came before the English exchequer chamber in 1441) Justices Yelverton, Portington and Fortescue discussed whether Ireland was, in legal terms, a separate entity from England or not, and found no conclusive arguments either way.[19] Frequently Englishmen also found it difficult to accept the self-proclaimed Englishness of the loyal residents of the lordship whom historians have frequently termed 'Anglo-Irish', but who described themselves as 'the English of Ireland'. (Gaelic writers, interestingly, used the term 'Gall' for the English of Ireland, thus carefully distinguishing them from the English of England who were called 'Sagsan'.[20]) Royal officials in Ireland sought to preserve a clear distinction between those who were properly 'Irish' (i.e. Gaelic) and those who were 'born in Ireland', but claimed Anglo-Norman or English descent. However, in England such terms were employed interchangeably in official documents by men clearly unaware of any difference in meaning. The omission of those 'born in Ireland' from the list of those to be exempted from the alien tax of 1440 undoubtedly arose from this kind of confusion.[21] The majority of county assessment rolls consequently listed many 'Irish' as liable for this taxation.[22] But not all the 'Irish' were Irish: after a message from the council in Ireland in 1441 complaining that 'Englishmen born of Ireland' were being classed unfairly as aliens in England, and asking that they be accorded the same rights as native Englishmen, people 'born in Ireland' were formally exempted when the tax was next imposed in 1442.[23]

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[19] *Select cases in the exchequer chamber*, ed. M. Hemmant (Seldon Society, 1933), pp. 81-4.
[20] J. Lydon, 'The middle nation', pp. 6-7.
[21] *Rot. parl.*, v, p. 6.
[22] S.L. Thrupp, 'A survey of the alien population of England in 1440', *Speculum*, xxxii (1957), pp. 262-73; Cosgrove, *Late medieval Ireland*, pp. 34-6.
[23] N.L.I., MS 4, f. 338 v.; *Rot. parl.*, v. pp. 38-9; see also below, p. 303.

When Englishmen did encounter the Gaelic Irish they tended to treat them as potentially dangerous curiosities. An apparently Gaelic contingent served at the siege of Rouen in 1418 under a former deputy lieutenant of the lordship, Thomas Butler, prior of the hospital of St John at Kilmainham, near Dublin. An English account commented on the arrival of the men from Ireland 'in their own guise' and described how Henry V singled them out for special praise, as if, perhaps, the seal of his approval was necessary before they could properly be accepted by his army.[24] The visit of a certain 'Master John Okallygh, Irishman' to England with four or five companions in the early 1430s required a special licence issued by the authority of the lords of parliament, whereas the author of the *Libelle of Englyshe polycye* was to assert only a few years later that continental merchants in England had more freedom of movement within the country than did Englishmen themselves.[25] The depth of the cultural divide between Gaelic Ireland and western Europe is well illustrated by the account of Gaelic life and customs which Henry Crystede gave to Jean Froissart at the court of Richard II.[26] Crystede said that he himself had spent seven years with a Gaelic family after being captured in battle in Ireland in the 1360s, when he was then serving the second earl of Ormond. Crystede had married an Irish wife and learned Gaelic, but he remained well aware how strange Gaelic customs were to the uninitiated. Back in Ireland with King Richard in 1394-5, Crystede had been assigned the task of giving four Irish chiefs a sufficient veneer of English courtly manners

---

[24] *Brut*, pp. 389-90, 397-8; a French account gives details of their strange weapons, lack of saddles and the unorthodox plundering sorties by which they enlivened the tedium of the siege: see *Chronicle of Enguerrand de Monstrelet*, trans. T. Johnes (London, 1810), v, ch. x, p. 42.
[25] *Rot. parl.*, iv, p. 368; Warner, *Libelle*, p. 24.
[26] Froissart, *Chronicles*, trans. G. Brereton (Harmondsworth, 1968), pp. 409-17.

for the king to dub them knights according to 'the custom in France, England and other countries'.[27] After they had received instruction in dress, table manners and riding with saddles, the ceremony took place. According to Crystede 'they were thoroughly stared at by the English and others who were present, and not without reason, for they were foreign and different in appearance from the English and other nationalities, and people are naturally curious to see some new thing'.[28] Yet despite their alien culture, Crystede discovered, perhaps even to his own surprise (as his previous experience of Ireland seems to have pre-dated the schism) that these Irish chiefs acknowledged, like the English, the Roman pope, Boniface IX. While French nobles would have required no cultural instruction, they would almost certainly have been Clementists.[29]

History has cast the Lancastrians as poor stewards of their Irish lordship. To historians of Ireland they compare unfavourably with their predecessor, Richard II (the first English king since John to have visited Ireland in person), whose second expedition to Ireland in 1399 provided Henry IV with his opportunity to seize the crown. Unlike Richard and his grandfather, Edward III, the Lancastrians 'were unwilling to spend large sums of money on Ireland',[30] and thereby 'defaulted';[31] they adopted 'an inward-looking, defensive approach towards the problems of a limited,

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[27] Froissart, *Chronicles*, trans. G. Brereton, p. 415.
[28] Ibid., p. 416.
[29] Perroy was inclined to suppose that the allegiance of these Irish chiefs to Rome was unrepresentative of Gaelic preference at the time of the schism, but more recent work suggests that Irish support for Avignon was very limited and practically non-existent after the 1380s: see E. Perroy, *L'Angleterre et le grand schisme d'occident* (Paris, 1933), pp. 96-103; J.A. Watt, *The church in medieval Ireland* (Dublin, 1972), pp. 149-50.
[30] Cosgrove, *Late medieval Ireland*, p. 32.
[31] Lydon, *Ire. in later middle ages*, p. 126.

Anglo-Irish lordship';[32] they permitted the shrinkage of the fourteenth-century 'land of peace' to the smaller, fifteenth-century 'pale',[33] and a slackening of direct royal control;[34] more negatively still, 'they did not regard royal government there as seriously threatened and let matters drift accordingly'.[35] It is perhaps not surprising that, since the time of J.H. Wylie,[36] this unpromising aspect of Lancastrian rule should have been largely ignored by historians of fifteenth-century English government, one of whom summarily dismissed Ireland as 'the great slum of the fifteenth-century political system'.[37] A determined effort in the early 1980s to reinstate the Irish dimension in the historical perspective of the third Lancastrian reign had little choice but to conclude that the Lancastrian era was, for the lordship, one of 'decades of neglect' during which Anglo-Irish lords were 'anxious to fortify their liberties and assert their independence of any outside authority'.[38]

Here, however, lies a hint of another view, namely that negative Lancastrian government had certain positive consequences. This school of thought owes much to the writing of Edmund Curtis in the 1920s and 1930s. According to Curtis, Lancastrian weakness, combined with the distraction of the war in France, created the opportunity for 'Aristocratic Home Rule'.[39]

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[32] D. Johnston, 'Richard II's departure from Ireland, July 1399', *E.H.R.*, xcviii (1983), pp. 785-805, see pp. 804-5.
[33] Lydon, *Ire. in later middle ages*, pp. 130-2; Cosgrove, *Late medieval Ireland*, ch. 3, esp. pp. 45-6.
[34] A.J. Otway-Ruthven, 'The chief governors of mediaeval Ireland', *J.R.S.A.I.*, xcv (1965), pp. 227-36, esp. p. 230.
[35] S.G. Ellis, *Tudor Ireland: crown, community and the conflict of cultures, 1470-1603* (London and New York, 1985), p. 4.
[36] See J.H. Wylie, *History of England under Henry the fourth*, i (London, 1884), pp. 219-40; iii (London, 1896), pp. 160-71; *The reign of Henry V*, i (Cambridge, 1914), pp. 58-81.
[37] J.R. Lander, *Government and community: England 1450-1509* (London, 1980), p. 185.
[38] Griffiths, *Henry VI*, pp. 412, 417.
[39] E. Curtis, *A history of medieval Ireland, 1086-1513* (2nd edn., London, 1938), pp. 278-309.

More recent work has referred instead to the development of 'Anglo-Irish separatism', and to 'the growth in self-reliance among the Anglo-Irish communities ... [which] made them resentful of interference from England.'[40] The proceedings of the famous 1460 parliament at Drogheda, held by Richard, duke of York, as lieutenant of the lordship (notwithstanding the act of attainder which had just been passed against him and his supporters in England), certainly appear to confirm the existence of such separatist feeling in Anglo-Ireland by the end of the Lancastrian period. Studies of the parliament's provisions, in particular the demand for acknowledgement of the separate identity of the Anglo-Irish community under the crown, and for the opening of a mint in Ireland to ease internal monetary problems, have argued that these were the result, not simply of York's manipulation of Anglo-Irish sensibilities for his own ends, but of genuine Anglo-Irish pressure for such concessions.[41] But although such an interpretation perhaps offers some vindication of Curtis' views, Dr Ellis remains wary of any over-emphasis of the importance of the separatist movement: 'the separatist claims being made were essentially a spasmodic reaction to royal misrule rather than a serious political movement based on the first stirrings of nationalist sentiments among the colonists'.[42]

Was Lancastrian rule negative and neglectful? What were its effects upon the lordship and its inhabitants? The aim of this thesis is to address these questions - firstly by examining the nature of Lancastrian

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[40] Lydon, *Ire. in later middle ages*, ch. 5, esp. p. 144.
[41] S.G. Ellis, 'The struggle for control of the Irish mint, 1460-*c.*1506', *P.R.I.A.*, lxxviii, C, no. 2 (1978), pp. 17-36, esp. 18-20; A. Cosgrove, 'Parliament and the Anglo-Irish community: the declaration of 1460', *Parliament and community: Historical Studies, XIV*, ed. A. Cosgrove and J.I. McGuire (Belfast, 1983), pp. 25-41.
[42] S.G. Ellis, *Tudor Ireland*, p. 28.

provision for Ireland under Henry V and Henry VI, secondly by investigating the political career of the leading magnate of the lordship, James Butler, fourth earl of Ormond, between 1420 and 1452, to provide a detailed insight into both the state of the lordship and its relationship with the English crown.

The fourth or 'white' earl of Ormond (born *c.* 1390) was a descendant of Theobald Walter (brother of Hubert Walter, archbishop of Canterbury, 1193-1205) to whom John, as lord of Ireland in 1185, granted a large part of the former Irish kingdom of Limerick together with the office of hereditary butler of Ireland.[43] The earldom of Ormond, created in 1328, was originally one of five earldoms of Ireland,[44] but of these only Ormond, Kildare and Desmond survived in the hands of resident magnates into the fifteenth century. In the eyes of both contemporaries and historians, it was the earldom of Ormond which enjoyed political pre-eminence during the reigns of Henry V and Henry VI. Before his death in 1452, the white earl of Ormond had served eight times as chief governor of the Irish lordship - three times with an English-seal appointment as lieutenant, once as justiciar appointed by the Irish council and four times as deputy to other chief governors.[45] Together with the Talbot brothers, John, later first earl of Shrewsbury, and Richard, archbishop of Dublin, the white earl was also one of the chief protagonists in the long-running Talbot-Ormond feud which dominated the politics of the lordship between 1417 and 1444. To

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[43] Otway-Ruthven, *Medieval Ireland*, p. 67.

[44] Also including Ulster (which came into the hands of Lionel, duke of Clarence who married the heiress to Ulster in 1342) and Louth (which only lasted 1319-29): see Frame, *English lordship*, pp. 13-14.

[45] Initially as deputy in 1407-8 to Stephen Scrope, himself deputy to Thomas of Lancaster: *C.O.D.*, ii, pp. 282-3, no. 391. The correct date of this document is 18 (not 8) December: N.L.I., D. 1457; Otway-Ruthven, *Medieval Ireland*, p. 345. For details of Ormond's subsequent terms of office see below, Appendix I, list 2, pp. 484-6, 488-9.

Curtis Ormond appeared to be leader of the 'Patriot' or 'Home Rule' party against the English, 'Unionist' Talbots.[46] Discarding the anachronisms, which scarcely suit the fifteenth-century context, other writers have suggested certain parallels between Ormond and the eighth earl of Kildare, who was to rule as chief governor of Ireland with a very considerable degree of practical autonomy in the 1480s.[47] Professor Griffiths, assessing developments in the lordship from the point of view of Lancastrian Westminster, has described Ormond in less flattering terms as 'a self-willed magnate of violent disposition who discharged his delegated responsibilities with a very heavy hand' with whom 'few were able to establish a relationship ... that was other than servile.'[48] But although Ormond's name is conspicuous both in the surviving documentary sources for the period and in historical writing on the late medieval lordship - particularly in the article by Miss Margaret Griffith on the Talbot-Ormond feud[49] and Dr Adrian Empey's survey of the Butler lands -[50] there has been no previous investigation of Ormond's political career as such.

1420 may seem an odd starting date for such a project: Ormond already had one brief chief governorship (as deputy to Stephen Scrope, 1407-8) behind him; from the point of view of Lancastrian government the date also falls inconveniently mid-reign. Nevertheless, for much of the period 1408-20, Ormond's concerns lay outside Ireland. 1420 marked the

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[46] E. Curtis, *A history of medieval Ireland*, pp. 292-302.
[47] M.C. Griffith, 'The council in Ireland, 1399-1452' (Oxford B. Litt. thesis, 1935), pp. 147-9; K. Simms, '"The king's friend": O Neill, the crown and the earldom of Ulster', *England and Ireland in the later middle ages*, ed. J. Lydon, pp. 214-236, esp. p. 219.
[48] Griffiths, *Henry VI*, p. 413.
[49] M.C. Griffith, 'The Talbot-Ormond struggle for control of the Anglo-Irish government, 1414-47', *I.H.S.*, ii (1940-41), pp. 376-97.
[50] C.A. Empey, 'The Butler lordship', *Journal of the Butler Society*, i, no. 3 (1970-1), pp. 174-87, esp. pp. 181-7.

start of his most active period of involvement in the government of the lordship. It was also a year which saw a new initiative in Lancastrian policy with far-reaching effects on the development of the lordship and its relations with the crown.

PART I

ROYAL PROVISION FOR THE GOVERNING OF IRELAND UNDER HENRY V AND HENRY VI

CHAPTER ONE

THE CROWN AND THE CHIEF GOVERNORSHIP

1) English-seal appointments to the office of chief governor

At no stage between 1413 and 1461 were there any serious preparations for the king to follow Richard II's example of going to Ireland in person. Henry V and Henry VI, like most of their predecessors, remained permanent absentees. Henry V's priorities lay in France, and although in 1423 and in 1445 there were brief acknowledgements of the possibility of some future royal visit to Ireland,[1] Henry VI never developed any talent or inclination for military leadership. Thus immediate responsibility for the government and defence of Ireland remained entirely in the hands of a succession of chief governors, effectively the linch-pins of royal lordship.

Between 1413 and 1461, all but one of the chief governors who were appointed by the king and council in England held office as 'lieutenant'. This was one of a variety of different titles which had been applied to the chief governorship of the medieval Irish lordship,[2] but its almost exclusive use for English-seal appointments to the office was a Lancastrian development. In 1399 there had been some initial uncertainty as to whether the first chief governor under Henry IV should be appointed as a justiciar or as a lieutenant.[3] However, a decision in favour of the

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[1] Draft indentures for the earl of March's appointment as lieutenant in 1423 and indentures for the earl of Shrewsbury's appointment as lieutenant in 1445 both provided for the possibility of the lieutenant being discharged from office in the case of the king going to Ireland in person: P.R.O., E 28/41/45; E 404/61/138; see also below, p. 398.

[2] See H. Wood, 'The titles of the chief governors of Ireland', *B.I.H.R.*, xiii (1935-6), pp. 1-8.

[3] Although John Stanley was actually appointed as 'lieutenant', draft indentures had used the title, 'justiciar': P.R.O., E 101/69/307; *C.P.R., 1399-1401*, p. 92.

latter title apparently established a precedent for almost all the subsequent English-seal appointments to the chief governorship in the Lancastrian period. The only exception was the first appointment made by the English council after Henry V's death, that of Richard Talbot, archbishop of Dublin, as justiciar in October 1422.[4] On this occasion, the office was not granted for a specific term - as had become usual in the case of the lieutenancy - but 'during pleasure', and was apparently intended merely as a temporary expedient before the earl of March was made lieutenant only seven months later. Otherwise the justiciarship was only held by chief governors appointed under the Irish seal within the lordship itself to fill unexpected gaps in the succession of lieutenants appointed from England.[5]

In the fourteenth century, however, the title, 'justiciar', had also been held by the majority of those appointed to the chief governorship under the English seal. The title, 'lieutenant', had been bestowed relatively sparingly, only on candidates particularly high in rank or royal favour, and had thus carried greater prestige than that of 'justiciar'.[6] The first four lieutenants were Piers Gaveston (1308), Roger Mortimer (1316), William de Burgh, earl of Ulster (1331) and Lionel, son of Edward III (1361).[7] Richard II had appointed lieutenants more frequently,

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[4] For a list, and references to the letters patent and indentures, of English-seal appointments to the chief governorship under Henry V and Henry VI, see below, Appendix I, list 1, pp. 477-82. Henry IV's first lieutenant of Ireland, John Stanley, was succeeded by the king's son, Thomas, also as lieutenant, who held office to the end of the reign: see *H.B.C.*, p. 163; *N.H.I.*, ix, pp. 475-6.

[5] For appointments of this kind, 'justiciar' was the customary title (H. Wood, 'The titles of the chief governors of Ireland', p. 5); for details of all justiciarships 1413-61, see below, Appendix I, list 2, pp. 483-91.

[6] See A.J. Otway-Ruthven, 'The chief governors of mediaeval Ireland', p. 228; H.G. Richardson and G.O. Sayles, *The administration of Ireland, 1172-1377* (Dublin, 1963), pp. 11-12.

[7] For fourteenth-century appointments to the lieutenancy see *H.B.C.*, pp. 162-3; *N.H.I.*, ix, pp. 472-5.

but in many respects the distinction between the two offices had been very similar to the distinction between the lieutenancy and seneschalship of Gascony.[8] Initially the appointment of a lieutenant - which was sometimes complementary to that of a justiciar - had been a sign of some special royal solicitude for Ireland;[9] from 1361 the lieutenancy also carried financial backing from the English exchequer of £6,000 to £8,000 a year, sometimes more.[10] The justiciar's fee, however, remained fixed at a mere £500 a year from the Irish exchequer. Special arrangements were sometimes made to provide justiciars with extra troops, but the main cost of these had usually been charged to the Irish, not the English, exchequer.[11] On the face of it, the Lancastrian preference for appointing lieutenants, as opposed to justiciars, seems hardly symptomatic of neglect.

Ten men served as lieutenant in Ireland under Henry V and Henry VI; four of them held the office more than once. Of these ten, James Butler, fourth earl of Ormond, who was lieutenant three times - 1420-2, 1425-6 and 1442-4 - immediately stands out as the only lieutenant who could properly be described as a man of the lordship itself in the sense that

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[8] See E. Lodge, *Gascony under English rule* (London, 1926), pp. 136-9.

[9] See H. Wood, 'The office of chief governor of Ireland, 1172-1509', *P.R.I.A.*, xxxvi, C (1923), pp. 206-38, esp. p. 207; for further details of the case of 1331, when both a lieutenant and a justiciar were appointed as plans were set in train for Edward III to visit Ireland the following year, see Frame, *English lordship*, pp. 196-7.

[10] For the initiation of English subsidizing of government and defence in the lordship, see P. Connolly, 'The financing of English expeditions to Ireland, 1361-1376', pp. 104-21; for further details up to 1399, see Richardson and Sayles, *Ir. parl.*, pp. 151-2; Otway-Ruthven, *Medieval Ireland*, p. 313; A. Tuck, 'Anglo-Irish relations, 1382-93', *P.R.I.A.*, lxix, C (1970), pp. 15-31, esp. pp. 17-18.

[11] See A.J. Otway-Ruthven, 'The chief governors of mediaeval Ireland', pp. 230-1; R. Frame, 'The justiciarship of Ralph Ufford: warfare and politics in fourteenth-century Ireland', *Studia Hibernica*, xiii (1973), pp. 7-47, esp. p. 13, n. 32. Exceptionally, the second earl of Ormond, justiciar 1376-9, was granted a retrospective claim on the English exchequer, only if it proved impossible to raise the sums due to him in Ireland, while his son as justiciar in 1392 was granted an extra lump sum from England: *C.P.R., 1377-81*, p. 382, and see below, p. 118.

his main landed and political interest lay in Ireland rather than in England. His eldest son, the fifth earl, was in an entirely different position when he was appointed lieutenant in 1453 and again (ineffectively) in 1459. He made his career in England, amassed considerable lands there from which his main wealth derived, and became an English peer in his own right, as earl of Wiltshire in 1449, before inheriting his father's Irish earldom in 1452. His lands in Ireland were only of secondary importance to him and he spent little time there.[12]

Of the remaining eight lieutenants, the choice of two matched fourteenth-century precedent very closely. Edmund Mortimer, fifth earl of March (appointed in 1423) and his nephew and heir, Richard, duke of York (appointed in 1447 and 1457) were direct descendants of Edward III's son, Lionel of Clarence, lieutenant in Ireland in the 1360s, and two of his successors, the third and fourth earls of March, who held office at various times between 1379 and 1398.[13] Lionel's first marriage in 1342 had brought him and his heirs the theoretically vast de Burgh lordship in Ireland which included the earldom of Ulster, and had made them the greatest of the absentee landowners of Anglo-Ireland. While much of the de Burgh inheritance had long been in the hands of the Gaelic Irish, the fifth earl of March and Richard of York were just as much the obvious candidates for the lieutenancy under the Lancastrians as their forbears had been earlier,[14] and of similarly high standing in England. Both March and York were of royal blood. As a potential rival claimant to Henry IV's

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[12] For Wiltshire, see below, pp. 217-20, 249, 251, 258-60, 280-2, 378-9, 442-3, 453-4.

[13] *H.B.C.*, pp. 162-3; *N.H.I.*, ix, pp. 474-5.

[14] See Frame, *English lordship*, pp. 323-4, 334; for the relative insignificance of York's income from Ireland compared with that from his estates in England, see J.T. Rosenthal,, 'The estates and finances of Richard, duke of York (1411-60)', *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History*, ii, ed. W. Bowsky (Lincoln, Nebraska, 1965), pp. 117-204, esp. p. 201.

throne, the young March had been kept under close surveillance and was brought up with the royal children. To Henry V, who gave March his lands and his independence, he had proved loyal, informing the king of the Cambridge plot of 1415 and subsequently serving with the royal army in France. At the time of his appointment to Ireland he was one of the members of the English council of Henry VI's minority, although not one of its most regular attenders.[15] York - the father of Edward IV and Richard III - stands in even less need of introduction. When he became lieutenant of Ireland in 1447 he was, since the death of the duke of Gloucester earlier that year, the highest-ranking English peer. In the 1450s he served twice as protector of the realm when Henry VI was unequal to the demands of active rule and in 1460 gained formal recognition in parliament as heir to the throne.[16]

Amongst the other lieutenants, the most notable was John Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury, appointed in 1445. At the time of his appointment Shrewsbury's creation as earl was of only three years standing, but he had already acquired a reputation in France as one of the foremost English military commanders.[17] Shortly after making him lieutenant of Ireland, Henry VI also created him earl of Waterford and formally recognised his family's claim (long disputed with the Greys of Ruthin) to the lordship of Wexford.[18] However, these Irish titles had little real territorial

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[15] *C.P.*, viii, pp. 450-3; J.H. Wylie, *The reign of Henry V*, i (London, 1884), pp. 513-33; Griffiths, *Henry VI*, pp. 23, 34.

[16] *C.P.*, xii, part 2, pp. 905-9; Griffiths, *Henry VI*, pp. 675-6, 725-38, 746-57, 868-9; Johnson, *Duke Richard*, Chs. 3-8.

[17] *C.P.*, xi, pp. 770-1; for Shrewsbury's military reputation, see Pollard, *John Talbot*, pp. 1-7, 13, 37.

[18] *C.P.R., 1441-46*, p. 448; for the background to the Talbot claim to Wexford and details of the dispute with the Greys, see R.I. Jack, 'Entail and descent', *B.I.H.R.*, xxxviii (1965), pp. 1-19, esp. pp. 1-5; A.J. Pollard, 'The family of Talbot, lords Talbot and earls of Shrewsbury in the fifteenth century', (Bristol Ph.D. thesis, 1968), pp. 104-5.

significance. Shrewsbury's very considerable influence in Ireland derived more from his previous association with the affairs of the lordship. As John Talbot, he had served in Ireland before , both as lieutenant (1414-20) and justiciar (1425) and his brother, Richard, was archbishop of Dublin.[19]

The remaining appointments to the lieutenancy under Henry V and Henry VI were all of men of lesser rank. The first two lieutenants of Henry V's reign - John Stanley (1413) and John Talbot (1414) - presented a particularly stark contrast with their immediate predecessor, Thomas, duke of Clarence, Henry IV's second son, who had held the office since 1401.[20] Sir John Stanley had nevertheless had a distinguished career in royal service. He was justiciar of Chester and controller of the household under Richard II, and became steward of Prince Henry's household in 1402 and of Henry IV's household in 1405. Stanley also had extensive previous experience in Ireland itself.[21] He had served as deputy to Robert de Vere (whom Richard II had created duke of Ireland in 1386), as justiciar from 1389 to 1391, and as lieutenant for the first eighteen months of Henry IV's reign.[22] John Talbot, lord Furnivall, a younger son who owed his title and a claim to the lordship of Westmeath to his first wife, had some experience of campaigning in Wales, but did not become lord Talbot until the death of his niece in 1421.[23] His military successes in France and creation as earl of Shrewsbury were yet to come. None of the four lieutenants appointed between 1427 and 1438 were men of the first rank. John, lord Grey of Codnor, (1427)[24] and Lionel, lord Welles, (1438), who was

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[19] From 1418-49: *H.B.C.*, p. 351; *N.H.I.*, ix, p. 311.[20] *H.B.C.*, p. 163; *N.H.I.*, ix, pp. 475-6.
[21] *C.P.*, xii, part 1, pp. 248-9.
[22] *H.B.C.*, p. 163; *N.H.I.*, ix, p. 475.
[23] *C.P.*, xi, p. 699; Otway-Ruthven, *Medieval Ireland*, p. 348; Pollard, *John Talbot*, pp. 7-9.
[24] *C.P.*, vi, p. 129.

a first cousin of the earl of Ormond and a member of the royal household,[25] had both seen previous military service in France. For Sir John Sutton and Sir Thomas Stanley (grandson of John Stanley) appointment to the Irish lieutenancy in 1428 and 1431 respectively seems to have been the first important step in careers which were ultimately to bring them each membership of the English council.[26]

In the fourteenth century men of lesser rank and influence, John Stanley amongst them, had had to be content with a justiciarship; so, too, had former earls of Ormond.[27] Thus while the lieutenancy of Gascony in the Lancastrian period continued to be an occasional office, invoked only at times of new initiative or crisis, and always filled by high-ranking peers,[28] this was by no means so with regard to Ireland. Not only were appointments to the lieutenancy of Ireland made more frequently, but there was also greater flexibility in the choice of candidates for the office. It has been suggested that this undermined the lieutenancy's prestige.[29] When the earl of March was appointed in 1423 and again when the duke of York was made lieutenant in 1447, rumours circulated in London to the effect that they were deliberately being sent into political

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[25] Welles' membership of the royal household was confirmed at the time of his appointment (*C.P.R., 1436-41*, p. 140). He had taken part in the coronation expedition to France of 1430-2 and in the duke of Gloucester's expedition to Calais in 1436. Ormond's mother, Anne de Welles, was Lionel's father's sister: *C.P.*, xii, part 2, pp. 441-4; Stevenson, *Letters*, ii, part 1, pp. xlix-lv; Griffiths, *Henry VI*, pp. 204, 413; see also below, pp. 274-5.

[26] Sutton as lord Dudley in 1443, Stanley in 1448: *C.P.*, iv, p. 479; xii, part 1, pp. 250-1; Griffiths, *Henry VI*, pp. 281, 285.

[27] The second earl was appointed justiciar in 1359, the third earl in 1384 and 1392: *H.B.C.*, pp. 162-3; *N.H.I.*, ix, pp. 474-5.

[28] See M.G.A. Vale, *English Gascony, 1399-1453*, pp. 6-7.

[29] See Ellis, *Reform and revival*, p. 12.

exile.[30] The existence of such rumours indeed suggests that a section of contemporary opinion did not consider the lieutenancy of sufficient importance to be a fit offering for men of their rank. However, such judgements perhaps derived more from current perceptions of governmental priorities than of the status of the office of lieutenant in itself. Neither March nor York failed to go to Ireland, and when York's tenure of office was challenged by the subsequent appointment of the earl of Wiltshire and Ormond in 1453, York took steps to regain possession within the year.[31]

In Ireland the prestige of the office certainly depended at least in part on the status of the holder and the strength of his family connections with the lordship. The welcome which York received in 1449 was considerably warmer than that accorded to most of his predecessors,[32] and in 1442 messengers from an Irish parliament had specifically requested Henry VI to send as lieutenant 'a myghti lorde of this your Realme of Englonde'.[33] The root of the reluctance of English government always to satisfy the lordship in this respect - most noticeable during Henry V's reign, and also between 1425 and the beginning of Henry VI's personal rule in the late 1430s - was not mere neglectful oversight, but part of a deliberate policy of reducing English exchequer support for the government and defence of the lordship, as discussion of the arrangements

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[30] *Incerti scriptoris chronicon Angliae de regnis Henrici IV, Henrici V et Henrici VI*, ed. J.A. Giles (London, 1848), p. 6; 'Benet', p. 195; 'Gregory's Chron.', p. 189; see also below, pp. 168, 421-5.

[31] *P.P.C.*, vi, pp. 172-3; see also H. Wood, 'Two chief governors of Ireland at the same time', *J.R.S.A.I.*, lviii (1928), pp. 156-7.

[32] E. Curtis, 'Richard, duke of York, as viceroy of Ireland, 1447-60', *J.R.S.A.I.*, lxii, part 2 (1932), pp. 158-86, esp. pp. 158, 165-8.

[33] *P.P.C.*, v, p. 318; *Stat. Hen VI*, p. 50; Graves, *King's council*, p. 273; see also below, p. 314.

for financing the lieutenants will make clear.[34] Nevertheless, although the lieutenants under Henry V and Henry VI were not all 'mighty lords', all but the fourth earl of Ormond could reasonably be described as 'of the realm of England'. It seems that on the whole the Lancastrians shared Edward III's preference for sending English chief governors to Ireland.[35] Although prior connections with the lordship might be considered advantageous, these were by no means a *sine qua non* for appointment. And while the Lancastrian period saw the lieutenancy become for the first time the normal vehicle for English-seal appointments to the chief governorship, the process of appointment was no mere matter of administrative routine, but a complex business requiring careful attention and scrutiny.

In most cases the initiative in selecting the lieutenants probably lay with the king or, during Henry VI's minority, with the English council. However, it was possible (as occurred at least once in the case of the wardenship of the west march towards Scotland[36]) for a candidate to put himself forward without any official assurance that he would be successful. Ormond himself deliberately sought office as lieutenant on at least two occasions, on one of which - in the mid 1430s - he was apparently unsuccessful. A contemporary note identifying Ormond as the source for certain opinions put forward in the chapter on Ireland in the *Libelle of Englyshe polycye* refers to a 'profer' from the earl to undertake a 'fynall conquest' of Ireland which was rejected.[37] When lord Welles

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[34] See below, pp. 82-93.

[35] See Frame, *English lordship*, p. 87; Richard II's pursuit of a similar policy was perhaps due less to royal preference than the reluctance of the leading Anglo-Irish to serve as chief governor: see A. Tuck, 'Anglo-Irish relations, 1382-93', pp. 19-20.

[36] For an unsuccessful proffer for the west march in this period, see R.W. Dunning, 'Thomas, lord Dacre and the west march towards Scotland, ? 1435', *B.I.H.R.*, xli (1968), pp. 95-9.

[37] Warner, *Libelle*, p. 39; see also below, pp. 266-8.

delayed his departure for Ireland as lieutenant in 1438, Henry VI reminded him reproachfully that 'it was your own desir and request for to go thider'.[38]

From a further case in which it again seems that the prospective candidate was actively seeking office, namely the appointment of the earl of Ormond in 1442, survives a document entitled 'the desires of James Botiler, erle of Ormond, of our soverayne lorde the kyng, if it please his highnesse to comitte the kepyng of his lande of Irelande to the saide erle'.[39] The desires listed were for a 'reasonable' term of office of seven or more years, a grant of 4000 marks *per annum* from the English exchequer together with the appropriate warrants for issue, and for his powers in office to follow the form set out in an attached schedule, now unfortunately missing. This proffer apparently provided the starting point for the negotiation of Ormond's eventual terms of appointment which, as in the case of all appointments to the lieutenancy, were defined in two documents, his letters patent, concerned primarily with the extent of his powers in office, and his indentures, dealing with financial arrangements, the size of his retinue, the date for mustering his troops and the need to discipline them adequately to prevent them taking goods without payment in Ireland.[40] Since part of the proffer is missing, it is not possible to compare Ormond's preferred powers with those actually granted, but in the process of appointment his financial proposals were substantially modified.

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[38] P.R.O., E 28/59/59; for the full text of the document and a note on its dating, see below, Appendix III, iii, pp. 578-84.
[39] P.R.O., C 47/10/27, no. 6; see below, Appendix III, v, pp. 588-9. This seems to be the only surviving example of a proffer from a prospective lieutenant of Ireland in this period, but it may be that others have since been lost. For a similar document relating to the appointment of John Darcy to the justiciarship of Ireland in 1328, see J.F. Baldwin, *The king's council in England during the middle ages* (Oxford, 1913), pp. 473-4.
[40] P.R.O., C 66/451, m.2; *An. Hib.*, i, pp. 215-6.

His indentures, while agreeing to the seven-year term requested, only allowed him 3,000 marks *per annum*, of which only the first £1,000 was to come from the English exchequer.

For lack of other direct evidence it is impossible to assess whether the submission of a proffer was a regular feature of appointments to the lieutenancy or not. However, in cases where the king or English council took the initiative in finding a candidate for office, the procedure may have been different. In 1430, the council tried to replace John Sutton with one Sir John Savage (possibly the Staffordshire knight of the same name who had briefly considered accompanying the earl of March to Ireland in 1424[41]). On this occasion a meeting of the council simply instructed the keeper of the privy seal to draw up indentures for Savage according to the form of the indentures that had been agreed with Sutton.[42] Savage was never actually appointed, but when terms were negotiated with Sutton's eventual replacement, Thomas Stanley, the indentures drawn up for Savage were again brought out and amended as seemed appropriate to form an initial draft for the new candidate.[43] More than mere names and dates were changed. At either the council's or Stanley's insistence he was given a substantially longer term of office - six years instead of two.

In cases where the terms of an appointment were apparently settled directly between the prospective lieutenant and the king, the details of the negotiations are harder to discover. When Henry V appointed John Stanley in 1413, it seems that the council was simply notified of the main points some three weeks after they had been settled by the king.[44] The note of warranty on Stanley's patent - as in the case of John Talbot's

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[41] *C.P.R., 1422-29*, pp. 231, 273.
[42] P.R.O., E 28/52/18 July.
[43] P.R.O., E 101/71/873.
[44] *P.P.C.*, ii, pp. 130-1.

the following year - was '*per ipsum regem*'.[45] The patent and indentures of lord Welles, the first lieutenant to be appointed after Henry VI took personal control of government, were dated 12 February 1438. But Welles had apparently been designated as lieutenant as early as Michaelmas the previous year, and in the interim there had been a prolonged debate about starting dates and possibly other matters too.[46]

The surviving records are most informative for the period of Henry VI's minority, when it was the practice for draft indentures, which sometimes also included details of powers for the letters patent, to go before the English council.[47] Amongst these draft indentures, those of lord Grey reveal most clearly the minute attention which the English council devoted to the business of appointing a lieutenant for Ireland.

On 15 March 1427 a draft of Grey's proposed indentures was submitted to a meeting of the council at Canterbury.[48] Below the text appear the names of the duke of Bedford, the archbishop of York (chancellor), the earls of Huntingdon and Northumberland, lord Cromwell and lord Hungerford (treasurer). Also present according to a note on the dorse were the archbishop of Canterbury and lord Tiptoft. While these eight did not constitute a notably large council - the average size of council meetings in 1427-28 has been calculated as over ten members[49] - it was certainly

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[45] An indication that the order was given directly by the king to the chancellor: *C.P.R., 1413-16*, pp. 54, 164, and see A.L. Brown, 'The authorization of letters under the great seal', *B.I.H.R.*, xxxvii (1964), pp. 125-56, esp. p. 142.

[46] P.R.O., E 28/59/59: see below, pp. 274-8; Appendix III, iii, pp. 578-9.

[47] A version of the earl of March's indentures with minor amendments, also including clauses relating to his powers in office, some but not all of which were included in his patent, went before the English council on 10 May 1423 (P.R.O., E 28/41/45); draft indentures for John Sutton, with amendments to the length of his term of office and size of his retinue, went before the council on 19 March 1428: E 28/50/19 March.

[48] P.R.O., E 28/49/2.

[49] See A.L. Brown, 'The king's councillors in fifteenth-century England', *T.R.H.S.*, 5th series, xix (1969), pp. 95-118, esp. p. 109.

an eminent gathering, which apparently went through the wording of the document with a fine-tooth comb. The term of office was lengthened from one to three years; the draft's proposal of a grant of 4,000 marks a year was accepted, but blanks left for the constituent amounts to be paid at different times of the year were filled in and two instalment dates were altered; a hopeful clause adding to the sums due to the lieutenant whatever extra the king of his special grace might give and grant, was scored firmly through; so too was the proposal that Grey should not account for the revenues of Ireland or for his own salary; many minor alterations were also made to the wording throughout. The council ordered the keeper of the privy seal to draw up indentures according to the amended draft. This, however, was by no means the end of the matter. When the indentures were sealed in their final form on 20 May, further changes had been made in the financial arrangements.[50] Whereas the March version had allowed Grey £1,000 a year from the English exchequer (the rest of the 4,000 marks *per annum* was to come from the Irish exchequer), the May version said that all Grey's money was to come from Ireland except an initial lump sum, in the first year only, of £1,000. The May version also promised shipping from Liverpool to Ireland and back at royal expense which had not been mentioned at all in the March draft, and the start of the lieutenant's term of office was altered from the date of the sealing of the indentures to 28 June.

The only English-seal appointment of a justiciar in the Lancastrian period, that of Richard Talbot, archbishop of Dublin, in 1422, was a far less elaborate affair. Not being offered any special financial support, the justiciar required no indentures, nor was it considered necessary to

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[50] P.R.O., E 101/71/824.

investigate or define his powers in office. Whereas a hundred years earlier these would almost certainly have been given some kind of scrutiny, it is clear that they had now come to be considered as a matter of accepted custom and no special importance.[51] The form of Archbishop Talbot's letters patent was as brief as possible. The entry on the roll merely records the decision *de avisamento et assensu consilii nostri* to appoint the archbishop as justiciar of Ireland to hold office during pleasure *cum feodis eidem officio ab antiquo debitis et consuetis*.[52] While it is true that some of the Lancastrian lieutenants were very much less illustrious than their predecessors, their appointment as lieutenants rather than justiciars meant that the provision of chief governors for Ireland secured far more attention and scrutiny from royal government in England than might otherwise have been the case.

ii) The powers granted to the lieutenants

In the Lancastrian period, the powers of the lieutenancy were defined rigorously and thoroughly, and although the texts of all the letters patent of appointment issued to lieutenants under Henry V and Henry VI had certain similarities, there were considerable variations in both form and substance. Some of these were relatively trivial; others significantly modified the position of the lieutenants concerned, and represented important changes in English policy.

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[51] For royal interest in the powers of the justiciarship in the first half of the fourteenth century, see Frame, *English lordship*, pp. 106-09. In the later fourteenth century, however, when lieutenants' letters patent began to list their powers in office (see A.J. Otway-Ruthven, 'The chief governors of mediaeval Ireland, p. 228) justiciars' patents frequently adopted a short, standard form: *C.P.R., 1377-81*, pp. 14, 380; *1388-92*, p. 479; *1391-96*, p. 126.

[52] P.R.O., C 66/407, m. 31; *C.P.R., 1422-29*, p. 3.

The fifteen different letters patent drawn up for lieutenants of Ireland between 1413 and 1461 are all lengthy and complex documents. Amongst their many clauses, only five are common to all.[53] These concerned the fundamental tasks of royal government - the provision of justice and defence. All the lieutenants were directed and empowered to keep the laws and customs of the lordship;[54] to punish those subjects who might break the peace;[55] to issue letters of pardon to such offenders under the great seal of Ireland;[56] to make war on English rebels and Irish enemies and bring them to peace;[57] to purvey adequate supplies to maintain the lieutenant's household and soldiers according to the regulations of existing statutes.[58] In addition all lieutenants were given power to admit Irish and rebel English to the king's peace,[59] but the lieutenants appointed between 1420 and 1431 were directed to settle fines for admission to peace in consultation with the Irish council.

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[53] As the earl of March's letters patent of 1423 appear in full in *Foedera*, x, pp. 282-5, reference where possible will be given to the appropriate clause in this text, or, failing this, to the original patent rolls. Only in the case of the earl of Wiltshire's appointment in 1459 were letters patent either not issued or not enrolled. The summaries of terms given in *C.P.R.* are not always complete, and are particularly misleading for the appointments from 1442 onwards.

[54] *Dantes eidem et concedentes ..... custodiendum et custodiri faciendum* (*Foedera*, x, pp. 282-3).

[55] *Et ad omnes et singulos ligeos nostros ..... castigandum et puniendum ac castigari et puniri faciendum* (ibid., p. 283).

[56] *Et ad faciendum, dandum et concedendum plenam pardonationem ..... in forma debita, faciendum* (ibid., p. 283).

[57] *Et etiam ad universos et singulos, tam Anglicos rebelles, quam Hibernicos inimicos ..... ipsos paci nostrae reformandum* (ibid., pp. 283-4). The patchiness of the *C.P.R.* summaries was no doubt responsible for the mistaken assumption by A.J. Otway-Ruthven, 'The chief governors of mediaeval Ireland', p. 230, that this clause only became a regular feature of the lieutenants' patents from 1428.

[58] *Et victualia, sufficientia et necesaria ..... juxta forman diversorum statutorum, de hujusmodi provisioribus ante haec tempora, factorum* (ibid., p. 285).

[59] ..... *Ad recipiendum et admittendum ad fines et pacem nostram tam anglicos quam hibernicos qui legibus et consuetudinibus praedictis rebelles et contrarii existunt* ..... (ibid., p. 283).

In the hope of extending the areas of Ireland that were loyal and responsive to royal government, most of the lieutenants were given full power to grant out all lands which were not being properly administered and defended by loyal subjects, provided, of course, that new tenants agreed to pay due rent to the crown,[60] and that all new grants were proclaimed in advance to permit any prior claims to the land to be submitted, and, if proved, preferred.[61] Thus there was to be some safeguard against arbitrary evictions. Certain lieutenants, however, were bound rather more strictly on this point. In 1420, and again in 1425, the earl of Ormond was only empowered to grant out rebels' lands or lands which had actually been recaptured from the Gaelic Irish.[62] Similar wording - apparently designed to protect the interests of absentee landowners - appeared in the patents of John Sutton and Thomas Stanley in 1428 and 1431. Both of them were further charged not to interfere with royal demesne lands: such lands which had already been set out to farm were only to be re-allocated by the treasurer of Ireland.[63] This new injunction was the direct result of one of a number of complaints which the English council had received from Ireland about the conduct of Sutton's

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[60] *Concessimus ..... plenam ..... potestatem ..... omnia terras et tenementa ..... ad terminum annorum* (*Foedera*, p. 284).

[61] ..... *Proviso semper quod debita proclamatio fiat, congruis loco et tempore ..... ante hujusmodi donationem et concessionem alicui aliae personae faciendas, quod, si aliquis hujusmodi terras et tenementa clamare seu calumpniare voluerit, si jus et clameum sua sufficientia inveniantur, tunc ipse qui hujusmodi clameum fecerit, terras et tenementa praedicta prae aliqno alio habeat* ..... (ibid., x, p. 284).

[62] He was given power to grant out *omnia terras et tenementa per inimicos nostros in terra praedicta per guerram pro defectu defensionis vel alio modo adquisita que per nos recupari et conquestari continget necnon omnia terras et tenementa rebellium nobis ibidem consistata et consistanda* ..... (P.R.O., C 66/402, m. 9).

[63] ..... *Proviso quod de terris et dominis nostris que fuerunt in obediencia avi aut patris notris vel in nostra adhuc existunt ad firmam concedendum idem Johanes minime se intromittat set quod ea solum ad dispositionem thesorariis nostris hibernie integre referrentur* (P.R.O., C 66/423, m. 20; /429, m. 18).

predecessor as lieutenant, lord Grey. Unusually Grey's patent had contained no specific instructions about the granting of lands - an omission of which he apparently took full advantage. After leaving office, Grey was accused of letting royal lands out to farm to members of his household who then returned with him to England taking the dues owed to the Irish exchequer with them. A letter sent to the then treasurer of Ireland, Nicholas Plunket, soon after Sutton's appointment in 1428, confirms that the English council had decided that it would be prudent to limit the lieutenant's independent scope for distributing this kind of patronage.[64] Thus the powers of the office were by no means fixed or sacrosanct. The drafting of the lieutenants' letters patent could be as responsive to changing circumstances as was the drafting of their indentures.

In other respects the lieutenants' patents showed greater diversity, but upon close analysis they fall into six distinct groups, as follows:

1. The patents of John Stanley (1413) and John Talbot (1414):[65]

Both lieutenants were appointed for the same term - six years. In addition to the common provisions outlined above, they were permitted to grant ecclesiastical benefices as they fell vacant; to ratify and confirm possession of such benefices; to confirm all liberties, franchises and privileges previously granted; to receive the homage of all royal tenants and the fealties of bishops and archbishops to whom they could give livery of temporalities as and when appropriate; to issue licences for acquisitions in mortmain; to hold inquiry into the concealment of goods from forfeiture since Henry V's accession. In addition Stanley and Talbot

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[64] P.R.O.I., (Irish memoranda roll extracts) IA/49/135, ff. 53-4; for further details of the complaints against Grey, see below, pp. 220-5.
[65] P.R.O., C 66/390, m.15; /393, m.13.

could locate the exchequer and common bench wherever in Ireland seemed most suitable and profitable, and they had full control over the disposition of Irish revenue as long as priority was given to the normal charges upon it. All subordinate officials in Ireland, most importantly the treasurer, were to be financially accountable to the lieutenant, not to the king. The patents made explicit reference to the vice-regal status which they effectively conferred: Stanley and Talbot were to enjoy all the powers commonly held by justiciars of the lordship and were to do all that was necessary for the governing of Ireland, in the king's name, just as if he were there himself in person.[66] If the lieutenants infringed the law, however, they would be subject to correction by the king and the English council. Both lieutenants were empowered to hold office by deputy; both could dismiss any subordinate officials who proved unsatisfactory as long as the Irish council was consulted about any new appointments.

2. The patents issued to the earl of Ormond in 1420 and 1425:[67]

Beyond the common clauses relating to justice and defence, these patents bore very little resemblance to those issued in 1413 and 1414. In Ormond's patents the major powers traditionally associated with the chief governorship (undoubtedly implicit in the 1413/14 reference to the powers of the justiciar) were carefully enumerated: the holding, proroguing and dissolving of parliaments and councils, and the issuing of writs of

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[66] ..... *Omnia alia, nomine nostro, ad honorem et commodum nostrum pro nobis in terra nostra praedicta* [i.e. in Ireland] *faciendum et exercendum sicut nos faceremus si ibidem in propria persona nostra essemus* ..... (P.R.O., C 66/390, m. 15; /393, m. 13). Exactly similar wording appears in the patent of the earl of March: *Foedera*, x, p. 285.

[67] P.R.O., C 66/402, m. 9 (also in E 101/247/13, no. 4); C 66/416, m. 2. An English translation of a copy of the 1420 patent appears in *C.O.D.*, iii, pp. 67-8, no. 84(1), but here it has been mistakenly assigned to 1429, although nothing in the original document (N.L.I., D. 1620) supports this.

summons to them; the making of statutes and ordinances with the assent of parliament; the proclaiming of royal service. But in other respects these patents were more limiting. Ormond was not empowered to hold office by deputy; his chancellor and treasurer were specifically protected from dismissal and he was granted none of the extra privileges accorded to Stanley and Talbot. No mention was made of ecclesiastical benefices, the receiving of homage or the revenue of the lordship. With regard to the revenue at least, it is quite clear that the omission was no mere clerkly error. From 1420 to 1446, the treasurers of Ireland were required to present their accounts at the English exchequer, as had been the practice before the later years of Richard II's reign.[68] Although obviously intentional, this change in financial policy initially caused some confusion at the English exchequer. When the Irish treasurer, Hugh Burgh, presented his records for 1420, he had to be officially exempted from responsibility to account for the previous period of John Talbot's lieutenancy.[69] Ormond was also appointed for very much shorter terms of office than Talbot and John Stanley, namely for two years in 1420 and for only one year in 1425.

3. The earl of March's patent, 1423:[70]

The basic framework of March's patent was similar to Ormond's 1420 patent, but was extended to include some of the other features of John Stanley's and John Talbot's patents in 1413 and 1414 (including the

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[68] The treasurers' accounts for 1420-1446 are in P.R.O. E 101/247-8; /540; E 364/57-80. For the falling off of the formerly regular English audit of Irish exchequer records during Richard II's reign after the granting of free disposal of the Irish revenue to the lieutenancy in 1379, see Richardson and Sayles, *Ir. parl.*, p. 155; D. Johnston, 'The interim years: Richard II and Ireland, 1395-99', *England and Ireland in the later middle ages*, ed. J. Lydon, pp. 175-95, esp. pp. 184-5.

[69] *An. Hib.*, ii (1931), pp. 223-4.

[70] *Foedera*, x, pp. 282-5

right to hold office by deputy and the acknowledgement of the lieutenant's vice-regal status) which in Ormond's case were omitted in both 1420 and 1425. March was required to go back as far as the time of Edward III in his search for concealments from forfeiture, but in the granting of ecclesiastical benefices March was limited to those not exceeding an annual value of £20 with cure. Despite March's superior rank and a suggestion in his draft indenture that he should not have to account for his retinue, for his money from the English exchequer or for the revenue of Ireland,[71] his patent did not grant him the free disposal of the Irish revenue enjoyed by Stanley and Talbot, and the treasurer of Ireland continued to account at the English exchequer throughout March's lieutenancy.[72] Like Ormond, March was not able to dismiss the chancellor or treasurer of Ireland, who were to be consulted about any other reappointments to other offices, but March was appointed for a significantly longer term than any of his immediate predecessors, namely nine years.

4. The patents of lord Grey (1427), John Sutton (1428) and Thomas Stanley (1431):[73]

These were similar to those granted to the earl of Ormond in 1420 and 1425, but, unlike Ormond, Grey, Sutton and Thomas Stanley were permitted to appoint deputies should urgent necessity require that they return to England during their lieutenancies. Grey's patent differed in its unusual omission of any clause relating to the granting out of lands, while Sutton's and Stanley's enabled them in addition to confirm existing

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[71] P.R.O., E 28/41/45.
[72] P.R.O., E 101/247/18 & 19; E 364/60.
[73] P.R.O., C 66/420, m. 4; /423, m. 20; /429, m. 18.

liberties, franchises and privileges. With regard to control of subordinate offices, Grey enjoyed the same degree of freedom as Ormond and March. Sutton and Stanley, on the other hand, were slightly more restricted in that their patents protected the chief justices and the chief baron of the Irish exchequer from dismissal as well as the chancellor and treasurer. The terms of office granted were more variable: only Sutton was limited to the two-year term which Ormond had been given in 1420, while Grey was offered three years and Thomas Stanley, six.

5. The patents of lord Welles (1438), Ormond (1442) and Shrewsbury (March, 1445):[74]

These documents, the first three patents to be issued to lieutenants in the period of Henry VI's personal rule, had rather more in common with the earl of March's patent of 1423. However, no limit was placed on the value of the ecclesiastical benefices that the lieutenants might bestow and, like John Stanley and John Talbot, they were empowered to receive ecclesiastical fealties and to give livery of temporalities to new bishops and archbishops. In certain other respects these patents were slightly more limiting than the earl of March's. The appointments were for a seven-year, rather than a nine-year, term. Welles and Ormond, like Grey, Sutton and Thomas Stanley, were only to appoint deputies should necessity require their return to England within their terms of office. Shrewsbury's patent of March 1445 was somewhat less strict on this point - he was to see to the government and defence of Ireland in person before leaving the lordship in other hands - but it is clear that he was not intended to enjoy the earl of March's freedom to appoint a deputy in advance of his

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[74] P.R.O., C 66/441, m.3; /451, m.2; /460, m.22.

own arrival in Ireland. The clause about subordinate appointments was revised yet again: the patents of this group all protected the chancellor, treasurer and chief justices from dismissal, but not the chief baron.

These three patents share a further clause not found in any others except the second version of Shrewsbury's patent, sealed in May 1445. This permitted the issuing of protections and safe conducts under the Irish seal to enemies and rebels (*quibuscumque inimicis et rebellibus nostris*) to come to the lordship to trade or to treat for peace (*ad terram praedictam [Hiberniam] ratione mercandisandi aut pro pace et bono terrae praedictae tractando venire*) on condition that they paid the proper customs on their goods. The formal licensing of parleys with the Gaelic Irish or with English rebels was nothing new - various enactments about this had been made in Irish parliaments in the mid-fourteenth century.[75] However, it is possible that the appearance of this particular clause in 1438 with its reference to commerce owed something to a new awareness in England of Ireland's trading potential, which had been one of the many preoccupations of the *Libelle of Englyshe polycye* in the mid 1430s.[76] Certainly in the early 1440s there was to be concern in Ireland to boost revenue by the more effective collection of customs duties.[77]

6. Shrewsbury's revised patent (May 1445), the patents issued to the duke of York (1447 and 1457) and to the earl of Wiltshire (1453).[78]

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[75] Notably in 1351 and 1366: see Otway-Ruthven, *Medieval Ireland*, pp. 279, 293; Lydon, *Ire. in later middle ages*, pp. 81-2.
[76] See Warner, *Libelle*, pp. 26, 34-40.
[77] See below, pp. 303, 348.
[78] P.R.O., C 66/460, m. 10; /466, m. 3; /477, m. 14; /482, m. 3. *C.P.R., 1441-46*, p. 359 gives no indication of the substantial differences between Shrewsbury's first and second patents.

The patents of the latter part of Henry VI's reign all bore a strong resemblance to those which had been issued to John Stanley and John Talbot under Henry V. Like the patents of 1413 and 1414, those of group 6 lack the recitation of the lieutenant's powers with regard to the Irish parliament and royal service, despite the fact that these clauses had appeared in all the intervening patents from 1420 to March 1445. More significantly these later patents also share with those of group 1 the provisions empowering the lieutenant to asume full control of the lordship's revenues[79] and to issue licences for acqusitions in mortmain, which were conspicuously absent from 1420 to 1445. As John Stanley and John Talbot had been, Shrewsbury, York and Wiltshire were all enjoined to act in all respects as viceroys, and were permitted to appoint deputies without being specifically required to visit Ireland in person first: these were privileges which between 1420 and 1445 had only been accorded to the earl of March.

Yet while these patents were closely modelled on those of group 1, there were also certain differences. The terms of office were longer than the six years granted in 1413 and 1414: Shrewsbury's revised patent kept to the seven-year term previously agreed in March 1445, and both York and Wiltshire were each appointed for as much as ten years. The clause

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[79] *Dedimus etiam et concessimus ..... omnimoda ac universa et singula exitus et proficua ad nos in terra nostra praedicta ..... habendum percipiendum colligendum et levandum ad voluntatem et ad opus ipsius consanguinei nostri ac deputati sui praedicti in absencia sua per ipsum consanguineum nostrum ac ministros suos proprios adeo plene et integre sicut nos ea haberemus et de jure habere deberemus si eadem exitus et proficua in manibus nostris propriis essent sive remanerent ad exitus et proficua huiusmodi circa defensionem terrae nostrae praedictae ac alia onera ibidem interveniendum faciendum et supportandum prout eidem consanguineo nostro ac deputato suo praedicto in absencia sua per avisamentum consilii sui videbitur melius expedire apponendum et expediendum absque compoto inde reddendo aut aliquo alio onere nobis aut heredibus nostris ..... faciendum reddendum sive solvendum .....* (P.R.O., C 66/460, m. 10).

requiring the lieutenants to investigate concealments from forfeiture was more extensive: these were to be pursued back to the time of Richard II. Shrewsbury's second patent apparently gave him a free hand in the matter of subordinate appointments, and his indentures had actually promised that possession of Irish offices would not be granted or confirmed under the English seal without his consent, although provision was also made for English-seal ratification of any new appointments that he might make to the offices of treasurer or chief baron of the exchequer.[80] York and Wiltshire, however, were not permitted to appoint to the chancellorship.

Tedious as this investigation of small print may seem, it is nevertheless revealing. Some of the adjustments and re-draftings in the lieutenant's patents under Henry VI can be explained by an underlying concern to match the terms to the man. The minority council treated its highest-ranking lieutenant, the earl of March, more generously than any of its other candidates for the office, and when Henry VI appointed a member of his own household, lord Welles, in 1438, the terms which had been offered to March in 1423 were apparently thought to provide a more fitting basis for the drafting of Welles' patent than those of the more recent appointments of men of lower rank, John Sutton and Thomas Stanley.

However, by no means all the modifications fit this pattern. The most extensive powers and the greatest degree of independence were enjoyed by the lieutenants appointed before 1420 and after 1444. These candidates - John Stanley, John Talbot (both as lord Furnivall in 1414 and earl of Shrewsbury in 1445) the earl of Wiltshire and the duke of York -

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[80] P.R.O., E 404/61/138.

were all appointed on an explicitly vice-regal basis, but they were men of widely differing rank. Between 1420 and 1445, royal government held the lieutenancy on a perceptibly tighter rein, notwithstanding the appointment of one very high-ranking candidate, the earl of March.

The contrast between the terms upon which the earl of Ormond was appointed in 1420 and the powers which his immediate predecessors, John Stanley and John Talbot, had been granted in the earlier years of Henry V's reign, marks a real change in English policy. Ormond's much shorter term of office, the re-imposition of English exchequer supervision of the lordship's finances, the concern to control appointments to the offices of chancellor and treasurer of Ireland from Westminster, to limit the lieutenant's scope for ecclesiastical patronage, the fact that Ormond himself was not permitted to hold office by deputy, all suggest that the king himself wanted to take a more active role as lord of Ireland than hitherto. The tightening of the lieutenant's powers was also to be accompanied by a marked reduction in English financial support for the office,[81] and as such represented a real reversal of what has been described as the late-fourteenth-century policy of 'contract[ing] out of the burden of governing Ireland.'[82]

During Henry VI's minority, the English council maintained the new policy of English supervision of Irish exchequer accounts and actually imposed some additional restrictions on the lieutenants' control over subordinate appointments to the Dublin administration. The motive here was almost certainly an attempt to insulate the higher levels of the Dublin administration from the damaging effects of the Talbot-Ormond feud,

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[81] See below, p. 87.

[82] See H.G. Richardson and G.O. Sayles, *The administration of Ireland, 1172-1377*, p. 6.

which was to be a problem for much of the earlier part of Henry VI's reign until the mid 1440s. Both factions in the feud constantly sought to secure key administrative offices for their own supporters.[83]

The restoration to the lieutenancy in 1445 of the degree of independence it had enjoyed before 1420 coincided with the final settlement of this long-running feud. Nevertheless, the immediate cause of the radical reappraisal of the lieutenant's powers in 1445 was almost certainly the king's particular choice of candidate for office. The appointment of the earl of Shrewsbury at this juncture offered the best chance of securing an effective settlement of the feud in Ireland.[84] Under these circumstances the likelihood is that Shrewsbury was to some extent able to dictate his own terms for undertaking the lieutenancy. It is hardly surprising that he should have been reluctant to serve in 1445 with more limited powers than those he had enjoyed as John Talbot just over thirty years earlier. In his indentures sealed on 14 February it was agreed that he should have independent control of the Irish revenue: when in March he was issued with letters patent, which not only failed to confirm this, but were also more limiting in a number of other respects than those he had been granted by Henry V, he no doubt objected and successfully insisted that the document should be completely redrafted on the model of his patent of 1414.

This then was the point at which royal control of the lieutenancy significantly slackened, and the degree of independence which Shrewsbury regained for the office in 1445 remained more or less intact for the rest of Henry VI's reign. The long, ten-year terms offered to Shrewsbury's

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[83] M.C. Griffith, 'The Talbot-Ormond struggle for control of the Anglo-Irish government', p. 378; see below pp. 122-8, 159-60, 215-16, 229-30, 237-8, 253, 324, 333-6.
[84] See below, pp. 381-3.

successors, York and Wiltshire, and the lack of any further major changes in the texts of the lieutenants' letters patent, testify to Henry VI's decreasing interest (which for at least seventeen months in 1453-4 degenerated into complete mental incapacity) in both the minutiae of administration and the problems of the Irish lordship. But to describe this in any way as a renewal of the pre-1420 policy of 'contracting out' would be misleading: at the end of Henry VI's reign the flow of English financial support for the lieutenancy also ran dry.[85]

iii) The practical extent and limitations of royal control

Gaps in the sequence of English-seal appointments to the chief governorship under Henry V and Henry VI were few. Indeed, it was not unusual for a new appointment to be made before the term of the previous lieutenancy had come to an end.[86] When John Talbot's first term of office as lieutenant expired in 1420, the indentures and letters patent of his replacement, the earl of Ormond, had already been sealed. John Sutton's appointment in 1428 was well within his predecessor's term of office, for lord Grey had been appointed for a maximum of three years in 1427. None of the lieutenants appointed from 1438 onwards served their full term uninterrupted. All five gave way either permanently - or temporarily in the case of Richard of York in 1453 - to their successors well before their own appointments had expired. When two lieutenants unexpectedly died in Ireland, little time was wasted in replacing them. John Talbot's indentures were sealed only seven weeks after John Stanley's death in January 1414; the earl of Ormond's indentures were sealed twelve weeks

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[85] See below, pp. 98-9.
[86] See below, Appendix I, list 1, pp. 477-82.

after the earl of March's death in January 1425.[87] Considering both the probable difficulty of urgent communication between Dublin and Westminster in winter and the complexities of the appointment process, such time-lags scarcely seem unduly long.[88] There were more lengthy delays in two other instances, firstly between the expiry of Ormond's second lieutenancy in April 1426 and the appointment of lord Grey in March 1427, secondly between the end of John Sutton's lieutenancy in April 1430 and the appointment of Thomas Stanley in 1431. The delay in finding a replacement for Ormond in 1426 was mainly due to the major upheaval within the English council in the spring of 1426 caused by the quarrel between the duke of Gloucester and his uncle, Henry Beaufort, bishop of Winchester, and may well have been compounded by the council's difficulty in finding an English candidate willing to take office on financial terms as favourable to the English exchequer as those Ormond had accepted in 1425. The delay in replacing Sutton in 1430 was certainly prolonged by the abortive candidacy of John Savage.[89] However, such delays were infrequent and

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[87] March died on 18 January, and according to Wood, Stanley's death had occurred on the same date in 1414 ('Gregory's Chron.', p. 158; H. Wood, 'The office of chief governor in Ireland, 1172-1509', p. 233); Ormond's patent in 1425 was in fact dated as early as 1 March, six weeks earlier than his indentures, but this could have been an example of the English chancery's ante-dating of great seal letters, a practice to be prohibited by statute in 1439: see H.C. Maxwell-Lyte, *Historical notes on the use of the great seal of England* (London, 1926), p. 258.

[88] In January/February 1356 it took three weeks for news of the death of the earl of Desmond in Dublin to reach Edward III at Bamburgh; for this and other examples of the time-lag for communications between England and Ireland in the fourteenth century, generally six to eight weeks, see Frame, *English lordship*, p. 117.

[89] For the Beaufort-Gloucester quarrel, see Wolffe, *Henry VI*, pp. 38-43; Griffiths, *Henry VI*, pp. 73-9; also below, pp 198-200. According to the final version of Grey's indentures, he could be dismissed from office if another candidate was subsequently found who was willing to accept financial terms more favourable to the English exchequer, although under such circumstances Grey was first to be given a chance to accept the reduced rate (P.R.O., E 101/71/824); for details of the actual rates agreed for both Ormond and Grey, see below, Appendix II, Table A, p. 560 . For the Savage candidacy, see above, p. 24.

exceptional. On the whole royal government in England attempted to provide a comprehensive succession of chief governors for Ireland.

There was also concern to ensure that, once appointed, lieutenants took up office in person. At no stage under Henry V and Henry VI was the lieutenancy regarded as a sinecure. When lord Welles, contrary to the terms of his letters patent, attempted to appoint a deputy in advance of his own, postponed arrival in Ireland, he was roundly ordered to change his plans and 'shape ..... forward in al hast possible in [his] own propre persone'.[90] Although the terms of the letters patent issued to Henry V's first two lieutenants and to the highest-ranking English lieutenants under Henry VI, did not impose any specific restrictions on the use of deputies,[91] all the lieutenants' indentures made it quite clear that they were expected to go to Ireland themselves. Almost all the indentures included a clause promising that shipping to and from Ireland would be provided for the lieutenant and his retinue at royal expense.[92] The unusual omission of any promise of shipping from the indentures drawn up for the earl of Ormond in 1425 and 1442 suggests that on these occasions the earl could well have stayed in Ireland while the terms of his appointment were being finalized. Normally, however, orders for the requisitioning of shipping were issued directly from the English chancery to minor royal officials or to servants of the lieutenants concerned. Sometimes such orders involved local officials on both coasts of the Irish sea. Those ordered to assemble transport for John Stanley in 1413

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[90] P.R.O., E 28/59/59: for the full text of this letter, see below, Appendix III, iii, pp. 578-9.

[91] See above, pp. 29-31, 35.

[92] See below, Appendix II, Table A, pp. 559-61. The wording of John Talbot's indentures in 1414, for example, promised *sufficeant eskippeson pur lui et toute sa retinue pur lour passage et repassage de la meer a noz coustages*; lord Grey's indentures in 1427 referred to *eskippeson* and *reskippeson*: P.R.O., E 404/29/190; E 101/71/824.

included the mayors of Lancaster and Liverpool, Thomas Cusack (then mayor of Dublin) and William Tynbegh (then, or just previously, seneschal of the liberty of Wexford).[93] The collection of ships for the earl of March in July 1424 was assisted by an Irish-seal order from Ormond, as his deputy in Ireland, for ships to be requisitioned along the Irish coast and sent to March at Beaumaris.[94] The survival of the account of Thomas Combe (who, as clerk to one of the barons of the English exchequer, was ordered to requisition the duke of York's shipping to Ireland in 1449[95]) gives details of eighteen ships, collected between February and July of that year from various ports including Chester, Bristol and Dublin, and assembled at Beaumaris at a total cost to the English exchequer of about £300 including the wages of the sailors and other officials involved.[96] The provision of shipping at royal expense not only relieved the lieutenants of the cost involved, but also committed them to agreeing ports and dates for departure to Ireland. In some cases these were also written into the indentures. In 1420 Ormond's indentures required him to be ready to leave England by 20 March; his lieutenancy was not to commence until he was ready to embark. Certification of the date by which he was ready to depart for Ireland was demanded of, and provided by, the mayor and sheriffs of Bristol when the time came.[97]

However, despite the care taken to provide a more-or-less comprehensive succession of lieutenants, and the consistent expectation that the lieutenants should go to Ireland in person, there was a

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[93] P.R.O.I., R.C. 8/34, p. 280; *C.P.R., 1413-16*, p. 38; *N.H.I.*, ix, p. 551.
[94] N.L.I., MS. 4, f. 280; for English orders for the collection of shipping for March, Grey, Sutton, Thomas Stanley, Welles, Shrewsbury and York see P.R.O., E 404/62/226; *C.P.R., 1422-29*, pp. 122, 193, 424, 493; *1429-36*, p. 153; *1446-52*, p. 238; *C.C.R., 1435-41*, p. 177.
[95] P.R.O., E 403/775, m. 2; *C.P.R., 1446-52*, p. 238.
[96] See below, Appendix II, Table B, p. 563.
[97] P.R.O., E 101/247/13, nos. 3 and 5.

considerable discrepancy between theoretical royal provision for the chief governorship and practical royal control over the holding of the office. The list of those who actually served as head of the Dublin administration between 1413 and 1461 is very different from the list of English-seal appointments to the lieutenancy and justiciarship.[98] During these forty-eight years chief governors appointed directly by the king or by the English council were only in office in Ireland for some eighteen to twenty years, significantly less than half the time. Why, when gaps between English-seal appointments were relatively few, probably amounting to no more than three years over the period as a whole, was the discrepancy so great?

One reason is the length of time it took lieutenants to depart for Ireland after their appointment. The appointment of a justiciar for Ireland under the English seal in October 1422 took effect almost immediately: apparently only a week elapsed between the issuing of Archbishop Talbot's brief letters patent at Westminster and his being sworn into office in Dublin.[99] The much more complex process of appointing a lieutenant, who was normally in England at the time of the appointment and actively involved in the negotiation of his terms of office, could not be accomplished so speedily.

When the earl of Ormond was appointed lieutenant in 1420, 1425 and 1442, the delay between the sealing of his patent and indentures on the one hand, and his taking office in Ireland on the other, was consistently under three months. John Sutton managed to be similarly expeditious in 1428,[100] but generally the English lieutenants took longer to settle their

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[98] Compare lists 1 and 2 in Appendix I below, pp. 477-91.
[99] See below, Appendix I, list 1, p. 478.
[100] For precise dates, see below, Appendix I, list 1, pp. 478-80.

affairs, gather men to take with them and prepare for departure. The scale of payments from the English exchequer for the lieutenants' shipping suggests that they took with them the core of their armed forces and essential supplies as well as their immediate entourage.[101] Between 1428 and 1442, the size of the lieutenants' retinues was actually specified in their indentures. John Sutton and Thomas Stanley were required to take and maintain for a year a retinue of twenty-four men at arms and five hundred archers; lord Welles and Ormond were to have a force of three hundred English archers throughout their terms of office.[102] While these forces seem small by comparison with most English expeditions to Normandy which rarely involved less than a thousand men, they were larger than some of the contingents sent to support the English administration of Gascony.[103] Sutton, Stanley and Welles, were required to present their troops for muster at the port of embarkation.[104] (The strength of Sutton's and Stanley's retinues were further checked - not only for numbers but also for competence - by order of the English council on subsequent occasions during the lieutenants' terms of office in Ireland.[105]) No record has survived of any similar orders to muster Ormond's force of three hundred archers either at the time of his appointment in 1442 or at any stage during his subsequent term of office as lieutenant. According to the terms of his indentures the earl himself

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[101] At least five lieutenants received over £100 towards shipping expenses: for details, see below, Appendix II, Table B, pp. 562-4.
[102] See below, Appendix II, Table A, p. 560.
[103] The sizes of English expeditions to Normandy, 1423-50, are listed by A.E. Curry in 'Military organisation in Lancastrian Normandy, 1422-50' (Teeside Polytechnic Ph.D. thesis, 1985), vol. ii, pp. ii-vi. For details of military aid to Gascony in the 1420s, see Griffiths, *Henry VI*, pp. 183-88. The large force of some 2,300 men sent to Gascony in 1439 with the earl of Huntingdon was exceptional: see M.G.A. Vale, *English Gascony, 1399-1453* pp. 108-11.
[104] *C.P.R.*, *1422-29*, p. 469; *1429-36*, p. 133; *1436-41*, pp. 198, 200.
[105] Ibid., *1422-29*, p. 546; *1429-36*, pp. 355, 471, 535.

was to arrange for his force to be mustered *quant et si souveine come il en serra resonablement*,[106] so it seems unlikely that on this occasion fresh archers were actually sent out from England, and more probable that Ormond, who had previously been acting as Welles' deputy, simply took over in his own right the retinue which Welles had already brought to Ireland.

While John Stanley, lord Grey, and lord Welles were all in Ireland within four to five months of their appointments, in other cases the delay was greater.[107] Although Thomas Stanley was sworn into office only three months after the sealing of the final version of his indentures, this did not take place until five months after the issuing of his letters patent. Similarly John Talbot took over eight months to arrive in Ireland in 1414, and the highest-ranking English lieutenants considerably longer. There was over a year and four months between the appointment of the earl of March in May 1423 and his appearance in Ireland in September 1424, a year and five months between the revision of Shrewsbury's letters patent in May 1445 and his being sworn into office in autumn 1446, while Richard of York left almost two years between the sealing of his indentures in 1447 and his departure from Beaumaris in 1449. These were the lieutenants whose letters patent allowed them the greatest flexibility in the holding of office by deputy, also those whose stake in English political affairs was greatest. Thus although the consistent appointment from 1445 of high-ranking English candidates, as requested by the Irish parliament, re-confirmed the prestige of the lieutenancy in the lordship,[108] it also meant that the discrepancy between theoretical and practical royal control over the chief governorship widened still further.

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[106] *An. Hib.*, i, p. 216.
[107] See below, Appendix I, list 1, pp. 477-82.
[108] See above, pp. 19-20.

A second reason for the relative shortness of the time for which the government of the lordship was in the hands of men directly appointed from Westminster was that, once having arrived in Ireland, lieutenants rarely remained there for their full term. The only lieutenant to spend all his time in Ireland between swearing-in and the expiry of his term of office was the earl of Ormond during both his first and second lieutenancies (1420-22, 1425-26). A royal summons to England, somewhat reluctantly obeyed, curtailed his third lieutenancy prematurely in 1444. The other lieutenants, with the obvious exceptions of John Stanley and the earl of March, whose lieutenanies were brought to a sudden end by their deaths in Ireland, all left before their terms were over and sometimes broke their stay in the lordship by one or more visits to England. John Talbot, for instance, having arrived in Ireland as lieutenant in November 1414, returned to England for several months in 1416 to plead for more money, men and equipment, and left Ireland again for five months in 1417 'for certain reasons touching the king's estate and the profit of Ireland'. Finally Henry V summoned Talbot to France in July 1419 seven months before his lieutenancy officially expired.[109] The need for his services in France was also to be the reason why, as earl of Shrewsbury, his second lieutenancy in Ireland was suddenly cut short in 1447.[110] The stipulation, written into lord Grey's patent in 1427 and repeated in all subsequent appointments until 1445,[111] that lieutenants should only leave Ireland in case of urgent necessity, suggests that the English council was concerned

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[109] See Otway-Ruthven, *Medieval Ireland*, p. 350; 'The background to the arrest of Sir Christopher Preston in 1418', ed. A.J Otway-Ruthven, *An. Hib.*, xxix (1980), pp. 73-94, esp. p. 78; A.J. Pollard, 'The family of Talbot, lords Talbot and earls of Shrewsbury in the fifteenth century' (Bristol Ph.D. thesis, 1968), p. 118; for the dates of Talbot's and other lieutenants' periods in office in Ireland, below, Appendix I, list 2, pp. 483-91.

[110] See below, pp. 399.

[111] See above, pp. 33-5.

to minimise such absences as far as possible, but they could not be eliminated. Grey himself spent less than five months in Ireland as lieutenant. The main motive for Thomas Stanley's and lord Welles' visits to England during their terms of office was probably the desire to press their claims for payment more effectively at the English exchequer. Once back in England in December 1432, Thomas Stanley, however, seems to have had no qualms about prolonging his absence from Ireland for nearly two years during which time he was elected as a member for Lancashire to the Westminster parliament of 1433.[112] John Sutton, who had relatively few financial problems, nevertheless found political considerations a sufficiently 'urgent necessity' to justify his return home in November 1429 several months before the expiry of his term. Writing to the earl of Ormond just before leaving Ireland, he urged him to join him in England as soon as possible to 'prove oure adversaries and enemyes lieres': apparently a reference to Archbishop Talbot and two of his supporters who had been summoned to appear before the English council.[113] Similar considerations prompted the duke of York's sudden return from Ireland in 1450: he was anxious to protest his loyalty to the king in order to pre-empt any accusations of negligence or treason in the aftermath of the collapse of English Normandy and the Cade revolt in south-east England.[114]

After 1450 the general pattern of regular (if sometimes short and latterly increasingly delayed) visits by lieutenants to Ireland changed. From 1453 to 1461 political circumstances in England were exceptional in

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[112] For Stanley, see Otway-Ruthven, *Medieval Ireland*, pp. 368-9; J.S. Roskell, *The knights of the shire of the county palatine of Lancaster, 1377-1460* (Chetham Society, new series, xcvi, 1937), pp. 163-4. For further details of both lieutenants' finances, see below, pp. 92-7.
[113] B.L. Cotton MS Titus B xi, pt. i, no. 56: see also below, pp. 243-6; Appendix III, ii, pp. 576-7.
[114] See below, pp. 438-40.

that the king was only intermittently capable of active rule. In the uncertainty and strife which Henry's breakdown engendered it was not in the personal interests of either York (who was twice protector of England, 1454-55, 1455-56) or Wiltshire (who was appointed lieutenant in 1453 and again in 1459 and was one of York's chief political opponents) to leave England for Ireland. The lordship was thus left unvisited by a lieutenant for over nine years. York only returned to Ireland after fleeing from armed confrontation with a larger royal army at Ludford Bridge in October 1459. And although he then governed Ireland as lieutenant for nearly a year, it was for most of the time in defiance of the Lancastrian régime in England which formally dispossessed him of the lieutenancy when he and his supporters were attainted at the Coventry parliament of November 1459. In Ireland, however, a parliament at Drogheda in February 1460 explicitly confirmed York in office, declaring it an act of treason to attack his authority as lieutenant.[115] Thus Lancastrian control in Ireland was rendered totally ineffective well before Henry VI was actually deposed in England.

In Ireland the office of chief governor was never left vacant. When there was no lieutenant in the lordship, his place at the head of the Dublin administration was filled either by a deputy or by a justiciar. Between 1413 and 1461, deputies held office for a total of about twenty years, justiciars for nearly eight years. In the later fifteenth century,

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[115] See E. Curtis, 'Richard, duke of York, as viceroy of Ireland, 1447-60', p. 181; A. Cosgrove, 'Parliament and the Anglo-Irish Community: the declaration of 1460', pp. 25-6.

when the lieutenancy itself became increasingly an honorary office, the choice of deputies, and from 1534 the nomination of justiciars too, lay with the king,[116] but in the Lancastrian period the king and the English council rarely played any direct role in the appointment of such men to office.

On one occasion, in 1438, the king prohibited a lieutenant's appointment of a deputy. On another occasion, in 1442, the English council briefly considered making a direct nomination to the deputyship when proposing to summon the lieutenant to England, but after further discussion no action was taken.[117] The accepted practice under Henry V and Henry VI, was for deputies to be selected and appointed by the lieutenants themselves, although when the lieutenant's own terms of office permitted his appointment of a deputy in advance of his own arrival in Ireland, this might be ratified under the English great seal. When the earl of March at Ludlow in August 1423 appointed the bishop of Meath as his deputy lieutenant, English chancery ratification was not obtained, with the result that the bishop had some difficulty in establishing his credentials when he tried to take office in Ireland some weeks later.[118] Perhaps to avoid any repetition of this fiasco, the earl of Wiltshire took care to ratify his advance appointment of Archbishop Mey of Armagh as his deputy lieutenant in June 1453 and of Mey and Thomas Bathe as joint deputies in December 1459 under the English seal.[119] In April 1454 Richard of York, in his dual capacity as lieutenant of Ireland and

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[116] See H. Wood, 'The office of chief governor of Ireland, 1172-1509', p. 212; Ellis, *Reform and revival*, pp. 12-13, 18-20, 24. For the dates of all deputyships and justiciarships 1413-61, see below, Appendix I, list 2, pp. 483-91.

[117] P.R.O., E 28/59/59; *P.P.C.*, v, pp. 201-6; see also below, pp. 327-32.

[118] Richardson and Sayles, *Ir. parl.*, pp. 311-17.

[119] *C.P.R., 1452-61*, pp. 82-3; *C.P.R., 1454-61*, p. 426.

protector of England, also authorized his appointment of Edward FitzEustace as his deputy lieutenant under the English great seal.[120] But deputies were only occasionally appointed from England. Usually they were appointed in Ireland when a lieutenant was about to return to England within his term of office. Under these circumstances no formal confirmation from the king or the English council was either sought or considered necessary. The authority of the Irish seal was sufficient.

Deputies were bound by the terms of their lieutenants' letters patent and could only hold office while these remained valid. When one lieutenancy expired before the succeeding lieutenant or his deputy arrived in Ireland to take up office, it was the established custom for the vacant chief governorship to be filled by a justiciar elected within the lordship itself.[121] Only once was a temporary justiciar appointed from Westminster.[122] The initiative in electing a justiciar in Ireland lay with the leading members of the Irish council: whether or not between 1413 and 1461 they ever consulted a wider assembly of lords and local representatives - as had happened in 1404 - is unclear.[123] Whatever the

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[120] N.L.I., MS. 4, f. 350.

[121] Thus Archbishop Talbot ceased to be deputy and governed instead as justiciar on, or shortly after, 24 Feb. 1420 and 12 Apr. 1437, the dates on which John Talbot's and Thomas Stanley's lieutenancies expired according to their letters patent, although the lieutenants' indentures had authorized later terminal dates: see below, Appendix 1, pp. 477, 479, 484, 488.

[122] See above, p. 15.

[123] According to the version of the *Modus tenendi parliamentum* exemplified by John Talbot as lieutenant in 1419, the election of a justiciar was to involve as large a gathering of men from at least three counties as could quickly be assembled, but in 1478 it was acknowledged in the Irish parliament that there had hitherto been 'great ambiguity and doubt' as to whether justiciars should be elected by seven members of the Irish council or an assembly of representatives from counties Dublin, Meath, Louth and Kildare: M.V. Clarke, *Medieval representation and consent* (London, 1936), pp. 103, 390. There is a dearth of information about justiciarship elections 1413-61, but according to the Irish chancery rolls, Thomas Cranley in 1414 and William FitzThomas in 1422 were both elected justiciar *per consilium*: *R.C.H.*, p. 221, no. 111; p. 240, no. 52; see also A.J. Otway-Ruthven, 'The chief governors of mediaeval Ireland', pp. 227-8.

procedure, it was invoked in Ireland on one occasion to challenge and effectively to terminate, a lieutenancy and a deputyship. In August 1444 the earl of Ormond, as lieutenant, left Ireland to answer various accusations, including a charge of treason, which had been lodged against him in England. The election of Archbishop Talbot as justiciar five months later in Ireland was apparently either the means, or the consequence, of the ousting of Ormond's deputy, lord Delvin, from office before definite action had been taken in England to discharge the earl from his lieutenancy, which still had four years to run. Although arrangements were then made to appoint a new lieutenant, the earl of Shrewsbury, it was a considerable time before he arrived in Ireland and brought the justiciarship to an end.[124] In all other instances, however, the justiciarship was only invoked when a lieutenant died in office or after the expiry of a lieutenant's term, or, as happened in 1454, when a lieutenant's deputy died in office.[125]

Unlike the majority of the lieutenants, relatively few of their deputies or the justiciars were men from England whose main personal and political interests remained outside Ireland, although John Talbot himself served briefly as justiciar after the death of the earl of March in 1425, and from time to time deputies were chosen from amongst the leading members of a lieutenant's English retinue. John Talbot, leaving Ireland during his first lieutenancy in 1418, left his youngest brother, Sir Thomas Talbot, as deputy. He had probably accompanied John Talbot to Ireland in 1414 and before 1416 had been made seneschal of the liberty of Meath.[126]

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[124] See below, pp. 381-3.
[125] Edward FitzEustace, deputy for the duke of York: see below, Appendix I, list 2, p. 490.
[126] P.R.O.I., R.C. 8/36, p. 25; in Jan. 1416 Thomas was also appointed an attorney in Ireland for his eldest brother, Gilbert, lord Talbot: *R.C.H.*, pp. 211-12, no. 74.

After his deputyship, Thomas Talbot was appointed escheator of Ireland, but he died later the same year.[127] A remarkably similar case was that of Sir William Welles, appointed deputy by his elder brother, lord Welles, in 1439, although William's interest in the lordship pre-dated his elder brother's lieutenancy in that the duke of York had appointed him seneschal of his liberty of Meath in 1432 or 1433. However, William Welles was not in Ireland consistently between this date and his brother's appointment as lieutenant.[128] After his deputyship, William Welles, again like Thomas Talbot before him, was rewarded with the office of escheator, and later became deputy chancellor in 1454, and chancellor of Ireland in his own right in the first year of Edward IV's reign.[129] John Sutton appointed a leading member of his retinue from England, Sir Thomas Strange,[130] as deputy in 1429. While clearly high in Sutton's regard - Strange was employed as a messenger from the Irish parliament to the English council in 1428 and was made a member of the Irish council - an English-seal appointment as constable of Wicklow in July 1429 was apparently the only other Irish office he held before becoming deputy, although he later served as treasurer and deputy chancellor before his death in 1436.[131]

However, the choice of deputies who were relatively newly-arrived from England was unusual. Their standing in the lordship derived largely

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[127] P.R.O.I., R.C. 8/38, p. 197; IA/49/135, f. 50; A.J. Pollard, 'The family of Talbot, lords Talbot and earls of Shrewsbury in the fifteenth century' (Bristol Ph.D. thesis, 1968) p. 22.

[128] While the Irish exchequer memoranda roll for 11 Hen. VI noted his appointment as seneschal of the liberty of Meath, he was replaced, owing to his absence from Ireland, by John Darcy in Sept. 1433 (P.R.O.I., IA/49/148, p. 168).

[129] P.R.O.I., IA/49/148, p. 165; *C.P.R., 1452-61*, pp. 163, 179; *R.C.H.*, p. 269, no. 69.

[130] *C.P.R., 1422-29*, pp. 471, 476.

[131] *R.C.H.*, p. 248, no. 13; p. 249, no. 24; *C.P.R., 1422-29*, p. 543; below, Appendix I, lists 3 and 5, pp. 494, 507-8.

from their close connection with the lieutenant which put them in a potentially weak position in his absence. During his deputyship of 1439-40, William Welles suffered the ignominy of capture and imprisonment at the hands of two brothers of Prior Thomas FitzGerald of Kilmainham.[132] Most deputies and justiciars were prominent ecclesiastical or lay figures in the lordship in their own right. While some of them had close connections with England, their chief concerns were centred in Ireland. On first becoming deputy in 1419, and again in 1447, Richard Talbot, archbishop of Dublin, of course combined independent political influence in Ireland with kinship to the departing lieutenant, his brother, John, but the archbishop also served as deputy for Thomas Stanley and was four times nominated as justiciar by the Irish council. John Talbot's initial choice as deputy when first returning to England in 1416 was Richard Talbot's predecessor as archbishop, Thomas Cranley. Formerly chancellor of the University of Oxford, Cranley had arrived in Dublin to become archbishop in 1398, and had served as both chancellor and justiciar of Ireland before John Talbot's lieutenancy.[133] Two other leading ecclesiastics who stood as deputy in this period were Edmund Dantsey, bishop of Meath from 1412-1430, who was also originally from England, and John Mey, archbishop of Armagh from 1444 to 1456, formerly vicar of Delvin and Kilmessan in Meath.[134] Between his two deputyships for the earl of March, 1423-24, and for lord Grey, 1427-28, Dantsey was also treasurer of Ireland.[135] Mey perhaps seemed an obvious choice to the earl of Wiltshire when he required a deputy in 1453 because his father, the earl of Ormond, whose death

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[132] See below, p. 284.
[133] See A.B. Emden, *A biographical register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500*, i (Oxford, 1957), pp. 510-11.
[134] Ibid., p. 546; W. Harris (ed.), *The whole works of Sir James Ware concerning Ireland*, i (Dublin, 1739), p. 86.
[135] See below, Appendix I, list 5, p. 506.

occurred the previous year, had named Mey his executor.[136] One of the priors of Kilmainham, William FitzThomas, twice chancellor of Ireland, 1422 and 1426,[137] was also nominated as justiciar for the last months of Henry V's reign after the earl of Ormond's first lieutenancy expired in April 1422. Amongst the lay deputies and justiciars only Ormond himself (deputy for the earl of March in 1424, justiciar 1426-27, deputy for lord Welles 1441-43, and for the duke of York 1450-52) had family and personal interests which took him frequently to England. Pre-eminent amongst the others was Thomas FitzMaurice, earl of Kildare, who also served as deputy for York between 1455 and 1459, and twice as justiciar in 1454-55 and 1461. The rest were of lesser rank, but all drawn from families long established in the lordship. They were Sir Christopher Plunket (deputy for Thomas Stanley, 1432-34), Richard Nugent, baron of Delvin in Meath (deputy for Ormond, 1444-45, and for York, 1448-49) and Sir Edward FitzEustace (deputy for York, 1452-53 and 1454). The Plunkets were a prominent gentry family in counties Meath and Louth. Amongst Christopher Plunket's various descendants were the sixteenth-century lords of Dunsany.[138] Two of Christopher's sons, Christopher and Thomas, served as chief engrosser and serjeant at law in the mid 1430s.[139] Another son, Robert, became chief justice of the king's bench in Ireland in 1447.[140] FitzEustace served many times as sheriff of Kildare, became constable of Wicklow for life in the

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[136] *Reg. Mey*, no. 356, p. 372.
[137] See below, Appendix I, list 3, pp. 492-3.
[138] *Cal. Carew MSS (Howth)*, pp. 22, 359-60; F.E. Ball, *The Judges in Ireland, 1221-1921*, i (London, 1926) p. 170.
[139] One appointment was made by their father, the other by Thomas Stanley: P.R.O.I., IA/49/135, ff. 90, 112; *R.C.H.*, p. 256, no. 5.
[140] *Stat. Hen. VI*, pp. 59-63.

early 1430s and was a member of the Irish council in 1442.[141] Delvin was a past sheriff of Meath.[142]

That the deputyship and justiciarship should have been mainly the preserve of the leading ecclesiastical and lay figures of the lordship itself is scarcely surprising when the majority of such appointments were made in Ireland rather than in England. But in the era of the Talbot-Ormond feud, the frequency with which these offices gave both sides the opportunity to gain not simply influence, but direct control, over the power and patronage of the chief governorship embittered factional strife and significantly weakened the attempts by royal government in England to keep the chief offices of the Dublin administration *hors de combat*.

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[141] P.R.O.I., IA/49/148, p. 63; N.L.I., MS 4, ff. 299-300, 323; *R.C.H.*, p. 236, no. 56; p. 253, no. 38; Graves, *King's council*, p. 276.
[142] N.L.I., MS 4, f. 289; P.R.O., E 101/248/8, m. 3; *R.C.H.*, pp. 246-7, no. 35.

CHAPTER TWO

ROYAL PROVISION FOR THE OTHER OFFICES OF THE LORDSHIP

The period 1423 to 1461 saw many direct appointments by royal government in England to offices in Ireland other than the chief governorship, but consistent interest was maintained in only a mere handful. Foremost amongst these few were the two senior posts of chancellor and treasurer, whose holders most of the lieutenants were explicitly forbidden to dismiss.[1]

Seven different men were appointed to the chancellorship under the English seal between 1413 and 1461, eight to the treasurership.[2] Unlike most of the candidates for the lieutenancy, however, they were only rarely men whose main interests and previous experience lay outside Ireland, though there were some notable exceptions to this general rule. Thomas Chace was chancellor of the University of Oxford at the time of his appointment as chancellor of Ireland in February 1430.[3] In this case the choice of a man with little previous connection with the lordship was probably quite deliberate. The English council saw Chace as the means of infusing some new blood into the Dublin administration at an acute phase of the Talbot-Ormond feud. His appointment was intended to displace Archbishop Talbot from the chancellorship. Nevertheless Chace's reluctance to go to Ireland without the protection of an English lieutenant, left the archbishop in power for a further twenty months,[4] and Talbot initially

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[1] See above, pp. 30-7.
[2] For lists of office-holders and references to, and terms of, all English-seal appointments to the chancellorship and treasurership, see below, Appendix I, lists 3 and 5, pp. 492-7, 504-10.
[3] See A.B. Emden, *A biographical register of the University of Oxford*, i, pp. 379-80; F.E. Ball, *The judges in Ireland, 1221-1921*, i, pp. 99, 176.
[4] See below, pp. 247, 252-4.

refused to relinquish the Irish great seal when the new chancellor finally arrived in Ireland with Thomas Stanley in October 1431.[5] Giles Thorndon, who was appointed treasurer of Ireland in 1437, was also very much a newcomer to the lordship. Although he had already acquired the constableship of Dublin castle in 1434 and had been commissioned to take Thomas Stanley's muster in Ireland in 1435, Thorndon's main previous experience in royal service had been in England and France.[6] Another outsider, John Dynham, one of the most faithful henchmen in England of Richard, duke of York, was appointed chancellor in the brief period of York's control of royal government in the autumn of 1460 in order to secure York's position in Ireland at a time when the duke was unable to be there in person.[7]

However, the majority of chancellors and treasurers appointed from England were already very familiar figures in Ireland. The office of chancellor was frequently held by the archbishop of Dublin. Archbishop Richard Talbot was three times appointed chancellor under the English seal.[8] His predecessor as archbishop, Thomas Cranley, the first chancellor of Henry V's reign, had twice previously served as chancellor since first arriving in Ireland in 1398.[9] Another, rather less-distinguished, clerical chancellor was Richard Wogan, who successfully petitioned Henry VI for the office at Windsor in 1441.[10] Wogan, then described simply as 'chaplain', was related, perhaps as nephew, to John Wogan who had inherited lands in

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[5] *R.C.H.*, p. 253, no. 18.
[6] Thorndon had served in the households of Henry V, Queen Katherine and Henry VI: see R.A. Griffiths, *The principality of Wales in the later middle ages*, i, *South Wales, 1277-1536* (Cardiff, 1972), p. 216.
[7] For Dynham's support for York in England 1459-60, see Griffiths, *Henry VI*, pp. 822, 828, 859.
[8] In 1423, 1426 and 1442: *C.P.R., 1422-29*, pp. 103, 379; *1441-46*, p. 91.
[9] *C.P.R., 1413-16*, p. 90, and see *N.H.I.*, ix, p. 504.
[10] P.R.O., E28/66/79.

both Ireland and South Wales and served as deputy justiciar in South Wales for Edward, duke of York, 1409-12.[11] The two remaining chancellors of the period 1413 to 1461 were both laymen. Sir Laurence Merbury, chancellor for most of Henry V's reign, also briefly treasurer, 1413-14, owned land in Herefordshire, but he had acquired considerable experience in both the senior offices of the Dublin administration in the reign of Henry IV.[12] Sir John Talbot, eldest son of John Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury, gained the chancellorship in August 1446 in the wake of his father's reappointment to the lieutenancy in 1445. While the younger John Talbot may not have had much previous experience in Ireland before his appointment, he had recently married the daughter of the earl of Ormond.[13] Two of the treasurers in the 1420s, William Tynbegh (1421-4) and Hugh Bavent (1420-1, 1424-6) were already both long-serving members of the Dublin administration. Tynbegh had been king's attorney, chief baron of the exchequer and, from time to time, deputy treasurer;[14] Bavent had held office as clerk of the hanaper and deputy chancellor.[15] Two of their

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[11] *Stat. Hen. VI*, pp. 336-9, 586-9; for John Wogan, see R.A. Griffiths, *The principality of Wales in the later middle ages*, i, pp. 129-30. It is likely that Richard Wogan had spent some time in Ireland before his appointment as chancellor, for he was issued with an English-seal pardon for all offences that he might have committed there before 24 Feb. 1441 (*C.P.R., 1436-41*, p. 548).

[12] Merbury held the manor of Preston in Herefordshire in 1409-10 (P.R.O., C1/69/187) and was treasurer of Ireland as early as 1401, becoming chancellor in 1406 (*R.C.H.*, p. 161, no. 30; p. 184, no. 126).

[13] The marriage took place before June 1445 (P.R.O., E404/61/227).

[14] Tynbegh was appointed king's attorney in Ireland in the first year of Henry IV's reign, chief baron in 1405 and soon afterwards deputy treasurer (*R.C.H.*, p. 156, no. 30; p. 180, no. 36; p. 190, no. 50). For his service as chief baron and deputy treasurer during Henry V's reign, see below, Appendix I, lists 5 and 6, pp. 504-5, 511.

[15] Bavent, a fairly frequent traveller between England and Ireland, was clerk of the hanaper by English-seal appointment, 1399-1410, and deputy chancellor in 1421: *C.P.R., 1396-99*, pp. 209, 375; *1399-1401*, p. 162; *1401-05*, p. 383; A.J. Otway-Ruthven, 'The mediaeval Irish chancery', *Album Helen Maud Cam*, ii (Louvain and Paris, 1961), pp. 119-38, esp. p. 137; below, Appendix I, list 3, p. 492.

successors in the office of treasurer, the bishop of Meath (1427) and Thomas Strange (1430-36), were former deputy lieutenants;[16] a third, Nicholas Plunket, was related to yet another deputy lieutenant, Christopher Plunket, two of whose sons, Robert and Thomas, acted as Nicholas' executors when he died in December 1429.[17]

Until 1445, appointments to both the chancellorship and the treasurership (which, unlike those to the lieutenancy, were never for a specific term, but 'during pleasure' or, occasionally, 'during good behaviour') were either changed or confirmed fairly regularly, on average every three or four years. In the early years of Henry V's reign appointments to both offices were made in conjunction with appointments to the lieutenancy. Thus, when the elder John Talbot was appointed lieutenant in February 1414, new appointments were also made to the chancellorship and treasurership, even though English-seal appointments had been made to both offices when John Stanley had been appointed lieutenant less than a year earlier. The likelihood is that John Talbot was consulted about who should fill these posts. Merbury, who was promoted from treasurer to chancellor in 1414, was already a member of Talbot's affinity in England, as was the new treasurer, Hugh Burgh.[18] Unlike Merbury, Burgh seems to have had no previous experience in Ireland, although he may have been related to one of his predecessors in office, Thomas Burgh, whom Edward III sent to Ireland as treasurer in 1331. Both Thomas and Hugh Burgh came

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[16] See above, pp. 53-4.

[17] As executors, Robert and Thomas made Nicholas' account at the English exchequer: P.R.O., E28/52, 29 June; E101/248/4, m. 1; /6; for the Plunkets see *Cal. Carew MSS (Howth)*, p. 359 and above, p. 55.

[18] A.J. Pollard, 'The family of Talbot, lords Talbot and earls of Shrewsbury in the fifteenth century' (Bristol Ph.D. thesis, 1968), pp. 217-19, 248.

from the north-west of England.[19] Neither Hugh Burgh nor Laurence Merbury remained long in office after Talbot's departure from Ireland. Burgh abandoned the treasurership when Ormond replaced Talbot as lieutenant in 1420; Merbury fell foul of Ormond soon after.[20] After leaving Ireland, both Merbury and Burgh continued in Talbot's service.[21]

Thereafter, however, (except when the death of Henry V in 1422 and the ending of Henry VI's minority in 1437 invited a general review of appointments) it was more usual for chancellors and treasurers to be appointed independently both of each other and of the chief governorship. In this royal government in England was in fact reverting to the normal pattern of fourteenth-century appointments,[22] but it was the Talbot-Ormond feud which provided the initial incentive for this apparent change of policy. Official concern at Westminster that neither post should fall within the chief governor's sphere of patronage was clearly reflected in the terms of all the lieutenants' letters patent from 1420 to 1445.[23]

The chancellors and treasurers were undoubtedly expected to serve in person, and until the mid 1430s their letters patent of appointment gave them no general power to hold office by deputy. However, between 1420 and 1445 the treasurers of Ireland were called to account at the English exchequer, thus necessitating fairly regular journeys to Westminster.[24] Chancellors, too, went on private and official business to England. To

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[19] A few years before his appointment as treasurer, Thomas Burgh built a chapel at Brigham, Cumberland: *C.P.R., 1327-1330*, pp. 376-77; *C.F.R., 1327-37*, p. 239. Hugh Burgh came from a Westmorland family: see A.J. Pollard, 'The family of Talbot', p. 218.

[20] See below, pp. 126-8.

[21] Merbury was receiving a pension of £40 *per annum* from Talbot in 1423, Burgh was serving with Talbot in France in 1429: B.L., Additional Charter 73948; Pollard, *John Talbot*, p. 114.

[22] See Frame, *English lordship*, pp. 90-2.

[23] See above, pp. 31-5, 38-9.

[24] See above, pp. 31-2.

cover such periods of absence, chancellors and treasurers could appoint deputies by special English or Irish-seal licence.[25]

Despite the concern of royal government in England to control appointments to both the chancellorship and the treasurership in the era of the Talbot-Ormond feud, several appointments were also made to both offices under the Irish seal. In certain cases the need for an Irish-seal appointment was clear-cut and uncontroversial - as in 1429 and 1436, when two treasurers with English-seal appointments, Nicholas Plunket and Thomas Strange, died in office. But while the omission from chancellors' and treasurers' letters patent of a formal licence to hold office by deputy may have been seen at Westminster as a deliberate safeguard against prolonged absenteeism, it was also open to exploitation by factional interest in Ireland. There a chancellor's or treasurer's lack of authority to appoint a deputy to cover a period of absence could provide the chief governor with a convenient opportunity to secure the office for a candidate of his own choice. This happened on a number of occasions during the Talbot-Ormond feud, in respect of the chancellorship in 1421, 1442, and possibly in 1426, and in respect of the treasurership in 1420 and 1429.[26]

From the mid 1430s onwards, initially probably in an attempt to safeguard the tenure of those appointed under the English seal, some appointments to both offices were made with formal authorization for the use of deputies. The first of these was the re-appointment of Thomas

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[25] For instance Laurence Merbury as chancellor was given an English-seal licence in October 1420 to appoint a deputy until the following Easter in order to obey a royal summons to England, and a similar licence under the Irish seal in March 1421 to cover absence until the following August, which was later extended for a further month under the English seal: P.R.O., E28/35/18; *C.P.R., 1416-22*, pp. 300, 394; *R.C.H.*, p. 218, no. 27.

[26] For details of the consequent Irish-seal appointments, see below, Appendix I, lists 3 and 5, pp. 492-3, 495, 505-6. On a second occasion in 1442, a chancellor was ejected from office on charges of disobedience and corruption: see below, pp. 333-36.

Chace as chancellor in November 1436. From 1443 no appointments were made to either office without such authorization, although even this failed to provide Giles Thorndon with adequate protection for his treasurership when he incurred the wrath of the earl of Ormond in 1444,[27] and Richard of York had no scruples about appointing his own son, Edmund, as chancellor of Ireland under the Irish seal in February 1460, despite the fact that the existing, absentee chancellor, the second earl of Shrewsbury, had nominated the archbishop of Dublin as his deputy less than two years previously.[28]

In the latter part of Henry VI's reign there were noticeably fewer English-seal appointments to the chancellorship and treasurership. After the appointment of Giles Thorndon in May 1437 (subsequently confirmed two months later and again in 1440 and 1458) no new treasurer was appointed from England until the end of the reign. After 1444, Thorndon himself was rarely in Ireland; his office was filled either by deputies, or by treasurers appointed directly under the Irish seal. After the appointment in 1446 of Sir John Talbot as chancellor (at the nomination of his father, the earl of Shrewsbury, then lieutenant) there were no new English-seal appointments to his office until the duke of York seized his chance to gain English-seal authorization for the appointment of Dynham after John Talbot's death as the second earl of Shrewsbury in 1460. Again for most of the intervening years the office had been filled either by deputies or by chancellors appointed by the chief governor in Ireland.

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[27] Thorndon's deputy was rejected on the flimsy grounds that his appointment was effectively cancelled by Thorndon's briefly re-landing in Ireland after his initial embarkation because wind and tide forced his ship back to port: *C.O.D.*, iii, no. 159, pp. 140-3; below, p. 349.

[28] *Stat. Hen. VI*, pp. 747-9; *C.C.R., 1454-61*, p. 289.

The extent to which both the chancellorship and treasurership had effectively passed from the Lancastrian régime's control by the end of the reign - notwithstanding the clause in the lieutenants' letters patent reserving disposal of the office of chancellor to the crown[29] - is underlined by the failure to make fresh provision for either office, or even to re-confirm the previous office holders, when the Coventry parliament attempted to dispossess York of the lieutenancy and all his other possessions by attainder. As in the case of the chief governorship, Lancastrian provision for the offices of chancellor and treasurer also demonstrated a noticeable gap between theoretical and practical royal control, a gap exploited by faction in the era of the feud, but most glaringly apparent in the final decade of Lancastrian rule.

The interest of royal government in England in other offices in the lordship was, on the whole, much more limited, certainly less consistent. Besides the chief governor, the chancellor and the treasurer, very few of the members of the Irish council were appointed in England, notwithstanding its crucial role in government. In the event of the lordship being left without a lieutenant or deputy lieutenant, the Irish council had the power to nominate a chief governor, and the councillors met continually to advise the lieutenant, deputy lieutenant or justiciar in office.[30] A somewhat inconclusive review of the membership of the Irish council was undertaken at a meeting of the English council in February 1438 shortly after the young Henry VI took personal charge of the reins of

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[29] See details of York's and Wiltshire's appointments to the lieutenancy, 1447-57, above, p. 37.

[30] A detailed analysis of the work of the Irish council in the Lancastrian period was undertaken by M.C. Griffith in 'The council in Ireland, 1399-1452' (Oxford B. Litt. thesis, 1935), pp. 44-70.

government,[31] but this appears to have been an isolated instance. Unlike the English council, the Irish council in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries was composed almost entirely of officials.[32] Surviving records of its membership under Henry VI, mainly from the early 1440s,[33] show that the chief justices and the chief baron of the exchequer were all regular attenders. Others who might be present included the second justice of the king's bench, the second and third barons of the exchequer, the keeper of the rolls of chancery and the king's serjeant at law.[34] Although the terms of the lieutenants' letters patent specifically protected the chief justices from dismissal by the lieutenant between 1428 and 1444, and the chief baron of the exchequer between 1428 and 1437, in fact only the chief justices of the king's bench were normally appointed directly from England. Chief justices of the common bench and chief barons were usually appointed in Ireland, although they might subsequently receive English-seal confirmation of their tenure of office.[35] In this period, the membership of the Irish council also included one, or more usually two, non-office-holders. Amongst these extra councillors were the earl of Ormond and Thomas Strange (December 1428), Christopher Plunket (August 1441), Richard fitzEustace (1439-40, August 1441, October 1442, March 1444), the archbishop of Armagh (1423, 1430, 1435, October 1442), the archbishop of Dublin (1435, March and June 1444, 1451-53), the prior of Kilmainham

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[31] *P.P.C.* v, pp. 90-1: unfortunately no record has survived of the names of the members of the Irish council that were then submitted to the English council by the chancellor of Ireland.

[32] M.C. Griffith, 'The council in Ireland, 1399-1452' (Oxford B. Litt. thesis, 1935) , pp. 15-21; Richardson and Sayles, *Ir. parl.*, pp. 164-8.

[33] *R.C.H.*, p. 262, no. 24; Graves, *King's council*, pp. 276-303; *C.O.D.*, iii, no. 159, pp. 140-55; Richardson and Sayles, *Ir. parl.* pp. 311-17.

[34] The sheriff of Dublin was present at a meeting of the council in April 1425, but whether he was there by virtue of his office or because he had been temporarily co-opted is uncertain: *R.C.H.*, p. 238, no. 113.

[35] See Appendix I, lists 6 and 8, pp. 511-13, 541-3, 544-5.

(December 1429 - June 1430, June 1444), and Christopher, lord Howth (November 1454).[36] Between 1413 and 1461 there seems to be only one certain case of a non-office-holder's membership of the Irish council being confirmed under the English seal.[37] Apparently the extra councillors were nominated in Ireland on a temporary basis by the chief governor with or without the advice of the other officials on the council.

Few non-conciliar offices saw regular English appointments over the period as a whole. Fairly consistent English interest was maintained in certain local appointments, namely the constableships of Dublin, Wicklow and Limerick[38] (also in the custody of Carlingford and Carrickfergus and in the stewardship of Ulster during Richard of York's minority, 1425-32)[39] and the chief serjeancy of Louth.[40] Between 1413 and 1461 there were four different English-seal appointments to the escheatorship, though these were interspersed with a good many others under the Irish seal.[41] From time to time possession of a number of the lower-ranking offices of the central administration was confirmed under the English seal. The number of such confirmations was particularly high in the first fifteen months of

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[36] P.R.O., E101/248/8, m. 2; *Reg. Swayne*, p. 121; Betham, *Early parliaments*, p. 360; *R.C.H.*, p. 263, no. 14; *Stat. Hen. VI*, p. 374 and for other references see note 33 above. From 1441 to 1444, the pattern of just two non-office-holding councillors at each meeting for which membership is known is absolutely consistent.

[37] That of the archbishop of Dublin in 1453: *C.P.R., 1452-61*, pp. 73-4; full text printed in *Foedera*, xi, pp. 325-6.

[38] New English-seal appointments were made to the constableship of Dublin in 1426, 1431, 1434 (confirmations in 1423, 1438, 1458); to Wicklow in 1428, 1429, 1437, 1439, 1446 (confirmations in 1413, 1416, 1446, 1458); to Limerick in 1413, 1440, 1441 (confirmed 1446): *C.P.R., 1413-16*, pp. 30, 48; *1416-22*, p. 42; *1422-29*, pp. 55, 383, 478, 543; *1429-36*, pp. 122, 443; *1436-41*, pp. 64, 197, 240, 529; *1441-46*, pp. 424, 457; *1446-52*, p. 4; *1452-61*, p. 429.

[39] P.R.O., E28/48/56; *C.P.R., 1422-29*, pp. 287-8, 383; *1429-36*, p. 100.

[40] 1413, 1445, 1447 (confirmations 1422, 1446): *C.P.R., 1413-16*, p. 9; *1422-29*, p. 56; *1441-46*, pp. 345, 458; *1446-52*, p. 78.

[41] See below, Appendix I, list 10, pp. 550-3.

Henry VI's reign when it seems that the English council undertook a fairly general review of the Dublin administration in connection with a thorough investigation of the Talbot-Ormond feud, but of all those confirmed in non-conciliar posts only two - the second chamberlain and second engrosser of the Irish exchequer - had originally been appointed under the English seal.[42] Fear of encouraging widespread absenteeism would almost certainly have made the English council wary of making new appointments to most of these minor posts from England. An English-seal letter to the treasurer of Ireland in 1428 registered official displeasure at lord Grey's appointment of a member of his English retinue who was only temporarily in Ireland as clerk of the hanaper. The treasurer and the new lieutenant, John Sutton, were ordered to ensure that the office went to a man permanently resident in the lordship who would ensure that the profits of the hanaper were duly returned to the Irish exchequer.[43] In June 1432, orders were sent to the Irish exchequer for its chief officers to undertake a full review of the debts owed to the crown in Ireland due to absenteeism, and some attempt was made to collect the debts in England.[44]

The ending of Henry VI's minority saw a significant change in the previous pattern of strictly limited English-seal appointments to Dublin offices. The years 1437 to 1443 saw a steady stream of English-seal

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[42] *C.P.R., 1422-29*, pp. 56, 57, 67, 83, 98, 157, 163, 168. Henry Stanyhurst and William Stockinbrig had previously been appointed as second chamberlain and second engrosser respectively by Henry IV in 1400 and 1401 (*C.P.R., 1399-1401*, pp. 186, 524). The other officials confirmed in office, 1422-23, were the keeper of the hanaper, the crown clerk and keeper of the rolls of the king's bench, and, in the exchequer, the remembrancer, chancellor of the green wax, clerk of the common pleas and chief engrosser. For the English council's investigation of the Talbot-Ormond feud, see below, pp. 161-7.

[43] P.R.O.I., (Irish memoranda roll extracts) 1A/49/135, ff. 53-4.

[44] P.R.O., E368/206, mm. 51-53, 62, 84-5; /208, m. 86; /209, m. 36.

appointments to Irish offices that went well beyond both the customary, expected provision for the four most senior posts of the Dublin administration, and the interest which royal government had shown in just a few of the less-prominent offices hitherto. While some of these patents were simply confirmatory, many more appear to have been genuinely new appointments. In England the young king's first instinct was to use his newly-acquired powers of independent patronage to reward the members of his household. A network of household officials and royal servants was rapidly established (not without some local resentment) in administrative posts throughout England and Wales.[45] Irish offices, remote as they were from the centre of government in England and the normal peregrinations of the royal court, were not the most obviously attractive to men in the royal household,[46] but nevertheless several such appointments were made. The most obvious examples were, of course, the two new appointments to the lieutenancy and treasurership in 1437-38 - the lieutenant, Lionel, lord Welles, was a member of the royal household and the treasurer, Giles Thorndon, an usher of the chamber[47] - but several minor household officials were similarly given some of the lower-ranking Dublin offices, which had formerly been the preserve of Irish-seal patronage. These men were all given power to hold office by deputy, whether such licence had customarily been attached to these offices or not. Henry VI did not share his councillors' former scruples about encouraging absenteeism. Thus on 19 May 1437, Ralph Legh, an underclerk of the royal kitchen, was made

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[45] See Griffiths, *Henry VI*, pp. 329-46; Wolffe, *Henry VI*, pp. 106-16.
[46] At the time of his appointment to the lieutenancy in 1438, lord Welles' obtained special confirmation of his membership of the royal household. Apparently he was afraid that this might be compromised by his going to Ireland: *C.P.R., 1436-41*, p. 140. Within England household men were much keener to acquire offices and property in the south and home counties than in other parts of the country: see Griffiths, *Henry VI*, p. 334.
[47] See above, pp. 19-20, 58.

chief remembrancer of the Irish exchequer, and took his oath of office in England the following day.[48] In September one of his colleagues, John Hardwick, was made chancellor of the green wax and clerk of the common pleas in the Irish exchequer. The following month, Thomas Beltoft, yeoman of the butlery, became clerk of the Irish hanaper.[49] In 1439 both Hardwick and Beltoft were reappointed to hold their offices jointly with Richard Rede and John Bolt respectively. Beltoft and Bolt were re-confirmed in office in 1440.[50]

Royal appointments to Irish offices in the late 1430s and early 1440s were, however, by no means confined to members of the household. Maurice Avenell, whose life appointment in February 1440 as clerk of the crown and common pleas of the king's bench in Ireland was authorized by royal signet warrant, had previously been appointed chief serjeant of the crosslands of Meath under the Irish seal in 1425 and subsequently acted as attorney in Ireland for the earl of Ormond.[51] Thomas Delafield, who was appointed as marshal of the king's courts in Ireland and usher of the Irish exchequer under the English seal in February 1438 for life, later served as sheriff

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[48] *C.P.R., 1436-41*, p. 57; *1441-46*, p. 90. Although Henry IV had appointed a chief remembrancer in 1400 (ibid., *1399-1401*, p. 192) none of the previous holders of the office under Henry V or Henry VI had been appointed under the English seal and only one, John Chirbury in 1422, had received English-seal confirmation of his tenure: see below, Appendix I, list 7, pp. 532-4.

[49] *C.P.R., 1436-41*, pp. 92, 99. Again appointments to both these offices had been made from England early in Henry IV's reign (ibid., *1399-1402*, pp. 113, 237), but subsequent holders had been appointed under the Irish seal until 1437: see below, Appendix I, lists 4 and 7, pp. 500-1, 520-2, 525; for the clerkship of the hanaper, see also A.J. Otway-Ruthven, 'The mediaeval Irish chancery', pp. 119-38, esp. pp. 137-8.

[50] *C.P.R., 1436-41*, pp. 301, 306, 414.

[51] P.R.O., PSO 1/7/385; *C.P.R., 1436-41*, p. 375; *R.C.H.*, p. 237, no. 84; *C.O.D.*, iii, no. 82, p. 66. Clerks of the king's bench had sometimes been appointed from England in the fourteenth century, but they were appointed in Ireland under Henry V and during the earlier years of Henry VI's reign: see H.G. Richardson and G.O. Sayles, *The administration of Ireland, 1172-1377*, pp. 189-90; below, Appendix I, list 9, p. 547.

of Dublin, and was to be succeeded in office as usher in 1451 by another member of the same family, Nicholas Delafield.[52] Some royal grants directly conflicted with earlier English and Irish-seal appointments. Thomas Bathe of Ireland successfully petitioned the king for the office of escheator in July 1439, but his claim to the office was contested by a previous English-seal appointee John Pilkington.[53] Robert Dyke, as keeper of the chancery rolls and John Blakeney, as chief justice of the common bench were amongst five existing members of the Irish council to have their tenure confirmed (Blakeney's for life) under the English-seal between November 1436 and February 1438.[54] Nevertheless the confirmation issued to Dyke was contradicted only six months later by the king's appointment of John Forthey, coroner of the city of London, to the same office, while John Blakeney, who in July 1439 successfully petitioned the king to support him against a rival claimant Robert Dowdall, found that Dowdall himself was able to obtain English letters patent of appointment to the disputed office in November 1441.[55] King Henry's appointment of Michael Griffin as chief baron of the Irish exchequer for life on 31 October 1441 conflicted with an Irish-seal appointment dated 5 October to John Cornwalshe to succeed his late father, James, who in 1420 had also originally been appointed under the Irish seal.[56] The disputes between Blakeney and Dowdall, and between Cornwalshe and Griffin, were part of the wider

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[52] *C.P.R., 1436-41*, p. 142; P.R.O.I., 1A/49/145, ff. 65-66. Thomas Delafield's was the only English-seal appointment of an usher and marshal between 1413 and 1461: see below, Appendix I, list 7, pp. 537-40.

[53] P.R.O., E28/62/11 July, *C.P.R., 1436-41*, p. 302; see also *Select cases in the exchequer chamber*, ed. M. Hemmant, pp. 81-4; Richardson and Sayles, *Ir. parl.*, pp. 255-7.

[54] The other three were the chancellor, Thomas Chace, and the chief and second justices of the king's bench, Christopher Bernevale and William Chevir: *C.P.R., 1436-41*, pp. 28, 50, 70, 93, 184.

[55] *C.P.R., 1436-41*, pp. 101, 143, 298; *1441-46*, p. 23; P.R.O., E28/62/13 July.

[56] See below, Appendix I, list 6, pp. 511-12.

conflict of the Talbot-Ormond feud.[57] In each case it seems that the rival factions were deliberately exploiting for their own ends the king's over-readiness to accede to petitioners' requests.

Indiscriminate as the king often appeared to be in his exercise of patronage both as king of England and as lord of Ireland,[58] this sudden increase in direct English-seal appointments was a serious disruption of the established pattern by which most of the offices of the central administration of the lordship were held by Irish-seal patent. And this sudden extension of the king's personal patronage as lord of Ireland undoubtedly caused resentment in the lordship. Ralph Legh encountered considerable difficulties in gaining possession of his office of chief remembrancer in Ireland, and ultimately surrendered his patent. Martin Pentenay, appointed under the English seal in July 1439 as serjeant at arms, another office normally bestowed under the Irish seal in this period, went to Ireland and was sworn into office, but later complained that the treasurer and chamberlains of the Irish exchequer refused to pay his wages 'out of malice'.[59] In June 1441 a great council at Naas sent a formal petition to the king complaining that many of the recipients of recent appointments were 'insufficient and unconnyng', requesting that in future new appointees should only be admitted to office if the chief governor and the Irish council considered them 'sufficient, able and connyng'.[60]

While this petition, and Legh's and Pentenay's problems, may well have been due in some measure to the lordship's frequent resentment of

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[57] See below, pp. 279, 287, 293, 388-9.
[58] For examples relating to England, see Griffiths, *Henry VI*, pp. 364-5; Wolffe, *Henry VI*, pp. 108-13.
[59] *C.P.R., 1436-41*, pp. 285, 420; *1441-46*, pp. 90, 190; *C.C.R., 1435-41*, pp. 288-9. None of Penteney's immediate predecessors, William Hill, Robert Archebold and Thomas Plunket, had been appointed under the English seal: see below, Appendix I, list 11, p. 554.
[60] N.L.I., MS 4, f. 336v-338; P.R.O., E101/248/16, no. 1; see below, p. 302.

newcomers from England,[61] the matter was also more complex. Not all the king's appointees were from England, and the treasurer about whom Pentenay complained was Giles Thorndon, himself a recent arrival in Ireland. In the era of the Talbot-Ormond feud, many officials in Ireland had little security of tenure: royal intervention added further uncertainties to an already sensitive issue. Although there had been no formal retraction of the lieutenancy's powers of independent patronage, these were certainly perceived to be under threat. The resentment aroused perhaps fell some way short of the outrage in the lordship which had caused Edward III to retract his much more strenuous assault on the vested interests of the Dublin administration exactly a hundred years earlier,[62] but interestingly the petition of 1441 did make direct reference to the appointment of similarly 'unsufficient and unconnyng' officers in the reign of King Edward.

No record has survived of the king's answer to this petition. However, the numbers of English-seal appointments did not abate, but continued to be authorized over the following two years. The dispute arising from the conflicting English and Irish-seal appointments of October 1441 to the office of chief baron of the exchequer brought forth a stern royal order to the lieutenant and the Irish council in July 1443 to cease meddling with the office, [63] although all the previous holders since 1413 had been appointed under the Irish seal. However, there are a few signs that some English-seal appointments in 1442 and 1443 may have been made in response to official nominations from Ireland. It is possible that the later of two English-seal appointments of water-bailiffs for Ireland in November 1441 and April 1442 was made on the recommendation of Giles

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[61] See A. Cosgrove, 'Parliament and the Anglo-Irish community: the declaration of 1460', pp. 25-41, esp. pp. 36-7.
[62] See Frame, *English lordship*, pp. 242-61; below, pp. 302-7.
[63] *C.C.R., 1441-47*, p. 104.

Thorndon, who was in England to present his treasurer's account for a good part of 1442. In 1444 he was to complain that the lieutenant had sought to deprive him of the treasurer's accustomed right to nominate water-bailiffs, and he may well therefore have sought English-seal authorization to secure the position of his own appointees.[64] And the lieutenant himself (from 1442 to 1443 the earl of Ormond) certainly seems to have taken the trouble to send some of his own nominees for Irish exchequer offices to England to obtain English, rather than Irish-seal, appointments. Thus in 1443, three men closely associated with Ormond, Edmund Wallingford, John Gogh and Thomas Abbey, received English letters patent as second chamberlain and chief remembrancer.[65] While Gogh and Wallingford's long-serving predecessor as second chamberlain, Henry Stanyhurst, had also originally been appointed under the English seal in 1400, chief remembrancers were normally appointed in Ireland.[66] The seeking of English-seal authority on this occasion for Abbey's appointment as chief remembrancer was probably considered to be the surest means of trouncing the claims of the underclerk of the royal kitchen, Ralph Legh, whom Henry VI had appointed to the same post in 1437.[67].

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[64] *C.P.R., 1441-46*, pp. 24, 64; *P.P.C.* v, p. 332; for Thorndon's period of absence in 1442, see below, Appendix I, list 5, p. 508.

[65] Gogh and Wallingford were appointed jointly to the chamberlainship: *C.P.R., 1441-46*, pp. 145, 190. Abbey was identified as a close associate of Ormond's at this time by Giles Thorndon: *P.P.C.*, v, pp. 331-2. Wallingford acted as Ormond's agent at the English exchequer in February 1443 and was soon after appointed seneschal of Ormond's manors of Rushe, Turvey and Balscaddan, Co. Dublin: P.R.O., E403/748, m. 14; P.R.O.I., 1A/49/148, p. 161. Wallingford's and Gogh's names are both mentioned with those of other servants of Ormond in a deed concerning the earl's manor of Aylesbury; in April 1443 Ormond also appointed Gogh second baron of the exchequer under the Irish seal and in June this was confirmed in England: P.R..O., C1/73/134; *C.P.R., 1441-46*, p. 180.

[66] See note 42, above and below, Appendix I, list 7, pp. 532-4.

[67] For Legh, see above, pp. 68-9, 71.

It was not, however, until the mid 1440s that royal interest in Irish appointments really began to wane. That the change coincided with the appointment of the earl of Shrewsbury as lieutenant in 1445 confirms the significance, then and thereafter, of the earl's re-assertion, during the negotiation of his terms of office of the lieutenancy's pre-1420 control over subordinate posts.[68] Although the long delay before Shrewsbury's actual departure for Ireland in autumn 1446 saw fresh English-seal appointments to three senior posts - the offices of chancellor, chief and third baron of the Irish exchequer - all these grants were issued with formal reference to the earl of Shrewsbury's assent. The recipients (who included Shrewsbury's eldest son as chancellor) were clearly the lieutenant's own nominees. The letters patent merely gave formal authorization to appointments which had been made by Shrewsbury himself. Special provision for him to forward nominations under his personal seal to the English chancery had been included in his indentures as lieutenant.[69] At the same time grants of minor offices made directly by the king noticeably slackened, though it took a while for these to cease altogether. The persistent John Hardwick (a member of the household who had proved most assiduous in appointing deputies to his Irish offices) obtained, jointly with Alexander Shelton, a further English-seal appointment as chancellor of the green wax and clerk of the common pleas in the Irish exchequer, also as customs collector at Dublin and Drogheda.[70] Despite Shelton's being sworn into office and his further appointment of deputies, he and Hardwick encountered resistance to their claims to the offices in Ireland. Within a month of Hardwick and Shelton obtaining an

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[68] See above, pp. 36-7, 39.
[69] P.R.O., E404/61/138; *C.P.R., 1441-46*, pp. 392, 410, 455.
[70] T.C.D., MS 1747, pp. 98-101, 110-11, 114-25; *C.P.R., 1441-46*, pp. 419-20; *C.C.R., 1441-47*, p. 343; for earlier grants to Hardwick, see above, p. 69.

English-seal order in March 1448 for their admission to office, further English letters patent were issued granting the same offices to another pair, Richard Bermingham and Richard FitzRobert.[71] Richard Bermingham, probably the son of a former second baron of the Irish exchequer of the same name, was normally resident in Ireland.[72] In the ensuing dispute between household and local interest, the latter eventually triumphed. Bermingham's possession of the offices in survivorship was confirmed by the Irish parliament in 1459.[73] Two further appointments were issued to members of the household. In 1446, William Southwell, king's esquire, obtained the office of water-bailiff from Dungarvan to Carlingford, and in 1447 Thomas Johnson, one of the king's serjeants, was granted the chief serjeancy of Co. Kildare in 1447.[74] Both offices were granted for life, but the tenure of Johnson at least, if ever established, was brief: a Geoffrey Harding was appointed to the same office under the Irish seal in 1449.[75]

After 1448 there was little sign of any continuing royal interest in appointments to offices in the lordship. The younger John Talbot (from 1453 second earl of Shrewsbury) and Giles Thorndon sought English-seal authorization or official enrolment of their nomination of various deputies on several occasions,[76] but there were very few new appointments of any kind. The resumptions of royal grants authorized in the English parliaments of 1449 and 1450 appear to have had little effect on office-

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[71] T.C.D., MS 1747, pp. 116-21; *C.P.R., 1446-52*, pp. 147-8, 155, 168.
[72] Richard Bermingham was appointed as attorney in Ireland by Joan Woodville in 1448 and by John Wenlock in 1450: *C.P.R., 1446-52*, pp. 163, 400. For the elder Richard Bermingham, see below, Appendix I, list 6, p. 513.
[73] *C.P.R., 1446-52*, p. 283; *1452-61*, pp. 245, 251; *Stat. Hen. VI*, p. 593.
[74] *C.P.R., 1441-46*, p. 444; *1446-52*, p. 86.
[75] *R.C.H.*, p. 265, 28 Hen. VI, no. 6.
[76] *C.P.R., 1446-52*, p. 560; *1452-61*, p. 163; *C.C.R., 1454-61*, pp. 289, 297-9.

holding in the lordship, although it was only in 1449 that the terms of the royal assent formally exempted Irish grants.[77] A general resumption authorized by the Irish parliament in 1450 provoked no new spate of English-seal confirmations or exemptions.[78] A clause included in a subsequent resumption proposed in the English parliament of 1455 threatened the cancellation of all life appointments to three Irish-council offices, namely those of justice of each bench and keeper of the rolls of the Irish chancery. However, the force of this clause was vitiated by the subsequent exemption of all grants of office during Henry VI's own reign, although in January 1457 a new chief justice of the king's bench in Ireland, Nicholas Bernevale, was appointed under the English seal during good behaviour.[79] Thereafter only two more new Irish appointments were authorized under the English seal - those of Thomas Kent and Richard Huxley, jointly, by York's advice, to the office of second engrosser of the exchequer,[80] and of Patrick Cogly as clerk of the hanaper as a reward for good service in the Irish chancery[81] - before the king and the machinery of English government came under Yorkist control in the final months of Henry's reign. Thereupon interest at Westminster in the Dublin administration suddenly revived: the English seal was then used to

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[77] *Rot. parl.*, v, pp. 183-6, 217-24.

[78] The only English-seal confirmation of an appointment to office in Ireland in 1450 and 1451 - that of John Chevir as keeper of the Irish chancery rolls - was issued just before parliament met in England in 1450: *C.P.R., 1446-52*, p. 404.

[79] *Rot. parl.*, v, pp. 301, 317; *C.P.R., 1452-61*, p. 350. Nicholas Bernevale was the son of Christopher Bernevale of Co. Meath, also chief justice of the king's bench 1435-44: see F.E. Ball, *The judges in Ireland, 1221-1921*, i, pp. 176, 180.

[80] *C.P.R., 1452-61*, p. 399. In 1451-2 Kent had served as deputy chancellor of the green wax for Richard Bermingham: T.C.D., MS 1747, pp. 136-9.

[81] P.R.O., PSO 1/20/1076A; *C.P.R., 1452-61*, p. 482.

authorize new appointments to two of the most senior Dublin posts - the chancellorship and the office of keeper of the Irish chancery rolls.[82]

While the king's incapacity was no doubt partly responsible for the near-complete collapse of royal interest in Irish appointments in the later years of the reign, this began to wane long before Henry VI's first bout of illness in 1453, and even several years before the final defeat of English forces in Normandy precipitated the major crisis in England in 1450, which, it has been argued, marked the beginning of the end of the Lancastrian régime.[83] The year 1445, when the crown's powers of patronage were formally re-invested in the lieutenancy, was a significant turning point, although the change would have been less marked had the king previously shown only the more limited interest in direct appointments which characterised royal government during his minority. Before 1445, in respect of appointments at least, Henry VI was an over-active, rather than neglectful, lord of Ireland.

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[82] *C.P.R., 1452-61*, pp. 639-40; for John Dynham's appointment as chancellor see above, p. 58, 63.
[83] See R.L. Storey, *The end of the house of Lancaster* (London, 1966), pp. 43-68.

CHAPTER THREE

ENGLISH FINANCIAL SUPPORT FOR THE LORDSHIP

> '... Alle ordenaries charges and wages and rewardes to the officers [of Ireland] shal be boren and paied of the said revenues [of Ireland]...'[1]

These words from the minutes of a meeting of the English council in the presence of Henry VI at Kennington on 28 August 1442 offered a clear statement of a time-honoured principle. An Irish exchequer had been established in Dublin before the end of the twelfth century and the financial organization of the lordship had been separate from that of royal government in England at an early stage.[2] Throughout the Lancastrian period, as previously, officials in Ireland, from the rank of justiciar downwards, regardless of whether they were appointed under the English or the Irish seal, expected to be paid from Irish, rather than English, revenue.

As in the case of the English-seal appointment to the justiciarship in 1422,[3] most English appointments to Dublin offices gave no information about payment beyond a passing reference to 'accustomed fees'. These and any extra payments were normally clarified in Ireland when the official arrived to take up his post. The accustomed fees attached to the chancellorship, for instance, were £40 a year, but in the Lancastrian period, chancellors were paid an additional sum per day for the expenses of their office including the maintenance of various chancery clerks. Laurence Merbury, for example, appointed chancellor under the English seal in 1414 and again in 1422, was awarded 10s. a day when he took up office

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[1] *P.P.C.*, v, p. 206.
[2] See H.G. Richardson and G.O. Sayles, *The administration of Ireland, 1172-1377*, p. 21.
[3] See above, pp. 26-7.

in 1414, but, after negotiation with the Irish council, only 6s. 8d. a day in 1422.[4]

Occasionally appointees might seek and receive English-seal authorization of particular fees, as in the case of two successive English appointments to the combined offices of chancellor of the green wax and clerk of the common pleas in the Irish exchequer in 1446 and 1448. The letters patent of the first of these appointments named a fee of £10 and rewards of £4, those of the second a fee of 20 marks and rewards of £4, but in both cases the sums were due at the Irish, not the English, exchequer.[5] From time to time individuals secured English-seal authorization of payment from a particular source of Irish revenue. In June 1443, for instance, Christopher Bernevale, chief justice of the king's bench in Ireland, obtained an English-seal grant of an annuity of 40 marks from the fee-farm of Leixlip and Chapelizod in part payment of his fees and wages, quoted as £100, of which he claimed to have received little or nothing.[6]

From the totals given in the surviving Irish treasurers' accounts for the period 1420 to 1446 it has been calculated that the Irish revenue at this time averaged little more than £1,000 a year.[7] From the lists of those receiving payments on the accounts and from the few accompanying

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[4] G.O. Dub., MS 193, p. 80; *R.C.H.*, p. 224, no. 16. In 1423 it was alleged that Merbury had authorized the patent which granted the higher rate of payment in 1414 on his own initiative without a proper warrant, but the expenses paid to chancellors did normally vary between 5s. and 10s. per day in the early fifteenth century: N.L.I., MS 4, f. 239; *R.C.H.*, p. 225, no. 26; and see A.J. Otway-Ruthven, 'The mediaeval Irish chancery', pp. 124-5.

[5] *C.P.R., 1441-46*, pp. 419-20; *1446-52*, p. 168. After these offices were first combined in 1430 (see below, Appendix I, list 7, pp. 520-1) some confusion may have arisen about the previously accepted 'accustomed fees'.

[6] *C.P.R., 1441-46*, p. 189.

[7] See Lydon, *Lordship of Ireland*, p. 259.

issue rolls and files of acquittances,[8] it seems that most officials were paid at least part of the money due to them most of the time. In some years, however, available revenue may have fallen significantly short of the expenses of the Dublin administration. A familiar example comes from a report by Giles Thorndon, treasurer of Ireland, to the English council in August 1442. This stated that 'the charges of the Justice of Irland and his officers this yere' exceeded revenue by £1,456/18/1d.[9] If by 'Justice' Thorndon meant the then lieutenant, the earl of Ormond, whose indentures entitled him to claim £1,000 from the Irish exchequer at Michaelmas,[10] then the real shortfall in fees due to the other officers of the Dublin administration may in fact have been very much lower, perhaps nearer £450. Nevertheless, arrears owed to two of the most senior officers - Thorndon himself and Archbishop Richard Talbot - did mount in two separate years to such an extent that both took the unusual step of attempting to claim compensation from the English exchequer. Officials in England were apparently somewhat wary of admitting claims for sums that were properly a charge upon the Irish revenue, but the appropriate warrants were issued for Talbot and Thorndon to be paid 'come reason demande' and as 'right and good conscience requiren'.[11] In 1439 Archbishop Talbot was assigned £765, and paid £10 in cash, to settle arrears owed for his past service as justiciar (from 1437 to 1438) and chancellor (from 1426 to 1431).[12] In 1447 a further claim was admitted for just over £2,200 owing from the

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[8] P.R.O., E101/247-8; /540; E364/57-80.
[9] *P.P.C.*, v, p. 323; see Otway-Ruthven, *Medieval Ireland*, p. 373; Lydon, *Lordship of Ireland*, p. 259, *Ir. in later middle ages*, p. 130; below, p. 329.
[10] *An. Hib.*, i (1930), p. 215. At the time of Thorndon's report the most recent justiciar of Ireland (1437-38) was Archbishop Talbot, who had already taken the unusual step of claiming his arrears in office from the English exchequer in 1439: see below, n. 12 and Appendix I, list 2, p. 488.
[11] P.R.O., E404/55/310; /63/159; /64/18; /65/85, 112.
[12] P.R.O., E403/736, m. 12.

archbishop's justiciarship of 1445 to 1446.[13] On both occasions the claims for the justiciarships included the expenses of the small standing defence force of twelve men-at-arms and sixty archers which the Irish council frequently authorized for justiciars, but which was also normally financed from Irish revenue.[14] Also in 1447 Giles Thorndon sought payment in England for nearly £294 owed to him as treasurer of Ireland. Between 1447 and 1453 Thorndon secured nearly £100 of this in cash and received various assignments towards the remainder.[15] Nevertheless, Thorndon's initial warrant for issue in 1447 had been authorized on the firm understanding that the 'graunt be not taken in example to eny other in tyme comyng',[16] and there are no indications that any other Irish officials either of Talbot's and Thorndon's standing or of lower rank received any payments towards their normal fees from England at any time under Henry V or Henry VI.

There was, however, a major and well-established exception to the general rule that the government and defence of the lordship should be financed from its own revenues. For over fifty years before Henry V's accession, the expenses and retinues of lieutenants of Ireland, when appointed, had been funded directly from the English exchequer. And while, on the one hand, lieutenants were appointed more frequently in the

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[13] The sum was assigned in full on 6 December 1447, but tallies of over £1,000 from both this assignment and the previous one of 1439 were subsequently exchanged and reassigned up to 1458, nine years after the archbishop's death in 1449: P.R.O., E401/766, 22, 23 December; /804, 6 December; E/403/770, 6 December; /816, m. 1.

[14] As, for example, during the previous justiciarships of the earl of Ormond (1426-27) and Archbishop Talbot (1430-31): P.R.O., E101/248/2, 10; B.L., Harleian Ch. 43. A. 75, 77.

[15] P.R.O., E401/804, 5 December; E403/769, m. 7; /773, mm. 5, 12, 16; /775, m. 10; /779, m. 9; /793, m. 11.

[16] P.R.O., E404/64/18.

Lancastrian period than previously,[17] it is undoubtedly equally the case that those who took office under Henry V and Henry VI were offered very considerably less than the £6,000 - £8,000 or more enjoyed by almost all their predecessors between 1361 and 1406.[18] Details from a number of the lieutenants' indentures, together with evidence that certain lieutanants had considerable difficulties in extracting the payments due to them from the English exchequer,[19] have woven a major part of Irish historians' theories of Lancastrian neglect. Finance has been described as 'the great weakness in Lancastrian relations with Ireland'.[20] Similarly 'the failure to provide successive lieutenants with adequate resources from England' has been offered as one of the main reasons why 'the position of the English colony ... deteriorated with a frightening momentum' in Ireland in the first half of the fifteenth century.[21] What lay behind this impression of 'weakness' and 'failure'?[22]

The driving force behind the reduction in English financial support for the lieutenancy was Henry V. His ambitions in France and the cost of

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[17] See above, pp. 14-16.

[18] For references to the financing of lieutenants in the late fourteenth century, see above, p. 16, n. 10. The terms offered to John Stanley in 1399 were less favourable - 8,000 marks *per annum* of which it was hoped that all but the first 3,000 marks might be drawn from Irish revenue - but his appointment was fairly quickly superseded by that of Prince Thomas of Lancaster, who was offered 12,000 marks from England a year in 1401 and £6,000 in 1406: P.R.O., E404/15/133; /16/728; E101/69/316; *Foedera*, viii, p. 431. The financial terms offered to lieutenants between 1413 and 1461 are summarized below, Appendix II, Table A, pp. 559-61.

[19] See Richardson and Sayles, *Ir. parl.*, pp. 153, 227; Lydon, *Lordship of Ireland*, pp. 247-53, *Ir. in later middle ages*, pp. 127-8.

[20] Ibid., p. 125.

[21] Otway-Ruthven, *Medieval Ireland*, p. 375.

[22] An earlier version of the following section of this chapter has been published: see E. Matthew, 'The financing of the lordship of Ireland under Henry V and Henry VI', *Property and politics: essays in later medieval English history*, ed. A.J. Pollard (Gloucester and New York. 1984), pp. 97-115, esp. pp. 97-104.

their realization provide obvious motives, but while historians have long been aware of the king's success in raising revenue,[23] it is only more recently that the extent of his role in the overall planning and control of expenditure has, been fully appreciated. His methods had much in common with those which were to be employed by Henry VII for different purposes some seventy years later, and much less with the financial mismanagement that has generally been associated with the Lancastrian era.[24] Henry V's interest in financial affairs, and, more specifically, in reducing the English exchequer's commitment to the lieutenancy of Ireland, pre-dated his accession. As prince of Wales he had been closely involved in the effort to restore confidence in Henry IV's finances after the crisis of 1406.[25] While, with the appointment of his second son, Thomas, in 1401, Henry IV had previously sought to provide for the lieutenancy in accordance with late-fourteenth-century precedent, 1408 saw the lieutenant's grant reduced to 7,000 marks. As effective leader of the council, Prince Henry, critical of his brother's apparent lack of interest in his responsibilities, urged yet a further reduction in 1409.[26] This was resisted for the rest of the reign, despite the lieutenant's considerable and continual difficulties in securing the sums due:[27] the circumstances of Richard II's deposition may well have made Henry IV wary of seeming to neglect Ireland. However, on

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[23] See particularly W. Stubbs, *The constitutional history of England*, iii, 5th edn. (Oxford, 1896), p. 90; A. Steel, *The receipt of the exchequer* (Cambridge, 1954), pp. 179-202.

[24] See G.L. Harriss, 'Financial policy', *Henry V: the practice of kingship*, ed. G.L. Harriss (Oxford, 1985), pp. 157-79, esp. pp. 176-8.

[25] Ibid., p. 162; Harriss, *Beaufort*, pp. 50-5; C. Allmand, *Henry V* (London, 1992), pp. 386-7.

[26] P.R.O., E101/69/320; *P.P.C.* i, p. 320; C. Allmand, *Henry V*, pp. 336-7; for 1401, see above, p. 82, n. 18.

[27] See Otway-Ruthven, *Medieval Ireland*, p. 346, and further details in G.L. Harriss, 'Preference at the medieval exchequer', *B.I.H.R.*, xxx (1957), pp. 17-40, and '"Fictitious loans"', *Economic History Review*, viii, no. 2 (1955), pp. 187-99, esp. p. 190.

becoming king in 1413, Henry V set in train the first of two determined attempts to reduce the lordship's expectations of English financial support.

The indentures which the king himself negotiated with Sir John Stanley as lieutenant of Ireland in June 1413, offered English exchequer payment of a mere 4,000 marks for the first year in office and 3,000 marks for each of two further years.[28] As the indentures seem only to have made financial provision for the first three years of what was meant to be a six-year appointment, it is likely that the king initially intended to review these arrangements mid-term. However, when Stanley's death in Ireland necessitated another appointment the following year, his successor, John Talbot, was offered the same financial terms for his full six years in office.[29] The lieutenancy was thus reduced to a level of English exchequer support that was slightly less generous than that which had been fixed in 1411 for the wardenship of the east march towards Scotland in time of peace.[30] The king's choice of relatively low-ranking candidates was undoubtedly designed to facilitate this new policy: such a sharp reduction in English financial provision would have been much less easily achieved had the lieutenancy been retained by his brother, the duke of Clarence, or some other prominent English magnate. But at no subsequent stage in the Lancastrian period was there to be a return to pre-1413 levels of support, despite the fact that a number of high-ranking lieutenants were again appointed, especially in the latter part of Henry

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[28] *P.P.C.*, ii, pp. 130-1; for evidence of the king's personal role, see above, pp. 24-5.

[29] P.R.O., E404/29/190.

[30] Namely £2,500 a year: see R.L. Storey, 'The wardens of the marches of England towards Scotland, 1377-1489', *E.H.R.*, lxxii (1957), pp. 593-615, esp. p. 604. For comparisons with the far greater amounts spent on the defence of Calais and Normandy under the Lancastrians, see Lydon, *Lordship of Ireland*, p. 249.

VI's reign.[31] In the course of time expectations were altered. Notwithstanding a constant series of reviews and adjustments, the rate set by Henry V in 1413 came to be regarded by 1453 as the customary fee, being then described in the earl of Wiltshire's indentures as the payment 'our othr lieutenantes of our saide lande befor him received of us [the king] for the savegarde of the same'.[32]

With this level of financial support for the lieutenancy, the English exchequer, at least under Henry V, was reasonably well able to cope. Within six months of his appointment, John Stanley had received in cash all of, even slightly more than, the 4,000 marks owing to him for a full first year in office.[33] Despite the costs of King Henry's expeditions to France in 1415 and 1417, largely provided for by the careful accumulation of revenue and loans at the exchequer in advance,[34] payments to John Talbot totalled some eighty-six per cent of the sums due.[35] Although he received little in cash after 1416, few of the tallies were returned to the exchequer for reassignment, so the likelihood is that he did in the end receive most of the money thus assigned to him.

In Ireland, however, there seems to have been considerable resentment that English financial support was being reduced when John Stanley's and John Talbot's limited personal resources within the lordship made it difficult - ultimately impossible - for their creditors there to pursue

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[31] See above, pp. 17-19.
[32] P.R.O., E404/69/168.
[33] The issues to Stanley were made between 27 June and 15 November 1413 (P.R.O., E403/612, mm. 3, 9; /614, m. 5); he also received £120 towards his shipping expenses: for details see below, Appendix II, Table B, p. 562; Table C, p. 565.
[34] See G.L. Harriss, 'Financial policy', *Henry V: the practice of kingship*, ed. G.L. Harris, pp. 164-5.
[35] I.e. nearly £10,946 (possibly less £100 for shipping expenses) out of £12,666/13/4d: for totals of cash payments and assignments issued to Talbot, see below, Appendix II, Table B, p. 562; Table C, pp. 565-6.

army, or to assist with the defence of local strongholds.[40] For Ireland a new initiative was launched which skilfully combined the 'sufficiency' promised in 1417 with a major recasting of financial arrangements designed to transfer much of the cost of a new lieutenancy to the lordship itself. The appointment of the earl of Ormond as Talbot's successor in February 1420 was finally authorized by the duke of Gloucester, as keeper of England, but the key decisions were almost certainly made by the king, with whom Ormond had recently served in France.[41] Ormond's Irish earldom offered the wealth of personal resources in the lordship that Stanley and Talbot had lacked. Thus the choice of Ormond as lieutenant was perhaps a natural extension of the well-established policy of appointing local magnates to the wardenships of the Scottish marches,[42] with a similar calculation that such an appointment would harness local resources more effectively to the needs of defence. As lieutenant, Ormond was to receive a mere 2,500 marks a year, of which only an initial lump sum of 1,250 marks was to be drawn directly from the English exchequer. The remainder, Ormond was to attempt to raise in Ireland.[43]

Niggardly as these terms appear, Henry V was not simply washing his hands of English financial responsibility for the lieutenancy. Firstly, the financial arrangements incorporated a marked degree of flexibility.

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[40] See R.A. Newhall, *The English conquest of Normandy, 1416-24* (New Haven and London, 1924), pp. 150-76; C.T. Allmand, *Lancastrian Normandy, 1415-1450: the history of a medieval occupation* (Oxford, 1983), pp. 53-4, 192-3; R. Massey, 'The land settlement in Lancastrian Normandy', *Property and politics: essays in later medieval English history*, ed. A.J. Pollard, pp. 76-96, esp. pp. 78-83.

[41] *C.P.R., 1416-22*, p. 214. For the text of Ormond's patent, mistakenly assigned to 7 Henry VI, see *C.O.D.*, iii, no. 84 (1), pp. 67-8, translated from N.L.I., D 1620; for Ormond's service in France, see below, pp. 112-15.

[42] From 1386: see R.L. Storey, 'The wardens of the marches of England towards Scotland, 1377-1489', p. 599.

[43] P.R.O., E101/247/13, no. 5; N.L.I., D 1620, translated in *C.O.D.*, iii, no. 84 (2), p. 69.

Ormond's indentures made provision for him to claim from England any payments that he could not extract from Ireland: upon receipt of Irish-seal certification of the Irish exchequer's inability to pay, warrants would be authorized for further English exchequer issues to make up the shortfall. Balancing this safeguard was an optimistic clause stating that if available revenue in Ireland proved more than adequate to meet the payments due to the lieutenant, Ormond might, after further reference to the king, draw more from the Irish exchequer than the agreed 2,500 marks a year. Secondly, Ormond's unusually short term - two years -[44] shows that the new arrangments were not intended to be a long-term settlement, but an experiment of very limited duration. Thirdly, one of the many unusual features of his letters patent - the omission of the previously customary grant to the lieutenant of free disposal of the Irish revenue -[45] was apparently intended to open the way for a thorough investigation of the lordship's finances at Westminster. Both Ormond and the treasurer of Ireland were subsequently required to account at the English exchequer, and with them came not only various Irish exchequer rolls and warrants, but also details of the Irish parliamentary subsidies granted to the lieutenant which were not collected through the Dublin exchequer.[46]

In financial terms the experiment proved successful. The total cost of the two-year lieutenancy to the English exchequer, where resources were

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[44] Ormond's term of office was only a third of the length of those previously agreed for Stanley and Talbot in 1413 and 1414 (see above, p. 30) and presented an even more marked contrast with the twelve-year term offered to Thomas of Lancaster in 1406: *C.P.R., 1405-08*, p. 143.

[45] See above, p. 32.

[46] P.R.O., E101/247/8-16, 18; E364/57, m. G. The letters patent of William Tynbegh, appointed treasurer of Ireland under the English seal in July 1421 (confirmed September 1421) stated explicitly that he was to be obliged to account: *C.P.R., 1416-22*, pp. 383, 398.

by this stage stretched to the limit, was only £1,270.[47] This was little more than a third of the sum which had been issued to John Talbot during his first two years in office.[48] Contributions to Ormond's salary from the Dublin exchequer totalled nearly 1,344.[49] This, in Irish terms, was no mean sum, and the signs are that Ormond's lieutenancy saw the beginnings of the increase in Irish revenue that the new financial arrangements were clearly designed to encourage.[50] Ormond's remaining arrears - just over twenty per cent of the total due to him - were never paid, but there is no indication that he found shortage of funds a serious embarrassment as lieutenant.

Henry V's unexpected death in France, a mere four months after Ormond's two-year term of office expired in April 1422, left the new initiative for financing the lieutenancy in disarray. No provision had been made for a successor to Ormond: possibly it had been Henry's intention to make a decision in the light of the projected investigation of the lordship's financial resources, which in the event was not to be completed before December 1423.[51] By this time the councillors of the infant Henry VI had already completed negotiations for the appointment to the lieutenancy of the earl of March, a safe choice in terms of current politics and pre-Lancastrian precedents,[52] but one which proved ill-suited

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[47] I.e. his initial lump sum of 1,250 marks, £20 for shipping expenses and a further £416/13/4d issued in July 1421: P.R.O., E401/693, m. 9; /697, 17 July; E403/643, m. 20; confirmed by E101/247/11. For the care which the king took to avoid financial collapse in the final years of his reign, see G.L. Harris, 'Financial policy', loc. cit. pp. 167-8.

[48] £3,599/10/0d: see below, Appendix II, Table C, p. 565.

[49] See below, Appendix II, Table D, p. 572.

[50] For detailed discussion of this point, see below, pp. 133-43.

[51] The particulars of Ormond's account as lieutenant were sent from the English exchequer to the English council on 9 December 1423: P.R.O., E101/247/11.

[52] Several of March's forbears had served as lieutenant of Ireland in the fourteenth century (see above, pp. 17-18), and for the political considerations which prompted his appointment see below, p. 167-8.

to the further pursuit of Henry V's financial economies. It was initially proposed on 2 March 1423 that payment should be made on a sliding scale according to whether March went to Ireland in person (in which case he was to receive 4,000 marks *per annum*) or whether he sent as his deputy an English baron (3,000 marks) or a mere knight (2,000 marks).[53] On 27 April this plan was rejected in favour of a grant of 5,000 marks a year made on condition that, as in Ormond's case, the Irish revenue should contribute as much as possible of this higher sum.[54] March himself had not been present at these discussions, but before his indentures were sealed on 10 May he was apparently able to exert pressure for more favourable terms - the full 5,000 marks a year to be drawn entirely from the English exchequer.[55] Clearly neither the 1420 system of Irish exchequer contributions, nor the reduced rate of English exchequer funding offered to Stanley and Talbot in 1413 and 1414, were sufficiently well-established to be imposed on a lieutenant of royal blood in 1423, despite the English council's obvious concern for some measure of economy.

March's proposed nine-year term of office was cut short by his unexpected death in Ireland in January 1425.[56] By this date he should, according to his indentures, have received £5,833/6/8d; the sums actually issued to him totalled £4,217/6/8d.[57] The drain on the English exchequer over some twenty months had thus been very substantially greater than the demands of Ormond's two-year lieutenancy of 1420-22. How far this increased commitment would have been maintained had March survived in office for his full term is uncertain, but it is perhaps significant that

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[53] *P.P.C.*, iii, p. 49.
[54] Ibid., p. 68
[55] P.R.O., E28/41/45; E404/39/285.
[56] See below, Appendix I, list 2, p. 485.
[57] Excluding shipping expenses of £40 paid to March's agent, Richard Maidstone: see below, Appendix II, Table B, p. 562; Table C, p. 566.

when he died the English council decided to give the far less costly arrangements of 1420 a further cautious trial. In April 1425 Ormond was reappointed as lieutenant for just one year with 3,000 marks, only half of which was intended to come from England. The actual cost to the English exchequer was in the end even less than was initially envisaged. Although the full £1,000 from England promised in Ormond's indentures was assigned in 1425, a number of the tallies were later returned and by December 1427 it was agreed that the lieutenant was still owed £550. In payment of this he took £66/13/4d in cash and £300 by reassignment, waiving his claims to the remaining £183/6/8d. According to the Irish treasurer's account, Ormond raised just over half the £1,000 due to him from Ireland, and no further English issues were ever made towards the remainder.[58] Ormond's 1425 indentures exempted him from presenting a personal account at the English exchequer after this lieutenancy, but again, as in 1420-22, the substantial reduction in English funding, although it aroused some complaint frm Ireland,[59] did not apparently cause insuperable financial difficulties. Indeed an anonymous refutation (apparently emanating from the supporters of Ormond's chief political opponent in Ireland, Richard Talbot, archbishop of Dublin) of a petition sent to England by an Irish parliament of 1428 included the jibe that as lieutenant Ormond had been so successful in raising funds within the lordship, there was no need for the English exchequer to pay his arrears after all.[60]

This renewed evidence that a lieutenancy could be sustained with so little English financial support was clearly encouraging. Thereafter until

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[58] See below, Appendix II, Table A, p. 560; Table C, p. 566; Table D, p. 572.
[59] *Reg. Swayne*, p. 108; see also below, pp. 223-4.
[60] *R.C.H.*, p. 248, no. 13; below, p. 235.

1445 the essential elements of Henry V's financial arrangements of 1420 were upheld over five successive appointments. Rates of payment ranged from 5,000 to 3,000 marks a year, varying, after 1428, in proportion to the agreed size of the lieutenants' accompanying retinues,[61] but in each case the English exchequer was initially only responsible for issuing a lump sum of between £1,000 and 4,000 marks.[62] As in 1420 and 1425, the lieutenants were to attempt to draw the rest of their money from the revenues of Ireland.[63] Further issues could only be claimed from the English exchequer by sending Irish-seal certification of the Irish exchequer's inability to find all or part of the quarterly sums due. However, the success with which these arrangements had previously encouraged the lordship to meet more of the cost of its government and defence quickly evaporated.

After the expiry of his one-year appointment of 1425, Ormond himself did not return to office as lieutenant until 1442. In the interim, when the English council, and later Henry VI, were made well aware of the serious problems in Ireland arising from the Talbot-Ormond feud,[64] there was a consistent preference for candidates from England. Although the men appointed - lord Grey, John Sutton, Thomas Stanley and lord Welles - all

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[61] Agreement as to the exact size of the lieutenants' retinues was a special feature of all the indentures sealed between 1428 and 1442: see above, p. 44, and below, Appendix II, Table A, p. 560.

[62] In the cases of lord Grey (1427) and the earl of Ormond (1442) their lump sums of £1,000 were payable in full at the sealing of their indentures (P.R.O., E101/71/824; *An. Hib.*, 1 (1930), p. 215). Three quarters of the 4,000 marks promised to John Sutton (1428) and Thomas Stanley (1431) were payable at the date of sealing, the remainder a few months later (P.R.O., E404/46/154; /50/154). Lord Welles (1438) was to have only 1,000 marks at the date of sealing and a further £1,000 when the muster of his retinue had been completed at the port of embarkation for Ireland: E101/71/901.

[63] See below, Appendix II, Table A, p. 560.

[64] See below, pp. 224-9; 276-7.

lacked the rank and influence which had secured the temporary return to full, direct, English funding for the earl of March in 1423, each of them proved notably less successful than Ormond had been in raising financial support from Ireland. At best they extracted £100 - £300 in a year from the Dublin exchequer, sometimes less or nothing at all.[65] With the exception of lord Grey, who married Elizabeth fitzGerald, daughter of the fifth earl of Kildare, none of these lieutenants had significant personal resources in the lordship, and thus pressed their claims for supplementary payments from England all the more vigorously.[66] And although the requirement to send quarterly Irish-seal certifications of the Irish exchequer's inadequacy was cumbersome and invited delay, it had the practical advantage of prompting fresh English-seal warrants for each instalment of money due, thus providing additional help in securing English exchequer issues.

In England, meanwhile, there seems to have been more concern to satisfy the lieutenants' pleas for English funds (particularly in the late 1420s and early 1430s) than to investigate why they were unable to raise more money in Ireland. During the negotiations of lord Grey's appointment in 1427 the members of the English council showed themselves keen to provide for the lieutenancy as economically as possible,[67] but, as the

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[65] For figures and references see below, Appendix II, Table D, pp. 572-3.
[66] The only surviving evidence for the Grey-fitzGerald marriage seems to be the Irish-seal licence issued in 1432 for Elizabeth's subsequent marriage to the earl of Ormond, which described her as Grey's widow (*C.O.D.*, iii, no. 99, p. 82). The date of her marriage to Grey is uncertain, but probably took place during his lieutenancy. It was apparently Grey's second marriage, and he died in September 1430 (*C.P.*, vi, p. 129). For the other lieutenants, see above, pp. 19-20.
[67] Besides rejecting an earlier proposal that £1,000 of Grey's annual 4,000 marks should be drawn from the English exchequer each year (see above, p. 26) the final text of Grey's indentures included provision for his term of office to be cut short if the council managed to find another candidate to serve at a lower rate of payment: P.R.O., E101/71/824.

Irish-seal certifications of the Irish exchequer's poverty accumulated, scepticism set in as to the possibility of obtaining any real contribution from Ireland. When, in 1433, the treasurer of England, lord Cromwell, laid his estimates of royal revenue and expenditure before a parliament at Westminster, they included provision for payment of the full yearly 4,000 marks then due for the lieutenancy. No deduction was made for any Irish contributions at all.[68]

During these years English issues to the lieutenants at first rapidly increased. As lieutenant from March 1427 to March 1428, lord Grey received some £353 from the English exchequer in addition to his initial lump sum of £1,000, and he was paid a further sum of nearly £585 after leaving office.[69] Although Grey received in the end less than three quarters of his expected 4,000 marks for the year, his lieutenancy actually cost the English exchequer just over £1,000 more than the preceding lieutenancy of the earl of Ormond which had lasted exactly the same length of time. Grey's successor, John Sutton, fared significantly better. According to his indentures only the first 4,000 marks of the total of 9,000 marks due for his two-year lieutenancy from 1428 to 1430 was to be drawn directly from the English exchequer. Nevertheless within his term

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[68] *Rot. parl.*, iv, p. 436. In his list of the various sources of annual revenue, Cromwell included £2,339/18/6d from Ireland which, he noted, had been overspent by £18/17/5½d on fees, wages, annuities, repairs and other necessary expenses within the lordship (ibid., p. 434). These figures were compiled by John Geryn, who had audited the most recent Irish treasurer's account: P.R.O., E101/540/15, and see J.L. Kirby, 'The issues of the Lancastrian exchequer and lord Cromwell's estimates of 1433', *B.I.H.R.*, xxiv (1951), pp. 121-51, esp. pp. 132-5. It seems that Cromwell and Geryn were either unaware of, or discounted, the small contribution of £36 that Irish revenue had made towards Thomas Stanley's first payment of 1,000 marks due at the Irish exchequer at Michaelmas 1432: P.R.O., E404/49/172.

[69] See below, Appendix II, Table C, p. 566-7. Griffiths, *Henry VI*, p. 175, n. 62 suggests a rather lower figure of £449 for the arrears paid to Grey after leaving office, but there were as many as seven separate new issues to him between 5 May 1428 and 17 July 1430 ranging in value from £160 to £20: P.R.O., E403/686, mm. 3, 7; /688, mm. 5, 6; /691, m. 16; /695, mm. 8, 16.

of office his English issues totalled over £5,800, while his one payment from the Irish exchequer came to less than £200. Relatively few of Sutton's English assignments were subsequently exchanged, and it is possible that he actually received over ninety-six per cent of the money due to him before the end of his term.[70] The preference shown to Sutton may have been partly due to the English council's special, though short-lived, interest in Ireland at this time, in consequence of the presence there of James Stewart, cousin and political opponent of King James I of Scotland.[71] Sutton's successor, Thomas Stanley, had to work rather harder to obtain his money over the ensuing six years to 1437. At least twice an increasingly hard-presssed English exchequer attempted to shelve his claims, both at the time of his first appointment in 1431 (when, after five months, his indentures had to be rewritten specifying different starting dates because of the non-payment of his initial lump sum) and again in 1434. Yet on each occasion Stanley sought, and obtained, from the English council new warrants giving him special and effective preference over other creditors.[72] English issues to him during his lieutenancy totalled £12,286, well over four times his agreed initial English payment of 4,000 marks. Contributions from the Irish exchequer came to just under £520. Stanley's English assignments were frequently exchanged, but he probably secured well over sixty per cent of the £16,667 due to him within his six-year term and, by dint of the further exchanging of assignments and the extraction of some additional arrears thereafter, perhaps nearer eighty-five per cent overall.[73]

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[70] See below, Appendix II, Table C, p. 567; Table D, p. 572.
[71] Discussed below, pp. 240, 246.
[72] P.R.O., E404/48/283; /50/170; see Otway-Ruthven, *Medieval Ireland*, p. 368.
[73] See below, Appendix II, Table C, pp. 567-8; Table D, p. 573; also Griffiths, *Henry VI*, pp. 121, 167.

However, in the early years of Henry VI's personal rule, this system began to break down. Competing for funds, not only against increasingly urgent demands for the defence of English positions in France, but also with the young king's many generosities at home,[74] the lieutenancy suffered a serious decline in English financial support. Small successive reductions in the financial terms offered to the lieutenants in 1438 and 1442 (bringing the annual grant back to the 3,000 marks a year agreed in 1425)[75] were followed by a significant drop in the actual level of English issues. While lord Welles had no difficulty in securing his initial lump sum of £1,666/13/4d, supplementary English payments to him fell from just over £1,800 in 1439 to scarcely more than £100 in 1441.[76] The likelihood is that it was the English exchequer's failure to pay Welles' arrears promptly that caused his premature resignation from office in 1442 with three years of his full term as lieutenant still to run.[77] His successor, the earl of Ormond, had much greater difficulty in securing his initial lump sum of £1,000 after his appointment in the February of that year, and supplementary English issues came to no more than just over a further £1,000 before his lieutenancy terminated just under three years later.[78]

The fall in English issues was certainly not due to any increase in contributions from Ireland. Welles received a mere £109 from the Dublin exchequer.[79] Making the appropriate deductions for subsequently cancelled

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[74] Griffiths, *Henry VI*, pp. 329-33, 376-7.
[75] See below, Appendix II, Table A, p. 560.
[76] Ibid., Table C, p. 568; the figures for Welles' issues are confirmed by his account: P.R.O., E101/540/17.
[77] A special clause in Welles' indentures permitted his resignation, if, after claiming supplementary payments from the English exchequer, these were not actually issued within three months of the date of the appropriate warrant (P.R.O., E101/71/901). See also Griffiths, *Henry VI*, p. 437, n. 75.
[78] See below, Appendix II, Table C, p. 569.
[79] Ibid., Table D, p. 573.

English assignments, he can only have received about half the money due to him within his term of office. The later exchanging of various tallies together with a further English assignment of £1,000 shortly after he left office brought the overall total to just under sixty-five per cent.[80] In Ormond's case all the certifications sent from Ireland during his lieutenancy protested that Irish revenue could not pay him anything at all.[81] Ormond himself, doubtless aware of the extent to which the Irish constituent of most of his predecessors' grants had been subsidized by English issues, was apparently far less keen to spare the English exchequer than he had been in the 1420s. Indeed the proffer he had submitted before his appointment in 1442 had actually asked for an annual grant of 4,000 marks to be drawn entirely from England.[82] Although the refusal of this request had not been enough to deter Ormond from taking office, the then Irish treasurer, Giles Thorndon, appalled by the poor state of the Dublin exchequer, was determined that none of the earl's payments should be drawn from the Irish revenue and received English-seal authorization to give preference to other charges.[83] Overall Ormond was paid just thirty-five per cent of the money due to him, and he received

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[80] Calculated in relation to the figure of £8,331/9/7d quoted in Welles' account as the total amount that he should have received for the term he actually served as lieutenant (P.R.O., E101/540/17). The date of his final new assignment of £1,000 was 19 March 1442 (E403/744, m. 14). Although the issue roll described Welles as lieutenant, this was exactly three weeks after Ormond's appointment as his successor on 26 February: see below, Appendix I, list 1, p. 480.

[81] See below, Appendix II, Table D, p. 573.

[82] Discussed above, pp. 23-4. For the text of this document, see below, Appendix III, v, pp. 588-9.

[83] *P.P.C.*, v, pp. 203-6, 321-4; see also Otway-Ruthven, *Medieval Ireland*, p. 373; below, pp. 328-32.

only about twenty per cent within his term of office.[84] Thus by the end of this lieutenancy the financial arrangements of 1420 gave every appearance of total breakdown.

In 1445 they were simply abandoned without any real attempt to investigate what had gone wrong. The appointment of the earl of Shrewsbury as lieutenant that year saw a return to Henry V's earlier provision of a first year payment of 4,000 marks, followed by 3,000 marks *per annum* thereafter, all of which was to be paid directly from the English exchequer. These, of course, were the same terms as those on which Shrewsbury had undertaken the lieutenancy in 1414 as John Talbot, a coincidence which suggests that the initiative for this change (as for the accompanying reinstatement of various independent powers which intervening lieutenants since 1420 had not enjoyed[85]) was his, rather than the king's or his councillors'. Identical financial terms were agreed with Shrewsbury's successors, the duke of York and the earl of Wiltshire, and thus remained fixed for the remainder of Henry VI's reign.[86] The lordship, however, derived relatively little benefit from this formal reassertion of the pre-1420 principle that all the annual payments to lieutenants should be drawn from English, rather than Irish, revenue. Shrewsbury's lieutenancy coincided with a period of grave financial crisis at the

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[84] Ormond's lieutenancy came to an end after the final instalment for his third year in office fell due at Michaelmas 1444, when, although he had been recalled to England, his deputy was still in office (see below, Appendix I, list 2, p. 489). Out of the total of £6,000 payable for these three years, he received not more than £110 in cash, plus £1,132 in uncancelled assignments within his term of office. Subsequent reassignments totalled a further £806: P.R.O., E401/775, 14 Mar,; /780, 16 Nov., 1, 7 Dec.; /781, 3 July; /854, m. 3; E403/744, m. 14; /748, mm. 4, 7, 9, 14; /749, m. 9; /757, mm. 6,11; /759, m. 5; /769, mm. 4, 14; /795, m. 6.

[85] See above, pp. 35-39.

[86] See below, Appendix II, Table A, pp. 561.

English exchequer.[87] Despite a major effort to provide him with sufficient funds just before his departure for Ireland in 1446, Shrewsbury had distinctly greater difficulty in obtaining the money due to him than during his previous lieutenancy as John Talbot some thirty years earlier.[88] Although the duke of York was issued with cash and assignments totalling some £2,533 in 1448-49 in addition to his shipping expenses of over £300, the lieutenancy received very little financial support thereafter. In the final, disastrous decade of the Lancastrian régime, the English exchequer produced only two small assignments to York as lieutenant in 1451 and 1457, and the 4,000 marks due for the earl of Wiltshire's first year in office, 1453-54, which, like the earl himself, probably failed to reach Ireland. Otherwise there were no new English issues for the lieutenancy between 1450 and 1461 at all.[89]

To what extent then was English financial provision for the lieutenancy characterized by 'weakness' and 'failure'? In the context of the 1450s, and, at times, that of the 1440s, when Henry VI's personal lack of interest and ability in financial affairs caused grave problems in all areas of government and defence, with regard to England and France, as

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[87] See G.L. Harriss, 'Marmaduke Lumley and the exchequer crisis of 1446-9', *Aspects of late medieval government and society: essays presented to J.R. Lander*, ed. J.G. Rowe (Toronto, 1986), pp. 143-78.

[88] Ibid., p. 151; and see below, Appendix II, Table C, pp. 569-70. Although his indentures were sealed in February 1445, Shrewsbury was paid nothing until July 1446, when a large assignment of £3,666/13/4d proved uncashable. During his term of office it seems that he can only have received about half the money due to him. In March 1448 he was still owed over £3,527 (*C.P.R., 1446-52*, p. 146). For his further difficulties in extracting this debt, see Pollard, *John Talbot*, p. 111.

[89] See below, Appendix II, Table B, pp. 563-4; Table C, pp. 570-1.

well as Ireland, the words are certainly apt.[90] However, they can scarcely be applied to Henry V's reign, nor, without reservations, to the succeeding era of Henry VI's minority. By 1413 the substantial English subsidies that had been attached to the lieutenancy since the 1360s had long failed to achieve their original purpose - the recovery for the crown of the profits which Edward III's predecessors had been able to draw from Ireland -[91] and had become a considerable strain on the English exchequer. Henry V's reappraisal of this commitment was part of his overall pursuit of the financial rectitude demanded by good kingship,[92] and he planned to monitor the effects of his attempt to reduce the flow of financial aid to Ireland with some care. Although his originally promising initiative suffered a slow death at the hands of the minority councillors and Henry VI - a clear instance of the contrast between the success and coherence of Lancastrian government between 1413 and 1422 and the frequent lack of powerful central direction thereafter - the needs of the lieutenancy were by no means neglected in England until the early 1440s. Indeed actual financial provision for the lieutenancy in the 1420s and 1430s was frequently much more generous than Henry V had contemplated. It was only in the later years of Henry VI's reign that the good intentions of royal government were frustrated by its increasing bankruptcy, which ultimately left the lieutenancy without any financial support from England at all.

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[90] For the financial background to the loss of Normandy in 1449 and the domestic crisis of 1450, see G.L. Harriss, 'Marmaduke Lumley and the exchequer crisis of 1446-9', pp. 164-71; Griffiths, *Henry VI*, pp. 378-94.
[91] See P. Connolly, 'The financing of English expeditions to Ireland, 1361-1376', p. 105.
[92] See G.L. Harriss, 'Introduction: the exemplar of kingship', *Henry V: the practice of kingship*, ed. G.L. Harriss, p. 15.

However, on no occasion between 1413 and 1461 did the king or the English council make any separate financial provision for lieutenants' deputies. In 1406 Stephen Scrope, as deputy for Thomas of Lancaster, had sealed special indentures by which the English exchequer undertook direct responsibility for the payment of his troops,[93] and similar arrangements were to be made for various deputies during Edward IV's reign,[94] but under Henry V and Henry VI no deputy lieutenant was given any such direct access to English funds. Although deputies were from time to time responsible for the sending of the appropriate certifications of the Irish revenue's inability to pay all or part of an instalment of a lieutenant's annual payment, the resulting English issues were always made to the lieutenants. The financing of deputies, like their appointment, was considered to be the business of the lieutenants, not of the king.[95]

As the money due to the lieutenants was payable throughout their terms of office, including those periods when deputies were acting, the official expectation was clearly that deputies' financial needs would be fully, if indirectly, covered by the issues to the lieutenants. Indeed, the reason why English exchequer payments continued to be made to the earl of Shrewsbury in February and June 1448, first as 'lieutentant', then as 'keeper' of Ireland, well after his appointment had been superseded in England by that of the duke of York, was almost certainly because Shrewsbury's deputy in Ireland was not relieved by York's until later in the year.[96] However, it seems unlikely that deputies actually received

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[93] P.R.O., E404/21/305; and see J.H. Wylie, *History of England under Henry IV*, ii (London, 1896), p. 162.

[94] For Roland fitzEustace in 1462, the earl of Desmond in 1463, John Tiptoft, earl of Worcester in 1465, Henry, lord Grey in 1478 and Robert Preston, lord Gormanston in 1479: *An. Hib.*, x (1941), pp. 28-31, 38-41, 48-9.

[95] For the appointing of deputies, see above, pp. 49-51.

[96] See below, Appendix II, Table C, p. 570.

(b.)

very much in the way of English funds. On a number of occasions it was a lieutenant's lack of cash that prompted his recourse to a deputy, and the frequency with which English lieutenants chose their deputies from amongst the prominent lay or ecclesiastical figures of the lordship, rather than from the leading members of their English retinues,[97] may in itself be an indication that deputies were often expected to manage on local resources. While details of the formal terms of appointment of deputy lieutenants in this period are scarce, the two such indentures which have survived both confirm this. The financial provision which the earl of Ormond as lieutenant made for his deputy, lord Delvin, in 1444 depended partly on the collection of various debts due to the lieutenant in Ireland and partly on payments in kind from prise of merchandise.[98] The arrangements in 1450 agreed for Ormond himself as deputy to the duke of York named a fee of £1,000 for the earl's first year in office. Of this sum the first quarter's instalment was certainly to be drawn from taxation and fines raised in Ireland; additional resources were to be drawn from York's personal revenues as earl of Ulster. No mention was made of any contributions to be expected from York in England.[99]

It thus seems probable that, well before the flow of English financial aid through the lieutenants actually dried up, Ireland had to provide for itself, not only during the justiciarships that filled the relatively few gaps between lieutenancies, but also during many of the more frequent gaps between lieutenants' visits. Despite this, the

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[97] See above, pp. 52-6.
[98] The text of the 1444 indentures is printed in *C.O.D.*, iii, no. 161, pp. 157-9, from N.L.I., D 1718; for further details of the document, see below, pp. 363-7.
[99] Bodleian Library, Western MS. 31647, pt. 1, pp. 1-2; for further discussion of the document and the full text, see below, pp. 443-5, and Appendix III, vi, pp. 589-91.

reluctance, which men of the lordship had shown to shoulder the financial risks of justiciarships unsupported by English funds under Richard II and Henry IV,[100] disappeared. Under Henry VI prominent figures in Ireland were remarkably eager to take on the chief governorship in any capacity, even when there was little or no prospect of any English money. By the end of the reign, when Ireland was totally bereft of English subsidies, the lordship had become accustomed to finding ways of surmounting the financial problems that had earlier seemed insuperable. To a large extent it was the Talbot-Ormond feud which whetted the sudden and sustained local appetite for high office, but the crucial turning point was 1420-22. Despite the subsequent disintegration of Henry V's strategy for encouraging the lordship to bear more of the cost of its own defence, it was his successful appointment of the earl of Ormond to the lieutenancy in 1420 that first demonstrated how much local resources could achieve.

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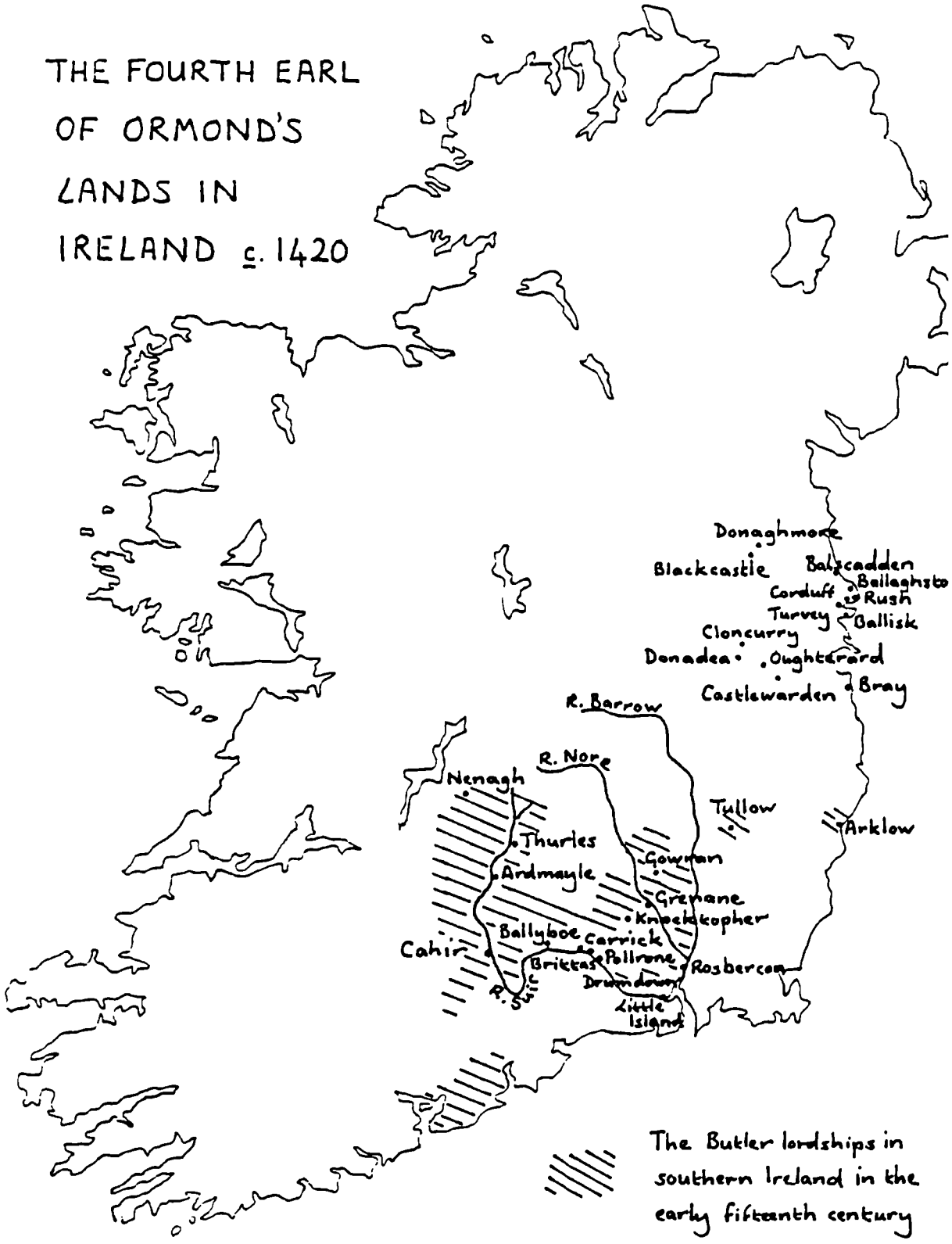
[100] See above, pp. 2-3.

PART II

THE POLITICAL CAREER OF JAMES BUTLER, FOURTH EARL OF ORMOND, 1420-52

MAP 2:

THE FOURTH EARL OF ORMOND'S LANDS IN IRELAND c. 1420



CHAPTER FOUR

THE FIRST LIEUTENANCY, 1420-22

i) The background to Ormond's appointment

In the context of royal policy the appointment of a local magnate to the Irish lieutenancy in 1420 was clearly an essential part of Henry V's new initiative for encouraging the lordship to finance more of the cost of its own defence.[1] Why, however, did the king's choice fall upon the earl of Ormond? Why too should the earl have been willing to accept the office, even for a short, trial period, with so little of the customary financial support from England?

For some eighty years before Henry V's accession the holders of the three Irish earldoms of Kildare (created in 1316), Ormond (1328) and Desmond (1329) had been the leading magnates of the lordship. None of its other resident families had been able to obtain such prestige, resources and territorial influence.[2] The older, formerly dominant, earldom of Ulster (1205, recreated 1263) had since the murder in Ireland of Earl William de Burgh in 1333, devolved by marriage and inheritance upon a succession of absentees who only asserted their due precedence over the resident earls in Ireland on relatively short, infrequent visits.[3] The earldom of Louth (1319) had been extinct since the assassination of the first earl, John Bermingham, in 1329.[4] The only new creations to threaten

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[1] See above, pp. 86-8.
[2] See Frame, *English lordship*, pp. 13-18; J.A. Watt, 'The Anglo-Irish colony under strain, 1327-99', *N.H.I.*, ii, pp. 353-96, esp. pp. 353-62.
[3] See *H.B.C.*, p. 497; Otway-Ruthven, *Medieval Ireland*, p. 251; Frame, op. cit., pp. 144-5; and for the absentee earls of Ulster, see above, p. 17.
[4] See Frame, op. cit. p. 16; J. Lydon, 'The impact of the Bruce invasion, 1315-27', *N.H.I.*, ii, pp. 275-302, at p. 300.

the pre-eminence of the surviving earldoms in the later fourteenth century were the titles of marquis of Dublin (1385) and duke of Ireland (1386) bestowed by Richard II on Robert de Vere, earl of Oxford, and these had proved short-lived. De Vere failed to visit Ireland, was dispossessed by the Merciless Parliament of 1388 and died in exile without direct heirs in 1392.[5]

Henry V's promise in 1417 to send 'good and sufficient officers' to Ireland once the lieutenancy of John Talbot had run its course could obviously have been redeemed by the appointment of the absentee earl of Ulster, namely Edmund, fifth earl of March. Nevertheless the launching of March into an unfamiliar lordship as lieutenant was likely (and indeed proved, after Henry V's death) to be more, not less, costly than the dispatching of John Stanley and John Talbot to Ireland in 1413 and 1414.[6] In June 1418 the king appointed March, who was then already serving in France, as lieutenant for Normandy[7] and looked instead to the remaining Irish earldoms for a more suitable candidate to take charge in Dublin.

For Desmond the moment was inauspicious. The king's near contemporary, the titular earl, Thomas fitzJohn, had been ousted from his lands in Cork, Kerry, Limerick, Tipperary and Waterford in 1411 by his uncle, James fitzGerald.[8] After retreating to England, fitzJohn had been sent back in the late summer of 1413 with royal approval and a force of

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[5] See Otway-Ruthven, *Medieval Ireland*, pp. 318-21. An additional earldom, that of Cork, was created in the mid 1390s for Richard's cousin, Edward, later duke of York, but he seems to have been an absentee after 1399 and died without descendants at Agincourt in 1415: ibid., p. 336; *C.P.*, xii, pt. 2, pp. 899-905.

[6] See above, pp. 84-90.

[7] *C.P.*, viii, p. 452; 'Calendar of Norman Rolls', *D.K.R.*, xli (1880), p. 690.

[8] *A.F.M.*, iv, p. 805; *A.U.*, iii, p. 61. There is now some confusion over the proper numbering of the earls of Desmond after 1399. In *H.B.C.*, p. 493 Thomas fitzJohn appears as the fifth earl, but in *N.H.I.*, ix, p. 233 he is listed as the sixth earl in acknowledgment of the brief *de facto* earldom of his elder uncle, Maurice fitzGerald, 1399-1401.

sixty men at arms and three hundred archers to reassert his position in the south-west.[9] The enterprise had proved a conspicuous failure. FitzGerald had imprisoned his nephew, who was only subsequently released, according to a letter sent to the king from an Irish council in June 1417, after the intervention of John Talbot.[10] In 1418 fitzJohn effectively surrendered the earldom to his uncle. Although fitzJohn's title continued to be recognised in England, hope was apparently abandoned of his ever regaining its substance. He, like March, was sent to Normandy, where he died in the summer of 1420.[11]

It was the most senior of the earls, Gerald fitzMaurice, fifth earl of Kildare, whose sphere of influence lay closest to the centre of government. Although he had a scattering of holdings in the south and south-west, his chief castles and manors - Maynooth, Naas, Kildare itself, Geashill and Lea - were much closer to Dublin.[12] But although the earl of Kildare had previously served a year's justiciarship from 1405 to 1406,[13] he was by no means a likely candidate for the lieutenancy in 1420. The date of his birth is uncertain, but he was probably already in his sixties. There may also have been some doubt as to his loyalty. While his father, originally a ward of Edward III, and married in 1347 to Elizabeth Burghersh, daughter of the king's chamberlain, always maintained close links with the royal court, the fifth earl apparently allowed these to lapse.[14] He was twice

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[9] An English-seal order for the collection of suitable shipping was issued on 21 August 1413: *C.P.R., 1413-16*, p. 117.
[10] Ellis, *Original letters*, 2nd series, i, p. 61.
[11] See *C.P.*, iv, pp. 245-6; Otway-Ruthven, *Medieval Ireland*, pp. 352-3.
[12] Details of his lands on his death in 1432 appear in *C.O.D.*, iii, no. 101, pp. 83-9.
[13] Between the death of the third earl of Ormond as deputy to the then deputy lieutenant, Stephen Scrope, in September 1405 and the return of Scrope to Ireland in the autumn of 1406: *N.H.I.*, ix, p. 475; Otway-Ruthven, *Medieval Ireland*, pp. 344-5.
[14] *C.P.*, vii, pp. 223-7; for the fourth earl and Edward III, see also Frame, *English lordship*, pp. 281-3.

imprisoned by Lancastrian chief governors - firstly by Thomas of Lancaster in 1408, possibly for alleged misconduct during the recent justiciarship[15] and secondly, ten years later, by Thomas Talbot as John Talbot's deputy. On this occasion in June 1418, it was claimed that Kildare and Sir Christopher Preston, frustrated by the deputy's failure to appear to hold a parliament at Trim on the appointed day, had usurped his role by adjourning the session to Dublin on their own authority.[16] Thomas Talbot was convinced that, despite their denials, Kildare and Preston were plotting armed resistance, and Henry V was sufficiently alarmed by the incident to issue from Normandy a warrant for Kildare, Preston and a third man, Sir John Bellew, to be brought before the English council.[17] Kildare retained his lands, but the one justiciarship of 1405-6 was to remain his sole experience of high office until his death in 1432.

The fourth earl of Ormond, like Thomas fitzJohn of Desmond, was of the same generation as the king and probably much the same age as Henry's youngest brother, the duke of Gloucester, who was born in 1390.[18] While the main concentration of Butler lands in the Barrow-Nore-Suir basin in central southern Ireland was somewhat cut off from Dublin, there was no doubt that the earl's personal resources were very extensive.[19] While the northern part of the first earl of Ormond's original liberty of Tipperary, granted in tail male to his successors during the time of the second earl

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[15] *The annals of Loch Cé*, ed. W.M. Hennessy, ii (R.S., London, 1871), p. 125; see also Otway-Ruthven, *Medieval Ireland*, p. 345.

[16] See 'The background to the arrest of Sir Christopher Preston in 1418', ed. A.J. Otway-Ruthven, pp. 79-80, and Otway-Ruthven *Medieval Ireland*, pp. 353-6.

[17] P.R.O., C81/1542/43, 63; E101/698/34; *C.C.R., 1413-19*, p. 472.

[18] The third earl's English inquisitions *post mortem* fail to agree about the age of his heir, but he was probably twenty-one when he was granted livery of his Irish lands in August 1411: P.R.O., C137/52, no. 19; /85, no. 9; *C.O.D.*, ii, no. 413, p. 297.

[19] For a map of Ormond's lands in Ireland, see above, p. 105.

in 1372,[20] was a largely unsettled, Gaelic area, this was not true of the central and southern part of what had in the late thirteenth century been the richest royal county in Ireland. By the end of the fourteenth century the earldom had also substantially extended its dominance of County Kilkenny, and amongst the more far-flung holdings were over a dozen separate manors scattered north, west and south of Dublin itself.[21]

Of the three surviving resident comital lines the Butler earls of Ormond had consistently maintained the closest links with England, counteracting in some degree the forces which tended to isolate them and their peers from English politics and royal attention - namely the need for constant personal vigilance in the defence of their Irish lands, and their normal exclusion from parliaments and royal councils in England because the lordship had its own assemblies. Both the first and third earls had sought brides outside Ireland, marrying respectively Eleanor Bohun, grand-daughter of Edward I through his daughter Elizabeth, and Anne, daughter of John, lord Welles.[22] While the second earl's wife, Elizabeth, was through her mother a grand-daughter of Richard, earl of Ulster 1280-1326, her father, lord Darcy, was a former English justiciar of Ireland and another of Edward III's chamberlains.[23] Although the bulk of the Ormond lands were in Ireland, the fourth earl's inheritance also included about twenty English manors and properties spread over ten midland and southern counties - Herefordshire, Gloucestershire and Somerset, Warwickshire,

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[20] *C.O.D.*, iii, no. 348, pp. 376-9.
[21] See C.A. Empey, 'The Butler lordship', pp. 174-87; idem, 'The Anglo-Norman community in Tipperary and Kilkenny in the middle ages: change and continuity', *Keimelia: studies in medieval archaeology and history in memory of Tom Delaney*, ed. G. Mac Niocaill and P. Wallace (Galway, 1988), pp. 449-67, esp. 459-64.
[22] *C.P.*, x, pp. 116-23. With only two exceptions the fourteenth-century earls of Kildare and Desmond had chosen brides from Ireland: ibid., iv, pp. 237-45; vii, 218-24.
[23] Ibid., iv, pp. 54-8; x, pp. 119-21.

Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire, Suffolk and Essex, Surrey and Hampshire.[24] He too, by 1413, had further strengthened the family's English connections by his marriage to Joan Beauchamp, daughter of William, lord Abergavenny, and Joan, daughter of Richard, fourth earl of Arundel.[25]

In the fifteen years between his succession to the earldom as a minor in 1405 and his appointment as lieutenant in 1420, Ormond had given proof of loyalty and service to the crown both in Ireland and beyond. On the death of his father, the third earl, custody of the inheritance and the marriage of the heir was given to the then lieutenant, Prince Thomas of Lancaster.[26] As the prince's particular protégé it is perhaps not surprising that the young Ormond was briefly entrusted with charge of the Dublin administration for eight months from December 1407, while Lancaster's deputy, Stephen Scrope, reported back to England in preparation for the arrival of the prince himself the following August.[27] Thereafter, while Ormond continued to spend some time in Ireland, the patronage of Prince Thomas (from 1412 the duke of Clarence) drew him abroad to play an active role in at least two of the French campaigns that were ultimately to lead to Henry V's recognition as heir to Charles VI in 1420.

In 1412 Ormond was one of the leading members of an expedition to France led by Clarence himself. This had originally been intended to provide the military assistance promised to various French princes against

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[24] For Ormond's lands in England, see below, Appendix IV, pp. 592-5.
[25] The marriage took place before 28 August 1413: *C.P.R., 1413-16*, p. 93. The couple were third cousins, the bride being through her mother a descendant of a brother of the first countess of Ormond, Eleanor Bohun: *C.P.*, i, pp. 244-5; x, p. 118.
[26] *C.O.D.*, ii, no. 386, pp. 277-8. Thomas' wife, Margaret, marchioness of Somerset, whom he married in 1411, was through her mother a first cousin of lady Abergavenny, mother of Ormond's bride: *C.P.*, iii, p. 259; vii, p. 156.
[27] *C.O.D.*, ii, no. 391, pp. 282-3; *N.H.I.*, ix, p. 476.

the duke of Burgundy, in return for their recognition of Henry IV's title to Aquitaine, by the terms of the short-lived treaty of Bourges. In the event, the treaty was renounced by the French just before Clarence and his men left England. The venture, however, proved extremely profitable to Clarence, and Ormond no doubt enjoyed some share of the lucrative spoils acquired in the course of a plundering march across France from Normandy to Bordeaux.[28] When the expedition returned to England after the death of Henry IV in March 1413, Ormond was sent back to Ireland with a small force of forty men at arms and a hundred and sixty archers. English seal orders for the provision of shipping for these men at Bristol were sealed on the same date in August as those for the somewhat larger force of the earl of Desmond, but were nevertheless separate.[29] So too were the earls' respective arrivals in Ireland.[30] Ormond's role on this occasion was apparently not to assist Desmond's ultimately abortive enterprise, but to herald the new lordship of Henry V in advance of the arrival of his lieutenant, John Stanley. After further service in Ireland to Stanley's successor, John Talbot, at least until May 1415,[31] tradition has it that Ormond participated in the Agincourt campaign later the same year.[32] This could have been the case, but while Hall's sixteenth-century chronicle mentions the knighting of a certain 'Jacques de Ormond' by Henry V at Pont

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[28] Marleborough, 'Chron.' p. 218; see also J.H. Wylie, *History of England under Henry the fourth*, iv, pp. 76-86; M. Keen, 'Diplomacy', *Henry V: the practice of kingship*, ed. G.L. Harriss, pp. 181-99, esp. pp. 186-8; T.B. Pugh, *Henry V and the Southampton plot of 1415* (Southampton Records Series, xxx, 1988), pp. 54-6.

[29] *C.P.R., 1413-16*, p. 117; for Desmond, see above, pp. 107-8.

[30] According to the entry assigned to 1414 in the *Annals of the Four Masters*, 'the earl of Desmond came to Ireland bringing with him many of the Saxons, to devastate Munster. The earl of Ormond came to Ireland from the king of England': *A.F.M.*, iv, p. 817; see also Otway-Ruthven, *Medieval Ireland*, p. 347.

[31] *R.C.H.*, p. 208, no. 143; p. 213, no. 135.

[32] See Graves, *King's council*, p. xxx; *The first English life of King Henry V*, ed. C.L. Kingsford (Oxford, 1911), p. xvii; Otway-Ruthven, *Medieval Ireland*, p. 357.

St Maxence, the earl's name is not amongst those listed as having fought in battle with the king on 25 October.[33] While the duke of Clarence's retinue in 1415 had indeed included an earl, this was his young stepson, Henry, earl of Somerset, and Clarence himself was sent back to England after the surrender of Harfleur in September.[34] By March 1416 Ormond was certainly in Ireland, but left again on 7 June.[35] Whether he joined the king's second, more extensive, French expedition at its outset in 1417 is uncertain, but as John Talbot's term as lieutenant in Ireland drew to an end, Ormond was certainly well placed to secure the king's attention. In the spring of 1418 he left England as a member of Clarence's retinue,[36] took part in the siege of Rouen which began in July,[37] and was probably amongst the force which was sent out from Mantes a year later to take Pontoise.[38]

The earl thus played his part in the king's successful conquest and occupation of Normandy, and in so doing unwittingly sowed the seed of subsequent historical and literary dispute. The sixteenth-century author of the first English biography of Henry V drew some of his material from the account of a man described as 'a certaine honourable auncient person

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[33] *Hall's Chronicle*, ed. H. Ellis (London, 1809; reprinted New York, 1965), p. 64; and for the combatants at Agincourt, see N.H. Nicolas, *History of the battle of Agincourt* (London, 1827), pp. 1-72.

[34] P.R.O., E101/45/4; *C.P.*, xii, pt. 1, p. 45; *Gesta Henrici Quinti*, ed. F. Taylor and J.S. Roskell (Oxford, 1975), pp. 32-5, 59.

[35] P.R.O.I., RC 8/36, pp. 543-4; *Rotuli selecti ad res Anglicas et Hibernicas spectantes*, ed J. Hunter (London, 1834), p. 100.

[36] 'Calendar of French rolls', *D.K.R.*, xliv (1883), pp. 604-5. Clarence himself had apparently returned briefly to England from France by February 1418 to collect payment for his retinue: *Foedera*, ix, pp. 545-6; Devon, *Issues*, p. 354.

[37] *Brut*, p. 387; *Historical collections of a citizen of London in the fifteenth century*, ed. J. Gairdner (Camden Society, new series, xvii, 1876), p. 7.

[38] James fitzWilliam (before 1415 chief baron of the Irish exchequer) was said to have died in Ormond's service at Pontoise: see M.C. Griffith, 'The Talbot-Ormond struggle for control of the Anglo-Irish government', p. 394.

... the honnorable Erle of Ormond'.[39] In editing the work in 1911, C.L. Kingsford assumed this to be a reference to some written account of memories of the king's contemporary, the fourth earl himself.[40] This was subsequently contested by W.T. Waugh, who suggested that it was more probable that the ancient person in question was the seventh earl, Ormond's youngest son, Thomas, who was still alive at the time of the work's composition, *c.* 1513-14, and could well have related the information directly to the author.[41] But whichever the case, the likelihood that much of the Ormond material emanated directly or indirectly from the fourth earl's experiences and contacts in the period 1412 to 1420 is overwhelming. Some of the excerpts attributed to the Ormond source concern incidents which the fourth earl could actually have witnessed - the distribution of the booty of Caen by the duke of Clarence amongst his retinue; the king's famous encounter with the Franciscan, Vincent Ferrier, in May 1418.[42] Others - such as the conversation between Prince Henry and his dying father, and the reception of the Emperor Sigismund at Dover in the spring of 1416 -[43] the fourth earl could well have heard of soon after they occurred. Moreover the fourth earl's service to Henry V was later a treasured memory in the Butler family. In 1616, Robert Roth, a member of the council of the then late Thomas, eleventh earl of Ormond and Ossory, wrote a history of the earl's ancestors. Roth drew his material from the earl's 'evidences', amongst which can be identified some of the

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[39] *The first English life of Henry V*, ed. C.L. Kingsford, p. 3.
[40] Ibid., pp. xvi-xx; see also C. Allmand, *Henry V*, pp. 432-3.
[41] See J.H. Wylie and W.T. Waugh, *The reign of Henry V*, iii (Cambridge, 1929), Appendix Z[2], pp. 445-8. Thomas, the seventh earl, born between 1422 and 1430, may well have been about ninety when he died in 1515: *C.P.*, x, pp. 131-3.
[42] The author of the work, however, mistakenly assigned the St Vincent episode to the period after, rather than before, the siege of Rouen: *The first English life of Henry V*, ed. C.L. Kingsford, pp. 92, 130-2.
[43] Ibid., pp. 13-16, 67-8.

documents now known as the Ormond deeds. In places the history is muddled and inaccurate, but it firmly identifies the fourth earl as having been 'in greate favourre and credite to the most victorious prince king H 5'.[44] Of this favour and credit, the appointment of Ormond as lieutenant of Ireland in 1420 certainly provided positive proof.

Recent events in Ireland gave Ormond himself good reason to welcome, even to seek, such an appointment at this time. He had apparently spent long enough in the lordship during John Talbot's lieutenancy to have accompanied him on five separate expeditions, and during this time the friction between the two men, which sowed the seeds of the long-running Talbot-Ormond feud in Ireland, had rapidly developed. Their hostility, painstakingly chronicled in Ormond's subsequent reckoning up of twenty-eight instances of the 'malys' and 'evil will' shown to him and to others associated with him by Talbot as lieutenant,[45] probably had its origins in events in England in the years immediately preceding Talbot's appointment in 1414. Before the end of Henry IV's reign Talbot had become the leading political opponent in Shropshire of the county's most powerful magnate, Thomas, earl of Arundel, uncle of Ormond's wife, Joan Beauchamp. Talbot-Arundel hostilities had been particularly violent in 1413, and Talbot himself, possibly because of Arundel's influence with Henry V, had been committed to the Tower for some weeks before being sent to Ireland.[46]

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[44] B.L., Additional MS 4792, ff. 241-65, esp. f. 254.

[45] See the 'accusacions of the Erle of Ormond to the Lord Talbot' printed from P.R.O., C47/10/27, nos. 1-4 (mistakenly entitled 'Accusations against Ormond') by M.C. Griffith in 'The Talbot-Ormond struggle for control of the Anglo-Irish government', Appendix II, pp. 393-5. These accusations were apparently drawn up at the time of the investigation into the Talbot-Ormond feud in 1422-23: see below, pp. 162-4.

[46] See E. Powell, 'Proceedings before the justices of the peace at Shrewsbury in 1414: a supplement to the Shropshire Peace Roll', *E.H.R.*, xcix (1984), pp. 535-50, esp. pp. 538-9; idem, 'The restoration of law and order', *Henry V: the practice of kingship*, ed. G.L. Harriss, pp. 53-74, esp. pp. 69-72.

The feud in England ended with Arundel's death in 1415,[47] but when Talbot's financial problems as lieutenant prompted an investigation into various debts owed to the Irish exchequer, those ascribed to the earl of Ormond were pursued relentlessly. On 20 February 1415 Ormond was called to the exchequer to answer for the arrears of the relief due on his succession to his Irish lands. In response the following Easter Ormond submitted recent letters patent pardoning him of all debts.[48] These, however, were not held to be sufficient exoneration, and the earl took steps to obtain a further, English-seal pardon that August.[49] While the matter of the relief may have been settled, Ormond was further sued for old debts alleged to have been owed by his grandfather, the second earl, in the mid-fourteenth century amounting to over £3,000, and in July 1417, just over a year after Ormond had left for England, Talbot authorized the seizure of the earl's Irish lands for non-payment, appointing various receivers.[50]

While it may have been relatively easy for Talbot to annex the profits of the properties closest to Dublin, it is clear from the account which he prepared for the English council of the events leading up to his brother's arrest of the earl of Kildare and Christopher Preston in June 1418, that the lieutenant's authority encountered considerable resistance

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[47] See E. Powell, *Kingship, law and society* (Oxford, 1989), p. 224.

[48] P.R.O.I., RC 8/36, pp. 102-4, from the Irish memoranda roll for 4 Henry V, transcribed and discussed by C.A. Empey in 'The Butler lordship in Ireland 1185-1515' (Dublin Ph.D. thesis, 1970), p. 261 and Appendix V, no. 1, p. xxxi.

[49] P.R.O.I., RC 8/36, p. 46.

[50] Details of the fourteenth-century Butler debts and the confiscation of 1417 are discussed by C.A. Empey in his thesis, pp. 262-7, and his transcript of the extract from the Irish memoranda roll for 5 Henry V recording the confiscation (P.R.O.I., RC 8/37, pp. 170-3) appears in Appendix V, no. 2, p. xxxii. The location of most of the properties specified in this document is shown on the map of Ormond's lands in Ireland, above, p. 105. I am indebted to Dr Empey for assistance in identifying several of the place names included.

in the south where Ormond had entrusted the defence of his lands against rebel and Gaelic incursion to his half-brother, Thomas Butler, prior of Kilmainham.[51] But in the summer of 1418, Butler, quite possibly at Talbot's behest, was summoned to join the royal army in Normandy,[52] and thereafter it seems that Talbot had a freer hand. Ormond's subsequent complaints included allegations that Talbot had taken some £80 of his rents from Counties Kilkenny, Tipperary and Waterford and imprisoned several men in his service including the constable of his castle of Knocktopher.[53]

Control of the Dublin administration in his own right as Talbot's successor undoubtedly offered Ormond the best prospect of swift and certain redress, and this incentive almost certainly provides the key to his co-operation in the new financial initiative for the lordship. Anxious to secure the appointment, Ormond may perhaps have responded to some encouragement to submit a low proffer. If on the other hand he was offered financial terms that seemed to him ungenerous compared to those which had been offered to John Stanley and John Talbot, then the earl may well have been reluctant to risk his position in any prolonged dispute.

From the king's point of view there were certainly risks in exploiting this situation for the sake of a further reduction in the English exchequer's commitment to the Irish lieutenancy, but the signs are that

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[51] Ormond's commission to the prior is mentioned in item 5 of the earl's complaints against Talbot: see M.C. Griffith, 'Talbot-Ormond struggle for control of the Anglo-Irish government', Appendix II, p. 393; for Talbot's submission to the English council c. 1419, see 'The background to the arrest of Sir Christopher Preston in 1418', ed. A.J. Otway-Ruthven, *passim*.
[52] Over £90 in advance payment for the transport of the prior with an armed force of 500 men from Waterford to France in ships from Bristol was issued from the English exchequer on 1 July 1418: P.R.O., E28/32/84; Devon, *Issues*, p. 356. John Talbot was in England from late February to early July that year: see below, Appendix I, list 2, p. 484. The prior arrived in Normandy during the siege of Rouen: see above, p. 6.
[53] See M.C. Griffith, op. cit., Appendix II, p. 395.

they were calculated with rather more care than Henry had shown in assessing the possible consequences of exporting the tensions of the Talbot-Arundel conflict to Ireland with Talbot's appointment in 1414. Not all the unusual features of Ormond's appointment were simply concerned with the safeguarding and monitoring of a financial experiment. The radical re-drafting of the form of the lieutenant's letters patent in 1420 also demonstrated a new concern both to define the traditional powers of the office more carefully and to tighten the reins of royal control over the most senior Dublin appointments and over ecclesiastical patronage.[54] During the short two-year term of office it was not only the new financial arrangements that were to be on trial, but the new lieutenant himself.

ii) The lieutenant in Ireland

The choice of men of the lordship for appointment to the chief governorship under the English seal having more frequently proved the exception than the rule over the previous hundred years,[55] there was no nearer precedent for Ormond's lieutenancy than Richard II's appointment of the earl's father as justiciar in 1392.[56] The third earl (despite the unusual addition to the yearly £500 justiciar's fee from Ireland of a special royal grant of extra men at arms and archers and the sum of 2,000 marks from England to be spent at the discretion of the members of the Irish council) had taken office with grave misgivings as to his ability to meet its military and financial demands.[57] However, there is no sign that his son had similar qualms.

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[54] For details, see above, pp. 31-2, 38, 87-8.
[55] See above, p. 22.
[56] *C.P.R., 1391-96*, p. 126.
[57] See Graves, *King's council*, pp. xvi-xvii, 258-60; Otway-Ruthven, *Medieval Ireland*, pp. 323-5.

With some panache, the fourth earl marked his own appointment in 1420 with the commissioning from a Dublin notary, James Yonge, of *The governaunce of prynces*, a new version of the treatise on the art of government for the guidance of rulers known as *Secreta secretorum*.[58] This text, thought to be the advice that Aristotle had given to Alexander, was derived from Syriac and Arabic works of the eighth and ninth centuries which had reached Europe via Spain in the twelfth century and, during the course of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, appeared in all the major European languages in various verse and prose forms.[59] A particular source for Yonge's work was a French version composed by Jofroi, or Geoffrey, of Waterford, a thirteenth-century Dominican, who spent much time in France.[60] Other versions of the *Secreta* had been presented to Edward III shortly before his accession in 1327,[61] and acknowledged by Hoccleve as one of three main authorities for his *Regement of princes* written c. 1409-11 for the future Henry V.[62] The *Secreta* was frequently found in the possession of the nobility too,[63] and the Yonge translation for Ormond 'out of latyn othyr Frenche in-to youre modyr Englyshe tonge'[64] was in itself an indication that the earl shared the interest, both in literature and in the wider use of written English, promoted at the

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[58] A full text of Yonge's *Governaunce*, printed from Bodleian Library, Rawlinson MS B 490, appears in Steele, *Secreta*, pp. 121-248.
[59] See *Lydgate and Burgh's secrees of old philisoffres*, ed. R. Steele (E.E.T.S., ex. ser. lxvi, London, 1894), pp. vii-xiii.
[60] See St J.D. Seymour, *Anglo-Irish literature, 1200-1582* (Cambridge, 1929), pp. 31-4, 137.
[61] See J.J.G. Alexander, 'Painting and manuscript illumination for royal patrons in the later middle ages', *English court culture in the later middle ages*, ed. V.J. Scattergood and J.W. Sherborne (London, 1983), pp. 141-62, esp. pp. 141-2.
[62] *Hoccleve's works: The regement of princes*, ed. F.J. Furnivall (E.E.T.S., ex. ser. lxxii, London, 1897), pp. 74-7, ll. 2038-2135.
[63] See N. Orme, 'The education of the courtier', *English court culture in the later middle ages*, ed. V.J. Scattergood and J.W. Sherborne, pp. 63-85, esp. p. 65.
[64] Steele, *Secreta*, p. 122.

Lancastrian court. However, Yonge's pointed dedication 'to yow, nobyll and gracious lorde Jamys de Botillere, Erle of Ormonde, lieutenaunt of oure lege lorde, kinge henry the fyfte in Irland'[65] (which makes it clear that the work was undertaken between 1420 and 1422, the year when the lieutenancy expired and the king died) and the care taken to embellish the work with illustrative examples of specific incidents and problems in the government of the lordship,[66] leave little room to doubt the earl's pride in the appropriateness of the enterprise to his own present task. In view of the king's own interest in the *Secreta's* ideals of justice, wisdom, good counsel and the eschewing of both extravagance and meanness,[67] Ormond's commission to Yonge may also have been prompted by a desire to impress Henry V with his lieutenant's seriousness of purpose.

Precisely when Ormond left France is uncertain - possibly he accompanied the duke of Gloucester when he sailed from Normandy late in 1419 to replace his elder brother, the duke of Bedford, as the king's lieutenant in England.[68] However, the time-lag between the sealing of Ormond's patent and indentures at Westminster in mid February and his

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[65] Steele, *Secreta*, p. 121.

[66] Amongst the references to past events are stories of the campaigns of Ormond's grandfather, the second earl, one of which Yonge said was related to him by Edward Perrers, who was constable of Wicklow castle (ibid., p. 129; *C.P.R., 1416-22*, p. 42; P.R.O., E101/247/10, m. 3); mention of Richard II's coming to Ireland (Steele, *Secreta*, pp. 136-7) and information about Thomas of Lancaster and his deputy, Stephen Scrope, in Ireland which was apparently copied directly from some contemporary account for at one point Yonge refers to 'Thomas of Lancaster ... that now is lieutenant' (ibid., p. 133). Various references to Ormond's own activities as lieutenant are cited in context below, pp. 136-7, 139-40.

[67] See G.L. Harriss, 'The exemplar of kingship', *Henry V: the practice of kingship*, ed. G.L. Harris, pp. 1-29.

[68] Gloucester's shipping was ordered from Rouen in November and he succeeded Bedford as lieutenant between 29 December and 3 January: 'Calendar of Norman rolls', *D.K.R.*, xlii (1881), p. 331; *C.P.R., 1416-22*, p. 214; *Foedera*, ix, p. 831.

arrival in Ireland in April was remarkably short, a mere eight weeks.[69] Before the end of February orders had been sent to commission shipping at Bristol,[70] and Ormond had nominated attorneys to act for him in England during the ensuing year - Robert fitzRobert, one of two men to whom Ormond had enfeoffed his Somersetshire manor of Huntspill Maris in 1413, and William Dogge, who was to act as the earl's agent at the English exchequer in 1421 and in 1422 became his seneschal in England.[71] By mid March Ormond had extracted his initial English lump sum of 1,250 marks from the exchequer in cash, and letters had been drafted to inform the Irish chancellor of the new appointment.[72] By 20 March Ormond and a small retinue were apparently more or less ready to embark at Bristol as demanded by the terms of his indentures.[73] Had there not then been some delay, probably due to the bad weather likely to have occurred at the equinox, the convoy might well have reached Ireland by the end of the month. As it was Ormond landed at Waterford on, or by, 10 April.[74]

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[69] Under Henry V and Henry VI only Ormond and one other lieutenant reached Ireland within three months of their appointment: see above, pp. 44-6.

[70] *C.P.R., 1416-22*, p. 274.

[71] *C.P.R., 1413-16*, p. 93; *1416-22*, p. 261; *C.O.D.*, iii, no 54, p. 40. FitzRobert was to act as an agent for Ormond at the English exchequer in 1425 and as seneschal for the earl (at Aylesbury) in 1430: P.R.O., E403/672, m. 16; Birimingham Reference Library, HC 494976-7.

[72] P.R.O., E101/247/13, no. 2; E403/643, m. 20.

[73] P.R.O., E101/247/13, nos. 3, 5. According to the mayor and sheriff of Bristol this retinue included soldiers and servants, but no numbers are given (ibid.). However, it cannot have been a large force as the cost of Ormond's shipping, £20/3/4d, was relatively small compared with that spent on other lieutenants' transport (see below, Appendix II, Table B, p. 562). The English patent roll records three letters of protection to men accompanying the earl, one to Walter fitzRowe of Ireland, the others to John Alleyne and John Grigg, both from Surrey, possibly an indication that the earl spent a short time at his Surrey manor of Shere Vachery before leaving England: *C.P.R., 1416-22*, p. 261.

[74] This is the date noted for Ormond's arrival in Ireland on the Irish treasurer's receipt roll and was also the date from which Ormond subsequently calculated his two-year term (P.R.O., E101/247/8, m. 1; /12). Marleborough's chronicle, however, gave the date of arrival as 4 April: Marleborough, 'Chron.', p. 221.

From Bristol, Waterford was the most obvious Irish port of call.[75] For Ormond it also had the advantage of taking him at once to the heart of his own territory in Ireland. Concern to re-establish control here after Talbot's confiscation was clearly a priority and doubtless spurred the earl's efforts to take up office so quickly. But his route was perhaps dictated by strategic as well as personal considerations. While Dublin was Ireland's administrative centre, it was also then under the control of Talbot's younger brother, Richard, who had been consecrated as archbishop in 1418, appointed deputy for his brother in 1419, and, since the expiry of John Talbot's lieutenancy, had continued in office as justiciar.[76] Possibly some five or so years Ormond's senior, Richard Talbot was then a newcomer to Ireland,[77] but he was ultimately to prove a more implacable opponent than John. Landing in the south offered Ormond the opportunity to augment the small force which he had brought from England before appearing in the capital. Little time, however, was wasted. On 22 April he took his oath before the Irish council in Dublin in the Lady Chapel of Christchurch without apparently having encountered any serious resistance.[78]

Once admitted to office, Ormond set about dismantling Talbot influence at the centre of power in a rapid and thorough investigation of the Dublin administration. Some senior officials of long standing were

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[75] It has been estimated that more ships sailing from Bristol to Ireland went to Waterford than to any other port: see E.M. Carus-Wilson, *Medieval merchant venturers*, p. 15.

[76] *H.B.C.*, p. 351; *N.H.I.*, ix, p 311; and see below, Appendix I, list 2, p. 484.

[77] The two elder Talbot brothers, Gilbert and John, were born in 1383 and 1384, so Richard, the third brother, may have been born in 1385 or 1386: *C.P.*, xii, pt. 1, pp. 617-20. For details of Richard Talbot's ecclesiastical career in England before his preferment to Dublin, which was preceded by an abortive election to Armagh, see J.H. Bernard, 'Richard Talbot, archbishop and chancellor (1418-49)', *P.R.I.A.*, xxxv, C (1919), pp. 218-29, esp. pp. 218-20; A.J. Pollard, 'The family of Talbot, lords Talbot and earls of Shrewsbury in the fifteenth century' (Bristol Ph.D. thesis, 1968) pp. 19-20.

[78] P.R.O., E101/247/8; 10; 13, no. 4.

apparently not disturbed. The chief chamberlain of the exchequer, Henry Strangeways, with a life appointment and fifteen years service, certainly remained in office for much, and probably all, of Ormond's lieutenancy. So too probably did Henry Stanyhurst, the second chamberlain of twenty years' standing, Stephen Bray, chief justice of the king's bench for much of the period from 1397 to 1420, and Robert Sutton, keeper of the chancery rolls since 1405.[79] Similarly there was probably continuity in some of the lesser offices such as those of crown clerk in the chancery, chirographer of the common bench, and summoner of the exchequer.[80] However, many of the more recent appointees, those who had gained office during the Talbot régime, were swiftly ejected or demoted.

Among the most prominent casualties were William Tynbegh, chief justice of the common bench since 1419, who was replaced by John Blakeney on 26 April; James Uriel, chief baron of the exchequer since December 1419, who was replaced by James Cornwalshe on 24 April; and John Wyche, second baron of the exchequer since March 1419, who was replaced by Richard Bermingham on 26 April.[81] Tynbegh was closely associated with the Talbot family. Before 1414 he had been seneschal for Gilbert, lord Talbot, in the liberty of Wexford.[82] After John Talbot became lieutenant, Tynbegh had been rewarded in 1415 with an Irish-seal appointment as chief baron of the exchequer and had served as deputy in the absences of two treasurers,

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[79] For details see below, Appendix I, lists 4i, p. 498; 7i, p. 517; 7ii, p. 518; 8i, p. 541; for Stanyhurst, see also pp. 137-8.
[80] Respectively in the hands of Thomas Brown since 1402 (list 4iii, p. 502); John Bateman since 1400 (list 9ii, p. 548); and William Baldwin since 1414 (list 7ix, p. 536).
[81] P.R.O., E101/247/14, no. 13; P.R.O.I., RC8/38, pp. 101-2; and see below, Appendix I, list 6i, p. 511; list 6ii, p. 513; list 8iii, p. 544.
[82] P.R.O.I., RC8/34, p. 280.

before his more recent appointment to the common bench.[83] After his dismissal, Tynbegh left Ireland to serve John Talbot in France.[84] Uriel, a former serjeant at law, was in fact a tenant of Ormond's, but as he also held land of Archbishop Talbot, who had promoted him to the office of chief baron in December 1419, the new lieutenant perhaps suspected his loyalty.[85] Wyche, originally from London, had gone to Ireland in John Talbot's service in 1416.[86] In 1417 he had become one of Tynbegh's successors as Gilbert Talbot's seneschal in Wexford, and in 1421 was to be nominated as an attorney in Ireland for Gilbert's widow, Beatrice.[87] Ormond compensated Wyche for his dismissal by reappointing him as third baron of the exchequer in place of yet another Talbot appointee, John Gland, but Wyche was not reinstated as second baron until Richard Talbot again became justiciar in 1422.[88] Two other Talbot men to lose their posts were Robert Dyke, chancellor of the green wax at the exchequer since March 1419, and John Corringham, treasurer's clerk since 1414.[89] Dyke had acted as John Talbot's agent at the English exchequer before accompanying him to Ireland in 1414.[90] Corringham, in the wake of Talbot's confiscation of Ormond's property in 1417, had been granted custody of the prisage of wines in Ireland, which had long been in the possession of the earl's family and from which their name, Butler, was derived.[91] In 1420 Corringham was named as an attorney for the fourth Talbot brother,

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[83] See below, Appendix I, list 5, pp. 504-5; list 61, p. 511.
[84] 'Calendar of French rolls', *D.K.R.*, xliv (1883), p. 627.
[85] *R.C.H.*, p. 228, no. 81; p. 232, no. 5.
[86] *C.P.R., 1416-22*, p. 31.
[87] P.R.O.I., RC8/37, pp. 179-80; *C.P.R., 1416-22*, p. 373.
[88] See below, Appendix I, lists 6ii, p. 513; 6iii, p. 514.
[89] Ibid., lists 7iii, p. 520; 7x, p. 537.
[90] P.R.O., E403/617, m. 2; *C.P.R., 1413-16*, p. 188.
[91] P.R.O.I., RC8/37, pp. 20-1; and for the office of butler, to which the first earl of Ormond attached considerable importance, see Frame, *English lordship*, p. 31.

William, then serving in Normandy.[92] At the exchequer both the engrossers and apparently the second remembrancer were changed; so too was the chief clerk of the king's bench. The escheator, John Charneles, who had been appointed by Richard Talbot in September 1419, was also dispossessed in the first months of the lieutenancy, but not on Ormond's personal authority. Sir John Pilkington, originally appointed by the king at Rouen in February 1419, was sworn into office at some time during 1420 and subsequently appointed a deputy.[93]

Some of the new Irish-seal appointees were no doubt already affiliated to Ormond. Barnabas Tryvers, appointed to the chancellorship of the green wax on 28 April 1420, had acted for the earl at the Irish exchequer in 1415 in the dispute over his debts.[94] Others, if not closely associated with him already, were to be amongst his most loyal adherents from this time onwards. The new chief baron of the exchequer, James Cornwalshe, who was to be particularly favoured during this lieutenancy,[95] proved a valuable servant then and thereafter. The Talbots made two subsequent attempts to dislodge him from office.[96] Walter Shirlock, appointed as chief engrosser on 26 April 1420, although farmer of Ormond's confiscated property in Counties Kilkenny, Waterford, Tipperary and Cork from 20 September 1419, continued to serve the earl as seneschal of his

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[92] 'Calendar of Norman Rolls', *D.K.R.*, xlii (1881), p. 338.
[93] See below, Appendix I, lists 7v, p. 528; 7vi, p. 530; 7viii, p. 535; 9i, p. 547; 10, p. 550.
[94] P.R.O.I., RC8/34, pp. 320-1, 325.
[95] In May 1420 Cornwalshe was given custody of extensive lands in Counties Dublin and Meath and was chosen to act as official messenger from the lieutenant and the Irish council to the king in January 1421: *R.C.H.*, p. 252 (from the Irish close roll for 9 Henry V, not VI as printed) no. 37; Richardson and Sayles, *Parls. and councils*, i, pp. 187, 189-91.
[96] In August 1423 and March 1425 when Richard and John Talbot were respectively justiciars: see below, Appendix I, list 6i, pp. 511-12.

Irish lands for most of the 1420s.[97] The new second engrosser was none other than the author of Ormond's *Governaunce of prynces*, James Yonge. Others proved less committed: John Blakeney, for instance, the new chief justice of the common bench, later transferred his political allegiance to Archbishop Talbot.[98]

While the Dublin administration may have been unprepared for such a major upheaval, none of these changes exceeded the terms of Ormond's own letters patent, nor had any existing English-seal appointments been revoked. Most of those dismissed had held office by virtue of Irish-seal letters patent during pleasure or good behaviour; apparently only two men - Robert Dyke (chancellor of the green wax) and James Neville (second engrosser) - were deprived of life appointments.

However, the king's attempt to ensure some degree of continuity and political neutrality at the highest level of the administration by prohibiting the dismissal of the chancellor and treasurer, whom he himself had appointed for John Talbot in 1414 - Laurence Merbury and Hugh Burgh - [99] was by no means wholly successful. Ormond managed to rid himself of the latter within three months of taking office. Frequently absent, Burgh had, latterly at least, proved less than efficient. According to his surviving receipt roll for 1420, there were no receipts at all at the Dublin exchequer during the three months preceding Ormond's arrival in Ireland. The only entries consisted of four memoranda of events - the expiry of John Talbot's lieutenancy, the choice of his brother as justiciar

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[97] P.R.O.I., RC8/39, p. 19; *C.O.D.*, iii, no. 42, p. 29; no. 66, pp. 47-55; no. 78, pp. 63-4; *The red book of Ormond*, ed. N.B. White (Dublin, 1932), p. 140.
[98] See below, pp. 238, 242.
[99] For these appointments and Merbury's and Burgh's affiliation to Talbot, see above, pp. 60-1.

by the Irish council, the landing of Ormond at Waterford, and, the day before, the appearance in Ireland of Burgh, himself, at Dalkey. Normal records were resumed after Ormond's arrival, but on 16 July a further note recorded Burgh's departure for England.[100] Nine days later a replacement, Hugh Bavent, a former clerk of the hanaper, was appointed under the Irish seal.[101] As in the celebrated case of the ousting of Giles Thorndon from the treasurership twenty-four years later,[102] the official justification for the new appointment may have been the outgoing treasurer's absence without proper provision for a deputy, but Burgh, unlike Thorndon, made little attempt to regain his office. However, when in July 1421 the king selected his own new candidate for the treasurership, he redressed the political balance by promoting William Tynbegh, whom Ormond had dismissed as chief justice of the common bench in 1420.[103] Merbury survived as chancellor in Ireland for nearly a year after Ormond's arrival, but relations between the two men became increasingly strained. When in March 1421 Merbury reluctantly responded to a summons to England, which it is possible, though not certain, that Ormond had engineered, the earl secured the more congenial support first of Hugh Bavent as Merbury's deputy, and later, when Merbury's Irish-seal licence for absence expired the following August, of Prior William fitzThomas of Kilmainham, who was subsequently

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100 P.R.O., E101/247/8.
101 P.R.O., E364/57, m. G; for Bavent see also above, p. 59.
102 See below, p. 349.
103 See below, Appendix I, list 5, p. 505.

to be chosen as justiciar by the Irish council when Ormond's term as lieutenant expired in April 1422.[104]

Keen as the earl was to use his powers of patronage to remould the administration to his liking, he meanwhile lost little time in addressing his fundamental task, the government and defence of the lordship. For over half a century letters and petitions sent to England from Irish parliaments and councils had repeatedly stressed that loyal Anglo-Ireland had become so fragmented and weakened as to be on the point of collapse and extinction. A petition from a great council at Kilkenny in July 1360 described the king's land of Ireland and his lieges as *en poynt d'estre perdu*;[105] a report in 1385 predicted the conquest of most of Ireland by enemies and rebels within a year.[106] Less than three years before Ormond's appointment, the letter from the council at Naas of June 1417 had, in a similar vein, described his 'faythfull subjects' as 'continuinge in a lande of warr, environed by your Irishe Enimies and English Rebels in pointe to be destroied'.[107] Beleaguered as the lordship undoubtedly was, the point of destruction was of course never reached, but such pleas had successfully prompted, and for some decades sustained, the high levels of English financial and military support of the late-fourteenth century

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[104] See below, Appendix I, lists 2, p. 485; 3, p. 492. Merbury was originally summoned to England as early as October 1420 (*C.P.R., 1416-22*, p. 300). FitzThomas had succeeded as prior of Kilmainham in February 1420 following the deaths of Thomas Butler in France in 1419 and of his immediate successor, John fitzHenry in Ireland (Marleborough, 'Chron.', p. 221). Although a rival candidate appointed by Grand Master de Naillac after Butler's death, Richard Paule, obtained confirmatory letters in England in May 1421, he does not seem to have gained tenure in Ireland: P.R.O., E28/34/37, 38.

[105] Richardson and Sayles, *Parls. and councils*, i, p. 19; for the novelty of such a plea in 1360, see Frame, *English lordship*, p. 321.

[106] See Otway-Ruthven, *Medieval Ireland*, p. 318.

[107] Ellis, *Original letters*, 2nd. ser., i, pp. 54-63. This was the same letter that had sent the king news of the earl of Desmond's imprisonment by his uncle and subsequent release by John Talbot: see above, p. 108.

The unusually plentiful official records for Ormond's first lieutenancy, due in part to the king's desire that more detailed information about the Irish revenue should be sent to England,[108] afford a good opportunity to glimpse the reality behind the rhetoric.

In the first few days after Ormond took office, arrangements were made to appoint judicial commissions for Counties Dublin, Meath, Kildare, Carlow, Wexford, Waterford, Kilkenny and Tipperary -[109] an indication perhaps of the areas in which it was initially, although over-optimistically, expected that normal legal processes could be carried out.[110] Priority was given to the defence of Louth. On account of the damage and destruction inflicted on its marches by hostile Irish, keepers of the peace were immediately appointed to organize local defence, and Ormond led a military expedition northwards from Dublin in May and made 'great preyes' on O'Reilly, MacMahon and Magennis.[111] But meanwhile, summonses, which had been issued on 23 April for the assembling of a parliament at Dublin on 7 June,[112] evoked a positive response from a very wide area. Representatives came not only from all the counties mentioned above, including Louth, from the corresponding clergy from the dioceses of Dublin, Meath, Kildare, Leighlin, Ferns, Waterford, Ossory and Armagh *inter Anglicos* and from the cities and towns of Dublin, Wexford, Waterford, Kilkenny and Drogheda, but also, further south and west, from Limerick (county, city and diocese), from Kinsale and Cork and the diocese of Cork

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[108] See above, p. 88.
[109] *R.C.H.*, p. 217 (8 Henry V), nos. 4-8.
[110] The commissions had to be reissued in July: ibid., nos. 8-12.
[111] Ibid., no. 13; Marleborough, 'Chron.', p. 221.
[112] Ibid., pp. 221-2

and Cloyne.[113] The only conspicuous absentees from this list were the most western and northern extremities of the lordship - Kerry, Connacht and Ulster.

According to Marleborough's chronicle, this first session of parliament lasted sixteen days and 'reckoned up the debts of the Lord John Talbot, late Lord Lieutenant, which amounted to a great summe'.[114] Business was almost certainly dominated by financial affairs and for more pressing reasons than those of mere partisan politics. Although, not surprisingly perhaps, those who had benefited from the Talbot régime had already suffered the loss not only of offices, but also of other grants, they had been the victims not of piecemeal, selective redistributions, but of a sweeping and vigorous resumption of all Irish-seal grants since Henry V's coronation, announced immediately after Ormond took office.[115] To a lieutenant, who had arrived with no more than 1,250 English marks and had already by June undertaken one military expedition to the north, the raising of funds in Ireland was a matter of considerable urgency.

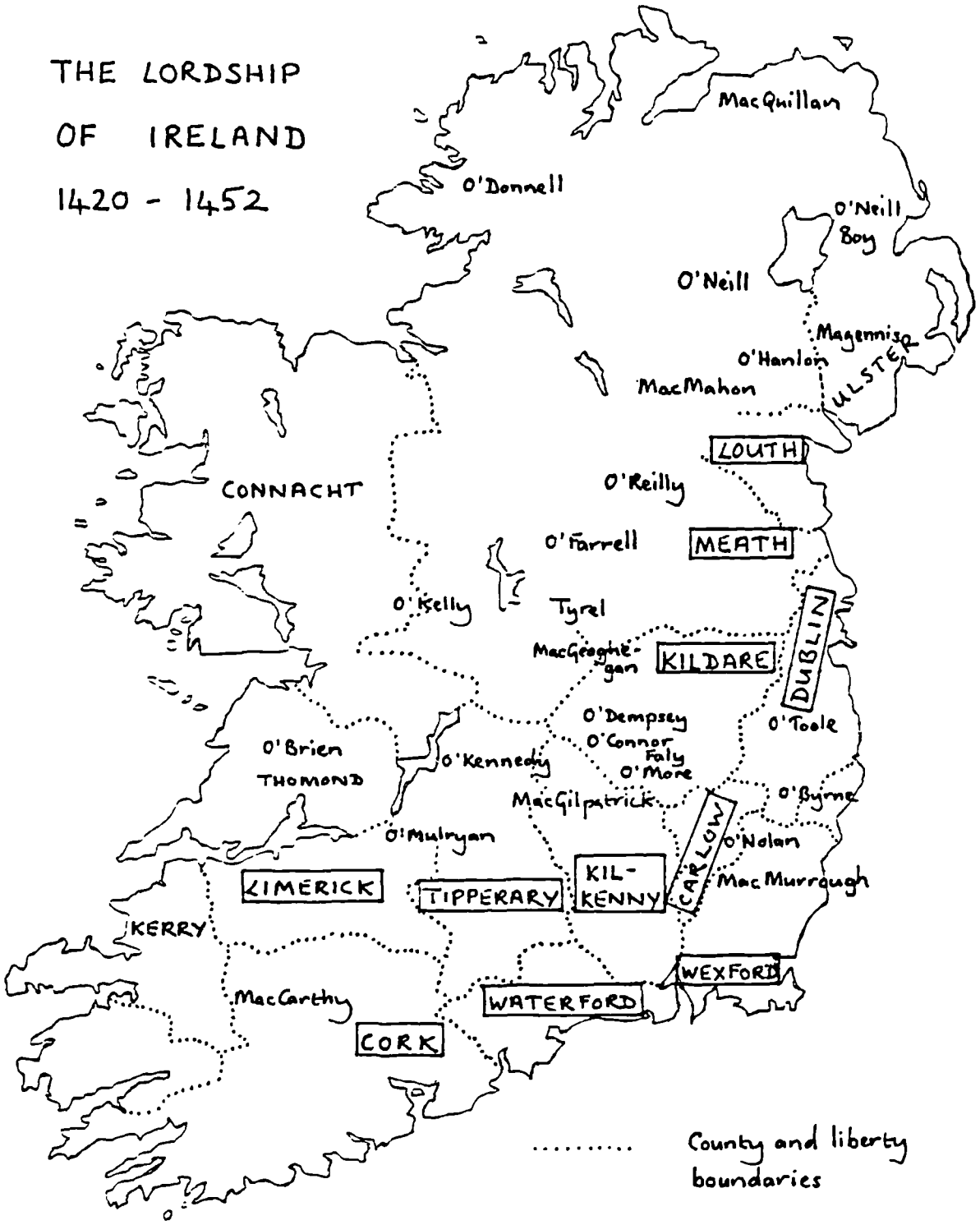
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[113] This is the list of counties, towns and dioceses known to have contributed to the parliamentary subsidy granted to the lieutenant, details of which were later sent to England: P.R.O., E101/247/16, mm. 7-8, discussed and printed with details of two further subsidies in Richardson and Sayles, *Parls. and councils*, i, pp. xxiv-xl, 131-82. For the counties and dioceses, see below, Maps 3 and 4, pp. 131-2; for the towns, see above, Map 1, p. x. Although Cork and Cloyne, originally two separate dioceses, were treated as one for the purposes of this parliament following a papal order for their unification in 1418 (*Calendar of papal letters, 1417-31*, p. 65) opposition from the bishop of Cork blocked effective union until 1429: see *N.H.I.*, ix, pp. 296, n. 6; 342, n. 3.

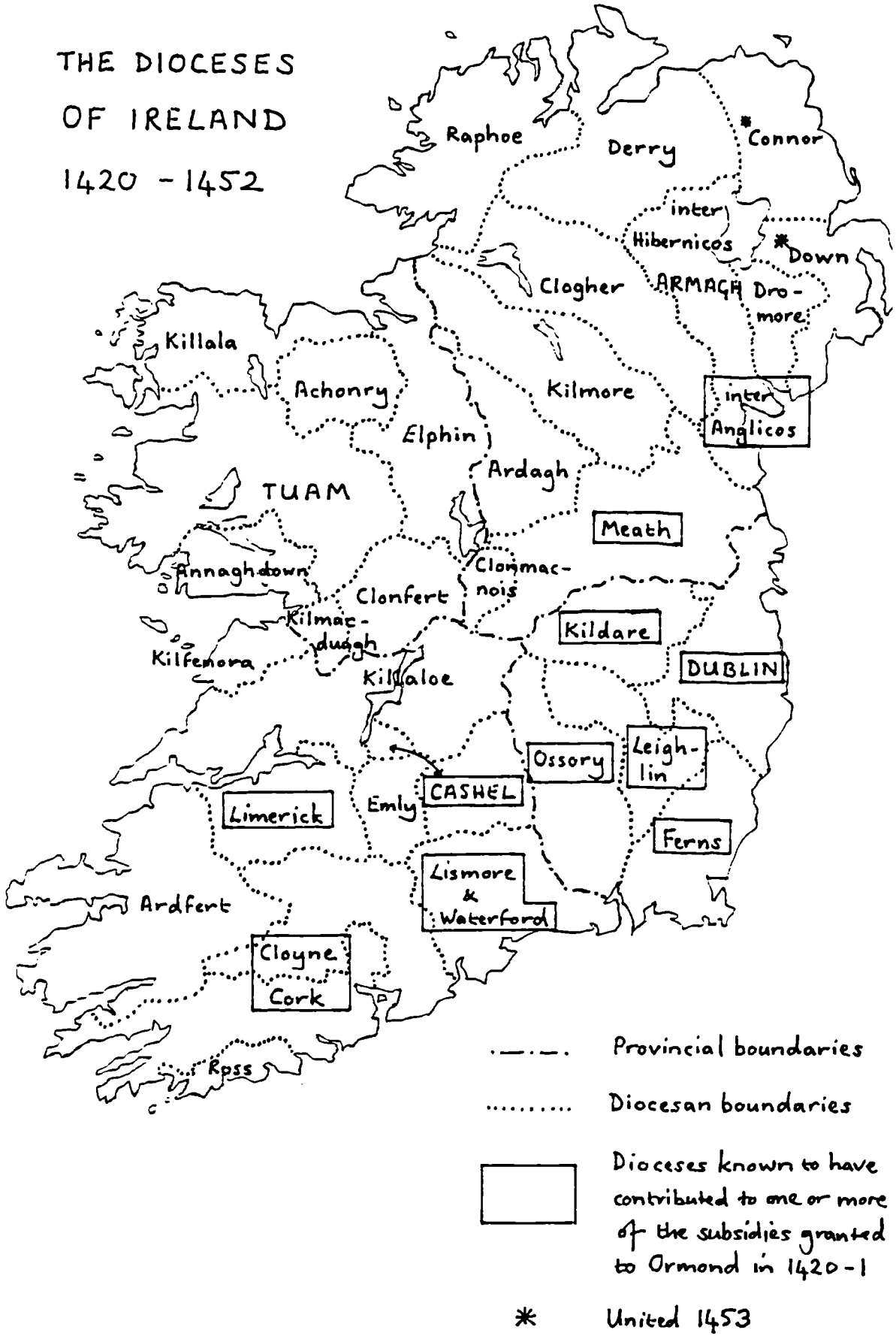
[114] Marleborough, 'Chron.', p. 222.

[115] The occasion of this announcement on 26 April 1420 was apparently a great council, which had presumably been summoned before Ormond's arrival by Archbishop Talbot for different purposes: P.R.O.I., RC8/38, pp. 78-9. Various memoranda roll items suggest that the resumption was put into effect (ibid., *passim*) but no other record of the council's business appears to have survived.

MAP 3 :


THE LORDSHIP
OF IRELAND
1420 - 1452
MacQuillan
O'Donnell
O'Neill
Boy
O'Neill
Magennis
O'Hanlon
ULSTER
MacMahon
LOUTH
CONNACHT
O'Reilly
O'Farrell
MEATH
O'Kelly
Tyrel
MacGeoghe-
gan
KILDARE
DUBLIN
O'Dempsey
O'Toole
O'Connor
Faly
O'More
O'Brien
THOMOND
O'Kennedy
MacGilpatrick
O'Byrne
O'Mulryan
CARLOW
O'Nolan
LIMERICK
TIPPERARY
KIL-
KENNY
MacMurrough
KERRY
WEXFORD
MacCarthy
WATERFORD
CORK
County and liberty boundaries
Counties and liberties known to have contributed to one or more of the subsidies granted to Ormond in 1420-1

MAP 4 :


THE DIOCESES
OF IRELAND
1420 - 1452
Raphoe
Derry
Connor
inter
Hibernicos
Down
Clogher
ARMAGH
Dro-
more
Killala
Achonry
Kilmore
inter
Anglicos
Elphin
Ardagh
TUAM
Meath
Annaghdown
Clonfert
Clonmac-
nois
Kilmac-
duagh
Kildare
Kilfenora
Killaloe
DUBLIN
Ossory
Leigh-
lin
CASHEL
Emly
Limerick
Ferns
Lismore
&
Waterford
Ardfert
Cloyne
Cork
Rpss
Provincial boundaries
Diocesan boundaries
Dioceses known to have
contributed to one or more
of the subsidies granted
to Ormond in 1420-1
United 1453

The parliament granted Ormond a subsidy of 700 marks.[116] Such subsidies were not collected through the Irish exchequer, but paid directly to chief governors.[117] This grant therefore provided an extra sum for military expenses in addition to the instalments due to Ormond from the Irish exchequer in respect of the 2,500-mark yearly payment named in his indentures. But towards this and other officials' fees, some of which were heavily in arrears, a special effort was made to realise a considerable back-log of normal revenue.[118] Two weeks after this session of parliament ended on 22 June,[119] recorded receipts at the Dublin exchequer suddenly showed a dramatic rise. The receipt roll for the last months of Hugh Burgh's treasurership covered the period of 26 February to 16 July 1420.[120] Whereas the previous weekly totals had ranged from nil (for the weeks beginning 26 February, 4 March, 20 May, 10 and 17 June) to a mere £27/15/5d (for the week of 24-29 June), the four working days between 12 (a Friday) and 16 July showed recorded receipts totalling over £300, about eighty per cent of the total for the entire roll. A quarter of the receipts appear to have been in cash, but the rest were in fact

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[116] Marleborough, 'Chron.', p. 222; and see Richardson and Sayles, *Parls. and councils*, i, pp. 131-48.

[117] See Richardson and Sayles, *Ir. parl.*, pp. 234-7.

[118] According to the Irish issue roll for April to July 1420 (P.R.O, E101/247/10) nearly £490 was owed to Stephen Bray for his past services as chief justice of the king's bench and nearly £120 to Laurence Merbury as chancellor. Of just over £380 issued during this period, about £150 went to the lieutenant, and the remainder, except for £8 spent on repairs to Dublin castle, was shared between other officials.

[119] Marleborough, 'Chron.', p. 222.

[120] P.R.O., E101/247/8. The second chamberlain's counter-roll was also subsequently sent to England for audit: E101/247/9.

assignments.[121] The bulk of the revenue entered in mid July came from County Dublin and from Drogheda (fee farm and customs) accounting respectively for just over and just under £100. The other chief sources were County Meath (about £40), and the customs of Dublin and the profits of the Talbot lands in Wexford, which had been in royal hands since 1418 owing to the minority of John Talbot's infant niece[122] (£20 respectively). Significant items in late June were two assignments together worth over £20 on the fee farm of Waterford. Over the roll as a whole, returns from Kildare and Louth were few, while those from Ulster and the remaining southern counties were negligible or non-existent. Hanaper profits were apparently worth a mere £6/6/8d; remarkably, perhaps, two small cash receipts were entered from the city of Limerick. The signs are, however, that from this time onwards the collection of revenue was to be rather

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[121] The assignment notation then in use at the Irish exchequer consisted of the note, '*per* N.' (N. being the name of the assignee) at the conclusion of each entry on the receipt roll of an item of assigned revenue. During the two short periods for which original, early-fifteenth-century, Irish issue and receipt rolls have both survived (April to July 1420 and January to July 1427) the totals of receipts thus marked correspond with a few minor discrepancies, with sums entered on the issue rolls to the credit of those named (P.R.O., E101/247/8, 10; /248/1,2). For futher details, see E. Matthew, 'The financing of the lordship of Ireland under Henry V and Henry VI', p. 114, n. 86; Ellis, *Reform and revival*, p. 102.

[122] This was the daughter of his elder brother, Gilbert, lord Talbot, who died during the siege of Rouen (*C.P.* xii, pt. 1, pp. 619-20). On Gilbert's death custody of the lands had passed first, on John Talbot's authority, to his younger brother, Thomas, and after Thomas' death, to two appointees of Archbishop Richard Talbot's in February 1420: *Rotuli selecti*, ed. J. Hunter, pp. 65-6; *R.C.H.*, p. 216, no. 14. Ormond's transfer in June 1420 of the custody to John Chevir, a former and subsequent attorney in Ireland for Reginald de Grey of Ruthin, the rival to the Talbot claim to the lordship of Wexford (see above, p. 18) was clearly calculated to irritate the Talbots, who later obtained an English-seal licence for Gilbert's widow Beatrice to enjoy the profits of two-thirds of her husband's Wexford lands: Richardson and Sayles, *Parls. and councils*, i, pp. 189-90; *C.P.R., 1413-16*, p. 276; *1416-22*, pp. 317, 393; *1422-29*, p. 7.

more regular and efficient. Under the succeeding treasurership of Hugh Bavent to December 1421, recorded receipts showed marked increases in the weeks coinciding with subsequent sessions of parliament in December 1420 and April 1421 and a great council in October 1421;[123] but while these assemblies clearly assisted communication between central and local officials and thus provided convenient opportunities for financial stock-taking, no weeks within exchequer terms in the interim were to see the total inaction that had frequently prevailed before July 1420.

During the summer and the autumn of 1420, the lieutenant, possibly the chancellor and his officials too, travelled widely. The attestations of various Irish-seal orders - two of 6 and 7 July and one of 23 September appointing keepers of the peace respectively for Counties Louth and Meath from Ardee and for Counties Kildare and Carlow from Kilmallock; another of 13 October from Clonmel appointing a judicial commission for Counties Kilkenny, Wexford and Waterford - indicate journeys to the north, the south-west and, not surprisingly, to Ormond's own lands in the central south.[124]

The *Annales breves Hiberniae* later collected by Thady Dowling, treasurer and chancellor of the diocese of Leighlin in the early seventeenth century, mention that in 1420 Ormond inflicted a defeat on MacMurrough: certainly in June 1422 the clergy and commons of Carlow were to affirm that the lieutenant had defended them against the

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[123] P.R.O., E101/247/15; for the dates of the assemblies see *N.H.I.*, ix, p. 599.

[124] *R.C.H.*, p. 217 (8 Henry V), nos. 2, 14, 15, 16. For a discussion of the significance of attestation clauses with regard to the whereabouts of the chief governor and the Irish chancery, see S.G. Ellis, 'Privy seals of chief governors in Ireland, 1392-1560', *B.I.H.R.*, li (1978), pp. 187-94, esp. p. 188.

Leinster Irish.[125] Despite Ormond's initial expedition northwards in May, a letter sent to him from the clergy of Down and Connor and the commons of Downpatrick and Ardglass dated 4 June, had pleaded urgently for his help against Magennis, who was said to have burned Downpatrick, killed many men, destroyed the defences of Carlingford castle and repeatedly broken his oaths to keep the peace.[126] It is possible that, in response to this, Ormond led troops northwards a second time: the *Annals of the Four Masters* mention an expedition of 1420 upon which Ormond managed to extract hostages from Magennis and to deliver them into the hands of O'Neill.[127] The entry provides the first indication of the strength of the earl's contacts with the O'Neills of Ulster and of his willingness to seek Gaelic co-operation, as well as submission, in the interests of defence.[128]

One military success ascribed to 1420 by James Yonge in his *Governaunce of prynces* as an illustration of the desirability of rooting out enemies, traitors and rebels, was Ormond's capture of Lea castle in Kildare from O'Dempsey.[129] However, he and his clan, described with some venom by Yonge as 'fals nettle[s]' and 'wedis', were said to have subsequently retaken the castle only too easily from 'the lorde therof', the earl of Kildare, whose name also headed the list of the keepers of the peace appointed this year for Kildare and Carlow.[130] But on the other hand a far more ambitious foray by the lieutenant and his troops into Thomond (which, although originally granted in 1276 as a lordship by

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[125] P.R.O., E101/247/17, no. 1; *The annals of Ireland by Friar John Clyn and Thady Dowling*, ed. R. Butler (Dublin, 1849), pp. ii, 28.
[126] P.R.O., SC1/57/69.
[127] *A.F.M.*, iv, pp. 844-5.
[128] See K. Simms, '"The king's friend": O Neill, the crown and the earldom of Ulster', pp. 214-36, esp. pp. 218-9.
[129] Steele, *Secreta*, p. 164.
[130] *R.C.H.*, p. 217 (8 Henry V), no. 14; for Yonge's anti-Irish sentiments, see also J. Lydon, 'The middle nation', *The English in medieval Ireland*, ed. J. Lydon, pp. 21-2.

Edward I to Thomas de Clare, younger brother of the then earl of Gloucester, had been effectively lost to English control for a hundred years[131]) was seen as so successful that Yonge seized upon it as an ideal preface to a stern warning against the spiritual pitfall of vainglory:

> ... Also this Erle [i.e. Ormond] ... rode Thomon xl dayes, the wyche is the moste Inly Streynth of Iryssh of al the land, and hit brante, and many men therin Slayne, And damagelees forto accompte fro thens repayrid ...[132]

Precisely when this particular expedition took place is by no means certain, but there can be little doubt that by the end of 1420 Ormond had achieved a real extension of royal authority in the west and south-west of Ireland. His task here seems to have been facilitated by the succession of the formerly *de facto* earl of Desmond, James fitzGerald, to his title *de jure* after the death of his ousted and absentee nephew, Thomas fitzJohn, in France in August 1420. John Talbot had taken up arms against fitzGerald as a usurper;[133] Ormond was able to seek the co-operation of a legitimate fellow peer. During the December session of parliament at Dublin Desmond was enlisted as keeper of the peace for Counties Waterford, Cork and Limerick and the crosslands of his liberty of Kerry, and rewarded with a grant of £100 for military service against hostile Irish and rebels in Munster and Connacht.[134] A few days later the Irish exchequer either made an assignment, or received cash, from the customs at the port of Cork.[135] In the course of formal inquisitions into the Desmond inheritance between 23 December and 14 January the second chamberlain, Henry

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131 See Otway-Ruthven, *Medieval Ireland*, pp. 201, 236-7.
132 Steele, *Secreta*, pp. 204-5.
133 See above, pp. 107-8.
134 *R.C.H.*, p. 217 (8 Henry V), no. 18; p. 252 (*recte* 8 Henry V), no. 28. The money was assigned to Desmond from the issues of the hanaper in January 1421: P.R.O. E101/247/15, m. 8.
135 On 18 December; unfortunately the roll is badly damaged at this point: ibid., m. 8.

Stanyhurst, in his capacity as deputy escheator, travelled as far west as Tralee in Kerry and Ardrahan in Connacht.[136] The Irish receipt roll for 1421 noted not only further receipts of customs from Cork in February, April and May, but, in the latter month, a small sum from the customs of Galway.[137]

For the campaigns of Ormond's second year as lieutenant narrative sources offer only two firm dates. On 7 May 1421, according to Marleborough, soldiers of the lieutenant were attacked by the O'Mores in Leix. Twenty-seven were killed, ten taken prisoner and another two hundred forced to flee for refuge in a nearby monastery. From 7 to 11 June Ormond in reprisal took a large force into Leix, killed many Irish and forced the O'Mores to submission.[138] Later the same month the lieutenant was apparently in or near Kilkenny,[139] and as he travelled there he may well have been concerned to inspect the various defences of the crucial Barrow valley route from Dublin to the south. In January the Irish council had discussed the defence of Athy in Kildare, one of the key points along this route, and entrusted its keeping to Sir Richard Wellesley, previously and subsequently sheriff of the county and one of the keepers of peace appointed for Kildare and Carlow in September 1420.[140] But the

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[136] Other inquisitions into the Desmond lands were held in counties Limerick, Cork, Kildare, Tipperary and Waterford: *C.O.D.*, iii, no. 45, pp. 30-7.

[137] P.R.O., E101/247/15, mm. 9, 10, 11. It was exceptional for the inhabitants of Galway, generally accustomed to conducting their own defence, to make contact with the Dublin administration: see M.D. O'Sullivan, *Old Galway* (Cambridge, 1942), pp. 42-3.

[138] Marleborough, 'Chron.', p. 223.

[139] Irish-seal letters patent dated at Kilkenny on 22 June, commissioning a new sheriff for the county, were authorized by a warrant under the lieutenant's privy seal: *R.C.H.*, p. 218, nos. 20, 34.

[140] Ibid., p. 217 (8 Henry V), no. 14; p. 251, no. 23. Wellesley was sheriff of Kildare in 1418 and 1425: N.L.I., MS 4, ff. 288-9; 'The background to the arrest of Sir Christopher Preston in 1418', ed. A.J. Otway-Ruthven, p. 91.

indications are that the main military effort of Ormond's second year in office was directed to the north, where in May 1421, according to Marleborough, MacMahon attacked in Louth, 'wasting and burning all before him'.[141]

Many entries on the Irish chancery rolls between mid July and late September 1421 were dated from Drogheda, where it is recorded that Ormond held a meeting of the Irish council on 21 August.[142] The *Annals of Connacht* for the same year record that the earl journeyed to Dundalk for a meeting with O'Neill's cousin and rival, Eoghan O'Neill, which was prevented by the latter's capture by O'Neill of Clandeboy.[143] James Yonge, in a chapter of his *Governaunce of prynces* arguing the 'good and necessary nobilteis of the vertu of orison', describes how the lieutenant, sped on his way by the prayers of the Dublin clergy 'twyes in euery wike in oppyn processyon', led 'the Hoste of deuelyn [Dublin] and many mo' via Dundalk on an expedition northwards through the territory of Magennis, thence westwards to 'M^{c}mahons contre' and back southwards to Ardee.[144] Yonge's description of MacMahon's 'stronge P[l]aases' was no doubt intended to emphasise Ormond's achievement in destroying them and slaying and 'scomfit[ing]' their inhabitants. However, it also seems to provide some further confirmation of the evidence from other sources that by the early fifteenth century the appurtenances of Gaelic power were far more Anglicised than they had been formerly. In the thirteenth century Irish chiefs had sought to destroy Anglo-Norman castles, rather than to capture

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[141] Marleborough, 'Chron.', p. 223.
[142] *R.C.H.*, p. 219, no. 49; pp. 218-19 *passim*.
[143] *The annals of Connacht, 1224-1544*, ed. A.M. Freeman (Dublin, 1944), pp. 458-9; see also K. Simms, '"The king's friend": O Neill, the crown and the earldom of Ulster', p. 219.
[144] Steele, *Secreta*, pp. 203-4.

them for use or build their own.[145] Shortly afterwards, according to Yonge's account, a second foray northwards brought O'Neill of Clandeboy to submission. On the earl's return to Drogheda, MacMahon 'with dyuers othyr enemys' gave fines as surety for keeping the peace.

The text of the *Governaunce* states that these two expeditions took place in 1422 ...'in lytill more space than thre Monthes'.[146] If so, they were conducted in the unfavourable and unlikely season of January to March, for Ormond's lieutenancy expired on 10 April.[147] Possibly Yonge, in his concern to prove the efficacy of prayer, compressed events; possibly the year named in the text should read 1421. But despite the difficulties of establishing a precise chronology for the campaigns of the lieutenancy, they certainly seem to have been vigorous, extensive and ambitious. And bearing in mind the minimal help which Ormond received from the English exchequer - a final total of £1,270 -[148] there can be no doubt at all that they were financed largely, as the king had hoped, from local resources.

From December 1420 to November 1421, the final twelve months covered by Hugh Bavent's unfortunately imcomplete receipt roll as treasurer, receipts at the Irish exchequer totalled just over £1,480, and according to his subsequent account at the English exchequer receipts for his entire treasurership, July 1420 to December 1421, grossed over £2,150.[149] Owing to the lack of fifteenth-century Irish exchequer records pre-1420, it is impossible to be certain whether these figures represented an improvement on the years of the Talbot régime, but they are very considerably more

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145 See K. Simms, 'Warfare in the medieval Gaelic lordships', p. 107; R. Frame, 'War and peace in the medieval lordship of Ireland', pp. 122-5.
146 Steele, *Secreta*, pp. 203, 204.
147 See above, p. 121, n. 74; below, Appendix I, list 2, p. 484.
148 See above, pp. 88-9.
149 P.R.O., E101/247/15; E364/57, m. G.

impressive than the £385 collected by Hugh Burgh in the half year of February to July 1420 and significantly above the £1,000 annual average for the period 1420-46 as a whole.[150] Unfortunately the partially-damaged state of Bavent's receipt roll prevents rigorous analysis of his sources of revenue, but the chief reasons for his success seem fairly clear. The first of these was a lengthening of the exchequer arm in geographical terms, doubtless assisted both by Ormond's campaigns and by his personal influence in the south. Besides the appearance of customs from Cork and Galway, Bavent's roll noted receipts from Kilkenny, Tipperary and Kerry from which no revenue had been received in the last months of Burgh's treasurership, February to July 1420.[151] While the annual yield from customs during Ormond's lieutenancy was only a fraction of the £1,400 a year realised under Edward I, the sum of approximately £170 collected from December 1420 to November 1421 may well have represented a slight recovery from the trade recession of the fourteenth century.[152] A second reason for the overall increase of revenue under Bavent was a marked upturn in hanaper profits. Between October 1420 and November 1421 termly hanaper receipts totalled some £20 to £40, with an exceptional £118 recorded for Hilary 1421.[153] Here the treasurer's past experience as clerk of the hanaper may well have been of some significance.[154] Thirdly, the exchequer's revenue in the latter part of 1421 was boosted by a proclamation of royal service in Louth on 8 July. Between 21 July and 26

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[150] P.R.O., E101/247/8; for the average for 1420-46, see above, p. 2.
[151] P.R.O., E101/247/15, mm. 5-6, 15-16. For Burgh's receipts see above, pp. 133-4.
[152] See S.G. Ellis, 'Historical revision XIX: the Irish customs administration under the early Tudors', *I.H.S.*, xxii, no. 87 (1981), pp. 271-7.
[153] P.R.O., E101/247/15, mm. 8-10; for the minimal hanaper receipts for Easter 1420, see above, p. 134.
[154] See above, p. 59.

November the resulting scutage receipts totalled nearly £183.[155] A study of the survival of scutage in late-medieval Ireland has shown that the incidence of proclamations of royal service increased between 1415 and 1445. It was suggested that the increase was probably a direct response to the reduction in this period of English exchequer support for the defence of the lordship.[156] In 1421 it was certainly the case that scutage was levied chiefly as a means of raising money for the lieutenant: all but some £13-£14 of the returns entered on Bavent's receipt roll were assigned to Ormond.

Overall the Irish exchequer managed to find nearly £1,344 for the lieutenant without unduly neglecting the claims of other officials, whose fees and wages still absorbed some fifty-five per cent of the available revenue.[157] Meanwhile the additional defence subsidies granted directly to Ormond during his two-year term were, in Irish terms, considerable. The 700 marks which had been granted by the Irish parliament in June 1420 was doubled by further grants of 300 marks by the December parliament of the same year and 400 marks by a great council at Dublin in October 1421. Altogether this amounted to twice the sum which John Talbot was said to have been promised in the three years between May 1416 and May 1419. At least one, further, local subsidy was granted to Ormond by the commons of Meath at Rathgirdle on 10 July 1421:[158] possibly there were others too.

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[155] P.R.O., E101/247/15, mm. 13-17. In the absence of a receipt roll for 1422 the total yield unfortunately remains uncertain. In the Tudor period the average yield was about £200, but it may have been higher under the Yorkists: see S.G. Ellis, 'Taxation and defence in late medieval Ireland: the survival of scutage', *J.R.S.A.I.*, cvii (1977), pp. 5-28, esp. p. 16.

[156] Ibid., p. 17.

[157] Calculated from the Irish issue roll for February to July 1420 and from Bavent's account as treasurer, July 1420 to December 1421: P.R.O., E101/247/10; E364/57, m. G. For Irish exchequer payments to Ormond, see below, Appendix II, Table D, p. 572.

[158] See Richardson and Sayles, *Parls. and councils*, i, pp. xxv-vi, 131-85. For Talbot's subsidies, see Marleborough, 'Chron.', pp. 219, 221.

His greater success in raising subsidies seems to have been due to a more conciliatory approach to the problem of defence funding. One clause of a lengthy and wide-ranging petition to the king from the one remaining major assembly of the lieutenancy, a parliament at Dublin in April 1421, particularly commended Ormond for having abolished *un malvois et shaynouse et importable custume appelle coigne*.[159] Coign, or forced purveyance and billeting without payment, was a practice of pre-Norman Ireland, long-established, but widely unpopular. John Talbot's infringement of a recent prohibition of coign by an Irish parliament of 1410 had been resented.[160] During his first year in office Ormond authorized the appointment of a commission to investigate complaints from Meath that his soldiers and purveyors had been requisitioning without making due payment.[161] Subsequently he was to take steps to prevent the abuse of coign within his own lands.[162] Subsidies offered a means of distributing the burden of defence costs more equitably, and four of the indentures drawn up in connection with the payment of Ormond's first parliamentary subsidy in the summer of 1420 specified that the grant was being made to avoid a resort to coign.[163]

Both the subsidies themselves and the warmth of the praise of Ormond's abolition of coign suggest that his régime won a significant degree of goodwill in the lordship. And certain other points in the petition of April 1421 seem to indicate that there was considerable support within the Irish parliament for his personal political interests.

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159 *Stat. John-Hen. V*, pp. 562-85, esp. pp. 572-3; *R.C.H.*, p. 221, no. 111.
160 See above, p. 86.
161 *R.C.H.*, p. 217 (8 Henry V), no. 19.
162 See C.A. Empey and K. Simms, 'The ordinances of the white earl and the problem of coign in the later middle ages', *P.R.I.A.*, lxxv (1975) C, pp. 167-87; also below, pp. 230-1.
163 Richardson and Sayles, *Parls. and councils*, i, pp. 140, 144-5, 148.

John Talbot's *plusoures greindres et excessiues extorsiouns* were roundly condemned. A royal inquiry was requested into the past conduct of the chancellor, Laurence Merbury, whom Ormond was soon to oust from office.[164] Merbury, presumably out of personal loyalty to Talbot, was said to have refused to seal a message to the king from a previous parliament of January 1417, the assembly from which the complaints *des foialx liges Dirlande* against the Talbot régime which Henry V received in the February of that year apparently emanated.[165] Furthermore the petition of 1421 asked the king to restore the lieutenancy's former powers to receive the homage of tenants in chief and to confer ecclesiastical benefices (two notable omissions from Ormond's letters patent of appointment which may well have irked him) on the grounds of the desirability of preventing unnecessary absences and vacancies.[166] Amongst a miscellany of other concerns and grievances, ranging from the prevalence of Scottish and Castillian attacks on shipping in the Irish sea to a recent refusal by English inns of court to admit able and well-born law students from Ireland,[167] only one clause directly criticised the earl himself. The king was requested to remind the lieutenant and other royal officials of the precise terms of a piece of early-Ricardian legislation against absenteeism. It was claimed that an over-zealous Irish exchequer was depriving those who had correctly obtained licence for absence of two thirds, rather than the statutory one third, of the profits of their Irish lands and offices.[168]

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[164] *Stat. John - Hen. V*, pp. 566-7, 570-1. For the ousting of Merbury in August 1421, see above, pp. 127-8.
[165] For the complaints to Henry V, see above, p. 86.
[166] *Stat. John - Hen. V*, pp. 582-5. Both these powers had been granted to Stanley and Talbot in 1413 and 1414: see above, pp. 30-1.
[167] *Stat. John - Hen. V*, pp. 574-5.
[168] Ibid., pp. 578-81.

The business of this parliament was not without controversy - according to Marleborough's account much time was taken up by the investigation of two acrimonious episcopal disputes -[169] but it certainly seems that the hostility, bitterness and mutual suspicion that had characterized relations between parliament and the chief governorship in the latter years of the Talbot régime, notably in 1417 and 1418, had largely disappeared. Those who had vociferously opposed the Talbots were no doubt better disposed towards a lieutenant who had suffered personally under their régime, and the influence of this body of opinion was clearly strong. Significantly, Christopher Preston, who had been imprisoned by Thomas Talbot in June 1418, was one of the two men chosen to take the petition to England; the other was Archbishop John Swayne of Armagh.[170] Conversely, those with reason for grievance against Ormond, the men who since April 1420 had been deprived of offices and grants received between 1413 and 1419, were certainly without one, possibly two, of their most obvious spokesmen. Laurence Merbury had left Ireland in March 1421; Archbishop Richard Talbot had spent three weeks of Lent at Blackmere, one of the Talbot manors in Shropshire, and whether or not he had returned to Ireland in time for the parliament, which opened a fortnight after Easter, is not clear.[171]

However, the underlying preoccupation of the petition was not so much to bolster the lieutenant's political standing at Westminster, as to make a formal response to the new royal initiative for the lordship which his

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[169] Marleborough, 'Chron.', pp. 222-3; see also Otway-Ruthven, *Medieval Ireland*, p. 360.

[170] *Stat. John - Hen. V*, pp. 562-3; Marleborough, 'Chron.', p. 222. For the arrest of Preston in 1418, see above, p. 109.

[171] B. Ross, 'The accounts of the Talbot household at Blackmere in the county of Shropshire' (Canberra M.A. thesis, 1970) i, p. 49. For Merbury's absence, see above, p. 127.

appointment represented. Certain aspects of the king's experiment were welcomed. Taken in context the two clauses praising Ormond and condemning John Talbot formed part of a sustained effort to impress the king with the parliament's continuing preference for the 'good and sufficient officers' which Henry had promised in response to the complaints of 1417. It was not only Talbot who was accused of oppression and extortion compounded by subsequent inaccessibility to his creditors in Ireland, but also the other recent appointee to the lieutenancy from England, John Stanley.[172] To such complaints, the praise of Ormond, and of another recent chief governor normally resident in Ireland, the late archbishop of Dublin, Thomas Cranley, offered a pointed contrast. Cranley as justiciar in 1414 was said to have governed *benignement et honestement en faisant reisonable paiement ... de la quele gouernaunce vos ditz lieges furent graundement pleasez et tresbien contentz.* Cranley's subsequent service as John Talbot's deputy by no means compromised his posthumous reputation as a *bone esample* of good governance. Ormond was approved, not only for his avoidance of extortion by the abolition of coign, but also for a newly-made promise to discharge any debts that might remain at the end of his lieutenancy from the rents of certain of his own best lands in Ireland.[173] Warming to this theme, the petition also drew royal attention to the oppressions and extortions engendered by 'insufficient' escheators and deputy escheators, in particular *votre Escheatour de votre dit terre* [i.e. Ireland] *demeurant en Engleterre qorest*, a clear reference to Henry V's own recent, absent appointee to this office, Sir John Pilkington.[174] Meanwhile the second clause of the

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[172] In Stanley's case it was, of course, his heirs and executors whom the petitioners wished to be compelled to come to Ireland to discharge his debts: *Stat. John - Hen. V*, pp. 568-9.
[173] Ibid., pp. 568-73.
[174] Ibid., pp. 576-7. For Pilkington's appointment, see above, p. 125.

petition had expressed unequivocal approval of the formal resumption of royal control over the Irish revenue. The lieutenancy's independent control over the revenue before 1420 was thought to have encouraged extortion and mismanagement.[175] The new arrangements for the lieutenant and the treasurer to account at the English exchequer were apparently regarded as a useful safeguard. Moreover, the petition urged the king to extend this policy of tighter control by sending commissioners from England to investigate the Dublin administration, to eliminate corruption and to promote efficiency. Particular concern was expressed about illiteracy and plurality in the Irish exchequer.[176]

But while the Irish parliament showed its readiness to encourage the moves to promote administrative sufficiency, accountability and competence, no corresponding confidence was expressed in the potential of the royal initiative to provide adequately for defence. Notwithstanding Ormond's recent military efforts, the first clause of the petition offered the traditionally dismal picture of the lordship's prospects: *votre terre et vos lieges en ycelle deyns brief temps serount que dieu defende tout entrement perduz et destruez pour toutz iours.* The remedy sought was not more self-help, but a royal expedition to Ireland: *votre terre iames ne serra releue ... saunz votre tres souerayne et tres graciouse presence deyns votre dit terre.* Moreover, the petition's fourth clause requested the king to ask the pope to proclaim a crusade against those Irish, MacMurrough, O'Neill, O'Brien of Thomond, O'Connor *et autres diverses irrois*, who had freely submitted and sworn allegiance to Richard II and had since reverted to disloyalty and rebellion.[177] The petition's allusion to

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[175] *Stat. John - Hen. V*, pp. 564-5.
[176] Ibid., pp. 570-1, 574-5.
[177] Ibid., pp. 562-3, 564-7.

Richard II's success in Ireland was not as tactless or foolhardy as it might have been twenty, or even ten, years earlier. The Irish parliament was no doubt aware of Henry V's personal reverence for Richard's memory. On Henry's accession, Richard's body had been ceremonially reburied beside that of Queen Anne at Westminster. In Ireland there will have been memories too of the young Henry of Monmouth's accompanying Richard's second expedition to the lordship in 1399 and receiving knighthood at the king's hands shortly before the arrival of the news of Henry of Lancaster's landing in England at Ravenspur.[178] In discussing the petition of 1421, historians have previously tended to dismiss the first and fourth clauses either as little more than conventional statements of the lordship's dependence on England, or, in view of the urging of the *perpetuelle distruccione* of *dislieges et rebeux* Irish, as evidence of royal subjects' animosity and distrust towards Gaelic Ireland.[179] However, it is clear from another document that there were serious hopes at this time of persuading Henry V to come to Ireland in person, and support too, at least in certain quarters, for a renewal of the Ricardian vision of a royal lordship which might effectively encompass all Ireland, a lordship in which both English and Gaelic inhabitants might be brought to a more peaceful coexistence in common allegiance to the crown.[180] Amongst his *Proceedings and ordinances of the privy council of England*, N.H. Nicolas

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[178] See K.B. McFarlane, *Lancastrian kings and Lollard knights* (Oxford, 1972), pp. 121-2; C. Allmand, *Henry V*, p. 12; 'A French metrical history of the deposition of King Richard the second', ed. J. Webb, *Archaeologia*, xx (1824), pp. 28-30, 299.

[179] E.g. Cosgrove, *Late medieval Ireland*, p. 30; also Otway-Ruthven, *Medieval Ireland*, pp. 359-60, which, in offering an otherwise remarkably full summary of the petition, makes no mention of either of these clauses.

[180] See D. Johnston, 'Richard II and the submissions of Gaelic Ireland', pp. 1-20, although the author actually cites the 1421 petition as evidence that the significance of the submissions and Richard's policy was quickly forgotten in fifteenth-century Ireland.

included a Cottonian manuscript recording extracts from the text of another Irish parliamentary petition interspersed with various explanatory annotations and, on the dorse, a series of memoranda.[181] The dating of this complex, untitled composition has been the subject of some dispute. Nicolas initially assigned the document to the reign of Henry IV. There is now no doubt that it belongs to Henry V's reign, but it has been variously assigned to the period of Ormond's lieutenancy, to the months immediately preceding the king's death, and to 1416.[182] Of these suggestions the first seems the most likely. The probability is that the manuscript was intended as a brief for the two messengers dispatched by the 1421 parliament to England, Swayne and Preston. The fifth clause of the 1421 petition mentioned a certain, separate *instrument*, which the king was urged to hear and inspect for further information as to the seriousness of Merbury's misconduct in January 1417.[183] The first part of the Cottonian document could well be a copy of this *instrument*. The paragraphs labelled *textus*, listing grievances against a certain, unnamed lieutenant, could indeed be excerpts from an original version of the 1417 petition which, after Merbury's alleged refusal to seal it, had then perhaps been shortened or rewritten. The annotations or *glosa* (which distinguish *le seigneur* and

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[181] B.L., Cotton MS Titus B xi, f. 13, printed in *P.P.C.*, ii, pp. 43-52. A slightly different version of the same text appears in Lambeth Palace Library, Carew MS. 608, ff. 66-8 under the title, 'A complaint of the commons of parliament in Ireland in the tyme of king h the 5 or h 6' which a marginal note describes as 'copied out of the original'. This supplies on f. 66b one paragraph not found in the Cotton MS. printed by Nicolas which gives details of the seizure of various lands, including the manor of Lucan belonging to the earl of Kildare. Otherwise there are only minor differences between the two versions.

[182] See respectively, M.C. Griffith, 'The Talbot-Ormond struggle for control of the Anglo-Irish government', p. 381; Richardson and Sayles, *Ir. parl.*, p. 351; Otway-Ruthven, *Medieval Ireland*, pp. 350-1; also for 1416, see K. Simms, 'Bards and barons: the Anglo-Irish aristocracy and the native culture', *Medieval frontier societies*, ed. R. Bartlett and A. MacKay (Oxford, 1989), pp. 177-97, esp. pp. 184-5.

[183] *Stat. John - Hen. V*, pp. 566-7.

le dit lieutenaunt against whom the main complaints were made - clearly identifiable from the circumstances mentioned as John Talbot - from the *lieutenaunt qore est*[184]) were probably composed at, or shortly before, the 1421 parliament to amplify the original accusations with precise details. Meanwhile the second of the dorsal memoranda, which refers to *la foialte et legeaunce compris en votre message que les Irrois firent a Roy Richard seconde*, establishes a separate connection with the fourth or 'crusade' clause of the 1421 petition and, apparently, with its bearers.[185] And it is these memoranda which reveal the strength and sophistication of the campaign to persuade Henry V to visit Ireland.

The first of the memoranda offered the following injunction:

> *Fait a remembrer qen le message envoie par le Count Dormond et en toutz les lettres envoiez par luy touchantz mesme le message as frers le Roy et soun conseill et le Count de Marche la presence le Roy est graundement desire a cestes parties Dirlande.*[186]

Thus it seems that Ormond himself warmly supported the parliamentary request for a royal expedition and had separately proposed the idea to a number of the most powerful men about the king. The remaining memoranda constituted an elaborate historical justification, based on *le lyvere de Cambrense* [i.e. Gerald of Wales] *et anxiens estories Dengleterre*, of the English crown's right to lordship over Ireland and all its inhabitants, Gaelic as well as English.[187] The justification dwelt primarily on the

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[184] Cf. *P.P.C.*, ii, pp. 47-9 and p. 50. For the firm identification of Talbot as the subject of the complaints, see M.C. Griffith, op. cit., pp. 381, 393-5; also Otway-Ruthven, *Medieval Ireland*, p. 351, n. 24.

[185] Quotation (my underlining) from *P.P.C.*, ii, p. 51. The fourth clause of the 1421 petition had asserted that *diverses Irrois soy humblement submysteront oue lour frank volunte demesne et deviendront lieges hommes a luy* [Richard II] *et ses heirs Royes dengleterre*: *Stat. John - Hen. V*, pp. 564-5.

[186] *P.P.C.*, ii, pp. 50-1.

[187] Ibid., pp. 51-2.

strength of Henry II's claim to lordship: how he had been recognised as lord by native Irish princes without having to use force; how various statutes which he had made for Ireland had been readily accepted; how his assertion of lordship had been backed by the authority of Adrian IV and Alexander III, who, as popes, were the natural protectors of all Christian isles; how [Cardinal] Vivian, the papal legate at Dublin, had reinforced the English lordship by threatening with excommunication all in Ireland who attempted to abrogate or deny allegiance to the king. The justification also delved briefly into legend. It was asserted that in ancient times the Irish had hailed from the Basque country and had been sent to Ireland under a safe conduct from Gurgent, son of King Belyng of Britain; furthermore that an ancient king of Ireland had paid tribute to King Arthur and various other kings of the isles. And the reader is left in no doubt of the purpose of this catalogue of information: *ergo de primo ad ultimum bone est le droit notre seigneur le Roy al terre Dirlande.* A fuller, more polished version of this justification also appears in James Yonge's *Governaunce of prynces*, and it may well have been Yonge (whose work cited in another context 'a gret Clerke, Richard [sic] Cambrensis, that makyd the Story of the conqueste by kynge Henry the Seconde in Irland) who undertook the necessary research at Ormond's behest.[188]

This kind of approach was well calculated to appeal to a king whose initial expeditions to France in 1415 had been preceded and justified by

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[188] See Steele, *Secreta*, pp. 182-6. The *Governaunce* justification also explains the significance of the presumed Basque origins of the Irish: Bayonne, the capital of the Basque country was thought to have been a lordship of the ancient kingdom of Britain: ibid., p. 184. An English translation of Gerald of Wales' *Expugnatio Hibernica* was produced in Ireland *c.* 1425, but nothing in this text itself established any definite connection with either Yonge or Ormond: *The English conquest of Ireland*, ed. F.J. Furnivall, 1,(E.E.T.S., orig. ser. cvii, London, 1896), pp. 1-150; see also St J.D. Seymour, *Anglo-Irish literature*, pp. 140-2.

careful research into the rights of past kings of England in France since the Norman conquest.[189] And although hopes to bring Henry V to Ireland in 1421 may seem with hindsight to have been grossly over-optimistic in view of his commitment to France, the timing of the request for a royal expedition may well have seemed in Ireland to be particularly propitious. The parliament of April 1421 met some two months after Henry V's triumphant return to England for the coronation of his French bride, Charles VI's daughter, Catherine, and the ratification in the English parliament of the Treaty of Troyes, by which, in May 1420, he had been recognised as heir to the French throne.[190] In the past no less than two royal expeditions to Ireland had been launched in the wake of Anglo-French peace settlements. Lionel of Clarence's expedition in 1361 took place in the aftermath of the Treaty of Brétigny; Richard II's first expedition to Ireland was launched a few months after the arrangement of a four-year truce with the French in May 1394. In the spring of 1421, Swayne and Preston probably received little immediate encouragement. Henry's plans for an early return to France, made more urgent by the arrival in April of the news of the duke of Clarence's death at Baugé, were already in train when the Irish parliament met. Nevertheless, there is no reason to assume that the king would necessarily have dismissed its proposal out of hand. At this point, the imminence of his own death could scarcely have been foreseen. A half promise to consider the project more fully at the time of the planned investigation of the success of the initiative of 1420, when Ormond's brief lieutenancy expired, might well help to explain why the

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189 See M. Keen, 'Diplomacy', p. 187.

190 The king was in England from the beginning of February to mid-June: for details of the visit, see J.H. Wylie and W.T. Waugh, *The reign of Henry V*, iii, pp. 265-92, 317-18; E.F. Jacob, *The fifteenth century* (Oxford, 1961), pp. 192-6; C. Allmand, *Henry V*, pp. 155-62.

king apparently made no definite arrangements for a successor to the earl before the reign ended so abruptly in August 1422.[191]

Between late March and mid July, just before and shortly after Ormond left office in April 1422 with this investigation in prospect, groups of leading ecclesiastics and laymen from various localities authorized a series of testimonials to his good conduct as lieutenant. These were sent to England, either with the earl or separately. Two, from Counties Limerick and Kildare, are now amongst the English chancery miscellanea, three more, from Counties Carlow and Kilkenny and the city of Waterford, amongst the English exchequer accounts.[192] Whether the lack of any similar documents from Tipperary and Wexford, or from Dublin and the more northerly counties, is of significance is uncertain, but the geographical spread of those which have survived is impressive. This reached well west and north-east from the heart of the Butler territory in the central south and in some measure probably reflected the good relations that Ormond had established with both the other resident earls. Neither were actually signatories, but the letter from Limerick confirmed that, whereas lieutenants and other royal officials were normally slow to visit the south-west, Ormond, with the help of the earl of Desmond, had been particularly active there. On 31 January, only a few weeks before this, the earliest of the testimonials, was authorized, Ormond had sealed their political alliance by appointing Desmond as keeper and seneschal of his most southerly lordships - Inchiquin, Imokilly and the town of Youghal - for life, according him half their profits and two hundred and forty acres

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[191] See above, p. 89.

[192] P.R.O., C47/10/26, nos. 5, 6; E101/247/17. A translation of the testimonial from Limerick has been printed by M.C. Griffith in 'The Talbot-Ormond struggle for control of the Anglo-Irish government', Appendix I, p. 392.

of demesne land.[193] Written more or less a year after the parliamentary petition of April 1421, the testimonials provided further confirmation of the lieutenant's efforts to make due payment for his troops and supplies. More generously they stressed, too, what the petition, in attempting to persuade the king to visit Ireland in person, had obscured - the energy and efficacy of Ormond's defence of each of the localities concerned. Only a few months after the parliamentary petition had been sent to England in 1421, Laurence Merbury, notwithstanding its criticism of his conduct, had been confirmed, then formally reappointed, under the English seal as chancellor of Ireland.[194] Ormond may well have taken this as an indication that while he was in Ireland his stock of royal 'favour and credit' had proved by no means impregnable against Talbot influence. The testimonials were obviously intended to augment, for Ormond's benefit, the evidence that his lieutenancy had been a success. However, the two letters composed after Ormond left office - those from Carlow and Kildare, dated 17 June and 12 July - also revealed that here at least the earl's achievement was perceived to be no more than transitory. According to the writers from Kildare, the Irish were aware that Ormond's successor, the elected justiciar, William fitzThomas, was not sufficiently powerful to resist their attack; in Carlow Ormond's departure from office was said to have been followed by the plundering and burning of settlements and the destruction of castles and fortresses.

Five hundred years later in 1923, in the wake of the troubled creation of the Irish Free State, Edmund Curtis' seminal, nationalist

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[193] P.R.O., C47/10/26, no. 4; a sixteenth-century copy of the agreement is printed in *C.O.D.*, iii, no. 51, pp. 38-9.
[194] *C.P.R., 1416-22*, p. 394; *C.C.R., 1419-22*, pp. 153-4.

History of mediaeval Ireland hailed this lieutenancy as the birth of 'a new age' in Ireland's political development.[195] According to Curtis, Ormond's rule marked the beginning of 'the alliance of the great earls and of aristocratic Home Rule', a movement which culminated triumphantly in the later fifteenth century with the 'all-but-kingship' of the eighth earl of Kildare.[196] Certainly, Ormond demonstrated an appetite for the power and the demands of the chief governorship which the resident earls of the lordship had not shown since the 1350s,[197] and which was to be sustained for much of his future career. Certainly, he received the active support and assistance of both Desmond and Kildare. But for all the resentment expressed in the Irish parliament against 'insufficient' appointees to Irish offices from England, for all that Ormond himself chafed at some of the new restrictions imposed by the terms of his own appointment on his freedom of patronage, the lieutenancy offers little evidence of genuinely separatist feeling. The petition of 1421 was in itself an affirmation of the Irish parliament's loyalty to the crown, and the majority of clauses requested more, rather than less, royal attention and intervention. Ormond had succeeded in sustaining an active and ambitious lieutenancy on local resources for two years with remarkably little financial support from England, but from the urgency of the concerted pleas for a royal expedition in 1421 and the note of alarm sounded by the testimonials

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[195] See E. Curtis, *A history of mediaeval Ireland, 1110-1513* (1st edn., London, 1923), p. 337.

[196] Ibid., pp. 337, 384. These two quotations also appear in the second edition, *A history of medieval Ireland, 1085-1513* (London, 1938), pp. 295, 364. For Curtis' account of the career of the eighth earl of Kildare, see ibid., pp. 337-63. For a recent analysis of the background to Curtis' interpretation and its subsequent influence, see S.G. Ellis, 'Nationalist historiography and the English and Gaelic worlds in the late middle ages', *I.H.S.*, xxv (1986), pp. 1-18.

[197] For the involvement of the mid-fourteenth-century earls of Desmond, Kildare and Ormond in the governing of Ireland between 1355 and 1361, see Frame, *English lordship*, pp. 295-326.

written in the summer of 1422, after Ormond's term of office expired, it seems that opinion in the lordship still remained sceptical of the feasibility or desirability of any more permanent self-sufficiency in the future.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONFRONTATION AND CONCILIATION, 1422-25

Within a year and a half of the sending of the Irish parliament's petition to England in April 1421, any remaining hopes of bringing the king to Ireland in person were suddenly and finally extinguished. Henry V's untimely death at Bois de Vincennes on 31 August 1422, after the shortest reign of any king of England since the Norman conquest, cheated him of his expected succession to the French crown by a mere seven weeks. Meanwhile, his two surviving brothers, the dukes of Bedford and Gloucester, and the rest of his councillors were left to face the prospect of supporting his heir, then scarcely nine months old, as king of a dual monarchy for the duration of a lengthy minority. Although Henry V had made a will in 1421 which was supplemented on his death bed by codicils and verbal instructions, the form of government to be adopted was by no means immediately clear. The precedents created by two previous royal minorities - those of Richard II and, more distantly, Henry III - failed to provide a wholly adequate model. In the uncertain process of readjustment, Ormond's own political position was to be, at least temporarily, extremely insecure.

After leaving office, Ormond apparently spent the summer of 1422 in Ireland, where his chief preoccupation was no doubt the administration and defence of his own lands. On 8 September he left for England,[1] perhaps expecting to make his account at the English exchequer for his payments as

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[1] The Irish exchequer memoranda roll for 2 Henry VI recorded that Ormond was absent from Ireland from this date: P.R.O.I., RC8/40, p. 20, 44.

lieutenant.[2] Whether Ormond knew at this stage that he was shortly to face charges of treason from John Talbot is not clear,[3] but it seems unlikely that the earl's journey was prompted by any forewarning of the king's death. News of this only began to spread across southern England in the days immediately following the earl's departure, so probably took at least another week or ten days to reach Ireland.[4] Once aware of what had happened, however, Ormond made for Windsor, where he was amongst the first of the infant Henry VI's subjects to pay him homage. Here, in the royal chamber on 28 September, Ormond was one of only ten named witnesses to the first recorded ceremony of the new reign - the delivering up of the great seal of England by Henry V's chancellor, Bishop Langley of Durham, into the temporary custody of Simon Gaunstede, keeper of the chancery rolls.[5] With most of the peers of the realm absent either in France or in the more remote parts of England, Ormond was, propitiously, the highest-ranking magnate present after the duke of Gloucester, who had been appointed keeper of the realm in May 1422. However, the assembly also included John Talbot, now lord Talbot, who had returned from France following the death of his first wife in May 1422.[6]

In the select company of prelates, lords and officials who effectively held the reins of power until the arrival of Henry V's funeral cortège and the meeting of a full parliament at Westminster in November, Ormond was very much an outsider. It may well have been shock and political instinct, rather than any formal summons, which had brought him to Windsor.

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[2] See above, p. 88.
[3] See below, pp. 160-2.
[4] It took until 10 September for news of the king's death to reach Bedfordshire: *Rot. parl.*, iv, p. 194; see also Griffiths, *Henry VI*, p. 12.
[5] *C.C.R., 1422-29*, p. 46; see also J.S. Roskell, 'The office and dignity of protector of England', *E.H.R.*, lxviii (1953), pp. 193-233, esp. pp. 194-5; Griffiths, *Henry VI*, pp. 13-15.
[6] See Pollard, *John Talbot*, p. 10.

Significantly, perhaps, the English close roll memorandum of the events of 28 September misrecorded his name as 'Philip' rather than 'James'; the subsequent report to the English parliament of the Windsor ceremony failed to mention him at all.[7] Unlike Talbot, Ormond had no place in the larger gathering of bishops and nobles which met on 5 November to finalize the procedural arrangements for the opening of parliament the following week.[8] And in the interim between these meetings, when various letters patent authorizing the first key appointments of the new reign were sealed,[9] it was Talbot, rather than Ormond, who exerted the decisive influence over those relating to Ireland.

While only one of three Irish appointments issued on 4 October was actually 'new', together they transformed the balance of power in Dublin.[10] Prior William fitzThomas of Kilmainham, elected by the Irish council to succeed Ormond in April, was replaced as justiciar by Archbishop Richard Talbot. This move, accompanied as it was by confirmations of the existing treasurership of William Tynbegh (who had succeeded Hugh Bavent by English-seal appointment in December 1421) and of Laurence Merbury's chancellorship (which had been ineffective in Ireland for over a year)[11] restored Talbot control over all three chief offices. Although Richard Talbot's justiciarship 'during pleasure' was obviously intended as no more than a short-term stop-gap, the delays which then ensued, both in the appointment of a new lieutenant and in the arrival of his first deputy in Ireland, delays which were ultimately compounded by the archbishop's own reluctance to give up power, in fact drew out his term of office to nearly

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[7] *C.C.R., 1422-29*, p. 46; *Rot. parl.*, iv, pp. 170-1.
[8] *P.P.C.*, iii, pp. 6-7.
[9] See J.S. Roskell, 'The office and dignity of protector of England', p. 196.
[10] *C.P.R., 1422-29*, p. 3.
[11] See below, Appendix I, lists 1, p. 478; 2, p. 485; 3, p. 493; 5, p. 505.

a year.[12] During this time he removed several of Ormond's appointees from a number of subordinate offices. From the exchequer, the chief and second barons, James Cornwalshe and Richard Bermingham, the chancellor of the green wax, Sampson Dartas, the chief engrosser (also seneschal of Ormond's lands in Ireland) Walter Shirlock, and the usher, Richard Vale, were all ousted; from the judiciary, so too was Richard Ashwell, chief clerk of the king's bench. Two of their replacements, John Wyche as second baron and Robert Dyke as chancellor of the green wax, were both former Talbot appointees whom Ormond himself had ousted in 1420.[13] Cornwalshe's successor, Richard Sydgrave, a former third baron of the exchequer, served for a short time as deputy chancellor for Laurence Merbury.[14] The author of Ormond's *Governaunce of prynces*, James Yonge, discovered that the reward for his scholarly labours was nine months in irons in the castle of Trim.[15] Ormond's own absence in England gave Archbishop Talbot the opportunity to demand two-thirds of the rents from at least three of Ormond's properties closest to Dublin - Cloncurry, Donadea and Oughterard.[16]

Ormond himself had little opportunity of returning to Ireland at this time to defend his own and his supporters' interests there. In England he was involved in a bitter and violent confrontation with John Talbot who

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[12] See below, pp. 167-70; Appendix I, list 2, p. 485.
[13] Ibid., lists 6i, p. 511; 6ii, p. 513; 7iii, p. 520; 7v, p. 528; 7xi, p. 538; 9i, p. 547. For Ormond's appointments in 1420, see also above, pp. 123-6.
[14] Sydgrave had served as third baron in the first decade of the fifteenth century (R.C.H., p. 162, no. 74; p. 196, no. 75). For his deputy chancellorship in 1423, see below, Appendix I, list 3, p. 493.
[15] *R.C.H.*, p. 234, no. 37.
[16] It was subsequently pleaded that Ormond had adequately provided for the defence of these lands (P.R.O.I., RC8/40, pp. 20, 44; 1A/49/148, pp. 114-5). He does not seem to have acquired an English-seal licence for absence until July 1423: C.P.R., 1422-29, p. 128.

accused him of having committed *diverses tresons en la Terre d'Irland.*[17] The charges were fivefold, all referring to the period of Talbot's own seven-year term as lieutenant from 1414. He alleged that a cousin of his, one Thomas Talbot, esquire, had been captured by Ormond, delivered into the hands of Irish kernes and subjected to severe beating and ill-treatment at the house of O'Connor Faly. Thomas was required to ransom himself for £10, and the price, Talbot said, was fixed by Ormond. Two more charges accused Ormond of harbouring men who had injured John Talbot's servants, and thus of seeming to condone the attacks. Furthermore Talbot suggested that when Ormond had left Ireland for France, it was deliberately to avoid being called upon as head of the Butler family to check the activities of his half-brother, Thomas Butler, late prior of Kilmainham. Talbot said that Ormond knew that the prior plotted 'mysgovernaunce' against authority.[18] Ormond was also accused of leaving his lordship of Oughterard in Kildare paying black rent to O'Connor Faly's wife for its protection while the earl was in France, with the result that the tenants did nothing to impede O'Connor raids from Oughterard on surrounding territory.

Precisely when these charges were first lodged is uncertain. When the case was finally heard by the English parliament in November 1423, it was said that it had first been brought before a great council *coram Domino Rege* and had then proceeded to the constable's court *coram Johanne Duce Bed*[ford].[19] From this (despite the apparent reference to the reigning, rather than the deceased, king) it has been assumed that the

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[17] *Rot. parl.*, iv, pp. 198-9. In February 1423 both men were called upon to make repeated undertakings to keep the peace between themselves and other, unnamed supporters: *C.C.R., 1422-29*, pp. 58-9.
[18] For the hostility between Prior Thomas Butler of Kilmainham and John Talbot during the latter's lieutenancy, see above, pp. 116-17.
[19] *Rot. parl.*, iv, p. 198.

charges pre-dated Henry V's death.[20] But although it is just possible that initial hearings before Henry V and Bedford could have taken place in 1421 when John Talbot visited England from France for Queen Catherine's coronation,[21] there is no indication that any summons to answer was sent to Ormond in Ireland at this time. Either the accusations had not then been taken seriously, or they were not made until, or after, Ormond and Talbot met at Windsor in September 1422. At this later stage, however, the constable's court functioned under the aegis of a lieutenant, for Bedford himself was absent in France from May 1422 to December 1425.[22] Whichever the case, it was only after the new reign began, when Talbot and Ormond were both in England together, that any full investigation of the charges was possible. Yet while in the first weeks after Henry V's death it was clearly Talbot who held the initiative and the trump cards, the imbalance was gradually to be redressed during the succeeding months.

Talbot's charges do not seem in themselves to have been particularly substantial. Most of the accusations merely implicated Ormond indirectly and circumstantially. While Talbot may genuinely have suspected that Ormond had in some way assisted O'Connor Faly - a particular thorn in Talbot's flesh during his lieutenancy[23] - the charges were no doubt primarily a riposte for the damage which Ormond had done to Talbot interests in Ireland after his own appointment in 1420. The twenty-eight counter-charges, apparently prepared by Ormond in his defence to demonstrate the 'malys' and 'evil will' which Talbot, as lieutenant, had shown to him, were far more numerous and perhaps more convincing. Besides

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[20] See Otway-Ruthven, *Medieval Ireland*, p. 361; Griffiths, *Henry VI*, p. 14.
[21] Talbot was in England for the first half of that year: see Pollard, *John Talbot*, pp. 9-10.
[22] *C.P.R., 1422-29*, pp. 169, 187; for Bedford's absence, see Griffiths, *Henry VI*, pp. 15, 77.
[23] See Otway-Ruthven, *Medieval Ireland*, pp. 351-3.

accusing Talbot of attempting to deprive him of his lands and possessions and of threatening his life on a false charge of treason for forced purveyance in Ireland, Ormond listed so many instances of attacks on his property, tenants, family and servants as to suggest that Talbot had subjected the earl and his affinity to systematic, capricious persecution.[24] How many men stood witness for Talbot is not clear, but a list of five men, whom Ormond on 14 July 1423 was required, on pain of £500, not to harm until the following November, is not particularly impressive.[25] One, a Thomas Talbot 'of Ireland', may possibly have been the cousin named in John Talbot's charges. Of the rest two - John Corringham and James Neville - and possibly a third - John Keting, whom six or seven years later John Talbot appointed seneschal of his liberty of Wexford - were Irish exchequer officials whom Ormond had ousted in 1420 or 1421.[26] The fifth man, John Barry, may have been the man of the same name who was sheriff of Wexford when Ormond became lieutenant.[27] A John Barry also subsequently served as attorney for John Talbot in Ireland.[28] Unfortunately, no corresponding details of Ormond's witnesses have survived, but John Swayne, archbishop of Armagh, who had been one of the bearers of the Irish parliament's petition to Henry V in 1421, went to

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[24] For Ormond's list of charges, also mentioned above, pp. 115-17, see M.C. Griffith, 'The Talbot-Ormond struggle for control of the Anglo-Irish government', pp. 393-5.

[25] *C.C.R., 1422-29*, p. 69.

[26] Until Ormond's lieutenancy, Corringham and Neville held office as treasurer's clerk and second engrosser: see below, Appendix I, lists 7vi, p. 530; 7x, p. 537; for Corringham, see also above, pp. 124-5. Keting was an exchequer messenger in the spring of 1420 (P.R.O., E101/247/7; /10, m. 2); his subsequent appointment as seneschal of the liberty of Wexford was mentioned on the Irish exchequer memoranda roll for 8 Henry VI: P.R.O.I., 1A/49/148, p. 149.

[27] P.R.O., E101/247/8, mm. 1-3.

[28] *R.C.H.*, p. 236, no. 53.

England in the summer of 1423 and could well have spoken in Ormond's favour.[29] Hugh Bavent was in England at the same time, petitioning the council with Ormond in connection with the auditing of their accounts for their recent terms of office as treasurer and lieutenant of Ireland.[30] Furthermore, Ormond may well have been able to cite, in support of his own accusations, the Irish parliamentary petitions of 1417 and 1421, both of which and particularly that of 1417, had offered a more general condemnation of the 'oppressions' of Talbot's rule in Ireland.[31]

Despite the weakness of Ormond's position in England at the opening of the new reign, he apparently responded quickly to the news of Laurence Merbury's reappointment as chancellor of Ireland. Within eight days of this passing the great seal, Merbury had been summoned to present himself back in England the following April to answer certain charges which had been laid against him on behalf of the king.[32] In March 1423, Ormond gave surety to appear at the same time:[33] the likelihood is that it was he who had initially pressed the charges in an attempt to prevent Merbury from taking up office in Ireland. As in the Irish parliamentary petition of 1421, it was alleged that he had abused his former custody of the Irish great seal, in this instance that he had issued writs of *liberate* to ensure the payment of his fees as chancellor without obtaining a proper warrant

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[29] *R.C.H.*, p. 226, no. 43. A warrant from the English council dated 10 June for letters patent authorizing the establishing of a mint at Dublin for small coins from farthings to groats was addressed on the dorse to John, primate of Armagh in Ireland (P.R.O., E28/42/11; *C.P.R., 1422-29*, p. 107). The setting up of a mint had been specifically requested by the petition of 1421 (*Stat. John - Hen. V*, pp. 564-5) but proved a short-lived experiment: see M. Dolley, 'Anglo-Irish monetary policies, 1172-1637', *Historical Studies VII* (London, 1969), pp. 45-64, esp. pp. 51-2.

[30] P.R.O., E28/42/26 & 31.

[31] See above, pp. 86, 144, 149-50.

[32] *C.C.R., 1422-29*, p. 41.

[33] Ibid., p. 66.

authorized by the chief goveernor.[34] Additional charges against Merbury were also lodged in England by James Cornwalshe.[35] Although Merbury succeeded in spending some four months in Ireland as chancellor, his return to England in April 1423 for the investigation of the charges against him was succeeded in May by his removal from office.[36]

In the meantime the first parliament of the new reign in November 1422, while dismissing the duke of Gloucester's claims to full regency in England, had established him as protector and defender of the realm and chief councillor, at least for the duration of the absence of his elder brother, Bedford, as regent for Henry VI in France.[37] It was Gloucester who, as keeper of England for Henry V in 1420, had finalized the details of Ormond's own appointment as lieutenant of Ireland.[38] Another prominent member of the new English council constituted by the parliament under Gloucester's leadership was Richard Beauchamp, earl of Warwick. Warwick was one of the late king's executors and also first cousin to Ormond's wife, Joan, whose mother, lady Abergavenny, had hitherto proved one of Earl Richard's most stalwart allies in Warwickshire politics.[39] As the investigation of the Talbot-Ormond quarrel proceeded, the council as a

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[34] Details of the charges, all relating to Merbury's term of office as chancellor during the previous reign, were entered on the Irish close roll together with evidence in his defence: N.L.I., MS 4, f. 239; *R.C.H.*, p. 225, nos. 26, 27.

[35] *R.C.H.*, p. 225, no. 39.

[36] See below, Appendix I, list 3, p. 493. Thereafter Merbury was granted an annuity of £40 by John Talbot, but held no further office in Ireland: B.L., Additional Charter 73948; A.J. Pollard, 'The family of Talbot, lords Talbot and earls of Shrewsbury in the fifteenth century' (Bristol Ph.D. thesis, 1968) p. 124.

[37] See J.S. Roskell, 'The office and dignity of protector of England', pp. 197-216; Griffiths, *Henry VI*, pp. 19-23.

[38] See above, p. 87.

[39] See *C.P.*, i, p. 28; xii, pt. 2, pp. 378-82; C. Carpenter, 'The Beauchamp affinity: a study of bastard feudalism at work', *E.H.R.*, xcv (1980), pp. 514-32, esp. p. 517. Warwick was consistently amongst the most regular attenders at meetings of the English council: see Griffiths, *Henry VI*, pp. 34-5.

whole may well have come to realize not only that Ormond had some cause for grievance against Talbot, but that it would scarcely be politic at the outset of a lengthy royal minority to alienate a man whose enormous personal power in Ireland had already proved its worth in royal service there. During the course of 1423, as the council presided over a much wider review of the Dublin administration than had been attempted in the shock and uncertainty of the previous autumn,[40] some care was taken to show a more even-handed appreciation of the interests of both protagonists. In January English-seal letters patent confirmed the appointments both of John Talbot's chancellor of the green wax, Robert Dyke (whom Archbishop Talbot had already reinstated in Ireland) and of Ormond's chief baron of the exchequer, James Cornwalshe.[41] The confirmation of William Tynbegh in his 1419 appointment as chief justice of the common bench (notwithstanding his continuing treasurership) and the appointment of Archbishop Talbot himself as chancellor, in succession to Merbury in May,[42] were followed in June, November and December by the confirmation in office of three more of Ormond's appointees whom the archbishop had removed in Ireland, namely Richard Bermingham, Walter Shirlock and Richard Ashwell.[43] In November the final judgement of John Talbot's case against Ormond apportioned neither blame nor vindication. Instead both men were commanded to put aside their differences for the sake of peace, while all the records of previous hearings of their quarrel were to be destroyed. Emphasis was placed, too, on Ormond's and Talbot's somewhat distant kinship as an encouragement for the restoration of amity. Talbot's grand-mother,

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[40] See above, pp. 66-7.
[41] *C.P.R., 1422-29*, pp. 57, 75.
[42] Ibid., pp. 99, 103.
[43] Respectively second baron and chief engrosser of the exchequer and keeper of the rolls of the king's bench: ibid., pp. 88, 163, 168; and see above, p. 160.

Pernel Butler, wife of Gilbert, third lord Talbot, was a daughter of the first earl of Ormond and thus the fourth earl's great-aunt.[44] Within two years of this parliament, the link between the families was reinforced by the marriage of John Talbot to the countess of Ormond's cousin, Margaret, Warwick's daughter.[45] Ironically, however, as relations between Warwick and lady Abergavenny thereafter deteriorated to the point of armed confrontation,[46] the very strength of the new Warwick-Talbot alliance almost certainly contributed to the subsequent renewal of the Talbot-Ormond feud.

As the English council attempted to de-fuse the Talbot-Ormond confrontation at Westminster, the task of reconciling their adherents in Ireland was entrusted to a new lieutenant, Edmund, earl of March, appointed in May 1423. Although this decision bade fair to cost the English exchequer more than Henry V had ever approved for an Irish lieutenancy and substantially more than the English council was initially willing to offer,[47] Talbot's then unresolved case against Ormond clearly precluded any immediate return via the latter to the arrangements of 1420. In the very different circumstances of the spring of 1423, there was perhaps a certain logic in apportioning responsibility for Ireland to a magnate of royal blood whose high rank might offer some compensation for the frustration of the hopes for a royal expedition. While he may have lacked the energy and ability which Bedford and Gloucester exerted in the defence of royal interests in France and England, March had the obvious advantage of a

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[44] *Rot. parl.*, iv, p. 199; *C.P.*, xii, pt. 1, pp. 614-16.
[45] This second marriage of John Talbot's took place in 1424 or 1425 : ibid., vii, p. 55; Pollard, *John Talbot*, p. 8.
[46] See, C. Carpenter, 'The Beauchamp affinity: a study of bastard feudalism at work', p. 527; also below, p. 213.
[47] See above, pp. 89-90.

close family connection with the lordship.[48] Had he served his intended, nine-year, term in full, his lieutenancy would have covered the better part of Henry VI's minority. In the event March's stay in Ireland lasted a mere four months. As a direct consequence both of the lengthy preceding delay in March's departure for the lordship and his succeeding and unexpected death there in January 1425, Ormond, fresh from the battle for political survival in England, unexpectedly returned to power as chief governor in Ireland twice in the space of a year.

Whether or not there was any truth in a rumour in London that March's appointment was seized upon as a device to exile him from Westminster,[49] any consequent suspicion on his part that certain councillors were attempting to oust him from their deliberations, would scarcely have encouraged the new lieutenant to hasten his departure for Ireland. Whatever his reasons for delay, March made full use of his unrestricted power to hold office by deputy.[50] Despite initial council orders to prepare his shipping in June 1423,[51] March instead dispatched the bishop of Meath, Edward Dantsey, from Ludlow in August in his stead.[52] And notwithstanding the issuing in February 1424 of further orders for the collection of shipping for the passage of March himself and his troops,[53] Dantsey, in the first or second week of May, was simply replaced by Ormond.[54] His appointment, like Dantsey's, was made at March's own

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[48] March, although hitherto an absentee from Ireland, was also earl of Ulster: see Griffiths, *Henry VI*, pp. 34, 164; and above, pp. 17-18.

[49] *Incerti scriptoris chronicon Angliae de regnis Henrici IV, Henrici V et Henrici VI*, ed. J.A. Giles, p. 6; and see Wolffe, *Henry VI*, p. 35.

[50] *Foedera*, x, p. 282.

[51] P.R.O., C81/1544/29; *C.P.R., 1422-29*, p. 122.

[52] The appointment was made under March's own seal on 4 August: see Richardson and Sayles, *Ir. parl.*, p. 314.

[53] *C.P.R., 1422-29*, p. 192.

[54] Ormond arrived in Ireland as deputy between 3 and 10 May: see below, Appendix I, list 2, p. 485.

discretion. As there is no record that either appointment was ratified under the English seal, it seems unlikely that the English council was consulted, and the more restrictive clauses about the use of deputies, which were inserted in subsequent lieutenants' letters patent until 1445,[55] may perhaps indicate the council's disapproval and displeasure at March's failure to take up office in person more speedily.

After the cancellation of the treason charges in November 1423 and completion of the auditing of the account for his first lieutenancy at the English exchequer early in December,[56] Ormond had apparently remained in England during the early months of 1424. He had established a connection with March well before this time. The Butlers and the Mortimers held neighbouring lands in Buckinghamshire and Surrey.[57] The letter which had been sent to Ormond as lieutenant in June 1420 from clergy and commons in south-east Ulster pleading for help against the attacks of Magennis, had pointed out that these attacks threatened what still remained there of the inheritance *vestri illustri consanguinei domini nostri Comite Marchie et Ultonie*.[58] The fact that the letter has survived amongst government records in England may well be an indication that Ormond forwarded it thither to be brought to March's attention. March had also been amongst those to whom Ormond had written asking for support in his attempt in 1421 to persuade Henry V to lead an expedition to Ireland.[59] Furthermore, when March's first deputy, Bishop Dantsey, had arrived in Ireland in September 1423, he had received particularly ungracious treatment from

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[55] See above, pp. 33-5.
[56] P.R.O., E101/247/11.
[57] See below, Appendix IV, pp. 592, 594.
[58] P.R.O., SC1/57/69; see also above, p. 136.
[59] *P.P.C.*, ii, pp. 50-1; see also above, p. 150.

Archbishop Talbot,[60] a circumstance which suggests that the latter may well have suspected that the new régime was more likely to support Ormond, than Talbot, interests. And indeed Dantsey's deputyship saw the reinstatement of Ormond's chief baron of the exchequer, James Cornwalshe (who, despite the English-seal confirmation of his tenure in January 1423, had not hitherto ousted the archbishop's appointee, Richard Sydgrave) and the reappointment under the Irish seal of Ormond's former chancellor of the green wax, Sampson Dartas, in place of Robert Dyke.[61]

As March's second deputy and forerunner, Ormond returned to Ireland with a substantial force from England at his back.[62] During the four months before March's eventual arrival in Ireland in September, Ormond devoted his main energies to the area in which the lieutenant himself had the most pressing personal interest, namely Ulster. Indeed from March's point of view this was no doubt the chief purpose of the deputyship. The year 1423 had seen concerted attacks by O'Neill, O'Donnell and Eoghan O'Neill into Louth and Meath.[63] In the summer of 1424, with help on the one hand from the city of Dublin and on the other from the MacWilliam Burkes of Clanrickard, Connacht, Ormond launched an expedition against MacMahon, Magennis, O'Donnell and 'the other enemies' of Ulster.[64] According to the annals, the deputy's army devastated the plains of Armagh and Mucknoe. Turning against Magennis, it demolished his castle of Lough Brickland in Down, killed the constable of his gallowglasses, and drove him

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[60] Although Dantsey arrived in Ireland on or before 24 September, Archbishop Talbot and the Irish council blocked his admission to office on the grounds that his credentials were inadequate until 2 October: Richardson and Sayles, *Ir. parl.*, pp. 312-17; and see below, Appendix I, list 2, p. 485.

[61] Ibid., lists 6i, pp. 511-12; 7iii, pp. 520-1.

[62] *A.F.M.*, iv, p. 861.

[63] Ibid., p. 859; *A.U.*, iii, p. 95.

[64] P.R.O.I., 1A/49/148, pp. 90-1; *R.C.H.*, p. 233, nos. 15 and 17; p. 240, no. 37.

out of the territory he had claimed. The attack aroused opposition from O'Neill, Eoghan O'Neill and O'Donnell, but Ormond won over other Gaelic leaders in his support - O'Neill of Clandeboy, O'Hanlon and Maghnus MacMahon.[65] Ormond's previous willingness as lieutenant to seek alliances, as well as military victories, in Gaelic Ulster was again evident,[66] and it seems that his efforts there achieved results. After March's own arrival, O'Neill, Eoghan O'Neill, O'Neill of Clandeboy and Neachtan, brother of O'Donnell, all submitted to the lieutenant with some encouragement from Archbishop Swayne of Armagh, but apparently little further in the way of coercion.[67]

In stark contrast to Ormond's first lieutenancy of 1420 to 1422, this brief, but energetic, deputyship does not seem to have been accompanied by any upheaval in the Dublin administration. Between May and September 1424 few offices changed hands, and none apparently at Ormond's own bidding, despite the fact that the terms of March's own letters patent as lieutenant specifically extended his power to make new appointments in Ireland to his deputy as well.[68] The treasurer, William Tynbegh, pleading that illness prevented him from travelling from Ireland in person to present his account at the English exchequer in May 1424, had, perhaps diplomatically, seized a very suitable opportunity to remove his clerk, John Corringham (previously one of Ormond's particular *bêtes noirs*) from Dublin as the new deputy arrived. Corringham was sent to Westminster to present the account in Tynbegh's stead, but it was Tynbegh rather than Ormond who

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[65] *A.F.M.*, iv, pp. 861-3; further details are given by K. Simms in 'Gaelic lordships in Ulster in the later middle ages' (Dublin Ph.D. thesis, 1976) pp. 352-3.

[66] For 1420, see above, p. 136.

[67] *A.U.*, iii, p. 97; and see K. Simms, 'The archbishops of Armagh and the O'Neills, 1347-1471', *I.H.S.*, xix (1974-5), pp. 38-55, esp. p. 51.

[68] *Foedera*, x, p. 285.

authorized the appointment of Corringham's replacement as treasurer's clerk, John Blakton.[69] Early in September, Hugh Bavent arrived with new English-seal letters patent as treasurer to replace Tynbegh, but while Bavent, with whom Ormond had worked so successfully in 1420 and 1421, was no doubt more congenial to him, there is no certainty that Ormond had engineered his return. Most significantly, there is no sign of any interruption in Archbishop Talbot's tenure of office as chancellor:[70] thus it seems that there was some effort on both sides to abandon the former antagonism as the English parliament had demanded in November 1423.

The final seal to the Talbot-Ormond reconciliation in Ireland was provided by John Talbot himself the following year. In what seems to have been a deliberate effort to promote accord, actively encouraged by the English council, March, who issued personal letters patent retaining Talbot for life in June 1424, brought him to Ireland in his own retinue that autumn.[71] He was with March when the latter suddenly died of plague at Trim in January 1425, whereupon Talbot was elected by the Irish council to serve as justiciar.[72] His swift and somewhat insensitive arrest of the Gaelic leaders who had there assembled to make their submissions undermined Ormond's recent efforts in Ulster at a stroke,[73] and James Cornwalshe was soon ousted from office as chief baron,[74] but in March

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[69] P.R.O., E368/196, m. 57d; and see below, Appendix I, list 7x, p. 537.
[70] See below, Appendix I, lists 3, p. 493; 5, p. 506.
[71] *C.P.R., 1422-29*, pp. 263, 332. In the winter of 1423-24 it seems that John Talbot was dispatched to France to assist Bedford in the proposed recapture of Crotoy in Picardy, then in French hands. However, in February, two days after the issuing of orders for the preparation of March's shipping for Ireland, the English council authorized a warrant for Talbot's recall, together with lords Clinton and Poynings, *pour certaines causes que ... seront declarees a [leur] venue*: P.R.O., E28/44/89.
[72] See below, Appendix I, list 2, p. 485.
[73] *A.F.M.*, iv, p. 865; *A.U.*, iii, pp. 97-9; see also below, pp. 181-2.
[74] On 2 March 1425 Cornwalshe's rival, Richard Sydgrave, was reappointed under the Irish seal: see below, Appendix I, list 6, p. 512.

Talbot issued three patents in Ormond's favour. Together these suggest that Talbot was attempting to make some kind of recompense for his former treatment of Ormond in Ireland as lieutenant from 1414. Firstly Ormond was given a pardon of debts amounting to just over £430.[75] Secondly, in consideration of his past service against the king's enemies and his personal losses while his lands were in royal hands during his minority and while he had been in France, the earl was pardoned all intrusions during the period when his lands had been confiscated.[76] Thirdly Talbot accorded Ormond formal custody of two-thirds of the late earl of March's lands in Counties Kilkenny, Waterford and Tipperary, a not ungraceful acknowledgement of Ormond's own pre-eminence in the central south.[77] Talbot did not miss the chance the justiciarship offered to bolster his own position in Ireland. The indentures which detailed the terms of O' Byrne's submission to him on 10 April included clauses by which the Leinster chief promised to respect Talbot's rights and the peace of his tenants in the lordship of Wexford, over which he was clearly anxious to re-establish full control.[78] However, it is clear that the English council's efforts to settle the feud had met with a degree of genuine success.

Assurance of such success may well hold the key to the English council's reaction to the news of March's death. It has been suggested that the reappointment of Ormond to the lieutenancy in this unexpected crisis was an ill-considered error of judgement,[79] but the shortness of his agreed term - a mere year - scarcely argues incaution or reluctance to

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[75] *Rotuli Selecti*, ed. J. Hunter, p. 100.
[76] *R.C.H.*, p. 236, no. 39.
[77] Ibid., no. 41.
[78] Ibid., p. 238, no. 113.
[79] See Griffiths, *Henry VI*, p. 165.

weigh up the potential risks and advantages. In this instance the decision probably had little to do with the duke of Gloucester: from mid October 1424 to April 1425 he was abroad, campaigning on behalf of his wife, Jacqueline of Hainault, against the duke of Brabant.[80] However, William Alyngton, a former treasurer of Ireland and executor of the late duke of Clarence, had been appointed to the council in January 1424. Alyngton may have been well-disposed towards Ormond and had influence with the chancellor, Bishop Henry Beaufort of Winchester, who effectively dominated the council in Gloucester's absence.[81] Whether Ormond went to England to solicit the appointment is not clear, but the lack of any provision for his shipping as lieutenant and the six-week gap between the sealing of his letters patent on 1 March 1425 and his indentures on 13 April, both suggest that he may perhaps have remained in Ireland and conducted negotiations by messenger.[82] He may have been disappointed to be offered such a short term of office, but, after the vicissitudes he had encountered since Henry V's death, Ormond was no doubt reasonably satisfied to be given otherwise identical powers to those he had enjoyed from 1420 to 1422 and slightly more generous financial terms - 3,000 marks for the year, half of which sum was to be drawn from the English exchequer.[83] The English council meanwhile had every reason to welcome a settlement

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[80] See K.H. Vickers, *Humphrey, duke of Gloucester* (London, 1907), pp. 137-59; R. Vaughan, *Philip the Good: the apogee of Burgundy* (London, 1970), pp. 35-8.

[81] See Griffiths, *Henry VI*, pp. 35, 70-3; Harriss, *Beaufort*, pp. 120, 133. Alyngton had been appointed treasurer of Ireland in 1403 and 1406, and his tenure of office thus coincided with the chief governorships of Ormond's father, the third earl, as justiciar in 1404 and deputy in 1405: *C.P.R., 1401-05*, p. 272; *1405-08*, pp. 203, 212; *H.B.C.*, pp. 163, 166.

[82] See above, p. 42; below, Appendix I, list 1, p. 479; Appendix II, Table B, p. 562.

[83] For details, see above, pp. 31-2, 91; below, Appendix II, Table A, pp. 559-60.

which represented a small fraction of the English exchequer's financial commitment to March's lieutenancy and restored the arrangements which Henry V had approved in 1420 more or less intact.

CHAPTER SIX

THE SECOND LIEUTENANCY AND SUBSEQUENT JUSTICIARSHIP, 1425-27

Although Ormond's reappointment by the English council in the spring of 1425 was for a twelve-month term only, he actually served as head of the Dublin administration for over two years. The expiry of his brief, second lieutenancy in April 1426 was one of the rare occasions when royal government in England failed to make a new appointment with its customary promptitude.[1] In the ensuing hiatus, Ormond was elected by the Irish council as justiciar. Under this title he was entirely dependent on local resources and had no claim even to the minimal English financial assistance he had enjoyed as lieutenant. Nevertheless he continued in office for a further fifteen months until a new lieutenant from England, John, lord Grey of Codnor, who was eventually appointed in March 1427, arrived to be sworn in on 1 August the same year.[2]

Yet while Ormond's chief governorship of 1425 to 1427 thus lasted slightly longer than his first lieutenancy five years earlier, the surviving evidence is, on the whole, considerably less abundant. For 1425 to 1427, scarcely any information at all has survived about the proceedings of the lordship's parliaments and councils or about the content of reports and messages sent to England; neither do any narrative sources offer detailed accounts of Ormond's activities comparable to those provided by the Marleborough chronicle and James Yonge's writings for 1420 to 1422. Together the earl's second lieutenancy and subsequent justiciarship span

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[1] See above, pp. 40-2.
[2] See below, Appendix I, list 2, p. 486.

three regnal years, namely 3 to 5 Henry VI. No record of the entries on the Irish patent roll for the central year - September 1425 to August 1426 - now remains.[3] Unfortunately too, the series of Irish treasurers' accounts amongst the records of the English exchequer for 1420-46 is at this point incomplete and covers only the first sixteen months of the chief governorship to 2 September 1426.[4] The surviving records of the English chancery and council are plentiful, but tell us little about Ireland.

However, for these lacunae there are a few significant compensations. As lieutenant in 1425, Ormond obtained the submissions of various Gaelic leaders. The terms of three of these submissions were recorded on the Irish patent roll for 3 Henry VI,[5] from which a full text of one - that of Eoghan O'Neill - was published in the early nineteenth century.[6] Transcripts of all three of the submissions entered on the 3 Henry VI patent roll are amongst the Harris MSS in the National Library of Ireland,[7] but original copies of two, and also of a fourth submission obtained in December 1425, were sent to England, where they have survived amongst a series of diplomatic documents in the Public Record Office, London.[8] No comparable documents seem to have survived from any of Ormond's other chief governorships. The 1425 submissions therefore offer a unique insight into his attitude to, and dealings with, native Irish chiefs. Also

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[3] The calendar offers details only for the patent rolls for 3 and 5 Henry VI and the close roll for 5 Henry VI, together with notes from a single, damaged, close roll for 3 and 4 Henry VI: *R.C.H.*, pp. 235-45.
[4] Hugh Bavent's account for the period August 1424 to September 1426 is succeeded by Nicolas Plunket's account for October 1427 to January 1429: P.R.O., E101/247/19; /248/4, enrolled respectively in E364/60, m. C; /66, m. E.
[5] *R.C.H.*, p. 239, nos. 118-20.
[6] See *Reports from the commissioners respecting the public records of Ireland, 1810-15*, pp. 54-6.
[7] N.L.I., MS 4, ff. 291-2, 296-7; 299-300.
[8] P.R.O., E30/1558, 1572, 1573.

of considerable special interest are some original Irish exchequer documents, which partially bridge the aforementioned gap in the series of Irish treasurers' accounts between September 1426 and October 1427. These documents - a receipt roll, an issue roll and over a hundred warrants and acquittances relating to the treasurership of Bishop Dantsey of Meath, mid January to early October 1427[9] - are, within their more limited time span, more complete than those available for 1420 to 1421. Furthermore, the Irish exchequer records of 1427 offer what is for the Lancastrian period the only detailed insight into the finances of the lordship at a time when, until Grey's arrival, the Dublin government had no access to English exchequer funds at all.

Ormond's swearing-in as lieutenant in 1425 took place on 28 April,[10] barely two weeks after the sealing of his indentures and well in advance of the issuing from the English exchequer of his agreed lump sum of £1,000. This, although due in mid April according to the terms of his appointment, was not assigned until the beginning of August.[11] The indications are that, as in 1420, Ormond was more eager than reluctant to take office.

On this occasion, however, he appears to have been somewhat more circumspect in his distribution of patronage. The late spring and summer of 1425 saw a fair number of new Irish-seal appointments, but they were made in a rather less hurried and less partisan fashion than his rapid re-modelling of the Dublin administration had been in 1420. At least two changes in the exchequer, both accomplished within the first two months -

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[9] P.R.O., E101/247/20; /248/1, 2.
[10] N.L.I., MS 4, f. 286.
[11] P.R.O., E403/672, m. 16; *An. Hib.*, 1 (1930). p. 217.

the reappointment of James Cornwalshe as chief baron and the ejection of William Stockinbrig, the man who had supplanted James Yonge as second engrosser in 1423 -[12] may well have been prompted by a desire to settle old scores, but, in the case of Cornwalshe, Ormond was merely reinstating a man who had already been confirmed in office by the authority of the English council.[13] However, others who lost their posts included not only former Talbot appointees, such as John Wyche, the second baron of the exchequer, John Charneles, the escheator, and the ailing William Tynbegh as chief justice of the common bench, but also men whom Ormond himself had previously appointed - John Lydington, third baron of the exchequer, and Walter Shirlock, chief engrosser, who, moreover, continued for several more years in Ormond's personal service as seneschal of his lands in Ireland.[14] By no means all the men who replaced them were closely identified with the earl. While the new escheator, Nicholas White, had recently become avener of Ormond's household, and did not survive as escheator any longer than Ormond himself remained in power,[15] the new second baron, Reginald Snitterby, was apparently a more neutral figure. He was to retain office for some nine or ten years under a series of different chief governors, several of whom were to be Ormond's political opponents.[16] Tynbegh's replacement, John Blakeney, although previously appointed chief justice of the common bench by Ormond in 1420, was to abandon his allegiance to the earl before the end of the decade and may already have had a foot in

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[12] See below, Appendix I, lists 6i, p. 512; 7vi, p. 531.
[13] *C.P.R., 1422-29*, p. 75, and see above, pp. 166, 172.
[14] See below, Appendix I, lists 6ii, p. 513; 6iii, p. 515; 7v, p. 528; 8iii, p. 545; 10, p. 551. For Shirlock, see above, pp. 125-6.
[15] *R.C.H.*, p. 236, no. 52. Charneles regained the escheatorship before the end of September 1427: see below, Appendix I, list 10, p. 551.
[16] Snitterby remained as second baron until a date between November 1434 and June 1436, thus serving under eight or nine successive chief governors after Ormond: ibid., list 2, pp. 486-7; list 6ii, pp. 513-14.

both camps.[17] At some stage before the summer of 1425, John Talbot's former clerk, Robert Dyke (who was also one of the two men who had stood surety for Laurence Merbury's appearance before the English council in 1423[18]) regained the chancellorship of the green wax. Ormond himself and Bishop Dantsey as March's deputy had dismissed Dyke from this office in 1420 and 1424, and his reappointment in 1425 displaced Sampson Dartas, a rival candidate who had originally been appointed by Ormond. Whether Dyke was actually reinstated during John Talbot's brief justiciarship or by Ormond is uncertain, but, whichever the case, it is significant that Dyke continued in office throughout Ormond's chief governorship. Dyke, like Cornwalshe, had been confirmed in office by English-seal letters patent in 1423.[19] That Ormond in 1425 was prepared to honour this confirmation as well as Cornwalshe's certainly suggests that the new lieutenant made some genuine effort to preserve the spirit of the recent Talbot-Ormond reconciliation.

John Talbot left Ireland very shortly after Ormond took power,[20] but Richard Talbot, archbishop of Dublin, continued to serve as chancellor throughout the year of the earl's lieutenancy.[21] During the early months at least, relations between Ormond and the archbishop seem to have been reasonably amicable. In June 1425 Richard Talbot was granted custody of the royal manor of Crumlin by Irish-seal letters patent.[22] A similar grant had been made for life to Laurence Merbury by John Talbot as lieutenant in

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[17] See below, pp. 238, 242; Appendix I, list 8iii, p. 544.
[18] *C.C.R., 1422-29*, p. 41. For Dyke's connection with John Talbot, see above, p. 124.
[19] See below, Appendix I, list 7iii, pp. 520-1.
[20] A.J. Pollard, 'The family of Talbot, lords Talbot and earls of Shrewsbury in the fifteenth century' (Bristol Ph.D. thesis, 1968), p. 125.
[21] See below, Appendix I, list 3, p. 493.
[22] *R.C.H.*, p. 237, no. 82.

1415.[23] The grant to Archbishop Talbot in 1425 may simply have been a diplomatic assurance of goodwill on Ormond's part; possibly he also hoped thereby to discourage the archbishop from pursuing any further association with Merbury against himself. Possession of the chancellorship and past experience of the justiciarship in his own right made Archbishop Talbot a more formidable political figure than he had been in 1420. However, with the prospect of co-operation from this quarter, the auguries for the success of Ormond's second lieutenancy were very favourable.

As in 1420 and 1424, Ormond's first priority in office outside Dublin was the defence of the north which had become a matter of even greater urgency as a result of the untimely death of the earl of March. March's heir, his nephew, Richard, duke of York, was not only an absentee, but also a minor:[24] responsibility for the preservation of his Irish inheritance, including both the earldom of Ulster and the lordship of Meath, fell squarely upon the Dublin administration. John Talbot, as justiciar, had lost little time in appointing officials to take charge of the liberty of Ulster.[25] However, his arrest of the northern Irish leaders who had assembled at Trim to make their submissions to March, just before the latter succumbed to sudden illness in mid January 1425, had, according to the *Annals of Ulster*, caused 'great war in the whole of the province of Ulster'. Those held in custody by John Talbot in Dublin included O'Neill, Eoghan O'Neill, O'Neill of Clandeboy, MacQuillan, Neachtan O'Donnell and 'other worthy persons of their septs'. Three chiefs - O'Neill, O'Neill of

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[23] The grant had been renewed in 1421 and 1422: P.R.O., E368/206, m. 53 d; *R.C.H.*, p. 206, no. 116.

[24] Richard, the son of March's sister Anne and Richard, earl of Cambridge, had inherited the dukedom of York on the death of his paternal uncle, Edward of York, at Agincourt in 1415. On March's death, Richard, then aged thirteen, was under the guardianship of the earl of Westmorland: *C.P.*, xii, pt. 2, pp. 905-6.

[25] *R.C.H.*, p. 235, no. 19; p. 236, no. 38.

Clandeboy and MacQuillan - were apparently released fairly promptly, probably by John Talbot, but Gaelic Ulster had been given little reason to feel well-disposed towards royal government.[26] In the north Ormond thus faced an uncertain and potentially dangerous situation. It was, nevertheless, one which his experience of warfare and politics in the region well equipped him to tackle. His own past quarrel with John Talbot may also have proved a diplomatic asset.

On 10 May, within a fortnight of his swearing-in, Ormond was at or near Drogheda.[27] Two days later he obtained the submission of MacMahon - against whom he had campaigned vigorously in 1421-22 and 1424 - and MacMahon's two brothers, Ruaidhri and Maghnus, at Ardee in Louth, some thirteen miles to the north-west.[28] The terms of this submission bound the MacMahons to provide the lieutenant with military aid in Ulster and elsewhere, and it seems likely that with their help Ormond may then have proceeded further north. In Dublin on 16 June a Geoffrey Sloghtre, for service in Ulster, was rewarded with a grant of custody of lands formerly belonging to the earl of March in the Ards peninsula, the most easterly part of the earldom.[29] On what seems to have been a second expedition northwards a few weeks later, Eoghan O'Neill, apparently newly-released from custody, submitted to the lieutenant at Dundalk on 23 July.[30] This submission remedied Ormond's failure to negotiate with Eoghan O'Neill in

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[26] *A.U.*, iii, pp. 97-9; *A.F.M.*, iv, p. 865.
[27] *R.C.H.*, p. 236, no. 44; p. 237, no. 68.
[28] P.R.O., E30/1558; N.L.I., MS 4, ff. 291-2; *R.C.H.*, p. 239, no. 118. For Ormond's previous campaigns against MacMahon, see above, pp. 139-40; 170-1.
[29] *R.C.H.*, p. 237, no. 77.
[30] P.R.O., E30/1573; N.L.I., MS 4, ff. 296-7; *R.C.H.*, p. 239, no. 120; *Reports of the commissioners respecting the public records of Ireland, 1810-15*, pp. 54-6. A full summary of the terms of this submission appears in E. Curtis, 'The "bonnaght" of Ulster', *Hermathena*, xxi (1931), pp. 87-105, see esp. pp. 95-8, although the date is quoted in error as June, rather than July.

1421, when a projected meeting between them had been prevented by O'Neill of Clandeboy.[31] Nevertheless, the acceptance by Ormond of a formal submission from Eoghan, who was not then the acknowledged head of the O'Neill clan but merely a rival of his cousin, Domhnall, the titular Great O'Neill, has been considered somewhat surprising.[32] It has been suggested that the terms of the submission effectively implied Ormond's recognition of Eoghan as the legitimate head of the O'Neills in his cousin's place.[33] However, the crucial phrase, *capitan[us] sue nacionis*, applied to each of the other Gaelic leaders known to have submitted to Ormond in 1425, was conspicuous by its absence from the text of Eoghan's submission. Instead he was described merely as *Hibernic[us] de Ultonia*.[34] According to the *Annals of Ulster*, the titular Great O'Neill, Domhnall, had already made a separate submisson at the time of his earlier release from imprisonment.[35] Under the circumstances, whatever the terms of this agreement, they could scarcely have bound his rival, who then remained in custody, as well. This was what Ormond sought to do in July 1425. While Eoghan's submission effectively recognised his independence from O'Neill, this was perhaps no more than had already been conceded by the earl of March, who had apparently accepted submissions from both cousins the preceding winter.[36] But such recognition was by no means equivalent to an acknowledgement of Eoghan's claims to the headship of the O'Neill clan. Any such acknowledgement would undoubtedly have prejudiced future relations with

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[31] See above, p. 139.
[32] E. Curtis, 'The "bonnaght" of Ulster', p. 98.
[33] See K. Simms, '"The king's friend": O Neill, the crown and the earldom of Ulster', pp. 219-20.
[34] *Reports of the commissioners respecting the public records of Ireland, 1810-15*, p. 54; c.f. P.R.O., E30/1558, 1572 and *R.C.H.*, p. 239, no. 119.
[35] *A.U.*, iii, p. 99. Unfortunately no other record of Domhnall O'Neill's submission or its terms appears to have survived.
[36] Ibid., p. 97.

Domhnall O'Neill himself, who, five years earlier, had provided Ormond with useful assistance against Magennis.[37] During the course of the summer, or possibly a little later, Ormond may also have obtained the submission of O'Donnell, either in person, or through his brother, Neachtan, whom John Talbot had also retained in custody. The following year, in company with other hostages for MacMahon and Eoghan O'Neill, a son of Neachtan O'Donnell was being held by Ormond as surety for O'Donnell's good behaviour.[38]

As the lieutenancy progressed, attention was also given to other areas. Keepers of the peace had been appointed for six counties - Louth, Dublin, Kildare, Wexford, Kilkenny and Tipperary - in June,[39] and in the latter part of the year Ormond turned to Leinster. On 8 August he took the submission of O'Toole,[40] and some four months later on 6 December he secured the confirmation and extension of a submission which the earl of March had previously negotiated with O'Byrne.[41] During the last months of his lieutenancy Ormond finally journeyed to the heart of his own territory in the central south, where a session of parliament was held at Kilkenny from 15 February 1426.[42] Although Kilkenny had frequently provided a venue for parliaments and councils throughout the fourteenth century, no assembly had been held there since 1409 and apparently none were to meet there again until the reign of Henry VIII.[43] The summoning of parliament

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[37] See above, p. 136.
[38] *R.C.H.*, p. 245, no. 14.
[39] Ibid., p. 239, nos. 116, 117.
[40] N.L.I., MS 4, ff. 299-300; *R.C.H.*, p. 239, no. 119.
[41] P.R.O., E30/1572. For the text of O'Byrne's submission to Ormond, see below, Appendix III, no. 1, pp. 574-6.
[42] The date of this assembly is established by a reference from the Irish memoranda roll to a parliament held before Ormond at Kilkenny on the Monday preceding 1 March (P.R.O.I., 1A/49/135, f. 38). Nothing is known of its proceedings: see Richardson and Sayles, *Ir. parl.*, p. 351.
[43] See *N.H.I.*, ix, pp. 595-603.

there in 1426 certainly suggests that at that time both the town and the lines of communication to Dublin and the northern counties were considered reasonably secure. Evidence for Ormond's activities during this winter is particularly sparse, but it seems unlikely that any major campaigns in the west or south-west were undertaken before his subsequent year in office as justiciar. No evidence has survived of any further Gaelic submissions to him in these areas or elsewhere.

Ormond's father, the third earl, had proved a skilled negotiator and interpreter between Richard II and various Irish chiefs on the king's first expedition to Ireland in 1395,[44] and the fourth earl himself no doubt conducted his own negotiations with Gaelic leaders in Irish. However, in accordance with well-established previous practice, the terms of their submissions, once agreed, were recorded in Latin in the form of indentures.[45] Two of the original documents sent to England still bear

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[44] See E. Curtis, *Richard II in Ireland, 1394-5, and submissions of the Irish chiefs* (Oxford, 1927), pp. 40, 47, 93.

[45] The most notable known exceptions to this general rule were the majority of the many submissions made by Irish chiefs to Richard II in 1395 which, although also written down in Latin, were recorded in the form of notarial instruments, rather than indentures (E. Curtis, *Richard II in Ireland*, pp. 57-118). Most of these submissions, however, were merely oaths of allegiance uncomplicated by the detailed terms and conditions which were a normal feature of submission indentures between Irish chiefs and chief governors. For various examples of submission indentures dating from 1370 to John Talbot's justiciarship of 1425, see ibid., pp. 80-4; *Cal. Carew MSS* (*Howth*), pp. 479-83; *R.C.H.*, p. 238, nos. 112-13. Shortly after this date, Latin, previously widely used for all kinds of indentures exchanged in Ireland (see, for example, *C.O.D.*, ii, passim; iii, nos. 9, 43, 51, pp. 8-39) began to give place to English (ibid., iii, pp. 72-3, no. 88, and many other examples thereafter) but for the particular purposes of indentures recording the terms of Gaelic submissions, Latin was retained, presumably because it was more acceptable to Irish speakers. For examples in print dating from 1449 and 1544, see E. Curtis, 'The "bonnaght" of Ulster', pp. 87-91; M.V. Ronan, 'Some mediaeval documents', *J.R.S.A.I.*, lxvii (1937), pp. 229-41, esp. pp. 234-6. Nine unpublished, Latin submission indentures dating from the lieutenancy of the earl of Shrewsbury, 1446-47, also survive in the Public Record Office, London: P.R.O., E30/1559-61, 1566-70, 1743; see below, pp. 393-5.

the seals, respectively, of Eoghan O'Neill and O'Byrne,[46] who themselves would have retained the counterparts sealed by the lieutenant.

All of the four submissions for which details have survived shared a common starting point, an acknowledgement by each of the Irish leaders concerned that they were the king's liege subjects. O'Toole, O'Byrne and MacMahon, together with his brothers, made the same acknowledgement on behalf of all those under their governance.[47] While subsequent clauses in Eoghan O'Neill's indentures certainly made mention of his *subditi* and *adherentes*, his formal acknowledgement of allegiance was given merely for himself alone, presumably because he, unlike the others, was not submitting as chief of his clan.[48] Similar acknowledgements, or renewed promises, of allegiance were an almost invariable feature of Gaelic submissions to chief governors in the Lancastrian period, an indication of how firmly Richard II's first expedition to Ireland had established the concept of Gaelic allegiance to the crown. Before 1395, although the Gaelic Irish had theoretically been royal subjects since the end of the twelfth century, much less emphasis had been placed on their technical liege status. The records of royal government in Ireland described troublesome Gaelic clans

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[46] P.R.O., E30/1572-3. The seal on the MacMahon indenture (ibid., 1558) is now missing. O'Toole, who either did not possess a seal or did not have it with him at the time of his submission, which was made in the chancery at Dublin, authenticated his indentures with a seal borrowed from the provost of the city: N.L.I., MS 4, ff. 299-300.

[47] Thus O'Byrne, *pro se [et] omnibus hominibus subditis et subiectis ac sub sua gubernacionem existentibus ... recognoscit et concedit ... pure sponte et absolute se fuisse et esse fidelum ligeum domini nostri Regis ...* (P.R.O., E30/1572). For the full clause in context, see below, Appendix III, no. i, p. 574, ll. 4-8 of main text. Very similar wording was used in the two surviving submissions to John Talbot earlier the same year: *R.C.H.*, p. 238, nos. 112-12.

[48] *Idem Ewegenius recognoscit se esse ligeum Domini nostri Regis Anglie heredum et successorum ipsius non vi nec metu ductus, ant compulsus, set pure sponte et libere, ac spontanea sua voluntate: Reports of the commissioners respecting the public records of Ireland, 1810-15*, p. 54.

as 'Irish enemies', and, while a chief's liege status had sometimes been acknowledged, this had not necessarily formed an essential and prominent element of submission agreements.[49] During Ormond's previous lieutenancy in 1421 the Irish parliament had complained to Henry V about the disloyalty shown by native Irish who had humbly submitted and become liege men in 1395 and had since rebelled.[50] In view of this complaint it is possible that the form of words used in the 1425 indentures, which in three cases stressed not only the chiefs' continuing, but also past, liege status, carried an implicit reference to the very oaths of allegiance which O'Byrne himself, Eoghan O'Neill's father and the then chiefs of the MacMahons and the O'Tooles had originally sworn to Richard in person, although there had no doubt been opportunities for members of these clans to renew their allegiance through additional oaths to various chief governors since.[51]

Beyond the initial statements of allegiance, the arrangement and content of the remaining clauses of the indentures showed greater diversity. Although some of the submissions had certain further provisions in common, there seems to have been no attempt to draft the agreements according to any pre-set form: each one, as the disparity in

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[49] For the significance of Richard's expedition for relations between the crown and Gaelic Ireland in the fourteenth century context, see D. Johnston, 'Richard II and the submissions of Gaelic Ireland', pp. 1-20. All the Lancastrian submission indentures to which references are given in note 45 above included promises or statements of allegiance to the crown with the single exception of the 1449 submission of Eoghan O'Neill's son, Enri, to Richard, duke of York, as lieutenant in 1449: E. Curtis, 'The "bonnaght" of Ulster', pp. 87-91.

[50] *Stat. John - Hen. V*, pp. 564-7, and see also above, pp. 147-8.

[51] For the O'Byrne, O'Neill, MacMahon and O'Toole oaths in 1395, see E. Curtis, *Richard II in Ireland*, pp. 152-4, 159, 166-73, 184, 188, 191. O'Byrne at least had subsequently renewed his promise of allegiance in a submission to Thomas of Lancaster in November 1401: *Cal. Carew MSS (Howth)*, pp. 480-1.

dates itself suggests, was the product of separate negotiations between the lieutenant and the Gaelic leader concerned.[52]

Much of the substance of the submission agreements derived from long-established custom in such matters. Promises by the MacMahons and Eoghan O'Neill to withdraw from all 'English lands', to renounce all claims to them and to cease raiding and requisitioning there, were very similar to undertakings which had been given nearly eighty years earlier in a submission of 1347 by O'More of Leix.[53] The MacMahons were required to pay compensation for recent attacks on English areas, to return certain prisoners captured there and to discipline any of their followers who might break the peace. O'Byrne and Eoghan O'Neill promised prompt compensation for any future breaches of the peace by their followers. Eoghan O'Neill undertook not to aid thieves, robbers, rebels or enemies of the king and to renounce any previous alliances made with other Irish against the forces of royal government. Eoghan O'Neill and O'Toole both specifically renounced all claims to black rent, the protection money which Gaelic clans were wont to extort in return for promises not to raid poorly defended areas of English settlement. Pledges of this kind were very much the standard stock-in-trade of Gaelic submissions to late-medieval chief governors, who sought thereby to establish their authority and to contain the threat of hostile Gaelic incursion in vulnerable frontier areas. Certainly one or more of all these undertakings had appeared in previous

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[52] For the dates of, and references to, all the four submissions to Ormond in 1425, see above, pp. 182, 184.

[53] G.O. Dub., MS 192, pp. 53-5. For a transcript of the details of the O More submission in this MS (extracts from the justiciary roll for 21 Edward III) I am indebted to Professor Frame, whose discussion of this and other evidence relating to late-thirteenth and early-fourteenth century submissions appears in R. Frame, 'English officials and Irish chiefs in the fourteenth century', *E.H.R.*, xc (1975), pp. 748-77, esp. pp. 759-60.

submissions by O'Connor Faly to John Talbot as justiciar in March 1425, by O'Byrne and MacMahon to the young Thomas of Lancaster in 1401 and by MacNamara to William of Windsor in 1370.[54]

Three of the four submissions to Ormond in 1425 also contained promises of obedience to appropriate lay or ecclesiastical magnates of the lordship. As their forbears had done since the thirteenth century,[55] the MacMahons and Eoghan O'Neill acknowledged their obligation to render rents and customary services, including 'bonnacht' or military service, to the earl of Ulster, although during the duke of York's minority these were to be due to the crown. Eoghan O'Neill promised fealty and submission to York when the latter came of age, obedience to the archbishop of Armagh and practical assistance to the church, if required, as its secular arm.[56] O'Toole promised obedience to the archbishop of Dublin - a promise which O'Byrne had also given in his submission to John Talbot earlier in the year.[57]

The precedents for submission agreements stretched back well beyond the period of English lordship in Ireland. The origins of a further promise made by MacMahon, Eoghan O'Neill and O'Toole to Ormond in 1425 and also found in previous submissions of 1401 and 1347 - a promise to provide the chief governor with military aid, when requested, at the

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[54] *R.C.H.*, p. 238, no. 112; *Cal. Carew MSS (Howth)*, pp. 479-82. See also K. Simms, *From kings to warlords: the changing political structure of Gaelic Ireland in the later middle ages* (Studies in Celtic History, vii, Woodbridge, 1987), pp. 109-12.

[55] See E. Curtis, 'The "bonnaght" of Ulster', pp. 92-105.

[56] Eoghan O'Neill also agreed not to bear a grudge against the archbishop for his imprisonment after March's death, a point which suggests that Archbishop Swayne had helped to bring the Ulster chiefs to submission to the earl of March, the previous winter: see K. Simms, 'The archbishops of Armagh and the O'Neills, 1347-1471', p. 51; also above p. 171.

[57] *R.C.H.*, p. 238, no. 113.

submitting leader's own cost in his own locality and beyond it at royal expense - can be traced back to the military obligations of vassalage in early Irish society.[58] Similarly, just as O'More of Leix had done in 1347, MacMahon, Eoghan O'Neill and O'Toole solemnized and guaranteed their submissions according to traditional Gaelic custom by oath-taking and hostage-giving. Each was required to swear on the Gospels to honour the terms of his submission on pain of interdict; each had to give a son into the lieutenant's custody. The acquisition of hostages from vassals had been one of the essential rites of early Irish kingship; in the later medieval period the giving of hostages, particularly of hostages very closely related and valuable to the donor, remained, and was obviously recognized by Ormond, as the most secure possible guarantee of Gaelic good faith.[59] Past chief governors had sometimes demanded fines in money, cattle or occasionally horses, either instead of, or as well as, hostages.[60] The inclusion in Eoghan O'Neill's indentures of a further clause, which bound him to forfeit 1,000 marks under threat of further attack if any of his submission undertakings were broken, may be an indication that Ormond was less confident of Eoghan's good faith than that of the other chiefs.

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[58] See K. Simms, *From kings to warlords*, p. 109. For various instances of Gaelic chiefs receiving royal wages for military aid to chief governors in the fourteenth century, see R. Frame, 'Military service in the lordship of Ireland 1290-1360: institutions and society on the Anglo-Gaelic frontier', *Medieval frontier societies*, ed. R. Bartlett and A. MacKay (Oxford, 1989), pp. 101-26, esp. pp. 120-2.

[59] See R. Frame, 'English officials and Irish chiefs in the fourteenth century', pp. 760-2; K. Simms, *From kings to warlords*, pp. 96-108.

[60] In March 1425 John Talbot as justiciar had required a fine of 1,000 marks, in addition to hostages, from O'Connor Faly (*R.C.H.*, p. 238, no 112). For earlier examples of submission fines, frequently paid in cows, see R. Frame, 'English officials and Irish chiefs in the fourteenth century', p. 759.

O'Byrne's submission, however, in marked contrast to the other three, contained no specific references to military aid, oath-taking or hostage-giving at all. A possible reason for this is that such clauses had already been included in O'Byrne's previous submission to the earl of March the previous winter which the chief's indentures with Ormond confirmed without restating clause by clause.[61] However, the fact that it was not thought necessary to bind O'Byrne to the observance of the new, additional promises contained in his submission to Ormond by further oath-taking may be significant. When, earlier in the year, John Talbot had taken a submission from O'Byrne (one which, like the later one to Ormond, had also confirmed the earlier agreement with the earl of March) the chief had been required not only to give a new oath, but also a tribute of six horses.[62] Possibly the absence of any such demands from O'Byrne's submission to Ormond was simply a sign of some weakness in the latter's position; more probably it indicated a special degree of trust and cordiality, for O'Byrne's submission acknowledged the chief to be not only the king's liege, but also the lieutenant's man (*hominem dicti locumtenentis*).[63] It seems too that the circumstances of this submission were rather different from those of the MacMahons', Eoghan O'Neill's and O'Toole's. O'Byrne's indentures were the only ones to omit any mention of witnesses, while the other three submissions were all witnessed by a substantial gathering of heads of religious houses, officials, knights and gentry from the locality

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[61] See above, p. 184. Unfortunately no other record seems to have survived of this earlier O'Byrne submission to the earl of March.
[62] *R.C.H.*, p. 238, no. 113.
[63] For the phrase in context, see below, Appendix III, i, p. 574, l. 8.

concerned.[64] O'Byrne's submission, the last of the four, was apparently a less public affair and may well have been negotiated peacefully without the preliminary pressure of a military campaign.

It was by no means unusual for Gaelic chiefs to be offered little more by way of inducement to adhere to their submission undertakings than the bare minimum of freedom from further attack by the forces of royal government. MacNamara seems to have stood to gain no more than this by the terms of the indentures which he had agreed with William of Windsor in 1370.[65] More recently, Ormond's immediate predecessor, John Talbot, had made no concessions to O'Byrne and O'Connor Faly beyond the somewhat dubious advantage to the latter (who had caused Talbot particular trouble in Ireland during his lieutenancy for Henry V)[66] of the offer of a safe conduct to the justiciar's presence should O'Connor ever have cause to request it.[67] However, the tone of the submissions negotiated by Ormond was noticeably more conciliatory. The clauses requiring the Gaelic leaders to promise compensation for any future breaches of the peace that might be committed by their followers were balanced by offers of redress and compensation for any attacks which might be launched against them from local areas of English settlement. In the case of O'Byrne, Ormond himself undertook to ensure that such compensation was paid, additionally promising that, as long as O'Byrne kept the terms of his submission, he would be entitled to the protection and defence which the lieutenant owed

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[64] The numbers of named witnesses ranged from seven to eighteen, and all three indentures referred to the presence of others, unnamed; lists of witnesses had also been included in the submission indentures of O'Connor and O'Byrne to John Talbot earlier in 1425: P.R.O. E30/1558, 1573; N.L.I., MS 4, ff. 288-90, 299-300.

[65] *Cal. Carew MSS (Howth)*, pp. 481-3.

[66] See Otway-Ruthven, *Medieval Ireland*, pp. 351, 353; also above, p. 161.

[67] *R.C.H.*, p. 238, nos. 112-13.

to all the king's liege subjects.[68] No such categorical pledge of support was given to the other chiefs, but Eoghan O'Neill was assured that booty seized from his territory in the course of English raids would be returned, while MacMahon was offered financial compensation for at least some of the prisoners which the terms of his submission required him to release.

Thus it is clear that in negotiating the submissions Ormond was willing to sweeten his demands with positive concessions. Richard II had shown a particular readiness to recognize Gaelic grievances in his efforts to address the problems of Ireland in the 1390s,[69] and it was probably no coincidence that a similar attitude was apparent in submissions negotiated in the early years of Henry IV's reign on behalf of the young Thomas of Lancaster.[70] The likelihood is that in Ireland, as in England, the new régime took some care to show generosity to those who had benefited from King Richard in order to minimize opposition.[71] To what extent Ormond himself may have been motivated by Ricardian precedent in 1425, one can only speculate. Certainly the submissions obtained by Richard had been mentioned in the Dublin parliament over which Ormond had presided in 1421,[72] but Ormond's readiness to give, as well as to take, in negotiating the Gaelic submissions of 1425 was probably more or less instinctive. The power and security of the leading resident families of the lordship had

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[68] For the precise wording of this clause, see below, Appendix III, i, p. 575, ll. 25-8; p. 576, ll. 1-4.

[69] See D. Johnson, 'Richard II and the submissions of Gaelic Ireland', esp. pp. 3-6.

[70] In particular the submissions in 1401 of MacMahon, by which he was granted the lordship of Farney, Co. Louth at a rent of £10 *per annum*, and of O'Byrne which promised him compensation for attacks by marchers or royal subjects: *Cal. Carew MSS (Howth)*, pp. 479-81.

[71] For Henry IV's magnanimity to many of Richard II's former supporters in England in the early years of his reign, see A.L. Brown, 'The reign of Henry IV', *Fifteenth-century England, 1399-1509*, ed. S.B. Chrimes, C.D. Ross and R.A. Griffiths (Manchester, 1972), pp. 1-28, esp. pp. 5-6, 20-4.

[72] See above, pp. 147-8.

long depended on compromise, as well as conflict, with the Gaelic Irish.[73] The fourteenth-century earls of Ormond had all from time to time found it useful to attach Irish chiefs temporarily or more permanently to their service and to reward Gaelic support either with pledges of protection - such as Ormond gave O'Byrne in 1425 - or with grants of land or money. By the terms of such agreements, compensation for Gaelic breaches of the peace had often - as in Ormond's 1425 submissions - been balanced by offers of redress for any injuries that might be perpetrated on the Irish by the earl's own men.[74] By such means the second earl of Ormond had drawn the O'Kennedys and O'Brennans into paid service with the armies of the Dublin government in the 1350s.[75] Given this background it is scarcely surprising that Ormond should have proved markedly more willing than John Talbot had been to blend strong-arm tactics with conciliation in his dealings with the Gaelic Irish as chief governor.

It also seems clear that Ormond hoped that the submissions would not only secure at least a temporary peace along some of the frontiers between Gaelic and non-Gaelic Ireland, but would also promote peaceful contact across them. Echoing a further feature of some of the fourteenth-century agreements between earls of Ormond and Gaelic leaders,[76] the MacMahons' indentures provided for the setting-up of a mixed arbitration panel of two Gaelic, and two non-Gaelic, members for the local negotiation of the compensation to be made by the chief for recent, and future, breaches of the peace by his men. Another clause in the same submission

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[73] See J.A. Watt, 'Gaelic polity and cultural identity', *N.H.I.*, ii, pp. 314-51, esp. pp. 325-9; K. Simms, *From kings to warlords*, p. 113.
[74] *C.O.D.*, i, no. 682, pp. 287-90; ii, nos. 35-6, 46, 347(2), pp. 22-3, 28-30, 246-7.
[75] Ibid., ii, no. 347(1), pp. 245-7; see also R. Frame, 'Military service in the lordship of Ireland 1290-1360', p. 123.
[76] *C.O.D.*, i, no. 682, pp. 287-90; ii, nos. 34, 36, pp. 21-3.

permitted any of the chief's men who might be ranked as Irish of gentle birth (*gentilis homo hibernicus*) to travel freely by public roads to conduct business in Louth, Dundalk and Ardee as long as their retinues consisted of no more than five men armed only with short swords or knives. And conversely, in what seems to have been a move to secure safe trading routes through Gaelic Leinster to the ports on the south-east coast, O'Byrne was required to promise special protection to merchants bringing goods into his territory. These were of course small steps, but yet a further indication that Ormond considered that peaceful Anglo-Gaelic co-existence and co-operation was possible and to be encouraged. Some royal subjects in Ireland, including the earl's fellow magnates, probably shared this attitude,[77] but many others with whom he had to deal did not. Mention has already been made of the anti-Gaelic feeling reflected in the wording of the Irish parliament's petition to Henry V in 1421 and also in James Yonge's, *The governaunce of prynces*, which, interestingly in this context, specifically cautioned its patron against placing trust in native chiefs. There is plenty of other evidence to show that a very substantial body of opinion in the late medieval lordship was profoundly hostile to the Gaelic Irish.[78] While there is no sign that the submissions which Ormond negotiated immediately caused dissension in Dublin, their general tenor perhaps helps to explain why, when Ormond's political enemies did seek to discredit him - both earlier and later in the 1420s and again in

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[77] See R. Frame, 'Power and society in the lordship of Ireland, 1272-1377', *Past and present*, no. 76 (1977), pp. 3-33, esp. pp. 27-32; R. Davies, 'Frontier arrangements in fragmented societies: Ireland and Wales', *Medieval frontier societies*, ed. R. Bartlett and A MacKay, pp. 77-100, esp. pp. 86-7.

[78] Steele, *Secreta*, p. 166; and see above, pp. 136, 147-8; also J. Lydon, 'The middle nation', pp. 17-22; A. Cosgrove, '*Hiberniores ipsis Hibernis*', p. 13.

the 1440s - their accusations so frequently included that of disloyal and treasonable collusion with the Gaelic world.[79]

Throughout his year as lieutenant, Ormond took some pains to keep in regular contact with the English council. One of his closest, most prominent supporters in Ireland, Prior William fitzThomas of Kilmainham, whom Ormond had made chancellor in the last months of his first lieutenancy and who had then succeeded him in 1422 as justiciar, was dispatched to England from Dublin within two days of Ormond's taking office in April 1425.[80] At Ardee in mid May a merchant named Thomas Ball was given letters of protection for a journey to England on royal business just after the lieutenant's first expedition north had witnessed the submission of the MacMahons.[81] Two further messengers were apparently dispatched in mid June, and in mid September a meeting of the Irish council deputed James Cornwalshe to go to England with a full report on the state of the lordship.[82] If, as seems likely, the original copies of

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[79] This was a recurrent theme in the charges presented by John Talbot in 1422-3 (see above, p. 161), in the anonymous allegations against John Sutton and Ormond in 1428 and in the accusations of Archbishop Talbot, supported by Richard Wogan, in 1442: see below, pp. 235, 315, 321-2.

[80] *R.C.H.*, p. 237, no. 72; for fitzThomas, see also above, pp. 127-8.

[81] *R.C.H.*, p. 236, no. 57, and see above, p. 182.

[82] *R.C.H.*, p. 237, nos. 73-4; p. 243, no. 29. The O'Byrne submission, which also reached England, was not sealed until 6 December (see above, pp. 177, 184). To what extent the sending of submission indentures to England was normal practice is not clear, but the submission of O'Connor Faly reached the English council within a few weeks of its negotiation by Thomas of Lancaster's deputy, Stephen le Scrope, in 1402, and John Talbot dispatched at least nine submission indentures to Westminster during his second lieutenancy as the earl of Shrewsbury in the mid 1440s: *P.P.C.*, i, p. 176; Otway-Ruthven, *Medieval Ireland*, p. 341, and see below, pp. 393, n. 80.

the Gaelic submission indentures were sent to England promptly, and not at some much later date, then yet another messenger may have been sent to the English council in the winter or early spring. The O'Byrne submission had still to be negotiated when Cornwalshe took ship from Howth on 22 October.

No doubt some letters and instructions passed in the other direction too. At some stage between mid May and mid June 1425, the Dublin government was informed that the name of the earl of March's young heir, the duke of York, was not Edward, as had previously appeared in Irish chancery letters, but Richard.[83] Amid a spate of English-seal orders in the spring and summer of that year arranging for the investigation and administration of the vast March inheritance in England and Wales - the bulk of which the English council assigned to the custody of the duke of Gloucester[84] - came the appointment in July of Janico Dartas as steward of Ulster and keeper of Carlingford castle.[85] Having originally gone to Ireland in 1394 as a member of Richard II's household, Dartas had acquired lands in Meath and Louth and was also a tenant of the young duke of York in Ulster and the lordship of Trim. Since the early years of Henry IV's reign he had been constable of Dublin castle, but had also proved his worth in royal service outside Ireland, taking part in 1399-1400 in an

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[83] Cf. three Irish chancery letters and the MacMahon submission dated 27 March to 12 May (P.R.O., E30/1558; *R.C.H.*, p. 235, no. 15; p. 236, nos. 47, 50) with three further letters and Eoghan O'Neill's submission dated 15 June to 23 July: P.R.O., E30/1573; *R.C.H.*, p. 237, nos. 77, 81, 85.

[84] *C.F.R., 1422-30*, pp. 83, 98-9, 103-5, 122; see also Johnson, *Duke Richard*, pp. 8-9. From the minute of the council's decision in May which simply referred to 'the lands of Edmund, earl of March' (*P.P.C.*, iii, p. 169) it has been assumed that Gloucester was granted custody of the March lands in Ireland as well (see E. Curtis, 'Richard, duke of York, as viceroy of Ireland, 1447-60', p. 159) but when the grant was actually issued a month later it only concerned those of the earl's lands in England and Wales which had not already been committed to others: *C.F.R., 1422-30*, p. 103.

[85] *C.P.R, 1422-29*, pp. 287-8.

English diplomatic mission to Scotland and joining Henry V's army in Normandy in 1418.[86] Now approaching sixty, Dartas could not reasonably be expected to remain in office until the fourteen-year-old York came of age, but it was in other respects a suitable appointment and one which certainly took effect in Ireland, albeit only for the relatively short period before his death.[87]

The English council, however, had other distractions at this time. The year of Ormond's second lieutenancy coincided with the most serious domestic crisis of Henry VI's minority, the quarrel between the duke of Gloucester and his father's half-brother, Bishop Beaufort of Winchester. Their bitter personal rivalry cast a shadow over two successive parliaments - the Westminster parliament of 1425 and the Leicester parliament of 1426 - and saw in the interim a barely-averted, armed conflict over possession of the young king, followed by some weeks of total breakdown of conciliar government. The affair was only settled by the return of the duke of Bedford from France, a formal arbitration and the departure of Beaufort from the chancellorship on 16 March 1426.[88]

This political dislocation was almost certainly the reason why Ormond's second lieutenancy was prolonged in Ireland by a fifteen-month justiciarship. He may possibly have indicated his willingness to remain in office beyond his year's term: on 28 February, just six weeks before this

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[86] Dartas apparently went to France in the spring of 1418 and was taking the muster of English troops there that summer: 'Calendar of French rolls'. *D.K.R.*, xliv (1883), p. 604; *Foedera*, ix, pp. 594-6. For Dartas' activities in England and Ireland, see E. Curtis, 'Janico Dartas, Richard II's "Gascon squire": his career in Ireland, 1394-1426', *J.R.S.A.I.*, lxiii (1933), pp. 182-205.

[87] Dartas was in firm possession of the stewardship when he died in October 1426 because James White, who had previously held the same office by Irish-seal patent until Dartas displaced him, then presented a successful petition for reinstatement under the English seal: P.R.O., E28/48/56; *P.P.C.*, iii, pp. 228-9; *C.P.R., 1422-29*, p. 383.

[88] See Griffiths, *Henry VI*, pp. 73-9; Wolffe, *Henry VI*, pp. 38-43.

was due to expire on 13 April, an English-seal commission was issued, presumably at his request, for the requisitioning of a ship at Bristol to transport goods and supplies to him in Ireland.[89] Nevertheless, had the English council been functioning normally during the winter of 1425-6, arrangements for either replacing or retaining him as lieutenant would almost certainly have been in hand when his term of office ended, with the result that any stop-gap justiciarship in Ireland would have been of much shorter duration. Certainly no other elected justiciar had been left in power for so long since Henry V's accession, notwithstanding the unexpected deaths of lieutenants in office in 1414 and 1425.[90]

The Gloucester-Beaufort quarrel, however, not only disrupted the smooth-running of royal government, but also gave the English council good reason to pursue a deliberate policy of *laissez faire* once Ormond's election as justiciar was an accomplished fact. On his departure from the chancellorship, Beaufort also withdrew from the English council, and royal government was suddenly deprived of its wealthiest, and most willing, creditor: over the previous nine years, the bishop had lent the crown some £51,600. Bedford's failure to obtain any substantial taxation from the Leicester parliament to compensate for this loss, ushered in a summer, autumn and winter of rigid financial economy under a newly appointed treasurer, lord Hungerford.[91] It was almost certainly no coincidence that it was only when adequate funds had been amassed to finance Bedford's return to France with 1,200 men in mid March 1427, that the council

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[89] *C.P.R., 1422-29*, p.327.
[90] See below, Appendix I, list 2, pp. 483-6.
[91] See Harriss, *Beaufort*, pp. 146-59, 401-6.

finally initiated the process of reappointing a lieutenant for Ireland.[92] A lieutenancy, even under the new arrangements essayed in 1420 and 1425, committed the English treasurer to finding at least a minimum lump sum of 1,250 marks to £1,000; a justiciarship on the other hand normally cost the English exchequer nothing at all.[93]

Whether Ormond and the Irish council were fully aware of the political situation in England, and of its possible financial implications for the Dublin government, when the earl was elected as justiciar on 15 April, is uncertain.[94] Their most likely informant, James Cornwalshe, took nearly six months to complete his business with the English council and did not return to Ireland until the day after the election had taken place.[95] Unfortunately nothing is known of the messages that may subsequently have been sent to Westminster - beyond the bare fact that a parliament at Dublin in March 1427 apparently sent letters to the English council - but there is little sign that Ormond undertook the justiciarship

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[92] Four days before the duke set sail on 19 March, an early draft of John Grey's indentures as lieutenant was scrutinized by Bedford, Hungerford and six other councillors, but it took a further two months for the final version to be agreed and sealed: see above, pp. 25-6.

[93] See above, pp. 16, 78-81; below, Appendix II, Table C, p. 566.

[94] From a chronicle account which states that Bedford reconciled Ormond and Talbot in the English parliament in the same year as the quarrel between Gloucester and Beaufort, it has been suggested that Ormond was actually present at the Leicester parliament in the spring of 1426: *Incerti scriptoris chronicon Angliae de regnis Ricardi II, Henrici IV, Henrici V et Henrici VI*, ed J.A. Giles, part iv, pp. 7-8; Griffiths, *Henry VI*, p. 80. However, as the account is somewhat confused (Talbot is described as lieutenant of Ireland, while Ormond is named as Edmund, instead of James) and as there is no indication from other sources that Ormond left Ireland between the Kilkenny parliament of February 1426 and his election as justiciar in mid April, it seems unlikely that he visited England in person at this time.

[95] *R.C.H.*, p. 243, no. 29.

with any of the reluctance his father had shown in similar circumstances in 1404-5, or that the withdrawal of English financial support seriously weakened the Dublin government.[96] Military expeditions continued to be ambitious and wide-ranging. In the first seven months of the justiciarship which brought raids by O'Connor Faly and took Ormond successively to Kilkenny, Trim, Naas and Clonmel, he also led a force against Gerald Kavanagh, tanist of the absent chief of the MacMurroughs, Donnchad, who had been taken prisoner to England in 1419 by the then lieutenant, John Talbot.[97] After a great council at Naas which opened on 30 November 1426, the following year saw the justiciar campaigning with some success against the O'Reillys and possibly undertaking further tours in Munster and Leinster.[98] The work of defence was apparently supported not only by his fellow earls, by the archbishop of Dublin and leading gentry such as Christopher Plunket of Meath and Robert Holywood of County Dublin, but also by a former rebel of the midlands, Miles Bermingham, and, even more unexpectedly perhaps, the Burkes of Connacht.[99]

As during his first lieutenancy and, apparently, his second, Ormond continued to raise some proportion of the cost of defence through subsidies.[100] One at least of perhaps 800 marks was granted by a

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[96] *R.C.H.*, p. 244, no. 46; for the third earl, see above, p. 3, note 12.
[97] P.R.O.I., 1A/49/135, f. 82; N.L.I., MS 4, ff. 301-3; *R.C.H.*, p. 245, no. 13; *C.O.D.*, iii, p. 60, no. 72; *The annals of Connacht*, ed. A.M. Freeman, pp. 470-1; see also, A. Cosgrove, 'The emergence of the Pale, 1399-1447', *N.H.I.*, ii, pp. 533-56, esp. pp. 543-4.
[98] Richardson and Sayles, *Ir. parl.*, p. 352; *R.C.H.*, p. 244, no. 39; *A.F.M.*, iv, p. 873.
[99] N.L.I., MS 4, ff. 304, 306; *R.C.H.*, p. 244, nos. 32, 34, 36-8, 41, 45; p. 245, nos. 15-17. Ormond had taken Bermingham's nephew hostage in 1425 or 1426: ibid., no. 14.
[100] For subsidies raised during the first lieutenancy, see above, pp. 133, 142. No direct evidence of subsidies raised during the second lieutenancy has survived, but the jibe by Ormond's opponents that he had been particularly successful in raising money in Ireland at this time suggests that generous grants were made: see above, p. 91.

parliament held at Dublin in March 1427.[101] However, much of the cost of the justiciarship was met by a considerable increase in the revenue available at the Irish exchequer.

From the series of Irish treasurer's accounts presented at the English exchequer it appears that the rates of receipt achieved during Ormond's first lieutenancy had not been fully sustained after he left office. Receipts under William Tynbegh, treasurer from December 1421 to August 1424, had averaged about £1,280 *per annum*, some £200 to £400 less than the annual rate of receipt under Hugh Bavent between July 1420 and December 1421.[102] According to an account for August 1424 to September 1426 presented by Bavent, who resumed office in succession to Tynbegh, receipts over these two years fell again to an average of £1,150 *per annum*.[103] In the absence of the original receipt rolls for 1422-26, it is impossible to discover actual receipts for particular terms within these two treasurerships, but it is probably significant that they coincided with the appointment and arrival in Ireland of the earl of March and the temporary restoration of the more generous level of English financial support which the lieutenancy had enjoyed before 1420.[104] March's unexpected death in January 1425, however, occurred barely five months into Bavent's second treasurership. That receipts over the period August 1424 to September 1426 as a whole were relatively low, may be an

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[101] The suggested value of the subsidy is estimated from the size of the contribution from the clergy of Armagh, £10/13/2d (*Reg. Swayne*, p. 56). In 1420-1 their contributions to the three subsidies of Ormond's first lieutenancy had been between £1/6/0d and £1/8/10d per 100 marks granted: see Richardson and Sayles, *Parls. and councils*, i, pp. xxxii, 144, 153, 178.

[102] The Irish exchequer year was divided into four terms. Tynbegh accounted for receipts of £3,518/17/2d over two years eight months or eleven complete terms: P.R.O., E101/247/18; E364/60, m.D. For receipts 1420-1, see above, pp. 140-1.

[103] Between 1424 and 1426 Bavent accounted for £2,302/14/0½d over eight terms: P.R.O., E101/247/19; E364/60, m.C.

[104] See below, Appendix II, Table A, p. 559; Table C, pp. 565-6.

indication that Ormond's second lieutenancy did not revitalize the Irish exchequer quite as rapidly as his first appointment had done five years earlier. After the death of Henry V and the disappearance of any prospect of an imminent royal expedition, there may perhaps have been a greater wariness than before of advertising the lordship's potential for self-sufficiency at Westminster. But with the metamorphosis of the second lieutenancy into a protracted justiciarship, which removed any possibility of claiming additional English payments to compensate for any inadequacy of funds at the Irish exchequer,[105] greater efficiency of revenue collection became crucial.

According to the Irish receipt roll for the treasurership of Bishop Dantsey of Meath, who succeeded Hugh Bavent in January 1427, receipts at the Irish exchequer over the final seven months of Ormond's justiciarship totalled just over £1,740.[106] Although allowance must be made for the fact that these seven months, covering three complete terms, actually represented three quarters, rather than just over half, an Irish exchequer year, this was a remarkably healthy sum, suggesting a *per annum* rate of just over £2,300, double the rate of receipt between 1424 and 1426. The total absence amongst the surviving Irish exchequer records in England of any information relating to the Michaelmas term of 1426, might suggest that the 1427 receipts were artificially inflated by a temporary collapse of normal financial activity during the preceding autumn comparable to the

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[105] As Ormond's 1425 indentures as lieutenant, like those of 1420, had empowered him to do: *An. Hib.*, 1 (1930), p. 218, and see above, p. 88.

[106] For the Hilary, Easter and Trinity terms, January to July 1427, recorded receipts came to £1742/7/3¼d. A further £87/17/4½d recorded under the opening days of the Michaelmas term brought the overall total for the treasurership, which expired on 3 October 1427, to £1830/4/7¾d (P.R.O., E101/248/1). Dantsey was appointed by the English council: see below, Appendix I, list 5, p. 506.

period of inaction in the early weeks of 1420 under Hugh Burgh.[107] This, however, was by no means the case. Although it seems that Hugh Bavent never accounted at Westminster for the last months of his treasurership in 1426, it was the practice of the Irish chancery to enrol the warrants sent to the Dublin exchequer to authorize payments - presumably because the originals were subsequently sent to England as part of the auditing process - and a record of the roll of warrants for Michaelmas 1426 has survived.[108] Altogether the enrolled warrants for this term authorized payments totalling nearly £1,000. From the warrants alone it is impossible to reconstruct actual expenditure, which no doubt fell well short of this sum: the very full records available for Meath's treasurership show that payments authorized by warrants were not necessarily made in full, or at once, while a number of regular issues were discharged without the trigger of special warrants within the same term.[109] However, by comparing the warrants of Michaelmas 1426 with the original and enrolled warrants and actual payments of 1427, it is clear that some creditors received at least a proportion of the money which was owing to them in the autumn of 1426, within the Michaelmas term, and probable that various others, for whom no additional warrants or payments were issued during Dantsey's treasurership,

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[107] See above, pp. 126-7, 177-8.

[108] *R.C.H.*, pp. 244-5. Records of the warrant rolls, described as close rolls, have also survived for the remaining terms of the same regnal year and for 2-4, 6, 9, 14 and 20 Henry VI: ibid., pp. 234-5, 239-47, 251-2, 258-9, 262-6.

[109] For instance a warrant dated 18 February 1427 for the payment of £21/6/8d to Archbishop Talbot as chancellor produced issues of only £11/13/4d within the Hilary term, while another of the same month for the payment of £28/9/9½d to Hugh Bavent only realised 5 marks two terms later; on the other hand many of the exchequer officers received termly payments without any corresponding warrants appearing either amongst the originals sent to Westminster or amongst those enrolled in the Irish chancery: P.R.O., E101/247/20, nos. 62-3, 100-2 and passim; /248/2; *R.C.H.*, Claus. 5 Hen. VI, part 1, pp. 242-4.

were paid in full before he took office.[110] There is thus no reason to suppose that the high figures for Meath's term of office were simply due to a great back-log of uncollected receipts in the latter part of 1426.

The receipt roll for 1427 shows that with a few exceptions - the absence of the previously minimal receipts from Carlow, Kerry and Ulster and the addition of a very small sum from Tipperary - the geographical reach of the exchequer was much the same as that achieved under Hugh Bavent between 1420 and 1421.[111] The difference in 1427, however, was that almost all the normal sources of revenue apparently yielded more. As a study of the Irish customs administration has shown, during the incomplete year of Dantsey's treasurership the customs revenue, augmented by a few receipts in respect of the prise of wines, was, at nearly £250, not far short of half as much again as the total customs receipts recorded in twelve months between 1420 and 1421.[112] It is difficult to make detailed termly comparisons of the 1427 and 1420-1 receipt rolls because of the damaged condition of the latter. But in the one instance where this can be done with reasonable accuracy - for the respective Trinity terms - the only areas from which receipts were not higher in 1427, although this term was half the length of that of 1421, were Louth and Wexford.[113] In the case of Wexford the difference was mainly due to the

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[110] Within the Michaelmas term part payments were certainly made to Hugh Bavent and James Cornwalshe, also to Henry Fortescue and Roger Hakenshaw (chief and second justices of the king's bench) and to the constable of Nicholeston castle, County Kildare; a number of special payments totalling £140, mainly for military service, to Ormond, the earl of Kildare, Richard fitzEustace and the bishop of Meath, were probably discharged in full: P.R.O., E101/248/2; *R.C.H.*, p. 244, no. 2; p. 245, nos. 3, 8-9, 12-15, 18, 22.

[111] P.R.O., E101/247/15; /248/1; see also above, pp. 134, 141.

[112] See S.G. Ellis, 'Historical revision XIX: the Irish customs administration', p. 272.

[113] In the Trinity term of 1421 (26 May - 31 July) receipts, excluding scutage returns, from Louth had totalled £43/10/2d, from Wexford, £16; in the Trinity term of 1427 (23 June - 26 July) the respective figures were £9/8/9d and £1: P.R.O., E101/247/15, mm. 12-14; /248/1, mm. 12-16.

loss of royal custody of the Talbot lands, which John Talbot had inherited from his young niece later in 1421.[114] The bishop of Meath's treasurership, however, enjoyed other compensations, chief amongst them the minority of Richard of York. Although the March lands in Ulster yielded nothing, those in Kilkenny and particularly Meath were undoubtedly an asset.[115] In Meath itself governmental concern to nurture the March lands, combined perhaps with Dantsey's local knowledge, may well have contributed to a wider exploitation of other royal rights.[116] Returns from Meath in the Trinity term of 1427 totalled over £120 as compared with a mere £22 in the corresponding term of 1421, while, during Bishop Dantsey's treasurership as a whole, they accounted for approximately £450 of the exchequer's revenue. This figure exceeded by some £50 the combined profits of the port, city and county of Dublin, which during Ormond's first lieutenancy had probably been consistently the most valuable source of income, as indeed they had been in the mid-fourteenth century. Nevertheless in the Hilary and Trinity terms of 1427 these were still higher than they had been even in the Trinity term of 1420, when receipts

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[114] See above, pp. 19, 134.

[115] In the Hilary term of 1427, £33/6/8d was received from the March lands in Kilkenny, while total receipts from the county over the whole treasurership reached £75/10/0d. In the second half of 1421 (i.e. over the Trinity and Michaelmas terms) receipts from Kilkenny excluding scutage returns had been less than £15: P.R.O., E101/247/15, mm. 12-17; /248/1.

[116] On February 1427, Stephen Palmer, undersheriff of Meath, was granted 8 marks in reward for levying green-wax dues in the county, while in the summer of that year Christopher Bernevale, serjeant at law, was awarded £6/13/4d for forty days judicial duties there: P.R.O., E101/247/20, nos. 19, 22, 51-2; E101/248/2, mm. 3, 5; *R.C.H.*, p. 244, no. 44.

had apparently been swelled by a considerable back-log from the earlier, unproductive, months of the year.[117]

Surprisingly perhaps - in view of the vital boost which had been given to the Irish revenue in 1421 by a proclamation of royal service - the health of the exchequer in 1427 owed nothing to scutage returns,[118] although these had certainly been called upon to finance Richard Talbot's justiciarship of 1430-1.[119] However, as in 1420-1, an important contribution was made by the profits of the hanaper. Between January and July 1427 these amounted to some £270.[120] This figure may well have been the result of some particular effort: in the spring of that year the then keeper of the hanaper, Stephen Roche, whom Ormond had appointed in 1425, received special reward for service in all parts of Ireland on the justiciar's orders.[121]

Between 1425 and 1426 Irish exchequer payments to Ormond as lieutenant had totalled just over £540, which was only a little more than

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[117] The receipts for the port, city and county of Dublin in the Hilary, Easter and Trinity terms were £232/15/4d, £40/18/3½d and £125/14/9d (P.R.O., E101/248/1). Receipts from the same source in the Easter and Trinity terms of 1420 and the Trinity and Michaelmas terms of 1421 were respectively £6/5/1½d, £113/1/2d, £81/14/3½d and £29/3/1d: E101/247/8, 15. For revenues from the city and county of Dublin in the 1330s-50s, see Frame, *English lordship*, p. 82.

[118] The only scutage receipt on the 1427 roll was for 9/4d and derived from the proclamation of royal service at Mullamast, County Kildare, by Archbishop Talbot in 1422-3 (P.R.O., E101/248/1, m. 3); for the importance of scutage returns in 1421, see above, pp. 141-2.

[119] See S.G. Ellis, 'Taxation and defence in late medieval Ireland', pp. 27-8.

[120] The termly figures for hanaper profits in 1427 were £106/2/8d (Hilary), £50 (Easter) and £113/14/7d (Trinity), very significantly above the totals for Trinity and Michaelmas 1421 (£24/12/8d, £29) but profits had been higher earlier that year (P.R.O., E101/247/15; /248/1; and see above, p. 141). By the late fifteenth century, however, hanaper profits had dwindled to a mere 40 marks to £40 a year: see Ellis, *Reform and revival*, pp. 79-80.

[121] P.R.O., E101/247/20, nos. 24, 27; *R.C.H.*, p. 244, no. 42.

half the sum he was then due according to his indentures.[122] But in the last seven months of his justiciarship, January to July 1427, the payments listed in his name on the Irish issue roll amounted to just under £990.[123] This sum - probably six times the total amount he had received during the first part of his justiciarship - was almost exactly equivalent to the total Irish exchequer payments to him during the central seventeen months of his first lieutenancy,[124] and clearly much more than was due in respect of his £500 *per annum* fee as justiciar. In fact only some £145 was paid specifically towards this at this time: the bulk of the issues were earmarked to meet the cost of a standing force of twelve men-at-arms and sixty archers, which the Irish council authorized Ormond to retain from 17 April 1425 throughout the justiciarship at the exchequer's expense.[125] In addition to these payments directly to the justiciar, a further sum of about £150 was issued in rewards to those who had assisted him in the work of defence.[126] Including the issues towards the justiciar's fee, defence expenditure overall absorbed more than sixty per cent of the available revenue - a higher proportion than during Ormond's first

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[122] See below, Appendix II, Table A, p. 560; Table D, p. 572. The following paragraphs offer a revised and extended version of the short analysis of the finances of the justiciarship in E. Matthew, 'The financing of the lordship of Ireland under Henry V and Henry VI', pp. 105-6.

[123] £989/3/11½d: P.R.O., E101/248/2.

[124] Irish issues to the earl as lieutenant during Hugh Bavent's first treasurership, July 1420 - December 1421, totalled £998/0/2½d (P.R.O., E364/57, m. G). Issues to Ormond as justiciar in 1426 were not itemized separately on Bavent's account for 1424-6, but from subsequent warrants and payments it is clear that just under £45 was paid towards his fee and just over £33 towards the costs of his retinue (E101/248/2, m. 1; *R.C.H.*, p. 242, no. 1). Additional payments of 80 marks for his campaign against Kavenagh and 50 marks for the maintenance of hostages were authorized by warrant (ibid., p. 245, nos. 13-14) making a possible total of some £165.

[125] The daily cost of this retinue was 42s: *R.C.H.*, p. 239, no. 4; p. 242, nos. 2-4.

[126] P.R.O., E101/247/20, nos. 25-6, 31-6, 45-6, 66-7; *R.C.H.*, p. 243, no. 22; p. 244, nos. 32, 36-8, 41; see also above, p. 201.

lieutenancy[127] - but because more funds were available, this did not apparently entail any painful reduction of expenditure on administration. During the Meath treasurership over £500 was disbursed on the normal fees and wages of officials and a further £160 on additional administrative and judicial expenses, special rewards for non-military services and the exchanging of some £18-worth of uncashed tallies issued to officials during previous treasurerships. The rate of spending in these two areas was at least equivalent to, and probably slightly higher than, it had been between August 1424 and September 1426.[128] Not surprisingly preference in the matter of normal fees and wages went to exchequer officials, in particular the treasurer's clerk, the engrossers, summoner, usher and messengers who were all paid termly and in full, but there were relatively few officials whose fees were in arrears of more than one term and only three from the central administration and judiciary - the keeper of the rolls and the spigurnel of the chancery, and the chief clerk of the king's bench - who were paid nothing at all while Dantsey was in office.[129]

Throughout the bishop's treasurership, revenue was spent almost exclusively by assignment: only a tiny handful of receipts amounting to some £5 actually passed through the exchequer as cash. This represented a further increase over the already high rate of assignment that had obtained in 1420, and a far more decisive shift away from cash

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[127] The records of the Burgh and Bavent treasurerships of 1420-21 suggest that administrative expenses then absorbed some fifty-five per cent of available revenue: P.R.O., E101/247/10; E364/57, m. G.

[128] After the payments made to Ormond as lieutenant the remaining revenue during this period was approximately £1760. Making some further allowance for the other expenditure on defence indicated, but not itemized, on the treasurer's account, administrative expenditure could not have averaged much more than £200 a term: P.R.O., E101/247/19.

[129] A warrant for the payment of at least one of these three, the spigurnel, had been issued in the term before Dantsey's arrival: *R.C.H.*, p. 244, no. 1.

transactions than was ever seen at the English exchequer either at this time or indeed at any stage between 1377 and 1485.[130] This reliance on assignment of course raises the possibility that the increase in revenue was more apparent than real - that the high level of receipts simply represented an attempt by the Dublin government to spend at a higher rate than usual, and bore little relation to the availability of resources. However, while assignment necessarily involved an anticipation of receipts, there is little indication that available revenue was being seriously overstrained. Although the termly totals of receipts were artificially inflated by some 'bad' (uncashed or uncashable) assignments, the numbers of these were relatively few. It was not the practice of the Irish exchequer to cancel or otherwise identify 'bad' assignments on the rolls when they were returned for exchange, but from the set of warrants and acquittances which were subsequently submitted to the English exchequer with the receipt and issue rolls and warrants of the treasurership as proof of the debts which had been discharged, it can be seen that there were only six assignments, together totalling £87/13/4d, which were issued, returned and exchanged within the bishop of Meath's term of office, and that at least eighty-six per cent, or £1,562, of all issues were said to have satisfied their recipients.[131] At least four further tallies - worth £23 of the

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[130] For assignment in Ireland in 1420, see above, pp. 133-4. Between 1422 and 1433 cash issues at the English exchequer averaged 39%: see J.L. Kirby, 'The issues of the Lancastrian exchequer and lord Cromwell's estimates of 1433', p. 138. For the termly percentages of cash receipts, 1377-1485 (normally in double figures and never below 2%), see A. Steel, *The receipt of the exchequer*, pp. 436-45.

[131] P.R.O., E101/247/20. Although a few acquittances were dated within a few days of the corresponding warrant for payment, many were not returned until several weeks or months later, well after the issues to which they referred had been made, which seems to confirm that they were, as they purported to be, genuine receipts for payment. No acquittances have survived for the assignments which are known to have been returned for exchange.

remaining £160 of issues unaccounted for - were returned for exchange during the subsequent treasurership of Nicholas Plunket, October 1427 to January 1429, and there may well have been others,[132] but neither in his term of office, nor in that of his immediate successor, the bishop of Ossory, January to August 1429, was there to be any significant increase in the proportion of revenue (normally less than ten per cent between 1420 and 1446) which had to be devoted to the exchange of old, 'bad' tallies.[133]

Reliance on assignment may have created other problems - there is some evidence that chief governors' purveyors tried to fob off their suppliers with tallies rather than cash as payment, a practice which was resented -[134] but in a fragmented and unsettled lordship, where far-flung revenues had long had difficulty in reaching the exchequer,[135] a system which transferred the burden of collection from debtor to creditor had, with careful management, obvious advantages. The receipt roll for 1427 shows that frequently assignments, both for regular and extraordinary payments, were carefully chosen to be convenient for their recipients, as was also often the case at the Irish exchequer in the late fifteenth century.[136] Many assignments were 'reflex assignments': in other words the assignee was responsible for the item of revenue concerned.[137] Thus

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[132] *R.C.H.*, p. 247, nos. 50-2.

[133] P.R.O., E101/248/4, 5. On all but one of the Irish treasurers' accounts of this period the amount spent on the exchanging of 'bad' tallies was listed as a separate item, in most cases representing nine per cent or less of total expenditure. In one treasurership, that of 1429-30, reassignment expenditure was atypically nearer forty per cent, but the entry makes it clear that this was almost entirely due to assignments returned by the then lieutenant, John Sutton: E101/248/6.

[134] This complaint was to be made in a report sent to the duke of Gloucester from Ireland in the winter of 1427-8: *Reg. Swayne*, p. 108. For the report, see also below, p. 223.

[135] See Frame, *English lordship*, p. 85; J. Lydon, 'The city of Waterford in the later middle ages', p. 9

[136] See Ellis, *Reform and revival*, p. 103.

[137] For the use of reflex assignments in England, see A. Steel, *The receipt of the exchequer*, pp. 381-4; G.L. Harriss, 'Preference at the medieval exchequer', pp. 26-7.

assignments on the profits of a mill, an orchard and a dovecot at Trim, all part of the March inheritance, contributed to the fees and wages of the two officials - Francis Toppesfield, third baron of the exchequer, and Thomas Brown, clerk of the crown - into whose custody they had been given for the duration of Richard of York's minority; similarly Ormond himself as hereditary butler of Ireland received all the assignments made on the prise of wines.[138] In other cases the connection was merely geographical. The vast majority of the assignments to the bishop of Meath were on revenues from Meath. William Burke of Loughrea, Connacht, and the earl of Desmond, who claimed four years of arrears as constable of Limerick, were satisfied respectively with assignments on the customs of Galway and Sligo and the fee farm of Limerick, revenues which would probably never have reached the exchequer at all as cash returns. In all areas at any distance from Dublin, assignment was almost certainly the most efficient means of revenue collection.

The justiciarship of 1426-7 thus offers further proof of the Dublin government's ability under Ormond's leadership to exploit local resources to meet its needs when faced with a significant reduction - in this case a total absence - of English financial support. It did, however, exact an unfortunate political price in that it undoubtedly helped to encourage the renewal in Ireland of the Talbot-Ormond feud.

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[138] P.R.O., E101/248/1, mm. 1, 2, 3, 5, 8; *R.C.H.*, p. 235, no. 16.

Ten days after Ormond's election as justiciar by the Irish council in April 1426, Archbishop Talbot's chancellorship was terminated by his replacement under the Irish seal by the earl's trusted ally, Prior William fitzThomas of Kilmainham.[139] The likelihood is that the archbishop had expressed some opposition to the election. Either he announced his intention of leaving Ireland and was refused leave to appoint a deputy, or else Ormond, released by the expiry of his term of office as lieutenant from the English council's express prohibition to dismiss either of the two most senior members of the administration, openly flouted the convention which customarily bound justiciars on this point too.[140]

Despite the temporary success of the Talbot-Ormond reconciliation of 1423-5, there was some reason for bad blood between the earl and the archbishop at this time. In November 1425, the deterioration of the formerly close political alliance in Warwickshire between the earl of Warwick and Ormond's mother-in-law, the dowager lady Abergavenny, had resulted in an attack on her servants at her manor of Snitterfield by Warwick's associates and retainers. These included both John Talbot, whose second marriage had by this time made him Warwick's son-in-law, and his younger brother, William, who was in fact killed in the affray.[141] Significantly perhaps, when, the following month, Ormond had negotiated the terms of O'Byrne's submission - terms which included full confirmation of the chief's previous submission to the earl of March - there had been no comparable ratification of the indentures sealed even more recently by

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[139] See below, Appendix I, list 3, p. 493.

[140] See A.J. Otway-Ruthven, 'The chief governors of mediaeval Ireland', p. 229, and above, pp. 32, 62.

[141] See C. Carpenter, 'The Beauchamp affinity: a study of bastard feudalism at work', pp. 517, 526-8; A.J. Pollard, 'The family of Talbot, lords Talbot and earls of Shrewsbury in the fifteenth century', (Bristol Ph.D. thesis, 1968), p. 21.

O'Byrne with John Talbot earlier the same year, by which the chief had bound himself to prevent his men attacking the Talbot lordship of Wexford.[142] A renewed determination to undermine Talbot influence in Ireland at this point may well have contributed to Ormond's readiness to serve as justiciar when the lieutenancy expired. The most obvious alternative candidate was, of course, Archbishop Talbot himself, who had already served as justiciar on two previous occasions.[143]

After Archbishop Talbot's removal from the chancellorship, the justiciarship still managed to retain at least some veneer of the spirit of reconciliation achieved in 1423. Ormond made one substantial change to his advantage in the judiciary - in June 1426 the chief justice of the king's bench, Stephen Bray, almost certainly a Talbot sympathiser, was replaced by a new appointee, Henry Fortescue, and it may be that the post of second justice (which was acquired by William Chevir, brother of the former attorney of John Talbot's rival for the lordship of Wexford, lord Grey of Ruthin) changed hands at the same time -[144] but there was no major purge of other offices of the kind in which both the earl and the archbishop had indulged in 1420 and 1422.[145] Furthermore, once the latter had obtained a fresh, English-seal, appointment to the chancellorship, he was received back into office in Ireland in January 1427 without apparent hindrance, and thereafter played a full part in the administration during

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[142] N.L.I., MS 4, f. 290; *R.C.H.*, p. 238, no. 113; below, Appendix III, i, pp. 574-6.

[143] In 1420 and 1422-3: see below, Appendix I, list 2, pp. 484-5. On neither of these occasions had the archbishop also been chancellor, but this would not have provided an insuperable obstacle to his election as justiciar for he was to hold both offices together between 1430 and 1431: see below, Appendix I, list 2, p. 487; list 3, p. 493.

[144] See below, Appendix I, list 8, pp. 541, 543. For William Chevir's brother, see Graves, *King's council*, p. 287; also above, p. 134, note 122. John Talbot and lord Grey of Ruthin were also in dispute over their precedence in the English parliament at this time: *Rot. parl.*, iv, p. 312.

[145] See above, pp. 122-7, 160.

the remaining months of the justiciarship and received the custody of various lands in royal hands.[146]

Beneath the surface, however, resentment and suspicion apparently festered - certainly on the Talbot side. In England John Talbot, clearly anxious about retaining his grip on his Irish lands, secured a back-dated, five-year, licence for absence from Ireland in July 1426.[147] It was no doubt with his encouragement that one of his English retainers, Thomas Everingham, petitioned the English council, eventually successfully, for the late Janico Dartas' constableship of Dublin Castle: four days after this petition was granted on 10 March 1427, Talbot made Everingham seneschal of his lordship of Wexford.[148] Meanwhile, Talbot, although preparing to accompany Bedford's expedition to France,[149] apparently gained the ear of the new appointee to the lieutenancy, John Grey - either directly, or through the duke - to some effect. Bedford and the English council, who in the autumn of 1426 not only found themselves having to reinstate Archbishop Talbot in the Irish chancellorship, but also ordering an investigation of the violence at Snitterfield,[150] can scarcely have been unaware of the incipient renewal of Talbot-Ormond tension. They nevertheless failed to ensure that the man they appointed to succeed the earl as chief governor in Dublin was sufficiently impartial and authoritative to contain the problem. Grey's arrival in Ireland in the summer of 1427 was swiftly followed by the dismissal of at least five officials originally appointed by Ormond, the preferment of several men

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[146] *R.C.H.*, p. 241, nos. 14, 15; p. 242, no. 33; p. 243, no. 7.
[147] P.R.O., E28/47/79; *C.P.R., 1422-29*, p. 350.
[148] P.R.O., E28/48/59; /49/50; *C.P.R., 1422-29*, pp. 383, 391; *R.C.H.*, p. 241, no. 24.
[149] See Pollard, *John Talbot*, p. 11.
[150] P.R.O., E28/48/21; *P.P.C.*, iii, 212; *C.P.R., 1422-29*, p. 379; *C.C.R., 1422-29*, pp. 317-18.

closely associated with the Talbots and the unleashing of a political turmoil which lasted for nearly two decades.[151] Had it been convenient for Bedford and the English council to replace Ormond with a new English lieutenant promptly in 1426, the whirlwind might perhaps have proved less difficult to reap.

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[151] Those who lost office included Ormond's recent appointee as chief justice of the king's bench, Henry Fortescue, his clerk of the hanaper, Stephen Roche, Francis Toppesfield (whom Ormond had appointed as third baron of the exchequer in August 1425) and John Blakton, appointed second engrosser in May 1425. Their replacements included Stephen Bray, who had been ejected by Fortescue's appointment, Robert Chamber, a future mayor of Dublin who was to be a prominent opponent of Ormond's in the early 1440s (*N.H.I.*, ix, p. 551; see below, p. 287) and Thomas Hankeslow, who at once appointed as his deputy John Corringham who had supported John Talbot's charges against Ormond in England in 1423 (see above, p. 163). For all these office changes, see below, Appendix I, list 4, p. 500; list 6, p. 515; list 7, p. 531; list 8, p. 541.

CHAPTER SEVEN

FAMILY, FEUD AND EXILE, 1427-35

After the arrival of the new lieutenant from England, John, lord Grey, terminated Ormond's justiciarship on 31 July 1427, it was to be nearly fourteen years before the earl served as chief governor again. In the years immediately following the renewal of the feud, the English council, notwithstanding the energy and competence which the earl had previously demonstrated in the government and defence of the lordship, apparently reached the conclusion that it was better to keep him out of office, even, as the feud became more intractable, out of Ireland too. Meanwhile Archbishop Talbot and his supporters made it increasingly difficult for Ormond to exert effective influence in Dublin. The earl's loss of political power was painful and borne with reluctance. However, the late 1420s and early 1430s also brought him and his family opportunities to acquire new lands and to develop new alliances and connections on both sides of the Irish sea. Exclusion from office was tempered by a measure of personal aggrandizement.

Ormond left Ireland fairly soon after Grey took office. There were family affairs to be settled in England. There the earl's eldest son, James, who had been born in Ireland on 24 November 1420,[1] had apparently

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[1] Marleborough, 'Chron.', p. 222.

passed the latter years of his infancy, probably under the supervision of his maternal grandmother, Joan, the dowager lady Abergavenny. She had some reason to show an interest in the young James at this time. Like many other dowagers of her day, she was a woman of considerable means. A valor of her lands in England made in 1427-8 assessed their worth at some £2,000, and a proportion of them were at her own disposal.[2] After the death of her only son, Richard Beauchamp, earl of Worcester, in 1422, James Butler became her nearest male heir: Worcester had left only a daughter, Elizabeth, who, at the age of nine in 1424, was married to Edward Neville, youngest son of the earl of Westmorland.[3] Whether James had the company of any of his siblings (there were ultimately at least four born before the countess of Ormond died in 1430 - two more boys, John and Thomas, and two girls, Anne and Elizabeth)[4] is uncertain, but his stay in England had not been uneventful. In the aftermath of the settlement of the Gloucester-Beaufort quarrel at the Leicester parliament of 1426, the duke of Bedford had thought it timely to organise a public demonstration of the authority of the crown.[5] On Whit Sunday, 19 May, two to three weeks before the end of the parliament's second session, the duke had knighted the four-year-old Henry VI. Prominent amongst over thirty others who had

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[2] See C.D. Ross and T.B. Pugh, 'Materials for the study of baronial incomes in fifteenth-century England', *Economic History Review*, 2nd series, vi (1953), pp. 185-94, esp. pp. 188-9; K.B. McFarlane, *The nobility of later medieval England* (Oxford, 1973), pp. 119, 199; R.E. Archer, 'Rich old ladies: the problem of late medieval dowagers', *Property and politics: essays in later medieval English history*, ed. A.J. Pollard, pp. 15-35.

[3] *C.P.*, i, pp. 24-9.

[4] The dates of birth of the other children are not recorded. All the children but Anne, who apparently died some time in the early 1430s, were mentioned in their grandmother's will when she died in 1435: *The register of Henry Chichele, archbishop of Canterbury, 1414-43*, ed. E.F. Jacob, ii, (Canterbury and York Society, xlii, 1937), pp. 534-9.

[5] See Griffiths, *Henry VI*, pp. 80-1; Wolffe, *Henry VI*, pp. 43-4; also above, p. 198.

then been knighted by Henry himself - including the fourteen-year-old Richard of York and his near contemporary, John Talbot's eldest son - was the considerably more juvenile James Butler.[6]

James' proximity to the king's own age - there was just a year between them - no doubt marked him out on this occasion as a particularly suitable companion for the young Henry. The other young nobles who were gathered into the royal entourage in the mid 1420s - York himself, John de Vere, earl of Oxford (born April 1408) and Thomas, lord Roos (born September 1406) - were significantly older.[7] James' summons to the ceremony at Leicester had been sent to Edward Neville (lord Abergavenny by right of his young wife) on 4 May.[8] Ormond himself, then newly sworn as justiciar in Dublin, may have been unaware of the event until after it had taken place, but on his return from Ireland in the late summer or autumn of the following year he found his efforts there rewarded by a place for his son in the royal household. It was a chance few noblemen of the generation that had served and revered the king's father would have spurned for their heirs; Ormond, whose own experience had proved not only the obvious advantages of acquiring a royal patron, but the difficulty of exerting effective political influence amongst his peers in England,[9] was almost certainly well pleased to take it. In the month of the boy's seventh birthday in the November of that year, his nurse, Ellen Casse, and her husband were pensioned off by the earl with an annuity of four marks from the profits of his Buckinghamshire manor of Aylesbury.[10] By

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[6] *Chronicles of London*, ed. C.L. Kingsford (Oxford, 1905), pp. 94-5, 130-1; *Brut*, p. 499.
[7] *C.P.*, x, p. 236; xi, p. 104. For details of the king's court in these early years, see Griffiths, *Henry VI*, pp. 51-7; Wolffe, *Henry VI*, pp. 35-8.
[8] *Foedera*, x, p. 357.
[9] See above, pp. 111-15; 157-61.
[10] Birmingham Reference Library, HC 494978, 494996.

Christmas, perhaps earlier, the young James had been established at court.[11] His position there apparently survived the appointment of his grandmother's nephew and opponent, the earl of Warwick, as the king's guardian on 1 June 1428,[12] and he was well launched on the first stage of his future career as a royal favourite. Ormond himself no doubt hoped to benefit from this connection, and almost certainly did so:[13] that his son's success in England would ultimately deprive the Butler lordship in Ireland of all but the most cursory attention of its fifth earl could at this point scarcely have been foreseen.

Having extracted a small cash payment and a further assignment towards the debt still owing to him at the English exchequer for his second lieutenancy,[14] Ormond himself took up residence in London.[15] As he did so, it was doubtless in the knowledge that at Westminster, for the second time in twelve months, the English council were again facing the task of appointing a new lieutenant for Ireland. And as the council deliberated, it was not short of either information or advice from the lordship.

Grey's lieutenancy had proved less than a success. Under six months into his three-year term of office, he had left Ireland shortly before

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[11] Amongst various new-year presents bestowed by the young king in 1428 was a silver collar of the royal livery given to a Philip Cowerly *demourant ovec le fitz del counte d'Ormond*: *Foedera*, x, p. 387.

[12] For Warwick's appointment and influence over the royal household, see Griffiths, *Henry VI*, pp. 52, 55.

[13] For instance in 1443 and 1451-2: see below, pp. 340-1, 453-5.

[14] For details, see above, p. 91. On this occasion Ormond's agent at the exchequer was the future chief justice of the king's bench in England, John Fortescue, a connection that was no doubt due to the earl's appointment of John's elder brother Henry to the corresponding post in Ireland in 1426. John was then at Lincoln's Inn: P.R.O., E403/683, m. 9; and see Sir John Fortescue, *The Governance of England*, ed. C. Plummer (Oxford, 1885), pp. 40-6; above, p. 214.

[15] The earl was dealing with Aylesbury business from London on 8 February 1428: Birmingham Reference Library, HC 494886.

Christmas 1427,[16] only to be pursued to England by a chorus of complaints. Writing in the king's name on 24 March 1428 in response to letters received from Archbishop Swayne of Armagh and at least one other bishop, the English council said that it had also been sent messages 'from many and divers estates and other of oure trewe liges and subgites in oure land of Ireland making mencion of the manyfold ... harmes and inconvenientes late falle therinne'.[17] None of the originals of the letters to which the council referred seem to have been preserved in England, but one of them may well have laid the information which prompted subsequent English orders to remove an unsuitable, absentee candidate preferred by Grey to the clerkship of the hanaper.[18] Two more were almost certainly the well-known reports on the state of Ireland which appear consecutively in Archbishop Swayne's register at the end of one of the two sections compiled during his tenure of office. Both the reports are undated, but from the content it is very clear that the second (in the order in which they appear in the register) was written shortly before, or soon after, Grey left Ireland in the winter of 1427-8 and addressed to the duke of Gloucester, who had assumed the leadership of the English council after Bedford's departure for France the previous March. It seems highly probable that the first, also addressed in similar terms to a royal duke and asking for 'hasti remedy' before 'Estere or Whitesontide' at a time

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[16] See below, Appendix I, list 2, p. 486.

[17] P.R.O., E28/50/24 March, 6-8 Henry VI. The letter was directed to '[the archbishop] of Armagh, primate of Irland and the remenaunt of our [trewe lieges] in the said land', but the opening form of address, 'Right worshipfull and worshipfull fadres in God and oure trusty and welbeloved', clearly included another prelate as well. The text gives no regnal year, but this is firmly established by its news that John Sutton had just been appointed as lieutenant. His letters patent had passed the great seal the previous day: *C.P.R., 1422-29*, pp. 475-6.

[18] See above, p. 67.

when the lordship had apparently been left unprotected, was of a similar date.[19]

Neither of these reports names an author, but it has generally been assumed that both were written by Archbishop Swayne himself.[20] In view of the additional confirmation provided by the English council's letter of 24 March that Swayne had made contact with Westminster at this time, possibly on more than one occasion - the text of the letter refers both to 'lettres' sent by 'youre procteur' and to a 'credence committed by you unto oure trewe and welbeloved knyght sir Richard Eustace' -[21] this certainly seems very likely. It is, however, just slightly surprising to find the writer of the second report describing himself to the duke as 'I youre man and servant',[22] perhaps an unexpected turn of phrase for the archbishop to have chosen, even to so eminent a layman as Gloucester. The section of the register in which the reports occur was compiled in the 1430s by Swayne's secretary and eventual successor, John Prene, vicar of Termonfeckin, one of the principal archiepiscopal manors in Louth. Although the collection no doubt reflected Swayne's and Prene's concerns,

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[19] *Reg. Swayne*, pp. vii, 107-8, 109-11. The second report was written while the events of Grey's lieutenancy were still fresh in the writer's mind and apparently before the succeeding Lent, which in 1428 began on 17 February. Both reports address their intended recipient as 'Ryght hey and mighty Prince' (ibid., pp. 107, 109), the formula commonly used either, as here, in English, or in its French version, *treshaut et puissant prince*, for letters to the royal dukes (cf. P.R.O., E28/41/15, 34; /42/26; Griffiths, *Henry VI*, p. 77), and it was Gloucester who was in charge in England at this time: ibid., p. 82; Harriss, *Beaufort*, pp. 167-8.

[20] See Otway-Ruthven, *Medieval Ireland*, pp. 364-5; Lydon, *Ir. in later middle ages*, p. 139; Cosgrove, *Late medieval Ireland*, p. 34 and 'The emergence of the Pale, 1399-1447', *N.H.I.*, ii, p. 546; Griffiths, *Henry VI*, p. 164.

[21] P.R.O., E28/50/24 March, 6-8 Henry VI.

[22] *Reg. Swayne*, p. 109.

by no means all the material was the work of the archbishop.[23] One possible alternative candidate for the authorship of the second report is perhaps the other ecclesiastic addressed in the English council's letter, who might well have been Bishop Dantsey of Meath, whose diocese was the southernmost and largest in Swayne's province and who was then at the head of the Dublin government as Grey's deputy.[24] But even if Swayne did not write both reports, their survival together amongst his secretary's papers and the form of the English council's reply both suggest that, whoever Gloucester's other informant was, he was acting in concert with the archbishop at this time.

The first report, or at least the surviving excerpt of it extant in the register, was simply a plea for increased English financial assistance for the lordship couched in terms calculated to alarm the English council into action. It maintained that the area of Ireland obedient to the crown was now smaller than an English shire - which one is not clear - and, in a shrewd thrust at the English council's duty to the young king, it hinted that the lordship might not survive the royal minority. 'If ye my lorde ... wold ordeyne a great pouer hedir ... then I suppos with Godis grace this contre will be relevid and savid unto the Kyngis age.'[25] Accompanying protestations that 'within this few yeris' the debts of successive lieutenants and their soldiers amounted to some £20,000, that their purveyors were wont to fob off suppliers with tallies instead of cash payment and that the burden of the large subsidies granted by Irish parliaments and great councils was too great for a land constantly

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[23] See *Reg. Swayne*, pp. vii-ix; *Calendar of papal letters, 1417-31*, p. 445; also J. Watt, '*Ecclesia inter Anglicos et inter Hibernicos*: confrontation and coexistence in the medieval diocese and province of Armagh', *The English in medieval Ireland*, ed. J. Lydon, pp. 46-64, esp. p. 48.
[24] See above, Map 4, p. 132; below, Appendix I, list 2, p. 486.
[25] *Reg. Swayne*, p. 108.

devastated by Gaelic attack, emphasized the unaccustomed strains imposed by the need to compensate for the decline in English financial support over recent years.

The second report, which seems to be more complete, gave Gloucester more detailed information, apparently at his own request: 'ye now late wrot to me commanding me that I scholde sertifye unto you the trewth of the governaunce of this Irlonde not sparyng for hatrede love or frendeschepe of any man to obeye'.[26] The duke's concern had presumably been prompted either by Grey's unexpectedly premature return to England, or by earlier, disquieting representations from Ireland including, perhaps, the first report. This second report described Grey's seemingly ineffectual attempts to fight off, and buy off, a wide-ranging rising of 'the Kyngys enmys of the South Partyes of Irlond', led by MacMurrough, who had been released from his long imprisonment in England shortly before Grey arrived in the lordship.[27] Attacks by the northern Gaelic Irish were also mentioned. This report maintained that the lieutenancy's initially poor show of armed force, which had been due to Grey's inability to obtain sufficient shipping for all his men to cross to Ireland with him, had encouraged Gaelic resurgence. A remedy was, however, suggested. The fundamental 'cause of the gret harme that hath be do to the Kyngys liege pepill in this Lond' was the Talbot-Ormond feud. This now so divided the inhabitants of the lordship, 'Jentyllmen and Communes', that neither group would help the other. The duke was urged to find a way to bring Ormond and John Talbot to a lasting reconciliation and then to send one or both of them to Ireland by Lent. They alone were sufficiently feared by the

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[26] *Reg Swayne*, p. 109.
[27] See Pollard, *John Talbot*, pp. 76-7; A. Cosgrove, 'The emergence of the Pale', *N.H.I.*, ii, pp. 543-4.

Gaelic Irish to restore the ground lost under Grey with a relatively modest force of four hundred archers:

> If ye my lorde of your gracious lordeschipe wold ordeyne a wey that thes twey lordes were vereliche accordeded and that the acorde myght dure and that ye wold send hame both hyddyre or oon of hame with 400 bowes or lenten, this Contre schold be sawed with Goddes grace, for in goode feyth the enmyes dredith hame both more than they do all the world.[28]

It was asserted that, in other hands, twice the number of archers would be required, and that even this might prove barely adequate.

The second report thus gave the impression that the writer considered it immaterial whether the English council chose Ormond or John Talbot to restore order in Ireland, as long as one, or both, of them arrived there without delay. Impartiality was, of course, what Gloucester had requested, but here the author of the report may not have been quite as guileless as it would appear. Swayne, and indeed Dantsey, were both likely to prefer Ormond. The traditional rivalry between the sees of Armagh and Dublin over the primacy of Ireland which became particularly acrimonious in the late 1420s, was unlikely to predispose Swayne in favour of Archbishop Talbot's brother.[29] Recently, too, it was the earl, rather than John Talbot, who had displayed the surest touch with the Gaelic leaders of the north: Talbot's summary treatment of the chiefs who had submitted to the earl of March in the winter of 1424-5 had indeed placed Swayne, who had apparently encouraged their submission, in a somewhat awkward position, which Ormond had then taken pains to put right. Dantsey who had so ably supported the last seven months of Ormond's recent justiciarship as Irish treasurer, had been publicly humiliated some years earlier by Archbishop Talbot, when the latter had initially refused to

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[28] *Reg. Swayne*, p. 111.
[29] See J. D'Alton, *Memoirs of the archbishops of Dublin* (Dublin, 1838), p. 155; J.H. Bernard, 'Richard Talbot, archbishop and chancellor', pp. 226-7.

accept the bishop's credentials as the earl of March's deputy in 1423.[30] Moreover, there is evidence to suggest that Swayne, or his secretary on his behalf, was in close touch with Ormond at this time. Thus Swayne himself, and anyone else closely associated with him, would have been well aware that, while Gloucester was being urged to action, it was the earl, not John Talbot (then in France)[31] who would be found conveniently to hand in London.

Immediately preceding the two reports to Gloucester in this section of the Swayne register, are two private letters to Ormond of a very similar date. One, written in the autumn of 1428, was from the then papal collector in England, Giovanni di Obizzi, with whom - to judge from the tone of the letter - the earl established close contact during his stay in London. The document was of obvious interest to the archbishop, part of whose earlier career had been spent at the papal court, for it alluded to the recent controversy over papal rights in England, in which di Obizzi had been involved, to business on Martin V's behalf with Bishop Beaufort, now a cardinal, and to a projected visit by the collector to Ireland. The letter was probably of particular significance to John Prene, too, for it also concerned the advancement of a Patrick Prene, then rector of Trim.[32] However, it is interesting that Ormond should have been so closely

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[30] See above, pp. 169-72; 182-4; 189, note 56; 203-12.

[31] Talbot had joined Bedford's expedition to France in the spring of 1427: see above, p. 215.

[32] *Reg. Swayne*, pp. 105-6; *Calendar of papal letters, 1417-31*, p. 399. The date of the letter is established by its reference to the arrival of Cardinal Beaufort in England which took place on 1 September. For di Obizzi, who had first arrived in England in March 1427 with a papal bull suspending the archbishop of Canterbury's legatine functions after Chichele's failure to press for the repeal in the English parliament of the the statutes concerning provisors and praemunire, see E.F. Jacob, *Henry Chichele and the ecclesiastical politics of his age* (London, 1952), pp. 13-15; Harriss, *Beaufort*, pp. 155, 172-3. For Swayne's earlier career, see A.O. Gwynn, 'Ireland and the English nation at the council of Constance', *P.R.I.A.*, xlv (1940) C., pp. 183-233.

involved in these concerns and that he passed the information on to Swayne or John Prene intact. More significantly still, the second letter, although unfortunately anonymous and incomplete, appears to be of immediate relevance to the political manoeuvrings that followed Grey's departure from Ireland in the winter of 1427-8. From this document, it seems that Grey, who had every reason to be nervous of unfavourable reports of his activities being sent to Westminster after he left Ireland, stationed a posse of men at Chester to waylay likely messengers. Travelling from Chester towards Coventry, Ormond's correspondent - apparently closely associated with the earl, for he apostrophizes him as 'my moste speciale lorde ... and my moste special sukour' - describes how he was followed out of the port by Grey's men, set upon in a deserted part of Staffordshire near Rugeley and accused of treasonable activities during Grey's lieutenancy in Ireland. Although the full details of the *dénouement* are missing, it appears that the earl's man managed to avoid being hauled before Grey by an appeal to 'the bisschoppe', close by at Haywood.[33] Who this prelate was is not clear, but the author of the letter may perhaps have been the man who carried the 'credence' to Westminster mentioned in the English council's letter to Swayne of 24 March, Richard fitzEustace, who was certainly one of Ormond's adherents at this time. During the earl's justiciarship, fitzEustace had been appointed to the Irish chancellorship in succession to Prior William fitzThomas before Archbishop Talbot returned to reclaim the office in January 1427, and had been rewarded with the custody of three of the royal manors in Ireland for eight years.[34] And the choice of such a man as an emissary to

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[33] *Reg. Swayne*, pp. 106-7.

[34] The Irish-seal grant to fitzEustace is reported in a later, English-seal, grant of 1429 concerning the same manors, Newcastle Lyons, Esker and Saggart, County Dublin (*C.P.R., 1422-29*, p. 543). For fitzEustace's chancellorship, see below, Appendix I, list 3, p. 493.

Westminster by Swayne, or possibly Dantsey, is in itself of significance: fitzEustace was a man who would have been keen to ensure that the case for entrusting Ireland to Ormond was strongly represented to the English council.

If, as the weight of circumstantial evidence suggests, Ormond's well-wishers in Ireland were attempting to secure his reappointment as lieutenant - preferably with rather more English financial and military support than he had previously been given - they failed. And although sufficient note was taken of the complaint about Grey's lack of manpower for the size of the immediately succeeding lieutenants' retinues to be stipulated in their indentures and checked before embarkation,[35] Gloucester and the English council, in their turn, failed to bring about, indeed even to attempt, the lasting settlement of the feud that the second report to the duke had urged. Gloucester did show some concern to tackle other local disputes in England at this time,[36] but it was no doubt discouraging that the considerable pains taken to bury the Talbot-Ormond feud in 1423 had proved fruitless, and it perhaps seemed impossible to take any further, useful action while John Talbot himself was absent in France. The report had given no hint of what as yet may scarcely have been fully apparent even in Ireland - that effective leadership of the Talbot faction there had passed to the archbishop of Dublin and would have very little to do with his elder brother in the years to come. Meanwhile, the report's emphasis on the seriousness of the feud - which perhaps at this stage may have been slightly exaggerated in the hope of persuading the council to action - almost certainly rebounded to Ormond's disadvantage. If the gentry and

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[35] See above, p. 45.
[36] See Griffiths, *Henry VI*, p. 138; Harriss, *Beaufort*, p. 168.

common people of the lordship had indeed divided into two hostile camps, the leader of one would scarcely be a suitable head of the Dublin government. There is evidence that this argument was to be firmly fixed in the young Henry VI's mind at the outset of his personal rule:[37] it may well have originated in the council's reaction to the information sent to Gloucester from Ireland in the early weeks of 1428.

The spring of 1428, however, did bring the earl one, short-term compensation: the council's choice of Grey's successor fell on a man who was to be particularly well-disposed towards him. John Sutton, relatively inexperienced in royal service and some ten years Ormond's junior, shared at least one of the dowager lady Abergavenny's opponents in Warwickshire, Edmund, lord Ferrers.[38] Whether Sutton was already well-known to Ormond, and whether the earl was in any way responsible for encouraging him to seek or accept his two-year appointment to the lieutenancy, is uncertain, but he quickly proved himself willing to support the earl's interests in Ireland. However, the resulting strength of the Sutton-Ormond alliance added further fuel to the Talbot-Ormond feud and proved, beyond any doubt, its capacity to paralyse the Dublin administration even without either Ormond or one of the Talbots actually ensconced as chief governor.

By the summer months of 1428, Ormond had returned to Ireland, either independently or, perhaps, with Sutton, who crossed from Chester early in June.[39] Certainly some of Sutton's first dispositions as lieutenant - the

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[37] See below, p. 277.
[38] For Sutton, who was born in 1400, see *C.P.*, iv, p. 479 and above, p. 20. For his involvement in the tensions in Warwickshire, see C. Carpenter, 'The Beauchamp affinity: a study of bastard feudalism at work', pp. 528-30, 531, note 1.
[39] See below, Appendix I, list 2, p. 486.

reinstatement, after their ejection by John Grey, of three of Ormond's former appointees, Henry Fortescue, John Blakton and Stephen Roche, as chief justice of the king's bench, second engrosser and clerk of the hanaper, and the issuing from Trim of a warrant for the payment of the remaining arrears of Ormond's fee for the justiciarship of 1426-7 - suggest that the earl could well have been at his elbow as he took up the reins of power.[40] A good proportion of Ormond's time immediately on his return, however, was probably devoted to restoring order, and asserting his personal authority, in and around his own lands in the south.

It was almost certainly this year which saw the promulgation of Ormond's seignorial ordinances of Fethard. At an assembly here in mid August, with the assent of Archbishop Richard O'Hedian of Cashel, Bishop Richard Cantwell of Waterford and Lismore and representatives of the liberty and crosslands of Tipperary and the county of Kilkenny, the earl pronounced that none of his 'nation' might billet kern and galloglass within Kilkenny or Tipperary unless they belonged to his personal retinue, and then only with the consent of the community. As a detailed study of these and subsequent seignorial ordinances formulated by Ormond has suggested, the motive was no doubt to facilitate the organization of a permanent defence force to ward off enemy incursion and to restrain the power of the leaders of the junior branches of the Butler family who had probably profited from his absence.[41] But this move at seignorial level to

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[40] *R.C.H.*, p. 245, no. 1; for the office changes, see below, Appendix I, list 4, p. 500; list 7, p. 531; list 8, p. 542. All these orders were issued between 10 and 20 June.

[41] See C.A. Empey and K. Simms, 'The ordinances of the white earl and the problem of coign in the middle ages', esp. p. 164, 167-8, and, for a text of the only surviving transcript of the ordinances of Fethard, pp. 185-6. The transcript offers two conflicting dates for the ordinances, 1428 and 1435, but the second possibility is much the less likely, as Ormond almost certainly spent 1435 in England: see below, pp. 258-60, 262.

restrict forced billeting without payment or consent, which was consistent with the stand against coign which Ormond had taken during his first lieutenancy,[42] may also have been a similarly shrewd bid for support, which clearly came from outside, as well as inside, his own territories. According to Drs Empey and Simms, seignorial legislation may have been less unusual at this time in Ireland than it was in England, but, as they stressed, it was certainly surprising that Ormond's ordinances seemingly extended his personal lordship to embrace not only his liberty of Tipperary and the lands he held in southern Kilkenny, but the rest of that county and the crosslands of Tipperary as well. The text is explicit: *statuimus et ordinamus pro commodi et meliori statu quod communitas Kilken. et Tipperar. sint una patria sub uno regimine vel uno domino.* In explanation it has been suggested that Ormond's special powers within the liberty of Tipperary may have encouraged an initiative of this kind, and that those who were not already his tenants were appararently keen to accept his protection.[43] But it was an initiative that may also have been encouraged by the new lieutenant. During Ormond's own chief governorships over the previous seven years, the central south had certainly not been beyond the reach of royal government, but Sutton had no doubt plenty to do elsewhere. In the wake of the pessimistic reports about the state of Ireland which had been sent to Gloucester, the lieutenant was probably more then willing, especially in view of the second report's testimonial to Ormond's efficacy against the Gaelic Irish, to devolve practical responsibility for this particular area on the earl. Di Obizzi's letter to Ormond, written from England in the autumn of that year, said that the collector had heard from Patrick Prene that, as a result of the earl's

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[42] See above, p. 143.
[43] See C.A. Empey and K. Simms, op. cit., pp. 163, 168-72, 177, 185.

return to Ireland, many areas lost in his absence, had been recovered.[44] This remark was clearly intended to flatter and please, but it was also probably indicative of an impression that the new lieutenant was seen to be relying on Ormond's assistance.

Sutton, however, was soon to discover that a close association with Ormond had disadvantages too. In the autumn of 1428 Sutton organized an expedition into Leinster. The core of his force was probably provided by the twenty-four men at arms and five hundred archers which he had brought from England, augmented by local troops, but in addition the sheriff of Dublin was ordered to provide a hundred carts of supplies and over one thousand men variously equipped with hatchets, sickles, spades and flails. Sufficient numbers were found for Sutton to be subsequently commended by the Irish parliament for his success in having destroyed native Irish 'cornes, broken and drawed over thire castelles [and] thir wodds',[45] but the county's zeal fell short of the lieutenant's demands. Many men apparently failed to appear and were pursued with fines. A half-hearted response may have been due partly to difficulty in finding enough equipment, and partly to a last-minute change in the point of muster from Bray to Wicklow, which was just outside the county boundary in the coastal territory belonging to County Kildare. However, there may well have been some element of deliberate non-co-operation: interestingly the fines were subsequently cancelled in a parliament presided over by Archbishop Talbot as justiciar in May 1430, immediately after he took over the running of the Dublin government from Sutton's deputy.[46] Whether Ormond played any part in the expedition is not known, but the extent of his influence over

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[44] *Reg. Swayne*, p. 106.
[45] Betham, *Early parliaments*, p. 353.
[46] *Stat. Hen. VI*, pp. 26-7, 36-9.

the administration in the succeeding weeks aroused rather more serious opposition to Sutton's régime.

In November, Sutton held a parliament at Dublin which sent a petition to the king.[47] From its text it is quite clear that Ormond and his supporters had a very powerful voice in the assembly. Its commendation of Sutton's efforts (which were said to have much improved the state of the lordship) combined with a strong hint that the term of so successful a lieutenancy should be extended and a plea for speedy payment of the money owing to him (so that he might pay the additional troops he had raised in Ireland as well as his English retinue), was matched by special praise of Ormond's past efforts in royal service and a request that he be paid the arrears owing from his past lieutenancies in consideration of the 'gret costes and charges' he had borne since Sutton's arrival, and previously, 'yn resistyng of your enemyes'. According to the petition, Ormond was effectively indispensable to the lordship's security: his 'last absence and long tarying out of this land causid your enemys to be the bolder to go to werre and your liege peple myche abasshed and foblied ther by'.[48] Two of the other eight points of the petition renewed two requests which had been made in the message sent to Henry V by the 1421 parliament over which Ormond had presided during his first lieutenancy, namely that past lieutenants and deputies should be made to pay their debts in Ireland and that men from the lordship should be readmitted to the inns of court in England to study English law.[49] Furthermore, yet another clause asked for steps to be taken to prevent people from Ireland from being robbed,

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[47] *R.C.H.*, pp. 247-8, no. 9; Betham, *Early parliaments*, pp. 352-9.
[48] Ibid., pp. 355-6.
[49] Cf. *Stat. John-Hen. V*, pp. 568-71, 574-5. In 1421 the complaints about past lieutenants' debts had been raised with reference to John Stanley and John Talbot: see above, p. 146.

assaulted and abducted in England - as had recently happened to 'divers clerkes, merchantz and othere honeste persones out of your land here', travelling 'from Chester to Coventre, Oxenford and London' - and for those responsible for such attacks to be punished. No further details were given, but this particular request was almost certainly prompted by John Grey's attempts to waylay travellers from Ireland in Staffordshire as reported in the anonymous letter to Ormond in Swayne's register.[50] This point was probably intended to provide an opening for a further complaint against Grey by the bearers of the petition when they arrived at Westminster. The messengers chosen by the parliament were Sir Thomas Strange, a leading member of Sutton's retinue, and Ormond's recently reinstated appointee to the post of chief justice of the king's bench, Henry Fortescue.

The tone and content of such a petition was scarcely likely to appeal to Ormond's opponents, or to those in Ireland who had supported John Grey, and it provoked dissent. The dissenters drew up an anonymous criticism of its main points for covert dispatch to Westminster. Sutton and Ormond had apparently foreseen this possibility: in what would seem to have been an attempt to lessen their opponents' chances of gaining a hearing by the English council, the parliamentary petition had also requested that accusations sent to England against 'lieutenauntz, justices and otheres estates of your sayd land' made by 'divers men of this land of malice and il will', without the authority of the Irish parliament or council, should not be given any credence until the accusers had backed their allegations with 'sufficiant suerte' and waited for them to be returned to Ireland for examination in a properly constituted assembly.[51] The following spring,

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[50] Betham, *Early parliaments*, p. 355.
[51] Ibid., pp. 354-5.

probably as a result of the English council's implementation of this procedure, Sutton obtained a copy of the anonymous articles, which were then enrolled on the Irish patent roll.[52]

The articles showed sympathy with Grey, impatience with Sutton, dislike and contempt for Ormond. They asserted that the poor state of the lordship before Sutton's arrival had not been the fault of Grey, but of certain magnates and gentry, who had incited Irish and rebel attacks, and of a widespread unwillingness to help Grey to restore order. Attacks on travellers from Ireland in England were matters to be dealt with by normal legal processes: victims should not expect special treatment or protection from the English council. Sutton's arrival in Ireland had brought deterioration rather than improvement; Ormond's actions were bringing ruin and destruction. Neither of them deserved payment - Sutton because he had already received more financial support than many of his predecessors, Ormond because he had already amassed so much from public subsidies and private sources. The articles also revealed Sutton's and Ormond's opponents' frustration at their own lack of influence in the Irish parliament, their alarm at the possibility that the official petition might result in an extension of Sutton's term of office and their anger at the attempt to institute censorship of any unofficial complaints to England. They asserted that the petition's suggestion that successful lieutenants should not be changed so frequently was an improper encroachment on royal power; similarly it was for the king to take any decisions as to what action to take about complaints against chief governors. Sending unofficial petitions back to Ireland for formal scrutiny would not help to discover the truth about such complaints: the members of parliaments and

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[52] *R.C.H.*, p. 248, no. 13.

councils there were not chosen for the good of the king and the people, but simply by the will of the magnates and gentry.

From the precision with which the articles' criticisms were tailored to the original petition, there can be little doubt that their authors were present at, or attendant on, the Dublin parliament of November 1428. When Sutton placed the text of the complaints before a meeting of the Irish council at Drogheda on 1 April 1429, each councillor was asked individually if he knew anything about them. All present, including Ormond himself, Archbishop Swayne and Archbishop Talbot, denied all knowledge of them. However, from the articles' hostility to Ormond, it has long been assumed that Talbot was in some way involved.[53] Certainly, although he may have been wary enough to avoid direct implication in order not to imperil his position as chancellor, there can be little doubt that he would have approved of the points they sought to make. The Talbots had experienced difficulties with Irish parliaments before, notably in 1417, 1418 and 1421.[54] Given this background, the strength of Ormond's influence in an assembly over which he was not even presiding as chief governor was particularly likely to arouse the resentment of the archbishop and his supporters, while the attempt to ensure that complaints to the crown were subjected to parliamentary scrutiny no doubt seemed, under these circumstances, a very real threat to their interests. Sutton's and Ormond's pleas for English funds were also likely to have caught the archbishop on the raw: his own chief governorships had so far been unsupported by the English exchequer, and he may well have shared his brother's difficulties in extracting the generous parliamentary subsidies

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[53] See M.C. Griffith, 'The Talbot-Ormond struggle for control of the Anglo-Irish government', pp. 382-4; Otway-Ruthven, *Medieval Ireland*, p. 366; Cosgrove, *Late medieval Ireland*, p. 43.
[54] See above, pp. 86, 109, 144-50.

that Ormond had been able to command.[55] The subsidy which the November parliament of 1428 voted to Sutton may have offered a further source of irritation.[56]

Another senior figure in the Dublin administration who was likely to have found the parliamentary petition distasteful, besides Richard Talbot, was the treasurer, Sir Nicholas Plunket, who had been appointed by the English council with Grey and had served under him.[57] It may even have been Plunket who conveyed the articles to England: in late November 1428 he left Ireland - ostensibly to make his account at the English exchequer -[58] but with a suddeness and secrecy that suggests that he was anxious that his departure should not attract attention. According to a lengthy memorandum entered on the Irish patent roll, Sutton did not learn of his departure until mid December, when, in response to questioning, Archbishop Talbot informed the Irish council that he had issued letters patent authorizing Plunket to hold office by deputy during his absence on Plunket's assurance that he had the council's consent. After all knowledge of this had formally been denied by Sutton and eight other councillors including both Ormond and Plunket's appointee as deputy treasurer, Christopher Bernevale, serjeant at law, Talbot was forced reluctantly to agree that the office should be declared vacant. On 1 January 1429, Plunket was replaced with the appointment under the Irish seal of Thomas

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[55] See above, pp. 142-3, 201-2. The only chief governorships for which Archbishop Talbot received any financial assistance from the English exchequer were the justiciarships of 1427-8 and 1445-6 and the assistance was only retrospective: see above, pp. 78-81.

[56] *Reg. Swayne*, pp. 85-6.

[57] Plunket's appointment passed the great seal in May 1427, a few days after Grey's indentures were finalized. He took up office at the beginning of October the same year: see below, Appendix I, list 1, p. 479; list 5, p. 506.

[58] *R.C.H.*, p. 249, no. 21.

Barry, bishop of Ossory, an associate of Ormond.[59] Another, less covert, opponent of the parliamentary petition may have been John Blakeney, who was removed from his post of chief justice of the common bench the day after Plunket disappeared. Although Blakeney had originally been appointed by Ormond, he was soon to be involved in open violence against the earl and was only reinstated as chief justice when Archbishop Talbot became justiciar in May 1430. At the same time the archbishop was to appoint one of Blakeney's sons, James, as clerk of the hanaper.[60]

The animus displayed by the anonymous articles against the magnates and gentry suggests that a significant proportion of the opposition to the parliamentary petition came from other groups. The clergy of Archbishop Talbot's own province were probably likely to offer at least some support for any move against Ormond, while the spectre of censorship of petitions to Westminster would almost certainly have alarmed a number of townsmen. Towns, particularly those with strong trading links with English ports, had a well-established tradition of directing appeals over the head of the Dublin government directly to the king and his council in England.[61] During the winter of Ormond's recent justiciarship, the mayor and commons of Limerick had sent a successful petition to Westminster asking to be granted the keeping of Limerick castle for ten years.[62] Although the petition itself made only a glancing and guarded reference to the negligence of previous keepers, it was an indirect complaint against both

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[59] *R.C.H.*, p. 249, no. 24. Soon after Barry became bishop in 1427, Ormond endowed the cathedral church with eight new prebends - the earl's lands in County Kilkenny were, of course, within the diocese: *Calendar of papal letters, 1417-31*, p. 523; *H.B.C.*, p.370.

[60] See below, p. 242, and Appendix I, list 4, p. 501; list 8, p. 545.

[61] For examples, see J. Lydon, 'The city of Waterford in the later middle ages', pp. 6-11; J.A. Watt, 'The Anglo-Irish colony under strain, 1327-99', *N.H.I.*, ii, pp. 352-96, esp. 368-70.

[62] The petition was granted on 14 February 1427: P.R.O., E28/49/31.

the earl of Desmond, who had been granted the constableship of the castle in August 1423, and the earl of Ormond, who as justiciar had supported Desmond's attempts to extract his due fee from the citizens.[63]

Feeling against the petition probably ran high in Dublin itself, where many were no doubt aware of the parliament's proceedings, but excluded from them, and where Archbishop Talbot's personal influence was likely to be particularly strong. Thirteen years later another chancellor of Ireland, Richard Wogan, was to confirm that the city had made charges against Ormond in 1429. It also seems that in the immediate aftermath of the recriminations which no doubt followed the revelation of the anonymous articles to the Irish council, Sutton made some belated effort to make the peace between the earl and his opponents there. After the enrolment of the anonymous articles, another, unfortunately damaged, entry on the Irish patent roll for 1428-9, dated 12 April, apparently recorded an agreement between the earl of Ormond, on the one hand, and the citizens of Dublin in conjunction with Archbishop Talbot, on the other, by which the latter agreed to waive a previous debt of £1,000 owed by the earl in return for the construction of a new market and his fulfilment of certain other terms of which no details have survived.[64]

In the course of its discussion of the anonymous articles on 1 April, the Irish council had agreed to forward a record of the proceedings of the meeting to Westminster together with a final statement dismissing the complaints out of hand and disclaiming all association with them. How much attention was paid to the articles in England either before or after

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[63] *R.C.H.*, p. 244, no. 34; see also above, p. 212.
[64] P.R.O., E101/248/16, no. 2; *R.C.H.*, p. 248, no. 16.

this date is uncertain. In mid-February English-seal letters patent had been issued reinstating Nicholas Plunket as treasurer of Ireland,[65] but it seems that any concern that the English council may have had thereafter about Sutton's political difficulties temporarily receded in the face of a more urgent matter. In 1425 James Stewart, a cousin and political opponent of King James I in Scotland, had fled to Ireland. In 1426 the Scottish parliament became sufficiently worried about Stewart's activities there to issue strict regulations about the passage of ships between Scotland and Ireland, and also to seek help against Stewart from Gaelic chiefs. Since his release from his lengthy imprisonment in England between 1406 and 1424, James I had failed to make the full annual payments agreed for his ransom and had sent aid to the French against English forces in France. In 1429, with a Franco-Scottish alliance apparently about to be sealed with the marriage of King James' infant daughter to the late Charles VI's grandson, Louis, the English council realised that the possession of Stewart would provide a very useful diplomatic lever.[66] On 6 May it was decided to send William Troutbeck, chamberlain of Chester, on an urgent mission to Ireland to lure the fugitive to England.[67]

But in Ireland, in his new role as peacemaker between the Talbot and Ormond factions, Sutton quickly found himself out of his depth. On 10 May, as the arrangements were being made at Westminster to dispatch Troutbeck

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[65] See below, Appendix I, list 5, p. 506.

[66] See R. Nicholson, *Scotland: the later middle ages* (Edinburgh, 1974), pp. 281-7; Griffiths, *Henry VI*, pp. 155-8; Cosgrove, *Late medieval Ireland*, p. 84.

[67] *Foedera*, x, p. 415; *P.P.C.*, iii, p. 327. In the wake of the decision to send Troutbeck to Ireland, he was also commissioned to take the muster of Sutton's troops in Ireland. A letter from Troutbeck to lord Cromwell written on 13 May asking the latter to obtain the appropriate letters patent, and to send them on with his other documents to Windsor, testifies to his hasty departure: P.R.O., E28/68/15; *C.P.R., 1422-29*, p. 546.

on his mission, Ormond and the earl of Desmond drew up and sealed indentures arranging for the future marriage of Desmond's heir and eventual successor, Thomas, with Ormond's daughter, Anne. Thomas, like Anne, was still a child: it was agreed that he should be educated under the supervision of the countess of Ormond, which may mean that it was envisaged that the boy might spend some time in England. However, the contract itself was obviously seen as initiating a long-term political, and even military, alliance between the two earls. If either child died before consummation of the marriage, the connection would be maintained by the substitution of a younger brother or sister as necessary; the barony of Inchiquin and town of Youghal, with which Ormond was to enfeoff them, was to be held by Desmond during their minority. In addition there was mention of the possibility that Desmond might 'acquire lands in Leinster, Uriel and Meath by entry or recovery' (in which case he was to grant the children £50 instead of £40 *per annum*) and both earls promised to 'cherish, love and defend each and either of the two and their heirs and children against all men, saving their allegiance in the parts of Leinster, Meath and Uriel and all other parts within Ireland that fall thereafter'.[68] It is impossible to tell whether this concordat came as a trigger or a counter-move to a violent attack upon Ormond and his supporters by Archbishop Talbot and his sympathizers. The indentures were sealed in Dublin. A public ceremony under Talbot's nose might well have served as, or resulted in, provocation; on the other hand, as the scribe concerned was probably from the south rather than from Dublin itself,[69] the agreement may have been concluded in secrecy. At all events, the Talbot faction took to arms.

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[68] *C.O.D.*, iii, no. 88, pp. 72-3, printed from a sixteenth-century copy of the indentures. Ormond's copy of the original indentures, written in English, however, still survives: N.L.I., D1624.

[69] See a note, filed with the original indentures in N.L.I., by M. Benskin.

It was alleged that large, marauding groups, aided and abetted by the archbishop, went from place to place holding towns, fortresses and settlements to ransom. The ringleaders besides Talbot himself were named as John Blakeney, the ousted chief justice of the common bench, and four others - Thomas Kent of Davistown, Philip Neterville, Richard Cadell and, somewhat surprisingly in view of his brush with the Talbots in 1418, Christopher Preston. It seems that Preston, like Blakeney, had changed sides since the resurgence of the feud in 1426-7. Sutton, unable to keep the peace, appealed for moral support from Westminster. Notwithstanding the distraction of the disastrous news which reached England on 1 July of the duke of Bedford's defeat at Patay - a crushing blow which, following hard on the heels of the French success at Orléans, made it obvious that the era of English advance in France was over -[70] the English council responded. On 8 and 16 July letters were dispatched summoning Archbishop Talbot and his supporters to appear at Westminster at Michaelmas, and ordering Talbot, Blakeney and Thomas Cusack, a leading citizen of Dublin who served eight times as mayor of the city between 1412 and 1430, to bring with them, on pain of 500 marks, Ormond's second son, John, whom they had apparently captured and held in custody as a hostage.[71] The earl, having established his eldest son at the royal court, had probably been keen to ensure that James' next brother was fully initiated into the ways of the lordship. For the boy, it had unfortunately proved to be a baptism of fire.

The summons to Westminster offered Archbishop Talbot and his men an opportunity to air their grievances and make accusations of their own.

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[70] For the reaction in England to the French successes, see Griffiths, *Henry VI*, pp. 188-9; Harriss, *Beaufort*, pp. 184-90.
[71] *R.C.H.*, p. 249, nos. 26-30; *N.H.I.*, ix, p. 551.

Apparently they made good use of it. The St Albans chronicler in 1429 reported that, since his return to Ireland, Ormond had killed many royal subjects, that Sutton had feebly abetted him and that together they had burned church property.[72] In Ireland Sutton, possibly the earl too, grew uneasy. The lieutenant himself was, at the very least, open to charges of contravening his powers over subordinate officials:[73] while reasonable grounds had been recorded for the ousting of Plunket, he may well have had little defence for his separate dismissals of the two chief justices, Bray and Blakeney. By early November, Sutton, whose extraordinarily long career, which was to span all but thirteen years of a very troubled century, testifies, if to nothing else, to his capacity to survive,[74] decided that it was necessary to leave Ireland to defend himself. It seems that at this stage - perhaps because the recent unrest had driven him south to defend his lands -[75] Ormond was no longer in such close attendance on the lieutenant as he had been during the previous winter and spring. However, as Sutton travelled from Trim to Drogheda to embark for England, he wrote to the earl urging him to follow without delay. The letter offers a vivid insight into the political realities of their position at that time.[76]

The messenger chosen to take the document to Ormond was apparently a friar in the employ of the earl of Desmond who was to confirm the news in the letter by word of mouth: in the wake of the recent alliance between the earls, Sutton had obviously established good relations with

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[72] *Annales monasterii S. Albani*, by J. Amundesham, ed. H.T. Riley, i (R.S., 1870), pp. 43-4.
[73] See above, p. 34.
[74] Sutton died aged eighty-six, two years after Henry VII's accession: *C.P.*, iv, p. 479.
[75] Ormond was apparently at Clonmel in August: *Irish monastic and episcopal deeds, 1200-1600*, ed. N.B. White (Dublin, 1936), no. 26, pp. 19-21.
[76] B.L., Cotton MS. Titus B xi, part i, no. 56: for a full transcript, see below, Appendix III, no. ii, pp. 576-7.

Desmond too. The lieutenant's first concern was to assure Ormond of his continuing support and to deny rumours that had recently arisen that their friendship was at an end:

> ... I hire myche langage made here ... by men of this contray wenynge fully that the frenship betwene yow and me shold breke of all at this tyme. I lete yow fully wite that as to my parte hit shall not breke yn no wise, for yn goode faith I wille don as myche to your worship and your eese to my power, bothe here and yn England, as wille the beste frend that ye haue that ys yn England. And truste ye that fully and non other ...

Clearly the influence that Ormond had established over Sutton was strong enough to stand the test of recent events. However, the latter's second concern was to inform the earl, apologetically, that he had decided to appoint Thomas Strange as his deputy. Sutton's defensive explanation that he had done this in their own best interests - 'both for your eese worship and myn' - in difficult circumstances - 'cosidrynge the case and myschefe that hit stode yn as I shall declare to yow here after more playnely' - suggests that he well knew that Ormond had hoped that any deputyship might be offered to him or to one of his particular associates, and there can be no doubt that the lieutenant's decision came as a blow to the earl. Thirteen years later he was to accuse Archbishop Talbot of having forced Sutton's hand in this respect and prevented the appointment of 'a lord of Ireland',[77] but it is possible that Sutton had been cautioned against making Ormond his deputy before leaving England in 1428. Finally the letter explained why Sutton was proposing that he and Ormond should leave Ireland to 'prove oure adversaries and enemyes lieres' and why haste was imperative. He had heard that the king was about to be crowned (the coronation in fact took place at Westminster on 6 November, the day after

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[77] See below, p. 334.

the letter was written), and that the current session of parliament was about to end.[78] If it ended before their arrival, he felt their position would be much more uncertain, presumably because it would be more difficult to obtain a proper hearing for their defence against the Talbot accusations. The news from France was appalling: 'myche of France ys loste, all Champayne and Seynt Denys, and the dolfyn ys coroned, and many other townes and castelles ben wonne'. The earl of Stafford was about to cross the Channel and, the young King Henry was to follow before Easter for a counter-coronation in France. In the flurry of planning and preparation for these military and propaganda offensives, Sutton doubted whether he and Ormond would get much of a hearing, but he felt that it was still important to try. In a final note Ormond was asked to give forty-two marks to the 'White Knyghte' or possibly to his son: Sutton promised to repay him after they reached England.

While the letter shows that the dissemination of news to and within Ireland could be erratic, it also demonstrates very clearly that the lordship was not the enclosed and separate world that at times it appeared to be. Sutton did not expect Ormond to have heard about the dauphin's coronation at Rheims three and a half months earlier in mid July, but he was in a position to inform him about the English council's plans for Henry VI's French coronation less than a week after the news of these reached Paris on 31 October.[79] Ormond was required to make a rapid decision based on wide-ranging considerations: he had to take account of men as far removed as Charles VII of France and the white knight (a

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[78] The autumn parliament of 1429 was adjourned between 20 December and 16 January, but not actually dissolved until 23 February: *H.B.C.*, p. 568.
[79] See G.L. Thompson, *Paris and its people under English rule: the Anglo-Burgundian régime, 1420-36* (Oxford, 1991), p. 37.

connection of the earl of Desmond in Munster);[80] he had to anticipate conditions at Westminster in order to frustrate an opponent in Dublin. He was sufficiently impressed with the urgency of Sutton's appeal to take his advice.

Ormond arrived in England during the winter of 1429-30. Despite the major distraction of the preparations for the young Henry VI's visit to France, which was to be accompanied by the most costly expedition from England since the previous reign, the problems of Ireland were not overlooked at Westminster. Possibly the bad news from France and the prospect of the king's imminent departure sharpened anxieties about order and security at home and elsewhere;[81] possibly, too, although Gloucester and Cardinal Beaufort managed to achieve at least some show of co-operation at this time, the latter's absorption in the task of ensuring that the duke of Bedford received all the financial and military support from England that he required at this critical juncture,[82] may have made the former the more willing to turn to other business.

James Stewart died in Ireland in 1429, but not before a fleet of ships from Scotland had arrived to transport him home for an attempt to claim the Scottish crown, and concern had been aroused about the possibility of disruptive Scottish intervention in Ireland.[83] Early in

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[80] The white knights were descended from John fitzThomas (d. 1261), great-grandfather of the first earl of Desmond: *C.P.*, iv, p. 234, note b.
[81] See Griffiths, *Henry VI*, pp. 143 and 152, note 94.
[82] See Harriss, *Beaufort*, pp. 192-200.
[83] *A.F.M.*, iv, p. 875; see also A. Cosgrove, 'Ireland beyond the Pale, 1399-1460', *N.H.I.*, ii, pp. 569-90, esp. pp. 575-6.

March 1430, the English council issued a general proclamation ordering all royal subjects from Ireland currently in England to return to defend the lordship against rebels and enemies 'of northern parts' who were said to be banding together, intent on invasion. The spate of applications for exemption produced by this order suggests that it was enforced fairly rigorously, and it was to be repeated six months later.[84] In June the council also arranged to dispatch an armed force to sea to defend the western coast against possible attack.[85] No details have survived of the council's investigation of the accusations against Archbishop Talbot and his supporters arranged for the previous autumn, but there are two indications that the joint efforts of Sutton and Ormond to discredit their opponents met with some success. The winter of 1429-30 brought no English-seal reinstatement of either of the two chief justices, Blakeney and Bray, whom Sutton had dismissed,[86] and it was at this point that the English council decided to remove Archbishop Talbot from the Irish chancellorship. The English candidate who was appointed to replace him on 26 February 1430, Thomas Chace, chancellor of the University of Oxford, was one of Gloucester's chaplains.[87]

Despite the rumours which had been circulating against him and Sutton, Ormond appears to have had less difficulty in gaining influential support in England at this time than he had experienced during his confrontation with John Talbot in 1422-3.[88] When, in the spring of 1430, he was given licence to enfeoff several of his English manors, the list of

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[84] *C.C.R., 1429-35*, pp. 42, 91-2; *C.P.R., 1429-36*, pp. 64-5.
[85] *P.P.C.*, iv, p. 52.
[86] See below, Appendix I, list 8, pp. 542, 545. Bray did regain office during Strange's deputyship in 1430, but apparently by Irish-seal appointment.
[87] See above, p. 57; also Griffiths, *Henry VI*, p. 413.
[88] See above, pp. 158-67.

feoffees included not only his mother-in-law and several associates and servants such as Henry Fortescue, Robert fitzRobert and John Battescombe, but also no less than three members of the English council.[89] Interestingly these were drawn from both sides of the Gloucester-Beaufort divide. John Mowbray, duke of Norfolk, the dowager lady Abergavenny's nephew and ally against the earl of Warwick, was an associate of the duke; John Kemp, archbishop of York, and Philip Morgan, bishop of Ely, were supporters of the cardinal.[90] However, it was recognised that peace in Dublin would not be restored merely by undermining Archbishop Talbot's position. While Sutton was encouraged to return to Ireland to complete his two-year term of office,[91] Ormond was diverted elsewhere by inclusion in the king's coronation expedition. On 20 February the earl sealed indentures for a year's service in France at the head of a company of forty men at arms and a hundred and twenty archers; on 6 March he was issued with letters of protection as a member of the royal retinue.[92]

It was crucial for the coronation expedition to give a convincing demonstration in France of English might and magnificence, and to this end it was arranged that a substantial proportion of Henry VI's most prominent

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[89] *C.P.R., 1429-36*, p. 27; see also below, Appendix IV, pp. 592-5. Battescombe was a receiver for Ormond in England in the mid 1430s (P.R.O., SC6/1250/4); for fitzRobert, see above, p. 121.

[90] See Harriss, *Beaufort*, pp. 139, 141, 144, 214. Norfolk's mother was Dame Joan's elder sister, Elizabeth: *C.P.*, i, p. 253; ix, p. 601. For the Abergavenny-Norfolk alliance from 1426, see C. Carpenter, 'The Beauchamp affinity: a study of bastard feudalism at work', pp. 528-9.

[91] On 16 February letters of protection were issued for Sutton to remain in Ireland as lieutenant until the end of May: *C.P.R., 1429-36*, p. 48.

[92] P.R.O., E404/46/252; 'Calendar of French rolls', *D.K.R.*, xlviii (1887), p. 269. The first two quarters' payments for the earl and his men were issued from the English exchequer on 12 April and 9 May: E403/691, m. 23; /695, m. 5.

subjects should participate.[93] But although the nine-year-old James Ormond (as the earl's young heir was now beginning to be styled) was involved as a member of the royal entourage - the boy sealed indentures to serve in his own right with a small following of three men at arms and six archers -[94] it seems unlikely that Ormond would have been included amongst the sixteen peers accompanying the king had he not arrived in England at the right moment. There is no evidence of any attempt to secure the participation of the earl of Desmond or of other leading subjects in Ireland: this would anyway have conflicted with the English council's concern to secure the return of absentees to counter the threat of Scottish invasion there. Ormond, however, was on hand as the expedition assembled; furthermore, the opportunity to prolong his absence from Ireland - and to remove some of his men from the lordship at the same time - offered a useful means of temporarily taking the heat out of the Talbot-Ormond feud. There was no reason for this to cause trouble in France: John Talbot had been taken prisoner by the French the previous year and was not released until 1433.[95] With the reassurance of Richard Talbot's dismissal from the Irish chancellorship, Ormond himself apparently welcomed the opportunity to serve in France again for the first time since 1419.[96] In the first week of March, Gloucester and his fellow councillors were considering two separate petitions from the earl requesting a three-year licence for absence for Ireland for himself, instructions for the Irish chancery to issue rather shorter licences to the members of his retinue

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[93] See M.R. Powicke, 'Lancastrian captains', *Essays in medieval history presented to Bertie Wilkinson*, ed. T.A. Sandquist and M.R. Powicke (Toronto, 1969), pp. 371-82, esp. pp. 378-80.
[94] P.R.O., E404/46/253; E403/691, m. 27; /695, m. 4.
[95] See Pollard, *John Talbot*, pp. 17-18.
[96] For the earl's previous service in France with the duke of Clarence, see above, pp. 111-113, 120-1.

and assistance in transporting his men, horses and equipment from Ireland to England.[97] His licence for absence was in fact only granted for eighteen months, but he may have been discouraged from making any attempt to return to the lordship to gather his retinue in person: on 15 April orders were sent to Bristol for a ship to be commissioned to transport his men and equipment direct from Ireland to France under the charge of one of his servants, Robert Arland.[98]

Although the king crossed the Channel to Calais only a week later, the military situation delayed the coronation, which eventually took place, not in Rheims but Paris, twenty months later. After reaching France Ormond probably played some part in the campaign to ensure that Rouen was sufficiently secure for Henry to take up residence in the city at the end of July. It is possible that the earl then remained there in attendance on the royal court; alternatively he may have moved on to Paris to join the campaigns in Brie led by the duke of Norfolk and the earl of Stafford before returning to Rouen in the autumn.[99] However, the earl did not remain in France for his full year's service.

On 3 August, just a few days after king's entry into Rouen, the countess of Ormond died at the earl's Surrey manor of Shere Vachery. Her body was taken to London for burial at the hospital of St Thomas of Acre, the headquarters of the much depleted military order originally established in the late-twelfth and early-thirteenth century.[100] The order had once

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[97] P.R.O., E28/51/69, 74.
[98] *C.P.R., 1429-36*, pp. 49, 72.
[99] For the coronation expedition's campaigns, see J.H. Ramsay, *Lancaster and York, 1399-1485*, i (Oxford, 1892), pp. 414-19.
[100] 'Gregory's chron.', p. 171. Amundesham noted the countess' death as taking place about 1 August: *Annales monasterii S. Albani*, by John Amundesham, ed. H.T. Riley, i, p. 52. For the order of St Thomas, see A.J. Forey, 'The military order of St Thomas of Acre', *E.H.R.*, xcii (1977), pp. 481-503.

had houses in Ireland at Kilkenny and Carrick-on-Suir, but the strength of the Butler connection with the London house at this time was due primarily to the belief that it marked the birthplace of St Thomas Becket, from whose sister the family claimed descent. A petition which Ormond's eldest son later presented at the Reading parliament of 1453 made special mention of the 'grete tenderaunce trust and love' the earl had held for the house of St Thomas: when in London, he was no doubt a frequent visitor.[101] After their mother's death, the younger children and, perhaps, the young Thomas of Desmond, had probably been swept under the wing of the dowager lady Abergavenny, but the family bereavement and attendant business may well help to explain why in December 1430 Ormond returned to England with the steward of the royal household, lord Tiptoft, and Cardinal Beaufort, after the latter was dispatched from Rouen in November to raise further English reinforcements for Bedford's armies. They reached Canterbury in time for Christmas.[102] The earl was probably accompanied by his eldest son.[103]

Where Ormond spent the following year is by no means clear. On 3 February 1431 his licence for absence from Ireland was renewed for a further two years.[104] It is possible that he returned to France with

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[101] *Rot. parl.*, v, pp. 257-8. The purpose of the petition was to obtain licence to transfer the Butler manor of Hulcott in Buckinghamshire to the order to endow daily prayers for the king and queen and the fifth earl and for their souls after their death and for those of the earl's parents, wife, grandmother, ancestors and heirs in perpetuity. The Butler claim of descent from the sister of Becket was investigated in the eighteenth century by Thomas Carte, who concluded that it was probably unfounded: see T. Carte, *History of the life of James, duke of Ormonde*, i (London, 1736), pp. x-xv.

[102] *Annales monasterii S. Albani*, by John Amundesham, ed. H.T. Riley, i, p. 56; see also Harriss, *Beaufort*, p. 203.

[103] On 26 January 1431 William Hanbury of Worcestershire and Simon Rewell, a London hosier, sealed a bond to pay James Ormond £40: *A. deeds*, ii, p. 557.

[104] *C.P.R., 1429-36*, p. 110.

Beaufort, who was back in Rouen by mid May for the final stages of the trial and execution of Jeanne d'Arc, and that the earl then attended the coronation in Paris in December.[105] However, it may be that he remained in England while the council, after one false start and considerable further delay, finally concluded the appointment of a new lieutenant to succeed John Sutton in Ireland - Thomas Stanley. Early in October a John Coly, described as a messenger of the earl of Ormond, was rewarded at the English exchequer for taking a letter from the council to Stanley at Chester as he assembled his men for embarkation.[106] But there is evidence too that Ormond at least contemplated travelling further afield at this time: on 9 May a papal safe-conduct had been issued for him and a retinue of up to twenty-five men to make a pilgrimage to Rome.[107] The only certainty is that, despite his two-year licence for absence, he arrived back in Ireland in or before February 1432, the month of the king's return to England.[108]

While Ormond's removal from Ireland had temporarily prevented any further confrontation between him and Archbishop Talbot, it had not brought peace to the lordship. In the spring of 1430 Sutton had not returned to complete his lieutenancy, while Chace had waited over a year

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[105] For Beaufort's movements, see Harriss, *Beaufort*, pp. 209-10. The Carte MSS include a note that Ormond was present at the Paris coronation, but the evidence for the assertion is not clear: Bodleian Library, Laud Miscellaneous MS 614, p. 544.

[106] P.R.O., E403/700, m. 1; for the circumstances of Stanley's appointment, see also above, pp. 24, 41, 46.

[107] *Calendar of papal letters, 1427-47*, p. 278.

[108] On 26 February 1432 Ormond was appointed as a member of a judicial commission for the southern counties of Ireland (*R.C.H.*, p. 256, no. 141); for the coronation and the king's return from Paris, see Wolffe, *Henry VI*, pp. 60-4.

and a half for Sutton's replacement to leave England before taking up his appointment to the Irish chancellorship.[109] During Thomas Strange's deputyship the archbishop was able to obtain at least three key posts in the administration and judiciary for his supporters, and more of his associates were appointed when he himself secured election to the justiciarship on the expiry of Sutton's, and thus his deputy's, term of office at the end of April 1430.[110] The second report to Gloucester in 1428 had warned how strong and widely based the two factions in the feud had become:[111] although in Ormond's absence his supporters were unable to prevent the archbishop from regaining the chief governorship for the first time since 1423, they certainly caused trouble for the Talbot régime. As justiciar, the archbishop found himself having to contend with rebel and Gaelic incursions to the south, west and north of County Dublin - attacks which were supported by 'a grete multitude of Scots' and which, it has been suggested, may have been motivated at least in part by sympathies for Ormond in Gaelic Ulster -[112] and with political problems much closer to hand. At a great council in Dublin in September 1430, Talbot was apparently as worried about unwelcome criticisms reaching Westminster as Sutton and Ormond had been in 1428. The official petition asking for help

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[109] See above, pp. 57-8; below, Appendix I, list 2, p. 487; list 3, p. 494.
[110] Besides reinstating Bray (see above, no. 86), Strange also appointed Thomas Hankeslow (appointed by Grey and previously dismissed by Sutton as second engrosser) to the post of chief remembrancer and Thomas Shortall, a recent mayor of Dublin, as third baron of the exchequer (see *N.H.I.*, ix, p. 551; below, Appendix I, list 6, p. 515; list 7, pp. 531, 533). Under Talbot, Hankeslow apparently became escheator, Thomas Plunket (deputy and co-executor with Robert Plunket of the late treasurer, Nicholas Plunket) became serjeant at arms, while Robert Dyke, dismissed by Sutton, returned to office as chancellor of the green wax and clerk of the common pleas in the exchequer: ibid., list 5, p. 507; list 7, p. 521; list 10, p. 552; list 11, p. 554. For Talbot's appointment of the Blakeneys, see above, p. 238.
[111] See above, p. 224.
[112] K. Simms, 'Gaelic lordships in Ulster in the later middle ages' (Dublin Ph.D. thesis, 1976), p. 747.

from England warned the English council to ingnore any unofficial reports that it might receive as these would be written only 'fro parcialte and fro singular affiaunce'.[113] By December Prior William fitzThomas of Kilmainham had been imprisoned in Dublin castle on a charge of treason; other malefactors or traitors were said to be holding out at Newcastle Lyons.[114] These almost certainly included Richard fitzEustace, for in March 1431 Archbishop Talbot resumed the profits of the royal demesne manors, including Newcastle, which fitzEustace had been granted by Ormond in 1427.[115] There seems to have been trouble within the administration too: in May Talbot ordered the arrest of William Sutton, ex-keeper of the chancery rolls, who was said to have absconded with the documents of his office after his dismissal in January in favour of Robert Dyke, the chancellor of the green wax and clerk of the common pleas in the exchequer.[116] The archbishop did, however, remain in power until Stanley's arrival in the autumn, and it was only with some difficulty that he was then ousted from the chancellorship in favour of Chace.[117]

After his return to Ireland, one of the fourth earl's first tasks, as in 1428, was to reassert his authority in his lands in the south which had probably seen considerable Gaelic incursion during his absence.[118] However, in the summer of 1432 he temporarily regained the initiative in

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[113] N.L.I., MS 4, f. 314; for further details of the petition, see Otway-Ruthven, *Medieval Ireland*, pp. 367-8.
[114] N.L.I., MS 4, f. 323.
[115] Ibid., f. 325. For the grant to fitzEustace, see above, p. 227.
[116] N.L.I., MS 4, ff. 327-8.
[117] The archbishop delayed Chace's admission to office by questioning the validity of his letters patent: *R.C.H.*, p. 253, no. 13.
[118] According to the petition to England from the Dublin great council of September 1430, enemies and rebels had 'conquered and put under thayre obeysance and tribute in the parties of Mounester wel negh all the countees of Lymerik, Tiperare, Kilkenny and Weysford' and the annals mention that there was war between Ormond and O'Carroll of Ely in 1432: N.L.I., MS 4, f. 314; *A.F.M.*, iv, p. 893.

the Talbot-Ormond feud with an advantageous and provocative second marriage. His bride was Elizabeth fitzGerald, daughter of the now octogenarian earl of Kildare and his second wife, Agnes Darcy. Kildare had no other legitimate offspring. The marriage, which was succeeded in October by the death of Elizabeth's father, did not actually bring the bridegroom a second title, for in 1316 the castle, town and earldom of Kildare had been granted to the first earl, John fitzThomas, and his male heirs only, but it nevertheless enabled Ormond to secure seizin, by right of his wife, of two-thirds of the Kildare lands before the end of the year.[119] His aggrandizement by such means could scarcely have been more galling for his enemies in Ireland, for Elizabeth was also the widow of none other than the former, pro-Talbot lieutenant, John Grey, who had died a few weeks after Ormond's first wife in 1430.[120] It would seem that opposition to the marriage in Ireland was deftly outmanoeuvred by Ormond by an appeal directly to the pope - a move which may already have been in his mind when he contemplated his pilgrimage to Rome in 1431. On 29 April 1432 Martin V's successor, Eugenius IV, authorized the new bishop of Kildare, William fitzEdward, to issue a dispensation for the marriage to take place.[121] Episcopal dispensation was necessary as the pair were related in the third and fourth degree, but such kinship seems insufficient in itself to have warranted papal intervention: the likelihood is that this was sought to overrule pressure on fitzEdward to obstruct the marriage by his archbishop, Richard Talbot. Ormond's acquisition of the

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[119] *Calendar of charter rolls, 1300-26*, p. 307; *C.O.D.*, iii, no. 101, pp. 83-5. Elizabeth, aged thirty-four at her father's death, was probably born in 1397 or 1398; her mother survived the earl of Kildare by some seven years: *C.P.*, vii, p. 227.

[120] See also above, p. 93, n. 66.

[121] *Calendar of papal letters, 1427-47*, pp. 442-3. FitzEdward became bishop in 1431: *H.B.C.*, p. 357; *N.H.I.*, ix, p. 314.

bulk of the Kildare inheritance after his new father-in-law's demise, however, remains somewhat surprising. In July 1397, the earl of Kildare had in fact entailed the succession to five of his manors in County Kildare - Maynooth, Rathmore, Rathymgan, Lea and Geashill - on a sequence of six male relatives, including two of his brothers and his illegitimate son, Richard, and their male heirs.[122] However, there was no mention of these claims when these manors were listed in the excheator's inquisition into the earl of Kildare's lands in 1432 which named Elizabeth and Ormond as the nearest heirs;[123] certainly Maynooth was firmly in Ormond's possession some seventeen to eighteen years later.[124] It seems that the 1397 entail was either ingnored when the earl died or else means were found then, or previously, to set it aside. The earldom of Kildare itself may have been claimed by Earl Gerald's nephew, John Cam, but it was not until four years after Ormond's own death that a great-nephew, Thomas fitzMaurice, was actually recognised as earl in 1456.[125]

With or without advice from Westminster in the matter, the new lieutenant had agreed to license the marriage:[126] there were obvious advantages in placing responsibility for the defence of the Kildare lands in competent hands, well known and loyal to the crown. Thomas Stanley's personal sympathies, however, lay elsewhere. In the latter years of Henry V's reign the families of Stanley and Gilbert Talbot had been on

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[122] *The red book of the earls of Kildare*, ed. G. Mac Niocaill (Dublin, 1964), no. 158, pp. 146-7; see also Frame, *English lordship*, p. 24.
[123] *C.O.D.*, iii, no. 101, pp. 83-4.
[124] See below, p. 441. After the deaths of Ormond and his second countess in 1452, Maynooth reverted to the crown; after the death of Agnes Darcy, further lands had accrued to the earl including the manor of Carthyn, which the Plunkets attempted to wrest from Agnes in 1436: P.R.O., SC6/1238/17-19; *R.C.H.*, p. 260, no. 16.
[125] See *N.H.I.*, ix, p. 167; Otway-Ruthven, *Medieval Ireland*, p. 386, note 16.
[126] The appropriate letters patent were issued under the Irish seal by Stanley on 18 July 1432: *C.O.D.*, iii, no. 99, p. 82.

friendly terms in England.[127] While Stanley seems to have been rather more successful in keeping his head above political controversy in Ireland than John Grey and John Sutton had been, his lieutenancy was in many ways very favourable to the Talbot faction. Although Archbishop Talbot had been made to give way to Chace, Stanley made few new appointments of his own in Ireland.[128] The men whom the archbishop had brought into the administration between 1430 and 1431 thus remained in post. Moreover, Stanley's departure for England in the late summer or autumn of 1432 ushered in a two-year deputyship by Christopher Plunket and a veritable vendetta against all who were perceived to be opponents of the archbishop.[129] Accusations were sent to England to discredit Chace, who was eventually summoned before the English council; there was a resurgence of the old quarrel over the primacy between Richard Talbot and Archbishop Swayne which led the latter, who had apparently supported Chace, to refuse to attend a great council held in Dublin in October 1433;[130] in the same period Ormond was attacked, and some of his men killed, by a group of citizens in Dublin.[131] Precisely what provoked this incident is uncertain, but it is fairly clear that for much of the time the earl left a hostile capital to its own devices and devoted himself to his private affairs in the south. During 1434 he seems to have been based chiefly at Kilkenny.

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[127] Gilbert Talbot's widow and daughter stayed in Stanley's father's household at Lathom, Lancashire, at this time: B. Ross, 'The accounts of the Talbot household at Blackmere in the county of Shropshire, 1394-1425' (Canberra M.A. thesis, 1970), p. 136.

[128] One of the few changes which did take place was the appointment of Hugh Corringham - presumably a relation of the John Corringham who had supported John Talbot's accusations against Ormond in 1422-3 - as second remembrancer: see above, p. 163; below, Appendix I, list 7, p. 535.

[129] For the dates of the Plunket deputyship, see ibid., list 2, p. 487.

[130] *R.C.H.*, p. 256, no. 15; *Reg. Swayne*, pp. 140, 144.

[131] The exact date of this encounter is not known, but on 4 March 1434 or 1435 the mayor and citizens did public penance for this and another attack on the abbot of St Mary's, Dublin: *Chartularies of St Mary's Abbey, Dublin*, ed. J.T. Gilbert (R.S., 1884), i, p. xliv; ii, p. 292.

In January he arranged for the Augustinian priory of St John the Evangelist there to provide a chaplain to say daily masses in the castle; in May he granted land for the building of new dwellings between the inner and outer castle walls.[132] There was at least one visit to Carrick-on-Suir in the summer,[133] and he may well have travelled to the south-east on behalf of the Prior of Christ Church, Canterbury, who, perhaps on the occasion of Ormond's Christmas visit in 1430, had enlisted his help in the pursuit of unpaid dues from the abbey of Tintern between Wexford and Waterford.[134] However, there is no evidence that the earl played any role in the affairs of government either before or after Stanley's eventual return to Ireland in the autumn. During or before the winter Ormond decided to leave the lordship altogether. By February 1435 he had established his household in London and a little later in the year he may have moved to Shere.[135]

As, or soon after, Ormond arrived in England, the dowager lady Abergavenny, now in her sixtieth year, made her will. All the earl's three sons and his daughter, Elizabeth, were bequeathed goods and sums of money. When Dame Joan died in November 1435, James, the eldest grandson, whom she

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[132] *C.O.D.*, iii, no 112, p. 105; no. 115, pp. 106-7. The earl was also at Kilkenny on 1 July: ibid., no. 118, p. 107.
[133] Ibid., no. 116, p. 107.
[134] *Christ Church letters: a volume of medieval letters relating to the affairs of the priory of Christ Church, Canterbury*, ed. J.B. Sheppard (Camden Society, new series xix, 1877), nos. v, viii, ix, pp. 6-13.
[135] On 4 February, in his capacity as lord of Aylesbury, the earl signed a grant of land dated from London *in hospicio nostro* (Birmingham Reference Library, HC 494884); all the profits of Shere Vachery between Michaelmas 1434 and Michaelmas 1435 were assigned to the lord's household, but the same receivers' account, listing the profits of various other properties as well, also records the payment of money to the earl at St Thomas of Acre, London: P.R.O., SC6/1250/4.

described in the will as her son, also inherited her personal lands, which were to be held in trust for him by three of her executors - two of whom, Bartholomew Brokesby and Robert Darcy, had been amongst the feoffees of Ormond's English manors in 1430 - until he reached the age of twenty.[136] The inheritance included more than twenty manors in nine different counties,[137] and was certainly considerably more valuable than the earl's own collection of English lands. For the purposes of the 'income tax' of 1436, James Ormond was to be assessed as receiving £200 from Essex and £100 from Leicestershire alone; his father was not apparently assessed, but a surviving list of receipts for the bulk of his English properties during the year 1434-5 totalled less than £140.[138] Before she died Dame Joan probably assisted in at least the preliminary stages of the negotiation of James Ormond's marriage to Avice, daughter and heiress of Sir Richard Stafford, which took place before July 1438.[139] An English bride was scarcely an unexpected choice for an heir to the earldom of Ormond,[140] but this particular match bears the stamp of Dame Joan's influence. Richard Stafford was dead; Avice's mother, Maud Lovel, had since before 1429 been the wife of John d'Arundel, lord Maultravers. Maultravers was the grandson of the dowager lady Abergavenny's first cousin, John fitzAlan, and in 1433 was recognised as successor to the earldom of Arundel previously held by

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[136] The will was dated on 10 January 1435 and proved at Lambeth on 19 November, five days after Dame Joan's death: *The register of Henry Chichele, archbishop of Canterbury, 1414-43*, ed. E.F. Jacob, ii, pp. 534-9; *C.P.*, i, p. 26.

[137] See C.D. Ross and T.B. Pugh, 'Materials for the study of baronial incomes in fifteenth-century England', p. 189.

[138] P.R.O., SC6/1250/4; and see H.L. Gray, 'Incomes from land in England in 1436', *E.H.R.*, xlix (1934), pp. 607-39, esp. p. 634; T.B. Pugh and C.D. Ross, 'The English baronage and the income tax of 1436', *B.I.H.R.*, xxvi (1953), pp. 1-28, esp. p. 21.

[139] *C.P.*, x, p. 128.

[140] See above, pp. 110-11.

her father and brother. By 1435 the earl of Arundel was one of the leading members of the duke of Bedford's retinue in France: he was captain of Verneuil and had recently been created duke of Touraine.[141] The fourteen-year-old James Ormond had also joined Bedford's retinue by this time and the Stafford match - whether accomplished or as yet merely projected - may well have facilitated his move from the royal court to the English army in France.[142]

In view of these developments the timing of Ormond's return to England was probably governed primarily by the exigencies of family business, but the visit undoubtedly had another purpose too. While his son's further advancement may have provided some compensation for his own loss of political influence in Ireland since the late 1420s, the acquisition of the dowager lady Abergavenny's personal lands and the probably rather more modest Stafford inheritance - although a notable increase to the Butler lands in England - scarcely at this stage outweighed the importance to either generation of the earldom in Ireland; nor did the recent dominance of the Talbot faction diminish Ormond's political ambitions in the lordship. In 1435 Thomas Stanley's term of office had two further years to run: in the interim the earl was to take some pains to ensure that the next appointment to the lieutenancy was to his own, rather then Archbishop Talbot's, advantage.

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[141] *C.P.*, i, pp. 247-8, 253; Stevenson, *Letters*, ii, pt. 2, pp. 433-4.
[142] Ibid., p. 435.

CHAPTER EIGHT

THE RETURN TO POWER, 1435-42

On the wider political stage the year of the dowager lady Abergavenny's demise was a calamitous one for Lancastrian fortunes in France. In September 1435 the failure of the English negotiations to secure a truce with the French at the congress of Arras - ominously preceded by a string of French military successes and some anti-English risings in northern France - was swiftly and disastrously succeeded by the death of the duke of Bedford and the promulgation of a Franco-Burgundian treaty by which Duke Philip of Burgundy formally withdrew his former support for the provisions of Troyes and Henry VI's title to France.[1] At the time Henry himself was still not quite fourteen, but he was already beginning to show some impatience with his state of tutelage. The seriousness of the threat to his father's continental design (a matter on which the English council had no authority to compromise) and the loss of Bedford (who over the previous ten years had played a crucial role in containing the rivalry between Gloucester and Beaufort) both helped to shorten what might otherwise have been a rather longer royal minority. Two weeks after Bedford's death, Henry apparently attended his first council meeting; after a two-year initiation into the affairs of state

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[1] Whether in the long term Arras represented a significant turning-point the Hundred Years' War has been the subject of some debate: see J.G. Dickinson, *The congress of Arras, 1435* (Oxford, 1955), pp. vii-viii; R. Vaughan, *Philip the Good: the apogee of Burgundy*, p. 107; C.T. Allmand, *Lancastrian Normandy, 1415-50: the history of a medieval occupation*, pp. 39-40. However, there can be little doubt that contemporary English opinion saw the loss of Bedford and the defection of Burgundy as very serious blows in a year of sustained military reverse: see Griffiths, *Henry VI*, pp. 198-200, 443; Harriss, *Beaufort*, pp. 246-76.

during which he gradually began to exercise his personal authority, he assumed the full powers of kingship as early as November 1437, just before his sixteenth birthday.[2]

In English politics, therefore, the mid 1430s proved to be a time of change, of some uncertainty and of a new beginning. In this situation Ormond seized the opportunity not only to make a bid for reappointment to the lieutenancy, but also to press once more for the launching of a major English initiative to strengthen and extend royal authority in Ireland a decade and a half after his earlier campaign for such a move had been frustrated by the death of Henry V. The earl's efforts fell well short of persuading the young Henry VI to cross the Irish sea; he also failed, at least initially, to regain the chief governorship. However, he probably helped to influence the king's choice of Thomas Stanley's replacement. And it was as a direct result of the appointment of lord Welles to the lieutenancy in the very first months of Henry's personal rule that Ormond eventually returned to power in Dublin, first as deputy in 1441 and then, a year later, as lieutenant in his own right, notwithstanding royal misgivings about the continuing problem of the Talbot-Ormond feud.

Early in October 1435 Ormond obtained a two-year licence for absence from Ireland under the English seal. Surviving records offer little clue as to his whereabouts in the ensuing twelve months, but this period saw his purchase of a manor in Warwickshire, and it seems unlikely that he returned to Ireland.[3] It is possible that in the summer of 1436, as one

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[2] See Wolffe, *Henry VI*, pp. 65-87; Griffiths, *Henry VI*, pp. 231-6, 275-8.
[3] *C.P.R., 1429-36*, p. 490; below, Appendix IV, p. 595.

of two earls attached to the duke's personal retinue, he joined Gloucester's expedition to relieve Calais from Burgundian siege.[4] If so, there may have been a brief opportunity to renew contact with John Sutton, who was apparently among the defenders in the city who witnessed the Burgundian retreat a few days before Gloucester's arrival on 2 August.[5] But having been baulked of a battle at Calais, the duke promptly decided to lead his troops on a retributive raid into Burgundian territory in Flanders before returning home within the month. In the winter of 1436-7 and again in January 1438, Ormond seems to have been in England attending to business concerning his estates there which included - in association with John Neel, master of the hospital of St Thomas of Acre - the sale of a large amount of timber from Shere Vachery.[6] The likelihood is that the earl remained in England, probably in or near London, throughout the intervening period. At some stage during these two years, perhaps through contacts with leading merchants in the capital or possibly through connections forged on the 1436 expedition to Calais, he met the author of the well-known political pamphlet, the *Libelle of Englyshe polycye*.

The *Libelle*, a sophisticated analysis of English commercial and strategic interests set out in over a thousand lines of verse, was composed soon after the siege of Calais and subsequently rewritten with minor alterations some two to five years later. It was addressed to leading members of the English council, but was obviously intended to arouse more general interest too. Despite much investigation, the identity

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[4] See Griffiths, *Henry VI*, pp. 204-5; however, the evidence for the identification of Ormond as one of the two earls numbered amongst the duke's retinue (see Stevenson, *Letters*, ii, part 1, p. xlix) is not clear.
[5] *Brut*, pp. 504-5; *Historical poems of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries*, ed. R.H. Robbins (New York, 1959), p. 80.
[6] *A. deeds*, i, p. 409; vi, pp. 358, 362; *C.C.R., 1435-41*, pp. 101-2.

of the author remains unknown, but his exhortation to protect and promote English trade, based on the firm conviction that healthy commerce was an essential prerequisite for power and prosperity, voiced the mercantile interests, which, as a result of the disintegration of the Anglo-Burgundian alliance, were then suffering from the effects of a ban on English merchants and merchandise in the Low Countries.[7] Gloucester's expedition to relieve Calais, home of the English wool staple since the latter years of Edward III's reign, had only been organized after arrangements had already been made earlier in the year to dispatch two separate armies to the defence of Paris and Normandy - one under Sir Thomas Beaumont, another under the now adult Richard, duke of York - and to send a further force under Cardinal Beaufort's nephew, Edmund, count of Mortain, to fight in Maine and Anjou. The Mortain expedition had in fact been diverted to Calais,[8] but the *Libelle* pressed for a readjustment of English strategic priorities to permit a greater concentration of resources on the defence of Calais and on the building up of effective naval control along the English coast and in particular in the Dover-Calais straits. Commerce in the Low Countries was suffering as much as in England from the effects of the Burgundian ban; much of Europe depended on English wool and tin and on the use of the Channel as a trading route; if England developed sufficient naval power to block the Dover-Calais straits at will, the king's enemies would be forced to sue for peace.[9]

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[7] See Warner, *Libelle*, pp. x, xxxviii-xlvi; F. Taylor, 'Some manuscripts of the "Libelle of English polycye"', *E.J.R.L.*, xxiv (1940), pp. 376-418; G.A. Holmes, 'The "Libel of English policy"', *E.H.R.*, lxxvi (1961), pp. 193-216.

[8] See Griffiths, *Henry VI*, pp. 201-2; Harriss, *Beaufort*, pp. 256-62.

[9] Warner, *Libelle*, esp. pp. 5-7, 14-27, 42-4, 54-5.

Most of the *Libelle's* twelve chapters were devoted to examining the products and commercial strengths and weaknesses of the various foreign territories from Spain to Iceland whose merchants traded with England and along the Channel route to Flanders. The ninth chapter, however, immediately preceding the concluding chapters on the defence of Calais and the keeping of the sea, dwelt chiefly on 'the commoditees of Irelonde and policye and kepyng thereof and conquerynge of wylde Irish'. A short subsection dealt much more briefly with the defence of Wales.[10] This ninth chapter presented a considerably more attractive picture of Ireland than was ever revealed in the numerous letters, reports and petitions sent from the lordship to Westminster. Although, like so many of these, the chapter asserted that the land obedient to the crown was shrinking in the face of native Irish incursion,

> ... oure grounde there is a lytell cornere
> To all Yrelonde in treue comparisone ...,[11]

it also drew attention to the abundant variety of the island's merchandise and to its natural wealth:

> ... So large, so gode and so comodyouse
> That to declare is straunge and merveylouse ...[12].

The author sang the praises of Ireland's harbours, of the fertility of the land, of her high-quality gold and silver, of her fish - salmon, hake and herring - of her linen and woollen cloth, of her hides and pelts - deer, marten, otter, squirrel, hare, sheep, lamb, fox, kid and coney. There is no reason to suppose that this was misleading. Although quantitative evidence for fifteenth-century Irish trade is scarce, Irish goods were exported not only to England, but to Flanders, France, Spain and Portugal;

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[10] Warner, *Libelle*, pp. 34-41.
[11] Ibid., p. 37, ll. 727-8.
[12] Ibid., p. 35, ll. 684-5.

many indications have survived of a significant revival in this period of Irish architectural activity, which, notwithstanding the problems caused by endemic local warfare in so many areas, almost certainly stemmed from a new degree of economic confidence.[13] What official communications were unlikely to stress for fear of lessening the force of their pleas for English support, was of crucial importance in the context of the commercial preoccupations of the *Libelle*. Its author argued that Ireland's economic advantages and potential provided all the more compelling incentive for royal lordship there to be zealously defended and extended, and it was in this context that he alluded to an encounter with Ormond:

> I herde a man speke unto me full late,
> Whyche was a lorde and of ful grete astate,
> That expenses of one yere don in Fraunce,
> Werred on men well wylled of puissance
> Thys seyde grounde of Yrelonde to conquere,
> (And yit because Englonde myght not forbere
> These seyde expenses gedred in one yere,
> But in iij. yere or iiij. gadred up here)
> Myght wynne Yrelonde to a fynall conquest
> In one soole yere, to sett us all in reste.

Beside these lines appeared the following explanatory note: 'This lorde was the Erle of Ormond, that tolde to me this matter, that he wolde undretake it in peyne of losse of all his lyveloode, etc., but this profer [wolde] not by admitted; *ergo male*'.[14]

This note seems to be the only surviving evidence that Ormond made some kind of proffer for a lieutenancy in Ireland in the mid 1430s, but the timing is so plausible there is no good reason to doubt that this was indeed the case. The composition of the *Libelle* coincided with the final

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[13] See Lydon, *Lordship of Ireland*, p. 242; R. Stalley, 'Irish Gothic and English fashion', *The English in medieval Ireland*, ed. J. Lydon, pp. 65-86, esp. pp. 79-80; W. Childs and T. O'Neill, 'Overseas trade', *N.H.I.* ii, pp. 492-524.

[14] In one manuscript Ormond's name was inserted into the main text: see Warner, *Libelle*, p. 39 (quotation ll. 762-71).

months of Thomas Stanley's six-year lieutenancy. This concluded with a lengthy deputyship by Richard Talbot from November 1435 to April 1437 which the archbishop - as a result of a discrepancy between the dates for Stanley's term of office agreed in his letters patent and those set out in the final version of his indentures - converted into an elected justiciarship well before the lieutenancy was expected to expire at Westminster.[15] Appointment as Stanley's successor would not only have regained Ormond the influence which he had lost in Dublin since John Sutton's departure in 1429, but would also have been in itself the means of ejecting the earl's main opponent from power.

It has been suggested that Ormond's reported proposal to the *Libelle*'s author that the expenses of a year's war in France would be enough to secure a final conquest of Ireland - modified as it was by the practical point that the English exchequer might find it easier to spread the cost over three or four years - was perhaps just made 'in exasperation ... and with excusable exaggeration'.[16] But it was almost certainly rather more than an off-the-cuff remark made in the heat of the moment when his proffer was rebuffed. The moment for such a proposal may have seemed particularly propitious to the earl for more than personal political considerations. Great expectations were being invested in the young king at this point. York's indentures as lieutenant in France had been drawn up on the explicit understanding that Henry was likely to go to France in person in the near future; at much the same time came a request from Ireland for a royal visit there too.[17] There was as yet no reason to suppose that Henry V's son would not be capable of showing both interest

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[15] See below, Appendix I, list 1, p. 479; list 2, pp. 487-8.
[16] See Lydon, *Ire. in later middle ages*, p. 142.
[17] See Johnson, *Duke Richard*, p. 28; Betham, *Early parliaments*, p. 364; Otway-Ruthven, *Medieval Ireland*, pp. 368-9.

in a new initiative in Ireland and readiness to take part in it. Furthermore various points in the *Libelle*'s ninth chapter suggest that Ormond probably played a much more significant role in forming the author's views than the one explicit reference to him indicates.

The emphasis on Ireland's commercial strengths was new, but other arguments put forward in justification of the call for a major military initiative to gain firm control of the entire island revived a theme in which Ormond had shown considerable interest in the early 1420s:

> ... Because the kynge clepid is *rex Anglie*
> And is *dominus* also *Hibernie*,
> Of old possessyd by progenitours,
> The Yrichemen have cause lyke to oures
> Oure londe and herres togedre to defende ...
>
> There ys no grounde ne land to Yreland lyche,
> So large, so gode, so plenteouse, so riche,
> That to this worde *Dominus* dothe longe.
> Than me semyth that ryght were and not wronge
> To gete that lond, and it were piteouse
> To us to lese thys hygh name *Dominus*:
> And all this worde *Dominus* of name
> Shulde have the grounde obeisaunte, wylde and tame,
> That name and peple togedere myght accorde,
> And all the grounde be subjecte to the lorde.[18]

Thus, according to the *Libelle*, Ireland's long-established status as a royal lordship meant that all its inhabitants, Gaelic and non-Gaelic, should be, and, if not, should be made to be, obedient to the crown. The emphasis in the text on the king's title to Ireland was extraordinarily insistent. While the pamphlet put forward none of the historical detail which had been gathered under Ormond's aegis some fifteen years earlier to explain how Henry V's right to lordship over Ireland had originated, its persuasive technique seems too strongly reminiscent of the means by which the earl

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[18] Warner, *Libelle*, pp. 34-5, ll. 666-70, p. 38, ll. 742-51.

had hoped to persuade Henry V to lead a crusading army to Ireland in 1421 to be mere coincidence.[19]

Although the Irish chapter of the *Libelle* was not just an anomalous digression, but carefully linked to the main theme of the pamphlet - for instance, it was pointed out that Ireland's inhabitants could provide the English with useful assistance in the keeping of the sea, and that the loss of Ireland would gravely weaken English defences -[20] at least one historian of the crisis provoked by Arras found it somewhat incongruous that a work primarily concerned to secure more resources for the defence of Calais and the sea should include such a strong plea for the additional expense of strengthening English control over Ireland.[21] Nevertheless the *Libelle*'s author was so enthused, not only with Ireland's merchandise, but also with the possibility of the island's 'fynall conquest', that he proposed to write a second pamphlet explaining in detail how this could be achieved:

> For myche thynge in my haste is ihyde,
> Whyche in another tretyse I caste to wrytte
> Made all onelye for that soyl and site
> Of fertile Yrelonde, whiche myghte not be forborne
> But if England wer nyghe as gode as lorne ...
>
> And that it is possible [for Ireland] to be subjecte
> Unto the kynge well shall it be detecte
> In the lytell boke that I of spake.[22]

From qualifying phrases such as 'as men seyn', 'muche as I can understonde', 'wyse men seyne' inserted at various points in the ninth chapter, it would seem that a good deal of the author's information about

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[19] For the petition from the Irish parliament during Ormond's first lieutenancy asking Henry V to launch a royal expedition to Ireland and the supporting instructions prepared for the messengers explaining the king's right to lordship there, see above, pp. 147-52.
[20] Warner, *Libelle*, pp. 34-5, esp. ll. 672-3, p. 37, ll. 730-4.
[21] See G.A. Holmes, 'The "Libel of English policy"', pp. 211-12, note 3.
[22] Warner, *Libelle*, p. 36, ll. 711-15, p. 38, ll. 752-4.

Ireland was second-hand,[23] and it would be rash to assume that Ormond was his only source. The information about the excellence of Ireland's gold and silver was, for instance, attributed to a London jeweller.[24] Sir George Warner pointed out that the *Libelle*'s oft-quoted explanation that the proportion of land obedient to the crown might be compared to just two or three shires in the whole of England was very similar to a passage in one of the two anonymous reports on the state of Ireland in 1427-8 in the Swayne register; also that the author's hints of the possibility of a hostile Scots-Breton-Spanish alliance with the native Irish may have owed something to a warning about attacks by Scots, Breton and Spanish ships along the Irish coast which had been included in the much more recent petition from Ireland requesting a royal visit.[25] While Ormond could no doubt have given advice on these matters, the author's source here may well have been some contact at Westminster - possibly a royal clerk, or even the councillor and former treasurer of England, lord Hungerford, who, according to the first edition of the *Libelle*, read and approved the entire work.[26] However, it seems most unlikely that anyone in England at this time would have been better able, or more willing, to expound confidently on the strategy and practicality of 'fynall conquest' than Ormond himself. In view of the author's explicit acknowledgement of contact with him, it seems a reasonable assumption that a good proportion of the material for this part of the projected second treatise, and the apparent eagerness to compose it, probably derived from their discussions.

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[23] Warner *Libelle*, p. 35, ll. 677, 681, p. 37, l. 720.
[24] Ibid., pp. 35-6, ll. 691-5.
[25] See ibid., pp. 37, 89. For the report, see *Reg. Swayne*, pp. 107-8 and above, pp. 221-4; for the mid-1430s petition from Ireland, see Betham, *Early parliaments*, pp. 359-65, esp. pp. 363-4; also above, p. 267.
[26] Warner, *Libelle*, pp. 57-8. For Hungerford, see also above, p. 199.

Unfortunately no trace of this further pamphlet has come to light. The details of the promised blue-print for 'fynall conquest' remain obscure. From the character of the earl's previous dealings with native chiefs and from the *Libelle*'s assertion that all Ireland, 'wylde and tame', should be obedient to the crown, the likelihood is that, as in 1421, the plans proposed for a strengthened and extended royal lordship in Ireland would, like Richard II's,[27] have sought to incorporate, not to exclude or simply to contain, many of the Gaelic Irish. Within parts of the Butler territories this had already to some extent been achieved in the fourteenth century.[28] Presumably, however, some new settlement from England would also have been evisaged. Whether in this context there might have been any attempt to adapt lessons learned in the consolidation of the Lancastrian conquest of Normandy - for instance with regard to the care there taken to ensure that the recipients of new grants of land and overlordship and their heirs were closely and permanently committed to the work of defence -[29] one can only speculate. But even if the second treatise was never completed or widely circulated, the *Libelle* itself had at least provided the means of achieving a preliminary and public re-airing of ambitions for the lordship which had lain dormant for nearly fifteen years.

The *Libelle*'s pleas for the protection of Calais and even for the development of naval defence had some influence,[30] but the hopes that a

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[27] See D. Johnson, 'Richard II and the submissions of Gaelic Ireland', pp. 4-19; above, pp. 147-8.
[28] See C.A. Empey, 'The Anglo-Norman community in Tipperary and Kilkenny', esp. pp. 454-7.
[29] See above, pp. 86-7.
[30] See G.A. Holmes, 'The "Libel of English policy"', pp. 203-6, 209-10; Griffiths, *Henry VI*, p. 208.

Lancastrian conquest of Ireland might be launched at the cost of any significant proportion of the English resources that were expended on the defence of Lancastrian France in the 1430s remained, of course, unfulfilled. Henry VI was to display none of his father's inclination for military leadership and none of the interest and expertise in financial management which had helped Henry V to realise his ambitions abroad. Neither of the young king's two leading councillors, who at this point were competing to secure the dominant influence over him as he began to take up the reins of government, had any particular incentive to support the *Libelle*'s proposals for Ireland. It now appears that the duke of Gloucester, although captain of Calais and most anxious to secure adequate funds for its defence, was probably not as closely associated with the *Libelle* as was previously supposed and would by no means have welcomed any slackening of the efforts to defend Normandy. Cardinal Beaufort's long-standing personal commitment to Lancastrian interests in France was far too great for him to have shown any enthusiasm for a temporary diversion of resources to Ireland; in the late 1430s he was also keen for royal service in France to bring his nephews lands and advancement.[31] Although lord Hungerford had initially endorsed the *Libelle* in its entirety, his name was omitted from later editions:[32] it may well be that he

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[31] See Griffiths, *Henry VI*, pp. 231-7; Harriss, *Beaufort*, pp. 253-66. G.A. Holmes in "The "Libel of English policy"', pp. 211-12, note 3, suggested that Ormond's involvement in the *Libelle* might have been partly due to a link with the duke of Gloucester's circle as a contributor to the life of Henry V written by Titus Livius Frulovisi in the 1430s under the duke's patronage. However, the Ormond reminiscences about Henry V were contributed not to the original work by Frulovisi, but to the later, English, version for which the Frulovisi text was an important source: see *The first English life of King Henry V*, ed. C.L. Kingsford, pp. xvi-xviii; C.L. Kingsford, *English historical literature in the fifteenth century* (Oxford, 1913), pp. 64-7; above, pp. 113-14.

[32] Warner, *Libelle*, p. 58.

subsequently found it rather more politic to distance himself a little from it.

But although king and council proved unreceptive to the *Libelle*'s proposals for Ireland's 'fynall conquest', the year 1437-8 saw signs of a new degree of interest in the affairs of the lordship for which the views expressed in the pamphlet's ninth chapter may perhaps have been partly responsible. In March 1437 a six-month safe-conduct was issued under the English seal to the earl of Desmond, at his request, for him to visit the king with an attendant company of twenty-four from Ireland.[33] It is not clear what prompted Desmond's request, or whether the safe-conduct was actually used, but it indicates that some direct contact had been made between the crown and the least accessible of the Irish earldoms for what was apparently the first time since Earl James fitzGerald's nephew and predecessor had died in royal service in France in 1420.[34] Over the ensuing twelve months there were several English-seal confirmations of existing English and Irish-seal appointments to the Dublin administration, culminating in February 1438 in the English council's only recorded attempt between 1413 and 1461 to review the membership of its counterpart in Ireland,[35] and also no less than nine new appointments. Six of these provided the first intimation of that sustained characteristic of the early years of Henry VI's personal rule, namely the use of Irish offices - many of them at a subordinate level which had previously attracted little or no interest in England - to swell the resources available for the king's

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[33] *C.P.R., 1436-41*, p. 17.
[34] See above, pp. 107-8.
[35] *C.P.R., 1436-41*, pp. 50, 70, 93, 132, 151, 184; *P.P.C.*, v, pp. 90-3; see also above, pp. 64-5.

energetic dispensation of patronage to members of the royal household.[36] If, as seems possible, this development owed something to the *Libelle*'s insistence on the importance of the king's Irish title and to its author's glowing account of Ireland's actual and potential commercial assets, it was a poor substitute for the outcome intended and one which caused some problems in the lordship, both before and after Ormond eventually returned to Dublin as chief governor in 1441.[37] But in the first instance, the new interest in Ireland within the royal household appeared to offer the earl an opportunity to secure some partial compensation for the rejection of his proffer for the lieutenancy.

The man who was appointed at this time to replace Thomas Stanley as lieutenant, Lionel, lord Welles, then in his early thirties, was not only a member of the royal household, but also Ormond's cousin, grandson of the earl's maternal uncle, John, lord Welles.[38] Hitherto, links with his mother's family in England may well have been of considerably less importance to Ormond than the Abergavenny connection forged by his own first marriage. However, the coronation expedition of 1430, in which lord Welles, like the earl and James Ormond, had been included, had probably provided at least one opportunity for contact.[39] The subsequent appointment of Lionel's younger brother, William, as seneschal of the duke of York's liberty of Meath in 1432 or 1433, followed by the grant to him in 1435 of all York's lands in Kilkenny and Tipperary for life, could well

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[36] *C.P.R., 1436-41*, pp. 57, 63-4, 92, 99, 140-3; see also above, pp. 67-9. For the possibility that the *Libelle* also had some influence on the drafting of the lieutenant's letters patent in 1438, see above, p. 35.
[37] See above, pp. 71-2.
[38] *C.P.*, x, pp. 122-3; xii, part 2, pp. 441-4.
[39] Ibid., xii, part 2, p. 443; for the Butlers' involvement, see above, pp. 248-9.

have been the result, direct or indirect, of Butler influence.[40] Thereafter Butler-Welles kinship ripened into a political alliance which was strengthened either as a result of the Calais expedition of 1436 - Lionel Welles crossed the Channel with an advance force a few days ahead of the main contingent under Gloucester -[41] or by further encounters in England. By the spring of 1438, a few weeks after Welles' indentures and letters patent as lieutenant of Ireland had been finalized, in mid February,[42] after some months of negotiation, he and Ormond were in close association. The likelihood is that Ormond had actively encouraged Welles' candidature in the expectation that where he himself had failed to secure appointment, a member of the royal household was, at this particular time, very much more likely to succeed. From the earl's point of view, the appointment to the lieutenancy of a younger cousin from England who had little or no personal experience of Ireland had obvious advantages. The Talbot justiciarship would be replaced with a régime that was likely, at the very least, to restore to Ormond some of the influence he had enjoyed during John Sutton's term of office, and, at best, to offer him a period of full control as deputy lieutenant.

By the beginning of April 1438, Ormond had persuaded Welles - who appears to have had some qualms that absence in Ireland might compromise his position at court -[43] to authorize precisely this. The prospect of the

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[40] *R.C.H.*, p. 257, no. 38; V. Gorman, 'Richard, duke of York, and the development of an Irish faction', *P.R.I.A.*, lxxxv (1985) C, pp. 169-79, esp. p. 172; above, p. 53.

[41] Stevenson, *Letters*, ii, part 1, p. 1; Griffiths, *Henry VI*, p. 204; Harriss, *Beaufort*, p. 263.

[42] See below, Appendix I, list 1, p. 480.

[43] When Welles' letters patent and indentures were finalized, an additional grant, which described him as having been persuaded by the king to undertake the lieutenancy, gave him an explicit assurance that the appointment would not affect his membership of the household: *C.P.R., 1436-41*, p. 140; Otway-Ruthven, *Medieval Ireland*, p. 369.

Talbot justiciarship being replaced by an Ormond deputyship caused alarm at Westminster. On 3 April Henry, in consultation with the English council, dispatched a remonstrative privy-seal letter to Welles.[44] According to the text, Welles, who had initially given the king and council some impression of eagerness for his seven-year appointment to Ireland - the king reminded him that 'it was your own desir and request for to goo thider' - had already twice postponed the date of his departure, firstly from Michaelmas to Christmas 1437, secondly to Easter 1438, and was now attempting to delay sailing yet again, while making arrangements to send Ormond ahead to cover for his continuing absence. 'And now we be enfourmed that ye wol sende afore as youre depute oure Cousin of Ormond ... and ye to come ... at midsomer next expressely a yein your said promise.' In consideration of 'the jurparde and peril' in which the lordship stood,[46] Welles, 'with oute any excusacion makynge', was ordered to proceed there in person forthwith.

The interest of this letter lies not only in its revelation of the sequence of events following the first negotiation of Welles' appointment and of the role which Welles had hoped to assign to Ormond, but also in the reasons given for the royal prohibition of the latter's contemplated deputyship. The initial objection cited was that Welles' arrangements for appointing a deputy in advance of his own departure, which in fact

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[44] P.R.O., E28/59/59; for a full transcript and a note on the dating of this document, see below, Appendix III, iii, pp. 578-84.
[45] See above, pp. 22-3.
[46] This may have been a reference to a recent report from the Irish chancellor, Thomas Chace, who was in England at this time (*C.P.R., 1436-41*, p. 155; *P.P.C.*, v, pp. 90-3) or perhaps simply an indication of royal displeasure at the prolonging of Archbishop Talbot's justiciarship by Welles' delays. In February the English council had sent a message to Talbot requiring him 'to confourme to all that [might] be to the reste and pees of Irland': ibid., p. 89.

infringed the terms of his appointment,[47] were contrary to his recent promise to the English council to leave for Ireland by Easter. However, there were further objections on political grounds too:

> ... We know wel that oure said cousin of Ormond shulde doo us there right gode and notable service, yit consideringe the division and striffe whiche hangeth betwix him and our cousin Talbot, and also that eche of hem hath land and grete frendshippes within oure saide land, unto the tyme suche materes the whiche might rather cause there trouble and hindrance thanne the pees were finished, hit semeth us and oure counseil oure said cousins abidinge of Ormond necessary til the saide maters be at a ful ende ...

There can be little doubt that here lay the chief explanation for the earl's long absence from office. Ten years after the duke of Gloucester had been warned, just after Ormond's second lieutenancy and subsequent justiciarship, of the seriousness of the problems which had been created by Talbot-Ormond rivalry in Ireland,[48] the English council clearly remained convinced, and had impressed upon the king, that the feud constituted an insuperable obstacle to Ormond's being again entrusted with the chief governorship, notwithstanding his obvious, and acknowledged, readiness and ability.

From the allusion in this part of the letter to the possibility of some final conclusion to the feud in the not-too-distant future, it seems likely that the young Henry was now being urged by his council to take action to remedy its own failure to settle the problem over the previous decade. But, if so, the matter was to be, at least temporarily, shelved. Although the deputyship itself was forbidden, Welles was told that arrangements were to be made for Ormond 'to come unto you and in your felowshipp to doo us the service that he can'. Either as a result of

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[47] See above, pp. 34-5, 42

[48] *Reg. Swayne*, pp. 109-11; see also above, pp. 224-5.

Welles own immediate insistence, or because it was thought that only the earl's support would now carry the reluctant Welles through, letters patent commissioning two ships to transport both men and their retinues to Ireland together were authorized without further delay.[49]

Welles required no further bidding. He was sworn into office in Ireland on, or shortly after, 29 May, within two months of the date of the king's letter.[50] Nevertheless, his closer acquaintance with the lordship proved discouraging. Although all the money due to him from the English exchequer for his first half year from the date of his letters of appointment - 2,000 marks - had been paid on time and in cash, he failed to extract any of the £1,000 due from the Irish exchequer for the following six months to mid February 1439.[51] Before his fourth quarter elapsed, possibly before it even began, he returned home to plead for additional English funds. On 21 February he received the first of a string of supplementary issues from the English exchequer,[52] and some ten days later his evidently pessimistic report on the state of the lordship produced one of the periodic orders for all lieges of Ireland to return there by Whitsuntide to assist with defence.[53]

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[49] *C.C.R., 1436-41*, p. 177. This order bore the same date as the privy seal letter to Welles.

[50] See below, Appendix I, list 2, p. 488.

[51] Ibid., Appendix II, Table A, p. 560; Table C, p. 568; Table D, p. 573.

[52] P.R.O., E403/733, m. 10. Most of the payments were made to Welles' agent, William de la Warderobe (E403/734, mm. 10-14; /736, mm. 1, 3-5, 6, 10; /739, mm. 6, 10; /744, mm. 3, 10, 14) but the first issue on 21 February was made to the lieutenant in person.

[53] *C.C.R., 1435-41*, p. 255. The order was apparently enforced, for the English patent roll recorded a number of applications for exemption and the sheriff of Berkshire collected some £10 from men unwilling to depart: P.R.O., E364/73, m. 7; *C.P.R., 1436-41*, pp. 281-2.

Whether Ormond had indeed accompanied Welles to Ireland in the spring of 1438 is by no means clear. If he did, his stay there may have been even briefer than Welles', for it is possible that he visited England again in the winter of 1438-9.[54] What evidence there is of Welles' first period in office does not suggest that the earl's influence was particularly strong. Although Archbishop Talbot and a handful of his supporters were removed from office,[55] most of the new appointments made by Welles were apparently of his own choosing. There was no wholesale reinstatement of men who had previously served under Ormond - as there had been on Sutton's arrival in Ireland in 1428 - and when Welles returned to England it was his brother, William, who was left as deputy.[56] In the wake of the rejection of his proffer for the lieutenancy and the no doubt

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[54] An indenture dated 5 December 1438 recorded the delivery by the earl - whether in person or by proxy is not clear - of various jewels to John Neel, master of the hospital of St Thomas of Acre, London, apparently as temporary security for a loan: *A. deeds*, vi, p. 73.

[55] Those who lost office in the months immediately succeeding Welles' arrival included Thomas Shortall (appointed second baron of the exchequer by Richard Talbot in 1436), William Sutton (who had acquired the clerkship of the common pleas from Talbot in 1437), John Streynsham and John Venour (appointed respectively by Talbot as usher of the exchequer in 1437 and chancellor of the green wax in April 1438) and probably John Blakeney, the chief justice of the common bench, who had apparently been involved in the abduction of John Ormond in 1429, but had been subsequently reinstated in office by the archbishop in 1430: see below, Appendix I, list 6, p. 514; list 7, pp. 522, 526, 539; list 8, p. 545; for Blakeney and Shortall, see also above, pp. 242, 247, 253, note 110.

[56] For William Welles' deputyship, see below, Appendix I, list 2, p. 488. Blakeney's replacement, Robert Dowdall, a former attorney in Ireland of Hugh Bavent and the then attorney for Richard of York (P.R.O., SC1/44/45; *C.P.R., 1429-36*, p. 455; *R.C.H.*, p. 227, no. 26), would no doubt have been more acceptable to Ormond than his predecessor, and a new keeper of the hanaper, Adam Veldon (see below, Appendix I, list 4, p. 501), was a long-serving chancery clerk who had been ransomed after capture by the O'Connors during the earl's justiciarship (P.R.O., E101/247/20, no. 21; /248/2, m. 3; *R.C.H.*, p. 244, no. 45). However, three of lord Welles' appointees - Thomas Derby, Richard de Waterton and William de la Warderobe (who subsequently served as the lieutenant's agent at the English exchequer) - had probably arrived in Ireland with him: see above, note 52, and below, Appendix I, list 6, p. 514; list 7, pp. 522, 526, 539.

evident lack of enthusiasm at Westminster for the *Libelle*'s ambitious proposals for Ireland's 'fynall conquest', the collapse of his own projected deputyship for Welles may initially have seemed a bitter, even humiliating, blow to the earl. However, he had other preoccupations at this time. April 1438 brought an event of much more serious, long-term consequence for Butler interests than the royal prohibition of the scheme to send him back to Ireland as Welles' forerunner, which was in fact to prove no more than a temporary postponement of his return to office.

On 24 April Humphrey, the only child of John, earl of Arundel and duke of Touraine, and Maud Lovel, died at the age of nine. Both his parents had predeceased him. His father had died in June 1435 of wounds sustained at the siege of Gerberoy which necessitated the no doubt grisly amputation of a shattered leg after he was thence taken prisoner by the French to Beauvais. Maud had died the following year in May 1436.[57] The boy's very considerable maternal inheritance, the property of Maud's mother's grandfather, Guy, lord Bryan (*c.* 1319-90), thus passed to his elder half-sister, Avice Stafford, whose marriage to Ormond's heir, James, had by this time taken place.[58] With Humphrey's death, the anglicisation of James Ormond's interests, which the earl himself may previously have envisaged as being merely temporary, for the term of his own life only, began all at once to pass the point of no return. Combined with the Abergavenny and Stafford lands, the acquisition of the Bryan inheritance - which, in view of Maud's second marriage, was unlikely to have been anticipated when the Butler-Stafford match was first negotiated -[59] gave the eighteen-year-old James the substance to support the English peerage

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[57] *C.P.*, i, p. 248.
[58] Ibid., ii, pp. 361-2.
[59] See above, pp. 259-60.

that was to be bestowed on him in 1449 and to which the Irish earldom he eventually inherited in 1452 took second place. Amongst the properties he gained through Avice were twelve manors in Dorset, seven in Somerset, Lundy Isle, four manors in Devon and further lands in Kent, Essex, Suffolk and Gloucester.[60] She also brought him property in London, Herefordshire and the Welsh marches, and during 1439 his receiver collected over £460 from twenty-two manors in Dorset, Devon, Somerset, Gloucester and Kent, a group which probably comprised less than half his total estate.[61] Towards the end of the same year James was already flexing his muscles in local politics in East Anglia, successfully challenging lord Tiptoft's influence over the Cambridgeshire election to the English parliament.[62]

From the earl of Ormond's point of view, the immediate advantages in financial and political terms of the extraordinary success of his son's English career were no doubt obvious and welcome after his own recent rebuffs at Westminster. There were also practical benefits to be derived: it may well be that at this stage he took steps to devolve some of the administration of his own, relatively few, estates in England upon his heir.[63] But by the end of the 1430s he may also have begun for the first time to face the somewhat disconcerting possibility that after his own death, James' accumulation of wealth and power in England might ultimately weaken, rather than strengthen, Butler interests in Ireland. Appropriately

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[60] M.A. Hicks, 'The career of George Plantagenet, duke of Clarence, 1449-78' (Oxford D. Phil. thesis, 1974), p. 259. The lands were acquired by Clarence after James' death and forfeiture in 1461.

[61] B.L., Egerton Roll 8793; *C.C.R., 1435-41*, pp. 154-5.

[62] See R. Virgoe, 'The Cambridgeshire election of 1439', *B.I.H.R.*, xlvi (1973), pp. 95-101.

[63] On 31 January 1439 the grant of a toft in Aylesbury to one Richard Davy was made jointly in the names of both Ormond and his heir (Birmingham Reference Library, HC 494894); previous surviving grants of land in Aylesbury in the 1430s had been made in the earl's name only: cf. HC 494884, 494985.

enough, the next decade of James Ormond's career was to see his attachment - in company with many others who had previously served under Bedford in France - to the service of the greatest of the absentee lords of Ireland, Richard, duke of York.[64] The first step towards this was his participation in the expedition led by York to France in 1441.[65] But by the winter of 1440-1, when James Ormond was recruiting the retinue of some forty men at arms and a hundred and fifty archers which he contributed to the main force, there may well have been some belated effort by his father to interest him in his future responsibilities on the other side of the Irish sea. A proportion of the men he recruited - as many as half of those for whom individual indentures of service have survived - came from Ireland.[66] Meanwhile, the earl of Ormond's second son, John, who had also begun to acquire land in England,[67] had apparently been making his own way in the royal household as a king's esquire. Interestingly, his attention too was directed westwards at this time: just as his elder brother and York were preparing to leave for France, John Ormond received an English-seal grant of a £20 annuity from the fee farm of the Hospitallers' manor of Leixlip in Kildare.[68] And by this date, the earl himself, having finally obtained

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[64] See V. Gorman, 'Richard, duke of York, and the development of an Irish faction', pp. 170-1; T.B. Pugh, 'Richard Plantagenet (1411-60), duke of York, as the king's lieutenant in France and Ireland', *Aspects of late medieval government and society: essays presented to J.R. Lander*, ed J.G. Rowe (Toronto, 1986), pp. 107-41, esp. p. 116.

[65] 'Calendar of French rolls', *D.K.R.*, xlviii (1887), p. 247; *Chronicles of London*, ed. C.L. Kingsford, pp. 147-8; for the expedition, see Johnson, *Duke Richard*, pp. 35-8, although here James Ormond has been confused with his father.

[66] P.R.O., C47/10/26, no. 8; E101/53/33. Bonds made by the men who indented for service suggest that the retinue was recruited in England (*A. deeds*, i, pp. 499, 504; vi, pp. 124, 303), but one of the indentures has nevertheless survived amongst the Ormond deeds in Ireland: *C.O.D.*, iii, no. 40, pp. 126-8.

[67] By April 1439, John Ormond was lord of the manor of Fulborne, Cambridgeshire: *A. deeds*, ii, p. 383.

[68] *C.P.R., 1436-41*, p. 533.

the deputyship which had been denied him in 1438, was not only back in Ireland, but, after his long period of political exile, back in power in Dublin as chief governor.

Although initially Ormond had not been as closely linked with his cousin's administration as the two men had originally intended, the Welles lieutenancy had been by no means well received by Archbishop Talbot and his supporters. Welles' kinship with Ormond was no doubt sufficient in itself to render him odious to the archbishop. At some stage since his first appointment as serjeant at law by Ormond in 1420, Christopher Bernevale, who in 1435 had risen to the post of chief justice of the king's bench, had apparently transferred his loyalties to the Talbot faction. It seems likely that this change of allegiance dated from about 1429: the year which had opened with Bernevale's abortive deputyship for the apparently pro-Talbot treasurer, Nicholas Plunket, also saw his subsequent dismissal from the serjeancy shortly before John Sutton finally left Ireland in the autumn.[69] In the mid 1440s Ormond was to accuse Bernevale of having secretly counselled Archbishop Talbot - 'byhynde the hye auter' of St Patrick's, Dublin - to oppose Welles' taking office as lieutenant when the latter arrived in Ireland in the spring of 1438.[70] There is no means of knowing how far the accusation was justified, but it seems unlikely that the earl would have attempted to make it if the discontent of Talbot and his adherents at this time had not been evident enough to give the charge some degree of plausibility. For all Welles' apparent care to make non-partisan appointments to the Dublin administration, the opposition of

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[69] See below, Appendix I, list 8, p. 542; list 11, p. 556. For the circumstances of Bernevale's deputyship for Plunket, see above, pp. 234-9.
[70] See M.C. Griffith, 'The Talbot-Ormond struggle for control of the Anglo-Irish government', p. 396; also below, p. 369.

the Talbot faction had come to an ugly head during his first absence from Ireland. At some stage during his deputyship, William Welles was ambushed near Kilcock in Kildare and for a time held prisoner by two brothers of Prior Thomas fitzGerald of Kilmainham accompanied by a substantial force, which was later disdainfully described at a meeting of lord Welles' council as a mixture of Irish enemies, English rebels and the prior's own followers.[71] Prior fitzGerald himself was to prove one of Ormond's most determined opponents in the 1440s.[72] After Lionel Welles' return, which was succeeded in June 1440 by a retributive resumption of the lands of the priory of Kilmainham, there were apparently further incidents. A parliament held by the lieutenant at Drogheda the following November convicted a certain James fitzWilliam fitzThomas of treason; according to yet another later accusation by Ormond, the man then received shelter from Archbishop Talbot.[73]

After the trouble at Kilcock, it is scarcely surprising that Welles should have sought to avoid reappointing his brother as deputy when financial difficulties once again prompted him to leave Ireland in the spring of 1441. Putting other considerations aside, Ormond's personal power in Ireland and experience of government there made him, as in 1438, a much more obvious choice; even more obviously, given the political situation, his appointment carried an even greater risk of provoking unrest. Welles' decision, however, was not simply a piece of foolishness

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[71] *R.C.H.*, p. 262, no. 11.
[72] See below, pp. 346-7, 356-7, 373-8, 400-2. Whether fitzGerald had directly succeeded Ormond's former ally, William fitzThomas, as prior is by no means clear: see C.L. Falkiner, 'The hospital of St John of Jerusalem in Ireland', *P.R.I.A.*, xxvi (1906-7) C, pp. 275-317, esp. pp. 316-17; A. MacDermott, 'The knights of St John of Jerusalem in Ireland', *Irish Genealogist*, iii (1956-7), pp. 2-16, esp. pp. 14-15.
[73] Graves, *King's council*, p. 302; see also below, p. 334.

and favouritism in flagrant disregard of the royal prohibition of 1438. His departure for England was preceded by a signal achievement - the negotiation of a temporary peace pact between Talbot and Ormond for the term of the latter's deputyship.

There is little room to doubt that Welles' role in this affair was crucial or that he acted on his own initiative rather than on specific instructions from Westminster. The pact took the form of tripartite indentures to which he, besides the archbishop and the earl, was a party. It was also apparently agreed between the three men that the terms should, as far as possible, remain secret.[74] The pact certainly fell well short of the full and final settlement of the feud which, according to the letter the king had sent to Welles three years earlier, was to have been the essential precondition for any appointment of Ormond to the deputyship.[75] However, it was apparently sufficient to salve Welles' conscience with regard to the royal instructions of 1438, and he probably calculated - correctly, as it would seem from subsequent events - that he would be able to soothe any manifestation of royal displeasure or anxiety with adequate assurances after his arrival in England. How difficult it may have been for Welles to gain Richard Talbot's co-operation, one can only speculate. The pact did in fact offer the archbishop a measure of political security which he could not otherwise have expected under his opponent's rule. Nevertheless, in view of his apparently successful veto of the appointment of Ormond or of one of the earl's adherents to the

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[74] According to a report sent to the king in 1442 by the then chancellor of Ireland, Richard Wogan, the details of the tripartite pact had been kept private and were not generally known in the lordship. In writing Wogan certainly assumed that the king had no knowledge of the matter either: P.R.O., E101/248/16, no. 2; for the report, see below, pp. 321-4.

[75] P.R.O., E28/59/59; see also above, p. 277 and below, Appendix III, p. 579.

deputyship by John Sutton in 1429,[76] it seems surprising that Welles was successful in persuading him to concede that the earl might hold the same office without obstruction in 1441. The issuing of a general pardon to Prior Thomas fitzGerald of Kilmainham, at the very time that the peace pact was finalized,[77] offers at least one possible clue to the means Welles employed. It may be that it was made clear to Talbot that, unless he subscribed to the pact, serious charges would be preferred against the prior in England in connection with the ambushing of the former deputy lieutenant, William Welles, at Kilcock. A further trump card may have been the lieutenant's own certainty of royal concern about the 'division and striffe' caused by the feud. Perhaps Welles suggested to Talbot that rejection of the pact might call into question the latter's loyalty to the crown.

The pact was sealed at Dublin on 15 March 1441, after Ormond had been nominated as deputy lieutenant, but before Welles took ship for England. According to the one original copy of the indentures which was subsequently preserved amongst the records of government in England[78] - probably as a result of royal investigations into the feud after the deputyship ended - the terms were as follows. Archbishop Talbot pledged to show forbearance and loyalty to Ormond as deputy during Welles' absence and to be a 'good lord' to all the earl's adherents and servants. Ormond, in his turn, promised that during his term as deputy, he would show forbearance towards Talbot and prove a 'good lord' to the archbishop's adherents, friends, retainers and servants. The earl, however, had to give

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[76] See above, p. 244.
[77] *R.C.H.*, p. 262, no. 11.
[78] P.R.O., C47/10/26, no. 7. For a full transcript of this document, see below, Appendix III, iv, pp. 584-7.

additional, more specific, undertakings. In the first place he was to 'sue no suyt' against John or James Blakeney, John Brown of Dublin or Robert Chamber. Presumably these were all men with whom he had particular quarrels at this time. All four were past or present officials of the Dublin administration. The Blakeneys and Chamber are readily identifiable as Talbot supporters, Brown was no doubt another. Secondly, Ormond promised, for the term of his deputyship, not to pursue the archbishop and his men with any 'manere of commission of oier and terminer' or 'manere suytes' or indictments. Thirdly, the earl was, for the same period, to take no part, open or secret, in the cause of lord Grey of Ruthin against lord Talbot, the archbishop and the officials of the liberty of Wexford.

A further feature of the pact was that any quarrels of any kind that might occur between Ormond and the archbishop, or between their respective followers, were to be put before a panel of ten men - or a majority of them - for arbitration. This panel was also to decide any future disputes that might occur over the interpretation of the terms of the pact itself. Six of the ten were officials of conciliar rank. These were Robert Dowdall and William Chevir, respectively chief justice of the common bench and second justice of the king's bench, James Cornwalshe and Peter Clinton, chief and third barons of the exchequer, Robert Dyke, clerk of the rolls of chancery, and Edward Somerton, serjeant at law. Of the remaining four, who were all listed simply by name, at least one, Richard fitzEustace, who had briefly served as chancellor of Ireland for a few months during Ormond's justiciarship of 1426-7, was a member of the Irish council, while another, Edward Eustace (a former sheriff of Kildare and constable of Wicklow), if not already a councillor, had become one by June 1442.[79] The other two

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[79] P.R.O.I., 1A/49/148, p. 63; *R.C.H.*, p. 236, no. 56, p. 253, no. 38, p. 263, no. 14; Graves, *King's council*, p. 276. For fitzEustace's chancellorship, see below, Appendix I, list 3, p. 493.

were a Robert Plunket (probably the Robert Plunket who in 1430 had acted as executor to the former treasurer, Nicholas Plunket, but, as he is not mentioned as holding any office, apparently not the then chief engrosser of the same name) and a Philip fitzWilliam (who after inheriting his lands in County Dublin as a minor in 1421 had for a time been under the guardianship of James Cornwalshe).[80] The panel was to meet at Dublin, Drogheda or Trim. Ormond was to be responsible for summoning it, as and when necessary, but, if any of the ten failed to respond to the summons, replacements were to be chosen by him and the archbishop in concert.

Whether arbitration was as popular and widespread a method of settling diputes in Ireland as it had become in England by this time is not clear, but it was certainly not unknown.[81] The lieutenant, if not Ormond and Talbot too, would have been well aware that arbitration had been employed at Leicester in the spring of 1426 to deal with the quarrel between the duke of Gloucester and Henry Beaufort: like his younger cousin, James Ormond, Welles had been amongst those knighted there by the young Henry VI a few weeks later.[82] The Gloucester-Beaufort precedent would no doubt have been sufficient to soothe any qualms about the propriety of invoking arbitration as a check on the power of a chief

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[80] P.R.O., E28/52, 29 June; E101/248/4 and 6; see also Richardson and Sayles, *Parls. and councils*, pp. 185-6; below, Appendix I, list 7, p. 529.
[81] See above, pp. 194-5. For the increasing popularity of arbitration as a means of settling disputes in fourteenth and fifteenth century England, see I. Rowney, 'Arbitration in gentry disputes of the later middle ages', *History*, lxvii (1982), pp. 367-76; E. Powell, 'Arbitration and the law in England in the late middle ages', *T.R.H.S.*, 5th series xxxiii (1983), pp. 49-67; C. Rawcliffe, '"That kindliness should be cherished more, and discord driven out": the settlement of commercial disputes by arbitration in later medieval England', *Enterprise and individuals in fifteenth-century England*, ed. J. Kermode (Stroud and Wolfeboro Falls, 1991), pp. 99-117.
[82] *Brut*, p. 499; Griffiths, *Henry VI*, pp. 78-81; see also above, pp. 218-19.

governor. Given the circumstances, it is not surprising that the panel of arbitrators, like that in the Gloucester-Beaufort dispute, was unusually large by comparison with normal English practice. In neither case were arbitrators available who could out-rank the disputants by sufficient margin to have the authority to impose a settlement single-handed or in a small group.[83] In 1426 the arbitrators at Leicester had been Gloucester's and Beaufort's fellow councillors, and it is possible that this may help to explain the predominance of members of the Irish council on the panel appointed by the tripartite pact in Dublin in 1441. However, the composition of the Talbot-Ormond panel also suggests that, as in numerous other instances of arbitration elsewhere,[84] the overriding principle governing selection was probably a desire to ensure that the interests of both parties were evenly represented. It is difficult to be entirely certain of the political allegiance of Somerton and fitzWilliam,[85] but Chevir, Cornwalshe and Richard fitzEustace were all old associates of Ormond, and, as John Blakeney's replacement and rival, Dowdall was far more

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[83] In England it was rare for arbitration panels to have more than seven members, and frequently disputes were submitted to the arbitration of just one or two magnates: see J. Rosenthal, 'Feuds and private peace-making: a fifteenth-century example', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, xiv (1970), pp. 84-90; I. Rowney, op. cit., p. 368; C. Rawcliffe, 'The great lord as peacemaker: arbitration by English noblemen and their councils in the later middle ages', *Law and social change in British history*, ed. J.A. Guy and H.G. Beale (Royal Historical Society, Studies in History, no. 40, London, 1984), pp. 34-54.

[84] See I. Rowney, op. cit., p. 368.

[85] Somerton had served as a chancery clerk during Ormond's second lieutenancy (*R.C.H.*, p. 245, no. 21), but he may have owed his initial preferment to the serjeancy to Richard Talbot (see below, Appendix I, list 2, p. 487; list 11, p. 556). Philip fitzWilliam's early association with Cornwalshe did not necessarily ensure his attachment to the earl. He may have been related to the William fitzWilliam, who, as sheriff of Dublin, had failed to provide adequate support for John Sutton's Leinster expedition of 1428 (P.R.O.I., 1A/49/148, p. 62; see also above, p. 232) and who, shortly after the tripartite agreement was sealed, was to be accused of Cornwalshe's murder: see below, p. 293.

likely to have been sympathetic to the earl than to the archbishop. There is good reason to believe that the remaining four members of the panel were adherents, and probably nominees, of Richard Talbot. Edward Eustace had given the archbishop valuable support in the 1430s, and the Plunket family was certainly associated with Talbot;[86] Clinton had acquired his post as a baron of the exchequer during Talbot's deputyship for Thomas Stanley, while Dyke, John Talbot's former clerk, was also now archdeacon of Dublin and was certainly assumed by the next Irish chancellor, Richard Wogan, to have been a supporter of the archbishop at least until 1442.[87]

The details of the pact, obviously the fruit of complex negotiation and careful drafting, reveal a good deal both about the nature of the feud at this time, and about the salient facts of political life in the lordship as Welles, Ormond and Talbot perceived them. Firstly, the greater number of pledges required of the earl than of the archbishop demonstrates very clearly just how much of an advantage in the prosecution of the feud possession of the chief governorship was considered to be. For the agreement to be acceptable to Talbot and for it to have any real chance of success, it was necessary for Ormond to be prevented from using the powers conferred by the deputyship against his opponent. As the king was to be told a year later, the purpose of the tripartite indentures, from the archbishop's point of view, was to bind Ormond 'to kepe the peas and be at

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[86] During Talbot's justiciarship of 1430-1 Edward Eustace had been involved in the confiscation of the goods of the then prior of Kilmainham, William fitzThomas, after the latter's arrest by Talbot for treason (N.L.I., MS 4, f. 323; *R.C.H.*, p. 250, no. 28). In 1436 Eustace carried letters to England from a great council presided over by Talbot as deputy for Thomas Stanley (*R.C.H.*, p. 259, nos. 7 and 8). For the Plunkets, see above, pp. 237 and 253, note 110.

[87] B.L., Additional MS 4789, f. 37v; P.R.O., E101/248/16, no. 2; Graves, *King's council*, p. 286; see also above, p. 124; below, pp. 325-6.

good rule during the tyme that he were Depute'.[88] In England it was common for arbitration agreements to require both parties to a dispute to abandon litigation.[89] However, in the pact of 1441 it was apparently not necessary for Talbot to match Ormond's undertakings to avoid resorting to 'suyts' and indictments. The likelihood that the archbishop's chances of initiating or pursuing legal processes against the earl or the earl's supporters during the latter's deputyship were considered to be negligible.

Secondly, it is obvious that it was still the case, as the duke of Gloucester had been informed in 1428, that the feud was widespread. Although centred on the chief protagonists, it involved - like the earlier and related quarrel between Earl Richard Beauchamp and the dowager lady Abergavenny in Warwickshire -[90] many others on both sides, 'adherantes' and 'frendes' as well as 'feed men' and 'servauntes'. The pact's careful provision for the possibility that certain members of the two factions might try to pursue the quarrel amongst themselves, without reference to their leaders, indicates the scale of the problem.

Thirdly, however, it would appear that since the 1420s the feud had changed in at least one important respect. The report sent from Ireland to the duke of Gloucester about the feud in 1427-8 had identified the leader of Ormond's opponents as John Talbot.[91] His name received only one, relatively insignificant, mention in the peace pact of 1441, and this was merely in connection with what was obviously considered a side issue, namely his long dispute with lord Grey of Ruthin over their rival claims to the lordship of Wexford. Richard Talbot's pledge of co-operation with

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[88] Graves, *King's council*, p. 275.
[89] See I. Rowney, 'Arbitration in gentry disputes of the later middle ages', p. 371.
[90] See C. Carpenter, 'The Beauchamp affinity: a study of bastard feudalism at work', pp. 515-16, 527-31.
[91] *Reg. Swayne*, p. 111; see also above, pp. 224-5.

Ormond for the term of the latter's deputyship was made without any reference to his elder brother, and none of the other terms of the pact made any reference to lord Talbot or lord Talbot's men: they spoke instead of the archbishop and the archbishop's men. The king and the English council may well have been mistaken in their assumption in 1438 that the feud had remained, as it had begun, primarily a dispute between Ormond and lord Talbot. The latter, then in Normandy,[92] had not visited Ireland since the mid 1420s when the reconciliation achieved between him and the earl in England in 1423 was still intact.[93] Research into the career of John Talbot has shown that after he became a leading figure in the defence of Lancastrian France from the late 1420s onwards, he did not consider it important to maintain large and influential followings elsewhere. In France his retinues were chiefly recruited from the professional soldiers available on the spot; he did not draw on any extensive affinity in England, and there are few indications that he sought to maintain one in Ireland beyond the small group of officials necessary to administer his personal interests in Wexford.[94] The continued prosecution of the feud with Ormond since John Talbot's involvement in France had almost certainly been mainly due to his brother, Richard. Significantly in this context, it was ultimately to prove far easier for Ormond to reach a final settlement of his differences with John Talbot than with Archbishop Richard Talbot and his allies in Ireland.

The truce negotiated by Welles held. Ormond's deputyship lasted until the earl again became lieutenant in his own right after Welles

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[92] See Pollard, *John Talbot*, p. 54.
[93] See above, pp. 166-7, 172-3.
[94] See Pollard, *John Talbot*, pp. 76-83.

resigned his office in 1442 - just under a year.[95] During this time there may have been at least one violent incident - the murder of James Cornwalshe by William fitzWilliam of Dundrum -[96] which could well have been the result of continuing factional tension, but this was not sufficient to rupture the Talbot-Ormond accord. In accordance with the terms of the tripartite agreement, the earl seems to have handled his powers of patronage with restraint. The conflicting claims of John Blakeney and Robert Dowdall to the office of chief justice of the common bench were diplomatically referred to Westminster.[97] The most senior Irish-seal appointment associated with the deputyship, that of John Cornwalshe to his father's post of chief baron, merely preserved the political status quo as it had been at the time of Welles' departure. With the possible exception of the preferment of Stephen Roche to the office of king's attorney at the expense of William Sutton,[98] there were relatively few other new appointments by the deputy, and these seem to have been due rather to dissatisfaction with some of Henry VI's personal appointments to minor Dublin offices than to provocative purges of the earl's political

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[95] See below, Appendix I, list 2, p. 488.

[96] Reference to this murder is made in answers made by Michael Griffin to accusations made against him some time later in the 1440s by James' son, John, in connection with their then rivalry over the post of chief baron. The date of the incident is not mentioned, but Griffin's articles also relate that John was appointed as chief baron after his father's death (Bodleian Library, Rawlinson MS B 491, ff. 140-1). The date of John's appointment as chief baron under the Irish seal was 5 October 1441: see below, Appendix I, list 6, p. 512.

[97] Dowdall obtained an English seal appointment to the office on 13 November 1441: *C.P.R., 1441-46*, p. 23; see also above, p. 70.

[98] Roche had served both Ormond and John Sutton as clerk of the hanaper in the 1420s. William Sutton, who may well have obtained the attorneyship during William Welles' deputyship, was subsequently to be compensated for his loss of the post by appointment as a baron of the exchequer by Archbishop Talbot as justiciar in 1445. However, whether Sutton's ejection in favour of Roche took place during Ormond's deputyship, or during lord Welles' second stay in Ireland as lieutenant the previous year, is not entirely clear: see below, Appendix I, list 4, p. 500; list 11, p. 558.

opponents from the administration.[99] Not only was there an appearance of peace between the earl and the archbishop, but even a demonstration of positive co-operation, which, unfortunately for the latter, may well have contributed to Ormond's success in gaining appointment as lieutenant in 1442 as Welles' successor. Richard Talbot was sent to England as one of the two bearers of an official petition from a parliament held by Ormond in Dublin in November 1441.[100]

The signs are that the arbitration arrangements established by the tripartite pact did help to prevent trouble. A memorandum on the Irish close roll recorded how one potentially sensitive matter was settled at a meeting in the council chamber at St Mary's, Trim, on 3 August 1441.[101] A Thomas Walshe appeared before the meeting, claiming that five friars, one a Dominican of Dublin, had preferred charges against him in England of having prevented Archbishop Talbot from publishing certain papal orders in the friars' favour against Philip Norris. Norris was a canon of St Patrick's, Dublin, who had been condemned by the pope for anti-mendicancy the previous year.[102] But both he and Walshe appear to have

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[99] Although Ormond apparently accepted the credentials of John Cornwalshe's rival, Michael Griffin, who was appointed chief baron under the English seal a few weeks after the date of Cornwalshe's Irish-seal appointment, he was less tolerant of the pretensions of the underclerk of the king's kitchen, Ralph Legh, to the office of chief remembrancer. But although Legh and another recent English appointee to the post of usher, Thomas Delafield, lost their posts to Irish-seal appointees at this time, Ormond made no attempt to disturb the tenure of men closely associated with Talbot such as Thomas Shortall and Peter Clinton, the second and third barons of the exchequer, and the chief engrosser, Robert Plunket: see below, Appendix I, list 6, pp. 512, 514, 516; list 7, pp. 529, 534, 539.

[100] *P.P.C.*, v, p. 184.

[101] *R.C.H.*, p. 262, no. 24.

[102] See J.-P. Genet, 'Ecclesiastics and political theory in late medieval England: the end of a monopoly', *The church, politics and patronage in the fifteenth century*, ed. R.B. Dobson (Gloucester and New York, 1984), pp. 23-44, esp. pp. 31 and 42, note 80.

had links with Ormond. On one occasion later in the 1440s, Norris acted as an agent for the earl at the English exchequer; a man of the same name as Walshe had been employed as a messenger of the Irish exchequer during Ormond's first and second lieutenancies in the 1420s and was subsquently to be appointed clerk of the Irish council by the earl in 1450,[103] when the latter became chief governor for the last time in his career as deputy for the duke of York.

Walshe obtained what he wanted - a public admission from Archbishop Talbot that the charge against him was false - but the councillors who heard the case were not just an assembly of Ormond's cronies. Interestingly, in view of the provisions of the Welles peace pact, they were, excluding the earl and the archbishop himself, exactly ten in number. Six - Dowdall, Chevir, James Cornwalshe, Dyke, Somerton and Richard fitzEustace - had all been named as members of the original arbitration panel set up by the tripartite agreement earlier in the year. Amongst these six the balance of interests was in Ormond's favour, but there can be little doubt that at least two of the remaining four - Christopher Bernevale, chief justice of the king's bench, and Christopher Plunket, who, like fitzEustace, held no office at this time - were associates of the archbishop. The last two men present at this meeting were Thomas Chace, the chancellor, and Giles Thorndon, the treasurer. Both had been appointed from England - Chace in 1430, Thorndon more recently, a year before lord Welles' arrival as lieutenant.[104] It is remarkable that neither of these two senior officials had been nominated to the original arbitration panel selected in March. It is just possible that Chace had then been absent

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[103] P.R.O., E101/247/7 and 10, m. 2; /248/2, m. 2; E403/769, m. 14; *Stat. Hen. VI*, p. 279.

[104] For Chace's and Thorndon's appointments, see above, pp. 57-8, 68, 247.

from Ireland,[105] but their omission may be an indication that they had both hitherto taken some pains to avoid involvement with either of the factions in the feud.[106] If this was the case, they would probably, in an emergency, have been reasonably acceptable as arbitrators to both sides. Trim, of course, was one of the three venues at which the Welles peace pact had directed that disputes should be settled. The likelihood is that a genuine effort was made to deal with the Walshe affair in reasonably close accordance with the provisions of the tripartite pact, which had after all allowed for some modification of the arbitration panel to the mutual convenience of both factions. It may also be of some significance that Ormond was apparently to emerge from this deputyship with his faith in the efficacy of arbitration in government intact. When, three years later, as lieutenant in his own right, he, like Welles, had to leave for England in mid term, the earl sealed indentures with his own deputy, lord Delvin, which, amongst other provisions, set up a panel of seven to monitor the distribution of official patronage in his absence.[107]

During Ormond's long absence from office since the mid 1420s, the effective geographical reach of the Dublin government had apparently suffered, particularly in the south. In the letter dispatched to Westminster, about a year after the earl's departure from Ireland in the winter of 1434-5, the Irish council had rather helplessly bemoaned the loss of control 'within these xxx yere' of the line of communication through Carlow between Dublin and the central south. Furthermore it had

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[105] See below, Appendix I, list 3, p. 494.
[106] It has been assumed that Thorndon was at this time a supporter of the archbishop (see Otway-Ruthven, *Medieval Ireland*, p. 370), but the treasurer apparently strove to maintain a neutral stance when hostilities in the feud recommenced in 1442: see below, pp. 328-31.
[107] *C.O.D.*, iii, no. 161, pp. 157-9; see also below, pp. 365-6.

protested that certain 'ouder parties' of the lordship, specifically Counties Kilkenny, Tipperary, Wexford, Waterford, Cork, Limerick and Kerry, were so ravaged by 'enemyes and rebelx' that the various ports and walled towns of the area were unable to obtain supplies and were on the point of famine.[108] Doubtless the council had exaggerated the gravity of the situation to bolster its main purpose, the request for a royal visit.[109] Its explanation for this sorry state of affairs in the south - the failure of successive chief governors to spend time there over the previous three decades, 'but it were for a sodan journay or an hostyng ... save oon parlement x yere ago at the town of Kilkenny' - was certainly somewhat disingenuous, despite the significant caveat, at least in so far as it related to Ormond's lieutenancies. However, the fact that this letter gave such prominence to the problems in the south suggests that they were a real concern at this time.

It is not clear whether Ormond himself had found it any more difficult to re-establish his personal authority within the Butler lordship after his return to Ireland in the late 1430s than he had after previous absences - very possibly he did not -[110] but within the first few weeks of his appointment as deputy the Irish council held a discussion on the subject of law and order in the southern counties. On this occasion the perils of the Barrow valley proved no insuperable obstacle to action. On 4 May arrangements were made at Trim to dispatch Chevir and Somerton with all haste on a judicial commission to Kilkenny, Wexford, Waterford,

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[108] Betham, *Early parliaments*, pp. 361-2.
[109] See above, p. 267.
[110] Dr Empey's research on the Butler lordship indicated that for all the apparent desperation of some of the official reports and local appeals for help in the first half of the fifteenth century, the fourth earl of Ormond remained able to govern and defend his lands effectively: C.A. Empey, 'The Butler lordship in Ireland, 1185-1515' (Dublin Ph.D. thesis, 1970), p. 150.

Tipperary, Limerick and Kerry.[111] At some stage during the deputyship Ormond led an expedition at least as far as Cork, where, according to a testimonial written in January 1443 by Jordan Purcell, bishop of Cork and Cloyne, and other prominent local figures, he

> chastysed and werred the kinges enemyes and rebelles and put ham in dred and comforted gretely ... the trewe liege peple there and made the kinge more drad and his lawes executed and used and his revenues encresed and betyred there ... than hit was in eny other man is tyme these many yeres before to the grete costes and labors of the said Erle withoute any extorcion or oppression don to any trewe liege man.[112]

Although this eulogy may well have overestimated his actual achievement, it is most unlikely to have been wholly unfounded, and there is independent evidence to show that Ormond was at this time keen to ensure that the Dublin administration should reap some financial return from the south-west. One clause in a message sent to the king from the Irish council in August 1441 requested that ships arriving in English ports from Cork and Limerick should be arrested until they gave surety that these cities would once more answer to the Irish exchequer for the fee farms which they had 'long tyme kepte in ther handes'.[113] Some time was spent in the south-east too: the one parliament of the deputyship, held at Dublin in November 1441, was summoned from Waterford.[114]

As might have been expected from the pattern of the earl's campaigns during his previous chief governorships, there was at least one visit to the north. Immediately after the council meeting at Trim on 4 May, he

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[111] *R.C.H.*, p. 262, no. 27.
[112] Lambeth Palace Library, Carew MS 617, p. 307.
[113] N.L.I., MS 4, f. 339.
[114] The archbishop of Armagh's summons was dated from Waterford on 30 September: T.C.D., MS 557 (5), pp. 442-3.

apparently proceeded to Ardee.[115] On 9 May, probably after consultation with John Prene, who had succeeded John Swayne as archbishop of Armagh in November 1439, Ormond was writing to the pope about the succession to the bishopric of Down.[116] As Prene saw it, the plight of the church in the English dioceses of eastern Ulster was acute: at the end of May he dispatched letters to the king, to the chancellor of England, and to the duke of York as earl of Ulster, urging that the prospective union of the sees of Down and Connor - which on account of their loss of land and revenue, had been authorized by Eugenius IV in 1439, shortly before Prene became archbishop - should not go forward, chiefly because it was likely to weaken the position of these sees against Irish incursion still further.[117] However, despite this anxiety, the only evidence of significant success by the Dublin government in the north at this time relates to the months immediately before and after Ormond's deputyship, not to the deputyship itself. Shortly before Welles' departure, submissions were obtained, apparently with Ormond's assistance, from Eoghan O'Neill (who, since the death of his cousin, Domhnall, in 1432, had become chief of his clan) and from O'Reilly.[118] In 1442 submissions were also secured requiring Magennis to restore church property in the Gaelic diocese of Dromore, and O'Neill of Clandeboy to compel Magennis to keep his promise,

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[115] Summonses to the Naas great council were issued from Ardee on 5 May: *Reg. Swayne*, p. 184.

[116] T.C.D., MS 557 (5), pp. 386-7; *H.B.C.*, p. 335; *N.H.I.*, ix, p. 270.

[117] T.C.D., MS 557 (5), pp. 388-90, 413-6; *H.B.C.*, p. 348; *N.H.I.*, ix, p. 281. Royal licence for an application at Rome for the union of the two sees had been granted in July 1439: *C.P.R., 1436-41*, p. 193.

[118] On 15 March 1441, the day on which Welles, Ormond and Archbishop Talbot sealed the tripartite peace pact in Dublin, a warrant was issued under the Irish seal for the payment of Richard Rowe - a chancery clerk whom Richard Wogan, writing to the king in June 1442 identified as one of Ormond's men - for his work in connection with these submissions: *R.C.H.*, p. 263, no. 8; Graves, *King's council*, p. 286; see also, K. Simms, '"The king's friend": O Neill', p. 220.

if necessary by force, but these agreements were not negotiated until after Ormond had succeeded Welles as lieutenant in his own right.[119] It is quite possible, of course, that there were other submissions during the deputyship of which no record has survived, but it may be that, as deputy, Ormond had greater difficulty than he had previously found in office in mounting a large campaign in an area which lay so far away from his personal power base as earl.

In 1441-2 Ormond could well have been shorter of financial resources than he had been during any of his former chief governorships. The terms of the Cork testimonial quoted above suggest that he remained as careful as he had been as lieutenant twenty years earlier to avoid resorting to coign,[120] but as deputy he had neither a lieutenant's access to funds from the English exchequer, nor a justiciar's accustomed right to a personal fee from the Irish exchequer with additional payments for the support of a small retinue. The Irish treasurer's account for 1439-42 confirms that the earl received no issues from the Irish revenue as deputy at all.[121] The financing of a deputyship devolved upon the lieutenant concerned, and whatever provision Welles managed to make in 1441, if any, was probably considerably less generous than that made by the earl of March for Ormond's much shorter deputyship of 1424. March was more generously financed from the English exchequer than any other lieutenant of Ireland between 1413 and 1461. Welles' payments from England in 1441 amounted to less than £120, and there were no supplementary issues in his name from the Irish revenue that year.[122] Unlike March, he had no

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[119] T.C.D., MS 557 (5), pp. 102-8; K. Simms, 'Gaelic lordships in Ulster in the later middle ages' (Dublin Ph.D. thesis, 1976), p. 257.
[120] See above, p. 143.
[121] P.R.O., E101/248/13; for the financing of justiciars and deputies, see also above, pp. 80-1, 101-2.
[122] See below, Appendix II, Table A, pp. 559-61; Table C, p. 568; Table D, p. 573.

personal wealth in Ireland either. Ormond, of course, had, and his resources had been increased since the 1420s by his second marriage, but the likelihood is that he had nothing to augment these beyond whatever he may have managed to extract in subsidies from a great council held at Naas in June 1441 and the Dublin parliament. Scutage returns, which were collected through the Irish exchequer, would have been of little direct help during the deputyship, and there is no evidence that the earl attempted to proclaim royal service at this time. Significantly, however, little time was lost in invoking it after his appointment as lieutenant was finalized in late February 1442:[123] after becoming lieutenant in his own right, he could once more seek direct support from the Irish revenue for the purposes of defence. The financial problem was obviously not so severe as to have deterred Ormond from accepting the deputyship in the first place, but it may well be that the strain it imposed on his personal resources contributed to his decision in the winter of 1441-2 to try to obtain substantially more English funding for his third lieutenancy than he had been offered as lieutenant in 1420 and in 1425.[124]

The aspect of the deputyship which has hitherto received most attention is the evidence relating to a series of official petitions and messages dispatched from the lordship to Westminster in the latter part of 1441. The text of a petition to the king from the great council held at Naas in June has survived both in an original copy in England and in a transcript from the record of the message entered on the Irish close roll. The latter is supplemented by details of various additional instructions

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[123] Royal service was proclaimed at Kildare just three weeks later on 21 March: see S.G. Ellis, 'Taxation and defence in late medieval Ireland', pp. 27-8.

[124] See above, pp. 23-4, 97.

given by the Irish council to the bearer of the petition, Stephen Roche, on the eve of his departure from Ireland in August.[125] Unfortunately there is no copy of the further petition authorized by the November parliament at Dublin, but the record of the response made to it by the king the following March gives some indication of its content.[126]

Beyond an initial request for an answer to a previous message, now lost, from the parliament held by lord Welles' in November 1440, the Naas petition made only two main points. One was a complaint about the 'insufficiency' of numerous recent appointees to the Dublin administration, coupled with a request that no men should be admitted to office in future, whether they had been appointed under the English or Irish seal, unless the chief governor and the Irish council considered them, after due examination, to be suitable and able to perform their duties.[127] The other affirmed that by long established custom the courts of the lordship were competent to deal with all cases arising there with the sole exceptions of those which concerned treason against the king or a writ of error in parliament; this being the case the king was urged to give no hearing to petitioners from Ireland making complaints against the king's ministers there, but to refer all such complaints to be dealt with within the lordship. In what was probably a determined attempt to ensure that this petition was dealt with more promptly than the message from the Drogheda parliament of November 1440, Roche was furnished with letters of introduction not only to the king and his chief officers, the chancellor and treasurer of England, but also to four other councillors. Shrewdly, perhaps at Giles Thorndon's suggestion, these included the earl of Suffolk,

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125 P.R.O., E101/248/16, no. 1; N.L.I., MS 4, ff. 336-9.
126 *P.P.C.*, v, pp. 184-5.
127 See above, pp. 71-2.

who, over the four years since the ending of the royal minority, had begun to emerge as a more influential adviser than either Gloucester or Beaufort, or indeed the former chancellor, Archbishop Kemp, to whom Roche was also recommended.[128]

Most of the additional matters which Roche was ordered to bring to the attention of the king and the English council concerned finance. Besides the suggestion that the fee farms of Cork and Limerick might be regained for the Irish exchequer by action against their ships in English ports, complaint was made about the number of vessels sailing from Ireland to England which were avoiding customs duties, about the difficulties created by lord Welles' absence in pursuit of his payments at the English exchequer, and about the harm caused by royal grants from the Irish revenue which depleted the lieutenant's financial resources for the lordship's defence. But first and foremost, Roche was charged to complain about the classification of 'Englishmen born of Ireland' as aliens for the purposes of the alien tax authorized by the English parliament in 1440 to finance naval defence.[129] Roche was to propose that those who could prove their English descent by Irish-seal testimonials should be exempt from this classification. The petition which Archbishop Talbot carried to England from the Dublin parliament - besides presenting a more explicit plea for prompt payment of Welles' arrears as lieutenant - included requests that men should not be summoned to England by writ or privy seal letters without due cause and that the chief governor should be given authority to augment the number of peers of parliament in Ireland.

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[128] N.L.I., MS 4, f. 338 v; and for Suffolk's influence at this time, see R. Virgoe, 'The composition of the king's council, 1437-61', *B.I.H.R.*, xliii (1970), pp. 134-60, esp. pp. 141-2, 157; also, with mention of Thorndon's links with him, Griffiths, *Henry VI*, pp. 280, 413.

[129] See above, p. 5.

Given the grave difficulties which Welles' encountered in extracting most of the payments due to him, and given the determination and success with which Ormond had tackled financial problems as chief governor in the past, the emphasis on financial issues in these various communications with Westminster is unsurprising. So too - given the pains which Ormond himself had taken to persuade both Henry VI and his father that Ireland was historically and by ancient tradition an integral part of the king's dominions - was the Irish council's intervention to try to resolve the confusion created by the alien tax in England. The tax penalised few above the relatively humble level of artisans, labourers and servants in small households,[130] but the classification of all born in Ireland as alien carried the unacceptable implication that the English of Ireland had been born out of royal allegiance.[131]

Other clauses of the petitions of 1441 have, however, aroused some degree of controversy. Historians assessing the significance of the petitions from opposite sides of the Irish sea have interpreted them rather differently. To Professor Lydon, referring in particular to the clause claiming that all pleas could be determined in the lordship's own courts, the Naas petition reflected the 'self-reliance and self-sufficiency' of a lordship whose inhabitants had long 'been left to go their own way with the minimum of interruption or direction' and were 'resentful of interference from England'. Such resentment nurtured the 'separatist tendencies' which were later expressed in the famous affirmation of 1460

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[130] See S.L. Thrupp, 'A survey of the alien population of England in 1440', p. 263.

[131] An English lawyer of the mid-fifteenth century defined an alien as one 'born out of the allegiance of our lord the king': see R.A. Griffiths, 'The English realm and dominions and the king's subjects in the later middle ages', *Aspects of late medieval government and society: essays presented to J.R. Lander*, ed J.G. Rowe, pp. 83-105, esp. p. 89.

that Ireland was 'corporate of itself' and only subject to English statutes in so far as these were accepted by its own parliaments and great councils.[132] But Professor Griffiths, explicitly dismissing any notion that either of the petitions might have represented 'a yearning for national independence', saw them merely as evidence of the personal ambition and 'brazen authoritarianism' of the deputy. In his view they merely showed that Ormond was 'bent on strengthening his own powers as deputy lieutenant in order to tighten his grip on Irish affairs by easing the king and his English council further into the background and pandering to the self-esteem of Irish institutions'.[133]

In the particular circumstances of 1441, setting aside here the reference to later developments, the first interpretation seems more convincing than the second. If the earl's main intention was merely to strengthen his own powers in office - at best a gamble, for he could scarcely have been certain, when the Naas and Dublin assemblies were held, either of succeeding Welles as lieutenant so promptly or even of remaining in office as deputy long enough to reap the benefits of favourable royal responses - then it was well concealed, for his purpose was not sufficiently overt or alarming to rupture the Talbot-Ormond accord. When this disintegrated after the earl was appointed as lieutenant in 1442, and Archbishop Talbot did his best to discredit his opponent at Westminster, he did allege that Ormond had in the past attempted to influence assemblies by packing them with his supporters, but his accusations made no specific criticisms of the content of the Naas or Dublin petitions, the second of which he himself, of course, had presented to the king. While the deputy

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132 See Lydon, *Ire. in later middle ages*, pp. 144-5.
133 See Griffiths, *Henry VI*, p. 414.

no doubt had considerable influence over the final form of the petitions, the likelihood is that, as in other instances, they genuinely commanded widely based support.[134] Over the previous century a good number of petitions from Irish parliaments and great councils had included articles about the 'insufficiency' and corruption of officials (frequently, though not exclusively, of those appointed from England) and about the impropriety of investigating complaints in England against the Dublin administration without reference to the Irish council or parliament and of summoning men from Ireland to answer pleas in English courts.[135] Such manifestations of self-sufficiency were not new in 1441. Shorn of the overt commendation of Ormond himself, which had no doubt helped to provoke the dissent to the official petition sent to England from John Sutton's parliament of 1428, and buttressed - as both the main points of the Naas petition were - by reference to English ordinances sent to Ireland by Edward III which had sanctioned the very procedures about the examination of new appointees to Irish offices and the referral of complaints to Ireland which were being recommended to Henry VI,[136] such articles were perhaps not particularly controversial. Indeed, concern at the threat to the accustomed patronage of the chief governorship which was posed by the remarkable increase in English-seal appointments since the end of the royal minority, may well have been acute enough by 1441 for support for complaints about the 'insufficiency' of recent English appointees to have transcended the

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[134] See A. Cosgrove, 'Parliament and the Anglo-Irish community', p. 35.
[135] For fourteenth-century examples, the most famous being that of 1341, see Otway-Ruthven, *Medieval Ireland*, pp. 259-260, 284; Lydon, *Ire. in later middle ages*, pp. 74-6; Frame, *English lordship*, pp. 122, 306. For earlier fifteenth-century examples, see above, pp. 146-7, 233-4.
[136] N.L.I., MS 4, ff. 336-8. The ordinances in question may well have been those of 1357: *Stat. John-Hen. V*, pp. 408-19; and see Frame, *English lordship*, pp. 112, 318-19.

factional divide. The Dublin parliament's final request for the chief governor to be given authority to create peers of parliament is more startling. Had this apparently unprecedented demand been granted to Ormond as deputy, the temptation for him to abandon the restraint of the tripartite pact in order to advance his own supporters at the expense of his opponents might well have been irresistible. However, Archbishop Talbot's readiness to carry the proposal to England may not have been due to blind faith in the efficacy of the pact or even to expectation that the king would refuse it. The case as presented by Talbot and his fellow messenger in fact persuaded the king to agree to consider a list of names of proposed new peers.[137] Talbot may well have hoped to advance his own influence in the lordship's assemblies by putting forward nominations of his own.

How tense the power struggle during the deputyship was between the earl and the archbishop beneath the temporary truce achieved by Welles, one can only speculate. However, one point which emerges very clearly from the messages taken by Roche and Talbot to England is that relations between Dublin and Westminster had changed significantly since Ormond had served as lieutenant for the king's father twenty years earlier. Whereas the petition from the earl's Dublin parliament of 1421 had broadly welcomed Henry V's new initiatives for the lordship, the petition from the Naas great council and the separate instructions given to Roche were critical of Henry VI's interference in the matter of grants and appointments. Whereas in 1421 it had been felt that the remedy for maladministration and incompetence by officials in Ireland lay with the king and it had been proposed that certain complaints should be

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[137] *P.P.C.*, v, p. 185.

investigated by commissioners from England, the desire in 1441 was for such matters to be dealt with by the Irish council. Whereas in 1421 the main purpose of the petition had been to press for a major royal expedition to Ireland, in 1441 the possibility was not even mentioned, despite the fact that hopes of a royal visit to Ireland had been high when Henry VI's minority ended in the mid 1430s.[138] In the first four years of his personal rule, the young king had passed most of his time in the safety of the English home counties. He had ventured no further north than Warwick and no further west than Salisbury; his expected visit to France had not taken place, and there were complaints from Normandy of royal neglect.[139] At a similar age, his father, who had distinguished himself on the battlefield before his sixteenth birthday, had been serving an active and successful apprenticeship in the tactical, logistical and financial skills of independent military command in the suppression of the GlyndŴr rising in Wales. The contrast could scarcely have passed unnoticed in Dublin. Ormond himself had not fought in the Welsh campaigns of the first decade of the century, but his first wife's father, lord Abergavenny, had and so too had Archbishop Talbot's elder brothers.[140] The high expectations which the earl, and no doubt others too, had entertained of the new reign had been frustrated. The trust and optimism shown twenty years earlier were now lacking. It was an ominous augury for the future of the last Lancastrian reign and, more immediately, an inauspicious prelude to the earl's third and last lieutenancy.

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[138] For the petition of 1421, see above, pp. 144-8.
[139] See Wolffe, *Henry VI*, pp. 151-2, 361-3.
[140] For the future Henry V's early military career, and Abergavenny and Talbot involvement in his Welsh campaigns, see R. Griffiths, 'Prince Henry and Wales, 1400-1408', *Profit, piety and the professions in later medieval England*, ed. M.A. Hicks (Gloucester and Wolfeboro Falls, 1990), pp. 51-61.

CHAPTER NINE

THE THIRD LIEUTENANCY, 1442-44

Ormond's third lieutenancy was dominated and frustrated by political controversy. Although this time the earl, like Welles, was appointed for seven years, he served for little more than two. That the lieutenancy lasted even as long as this was due partly to the king's reluctance to bring Ormond and Richard Talbot face to face in his presence for a full and final reckoning of the score between them, and partly to the earl's own unwillingness to abandon the power of the chief governorship which had taken so long to regain after his loss of office in 1427.

Amongst the surviving sources for this lieutenancy, those engendered by the political struggle between Ormond and his opponents loom so large that one can barely glimpse the routine business of government which no doubt absorbed at least a proportion of the lieutenant's attention even under these unfavourable circumstances. The records of day-to-day administration and military affairs are very thin. Unfortunately calendars of Irish chancery rolls are almost non-existent for these two years.[1] Both the relevant accounts of the Irish treasurer have survived,[2] but without any of the supporting financial documentation available for Ormond's first lieutenancy of 1420-2 and for his justiciarship of 1426-7. The availability of nineteenth-century extracts and jottings from all three of the relevant Irish exchequer memoranda rolls (20-22 Henry VI) is an

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[1] The exception is the calendar of the close roll for 20 Henry VI, but this, as previously pointed out, was a roll of warrants for payment at the Irish exchequer from three regnal years, covering the period September 1439 - August 1442: *R.C.H.*, pp. 263-5; see also above, p. 204, note 108.
[2] P.R.O., E101/540/18; E364/79, m.A; /80, m.C.

inadequate compensation.[3] The light shed by Irish annals on the earl's concerns is limited.[4] There is, however, a wealth of information about his political difficulties. Some of this is contained in a group of documents apparently collected for the purposes of his defence against his accusers when he was finally forced to abandon office in 1444. Details of the principal charges against him have survived in England. Conspicuous both in its abundance and intrinsic interest, this material has long attracted the attention of historians. Much of the evidence gathered for Ormond's defence was published in 1877 by the Rev. James Graves in connection with his work on the Irish council roll of 1392-3.[5] This was subsequently collated with a number of other relevant documents by Miss Margaret Griffith in the course of her survey of the Talbot-Ormond feud, published in 1941.[6] Since this date attention has been drawn to another unpublished document of considerable interest,[7] but hers has remained the authoritative study. The opportunity to reappraise the material in the context of Ormond's career, however, offers new perspectives. The accusations of Archbishop Talbot and other critics and opponents of the

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[3] See J.F. Lydon, 'A survey of the memoranda rolls of the Irish exchequer, 1294-1509', *An. Hib.*, xxiii (1966), pp. 51-134, esp. pp. 118-19.

[4] The most useful are the MacFirbis annals for 1443-68 which record the hostilities in 1444 between Ormond and the earl of Desmond: 'MacFirbis', p. 205.

[5] Graves, *King's council*, pp. xxxiii-l, 273-313.

[6] M.C. Griffith, 'The Talbot-Ormond struggle for control of the Anglo-Irish government', pp. 385-9, 391, 395-7.

[7] A report, which from its introductory words - 'Thes been the answeres made to you most soveraigne and gracious lord by the lordes spirituell and temporell and communes of this your land of Irland in your greet Counseill [...] last holden at Dyvelyn ...' - seems to have been prepared for the king in Ireland, and which collates accusations made against Ormond by Archbishop Talbot in 1442 with separate comments on them from Richard Wogan, described as 'sometyme your Chauncellor of your seid land' and from the great council itself, apparently that of 30 July 1442 which met just after Wogan had fled from Ireland and had been replaced as chancellor by Richard fitzEustace: P.R.O. E101/248/16, no. 2, cited in Richardson and Sayles, *Ir. parl.*, pp. 177, 181-2, 185, 191, 194, 201, 232, 258, and Otway-Ruthven, *Medieval Ireland*, p. 372.

earl have painted a black picture of what has been termed the earl's 'high-handedness', 'unscrupulousness', 'embezzlement and oppression'.[8] Nevertheless, they also reveal much about the basis of the earl's power in Ireland and shed further light on his interest and competence in the management of the Dublin government's financial resources. The particular viewpoints and antagonisms which prompted the accusations also require investigation. Although the lieutenancy triggered a further resurgence of the Talbot-Ormond feud, this was by no means responsible for all the earl's ensuing difficulties. He encountered opposition from several different quarters, and it was less concerted than has sometimes been supposed.

The course of events leading up to Ormond's appointment as lieutenant at the end of February 1442 is somewhat obscure. The terms of lord Welles' indentures permitted his resignation from office under certain conditions of financial difficulty which had by this time arisen,[9] but it is not clear when his decision to leave office was made and made known. It is possible that he had indicated his intentions to his deputy before leaving Ireland in the spring of 1441, but the Dublin parliament's request in November for payment of the money due to the lieutenant from the English exchequer suggests that at this stage no definite announcement of his resignation had been made.[10] Ormond, however, was certainly aware of the vacancy by or before the end of the year. At some stage during the

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[8] See Griffiths, *Henry VI*, pp. 414-17.

[9] See above, p. 96, note 77. Welles was due £500 per quarter from the Irish exchequer, and, despite the regular dispatch of warrants certifying that the money had not been paid because of the inadequacy of the Irish revenue, the supplementary payments made to him at the English exchequer had been insufficient to cover the sums owed to him: see below, Appendix II, Table A, p. 560; Table C, p. 568; Table D, p. 573.

[10] *P.P.C.*, v, p. 184; see also above, p. 303.

autumn or winter he sent a formal proffer to England for his own appointment as lieutenant to 'begynne at Candlemesse next suying or elles at such tyme as the comissoun to be made by the kyng to [him] of the said office schall come to hym'.[11]

The earl's eagerness to succeed Welles is unsurprising, but the king's authorization of his appointment was a dramatic reversal of the policy pronounced in the royal letter to Welles of April 1438.[12] It is possible that continuing royal misgivings about the Talbot-Ormond feud were dispelled by Welles' assurances of the earl's competence and by the evidence of the recent improvement in relations between Ormond and Archbishop Talbot provided by news of the latter's journey to England as one of the official messengers of the earl's November parliament. As details of the tripartite peace pact had been kept secret,[13] the king and the English council were almost certainly unaware that Richard Talbot's loyalty to Ormond had been pledged only for the term of the deputyship. But it may well be that Henry, preoccupied with other matters - the postponing of ultimately abortive arrangements for renewed Anglo-French negotiations at Gravelines and the progress of the plans for his new collegiate foundations at Eton and Cambridge -[14] simply accepted Ormond's candidature, and authorized his council to proceed with the negotiation of the terms of appointment, without much consideration at all. As studies of his distribution of patronage at this time have shown, such action would have been entirely characteristic of the king. The trouble caused

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[11] P.R.O., C47/10/27, no. 6. For a discussion of this proffer and a full text of the document, see above, pp. 23-4; below, Appendix III, no. v, pp. 588-9.
[12] See above, pp. 276-7.
[13] See above, p. 285.
[14] See Harriss, *Beaufort*, p. 318; Griffiths, *Henry VI*, pp. 244-8; Wolffe, *Henry VI*, pp. 136-8.

by his unthinking agreement to the appointment of the earl of Devon as steward of the duchy of Cornwall the previous year would not necessarily have made him more cautious on this occasion.[15] However, whatever the truth of the matter, his appointment of Ormond as lieutenant without a thorough investigation as to whether the feud had indeed been fully and finally buried, proved, like the grant to Devon of the stewardship of Cornwall, to be a major error of judgement.

Ormond managed to conduct the negotiations for his appointment - quite possibly by proxy - with a swiftness or secrecy which may well have been deliberately designed to forstall any protest from Richard Talbot.[16] By the time the archbishop and his fellow messenger from the Irish parliament of November 1441, the abbot of St Mary's, Dublin, gained audience of the king at Westminster in March 1442, the earl's indentures and letters patent had already been sealed.[17] But this, by bringing the latter's deputyship to an end, released Talbot from the restraint of the tripartite peace pact, and he used his freedom to maximum effect. Outraged to find himself outmanoeuvred, the archbishop composed and

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[15] Wolffe, *Henry VI*, pp. 106-13; Griffiths, *Henry VI*, pp. 364-5, 574-5; above, pp. 67-71. For the earl of Devon's appointment as steward of the duchy of Cornwall in 1441 and its consequences, see also R.L. Storey, *The end of the house of Lancaster*, pp. 86-8; M. Cherry, 'The struggle for power in mid-fifteenth-century Devonshire', *Patronage, the crown and the provinces*, ed. R.A. Griffiths (Gloucester and Atlantic Highlands, 1981), pp. 123-44, esp. pp. 125-6.

[16] If Ormond did go to England at this time, his visit was brief, but it may well be that he sealed his indentures by attorney, rather than in person: see above, pp. 23-4, 42, 45-6; also below, Appendix I, list 2, p. 488.

[17] A formal announcement of the appointment was apparently made to the messengers from the Dublin parliament when the petition which they had brought from Ireland was answered on 24 March: *P.P.C.*, v, pp. 184-5.

presented a forceful petition of his own that Ormond should be discharged from the lieutenancy forthwith.[18]

By way of preface, the archbishop alleged that the earl's appointment would find no favour in the lordship. He asserted that all present at the Dublin parliament of November 1441 had agreed that he should ask the king to appoint as lieutenant 'a myghti lorde of this your realme of Englonde'. If there had been any general speculation in Ireland the previous autumn about the future of lord Welles' lieutenancy, there might well have been some murmurings in the assembly to this effect. Since pleas for help from England for 'a good and sufficient leader, furnished and supplied with men and with treasure' had persuaded Edward III to finance the major expedition sent from England under Lionel of Clarence in 1361, the lordship had often looked for English military might and cash to solve its problems.[19] But Talbot was almost certainly overstating the case in proceeding to argue that, had there been any support for Ormond's candidature, 'he shulde have been named atte said parlement', and further that the king's subjects in Ireland would be more inclined to 'favour and obey' a lord of England on the grounds that

> men of this realme kepe better justice, execute your lawes and favour more your commune people there [i.e. in Ireland] and ever have done before this tyme better than ever didde any man of that londe or is ever like to doo.

For an Irish parliament to have suggested any particular candidate for the lieutenancy would have been most unusual. The archbishop's words were no doubt an accurate statement of his own opinion and seem to reveal, too, a certain contempt for the English of Ireland which may well have

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[18] Graves, *King's council*, pp. 273-6; *P.P.C.*, v, pp. 317-20; *Stat. Hen. VI*, pp. 50-3.

[19] See Frame, *English lordship*, pp. 320-5; A. Cosgrove, 'Parliament and the Anglo-Irish community: the declaration of 1460', p. 36.

underpinned, and been exacerbated by, the long-running feud with Ormond, despite the latter's close, and assiduously cultivated, connections with England. But while Talbot's views probably found support in some quarters, it seems unlikely that they would have held sway in an assembly summoned and presided over by Ormond. Two decades earlier the official message to England from another parliament held in Dublin by the earl had effectively argued precisely the opposite case.[20]

Talbot, however, proceeded to make a number of specific and damaging allegations against the earl and hinted at still more 'grete thinges mysdone' by his opponent on which he was not prepared to comment. Ormond was accused of abuses and incompetence in high office: of packing parliaments, not only with men of his own household, but even with Gaelic Irish; of aiding Irish chiefs to secure prisoners and, through them, valuable ransoms; of, on the one hand, 'gret rygour and brekyng of peas' and, on the other, 'feblenesse of rule', which were both so generally dreaded that it had been necessary to bind him to keep the peace by tripartite indentures when he became Welles' deputy; of being aged and physically unfit, unable even to defend his personal lands, let alone the lordship of Ireland. Furthermore, according to Talbot, no fewer than three previous lieutenants, his own brother, John Talbot, John, lord Grey and, more surprisingly, the earl of March, had 'afore this tyme empeched the said Erlle severally of many grete tresons the which stonde yet undetermined'. In conclusion the archbishop pressed for a formal commission of enquiry into Ormond's past conduct in office, warning that this would be unable to establish the truth if the earl was permitted to remain in power.

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[20] See above, p. 146.

This blistering attack met its mark. To allegations of treason, particularly against his person, Henry VI tended to react with haste and often with vindictiveness.[21] In this case nothing alleged against Ormond threatened the king personally, and he did not rescind the earl's appointment, but he was nevertheless considerably shaken. Had Henry's confidence in the earl's good faith remained proof against Talbot's onslaught, the charges would probably have been sent directly to Ormond for comment. Instead the king decided to send a copy of Talbot's accusations to the chancellor of Ireland, Richard Wogan, with instructions to undertake a covert investigation into their accuracy.[22] Second thoughts about the wisdom of entrusting the lieutenancy to Ormond were clearly justified, but the hole and corner approach to the problem which the king adopted was unfortunately to prove as ill-judged as his initial, uncritical acceptance of the earl as Welles' successor.

Richard Wogan was a fairly obvious choice for the role of the king's confidential informant. Made chancellor in February 1441 in succession to Thomas Chace, he was one of the most recent English-seal appointees to senior office in the Dublin administration. Unlike Chace, he had family connections with the lordship and had apparently spent time there before his appointment, so might reasonably be supposed to be well-informed about Irish affairs.[23] He had also been admitted to office in time to have been present in person at the crucial Dublin parliament of November 1441.[24] But when, in the spring of 1442, Wogan received his secret orders from

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[21] See Wolffe, *Henry VI*, pp. 125-23; Griffiths, *Henry VI*, pp. 252-3.
[22] Graves, *King's council*, p. 285.
[23] See above, pp. 58-9; below, Appendix I, list 3, p. 495.
[24] Graves, *King's council*, p. 286.

England to investigate the Talbot accusations, Ormond, as might have been foreseen, fairly rapidly discovered what was afoot. The lieutenant's consequent fury, of which the unfortunate chancellor bore the brunt, was probably a symptom of shock. The earl had doubtless foreseen some trouble from the archbishop, but probably not the humiliation attendant on the unexpected discovery that a covert royal investigation into the veracity of the charges was being undertaken behind his back only a few weeks after his appointment as lieutenant had apparently signalled his return to full favour at Westminster for the first time since the mid 1420s. The force of this blow left its mark: at times during this third lieutenancy, Ormond demonstrated a degree of incaution and political ineptitude which the pressures of the feud had not previously exacted. In this instance, by treating Wogan as an enemy in the spring and summer of 1442, the earl drew further damaging accusations down on his own head from a man who, initially, had probably proved a reasonably amenable chancellor. Previous analyses have identified Wogan as a Talbot supporter,[25] but before the summer of 1442 this was not necessarily the case. A cousin of the chancellor, Anne Wogan, was the wife of Robert Dowdall, the man who had successfully ousted the archbishop's henchman, James Blakeney, from the office of chief justice of the common bench in Ireland.[26] And prone as he was to error, it is difficult to believe that the king would have

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[25] See M.C. Griffith, 'The Talbot-Ormond struggle for control of the Anglo-Irish government', p. 385; Otway-Ruthven, *Medieval Ireland*, p. 370. It has been suggested that Wogan accompanied Archbishop Talbot to England as one of the messengers from the 1441 Dublin parliament (see Richardson and Sayles, *Ir. parl.*, p. 258, note 92), but there does not seem to be any evidence to support this.

[26] *Stat. Hen. VI*, pp. 337-9. Although Richard and Anne Wogan were subsequently to be on opposing sides in a property dispute triggered by the death of her sister, Katherine, this did not apparently occur until the mid 1450s (ibid., pp. 586-9). For Dowdall, see above, pp. 279 (note 56), 293, and below, Appendix I, list 8, p. 545.

deliberately entrusted the investigation into the Talbot charges to a man known to have been hand in glove with their author.

From information contained in a letter which Wogan wrote to the king in mid June,[27] it appears that Ormond made two unsuccessful attempts during meetings of the Irish council in late May and early June to persuade him to reveal the details of the Talbot charges, of which the lieutenant had received no notification. By 5 June, however, a text of the accusations did reach Ormond's hands. Wogan told the king that it was obtained by John Chevir of Lincoln's Inn, the brother of William Chevir, second justice of the king's bench in Ireland. In the 1420s both the Chevirs had served as attorneys for lord Talbot's rival to the lordship of Wexford, lord Grey of Ruthin, and in December 1442 John Chevir was acting as an agent for Ormond at the English exchequer.[28] If Wogan had any inkling of how John Chevir gained his knowledge of the Talbot charges, he did not reveal it: his main concern was to demonstrate that he himself had not been responsible for the leak. There seems no reason to doubt this. Ormond's heir, James, was still in France at this time,[29] but the earl clearly had other contacts close to the king's court and council who had been able to supplement the official channels of communication for him.

Having obtained a text of the Talbot allegations, Ormond, with the support of other councillors, gave a formal refutation of them in Wogan's presence at a meeting of the Irish council at Trim on 5 June.[30] The

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[27] Graves, *King's council*, pp. 285-7.
[28] P.R.O., E403/748, m. 7; *C.P.R., 1416-22*, p. 317; ibid., *1422-29*, p. 7. For John Chevir, see also above, p. 134, note 122.
[29] James Ormond was appointed captain of Gournay in 1441 and was still in post in July 1442: A.E. Curry, 'Military organization in Lancastrian Normandy, 1422-50' (Teeside Polytechnic Ph.D. thesis, 1985), p. lxxxvii.
[30] Graves, *King's council*, pp. 276-84.

lieutenant's main purpose seems to have been to confound the chancellor by demonstrating his power to unmask the attempted secrecy of the latter's investigation. There may also have been some hopes of influencing or forestalling the report, which Wogan had been ordered to send to England, but, if so, this was an aim which might have been better served by a more conciliatory approach. Despite some opposition from Wogan, the proceedings of the meeting were recorded on an Irish chancery roll.

A number of the responses made to the Talbot charges on 5 June were simply brief disclaimers or flat denials which gave little away. The archbishop's two final points, requesting that lord Welles, John Sutton, Thomas Stanley and other past and present officials of the lordship should be questioned about the earl's past misdeeds and urging that Ormond should be dismissed from the lieutenancy, were either not included in the text sent by Chevir or were simply ignored. But in certain other respects the proceedings of the meeting were more revealing. It is obvious from the extraordinary length of the rebuttal of the archbishop's charges about the taking of prisoners (which apparently related to events in the 1420s)[31] that these were perceived as particularly dangerous. Although collusion with an Irish chief in the matter was strenuously denied and one of the four men named by Talbot as having been handed over by Ormond to the Irish - Philip Stoyle, prior of Connell - was produced at the meeting to back the earl on this point, it is clear that Talbot's allegations had at least some foundation. Ormond admitted having arrested Stoyle and another of the four, John Gallan, and gave his version of the circumstances in some

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[31] According to Talbot, these allegations related to one of the earl's previous lieutenancies (*P.P.C.*, v, p. 319), and for further information on this matter Wogan's own report referred the king to accusations made against Ormond by the commons of the city of Dublin in 1429, which had been sent to the English council: P.R.O., E101/248/16, no. 2.

detail.[32] Talbot's accusation that the earl was 'aged, unweldy and unlusty to labour' also apparently caught Ormond on the raw. The latter's considerably more terse, but equally defensive, reply to this point was that this was a matter for the king to judge.[33] Two at least of the archbishop's unflattering adjectives probably came uncomfortably near the mark. Although Ormond flatly denied the related charge that he had failed to defend his personal lands in Ireland, he had now passed fifty; Wogan, in his own submissions to the king, was not prepared to endorse Talbot's insistence that Ormond was incapable, but he did describe the earl as 'a grete growen man of fflesh'.[34] With regard to the matter of past accusations of treason against him, Ormond did not attempt to deny that he had previously faced charges from both John Talbot and John Grey. Fired perhaps by the aspersions cast on his physical fitness, he boldly affirmed his readiness to defend himself by his own hand against lord Talbot, or anyone acting in his, Grey's or March's name.[35] This seems to have been the first suggestion that his loyalty to the crown might ultimately be put to the trial of personal combat, as a case of treason outside the realm brought to the constable's court in England could be. In view of subsequent events, it seems that this was more than mere bravado. On this point at least, Ormond seems to have been confident of the justice of his cause, although he doubtless envisaged a more splendid and conclusive encounter than the almost comic confusion of the arrangements for his duel

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[32] Graves, *King's council*, pp. 280-1, 282-3.
[33] Ibid., p. 281.
[34] P.R.O., E101/248/16, no. 2.
[35] Graves, *King's council*, pp. 283-4.

at Smithfield with Prior Thomas fitzGerald of Kilmainham a few years later.[36]

Determined to carry out his orders from England notwithstanding the loss of secrecy, Wogan composed his own report on the Talbot allegations and also wrote a separate covering letter to the king dated from Dublin on 14 June.[37] The chancellor certainly did not back Talbot in every respect: his report made it fairly clear that the opposition to Ormond's deputyship for Welles had not been as widespread as Talbot had maintained. On certain other points - Ormond's alleged loss of personal lands, the existence and purpose of the tripartite pact, Talbot's hints of the earl's past misdeeds - Wogan was either unable or unwilling to comment and merely referred the king to lord Welles, Thomas Stanley and John Sutton for further information. But the chancellor seemed convinced that at least two of the charges could, and should, be made to stick. He supported the archbishop's allegation about the taking of prisoners, claiming that he had obtained corroboration from yet another of the four men named by Talbot, Davy Seman, of whose case Ormond's refutation had given no details at all. Wogan also had a great deal to say in support of the charge of parliament packing, which the Irish council had rejected without comment.

Whatever 'packing' took place, it can scarcely have been too flagrant, for in his covering letter Wogan maintained that he had been unaware of it at the time of the November parliament of 1441, at which, according to his

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[36] See below, pp. 376-7, 383-4, 400-1. For the constable's court and trial by duel, see *English constitutional documents, 1307-1485*, ed. E.C. Lodge and G.A. Thornton (Cambridge, 1935), pp. 254, 286-7.

[37] Our only knowledge of the content of the report derives from P.R.O., E101/248/16, no. 2 (see above, p. 310, note 7), but it is unlikely that this document misrepresented Wogan's comments as the king and his advisors would have been in a position to check its accuracy in this respect. For the text of Wogan's letter, see Graves, *King's council*, pp. 285-7.

report, he, as chancellor, had delivered the opening address.[38] However, his report stated that Ormond had procured shire seats in this assembly for men of his own household, 'so there might nothing passe in your seid parlement but after thentent of the seid Erle'. This would perhaps not have made very surprising reading in England, where a significant proportion of shire and borough seats normally went to government officials and members of the royal household,[39] but in his letter Wogan pressed the further charge that some of Ormond's men had each represented two or three shires, cities, towns or absent lords. There is evidence of at least one instance of such a practice in the past - at the first parliament of Ormond's first lieutenancy -[40] but Wogan implied that the problem in 1441 was more widespread. His letter also mentioned that he had drawn up a separate schedule of the men and seats he believed to have been concerned, but unfortunately no trace of this supporting document has come to light. He alleged that one of the men involved was a chancery clerk, Richard Rowe,[41] but the report suggests that the chancellor shared Talbot's belief that the others included men of Gaelic stock.

It has been suggested that Ormond's 'packing' may simply have consisted of persuading some of his associates to represent remote areas that would not otherwise have bothered to send a representative to the assembly at all, in which case there would have been no question of employing any strong-arm tactics to quash other candidates.[42] Ormond

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[38] P.R.O., E101/248/16, no. 2; Graves, *King's council*, p. 286.
[39] See J.S. Roskell, *The commons in the parliament of 1422* (Manchester, 1954), pp. 66, 133-5; A.L. Brown, *The governance of late medieval England, 1272-1461* (London, 1989), pp. 188-205.
[40] See Richardson and Sayles, *Ir. parl.*, p. 181.
[41] Graves, *King's council*, p. 286. Rowe had also served as a chancery clerk during Ormond's first lieutenancy of 1420-2: P.R.O., E101/247/13, no. 2; P.R.O.I., RC8/38, p. 347.
[42] See Richardson and Sayles, *Ir. parl.* pp. 181-2.

would have been unlikely to have shared Wogan's view that the inclusion of men of Irish ancestry in parliaments or great councils was *per se* a threat to the welfare and good government of the lordship. He might well have seen this as a further means of binding them to peace. However, any steps he took to dilute the 'Englishness' of assemblies were probably very minimal. While he may have been aware that Richard II had envisaged the summoning of Irish chiefs to parliaments and councils, there is no evidence that Ormond ever contemplated such a radical step in the direction of Anglo-Gaelic co-operation.[43]

Although Wogan's report suggests that the November parliament of 1441 had not expressed its views about the succession to lord Welles as clearly as Talbot had made out, the chancellor very firmly endorsed the archbishop's opinion that the lordship would prefer, and would be better governed by, a lieutenant from England. He asserted too that the support given to Ormond by the Irish council was forced, not genuine, and that men were afraid to cross the earl while he wielded the power of the chief governorship. But he also made no secret of the fact that the lieutenant was meanwhile making life in Ireland very difficult for him. His report warned that he would be unable to stay in Ireland as chancellor if Ormond remained in office because of the latter's 'indignacion'. With a more prudent eye to his long-term interests, Wogan's letter asked the king to grant him English-seal letters patent to enable him to hold the

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[43] A number of the Gaelic chiefs who submitted to Richard II in 1394-5 promised to attend parliaments and councils if summoned to them (see E. Curtis, *Richard II in Ireland*, pp. 49, 58-60, 188-9), but none of the surviving submissions negotiated by Ormond in the 1420s (discussed above, pp. 186-96) included clauses of this kind. For the Gaelic Irish and the Irish parliament, see also A. Cosgrove, 'The emergence of the Pale, 1399-1447', *N.H.I.*, ii, p. 549.

chancellorship by deputy as he could no longer bear Ormond's 'hevy lordship'.[44]

The nature of this 'hevy lordship' was not revealed, but there were doubtless many ways in which a wrathful lieutenant could bring uncomfortable pressure to bear upon a chancellor bent on informing the king against him. By mid July Wogan could sustain his position in Ireland no longer and fled secretly from Dublin to England. Having driven him away, Ormond deemed him to have vacated his office and replaced him with one of his own trusted supporters, Richard fitzEustace, who had briefly served as chancellor once before, in the autumn months of the earl's justiciarship of 1426-7.[45] In Ireland the advantages were clearly on Ormond's side; nevertheless open persecution of the king's special agent carried risks of damaging political consequences elsewhere, and it seems that it was only after he had forced Wogan to flee that the earl took account of these and took steps to defend his position.

When Wogan was first discovered to be missing on 11 or 12 July, Ormond adjourned a great council, then in session at Naas, to Dublin for 30 July.[46] By some means or other - either from Wogan, or from one of the chancery clerks, or possibly even from England - Ormond had obtained copies of both the report and the letter which Wogan had prepared for the king in June. These, together with the text of the original charges by Archbishop Talbot and the record of their initial rebuttal at the Irish council meeting on 5 June (which was exemplified on 3 August)[47] were laid before the assembly for futher comment.[48] Unpropitiously for Ormond, the

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[44] Graves, *King's council*, p. 287.
[45] Ibid., pp. 288-94. For fitzEustace's previous chancellorship under Ormond, see above, p. 227; below, Appendix I, list 3, p. 493.
[46] Graves, *King's council*, p. 289.
[47] Ibid., p. 284.
[48] P.R.O., E101/248/16, no. 2.

speaker of the commons of the great council was Robert Plunket,[49] but nonetheless the earl was able to obtain the backing he required. Strong support was expressed for his capabilities in and out of office and a firm plea made 'that he shold contenue forth during his seid terme'. It was said that there was no one else in Ireland 'so mighty and so hable to kepe this land ... to the kinges availle' and that he had lost none of his personal lands. Dr Empey's research on the Butler lordship suggests that a further, very positive statement on this point - that, as far as the assembly was aware, there had been no significant contraction of the Ormond lands since the time of the second earl's minority (1338-47) - was broadly accurate.[50] With regard to Talbot's charge about the taking of prisoners, the prior of Connell was re-examined and the testimony which he had given to the Irish council on 5 June was reiterated. All the archbishop's other charges were denied. So too, interestingly, was all knowledge of the tripartite indentures, although the lieutenant, several other officials and, indeed, the speaker of the commons,[51] could no doubt have enlightened the assembly had they cared to do so.

However, there can be no doubt that the main aim was not simply to provide a further refutation of the Talbot charges, but to discredit Wogan as well. When, after the assembly's deliberations, a report was prepared and sent to England to the king, carefully collating the archbishop's original accusations point by point with the comments of the ex-chancellor and those of the great council, two further memoranda were appended. One

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[49] For the Plunkets, see above, pp. 237 and 253, note 110.

[50] C.A. Empey, 'The Butler lordship in Ireland, 1185-1515' (Dublin Ph.D. thesis, 1970), pp. 230-3.

[51] Plunket himself, the new chancellor, Richard fitzEustace, the serjeant at law, Edward Somerton, two of the justices, Robert Dowdall and William Chevir, and the third baron of the exchequer, Peter Clinton, had all been members of the arbitration panel: see above, pp. 287-8.

noted that Robert Dyke, clerk of the rolls of the Irish chancery, had denied a claim, which had been made in Wogan's letter to the king,[52] that he had only enrolled the proceedings of the Irish council meeting of 5 June unwillingly and in fear of his life. It was said that Dyke had been too ill to attend the great council, but that his denial had been given on oath to a deputation from the assembly including the speaker and three officials. The second memorandum asserted that a number of Wogan's comments were supported by vague and slanderous references to the opinions of the king's 'liege peple': it was suggested that the king should require Wogan to name his sources more precisely.[53]

In England, meanwhile, Wogan had lost no time in presenting himself at the royal court at Windsor, where he claimed that Ormond had indicted him of treason simply for carrying out the king's orders. Henry's reaction was prompt, but again extraordinarily maladroit. On 30 July, the day on which Ormond's great council reassembled in Dublin, Wogan was granted a royal pardon for all the offences alleged against him in Ireland.[54] He was *not, however, reinstated as Irish chancellor.* A week later, in a move which seems, under the circumstances, even more astonishing than the king's incautious acceptance of Ormond's bid for the lieutenancy at the beginning of the year, letters patent were issued granting the chancellorship of Ireland to Richard Talbot. It was the first time the archbishop had received an English-seal appointment to administrative office in Ireland

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[52] Graves, *King's council*, p. 286.
[53] P.R.O., E101/248/16, no. 2; for the deputation sent to Dyke, see also Richardson and Sayles, *Ir. parl.*, p. 185.
[54] *C.P.R., 1441-46*, p. 91.

since 1426.[55] Possibly his restoration at this unpropitious juncture was an attempt on the king's part to show a somewhat belated even-handedness, but, if so, it was an ill-considered decision which merely created further trouble.

There can be no doubt that Henry's councillors were alarmed both by the crisis in the Dublin administration and by the royal response to it. At a meeting of the English council at Sheen on 24 August at which the now diminishing number of members who had served for all or most of the royal minority were present in force, it was decided that the position was sufficiently serious for Ormond to be summoned from the lordship immediately.[56] Archbishop Talbot, notwithstanding his new appointment, was to be ordered to remain in England. The intention was clearly to preclude a confrontation between the two in Ireland and to ensure that the full investigation and settlement of the feud which had been recommended to the king at the outset of his personal rule should now take place in England without further delay. To minimize factional stress within the Dublin administration meanwhile, the council further proposed the unusual step of taking the nomination of a deputy lieutenant and a deputy chancellor into its own hands.[57] For advice on suitably 'indifferent men in Irland' to fill these offices, the councillors turned to Giles Thorndon, the Irish treasurer, who had arrived from the lordship earlier in the year to account at the English exchequer. It was also hoped that Thorndon, as an esquire of the king's household whose relatively recent connection with

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[55] Ibid.; see also below, Appendix I, list 3, pp. 493-5.
[56] *P.P.C.*, v, pp. 201-2. Amongst the ten men present, seven - Gloucester and Beaufort, Bishop Stafford (the chancellor), the earls of Huntingdon and Stafford and lords Hungerford and Tiptoft - had been councillors since the mid 1420s or earlier: for council membership and attendance in the 1420s and the early 1440s, see Griffiths, *Henry VI*, pp. 22-3, 32-8, 278-82.
[57] See also above, p. 50.

the lordship had been preceded by a distinguished career in royal service elsewhere,[58] might provide a helpfully disinterested view of Irish politics. The meeting also required him 'to give up in articles all that he wol write for the king and agenst any other persones'.

Thorndon clearly relished this commission. The report which he submitted made much of his credentials as an impartial advisor. He claimed that in thirty-eight years' service to Henry V and Henry VI, he 'never hadde fee ne reward but onely of hem tweyn', and he assured the council that the points he made were 'for the wele and profite to the Kyng' and not for his own advancement 'ne for noon hyndryng hate or malice ... ayeinst any persone or partie' in Ireland.[59] He offered no specific comments either on the Talbot charges or on the controversy which they had aroused in the lordship: this had, in any case, taken place after his own departure for England.[60] Instead he merely sought to impress on the council in general terms the extent to which the Talbot-Ormond feud was pervading and undermining royal government. He maintained that the influence of the feud on the Irish council and courts was such that no *matter concerning either faction could have due process* at law, and would

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[58] For Thorndon's career and Irish appointments, see above, pp. 58, 68.

[59] *P.P.C.*, v, pp. 321-4. The report is undated, but was ascribed by the editor to late August/early September 1442. In the light of the minutes of council proceedings on 24 and 28 August there seems little doubt that it was composed between these two dates (ibid., pp. 202, 206; Otway-Ruthven, *Medieval Ireland*, p. 373). It was of course then much less than thirty-eight years since Henry V's accession, but Thorndon had begun his career as a page of the pantry to him as prince of Wales in 1402-3: see R.A. Griffiths, *The principality of Wales in the later middle ages*, i, *South Wales*, p. 216.

[60] Thorndon's place at the Irish council meeting of 5 June had been taken by William Chevir, acting as his deputy (Graves, *King's council*, p. 276). The treasurer had probably left Ireland fairly promptly after the final date covered by his account, 20 January 1442 (P.R.O., E101/248/13), for he apparently arrived in England before the end of the 1442 parliament, which met at Westminster from 25 January to 27 March: see Richardson and Sayles, *Ir. parl.*, p. 258 and below, p. 330.

not unless some remedy could be found. But having established this point, Thorndon's main concern was to draw attention to the particular aspects of the situation which hampered his own work as treasurer and to a further problem - the meagre resources of the Irish exchequer.

According to Thorndon, Irish exchequer officials dared not sue for various large debts to the crown for fear of being put out of office at the next change of chief governor. Quoting a mid-fourteenth century precedent, which had arisen from a former justiciar's attempt to protect his particular adherents from the exchequer's demands, Thorndon requested that he, like his predecessor of the 1350s, John Bolton, should be exempted from the jurisdiction of the chief governor and placed directly under the authority of the king so that he could perform his duties without interference.[61] He was concerned too that the office of chief baron should be held by 'a suffisant lerned man of lawe', that he and other exchequer officers should not be 'in fee' with any 'other lord' and that they should act in person, not by deputy. He asked for clarification of the legality of the numerous grants and pardons which had been issued by chief governors on their own authority since the previous reign. These, he maintained, contravened Edwardian ordinances and reduced the Irish revenue, which, he calculated, fell short of the charges of the Dublin administration in the current year by nearly £1,500. To boost revenue he proposed that ships carrying goods from England to Ireland should pay their customs there on arrival rather than at the port of departure. Additionally he put in a special plea for the speedy repair of the two

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[61] For Bolton's letters patent dated March 1357 (quoted in full by Thorndon: *P.P.C.*, v, p. 324) and the related warning to the then justiciar, Thomas Rokeby, against taking action against him, see *C.P.R., 1354-58*, p. 520; *C.C.R., 1354-60*, pp. 349-50; also Frame, *English lordship*, p. 112.

castles of which he was constable, Dublin and Wicklow,[62] on the grounds that the cost of further neglect would be exorbitant, and reminded the council, possibly with an eye to the provision of the necessary funds, of a previous suggestion from Edward Eustace that men born in Ireland who refused orders to return there should be fined in England.[63]

This was a wide-ranging report which raised many issues, but it nevertheless offered a significantly less alarming perspective on the state of the Dublin government than Archbishop Talbot's charges and Richard Wogan's report and letter had done. As the English council was no doubt aware, Thorndon had arrived in England nursing at least one grievance against Ormond's régime. In a petition apparently presented to the English parliament in February or March 1442, he had claimed that an act passed by the most recent Irish parliament had challenged his possession of a £30 annuity from the royal manor of Crumlin and both his constableships.[64] Precisely what lay behind this is unclear, but it is possible that the Dublin parliament held by Ormond as deputy in November 1441 had sought to enforce the suggestion made by the Naas great council earlier the same year that all appointees to Irish offices should be vetted by the chief governor and the Irish council.[65] Thorndon had obtained a favourable response in the English parliament to his request for confirmation of his grants, and in the summer of 1442 he was granted English letters patent

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[62] Since 1434 and 1439 respectively (*C.P.R., 1429-36*, p. 443; *1436-41*, p. 240). Thorndon had been sworn in as constable of Dublin in April 1435 on a brief visit to Ireland with orders to take the muster of the retinue of Thomas Stanley, and his possession of the constableship had been reconfirmed for life in 1438 after he became treasurer: ibid., *1429-36*, p. 471; *1436-41*, p. 197; *R.C.H.*, p. 256, no. 22, p. 257, no. 59.

[63] Edward Eustace was a fellow Irish councillor and also one of Thorndon's predecessors as constable of Wicklow: ibid., p. 253, no. 38; see also above, p. 287.

[64] P.R.O., SC8/144/7179; see also Richardson and Sayles, *Ir. parl.*, p. 258.

[65] See above, p. 302.

protecting his tenure of offices in the lordship and his receipt of annuities, fees and wages from the interference of the justices or lieutenants of Ireland.[66] His report's request for removal from the chief governor's jurisdiction and its criticism of the influence of the chief governorship over the post of chief baron of the Irish exchequer - presumably provoked by unease at the strength of the long-established association between Ormond and the Cornwalshes - were further indications of some degree of tension between Thorndon and the earl. Nevertheless, the personal animus against Ormond, so openly displayed by Talbot and, with less virulence, by Wogan was conspicuously absent from the treasurer's report. This couched all its complaints in general, not particular, terms. Although it stressed the problems caused by the feud, it made no call for the lieutenant's dismissal and certainly gave no indication that the author was reluctant to continue in office; on the contrary, it clearly demonstrated Thorndon's energy, ability and zeal for reform.

When, on 28 August, the English council reconsidered the Talbot-Ormond crisis, this time at Kennington, in the king's presence - and

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[66] P.R.O., C66/452, m. 5; *C.P.R., 1441-46*, p. 73. The fact that these letters patent, dated 5 June, also included the protection from the chief governor's jurisdiction which Thorndon requested in his report to the council (*P.P.C.*, v, p. 324) prompted a suggestion that the report itself was written and presented at least three months earlier than generally assumed (see Richardson and Sayles, *Ir. parl.*, p. 258, note 95). However, the date on the letters patent is not in itself sufficient reason to reject the otherwise more probable August dating for the report (see above, note 59). In accordance with a statute of 1439, the practice in the English chancery at this time was to date great seal letters according to the date of receipt of the corresponding warrants, but there were instances when there was then some delay before the letters themselves were prepared and issued: see H.C. Maxwell-Lyte, *Historical notes on the use of the great seal of England* (London, 1926), pp. 258-61. In this case delay could well have been caused by failure of the warrant to specify the Edwardian precedent for Thorndon's removal from the chief governor's jurisdiction fully and accurately, which would explain why Thorndon thought it prudent to expedite matters by quoting it in full in his report to the council.

apparently, in the light of Thorndon's representations - only half the councillors who had attended on 24 August were present, and the sense of urgency so evident in the previous discussion had receded.[67] Two decisions were taken. The first - seemingly a response to Thorndon's concern about the inadequacy of the Irish revenue - was that Ormond should be informed that 'alle ordenaries charges and wages and rewardes' due to other officials should be given preference over his own payments, as these could, if necessary, be claimed from England instead.[68] The second was that the investigation of the Talbot-Ormond feud which had previously been urged 'in alle haste' was postponed to February 1443. There was no revocation of Archbishop Talbot's new appointment as chancellor, and it was further agreed that he and the earl should be left to choose their own deputies in Ireland when the time came for them to obey their summons to England. Meanwhile, Henry considered it adequate to pronounce that the 'discorde' between the two men should 'in alle wyses' cease.

It seems unlikely that the report produced in Ormond's defence in the wake of his Dublin great council earlier in the month had yet arrived in England, and the minutes of the English council meeting contain no reference to it. Nevertheless, the immediate threat that his seven-year term would be curtailed after a mere six months was thus removed. However, royal optimism that postponement of the investigation of the feud would promote reconciliation rather than provoke further recrimination

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[67] *P.P.C.*, v, pp. 203-6, cf. pp. 201-2.

[68] According to the minutes (ibid., p. 206), the discussion at this point was based on the mistaken premise that Ormond's indentures had granted him free disposal of the Irish revenue (cf. *An. Hib.*, 1, pp. 215-6). It was a muddle which would perhaps not have occurred had Gloucester, who had been responsible for implementing Henry V's original decision to withdraw this power from the lieutenancy in 1420, been present: see above, pp. 32-6, 87-8.

proved misplaced. Both Ormond and Richard Talbot merely saw the delay as an opportunity to undermine each other's credit still further before the date of the hearing arrived.

Released from further protraction of his extended stay in England by the postponement of the investigation of the feud to the following February, Talbot made his way back to Dublin in October. On his arrival, Ormond was absent in the north. According to a memorandum recounting for Irish chancery records the ensuing sequence of events in the third and fourth weeks of the month,[69] Talbot, having taken his oath as chancellor, sent messengers to inform Ormond of his appointment and to demand that he be given custody of the Irish great seal. Unsurprisingly, after all that had passed since Talbot had left Ireland the previous winter, Ormond was in no mood to welcome him as chancellor with open arms. After calling Talbot to a meeting of the Irish council at Drogheda, he demanded documentary proof of the appointment. This, after prolonged prevarication and two further meetings, Talbot refused to give. The appointment, having been entered on the English patent roll, was surely *bona fide*, so it would seem likely that Talbot deliberately withheld the proof in the hope of provoking Ormond into rejecting him as chancellor and thus flouting the king's wishes. If this was a carefully laid trap, Ormond was apparently wary enough not to rush into it headlong. Within a month, however, he found other means to engineer Talbot's dismissal.

In England, earlier in the year, Talbot had done his utmost to demonstrate Ormond's unfitness for the lieutenancy; in mid November, the

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[69] Graves, *King's council*, pp. 295-300.

earl turned the tables on his opponent and summoned him before the Irish council to answer an almost equally lengthy catalogue of accusations designed to prove his unfitness for the chancellorship.[70] At two points the surviving text is incomplete, but one charge apparently referred to some slur or attack by Talbot on Hugh Bavent and Robert Dyke. As Talbot was then chancellor and Bavent treasurer, it seems the incident took place in the first months of the revival of the Talbot-Ormond feud in the mid 1420s shortly before the archbishop's dismissal from the chancellorship in the wake of Ormond's election as justiciar in April 1426.[71] Talbot was further accused of disobedience as chancellor to privy-seal instructions from both Ormond and John Sutton as lieutenant; of refusing to issue the appointment or to take the oath of Sutton's preferred deputy lieutenant (in 1429) and thus forcing Sutton to accept an alternative nominee; of misusing the Irish great seal for his own personal and political advantage; of consorting, on his return to Dublin from England in the autumn of 1442, with a man who had been pronounced a traitor at Lionel de Welles' Drogheda parliament of November 1440.[72]

Thus far the archbishop's efforts to accomplish Ormond's dismissal had proved unsuccessful. Ormond, however, still in office notwithstanding the problems which Talbot's charges against him had caused, had little difficulty in pressing his own attack on his opponent home. When - unsurprisingly, perhaps - Talbot failed to appear to answer these accusations, Ormond resumed the chancellorship into the king's hands.

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[70] Graves, *King's council*, pp. 300-3.
[71] Talbot's mid-1420s chancellorship had run from July 1423; Bavent had been treasurer from September 1424 to December 1426 (see below, Appendix I, list 3, p. 493; list 5, p. 506). For the resurgence of the Talbot-Ormond feud in the winter of 1425-6 and Talbot's dismissal as chancellor the following April, see above, pp. 213-14.
[72] See above, p. 284. For the controversy over Sutton's choice of deputy in 1429, see also above, p. 244.

According to the memorandum of the Irish council's proceedings on the day in question, 21 November, Ormond flourished his own letters patent of appointment as lieutenant and assured those present that these gave him ample authority for his action.[73] However, the clause in his letters patent empowering him to remove and replace officials found to be unfit or unsuitable for their posts clearly and unequivocally excepted the chancellor, treasurer and two chief justices.[74] Ormond was thus either misinformed or deliberately bluffing. If the latter, he was adopting a far more risky stratagem than the means by which other uncongenial chancellors had been ousted on previous occasions.[75] In this instance, at least, Thorndon's recent warning of the Irish council's inability to dispense impartial justice in any issue involving factional interest was wholly justified. Yet by no means all the seven councillors present were close supporters of the earl. One, Peter Clinton, and possibly another, Edward Somerton, owed their offices to appointments made by Talbot; a third, Christopher Bernevale, certainly had sympathies with the Talbot faction. The fact that the memorandum of the meeting laid such stress on Ormond's personal role in the affair may well be an indication that some councillors were less than happy with the proceedings, but it seems that there was no overt dissent. Relations between Ormond and Bernevale did subsequently

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[73] ... *Ex hiis et aliis, ut idem Dominus Locum tenens dixit, motus, ex plenitudine potestatis sue et vigore literarum patencium Domini Regis sue Locumtenencie, quas manibus suis tunc tenebat, officium dicte Cancellarie in manibus Domini Regis saisivit* ... (Graves, *King's council*, pp. 302-3).

[74] ... *Et insuper concessimus eidem comiti ac dicto deputato suo plenam potestatem et auctoritatem ad gestum quorumcumque ministrorum seu officiariorum nostrorum in hibernia supervidendum et illos quos nobis inutiles et inhabiles invenint ab officiis suis ammovendum et alias personas utiles et idoneas loco ipsorum seu alicuius ipsorum ordinandum constituendum et subrogandum cancellario thesaurario et capitali justiciis nostris in dicta terra nostra dumtaxat exceptis* ... (P.R.O., C66/451, m. 2).

[75] See above, pp. 62, 127-8, 324. The circumstances of Talbot's previous ousting from the chancellorship in 1426 are unclear: see above, p. 213.

break down, but not at this early stage of the lieutenancy: both Bernevale and Clinton continued to attend Irish council meetings at least until June 1444.[76] Possibly, as Wogan had maintained a few months earlier, councillors unsympathetic to the earl were simply too cowed to protest. But it may well have seemed that protest, whether successful or unsuccessful, would have been futile. Had Talbot remained in office at this point the acrimony between lieutenant and chancellor would probably have resulted in complete administrative paralysis.

As after Wogan's flight from Ireland four months earlier, Richard fitzEustace was again installed in the vacant chancellorship by Irish-seal appointment, although when subscribing with other Irish councillors to a letter sent to the English council on 25 April 1443, he was tactfully to style himself 'keeper of the seal' rather than 'chancellor'.[77] There is no indication that Archbishop Talbot made any immediate attempt to secure reappointment under the English seal: certainly no such reappointment was issued. It is possible that he decided to hold his fire until he and Ormond went to England for the expected royal investigation of the feud in February 1443. But if so, this was to prove a miscalculation.

In the event, the arrangements for the earl and the archbishop to appear before the king collapsed. Why the previously agreed date for this - 9 February - was missed is unclear. Ormond was certainly in contact with Westminster in the early months of 1443. In March a man in his service in England, Thomas Stacy, who in 1430 had acted as an agent for him at the English exchequer, was there in attendance on the English

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[76] Graves, *King's council*, p. 311. Somerton was present at the same meeting. For Ormond's later accusations against Bernevale, see below, p. 369; for Bernevale's, Clinton's and Somerton's previous connections with Talbot, see above, pp. 283, 289-90.
[77] *P.P.C.*, v, pp. 325-7.

council.[78] Well before this, in mid December 1442, Irish-seal letters patent had been prepared certifying the necessity for English subsidization of the earl's finances as lieutenant. These were received in England at some time before 6 February, when the appropriate warrant was authorized for further issues to be made from the English exchequer.[79] As in 1422, when he had been preparing for Henry V's expected investigation into the success of his first lieutenancy, Ormond apparently solicited expressions of support from the localities. It was on 9 January 1443 that Jordan Purcell, bishop of Cork and Cloyne, and other prominent ecclesiastical and lay figures in the south-west produced their testimonial praising the earl's former efforts in their defence as Welles' deputy.[80] This document would obviously have provided Ormond with ammunition against any renewal of Talbot's allegations of his unpopularity and incompetence as chief governor. Possibly further testimonials were offered from other localities too. Ormond himself, however, remained in Ireland, and as early as 5 December 1442 he had summoned the first parliament of the lieutenancy to meet at Drogheda on 25 January,[81] a date which was unlikely to have made it easy for him to depart in time to appear before the English council a fortnight later. It may be that in the hope of averting, or at least delaying, a damaging and potentially fatal interruption to his long-awaited third term of office as lieutenant, Ormond used this assembly as grounds for pleading for a postponement.

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[78] P.R.O., E403/695, m. 5; *P.P.C.*, v, pp. 242, 245. Stacy held land of the earl at Aylesbury, and an account of Ormond's receivers in England for the year Michaelmas 1434 to Michaelmas 1435 mentions two payments made to him from the profits of the earl's English lands: P.R.O., C1/73/134; SC6/1250/4.

[79] P.R.O., E404/59/135.

[80] Lambeth Palace Library, Carew MS 617, p. 307; see also above, pp. 153-4, 298.

[81] *Reg. Swayne*, p. 188.

Responsibility for the failure of the investigation to take place at all in 1443, however, lay primarily with the king. Such interest as Henry had shown in the matter the previous August faded swiftly. One obvious reason for this was the distraction caused by a major crisis in the increasingly uncertain and unsuccessful defence of the English position in France. In 1442 Charles VII had made considerable advances into Gascony; in the new year of 1443 Normandy too was reported to be under threat of renewed French attack. By February it was clear to Henry and the English council that two major defensive expeditions were required and that there would be considerable difficulty in finding adequate men and funds even for one. The solution eventually decided upon in March was to dispatch John Beaufort, earl of Somerset, to distract French efforts in both areas with a new offensive in Maine and Anjou, financed with what was to be the last loan to the crown from his uncle, Cardinal Beaufort. The preparations for this venture proved complex and protracted. It was not until July - after his acquisition of a dukedom and terms of independent command which necessitated unsuccessful efforts to reassure the duke of York that his own authority as the king's lieutenant general in France was not thereby to be undermined - that Somerset actually set sail.[82] A telling measure of the king's preoccupation with the crisis in France is provided by his reaction to the receipt early in March of a petition sent by the earl of Desmond on behalf of a Florentine merchant in his service wanting to export wool and other goods from England and Ireland.[83] As if suddenly reminded of the existence of an untapped power which might usefully be

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[82] See Griffiths, *Henry VI*, pp. 462-9; Wolffe, *Henry VI*, pp. 160-5; M. Jones, 'John Beaufort, duke of Somerset and the French expedition of 1443', *Patronage, the crown and the provinces*, ed. R.A. Griffiths, pp. 79-102, esp. pp. 84-91; Johnson, *Duke Richard*, pp. 41-3; Harriss, *Beaufort*, pp. 332-9.
[83] P.R.O., E28/71/12.

harnessed to his present need, Henry dispatched (via Thomas Stacy) orders for Desmond, lord Barry and others to send men, supplies and ships for the defence of Gascony.[84] The mention of lord Barry may be an indication that Bishop Jordan's testimonial had also just then been brought to the king's attention, for his name had been prominent among the signatories.

But, in the final resort, the plans for an investigation of the Talbot-Ormond quarrel foundered, not because the matter was simply forgotten, but because the king refused to undertake it. Renewed efforts by some of his closest advisers to ensure that the problem of the feud was firmly addressed in 1443 proved fruitless. By the last week of February the king had apparently recognised the *de facto* deposition of Archbishop Talbot as chancellor of Ireland. However, his authorization of the reappointment of Richard Wogan - this time with the power of holding office by deputy which he had sought the previous year as an essential protection against Ormond's 'hevy lordship' - was perhaps not the response most obviously likely to lessen tension within the Dublin administration.[85] Just under a month later, on Saturday, 23 March, at a select meeting of the English council in Star Chamber at Westminster composed entirely of officials, the clerk of the council, Adam Moleyns, took a memorandum that 'on Moneday or Tewsday' he was to 'be with my lord of Suffolk at the kynges hous with a note of a lettre to therle of Ormond and to therchebisshop of Dyvelyng'.[86] This was a matter on which at least one of those present could have brought some relevant past experience to bear. The recently appointed chief justice of England was another of Ormond's

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[84] *P.P.C.*, v, p. 245. Stacy was dispatched on 14 March, apparently in haste, for he was back in England and receiving payment for accomplishing his mission by 6 April: P.R.O., E403/748, m. 17.
[85] P.R.O., PSO 1/14/710, 711; *C.P.R., 1441-46*, p. 126.
[86] *P.P.C.*, v, pp. 247-8.

former agents at the English exchequer, John Fortescue, whose brother, Henry, had been a member of the Dublin administration at the time of the resurgence of the Talbot-Ormond feud in the mid 1420s.[87] On the following Wednesday, 27 March, another council meeting was held in the king's presence at Eltham, attended by Suffolk himself and two of those who had been included in the earlier meeting - Moleyns and the English chancellor, Bishop Stafford. It was agreed that Ormond and Talbot should be summoned before the king and the council within a month of Easter, which that year fell on 21 April. But it seems that these attempts to resolve the matter were frustrated because Henry then changed his mind. A note added to the minutes of the meeting of 27 March states that, after letters to Ormond and Talbot were prepared and sealed, Stafford and Moleyns 'commanded for the king that thei sholde not passe'.[88]

Thereafter no further plans for the earl and the archbishop to appear together before the king seem to have been made, but there may have been a further reason for this besides mere preoccupation and reluctance on the king's part. By this time the earl's heir, Sir James Ormond, had returned from France. Undeterred by the antagonism between his father and the archbishop of Dublin, he had begun to establish significantly more cordial relations with at least one of Richard Talbot's nephews, John Talbot's son, Christopher.[89] The association probably developed under the aegis of the duke of York in Normandy, where John Talbot, recently created earl of

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[87] For the Fortescues, see above, pp. 214, 220.

[88] *P.P.C.*, v, pp. 249-50. This document has been cited elsewhere as an example of the emptiness of royal authority at this time: see J.L. Watts, 'The counsels of King Henry VI, *c.* 1435-1445', *E.H.R.*, cvi (1991), pp. 279-98 on p. 292. However, as Stafford and Moleyns had attended both meetings of the council on this matter, it seems unlikely that they were countermanding the letters on their own initiative.

[89] James Ormond and Christopher Talbot visited Shrewsbury together in 1443: A.J. Pollard, 'The family of Talbot, lords Talbot and earls of Shrewsbury in the fifteenth century' (Bristol Ph.D. thesis, 1968), p. 134.

Shrewsbury, and York's annuitant since the mid 1430s, was the most able and active military commander serving with the duke's forces.[90] Given James Ormond's links with the royal household, the English council's concern about the feud and the arrival in England of Shrewsbury himself in the summer of 1443 with messages from York, news of the *rapprochement* between younger members of the Talbot and Ormond families could scarcely have failed to reach the king and his advisers. Within another two years, this development was, with active royal encouragement, to provide the key to the final settlement of the feud.[91] Meanwhile, it may well have seemed that the first steps towards a full Talbot-Ormond reconciliation were more likely to be impeded than assisted by a formal investigation of the quarrel between the earl and the archbishop.

In Ireland, however, with the threat of interruption or curtailment of Ormond's term of office once again removed, Richard Talbot was left nursing a grievance. Whatever risks a royal enquiry into the quarrel might have held for his reputation and credit, he gained nothing but humiliation from royal inaction. In time some of the dust settled. At some stage between the summer of 1443 and the spring of 1444 Wogan returned to Ireland armed with his English-seal reappointment and was accepted back into office as chancellor. Although Talbot was never to regain this post, he too rejoined the Irish council by March 1444, indeed probably earlier, for the second full parliament of the lieutenancy was held in the winter of 1443-4 in Dublin.[92] But any formal reconciliation

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[90] See Pollard, *John Talbot*, pp. 40-1, 58-60.

[91] See below, pp. 372-93.

[92] *Reg. Swayne*, p. 190; *C.O.D.*, iii, no. 159, pp. 140, 144, 146, 150. Both Wogan and Talbot were present at council meetings on 30 March and 21 June 1444. On each occasion the record of attendance gave the latter precedence as archbishop immediately after the lieutenant and before the other officers present.

between him and Ormond, promoted perhaps by the new cordiality between other members of their families elsewhere, was almost certainly fairly superficial. The events of 1442 cast some long shadows and engendered a bitterness which was to die hard.

During the second year of the lieutenancy the signs are that a brief period of relative calm returned to the Dublin administration. As efforts were made to resume the normal business of government, Ormond's first priority was defence. The Drogheda parliament had voted him a defence subsidy of perhaps 600 marks in January 1443.[93] Three months later, at the end of April, the Irish council sent letters to the king and his chief officers, Bishop Stafford and lord Cromwell - perhaps to other English councillors too - pleading urgently for the issue of the arrears of Ormond's payments as lieutenant on account of his 'gret costes ... in labouring for the salfe garde' of Ireland and 'in making paiement to the poeple of the same lande for him his housold and soldeiours to the importable charges of him and his frendes'.[94] After further certification in May of the lack of funds to pay him from the Irish exchequer, this produced the largest single English exchequer issue to the earl of the lieutenancy - an assignment of £1,000 early in July. His initial lump sum

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[93] *Reg. Swayne*, p. 188. The calculation of the value of the subsidy is based on the size of the contribution from the clergy of Armagh - £8 8s 9d - but can only be tentative, as there is no evidence as to whether or not the number of other local contributions was similar to those collected two decades earlier: see above, p. 202, note 101.

[94] B.L., Harleian Charter 111.B.12; *P.P.C.*, v, p. 325.

of the same amount had not been paid all at once, but somewhat tardily in three separate instalments between March and December 1442.[95]

Indications of the direction and extent of Ormond's campaigns in 1443 are unfortunately scarce. It is possible that he made at least a brief visit to the south in the early autumn,[96] and it was to Naas in Kildare that he summoned a great council for the end of October.[97] However, as what evidence there is of the whereabouts of the Irish chancery and council in the first half of the year points to Drogheda,[98] it seems that his first concern, as so often in the past, was the north. Magennis' submission the previous year had not checked his attacks on church property in the diocese of Dromore. In November 1442 Archbishop Prene had responded by excommunicating the chief and reminding O'Neill of Clandeboy of his own recent pledge to hold Magennis in check.[99] In the early months of 1443 Ormond may well have been campaigning in south-east Ulster on Prene's behalf.

But the success which the earl had enjoyed in the north in the past at this point eluded him. Whatever may have been achieved in south-east Ulster, it seems that his influence in the area west of the Bann suffered a reverse. In the wake of the submission obtained from Eoghan O'Neill of Tir Eoghain on the eve of lord Welles' departure from Ireland in 1441,

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[95] P.R.O., E403/744, m. 14; /748, mm. 4, 7; /749, m. 9; E404/59/275. Subsequent reassignments, however, suggest that not more than £600 of the assignment of July 1443 was received by Ormond during his term of office: see below, Appendix II, Table C, p. 569.

[96] The earl's seal was affixed to indentures granting the tenancy of a mill to Gerald and Margaret Forster at Kilkenny on 10 October 1443, but this may, of course, have been done by proxy: N.L.I., D1715; *C.O.D.*, iii, no. 158, p. 140.

[97] *Reg. Swayne*, pp. 189-90.

[98] *Stat. Hen. VI*, pp. 71-3, 231; *Reg. Swayne*, p. 188; *C.P.R., 1441-46*, p. 180; *P.P.C.*, v, p. 327.

[99] T.C.D., MS 557(5), pp. 102-8; K. Simms, 'Gaelic lordships in Ulster in the later middle ages' (Dublin Ph.D. thesis, 1976), p. 257. For the submissions of Magennis and O'Neill of Clandeboy in 1442, see also above, pp. 299-300.

Ormond apparently provided military aid for Eoghan and his son and heir, Henry, against O'Donnell.[100] However, the death of Archbishop Prene in June 1443 triggered a determined attempt by Eoghan O'Neill and the native Irish dean of Armagh, Charles O'Mellan, to install Richard Talbot in the vacant see. By mid August Talbot had agreed to his election and begun to exercise authority as postulated archbishop of Armagh, while the dean and chapter had written to the pope and Henry VI requesting their consent. O'Neill himself wrote directly to the king in support of Talbot's candidacy.[101] Dr Simms' interpretation of the chief's effort to secure the see for Talbot, namely that it was a demonstration of resentment against Ormond for the support the latter had given to O'Neill of Clandeboy east of the Bann, seems the most plausible, particularly in the light of succeeding hostilities between the two branches of the O'Neill clan the following year.[102] The possibility that the campaign for Talbot's translation to Armagh was a pro-Ormond move to undermine the strength of the Talbot faction in Dublin can surely be discounted. Under these circumstances there would have been no incentive for Talbot to co-operate to the extent that he did before news arrived of the papal provision on 26 August of a candidate rather more congenial to Ormond - his future executor, John Mey, vicar of Delvin in Meath. Mey was eventually consecrated as Prene's successor the following year.[103] Talbot stood to gain little from his negotiations with Eoghan O'Neill beyond Ormond's discomfiture: a move from the capital of the lordship to the Armagh archiepiscopal manors in Louth to take charge of a culturally divided see

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[100] *A.U.*, iii, p. 150; above, p. 299; see also K. Simms, '"The king's friend": O Neill, the crown and the earldom of Ulster', p. 220.
[101] *Reg. Mey*, pp. 8-9, 289-91, 294-7.
[102] See K. Simms, '"The king's friend": O Neill', pp. 220-1.
[103] *Calendar of papal letters, 1431-47*, p. 343; *H.B.C.*, p. 335; above, pp. 54-5.

and a larger, but predominantly Gaelic, province offered him no practical advantages and would have compromised his stance as Archbishop of Dublin in the long-running dispute between the two sees over the primacy of Ireland.[104] Ironically, O'Neill's direct approach to Henry VI in Talbot's support and the terms in which it was made - the chief styled himself as a 'humble and devoted liege' owing 'true allegiance and subjection' - was, whether or not entirely sincere, not only evidence of the success of the stress that had been placed on Gaelic liege status in Ireland over the four decades since Richard II's first expedition, but also a small but significant contribution to Ormond's past efforts in the early 1420s and mid 1430s to point out the importance and potential significance of this to the English crown.[105] But for Ormond himself at the time, the spectacle of an O'Neill-Talbot entente was no doubt an irritation, and his loss of the chief's good will a blow which could only have made his task of peace-keeping in the north more difficult.

As the lieutenancy entered its third year, its political problems again reached crisis point. In the spring of 1444, damaging charges were made against Ormond from two separate quarters: from a long-standing opponent, Thomas fitzGerald, prior of Kilmainham, and from a senior member of the Dublin administration, the treasurer, Giles Thorndon. It was the

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[104] For the primacy dispute, see J.H. Bernard, 'Richard Talbot, archbishop and chancellor (1418-49)', pp. 226-7; above, pp. 225, 257.
[105] Discussed above, pp. 147-52, 186-7, 268-9.

coincidence of new opposition to the lieutenant from within the lordship and circumstances which made the king more responsive to these new charges than he had been to his own councillors' promptings in 1443, which finally removed Ormond from power well before the end of the 'reasonable terme' requested and granted in 1442.

By comparison with Richard Talbot's own efforts to have the lieutenancy cut short in its first year, the threat posed by Thomas fitzGerald, prior of Kilmainham, may have seemed to Ormond far less grave. In the event, however, it was the prior rather than the archbishop who was to be instrumental in bringing the earl's régime to an end. There were other reasons besides fitzGerald's implication in the attack on William Welles at Kilcock in 1439-40 for continuing hostility between him and Ormond. The prior's father, Gerald fitzThomas, was one of those whose claims to certain of the earl of Kildare's manors had been set aside in 1432 when Ormond deftly acquired the Kildare lands by right of his second marriage.[106] The full details of the prior's specific complaints against Ormond in 1444 are now lost, but his position as prior was at that time disputed and it was reported to the Irish council that he 'increased his malice' against the lieutenant apparently because he believed that the latter was encouraging opposition to him within his chapter.[107] This may well have been the case. Since at least two of the prior's predecessors, Thomas Butler and William fitzThomas, had been close allies of Ormond, the earl had no doubt resented fitzGerald's succession. At some stage in 1443 or early in 1444 - possibly on the grounds that fitzGerald was impeding an official visitation of the Irish houses of the order of St John of

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[106] *MacFirbis*, p. 208; *The red book of the earls of Kildare*, ed. G. Mac Niocaill, pp. 146-7; see also above, pp. 255-6, 284.
[107] Graves, *King's council*, pp. 303-4.

Jerusalem by Hugh Middleton, turcopolier of Rhodes - [108] Ormond had fitzGerald arrested and imprisoned. The prior, however, was not without allies, amongst them the second cousin who was eventually to be the successful claimant to the earldom of Kildare, Thomas fitzMaurice. According to a statement made by Ormond to the Irish council in March 1444, fitzMaurice 'with a multitude of Irish enemies and English rebels' broke into fitzGerald's prison and released him. FitzGerald made for England, where, early in 1444, he accused Ormond of treason.[109] There is nothing to suggest that Richard Talbot played any direct role in the affair, and it did not compromise his renewed membership of the Irish council. However, it was the success of fitzGerald's charges in curtailing the lieutenancy which were ultimately to make it possible for the archbishop to regain control of the Dublin administration in 1445; he may well have given both the prior and fitzMaurice some discreet encouragement and advice. Both had links with him. Each of the two had previously faced charges from lord Welles. While the pardoning of fitzGerald had apparently facilitated Richard Talbot's agreement to the tripartite peace pact in the spring of 1441, it was under the archbishop's aegis, in England in the spring of 1442, that fitzMaurice had obtained his pardon directly from the king.[110]

Not long after Thomas fitzGerald, Giles Thorndon suddenly left Dublin to make his own charges against Ormond to the king. After Thorndon's return to Ireland from England in the winter of 1442-3,[111] the tensions

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[108] English-seal orders to Ormond to assist the visitation and to fitzGerald (described as 'claiming to be prior') to permit it were issued in November 1443: *C.P.R., 1441-46*, p. 226.
[109] *C.O.D.*, iii, no. 159, pp. 142, 148, 152-3; Graves, *King's council*, pp. 303-4. For fitzMaurice, see also above, p. 256.
[110] Bodleian Library, Rawlinson MS B 491, ff. 140-4; *C.P.R., 1441-46*, p. 97. For the negotiation of the tripartite peace pact, see above, pp. 285-6.
[111] See below, Appendix I, list 5, p. 508.

which had begun to develop between him and the earl during the latter's deputyship for lord Welles had steadily escalated. Initially, it seems, there had been some measure of co-operation. It is evident that Thorndon played a leading role in the drafting of the Irish council's letters to the king, Bishop Stafford and lord Cromwell in April 1443 requesting payment of Ormond's arrears from the English exchequer. Although the letters were sent not only in Thorndon's name, but also in that of Richard fitzEustace and 'the remenaunt' of the king's councillors in the lordship, the subject matter was entirely financial and made special mention of a subject of particular personal interest to the treasurer - the upkeep of royal castles and the payment of constables.[112] In addition to the plea for Ormond's arrears, the letter also pressed forcefully for a cessation of royal grants from the Irish revenue and for the arrest of ships from Cork, Limerick and Galway in English ports until surety was given that these towns would pay their customs and fee farms to the Irish exchequer. Both points were issues which had already been raised with the king by Ormond and the Irish council via Stephen Roche in August 1441.[113] The reiteration of the first was successful in eliciting orders from England for the Irish parliament to undertake a survey of royal grants and advise the king about possible resumptions.[114] The letter of April 1443 avoided any mention of what in Ireland would have been the much more contentious issue of grants authorized by chief governors, although this had figured in the articles Thorndon had presented to the English council the previous year.

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[112] *P.P.C.*, v, pp. 326-7.
[113] See above, p. 303.
[114] *P.P.C.*, v, pp. 296-8.

Within another eleven months, however, relations between lieutenant and treasurer had deteriorated to the extent that Thorndon, like Richard Wogan before him, felt unable to remain in Ireland any longer. On 27 March 1444, the treasurer failed to appear at an Irish council meeting at Drogheda. According to a memorandum of the proceedings of a further meeting of the council on 30 March, it was then disclosed that, after nominating Christopher Bernevale as deputy treasurer, Thorndon had secretly left Dublin castle five days earlier to sail to England from Howth. Without further ado, Ormond declared all Thorndon's Irish offices forfeit owing to his desertion (the appointment of a deputy having been technically nullified by his briefly re-landing at Howth when his ship was forced back to port by bad weather), previous absenteeism (notwithstanding Thorndon's possession of English-seal authorization to hold the treasurership by deputy whenever necessary) and association with the traitor, Thomas fitzMaurice. Separately, or together, these grounds were scarcely adequate to override the protection given to the treasurership by the terms of Ormond's letters patent - to which on this occasion no reference was recorded. However, it was then agreed that the treasurership should be filled by Robert Dyke pending whatever new appointment might be made to the office from England.[115]

From a report which he prepared for the king and the English council some while after he had reached England and after Ormond himself left

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[115] *C.O.D.*, iii, no. 159, pp. 140-3, 146-50.

office later in the year,[116] it is clear that it was Thorndon's belief that the earl had deliberately and indefensibly defrauded the Irish exchequer of numerous items of revenue. The ousted treasurer made precise and detailed charges. By an elaborate subterfuge involving the striking of tallies in favour of the widow of Stephen Bray, the former chief justice of the king's bench in Ireland, which were then transferred to the earl, Ormond was accused of robbing the Irish exchequer of scutage returns totalling some £348 arising from a proclamation of royal service during the period of Thorndon's absence in England in 1442. He was accused of improperly rewarding the baron of Delvin with one of the manors of the archbishopric of Armagh which should have been worth 10 marks a year to the Irish exchequer during the vacancy of the see; of securing a wardship worth 40 marks *per annum* for a paltry £5 a year; of accepting a payment of £20 to exempt from forfeiture on dubious grounds a manor held by William fitzThomas when the Irish lands of the order of St John of Jerusalem were seized into the king's hands from Prior Thomas fitzGerald, and then of further defrauding the exchequer of a third of the 300 marks it should thereby have gained. He was accused of pocketing payments totalling £100 from the cities of Cork and Limerick, together with a number of smaller

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[116] *P.P.C.*, v, pp. 327-34. Previously it has been assumed that Thorndon presented this report before he was ousted from office in Ireland in March 1444 (see M.C. Griffith, 'The Talbot-Ormond struggle for control of the Anglo-Irish government', pp. 387-8; Otway-Ruthven, *Medieval Ireland*, pp. 373-4; Griffiths, *Henry VI*, p. 417), but the dating of the document suggested by Nicolas, late 1443 to early 1444 (*P.P.C.*, v, p. 327) seems too early. The text claims that Thorndon had been deprived of the profits of his Irish offices for more than half a year because royal orders to the lieutenant to reinstate him had not been obeyed. It also mentions that Robert Dyke had been summoned to England and that Ormond himself was 'now in this realme' (ibid., pp. 329, 332-3). Orders to the earl for Thorndon's reinstatement and a summons to Dyke were prepared in conjunction with additional orders for Dyke's arrest dated 18 May 1444; Ormond did not leave Ireland before the end of August of that year: P.R.O., E101/248/12; *C.P.R., 1441-46*, p. 288; below, Appendix I, list 2, p. 488.

fees, which should have gone to the exchequer, and some unspecified 'notable sommes' for providing men of his own household to act as parliamentary proctors for various prelates. Thorndon also alleged that in several of these matters Ormond had acted with the support either of William Chevir - whom he said the earl had forced him to appoint as deputy treasurer in 1442 - or of other members of the Irish council. He further accused Ormond of disobeying royal orders, of preventing him from exercising the treasurership's accustomed control over appointments of customs officers and waterbailiffs, and of stifling by threats of *forfeiture all complaints to the king* except those authorized by the Irish seal or by act of parliament or great council.

Measures to limit the damage that might be caused by hostile criticism reaching England were a not uncommon resort of controversial chief governorships, especially in the era of the Talbot-Ormond feud,[117] but if Thorndon was correct, it would seem that the earl had attempted to be unusually draconian. This particular accusation about the stifling of criticism suggests that since 1442 the treasurer had come to feel some sympathy with the factional interests which had been thwarted by Ormond's appointment to the lieutenancy. In 1443 Thorndon had authorized the appointment of a man with very close past connections with the Talbots, John Corringham, as summoner of the exchequer.[118] Bernevale, his choice as deputy treasurer, was also a Talbot sympathizer, and it seems that Thorndon himself was of the opinion that, had he consented to appoint William Chevir once more, Ormond would not have proceeded to oust him from office.[119] But although Thorndon clearly sought allies amongst the

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[117] See above, pp. 234-5, 253-4, 302.
[118] P.R.O.1. 1A/49/135, f. 138.
[119] *P.P.C.*, v, pp. 328-9.

earl's opponents, it seems that he was not particularly successful. The council meeting at which he was removed from office on 30 March was very far from partisan. Those present included not only Ormond, Cornwalshe, fitzEustace and Chevir, but Archbishop Talbot himself, Bernevale, Clinton and Richard Wogan who by this time had returned to office as chancellor with his English-seal reappointment of 1443. It would seem that Talbot and his supporters exacted a price for their consent to Thorndon's dispossession - at least one, and probably both, the treasurer's two constableships were granted to adherents of the archbishop -[120] but there *can be little doubt under these circumstances that* it was actively given. Thorndon's report itself suggests that his identification of interest with Ormond's other opponents was very limited and a matter of convenience rather than conviction. Although Ormond accused Thorndon of consorting with fitzMaurice, the ousted treasurer's reference to the confiscation of the lands of the order of St John gives little hint of support for Prior fitzGerald. His regret was that the Irish exchequer had not benefited more fully from the latter's forfeiture. While, like Wogan, Thorndon had clearly found some evidence of parliament packing by the earl, his complaint was not about the propriety of this *per se*, but that Ormond had thereby raised funds for his own purposes and deprived the exchequer of the fines for absence which might otherwise have been exacted. The chief cause of friction between Ormond and Thorndon was essentially an entirely separate matter from the long-running Talbot-Ormond feud and had no link

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[120] P.R.O., E101/248/12. The man who was granted the constableship of Dublin, Robert Cusack, had been employed by Talbot as a messenger to Ormond in October 1442 and was described in a memorandum of Irish council proceedings at that time as the archbishop's esquire (Graves, *King's council*, pp. 298-9). The recipient of the constableship of Wicklow, a Thomas Talbot, esquire, may well have been the gentleman of Ireland of the same name who had acted as a witness for John Talbot against Ormond in England in 1423: see above, p. 163.

either with Wogan's criticisms of the earl in 1442 or with Prior fitzGerald's grievances.

From all Thorndon's various representations to the king and the English council and from the evidence of the financial competence of Ormond's own previous terms of office as chief governor, there can be no doubt that both men were concerned to maximize the financial resources available to the Dublin government within Ireland. Their priorities, however, were different, and it is clear that in the second year of the lieutenancy conflict over the control and management of those resources became intense. Armed with the letters patent which removed him from the chief governor's jurisdiction, Thorndon had returned to Ireland determined to ensure the proper implementation of the new orders, which his own articles to the English council had been instrumental in obtaining, namely the directions of August 1442 to give preference at the Irish exchequer to the claims of subordinate officials before those of the lieutenant. But although referral of all the lieutenant's financial claims to England offered Thorndon a better chance of balancing the books at the Dublin exchequer, it was by no means advantageous to Ormond. During this term of office the earl actually received less money from England than he had during his slightly shorter first lieutenancy of 1420-2 (when the Irish exchequer had made a very significant contribution to his finances) and markedly less than all the other men who had served as lieutenant in the interim.[121] Under these circumstances it is scarcely surprising - especially in the light of the initial refusal from England in February 1442 to accept the full financial responsibility for the lieutenancy requested in his proffer for office - that Ormond was unwilling to

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[121] See above, pp. 88-9, 94-8.

renounce all claims to the Dublin exchequer resources which he had previously been so successful in exploiting. Baulked of official Irish exchequer issues by Thorndon's interference, he simply took steps to acquire certain items of revenue by other means. It thus appears that the official certifications to England suggesting that Ormond was paid nothing at all during this lieutenancy from the Irish revenue concealed more than they revealed about the support he received from Irish resources.

In this context the case of the scutage returns, which according to Thorndon represented Ormond's most valuable single acquisition, is particularly significant. Previously it may well have been normal practice at the Irish exchequer to earmark the bulk of scutage returns for the chief governor. Certainly, during the earl's first lieutenancy, the then treasurer, Hugh Bavent, had assigned him almost all the money raised in 1421 by the proclamation of royal service in Louth in the summer of that year. Despite the new instructions from England, Ormond was obviously determined not to lose this particular source of funds, which, to judge from the figure quoted by Thorndon, may have been even more profitable than it had been two decades earlier.[122] While in many ways Richard Talbot probably relished the difficulties Thorndon created for Ormond, the principle that the chief governor had first claim on scutage returns was one which he would undoubtedly have defended. He too had made conspicuous use of proclamations of royal service to finance previous justiciarships.[123] Irish exchequer reliance on assignment as a means of

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[122] Royal service receipts between July and November 1421 had totalled £183 of which some £170 had been assigned to Ormond: see above, pp. 141-2.

[123] Notably in 1422-3, 1430 and 1437. For a list of proclamations of royal service, see S.G. Ellis, 'Taxation and defence in late medieval Ireland: the survival of scutage', p. 27. For the dates of Talbot's justiciarships, see below, Appendix I, list 2, pp. 484-5, 487-8.

revenue collection probably contributed to the ease with which Ormond was apparently able to intercept other items of revenue before they reached the treasurer's hands.[124] It may well have been quite usual for some items of revenue to be collected directly by the chief governor and for these to be entered on the exchequer rolls after, rather than before, he had received the money. In the case of the payments made directly to Ormond from Cork and Limerick, Thorndon further alleged that these had been accepted, improperly, by the earl in the course of an expedition to the south-west in exchange for a pardon of the cities' long-standing debts to the exchequer totalling some 5,000 marks.[125] Possibly, in view of the lack of any positive reponse from England to the proposals for recovering these debts by applying pressure there on merchant ships from Cork and Limerick, Ormond had judged that these payments were the most that was likely to be obtained. Possibly the antagonism between him and Thorndon reached such a pitch that he took some pleasure in frustrating the treasurer's hopes of any further receipts in respect of these arrears.

It was not the first clash between a chief governor and the reforming zeal of an English official at the Irish exchequer. In 1397 another Englishman, John Melton, encountering resistance to his attempts as deputy treasurer to implement reforms inspired by Richard II, had sent charges to England accusing the then deputy justiciar, Stephen Scrope, of peculation. And like Thorndon, Melton too had found that other members of the administration had closed ranks against him.[126] The irony of the situation in 1444 - and one which doubtless fuelled Ormond's fury - was that two decades earlier he himself had been responsible for the

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[124] Discussed above, pp. 209-12.
[125] *P.P.C.*, v, pp. 327-8.
[126] See D. Johnston, 'The interim years: Richard II and Ireland, 1395-99', pp. 184-7.

successful implementation of a royal initiative designed, not to deprive the lieutenancy of Irish revenue, but to encourage it to make the fullest possible use of it. A carefully constructed campaign for a reappraisal of what had obviously been a hasty and ill-considered change of policy in England in August 1442 might perhaps have had more positive results; the attempt to circumvent Thorndon's efforts piecemeal, and the crisis this provoked, directly contributed to the earl's own removal from power.

The crucial sequence of events in England in the spring of 1444 is fairly clear. On 13 March, two weeks before Thorndon's sudden departure from Ireland, a summons was issued under the royal privy seal for the earl to come before the king 'with alle possible haste' on account of 'certein grete and chargeable matiers'. These, apparently, were the charges of treason lodged by Prior fitzGerald.[127] The contrast between the king's readiness to respond to fitzGerald's representations and his refusal a year earlier to bring the earl to England for an investigation of the Talbot-Ormond feud may have been due in part to the seriousness of the prior's allegations, but it was probably also a reflection of the dramatic change of mood which had taken place at court in the interim. Acute royal anxiety about the threat of new French offensives had given place to confident optimism that an acceptable and lasting peace might now be imminent. The only conspicuous achievement of Somerset's expedition had been the capture of La Guerche, a town held by the duke of Alençon of one of Henry's most valued allies in France, the duke of Brittany. Amid the diplomatic embarrassment this had caused, the king had eagerly embraced an astutely timed offer of new peace negotiations from Charles VII. The issuing of the summons to Ormond had followed hard upon the dispatch of

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[127] Graves, *King's council*, p. 304.

an embassy led by the earl of Suffolk, who crossed to Harfleur on 15 March, charged with letters, which for the first time styled Charles as the king's 'dear uncle' rather than his 'adversary of France', and full powers to negotiate a lengthy truce and the marriage of Henry to Margaret, niece of Charles' consort, Marie of Anjou.[128]

However, although it was fitzGerald's efforts which initially secured the issue of Ormond's summons to England, it was only after Thorndon too reached the king - at Abingdon in mid April -[129] that firm arrangements were made to convey the summons to Ireland, and it is clear that the ousted treasurer played a crucial role in this process. The messenger commissioned to go to Ireland in May was one of Thorndon's fellow ushers of the royal chamber, Robert Manfield.[130] Manfield was entrusted not only with the summons of 13 March, but also with a number of other letters, most, if not all, of which related to Thorndon's most urgent grievances.[131] During the month immediately following the treasurer's arrival in England, a memorandum was prepared, evidently with his assistance, outlining proposals for some dozen writs to various officials in Ireland authorizing the removal of those who had benefited from his recent ejection from office and the protection of three men who were said to have assisted his hasty departure - two mariners, who had provided shipping, and the mayor

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[128] See Griffiths, *Henry VI*, pp. 483-4; Wolffe, *Henry VI*, p. 175; M. Jones, 'John Beaufort, duke of Somerset and the French expedition of 1443', pp. 93-6; Harriss, *Beaufort*, pp. 342-5.

[129] P.R.O., E404/64/18, part of which is printed in *C.O.D.*, iii, no. 159, pp. 152-3. The insertion, '1443', in the printed text in explanation of the regnal year of Thorndon's arrival in England, 22 Henry VI, should read '1444'.

[130] Manfield received advance payment from the English exchequer towards his expenses on 11 May: P.R.O., E403/753, m.2.

[131] Graves, *King's council*, p. 304; *C.O.D.*, iii, no. 152, pp. 144, 150-1.

of Dublin, Nicholas Woder.[132] First and foremost was a full draft of a letter to Ormond himself. This quoted word for word the protection given to the most senior officers of the Dublin administration by the terms of the earl's own letters patent of appointment, firmly refuted the story that Thorndon had re-landed in Ireland after leaving his office in the hands of a deputy, and ordered, in the strongest possible terms, the treasurer's immediate restoration to all his Irish offices on pain of the lieutenant's instant dismissal. Whether this letter was actually sent as drafted is not clear. If so, it seems it did not go under the great seal. However, two of the subsequent notes in the memorandum formed the basis for letters patent ordering the arrest of Robert Dyke, Thomas Cusack and Thomas Talbot and their conveyance to England by mid August, and for letters close ordering continuing payment to Thorndon of the fees for his constableships. Both letters were dated 18 May and were issued by warrant of the English council.[133] As had been evident in August 1442, Thorndon obviously had some influence in this quarter.

When Manfield arrived in Ireland, at some point during the first three weeks of June, Ormond's reaction was to play for time. According to the only surviving record of the messenger's reception, the earl hailed the royal summons as a welcome release from previous instructions to remain in the lordship which had apparently been sent under the royal signet the previous summer.[134] But despite this face-saving pronouncement, Ormond's

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[132] P.R.O.,E101/248/12. Nicholas Woder, the younger, was mayor from 1443 to 1447 (*N.H.I.*, ix, p. 551). The others named as having helped Thorndon were Nicholas Chester of Malahide and John Brit of Dublin. Brit was also mentioned in Thorndon's subsequent articles to the English council: *P.P.C.*, v, p. 331.

[133] *C.P.R., 1441-46*, p. 288; *C.C.R., 1441-47*, p. 175.

[134] Graves, *King's council*, pp. 304-5.

subsequent actions show that he was seriously alarmed by Manfield's mission, yet at the same time hopeful that the threat it clearly represented to his continuance in office could be contained. In view of the events of 1442-3, he may well have calculated that there was a good chance that delay would change the king's mind; failing this it at least offered the opportunity to gather evidence in his defence and to take certain steps for the protection of his political position and personal interests in Ireland before departure.

Arrangements were made at once for Manfield to 'take trewe reporte to the kynge of the astate of the saide lande and of the saide Erles governinge'.[135] To this end, Ormond resorted to an emergency procedure which had apparently not been employed since the previous reign. Letters were hastily issued under his privy seal summoning an afforced council to Drogheda for 26 June. Such assemblies were traditionally limited in regional scope and could be called at far shorter notice than the minimum of forty days required for a parliament or great council.[136] In this instance, besides the members of the Irish council and Manfield himself, some one hundred and thirty men attended from Counties Dublin, Kildare and Louth, the liberty and crosslands of Meath and the cities of Dublin and Drogheda. The names of those present were carefully recorded,[137] perhaps to provide the most convincing possible authentication of the proceedings, perhaps to guard against any attempt to revive charges of 'packing'. The election of the assembly's speaker, James Alleyne, was, however, favourable to the earl. In 1428 Alleyne had been the beneficiary of John Sutton's dismissal of the pro-Talbot James Blakeney as chief justice of the common

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135 Graves, *King's council*, p. 305.
136 See Richardson and Sayles, *Ir. parl.*, pp. 109-10, 188-9, 350-4.
137 Graves, *King's council*, pp. 306-8.

bench; more recently he had been the bearer of the Irish council's letters to England in April 1443.[138] After an opening address which made careful juxtaposition of the urgency of the royal summons and the dangers of neglecting the defence of the lordship at the height of the campaigning season, Ormond obtained what he needed: firstly a general testimonial to his good government and generous devotion of his personal wealth to military needs, coupled with a plea for further payments from the English exchequer; secondly a resolution that, in the interests of a safe harvest and the confusion of the king's Irish enemies, the king should be asked to allow the lieutenant to remain in Ireland until Michaelmas and to speed his subsequent return to the lordship thereafter. From the earl's point of view, the choice of messengers was perhaps less propitious. It was decided that Manfield should be accompanied back to England by Hugh Middleton, who had succeeded fitzGerald as prior of Kilmainham, and Richard Wogan.[139] With Middleton, Ormond had already established good relations,[140] but Wogan, of course, had little reason to bear the lieutenant much goodwill. In a move which was probably designed to add further weight to the plea for postponement, Ormond then decided to summon a full great council to Drogheda for 21 August.[141]

There was undoubtedly some justification for playing on fears of Gaelic attack, especially in the northern part of the lordship. In the spring of 1444 O'Neill of Clandeboy had met his death, apparently after an

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[138] *P.P.C.*, v, pp. 301-2, 325-7; see also above, p. 238; below, Appendix I, list 8, p. 545.
[139] Graves, *King's council*, pp. 306-8.
[140] By this time Middleton had joined the Irish council and this same month he made a loan of some 160 marks to Ormond which it was agreed should be repaid in instalments over the next four years to the English receiver of the order of St John via the London house of St Thomas of Acre: ibid., p. 311; *A. deeds*, iii, p. 389.
[141] *Reg. Swayne*, p. 191.

encounter with Magennis. When an attempt by Eoghan O'Neill to profit from the disarray of the Clandeboy O'Neills east of the Bann was repulsed, he turned his attention to Louth and succeeded in extorting black rent from Dundalk. Before leaving Ireland, Ormond managed to arrange a six-month truce with Eoghan O'Neill which was concluded at a ceremony in Dublin. However, it seems that this was probably achieved by negotiation and concession, rather than by military victory.[142] The earl himself may have been more concerned about unrest in the south. In this same year the earl of Desmond had launched an attack into Butler territory in Kilkenny and Tipperary.[143] Ormond's long-standing alliance with Desmond had played a crucial role in his considerable efforts to make the Dublin government's influence felt in the south-west - certainly in the 1420s and, no doubt, more recently since 1441.[144] Why it fell apart at this point is by no means clear. It seems unlikely that there was any direct link with Ormond's difficulties with Prior fitzGerald and Giles Thorndon. Had Desmond wished to profit from these he would have done better to make his move after Ormond's departure from Ireland. One possibility, however, is that Desmond's sudden hostility had some connection with the move being made to promote a Talbot-Ormond reconciliation in England, which resulted, at some point before June 1445, in the marriage of Ormond's daughter, Elizabeth, to the earl of Shrewsbury's eldest son, Sir John Talbot.[145] A decade and a half earlier, as part of the Desmond-Ormond concordat of 1429, another daughter, Anne, had, of course, been betrothed as a child to Desmond's heir. The fact that Anne was the only one of Ormond's five

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142 *A.F.M.*, iv, pp. 932-7, which notes that O'Neill received 'great rewards' for making peace with the English at this time. See also, K. Simms, '"The king's friend": O Neill, the crown and the earldom of Ulster', p. 221.
143 'MacFirbis', p. 205.
144 See above, pp. 137-8, 153-4, 201, 212, 296-8.
145 See below, pp. 379-80.

known children not to have been mentioned in her grandmother's will in 1435 could well be an indication that she died an early death. In this contingency the terms of the agreement of 1429 had provided for the substitution of a sister.[146] If, as a result, there had been some understanding that Elizabeth would take Anne's place, then any advance rumours of plans to bestow her elsewhere - especially on a Talbot - would scarcely have been well-received by Desmond. According to the MacFirbis annals, Ormond mustered an army against him, and, after a counter-raid, a temporary, year's peace was agreed. He would certainly have been anxious to avoid leaving Ireland until it was clear that this was reasonably secure.

Unfortunately for the lieutenant, the delaying tactics secured only a few weeks' grace. The summons was not rescinded, nor was any substantial postponement granted. The likelihood is that Ormond left for England shortly after the August great council, for just seven days after this had been due to meet he sealed the last surviving document of his active term of office - indentures setting out the terms on which Richard Nugent, lord Delvin was to act as deputy during his absence.[147] Although there are no indications of any close association between Delvin and Ormond before the 1440s, Thorndon's reference to the earl's grant of custody of one of the archiepiscopal manors of Armagh to Delvin suggests that the latter had proved particularly useful during this third lieutenancy. There is no evidence that Delvin had been a member of the Irish council at any stage before serving as deputy lieutenant, but he had experience in local

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[146] See above, pp. 240-1, 258-9.
[147] *C.O.D.*, iii, no. 161, pp. 157-9.

government in Meath and proven military prowess.[148] It is likely too that he had played a prominent part in Ormond's recent campaign against Desmond.[149]

Delvin's indentures neatly illustrate both the earl's strengths and weaknesses as chief governor. The text was primarily concerned with financial arrangements and these were very significantly more precise and detailed than those in indentures drawn up in England for appointments to the lieutenancy. Although the sums involved were comparatively trifling, Delvin's indentures specified not only the payment he was to receive (210 marks per quarter - equivalent to a rate just above the customary fee for a justiciarship) but also how this was to be spent (90 marks on his household expenses, 120 marks on the wages of his retinue) and where these sums were to come from to the last penny. Payment was to be made half in coin, half in kind. Unsurprisingly, two and a half years into a lieutenancy which had been so poorly supported by the English and Irish exchequers, there was no offer of cash in hand. Instead the bulk of the sums due to Delvin was to be raised from various debts said to be owing to the lieutenant. Nevertheless, care was obviously taken to ensure that these would be reasonably convenient for the deputy to collect. Chief amongst the debtors named was the former vicar of Delvin and new archbishop of Armagh, John Mey; another was lord Delvin's brother, William Nugent. Two small sums towards the first quarter's payment were to be drawn from the subsidy of the barony of Delvin and the rent of Causeton, the Armagh manor of which Delvin had been given custody in 1443. The

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[148] During lord Grey's lieutenancy, Delvin had received special reward for his capture of O'Connor at Mullingar: *R.C.H.*, p. 246, no. 32; see also above, p. 56.

[149] The lieutenant's forces on this occasion had included 'the English of Meath': 'MacFirbis', p. 205.

first quarter's payments in kind - from prise of merchandise - were to be made in packs of English cloth. The first £14's worth was to be handed over by Ormond directly, the rest via a named agent. The type of merchandise for the second quarter was left open, but in this case the agent responsible for delivery was to be William Nugent. How typical or atypical such precision was compared with the financial provision made for other deputy lieutenancies is, for lack of evidence, unfortunately impossible to ascertain. In the only other comparable agreement to have survivied for this period - the indentures of Ormond's own appointment as deputy for the duke of York in 1450 - the sources of the earl's funds were not identified precisely. However, it is fairly clear that Ormond, at least, considered this state of affairs unsatisfactory, for a further clause insisted that the source of his payments 'bee determined and made seure to the saide Erle' before York left Ireland.[150]

While Ormond obviously took pains under difficult circumstances to ensure that this was done for Delvin, further clauses of the 1444 indentures reveal that Delvin's 210 marks per quarter was in fact to represent only a part of the funds that he was likely to find at his disposal. All profits from offices and benefices falling vacant, from prisoners' ransoms over one hundred marks and from the making of war and

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[150] Bodleian Library, Western MS. 31647, part 1, pp. 1-2; see also below, pp. 443-5; and Appendix III, vi, pp. 589-91. At no point do the financial clauses of Delvin's indentures indicate that the Irish exchequer was to play any part in the arrangements. It seems unlikely that this was in any way due to the Ormond-Thorndon confrontation. The absence of deputies from the lists on Irish treasurers' accounts of recipients of Irish exchequer issues shows that provision for deputy lieutenancies was not customarily made directly by the Irish exchequer, where it was clearly the view, as in England (see above, p. 101), that the payment of a deputy was the personal responsibility of the lieutenant concerned. But this being the case, Thorndon would certainly have disputed Ormond's right to pay Delvin from the profits of Causeton; possibly the ousted treasurer might also have considered that some of the other sums listed as debts owing to the lieutenant were properly due to the exchequer.

peace - specifically with MacMahon, who was apparently considered to pose the most likely threat -[151] were to be divided equally between him and Ormond. It would seem that both parties expected such profits to be of significant value. As has been pointed out elsewhere, their confidence indicates that the chief governorship presented opportunities for financial gain as well as financial loss,[152] a point which no doubt helps to explain how Ormond had managed to sustain his own various terms of office both with and without the minimal degree of English exchequer support which he received for his lieutenancies. Additionally Delvin's indentures promised him a force of 120 archers to be raised by Ormond from Kildare and Louth.

Although financial arrangements were predominant, a few other matters were touched upon and these, too, are revealing. Tucked in amongst the financial clauses of the text were a handful of directives somewhat reminiscent of certain features of the elaborate political settlement which lord Welles had negotiated to pave the way for Ormond's own most recent deputyship just over three years earlier.[153] There were, however, significant differences. Like the tripartite peace pact of March 1441, the Delvin indentures also established an arbitration panel, but in this case it was smaller and had far more limited powers. A minimum of three of seven named men - almost all office holders, four of whom had served on the 1441 panel set up to defuse factional tension during Ormond's

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[151] Delvin was also directed to be 'friendly and favourable in lawful manner to MacMahon's sons' (*C.O.D.*, iii, no. 161, p. 158). It seems likely that Ormond had been bidding for their support against the chief: see also K. Simms, 'Gaelic lordships in Ulster in the later middle ages' (Dublin Ph.D., 1976), p. 362.

[152] See A.J. Otway-Ruthven, 'The chief governors of mediaeval Ireland', p. 233.

[153] See above, pp. 285-92.

deputyship -[154] were to advise Delvin on the distribution of patronage. The panel was to be consulted about all grants of offices worth over ten marks *per annum* and of benefices, although in the latter case it seems that Delvin could, if he saw fit, act against its advice. And whereas in 1441, in the interests of preserving political harmony, Ormond had been required to pledge not to prosecute certain individuals, instructions to Delvin as to how he should conduct himself towards particular men were less disinterested. While he was to be 'friendly and favourable in lawful manner to MacMahon's sons', he was also warned to 'give no charter' to William fitzWilliam, or to John White of Kildare or to Thomas Barrynton or any others who had been involved in the death of a certain James Mulgan. The background to the Mulgan incident is unfortunately obscure, but William fitzWilliam had been implicated in the death of Ormond's loyal supporter, the former chief baron of the exchequer, James Cornwalshe.[155]

There can be no doubt that, in political terms, Delvin's position was far less secure than Ormond's had been in 1441. The most obvious problem was the uncertainty which the royal summons and its attendant circumstances left hanging over the future of the lieutenancy. For this the indentures attempted to make some provision. It was agreed that, if Ormond did not return to Ireland after six months, Delvin was to continue in office on terms similar to those set out for the first two quarters; if, however, the earl did not return by 1 May 1445, it was to be Delvin's own choice whether or not he attempted to continue as deputy thereafter. But

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[154] Namely Robert Dowdall, William Chevir (who, in Wogan's absence had been made deputy chancellor), Peter Clinton and Edward Somerton. The other members of the 1444 panel were John Cornwalshe (chief baron of the exchequer), Stephen Roche (king's attorney) and William Boys (probably the former king's sergeant of the same name or his son): *C.O.D.*, iii, 161, p. 158. For Roche and Boys, see also Appendix I, list 11, pp. 556, 558.

[155] See above, p. 293.

there were other difficulties of which the indentures made no acknowledgement. Despite the progress being made towards Talbot-Ormond reconciliation in England, the signs are that the weeks preceding Ormond's departure brought fresh confrontations across the old factional fault lines within and beyond the Irish council. While this may have been due partly to the summoning of Ormond to England and the satisfaction which this no doubt gave to his old opponents, it seems fairly clear that the problem was exacerbated by Ormond's own actions.

On 21 June, shortly before the assembly of the afforced council, the lieutenant had held a meeting of the Irish council in the presence of Robert Manfield in the vestry of St John's chapel in St Peter's Drogheda.[156] His main purpose was apparently to impress the king's messenger and, through him, Henry himself, with damning evidence against Giles Thorndon. To this end Ormond produced one of the hospitallers of Kilmainham, who, after an initial protestation of reluctance, testified that, at the time of a recent parliament at Dublin (presumably that of January 1444), he had overheard Thorndon urging Richard Talbot at the latter's archiepiscopal palace to incite the commons to sedition against the lieutenant. Thorndon was further alleged to have said that he would have liked to cut off Ormond's head and carry it to the king in a napkin and to have boasted that such action would be certain to earn him royal favour and a £1,000 reward. Although the hospitaller professed himself ready to defend the truth of his story by combat, it was a somewhat unlikely-sounding tale. During the course of the meeting Ormond disclosed that he and the hospitaller were related, so the latter was scarcely an independent

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[156] Graves, *King's council*, pp. 311-13; *C.O.D.*, iii, no. 159, pp. 143-5, 150-2.

witness.[157] Given the antagonism that developed between Ormond and Thorndon it is perhaps possible that the treasurer did make some jibe of this kind, but, if so, he could hardly have intended it to be taken seriously. Whether or not the earl weighed up the possible consequences of attempting to discredit Thorndon by means of evidence which also implicated Archbishop Talbot is not clear, but it almost certainly caused trouble. Although Talbot was actually present at the meeting, no comment from him on the affair was included in either of the two surviving records of the proceedings which Ormond subsequently authorized. When the afforced council, which endorsed the petition for the postponement of Ormond's summons to England, assembled at Drogheda five days later, Talbot failed to appear and was merely represented by a proctor.[158] While one possible reason for Talbot's absence might have been the wish to avoid a contest for precedence with the newly-consecrated Archbishop Mey of Armagh, who did attend,[159] other evidence strongly suggests the development of a new Talbot-Ormond rift.

According to the earlier of the two surviving memoranda of the proceedings of the meeting of 21 June, a record exemplified on 1 July,[160] the testimony of the hospitaller against Thorndon was succeeded by evidence from the chief justice of the king's bench, Christopher Bernevale, against Nicholas Woder. In response to questioning from Ormond, Bernevale related how, a few years earlier during Welles' lieutenancy, Woder had forcibly obstructed his efforts to arrest a felon in the streets of Dublin.

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[157] Confusingly, the hospitaller's name was Thomas Talbot, but he was clearly not the Thomas Talbot, esquire, who was made constable of Wicklow after Giles Thorndon's departure from Ireland in March: see above, p. 352, n. 120.

[158] Graves, *King's council*, p. 306.

[159] Ibid. The date of Mey's consecration was 20 June (*H.B.C.*, p. 335). He had not attended the Irish council meeting on 21 June.

[160] *C.O.D.*, no. 159, pp. 143-5, 150-2.

There can be little doubt that Ormond's concern to discredit Woder at this point was prompted by the news of the help the latter had given to Thorndon, but when a second, otherwise indentical record of the proceedings of the meeting of 21 June was exemplified a month later on 1 August,[161] all mention of the Bernevale-Woder matter was omitted. While it is of course possible that during the course of July Ormond decided to drop his pursuit of Woder, the more probable explanation is that Bernevale's sympathies for Talbot caused him to withdraw his support for the earl's attack on the mayor of Dublin. Two additional pieces of evidence point to a re-drawing of old battle lines at this time. A list of charges against Bernevale, chiefly relating to events of the 1430s, was drawn up in Ireland at some stage between the summer of 1443 and Bernevale's death (which occurred in or before 1446) with the apparent intention of trying to persuade the king to dismiss him from his post of chief justice.[162] There seems little doubt that the document emanated from Ormond or from one of his adherents, for amongst the accusations was an allegation of an attempted conspiracy between Bernevale and Archbishop Talbot against lord Welles in 1438. It has been suggested that the charges against Bernevale may have been formulated in the early part of 1444,[163] but as his attendance at council meetings and his testimony against Woder suggest that he and Ormond were on reasonably good terms up to the end of June 1444, the most likely time for the composition of the document would seem to be the few weeks preceding the lieutenant's departure for England.

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[161] Graves, *King's council*, pp. 311-13.
[162] For a full text of the document with a suggested dating of 1443 or 1444, see M.C. Griffith, 'The Talbot-Ormond struggle for control of the Anglo-Irish government', Appendix III, pp. 395-7. A dating post June 1443 is established by a reference to John Prene as 'nowe late Ercebisshop' (p. 397). Bernevale was dead by 12 October 1446: *C.P.R., 1446-52*, p. 6.
[163] See Otway-Ruthven, *Medieval Ireland*, p. 374, n. 65.

Also before leaving Ireland, the earl gave orders, which Delvin was later forced to rescind, that the exchequer and common bench should be moved from Dublin to Drogheda.[164] To change the location of these two essential organs of government was a dramatic step and not one which would have been prompted by mere casual whim. It was probably the first attempt to shift the exchequer and common bench from Dublin since the 1360s when Lionel of Clarence had, with some difficulty, enforced his 'revolutionary decision' to move them to Carlow, an arrangement which had only lasted three decades.[165] The prospect of Dublin's demotion from its position as administrative capital caused outrage amongst its leading inhabitants, and a subsequent petition to the king from the mayor and commons against Ormond's decision directly attributed it to the 'evyl will that he hath and hadde unto oure saide Citee'.[166] Whether Ormond was trying to exact retribution for Woder's involvement with Thorndon or merely attempting to distance and protect Delvin's régime from Archbishop Talbot's main power base, it seems that on the eve of the earl's departure for England relations between him and the citizens of Dublin had deteriorated to a point close to their former nadir after the resurgence of the feud in the late 1420s.

Three and a half years earlier, lord Welles, against considerable odds, had managed to damp down factional conflict sufficiently to ensure the success of Ormond's long-awaited return to office as deputy in 1441. In 1444, the earl, despite the advantage of the recent Talbot-Ormond *rapprochement* in England, was unable to preserve sufficient harmony to ensure a similar degree of success for Delvin. The latter was to prove

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[164] G.O. Dub., MS 192, pp. 387-8.
[165] Quotation from Lydon, *Ir. in later middle ages*, pp. 92-3; see also Otway-Ruthven, *Medieval Ireland*, pp. 286-7, 327.
[166] G.O. Dub., MS 192, p. 387.

unable to survive as deputy even for the relatively few months that the earl himself was to retain the title of lieutenant. As the investigation of the various actions taken - and not taken - by the king during the lieutenancy has shown, the many difficulties which beset Ormond throughout this ill-fated term of office were by no means all of his own making. This final failure, however, was at least in part his own.

CHAPTER TEN

PEACEMAKING, 1444-47

The summoning of Ormond to England in 1444 heralded what may fairly be described as Henry VI's most positive achievement as lord of Ireland, namely the final settlement of the Talbot-Ormond feud. Between 1444 and 1447 peacemaking was to be the keynote of royal policy. With regard to France, the king's hopes of obtaining a lasting peace which would safeguard English rule in Normandy and Gascony were frustrated. With regard to Ireland, despite the vacillation and ineptitude which had characterized his approach to the problem of the feud over the preceding six years, his efforts to heal the factional divide were finally successful.

While Henry undoubtedly had a particular talent for exacerbating magnate feuds by injudicious patronage, he was also capable of taking trouble to promote reconciliation and the restoration of order when he considered it important to do so.[1] His handling of the Talbot-Ormond feud confirms the second point as well as the first. Notwithstanding the Talbot-Ormond *rapprochement* outside Ireland, the settlement of the feud within Ireland at this time - complicated as the position was by the separate and serious charges lodged against Ormond by Prior Thomas fitzGerald and Giles Thorndon - was a somewhat delicate business requiring a degree of skilful management. This for once Henry managed to provide. He was no doubt assisted by the urgings of the councillors who had tried to persuade him to act decisively in the matter in 1443 - foremost amongst them the former earl of Suffolk, newly raised to the rank of

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[1] See Wolffe, *Henry VI*, pp. 68, 268-70.

marquis after the success of his negotiations for a truce with the French in the spring of 1444 - also perhaps by the advice of John Sutton, who had now joined the English council as lord Dudley,[2] and certainly by the co-operation of the earl of Shrewsbury. However, as the course of past events had demonstrated, little could have been achieved without the king's own active commitment to the project. There are indications too that, while the brief lull in hostilities in France lasted, Henry's interest in Ireland extended beyond a concern to quash the feud.

For Ormond the final settlement of the feud entailed the loss of his lieutenancy and over three years' enforced exile from the lordship. But even while fitzGerald's charges of treason and Thorndon's of maladministration and peculation hung over his head, he and his family received significant continuing assurances of royal favour. And while the earl's accusers also received various tokens of royal patronage, they both found that their separate cases against him were firmly subordinated to the need to ensure Talbot-Ormond reconciliation.

When Ormond reached England in the autumn of 1444,[3] there at first appeared to be every prospect that the charges against him would be dealt with fairly quickly. FitzGerald and Thorndon had already been in England for several months and both sets of charges had been referred to the English council. During the summer, before leaving Ireland, it seems that Ormond had petitioned that consideration of Thorndon's charges should be

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[2] See above, pp. 20, 339-40; for Suffolk, see also, Griffiths, *Henry VI*, p. 486.

[3] Delvin was certainly acting as deputy in Ireland by 22 October 1444 and may well have taken office several weeks earlier: see below, Appendix I, list 2, p. 489.

deferred until the 'higher matier' of fitzGerald's treason charge was settled,[4] and, if the ousted treasurer's own testimony is to be believed, the earl himself did not consider that the secondary matter of Thorndon's charges was likely to cause him much further trouble. As a result of Thorndon's complaints, the men who had been appointed to his Irish offices had been summoned to appear in England by August.[5] But according to Thorndon, Ormond had nevertheless instructed Robert Dyke, the replacement Irish treasurer, to remain in Ireland, confidently promising 'to save him without loss unto the king'.[6] A crucial witness for fitzGerald, one Edmund Brian, a former chirographer of the common bench in Ireland, had reached England soon after Thorndon, and Brian, Thorndon and 'all others compleynynge uppon the Erle' had been required to give surety that they would await the latter's arrival.[7] Thorndon, taking his opportunity to make arrangements to present his third account at Westminster as treasurer of Ireland, had meanwhile assisted the prior's cause. On 29 July he collected £6 13s 4d of the king's gift at the English exchequer on Brian's behalf; five days later he was given formal custody of the prior, who received the larger sum of £26 13s 4d at the exchequer the following month.[8] With, or in advance of, Ormond came letters from 'the substance of the lordes espirituell knightez esquiers and gentils' of Ireland - possibly a formal message from the August great council - to the effect that the accusations of treason against the earl were false and founded on malice

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[4] P.R.O., E404/64/18, printed in *C.O.D.*, iii, no. 159, pp. 152-3.
[5] *C.P.R., 1441-46*, p. 288.
[6] *P.P.C.*, v, p. 333.
[7] P.R.O., C49/34/31, iii; for Brian's post as chirographer, see below, Appendix I, list 9, p. 548. Brian travelled from Ireland in the ship which transported Thorndon's possessions to England after his flight: P.R.O., E101/248/12.
[8] P.R.O., E368/216, m. 86d; E 403/753, mm. 9, 10; /756, m. 7.

and ill-will.[9] At some stage after Ormond's arrival, a deputation of senior clerics, which included the abbots of St Mary's and St Thomas's, Dublin, landed at Chester in his support, to the discomfiture of fitzGerald and Thorndon, who pressed successfully for a royal injunction that none of the group should be permitted to speak to the earl and his men.[10]

Once all the witnesses were assembled, there was almost certainly a preliminary sifting of the evidence for and against fitzGerald's accusations by the English council - a common procedure in cases of treason at this time.[11] This was probably undertaken by the second week of November, for at this point Thorndon's custody of the prior seems to have come to an end.[12] FitzGerald's charges then went before the court of the constable and marshal, as appropriate for an appeal of treason originating from outside the realm.[13] In mid December Edmund Brian received English letters patent granting him a £10 annuity in Ireland in reward for coming to England to present his evidence 'in great fear of his life'.[14] It seems, however, that the no doubt conflicting testimonies presented were deemed insufficient either to prove fitzGerald's case or to establish Ormond's innocence, for the constable's court then referred the issue to a duel. Given the circumstances of the case, this was probably

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[9] Reference to this message was made in the records of the Irish parliament of 1450, and there is further confirmation amongst English council documents that 'writyinges' from 'lordes and gentiles' of Ireland reached England at the time that the fitzGerald and Thorndon charges against Ormond were being investigated: P.R.O., C49/34/31, iii; *Stat. Hen. VI*, pp. 240-2.

[10] P.R.O., C49/34/31, ii.

[11] See J.G. Bellamy, *The law of treason in England in the later middle ages* (Cambridge, 1970). pp. 151-2.

[12] At the end of this month Thorndon was paid £20 for expenses incurred in his custody of fitzGerald from 25 July to 9 November, and the prior received a further payment of £13 6s 8d from the exchequer: P.R.O., E403/756, m. 7.

[13] See *English constitutional documents, 1307-1485*, ed. E.C. Lodge and G.A. Thornton, p. 254.

[14] *C.P.R., 1441-46*, p. 314.

not an outcome which greatly surprised either party. Ormond, of course, had already expressed his willingness to defend himself against charges of treason by trial by battle two years earlier in 1442.[15] And although judicial duels were by no means everyday affairs, they were not confined to the relatively rare cases of treason originating outside the realm. In the late fourteenth century trial by battle under the supervision of the constable had been employed to resolve numerous English treason cases, and in the Lancastrian period this had continued, despite parliamentary pressure to restrict the practice.[16] On 22 December the constable, lord Beaumont, gave orders for the equipping of fitzGerald at the royal armoury, and the combat was arranged for 18 February at Smithfield.[17] On 23 December the prior, together with various attendant gentlemen and grooms, was entrusted to the custody of the duke of Norfolk, the earl marshal.[18] On 20 January fitzGerald was granted the further royal gift of a pipe of red wine from the port of London.[19]

In the new year of 1445 it thus seemed that the affair would be settled, one way or the other, well within the period for which Ormond had made firm provision for a deputyship to cover his absence from Ireland.[20] When the date set for the duel arrived, however, no combat took place. According to two chronicle accounts, Ormond arrived at Smithfield at the appointed hour to the cheers of the majority of onlookers, while fitzGerald failed to appear.[21] According to two further accounts, the duel was

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[15] See above, p. 320.
[16] See J.G. Bellamy, *The law of treason in England in the later middle ages*, pp. 143-7.
[17] Lambeth Palace Library, Carew MS 613, f. 45.
[18] P.R.O., E403/765, m. 10.
[19] P.R.O., E28/74/19.
[20] I.e. up to 1 May 1445: see above, p. 366.
[21] *Six town chronicles*, ed R. Flenley (Oxford, 1911), pp. 118-19; *Brut* (F), p. 487.

cancelled as a result of the efforts of certain 'preachers and doctors' of London led by Gilbert Worthington, rector of St Andrew's, Holborn.[22] It would seem that Ormond's previous personal connections with London stood him in good stead at this point, earning him both popular and influential local support. FitzGerald, however, had a good reason for his non-appearance. On the previous day, 17 February, lord Beaumont had reported to a meeting of the English council that the armour promised to the prior had not been delivered.[23] Nevertheless, although fitzGerald's equipment was finally ready by May,[24] the duel itself was not to be rescheduled until the autumn of 1446. The long delay contrasts sharply with the good progress of the case up to the early weeks of 1445. After this point the initial impetus to bring it to a conclusion with reasonable dispatch seems to have evaporated. The king's propensity for vacillation and inaction, so evident in his failure to deal decisively with the problem of the Talbot-Ormond feud during the first year of Ormond's recent lieutenancy, offers one obvious explanation. However, in this instance it would seem that the reasons for this sudden loss of impetus were considerably more complex and more positive than a mere failure of royal interest in, or will to pursue, the affair.

At some point it seems that fitzGerald and his supporters accused Ormond not only of treason, but also of necromancy.[25] Events in England

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[22] *Brut* (G), pp. 510-11; *Chronicles of London*, ed. C.L. Kingsford, pp. 156-7. For Worthington's career, see A.B. Emden, *A biographical register of the University of Cambridge to 1500* (Cambridge, 1963), p. 652.
[23] Lambeth Palace Library, Carew MS 613, f. 45.
[24] Devon, *Issues*, p. 451.
[25] *Stat. Hen. VI*, pp. 100-1; see also Richardson and Sayles, *Ir. parl.*, pp. 206-7.

three years earlier had shown that this was not a matter which the king was disposed to take lightly. In 1441 accusations of treasonable dabbling in the occult brought against Eleanor, duchess of Gloucester, had ruined her and considerably damaged the political power of her husband, Duke Humphrey, notwithstanding their formal divorce by a commission of bishops before punishment was meted out to her in the form of public humiliation and life imprisonment.[26] It seems unlikely that fitzGerald would have been unaware of so celebrated a precedent - Gloucester was after all the king's heir as well as his uncle. Indeed it is very possible that the success of the case brought against the duchess had helped to shape the form of the charges against the earl.

However, while little is known about Ormond's treatment in the weeks between his arrival in England and the expected date of the duel, it is very clear that in his case no cloud was permitted to hang over the heads of his immediate family. In November 1444 the marquis of Suffolk sailed for France in order to continue peace negotiations and to conduct Henry's Angevin bride to England after representing the king at a preliminary proxy marriage ceremony. It was thus an important mission entailing considerable expense: the entourage accompaying Suffolk was noted to have been the most imposing to have been seen in London since the return of the king's coronation expedition from France in 1432.[27] The three leading members of the marquis' retinue were lords Clifford and Greystoke and Sir James Ormond.[28] And while the latter's involvement was no doubt

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[26] See R.A. Griffiths, 'The trial of Eleanor Cobham: an episode in the fall of Duke Humphrey of Gloucester', *B.J.R.L.*, li (1968-9), pp. 381-99; Griffiths, *Henry VI* p. 253; Wolffe, *Henry VI*, pp. 126-8.

[27] 'Benet', p. 190; *Six town chronicles*, ed. R. Flenley, p. 118; see also Griffiths, *Henry VI*, pp. 486-7; Wolffe, *Henry VI*, p. 180.

[28] B.L., Additional MS 23,938, ff. 4-5, 13; Stevenson, *Letters*, i, p. 447.

partly due to his long-standing connection with the royal court, it seems probable that it also had a particular purpose. Lord Clifford was an associate of the earl of Shrewsbury's heir, Sir John Talbot.[29] Suffolk's retinue also included two relatives of Shrewsbury, namely his elder brother's widow, Beatrice, dowager lady Talbot, who after landing at Harfleur was piloted up the Seine to Rouen in charge of two ladies-in-waiting for the new queen, and his brother-in-law, Sir Hugh Cokesey, who had been involved in the affray against the servants of the dowager lady Abergavenny at Snitterfield which had contributed to the resurgence of the Talbot-Ormond feud in the mid 1420s.[30] Orders and payment had already been sent in the summer of 1444 to Shrewsbury himself, then in France, to join Margaret of Anjou's escort to England and meanwhile, perhaps, to assist with the advance preparations for her journey through English Normandy. At the same time payment had been made at the English exchequer to the countess of Shrewsbury to cross to France to attend the royal bride.[31] The Shrewsburys and James Ormond were almost certainly present together at Margaret's proxy marriage at Nancy in February 1445,[32] and there is evidence that all three played a prominent part in the new queen's official reception at Rouen in March. Furthermore a reference in the account of this occasion by the French chronicler, Mathieu d'Escouchy, to the presence of *la dame de Talbot la jeune* as well as to that of *le*

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[29] When John Talbot made his will in September 1446, Clifford was named as an executor: *Testamenta Eboracensia*, ii, (Surtees Society, xxx, 1855), p. 253.

[30] B.L., Additional MS 23,938, ff. 5, 10, 13. For the Snitterfield incident, see C. Carpenter, 'The Beauchamp affinity: a study of bastard feudalism at work', p. 527; above, p. 213.

[31] P.R.O., E403/751, m. 10.

[32] For the Shrewsburys' activities, see Pollard, *John Talbot*, p. 61.

seigneur de Tallebot, messire James d'Ormont and *la dame de Talbot*, suggests that they may also have been accompanied by James' sister, Elizabeth, as the bride of Shrewsbury's heir, Sir John Talbot.[33] As the precise date of Elizabeth Ormond's marriage is not known beyond the fact that it took place at some point before 8 June 1445, by which date at least part of her dowry had been paid,[34] it is uncertain whether the accusations against her father ever threatened to prevent the alliance taking place. They were, nevertheless, unlikely to have made the process of Talbot-Ormond reconciliation any easier. Under the circumstances the joint involvement of members of both families in the ceremonies attendant on the king's own marriage was particularly timely and surely no mere chance. There is no means of knowing whose suggestion this was - it may well have been Suffolk's - but it could scarcely have been carried out without the king's consent. The elaborate and costly arrangements for the advent of the royal bride were matters in which the king was likely to have taken a close personal interest.[35] There could have been no clearer expression of royal approval of the Talbot-Ormond alliance, nor a more public means of displaying and cementing it.

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[33] *Chronique de Mathieu d'Escouchy*, ed. G. du Fresne de Beaucourt, i (Paris, 1863), pp. 86-9. It is of course possible that *les dames de Talbot* in question were lady Shrewsbury and her sister-in-law, Beatrice, but as in d'Escouchy's account the elder *dame* clearly took precedence over the younger, rather than the other way round, this identification seems the less likely.

[34] P.R.O., E404/61/227. It has been suggested (see Richardson and Sayles, *Ir. parl.*, p. 202, n. 33) that the marriage probably took place at least a year earlier on the grounds that on 21 June 1444 Ormond claimed the hospitaller of Kilmainham, Thomas Talbot, as his kinsman (see above, p. 367) and that in a later document of 1451 the same Thomas Talbot was described as a cousin of Sir John Talbot, Shrewsbury's heir. There is, nevertheless, no proof that the kinship between Ormond and the hospitaller depended on Elizabeth Ormond's marriage. This was not the only Butler-Talbot connection: see above, pp. 166-7.

[35] See Griffiths, *Henry VI*, pp. 251-2.

Unfortunately, of course, it was an exercise which cut little ice in Dublin, where events early in 1445 proved any fears about the possible effect of the fitzGerald-Ormond case on the process of Talbot-Ormond reconciliation to be well-founded. On 22 January, well before the second quarter of lord Delvin's deputyship for Ormond could have elapsed, Archbishop Talbot suddenly assumed control of the administration as justiciar. Had his action been authorized from Westminster, the appropriate appointment would surely have appeared on the English patent roll, but there is no sign of it. And there is no evidence that Delvin resigned through incapacity: within four years he was to be appointed deputy lieutenant by Richard, duke of York.[36] It thus appears that Delvin was ousted by a coup. The timing, just a month after it was clear in England that the constable's court had referred the fitzGerald-Ormond case to a duel, suggests that this news could well have prompted Delvin's fall. Possibly Talbot argued that, under such circumstances, Ormond could no longer be considered a suitable lieutenant.

In terminating the deputyship and thereby Ormond's lieutenancy before the remainder of the latter's seven-year term had been cut short by a new appointment to the chief governorship from England, Archbishop Talbot's justiciarship offered both an affront to royal authority and new fuel for factional tension in Ireland. For once the reaction from England was swift. Just over three weeks later, on 14 February, indentures were sealed at Windsor appointing the earl of Shrewsbury lieutenant of Ireland for seven years from 20 April.[37] In view of what had happened in Ireland and of the current concern in England to promote Talbot-Ormond reconciliation,

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[36] For Talbot's justiciarship and Delvin's later deputy lieutenancy, see below, Appendix I, list 2, p. 489.
[37] Ibid., list 1, p. 480.

this was a surprising decision at this critical juncture. However, it proved by no means as impolitic as the king's incautious appointment of Ormond as lieutenant had done in 1442. Although the expectation that Shrewsbury, then in France, might return with Queen Margaret's escort early enough to prepare for departure to the lordship by mid April was entirely unrealistic, this appointment to the lieutenancy was handled much more carefully than that of 1442. It was not simply 'a victory for the Talbot faction'.[38] Against all the odds, it was to be the means of successfully extending the Talbot-Ormond accord to Ireland.

Given Shrewsbury's absence in France, the normal complexities of the appointment process and the fact that the financial terms of the indentures of 14 February represented a significant departure from those agreed for all previous lieutenancies since 1425 and a return to the level of English funding which Shrewsbury had been offered for his earlier lieutenancy in 1414 by Henry V,[39] there seems little doubt that the preliminary negotiations for the appointment had been set in motion well before the arrival from Dublin of the news of the ousting of Delvin. Perhaps this had been done to provide for the contingency that the duel might vindicate fitzGerald rather than Ormond. But there seems equally little doubt that the authorization of the appointment in mid-February was done in a hurry and with a particular object. Negotiations about the content of Shrewsbury's letters patent as lieutenant had certainly not been completed - perhaps not even begun - at this stage, for the version which was drawn up in the wake of the sealing of his indentures was comprehensively revised after his return from France.[40] The date of the

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[38] Quotation from Griffiths, *Henry VI*, pp. 251-2.
[39] See above, pp. 22-6, 98.
[40] Ibid., pp. 34-7, 39.

sealing of the indentures fell just four days before the expected date of the fitzGerald-Ormond duel on 18 February, and it is hard to believe that this was mere coincidence. The day on which the indentures were finalized also saw the authorization from Windsor of a warrant for the payment of one of the privy-seal clerks, Richard Langport, who had been assigned to the constable's court for business connected with the fitzGerald-Ormond case.[41] By depriving Ormond of his claim to the remainder of his own term of office in advance of the duel, the king and his advisors were presumably attempting to forstall any tussle for the chief governorship between the two factions in Ireland should victory on 18 February prove Ormond's innocence. The new appointment to the lieutenancy also served immediate notice that Archbishop Talbot's justiciarship was intended to be of strictly limited duration.

This course of action nevertheless left the archbishop in power in Dublin until the arrival of his elder brother as lieutenant. This was to prove a lengthy period. The great occasions and celebrations in England following the new queen's belated arrival at Portsmouth in April, the difficulties in obtaining his first payments as lieutenant from the English exchequer and an inquiry into the misappropriation of soldiers' wages by the English captain of Gisors which required Shrewsbury's attention as marshal of France, were all to combine to keep him from leaving Ireland until the autumn of 1446.[42] The failure of the royal armoury to deliver fitzGerald's equipment in time for the duel to take place as planned on

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[41] P.R.O., E404/61/137.

[42] See below, Appendix I, list 2, p. 489. Although Shrewsbury's revised letters patent of May 1445 did not forbid the appointment of a deputy in advance of his arrival in Ireland, he did not seek to unseat his brother by such means. For his difficulties in obtaining his initial payment, see above, pp. 98-9. For the Gisors inquiry, see Griffiths, *Henry VI*, p. 506; Pollard, *John Talbot*, p. 110.

18 February 1445 was probably a genuine oversight - when the English council was informed, orders were drafted at once to the sergeant of the armoury to rectify the matter -[43] but it was also fortunate. After Archbishop Talbot's seizure of power in Dublin, there was nothing to be gained by settling the fitzGerald-Ormond case before the new lieutenant had taken office. And herein surely lies the explanation for the failure to take any steps to reschedule the duel until the autumn of 1446, even after fitzGerald's armour had finally been delivered in May 1445.

Still *sub judice* and suddenly deprived not only *de facto*, but also *de jure*, of the remaining four years of the 'reasonable terme' of office which he had secured at the time of his appointment as lieutenant in 1442, Ormond was in an unenviable position by the spring of 1445. News of Archbishop Talbot's régime in Ireland can scarcely have improved matters. Within the first few weeks of taking power, the justiciar ordered the seizure of all the earl's lands and possessions on the pretext that the latter owed debts at the Irish exchequer - the issue which had originally embittered relations between Ormond and John Talbot during the previous reign.[44] The confiscation was probably only partially effective, but the archbishop certainly took control of a number of the earl's manors closest to Dublin, and at Limerick two merchants annexed four year's profits of his prise of wines there.[45] Meanwhile the earl of Desmond had apparently redoubled his attacks on Butler territory in the central south. To Richard Talbot he was obviously a useful ally. In May 1445 he received a general Irish-seal pardon for past offences and, subsequently the same year, a more specific one for intrusions into various manors including Clonmel and

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[43] Lambeth Palace Library, Carew MS 613, f. 45.
[44] See above, pp. 115-17.
[45] P.R.O.I., 1A/49/148, pp. 58, 113, 115, 161; *Stat. Hen. VI*, pp. 212-15.

Kilsheelan on the north side of the Suir in Tipperary.[46] The summer of 1446 saw Desmond's forces, augmented by the O'Mores and MacGilpatricks, leading a wide-ranging raid of destruction across both Tipperary and Kilkenny which, according to letters sent to England by leaders of the local communities, the justiciar took no action to forestall or counter.[47]

In England, however, Ormond was not merely left to brood over his misfortunes. By the summer of 1445 a marriage had been arranged for his youngest son, Thomas, to fourteen-year-old Anne Hankeford, one of three co-heiresses of Sir Richard Hankeford. On 11 July the couple received licence for immediate seisin of her inheritance.[48] An incomplete memorandum amongst records relating to the handling of the fitzGerald-Ormond affair runs '... for as moche as the said Erle ys trouthe ys so opynly shewed and knowen that he may stand yn the Kynges goode comeyte and favour as his trewe liegeman ...'.[49] Despite the fact that the treason case remained unsettled, Ormond received assurance of royal confidence in his good faith. When on 14 July a major diplomatic embassy arrived in London from France, the earl was amongst those sent to greet the envoys just outside the city. The following day he was at court, where his presence was noted well to the fore of the lay magnates led by the duke of Gloucester who were grouped to the left of the throne when the king welcomed the ambassadors to Westminster. And, significantly, on both these occasions, the earl of Shrewsbury was apparently at Ormond's side.[50]

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[46] P.R.O.I., 1A/49/135, ff. 142-3; 1A/49/148, p. 52.
[47] P.R.O., E101/248/15, transcribed as Appendix V, nos. 3 & 4, in C.A. Empey, 'The Butler lordship in Ireland, 1185-1515' (Dublin Ph.D. thesis, 1970) and discussed ibid., p. 275; see also Richardson and Sayles, *Ir. parl.*, p. 165.
[48] *C.P.R., 1441-46*, p. 354; *C.P.*, x, p. 132.
[49] P.R.O., C49/34/31, iv.
[50] Stevenson, *Letters*, i, pp. 156, 158.

There can be no doubt that pains were taken to ensure that the latter's commitment to the Talbot-Ormond accord held firm at this point, despite the provocation offered by Archbishop Talbot's actions in Ireland and the transfer of the lieutenancy to Shrewsbury. By an arrangement, which, in view of the increasing difficulty which lieutenants of Ireland were by this time encountering in securing preference at the English exchequer, was obviously to Ormond's benefit, it was agreed that £300 of his daughter's dowry should be paid in uncashed tallies previously issued to him 'for the keping of ... Irelande'.[51] When a three-year English-seal licence for absence from Ireland issued on 7 May 1445 proved insufficient to secure the restoration of Ormond's lands there, orders to reverse the confiscation were sent directly to the justiciar and the Irish council in November.[52] And when the new lieutenant finally left to take up office, his heir, Sir John Talbot, who had been newly appointed chancellor of Ireland, accompanied him. It thus seems probable that Elizabeth Ormond did too. Arrangments were also made for her second brother, John, either to sail with them or to join them on their arrival in the lordship.[53] The clear intention was that Shrewsbury's régime should be the product of the Talbot-Ormond reconciliation and should be seen in Ireland to embody it.

Confidence in Shrewsbury's ability and willingness to fulfil the role assigned to him was not misplaced. In Ireland his commitment to the ending of the feud held firm. Although he has been deemed 'a particularly

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[51] P.R.O., E404/61/227; above, pp. 96-9; below, Appendix II, Table C, p. 569.
[52] P.R.O., C81/1546/119 (dated by a reference to the order in *Stat. Hen. VI*, pp. 212-13); *C.P.R., 1441-46*, p. 351.
[53] P.R.O., E30/1561; 'MacFirbis', p. 216. John Talbot's appointment as chancellor was authorized under the English seal in August 1446: see below, Appendix I, list 3, p. 496.

violent and quarrelsome nobleman',[54] this particular episode of his career also shows him to have been capable of determined peacemaking. Despite the great success which he had enjoyed in France, the cessation of hostilities there and the chance of a different sphere of action were probably welcome to him. There was good reason at this time to be pessimistic about the military position in Normandy, and he had recently encountered difficulties there in raising sufficient troops and in finding the funds to pay them.[55] He also had a personal incentive for revisiting Ireland. During his brief stay in England in July 1443, he had expressed anxiety about the lack of profit received from his own Irish lands.[56] In July 1446, as preparations for his departure for the lordship were set in train, the king provided an additional spur by creating him earl of Waterford, steward of Ireland and baron of Dungarvan and granting him the wreck of the sea all along the southern Irish coast from Waterford to Youghal.[57] The new lieutenant's lack of direct personal involvement in all but the very earliest stage of the factional conflict in Ireland was obviously an advantage.[58] So too was his relationship with Richard Talbot. As the archbishop's elder brother, Shrewsbury was perhaps more likely than anyone else to be able to bring effective pressure to bear on him to abandon the feud.

The terms of Shrewsbury's appointment had significantly increased the lieutenancy's power in matters of patronage: he had been given control over English-seal, as well as Irish-seal, appointments to Irish offices.[59]

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[54] See Pollard, *John Talbot*, p. 101.
[55] Ibid., pp. 59-61.
[56] *P.P.C.*, v, pp. 301-2; see also above, p. 341.
[57] P.R.O., E404/62/226, *C.P.R.,1441-46*, p. 448; see also below, pp. 398-9.
[58] See above, pp. 172-3, 291-2.
[59] See above, p. 74.

Disconcertingly for the Talbot faction, this authority was by no means used exclusively to advance its own interests,[60] as Shrewsbury's intervention in a dispute over possession of the office of chief baron of the Irish exchequer clearly demonstrates.

Since the early 1440s there had been two rival claimants to this office. The first, John Cornwalshe, had been appointed in succession to his father, James, by Ormond as deputy lieutenant on 5 October 1441.[61] The second was Michael Griffin, a man who had close links with Archbishop Talbot and who was subsequently to be accused (by John Cornwalshe) of aiding James Cornwalshe's murderers.[62] Griffin's slightly more recent English-seal appointment of 31 October 1441 had initially been accepted by Ormond early in 1442, but had then been rejected in favour of John Cornwalshe's at the Naas great council held in the July of that year.[63] This, of course, was the summer of the furore in Ireland over the charges made against Ormond in England by Talbot earlier in the year.[64] The formal justification for Cornwalshe's reinstatement had been that his previous expulsion had been improper because at the time he had been campaigning in Ossory and unable to defend his claim.[65] Nevertheless, it was probably also significant that Griffin as chief baron had been conspicuous by his absence from the meeting of the Irish council which had supported Ormond's initial refutation of the Talbot charges on 5 June.[66] Subsequently Ormond had ignored English-seal orders for Griffin's

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[60] Cf. Griffiths, *Henry VI*, p. 418.
[61] See above, p. 293; below, Appendix I, list 6, p. 512.
[62] Bodleian Library, Rawlinson MS B 491, f. 140. Griffin's responses to Cornwalshe's accusations reveal that he had been in contact with Richard Talbot in England in the winter of 1441-2 and had later frequented the archbishop's house in Dublin: ibid., f. 144.
[63] See below, Appendix I, list 6, p. 512.
[64] See above, pp. 317-26.
[65] *C.P.R., 1441-46*, pp. 352-3.
[66] Graves, *King's council*, pp. 276-7.

reinstatement in 1443.[67] This nevertheless took place within two months of Archbishop Talbot's election as justiciar in 1445, and on this occasion Cornwalshe lost not only his office but all his other possessions in Ireland as well. When English-seal orders to restore him were ignored in Dublin, Cornwalshe took the dispute to the English chancery,[68] which decided the case in his favour. In accordance with this judgement, English-seal letters patent appointing Cornwalshe chief baron for life were issued in December 1445 with a warranty clause recording Shrewsbury's assent. Again these had no effect in Ireland. As justiciar, Talbot, like Ormond in 1443, simply dug in his heels in favour of his preferred candidate, for further English-seal letters ordering the Dublin administration to admit Cornwalshe to office had to be drawn up in July 1446.[69] But if Talbot had assumed that Shrewsbury's authorization of Cornwalshe's patent of 1445 had been a mere matter of form or given in ignorance of the factional interests at stake, he was firmly disabused of any such notion after his brother's arrival in Ireland. At a parliament held at Trim in January 1447, Shrewsbury, in response to a petition from Cornwalshe, cancelled Griffin's 1445 Irish-seal ratification of his original English-seal appointment of 1441 on the grounds that it had been obtained *surreptusement et illoialment* from the Irish chancery. Griffin was then summoned to answer accusations of *misgouernauntz et disobeysaunz* before the king's bench in Ireland.[70]

Shrewsbury used the parliament at Trim to make a number of pronouncements which were obviously intended to try to prevent any similar office-holding disputes arising in the future. Both the chief and second

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[67] Issued on 12 July: *C.C.R., 1441-47*, p. 104.
[68] P.R.O., C1/13/228; *C.P.R., 1441-46*, pp. 352-3.
[69] Ibid., pp. 410, 495.
[70] *Stat. Hen. VI*, pp. 66-71, 78-9.

justices of the king's bench, Christopher Bernevale and William Chevir, whose opposing political sympathies would have been unlikely to have promoted any degree of co-operation in the difficult period following Ormond's departure for England in 1444, had recently died. New appointments by the lieutenant to replace them with Robert Plunket and Edward Somerton were formally approved and confirmed in terms which explicitly prohibited their dismissal (even by force of letters patent in favour of other candidates) unless they were actually convicted in court of maladministration or corruption. Significantly, steps were taken at the same time to outlaw some of the more questionable tactics by which senior officials had been ousted in the past. And while a provision that office-holders might travel from one part of Ireland to another by sea without forfeiting their posts by technically leaving Irish soil was obviously a covert thrust at the unscrupulous means by which Ormond had ejected Giles Thorndon and his chosen deputy, Christopher Bernevale, from the treasurership in favour of Robert Dyke in 1444, the assembly equally condemned the tactics which Archbishop Talbot had employed against Ormond in 1445. It was enacted that no man might have his offices and possessions confiscated after leaving Ireland in accordance with English-seal or Irish-seal orders.[71]

The proceedings of the parliament record no explicit, direct attack on Richard Talbot himself, and Shrewsbury was careful to sweeten even oblique criticism: the archbishop was certainly likely to have approved the choice of a Plunket as Bernevale's successor.[72] But there can be no doubt

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[71] *Stat. Hen. VI*, pp. 58-67, 70-1, 80-3. For the ousting of Thorndon, see above, p. 349.

[72] For the Plunkets' links with the Talbot faction, see above, pp. 237-8; p. 253, n. 110.

of Shrewsbury's determination to take the wind out of the sails of the Talbot faction. In vindication of Ormond's controversial decision in 1444 to move the Irish common bench and exchequer out of Dublin, a statute passed in a parliament immediately after the Talbot coup of 1445 which had attempted to make it illegal for any future chief governor to authorize their removal from the capital was quashed.[73] Shrewsbury also took pains to conciliate other Butler adherents besides Cornwalshe and firm action to discourage any further attacks against Ormond.

Two men with particular reason to harbour resentment against the Talbot faction were the former deputy lieutenants, Richard Nugent, lord Delvin, who had lost office as a result of the Talbot coup of 1445, and William Welles, seneschal of the liberty of Meath, whose deputyship for lord Welles had been marred by the humiliation of ambush and imprisonment at the hands of Archbishop Talbot's supporters in 1439.[74] The Talbot coup of 1445 had also cost William Welles his possession of the office of escheator, to which he had been appointed, either by his brother or by Ormond, in 1441 or 1442. This Welles did not regain, but, nevertheless, both he and Delvin joined Shrewsbury and John Ormond in a campaign in Meath against the O'Farrells,[75] and the lieutenant showed his appreciation of their help. The parliament authorized a special levy within the liberty of Meath to repay Welles, Nugent and, interestingly, Thomas Plunket - with whom they had apparently co-operated - for financing, out of their own pockets, *la darrein guerre que fuist en la liberte* to the tune of 220 marks. Arrangements were also agreed for the postponement of the Epiphany session of the court of the liberty which had failed to take

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[73] *Stat. Hen. VI*, pp. 74-7; see also above, p. 370.
[74] For William Welles, see above, pp. 54, 274-5, 283-4.
[75] P.R.O., E30/1561; below, Appendix I, list 10, p. 553.

place at the expected time because at the beginning of January 1447 Welles had also taken part in an expedition led by Shrewsbury to Ulster. Welles was exempted from paying any fee for the issuing of the appropriate licence for the postponement under the Irish great seal.[76]

The assembly's treatment of Edmund Brian, Prior fitzGerald's witness in his accusations against Ormond, was very different. During Archbishop Talbot's justiciarship, Brian's £10 life annuity from the fee farm of Dublin - which had been granted under the English seal in December 1444 in reward for his efforts as a witness in the fitzGerald-Ormond case - had been entered on the Irish exchequer memoranda roll, presumably as a preliminary to his payment.[77] The parliament of 1447 authorized a proclamation summoning him to appear before the court of the king's bench in Ireland on pain of being dispossessed and adjudged a traitor to answer *graund et ouvert acusations de tresonns feloniez trespasez et offensez.* Evidence of his subsequent complaint to the king of his loss of all his possessions including the annuity confirms that the threat was carried out.[78] It was further agreed at Trim, *del entier assent dez seigneurs espirituelx et temporelx et communes*, that a message should be sent to the king assuring him that, contrary to *la subtille malice et maliciouse sutes dez certeinz personnez esclaundryng un homme seignour*, no sorcery or necromancy had ever been practised in Ireland, as a deputation of *seignoures prilates et gentiles* including Archbishop Mey of Armagh, the abbots of St Thomas' and St Mary's, Dublin, and the abbot of Baltinglass had already journeyed to England to testify. Although *l'homme seignour*

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[76] *Stat. Hen. VI*, pp. 76-7, 106-7.
[77] P.R.O.I., 1A/49/148, p. 25.
[78] P.R.O., E403/771, m. 6; E404/64/171; Devon, *Issues*, p. 461; *Stat. Hen. VI*, pp. 78-81.

was not named, there has been no doubt, under the circumstances, of his identity.[79] Nor, in view of the clear evidence that the king himself was already convinced that there was little substance to any rumours or accusations of this kind, can there be much doubt of the real purpose of this item of business. It was not only intended as a public declaration of Ormond's probity, but also as a public abjuration of the feud itself.

Ironically, but perhaps predictably, the lieutenancy which took such pains to end the Talbot-Ormond feud also re-emphasized the essential difference between the Talbot and Ormond styles of government which had been so obvious two decades earlier in the contrast between John Talbot's brief justiciarship after the death of the earl of March in 1425 and Ormond's immediately succeeding second lieutenancy.

Against the Gaelic Irish, Shrewsbury achieved some rapid and spectacular results worthy of his distinguished military reputation and of favourable comparison with any of Ormond's most successful past campaigns. The list of those from whom the lieutenant obtained submissions in the winter months of 1446-7 is impressive - O'Connor Faly, MacMurrough, O'Dempsey, O'Nolan, O'Farrell, O'More, O'Reilly, O'Reilly's brother, Felim, and Eoghan, a son of O'Neill.[80] At some point Shrewsbury also obtained the submission of the new chief of the MacMahons, Hugh Roe.[81] The content of these submissions, however, had more in common with those John Talbot had sealed with O'Connor and O'Byrne in 1425 than with those negotiated by

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[79] Ibid., pp. 100-3; see also Richardson and Sayles, *Ir. parl.*, p. 206.

[80] Submission indentures sealed by each of these nine on separate occasions between 18 November 1446 and 15 February 1447 were sent to England: P.R.O., E30/1559-61, 1566-70, 1743.

[81] No original text of this tenth submission has survived, but there are some sixteenth-century notes of its contents: Lambeth Palace Library, MS 603, ff. 133d-134, transcribed in E.P. Shirley, *Some account of the territory or dominion of Farney in the province and earldom of Ulster* (London, 1845), pp. 24-5.

Ormond as lieutenant later the same year,[82] and were significantly less elaborate and more homogeneous than the latter. Between the initial statements of allegiance and the concluding oath-taking on pain of interdict, most of the clauses in the submissions to Shrewsbury were the time-honoured and predictable ones, recording promises by the Irish to renounce black rent, to make amends for past attacks on English lands and to cease raiding them in future, to refuse aid to enemies of the crown, to be ready to support the forces of the Dublin government if required. All the indentures were witnessed, and although, unusually, there seems to have been no mention of hostages, fines were demanded in every case as they had been in both the Talbot submissions of 1425. Those fined most heavily were O'Connor and O'Reilly. Four hundred cows and four horses were required from the former, three hundred and eighty cows (including forty specifically for members of the Irish council) and two horses from the latter.[83] At the other end of the scale, O'Farrell and Eoghan O'Neill the younger each pledged a mere forty cows and two horses, while Felim O'Reilly promised seventy-two cows to be divided in a ratio of five to one between Shrewsbury and his son, John Talbot, the Irish chancellor.[84] There were very few provisions which occurred only in one particular submission. Of these, one concerned arrangements for the payment by MacMurrough of the arrears of the ransom which Shrewsbury considered still due in respect of the chief's release in 1427;[85] another recorded an undertaking by Felim O'Reilly, whose submission preceded that of O'Reilly himself by some two weeks, not to make peace with his chief while the latter remained at war

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[82] Discussed above, pp. 182-96.
[83] P.R.O., E30/1560, 1569. For the fines demanded by Talbot in 1425, see above, pp. 190-1.
[84] P.R.O., E30/1561, 1567-8.
[85] Ibid., /1570.

with the lieutenant;[86] according to a third, O'Connor pledged to abandon a quarrel with the prior of Connell.[87] The only concessions from Shrewsbury were offers in certain submissions of his personal arbitration in the event of any future breaches of the peace across frontiers between English and Gaelic areas. There were, however, no explicit guarantees of redress for any injuries or losses which might be sustained by the Irish as a result of English attack.[88] The more conciliatory tone struck by the submissions negotiated by Ormond in 1425 was absent. So too - with the single and limited exception of a repetition of the promise which Talbot had made to O'Connor in 1425 of a safe conduct to his presence should the chief have reason to request it -[89] were any provisions encouraging peaceful Anglo-Gaelic contact.

Two measures passed by the parliament which Shrewsbury summoned to Trim in January 1447 offer further testimony to his more uncompromising attitude. Oaths of allegiance were held to entitle Irishmen to the protection of English law; the assembly nevertheless stipulated that royal subjects might act without fear of prosecution against any Irishmen, liege or non-liege, who committed any offence or broke the peace. With a preamble deploring the difficulty in distinguishing between *Angloiz marchourez* and *Irroiez enemyez* which made it too easy for the latter to enter *Angliez countez* to rob and pillage, it was also enacted that no one *qui voet estre acco[m]pte pour homme angleiez* should allow hair to grow on the upper lip alone in Gaelic fashion.[90] The mid-fourteenth-century

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[86] P.R.O., E30/1568.
[87] Ibid., /1569.
[88] Ibid., /1567-70.
[89] Ibid., /1569; see also above, p. 192.
[90] *Stat. Hen. VI*, pp. 88-91; see also, D. Johnston, 'Richard II and the submissions of Gaelic Ireland', pp. 13, 20.

statutes of Kilkenny provided a more than adequate precedent for such a pronouncement, but it is hard to imagine it being echoed in any assemblies presided over by Ormond. These, according to Archbishop Talbot and Richard Wogan in 1442, had on occasion included men of Gaelic stock.[91]

With particular reference to Shrewsbury's dealings with Felim O'Reilly, who, at some point after his submission was suddenly imprisoned at Trim where he died in the autumn of 1447, the Ulster annalist alleged treachery on the lieutenant's part and commented:

> A son of maledictions for malice and a devil for evils [was] that Furnival [i.e. Shrewsbury] and what the learned in Ireland say of him is that there came not from Herod, by whom Christ was crucified, downwards, one so bad for ill deeds.[92]

The hyperbole conveys a sense of shock at unfamiliar ruthlessness, yet similar outrage had been provoked by John Talbot's imprisonment of Gaelic leaders as justiciar in 1425.[93] It has also been pointed out that Shrewsbury's lieutenancy and Archbishop Talbot's preceding justiciarship saw a number of attacks on Gaelic poets. The indications are that the attacks had Talbot approval, and similar attacks had been initiated by John Talbot himself during his first lieutenancy of 1414-19, but they would certainly not have been condoned by Ormond, whose eventual return to Ireland in 1448-9 was to be celebrated by an ode from one of the most eminent Gaelic bards of the time. Interestingly, one of the attacks on a bardic family of Meath was subsequently avenged by lord Delvin,[94] which prompts the speculation that, had Shrewsbury served his full term as

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[91] See Otway-Ruthven, *Medieval Ireland*, pp. 291-4; above, pp. 315, 322-3.
[92] *A.U.*, iii, p. 161.
[93] See above, pp. 172, 181-2.
[94] See K. Simms, 'Bards and barons: the Anglo-Irish aristocracy and the native culture', pp. 177-97, esp. pp. 184-8. For the bardic poem to Ormond, see also below, pp. 413-20.

lieutenant, his antagonism towards Gaelic Ireland might possibly have encouraged the re-emergence of factional tensions. In the short term, however, the strength of the political accord sealed by the Talbot-Ormond marriage was sufficient to withstand this strain.

However different Shrewsbury's attitude towards the native Irish and their culture was from Ormond's, there can be little doubt that he too can be acquitted of presiding over any shrinkage, either sudden or gradual, in the Dublin government's effective sphere of influence within Ireland. A reference in the sixteenth-century notes of the terms of the submission obtained from MacMahon to a promise 'to carrie nothing oute of the inglishe pale contrarie to the statutes' - apparently the earliest use of the term 'pale' in an Irish context -[95] has seemed to suggest that the area under the control of the Dublin government had at this point already dwindled close to the proportions of the 'pale' familiar to historians of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, namely the narrow, fortified, coastal strip between Dundalk and Dalkey.[96] The evidence of the other nine original submission indentures, which not only indicate the wide scope of Shrewsbury's campaigns, but also fail to reveal any mention of the word 'pale', refutes this. The equivalent clauses in the original Latin indentures refer in conventional late-medieval terms to *suis [Regis] pacificis terre*, the land of the king's peace. The likelihood is that when the notes were taken of the content of the MacMahon submission, 'pale' was

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[95] Lambeth Palace Library, MS 603, f. 133d; E.P. Shirley, *Some account of the territory or dominion of Farney in the province and earldom of Ulster*, p. 24; see also J.F. Lydon, 'The problem of the frontier in medieval Ireland', *Topic: a journal of the liberal arts* (Washington and Jefferson College, Penn.) vii (1967), pp. 5-22, esp. p. 16.

[96] See Lydon, *Lordship of Ireland*, p. 261; Cosgrove, *Late medieval Ireland*, p. 45 and 'The emergence of the Pale', *N.H.I.*, ii, p. 533; S.G. Ellis, *Tudor Ireland: crown, community and the conflict of cultures, 1470-1603*, p. 28.

employed merely as a convenient, contemporary, English paraphrase of the original Latin terminology. This supposition would seem to be confirmed by a recent study of the precise meaning of the various terms, *la terre de pees* (alternatively 'maghery'), 'march' and 'pale' in the later fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, which concluded that the 'pale', even in the 1530s, was in fact much larger than previously supposed.[97]

Shrewsbury's creation as earl of Waterford may be an indication that in 1446 the king intended to commit him to a long-term contribution to the defence of the lordship beyond his actual term of office. Amongst the many interesting features of his indentures of appointment of February 1445, was a clause promising him six months notice in the event of a decision on the king's part to visit Ireland in person. There is no firm evidence that the final terms of appointment of any previous lieutenant had mentioned such a contingency since the early years of Henry IV's reign.[98] While it is possible that the clause was included merely because it had originally appeared in Shrewsbury's earlier indentures of 1414 - of which no full copy survives - it is by no means inconceivable that Henry VI did briefly give some serious consideration to the possibility of visiting Ireland at this juncture, as he did, later in the year, to the possibility of visiting France. In the mid 1440s hopes for a lasting peace settlement with the French ran high in certain quarters. Controversial as the negotiations begun by Suffolk in connection with the royal marriage

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[97] See Ellis, *Reform and revival*, pp. 50-2. For the geographical limits of both the Dundalk-Dalkey strip and the maghery, see *N.H.I.*, ix, map 46, p. 44.
[98] Thomas of Lancaster's indentures as lieutenant of Ireland in March 1406 had provided for the possibility of his being superseded either by the arrival of the king or the prince of Wales: P.R.O., E101/69/2, no. 316. The possibility of a royal visit to Ireland had also been mentioned in a draft of the indentures prepared for the earl of March in 1423: see above, p. 14. For references to the surviving indentures for appointments to the lieutenancy under Henry V and Henry VI, see below, Appendix I, list 1, pp. 477-81.

proved to be, particularly with regard to the king's subsequent decision to cede Maine to the French, Henry was chief amongst those optimistic of their success.[99] After the frustration of Ormond's hopes of a royal expedition to Ireland both in the early 1420s in the aftermath of the treaty of Troyes and again in the mid 1430s,[100] he himself would doubtless have been ready to encourage such a project at this apparently propitious moment, and it would certainly have helped to reconcile him to Shrewsbury's appointment.

The failure to achieve peace in France dashed any such hopes and was directly responsible for the abrupt curtailment of Shrewsbury's rule. The last main event of his stay in Ireland was a great council at Naas which opened on 20 October 1447.[101] He was recalled to join a new expedition to France under the duke of Somerset in 1448, and then became involved in the English preparations to attack Fougères, the ill-conceived attempt to avenge the imprisonment of the king's boyhood companion, Gilles of Brittany, by his brother, the duke of Brittany and Charles VII, which triggered the final French invasion of Normandy.[102] Any mention of the king visiting Ireland was abandoned for good. Shrewsbury never returned to Ireland and his earldom of Waterford attained little practical reality: the clause exempting him from the effects of the resumption of royal grants in the English parliament of 1449-50 was to specify that he had received no profit from Waterford since it had been granted to him.[103] The immediate purpose of Shrewsbury's appointment as lieutenant, the

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[99] See Griffiths, *Henry VI*, pp. 490-502; Wolffe, *Henry VI*, pp. 184-98.
[100] See above, pp. 150-3, 266-71.
[101] *Stat. Hen. VI*, pp. 152-3; see below, Appendix I, list 2, p. 489.
[102] See M.H. Keen and M.J. Daniel, 'English diplomacy and the sack of Fougères in 1449', *History*, lix (1974), pp. 375-91; Wolffe, *Henry VI*, pp. 177-80, 200-8; Pollard, *John Talbot*, pp. 63-5.
[103] *Rot. parl.*, v, p. 188.

ending of the Talbot-Ormond feud in Ireland, had nevertheless been achieved.

Ormond, meanwhile, had remained in England awaiting the final settlement of the charges against him with some impatience. At some point he petitioned for a more speedy resolution of the situation, complaining 'how straungely and in what wyse' he had 'been treted of longe tyme' and protesting that his 'trew acquitaill' was 'unjustly delayed'.[104] It seems probable that he had entertained hopes of being able to accompany Shrewsbury to Ireland. Immediately after the latter's creation as earl of Waterford in July 1446, Ormond was interviewed by Archbishop Stafford, the English chancellor, who conveyed royal orders that 'upon peine of his ligence and forfaiture' he should not go beyond forty miles of London, other than for the purpose of a pilgrimage to Canterbury, and should hold himself in readiness to respond to a summons before the king and his council.[105] The permission to visit Canterbury may perhaps have been prompted by royal recognition of the Butler family's special veneration of St Thomas Becket.[106] Whether the earl accepted the solace offered is not clear.

The upshot of the projected reinvestigation of his case by the English council seems to have been the rescheduling of the long overdue duel with Prior fitzGerald for the autumn of that year, certainly before the end of December.[107] Once again, however, the arrangements were

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104 P.R.O., C49/34/31, 1.
105 *P.P.C.*, vi, pp. 52-4.
106 See above, pp. 250-1.
107 *P.P.C.*, vi, p. 59; 'Benet', pp. 191-2.

abortive. This time, according to one account, it was the prior who took the lists at Smithfield, armed and ready for combat, and the earl who failed to appear.[108] Another account related that the latter avoided having to fight by taking advantage of a general royal pardon, which had recently been offered for all offences committed up to early April that year.[109] Reluctance to fight would have been uncharacteristic of Ormond, and he had certainly shown none in February 1445. He may, however, have been in poor health at this point. Two undated letters from the king - one to the earl, one to the duke of Exeter as constable of the Tower of London - which seem more likely to have related to this occasion rather than to the first abortive duel, convey orders that Ormond was to be moved from the Tower 'ij dayes befor the day of bataille' or earlier if he wished 'to be for a cetaine tyme negh to ... Smythfeld for [his] brething [and] more ease ayenst the said day'.[110] Under such circumstances it could well have been decided at the last moment that he was simply unfit for the rigours of combat. The result, however, was merely further delay. It was to be nearly another year before Ormond was finally declared to be cleared of all the charges against him and free to return to Ireland,[111] by which time Shrewsbury's active lieutenancy was all but over.

In the end the fitzGerald affair was apparently settled peaceably. The prior was paid off with royal grants of little real worth. On 28 November 1446 he was given an annuity of £100 from the fee farm of Chapelizod and Leixlip, followed in June 1447 with the grant of Newcastle

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[108] 'Gregory's Chron.', pp. 186-7. This source suggests that the second duel was scheduled for 4 October 1445. Although the year seems to be mistaken, the month may be accurate.
[109] 'Benet', pp. 191-2; for the general pardon issued in 1446, see R.L. Storey, *The end of the house of Lancaster*, pp. 212-13.
[110] *P.P.C.*, vi, pp. 57-9.
[111] On 15 September 1447: see below, p. 405.

of Lyons, Saggart and Esker on the death of Richard Talbot or as soon as they should come into royal hands.[112] It seems unlikely that the full amount of the annuity would have been forthcoming in Ireland, even supposing that fitzGerald's claims to it had been accepted there. Archbishop Talbot's title to Newcastle, Saggart and Esker was confirmed shortly afterwards in survivorship with his nephew, Sir John Talbot, Ormond's son-in-law. In April 1448 fitzGerald was to be granted the almost equally empty reversion of the Irish chancellorship.[113] A lump sum of £100 granted three months later at the English exchequer was probably his only real gain.[114] His priorate of Kilmainham was meanwhile lost to the hospitaller who had testified against Giles Thorndon to the Irish council in June 1444, Thomas Talbot.[115] Those who had been involved in preparations for the second abortive duel received reward and payment - one Philip Trehere for instructing fitzGerald in points of arms concerning appeals of treason, Thomas Kent, clerk of the English council, for administrative duties, the steward of the marshal's court for providing men at arms to guard the lists at Smithfield.[116] After a miserable fifteen weeks in hiding in Ireland and sixteen weeks in prison in the Tower of London, presumably in consequence of having been declared a traitor in Ireland in 1447, Edmund Brian was to receive assignment of a further small sum from the English exchequer in June 1448, most of which he was still vainly attempting to convert to cash in the mid 1450s.[117]

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[112] *C.P.R., 1446-52*, pp. 29, 38, 76.
[113] Ibid., pp. 56, 167; see also below, Appendix I, list 3, p. 496.
[114] P.R.O., E403/771, m. 8.
[115] *C.P.R., 1446-52*, p. 401; *Stat. Hen. VI*, pp. 260-3; *Reg. Mey*, pp. 344-6.
[116] P.R.O., E404/63/26; *P.P.C.*, vi, p. 59; Devon, *Issues*, pp. 457-8, 459, 463.
[117] P.R.O., E403/771, m. 6; /793, m. 10; /795, m. 5; /800 , m. 3; E404/64/171; Devon, *Issues*, p. 461.

Giles Thorndon was to fare little better. There is no indication that his charges against Ormond were ever properly investigated. While the fitzGerald case dragged on, Thorndon became anxious that he might never regain control of his offices in Ireland, particularly when in May 1446 succession to all of them including the treasurership, after his own death or removal, was granted to two men under the English seal, one of whom, John Wenlock, was the receiver of Shrewsbury's lordship of Blakemere.[118] Having armed himself with fresh English-seal confirmation of his own past appointments against any attempt that Shrewsbury might make to oust him, Thorndon briefly returned to Ireland where he had the dubious pleasure of seeing Robert Dyke, the man who had replaced him as treasurer in 1444, being appointed deputy Irish chancellor by Sir John Talbot.[119] In March 1447, however, Thorndon was summoned back to England to make his account for the revenues of the Irish exchequer for the period from Easter 1446. To this he naturally objected, since his former obligation to account at the English exchequer as treasurer of Ireland had been superseded in 1445 by the restoration to the lieutenancy of the independent control of the Irish revenue which it had enjoyed before 1420.[120] But now, as before, Thorndon's determined stand on a matter of administrative principle availed him little. Although he was restored to a post in the royal household, he was to suffer the indignity, amid increasing personal financial difficulties, of being committed to the Fleet for contempt in October 1452.[121] After 1454 his deputies lost control of the Irish treasurership

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[118] *C.P.R., 1441-46*, p. 424; for Wenlock, see also Pollard, *John Talbot*, p. 89.

[119] *C.P.R., 1441-46*, p. 457; *Stat. Hen. VI*, pp. 54-9.

[120] P.R.O., E368/212, m. 109d; P.R.O.I., 1A/49/135, f. 155. For the grant to Shrewsbury of control of the Irish revenue, see above, pp. 36, 39.

[121] P.R.O., E368/221, m. 109d; E404/65/85; R.A. Griffiths, *The principality of Wales in the later middle ages*, i, *South Wales, 1277-1536*, p. 217.

and, although his claims to the office were briefly reasserted at the end of the decade, there is no indication that he served in person as treasurer at any point after 1447.[122]

The exigencies of the peacemaking which ended the Talbot-Ormond feud thus damaged Thorndon's career as well as Prior fitzGerald's and Edmund Brian's. It was a poor reward for the treasurer's ability, probity and courage in royal service, but he had perhaps been foolhardy to pit his strength against that of the greatest lay magnate in Ireland. Consideration of Ormond's interests was essential to the final settlement of the Talbot-Ormond feud; consideration of Thorndon's was not. While for Ormond the peacemaking process had entailed a prolonged period of inactivity and some frustration, its results were positive. Both the ending of the feud and the misfortunes of fitzGerald and Thorndon contributed much to the relative tranquility, and success, of his last years.

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[122] See below, Appendix I, list 5, pp. 509-10.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

THE FINAL YEARS, 1447-52

On 15 September 1447, according to information contained in a letter subsequently sent to England from the Irish parliament, Ormond was finally acquitted of all suspicion of treason and was given an English-seal licence to return to the lordship.[1] From the spring of 1449, possibly earlier, the final years of his life were spent in Ireland. Another visit to England was planned in 1450, but did not in fact take place.

The final settlement of the Talbot-Ormond feud had removed the most obvious incentive for the earl's persistent pursuit of the power and patronage of the chief governorship over the preceding three decades; it did not, however, mark the end of his active political career. After his acquittal, his first concern in Ireland was the restoration of order within the Butler lordship in the south, but reinvolvement in the work of the Dublin government quickly followed. The last five years of his life coincided almost exactly with the first five years of the lieutenancy of the earl of Shrewsbury's successor, Richard, duke of York, who was appointed for ten years in 1447 and thereafter retained the office for most of the rest of the reign.[2] Ormond gave assistance in 1449 to lord Delvin, York's first deputy in the lordship from 1448, and to York himself, who was in Ireland in person from July 1449 to August 1450. Upon the duke's return to England Ormond undertook his eighth and last chief

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[1] *Stat. Hen. VI*, pp. 241-2. The timing of the announcement seems to be confirmed by the account of 'Bale's chronicle' for the regnal year, 1447-8: *Six town chronicles*, ed. R. Flenley, p. 122.

[2] After a delayed start and two relatively short interruptions in the mid 1450s: see below, Appendix I, list 1, p. 481; list 2, pp. 489-91.

governorship as York's second deputy. Lasting until the earl's sudden collapse and death in August 1452, this final deputyship was the longest of his career.[3] Whether or not in this post-feud period he had actively sought a return to office is difficult to assess. There is no sign, however, that, when the opportunity arose, he was reluctant either to accept it or to shoulder the burdens which it imposed.

The sequence of events immediately following the long-awaited resolution of the fitzGerald-Ormond case in 1447 is by no means clear. The indications are that up to this point the earl had been impatient for his acquittal,[4] an impression reinforced by 'Bale's chronicle', which states that the royal pronouncement of Ormond's innocence was obtained by the efforts of the master of the London house of St Thomas of Acre, John Neel, who would no doubt have been acting at Ormond's own prompting.[5] Moreover, news from southern Ireland might well have made the earl anxious to bring his long stay in England to an end at this time. At some point in 1447, Ormond's nephew, Edmund MacRichard Butler of Polestown, whom he had probably appointed to act as his personal deputy for the period of his absence, was taken prisoner by Piers fitzJames Butler of Cahir, son of the earl's half-brother, James Gallda Butler, the illegitimate offspring of a liaison between the third earl of Ormond and his niece, Katherine of Desmond.[6] Other evidence suggests that Ormond had given the Cahir Butlers

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[3] All three previous deputyships had been of less than a year's duration: see above, p. 111; below, Appendix I, list 2, pp. 485, 488-9.
[4] See above, p. 400.
[5] *Six town chronicles*, ed. R. Flenley, p. 112; for the earl's previous connections with the London house of St Thomas of Acre and John Neel, see above, pp. 250-1, 263; p. 279, n. 54.
[6] 'MacFirbis', p. 217; see also C.A. Empey and K. Simms, 'The ordinances of the white earl and the problem of coign in the middle ages', p. 166. For the descent of the junior lines of the Butler family, see *N.H.I.*, ix, p. 169.

particular responsibilities during his absence too. Nearly a hundred years later, the 'gentilmen, inheritors and freholders' of Tipperary petitioned Henry VIII to take action to curb the 'extortions' inflicted on the county by the descendants of the 'sundrye ... kynesfolk' to whom the fourth earl had given 'the rule and gouernaunce of the said countie' after his summons to England by Henry VI. By way of background explanation the petition included an account of what was then remembered of the disorder in Tipperary during this last absence of Ormond's career and of the circumstances of his return. According to this, the 'malicious division and rancour' between the earl's kinsmen, together with their 'depredations, roberies and taking of prisoners and of immeasurable redemptions emongs themselfs' had been such that it had been with 'moche difficultie' that the earl 'plucked from them suche auctoritie and power as he before his repaire into Englande comytted unto theme'. It was stated, however, that he, his 'seneschall Justice and other thofficers by him appointed' had ultimately been successful in restoring peace,[7] a process which almost certainly saw the enactment of further seignorial ordinances in the style of the earlier ordinances of Fethard.[8]

There is, nevertheless, no proof that Ormond did return to Ireland immediately after his acquittal: indeed there are various indications of

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[7] *C.O.D.*, iv, no. 267, pp. 209-15; see also C.A. Empey and K. Simms, op. cit., p. 168.

[8] Dr Empey has suggested that the ordinances recorded in N.L.I., D 1647, also printed in *C.O.D.*, iii, no. 102, pp. 97-8, *De statutis et correctionibus et dominiis domini comitis Ermonie in comitatu Typerar*, which notes the appointment of James Gallda as keeper of the liberty, may be dated between August 1447 and October 1449 and were therefore probably enacted to restore peace upon the earl's return to Ireland at this time. Dr Empey's research also indicates that similar ordinances were enacted for Kilkenny during the fourth earl's lifetime of which unfortunately no record has survived: see C. Empey, 'The Butler lordship', pp. 182-5; C. Empey and K. Simms, op. cit, pp. 168-70, 186. For the ordinances of Fethard, see above, pp. 230-1.

further activity in England. Between Michaelmas 1447 and Michaelmas 1448, the accounting year immediately following his acquittal, extensive building work was carried out at his manor of Aylesbury, where the lord's hospice, the Bull inn, and its stables were considerably enlarged. The prime mover behind these alterations may have been Sir James Ormond, to whom, according to the account of the bailiffs and the improver, all the arrears collected on the manor that year were paid, and who made use of the new accommodation at a later date. However, the work was certainly carried out in his father's name.[9] Two further documents suggest that it was not until the autumn of 1448 that the earl finally settled his affairs in London. At the beginning of the second week of October 1448 arrangements were made for his payment of debts totalling some £225 owed to various creditors there, including John Neel.[10] Four days later indentures were drawn up for the pledging by the earl of a collection of valuables - mainly silver dishes, cups and spoons, some bearing his arms - to Sir Thomas and Dame Agnes Haseley for £100. Haseley was a clerk of the crown in the English chancery and frequently served as a justice of the peace for Middlesex.[11] At this time Ormond also, somewhat surprisingly, sought and obtained from Westminster an exemplification of the indentures for his 1425 appointment to the lieutenancy: the document passed the English seal on 23 November.[12] If this was the prelude to a belated attempt to pursue

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[9] Birmingham Reference Library, H.C. 504039. Two later accounts for the period Michaelmas 1452 - Michaelmas 1454 refer to the earl (by this time not Ormond himself, but his son) having lodged a large contingent of horses and attendant grooms at Aylesbury in about 1450: H.C. 504040, 504041; see also E.M. Elvey, 'Aylesbury in the fifteenth century: a bailiff's notebook', *Records of Buckinghamshire*, xvii (1961-5), pp. 321-35, esp. pp. 326, 328.

[10] *A. deeds*, vi, p. 358.

[11] P.R.O., E154/1/35; *C.P.R., 1436-41*, pp. 188, 586; *1441-46*, pp. 461, 474.

[12] *An. Hib.*, i, pp. 217-18.

the arrears owing to him from the English exchequer for this term of office which he had remitted to the crown in 1427, it achieved little. Reassignments of sums owed in respect of his much more recent third lieutenancy continued into the mid 1450s, but no issues referring back to payments due for the second lieutenancy were made later than the 1420s.[13]

It may be that Ormond carried out his business in England in the autumn of 1448 by attorney, but, if not, he either crossed the Irish sea twice during the year following his acquittal or else he was very slow to make use of his freedom to return to Ireland. If the latter, one reason may simply have been that at the time of his acquittal he was physically in poor shape. In view of Archbishop Talbot's gibes about his lack of fitness and Richard Wogan's description of him as 'a grete growen man of fflesh' in 1442, also of the more recent royal concern about his 'brething' and 'ease' at the time of the second abortive duel in 1446,[14] this would not have been entirely surprising. Recovering better health may have taken some time. A further probable explanation either for a delayed departure from England or for a further short visit there in the autumn of 1448 may have been unease about the state of affairs in Dublin. Shrewsbury's departure from the lordship in the autumn of 1447 temporarily restored control of the Irish administration to Archbishop Talbot as his deputy. Initially, this was no doubt envisaged as a very short-term arrangement, for York's indentures as Shrewsbury's successor had already been sealed in England earlier in the year on 30 July. Nevertheless, it took York until the latter part of 1448 to assert control by installing a

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[13] See below, Appendix II, Table C, pp. 566, 569.
[14] See above, pp. 320, 401.

deputy of his own in the person of lord Delvin.[15] Notwithstanding the Talbot-Ormond alliance and the success of the peacemaking which had ended the feud in Ireland, Ormond himself may perhaps have been either less than eager to return to a lordship under the sway of the archbishop, or, having done so, anxious to prompt some action on York's part to bring the unexpectedly prolonged Talbot deputyship to a close.

There can be no certainty that Ormond had any hand in York's appointment of Delvin in 1448, but his links with both men make this very probable. Delvin had been Ormond's own choice as deputy in 1444; moreover, since serving with York in France in 1441, the earl's eldest son, Sir James Ormond, had become the duke's annuitant and seneschal of all the latter's lordships in Dorset.[16] Yet while Delvin's appointment neatly reversed the change of régime effected by Richard Talbot's coup of 1445, it was accomplished without any reopening of the old factional divide. Although a parliament summoned by Delvin to Dublin for 28 February 1449 cancelled a few fines which had been imposed by Shrewsbury for non-attendance at a great council of October 1447, it also confirmed a number of appointments made during his lieutenancy.[17] One particular enactment of the parliament

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[15] Delvin was in office as deputy for York by late December 1448, but Richard Talbot had apparently been acting for his brother at least until the summer because the English exchequer issue rolls described Shrewsbury as 'keeper' of Ireland in June 1448: P.R.O., E403/771, m. 6; see also below, Appendix I, list 1, p. 481; list 2, p. 489.

[16] See J.T. Rosenthal, 'The estates and finances of Richard, duke of York', pp. 180, 190; Johnson, *Duke Richard*, pp. 64, 236; above, p. 282. York and the earl of Ormond also held adjacent manors in Buckinghamshire and Surrey: below, Appendix IV, pp. 592, 594.

[17] *Stat. Hen. VI*, pp. 120-5, 150-5. Of thirteen members of the Dublin administration confirmed in office by the parliament, none owed their appointments to Delvin himself and six - James Alleyne and Edward Somerton (chief and second justices of the king's bench), John Cornwalshe and William Sutton (chief baron and baron of the exchequer), Thomas Sneterby (sergeant at law) and Thomas Bathe (escheator) - had been appointed or confirmed in office under either the English or the Irish seal during Shrewsbury's lieutenancy: see below, Appendix I, list 6, pp. 513, 516; list 8, pp. 543-4; list 10, p. 553; list 11, p. 557.

has been seen as 'a last echo of the Talbot-Ormond feud',[18] but it also demonstrates the extent to which the peacemaking of the mid 1440s had changed the pattern of the lordship's politics. Delvin's assembly cancelled, and annulled the proceedings of, a judicial commission of which the leading member was Prior Thomas fitzGerald.[19] A petition presented to parliament in England in 1449 by Sir John Talbot, by which he successfully obtained confirmation of his possession of the Irish chancellorship, fills out the background. At some point in the preceding months, fitzGerald had returned to Ireland armed with his English-seal grant of April 1448 of the reversion of the Irish chancellorship after John Talbot's death or surrender of the office. With this fitzGerald had managed to gain temporary custody of the Irish great seal, despite the fact that Talbot himself had not resigned his office.[20] Although now absent, Talbot had certainly arranged for a deputy to act for him in Ireland.[21] The likelihood is that the judicial commission had been authorized by fitzGerald. By quashing it and refusing any acknowledgement of the prior's claims to the chancellorship, and, furthermore, prohibiting the Irish chancery from issuing any further judicial commissions to anyone but justices and wardens of the peace,[22] Delvin's assembly was acting as much in John Talbot's interests as in Ormond's. And in so doing, it was upholding Shrewsbury's settlement of the feud, not endangering it.

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[18] See Otway-Ruthven, *Medieval Ireland*, p. 379.
[19] *Stat. Hen. VI*, pp. 116-7.
[20] *Rot. parl.*, v, pp. 166-7. Talbot's tenure of office was confirmed under the English seal on 4 April 1449: see below, Appendix I, list 3, p. 496. For the grant of the reversion of the chancellorship to fitzGerald, see also above, p. 402.
[21] *Stat. Hen. VI*, pp. 54-9.
[22] Ibid., pp. 112-13.

Whatever the date of Ormond's final departure from England, there can be little doubt that he had returned to Ireland by the time of this parliament. Another of its provisions - against ecclesiastical interference in the collection of subsidies and taxes from those holding land of lay tenants-in-chief in County Kilkenny - suggests that the occasion was used to reinforce his efforts to restore order in the south.[23] Moreover, there is firm evidence that shortly afterwards he was with Delvin in the north. In March the death of O'Reilly triggered a succession dispute between the chief's son, Sean, nominated by O'Neill, and an unsuccessful rival candidate, Fearghal O'Reilly, supported by the English of Louth. In an attempt to defend the latter against attacks by O'Neill, MacMahon, Magennis and O'Hanlon, Delvin either sought, or was offered, Ormond's support.[24]

The indications are that the earl's assistance was crucial. According to the annals the deputy's forces had the worst of the encounter, but it seems that Ormond was instrumental in the success of negotiations for a truce shortly after the middle of April.[25] In view of the fact that he himself was not head of the Dublin administration at this time, his role has been seen as a significant testimony to the strength of his personal influence in Gaelic Ulster.[26] Obviously this influence was the product of his many past dealings in the north as chief governor, and it is clear that

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[23] *Stat. Hen. VI*, pp. 116-21.
[24] *A.F.M.*, iv, p. 963; 'MacFirbis', p. 222; *Stat. Hen. VI*, pp. 206-7.
[25] Writing to the archbishop of Dublin on 18 April 1449, Archbishop Mey of Armagh mentioned that he was about to attend a parley between O'Neill and the deputy; writing to the duke of York in the second half of July, he related that 'a trewe was taken by twene Englisse and Yrish by autorite of your depute and the earle of Ormond': *Reg. Mey*, no. 141, pp. 135-6; no. 168, pp. 168-9; Gilbert, *Viceroys*, pp. 582-3.
[26] See K. Simms, '"The king's friend": O Neill, the crown and the earldom of Ulster', pp. 221-2.

this had not been diminished by his lengthy recent absence in England. However, he had also at some point established a personal link with the O'Neills. The annals identify the wife of O'Neill's eventual successor, his eldest surviving son, Henry, as Gormlaith Kavanagh, who, being the daughter of MacMurrough and a sister or step-sister of Ormond, was thus the earl's niece.[27] There seems to be little information about this particular Butler-MacMurrough alliance, but there were to be at least two others in succeeding generations.[28] The date of Henry O'Neill's marriage to Gormlaith Kavanagh is uncertain, but the likelihood is that it had been negotiated in the context of an O'Neill submission to Ormond.[29] The importance of the marriage in the earl's eyes was to be demonstrated by his actions three years later when it - and his authority - were threatened by a new liaison between Henry O'Neill and the widow of O'Donnell.[30] It seems probable that 1449 was one of the occasions on which the worth of the Butler-O'Neill connection was proved.

Further evidence of the strength of Ormond's links with Gaelic Ireland at this point is provided by the fact that his return from England after his acquittal was celebrated in a bardic ode in his honour by the

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[27] *A.F.M.*, iv, pp. 981, 1037; 'MacFirbis', p. 233; see also K. Simms, '"The king's friend": O Neill', p. 220.
[28] See D.B. Quinn, '"Irish" Ireland and "English" Ireland', *N.H.I.*, ii, pp. 619-37, esp. pp. 635-6.
[29] See K. Simms, 'The legal position of Irishwomen in the middle ages', *Irish Jurist*, x, new series (1975), pp. 96-111, esp. p. 109.
[30] See below, p. 457.

leading Gaelic poet of the time, Teige Oge O'Higgin.[31] An interest in Gaelic culture had probably been encouraged in Ormond at an early stage by his father, the third earl.[32] Two parts of an early-fifteenth-century compilation known as 'The Book of the White Earl' comprising copies of an early-medieval Irish martyrology and a twelfth-century Irish prose and verse account of a meeting between St Patrick and the pagan heroes, Caoilte and Oisin, were to be acquired after Ormond's death by Edmund MacRichard Butler and incorporated into another volume of his own, the still-surviving 'Book of Pottlerath'.[33] It was by no means unusual for bardic poems to be written for non-Gaelic patrons in later medieval Ireland, but the content of O'Higgin's poem for Ormond is particularly interesting. As Dr Simms' study of bardic works for Anglo-Irish patrons has pointed out, the poem for Ormond was emphatically not of the genre

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[31] A full text and English translation is printed in *Aithdioghluim Dána*, I & II, ed. L. MacKenna (Irish Texts Society, xxxvii, Dublin, 1939; xl, Dublin, 1940), no. 36, I, pp. 139-43; II, pp. 84-6. The likelihood is that the poem was written within about a year of Ormond's acquittal in September 1447, for his pardoning by the king after the abortive arrangements for the duel at Smithfield is mentioned in the text and O'Higgin himself died at some point in 1448 (ibid., II, p. 85; *A.F.M.*, iv, p. 961). Unfortunately, however, in the absence of other confirmatory evidence, this does not definitely resolve the uncertainty as to whether or not Ormond was back in Ireland before the autumn of that year: the poet may have written in anticipation of the earl's return rather than after it had actually occurred. For O'Higgin and his brother, who had a school of bardic poetry in Connacht, see *The bardic poems of Tadhg Dall O Huiginn*, I, ed. E. Knott (Irish Texts Society, xxii, Dublin, 1922), p. xxxix.

[32] For the third earl's proficiency in Irish, see above, p. 185. Interestingly Thomas Carte's brief, eighteenth-century history of the medieval Butlers noted that the third earl 'had taken great care in his [i.e. the fourth earl's] education': see T. Carte, *History of the life of James, duke of Ormonde*, p. xxxvii.

[33] Bodleian Library, Laud Miscellaneous MS 610. A further fragment of 'The Book of the White Earl' survives in Trinity College Library, Dublin: see M. Dillon, 'Land Misc. 610', *Celtica*, v (1960), pp. 64-76; F.J. Byrne, *1000 years of Irish script* (Oxford, 1979), pp. 25-6; James Carney, 'Literature in Irish, 1169-1534', *N.H.I.*, ii, pp. 688-707, esp. p. 692; F. Henry and G. Marsh-Micheli, 'Manuscripts and illuminations, 1169-1603', ibid., pp. 781-813, esp. pp. 801-3.

described by a fourteenth-century poet in which the conventional promises of praise-poems for Gaelic chieftains that the 'foreigners' would be 'routed across the sea' were simply reversed to produce tactful assurances that the 'foreigners' would eventually expel the native Irish.[34]

It was customary for bardic poets to stress the pleasure which the territory of a patron felt in his presence and its longing for him in his absence.[35] In this case it was not merely the Butler lordship which was represented as mourning Ormond's absence and celebrating his return, but Ireland as a whole:

> For him [i.e. the earl] the fish fill the rivers, the woods look bright, and the sea proclaims to this stranger that Fódla is in joyous mood ...
>
> Only after he had gone departing in his ship, did Éire, wife of Art, miss her hero and feel she had found in him a fitting spouse ...[36]

This paid tribute to Ormond's past role as chief governor, but it seems that the intention was also to convey that his authority in that role had been acknowledged by Gaelic Ireland. And while the eulogy presented him as the only effective protector of English Ireland against Gaelic attack, it had only opprobrium and hostility for the earl's fellow 'foreigners':

> By the wickedness of the Goill [i.e. the English of Ireland] he was out of office for a time, and Éire was, as it were, given over to the rule of the nobles of the Gaoidhill [i.e. the native Irish] ...
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> Let the Greek Goill be told that, if thou ceasest to protect them, and goest oversea, Éire will run that very night to her armoury ...[37]

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[34] See D. Greene, 'The professional poets', *Seven centuries of Irish learning*, ed. B. Ó Cuív (Dublin, 1961), pp. 45-57, esp. p. 47; K. Simms, 'Bards and barons: the Anglo-Irish aristocracy and the native culture', pp. 181, 186-7.

[35] Ibid., p. 182.

[36] *Aithdioghluim Dána*, ed. L. MacKenna, no. 36, verses 2, 3, 8, II, p. 84.

[37] Ibid., verses 25, 28, II, pp. 85-6; also quoted in K. Simms, 'Bards and barons', pp. 186-7.

The section of the poem describing the pardoning of Ormond in England by 'the Saxons' king' after the abortive arrangements for the duel at Smithfield conveys no lack of respect for Henry VI, but the earl was repeatedly urged to take a firm line with the thankless and untrustworthy 'Goill':

> All that the Goill want from thee, O prince for they do not acknowledge any Gall as their ruler - is that thou help them when they require thy help!
>
> Cease to chastise the Goill of Banbha (only) when they have greed to support thee: take my advice and be sterner of speech with them ...[38]

The native Irish are presented in an entirely different light, worthy not only of Ormond's trust, but of power:

> I shall not cease to reproach Séamus Buitilléar until he resolve, when leaving Éire for a time, to leave her in charge of her native princes ...
>
> To leave over Éire men of her own noble races, men whom thou shalt have proclaimed as princes around the assembly-hills - this will cure (the hills of) the Plain of Magh Fáil.
>
> It is not strange that the race of Gaoidheal Glas [i.e. the native Irish] would lay hands on Fódla whenever they could: leave Éire's own princes over her, or else admit the force of her plaint ...[39]

Although the claims of Éire's native princes were a well-worn theme of bardic compositions for Gaelic patrons, there can be no doubt that such sentiments would have outraged many English ears, not least in Dublin.[40]

Bardic poems were written first and foremost to please the patrons to whom they were addressed, for poets normally only secured payment

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[38] *Aithdioghluim Dána*, ed. L. MacKenna, no. 36, verses 29-30, II, p. 86.
[39] Ibid., verses 22, 26-7, II, pp. 85-6; verse 22 also quoted in K. Simms, 'Bards and barons', p. 186.
[40] For the hostility towards the Gaelic Irish expressed by the Dublin notary, James Yonge, in *The governaunce of prynces*, which he wrote for Ormond in the early 1420s, see above, pp. 136, 195.

after their efforts had been approved.[41] As other poems by O'Higgin show that he 'tailored his message to his patron's needs', Dr Simms concluded that the poet 'anticipated a favourable reception' from Ormond for this particular work. However, it is difficult to accept without some reservation her further suggestion that, as in this instance O'Higgin was careful to avoid any 'disrespect towards the English king' and any 'ranting about Tara and the highkingship of Ireland', then the probability is that 'the message the poem contains ... corresponded closely to Ormond's own views'.[42]

The earl himself was a Gall, one of the English of Ireland: he is hardly likely to have shared - at any stage of his career - the hostile view of the Galls as a group which the poem expressed. O'Higgin's calculation, nevertheless, was that the poem's anti-Gall sentiments would not offend. He may well have been emboldened by the knowledge that many Galls had been enemies of Ormond in the period of the Talbot-Ormond feud, and by the fact that it was a Gall, fitzGerald, who had been responsible for the curtailment of the earl's last lieutenancy and his lengthy, enforced absence in England, but the disparagement of Galls in general, of course, served to point the praise of Ormond himself. The poet was obviously confident that a flattering presentation of Ormond as the only Gall worthy of Gaelic respect would be well received.

Similarly, while other evidence of Ormond's dealings with the Gaelic Irish has suggested that his attitude towards them was significantly more sensitive and, when appropriate, more conciliatory than was that of chief governors with more limited experience of the realities of life on the

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[41] See K. Nicholls, *Gaelic and gaelicised Ireland in the middle ages* (Dublin, 1972), pp. 82-3; K. Simms, 'Bards and barons', p. 178.
[42] Ibid., p. 187.

political and cultural frontiers of the late medieval lordship,[43] it is surely inconceivable that he would have given serious consideration to proposals that he relinquish all Ireland, even temporarily, to the rule of 'her native princes'. But hyperbole was the bardic poet's stock in trade. The mention of such a possibility may have been intended, and understood, as no more than a compliment to the strength of the earl's links with Gaelic chiefs. The point is, however, stressed with particular insistence. What Ormond certainly had contemplated - and advocated both to Henry V in 1421 and in the *Libelle* in the 1430s - was the possibility of achieving more peaceful Anglo-Gaelic coexistence within an Ireland where both Gall and Gael acknowledged allegiance to the crown and were recognised as royal subjects. It was a vision which derived from the Gaelic submissions to Richard II which Ormond's father had helped to negotiate. An essential *sine qua non* would have been the full acceptance by the king, by royal officials in Dublin and by the English of Ireland of the legitimacy of some form of Gaelic lordship under the crown in certain areas of Ireland.[44] It may be that O'Higgin's insistence on the possibility and desirability of Gaelic leaders being invested with power in Ireland by Ormond was an allusion to the earl's past advocacy of just such a scheme.

How much reliance may be placed on the poem as a source of specific points of information is difficult to assess. A statement with reference to the fitzGerald-Ormond duel that 'the field in London was crowded as a result of that challenge' agrees with the account in 'Bale's chronicle' of the 'greet numbr of peple gadered as ever was seyn afore in such caas'.[45]

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[43] See above, pp. 185-96, 393-7.
[44] See above, pp. 147-52, 266-71.
[45] *Aithdioghluim Dána*, ed. L. MacKenna, no. 36, verse 12, II, p. 85; *Six town chronicles*, ed. R. Flenley, pp. 118-19.

However, the further uncorroborated assertion that the earl received his pardon in recognition of his 'feat of arms in France' - apparently a reference to his participation in the siege of Rouen in 1418, three years before Henry VI's birth -[46] seems somewhat improbable in the context of the late 1440s. This may simply have seemed to O'Higgin the most convenient means of introducing, in accordance with the established conventions of praise poems,[47] some mention of the highlights of Ormond's past military career. The question of where the balance between considerations of accuracy and of literary style was struck is of particular interest in the context of the penultimate verse, which offers the poet's assurance that he would not expect the earl to remain in Ireland unless he was acknowledged by 'the Goill of Éire ... as king's vice-regent'.[48] Is this an indication that at the time of composition Ormond was known to be nursing hopes of securing the deputyship given to Delvin - or even of supplanting York as lieutenant - or was the mention of a return to the chief governorship merely inserted to match customary references to claims to the highkingship in bardic odes to Gaelic chiefs?[49] In view of the uncertainty about Ormond's activities in 1447-8, it is impossible to reach any definite conclusion on this matter, but as York had only just been appointed, the second possibility seems rather less likely than either the first or the third.

The main interest of the poem, however, lies not in attempting to interpret items of detail - tantalising as these may be - but in a much more general and obvious point. The terms in which the poem was couched

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[46] *Aithdioghluim Dána*, ed. L. MacKenna, no. 36, verses 16-17, II, p. 85.
[47] See K. Simms, 'Bards and barons', p. 182.
[48] *Aithdioghluim Dána*, ed. L. MacKenna, no. 36, verse 32, II, p. 86.
[49] On this last point, see B. Bradshaw, *The Irish constitutional revolution of the sixteenth century* (Cambridge, 1979), p. 22.

demonstrate that in the right company Ormond could be expected to show as much appreciation of Éire as of the English lordship of Ireland. The world of the poet was very different from that of Dublin and that of Westminster. The greatest strength of the earl's position in Ireland lay in his ability to link all three.

For a number of reasons - notably the importance of Richard of York's role in English politics, the fact that his attempt to secure the throne in 1460 was made from Ireland and the significance of his legacy there both for the lordship itself and for the Yorkist cause - his lieutenancy in Ireland has generated very considerably more historical interest than any other in the Lancastrian era. The main events and achievements of his first visit to Ireland of 1449-50, initially researched in detail in the 1930s, are thus well known.[50] It is generally accepted that, until he found himself beset by financial difficulties, York enjoyed a remarkable, if transitory, success, particularly in his dealings with the Gaelic Irish. It has also been suggested that he created 'the sort of atmosphere in which a political initiative aimed at solving the problem of Ireland might have succeeded';[51] furthermore that he 'showed more vigour and enterprise' during this stay in Ireland 'than he had ever done in Normandy' as

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[50] See E. Curtis, 'Richard, duke of York, as viceroy of Ireland, 1447-60', pp. 162-75; also Otway-Ruthven, *Medieval Ireland*, pp. 379-83; Lydon, *Ire. in later middle ages*, pp. 146-7; J.L. Gillespie, 'Richard, duke of York, as king's lieutenant in Ireland: the white rose a-blooming', *Ricardian*, v, no. 69 (1980), pp. 194-201, esp. pp. 196-8; Cosgrove, *Late medieval Ireland*, pp. 48-51; Griffiths, *Henry VI*, pp. 420-2; T.B. Pugh, 'Richard Plantagenet (1411-60), duke of York, as the king's lieutenant in France and Ireland', pp. 128-9; A. Cosgrove, 'Anglo-Ireland and the Yorkist cause', *N.H.I.*, ii, pp. 557-68, esp. pp. 557-62; Johnson, *Duke Richard*, pp. 74-7.

[51] S.G. Ellis, 'The struggle for control of the Irish mint, 1460-c.1506', p. 19.

lieutenant-general there.[52] On the strength of the fact that Ormond became the duke's retainer in July 1450 and his deputy the following month, one account has asserted that 'during York's tenure in Ireland he came to rely heavily' upon the earl.[53] A study of York's affinity in Ireland stated that when the duke arrived there in 1449 'Ormond became one of his most important advisors'.[54] But although two other accounts of the lieutenancy make brief mention of Ormond's assistance to York in Ulster,[55] most have assumed that the earl's influence was not particularly significant. How much - or how little - did York's first period of active rule in Ireland owe to Ormond's support?

There can be no doubt that after York's previous responsibilities as lieutenant-general in France, his appointment as lieutenant in Ireland in 1447 was a demotion down the scale of Lancastrian defensive priorities.[56] Moreover, the contemporary rumours that he was deliberately being sent into political exile demonstrate that this point was clearly perceived at the time.[57] This being the case, there has been much debate about the reasons for the appointment and about York's own reactions to it. Many

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[52] T.B. Pugh, 'Richard Plantagenet (1411-60), duke of York, as king's lieutenant in France and Ireland', p. 128.
[53] J.L. Gillespie, 'Richard, duke of York, as king's lieutenant in Ireland', p. 198.
[54] V. Gorman, 'Richard, duke of York, and the development of an Irish faction', p. 171.
[55] See Otway-Ruthven, *Medieval Ireland*, p. 379; Johnson, *Duke Richard*, p. 75, n. 177 (citing K. Simms, '"The king's friend": O Neill, the crown and the earldom of Ulster', pp. 221-2).
[56] York had served as lieutenant-general in France from 1436 to 1437 and again from 1440 to 1445, on the second occasion with the extensive powers enjoyed by the duke of Bedford and the promise of £20,000 *per annum* from the English exchequer, ten times the sum which he was offered for the Irish lieutenancy: see Griffiths, *Henry VI*, pp. 454-5; J.M.W. Bean, 'The financial position of Richard, duke of York', *War and government in the middle ages: essays in honour of J.O. Prestwich*, ed. J. Gillingham and J.C. Holt (Cambridge, 1984), pp. 182-98, esp. p. 187; Johnson, *Duke Richard*, pp. 28-55; below, Appendix II, Table A, p. 561.
[57] See above, pp. 20-1.

historians have believed the rumours about political exile either to have been correct or to have had at least some substance, most recently Dr Johnson, who has pointed out that when the appointment was first announced (which was as early as July 1447, before Shrewsbury was abruptly recalled from Ireland later that year) York had just taken part in discussions about the English surrender of Maine in which his hostility to royal policy was almost certainly made very clear, and that events in the months preceding the announcement of his departure for Ireland offered the king and Suffolk a number of reasons to wish to be rid of him.[58] Others have found the exile theory unconvincing. It has been pointed out that York's power to hold office by deputy appears to contradict it,[59] and that there were more positive reasons for offering him responsibility for the government of the lordship at this point.[60] Arguments that York was labouring under a cloud of royal suspicion and disfavour in the 1440s have been challenged, and it has been suggested that the Irish appointment was offered to him by way of compensation for his loss in 1446 of the lieutenant-generalship in France to Edmund Beaufort, whose co-operation, as

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[58] See E. Curtis, 'Richard, duke of York, as viceroy of Ireland', p. 160; K.B. McFarlane, 'England: the Lancastrian kings, 1399-1461', *Cambridge Medieval History*, viii, *The close of the middle ages*, ed. C.W. Previté-Orton and Z.N. Brooke (Cambridge, 1936), pp. 363-416, esp. p. 405; J.S. Roskell, 'Sir William Oldhall, speaker in the parliament of 1450-1', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, v (1961), pp. 87-112, esp. p. 88; R.L. Storey, *The end of the house of Lancaster*, p. 73; J.R. Lander, *Government and community*, pp. 184-5; Wolffe, *Henry VI*, p. 220; V. Gorman, 'Richard, duke of York, and the development of the Irish faction', pp. 169-70; Johnson, *Duke Richard*, pp. 70-3. Previously Dr Johnson had found the exile theory less convincing: cf. P.A. Johnson, 'The political career of Richard, duke of York, to 1456' (Oxford D.Phil. thesis, 1981), pp. 113-15.

[59] See Otway-Ruthven, *Medieval Ireland*, p. 378; Lydon, *Lordship of Ireland*, p. 226; Cosgrove, *Late medieval Ireland*, p. 47. It is quite clear, however, that York, like his predecessors as lieutenant, was still expected to go to Ireland in person at some point: see Johnson, *Duke Richard*, p. 70, n. 143; above, pp. 42-3.

[60] See Lydon, *Ire. in later middle ages*, p. 145; Griffiths, *Henry VI*, pp. 419-20.

count of Maine, was important for the furtherance of the king's controversial efforts to achieve peace with Charles VII.[61] Opinions about York's reaction have divided rather differently. The long delay between the duke's initial appointment in 1447 and his eventual departure for Ireland in 1449 has been seen by some as evidence of his reluctance to accept an unwelcome job.[62] But other advocates of the exile theory - and its critics - have suggested that York may well have realised that the appointment offered him a number of advantages, namely the chance to make something of his own extensive inheritance in Ireland, a new source of patronage to help to consolidate and extend his affinity and thereby to strengthen his political position, and even the opportunity to reassess the situation in France, and the controversy in England over the king's peace policy, well away from Westminster and the royal court.[63]

Whatever lay behind the appointment - and it may well be that the king's motives were different from those of his closest advisors in this matter - there is little evidence to substantiate arguments that York was enthusiastic about it from the outset. The only piece of evidence for the suggestion that the duke himself asked for the Irish lieutenancy is unconvincing,[64] and close analysis of lieutenants' letters patent and indentures of appointment fails to bear out assertions that he bargained hard to obtain 'more favourable terms than any of his predecessors in that

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[61] See T.B. Pugh, 'Richard Plantagenet (1411-60), duke of York, as the king's lieutenant in France and Ireland', pp. 122-7; M.K. Jones, 'Somerset, York and the Wars of the Roses', *E.H.R.*, civ (1989), pp. 285-307.

[62] See Wolffe, *Henry VI*, p. 220; Johnson, *Duke Richard*, p. 71.

[63] See E. Curtis, 'Richard, duke of York, as viceroy of Ireland', pp. 160-1; Lydon, *Ire. in later middle ages*, pp. 145-6; Griffiths, *Henry VI*, p. 672; V. Gorman, 'Richard, duke of York, and the development of an Irish faction', pp. 170, 178-9; A. Cosgrove, 'Anglo-Ireland and the Yorkist cause', *N.H.I.*, ii, p. 558.

[64] Namely P.R.O., E28/59/59 cited in Griffiths, *Henry VI*, pp. 419, 439, n. 105. For a full text of this document and the arguments for a dating of 1438 rather than 1449, see below, Appendix III, no. iii, pp. 578-84.

office'.[65] It was Shrewsbury, not York, who renegotiated the powers of the lieutenancy in the 1440s. Nevertheless, despite the length of time which it took York to assert even indirect control in Dublin by appointing Delvin as deputy in the latter part of 1448, the signs are that by the time York actually arrived in Ireland in July 1449 he had taken a very positive view of his new role there. Although the preparations for his passage across the Irish sea were somewhat protracted after his initial lump sum of 2,000 marks was issued by the English exchequer in November 1448, they were elaborate. His fleet of eighteen ships sailed from Beaumaris in two convoys, eleven vessels on 20 June and the remaining seven with York and his duchess on 4 July.[66] The size of his retinue has been estimated at about six hundred men: although this might not seem very large, it was in fact not far short of the contingent of seven hundred which had accompanied him to France in 1441 and was significantly larger than the retinues of some of his immediate predecessors in Ireland.[67] The MacFirbis annals made particular mention of the 'greate glory and pompe' of his arrival at Howth.[68] It seems unlikely that the show and ceremony was

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[65] T.B. Pugh, 'Richard Plantagenet (1411-60), duke of York, as the king's lieutenant in France and Ireland', p. 127; also Lydon, *Ire in later middle ages*, p. 146. Although York was given a ten-year, rather than a seven-year, term of office, his letters patent and indentures were modelled very closely on those negotiated with the earl of Shrewsbury in 1445: see above, pp. 35-40, 98.

[66] York's lump sum was issued in cash on 30 November 1448 (P.R.O., E403/773, m. 6). The warrant ordering the treasurer to arrange for his shipping was dated 11 December (E404/65/82). The sailing dates are recorded in the account of the official who supervised the collection of the shipping, Thomas Combe (E/101/54/10). For further details, see also above, p. 43, and below, Appendix II, Table B, p. 563.

[67] See Johnson, *Duke Richard*, pp. 35, 74; below, Appendix II, Table A, p. 560.

[68] 'MacFirbis', p. 224. According to the Benet chronicle, York did not arrive in Ireland until 9 July ('Benet', p. 195), but in view of the date of his departure from Beaumaris the earlier date of 6 July given by Curtis seems more likely: see E. Curtis, 'Richard, duke of York, as viceroy of Ireland', p. 165.

merely designed to soothe wounded pride: York's subsequent actions demonstrate that he was keen to prove his lieutenancy a success. If the king or Suffolk took steps 'to push' the duke off to Ireland,[69] then it seems that the final stages of this process were accomplished with some tact.

After the long frustration of his hopes for a major royal expedition to Ireland, Ormond had at least one excellent reason to welcome York's appointment and the prospect of the latter's arrival in Dublin. Although the duke was certainly not being offered English exchequer support anywhere near equivalent to the 'expenses of one year don in France' - the sum which had been advocated in the *Libelle* - short of the king himself, no higher-ranking candidate to replace Shrewsbury could have been found.[70] York was not merely the greatest of the absentee lords of Ireland, but, since the death of the duke of Gloucester in February 1447, the man with arguably the best claim to be recognised as Henry VI's heir presumptive. There can be no certainty whether Ormond played any part in arousing York's enthusiasm for the Irish lieutenancy, but if, as seems probable, the earl was in London in person in the autumn of 1448, then he would have had the opportunity as well as the motive to do so.[71] It is, however, clear that good relations between the two men were quickly established, or renewed, once York had reached Ireland, for several features of the first nine months of the duke's active rule as lieutenant bear the hallmarks of Ormond's influence and counsel.

The first of these was the impressive series of Gaelic submissions which York obtained in the weeks immediately following his arrival at

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[69] Johnson, *Duke Richard*, p. 71.
[70] See above, pp. 17-18, 266.
[71] York was also in London at that time: see Johnson, *Duke Richard*, p. 71.

Howth, prompting the euphoric and oft-quoted prediction from a member of his entourage that 'with the myght of Jesus or twelmonth come to an end the wildest Yrishman in Yrland shall be swore English'.[72] As York's success in this respect seems to have been greater than that of any previous head of the Dublin administration since the time of Richard II's first expedition to Ireland, what has been termed 'the magic of the Mortimer name' probably owed as much to the duke's proximity to the throne as to his inheritance of the extensive Irish lands formerly held by the earl of March.[73] It was potent enough for very little in the way of preliminary military force to have been necessary. When York marched north from Dublin via Trim, several northern chiefs - Magennis, MacMahon, 'both theye Reyles' (Sean and Fearghal), MacQuillan, Eoghan and Henry O'Neill and subsequently various O'Hanlons - apparently submitted voluntarily. A brief show of force was then required in Wicklow to deal with O'Byrne, but his submission was quickly followed by those of other chiefs in Leinster and Meath - MacMurrough, O'More, O'Dempsey, MacGeoghegan, O'Farrell and probably O'Toole.[74] Yet although the submissions were obtained with relative ease, they did require negotiation, and here it is clear that York, like Richard II, drew on local advice and expertise.

Entries in the register of Archbishop Mey of Armagh reveal the part which he played as an intermediary on York's behalf in dealings with Felim MacMahon, Eoghan O'Neill and, early in October, O'Neill of Clandeboy.[75]

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[72] First cited in E. Curtis, 'Richard, duke of York, as viceroy of Ireland', p. 168.

[73] Quotation from Lydon, *Lordship of Ireland*, p. 267. Significantly fewer submissions seem to have been made to the earl of March during his brief lieutenancy of 1424-5: above, pp. 171. 191.

[74] See E. Curtis, 'Richard, duke of York, as viceroy of Ireland', pp. 165-8.

[75] *Reg. Mey*, no. 138, p. 134; no. 162, pp. 155-6; no. 173, p. 176; no. 176, p. 178.

They also indicate that when York took over the reins of power in Dublin in the summer of 1449 Mey was expecting that Ormond would act as the lieutenant's chief aide in the north. A mandate issued by Mey to his clergy on 14 July invoked both York and Ormond together as the appropriate secular arm to proceed against O'Neill, upon whom he had pronounced a sentence of excommunication for hindering an archiepiscopal visitation and occupying church lands.[76] By this date Mey was certainly aware that York was in Ireland in person, for he had already written to the lieutenant to explain that the visitation would prevent him from proceeding south to meet him: York's answer to this letter reached the archbishop only two days later.[77] That Ormond's help in Ulster was indeed important to York has been demonstrated by Dr Simms, who has pointed out that the northern Irish leaders who were most ready to make generous offerings to the duke were those with the closest links with the earl, also that the terms of Henry O'Neill's submission on behalf of himself and his father on 27 August - apparently the only one of the submissions to York for which a full text has survived - 'committed York to Ormond's policy of supporting the O'Neill's authority in Ulster rather than undermining it'. Although this document predictably required that the O'Neills should restore English lands and church property, they were also effectively given licence to police Gaelic Ulster on York's behalf, the promise of justice according to the laws of the earldom should any wrong be done to them by the duke's

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[76] *Reg. Mey*, no. 167, p. 167.
[77] On 16 July: ibid., no. 168, p. 168; see also Gilbert, *Viceroys*, pp. 582-3.

subjects and his help and protection against other Irish outside the earldom.[78]

Various comparisons between Henry O'Neill's submission and its best-known precedent, the submission of his father, Eoghan, to Ormond in 1425, have been drawn elsewhere,[79] but the opportunity to match the York-O'Neill indentures against the other submissions which have survived from the 1420s and 1440s offers some further points of interest.[80] There can be no doubt that the tone of the Henry O'Neill submission placed it very firmly in the 'Ormond' rather than the 'Talbot/Shrewsbury' tradition. In only one respect did the indentures of 1449 follow the latter rather than the former - namely in their concluding pledge of a tribute of six hundred fat beeves - but even here a conciliatory note entirely atypical of the Talbot submissions was struck by York's remission of half this total in respect of the services which O'Neill was to render to him. But previous impressions that the York-O'Neill indentures contained much that was new are also reinforced,[81] and it is equally the case that some of the clauses which had occurred most frequently in earlier submissions were absent, most strikingly the previously invariable opening acknowledgement of allegiance to the crown. Henry O'Neill merely swore that he, his father

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[78] See K. Simms, '"The king's friend": O Neill, the crown and the earldom of Ulster', pp. 222-4. The text of Henry O'Neill's submission is printed in E. Curtis, 'The "bonnaght" of Ulster', pp. 87-91. Some details of the terms agreed in preliminary negotiations for another of the submissions to York, that of O'Neill of Clandeboy, appear in *Reg. Mey*, no. 162, p. 156.

[79] See E. Curtis, 'The "bonnaght" of Ulster', pp. 95-102; A. Cosgrove, 'Anglo-Ireland and the Yorkist cause', *N.H.I.*, ii, p. 559.

[80] For these earlier submissions, see above, pp. 182-96, 393-5.

[81] See E. Curtis, 'The "bonnaght" of Ulster', pp. 101-2; K. Simms, '"The king's friend": O Neill, the crown and the earldom of Ulster', pp. 223-4.

and other relatives would be the men of the duke of York.[82] This oath was remarkably similar to the pledge of loyalty which had been given to Ormond by O'Byrne in 1425, but whereas O'Byrne's oath to the earl had been accompanied by the customary acknowledgement of allegiance to the king,[83] O'Neill's to the duke stood alone.

Had the 1449 indentures been drawn up during York's second visit to Ireland ten years later, there would have been a very obvious explanation for this omission, but in the very different political circumstances of his first visit it seems unlikely that any deliberate slight or disloyalty to Henry VI was intended. Indeed one of the reports later sent back to England affirmed that Henry O'Neill and all the others who submitted to York before the end of September had sworn to be 'trew legemen to the Kyng of England and his heyrs male'.[84] Possibly the absence of any mention of the O'Neills' allegiance to the crown in the submission indentures had been a mere oversight, perhaps due to some unfamiliarity with the standard form on the part of those responsible for drafting the document. Because the O'Neills were the most powerful of the Irish of Ulster, this particular submission was clearly one of the most crucial from York's point of view: it may be that he took the negotiation of the final terms into his own hands. Significantly, the customary acknowledgement of allegiance to the crown was not omitted from the draft terms of the subsequent submission of one of the O'Neills' main rivals in Ulster, O'Neill of Clandeboy, which was prepared under the aegis of Archbishop Mey.[85] But

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[82] ... *Predictus Henricus optulit se pro patre suo se filiis et fratribus suis predictis eidem Domino Duci Comiti Ultonie ut hominem suum et homines suos* ... (E. Curtis, 'The "bonnaght" of Ulster', p. 87).
[83] Cf. below, Appendix III, 1, p. 574.
[84] See E. Curtis, 'Richard, duke of York, as viceroy of Ireland', p. 167.
[85] *Reg. Mey*, no. 162, p. 156.

if York himself took the initiative in the negotiations with the O'Neills of Tir Eoghain, his approach had clearly been influenced by Ormond's advice.

If York took the earl's counsel in Ulster, he probably continued to do so in his dealings with Gaelic leaders in other areas too: it seems most unlikely that Ormond's assistance was confined to the north. Of course York also had the help of other leading figures in the lordship. Amongst those knighted after the campaign against O'Byrne were William Welles and Christopher Plunket, lord of Killeen, and contact was made with the earl of Desmond. The latter - perhaps on account of his recent raids with Gaelic support on Tipperary and Kilkenny - was apparently required, as were a few others of English blood including the white knight, to make a formal submission, but he may also have acted as an intermediary between York and his own recent ally, O'More.[86] But while both Ormond and Desmond - partly, no doubt, to encourage their reconciliation after the hostility which had broken out between them in 1444 - were invited to stand as co-sponsors to York's third surviving son, George, the future duke of Clarence, whose birth in Dublin on 21 October took place at the time of the lieutenant's first great council,[87] it was Ormond who was most conspicuously honoured at this assembly. It was enacted that the king be 'humbly thanked ... for the iuste deliverance of the Earle of Ormond upon his accusation in England'.[88]

Much of the business of the Dublin great council of October 1449 concerned law, order and defence, and here too Ormond's influence can be

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[86] See E. Curtis, 'Richard, duke of York, as viceroy of Ireland', p. 167; for Desmond's raids on Butler territory in the mid 1440s, see above, pp. 361-2, 384-5.

[87] See E. Curtis, 'Richard, duke of York, as viceroy of Ireland', p. 172; M.A. Hicks, *False, fleeting, perjur'd Clarence* (Gloucester, 1980), p. 14.

[88] *Stat. Hen. VI*, p. 175.

discerned. The measures which were taken in response to commons' complaints about the exaction of 'coynees' and 'cuddies' (coign and night suppers) by 'marchers of sundry countries and other men within the land of Ireland' echoed the earl's determined stand against coign as lieutenant in the early 1420s and his subsequent efforts to restrict forced billeting without payment or consent within his own lordships both in the late 1420s and the late 1440s.[89] Special provision was made for the safeguarding of a number of castles and for the strengthening of the defences of certain towns. Some were located within York's territories in Meath and Ulster; the rest - Fethard in Tipperary, Thomastown in County Kilkenny and the castle of Carlow, a key stronghold on the vital route along the Barrow valley between Kildare and the south - were all in areas of particular strategic interest to Ormond.[90] The assembly authorized new regulations for the recovery of damages by the victims of false accusations and (notwithstanding the acknowledgement by the Naas great council of 1441 that cases of treason were beyond the competence of Irish courts) for the referral of all charges of treason to the court of the king's bench in Ireland for speedy trial either by jury or by combat.[91] Despite the fact that it was Ormond himself who had presided over the great council of 1441, it seems more than likely that these regulations were prompted by the vexations and delays which he had recently suffered at the constable's court in England and by their cost to his personal and political interests in Ireland.

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[89] *Stat. Hen. VI*, pp. 166-8. For Ormond's previous measures against coign and cuddy, see C.A. Empey and K. Simms, 'The ordinances of the white earl and the problem of coign in the later middle ages', p. 186; also above, pp. 143, 230-1, 300.

[90] *Stat. Hen. VI*, pp. 175-6.

[91] Ibid., pp. 169-71; for the Naas great council of 1441, see above, p. 302.

Little is known about either York's or Ormond's activities over the winter, which York apparently spent at Trim,[92] but the earl was much in evidence at the duke's first full parliament in Ireland which met at Drogheda on 24 April 1450. The record of one item of business, the reiteration of the revocation at Ormond's own last parliament at Drogheda in 1443 of a customs duty imposed during lord Welles' lieutenancy in 1440, gives explicit confirmation of the earl's presence. Furthermore, at his request, special arrangements were made for his recovery of £100 in prise-of-wine profits said to have been abstracted by two merchants of Limerick during his absence in England after 1444. Again the fulsome thanks to the king for Ormond's acquittal in 1447 which had been voiced at the October great council were repeated with further elaboration. This was presumably less for Henry VI's benefit than to make it quite clear to those who might have been absent from the earlier assembly that in York's eyes no taint of treason was attached to the earl whatsoever.[93]

The most pressing concern at this parliament was finance. Having received nothing from the English exchequer beyond shipping expenses since his initial lump sum as lieutenant in November 1448, York had made a direct appeal for further funds which had reached the English council in December 1449. This had resulted in the prompt assignment of £1,200, but the tallies had proved unproductive. At Drogheda it was announced that York had received nothing from the English exchequer since his arrival in Ireland.[94] By this time the order which the efforts of Bishop Marmaduke Lumley as treasurer of England had restored to royal finance in 1447 and

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[92] See E. Curtis, 'Richard, duke of York, as viceroy of Ireland', p. 173.
[93] *Stat. Hen. VI*, pp. 212-15, 228-32, 240-2.
[94] P.R.O., E28/79/59, 61; E403/777, m. 6; E404/66/93; *P.P.C.*, vi, pp. 89-90; *Stat. Hen. VI*, pp. 186-7; below, Appendix II, Table B, p. 563; Table C, p. 570.

1448 was collapsing under the strain of the renewal of the war in France.[95] In a further abortive appeal to England which was to achieve nothing more than signet authorization in May for a warrant for the issue of the 4,700 marks then due to him, York emphasized that he had 'right greetly empoverished himself by chevysance of good and otherwise'.[96] In this situation, he clearly needed to find ways to increase both his personal financial resources in Ireland and those available to him there as lieutenant. His efforts to do so almost certainly owed something to Ormond's considerable past experience in sustaining chief governorship with little or no English financial support. Unfortunately the dearth of surviving Irish exchequer records for York's lieutenancy makes it impossible to compare his administration's approach to the management of the Irish revenue with Ormond's, but one of the measures agreed at the parliament of 1450, a proclamation of royal service to offset the costs of summer campaigns, was an expedient which had served the earl well both during his last lieutenancy of 1442-4 and, much earlier, in 1421.[97] Furthermore, this proclamation overruled a ten-year ban on royal service which had been imposed by a parliament held by Archbishop Talbot immediately after his successful coup in 1445,[98] a point which may well

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[95] See G.L. Harriss, 'Marmaduke Lumley and the exchequer crisis of 1446-9', p. 171.

[96] *P.P.C.*, vi, pp. 92-3; T.B. Pugh, 'Richard Plantagenet, duke of York, as king's lieutenant in France and Ireland', p. 128; Johnson, *Duke Richard*, p. 76. York's mention of 'chevysance' may have been a reference to his mortgaging of lands in England before and after departure for Ireland (ibid., pp. 62-5; Griffiths, *Henry VI*, p. 422; J.M.W. Bean, 'The financial position of Richard, duke of York', pp. 191-5). However, the announcement of concessions to English clothiers in Ireland at the Drogheda parliament of 1450 could also perhaps be an indication that he was indebted to them for loans since his arrival in the lordship (*Stat. Hen. VI*, pp. 232-5). No English exchequer issues were made to York as lieutenant at any stage in 1450: see below, Appendix II, Table C, p. 570.

[97] *Stat. Hen. VI*, pp. 186-9; for Ormond's past use of royal service as lieutenant, see above, pp. 142, 301, 350, 354.

have given Ormond a certain satisfaction notwithstanding the settlement of the feud and his good relations with the earl of Shrewsbury. If there were any objections, the archbishop was unable to lend his weight to them: he had died some six weeks after York's arrival in Ireland.[99]

But the proceedings of the Drogheda parliament of 1450 make it equally clear that York's régime had a programme and momentum of its own. The funds available at the Irish exchequer were to be boosted by a general resumption of grants of lands and annuities in Ireland, including those made by York himself, since the beginning of the reign.[100] York was to take the same action as lieutenant in Ireland in 1460. Such a step was not unprecedented in Ireland - indeed in 1420 a great council summoned by Ormond had authorized a resumption of Irish-seal grants since Henry V's accession - but the resumption of 1450 was apparently to include English-seal grants too. There can be little doubt that the inspiration in this instance came from recent developments in England. In the parliament which had first opened at Westminster on 6 November 1449 to the shock of the news of the French capture of Rouen eight days earlier, there was sustained pressure from the commons for a resumption of royal grants in England. This finally secured royal assent on 6 May 1450, although numerous exemptions were appended to the bill, including all grants to York as lieutenant of Ireland.[101] Certain exemptions were agreed for the

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[98] *Stat. Hen. VI*, pp. 186-7; S.G. Ellis, 'Taxation and defence in medieval Ireland: the survival of scutage', p. 17.

[99] *The book of obits and martyrology of the cathedral church of the Holy Trinity commonly called Christ Church, Dublin*, ed. J.C. Crosthwaite (Dublin, 1844), p. 37; see also J.H. Bernard, 'Richard Talbot, archbishop and chancellor (1418-1449)', pp. 228-9.

[100] *Stat. Hen. VI*, pp. 180-7.

[101] Ibid., pp. 718-31; *Rot. parl.*, v, pp. 183-99; see also Griffiths, *Henry VI*, pp. 387-9; Wolffe, *Henry VI*, pp. 229-31. For the resumption of 1420, see above, p. 130.

Irish resumption too - the earl of Shrewsbury and Ormond's second son, John, were amongst the particular individuals whose interests were protected -[102] but, in what was no doubt an attempt to make enforcement more manageable and effective, the escheator of Ireland, Thomas Bathe, was licensed to appoint deputies to act for him in the areas beyond Counties Dublin, Kildare, Meath and Louth.[103] The economical and somewhat unexpected means found at the Drogheda parliament to reward Archbishop Mey (for his efforts to defend County Louth) and all royal officials (whose fees and wages York had been having difficulty in paying) were provisions enabling them to purchase lands without royal licence, a move which may well have been prompted by York's experience of government in Normandy, where changes in ownership of land had since the earliest years of the English conquest been particularly carefully regulated.[104] For himself, York obtained the assembly's authorization of a grant of the customs of new weekly markets and annual fairs to be held at Ratoath in Meath and Carlingford in Ulster. As earl of Ulster, he also recovered the wardship of lands which had been inherited by the young grandson of the former steward of the earldom and keeper of Carlingford castle, Janico Dartas. It was argued that the duke had been wrongfully excluded from the wardship by the crown in February 1442 after the death of Dartas' son, at

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[102] *Stat. Hen. VI.*, pp. 184-5. It has been assumed (ibid.) that the exemption was intended to cover Ormond himself, but the sense of the text, which refers to *John fitz James Count dormond*, suggests otherwise. The exemption would have protected John Ormond's grant from the king in May 1441 and any subsequent grants which he might have received from the earl of Shrewsbury during his stay in Ireland in 1446-7: see above, pp. 282, 386.

[103] *Stat. Hen. VI*, pp. 224-5.

[104] Ibid., pp. 180-1, 190-1, 204-7; C.T. Allmand, *Lancastrian Normandy, 1415-50: the history of a medieval occupation*, pp. 55, 61.

which time, of course, Ormond had been chief governor.[105] York's officials in Ulster had obviously been investigating his rights.

A further significant item of business was a grant to Ormond of a year's licence for absence from Ireland from the forthcoming midsummer with the guarantee of the lieutenant's protection for his possessions and interests. The reason given was to enable him to undertake *certayns pilgrimagez a quelles il est oblige hors dicest terre dirland sibien de Canterbury come as aultrez lieux.*[106] As the authorization of the licence in parliament would otherwise have been tantamount to a public humiliation for the earl - which, in view of the assistance he had given York up to this point and of his appointment as deputy only a few months later, seems quite improbable - there can be little doubt that it was issued, as the preamble states, at Ormond's own request. Canterbury was a shrine of importance to him because of the Butler claim of descent from the family of Thomas Becket. Moreover, the earl's previous visit there soon after the death of his first wife in 1430, and the special permission which he had been given to return in 1446, suggest that any commitment to a pilgrimage there which was unfulfilled in 1450 had probably been made since his return to Ireland.[107] The identity of the *aultrez lieux* can only be guessed. If he had not been to Italy in 1431, Rome was likely to have been one of them; the cult of his own patron saint would suggest

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[105] *Stat. Hen. VI*, pp. 194-205. A Dartas genealogy appears in E. Curtis, 'Janico Dartas, Richard II's "Gascon squire"', p. 205, although the date given there for the death of Janico's son seems to be mistaken. For Janico Dartas, see also above, pp. 197-9.
[106] *Stat. Hen. VI*, pp. 210-13.
[107] See above, pp. 251, 400.

Compostela, perhaps via Reading.[108] Certainly a year's licence provided sufficient time to go abroad. The year of the Drogheda parliament was probably the year in which Ormond reached sixty: at this point concern for the safety of his soul was very likely to have seemed more pressing. He may also have been concerned to help his son, John, who had apparently followed Shrewsbury from Ireland to France, served as captain of Vernon on the Seine and, less fortunately, in the company of Shrewsbury himself and Edward Neville, lord Abergavenny, become one of the hostages given to the French after the English surrender of Rouen.[109] Raising the required ransom, of which £2,500 was still to be owing in March 1451, was to be no easy task for a younger son:[110] the problem no doubt explains why his interests in Ireland, as well as Shrewsbury's, were specifically exempted from the Irish resumption. But what the authorization of the licence for absence to Ormond at the Drogheda parliament makes clear is firstly that York did not at this stage consider Ormond's support in Ireland to be essential for his lieutenancy, and secondly that the earl saw no urgent reason to remain there. If the latter had any inkling that York might return to England before the end of the year, then he had either no expectation of being made deputy, or no ambition to take on this role.

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[108] For the popularity of pilgrimages to Compostela during Henry VI's reign, see M. Keen, *English society in the later middle ages, 1348-1500* (Harmondsworth, 1990), p. 276; for the cult of St James at Reading in the middle ages, see B. Kemp, 'The hand of St James at Reading Abbey', *Reading Medieval Studies*, xvi (1990), pp. 77-96, although it is not clear to what extent this cult survived in the fifteenth century.

[109] Stevenson, *Letters*, ii, part 2, pp. 607-18, 621, 627-8; see also Pollard, *John Talbot*, pp. 65-6; A.E. Curry, 'Military organization in Lancastrian Normandy, 1422-50' (Teeside Polytechnic Ph.D. thesis, 1985), p. cxlviii. For John Ormond's service in Ireland with Shrewsbury, see above, pp. 386, 391.

[110] *C.C.R., 1447-54*, p. 266; 'Calendar of French rolls', *D.K.R.*, xlviii (1887), p. 386; see also Johnson, *Duke Richard*, pp. 97-8.

The probability is, however, that both men were as yet assuming that York would remain in Ireland for the foreseeable future.

In the event, of course, it was York who left Ireland in the summer of 1450 and Ormond who remained. Under what circumstances, and when, were the earl's plans changed?

The reasons for the duke's decision to return to England at the end of August have been the subject of much interest and discussion. The well-known letter which he wrote to his brother-in-law, the earl of Salisbury, on 15 June claiming that he would be forced to leave Ireland if English-exchequer funds were not forthcoming for a campaign against MacGeoghegan (who despite his earlier submission had attacked Rathmore and other settlements in Meath) certainly suggests that at this point York was beginning to reach the limit of his capacity to continue on local and personal resources.[111] However, according to the MacFirbis annals for 1450, the duke's departure was due to his reaction to news of events in France and England. After giving details of a confrontation between York and MacGeoghegan at Mullingar, where a further submission was negotiated, this account notes the loss of English Normandy, Shrewsbury's imprisonment at Rouen and some of the more dramatic features of the ensuing English political crisis, including the death of Suffolk 'and the Bishop of Winchester' (*recte* Chichester) and a rebellion by 'many' including 'Sir Richard Mortimer'. It then states firmly that 'through these teedings' York left Ireland.[112] While giving some weight to his financial difficulties,

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[111] A full text of this letter appears in *Cal. Carew MSS (Howth)*, pp. 258-9, printed from Lambeth Palace Library, Carew MS 623, f. 175; see also Gilbert, *Viceroys*, pp. 361-2.
[112] 'MacFirbis', pp. 226-7.

historians have generally agreed that York's decision was made in response to these events.[113] In the wake of the Cade rebellion, which was at its height in late June and early July, York certainly had good reason to fear that he was likely to be faced with charges of treason prompted by suspicions of his own encouragement of the rebels arising from Cade's use of the Mortimer name and rumours that the rebel leader came from Ireland. There can be little doubt that this fear underpinned his concern on arrival at Westminster in September to affirm his loyalty to the king.[114] The most convincing explanation for the timing of his return, however, is that the main key to his actions lay in his hostility to his replacement as lieutenant in France, Edmund Beaufort, who had been created duke of Somerset in 1448 - in particular in his disgust at the latter's lack of resistance to the French and his fear that if Somerset escaped blame for the fall of Rouen, then he himself, as holder of the office of captain of the city, might be held responsible. York's departure from the lordship followed hard upon Somerset's surprisingly favourable reception by the king on his return from Normandy at the beginning of August. This interpretation also explains the urgency of York's concern in the letter to

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[113] See E. Curtis, 'Richard, duke of York, as viceroy of Ireland', pp. 174-5; R.L. Storey, *The end of the house of Lancaster*, p. 75; Otway-Ruthven, *Medieval Ireland*, p. 383; Lydon, *Ire. in later middle ages*, p. 147; Cosgrove, *Late medieval Ireland*, p. 50; Wolffe, *Henry VI*, p. 242; T.B. Pugh, 'Richard Plantagenent, duke of York, as the king's lieutenant in France and Ireland', pp. 128-9. Surprisingly, Dr Johnson gives the impression that the financial difficulties alone were responsible for York's departure: Johnson, *Duke Richard*, p. 76.

[114] See R.A. Griffiths, 'Duke Richard of York's intentions in 1450 and the origins of the Wars of the Roses', *Journal of Medieval History*, 1 (1975), pp. 187-209; idem, 'Richard, duke of York, and the royal household in Wales, 1449-50', *Welsh History Review*, viii (1976), pp. 14-25.

Salisbury that it should 'never be chronicled ... that Ireland was lost through my negligence ... For I have example in other places (more pitie it is) for to drede shame'.[115]

If, at the time when this letter was written, Ormond was aware of its contents, in particular of the duke's threat to cut his stay in Ireland short if he did not receive payment from England, and if the earl was eager to regain the control of the Dublin administration which he had lost in 1444, such considerations might explain why his pilgrimage did not begin at or soon after midsummer as planned. On the other hand, his departure may have been delayed for some other reason than ambition to serve as the duke's deputy. But whatever Ormond's calculations or preoccupations at this time, the indications are - as indeed one would expect, if it was not until the arrival of the news of Somerset's return that arrangements were made for the lieutenant to leave the lordship - that York did not contemplate appointing Ormond to a deputyship until some point after the end of July.

On 28 July Ormond sealed indentures in Dublin which offered him an annuity from the duke of 100 marks to become his retainer for life, bound to serve him in war and peace 'aswel in England when hit shal hapen hym [i.e. Ormond] there forto bee as in this land of Irland'.[116] This was clearly a move by York to cement the connection which had already been established at one remove through James Ormond's service to York and, more directly, by the earl's sponsorship of York's son, the future duke of Clarence. However, the terms of the agreement were not quite what might

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[115] See M.K. Jones, 'Somerset, York and the Wars of the Roses', *passim* (quotation from Ormond's letter to Salisbury on p. 305).
[116] N.L.I., D1735; *C.O.D.*, iii, no. 177, pp. 167-8.

have been expected had it been certain, or even likely, that Ormond was about to be appointed as deputy lieutenant. Certainly the mention of England seems inconsistent with his being left in charge in Dublin for an indefinite period. Moreover, the indentures were apparently either subsequently cancelled or never exchanged, for it is the part of the document which was signed and sealed by the earl, not the one sealed by York, which has been preserved amongst the Ormond deeds. The likelihood is that the terms of the agreement were deemed inappropriate a month later when the deputyship was negotiated.

A further piece of evidence suggests that Ormond's own preparations for departure from Ireland may well still have been in train at this stage. By 1 August Ormond had travelled from Dublin to Maynooth, where, together with his secretary, Walter Madok, he audited his receiver's account for the profits of the manor.[117] From this document it is clear that yearly accounting was not *de rigueur* at Maynooth in the way in which it seems to have been at Aylesbury and other properties belonging to the earl in England.[118] The account in fact covered three, half-year terms from the beginning of the Easter term of 1449 to the end of the Easter term of 1450. As the period had opened on what may well have been the most convenient accounting date after the earl's most recent arrival in Ireland, it is at least a possibility that the account was being audited at this point in anticipation of an imminent departure.

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[117] P.R.O., SC6/1238/17, 18.

[118] Cf. P.R.O., SC6/1250/4; Birimingham Reference Library, HC 504037-504041. Interestingly, the receipts from Maynooth (totalling all but £200 over eighteen months) compare very favourably with those recorded at Aylesbury in 1447-8 (just over £110 over twelve months: ibid., HC 504039). At Maynooth just under two-thirds of the rents came from English tenants and just over one third from Irish tenants.

Whether, after deciding upon his own return to England, York considered any other candidates for the deputyship is not known, although the earl's age - one at which some of the duke's closest and most trusted retainers had sought to retire from active service -[119] might perhaps have prompted him to do so. But there can be little doubt that of the two leading members of the retinue which had accompanied him to Ireland from England, the most senior, his chamberlain and councillor, Sir William Oldhall, would certainly have been reluctant to have been left in Dublin. Although York had appointed him seneschal of Ulster in 1449, Oldhall had gone back to England to act as York's proctor in the parliament of 1449-50. Before returning to Ireland in May 1450, he had spent some time in East Anglia, one of York's particular spheres of local influence, where, it was later alleged, he had been canvassing support, apparently on his own initiative, for the duke's recall from Ireland. He was to be elected speaker in the parliament which met at Westminster on 6 November that year.[120] The other, Sir Edmund Mulso, whom York had made seneschal of Meath and who had been rewarded at the duke's Drogheda parliament with a licence to found a new town (Mulsoescourt) in Fercullen on the marches of Counties Dublin and Kildare, had also returned to England at least once during York's stay in Ireland.[121] If the deputyship was offered to him, it was clearly refused. Sir James Ormond, who might have had more reason than either Oldhall or Mulso to show an interest in Ireland, had played no

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[119] For instance Sir John Popham and Sir John Fastolf: see Griffiths, *Henry VI*, pp. 669-70.

[120] *C.P.R., 1446-52*, pp. 233, 324; *Reg. Mey*, no. 162, p. 155; see also J.S. Roskell, 'Sir William Oldhall, speaker in the parliament of 1450-1', pp. 89-98; Griffiths, *Henry VI*, pp. 671, 685, 688; Johnson, *Duke Richard*, pp. 81-2, 236.

[121] *C.P.R., 1446-52*, p. 233; *Stat. Hen. VI*, pp. 177, 214-19; R.A. Griffiths, 'Duke Richard's intentions in 1450 and the origins of the Wars of the Roses', p. 197; Griffiths, *Henry VI*, p. 671; Johnson, *Duke Richard*, p. 235.

part in York's Irish expedition at all: the week of the latter's arrival in Dublin had seen his creation as earl of Wiltshire at the summer session of the English parliament at Winchester.[122] However, within Ireland itself there were obviously a number of other possible candidates for the deputyship, most notably lord Delvin, who had served as York's deputy from 1448 to 1449. The fact that Delvin was not reappointed on this occasion suggests either that York chose to approach the earl of Ormond first or that the latter was fairly prompt to indicate his willingness to serve.

It is quite clear, however, that Ormond was not so eager for the task as to accept it at any price. Two versions of his indentures of appointment as deputy were sealed, the first on 22 August, the second a day later. Although it is the second version only which has survived,[123] it is clear from the text of this that during the course of the negotiations in Dublin Ormond succeeded in trebling the initially proposed payment of 500 marks a year (significantly less than both the standard £500 rate for a justiciarship and the slightly more generous rate which he himself had offered Delvin as deputy in 1444)[124] to £1,000. The lower rate was to apply only for the short period between the sealing of the indentures and York's departure. The earl secured a further promise that his first quarter's instalment of £250 (to be raised from 'taxacions and fines' due to the crown or to the duke up to the forthcoming Michaelmas) was to be 'determined and made seure' to him, presumably in the manner in which he had provided for the first instalment of Delvin's payment in 1444, before York set sail.

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[122] *Calendar of charter rolls, 1427-1516*, p. 110; 'Benet', p. 195.
[123] Bodleian Library, Western MS 31647, part 1, no. 1, pp. 1-2; for a full text of the document, see below, Appendix III, vi, pp. 589-91.
[124] For Delvin's indentures as deputy in 1444, see above, pp. 362-7.

Additional provisions stipulated that during his first year in office, in addition to his £1,000 fee, Ormond was to enjoy all the duke's issues and profits as earl of Ulster from 'bonnaghtes fisshinges and alle other comoditees' (but specifically excluding 'the landes and rentes of [York's] enheritance') on the understanding that out of 'the furst and best paiement' of these he should pay £40 for the keeping of the castle of Carrickfergus. Thereafter the earl was to 'berre and susteen the werre of Uluestre unto his power' and to continue to enjoy the profits of the earldom. However, from the second year onwards, he was to bear responsibility not only for continuing to fund Carrickfergus but also for paying 100 marks *per annum* to the seneschal of Ulster and an unspecified amount for the keeping of the castle of Ardglass. Although there is some ambiguity about his own fee after the first year and no specific information about its source after the first quarter, the intention seems to have been that quarterly payments of £250 should continue as long as he remained as deputy. Certainly it was firmly stated that if such payment was not forthcoming, the earl should not be 'appeched ne bere noo blame for the saide charge' of Ireland.

As in the case of Delvin's appointment by Ormond in 1444, there was no mention of cash in hand. York was presumably concerned to keep whatever ready money he was able to muster at this stage for the expenses of his departure. However, the indentures provide further confirmation that York had learned how to exploit local financial resources in Ireland both as lieutenant and as earl of Ulster. Unfortunately, no record has survived of how the first quarterly payment was 'determined and made sure' to Ormond's satisfaction, but the details about Ulster are of considerable interest. The careful distinction made between different types of revenue from the earldom, also the earmarking from those profits granted to Ormond

of specific sums for specific purposes, suggest that this part of the agreement between the two men was underpinned by real calculations, not just pious hopes. Ormond had too much experience, both of Ulster and of the financing of chief governorships, for York to have been able to mislead him in such a matter. It is clear too, both from York's reservation of his 'landes and rentes' and from the special injunction that Ormond should 'susteen the werre' in Ulster, that the duke himself valued what he had found there and was anxious that his absence from Ireland should not jeopardize the recovery of his rights as earl. The fall of English Normandy had entailed a very considerable personal loss of lands and wealth for York and his family: besides contributing to his resentment of Somerset,[125] this misfortune may well have made York's Irish inheritance all the more important to him. Ormond's particular personal influence in the north may well have been a crucial factor behind York's decision to leave the Dublin government in his hands.

The surviving sources for Ormond's two-year deputyship for York are fairly limited. The freedom of the lieutenants from 1445 onwards to dispose of the Irish revenue as they saw fit meant that after the mid 1440s no Irish treasurers' accounts were audited at Westminster. Consequently no Irish exchequer records for the earl's last chief governorship have survived other than a few memoranda roll extracts.[126]

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[125] See M.K. Jones, 'Somerset, York and the Wars of the Roses', pp. 289-90, 295-9, 306.

[126] The extracts available for the relevant regnal years, 29-30 Henry VI, are listed in J.F. Lydon, 'A survey of the memoranda rolls of the Irish exchequer, 1294-1509', p. 121.

Although there are calendars of both the appropriate Irish patent rolls,[127] the deputyship is not particularly well served by the relative abundance of records of proceedings of Irish parliaments and great councils for the later years of Henry VI's reign. Between 1450 and 1452 Ormond apparently summoned four assemblies - a great council which met at Drogheda in November 1450 and adjourned to Dublin the following month, a parliament which met at Drogheda in March 1451, a great council held in the winter or early spring of 1451-2 and a second parliament which met at Dublin during the last year of the deputyship, probably in the spring of 1452.[128] However, good records survive only for the first great council.[129] Nevertheless, at least some of the main features and preoccupations of the deputyship are reasonably clear.

The transfer of power from York to Ormond was not marked by any great administrative upheaval. On 28 August, within a week of the earl's appointment as deputy and perhaps even before York set sail,[130] it seems that one key post, the clerkship of the hanaper, may have changed hands.[131] Hanaper profits had been of particular importance as a source of revenue during at least two of Ormond's past chief governorships.[132]

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[127] *R.C.H.*, pp. 265-7.

[128] The first great council and both parliaments are listed in Richardson and Sayles, *Ir. parl.*, p. 355. The only evidence of the second great council is a letter from the king dated 3 April 1452 commending the 'sadnesse and discrecoun' of James Alleyne who had brought messages from this assembly to England (P.R.O., E28/82/29). The date of the second parliament is unlikely to have been earlier than late March 1452 because it had been agreed in 1450 that it should not be summoned within a year of the parliament of 1451: *Stat. Hen. VI*, pp. 258-61.

[129] Ibid., pp. 250-91. Brief notes have also survived of the main items of business of the parliament held in the last year of the deputyship: ibid., p. 292.

[130] The duke was still at Trim on 26 August: see Otway-Ruthven, *Medieval Ireland*, p. 383.

[131] See below, Appendix I, list 4, p. 501.

[132] See above, pp. 141, 207.

The appearance on the Irish patent rolls of a string of pardons and of charters granting Irishmen the right to use English law indicate two particular ways in which they were again exploited during this deputyship.[133] The new appointee, James Prendergast, may have been a relative of a Thomas Prendergast, whose indentures for service in James Ormond's retinue for York's French expedition of 1441 have survived amongst the Ormond deeds.[134] But overall there were few new appointments.[135] Although the new bishop who was provided to the see of Meath in 1450, William Oldhall's brother, Edmund, acted as chancellor in the spring of 1451 in a gap between Sir John Talbot's deputies in this post,[136] there seem to have been no other changes in the more senior offices. There is certainly no evidence that Ormond attempted to overturn the appointments which had been made by the earl of Shrewsbury at the time of the settlement of the Talbot-Ormond feud in the mid 1440s.[137]

With the Talbot-Ormond feud over, an Ormond-Desmond reconciliation achieved under York's aegis in 1449, Prior fitzGerald's charges quashed,

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[133] *R.C.H.*, pp. 266-7; see above, pp. 141, 207.
[134] *C.O.D.*, iii, no. 140, pp. 126-8; see also above, p. 282.
[135] In September and October 1450 there were new appointments to the offices of summoner of the exchequer and king's attorney, and in April and July 1451 to the offices of usher of the exchequer and chief engrosser: see below, Appendix I, list 7, pp. 530, 537, 540; list 11, p. 558.
[136] *Reg. Mey*, no. 405, pp. 432-3. For Edmund Oldhall, whose provision was advocated by Archbishop Mey on the grounds of his connection with the duke of York, see J.A. Watt, 'The papacy and Ireland in the fifteenth century', *The church, politics and patronage in the fifteenth century*, ed. R.B. Dobson, pp. 133-45, esp. pp. 137-8; Johnson, *Duke Richard*, p. 75. John Talbot's appointment to the chancellorship, which dated from 1446, had been confirmed under the English seal in 1449 and a new deputy appointed by him seems to have been admitted to the office at some point during the second year of Ormond's deputyship: see below, Appendix I, list 3, p. 496.
[137] At least one of these, the confirmation of John Cornwalshe's possession of the office of chief baron of the exchequer, had, of course, been very much to Ormond's advantage, but other appointments made or confirmed by Shrewsbury were not disturbed during the deputyship either: see above, pp. 387-9; below, Appendix I, list 4, p. 502; list 6, pp. 513, 516; list 8, p. 543-4; list 10, p. 553; list 11, p. 557.

Thorndon's apparently forgotten and their author absent from Ireland,[138] all the main conflicts and tensions which had beset and finally destroyed the earl's last lieutenancy in 1444 had effectively been removed. Moreover, the death of a former enemy had heralded the arrival of a new ally in Dublin. Immediately after Archbishop Talbot's death in 1449, York had secured the election of Michael Tregury, a chaplain to the queen.[139] On becoming archbishop of Dublin, Tregury had obtained an English-seal licence for absence from Ireland until Michaelmas 1450, and it was Ormond whom he named to act as his attorney in Ireland meanwhile.[140] The new archbishop arrived in the lordship towards the end of 1450 in time to participate in at least the second session of the earl's first great council.[141] During this deputyship Ormond was probably less threatened by political opposition within Ireland than he had been during any previous chief governorship since the outset of his second lieutenancy, which had begun before the short-lived Talbot-Ormond reconciliation of 1423 broke down at the end of 1425.

This did not mean that the earl did not have to deal with controversy or that his own actions did not at times exacerbate it. At his great council of 1450 he intervened in a dispute over precedence between Robert Preston, lord of Gormanston, and Christopher Fleming, baron of Slane. According to complaints made in a petition later submitted by

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[138] Throughout Ormond's deputyship, Thorndon's treasurership in Ireland seems to have been held by the deputy who had been appointed when Thorndon had been summoned to England in March 1447: see below, Appendix I, list 5, p. 509.

[139] *C.P.R., 1446-52*, p. 204; Johnson, *Duke Richard*, pp. 74-5.

[140] *C.P.R., 1446-52*, pp. 310, 325.

[141] *Reg. Swayne*, p. 197; *Stat. Hen. VI*, pp. 250-9. It seems that Tregury had not arrived by the end of September, when Ormond granted custody of the temporalities of the archbishopric to William Welles: *R.C.H.*, p. 265 (29 Henry VI), no. 3.

Preston to the Irish parliament in 1459, Ormond refused to allow the matter to be discussed by the great council and, showing more concern for the *dishonour et rubuke* of Preston than for justice, ordered him *de hautesse* and with *perillouse et male manasse* to take his place below the baron of Slane. Paying no attention to Preston's request for a proper examination of his claim to precedence or to anything except what the latter described as the *immessurable execucioun de sa dit malice*, the earl commanded Preston to obey him *en tiele teribie manere* that the latter was forced in fear to comply.[142] Preston's statement was designed to convince his audience of the injustice and unreasonableness of Ormond's behaviour and therefore gives no further explanation as to why the latter's ire had been so roused against him, but the story offers some insight into the force of the 'indignacion' by which Ormond had driven Richard Wogan from the Irish chancellorship in 1442.[143] Clearly the earl still knew how to lose his temper to good effect and did not scruple to use this weapon against those who might be made to quail before him.

Yet in the post-feud era the need for such tactics was probably far more limited than had been the case in the fraught political circumstances of the third lieutenancy. The deputyship of 1450-2 also demonstrates Ormond's ability to resolve a confrontation equally effectively, and with less bitterness, by more diplomatic means. When summoned to the parliament held at Drogheda in March 1451, the new archbishop of Dublin travelled north accompanied by his cross-bearer. The appearance of the metropolitan cross of Dublin within the province of Armagh was a serious affront to the latter's long-disputed claim to the primacy. At a meeting

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142 *Stat. Hen. VI*, pp. 710-13; Betham, *Early parliaments*, pp. 368-9.
143 See above, pp. 323-4.

of the Irish council which was called expressly to de-fuse the ensuing tension, Ormond offered the tactful explanation that Tregury had merely been bringing the cross to a Drogheda goldsmith for repair and had intended that it should have been carried under the cross-bearer's tunic.[144] There seems little doubt that the problem had been caused by Tregury's ignorance of long-established protocol for visits by archbishops of Dublin to Armagh, but the excuse given was apparently plausible enough to be acceptable: the archiepiscopal cross of Dublin had been found in pawn at the time of Archbishop Talbot's death.[145] The earl's careful peacemaking on this occasion may well have been a reflection of his regard for both Mey and Tregury and of the value which he attached to their co-operation and support.

How well the financial arrangements for the deputyship which had been set out in Ormond's indentures of August 1450 worked in practice is not clear, but the fact that he remained in office until his death suggests that whatever he managed to extract from the sources which York had set aside for him was, up to that point, either adequate in itself or was adequately augmented by other means. Certainly the parliament held in the spring of 1451 voted a subsidy,[146] and it is unlikely that this was the only one which Ormond was granted over two full years. Whether he received any issues as deputy directly from the Irish exchequer is not

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[144] *Reg. Mey*, no. 405, pp. 432-3.
[145] See J.H. Bernard, 'Richard Talbot, archbishop and chancellor (1418-49)', p. 229. According to a petition which Tregury sent to the pope at some point before November 1451, Richard Talbot had alienated a large proportion of the archiepiscopal demesne as well; the finances of the see appear to have been in a poor state at the time of Tregury's succession: *Calendar of papal letters, 1447-58*, p. 99.
[146] *Reg. Swayne*, p. 198.

known. If he did, it would have been contrary to previous practice,[147] but it would obviously have been within York's powers to authorize this.

Although there is no evidence as to how much revenue passed through the Irish exchequer during these two years, the appointment of customs officials for Galway and Sligo in April 1451 and May 1452 suggests that the earl's former interest in improving customs receipts, even from the ports least accessible to Dublin, was not forgotten.[148] It seems that there were also efforts to ensure that the exchequer received its due from the profits of absentee lords: an entry on the Irish memoranda roll for 1450-1 recorded the seizure of the estates of 'the king's debtor', the duke of Norfolk.[149] There are indications too that the resumption of grants which had been authorized by the Drogheda parliament of 1450 may have had a significant impact - as had been intended -[150] on the Dublin government's ability to pay its officials.

York's own commitment to the resumption in Ireland seems to be confirmed by the fact that it was reinforced by the second, English resumption bill which was submitted by William Oldhall and his fellow commons in the Westminster parliament of 1450-1. This did not exempt Ireland, and, once enacted, produced orders in August 1451 for its enforcement there.[151] But if the original initiative was York's, it was Ormond who took practical steps as deputy to ensure that it bore fruit,

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[147] According to earlier treasurers' accounts, Ormond had received no issues from the Irish exchequer either as deputy to the earl of March in 1424 or as deputy to lord Welles in 1441-2: P.R.O., E101/247/18, 19; /248/13; E364/79, m. A; see also above, p. 300.

[148] *R.C.H.*, p. 265 (29 Henry VI), no. 5; p. 267, no. 12; see also above, pp. 137-8, 141, 205, 303.

[149] P.R.O.I., 1A/49/148, p. 106.

[150] *Stat. Hen. VI*, pp. 180-1.

[151] *Rot. parl.*, v, pp. 217-24; *C.F.R., 1445-52*, pp. 229-30. For the second English resumption, see also Wolffe, *Henry VI*, pp. 244-6; Griffiths, *Henry VI*, pp. 389-90.

and these were in train well before the Irish resumption received the backing of the English parliament. The first great council of the deputyship in the autumn of 1450 was asked to confirm a series of Irish-seal letters patent, all authorized by the earl after York's departure, by which specific sources of royal revenue in Ireland were permanently earmarked for the payment of particular officials.[152] Effectively these grants established fixed assignments and they were clearly designed to give other members of the Dublin administration a measure of the financial security which Ormond had sought to provide for lord Delvin's appointment as deputy in 1444 and had insisted upon for his own appointment as deputy by York in August 1450. It is clear that some arrangements of this kind had already been in existence before 1450, for the terms of the Irish resumption had specifically exempted grants to members of the Dublin administration in payment of their fees and wages,[153] but it would appear that the earl was making use of new resources released by the resumption to review, reinforce and extend this system. Interestingly, none of these fixed assignments secured all the money due to any of the officials concerned. Generally some proportion of the annual fee, or of the arrears due, or of both, was left to be drawn from whatever revenue might be available at the Irish exchequer. Thus, to quote one example, Robert Dowdall, chief justice of the common bench, whose fee was £40 *per annum*, was to have £20 a year from the fee farm of the city of Dublin and £20 a year and his arrears from the revenues available at the Irish exchequer.[154] Possibly only a limited amount of revenue was deemed suitable for permanent assignment; possibly it was prudently considered

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152 *Stat. Hen. VI*, pp. 262-9; 270-9; for an example, see above, p. 79.
153 Ibid., pp. 182-3.
154 Ibid., pp. 262-7.

unwise to attempt to tie up too much revenue in advance in this way. At least two more such patents were to be issued during the winter of 1451-2, one of which was confirmed in Ormond's second parliament as deputy.[155]

There are indications that, as one would expect, regular contact was maintained with Westminster. The first great council of the deputyship sent two messengers to England - William Welles and the newly arrived Archbishop Tregury - to deal with 'various necessary affairs of particular concern' to the lordship;[156] the second great council dispatched the chief justice of the king's bench, James Alleyne, with 'lettres and instructiouns' for the king and his councillors.[157] It seems very likely that reports were also sent to England from one or both of Ormond's two parliaments.

Unfortunately, none of these missives have survived. However, the fact that such communications were sent leaves little room for doubt that detailed news from Westminster would also have been brought back. Much of this will have been disquieting. If policies in the lordship were more tranquil in the early 1450s than they had been in the early 1440s, this was certainly not the case in England. While distance may to some extent have insulated Ormond from the strains which transformed his own heir, the earl of Wiltshire, at this time from a prominent member of York's affinity into one of the duke's leading opponents,[158] he can scarcely have been entirely unaware of them. If any anxieties were raised at an early stage by accounts of the hostile reception from members of the royal household which York managed to evade on landing in north Wales from Ireland in

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[155] *R.C.H.*, p. 267, nos. 33-4; *Stat. Hen. VI*, p. 292.
[156] ... *Pro diversis necessariis negotiis utilitatem terrae praedictae specialiter concernentibus* ... T.C.D., MS 557 (4), p. 581; *Reg. Swayne*, p. 197.
[157] P.R.O., E28/82/29.
[158] For the hostility between York and Wiltshire in the mid and later 1450s, see Griffiths, *Henry VI*, pp. 422-3, 733-4, 743-8, 855, 861; Johnson, *Duke Richard*, pp. 154, 176, 202-4.

September 1450, they may well have been soothed by the news of the king's apparently friendly acceptance of the duke's protestations of loyalty on reaching London.[159] The events of 1451-2, however, were considerably more ominous. May 1451 saw the arrest of Thomas Young, the member for Bristol who petitioned in the English parliament for York's formal recognition as heir presumptive; in the autumn of that year, Wiltshire was imprisoned for a month, possibly on York's orders, as a result of his involvement against the duke's ally, the earl of Devon, in a further outbreak of hostilities in the Courtenay-Bonville feud in south-west England, while York ignored a royal summons to explain his own intervention in the affair; in January 1452, Wiltshire and the earl of Shrewsbury received royal orders to arrest William Oldhall, who was suspected of plotting the king's deposition and death; the beginning of March saw Henry and York in armed confrontation at Dartford.[160] During these months the potentially awkward political implications for Ormond of his role as York's deputy in Ireland no doubt became clear.

It was almost certainly no mere coincidence that one of the letters which James Alleyne took to the king in the winter or early spring of 1452 apparently made 'special commendation and good report' of the 'trouth and diligence' with which Ormond was 'providing for the saufgarde' of the lordship and of his 'true devoire' against all enemies of the king and Ireland.[161] Ormond's main concern in sending assurances of his loyalty and

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[159] See particularly R.A. Griffiths, 'Richard, duke of York, and the royal household in Wales, 1449-50', pp. 14-25; idem, 'Duke Richard of York's intentions in 1450 and the origins of the Wars of the Roses', pp. 203-4; Johnson, *Duke Richard*, pp. 78-84.

[160] See R.L. Storey, *The end of the house of Lancaster*, pp. 89-101; M. Cherry, 'The struggle for power in mid-fourteenth-century Devonshire', pp. 131-2; Griffiths, *Henry VI*, pp. 692-7; Wolffe, *Henry VI*, pp. 250-6; Johnson, *Duke Richard*, pp. 98-116.

[161] P.R.O., E28/82/29.

service to the king at this point was perhaps not so much to distance himself from York - which might have been imprudent while the latter retained control of the lieutenancy - as to attempt to avoid any share of the suspicion of disloyalty and treason which was gathering over the duke and his associates in England. The earl's own recent experience was likely to have made him particularly sensitive on this score. And in this respect he was apparently successful, partly, no doubt, because of his eldest son's secure place in royal favour at this time. The king's response on 3 April to the message conveyed by Alleyne was a most cordial acknowledgement of the deputy's efforts:

> We have greet cause to thanke you right specially therof as we doo and to have you in special chierte the which we shal with the grace of oure lord have in our goode remembrance.[162]

A little later, in the summer of 1452, a series of judicial tours, in which Wiltshire played a prominent role, were set in train specifically to impress York and his supporters in England with the might of royal power;[163] there is little sign that there was any concern to take commensurate action to discourage disloyalty to the king in Ireland. It was not until the following spring, several months after Ormond's death, that any move was made to deprive York of his Irish lieutenancy.[164]

Remarkably, given the indications that the earl's health had caused some concern in the mid 1440s, it appears that his role as deputy made few, if any, concessions to his age. His mobility and energy right up until his death remained undiminished. With the notable exception of his

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[162] P.R.O., E28/82/29.

[163] See R.L. Storey, *The end of the house of Lancaster*, pp. 101-2; Griffiths, *Henry VI*, pp. 697-8; Wolffe, *Henry VI*, pp. 257-61; Johnson, *Duke Richard*, pp. 117-19.

[164] His ten-year term was interrupted by the appointment of the earl of Wiltshire on 12 May 1453: see below, Appendix I, list 1, p. 481.

last campaign in the summer of 1452, narrative sources offer relatively little information about his activities, but initially the main focus for excursions beyond Dublin and Drogheda may well have been the defence and protection of York's personal lands and interests. It is probably significant that in the first year of the deputyship as many as one in seven of the letters recorded on the Irish patent roll were attested from Trim. It seems likely that there were at least three visits there between October 1450 and June 1451.[165] At some point in 1451 Ormond attempted to intervene in a succession struggle in western Meath amongst the Gaelicized descendents of a twelfth-century constable of Trim, Hugh Tyrel, although apparently with little lasting success. According to the MacFirbis annals, the earl's candidate, one Richard Tyrel, was murdered by a rival faction supported by MacGeoghegan which then installed its own leader as chief.[166] In August that year Ormond seems to have travelled at least as far north as Dundalk,[167] and may perhaps have gone into Ulster. But in the second year of the deputyship, if not earlier, he was active in Kildare and in the south and south-west as well. Early in February 1452 he was apparently at Fethard in Tipperary; chancery letters were dated from Naas in March and July and from both Limerick and Waterford at different times in May; it seems that he visted Kilkenny in mid June.[168] And these travels apparently preceded a final, ambitious and wide-ranging

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[165] *R.C.H.*, pp. 265-6, esp. p. 266, nos. 12, 26, 29-31, 36.
[166] 'MacFirbis', p. 229; for the Tyrels, see Otway-Ruthven, *Medieval Ireland*, p. 55; K. Nicholls, 'Gaelic society and economy in the high middle ages', *N.H.I.*, ii, pp. 397-438, esp. p. 423; A. Cosgrove, 'Ireland beyond the Pale, 1399-1460', ibid., pp. 571-2.
[167] *R.C.H.*, p. 266, no. 40.
[168] N.L.I., D 1739, 1741; *R.C.H.*, p. 267, nos. 12, 18, 19, 45.

expedition no less demanding than any of the campaigns of his first lieutenancy in the early 1420s.

This, according to the annals, was carried out in the last six or seven weeks before his death.[169] At its outset, presumably about the second week of July, Ormond joined forces with the earl of Desmond and destroyed an O'Mulryan stronghold in Owney on the borders of northern Tipperary and north-eastern Limerick. He proceeded north-east to take the castle of Lea from the O'Dempseys, then secured the submission of O'Connor Faly and the release of a Bermingham hostage held by the chief at Irry in Offaly. Continuing north into Annaly, Ormond secured the submission of O'Farrell, and with his aid went north-east via Fore in Meath to take further submissions from the O'Reillys and MacMahon. The earl then proceeded to a meeting with the O'Neills of Tir Eoghain. The force behind him was apparently sufficiently strong to persuade Henry O'Neill to put aside a new wife, the widow of Neachtan O'Donnell, whose advent - the result of a recent O'Neill pact with O'Donnell's son and successor - clearly threatened the position of Ormond's niece, Gormlaith Kavanagh, and thereby the earl's own standing and influence in Gaelic Ulster.[170]

There was little time for Ormond to savour his success. From Ulster he marched south to Ardee, where, as other sources confirm, he died on 23 August.[171] Death was obviously sudden - had he been ill for any length

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[169] *A.F.M.*, iv, pp. 979-81; 'MacFirbis', pp. 232-3. For the campaigns of the earl's first lieutenancy, see above, pp. 135-40.

[170] See K. Simms, 'Gaelic lordships in Ulster in the later middle ages' (Dublin Ph.D. thesis, 1976), p. 766; also above, p. 413.

[171] B.L., Additional MS 4789, f. 12v; 4797, f. 55d; *The book of obits and martyrology of the cathedral church of the Holy Trinity commonly called Christ Church, Dublin*, ed. J.C. Crosthwaite, p. 38.

of time, such a taxing expedition could hardly have been undertaken - but the cause is uncertain. Possibly the exertions of the campaign had proved too great; possibly, as the freeholders of Tipperary were to claim in their petition to Henry VIII ninety years later, he died of plague.[172] The earl's second wife, Elizabeth, had died on 6 August while this last campaign was in progress.[173] While it could have been mere coincidence that both deaths occurred within the space of two and a half weeks, there may well have been some direct or indirect link. While a sudden death might be considered fortunate, it seems unlikely, if the circumstances permitted any time for reflection, that Ormond himself would have taken this view. Having abandoned his projected pilgrimage, he may have felt unprepared; he would also have had the frustration of knowing that his death would imperil all the submissions which his final expedition had just achieved. According to the annals, their terms were indeed immediately abandoned by the Gaelic leaders concerned.[174] Either at the time of his death, or at some earlier stage, perhaps at the time of his abortive preparations for departure from Ireland in 1450, the earl nominated Archbishop Mey as his executor.[175] His body was buried at St Mary's, Dublin, of which Ormond had in 1422 professed himself to be 'on of the chef founders, nexte the kyng'.[176]

In Ireland the earl's death was a momentous event, not just for the Dublin government and those who acknowledged obedience to it, who lost the acting chief governor of the lordship and its leading magnate, but also

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[172] *C.O.D.*, iv, no. 267, p. 210.
[173] B.L., Additional MS 4789, f. 12v; 4797, f. 55d.
[174] *A.F.M.*, iv, p. 981; 'MacFirbis', p. 233.
[175] *Reg. Mey*, no. 356, p. 372.
[176] See item 28 of Ormond's accusations against John Talbot, printed from P.R.O., C47/10/27 in M.C. Griffith, 'The Talbot-Ormond struggle for control of the Anglo-Irish government, 1414-47', Appendix II, p. 395.

within Gaelic circles too. The *Annals of Ulster*, which gives details of Ormond's last campaign, merely recorded his death in a bald, unembellished statement, but this in itself is something of a compliment from an annalist whose interests were emphatically not those of Anglo-Ireland and who had roundly cursed previous chief governors, most recently the earl of Shrewsbury in 1447.[177] To the writers of the Four Masters' and MacFirbis annals, the earl's death clearly marked the passing of an era. By the former the drying up of two miles of the river Liffey earlier in the year was identified in retrospect as a certain and remarkable presage of his departure.[178] The tribute of the MacFirbis annals was less elaborate and more direct: Ormond was 'the best captain of the English nation that was in Ireland and England in those ages'.[179]

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[177] *A.U.*, iii, pp. 161, 175.
[178] *A.F.M.*, iv, p. 981.
[179] 'MacFirbis', p. 232.

CONCLUSION

The introduction to this thesis posed two specific questions. Firstly, was Lancastrian rule negative and neglectful towards Ireland during the reigns of Henry V and Henry VI? Secondly, what were its effects on the lordship and its inhabitants?

The initial analysis of royal provision for the governing of Ireland from 1413 to 1461 demonstrates that many of the king's responsibilities as lord of Ireland were conspicuously neglected in the 1450s. For most of the final decade of the Lancastrian era his lieutenants were absent from the lordship. There were very few issues towards the payments to which they were entitled from the English exchequer. Few appointments to any of the subordinate offices of the Dublin administration were made, or even confirmed, under the English seal. Most significantly, there were no such appointments in the winter of 1459-60, despite the fact that the declared intention of the Lancastrian régime at that time was to unseat a lieutenant who had been attainted of treason in England and whose original terms of appointment had given him full control of appointments to all subordinate offices of the Dublin administration with the sole exception of the chancellorship. The cancellation of the duke of York's own appointment as lieutenant in favour of the earl of Wiltshire in December 1459 was belated and ineffective. The date of the death of the fourth earl of Ormond has placed the political background of the last nine years of Henry VI's reign beyond the scope of this study. However, although a detailed investigation of relations between England and the lordship between 1452 and 1461 would help to explain how, and why, the crown lost control of the Dublin government some sixteen months before Henry VI was deposed in England, it seems unlikely that it would substantially alter the

essentially negative picture of royal rule during these years. This was the period which saw the loss of English Gascony, the illness which rendered the king totally incapable for a prolonged period in 1453-4 and weakened him thereafter, the descent from local disorder to civil war, the French sack of Sandwich and the exile of the royal court from a hostile capital.[1] The ineffectiveness of Lancastrian government at this time was general, not specific to Ireland.

Before the 1450s, however, the situation was significantly different. Although there were gaps between the periods during which the Dublin administration was in the hands of chief governors appointed by royal government in England, these were not usually the result of negligence on the part of the king or his councillors. Arrangements were normally made to appoint each lieutenant's successor before, rather than after, his term of office expired. When deaths created unexpected vacancies, they were filled promptly. It was made very clear that lieutenants were expected to go to Ireland in person and the few who showed reluctance to do so were not permitted to delay their departure indefinitely. There were regular English-seal appointments to the two most senior subordinate offices of the Dublin administration, the chancellorship and the treasurership. There was consistent royal interest in appointments to the most senior judicial offices in Ireland and to the constableships of royal castles. Certainly there was no military initiative anywhere near comparable to Richard II's first expedition to the lordship in 1394;[2] the war in France was the first priority. Equally there can be no doubt that the English exchequer's

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[1] See Griffiths, *Henry VI*, pp. 529-33, 715-875; also Wolffe, *Henry VI*, pp. 267-332.

[2] Richard II's force on this occasion has been estimated at between six and seven thousand men: see J.F. Lydon, 'Richard II's expeditions to Ireland', *J.R.S.A.I.*, xciii (1963), pp. 135-49, esp. p. 142.

financial commitment to the lieutenancy was far less generous than it had been in the later fourteenth century and in the early years of the reign of Henry IV. Nevertheless, to describe Lancastrian rule either under Henry V or during the first three decades of Henry VI's reign as negative and neglectful towards Ireland gives an impression of inactivity and indifference which is misleading.

Henry V's dramatic reduction of English exchequer support for the lieutenancy was deliberate and a part of his wider strategy for financing his conquest of France. However, in pursuing this policy, he ensured that his lieutenants showed greater commitment to their responsibilities in Ireland than his brother, Thomas of Clarence, had done in the later years of the previous reign. The king also took notice of, and acted upon, the complaints from the lordship which the first stage of his policy provoked in 1417. The second stage, the attempt in 1420 to transfer the main burden of financing the lieutenancy from England to Ireland, was accompanied by a tightening of the reins of power between Westminster and Dublin which committed the king and royal officials in England to taking more, rather than less, thought and trouble for the governing of the lordship than hitherto. Henry was clearly determined that financial economies should not jeopardize either his own authority in Ireland or the effectiveness of the Dublin administration. His policy for Ireland not only helped to increase the resources available for the realization of his ambitions in France; it was also consistent with the pursuit of 'bone governance' which characterized both his involvement in government as prince of Wales and his rule as king.[3] A number of historians have

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[3] On this theme see particularly G.L. Harriss, 'Introduction: the exemplar of kingship', 'The management of parliament', 'Financial policy' and 'Conclusion', *Henry V: the practice of kingship*, ed. G.L. Harriss, pp. 1-29, 137-79, 201-10.

suggested that Henry's ambitions, and his skill and determination in achieving them, outran his political sense.[4] As lord of Ireland, he certainly made at least one serious error of judgement. There can be little doubt that his appointment of John Talbot as lieutenant in 1414, fresh from the Talbot-Arundel confrontation in Shropshire, was responsible for the tensions which created the Talbot-Ormond feud. But the king shrewdly turned this error to good account. It was almost certainly the spur provided by the feud with the Talbots which made the earl of Ormond co-operate so readily in the arrangements made in 1420 to finance a lieutenancy largely from local resources. The success of this initiative offers a further instance of what the most recent study of Henry V identifies as 'one of the outstanding characteristics of his powers of leadership', namely the 'ability to make others work for him'.[5]

After Henry V's death, English policy for Ireland lost much of its drive and sense of direction. However, except in the immediate aftermath of the crisis caused by the Gloucester-Beaufort quarrel in the mid 1420s, the English council was in general notably conscientious in discharging its responsibilities for the lordship during Henry VI's minority. Efforts were made in England in the first fifteen months of the new reign to resolve the problem of the Talbot-Ormond feud, and these met with at least temporary success. The provision made for the lieutenancy in 1423 was more generous than at any stage during the previous reign: moreover, the appointment of the earl of March meant that the defence of the lordship, like that of England and of the young king's inheritance in France, was

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[4] Notably in his negotiation of the treaty of Troyes in 1420: see E.F. Jacob, *The fifteenth century*, p. 202; M. Keen, 'Diplomacy', pp. 198-99; T.B. Pugh, *Henry V and the Southampton plot*, pp. 137-8; C. Allmand, *Henry V*, pp. 440-2.

[5] Ibid., p. 349.

made the special responsibility of a councillor of royal blood. After March's unexpectedly early death in Ireland in 1425, considerations of financial prudence prompted a return to the far less costly arrangements of 1420, but initially only a very cautious retrial of these was authorized. Although the English council did not attempt to settle the Talbot-Ormond feud again after its resurgence in the mid 1420s, it adopted various strategies intended to limit the damaging effects until Henry VI might be of an age to exert his own authority to promote reconciliation. Care was taken to ensure that most of the requests for supplementary English payments made by the three lieutenants from England who held office in succession to Ormond between 1427 and 1437 were met, despite the increasing cost at this time of the defence of English France. As a result the essential purpose of Henry V's policy for the lieutenancy was lost to view, but this, of course, was to the lordship's advantage, at least while English funds held out. The English council did not neglect to find practical remedy for complaints from the lordship in 1427-8 about the inadequacy of the lieutenant's retinue, nor to respond quickly to the short-lived threat of Scottish intervention in Ireland in 1429-30.

There were certainly negative aspects of Henry VI's rule as lord of Ireland in the late 1430s and in the 1440s. From the early 1440s onwards the English exchequer, under the pressure of the rising costs of the royal household and the war in France, was unable to maintain payments to the lieutenants at their former level. Thus although in 1445 Henry V's arrangements for encouraging the Irish exchequer to pay for the lieutenancy were formally abandoned in favour of a return to full English funding, the lordship derived relatively little benefit from this. Before 1445 the lack of care and judgement which the king frequently showed in making appointments, including those to the most senior offices, was

directly responsible for increasing factional tension in Ireland. After 1445 he effectively renounced control of subordinate appointments to the lieutenancy. If, as seems possible, there was some brief consideration at this time of organizing a royal visit to Ireland, it came to nothing. But it was ineptitude which characterized Henry's rule of Ireland for much of this period rather than neglect. His energetic distribution of patronage was indiscriminate, but it affected Ireland as much as it did England and Wales: between the late 1430s and the mid 1440s there were more new English-seal appointments to offices of the Dublin administration than in any other eight-year period in either reign. Furthermore, it must also be acknowledged that, after much delay and procrastination, ineptitude was succeeded by one very positive achievement, namely the final settlement of the Talbot-Ormond feud. In the wake of the two major reassessments of Henry VI's reign published in 1981, various aspects of the king's role in government in the late 1430s and 1440s, particularly in policy-making, are the subject of continuing debate.[6] The study of the crown's dealings with Ireland in this period certainly provides material to confirm the recently expressed view that there was often 'no policy at all' behind the king's grants and appointments; it does not suggest that Henry was 'a non-king' in all respects.[7]

Assessing the effects of Lancastrian rule on the lordship is a more difficult task. The surviving evidence for the concerns and activities of

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[6] See J.L. Watts, 'The counsels of King Henry VI, *c.* 1435-1445', pp. 285-93, which argues that in 1437-9 and 1441-3 it was the king's councillors, rather than the king, who had practical control of matters of state; for criticism of Dr Wolffe's view that the king played a major personal role in negotiations with France in the 1440s, see C. Carpenter, 'Fifteenth-century biographies', *Historical Journal*, xxv (1982), pp. 729-34, esp. pp. 732-4.

[7] Quotations from C. Carpenter, *Locality and polity: a study of Warwickshire landed society, 1401-1499* (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 412, 628.

the Dublin government and royal subjects in Ireland is far less abundant then it is for the workings of royal government in England. Furthermore, a study of the career of the fourth earl of Ormond, central as this may be to the political history of the lordship under Henry V and Henry VI, offers only one perspective. This, however, suggests that the negative effects of Lancastrian rule have also been somewhat overstated.

It has generally been accepted that the reduction in English financial support for the lieutenancy under the Lancastrians caused a significant deterioration in the English colony in Ireland over the course of the first half of the fifteenth century and a contraction of the area effectively controlled by the Dublin government.[8] With regard to the period 1420 to 1452, it is certainly the case that complaints to this effect from Ireland were particularly insistent and detailed in the wake of lord Grey's lieutenancy of 1427-8 and again in the early 1430s. There can also be no doubt that the figure for the average revenue at the Irish exchequer offered by the Irish treasurers' accounts for 1420-46 is, at £1,000 *per annum*, significantly lower than the rates of receipt indicated by similar evidence for the central years of the fourteenth century from 1315 to 1384.[9] It appears, however, that the evidence which has seemed to suggest that royal authority in Ireland was effectively under siege behind a pale by the mid 1440s may have been misleading. Some research elsewhere has indicated that the state of the English colony, particularly in the central

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[8] See Otway-Ruthven, *Medieval Ireland*, p. 375; Lydon, *Ire. in later middle ages*, pp. 125-30; A. Cosgrove, 'The emergence of the Pale, 1399-1447', *N.H.I.*, ii, pp. 533-7.

[9] Ranging from £1,770 for 1337-46 to £2,780 for 1362-66: see H.G. Richardson and G.O. Sayles, 'Irish revenue, 1278-1384', *P.R.I.A.*, lxii (1962) C, pp. 87-100, esp. 94.

south of Ireland, was rather more resilient than was formerly supposed.[10] The picture which emerges from the study of Ormond's various chief governorships under Henry V and Henry VI is that relatively little decline in the range and energy of the activities of the Dublin government occurred under his leadership, despite the fact that his three lieutenancies enjoyed less English financial support than any others between 1413 and the later 1450s, while his deputyships and his one justiciarship had no direct access to English exchequer funds at all.

There can be no doubt that the state of the lordship during the earl's first lieutenancy of 1420-2 was considerably more healthy than the Irish parliament's prediction of imminent destruction, inserted into its petition to England to bolster the plea for a royal expedition, would have had Henry V believe. Ormond's expeditions and the activity of his administration ranged as far west as Kerry, Thomond, and Connacht. There are indeed indications that the Dublin government was less confident and effective immediately before and after this lieutenancy and during his lengthy absence from office between 1427 and 1441. It is also possible that the scope of his own activities as lieutenant in 1442-4 was limited by his political difficulties, which certainly resulted in a serious challenge to his personal authority in the south in 1444. Nevertheless, the geographical reach of the Dublin government during his last two deputyships of 1441-2 and 1450-2 does not seem to have been significantly more restricted than it had been during his first lieutenancy. As deputy for lord Welles, the earl visited both Waterford and Cork; as deputy for

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[10] See particularly C.A. Empey, 'The Butler lordship', pp. 183-5; idem, 'The Anglo-Norman community in Tipperary and Kilkenny in the middle ages', pp. 459-64; J. Lydon, 'The city of Waterford in the later middle ages', pp. 12-13; R. Stalley, 'Irish Gothic and English fashion', pp. 79-84.

the duke of York, he was active right across the south as far west as Limerick and undertook a successful campaign right through the central midlands. His final expedition included - as most, if not all, his previous chief governorships had done - an excursion into Louth and Ulster.

As English exchequer support for Ormond's chief governorships was at best very limited and more frequently non-existent, they depended to a very considerable extent on local resources. These included his personal resources as earl of Ormond, subsidies voted by general and local assemblies, whatever resources the lieutenants who appointed him to deputyships may have been able to muster for him in Ireland (which included, in the case of the deputyship for York, revenues from the earldom of Ulster) and revenues at the Irish exchequer when a lieutenancy or a justiciarship gave him a direct claim upon them. The earl's personal resources were of course not only financial, but also political: personal alliances and connections with other leading figures of the lordship and with Gaelic chiefs contributed significantly to his influence and effectiveness in Ireland as chief governor. In the only instance in which there is sufficient information to make a direct comparison, namely for his first lieutenancy, he seems to have been very much more successful in raising subsidies for defence than his immediate predecessor from England, John Talbot, had been. Despite the low average for annual revenue at the Irish exchequer indicated by the Irish treasurers' accounts, the additional financial records surviving from Ormond's first lieutenancy and from his justiciarship of 1426-7 indicate that, when it was politically or financially expedient to do so, he was able to raise receipts - or at least assignments - to a significantly higher level without unduly overstraining the system. The rate of receipt achieved during his justiciarship in 1427, equivalent to a *per annum* rate of £2,300, was not far short of the figure

for average annual revenue at the Irish exchequer between 1368 and 1384.[11] While revenue was seemingly merely average during the earl's third lieutenancy - the treasurer accounted for just under £2,130 between 20 January 1442 and 8 March 1444 -[12] it is clear from Thorndon's complaints in England that receipts were depressed by conflict between himself and Ormond over the management of the lordship's financial resources. And if Thorndon's figure for the scutage returns which the earl managed to abstract from the exchequer is correct, it would appear that at this date the latter was able to raise considerably more from a proclamation of royal service than he had been able to do as lieutenant two decades earlier.

In the light of such evidence, there seems little doubt that the arrangements which Henry V adopted for the lieutenancy in 1420 not only made sense within the context of the wider aims of royal government in England, but also represented a positive development for royal government in Ireland. Although these arrangements foundered in the next reign, the king's initiative, and Ormond's success in harnessing local resources to the needs of government and defence, foreshadowed developments in the latter part of the fifteenth century. As research into this later period has demonstrated, the Yorkist and early Tudor monarchs discovered that ruling the lordship through a local magnate was generally economical and efficient. Between 1470 and 1534 this policy was pursued much more consistently than it had been earlier. Although the personal power bases of those who acted as chief governor during these years were within, rather than outside, the region which came to be known as the Pale, the

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[11] The average annual revenue for 1368-84 has been calculated as £2,470: see H.G. Richardson and G.O. Sayles, 'Irish revenue, 1278-1384', p. 94.
[12] P.R.O., E364/79, m. A.

influence of the Dublin government was not solely limited to this area, but was also exerted beyond it, at least by the earls of Kildare. However, some of the methods by which they achieved what has been seen as a modest recovery of royal revenue in this period - their concern to increase customs receipts, to make assignments convenient for recipients and to develop reliable, semi-permanent assignments for the payment of officials' salaries - perhaps owed rather more to Lancastrian precedent than has been realised. And it seems that they may have been significantly less successful than Ormond had been in exploiting hanaper profits.[13]

Some previous work has placed considerable emphasis on the negative effects of Henry V's other legacy to the lordship, the Talbot-Ormond feud.[14] These can scarcely be disregarded. The course of the feud was punctuated by at least one short period of open, armed conflict and by a number of violent attacks - physical as well as figurative - on particular individuals. The competition between the factions created instability in the Dublin administration, subverted justice and saw provisions and decisions of royal government in England flouted or circumvented. The conflict made adherents of each side reluctant to co-operate with any chief governorship which represented or supported the interests of the other.

It does appear, however, that over the three decades between the beginning of the Talbot-Ormond feud and its final settlement, its dominance over the Dublin government and politics in the lordship was less

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[13] For the governing of Ireland from 1470 to 1534, see Ellis, *Reform and revival*; for the points mentioned, esp. pp. 3, 67, 72-4, 80, 103-4, 206-7.
[14] See M.C. Griffith, 'The Talbot-Ormond struggle for control of the Anglo-Irish government, 1414-47', esp. pp. 376, 390; Otway-Ruthven, *Medieval Ireland*, pp. 357-76, esp. pp. 375-6.

continuous and complete, and the division which it caused less rigid and lasting, than has been supposed. There was a significant lull in hostilities in the mid 1420s in the wake of the investigation in England of the initial quarrel between Ormond and John Talbot. Lord Welles' peace pact achieved a truce of nearly a year between Ormond and Richard Talbot for the duration of the earl's deputyship of 1441-2. The feud was not the only source or focus of political tension within the lordship. Although Prior fitzGerald and Thomas fitzMaurice had links with Archbishop Talbot, they had their own grievances against Ormond which arose primarily from the latter's acquisition of the Kildare lands in 1432. The fitzGerald-Butler rivalry which this move caused was not resolved by the settlement of the Talbot-Ormond feud. Thorndon's opposition to the earl in 1444 was essentially quite separate from both these issues. The membership of the Talbot and Ormond factions was not permanently fixed. If men such as John Blakeney, Christopher Bernevale and Robert Dyke changed sides or compromised from motives of self-interest or self-protection, so too, no doubt, did certain others about whom less can be discovered. Parallels have been drawn between the Talbot-Ormond quarrel and factional rivalries in England in the same period,[15] to two of which - the conflict between the earl of Warwick and lady Abergavenny, as well as the Talbot-Arundel feud - the feud in Ireland was linked. Within the lordship, as in England, there will have been social forces which acted for peace, as well as for unrest,[16] and these may help to explain why the final settlement of the feud in Ireland by the earl of Shrewsbury in 1446-7 was a success.

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[15] M.C. Griffith, 'The Talbot-Ormond struggle for control of the Anglo-Irish government', p. 376; Otway-Ruthven, *Medieval Ireland*, pp. 375-6; S.G. Ellis, 'Nationalist historiography and the English and Gaelic worlds', p. 13.
[16] See particularly, C. Carpenter, *Locality and polity*, pp. 624-5.

Furthermore, far from being merely destructive, or, as it has been termed, 'an agency in the breakdown of medieval Anglo-Ireland',[17] the feud had at least one positive effect. It was an essential catalyst in transforming the reluctance shown by leading figures in the lordship under Richard II and Henry IV to undertake even short-term chief governorships with little or nothing in the way of English financial support into the willingness, even eagerness, which prevailed from the third decade of the fifteenth century onwards. At times when control of the power and patronage of the chief governorship was the only means of ensuring the protection of the interests of themselves and their supporters in the factional struggle, both Ormond and Archbishop Talbot were happy to obtain office on whatever terms it was offered to them and were loth to abandon it. Both of them sought some English exchequer support, but the pressure of factional rivalry provided the incentive for the earl, at least, to prove that this was less essential than his father's generation had believed. It seems too that, after the feud was over, he helped to demonstrate this to Richard of York. Paradoxically, in view of the fact that the feud had fatally hampered the further pursuit after 1422 of Henry V's promising initiative for encouraging the lordship to bear more of the cost of its own defence, the Talbot-Ormond conflict made the final failure of English financial support in the latter part of his son's reign less painful in Dublin than it would otherwise have proved.

There remains the question of whether this lessening of financial dependence on the English exchequer, or any other effect or aspect of Lancastrian rule, encouraged the development of separatist feeling in the

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[17] Quotation from M.C. Griffith, 'The Talbot-Ormond struggle for control of the Anglo-Irish government', p. 390.

lordship. The proceedings of the Drogheda parliament of 1460 which declared Ireland to be *corporate de luy mesme* and which have been central to the debate about the existence and extent of separatism in the Lancastrian era,[18] took place more than seven years after Ormond's death. Nevertheless, the events and developments of 1420-52 are relevant to the background to this vexed issue.

There is little sign that Henry V's experimental arrangements to shift the main burden of financing the lieutenancy from England to Ireland in 1420 encouraged separatist feeling during the earl's first lieutenancy. The response of the Irish parliament in 1421, approving as it seems to have been of certain features of this initiative, including the choice of a lieutenant from Ireland, requested more, not less, royal attention. But the marked contrast in the tone of this petition and those sent to England from the assemblies held during Ormond's deputyship for lord Welles suggests that attitudes in the lordship were rather different twenty years later. And it is clear that the complaints which called for a reduction in English interference in the lordship's affairs in 1441 were provoked by Henry VI's indiscriminate grants and appointments which disrupted the established balance of English-seal and Irish-seal patronage in Ireland.

However, the findings of this investigation also suggest that caution should be exercised in estimating the extent and significance of such

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[18] *Stat. Hen. VI*, pp. 644-5; see also E. Curtis, *A history of mediaeval Ireland, 1110-1513*, p. 369; idem, *A history of medieval Ireland, 1086-1513*, p. 322; Richardson and Sayles, *Ir. parl.*, pp. 260-3; Lydon, *Lordship of Ireland*, pp. 263-5; idem, *Ire. in later middle ages*, pp. 135, 144-5; A Cosgrove, 'Parliament and the Anglo-Irish community: the declaration of 1460', passim; idem, 'Anglo-Ireland and the Yorkist cause', *N.H.I.*, ii, pp. 565-6; S.G. Ellis, 'Nationalist historiography and the English and Gaelic worlds in the late middle ages', pp. 11-16.

[19] A. Cosgrove, 'Parliament and the Anglo-Irish community: the declaration of 1460', p. 34.

separatist feeling. While it has been suggested that the classification of all those born in Ireland as aliens for the purposes of the alien tax authorized by the English parliament of 1440 would have 'reinforced the sense of a separate Anglo-Irish identity', the complaint about this classification - one of those made in 1441 - obviously reflected resentment that any aspersions should be cast on the loyalty and allegiance of the English of Ireland to the crown. Furthermore, the complaints about English interference in 1441 were almost certainly underpinned by frustration with Henry VI's lack of interest in the more active demands of kingship, specifically by the disappointment of the hopes entertained at the end of his minority that he might remedy his father's failure to lead the royal expedition to Ireland requested in 1421.

In no sense was Ormond himself the leader of a separatist cause.[20] As the previous investigation of the Talbot-Ormond struggle for control of the Dublin administration stressed, the two factions were not divided by constitutional principle.[21] The present study confirms another point developed more recently elsewhere,[22] namely that the leaders of the two factions had very different attitudes towards the Gaelic Irish, but reveals little perceptible difference in their attitudes towards Westminster. In the prosecution of the feud, Ormond had no monopoly in the flouting and circumventing of royal orders for tactical advantage. It was not only his opponents who turned to Westminster for support when their interests were particularly threatened by the rival group. Ormond's difficulties in England in the first months of Henry VI's reign prove that it was harder

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[20] Cf. E. Curtis, *A history of medieval Ireland, 1085-1513*, p. 296.
[21] See M.C. Griffith, 'The Talbot-Ormond struggle for control of the Anglo-Irish government', esp. pp. 389-90.
[22] See K. Simms, 'Bards and barons: the Anglo-Irish aristocracy and the native culture', pp. 183-8.

for him, as a magnate of the lordship, than it was for John Talbot, as a baron of the realm, to bring effective influence to bear at the centre of power. But Ormond's reaction was not to retreat into his own and the lordship's separateness. He overcame his disadvantage, with a very considerable measure of success, by his own persistence, by seeking allies within the English council and by approving and encouraging the advancement of his eldest son's interests in England under the aegis of lady Abergavenny and the royal household. In the long term this last strategy weakened the commitment of the next generation to Ireland. For only one of his children did he seek a marriage within the lordship, and the practical arrangements made at the time of the betrothal of his daughter, Anne, to the son of the earl of Desmond in 1429, suggest that he was keen to strengthen the English connections of the south-western Irish earldom.

Ormond's 'outlook' was no less "'loyalist"' than that of the magnates of Ireland a century earlier.[23] He made two separate attempts, in 1421 and again in the mid 1430s, to persuade Henry V and Henry VI respectively to perfect the English conquest of Ireland. The stress which the earl placed on both occasions on the English crown's right to lordship over Ireland was not merely a tactical device to secure attention. The indications are that Ormond genuinely shared the Ricardian vision of a strengthened and extended royal lordship in Ireland, incorporating rather than excluding, or merely containing, the Gaelic Irish, a lordship in which both Gall and Gael would not only acknowledge allegiance to the crown, but be fully recognized, both in England and in Ireland, as royal subjects. Although he was clearly ready to play a prominent role in any military

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[23] See Frame, *English lordship*, pp. 330-1, 335.

initiative designed to achieve this, he was well aware that very considerable assistance from England was an essential prerequisite. While his loyalty may have been strained by the events of 1442-7, there are no indications that it ever occurred to him to abandon it, and it is evident that its value was recognized in England. It is probably unprofitable to speculate on what might have happened had he lived another seven to eight years: under such circumstances politics in the lordship in the 1450s would have been rather different. However, had he done so, the rift between his eldest son and York in the early 1450s and the former's close connection with the royal court might well have led Ormond to oppose Richard of York's defiance of Lancastrian authority in Ireland in 1459-60.

Amongst the leading lay figures in the lordship between 1420 and 1452 Ormond's closely cultivated connections in England and the frequency of his visits there seem to have been more exceptional than might have been the case a generation or two earlier. Others may have been more conscious of a sense of 'separateness'. But the events of York's first visit to Ireland in 1449-50 offer at least one reason to be wary of assuming that the separatist declaration of the Irish parliament in 1460 represented significantly more than York's ability to 'manipulate [a] sense of regional identity to [his] own ends'.[24] The resentment of English-seal grants in the early 1440s had produced a number of requests from the lordship for these to cease. However, it was not until the Dublin parliament of 1450 that the radical step of a resumption of English-seal as well as Irish-seal grants was contemplated or taken, and it was to York and to events in England that this initiative was due.

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[24] Quotation from S.G. Ellis, 'Nationalist historiography and the English and Gaelic worlds', p. 16.

APPENDIX I

LISTS OF OFFICERS OF THE DUBLIN ADMINISTRATION UNDER HENRY V AND HENRY VI

List 1: Chief governors appointed from England

Name and title	Details	References[1]
Sir John Stanley lieutenant	**Patent:** 8 June 1413	P.R.O., C66/390, m. 15*; *C.P.R., 1413-16*, pp. 53-4.
	Indentures: 8 June 1413	*P.P.C.*, ii, pp. 130-1; P.R.O., E403/614, m. 5.
	Term[2]: 6 years - from 26 June or 3 July 1413[3]	(P) (I)
	Swearing-in[4]: 25 Sept. 1413	
John Talbot, lord Furnivall, lieutenant	**Patent:** 24 Feb. 1414	P.R.O., C66/393, m. 13*; *C.P.R., 1413-16*, p. 164.
	Indentures: 8 Mar. 1414	P.R.O., E404/29/190.
	Term: 6 years - from 1 May 1414	(P) (I)
	Swearing-in: 13 Nov. 1414	

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[1] References marked '*' indicate the survival of a full text of the appointee's letters patent or indentures. Where this is not available reference has been given to other documents which give particulars of the main terms agreed. The references, (P) and (I), stand respectively for 'letters patent' and 'indentures'.

[2] In this context 'term' refers to the length of time for which each chief governor was appointed, not the length of time for which he actually served: for the latter information, see below, list 2, pp. 483-91.

[3] Stanley's first year in office was to begin on the Monday three weeks after the sealing of his indentures (*P.P.C.*, ii, p. 130). As these were sealed on a Thursday, it is not clear whether his starting date was to be just under, or just over, three weeks later.

[4] Swearing-in dates are listed here to indicate the length of time it took for each appointment to take effect in Ireland (discussed above, pp. 43-6): for references, see below, list 2, pp. 483-91.

Name and title	Details	References
James, earl of Ormond, lieutenant	**Patent:** 10 Feb. 1420	P.R.O., C66/402, m. 9*; E101/247/13, no. 4*; *C.P.R., 1416-22*, p. 256.
	Indentures: 15 Feb. 1420	P.R.O. E101/247/13, no. 5*[5]
	Term: 2 years - from arrival in Ireland;	(P)
	from day when ready to leave England	(I)
	Swearing-in: 22 Apr. 1420	
Richard Talbot, archbishop of Dublin, justiciar	**Patent:** 4 Oct. 1422	P.R.O., C66/407, m. 31*; *C.P.R., 1422-29*, p. 3.
	Indentures[6]: -----	-----
	Term: During pleasure	(P)
	Swearing-in: 11 Oct. 1422	
Edmund, earl of March and Ulster, lieutenant	**Patent:** 9 May 1423	*Foedera*, x, pp. 282-5* (printed from English patent roll, I Hen. VI) *C.P.R., 1422-29*, p. 96.
	Indentures: 10 May 1423 (a draft, same date -	P.R.O. E404/39/285 E 28/41/45*).
	Term: 9 years - from his, or his deputy's arrival in Ireland;	(P)
	from 1 June 1423	(I)
	Swearing-in: 2 Oct. 1423 (of deputy)	
	c. 29 Sept. 1424 (in person)	

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[5] Further copies of Ormond's 1420 letters patent and indentures have survived amongst the Ormond deeds (N.L.I. D 1620). The printed edition of the deeds has mistakenly assigned both documents to 1429: see *C.O.D.*, iii, pp. 67-9, no. 84.

[6] As justiciar Archbishop Talbot was not offered any money from the English exchequer, therefore no indentures were required.

Name and title	Details	References
James, earl of Ormond, lieutenant	**Patent:** 1 Mar. 1425	P.R.O., C66/416, m. 2*; *C.P.R., 1422-29*, p. 273.
	Indentures: 13 Apr. 1425	*An. Hib.*, i (1930), pp. 217-18* (printed from P.R.O., C47/10/26 no. 10).
	Term: 1 year from 13 Apr. 1425	(P; I)
	Swearing-in: 28 Apr. 1425	
John, lord Grey, lieutenant	**Patent:** 15 Mar. 1427	P.R.O., C66/420, m. 4*; *C.P.R., 1422-29*, pp. 397-8.
	Indentures: 20 May 1427 (a draft: 15 Mar. 1427 -	P.R.O., E101/71/824* E28/49/2*)
	Term: 3 years - from arrival in Ireland; from 28 June 1427	(P) (I)
	Swearing-in: 1 Aug. 1427	
Sir John Sutton lieutenant	**Indentures:** 19 Mar. 1428	P.R.O., E404/44/183; /46/154.
	Patent: 23 Mar. 1428	P.R.O. C66/423, m. 20*; *C.P.R., 1422-29*, pp. 475-6.
	Term: 2 years from 30 Apr. 1428	(P; I)
	Swearing-in: prob. early June 1428	
Sir Thomas Stanley, lieutenant	**Patent:** 29 Jan. 1431	P.R.O., C66/429, m. 18*; *C.P.R., 1429-36*, p. 105.
	Indentures: 29 Jan. 1431 (a draft: July 1430 - Revised: 29 June 1431	P.R.O., E404/47/161; E101/71/873*) P.R.O. E404/48/283; /50/154.
	Term: 6 years - from 12 Apr. 1431; from 8 Aug. 1431	(P; I) (revised I)
	Swearing-in: between 30 Sept. and 21 Oct. 1431	

Name and title	Details	References
Lionel, lord Welles, lieutenant	**Patent:** 12 Feb. 1438	P.R.O., C66/441, m. 3*; *C.P.R., 1436-41*, pp. 140-1.
	Indentures: 12 Feb. 1438	P.R.O., E101/71/901*
	Term: 7 years - from 1 May 1438	(P) (I)
	Swearing-in: prob. 29 May 1438	
James, earl of Ormond, lieutenant	**Indentures:** 26 Feb. 1442	*An. Hib.*, 1 (1930), pp. 215-16* (printed from P.R.O., C47/10/26 no. 9).
	Patent: 27 Feb. 1442	P.R.O., C66/451, m. 2*; *C.P.R., 1441-46*, p. 45.
	Term: 7 years - from 1 Apr. 1442	(P) (I)
	Swearing-in: *a.* 15 May 1442	
John Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury, lieutenant	**Indentures:** 14 Feb. 1445	P.R.O. E404/61/138*[7]
	Patent: 12 Mar. 1445	P.R.O., C66/460, m. 22*; *C.P.R., 1441-46*, p. 345
	Revised: 21 May 1445	P.R.O., C66/440, m. 10*; *C.P.R., 1441-46*, p. 359.
	Term: 7 years - from 20 Apr. 1445	(P) (I)
	Swearing-in: prob. 20 Oct. 1446	

[7] This document is a copy of Shrewsbury's indentures, not a warrant for issue. A warrant for issue of the same date (P.R.O., E404/61/139) confirms the financial terms.

Name and title	Details	References
Richard, duke of York, lieutenant	**Indentures:** 30 July 1447	P.R.O., E101/71/920-1*
	Patent: 9 Dec. 1447	P.R.O., C66/466, m. 3*; *C.P.R., 1446-52*, p. 185
	Ratified (same terms) 11 Feb. 1451	P.R.O., C66/473, m. 8*; *C.P.R., 1446-52*, p. 465.
	Term: 10 years - from 29 Sept. 1447	(P) (I)
	Swearing-in: *a.* 23 Dec. 1448 (of deputy) 5 or 6 July 1449 (in person)	
James, earl of Wiltshire and Ormond, lieutenant	**Patent:** 12 May 1453	P.R.O., C66/477, m. 14*; *C.P.R., 1452-61*, p. 102.
	Indentures: Date unknown	P.R.O., E404/69/168.
	Term: 10 years - from 6 Mar. 1453	(I) (P)
	Swearing-in: *a.* 14 Sept. 1453 (of deputy)	
Richard, duke of York, lieutenant[8]	**Patent:** 6 Mar. 1457	P.R.O., C66/482, m. 3*; *C.P.R., 1452-61*, p. 341.
	Indentures: 7 Apr. 1457	Gilbert, *Viceroys*, pp. 585-6* (printed from B.L. Cotton MS Titus B xii, f. 197).
	Term: 10 years from 8 Dec. 1457	(P; I)
	Swearing-in: his deputy already in office at time of appointment; soon after 12 Oct. 1459 (in person)	

[8] At the time of this appointment, York was already in possession of the lieutenancy, having ousted Wiltshire in spring 1454 (see below, list 2, p. 490). From May 1454 York continued to act as lieutenant by deputy by virtue of his 1447 appointment, which was re-ratified under the English seal on 1 Dec. 1454 for the remainder of his ten-year term to Dec. 1457 after one of his deputies died in office: *C.P.R., 1446-52*, p. 202.

Name and title	Details	References
James, earl of Wiltshire and Ormond, lieutenant	The appointment was dated 4 Dec. 1459 (C.C.R., 1454-61, p. 426) but no formal patent seems to have been enrolled, nor has any record of indentures survived.	
	Term: 12 years from 23 Nov. 1459	*C.C.R., 1454-61*, p. 426.
	Swearing-in: The appointment was apparently ineffective in Ireland	

List 2: Holders of the office of chief governor in Ireland[1]

Dates of tenure[2]	Length of time in office	Name and title[3]
25 Sept. 1413[4] – 18 Jan. 1414[5]	4 mths.	* Sir John Stanley, lieutenant[6]
Prob. 18 Jan. 1414[7] – 10–13 Nov. 1414[8]	10 mths.	Thomas Cranley, archbishop of Dublin, justiciar
13 Nov. 1414 – 7 Feb. 1416[9]	1 yr. 3 mths.	* John Talbot, lord Furnival, lieutenant
8 Feb. 1416[10] – summer or autumn 1416	6–10 mths.	Thomas Cranley, archbishop of Dublin, deputy (for John Talbot)

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[1] An earlier version of this list, covering the same period, 1413–61, was contributed to the succession list of chief governors for 1172–1534, in *N.H.I.*, ix, pp. 476–8, and appears as part of the list for 1172–1528 in *H.B.C.*, pp. 163–4. The list given here also incorporates some further information that has come to light since these publications were compiled.

[2] Here and in lists 3–11 following, 'tenure' refers to the period during which each office-holder served in Ireland in person.

[3] Chief governors appointed by the king or the English council are marked '*'; for full details of dates of appointment, see above, list 1, pp. 477–82.

[4] Gilbert, *Viceroys*, pp. 568–9.

[5] Died in office: *Liber mun. pub. Hib.*, i, pt. 2, p. 199, and see H. Wood, 'The office of chief governor in Ireland, 1172–1509', p. 233.

[6] Stanley's immediate predecessor was probably Thomas Butler, prior of Kilmainham, deputy for Thomas, duke of Clarence, lieutenant under Henry IV. Butler was appointed deputy in Mar. 1409 and was still in office on 12 Oct. 1412 (*R.C.H.*, p. 191, no. 75; p. 192, no. 128; *C.P.R., 1413–16*, p. 241). In Nov. 1412 he was summoned to England and ordered to appoint another deputy in his absence, but there is no certainty that the summons was obeyed: *C.C.R., 1409–13*, p. 401.

[7] Cranley was elected justiciar by the Irish council after Stanley's death (*Stat. John–Hen. V*, pp. 568–9). Wood cited the Irish patent roll for 1 Hen. V, part 1 d. as evidence that Cranley was already acting as justiciar on 18 Jan., and he was certainly in office by 26 Jan.: *C.P.R., 1422–29*, p. 69, and see H. Wood, 'The office of chief governor in Ireland', p. 233.

[8] John Talbot arrived in Ireland on 10 November, but apparently took his oath three days later: *R.C.H.*, p. 206, no. 86; *Liber mun. pub. Hib.*, i, pt. 2, p. 200.

[9] Ibid., p. 212, no. 102.

[10] Ibid., p. 212, no. 101. Cranley had been appointed deputy three days earlier: *Liber mun. pub. Hib.*, i, pt. 2, p. 200.

Dates of tenure	Length of time in office	Name and title
Summer or autumn 1416[11] *p.* 17 Feb. 1418[12]	1 yr. 4-8 mths.	* John Talbot, lord Furnival, lieutenant
Late Feb. 1418 - soon after 10 July 1418[13]	5 mths.	*Sir Thomas Talbot, deputy* (for John Talbot)
a. 19 July 1418 - 22 July 1419[14]	1 yr.	* John Talbot, lord Furnival, lieutenant
22 July 1419 - *p.* 22 Feb. 1420[15]	7 mths.	Richard Talbot, archbishop of Dublin, deputy (for John Talbot)
9 Mar. 1420 - 22 Apr. 1420[16]	1½ mths.	Richard Talbot, archbishop of Dublin, justiciar[17]
22 Apr. 1420 - 10 Apr. 1422[18]	2 yrs.	* James Butler, earl of Ormond, lieutenant

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[11] John Talbot was preparing to return to Ireland in June 1416 (*C.P.R., 1416-22*, p. 31) and apparently arrived later that year (*A.F.M.*, iv, 829; H. Wood, 'The office of chief governor in Ireland', p. 233). Talbot was holding parliament at Dublin on 27 Jan. 1417: *Stat. John-Hen. V*, pp. 566-7.

[12] Having appointed his brother, Thomas, as deputy, Talbot left Ireland shortly after this date (P.R.O., E163/7/12, m. 3, printed in 'The background to the arrest of Sir Christopher Preston in 1418', ed. A.J. Otway-Ruthven, p. 78). John Talbot was at the English exchequer by 5 Mar. 1418: P.R.O., E403/633, m. 16.

[13] Thomas Talbot was acting as deputy on 14 and 16 June 1418 and, as deputy, was responsible for the arrest of Christopher Preston and the earl of Kildare on 26 June: B.L., Additional MS. 4797, f. 52; 'The background to the arrest of Sir Christopher Preston in 1418', ed. A.J. Otway-Ruthven, pp. 74, 94; R. Steele, *Bibliography of royal proclamations*, i, *Bibliotheca Lindesiana*, v (Oxford, 1910), p. clxxxviii; Marleborough, 'Chron.', pp. 220-1. John Talbot left England to return to Ireland on or just before 10 July: P.R.O., E101/698/34.

[14] P.R.O., E101/698/34; T.C.D., MS 1087, f. 59r-60r; Marleborough, 'Chron.', p. 221.

[15] *Rotuli selecti*, ed. J. Hunter, p. 59.

[16] P.R.O., E101/247/10, m. 1.

[17] Wood gives the date of his appointment (presumably by the election of the Irish council) as 6 Mar. 1420: see H. Wood, 'The office of chief governor in Ireland', p. 234.

[18] P.R.O., E101/247/8; /10; /12; /13, no. 4.

Dates of tenure	Length of time in office	Name and title
On or *p.* 10 Apr. 1422[19] – 10 Oct. 1422[20]	6 mths.	William FitzThomas, prior of Kilmainham, justiciar
11 Oct. 1422[21] – 24 Sept. 1423[22]	1 yr.	* Richard Talbot, archbishop of Dublin, justiciar
2 Oct. 1423[23] – *p.* 3 May 1424[24]	7 mths.	Edward Dantsey, bishop of Meath, deputy (for Edmund, earl of March, lieutenant)
a. 11 May 1424[25] – *p.* 2 Sept. 1424[26]	4 mths.	James Butler, earl of Ormond, deputy (for earl of March)
Late Sept. 1424[27] – 18 Jan. 1425[28]	3½ mths.	* Edmund Mortimer, earl of March, lieutenant
a. 22 Jan. 1425[29] late Apr. 1425[30]	3 mths.	John Talbot, lord Talbot, justiciar

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[19] FitzThomas took office after the expiry of Ormond's lieutenancy on 10 Apr. 1422 and certainly by 10 May: P.R.O., E28/37, no. 1.
[20] *R.C.H.*, p. 240, no. 52.
[21] H. Wood, 'The office of chief governor in Ireland', p. 234. This date follows remarkably quickly after the issue of Richard Talbot's English-seal patent of appointment (dated 4 Oct. 1422), but he was certainly in office by 28 Oct.: N.L.I., MS. 4, f. 228.
[22] Date on which Richard Talbot, after receiving an English-seal writ referring to him as 'late justiciar' effectively ceased to hold the office, although he and the Irish council still refused to accept the validity of the earl of March's personal letters patent (dated 4 Aug. 1423) appointing the bishop of Meath as deputy: Richardson and Sayles, *Ir. parl.*, pp. 311–17.
[23] Date on which Dantsey's credentials as deputy were finally accepted: *R.C.H.*, p. 233, close roll, 2 Hen. VI, d.
[24] P.R.O., E368/196, m. 57 d.
[25] N.L.I., MS. 4, f. 275.
[26] *R.C.H.*, p. 243, no. 26.
[27] About Michaelmas: *A.F.M.*, iv, 863.
[28] Died in office at Trim: 'Gregory's Chron.', p. 158.
[29] *R.C.H.*, p. 239, no. 2.
[30] Talbot was still in office on 10 Apr. (N.L.I., MS. 4, f. 290) and probably continued until Ormond's arrival at the end of the month.

Dates of tenure	Length of time in office	Name and title
28 Apr. 1425[31] mid-Apr. 1426[32]	1 yr.	James Butler, earl of Ormond, lieutenant
15 Apr. 1426[33] - 31 July 1427[34]	1 yr. 3 mths.	James Butler, earl of Ormond, justiciar
1 Aug. 1427[35] - *p.* 16 Dec. 1427[36]	4½ mths.	* John, lord Grey, lieutenant
a. 22 Dec. 1427[37] - *p.* Apr. 1428[38]	5-7 mths.	Edward Dantsey, bishop of Meath, deputy (for John Grey)
Prob. early June 1428[39] - *p.* 5 Nov. 1429[40]	1 yr. 5 mths.	* Sir John Sutton, lieutenant
a. 11 Nov. 1429 - *p.* 26 Apr. 1430[41]	5½ mths.	Sir Thomas Strange, deputy (for John Sutton)

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[31] N.L.I., MS. 4, f. 286.

[32] According to the terms of his patent of appointment, Ormond's lieutenancy was due to expire on 13 Apr. 1426: *C.P.R., 1422-29*, p. 273.

[33] *R.C.H.*, p. 239, no. 3.

[34] Ibid., p. 245, no. 1.

[35] *Liber mun. pub. Hib.*, i, pt. 2, p. 200.

[36] *R.C.H.*, p. 246, no. 29.

[37] Ibid., p. 245, no. 4 (6 Hen. VI).

[38] *Stat. Hen. VI*, p. 35.

[39] The English exchequer subsequently reckoned Grey's lieutenancy to have expired on 3 June. Sutton's muster had been completed at Chester on 24 May and he was apparently in office by 18 June: P.R.O., E101/248/3; E403.686, m. 10; *Liber mun. pub. Hib.*, i, pt. 2, p. 200.

[40] In a letter to Ormond dated 5 Nov., Sutton said that he had nominated Thomas Strange as his deputy and was about to return to England: B.L., Cotton MS., Titus B xi, pt. 1, no. 56; see below, Appendix III, ii, p. 577.

[41] Both these dates are cited in H. Wood, 'The office of chief governor in Ireland', p. 234, from the Irish memoranda roll for 8 Hen. VI. Technically Sutton's term of office ended on 30 Apr. 1428 (*C.P.R., 1422-29*, pp. 475-6), but it is possible that his deputy continued in office after this date as Richard Talbot was not sworn in as justiciar until 8 May: see note 44, below.

Dates of tenure	Length of time in office	Name and title
8 May 1430[42] - on or *p.* 30 Sept. 1431[43]	1 yr. 5 mths.	Richard Talbot, archbishop of Dublin, justiciar
a. 21 Oct. 1431[44] - prob. late 1432[45]	10 mths. - 1 yr. 2 mths.	* Sir Thomas Stanley, lieutenant
a. 10 Dec. 1432[46] - summer or autumn 1434[47]	1½-2 yrs.	Sir Christopher Plunket, deputy (for Thomas Stanley)
a. 4 Nov. 1434[48] - *p.* 6 Oct. 1435[49]	1 yr.	* Sir Thomas Stanley, lieutenant
a. 22 Nov. 1435[50] - *p.* 11 Apr. 1437[51]	1 yr. 5 mths.	Richard Talbot, archbishop of Dublin, deputy (for Thomas Stanley)

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[42] Two sources confirm this date of swearing-in (P.R.O., E101/248/8, m. 1; B.L., Harleian Charter 43/A/72) although a later English patent refers to an Irish-seal grant tested by Talbot as justiciar as early as 24 Apr. 1430: *C.P.R., 1446-52*, pp. 216-17.

[43] *R.C.H.*, p. 253, no. 16.

[44] The date of Stanley's swearing-in was noted in H. Wood, 'The office of chief governor in Ireland', p. 235 (from the Irish patent roll for 10 Hen. VI) as 30 Sept., but it may possibly have been confused with the date when the chief chamberlain was sworn into office. According to Tresham, the part of the roll giving the date of Stanley's oath taking was torn: *R.C.H.*, p. 253, nos. 12-18.

[45] Stanley was still acting as lieutenant on 18 July 1432 (*C.O.D.*, iii, p. 82, no. 99) and probably for some time afterwards.

[46] *C.O.D.*, iii, p. 85, no. 101.

[47] According to H. Wood, op. cit., p. 235, Plunket was still in office in June 1434 and may well have continued as deputy until the autumn. This is an unusually lengthy deputyship, but it does seem to have been continuous: other evidence confirms Plunket was acting as deputy in Jan., Sept. and Oct. 1433, Jan., Feb. and Apr. 1434 (P.R.O. E364/73, m. 2; E404/50/154, 280; P.R.O.I., 1A/49/135, f. 90; *Reg. Swayne*, pp. 142, 144). Stanley appeared at the English exchequer in June 1433 (P.R.O., E403/709, m. 8) and was shortly afterwards elected as a member of the English parliament: see above, p. 46.

[48] *Reg. Swayne*, pp. 145-9.

[49] *R.C.H.*, p. 260, no. 26.

[50] *Reg. Swayne*, pp. 161-2.

[51] N.L.I., MS. 4, f. 332. H. Wood, op. cit., p. 235, suggested that Stanley returned to Ireland briefly in the autumn of 1436; however, he seems to have been in England in Feb., June, Oct. and Nov. that year: P.R.O., E28/58/26 Oct.; E403/721, m. 15; 723, m. 6; 725, m. 8.

Dates of tenure	Length of time in office	Name and initials
19 Apr. 1437 - 29 May 1438[52]	1 yr. 1 mth.	Richard Talbot, archbishop of Dublin, justiciar
Prob. 29 May 1438[53] - *a.* mid-Feb. 1439[54]	4-9 mths.	* Lionel Welles, lord Welles, lieutenant
a. mid-Feb. 1439 - *p.* 11 May 1440[55]	1 yr. 3-8 mths.	Sir William Welles, deputy (for lord Welles)
a. 10 June 1440[56] - *p.* 15 Mar. 1441[57]	9-10 mths.	* Lionel, lord Welles, lieutenant
Prob. mid-Mar. 1441[58] - *p.* 24 Jan. 1442[59]	prob. 9-11 mths.	James Butler, earl of Ormond, deputy (for lord Welles)
a. 15 May 1442[60] - late Aug./early Sept. 1444[61]	2 yrs. 3-5 mths.	* James Butler, earl of Ormond, lieutenant

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[52] Initial and terminal dates both quoted in P.R.O., E28/62/14 July.
[53] The terminal date of Talbot's justiciarship almost certainly indicates the date of Welles's arrival in Ireland. According to H. Wood, 'The office of chief governor in Ireland', p. 235, Welles was in office by 5 June 1438.
[54] Welles was still in office on 14 Sept. 1438 (*Reg. Swayne*, p. 177), but had returned to England by 21 Feb. 1439: P.R.O., E403/733, m. 10.
[55] William Welles was acting as deputy on 13 Apr. and 27 Aug. 1439 (P.R.O., E28/62/27 Aug.; E368/211, m. 109) and, according to H. Wood, op. cit. p. 235 (citing items on the Irish close roll for 20 Hen. VI) was still in office on 11 May 1440.
[56] *R.C.H.*, p. 262, no. 11.
[57] By this date he was preparing to leave for England: P.R.O., C47/10/26, no. 7.
[58] Ormond had been nominated as deputy by 15 Mar. 1441 (ibid.) and was acting by 5 May: *Reg. Swayne*, p. 184.
[59] P.R.O., E101/691/23. There is no certain evidence as to whether or not Ormond then visited England to seal his indentures as lieutenant on 26 Feb. 1442 in person, but it is perhaps more likely that he remained in Ireland and conducted the business of his appointment by means of messengers and attorneys: see above, p. 313.
[60] Ormond's lieutenancy was due to commence on 1 Apr. 1442 (*An. Hib.*, 1, pp. 215-16); he was certainly in office by 15 May: P.R.O., E101/248/14.
[61] Ormond probably left soon after appointing Delvin as deputy on 28 Aug. 1444: *C.O.D.*, iii, pp. 257-9, no. 161.

Dates of tenure	Length of time in office	Name and title
p. 28 Aug. 1444[62] - Jan. 1445	5 mths.	Richard Nugent, lord Delvin, deputy (for earl of Ormond)
22 Jan. 1445 - 20 Oct. 1446[63]	1 yr. 9 mths.	Richard Talbot, archbishop of Dublin, justiciar
Prob. 20 Oct. 1446[64] - *p.* 6 Nov. 1447[65]	just over 1 yr.	* John Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury, lieutenant
Prob. late 1447 - *a.* Dec. 1448[66]	up to 1 yr.	Richard Talbot, archbishop of Dublin, deputy (for Shrewsbury)
a. 23 Dec. 1448[67] - prob. early July 1449[68]	over 6 mths.	Richard Nugent, lord Delvin, deputy (for Richard, duke of York, lieutenant)
5/6 July 1449[69] end Aug. 1450[70]	1 yr. 2 mths.	* Richard, duke of York, lieutenant
a. 2 Sept. 1450[71] - 23 Aug. 1452[72]	2 yrs.	James Butler, earl of Ormond, deputy (for duke of York)

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[62] Delvin was acting as deputy by 22 Oct. 1444: G.O. Dub., MS. 192, p. 388.
[63] Initial and terminal dates cited in P.R.O., E404/63/159.
[64] The expiry of Richard Talbot's justiciarship almost certainly indicates the date of his brother's arrival; Shrewsbury was certainly in office before 18 Nov. 1446: P.R.O., E30/1569.
[65] *Stat. Hen. VI*, pp. 140-1.
[66] H. Wood, op. cit., p. 235, cited the Irish mem. roll for 28 Hen. VI as evidence of this deputyship. In England Shrewsbury was being described as keeper of Ireland in June 1448: P.R.O., E403/771, m. 6; below, p. 570, n. 14.
[67] *Reg. Swayne*, p. 194.
[68] Delvin was still acting in Apr. 1449 (ibid., pp. 194-5; *Stat. Hen. VI*, pp. 110-11) and probably continued in office until York's arrival.
[69] H. Wood, op. cit., p. 236; E. Curtis, 'Richard, duke of York, as viceroy of Ireland, 1447-60', p. 165.
[70] York landed in Wales from Ireland during the first week of Sept. 1450 R.A. Grifiths, 'Richard, duke of York and the royal household in Wales, 1449-50', p. 14; Johnson, *Duke Richard*, p. 78.
[71] P.R.O.I., 1A/49/135, f. 183 (from Irish mem. roll, 29 Hen. VI).
[72] Date of Ormond's death in office: B.L., Additional MS. 4797, ff. 33d, 55; *A.F.M.*, iv, p. 981.

Dates of tenure	Length of time in office	Name and title
p. 23 Aug. 1452[73] - *p.* 25 May 1453[74]	9 mths.-1 yr.	Sir Edward FitzEustace, deputy (for duke of York)
a. 14 Sept. 1453[75] - prob. 22 May 1454[76]	up to 10 mths.	John Mey, archbishop of Armagh, deputy (for James Ormond, earl of Wiltshire and Ormond, lieutenant)
22 May 1454[77] - 25 Oct. 1454[78]	5 mths.	* Sir Edward FitzEustace, deputy (for York)
p. 25 Oct. 1454[79] - *p.* 13 Feb. 1455[80]	up to 5 mths.	Thomas FitzMaurice, earl of Kildare, justiciar

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[73] Succeeded as deputy after Ormond's death: 'MacFirbis', p. 233; *A.F.M.*, iv, p. 981.

[74] *Stat. Hen. VI*, p. 433.

[75] Wiltshire appointed Mey as deputy on 19 June 1453, and this was confirmed by English-seal patent on 25 June (N.L.I., MS. 4, f. 348; *C.P.R., 1452-61*, pp. 82-3); Mey was acting as deputy by 14 Sept.: *Reg. Mey*, pp. 424-5.

[76] Mey was still acting on 8 Mar. 1454 (N.L.I., MS. 4, f. 349) and almost certainly continued as deputy until fitzEustace was sworn in as deputy for Richard of York in May 1454. Thereafter it seems Mey continued to claim the deputyship, notwithstanding fitzEustace's appointment at least until late June 1454: see H. Wood, 'Two chief governors of Ireland at the same time', pp. 156-7; Ellis, *Original letters*, 2nd ser., i, pp. 117-22.

[77] Date of swearing-in after York as protector in England had appointed fitzEustace as his deputy lieutenant under the English great seal on 23 Apr. 1454 (N.L.I., MS. 4, f. 350) a decision in the English council on 15 Apr. having settled the disputed possession of the lieutenancy between Wiltshire and York in the latter's favour: *P.P.C.*, vi, pp. 172-3.

[78] Date of fitzEustace's death in office: *C.P.R., 1452-61*, p. 202.

[79] Kildare was chosen as justiciar after fitzEustace's death and was acting by 6 Nov.: *A.F.M.*, iv, p. 991; *Stat. Hen. VI*, p. 607.

[80] *Calendar of ancient records of Dublin*, ed. J.T. Gilbert, i (Dublin, 1889), p. 31.

Dates of tenure	Length of time in office	Name and title
a. 18 Apr. 1455[81] - prob. autumn 1459[82]	prob. 4½ yrs.	Thomas FitzMaurice, earl of Kildare, deputy (for York)
p. 12 Oct. 1459 - early Sept. 1460[83]	10-11 mths.	* Richard, duke of York, lieutenant[84]
Sept. 1460 - Dec. 1460[85]	4 mths.	Thomas FitzMaurice, earl of Kildare, deputy (for York)
p. 31 Dec. 1460[86] -	-	Thomas, earl of Kildare, justiciar

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[81] *Stat. Hen. VI*, pp. 300-1 (Richard of York's lieutenancy having been re-confirmed by English-seal patent after fitzEustace's death: *C.P.R., 1452-61*, p. 202).

[82] Kildare was still acting on 20 Nov. 1456 and probably continued to do so until York's arrival in Ireland in 1459: T.C.D., MS. 557 (5), ff. 322-3.

[83] E. Curtis, 'Richard duke of York, as viceroy of Ireland', p. 180; 'Benet', p. 227.

[84] York had been re-appointed for a second term of office as lieutenant beginning 8 Dec. 1457 (*C.P.R., 1452-61*, p. 341); although this lieutenancy was theoretically cut short by the reinstatement of Wiltshire in Dec. 1459, neither of Wiltshire's two deputies, John Bole, archbishop of Armagh, and Thomas Bathe, baron of Louth, ever held office in Ireland: *C.C.R., 1454-61*, p. 426.

[85] H. Wood, 'The office of chief governor in Ireland', p. 236.

[86] Kildare was chosen as justiciar in Ireland after York's death: *Statute rolls of the parliament of Ireland, 1st to 12th years of the reign of King Edward IV*, ed. H.F. Berry (Dublin, 1914), p. 42. The appointment was confirmed under the English seal on 30 Apr. 1461 after Edward IV's accession: *R.C.H.*, p. 268, nos. 1-3.

List 3: Chancellors and keepers of the Irish great seal[1]

Name[2]	Appointment[3]	Tenure
* Thomas Cranley, archbishop of Dublin	20 Apr. 1413 (d.p.)[4]	on or shortly after 8 Aug. 1413 - 18 Sept. 1414[5]
* Sir Laurence Merbury	2 Mar. 1414 (d.p.)[6]	18 Sept. 1414[7] - 21 Mar. 1421
Hugh Bavent (deputy for Merbury)	21 Mar. 1421	22 Mar. 1421 - prob. Aug. 1421[8]
* Sir Laurence Merbury	16 Aug. 1421 (d.p.)[9]	appointment ineffective in Ireland
William fitzThomas prior of Kilmainham	21 Aug. 1421 (d.p.)	25 Aug. 1421 - *p.* 9 Oct. 1421[10]

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[1] Various points of information from an earlier version of this list were contributed to the 1413-61 section of the list of chancellors and keepers of the great seal in *N.H.I.*, ix, pp. 505-6.

[2] All those listed held office as chancellor unless otherwise specified. Here and in lists 4-11 the symbol '*' indicates both office-holders with English-seal appointments and English-seal confirmations of earlier appointments under either seal.

[3] Here and in lists 4-11 the following abbreviations have been used to indicate the intended term of appointment, where known: 'd.p.' - 'during pleasure'; 'g.b.' - 'during good behaviour'; 'l.' - 'life'. 'Dep.' indicates that the letters of appointment definitely included specific licence for the appointing of deputies to cover any periods of absence.

[4] *C.P.R., 1413-16*, p. 90.

[5] 8 Aug. 1413 was the date of Cranley's return to Ireland after a sixteen-month absence: P.R.O.I., RC8/34, pp. 98-102 (from Ir. mem. roll, 2 Hen. V); *R.C.H.*, p. 205, no. 61.

[6] *C.P.R., 1413-16*, p. 163. The date of Merbury's appointment is listed in *N.H.I.*, ix, p. 505 as 21 March 1414, apparently a misprint.

[7] *R.C.H.*, p. 205, no. 63.

[8] Bavent's appointment as deputy chancellor was to last until 1 August 1421, the date on which Merbury's Irish-seal licence for absence from Ireland was due to expire, but is it possible that Bavent continued in office until the prior of Kilmainham took over as chancellor later in the month. Bavent may also have served as deputy chancellor for Merbury for a short period between 1415 and 1420, for Bavent was said, at the time of his appointment in 1421, to have acted as deputy chancellor on a previous occasion: *R.C.H.*, p. 218, no. 27.

[9] *C.P.R., 1416-22*, p. 394.

[10] FitzThomas was appointed by the Irish council to replace Merbury, who was then still absent: *R.C.H.*, p. 219, no. 49; p. 251, close roll, no. 5.

Name	Appointment	Tenure
William Younger, archdeacon of Meath	?	29 Oct. 1422[11] - on or *a.* 7 Dec. 1422
* Sir Laurence Merbury	4 Oct. 1422 (d.p.)[12]	7 Dec. 1422 - *c.* 8 Apr. 1423[13]
Richard Sydgrave (deputy for Merbury)	8 Apr. 1423[14]	on or *a.* 3 May 1423 - *p.* 2 June 1423[15]
* Richard Talbot, archbishop of Dublin	19 May 1423 (d.p.)[16]	13 July 1423 - prob. Apr. 1426[17]
William fitzThomas, prior of Kilmainham	25 Apr. 1426	26 Apr. 1426 - 5 Aug. 1426[18]
	8 Aug. 1426 (d.p.)	8 Aug. 1426 - 10 Sept. 1426[19]
Sir Richard fitzEustace	10 Sept. 1426	15 Sept. 1426 - 27 Dec. 1426[20]
* Richard Talbot, archbishop of Dublin	23 Oct. 1426[21] (d.p.)	12 Jan. 1427 - 21 Oct. 1431[22]

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[11] N.L.I., MS 4, f. 230, and see also *R.C.H.*, p. 224, no. 15; however, *N.H.I.*, ix, p. 505 cites 19 October 1422 following the date given in *Liber mun. pub. Hib.*, i, pt. 2, p. 203.
[12] *C.P.R., 1422-29*, p. 3.
[13] N.L.I., MS 4, f. 234; *R.C.H.*, p. 225, nos. 27, 39.
[14] Ibid., p. 225, no. 27; p. 228, no. 74.
[15] Ibid., p. 226, no. 18; *Liber mun. pub. Hib.*, i, pt. 2, p. 203.
[16] P.R.O., E28/41/100; *C.P.R., 1422-29*, p. 103.
[17] *Liber mun. pub. Hib.*, i, pt. 2, p. 203. Talbot was still acting as chancellor in late November 1423 (N.L.I., MS 4, f. 274; *R.C.H.*, p. 234, no. 29) and probably continued in office until, or shortly before, the appointment of fitzThomas in April 1426.
[18] P.R.O., E101/248/2, m. 1; *R.C.H.*, p. 239, no. 5; *Liber mun. pub. Hib.*, i, pt. 2, p. 203.
[19] P.R.O., E101/247/20, no. 38; *R.C.H.*, p. 244, no. 35.
[20] P.R.O., E101/248/2, m. 1; *Liber mun. pub. Hib.*, i, pt. 2, p. 203.
[21] *C.P.R., 1422-29*, p. 379.
[22] P.R.O., E404/55/310; *R.C.H.*, p. 245, 6 Hen. VI, no. 5.

Name	Appointment	Tenure
* Thomas Chace	26 Feb. 1430 (d.p.)	23 Oct. 1431[23] -
	20 Jan. 1434	- on or *a.* 12 Feb. 1435[24]
Sir Thomas Strange (deputy for Chace)	*a.* 12 Feb. 1435	12 Feb. 1435 - 27 May 1436[25]
Robert Dyke, keeper of the great seal	? (d.p.)	22 June 1436[26] -
* Thomas Chace	15 Nov. 1436 (d.p.; dep.)[27]	
*	8 Mar. 1438 (d.p.; dep.)[28]	- *p.* 27 Aug. 1439[29]
James Cornwalshe (deputy for Chace)	?	*a.* 6 Feb. 1440 - *p.* 28 Aug. 1440[30]
* Chace	(see above)	*a.* 3 Aug. 1441[31] -

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[23] *C.P.R., 1429-36*, p. 49; *R.C.H.*, p. 253, no. 18.

[24] The date when his deputy, Thomas Strange, took office to enable Chace to obey a summons to England from the English council: *R.C.H.*, p. 256, no. 15; p. 257, no. 57. The Irish-seal renewal of Chace's chancellorship in January 1434 mentioned in *R.C.H.*, p. 257, no. 57 was perhaps issued on Chace's return to Ireland after some previous period of absence in England. He was granted an English-seal licence for absence from Ireland in October 1432 (*C.P.R., 1429-36*, p. 224) but it is not clear who acted as chancellor in Ireland meantime.

[25] On which date Strange died, apparently still holding office as deputy chancellor (P.R.O., E28/63, no. 16; *C.P.R., 1436-41*, p. 28). However, in February and March 1436 Strange himself had been absent from Ireland (see below, list 5, p. 508) and it is not clear who acted as chancellor in Ireland meanwhile or whether Strange returned to Ireland before he died.

[26] *R.C.H.*, p. 261, no. 40.

[27] *C.P.R., 1436-41*, p. 28.

[28] Ibid., p. 151.

[29] On which date Chace as chancellor was about to leave for England with a letter from the deputy lieutenant to lord Cromwell: P.R.O., E28/62 /27 Aug.

[30] *C.O.D.*, iii, no. 135, pp. 119-20.

[31] *R.C.H.*, p. 262, no. 24.

Name	Appointment	Tenure
* Richard Wogan	27 Feb. 1441 (*g.b.*)[32]	24 Aug. 1441 - 16 July 1442[33]
Sir Richard fitzEustace	21 July 1442 (d.p.)[34]	prob. 21/22 July 1442 - Oct 1442
* Richard Talbot, archbishop of Dublin	7 Aug. 1442 (d.p.)[35]	denied proper tenure in Ireland[36]
Sir Richard fitzEustace keeper of the great seal	?	*a.* 25 Apr. 1443[37] -
* Richard Wogan	4 Mar. 1443 (d.p.; dep.)[38]	*a.* 30 Mar. 1444 - *p* 21 June 1444[39]
William Chevir (deputy for Wogan)	?	*a.* 28 Aug. 1444 - *p.* 4 Jan. 1446[40]

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[32] *C.P.R., 1436-41*, p. 514. Wogan's petition for the office was granted by the king on 19 Feb.: P.R.O., E28/66/79.

[33] P.R.O., E101/691/23; Graves, *King's council*, p. 291.

[34] Ibid., p. 294.

[35] *C.P.R., 1441-46*, p. 91.

[36] By 21 October 1442 Archbishop Talbot had taken his oath as chancellor in Ireland, but, owing to his failure to present his credentials to the lieutenant and the Irish council, Talbot was denied possession of the Irish great seal. The office was formally resumed into royal hands by the lieutenant and the Irish council on 21 November 1442: Graves, *King's council*, pp. 295-303, and for further details see above, pp. 333-5.

[37] *P.P.C.*, v, pp. 325-7. The likelihood is that fitzEustace was appointed by the Irish council soon after the rejection of Archbishop Talbot in November 1442.

[38] *C.P.R., 1441-46*, p. 126.

[39] *C.O.D.*, iii, no. 159, pp. 140-52.

[40] Ibid., no. 161, p. 158; *Calendar of patent and close rolls of chancery in Ireland, Elizabeth, 19 year to end of reign*, ed. J. Morrin (Dublin, 1862), p. 455, cited by Dr Paul Brand in *N.H.I.*, ix, p. 508, n. 53.

Name	Appointment	Tenure
* Sir John Talbot	12/13 Aug. 1446 (g.b.; dep.)[41]	*c.* 20 Oct. 1446[42] -
Robert Dyke (deputy for John Talbot)	?	*a.* 13 Jan. 1447[43]
* Thomas fitzGerald, prior of Kilmainham	5 Apr. 1448 (l.; dep.)	*a.* 12 Feb. 1449[44]
* Sir John Talbot	1446 appointment confirmed 4 Apr. 1449[45]	
Edmund Oldhall bishop of Meath	?	*a.* 30 Mar. 1451[46]
Thomas Talbot, prior of Kilmainham (deputy for John Talbot)	6 Nov. 1451	*a.* 31 Aug. 1452[47] -

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[41] *C.P.R., 1441-46*, p. 455; *C.C.R., 1454-61*, p. 289; however, the appointment is dated 2 September 1446 in *C.P.R., 1452-61*, pp. 163, 179, and in *Stat. Hen. VI*, pp. 54-5.

[42] John Talbot's father, the earl of Shrewsbury, arrived in Ireland as lieutenant at this time. John Talbot accompanied him and was probably sworn in as chancellor on, or shortly after, their arrival, and was certainly in office by 18 Nov. 1446: P.R.O., E30/1569; *C.P.R., 1446-52*, p. 1; see also above, list 2, p. 489.

[43] *Stat. Hen. VI*, pp. 54-5, 58-9.

[44] FitzGerald's English-seal appointment was intended to take effect only after the death of the existing chancellor, John Talbot, or his surrender of office (*C.P.R., 1446-52*, p. 167), but on the strength of this patent, according to Talbot, fitzGerald had effectively dispossessed him of the office by 12 Feb. 1449: *Rot. parl.*, v, pp. 166-7.

[45] *C.P.R., 1446-52*, p. 260.

[46] *Reg. Mey*, pp. 432-5.

[47] The appointment was made by John Talbot at Sheffield, exemplified on 10 November under the English seal, and subsequently enrolled on the Irish patent roll for 30 Henry VI, i.e. before 31 August 1452: *C.P.R., 1446-52*, p. 560; *R.C.H.*, p. 267, nos. 35-6.

Name	Appointment	Tenure
Sir William Welles (deputy for John Talbot)	7 Aug. 1454[48]	*a.* 6 Nov. 1454 - *p.* Nov. 1456[49]
Michael Tregury archbishop of Dublin (deputy for John Talbot)	5 Apr. 1458[50]	
Edmund, earl of Rutland	24 Feb. 1460 (d.p.; dep.)	24 Feb. 1460 - *p.* Mar. 1460[51]
* John Dynham	5 Nov. 1460 (l.; dep.)[52]	*a.* 21 Jan. 1461[53] -

[48] The appointment by John Talbot (by this time second earl of Shrewsbury) was exemplified under the English seal on 27 August: *C.P.R., 1452-61*, p. 163.
[49] *Stat. Hen. VI*, pp. 456-9.
[50] Appointed by John Talbot, second earl of Shrewsbury: *C.C.R., 1454-61*, p. 289.
[51] *Stat. Hen. VI*, pp. 746-9.
[52] *C.P.R., 1452-61*, p. 640.
[53] Ibid., p. 641.

List 4: Chancery officials

Name	Appointment	Tenure[1]
i) Keepers of the rolls		
Robert Sutton	29 Sept. 1413[2] (d.p.)	- *p.* 6 Feb. 1420[3]
	5 Apr. 1422 (g.b.)	
*	20 Feb. 1423 (g.b.)[4]	
*	27 Apr. 1423 (g.b.; dep.)[5]	
John Passavant and William Sutton (joint deputies for Robert Sutton)	2 June 1423[6]	
Sutton	(see above)	- *p.* 24 Aug. 1429[7]
William Sutton	10 Dec. 1430 (l.)[8]	18 - 28 Jan. 1431[9]

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[1] In the case of subordinate officials evidence of tenure is often elusive. Some English-seal appointments may have been ineffective in Ireland, but lack of evidence of tenure cannot by itself be taken as sufficient indication that an English appointee never took up his post.

[2] *R.C.H.*, p. 251, no. 4. Sutton was holding the same office in 1405 and 1412 (ibid., p. 180, 6 Hen. IV, no. 1; N.L.I., MS 4, f. 192). For details of his earlier appointments see A.J. Otway-Ruthven, 'The mediaeval Irish chancery', p. 136.

[3] *Calendar of charter rolls, 1427-1516*, p. 23.

[4] English-seal confirmation of the Irish-seal appointment of 5 April 1422: *C.P.R., 1422-29*, p. 62.

[5] Ibid., p. 79.

[6] *R.C.H.*, p. 226, no. 18.

[7] P.R.O., E101/248/5.

[8] *R.C.H.*, p. 250, no. 116.

[9] After being replaced in office by the appointment of Dyke on 28 January 1431, William Sutton absconded with all the chancery rolls from the beginning of Henry VI's reign and these were still missing on 6 July following: N.L.I., MS 4, ff. 327-8; *Liber mun. pub. Hib.*, 1, pt. 2, p. 204.

Name	Appointment	Tenure
Robert Dyke	28 Jan. 1431	on or just after 28 Jan. 1431 - *p.* 2 June 1436[10]
	? (d.p.)	22 June 1436[11] -
*	13 July 1437 (g.b.)[12]	
* John Forthey	1 Jan. 1438 (l.)[13]	
Robert Dyke		*a.* 15 Mar. 1441 - *p.* 21 July 1442[14]
*	17 Nov. 1448 (l.; dep.)[15]	*a.* Mar. 1449[16] -
John Chevir, the younger	14 Aug. 1450 (g.b.; dep.)	
*	3 Oct. 1450 (g.b.; dep.)[17]	*a.* Nov. 1450 - *p.* Feb. 1458[18]
Thomas Colt		*a.* Feb. 1460[19] -

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[10] N.L.I., MS 4, ff. 327-8; *R.C.H.*, p. 260, no. 14.
[11] Re-sworn into office having been re-appointed during pleasure: ibid., p. 261, no. 40.
[12] *C.P.R., 1436-41*, p. 70.
[13] Ibid., p. 143.
[14] P.R.O., C47/10/26, no. 7; Graves, *King's council*, pp. 276, 288.
[15] *C.P.R., 1446-52*, p. 204. This mentions that at some time since Dyke's previous English-seal appointment in 1437 the office had been granted 'to other persons by sinister information' - possibly an indication that either Forthey or some Irish-seal appointees had recently attempted to oust Dyke from office.
[16] *Stat. Hen. VI*, pp. 122-3.
[17] English-seal confirmation of the above Irish-seal grant of 14 August 1450 (*C.P.R., 1446-52*, p. 404) although a subsequent entry on the Irish exchequer memoranda roll for 31 Hen. VI maintained that the English-seal appointment of 3 October 1450 had been for life: P.R.O.I., 1A/49/135, f. 197.
[18] *Stat. Hen. VI*, pp. 268-9, 512-3.
[19] Ibid., pp. 724-5.

Name	Appointment	Tenure
* Amaury de St. Laurence	15 Jan. 1461 (l.; dep.)[20]	

ii) Clerks/keepers of the hanaper

John Passavant	28 Sept. 1413 (d.p.)[21]	
	26 Jan. 1414 (g.b.; dep.)[22]	- *p.* 15 July 1420[23]
*	19 Feb. 1423 (g.b.; dep.)[24]	
Stephen Roche	16 July 1425 (d.p.; dep.)	20 July 1425[25] -
	7 Sept. 1425[26]	19 Oct. 1425 - 3 Oct. 1427[27]
Richard Newport		4 Oct. 1427 - 16 June 1428[28]
Stephen Roche		16 June 1428 - 10 May 1430[29]

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[20] *C.P.R., 1452-61*, p. 639.

[21] *R.C.H.*, p. 251, no. 6. Passavant had been clerk of the hanaper since he succeeded Hugh Bavent in June 1410: see A.J. Otway-Ruthven, 'The mediaeval Irish chancery', p. 137.

[22] P.R.O.I., RC8/40, pp. 201-2; *R.C.H.*, p. 202, no. 10.

[23] P.R.O., E101/247/8, m. 3. He was also holding office in February 1415, February, April and June 1420: P.R.O., E101/247/10, m. 3.; /248/8, m.1; *R.C.H.*, p. 207, no. 129; *Calendar of charter rolls, 1427-1516*, p. 23.

[24] English-seal confirmation of his Irish-seal appointment of 1414 above: *C.P.R., 1422-29*, p. 67.

[25] *R.C.H.*, p. 237, no. 86; *Liber mun. pub. Hib.*, i, pt. 2, p. 204 (which gives the date of his appointment as 10 July).

[26] *R.C.H.*, p. 239, no. 10; p. 243, no. 13.

[27] P.R.O., E101/248/8, m. 1.

[28] Ibid. The dates of Newport's tenure of office identify him as the 'squire' of lord Grey whom Grey's successor as lieutenant, John Sutton, and the treasurer of Ireland were ordered to eject from the clerkship in 1428 because he was no longer resident in Ireland: P.R.O.I., 1A/49/135, ff. 53-4, and see above, p. 67.

[29] P.R.O., E101/248/8, m. 1.

Name	Appointment	Tenure
James Blakeney	10 May 1430 (g.b.)	10 May 1430 - *p.* 27 Sept. 1430[30]
William Sutton		*a.* 31 Aug. 1431[31] -
	8 Feb. 1435 (g.b.)	4 Apr. 1435 - *p* 14 Dec. 1437[32]
♯ Thomas Beltoft	25 Oct. 1437 (l.; dep.)[33]	
Adam Veldon		*a.* or during spring/ summer 1439[34] -
♯ Thomas Beltoft and John Bolt	29 July 1439 (l.; dep.)[35]	
♯	28 May 1440 (in survivorship)[36]	Bolt in office *a.* 15 July 1442[37]
James Prendergast, alias Collyn	28 Aug. 1450[38]	

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[30] P.R.O., E101/248/8, m. 1; *R.C.H.*, p. 249, no. 6.

[31] William Sutton is recorded as having been keeper of the hanaper in 9 Henry VI, so presumably succeeded Blakeney in office sometime before the end of that regnal year on 31 August 1431: *R.C.H.*, p. 264, no. 33.

[32] T.C.D., MS 1747, pp. 106-7; *R.C.H.*, p. 256, nos. 27, 28.

[33] *C.P.R., 1436-41*, p. 99.

[34] Veldon is described as keeper of the hanaper in two assignments to Thomas Chace, chancellor, from hanaper profits in the Irish exchequer's Trinity term, 1439: *R.C.H.*, p. 264, no. 53. A.J. Otway-Ruthven, 'The mediaeval Irish chancery', p. 138 cited this entry as evidence that Veldon was acting as keeper on 28 June 1441, but this is simply the date when Chace, having returned the above tallies, was issued with a warrant for some new payment of the sums due.

[35] Issued in lieu of the 1437 grant to Beltoft which had been surrendered: *C.P.R., 1436-41*, p. 301.

[36] Issued together with a grant that they should receive the same wages as Passavant in lieu of the 1439 grant above which had been surrendered: ibid., p. 414.

[37] Graves, *King's council*, p. 290.

[38] *R.C.H.*, p. 265, no. 8.

Name	Appointment	Tenure
James Prendergast alias Collyn	18 Sept. 1450[39]	
	22 Nov. 1454 (l.; dep.)[40]	
* Patrick Cogly	1 Mar. 1459 (d.p.; dep.)[41]	

iii) Clerks of the crown

Thomas Brown	31 Jan. 1414 (l.)[42]	- *p.* 3 July 1420[43]
	Oct. 1422[44]	- prob. *c.* May/June 1443[45]
Hugh Wogan	20 June 1443 (l.; dep.)	
	Jan. 1447 (l.; dep.)[46]	- *p.* Feb. 1460[47]

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[39] *R.C.H.*, p. 266, no. 10.
[40] Ibid., p. 268, no. 51; *Stat. Hen. VI*, pp. 324-7.
[41] *C.P.R., 1452-61*, p. 482. On the signet warrant for this appointment a proposed 'life' term was altered to 'during pleasure': P.R.O., PSO 1/20/1076 A.
[42] Irish-seal confirmation of Brown's Irish-seal appointment of 12 January 1402 as clerk of the crown in the chancery for life: *R.C.H.*, p. 202, no. 22.
[43] P.R.O., E101/247/14, no. 12.
[44] A further Irish-seal confirmation of tenure for life: *Liber mun. pub. Hib.*, 1, pt. 2, p. 205.
[45] Brown apparently died in office shortly before Hugh Wogan was appointed to replace him on 20 June 1443: *Stat. Hen. VI*, pp. 70-3. There are no indications that Brown's tenure of office was contested during his lifetime and there are several references to his acting as clerk of the crown *c.* 1427-31: P.R.O., E101/247/20, no. 83; /248/2, m. 3; /248/8, m. 1; *Reg. Swayne*, p. 67; *Stat. Hen. VI*, pp. 6-7.
[46] Ratification in the Irish parliament of Wogan's 1443 Irish-seal appointment: ibid., pp. 70-3.
[47] Ibid., pp. 726-7.

Name	Appointment	Tenure
iv) Holders of the office of spigurnal or wax-warmer		
Philip Farington	12 Nov. 1413 (l.)[48]	- *p.* 29 Sept. 1439[49]
Andrew Calf		*p.* 29 Sept. 1439[50] -
William Mape		*a.* 20 Jan. 1442 -
*	21 Feb. 1442 (l.)[51]	*a.* 21 July 1442[52] -

[48] Irish-seal confirmation of an earlier life appointment to the office in 1402: *R.C.H.*, p. 203, no. 16.

[49] Farington was still in office during the period of the Irish treasurer's account for 2 November 1437 to Michaelmas 1439: P.R.O., E364/73, m. B.

[50] In the succeeding account for Michaelmas 1439 to 20 January 1442 Calf is named as late spigurnal and Mape as spigurnal: P.R.O., E101/248/13, m. 1.

[51] *C.P.R., 1441-46*, p. 52. From these English letters patent it seems that Mape was being appointed to replace Farington, who by this time had died. No mention was made of Calf or of any previous appointment of Mape, although his appearance on the Irish treasurer's account for the period ending 20 January 1442 suggests that he had already taken office before his English seal appointment was issued on 21 February: see note 50 above.

[52] Graves, *King's council*, p. 293.

List 5: Treasurers

Name	Appointment	Tenure
* Sir Laurence Merbury	9 June 1413 (d.p.)[1]	– *c.* 13 Feb. 1414
William Tynbegh (deputy for Merbury)	13 Feb. 1414[2]	on or *p.* 13 Feb. 1414 – *p.* 22 May 1414[3]
* Hugh Burgh	23 Feb. 1414 (d.p.)[4]	18 Sept. 1414[5] – *c.* 18 Oct. 1414
Tynbegh (deputy for Burgh)	18 Oct. 1414[6]	
* Burgh	(see above)	*a.* 7 Jan. 1415[7] – *c.* 23 May 1415
Tynbegh (deputy for Burgh)	23 May 1415[8]	– *p.* 27 July 1416[9]
* Burgh	(see above)	prob. *a.* late June 1417[10] – *p.* 14 Dec. 1417[11]

(A deputy treasurer was acting for Burgh on 1 June 1418[12])

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[1] *C.P.R., 1413-16*, p. 20.
[2] *R.C.H.*, p. 203, no. 17.
[3] P.R.O.I., RC8/34, pp. 351-2.
[4] *C.P.R., 1413-16*, p. 147.
[5] P.R.O., E101/247/14, no. 7; *R.C.H.*, p. 205, no. 65.
[6] Ibid., p. 205, no. 84.
[7] Ibid., p. 209, no. 191.
[8] Ibid., p. 211, no. 44.
[9] A long, but quite possibly continuous, deputyship as Tynbegh was also acting for Burgh on 28 September 1415: B.L., Additional MS 4789, f. 131; P.R.O.I., RC8/36, p. 258.
[10] An Irish-seal grant, issued in the last week of June 1417, to Burgh, jointly with Sir Thomas Talbot, of the keeping of the manor of Rathfaigh, co. Meath, suggests that the treasurer was probably back in Ireland at this time (P.R.O.I., RC8/37, pp. 213-4; *R.C.H.*, p. 214, no. 16). Burgh had certainly returned to Ireland by 12 October 1417: P.R.O.I., RC8/37, pp. 38-40.
[11] 'The background to the arrest of Sir Christopher Preston', ed. A.J. Otway-Ruthven, p. 85.
[12] Ibid., p. 79. The deputy is not named. He could well have been William Tynbegh, or possibly an otherwise elusive John Swift, whom Ware noted as acting as deputy treasurer in 1417: see W. Harris (ed.), *The whole works of Sir James Ware concerning Ireland*, ii, pt. 1 (Dublin, 1745), p. 107.

Name	Appointment	Tenure
Tynbegh (deputy for Burgh)	?	*a.* 6 Feb. 1420[13] - prob. 9 Apr. 1420
* Burgh	(see above)	9 Apr. 1420 - 16 July 1420[14]
Hugh Bavent	25 July 1420 (d.p.)	26 July 1420 - 22 Dec. 1421[15]
* William Tynbegh	26 July 1421 (d.p.)[16]	
*	20 Sept. 1421 (d.p.)[17]	22 Dec. 1421[18] -
*	4 Oct. 1422 (d.p.)[19]	- 20 Aug. 1424[20]

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[13] *Calendar of charter rolls, 1427-1516*, p. 23.

[14] These dates for Burgh's arrival in, and departure from, Ireland were noted on the Irish receipt roll: P.R.O., E101/247/8, mm. 1, 3.

[15] P.R.O., E364/57, m. G; P.R.O.I., RC8/38, p. 108. It is possible that Bavent was absent from Ireland for a time during the winter of 1420-1, as a petition later presented to Henry VI by a Christopher Fleming of Ireland refers to William Tynbegh having been 'under Tresorer' at the Irish exchequer on 27 January 1421 (P.R.O., PSO 1/6/316). Under treasurers were not regularly appointed in Ireland until 1495, and only after this date did the office emerge as a key post at the Irish exchequer: see Ellis, *Reform and revival*, pp. 99-102, 222. The appearance of the title in an early fifteenth-century context is exceptional, but it could perhaps have been used occasionally as an alternative to 'deputy treasurer'. Bavent was certainly in Ireland in person in March, April and July 1421, when he was also acting as deputy chancellor: *R.C.H.*, p. 218, no. 27; p. 221, no. 111; Richardson and Sayles, *Parls. and councils*, i, p. 183; see above, list 3, p. 492.

[16] The appointment formally required Tynbegh to account at the English exchequer: *C.P.R., 1416-22*, p. 383.

[17] A confirmation of the July appointment above, further insisting on an annual account at the English exchequer: ibid., p. 398.

[18] *R.C.H.*, p. 219, no. 57.

[19] *C.P.R., 1422-29*, p. 3.

[20] P.R.O., E101/247/18.

Name	Appointment	Tenure
* Hugh Bavent	4 July 1424 (d.p.)[21]	2 Sept. 1424 - 21 Dec. 1426[22]
* Edward Dantsey, bishop of Meath	23 Oct. 1426 (d.p.)[23]	12 Jan. 1427 - 3 Oct. 1427[24]
* Sir Nicholas Plunket	24 May 1427 (d.p. from following Michaelmas)[25]	3 Oct. 1427 - *p.* 22 Nov. 1428[26]
Christopher Bernevale (deputy for Plunket)	on or *p.* 22 Nov. 1428	- 11 Dec. 1428[27]
Thomas Barry, bishop of Ossory	1 Jan. 1429 (d.p.)[28]	2 Jan. 1429 - 24 Aug. 1429[29]
* Sir Nicholas Plunket	15 Feb. 1429 (d.p.; dep.)[30]	24 Aug. 1429[31] - *a.* 7 Dec. 1429

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[21] *C.P.R., 1422-29*, p. 205.

[22] The dates on which Bavent was sworn into office and discharged (N.L.I., MS 4, f. 308; *R.C.H.*, p. 243, no. 26) although the period for which he accounted at the English exchequer was 20 August 1424 - 2 September 1426: P.R.O., E101/247/18; E364/60, m.C.

[23] *C.P.R., 1422-29*, p. 379.

[24] P.R.O., E101/248/2, mm. 4, 5.

[25] *C.P.R., 1422-29*, p. 398.

[26] On which date Plunket, about to go to England, obtained an Irish-seal licence to appoint a deputy (*R.C.H.*, p. 249, no. 21). His executors later accounted for the entire period up to 2 Jan. 1429, when his successor took office: P.R.O., E101/248/4; E364/66, m. E.

[27] On which date the Irish council ruled that Bernevale's appointment as deputy was invalid on the grounds that Plunket's original English-seal patent had not empowered him to appoint a deputy: *R.C.H.*, p. 249, no. 24.

[28] Ibid.

[29] P.R.O., E101/248/4, 5.

[30] *C.P..R., 1422-29*, p. 528.

Name	Appointment	Tenure
Thomas Plunket (deputy for Nicholas Plunket, who died 7 Dec. 1429)	*a.* 7 Dec. 1429	– *p.* 11 Dec. 1429[32]
Thomas Scurlag, prior of St Peter's, Trim	?	5 Jan. 1430 – 8 Apr. 1430[33]
* Sir Thomas Strange	26 Feb. 1430 (d.p.)[34]	8 Apr. 1430[35] – *p.* 30 Sept. 1430
Christopher Bernevale (deputy for Strange)	30 Sept. 1430	8 Oct. 1430 – *p.* 24 Mar. 1431[36]
* Strange	(see above)	*a.* 10 Nov. 1431[37] – *c.* 4 July 1432
Bernevale (deputy for Strange)	*a.* 4 July 1432	4 July 1432[38] – *p.* 18 July 1433
* Strange	(see above)	prob. late July 1433[39] –
Bernevale (deputy for Strange)	?	*a.* 5 Mar. 1434 – *p.* 27 July 1434[40]

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[31] P.R.O., E101/248/6.

[32] P.R.O., E101/248/7. It seems likely that Nicholas Plunket's death occurred outside Ireland and that it took some time for the news to reach Dublin. When Nicholas' executors, Thomas and Robert Plunket, eventually presented his account at the English exchequer they covered the period up to 5 January 1430, when the new treasurer, Scurlag, was sworn in (P.R.O., E101/248/6). For Nicholas' death see *The book of obits and martyrology of the cathedral church of the Holy Trinity commonly called Christ Church, Dublin*, ed. J.C. Crosthwaite, p. 53.

[33] P.R.O. E101/248/6; /540/15.

[34] *C.P.R., 1429–36*, p. 49.

[35] P.R.O., E101/248/8, m. 1; E364/65, m. B.

[36] N.L.I., MS 4, ff. 315, 325; *R.C.H.*, p. 250, no. 8.

[37] P.R.O. E368/209, m. 36.

[38] *R.C.H.*, p. 254, no. 94.

[39] On 18 July 1433 Strange was preparing to return to Ireland from England (*C.P.R., 1429–36*, p. 284). Bernevale had been in office as deputy treasurer on 12 December 1432 and 2 July 1433: P.R.O.I., 1A/49/135, ff. 77, 83.

[40] P.R.O., E404/50/280; P.R.O.I., 1A/49/135, f. 95.

Name	Appointment	Tenure
* Strange	(see above)	*a.* 8 Nov. 1434 - *c.* 15 Feb. 1436[41]
Bernevale (deputy for Strange, who died on 27 May 1436)	15 Feb. 1436	on or *p.* 15 Feb. 1436 - *p.* 20 Mar. 1436[42]
Christopher Bernevale	22 June 1436 (d.p.)	22 June 1436 - 2 Nov. 1437[43]
* Giles Thorndon	12 May 1437 (d.p.)[44]	
*	13 July 1437 (d.p.; dep.)[45]	prob. 2 Nov. 1437[46] -
*	6 Jan. 1440 (g.b.; dep.)[47]	- *p.* 10 Nov. 1441[48]
William Chevir (deputy for Thorndon)	?	*a.* 5 June 1442 - *p.* 21 Nov. 1442[49]
* Thorndon	(see above)	*a.* 12 Feb. 1443 - 25 Mar. 1444[50]
Christopher Bernevale (deputy for Thorndon)	23 Mar. 1444	deputyship declared invalid by Irish council on 30 Mar. 1444[51]

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[41] *R.C.H.*, p. 258, no. 88; p. 259, no. 8. For most of this period Strange was also acting as deputy chancellor: see above, list 3, p. 494.
[42] *R.C.H.*, p. 259, no. 8; p. 260, no. 16. The date of Strange's death is confirmed in the account presented by his executor at the English exchequer for the period 29 September 1431 to 27 May 1436 (P.R.O., E28/63/16, enrolled E364/73, m. B). Whether or not Strange returned to Ireland before his death is not clear: see also above, list 3, p. 494.
[43] P.R.O., E101/540/16; E364/74, m. C; *R.C.H.*, p. 259, no. 12.
[44] *C.P.R., 1436-41*, p. 63.
[45] Ibid., p. 73.
[46] P.R.O., E364/73, m. B.
[47] *C.P.R., 1436-41*, p. 361.
[48] Royal Irish Academy, 24/H/17, p. 55 (from the Irish exchequer memoranda roll for 20 Henry VI).
[49] Graves, *King's council*, pp. 276-300.
[50] P.R.O.I., 1A/49/135, f. 136; *C.O.D.*, iii, no. 159(1), pp. 140-2, 146-8.
[51] Ibid.

Name	Appointment	Tenure
Robert Dyke	30 Mar. 1444[52]	- *p.* 18 May 1444[53]
* Giles Thorndon	(see above)	- prob. Apr./May 1447[54]
John Blakton (deputy for Thorndon)	*p.* 27 Mar. 1447	*a.* 20 Feb. 1448 - *p.* 2 Jan. 1451[55]
Roland fitzEustace	23 May 1454 (d.p.)	27 May 1454[56] -
	9 Feb. 1455	- *p.* 6 Feb. 1458[57]
* Giles Thorndon	10 May 1458 (g.b.)[58]	
Thomas Talbot, prior of Kilmainham (deputy for Thorndon)	12 May 1458	
John Hayne (deputy for Thorndon)	20 May 1458[59]	

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[52] *C.O.D.*, iii. no. 159(iii), pp. 143, 149-50.

[53] P.R.O., E101/248/12. Dyke's appointment was not recognised in England, and Thorndon later accounted for the entire period from 2 November 1437 to 17 April 1446 (P.R.O., E101/248/13; /540/18; E364/73, m. B; /75, m. I; /79, m. A; /80, m. C). Although Thorndon remained in office after the latter date, the re-granting of full control over the Irish revenue to the lieutenants from 1445 onwards made it unnecessary for the treasurer to continue to account in England: P.R.O., E368/221, m. 109 d. and see above, p. 403.

[54] An English-seal summons for Thorndon to go to England dated 27 March 1447 was enrolled on the Irish exchequer memoranda roll for the following Trinity term together with a record of Thorndon's consequent appointment of John Blakton as deputy treasurer: P.R.O.I., 1A/49/135, f. 155.

[55] Ibid., ff. 173, 182. The deputyship seems unusually long, but it could well have been continuous. Thorndon received payments in person at the English exchequer in December 1447, November 1448, February and April 1449 and June 1450: P.R.O., E403/769, m. 7; /773, mm. 5, 12, 16; /779, m. 9.

[56] N.L.I., MS 4, f. 351.

[57] P.R.O.I., 1A/49/135, f. 212; *Liber. mun. pub. Hib.*, 1, pt. 2, p. 210. The latter also lists a Sir Henry Bruyn as having been appointed treasurer on 7 September 1453, but no other information has come to light to confirm this.

[58] English-seal exemplification of Thorndon's 1440 English-seal appointment as treasurer: *C.P.R., 1452-61*, p. 429.

[59] Both these appointments were made personally by Thorndon in England and then recorded on the English close roll: *C.C.R., 1454-61*, pp. 297-9.

Name	Appointment	Tenure
Roland fitzEustace	6 May 1460[60]	

[60] Irish-seal confirmation of his 1455 appointment: *Liber. mun. pub. Hib.*, i, pt. 2, p. 210.

List 6: Barons of the exchequer

Name	Appointment	Tenure
i) Chief barons		
William Tynbegh	22 Mar. 1415 (g.b.)[1]	prob. Mar. 1415 - *p.* 11 July 1417[2]
James Uriel	8 Dec. 1419 (g.b.)[3]	- *p.* 6 Feb. 1420[4]
James Cornwalshe	24 Apr. 1420 (g.b.)	27 Apr. 1420[5] -
*	26 Jan. 1423 (g.b.)[6]	- *a.* 8 Apr. 1423[7]
Richard Sydgrave	12 Aug. 1423 (l.)[8]	2 Sept. 1423 - *p.* 25 Sept. 1423[9]

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[1] *R.C.H.*, p. 210, no. 15. Tynbegh had previously been appointed chief baron in February 1405 and was still holding the office in January 1409 (ibid, p. 190, no. 50), but his immediate predecessor in office in 1415 was a James fitzWilliam, whose dispossession by Tynbegh's appointment was one of the many charges the earl of Ormond later lodged against John Talbot, who was in Ireland as lieutenant in 1415: see M.C. Griffith, 'The Talbot-Ormond struggle for control of the Anglo-Irish government, 1414-47', p. 394, no. 9. According to F.E. Ball, *The judges in Ireland, 1221-1921*, i, p. 160, fitzWilliam had been appointed in 1413.

[2] *R.C.H.*, p. 214, no. 20. Tynbegh was certainly in office by 28 September 1415: B.L., Additional MS 4789, f. 131 (from the Irish exchequer memoranda roll for 3 Henry V, m. 7).

[3] G.O. Dub., MS 193, p. 88; N.L.I., MS 4, f. 210; *R.C.H.*, p. 215, no. 20.

[4] *Calendar of charter rolls, 1427-1516*, p. 23.

[5] P.R.O., E101/247/7; /10, m.2; P.R.O.I., RC8/38, pp. 101-2.

[6] English-seal confirmation of the 1420 Irish-seal appointment above: *C.P.R., 1422-29*, p. 75.

[7] On this date Laurence Merbury, chancellor, at a meeting of the Irish council apparently described Cornwalshe as late chief baron: *R.C.H.*, p. 225, no. 39.

[8] N.L.I., MS 4, f. 258; *R.C.H.*, p. 228, no. 62.

[9] N.L.I., MS 4, f. 264; *R.C.H.*, p. 233, no. 24; Richardson and Sayles, *Ir. parl.*, p. 316.

Name	Appointment	Tenure
James Cornwalshe	?	*a.* 20 Nov. 1423 - *p.* 27 July 1424[10]
Richard Sydgrave	2 Mar. 1425 (d.p.)[11]	
James Cornwalshe	?	*a.* 21 June 1425 - *p.* 3 Aug. 1441[12]
John Cornwalshe	5 Oct. 1441[13]	*a.* 28 Nov. 1441[14] -
* Michael Griffin	31 Oct. 1441 (l.)[15]	- 6 July 1442[16]
John Cornwalshe	(see above)	6 July 1442 - *p.* 28 Aug. 1444[17]
Michael Griffin	12 Nov. 1445 (l.)[18]	

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[10] N.L.I., MS 4, f. 274; *R.C.H.*, p. 235, 2 Hen. VI, no. 11. Despite Cornwalshe's English-seal patent of January 1423, he would probably have required a new Irish-seal patent to enable him to resume office after Sydgrave's brief period of tenure in September 1423.

[11] *R.C.H.*, p. 235, no. 12.

[12] Ibid., p. 238, no. 110; p. 262, no. 24. Despite the frequency with which the office changed hands during the ten years before 1425, Cornwalshe's tenure from 1425 to 1441 seems to have been genuinely uninterrupted. There are many references to his holding office between 1425 and 1436 and he is named as chief baron on both of the Irish treasurer's accounts for 1437 to 1442.

[13] An Irish-seal appointment mentioned in a later English-seal patent: *C.P.R., 1441-46*, pp. 352-3.

[14] *Reg. Swayne*, p. 184.

[15] *C.P.R., 1441-46*, p. 7.

[16] The date on which an Irish great council at Naas decided that the office should be restored to John Cornwalshe: *C.P.R., 1441-46*, pp. 352-3.

[17] *C.O.D.*, ii, no. 161, p. 158.

[18] Irish-seal confirmation of Griffin's English-seal appointment of 1441 above, which was later alleged to have been 'sued surreptitiously and illegally' from the Irish chancery: *Stat. Hen. VI*, pp. 66-71.

Name	Appointment	Tenure
* John Cornwalshe	15 Dec. 1445 (l.)[19]	*a.* Jan. 1447 - *p.* 28 July 1460[20]
ii) Second barons		
Robert Burnell		- *p.* 1416-17[21]
John Wyche	13/18 Mar. 1419 (g.b.)	- *p.* 29 Nov. 1419[22]
Richard Bermingham	26 Apr. 1420 (g.b.)	- *p.* 26 July 1420[23]
*	14 June 1423 (g.b.)[24]	
John Wyche	?	*a.* 25 Sept. 1423[25] -
Reginald Sniterby	?	*a.* 8 Aug. 1425 - *p.* 8 Nov. 1434[26]

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[19] English-seal appointment by assent of the earl of Shrewsbury, lieutenant: *C.P.R., 1441-46*, p. 410. Confusingly the entry in the calendar actually refers to James, rather than to John, Cornwalshe, but this is certainly an error. A subsequent mandate of 20 July 1446 to the officers of the Dublin administration ordered them to admit John Cornwalshe to the office of chief baron on the strength of his English-seal letters patent of 15 December 1445 (ibid., p. 455). In January 1447 the Irish parliament further confirmed John's tenure of office and declared the patents previously issued to Griffin to be null and void: *Stat. Hen. VI*, pp;. 66-71.

[20] Ibid., pp. 67-8, 767. After the vicissitudes of the dispute with Griffin, finally settled 1445-47, John Cornwalshe apparently enjoyed uninterrupted tenure for the rest of the reign and beyond to 1473: ibid, pp. 267, 351, 403; *C.P.R., 1452-61*, p. 251; and see Ellis, *Reform and revival*, p. 222.

[21] P.R.O.I., RC8/36, p. 686. Burnell (possibly Burnet) was already second baron in January 1406: *R.C.H.*, p. 184, no. 148.

[22] N.L.I., MS 4, f. 209; *R.C.H.*, p. 215, no. 16.

[23] P.R.O.I., RC8/38, pp. 16, 102.

[24] English-seal confirmation of the Irish-seal appointment of 1420 above: P.R.O., E28/33/36; *C.P.R., 1422-29*, p. 88.

[25] Richardson and Sayles, *Ir. parl.*, p. 316.

[26] N.L.I., MS 4, ff. 299-300; *R.C.H.*, p. 258, no. 88.

Name	Appointment	Tenure
Thomas Shortall	?	prob. just before or shortly after 22 June 1436 - *p.* 2 Nov. 1437[27]
Thomas Derby	?	1438? - *a.* 29 Sept. 1439[28]
Thomas Shortall	?	*a.* 29 Sept. 1439 - *p.* 21 July 1442[29]
John Gogh	24 Apr. 1443 (1.)	
‡	27 June 1443 (1.)[30]	*a.* 8 Mar. 1444 - *p.* 7 Mar. 1457[31]

iii) Third barons

John Gland	16 Apr. 1415 (d.p.)[32]	- *p.* 1416-17[33]
John Wyche	28 Apr. 1420 (g.b.)	29 Apr. 1420 - *p.* 26 July 1420[34]

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[27] Shortall is the only man to be named as second baron on the Irish treasurer's account for this period; in the account for the succeeding period up to Michaelmas 1439, however, he appears as late second baron: P.R.O., E101/540/16, m. 1; E.364/73, m. B.

[28] According to F.E. Ball, *The judges in Ireland, 1221-1921*, i, pp. 161, 177, Derby was acting as second baron in 1438, but the Irish treasurer's account covering the period 2 Nov. 1437 to Michaelmas 1439 refers to Derby, like Shortall, as late second baron: P.R.O., E364/73, m. B.

[29] The Irish treasurer's account for Michaelmas 1439 to January 1442 refers to Shortall as the current second baron and he was still in office on 21 July 1442: P.R.O., E101/248/13, m. 1; Graves, *King's council*, p. 288.

[30] English-seal confirmation of the above Irish-seal appointment: *C.P.R., 1441-46*, p. 180.

[31] P.R.O., E364/79, m. A; *Stat. Hen. VI*, pp. 350-1. Other references suggest that this was a continuous period in office, and apparently lasted until Gogh's death in 1472: see Ellis, *Reform and revival*, p. 222; G. Mac Niocaill, 'Socio-economic problems of the medieval Irish town', *Historical Studies XIII* (Belfast, 1981), pp. 7-21, esp. p. 14.

[32] *R.C.H.*, p. 211, no. 46.

[33] He is mentioned as a baron of the exchequer on the Irish exchequer memoranda roll for 4 Henry V: P.R.O.I., RC8/36, p. 685.

[34] P.R.O.I., RC8/38, pp. 16, 103.

Name	Appointment	Tenure
John Lydington	20 Oct. 1420 (d.p.)[35]	- *p.* 10 Apr. 1425[36]
Francis Toppesfield	6/7 Aug. 1425 (g.b.)[37]	14/15 Aug. 1425 - *p.* 26 Feb. 1427[38]
Robert Chamber	10 Aug. 1427 (d.p.)[39]	
Richard Woodward	?	*a.* 16 Sept. 1428[40] -
Thomas Shortall	?	8 Nov. 1429 - 10 May 1430[41]
		10 May 1430 - *p.* 27 July 1431[42]
	1 Dec. 1431 (g.b.)[43]	- prob. early 1436[44]

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[35] *R.C.H.*, p. 235, 2 Hen. VI, no. 10.
[36] N.L.I., MS 4, f. 290.
[37] Ibid., f. 298; *R.C.H.*, p. 238, no. 101.
[38] P.R.O., E101/247/20, no. 6; *Liber. mun. pub. Hib.*, 1, pt. 2, p. 213.
[39] P.R.O.I., 1A/49/135, f. 49.
[40] *R.C.H.*, p. 249, no. 23.
[41] P.R.O., E101/248/8, m. 4.
[42] Ibid. He appears to have been re-sworn on 10 May 1430 without any break in his tenure of office immediately before this date.
[43] *R.C.H.*, p. 253, no. 36.
[44] Apparently a continuous period in office as Shortall is the only third baron to appear on the Irish treasurer's account for Michaelmas 1431 to 27 May 1436: P.R.O., E364/73, m. B.

Name	Appointment	Tenure
Peter Clinton	prob. 9 Feb. 1436 (d.p.)	prob. *a.* 13 Feb. 1436[45] - *p.* 21 June 1444[46]
* William Sutton	3 Dec. 1445 (l.)[47]	*a.* Mar. 1449 - *p.* 16 July 1455[48]

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[45] *Liber mun. pub. Hib.*, i, pt. 2, p. 213. Here the source cited for the date of Clinton's appointment is the Irish close roll for 20 Henry VI. The calendar of this roll gives the year of the appointment as 16 Henry VI (i.e. 1438 see *R.C.H.*, p. 265, no. 58) but this may have been an error of transcription or printing. Clinton was certainly in office before 1438 as he appears as a baron of the exchequer on the Irish treasurer's account for 22 June 1436 to 2 November 1437. As no other third baron is named, it seems likely that he held office for the whole of this period: P.R.O., E101/540/16, m. 1.

[46] *C.O.D.*, iii, no. 159, p. 144.

[47] English-seal appointment by assent of the earl of Shrewsbury, lieutenant: *C.P.R., 1441-46*, p. 392.

[48] *Stat. Hen. VI*, pp. 122-3; *C.P.R., 1452-61*, p. 251. These are isolated references and it may well be that Sutton's tenure of office was interrupted. V. Gorman, 'Richard, duke of York, and the development of an Irish faction', p. 174, cites two further barons of the exchequer, David Martel and Walter Roumbe, who apparently held office at some time between 1450 and 1460.

List 7: Exchequer officials

Name	Appointment	Tenure
i) Chief chamberlains		
* Henry Strangeways	29 May 1414 (l.)[1]	
Nicholas Strangeways (deputy for Henry Strangeways)	5 May 1417	17 May 1417[2] -
* Henry Strangeways	(see above)	*a.* 15 July 1420 - *p.* 22 Dec. 1421[3]
William Baldwin (deputy for Henry Strangeways)	on or *a.* 19 May 1423[4]	
* Henry Strangeways	3 July 1423 (l.)[5]	
Henry Stanyhurst (deputy for Strangeways)		- *p.* 30 Sept. 1427[6]
* Henry Strangeways		- on or *p.* 27 May 1430[7]

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[1] English-seal confirmation of Strangeways' Irish-seal life appointment of 26 January 1405, already previously confirmed under the English seal by Henry IV: P.R.O., E101/247/14, no. 5. However, the date of confirmation appears as 9 May 1414 in *R.C.H.*, p. 206, no. 107.

[2] P.R.O.I., RC8/37, p. 86. Nicholas Strangeways was Henry's son: ibid., 1A/49/148, p. 136.

[3] P.R.O., E101/247/14, no. 4; E364/57, m. G.

[4] *R.C.H.*, p. 228, no. 73.

[5] Further English-seal confirmation of Strangeways' tenure of office: P.R.O., E101/247/20, no. 61.

[6] Henry Stanyhurst's name as deputy for Strangeways appears at the end of an Irish exchequer issue roll for the period 20 January to 30 September 1427 (P.R.O., E101/248/2, m. 5). Whether Stanyhurst was acting as deputy for the whole of this time is uncertain, for Strangeways secured two Irish-seal writs for payment in March and July 1427, possibly an indication that he was in Ireland in person at this time: P.R.O., E101/247/20, nos. 29, 61.

[7] Strangeways received payment as chief chamberlain up to this date: P.R.O., E101/248/8, m. 2.

Name	Appointment	Tenure
Richard Stanyhurst	5 Oct. 1430 (l.; dep.)	5 Oct. 1430 - on or *p.* 27 July 1431[8]
* Nicholas Strangeways	20 Oct. 1430 (l.; dep.)[9]	30 Sept. 1431[10] -
*	15 Jan. 1438 (l.; dep.)[11]	- *p.* Mar. 1449[12]
Robert Eustace (deputy for Strangeways)	*a.* 3 Jan. 1457	9 May 1457[13] -

ii) Second chamberlains

* Henry Stanyhurst	12 Jan. 1414 (l.)[14]	*a.* 8 Mar. 1414[15] -
*	7 Mar. 1423 (l.)[16]	

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[8] P.R.O., E101/248/8, mm. 2, 4; *R.C.H.*, p. 250, no. 24.

[9] An English-seal appointment enrolled on the Irish patent roll and later quoted in a subsequent confirmation: P.R.O., E159/214, m. 41 d.; *C.P.R., 1436-41*, p. 132; *R.C.H.*, p. 253, no. 15.

[10] *R.C.H.*, p. 253, no. 16. It seems that Strangeways' appointment took an exceptionally long time to reach Ireland - perhaps due to the delayed departure for Ireland of the new lieutenant, Thomas Stanley (see above, list 1, p. 479). Until Michaelmas 1431 Strangeways had been serving as second remembrancer: see below, list 7 viii, p. 535.

[11] Further English-seal confirmation of Nicholas Strangways' 1430 appointment, above: *C.P.R., 1436-41*, p. 132.

[12] *Stat. Hen. VI*, pp. 122-3.

[13] P.R.O.I., 1A/49/135, f. 211. It seems unlikely that this was the first time Nicholas Strangeways had appointed a deputy during his long tenure of office, but no other deputies have come to light. Strangeways was confirmed in office in the first year of Edward IV's reign and continued to act as chief chamberlain for a further two years: see Ellis, *Reform and revival*, p. 223.

[14] A confirmation, seal uncertain, quoted in later letters patent, of Stanyhurst's English-seal life appointment as second chamberlain, originally issued on 7 February 1400: *C.P.R., 1422-29*, p. 98; and see above, p. 65.

[15] On which date Stanyhurst was given an Irish-seal licence to appoint a deputy while he was occupied in royal service in other parts of Ireland: *R.C.H.*, p. 203, no. 39.

[16] English-seal confirmation of Stanyhurst's original English-seal life appointment and subsequent confirmation of 1414: *C.P.R., 1422-29*, p. 98.

Name	Appointment	Tenure
Richard Stanyhurst (deputy for Henry Stanyhurst)		*a.* Sept. 1427[17] -
* Henry Stanyhurst	(see above)	*a.* Sept. 1429[18]
James Oweyn (deputy for Henry Stanyhurst)	on or *a.* 13 Apr. 1439[19]	
* Henry Stanyhurst	(see above)	*p.* 23 Jan. 1443[20]
* John Gogh and Edmund Wallingford	23 Jan. 1443 (joint appointment in survivorship to take effect after Stanyhurst's death)[21]	
* Henry Stanyhurst	(see above)	- *p.* 17 Apr. 1446[22]

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[17] P.R.O., E101/248/2, m. 5. In this case the deputyship was apparently necessitated not by Henry Stanyhurst's absence, but by his own deputyship for Henry Strangeways, the chief chamberlain: see above, p. 517.

[18] P.R.O., E101/248/8, m. 5.

[19] P.R.O., E368/211, m. 109.

[20] The appointment of Gogh and Wallingford in 1443 acknowledged that Stanyhurst was still in office by virtue of his letters patent of 1400: *C.P.R., 1441-46*, p. 145.

[21] Ibid. As Gogh was appointed second baron in April 1443 it seems most unlikely that he ever succeeded to the office of second chamberlain: see above, p. 514.

[22] P.R.O., E101/540/18. Stanyhurst's long career as second chamberlain may well have been nearing its end at this stage, but it is uncertain when Wallingford or some new appointee succeeded him.

Name	Appointment	Tenure
iii) Chancellors of the green wax[23]		
William Preston	?	during or *a.* 1416-17[24]
Robert Dyke	13 Mar. 1419 (l.; dep.)[25]	
Barnabas Tryvers	28 Apr. 1420	17 June 1420[26] -
Sampson Dartas	4 Dec. 1420 (g.b.)[27]	
Barnabas Tryvers (deputy for Dartas)	4 Dec. 1420[28]	
* Sampson Dartas	10 June 1421 (d.p.)[29]	
Robert Dyke	19 Oct. 1422 (g.b.)[30]	
*	28 Jan. 1423 (l.; dep.)[31]	*a.* 12 Dec. 1423[32] -

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[23] From 1430 onwards both Irish and English-seal appointments frequently combined this office with the clerkship of the common pleas of the exchequer (see below, list 7 iv pp. 525-7). As some appointments to these offices continued to be made separately after this date, and as deputies did not necessarily serve in both offices, a separate list has been compiled for each office right up to 1461. However, on each list, all appointments which combined the two offices are indicated by the letters c.c. (i.e. 'combined with clerkship/chancellorship').

[24] Preston was described as chancellor of the green wax on the Irish memoranda roll for 4 Henry V (P.R.O.I., RC8/36, p. 687). At this time he was also chief engrosser: see below, list 7 v, p. 528.

[25] An Irish-seal appointment quoted in a later English-seal patent: *C.P.R., 1422-29*, p. 57.

[26] P.R.O.I., RC8/38, p. 105.

[27] Ibid., pp. 246-7.

[28] Ibid.

[29] *C.P.R., 1416-22*, p. 375.

[30] T.C.D., MS 1747, pp. 88-93.

[31] English-seal confirmation of Dyke's Irish-seal appointment of 1419: *C.P.R., 1422-29*, p. 57.

[32] T.C.D., MS 1747, pp. 82-5.

Name	Appointment	Tenure
Nicholas Tynbegh (deputy for Dyke)		*a.* 8 Feb. 1424[33] –
Sampson Dartas	11/14 Feb. 1424 (d.p.; dep.)	2 May 1424[34] –
John Blakton (deputy for Dartas)	4 May 1424[35]	
Sampson Dartas	(see above)	– *p.* 8 June 1424[36]
Robert Dyke	?	by summer 1425 – prob. *p.* 2 Jan. 1429[37]
Robert Caudray	?	? 1429 – May/early June 1430[38]
*	28 June 1430 (d.p.; dep.)[39]	
Robert Dyke	27 July 1430 c.c. (l.)[40]	– 4 July 1431[41]
James Blakeney	4 July 1431 c.c. (l.; dep.)	– prob. shortly before 10 Jan. 1432[42]

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[33] P.R.O.I., RC8/40, p. 205.
[34] Ibid., pp. 234-5; *R.C.H.*, p. 231, no. 3.
[35] Ibid.
[36] T.C.D. MS 1747, pp. 84-5.
[37] P.R.O., E101/248/2, m. 1; /4; /8, m. 3.
[38] In his petition for an English-seal appointment to the chancellorship of the green wax, which was granted on 28 June 1430, Caudray claimed that he had previously held the office in Ireland, but had lately been ousted by the archbishop of Dublin (P.R.O., E28/52/ 28 June, 8 Henry VI). The archbishop had become justiciar on 8 May 1430: see above, list 2, p. 487.
[39] *C.P.R., 1429-36*, p. 66.
[40] T.C.D., MS 1747, pp. 88-93.
[41] On which day Dyke left office: P.R.O., E101/248/8, m. 4.
[42] P.R.O., E364/73, m. B; *R.C.H.*, p. 250, no. 18. It is not clear whether or not for a short while Blakeney held the chancellorship of the green wax and the clerkship of the common pleas in the exchequer concurrently with the chancery office of clerk of the hanaper to which he had been appointed just over a year earlier, but William Sutton held the clerkships of the common pleas and of the hanaper together in 1435 and 1437: see above, list 4 ii, p. 501, and below, list 7 iv, pp 525-6.

Name	Appointment	Tenure
Robert Caudray	?	10 Jan. 1432 - *p.* 13 Dec. 1436[43]
* John Hardwick	25 Sept. 1437 c.c. (l.; dep.)[44]	
John Burnell, Robert Plunket, John Rede and Robert fitzSymond (deputies for Hardwick)	6 Oct. 1437 c.c. (d.p.)	fitzSymond sworn in on 4 Dec. 1437[45]
John Venour	16 Apr. 1438 (g.b.)	
	17 Apr. 1438 (g.b.; dep.)	25 Apr./2 May 1438[46] -
Richard de Waterton	5 June 1438 (g.b.; dep.)	16 June 1438[47] -
John Heyne and Walter White (deputies for de Waterton)	17 June 1438[48]	
* John Hardwick and Richard Reed	24 Aug. 1438 c.c. (survivorship; dep.)[49]	
Walter White (deputy for Hardwick)		*a.* 14 Dec. 1442[50] -

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[43] T.C.D., MS 1747, pp. 96-9; *R.C.H.*, p. 253, no. 23. Caudray probably remained in office until Hardwick's deputy was sworn in.
[44] *C.P.R., 1436-41*, p. 92.
[45] Hardwick's appointment of these deputies was apparently confirmed under the English seal six days later: T.C.D., MS 1747, pp. 98-103.
[46] It seems that Venour was sworn in twice, perhaps because his appointment was issued twice owing to the initial omission of his power to hold office by deputy: ibid., pp. 102-5.
[47] Ibid., pp. 104-5.
[48] Ibid., pp. 106-7.
[49] Issued in lieu of the previous appointment of Hardwick: *C.P.R., 1436-41*, p. 306.
[50] T.C.D., MS 1747, pp. 112-3.

Name	Appointment	Tenure
John Corringham and Walter White (deputies for Hardwick and Reed)	confirmed 5 Feb. 1443 c.c.[51]	
James Power and Philip Hyrell (Tyrell?) (deputies for Hardwick and Reed)	confirmed 12 Nov. 1445 c.c.	22 Jan. 1446[52] -
* John Hardwick and Alexander Shelton	6 Mar. 1446 c.c. (survivorship; dep.)[53]	Shelton sworn in on 4 May 1446[54]
Walter White (deputy for Hardwick and Shelton)		13 Oct. 1446[55]
James Power and Christopher Fox (deputies for Hardwick and Shelton)		Power sworn in on 13 Feb. 1448[56]
* Richard Bermingham and Richard fitzRobert	13 Apr. 1448 c.c. (survivorship; dep.)[57]	
	confirmed March 1449 by the Irish parliament[58]	

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[51] T.C.D., MS 1747, pp. 110-1.

[52] The appointment of these deputies was confirmed under the English seal: ibid., pp. 114-25.

[53] The Irish parliament later ruled in 1449 that Hardwick and Shelton's letters patent had been incorrectly worded and were invalid; the letters patent appointing Hardwick and Reed were surrendered on 6 March 1446: *C.P.R., 1441-46*, pp. 419-20; *Stat. Hen. VI*, pp. 132-3.

[54] T.C.D., MS 1747, pp. 120-1.

[55] Ibid., pp. 122-5.

[56] Ibid., pp. 124-7.

[57] *C.P.R., 1446-52*, p. 168. On 1 December 1448 an earlier English-seal order of 29 March 1448 to the Dublin administration to allow Hardwick and Shelton to hold their offices without hindrance, was formally revoked to enable Bermingham and fitzRobert to take possession of the offices according to their letters patent of 13 April 1448: ibid., p. 274.

[58] In so doing the Irish parliament explicitly rejected the rival claims of Hardwick and Shelton: *Stat. Hen. VI*, pp. 132-41.

Name	Appointment	Tenure
John Bateman, John Brown and Christopher Fox (deputies for Bermingham and fitzRobert)	c.c.	10 Oct. 1449[59] -
Thomas Kent (deputy for Bermingham and fitzRobert)		10 Oct. 1451 - *p.* 4 Oct. 1452[60]
* John Hardwick and Alexander Shelton	14 July 1455 c.c. (survivorship; dep.)[61]	
Nicholas Denyce (deputy for Bermingham and fitzRobert)	21 Dec. 1456 (d.p.)[62]	
Richard Bermingham	February 1459 c.c.[63]	
James Pykring	30 Nov. 1459 c.c.[64]	
John Hegham and James Power (deputies for Pykring)	1 Dec. 1459 c.c.	7 Dec. 1459[65] -

[59] T.C.D., MS 1747, pp. 130-1.
[60] Ibid., pp. 136-9.
[61] English-seal confirmation of Hardwick's and Shelton's letters patent of 6 March 1446 and revocation of those subsquently issued to Bermingham and fitzRobert: *C.P.R., 1452-61*, p. 245.
[62] T.C.D., MS 1747, pp. 138-41.
[63] Confirmation of Bermingham's original appointment in survivorship to both offices authorized by the Irish parliament following fitzRobert's death: *Stat. Hen. VI*, pp. 590-5.
[64] T.C.D., MS 1747, pp. 144-7.
[65] Ibid., pp. 146-7.

Name	Appointment	Tenure
iv) Clerks of the common pleas[66]		
William Sutton	7 Dec. 1413 (l.)[67]	- *p.* 21 May 1420[68]
*	3 May 1423 (l.)[69]	
Patrick Forstall (deputy for Sutton)		a. 12 Dec. 1423 - *p.* 6 Dec. 1428[70]
Sutton	(see above)	- *p.* 22 Feb. 1430[71]
Robert Dyke	27 July 1430 c.c. (l.)	
Hugh Corringham and Henry Stanyhurst, junior (deputies for Dyke)		14 Oct. 1430[72] -
James Blakeney	4 July 1431 c.c. (l.; dep.)	
William Sutton	?	a. 12 Dec. 1432 - prob. *p.* 27 May 1436[73]
* John Hardwick	27 Sept. 1437 c.c. (l.; dep.)	

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[66] For references to all combined appointments to this office and the chancellorship of the green wax (those marked c.c.) see notes to the corresponding items in list 7 iii above.

[67] Irish-seal confirmation of a previous Irish-seal appointment to the office in January 1404 which had been confirmed in March 1404 under the English seal: T.C.D., MS 1747, pp. 92-5; *R.C.H.*, p. 203, no. 21.

[68] P.R.O.I., RC8/39, pp. 116-7.

[69] English-seal confirmation of Sutton's 1404 appointment: *C.P.R., 1422-29*, p. 83.

[70] T.C.D., MS 1747, pp. 84-9.

[71] Ibid., pp. 92-5.

[72] Ibid., pp. 88-93.

[73] Sutton is named as clerk of the common pleas of the exchequer on the Irish treasurer's account for the period ending 27 May 1436, and was certainly still in office on 3 June 1435: P.R.O., E364/73, m. B; T.C.D., MS 1747, pp. 94-9.

Name	Appointment	Tenure
John Burnell, Robert Plunket, John Rede and Robert fitzSymond (deputies for Hardwick)	6 Oct. 1437 c.c. (d.p.)	fitzSymond sworn in on 4 Dec. 1437
William Sutton	?	*a.* 14 Dec. 1437[74] -
Richard de Waterton	29 Sept. 1438	1 Oct. 1438[75] -
Henry Stanyhurst (deputy for De Waterton)		2 Oct. 1438[76] -
De Waterton	(see above)	- *p.* 21 May 1439[77]
* John Hardwick and Richard Reed	24 Aug. 1439 c.c. (survivorship; dep.)	
John Brown	?	- *p.* 14 Dec. 1442[78]
James Power and Philip Hyrell (Tyrell?) (deputies for Hardwick and Reed)	confirmed 12 Nov. 1445 c.c.	22 Jan. 1446 -
* John Hardwick and Alexander Shelton	6 Mar. 1446 c.c. (survivorship; dep.)	Shelton sworn in on 4 May 1446
John Brown and Henry Chilton (deputies for Shelton)		21 Feb. 1448[79] -

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[74] T.C.D., MS 1747, pp. 106-7.
[75] Ibid., pp. 106-9. De Waterton had also been appointed chancellor of the green wax in the preceding June: see above, list 7 iii, p. 522.
[76] T.C.D., MS 1747, pp. 106-9.
[77] Ibid., pp. 108-9.
[78] Ibid., pp. 110-3.
[79] Ibid., pp. 126-9.

Name	Appointment	Tenure
* Richard Bermingham and Richard fitzRobert	13 Apr. 1448 c.c. (survivorship; dep.) confirmed March 1449 by the Irish parliament	
John Bateman, John Brown and Christopher Fox (deputies for Bermingham and fitzRobert)	c.c.	10 Oct. 1449 -
John Brown (deputy?)		*a.* 19 Dec. 1450[80] -
* John Hardwick and Alexander Shelton	14 July 1455 c.c. (survivorship; dep.)	
John Tole (deputy for Bermingham)		18 Feb. 1457[81]
John Tole	?	*a.* 17 Dec. 1457 - *p.* 14 Dec. 1458[82]
Richard Bermingham	February 1459 c.c.	
James Pykring	30 Nov. 1459 c.c.	
John Hegham and James Power (deputies for Pykring)	1 Dec. 1459 c.c.	7 Dec. 1459 -

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[80] T.C.D., MS 1747, pp. 134-7.

[81] Ibid., pp. 140-1.

[82] Ibid., pp. 140-3. Both these references describe Tole as clerk, rather than deputy clerk, but it is possible that he was still acting for Bermingham.

Name	Appointment	Tenure
v) Chief engrossers		
John Barry	28 Apr. 1414 (g.b.)[83]	
William Preston	9 Jan. 1415 (l.)	- 1416-17 or later [84]
Walter Shirlock	20 Apr. 1420 (g.b.)	27 Apr. 1420[85] -
Stephen Roche	14 Sept. 1423 (g.b.)	
Alexander White (deputy for Roche)	4 Oct. 1423[86]	
* Walter Shirlock	24 Nov. 1424 (g.b.; dep.)[87]	
Nicholas Whitechurch	7 Aug. 1425 (g.b.; dep.)[88]	
Robert Caudrey	?	*a.* 20 Jan. 1427 - *p.* 26 July 1427[89]
Thomas Wotton	?	- *c.* Aug. 1429[90]
Thomas Plunket	?	*c.* Aug. 1429 - Jan. 1430[91]

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[83] *R.C.H.*, p. 205, no. 79.
[84] P.R.O.I., RC8/36, p. 679; *R.C.H.*, p. 206, no. 108. In 1416-17 Preston was also chancellor of the green wax: see above, list 7 iii, p. 520.
[85] P.R.O.I., RC8/38, p. 102.
[86] P.R.O.I., RC8/40, p. 272.
[87] English-seal confirmation of Shirlock's Irish-seal appointment of 1420: *C.P.R., 1422-29*, p. 163.
[88] *R.C.H.*, p. 236, no. 43.
[89] P.R.O., E101/248/2, mm. 1, 3, 4.
[90] Wotton is the only chief engrosser mentioned on the Irish treasurer's account for 2 January to 24 August 1429: P.R.O., E101/248/5.
[91] Plunket is the only chief engrosser mentioned on the treasurer's account for 24 August 1429 to 5 January 1430: P.R.O., E101/248/6.

Name	Appointment	Tenure
William Forster	?	3 Feb. 1430 - *p.* Hilary term 1431[92]
Thomas Walleys	13 Dec. 1431 (l.; dep.)[93]	
Christopher Plunket, junior	12 Jan. 1434[94]	
Thomas Walleys	2 Apr. 1434[95]	- prob. *p.* 2 Nov. 1437[96]
Robert Cusack	?	*p.* 2 Nov. 1437 - 1438 or early 1439[97]
Robert Plunket	?	*a.* 29 Sept. 1439 - *p.* 20 Jan. 1442[98]
* John Dilleron	Sept. 1442 (l.; dep.)[99]	
Robert Plunket	?	*a.* 8 Mar. 1444 - *p.* 17 Apr. 1446[100]

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[92] P.R.O., E101/248/8, m. 5.
[93] *R.C.H.*, p. 254, no. 76.
[94] This Christopher Plunket was the son of Sir Christopher Plunket, the then deputy lieutenant: P.R.O.I., 1A/49/135, f. 90.
[95] Ibid., f. 91.
[96] Walleys appears as chief engrosser on the treasurers' accounts for the periods Michaelmas 1431 to 27 May 1436 and 22 June 1436 to 2 November 1437: P.R.O., E101/540/16; E364/73, m. B.
[97] Cusack is described as late chief engrosser on the treasurer's account for the period ending Michaelmas 1439: P.R.O., E364/73, m. B.
[98] Robert Plunket appears as chief engrosser on the treasurer's account ending Michaelmas 1439 and on the following account ending on 20 January 1442: P.R.O., E101/248/13; E364/73, m. B.
[99] *C.P.R., 1441-46*, p. 188. There is no certainty that this English-seal appointee ever gained possession of the office: the treasurer's accounts suggest that Robert Plunket's tenure was probably uninterrupted at least to 1446: see below, n. 100.
[100] Plunket is described as chief engrosser on the treasurer's accounts for the periods 20 January 1442 to 8 March 1444 and 8 March 1444 to 17 April 1446: P.R.O., E101/540/18; E364/79, m. A.

Name	Appointment	Tenure
James and William Folyn	9 July 1451 (g.b.; dep.)	12 July 1451 -
Christopher Fox (deputy for the Folyns)		12 July 1451[101] -
Roger Eyton		*a.* July 1460[102] -
vi) Second engrossers		
* Thomas Swift	1 May 1413 (l.)[103]	
William Stockinbrig	25 Oct. 1413[104]	
James Neville	6 Feb. 1415 (l.; dep.)[105]	
William Stockinbrig	(see above)	*c.* 1416-17[106]
James Neville	(see above)	19 Apr. 1417 -
William Stockinbrig (deputy for Neville)	19 Apr. 1417[107]	
James Yonge	24 Apr. 1420 (g.b.)	4 May 1420 - *p.* 28 July 1420[108]
William Stockinbrig (deputy for Yonge)		*a.* 9 Dec. 1420 - *p.* 22 May 1422[109]

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[101] P.R.O.I., 1A/49/135, f. 191.
[102] *Stat. Hen. VI*, pp. 796-7.
[103] English-seal confirmation of an appointment of January 1395, authorized while Richard II was in Ireland: *C.P.R., 1413-16*, p. 91.
[104] An Irish-seal confirmation of an appointment of 1401 mentioned in a later English-seal patent: *C.P.R., 1422-29*, p. 157.
[105] Apparently Neville was not actually sworn in until 1417: P.R.O.I., RC8/37, pp. 50-1; *R.C.H.*, p. 208, no. 157.
[106] He appears as second engrosser on the Irish exchequer memoranda roll for 4 Henry V: P.R.O.I., RC8/36, p. 681.
[107] P.R.O.I., RC8/37, pp. 50-1.
[108] P.R.O.I., RC8/38, pp. 21, 104.
[109] P.R.O.I., RC8/39, pp. 75, 122-3.

Name	Appointment	Tenure
* William Stockinbrig	12 Nov. 1423[110]	
John Blakton	10 May 1425 (g.b.; dep.)	*a.* 20 Jan. 1427 - *p.* 26 July 1427[111]
Thomas Hankeslow	4 Oct. 1427 (d.p.; dep.)	5 Oct. 1427 -
John Corringham (deputy for Hankeslow)		prob. Oct. 1427[112]
John Blakton	20 June 1428 (g.b.)[113]	a. 24 Aug. 1429 - *p.* 5 Jan. 1430[114]
	22 May 1430 (g.b.; dep.)[115]	- *p.* Trinity 1431[116]
William Baldwin and William White (deputies for Blakton)		27 Mar. 1432[117] -
Blakton	(see above)	- *p.* 20 Jan. 1442[118]

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[110] English-seal confirmation of Stockinbrig's 1401 appointment and his Irish-seal confirmation of 1413: *C.P.R., 1422-29*, p. 157.

[111] P.R.O., E101/248/2, mm. 1, 3, 4; *R.C.H.*, p. 237, no. 68. During this period Blakton was also acting as treasurer's clerk: see below, list 7 x, p. 537.

[112] P.R.O.I., 1A.49/135, f. 31.

[113] An Irish-seal appointment confirmed in later English-seal letters patent (*C.P.R., 1441-46*, p. 96). Blakton was already treasurer's clerk and thereafter held both offices until at least 1446: see below, list 7 x, p. 537.

[114] Blakton appears as second engrosser on the Irish treasurer's account for this period: P.R.O., E101/248/6.

[115] *R.C.H.*, p. 254, no. 71.

[116] Blakton received payment as second engrosser for consecutive terms from Easter 1430 to Trinity 1431: P.R.O., E101/248/8, m. 5.

[117] *R.C.H.*, p. 254, no. 71.

[118] Blakton appears as second engrosser on consecutive treasurers' accounts for the period from Michaelmas 1431 to 20 January 1442: P.R.O., E101/248/13; /540/16; E364/73, m. B.

Name	Appointment	Tenure
* John Blakton	15 May 1442 (g.b.)	- *p.* Mar. 1449[119]
	1451-52 (g.b.)[120]	
Richard Tame	3 Sept. 1457 (g.b.; dep.)[121]	
* Richard Huxley and Thomas Kent	22 Nov. 1457 (survivorship; dep.)[122]	
Richard Tame	February 1458 (g.b.; dep.)[123]	

vii) Chief remembrancers

Robert Preston		prob. *a.* 1416-17[124]
John Chirbury	2 Aug. 1422 (g.b.)	
*	18 Dec. 1422[125]	

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[119] *C.P.R., 1441-46*, p. 96 (English-seal confirmation of Blakton's 1428 Irish-seal appointment); *Stat. Hen. VI*, pp. 122-3. Blakton also appears as second engrosser on the Irish treasurer's accounts for the period 20 January 1442 to 17 April 1446: P.R.O., E101/540/18; E364/79, m. A.

[120] An undated entry in the calendar of the Irish patent roll for 1451-52 notes a further appointment of Blakton as second engrosser: *R.C.H.*, p. 267, no. 44.

[121] Tame certainly gained tenure, for the subsequent confirmation of this appointment mentioned his good service in office: *Stat. Hen. VI*, pp. 522-3.

[122] *C.P.R., 1452-61*, p. 399.

[123] Tame's Irish-seal appointment of 1457 confirmed by the Irish parliament, possibly as a response to some attempt by Huxley and Kent to gain possession, although this is not mentioned (*Stat. Hen. VI*, pp. 522-3). Tame was subsequently re-confirmed as second engrosser in the first year of Edward IV's reign: see Ellis, *Reform and revival*, p. 223.

[124] The Irish exchequer memoranda roll for 4 Henry V refers to Robert Preston as chief remembrancer: P.R.O.I., RC8/36, p. 698.

[125] Confirmation of the above Irish-seal appointment: *C.P.R., 1422-29*, p. 56.

Name	Appointment	Tenure
James White (deputy for Chirbury)		*a.* 8 June 1424[126] -
John Cornwalshe William Hasilwode Nicholas Stanyhurst	? ? ?	? 1424-25[127]
James White (deputy for Chirbury)		*a.* 26 July 1426[128]
John Chirbury	(see above)	- *p.* spring 1427[129]
John Butler, prior of Charlley	9 Aug. 1427 (d.p.; dep.)	22 Sept. 1427[130] - *a.* 2 Jan. 1429
John Chirbury	?	*a.* 2 Jan. 1429[131] -
Thomas Hankeslow	?	early 1430[132] -
James White (deputy for Hankeslow)		on or *a.* 15 Dec. 1430[133]
Thomas Hankeslow	(see above)	- spring 1431 or later[134]
James White	9 Jan. 1432 (g.b.; dep.)	*a.* 27 July 1434 - *p.* 27 May 1436[135]

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[126] P.R.O.I., 1A/41/145, f. 51.

[127] In different extracts from the Irish exchequer memoranda roll for 3 Henry VI each of these three men is separately named as chief remembrancer. Cornwalshe is noted as having appointed two deputies, possibly Hasilwode and Stanyhurst, but they in their turn appear as chief remembrancers, not deputy chief remembrancers: P.R.O.I., 1A/49/148, pp. 30, 81, 135.

[128] P.R.O.I., 1A/49/135, f. 33.

[129] P.R.O., E101/248/2, m. 4.

[130] P.R.O.I., 1A/49/135, f. 47.

[131] The Irish treasurer's account for the period 3 October 1427 to 2 January 1429 names Chirbury as chief remembrancer and Butler as late chief remembrancer: P.R.O., E101/248/4.

[132] Hankeslow was paid as chief remembrancer from the Hilary term of 1430 until at least the Easter term of 1431: P.R.O., E101/248/8, m.5.

[133] P.R.O.I., 1A/49/135, f. 63.

[134] See note 132 above.

[135] P.R.O., E364/73, m. B (Irish treasurer's account for 1431 to 1436); P.R.O.I., 1A/49/135, f. 95; *R.C.H.*, p. 253, no. 35.

Name	Appointment	Tenure
* Ralph Legh	19 May 1437 (l.; dep.)[136]	
	(see above)	- p. 2 Nov. 1437[137]
James White	?	1438?
Philip Walshe	?	- p. 29 Sept. 1439[138]
Thomas Plunket	(see above)	c. 1440-41?[139]
* Ralph Legh	?	a. 20 Jan. 1442[140] -
Thomas Abbey	18 July 1442	3 Oct. 1442[141] -
James White (deputy for Legh)		

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[136] *C.P.R., 1436-41*, p. 57. Legh took his oath in England on 20 May 1437 (ibid., *1441-46*, p. 90) but his appointment had no immediate effect in Ireland: only White is named as chief remembrancer on the Irish treasurer's account for 22 June 1436 to 2 Nov. 1437, and Legh's name does not appear amongst those of three chief remembrancers mentioned on the account for the immediately following period to Michaelmas 1439: P.R.O., E101/540/16; E364/73, m. B.

[137] White received payment as chief remembrancer between 22 June 1436 and 2 November 1437 and after the beginning of the period of the following treasurer's account from 2 November 1437 onwards: ibid.

[138] Walshe received payment as late chief remembrancer, Plunket as chief remembrancer, within the period 2 November 1437 to Michaelmas 1439 (P.R.O., E364/73, m. B) but on the following treasurer's account to January 1442 Plunket, too, is described as late chief remembrancer: P.R.O., E101/248/13, m. 1.

[139] Legh apparently gained at least a brief period of tenure, and some payment, as chief remembrancer at some stage within the period Michaelmas 1439 to 20 January 1442, but had been ousted from office before the second of these dates as he appears on the relevant treasurer's account as late chief remembrancer: P.R.O., E101/248/13, m. 1.

[140] Abbey appears on the same account as chief remembrancer: ibid.

[141] Legh appointed White from London: P.R.O.I., 1A/49/135, f. 137.

Name	Appointment	Tenure
* Thomas Abbey	17 July 1443 (l.; dep.)[142]	*a.* 8 Mar. 1444 - *a.* 17 Apr. 1446[143]
* Walter Sculle	16 Mar. 1445 (l.; dep.)[144]	
Alexander Evere	?	*a.* 17 Apr. 1446[145] -

viii) Second remembrancers

William Barret	*p.* 21 Mar. 1415	- 1417 or later[146]
Nicholas Strangeways	?	from or *a.* spring 1420[147] -
	19 Apr. 1425 (g.b.; dep.)[148]	- 29 Sept. 1431 or shortly after[149]
Hugh Corringham	?	prob. late 1431 - *p.* 2 Nov. 1437[150]

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[142] By the date of this appointment Legh had surrendered his own claim to the office: *C.P.R., 1441-46*, p. 190.

[143] Abbey is described as chief remembrancer on the Irish treasurer's account for the period ending 8 March 1444, but appears as late chief remembrancer on the next account for the period ending 17 April 1446: P.R.O., E101/540/18; E364/79, m. A.

[144] *C.P.R., 1441-46*, p. 333.

[145] P.R.O., E101/540/18. No information has come to light about holders of the office between 1446 and 1461.

[146] Barret's appointment was noted on the Irish exchequer memoranda roll for 3 Henry V and he was still in office during the following regnal year: P.R.O.I., 1A/49/147, p. 113; RC8/36, p. 680.

[147] Strangeways received payment as second remembrancer for Easter and Trinity terms 1420: P.R.O., E101/247/10, m. 3.

[148] P.R.O.I., 1A/49/135, f. 8.

[149] Strangeways appears as second remembrancer on the Irish treasurer's account for the period ending Michaelmas 1431 and as late second remembrancer on the succeeding account (P.R.O., E101/540/15; E364/73, m. B). However, on 30 September 1431 he took office as chief chamberlain, so could well have been replaced as second remembrancer simultaneously or shortly afterwards: see above, list 7 i, p. 518.

[150] Corringham is named as second remembrancer on the two Irish treasurers' accounts covering the period Michaelmas 1431 to 2 November 1437: P.R.O., E101/540/16; E364/73, m. B.

Name	Appointment	Tenure
Richard Stanyhurst	?	*c.* 1438-39[151]
Hugh Corringham	?	*a.* 29 Sept. 1439 – *p.* 8 Mar. 1444[152]
William Helgin	?	*a.* July 1454[153] –

ix) Summoners

William Baldwin	?	*a.* 10 Dec. 1414 – late 1442/ early 1443[154]
John Corringham	12 Feb. 1443 (g.b.)	12 Feb. 1443[155] – *p.* 8 Mar. 1444[156]
John Power	?	*a.* 17 Apr. 1446[157]

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[151] Stanyhurst appears as second remembrancer on the Irish memoranda roll for 17 Henry VI (P.R.O.I., 1A/49/148, p. 141) but his tenure of office was probably brief as his name does not appear on the relevant treasurer's account: P.R.O., E364/73, m. B.

[152] Corringham is named as second remembrancer on the treasurer's accounts for the periods ending Michaelmas 1439, 20 January 1442 and 8 March 1444: P.R.O., E101/248/13; E364/73, m. B; /79, m. A.

[153] Helgin was confirmed in office by the Irish parliament, but no details of his previous appointment were given: *Stat. Hen. VI*, p. 298.

[154] P.R.O.I., RC8/34, pp. 183-4. Baldwin apparently retained the office until his death, which had occurred by 12 February 1443 (P.R.O.I., 1A/49/135, f. 138). The Irish treasurer's account for the period ending 20 January 1442 refers to him as summoner, but on the subsequent account for the period ending 8 March 1444 he appears as late summoner: P.R.O., E101/248/13; E364/79, m. A.

[155] Corringham's appointment was authorized by the Irish treasurer, Giles Thorndon: P.R.O.I., 1A/49/135, f. 138.

[156] On the Irish treasurer's account for the period ending on this date Corringham appears as summoner, but on the succeeding account he is described as late summoner: P.R.O., E101/540/18; E364/79, m. A.

[157] P.R.O., E101/540/18.

Name	Appointment	Tenure
Nicholas Blakton	2 Sept. 1450 (g.b.; dep.)[158] July 1454[159]	

x) Treasurers' clerks

John Corringham	?	*a.* 14 Apr. 1414 - *p.* 21 May 1420[160]
John Blakton	?	*a.* 22 Dec. 1421[161] -
Thomas Fourneys	?	- prob. *a.* May 1424[162]
John Blakton	12 May 1424 (g.b.)[163]	- *p.* 17 Apr. 1446[164]

xi) Ushers

Thomas Walleys	?	*a.* 27 July 1414 - *p.* 9 Dec. 1420[165]

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[158] Blakton's appointment was authorized by the deputy lieutenant: P.R.O.I., 1A/49/135, f. 183.

[159] Confirmation of Blakton's appointment by the Irish parliament: *Stat. Hen. VI*, p. 298.

[160] P.R.O.I., RC8/39, p. 106; *R.C.H.*, p. 204, no. 10 c.

[161] Blakton is named as treasurer's clerk on the Irish treasurer's account for the period 25 July 1420 to 22 December 1421: P.R.O., E364/57, m. G.

[162] An Irish-seal warrant for the payment of John Blakton as treasurer's clerk dated 25 May 1424 also refers to both himself and Fourneys as late treasurers' clerks: *R.C.H.*, p. 235, 2 Hen. VI, no. 5.

[163] This appointment was authorized by the Irish treasurer, William Tynbegh: P.R.O.I., RC8/40, p. 236.

[164] P.R.O., E101/540/18. From preceding treasurers' accounts it seems that Blakton's long tenure of office was continuous at least from 1429, and a further reference confirms that he was paid as treasurer's clerk in May 1427 (*R.C.H.*,101/247/20, no. 59). From 1428 to the early or mid 1450s he also held the office of second engrosser: see above, list 7 vi pp. 531-2.

[165] P.R.O.I., RC8/34, pp. 115-6; /39, p. 122. In December 1406 Walleys had been appointed as usher and marshal and was still acting as marshal in 1416-17: P.R.O.I., RC8/36, p. 686; *R.C.H.*, p. 202, no. 13.

Name	Appointment	Tenure
Richard Vale	20 Oct. 1421 (g.b.)[166]	
Edmund Plowden	1423[167]	
James Tyler (deputy for Plowden)		25 Mar. 1424 - *p.* 13 Dec. 1424[168]
Bartholemew Bathe	?	*a.* 11 Dec. 1425 -
Richard Vale (deputy for Bathe)		*a.* 11 Dec. 1425[169] -
Bathe	(see above)	- 26 July 1427[170]
Edmund Plowden	on or *a.* 26 July 1427	26 July 1427 - *p.* 25 Feb. 1428[171]
Thomas Bradley	?	*a.* 21 May 1428[172] -
Richard Vale (deputy for Bradley)		on or *a.* 31 July 1428 - 18 Dec. 1428 or later[173]
Bradley	(see above)	- *p.* 8 Apr. 1430
Edmund Plowden	?	*a.* 29 Sept. 1431[174] -
Christopher Howth	?	- *a.* 27 May 1436

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166 *R.C.H.*, p. 220, no. 73.
167 *Liber. mun. pub. Hib.*, i, pt. 2, p. 217.
168 Ibid.; *R.C.H.*, p. 241, no. 69.
169 Ibid., p. 241, no. 72.
170 Bathe received payment as usher up to this date: P.R.O., E101/248/2, mm. 2, 4, 5.
171 *R.C.H.*, p. 247, nos. 55-7.
172 Ibid., no. 58.
173 Ibid., no. 59.
174 Bradley is the only usher to appear on the Irish treaurers' accounts for the period 2 January 1429 to 5 January 1430, but on the next account for the period 8 April 1430 to Michaelmas 1431 both he and Edmund Plowden are named as ushers: P.R.O., E101/248/5 and 6; /540/15.

Name	Appointment	Tenure
John Venour	?	- 27 May 1436 or shortly after[175]
Hugh Corringham	?	prob. June/July 1436 - 2 Nov. 1437[176]
John Streynsham	?	prob. late 1437 -
William de la Warderobe	?	prob. *p.* May 1438 - *a.* 27 Feb. 1439[177]
* Thomas Delafield	6 Feb. 1438 (l.; dep.)[178]	
Hugh Gallan (deputy for Delafield)		27 Feb. 1439[179] -
* Delafield	(see above)	on or *a.* 30 July 1439 - 30 July 1441[180]
Robert Flatysby		30 July 1441 - *p.* 20 Jan. 1442[181]

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[175] Plowden, Howth and Venour, in that order, are all named as ushers on the Irish treasurer's account for Michaelmas 1431 to 27 May 1436: P.R.O., E364/73, m. B.

[176] Corringham is the only usher on the Irish treasurer's account for the period 22 June 1436 to 2 November 1437 (P.R.O., E101/540/16) and his name does not appear on either the preceding or succeeding accounts.

[177] Streynsham and de la Warderobe are successsively named as late ushers on the Irish treasurer's account for the period 2 November 1437 to Michaelmas 1439 (P.R.O., E364/73, m. B). It seems likely that de la Warderobe, who served as lord Welles' agent at the English exchequer from July 1439 to March 1442 (P.R.O., E403/734; /736; /739; /744), would have been appointed by Welles' after the latter's arrival in Ireland as lieutenant at the end of May 1438: see above, list 2, p. 488.

[178] The appointment was as both usher and marshal of the king's courts: *C.P.R., 1436-41*, p. 142.

[179] P.R.O.I., 1A/41/145, f. 56.

[180] *R.C.H.*, p. 265, nos. 59-66.

[181] P.R.O., E101/248/13; *R.C.H.*, p. 265, no. 67.

Name	Appointment	Tenure
Thomas Delafield	?	on or *a.* 4 Aug. 1442 - *p.* 17 Apr. 1446[182]
Nicholas Delafield	4 Apr. 1451 (g.b.; dep.)[183]	

[182] P.R.O., E101/540/18; E364.79, m. A; P.R.O.I., 1A/41/145, ff. 58-62. It is not clear whether Delafield had re-established his claim to office by virtue of his English-seal life appointment of 1438, or whether he was re-appointed in Ireland after temporarily losing his tenure to Flatysby.

[183] Nicholas, like Thomas Delafield, was appointed to the offices of both usher and marshal: P.R.O.I., 1A.41/145, f. 66; /49/135, f. 185.

List 8: Justices

Name	Appointment	Tenure
i) Chief justices of the king's bench		
John Bermingham	?	*a.* Aug. 1413 - prob. late Sept. 1413[1]
* Stephen Bray	20 Apr. 1413 (d.p.)[2]	28 Sept. 1413 - *p.* 23 July 1420[3]
*	17 Oct. 1422 (d.p.)[4]	*a.* 16 July 1423 - *p.* 27 Mar. 1425[5]
Henry Fortescue	25 June 1426 (g.b.)	26 June 1426 - 8 Nov. 1427[6]
Stephen Bray	?	prob. Nov. 1427 - early June 1428[7]

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[1] The Irish exchequer memoranda roll for 1 Henry V recorded that Bermingham was chief justice of the king's bench at a time when the chancellor was absent (P.R.O.I., 1A/49/147, f. 104). The then chancellor, Archbishop Cranley, returned to Ireland after a sixteen-month absence on or soon after 8 August 1413: see above, list 3, p. 492.

[2] *C.P.R., 1413-16*, p. 90. Bray had already held the same office for much of the preceding period since 1397: *R.C.H.*, p. 176, no. 160; p. 181, no. 41; p. 182, no. 52; see also F.E. Ball, *The judges in Ireland, 1221-1921*, i, p. 157.

[3] P.R.O., E101/247/14, nos. 11, 14.

[4] *R.C.H.*, p. 245, 6 Henry VI, no. 8. This entry gives no details as to where the letters patent were issued, but, despite the absence of any corresponding entry in *C.P.R.*, a warrant for Bray's appointment was certainly sealed at Westminster on 11 October 1422: P.R.O., C81/1544/10.

[5] N.L.I., MS 4, ff. 288-9; *R.C.H.*, p. 230, no. 120.

[6] P.R.O., E101/248/2, m. 2; *R.C.H.*, p. 246, nos. 9-10.

[7] As both Bray and Fortescue are listed as chief justices of the king's bench in the Irish treasurer's account for 3 October 1427 to 2 January 1429, the likelihood is that it was Bray who filled the office during the break between Fortescue's two periods of tenure when he apparently went to England with Sir James Alleyne with messages to the English council: P.R.O., E101/248/4; *R.C.H.*, pp. 247-8, no. 9.

Name	Appointment	Tenure
Henry Fortescue	10 June 1428	11 June 1428 - early Nov. 1428[8]
	(see above)	*a.* 11 Dec. 1428 - *p.* 1 Apr. 1429[9]
Stephen Bray	?	18 Feb. 1430 - 15 Apr. 1434[10]
William Boys	?	prob. Apr. 1434 - Mar. 1435[11]
* Christopher Bernevale	19 Feb. 1435 (d.p.)	22 Mar. 1435[12] -
*	28 Apr. 1437 (g.b.)[13]	- *p.* 17 Apr. 1446[14]
* Richard Bye	12 Oct. 1446 (d.p.)[15]	
Robert Plunket	22 Jan. 1447 (g.b.)[16]	

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[8] *Liber. mun. pub. Hib.*, i, pt. 2, p. 206. On 5 November 1428 Fortescue and Sir Thomas Strange were chosen as messengers to England from the Irish parliament: *R.C.H.*, pp. 247-8, no. 9.

[9] If Fortescue did go to England in 1428, his visit was brief, for he was in office in Ireland on both these dates and, apparently on 12 February 1429: *R.C.H.*, p. 248, no. 12-13; p. 249, no. 24.

[10] P.R.O., E101/248/8, m. 1; *R.C.H.*, p. 264, no. 28.

[11] Both Bray and Boys are named as late chief justices of the king's bench on the Irish treasurer's account for the period ending 27 May 1436, so Boys tenure of office apparently fell between Bray's and Bernevale's, who appears on the same account as chief justice: P.R.O., E364/73, m. B.

[12] *C.P.R., 1429-36*, p. 451; *R.C.H.*, p. 256, no. 17.

[13] *C.P.R., 1436-41*, p. 50.

[14] P.R.O., E101/540/18. All the preceding treasurers' accounts from June 1436 to March 1444 also confirm the consistency of Bernevale's tenure of office over this eleven-year period.

[15] English-seal appointment by the advice and assent of the earl of Shrewsbury. By this date Bernevale had died: *C.P.R., 1446-52*, p. 6.

[16] On the date of this appointment, authorized by Shrewsbury as lieutenant in Ireland, the office of chief justice of the king's bench was said to be vacant as a result of Bernevale's death. It therefore seems unlikely that Bye had ever claimed tenure. Plunket's appointment was confirmed on 30 January by the Irish parliament: *Stat. Hen. VI*, pp. 58-63.

Name	Appointment	Tenure
* Sir James Alleyne	20 July 1447 (l.)[17]	*a.* Mar. 1449 - on or *a.* 7 Sept. 1455[18]
* Nicholas Bernevale	20 Jan. 1457 (g.b.)[19]	

ii) Second justices of the king's bench

John Bermingham		*a.* 28 Feb. 1414[20] -
Roger Hakenshaw	25 Jan. 1416 (g.b.)[21]	- *p.* 25 Sept. 1423[22]
William Chevir	?	*a.* 8 July 1426[23] -
Roger Hakenshaw	?	*a.* 19 Apr. 1427 - *p.* 29 Sept. 1431[24]
Christopher Bernevale	6 Apr. 1434	9 Apr. 1434 - *p.* 8 Nov. 1434[25]
William Chevir	24 Mar. 1435 (g.b.)	30 Mar. 1435[26] -

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[17] *C.P.R., 1446-52*, p. 72.
[18] *Stat. Hen. VI*, pp. 120-1; *Reg. Mey*, pp. 392-3 (7 September 1455 was the date of Alleyne's death).
[19] *C.P.R., 1452-61*, p. 350.
[20] *R.C.H.*, p. 203, no. 38. Bermingham had held the same office for much of Henry IV's reign (ibid., p. 164, no. 165; p. 180, no. 31; p. 184, no. 126), but it is not clear who held the office while he served as chief justice in 1413.
[1] *R.C.H.*, p. 212, no. 88.
[2] Richardson and Sayles, *Ir. parl.*, p. 316.
[3] N.L.I., MS 13, p. 284.
[4] P.R.O., E101/248/2, m. 4; /5; /540/15; *R.C.H.*, p. 249, no. 24.
[5] *R.C.H.*, p. 258, no. 88; *Liber. mun. pub. Hib.*, 1, pt. 2, p. 207. The Irish treasurer's account for the period Michaelmas 1431 to 27 May 1436 names both Hakenshaw and Bernevale as late second justices of the king's bench: P.R.O., E364/73, m. B.
[6] *R.C.H.*, p. 247, nos. 46-7.

Name	Appointment	Tenure
* William Chevir	12 Oct. 1437 (g.b.)[27]	- *p.* 17 Apr. 1446[28]
Edward Somerton	18 Jan. 1447 (g.b.)[29]	
*	29 Jan. 1449[30]	- *p.* Feb. 1458[31]

iii) Chief justices of the common bench

John fitzAdam		*a.* 7 Jan. 1415[32] -
William Tynbegh	21 July 1419 (g.b.)[33]	
John Blakeney	26 Apr. 1420	26 Apr. 1420 - *p.* 20 July 1420[34]
*	9 June 1421 (d.p.)[35]	10/15 Oct. 1421[36] -

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[27] English-seal confirmation of Chevir's Irish-seal appointment of 1435: *C.P.R., 1436-41*, p.93.

[28] P.R.O., E101/540/18. Chevir also appears as second justice of the king's bench on the five preceding treasurers' accounts for the periods ending 1436 to 1444. He remained in office until his death which had occurred by January 1447: *Stat. Hen. VI*, pp. 64-50.

[29] Somerton's appointment was also confirmed by the Irish parliament on 30 January 1447: ibid., pp. 62-67.

[30] English-seal confirmation of two further (Irish-seal?) appointments of Somerton as second justice of the king's bench on 1 March 1447 and 10 January 1448: *C.P.R., 1446-52*, p. 248.

[31] *Stat. Hen. VI*, pp. 508-9.

[32] *R.C.H.*, p. 209, no. 191. FitzAdam had previously served in this office during the last years of Richard II's reign and under Henry IV: *R.C.H.*, p. 181, no. 41; p. 184, no. 126; p. 191., no. 91; see also F.E. Ball, *The Judges in Ireland*, i, p. 158.

[33] An Irish-seal appointment later confirmed in England: *C.P.R., 1422-29*, p. 99.

[34] P.R.O., E101/247/14, nos. 10, 13.

[35] An English-seal appointment authorized at Dover: *C.P.R., 1416-22*, p. 375.

[36] N.L.I., MS 4, f. 224; *R.C.H.*, p. 219, no. 52.

Name	Appointment	Tenure
* William Tynbegh	14 May 1423 (g.b.)[37]	c. Oct./Nov. 1423?[38] -
John Blakeney	16 June 1425 (g.b.)	16 June 1425 - 23 Nov. 1428[39]
Sir James Alleyne	23 Nov. 1428	28 Nov. 1428 - 27 Apr. 1430[40]
John Blakeney	13 May 1430	13 May 1430[41] -
*	8 Feb. 1438 (l.)[42]	-*a.* 13 July 1439[43]
Robert Dowdall	?1438[44]	*a.* 13 July 1439 - *p.* 3 Aug. 1441[45]
*	13 Nov. 1441 (l.)[46]	*a.* 20 Jan. 1442 - *p.* July 1460[47]

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[37] English-seal confirmation of Tynbegh's Irish-seal appointment of 1419: *C.P.R., 1422-29*, p. 99. Tynbegh was also treasurer of Ireland at this time: see above, list 5, p. 505.

[38] Tynbegh was in Ireland as treasurer from December 1421 to August 1424 (see above, list 5, p. 505), but there is no specific evidence to confirm his tenure as chief justice.

[39] N.L.I., MS 4, f. 294; P.R.O., E101/248/8, m. 1; *R.C.H.*, p. 237, no. 75.

[40] *R.C.H.*, p. 258, no. 6; *Liber. mun. pub. Hib.*, i, pt. 2, p. 208.

[41] P.R.O., E101/248/8, m. 1; *Liber. mun. pub. Hib.*, i, pt. 2, p. 208.

[42] The warrant for this appointment was dated 21 July 1438, but included instructions that it should be back-dated to 8 February, hence the date of the letters patent: P.R.O., PSO1/6/324; *C.P.R., 1436-41*, p. 184.

[43] From the Irish treasurers' accounts, it seems that Blakeney's tenure was uninterrupted between 1430 and 1437 (P.R.O., E101/540/15, 16; E364/73, m. B) but, in a petition to the king which was granted on 13 July 1439, Blakeney complained that Dowdall had ousted him: E28/62/13 July.

[44] See F.E. Ball, *The judges in Ireland*, i, pp. 159, 177.

[45] *R.C.H.*, p. 262, no. 24. Despite Blakeney's petition of 1439 (see note 43 above) it seems likely that Dowdall successfully maintained his tenure as he was also in office on 6 February 1440 and 15 March 1441: P.R.O., C47/10/26, no. 7; *C.O.D.*, iii, no. 135, p. 119.

[46] *C.P.R., 1441-46*, p. 23.

[47] P.R.O., E101/248/13; *Stat. Hen. VI*, p. 759. Dowdall also served as chief justice of the common bench under Edward IV: see Ellis, *Reform and revival*, p. 221.

Name	Appointment	Tenure
iv) Justices of the common bench[48]		a. 2 June 1421[49] -
Thomas Cusack	?	1 May 1435[50] -
John Seys	27 Apr. 1439 (d.p.)	on or a. 4 Sept. 1439 - 4 Sept. 1440[52]
William Baldwin	1436?[51]	
John Bateman?	1439[53]	

[48] Between 1275 and 1377 second justices had been regularly appointed to the common bench and there were often one, two, or even three, additional justices (see H.G. Richardson and G.O. Sayles, *The administration of Ireland, 1172-1377*, pp. 148-65). However, under Henry V and Henry VI, the office of second justice, conspicuous by its absence from the lists of offices on the surviving treasurers' accounts, seems to have been in abeyance. The men listed here simply served as additional justices. Appointments to the office of second justice only re-commenced in 1479: see Ellis, *Reform and revival*, p. 221.

[49] A petition of this date to the English council from lord Slane refers to Thomas Cusack as *un des Justices de la banc*: P.R.O., E28/34/65.

[50] *R.C.H.*, p. 256, nos. 23-4. The appointment apparently specified that Seys was not to receive any payment from royal revenue.

[51] See F.E. Ball, *The judges in Ireland*, i, p. 159.

[52] Unlike Seys, Baldwin was apparently paid something for his services because he appears on the Irish treasurer's account as a justice of the common bench amongst those to whom issues were made during the period 2 November 1437 to Michaelmas 1439 (P.R.O., E364/73, m. B). For the year 4 September 1439 to 4 September 1440 he was offered 40s: *R.C.H.*, p. 263, no. 15.

[53] Bateman held the office of chirographer of the common bench (see below, list 9 ii, p. 549) but F.E. Ball also identified him as a justice: see F.E. Ball, *The judges in Ireland*, pp. 159, 178.

List 9: Judicial clerks

Name	Appointment	Tenure
i) Chief clerks of the king's bench[1]		
Richard Ashwell	25 Apr. 1420 (g.b.)	- *p.* 29 Oct. 1421[2]
John Seintleger	20 Oct. 1422 (l.)[3]	
* Richard Ashwell	12 Dec. 1423 (g.b.; dep.)[4]	- *p.* Mar. 1427[5]
John Seintleger	12 Aug. 1427 (d.p.)	- prob. *p.* 12 June 1428[6]
	9 June 1430 (g.b.; dep.)[7]	9 June 1430[8] -
	4 Dec. 1431 (g.b.; dep.)[9]	- *p.* 29 Sept. 1439[10]
* Maurice Avenell	9 Feb. 1440 (l.; dep.)[11]	- *p.* 8 Mar. 1444[12]

[1] This office also included both the keepership of the rolls and the clerkship of the crown in the king's bench.

[2] *R.C.H.*, p. 251, no. 10 (from the close roll of 9 Henry V, not Henry VI as printed). It is not certain who preceded Ashwell in office. He had previously been chief clerk 1400-1403, but the holder of the office at the end of Henry IV's reign was Henry Brown, appointed 12 February 1412: ibid., p. 157, no. 95; p. 170, no. 69; p. 199, no. 61(b).

[3] *R.C.H.*, p. 228, no. 72; *Liber. mun. pub. Hib.*, i, pt. 2, p. 208.

[4] English-seal confirmation of Ashwell's 1420 Irish-seal appointment: *C.P.R., 1422-29*, p. 168.

[5] *Stat. Hen. VI*, pp. 2-5.

[6] *R.C.H.*, p. 246, no. 12; *Liber. mun. pub. Hib.*, i, pt. 2, p. 208.

[7] *R.C.H.*, p. 254, no. 77.

[8] P.R.O., E101/248/8, m. 1.

[9] Confirmation of Seintleger's appointment of 1430: *R.C.H.*, p. 254, no. 77.

[10] Seintleger appears as chief clerk of the king's bench on the four successive treasurers' accounts for the period April 1430 to Michaelmas 1439: P.R.O., E101/540/15, 16; E364/73, m. B.

[11] English-seal appointment authorized by signet warrant: P.R.O., PSO1/7/385; *C.P.R., 1436-41*, p. 375. Unlike his predecessors and successors, Avenell was styled simply clerk of the crown and common pleas of the king's bench.

Name	Appointment	Tenure
Maurice and John Avenell	27 Aug. 1450 (g.b.)	
	15 May 1453[13]	
Roland fitzEustace and Thomas Cusack	6 Nov. 1454 (survivorship; dep.)[14]	*a.* Oct. 1455[15] -
	Feb. 1459[16]	

ii) Chirographers of the common bench

John Bateman	13 June 1413[17]	- *p.* June 1420[18]
	20 Oct. 1422	20 Oct. 1422[19] -
*	22 Feb. 1424[20]	- prob early 1435[21]
Edmund Brian	10 Mar. 1435 (g.b.)	16 Mar. 1435[22] - *p.* 27 May 1436[23]

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[12] Avenell appears after the justices of the king's bench as clerk of the crown on the treasurer's two accounts for the period Michaelmas 1439 to 8 March 1444, but in the following account up to 17 April 1446 he is merely listed further on in the account as one of several clerks without specific titles. Whether he actually remained in office in the king's bench after 1444 is therefore uncertain: P.R.O., E101/248/13; /540/18; E364/79, m. A.

[13] Confirmation of the above appointment: *Liber. mun. pub. Hib.*, i, pt. 2, p. 208.

[14] *Stat. Hen. VI*, pp. 606-9.

[15] Ibid., pp. 378-9, 426-7.

[16] Confirmation of the appointment of 1454 by authority of the Irish parliament: ibid., pp. 606-9.

[17] Confirmation by advice of the great council of an earlier appointment of 7 April 1400 quoted in later English-seal letters patent: *C.P.R., 1422-29*, p. 189.

[18] P.R.O., E101/247/7; /10, m. 3.

[19] *R.C.H.*, p. 258-9, no. 8; *Liber. mun. pub. Hib.*, i, pt. 2, p. 209.

[20] English-seal confirmation of Bateman's previous confirmation and appointment of 1413 and 1400: *C.P.R., 1422-29*, p. 189.

[21] As both Brian and Bateman appear as chirographers on the Irish treasurer's account for Michaelmas 1431 to May 1436 (Bateman as late chirographer) their terms of office were apparently consecutive. Bateman was still in office on 16 December 1431: P.R.O., E364/73, m. B; *R.C.H.*, p. 258-9, no. 8.

[22] *R.C.H.*, p. 256, nos. 18-19.

[23] P.R.O., E364/73, m. B.

Name	Appointment	Tenure
John Bateman	?	*a.* 2 Nov. 1437[24] - *p.* Mar. 1449[25]
Janico Dartas	8 Nov. 1456	
	Feb. 1459[26]	- *p.* Feb. 1460[27]

[24] Bateman is named as chirographer, Brian as late chirographer, on the Irish treasurer's account for 22 June 1436 to 2 November 1437: P.R.O., E101/540/16.

[25] *Stat. Hen. VI*, pp. 122-3. Bateman is named as chirographer on the treasurer's three accounts for the period Michaelmas 1439 to April 1446: P.R.O., E101/248/13; /540/18; E364/79, m. A.

[26] Confirmation of Dartas' 1456 appointment above by authority of the Irish parliament: *Stat. Hen. VI*, pp. 616-9, 634-5.

[27] Ibid., pp. 724-5.

List 10: Escheators[1]

Name	Appointment	Tenure
* Ralph Standish	7 June 1413 (l.)[2]	
Robert Sutton, William Tynbegh, Henry Stanyhurst, William Barrett and William White (deputies for Standish)	28 July 1415[3]	
Standish	(see above)	- 1416-17 or later[4]
* Sir John Pilkington	8 Feb. 1419 (l.)[5]	
Sir Thomas Talbot	?	*a.* 23 Mar. 1419 - 27 Sept 1419[6]
John Charneles	27 Sept. 1419 (l.; dep.)[7]	- *p.* 18 Dec. 1419[8]
* Sir John Pilkington	(see above)	*a.* 7 Dec. 1420[9] -
Henry Stanyhurst (deputy for Pilkington)		*a.* 23 Dec. 1420 - *p.* 13 Oct. 1421[10] -
John Fountains	8 Dec. 1422[11]	

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[1] The office of escheator was combined with the clerkship of the market and the keepership of the weights and measures in Ireland.

[2] English-seal confirmation of an earlier English-seal appointment of 31 July 1410: *C.P.R., 1413-16*, p. 24

[3] *R.C.H.*, p. 210, no. 35

[4] Standish was named as escheator on the Irish exchequer memoranda roll for 4 Henry V: P.R.O.I., RC8/36, p. 28.

[5] *C.P.R., 1416-22*, p. 331; 'Calendar of Norman rolls', *D.K.R.*, xli (1880), p. 727.

[6] P.R.O.I., RC8/38, p. 197; 1A/49/135, f. 50.

[7] An Irish-seal appointment quoted in subsequent English letters patent: *C.P.R., 1422-29*, p. 257.

[8] *R.C.H.*, p. 215, no. 21.

[9] P.R.O., E101/247/15, m. 5.

[10] P.R.O.I., 1A/53/50 (Lodge MSS), pp. 368-9; *C.O.D.*, iii, no. 45, pp. 30-7.

[11] *R.C.H.*, p. 226, no. 22.

Name	Appointment	Tenure
* Sir John Pilkington	14 Feb. 1423 (l.)[12]	
Richard Vale (deputy for Fountains)		- 22 Apr. 1423[13]
John Fountains	27 Apr. 1423 (l.)[14]	- *p.* 16 Apr. 1424[15]
* John Charneles	26 Nov. 1424 (l.; dep.)[16]	
Nicholas White	8 Aug. 1425 (g.b.; dep.)[17]	13 Sept. 1425[18] -
John Charneles	?[19]	
James de la Hyde (deputy for Charneles)		*a.* 29 Sept. 1427[20] -
Charneles	(see above)	*a.* 24 Sept. 1428 - on or *p.* 5 Aug. 1430[21]

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[12] English-seal confirmation of Pilkington's 1419 appointment: *C.P.R., 1422-29*, p. 51.
[13] *R.C.H.*, p. 226, no. 13.
[14] Ibid., p. 228, no. 80; *Liber. mun. pub. Hib.*, i, pt. 2, p. 214.
[15] N.L.I., MS 4, f. 278. For other references to Fountains' holding office in June and November 1423 and February 1424, see *R.C.H.*, p. 229, no. 92; p. 232, nos. 2, 5.
[16] English-seal confirmation of Charneles' 1419 appointment: *C.P.R., 1422-29*, p. 257.
[17] *R.C.H.*, p. 237, no. 93.
[18] *Liber. mun. pub. Hib.*, i, pt. 2, p. 214.
[19] It is not clear whether Charneles regained office by virtue of his English letters patent of 1424 or by some subsequent Irish-seal appointment.
[20] P.R.O.I., 1A/41/145, f. 53.
[21] Ibid., f. 297; *R.C.H.*, p. 247, no. 3. By 5 August 1430 English-seal letters patent dated 8 May 1430 (*C.P.R., 1429-36*, p. 57) had already annulled the November 1424 confirmation issued to Charneles, in favour of John Pilkington's claims to the office, but whether the latter was successful in regaining the escheatorship for the short period between August 1430 and March 1431 is not clear.

Name	Appointment	Tenure
Thomas Hawkeslow (Hankeslow?)	?	*a.* 29 Mar. 1431 – *p.* 25 Sept. 1431[22]
Robert More	20 Jan. 1432 (d.p.; dep.)[23]	20 Jan. 1432 –
Henry and Richard Stanyhurst, James de la Hyde (deputies for More)	28 Jan. 1432[24]	– *p.* 10 Dec. 1432[25]
Sir John Pilkington	(see above)	*a.* 24 Sept. 1435 – *p.* 20 Oct. 1435[26]
James Blakeney		*a.* 6 Feb. 1436[27] –
Eight deputies appointed for Blakeney	20 Mar. 1436[28]	
Blakeney		– *p.* 4 July 1436[29]

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[22] N.L.I., MS 4, f. 326; *R.C.H.*, p. 252, no. 9. In these references the name appears as 'Hawkeslow' and 'Hawkislow', but it seems probable that this escheator was the Thomas Hankeslow who served as chief remembrancer from early 1430 to spring 1431: see above, list 7 vii, p. 533.

[23] *R.C.H.*, p. 253, no. 42.

[24] Ibid., no. 43.

[25] *C.O.D.*, iii, no. 101, pp. 83-5. At this date Henry Stanyhurst was still acting as More's deputy. More, who had apparently come to Ireland as a member of Sir Thomas Stanley's retinue in 1431 (*C.P.R., 1429-36*, p. 144) was back in England by July 1432, acting as Stanley's agent at the English exchequer: P.R.O., E403/703, m. 14.

[26] *R.C.H.*, p. 259, no. 5; pp. 260-1, no. 39. How Pilkington regained tenure of an office which he had not effectively held since 1421, despite English-seal confirmation in 1423 of his 1419 appointment, is not clear.

[27] *R.C.H.*, p. 259, (14 Henry VI, part 2) no. 11.

[28] Ibid., p. 260, no. 28. These appointments were made with the agreement of the deputy lieutenant (Archbishop Talbot) and the Irish council. Henry and Richard Stanyhurst and John Welles were to act for Blakeney in Counties Meath, Dublin, Kildare and Louth, while Walter fitzThomas, John Sutton, John Stafford, Nicholas Everard and John Brown were to act in Counties Kilkenny, Wexford, Tipperary and Waterford.

[29] *R.C.H.*, p. 261, no. 42.

Name	Appointment	Tenure
* Thomas Bathe	11 July 1439 (l.; dep.)[30]	*a.* 20 Sept. 1440 - *p.* 21 Dec. 1440[31]
Sir William Welles	?	*c* 1441-42[32]
* Thomas Bathe	(see above)	*a.* 18 Jan. 1446[33] -
	Jan. 1447 (l.; dep.)[34]	
Thomas Plunket (deputy for Pilkington)		early 1448[35] -
Thomas Bathe	Mar. 1449[36]	- *p.* 19 Feb. 1454[37]

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[30] *C.P.R., 1436-41*, p. 302.

[31] *R.C.H.*, p. 261, no. 1; p. 262, no. 13.

[32] Welles was named as escheator on the Irish exchequer memoranda roll for 20 Henry VI, i.e. 1 September 1441 - 31 August 1442: P.R.O.I., 1A/49/148, p. 165.

[33] *C.P.R., 1441-46*, p. 404.

[34] Confirmation of Bathe's English-seal appointment of 1439 by the Irish parliament: *Stat. Hen. VI*, pp. 88-9.

[35] Plunket was acting as deputy escheator for Pilkington in the Hilary term of 1448: P.R.O.I., 1A/49/135, f. 166.

[36] Further confirmation of Bathe's tenure of office by the Irish parliament: *Stat. Hen. VI*, pp. 120-5.

[37] Ibid., pp. 386-7. There are a number of other references to Bathe's tenure of office throughout the early 1450s, but by April 1455 it appears that he had left office: ibid., pp. 328-9, 332-3; 386-7; *Reg. Mey*, pp. 280-3; *R.C.H.*, p. 267, no. 20.

List 11: Serjeants and king's attorneys

Name	Appointment	Tenure
1) Serjeants at arms		
Laurence Newton	11 Feb. 1415 (l.)[1]	- *p.* 14 Feb. 1418[2]
	10 May 1422 (l.)[3]	
*	8 June 1422? (l.)[4]	
William Hill	28 May 1426[5]	- *p.* 27 Mar. 1427[6]
Robert Archebold	?	on or *a.* 17 Nov. 1428 - 25 May 1430[7]
Thomas Plunket	?	11 May (sic) 1430 - or or *p.* 17 Oct. 1430[8]
Robert Archebold	?	*a.* 12 July 1431 - *p.* 6 Oct. 1439[9]

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[1] Irish-seal confirmation of Newton's tenure of office, which dated from the reign of Richard II: *R.C.H.*, p. 207, no. 131.
[2] P.R.O., E163/7/12, m. 5, printed in 'The background to the arrest of Sir Christopher Preston in 1418', ed. A.J. Otway-Ruthven, p. 92.
[3] Further Irish-seal confirmation of Newton's tenure: P.R.O., E28/37/1.
[4] A warrant for English-seal confirmation of Newton's tenure was apparently authorized on 8 June 1422 (ibid.), but the appropriate letters patent do not seem to have been enrolled.
[5] *R.C.H.*, p. 243, no. 31.
[6] P.R.O., E101/247/20, no. 49.
[7] P.R.O., E101/248/8, m. 2.
[8] Ibid.
[9] P.R.O., E101/248/9; *R.C.H.*, p. 264, no. 45. Archebold is named as serjeant at arms on all three Irish treasurers' accounts for the period Michaelmas 1431 to Michaelmas 1439; the third account also names Thomas Plunket, but whether he briefly returned to office in the late 1430s or was simply paid some arrears due for his earlier service is not clear: P.R.O., E101/540/16; E364/73, m. B.

Name	Appointment	Tenure
* Martin Penteney	23 July 1439 (l.; dep.)[10]	*a.* summer 1440[11] – *p.* 20 Jan. 1442[12]
William Shingylton	?	*p.* 20 Jan. 1442[13] –
* Martin Penteney and Thomas Pulford	12 Mar. 1443[14]	*a.* 17 Apr. 1446[15] –
* Richard fitzWilliam and William Hatton	13 Mar. 1449 (survivorship; dep.)[16]	
William Griffitz	?	*a.* Feb. 1460[17] –

ii) King's serjeants at law[18]

James Uriel	during or before 1414 – 1416-17 or later[19]

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[10] *C.P.R., 1436-41*, p. 285. According to the terms of this appointment Penteney was to replace Newton, who, by this time, had died: no mention was made of the more recent Irish-seal appointees to the office.

[11] An English-seal order to the treasurer of Ireland to pay Penteney's wages as serjeant at arms relates that he had taken his oath in Ireland and received some payment by Trinity 1440: *C.C.R., 1435-41*, p. 420.

[12] The Irish treasurer's account for the period Michaelmas 1439 to 20 January 1442 names Penteney as serjeant at arms and Archebold as late serjeant at arms: P.R.O., E101/248/13.

[13] Shingylton is named as serjeant at arms on the Irish treasurer's account for the period 20 January 1442 to 8 March 1444: P.R.O., E364/79, m. A.

[14] *C.P.R., 1446-52*, p. 241.

[15] P.R.O., E101/540/18.

[16] *C.P.R., 1446-52*, p. 241.

[17] *Stat. Hen. VI*, pp. 728-9.

[18] A list of serjeants at law from *c.* 1261, prepared with full references by Dr Paul Brand, appears in *N.H.I.*, ix, pp. 522-4. References are given here only for officers and dates not included in the *N.H.I.* list.

[19] The Irish exchequer memoranda rolls for 2 and 4 Henry V both mentioned Uriel's tenure as serjeant at law (P.R.O.I., RC8/34, p. 39; /36, p. 697). He had also been holding office in January and February 1406: *R.C.H.*, p. 181, no. 41; p. 184, no. 148.

Name	Appointment	Tenure
Christopher Bernevale	12 Dec. 1420 (g.b.)[20]	
	20 Oct. 1422	- *p.* 1 Apr. 1429[21]
William Boys	?	13 Oct. 1429 - 14 Apr. 1430[22]
Christopher Bernevale	?	14 Apr. 1430[23] -
	22 Sept. 1430 (g.b.)	
	20 June 1432 (d.p.)	- *p.* 18 July 1432 (prob. to 1434)[24]
Thomas (fitz-Christopher) Plunket	8 Nov. 1434 (d.p.)	
Robert Dowdall	20 June 1435 (d.p.)	16 July 1435 - *p.* 27 May 1436[25]
Edward Somerton	?	*c.* 1436? - *a.* 2 Nov. 1437[26]

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[20] *R.C.H.*, p. 251, no. 14 (from the close roll for 9 Henry V, mistakenly printed as 9 Henry VI).
[21] *R.C.H.*, p. 248, no. 13.
[22] P.R.O., E101/248/8, m. 2.
[23] Ibid.
[24] *R.C.H.*, p. 259, no. 10. Bernevale almost certainly continued in office until 1434. Dr Brand suggested that Bernevale (Barnewell) probably left office before he became a justice of the king's bench on 6 April 1434 (see *N.H.I.*, ix, p. 522 and p. 524, n. 20; above, list 9 ii p. 543) but it is possible that he retained the serjeancy until Thomas Plunket succeeded to the office in November. The Irish treasurer's account for Michaelmas 1431 to 27 May 1436 mentions no other serjeants at law besides Bernevale and Plunket (as late serjeants) and Robert Dowdall: P.R.O., E364/73, m. B.
[25] Ibid.; *R.C.H.*, p. 257, no. 64.
[26] Somerton is listed on the Irish treasurer's account for the period 22 June 1436 to 2 November 1437 as late serjeant at law, so it seems that he probably held the office under Irish-seal letters patent for at least a brief period, which ended at least two months before he obtained his English-seal appointment in 1438: P.R.O., E101/540/16.

Name	Appointment	Tenure
* Edward Somerton	4 Feb. 1438 (l.)	*a.* Sept. 1439[27] – *a.* 18 Jan. 1447
Thomas Sneterby	21 Jan. 1447 (g.b.)	
	20 July 1448 (g.b.)	– *p.* 5 July 1454[28]
Peter Trevers	*a.* Feb. 1460	

iii) King's attorneys[29]

John White	4 Oct. 1413 (d.p.)	
	18 Mar. 1414 (g.b.)	
	19 Oct. 1422 (g.b.)	
	19 Oct. 1429	– *p.* 13 Mar. 1432, prob. to *c.* 1436[30]

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[27] Somerton consistently appears as serjeant at law on the four consecutive accounts of the Irish treasurer for the periods ending Michaelmas 1439, 20 January 1442, 8 March 1444 and 17 April 1446: P.R.O., E101/248/13; /540/18; E364/73, m. B; /79, m. A.

[28] *Stat. Hen. VI*, pp. 296, 348-9.

[29] A list of king's attorneys from 1313, prepared by Dr Paul Brand, appears in *N.H.I.*, ix, pp. 513-14. Therefore, as in list 11 ii above, references are given here only for officers and dates not included in *N.H.I.*. It should also be noted that in the early 1440s the scope of the office of king's attorney was extended. Whereas White and Watyr were appointed to act in the exchequer and the common bench, Roche and fitzRery were appointed to act in the courts of chancery and the king's bench as well. The Irish treasurer's account for 1442 to 1444 refers to Sutton both as late king's attorney in the exchequer and common bench and as late king's attorney in the chancery, king's bench, common bench and exchequer (P.R.O., E364/79, m. A). Thus it seems that the change in the form of the appointment occurred during Sutton's tenure of office and was apparently accompanied by an increase in remuneration from £5 to £9 *per annum*: cf. *R.C.H.*, p. 202, no. 4 (White) with *Stat. Hen. VI*, pp. 274-7 (fitzRery).

[30] The later date seems likely as White is the only king's attorney to be named on the Irish treasurer's account for Michaelmas 1431 to 27 May 1436: P.R.O., E364/73, m. B.

Name	Appointment	Tenure
James Watyr		a. 2 Nov. 1439 – 1437 – p. 29 Sept.
William Sutton	?	a. 20 Aug. 1441[32] – p. Mar.
Stephen Roche	?	a. 20 Aug. 1439 – 1441 – p. 5 July 1454
Robert fitzRery	?	
	10 Oct. 1450 (d.b.)	

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[31] Similarly Watyr is the only king's attorney to be mentioned on the two succeeding accounts for the periods 22 June 1436 to 2 November 1437 and 2 November 1437 to Michaelmas 1439: P.R.O., E101/540/16; E364/73, m. B.

[32] On the Irish treasurer's account for Michaelmas 1439 to 20 January 1442 (P.R.O., E101/248/13) Sutton appears as late king's attorney in the exchequer and common bench, and Roche as present king's attorney in chancery, the king's and common benches and the exchequer. Roche had certainly succeeded Sutton by 20 August 1441: N.L.I., MS 4, f. 336-8; P.R.O., E/101/248/16, no. 1.

[33] As Roche also appears as king's attorney on the treasurer's accounts for 20 January 1442 to 19 April 1446 and had his tenure confirmed for good past service by authority of the Irish parliament in March 1449, the likelihood is that this was a continuous period of office (P.R.O., E/101/540/18; E364/79, m. A; *Stat. Hen. VI*, pp. 122-3). The terms of William Sutton's appointment as third baron of the exchequer on 3 December 1445, 'for good service in the office of attorney in the common bench and exchequer of Ireland' led Dr Brand to assume that Sutton had acted as attorney up to this date (*C.P.R., 1441-46*, p. 392; *N.H.I.*, ix, p. 514) but this was probably simply a reference to his earlier tenure of office.

APPENDIX II

THE FINANCING OF THE LIEUTENANCY, 1413-61

Table A: The financial terms of the lieutenants' indentures

Lieutenant (year[1])	Financial terms (intended source)[2]	Retinue[3]
J. Stanley (1413)	**First year:** 4,000 marks (E) **Thereafter[4]:** £2,000 *p.a.* (E) Shipping; revenues of Ireland	As many men and archers as seemed good
Talbot (1414)	Terms as Stanley's above	?
Ormond	**First year:** 1,250 marks (E) + 1,250 marks (I) **Second year:** 2,500 marks (I) Shipping	Not specified
March (1423)	**Each year:** 5,000 marks (E) Shipping	?

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[1] I.e. the year of the lieutenant's appointment.

[2] In this column 'E' indicates money to be drawn from the English exchequer, 'I' indicates money to drawn from the Irish exchequer, 'shipping' means that a lieutenant was also promised shipping expenses, 'revenues of Ireland' that he was granted free disposal of the Irish revenue. The financial terms listed for each lieutenant quote the yearly payments specified in their indentures, or (where these have not survived) in warrants for issue or entries on the English issue rolls. Full references to these documents have been given above in Appendix I, list 1, pp. 477-82.

[3] Details of agreed retinues are given here whenever these were specified in a lieutenant's indentures. In some cases indentures did not specify the size of the lieutenant's retinue, and in other cases, marked '?', no information on this point has survived.

[4] Although John Stanley was appointed for a six-year term, his indentures only made financial arrangements for the first three years in office. His death after less than one year as lieutenant (see above, Appendix I, list 2, p. 483) made it unnecessary to review his finances for the second part of his term, and the indentures drawn up for John Talbot in 1414 made firm financial arrangements for his full six years.

Lieutenant (year)	Financial terms (intended source)	Retinue
Ormond (1425)	**One year only:** 3,000 marks (of which £1,000 from E and £1,000 from I)	Not specified
Grey (1427)	**First year:** 4,000 marks (of which the first £1,000 from E, the rest from I) **Thereafter:** 4,000 marks *p.a.* (I) Shipping	Not specified
Sutton (1428)	**First year:** 4,000 marks (E) + 1,000 marks (I) **Second year:** 4,000 marks (I) Shipping[5]	24 men at arms, 500 archers, for the first year
T. Stanley (1431)	**First year:** 4,000 marks (E) + 1,000 marks (I) **Thereafter:** 4,000 marks *p.a.* (I) Shipping[6]	As for Sutton, above
Welles (1438)	**First year:** 4,000 marks (of which 1,000 m + £1,000 from E and £1,000 from I) **Thereafter:** 3,000 marks *p.a.* (I) Shipping	300 archers from England throughout his term of office
Ormond (1442)	**First year:** 3,000 marks (of which £1,000 from E and £1,000 from I) **Thereafter:** 3,000 marks *p.a.* (I)	As for Welles, above

[5] Although surviving details of the terms of Sutton's indentures make no mention of shipping expenses, these were apparently promised, as a clerk, Richard Bedford, was issued with £106 13s 4d in cash from the English exchequer in March 1428 to pay the masters and sailors of the various ships commissioned to take Sutton and his retinue from Liverpool to Ireland: see below, Table B, p. 562.

[6] The surviving draft version of Thomas Stanley's indentures mentioned shipping expenses and these were presumably promised in whatever form his indentures were finally agreed, as he was subsequently issued with £166 13s 4d in cash for this purpose: see below, Table B, p. 563.

Lieutenant (year)	Financial terms (intended source)	Retinue
Shrewsbury (1445)	**First year:** 4,000 marks (E)[7] **Thereafter:** £2,000 *p.a.* (E) Shipping; revenues of Ireland	Not specified
York (1447)	Terms as Shrewsbury's above	Not specified
Wiltshire (1453)	Terms as Shrewsbury's above (no information about shipping)	?
York (1457)	Terms as Shrewsbury's above	Not specified
Wiltshire (1459)	Terms not known[8]	?

[7] Amongst the various surviving warrants for issue to Shrewsbury as lieutenant of Ireland, one, dated 3 March 1445, appears to authorize payment at a rate of only 3,500 marks for his first year in office, but a subsequent entry on the issue roll does confirm the larger sum of 4,000 marks mentioned in his indentures of February 1445: P.R.O., E403/762, m. 5; E404/61/280.

[8] No record of the financial terms of this appointment has survived: see above, Appendix I, list 1, p. 482.

Table B: English exchequer issues in respect of lieutenants' shipping expenses

Lieutenant	Date	Amount[1]	P.R.O. reference
J. Stanley	27 June 1413	£120 (cash)	E403/612, m. 3.
Talbot	(1414)	(£100 ?)[2]	E403/617, mm. 2, 14-15.
Ormond	11 May 1420	£20/3/4d (by assignment)	E401/693, m. 9.
March	21 July 1424	£40 (cash: paid to Richard Maidstone)	E403/666, m. 12.
Ormond	(1425)	Nil	-[3]
Grey	(1427)	(£20 ?)[4]	E403/680, mm. 3, 9.
Sutton	25 March 1428	£106/3/4d (cash: paid to Richard Bedford, clerk)	E403/683, m. 18.

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[1] Unless otherwise indicated sums for shipping expenses were paid directly to the appropriate lieutenant.

[2] None of the payments made to John Talbot as lieutenant were specifically described on the issue roll as being for shipping expenses, although these were certainly promised by the terms of his indentures (see above, Table A, p. 559). During his first six months as lieutenant, however, he received not only his first half-year's payment, in April, of 2,000 marks, but also, in July, a further £100. This £100, although enrolled as a payment for the wages of his retinue, was certainly additional to the sum promised in his indentures, so may perhaps have been intended for shipping: see below, Table C, p. 565.

[3] In 1425, and again in 1442, the terms of Ormond's indentures as lieutenant made no reference to shipping expenses (see above, Table A, p. 560) and on neither occasion did he receive any payment for this purpose.

[4] Like Talbot, Grey, who was also promised shipping expenses (see above, Table A, p. 560) received no payments specifically noted for shipping, but again the issuing to him in June 1427 of an extra £20, after his initial payment of £1000 had been met, and well before his next instalment fell due at the end of September, may well have been intended as some contribution towards his transport to Ireland: see below, Table C, p. 566.

Lieutenant	Date	Amount	P.R.O. reference
T. Stanley	9 July 1431	£166/13/4d (cash)	E403/698, m. 7.
Welles	22 Feb. 1440	£72/13/6d (by assignment to William Troutbeck)[5]	E403/736, m. 15.
Ormond	(1442)	Nil	-
Shrewsbury	15 July 1446	£133/6/8d (cash)	E403/762, m. 10.
York	23 Jan. 1449	£50 (cash: paid to Peter Bowman)	E403/773, m. 10.
	10 May 1449	£33/6/8d (cash)	E403/776, m. 3.
	10 May 1449	£50 (cash: paid to Thomas Combe)	E403/775, m. 2.
	21 July 1449	£100 (cash: paid to Thomas Combe)	E403/775, m. 8.
	21 July 1449	£58/6/8d (cash: paid to Peter Bowman)[6]	Ibid.
Wiltshire	(1453)	Nil[7]	-

[5] This assignment was long overdue, for Welles had sailed to Ireland from Chester in spring 1438. Troutbeck, then chamberlain of Chester, had been amongst those commissioned to take the lieutenant's muster before embarkation (*C.P.R., 1436-41*, p. 200). The sum assigned to Troutbeck, however, probably represented only a part of the total cost of the lieutenant's shipping. According to the account, which lord Welles later presented at the English exchequer, he himself had paid £66/13/4d towards his shipping expenses, a sum which in 1444 had still not been refunded by the exchequer: P.R.O., E101/540/17.

[6] In addition to these various sums a futher total of £25/6/8d was paid to Combe and Henry Whyome, king's serjeant at arms, for their own expenses incurred in collecting York's shipping (P.R.O., E403/775, mm. 1, 6, 7). Combe himself later accounted for the spending of most of the money disbursed for York's shipping: E101/54/10; E364/90, m. B.

[7] It is not certain whether or not Wiltshire's indentures promised him shipping expenses (see above, Table A, p. 561) but he apparently made no preparations to depart for Ireland as lieutenant, and there is certainly no record of any payment being made to him for shipping purposes.

Lieutenant	Date	Amount	P.R.O. reference
York	(1457)	Nil[8]	-
Wiltshire	(1459)	Nil[9]	-

[8] Although the terms of York's second appointment as lieutenant in 1457 did promise him shipping expenses to Ireland, it is hardly surprising, in view of the unusual circumstances of his departure for Ireland in 1459 as a fugitive from a royal army at Ludford Bridge, that his expenses were not funded by the English exchequer: see above, p. 47.

[9] Again Wiltshire failed to go to Ireland after his appointment to the lieutenancy, but by this stage Lancastrian government was in such a state of disarray that not only were no payments made to him as lieutenant, but it is also possible that formal indentures were never drafted or sealed: see below, Table C, p. 571 and Appendix I, list 1, p. 482.

Table C: English exchequer issues in respect of the yearly payments due to lieutenants according to their indentures[1]

Lieutenant	Issues during term of office[2]	Reassignments and subsequent payments[3]
J. Stanley	1413: C. £2,666/13/4d + C. £37/10/4d (for arrows)	None
Talbot	1414: C. £1,433/6/8d[4]	
	1415: A. £2,166/3/4d	
	1416: C. £1,568/0/4d	
	1417: A. £2,200	
	1418: C. £249/14/9½d + A. £1,567/4/8½d	
	1419: C. £106/9/8d + A. £1,610/4/5d + £230/3/8d (in bonds)	(of which £185/8/5d reassigned 1421)

[1] The figures in this table have been compiled from the English exchequer receipt and issue rolls for the reigns of Henry V and Henry VI (P.R.O., E401/658-876; E403/612-820). To give individual references for all the payments made each year seemed unduly cumbersome, but full references are cited in footnotes when discrepancies between different rolls make particular yearly totals uncertain. For the lieutenants appointed between 1423 and 1431 overall totals of cash payments and tables of the separate payments made by assignment with details of 'bad' tallies and reassignments (to 1435 only) appear in H.L. Ratcliffe, 'The military expenditure of the English crown 1422-1435' (Oxford M. Litt. thesis, 1979), pp. 147-54.

[2] I.e. new, first-time, issues, not reassignments relating to previous issues. For simplicity issues are listed by calendar year, rather than by the lieutenants' first, second, third years etc. in office. The precise date on which office years started is not always clear, and payments did not always relate to the office year during which they were issued. Cash issues are marked 'C', issues by assignment are marked 'A'. As the lieutenants' indentures frequently specified payments in marks (i.e. multiples of 13s 4d) it seemed unhelpful to round issues up to the nearest £. Payments specifically for shipping are listed in Table B above and are not included here.

[3] I.e. reassignments made both during and after the lieutenants' terms of office and any new payments made after leaving office.

[4] This sum comprised Talbot's first payment of 2,000 marks (issued in full on 30 April 1414) and an extra £100 (issued on 29 July) which could have been intended to cover his shipping expenses, although no mention of these are made: see above, Table B, p. 562.

Lieutenant	Issues during term of office	Reassignments and subsequent payments
Talbot		1420-22: C. £85/3/4d + A. £762 + (in bonds) £331/6/8d
Ormond	1420: C. £833/6/8d	None
	1421: C. £200 + A. £216/13/4d[5]	
	1422: Nil	
March	1423: C. £1,333/6/8d + A. £1,966/13/4d	(of which £422/11/10d reassigned 1425-29)
	1424: A. £908/13/4d	(of which £200 reassigned 1425-28)
	1425: C. £8/13/4d	
Ormond	1425: A. £1,000	(of which £200 reassigned in 1426 and the tallies for a further £550 exchanged for £66/13/4d cash + £300 by assignment in 1427[6])
	1426: Nil	
Grey	1427: C. £1,353/6/8d[7]	

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[5] On the treasurer's issue roll for Easter 9 Henry V this assignment appears as £261/13/4d, but the king's chamberlain's receipt roll and Ormond's subsequent account as lieutenant both confirm the lower figure cited above: P.R.O., E101/247/11; E364/57, m. C; E401/697,17 July; E403/649, m. 12.

[6] Ormond thus remitted £183/6/8d to the crown. His agreement to do so was noted on both the issue and receipt rolls for Michaelmas 6 Henry VI: P.R.O., E401/717, 5 Dec.: E403/683, m. 9.

[7] This sum comprised three separate payments - Grey's initial lump sum of £1,000 issued in full in May, a futher £20 extra in June (which may perhaps have been intended for shipping: see above, Table B, p. 562) and £333/6/8d in November which was paid after Grey had obtained a warrant for the issue from the English exchequer of a further £1,000, which had been due to him at the Irish exchequer at Michaelmas and which he had been unable to obtain: P.R.O., E403/680, mm. 3, 9; /683, m. 5; E404/44/152.

Lieutenant	Issues during term of office	Reassignments and subsequent payments
Grey		1428-33: C. £126/13/4d + A. £358/16/8d[8]
Sutton	1428: C. £2,000	
	1429: A. £2,523/6/8d[9]	(of which £61/13/4d reassigned 1432-48)
	1430: A. £1,290[10]	(of which £164 reassigned and £20 exchanged for cash 1430-32)
T. Stanley	1431: C. £1,635/13/4d + A. £364/6/8d	
	1432: A. £420	
	1433: A. £942/6/½d	(of which £541/18/11d reassigned 1434-40)
	1434: A. £3,823/10/1d	(of which £1,200 reassigned 1434-54)
	1435: A. £1,176/9/11½d	(of which £178/13/4d reassigned and £16 exchanged for cash 1437-43)
	1436: A. £731/1/8d	(of which £666/13/4d reassigned 1437)

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[8] The various payments made to Grey in 1427 and 1428 are also listed in P.R.O., E101/248/3. Tallies worth £53/6/8d issued in November 1428 were subsequently exchanged for cash 1429-30: P.R.O., E401/721, 11 Nov.; E403/688, m. 12; /691, m. 20.

[9] This total is derived from four separate payments in February, June and December enrolled on the issue rolls for Michaelmas and Easter 7 Henry VI and Michaelmas 8 Henry VI (P.R.O., E403/688, m. 13; /689, m. 9; /691, mm. 10, 12). However, the record of one of the December payments on the only surviving receipt roll for Michaelmas 8 Henry VI falls £200 short of the issue roll sum: E401/723, 18 Dec.

[10] This is the figure given on the undamaged Warwick chamberlain's issue roll for Michaelmas 8 Henry VI, but the corresponding entry of the assignment on the only surviving receipt roll for the same term suggests that the tallies offered to Sutton on this occasion may have totalled nearly £1,326: P.R.O., E401/723, 18 Feb.; E403/691, m. 18.

Lieutenant	Issues during term of office	Reassignments and subsequent payments
T. Stanley	1437: C. £64/3/8d + A. £3,128/9/8d	(of which £826/16/7½d reassigned and £80 exchanged for cash 1437-43)
		1439: A. £1,443/8/0d (of which £266/13/4d reassigned and £126/13/4d exchanged for cash 1439-42)
Welles	1438: C. £1,666/13/4d	
	1439: C. £1,100 + A. £702[11]	(of which £503 reassigned 1441-49)
	1440: C. £435/1/4d + A. £262/18/8d	(of which £200 reassigned 1441-45)
	1441: C. £107/3/7d + A. £5/13/4d	
		1442: A. £1,000 (of which £450 reassigned and £100 exchanged for cash 1442-54)

[11] This sum was made up of eleven separate issues between July and November. In one instance a discrepancy of 10s. between an issue roll entry and the corresponding note of the assignment on the receipt roll is resolved by Welles' account as lieutenant which confirms the slightly higher figure given by the receipt roll: P.R.O., E101/540/17; E401/766,29 Oct.; E403/736, m. 3.

Lieutenant	Issues during term of office	Reassignments and subsequent payments
Ormond	1442: C. £100 + A. £906/13/4d	(of which £460 reassigned 1443-56[12])
	1443: A. £1,000	(of which £404/19/1d reassigned and £10 exchanged for cash 1443-48)
	1444: Nil	
		1446: A new assignment, amount uncertain,[13] (of which £41 was reassigned 1447-53)
Shrewsbury	1445: Nil	
	1446: A. £3,666/13/4d	(of which £1,333/6/8d exchanged for cash two weeks later, £1813/13/4d reassigned and £202/13/4d exchanged for cash 1446-53)
	1447: Nil	

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[12] Some of the various reassignments of the issues originally made in respect of this lieutenancy were secured by Ormond's son-in-law, John Talbot. A warrant of 8 June 1445 authorized the exchange of £300 in tallies, which Ormond had transferred to Talbot in part payment of Elizabeth Ormond's dowry (P.R.O., E404/61/227). Significantly two further tallies, originally issued to Ormond in 1442, totalling £60 were ultimately reassigned on 5 October 1456, the day on which Talbot, then second earl of Shrewsbury, became treasurer of England: P.R.O., E401/854, m. 3; *H.B.C.*, p. 107.

[13] The only record of this assignment apparently derives from the subsequent reassignment of £41 in November 1447 (P.R.O., E403/769, m. 4). The date given for the original assignment is 21 February 1446, but the treasurer's receipt and issue rolls for the appropriate term, Michaelmas 24 Henry VI, contain no mention of it.

Lieutenant	Issues during term of office	Reassignments and subsequent payments
Shrewsbury	1448: C. £1,000 A. £236/6/8d[14]	
		1451: A. £1,763/13/4d (for past service in Ireland. Of this sum, £66 was reassigned and £13/6/8d exchanged for cash 1454-5)
York	1448: C. £1,333/6/8d	
	1449: A. £1,200	
	1450: Nil	
	1451: A. £656/6/8d[15]	
	1452: Nil	
Wiltshire	1453: A. £2,666/13/4d	(of which £133/6/8d exchanged for cash 1455)

[14] Although both these issues postdated the duke of York's actual appointment as lieutenant of Ireland in 1447, Shrewsbury was described in the issue roll entries as lieutenant in Ireland (on 14 February 1448) and now keeper of Ireland (on 19 June 1448): P.R.O., E403/769, m. 12; /771, m. 6. Apparently the exchequer recognised that York's appointment had not yet taken effect in Ireland, where the Dublin administration was probably still headed by Archbishop Talbot as Shrewsbury's deputy: see above, Appendix I, list 2, p. 489.

[15] This figure is taken from the note of the assignment on the receipt roll (P.R.O., E401/822, 6 Aug.). On both of the two surviving issue rolls for this term the value of the assignment was left blank: E403/784, m. 12; /785, m. 14.

Lieutenant	Issues during term of office	Reassignments and subsequent payments
York	1454: Nil	
	1455: Nil	
	1456: Nil	
	1457: A. £446/0/11½d	

The surviving issue and receipt rolls for the final years of Henry VI's reign contain no record of any further cash payments or assignments in respect of Ireland either to York, who was reappointed to continue in office as lieutenant from 8 December 1457, or to Wiltshire, who was reappointed in November 1459.

Table D: Irish exchequer contributions towards the yearly payments due to the lieutenants

Lieutenant	Issues	P.R.O. references[1]
J. Stanley	(1413-14) N/A) All payments due from England: see above, Table A, p. .	
Talbot	(1414-20) N/A)	
Ormond	1420-22: £1,343/17/3¾d	E101/247/11; E364/57 m. C.
March	(1423-25) N/A - All payments due from England: see above, Table A, p. .	
Ormond	1425-26: £541/8/8d	E364/60, m. C.
Grey	Mich. 1427: Irish exchequer unable to pay the £1,000 due to the lieutenant	E404/44/152.
	Nov. - Dec. 1427: A small, unspecified sum[2]	E101/248/4; E364/66, m. E.
Sutton	1428: Nil	E101/248/4; E404/45/138.
	1429: £197/1/6¼d	E404/46/154, 161, 177, 183.
	1430: No new issues, but an earlier tally of £6 exchanged between Apr. 1430 and Mich. 1431	E364/73, m. B.

[1] Since so few of the original Irish exchequer issue rolls have survived, the information in this table has been pieced together from other sources, namely a lieutenant's account and the Irish treasurers' accounts (E101; E364) and the English warrants for issue, which detailed the various payments which lieutenants had been unable to extract from the Irish exchequer, in order to authorize compensatory issues from the English exchequer (E404).

[2] A schedule of payments received by, and still due to, lord Grey for his lieutenancy was drawn up at the English exchequer early in 1430 and made no mention of any significant contribution from the Irish exchequer: P.R.O., E101/248/3.

Lieutenant	Issues	P.R.O. references
T. Stanley	1432: £36	E404/49/172.
	1433: Nil	E404/50/154, 280.
	1434: £76/13/4d	E404/51/114, 139, 370, 383.
	1435: £340/8/5d	E404/51/384; /53/ 149, 150, 151.
	1436: £65/6/8d	E404/53/165, 166, 321.
	Easter 1437: Nil	E404/53/322.
	No evidence of any further issues to Stanley thereafter.	
Welles	1438: Nil)	E404/56/69, 158, 255; /57/88, 89, 165.
	1439: Nil)	
	1440: £109/6/8d	E404/57/318; E101/ 248/13.
	1441: Nil	E101/540/17.
Ormond	1442-44: Nil	E404/59/135, 275; /60/107, 210; /66 /30.[3]
Shrewsbury	(1445-47) N/A)	
York	(1448-53) N/A) All payments due from England: see above, Table A, p. .	
Wiltshire	(1453-54) N/A)	
York	(1454-60) N/A)	

[3] The Irish treasurer's account for the period 20 January 1442 to 8 March 1444 does include Ormond amongst those listed as recipients of Irish issues (P.R.O., E364/79, m. A) but the English warrants for issue state categorically that the lieutenant received no contributions from the Irish exchequer towards the yearly payments agreed in his indentures. The Irish issues which Ormond received may have been due to the exchanging of some earlier assignments or to some different, extra charges.

APPENDIX III

ILLUSTRATIVE DOCUMENTS[1]

i) Ormond's copy of the indentures between himself as lieutenant and Donagh O'Byrne, chief of his clan, sealed at Dublin on 6 December 1425[2] (P.R.O., E30/1572)

Hec indentura facta inter nobilem et potentem dominum Jacobum le Botiller Comitem de Ormond locumtenentem domini Regis in terra sua Hibernie ex una parte et Donatum O Bryn sue nacionis Capitaneum ex altera parte testatur quod praedictus Donatus pro se omnibus hominibus subditis et subiectis ac sub gubernacionem existentibus aut imposterum fore contingentibus facetur recognoscit et concedit non vi metu nec dolo ductus sed pure sponte et absolute se fuisse et esse fidelem ligeum domini nostri Regis ac hominem dicti locumtenentis et pacem ac fidelitatem eidem domini Regi dicto locumtenenti et ligeis ac pacificis dicti domini Regis pro perpetuo fideliter observare quodque praefatus Donatus in signum ligeancie et fidelitatis sue promittit et se obligat tenere facere et perimplere domino Regi dicto locumtenenti et omnibus ligeis domini Regis omnes et singulas convenciones quas idem Donatus fecit cum Edmundo nuper Comite Marchie et Ultonie tunc locumtenente domini Regis in Hibernia ut in indentura inter ipsos Comitem Marchie et Donatum [noviter] magis plane

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[1] The various places where the original texts are either torn or illegible are indicated in the transcripts by square brackets. Within these conjectural readings have been inserted wherever these may be deduced with reasonable certainty from the surrounding text.

[2] This document, together with three other surviving submissions by Gaelic leaders to Ormond during the term of his second lieutenancy, is discussed above, pp. 185-96. Contractions have been expanded, but the punctuation is that of the original text.

patent. Insuper praefatus Donatus promittit et per praesentes concedit quod omnes et singulos mercatores ligeos cum suis mercundinis bonis et rebus quibuscumque in patriam suam causa vendicionis sive empcionis venientes contra quoscumque salve et secure cum mercimoniis bonis et rebus suis manutenebit proteget salvet et defendet. Eciam vult et concedit quod si quis ex hominibus subditis aut subiectis suis aliquem mercatorem ligeum sic cum mercimoniis bonis et rebus suis in patriam suam venientem capiat sive aliqua bona ab eo mercatore ablatus fuerit vel sibi injuria fecerit quod sic injuste captum liberum transire permittet et permitti faciet et pro bonis sic ab eo ablatis tot bona sibi restituet et restitui faciet verreciam tanta bona dicto Jacobo locumtenenti nomine pene solvere teneatur. Et si contingat quod extranei et non homines sub gubernacionem suam existentes injuriam sic dictis mercatoribus ligeis seu mercatori ligeo faciunt seu facient tunc promittit et obligat se cum tota potestate sua prosequi pro sufficientibus emendacionibus injuria passis fieri et si necesse fuerit extraneos sic injuria mercatoribus ligeis sic ut supra facientes pro emendacionibus habendis pro toto posse suo deguerrabit. Et si contingat aliquem de hominibus subditis aut subiectis dicti Donati rapinam furtum incendium seu aliquod aliud delictum facere aliquibus ligeis et pacificis domini Regis in aliquo loco infra Hiberniam tunc dictus Donatus quamcito praemissa probata fuerint faciet emendas sufficientes injuria passis seu passo et tunc idem Donatus capiet a persona sive a personis praemissa delicta fidelibus et pacificis dicti domini Regis perpetrantibus et solvet nomine pene dicto locumtenenti. Simili modo dictus locumtenens si quis ex ligeis domini Regis rapinam furtum aut incendium alicui de hominibus dicti Donati fecerit quamcito praemissa probata fuerint faciet injuria passo emendas sufficienter et tunc capiet nomine pene ad usum proprium a personis praemissa

perpetrantibus. Insuper praefatus Jacobus locumtenens si praedictus Donatus bene et fideliter tenuerit conventiones praescriptas vult contra quoscumque sibi injuriantes manutenere protegere et defendere ut ligeum et pacificum domini Regis manutenere protegere et defendere tenetur. In cuius rei testimonium huic parti indenture penes praefatum Jacobum locumtenentum remanenti praefatus Donatus sigillum suum apposuit. Data apud Dublin sexto die Decembris anno regni Regis Henrici sexti quarto.

(Seal attached, bearing the words, 'Donatus O bryn capit'. No endorsement.)

ii) Letter to Ormond from John Sutton, lieutenant of Ireland, written at Trim on 5 November [1429][3] (B.L., Cotton MS. Titus B xi, part i, no. 56)

John Sutton lord of Duddeley

lieutenant of Ireland.

Ryght entierly welbelovyd cosyn we grete yow well. And as to all the tydynges here beneth the erle of Desmond ys Frere can tell ham yow by mowthe, but as to your parte a[nd m]yn I hire myche langage made here (*one word erased*) by men of this contray wenynge fully that the frenship betwene yow and me shold breke of all at this tyme. I lete yow ful[ly] wite that as to my parte hit shall not breke yn no wise for yn goode faith

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[3] For a discussion of this document, see above, pp. 243-6. The year in which the letter was written is fixed by the references in the text to the recent coronation in France of Charles VII (July 1429) also to the forthcoming coronation in England of Henry VI (November 1429) and to Sutton's own appointment of Thomas Strange as deputy lieutenant: see below, p. 577. Strange was acting as deputy by 11 November 1429: see above, Appendix I, list 2, p. 486. In transcribing this and the following English texts contractions have been expanded, and some additional punctuation has been inserted.

I wille don as myche to your worship and your eese to my power bothe here and yn England as wille the beste frend that ye haue that ys yn England and truste ye that fully and non other. And that I have don here yn makynge of sir Thomas Strange depute I have don hit fully to myn entente both for your eese worship and myn, also cosidrynge the case and myschefe that hit stode yn as I shall declare to yow here after more playnely at oure spekynge togedderes whiche shall be with god ys grace withyn shorte tyme yn England, praynge yow that ye wold for your worship and profite and myn bothe hye yow theder yn all haste possible that we may with god ys myghte answer as trewe men oghte for to don and prove oure adversaries (and enemyes *inserted above the line*) lieres. For I lete yow fully wite the kynge shall be croned yn Engeland on Seynt Leonard ys day next comynge and the parlament ys nygh at anend there and yf hit be don er we come hit wille be grete harme for us bothe. And also my lord of Stafford gothe yn (to *inserted above the line*) France yn all haste and the kyng shall gone theder anone after, before Ester. And myche of France ys loste, all Champayne and Seynt Denys, and the dolfyn ys coroned, and many other townes and castelles ben wonne. And by cause of all theis said tydynge of France me semyth and ye and I weren yn England we shold brynge abowte our purpose the rader (*recte* fader?) no more at this tyme, but I pray yow send me summe word frome yow yn all haste er that I go to shippe. And god kepe yow. Written at Trim the Saturday next after Alhalowen day, whiche day I was goynge to Droghda to shipward. And as to the White Knyghte ys so[mm *or* n]e, I pray yow that ye contente hym of xlij marcs, and I wille contente yow of the same summe yn England.

(*dorse*) To oure ryght entierly welbelovyd cosyn the erle of Ormond.

iii) Letter under the English privy seal, dated 3 April [1438]* (P.R.O., E28/59/59)

By the kyng

Ryght trusty and welbeloved Cousin. For asmuche as ye were ordeined and fully appointed with us by thavis of oure counseil that ye shuld have shapen yow in to the parties of oure Cuntre of Irlande at mighelmesse last passed with a certain retenue as ye knowe for the deffense of oure saide land and theruppon endented with us, at the whiche terme ye excused you and put youre going overe unto Cristemasse last, at whiche tyme ye made ful belieft and promis unto oure said Counseil for to have goon at this next Estre, withoute any longer delay, and theruppon youre wages parcel received and youre shipping redy to have be ordeined fore by oure Tresourer of England if ye wolde have sent therfore. And now we be enfourmed that ye wol sende afore as youre depute oure Cousin of Ormond but with xl speres and vj^{c} bowes and ye to come [there] at midsomer next expressely a yein your said promis. Wherefore we merveille seynge the juparde and peril of oure said lande and the inconvenientes whiche might sue therofe, whyche god deffende. We wol and charge you that with oute any excusacion makynge in that cas ye shape you forward in al hast possible in youre own propre persone infulfilling of youre said promis and in salvacion of our said land as ye wol answere un to us at your owne peril considering that it was your own desir and request for to goo thider. Latinge you wite that how be hit that we

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* The case in favour of this dating is set out in full below, pp. 579-84. For a discussion of the letter, see above, pp. 276-7.

knowe wel that oure said cousin of Ormond shulde doo us there right gode and notable service, yit consideringe the division and striffe whiche hangeth betwix him and oure cousin Talbot, and also that eche of hem hath land and grete frendshippes within oure saide land, unto the tyme suche materes the whiche might rather cause there trouble and hindrance thanne the pees were finished hit semeth us and oure said counseil oure said cousins abidinge of Ormond necessary til the saide maters be at a ful ende. And therfore we wol that ye souffre him nat departe in no wise til it be doon. And [we shal ordeyn] oure said cousin of Ormond to come unto you and in your felowshipp to doo us the service that he can. Yeven under oure prive seal at Westmynstre the thridde [day of] Averill.

(No endorsement)

. . . . . .

lote on dating:

The dating of this document has presented some difficulties as it ears neither the regnal year nor the name of the intended recipient. owever, it is clear from the text that the letter belongs to a year when he date of writing, 3 April, fell before Easter, and that the addressee as a new lieutenant whose failure to prepare to meet three successive eadlines for departure to Ireland - namely the previous Michaelmas, nristmas and the forthcoming Easter - had finally exhausted royal atience.[5]

See above, p. 578, ll. 1-10 of main text.

At the Public Record Office, London, the letter is filed amongst council and privy seal documents of September 1437 to April 1439 with a suggested dating of 17 Henry VI, i.e. 1439. However, in 1439, although 3 April fell just before Easter - it was in fact Good Friday - and although the lieutenant at the time, lord Welles, was then in England, he had spent all the preceding summer and autumn and most of the winter in Ireland.[6]

An alternative dating of 1449 put forward by Professor Griffiths on the grounds that the opening phrase of the letter, 'Ryght trusty and welbeloved Cousin', makes it very likely to have been intended for the then lieutenant, Richard, duke of York, 'Henry's blood cousin',[7] is unconvincing. As the text of the letter itself demonstrates, 'cousin' had a wider application, and one would not expect a letter of 1449 to cite 'the division and striffe which hangeth betwix [oure said cousin of Ormond] and oure cousin Talbot' as grounds for refusing to countenance the sending of Ormond to Ireland as deputy lieutenant.[8] John Talbot, whose title from May 1442 onwards was no longer merely lord Talbot, but earl of Shrewsbury, had, with the active personal encouragement of the king, finally settled the long feud with Ormond in the mid 1440s.[9] Although York was undoubtedly still in England on 3 April 1449, he had initially been appointed as lieutenant from Michaelmas 1447,[10] which was a year too early to be identified as the 'mighelmesse last passed' mentioned in the letter.

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[6] See above, Appendix I, list 2, p. 488.
[7] See Griffiths, *Henry VI*, p. 439, n. 105.
[8] See above, p. 579, ll. 1-3.
[9] Discussed above, pp. 381-93. While John Talbot was undoubtedly styled *notre cousin Jehan sire de Talbot* before his creation as earl of Shrewsbury, the normal form thereafter was *notre cousin John counte de Shrovesbury* (e.g. B.L., Add. Ch. 439, dating from 1438; P.R.O., E404/62/226, dating from 1446; I am indebted to Dr A.J. Pollard for advice on this point). The phrase, 'oure cousin Talbot', could not have been intended to refer to John's brother Richard, for he would have been described as 'oure cousin therchebishop of Dyvelyn': cf. B.L., Cotton MS Titus B xi, no. 21.
[10] See above, Appendix I, list 1, p. 481; list 2, p. 489.

Moreover, his first payment as lieutenant was issued on 30 November 1448,[11] which would thus have been before, rather than after, 'Cristemasse last'.[12]

Other than 1449, there are only three years during Henry VI's reign when Easter fell after 3 April and when a lieutenant of some months standing had not, by that date, departed for Ireland, namely 1424, 1438 and 1446. Although Ormond was conveniently in England in the early spring of each of these years, the first and third can be dismissed. A dating of 1446 is inherently implausible as the then lieutenant was none other than the earl of Shrewsbury himself.[13] In the spring of 1424 the earl of March as lieutenant did indeed dispatch Ormond to Ireland as his second deputy and immediate forerunner,[14] but it is highly unlikely that the English council would have sought to prevent this course of action in the king's name in the terms set out in this letter. March's letters patent of appointment in May 1423 had placed no restrictions on his use of deputies[15] and numerous payments were issued to him before Christmas 1423 and none during the early months of 1424.[16] The Talbot-Ormond quarrel had apparently been settled in the English parliament of 1423; the frailty of this accord was not to be evident until after 1425.[17]

By contrast the circumstances of 1438 fit those of the letter very much more closely, and as this date falls well within the chronological limits of the document's current file, it is strange that this possibility

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[11] P.R.O., E403/773, m. 6.
[12] C.f. above, p. 578, ll. 6-9 of main text.
[13] Appointed the previous year: see above, Appendix I, list 1, p. 480.
[14] See above, pp. 169-72.
[15] *Foedera*, x, p. 282.
[16] Eight separate issues were made to March between 20 May and 10 December 1423, but none thereafter until 3 July 1424: P.R.O., E403/660, mm. 7, 12, 15; /663, mm. 2, 5, 8, 10; /666, m. 12.
[17] See above, pp. 166-7, 212-16.

does not appear to have been given more serious consideration hitherto. Although lord Welles' letters patent and the only surviving copy of his indentures are dated 12 February 1438, his first payment as lieutenant was issued from the English exchequer as early as 22 January.[18] Not only is this fully consistent with the information about payment in the letter, but almost certainly an indication that some earlier version of Welles' indentures was agreed well before 12 February.[19] Indeed, as the term of the preceding lieutenant, Thomas Stanley, expired in August 1437,[20] it is very likely that his successor was initially encouraged to take up office well before his actual arrival in May 1438. The surviving indentures of 12 February proposed that Welles' term should commence on 1 May. If he was to arrive in Ireland on this date the final deadline mentioned in the letter, Easter, which in 1438 fell on 13 April, was a suitable target for the final preparations for his departure. Unlike March, and indeed York, Welles was one of the lieutenants whose terms of appointment did not permit the employment of a deputy in advance of his own arrival in Ireland.[21] In his case, therefore, there was ample justification for the rebuke contained in the letter that the appointment of a deputy at this time was 'expressely a yein your said promis'.[22] There was similar justification in 1438 for royal anxiety about the Talbot-Ormond feud. The English council had been fully alerted as to the seriousness of the feud

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[18] P.R.O., E403/729, m. 10. For the dates of his surviving documents of appointment, see above, Appendix I, list 1, p. 480.
[19] In the cases of all other lieutenants under Henry V and Henry VI the date of the first exchequer issue was, as one would expect, later than the date of the sealing of the indentures.
[20] See above, Appendix I, list 1, p. 479.
[21] Discussed above, pp. 31, 33, 35.
[22] See above, p. 578, l. 13 of main text.

in Ireland in 1428 and was well aware that it had continued to cause trouble thereafter.[23]

Of only three apparent inconsistencies between statements in the letter and the circumstances of 1438, one is relatively trivial and the remaining two have almost certainly been misleading. The letter expresses surprise that the lieutenant should propose to dispatch Ormond to Ireland 'but with xl speres and vj^{c} bowes', [24] whereas the retinue actually agreed for Welles himself in 1438 was very significantly smaller than this - a mere three hundred archers. However, the likelihood is either that the figures cited in the letter were inflated by clerkly error, or that there was some brief confusion about the real extent of the lieutenant's own 'certain retenue', the size of which the letter does not attempt to define. No retinues actually specified for lieutenants of Ireland in this period appear to have exceeded twenty-four men at arms and five hundred archers.[25] Secondly, the letter states firmly that it was lieutenant's 'own desir and request' to go to Ireland, whereas Welles, in letters patent guaranteeing him continuing membership of the royal household in mid-February 1438, was said to have been 'persuaded to undertake the lieutenancy' by the king.[26] However, the series of procrastinations outlined in the letter does not in itself suggest sustained eagerness on the part of the lieutenant: possibly Welles, having presented an initial proffer in the summer of 1437, had second thoughts during the autumn and winter. The final point which might previously have been thought to preclude a dating of 1438, in fact confirms it. On 3 April 1438 letters

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[23] See above, pp. 224-5, 229-30, 232-48, 252-7.
[24] Above, p. 578, l. 12 of main text.
[25] For Welles' and other lieutenants' retinues, see above, Appendix II, Table A, pp. 559-61.
[26] *C.P.R., 1436-41*, p. 140; c.f. above, p. 578, l. 19 of main text.

patent were authorized commissioning shipping for the transport of Welles, Ormond and their retinues to Ireland together.[27] On the face of it this order appears incompatible with the statement in the letter, that 'hit semeth to us and oure said counseil oure said cousins abidinge of Ormond necessary til the saide maters [i.e. the Talbot-Ormond quarrel] be at a ful ende'.[28] Nevertheless, despite minor damage to the last part of the letter, it seems that the king and his council, while anxious to prevent an Ormond deputyship, were willing that the earl should accompany the lieutenant to Ireland. The joint shipping order of 3 April 1438 was no doubt the practical realisation of the letter's final promise to the lieutenant that Ormond should 'come unto you and in your felowshipp to doo us the service that he can'.[29]

iv) Tripartite indentures between Ormond, Archbishop Richard Talbot of Dublin and Lionel, lord Welles, lieutenant, 15 March 1441 (P.R.O., C47/10/26, no. 7)[30]

[This] indenture [tripartite] made betwix the [_____ _____ _____] lord Welles lieutenaunt of our lord kyng of his lond of Irlond and [the] reverent fader in god Richard Archebisshop of Dyvelyn [and] James Botiller Erle of Ormond witnesseth that for as muche as the sayde lieutenaunt proposeth by the grace of god go in to Englond, and hath made the sayde Erle his depute in his [place], for to have a good accorde and [_____]

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[27] *C.P.R., 1436-41*, p. 177.
[28] Above, p. 579, ll. 6-8.
[29] Above, p. 579, ll. 9-10.
[30] For a detailed discussion of this agreement, see above, pp. 285-92. The document is in poor condition, but seems to be one of the three original copies of the indentures. There are two indented edges, but unfortunately no surviving seals.

and to continue [tham]yte, cosange and kyndenesse betwix the saide Archebisshop and Erle [and] the whiche the sayde Archebisshop and Erle [_____] by [_____] and by assent of the sayd lieutenaunt the sayde Archebisshop and Erll ben this accorde. That is to say the sayde Archebisshop in absens of the sayde lieutenaunt [schall be] good, forberyng and [_____] to the sayde Erle his depute and good lord to alle persones that ben adherantes and servauntes to the sayde Erll, and for alle chalanges whiche the sayde [Archebi]sshop hath to any of the sayd adherantes or servaunts of the sayde Erll schall stande to the reule and ordenaunce of Robert Dowedall chef justice of the kynges commune bench William Chevir seconde justice of the kynges chef place James Cornwalshe chef Baron of the kynges Eschecer Robert Dyke clerke of the Rolles Peter Clynton oune of the Barons of the Escheker Edward Somerton kynges serjeant of lawe Edward Eustace knyght Richard fitz Eustace knyght Robert Plunket and Philip fitz William other (the *inserted above the line*) most part of hem. And in the same manere the sayde Erll in absens of the sayd lieutenaunt beyng depute to the sayde lieutenaunt schall be good trewe and foreberyng to the sayde Archebisshop and good lorde to alle persones that ben adheraunts frendes feed men and servauntes to the sayde Archebisshop, and for alle chalanges that the sayde Erll hath to any of the sayde adherantes feed men other servauntes of the sayde Archebisshop other may hap to have in tyme to come duryng the Absens of the sayde lieutenaunt the sayde Erll beyng depute to the sayde lieutenaunt the sayde Erle and Archebisshop for the adherentes feed men servauntes to the sayde Archebisshop schall stande to the reule and ordenaunce of the sayde Robert Dowedall William Chevir James Cornwalshe Robert Dyke Peter Clynton Edward Somerton Edward Eustace Richard fitz Eustace Robert Plunket and Philip fitz William other the most part of hem in that cas. And the sayde Erle

graunteth [_____] that he schall sue no suyt ageynes John Blakeney the elder James Blakeney his sone John Brayne of Dyvelyn Robert Chambre ne William Cater[31] duryng ye tyme that he is depute unto the sayde lieutenaunt [for] no chalange that the sayde Erll hath to hem or to eny of hem. Ne the sayde Erll duryng the tyme that he schall be depute to the seyde lieutenaunt schall not make [_____] to be in ne non manere of Commission of oier and terminer agaynes the sayde Archebisshop adherentes frendes feed men ne servauntes. And also the sayde Erll schall not make no manere suytes ageynes the sayde Archebisshop adherentes frendes feed men and servauntes to the sayde Archebisshop [other] agaynes any of hem for any cause passed ne to come duryng the tyme that the sayde Erle [schall be] depute to the sayde lieutenaunt and [_____] of adherentes frendes feed men and servauntes of the sayde Archebisshop other Erll in tranne make any goarthyng agaynes [_____] for any manere of cause that the [_____ _____] ne querell that be made by the sayde Archebisshop ne Erll as by [_____] of hem but [_____] be [_____] by the sayd Robert Dowedall William Chevir James Cornwalshe Robert Dyke Peter Clynton Edward Somerton Edward Eustace Richard fitz Eustace Robert Plunket and Philip fitz William. And if that the sayde Erle duryng the tyme that he schall be depute to the sayde lieutenaunt [*a word inserted above the line*] disese ne trowble ne make to be [_____] disesed ne trowbled (ne suffre [to be] disesed [ne trowbled] of his forsaide [_____ _____ _____] *inserted above the line)* the sayde Archbisshop ne his Adherauntes frendes feed men ne other servauntes unto the sayde Archbisshop ne non of hem by colour of endictementes other in [_____] or any other manere. Nether the sayde Erll during the tyme that he is depute schall take non partie prive ne

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[31] The three words underlined are deleted in the MS.

apperert ne non of adherauntes other servauntes to the sayd Erll by makying of the sayde Erll with the lord Grey of Ruthyn agaynes John the lord Talbot other the sayde Archebisshop other hys ministiers and servauntes of the ffraunches of Weysford other any landes tenementes rentes other services within the sayde ffraunches ne [_____ _____ _____] of the [_____ _____] any other manere. And also if it happen that god descide that aftir any of the sayde Archebisshop other Erll [_____] in tyme to come may [_____] the poyntes of the materes [afor]sayde other eny of hem that the sayde Erll [schall] make come to hym the sayde Robert Dowedall William Chevir James Cornwalshe Robert Dyke Peter Clynton Edward Somerton Edward Eustace Richard fitz Eustace Robert Plunket and Philip fitz William to Dyvelyn Drogheda or Trym [to] putte reule and governaunce [unto hym] that [is founde] in defaut. And if [it happen that] any of the sayde Robert Dowedall William Chevir James Cornwalshe Robert Dyke Peter Clynton Edward Somerton Edward Eustace Richard fitz Eustace Robert Plunket and Philip fitz William appers not before the sayde Erll at any of the places Dyvelyn Drogheda other Trym aforesayde [_____] that there the sayde Archebisshop and Erll schall chese other in here places that so made defaut [therbye] to putte reule and governaunce unto hym that is founde in defaut. [In] witness of the whiche, the sayde lieutenaunt Archebisshop and Erll [to this indenture] tripartite have putte [here] seles. Writen [at] Dyvelyn xv die marcii anno regni regis Henrici sexti decimo nono.

v) Part of a proffer for the lieutenancy submitted by Ormond [*c.* late 1441 - early 1442][32] (P.R.O., C47/10/27, no. 6)

These are the desires of James Botiler Erle of Ormond of our soverayne lorde the kyng if it please his highnesse to commite the kepyng of his lande of Irlande to the saide Erle.

First to haue a reasonable terme of vij yere or more as hit please the kyng the terme to begynne at Candlemesse next suyng or elles at such tyme as the comissoun to be made be the kyng to the said Erle of the said office schall come to hym.

Also to haue such power as [contey]ened in a cedull to thi[s bill] annexed.[33]

Also to resceyve for the first yere in the saide office of lieutenaunt for the save garde of the saide lande by the handes of the tresorer of England for the tyme beyng iiij m. marc in the fourme that foloweth that is to say at the deliverance of the endentures made betwene the kyng and the saide Erle mmc marc and at the feste of Nativite of Seint John Baptist then next folowyng c li. and at the fest of Seint Michell then

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[32] For a discussion of this document, see above, pp. 22-3. It bears no date, but, in view of the first request for 'a reasonable term of vij yere or more' and the proposed starting date, 'Candlemesse' i.e. 2 February (see above, ll. 4-5 of main text), there can be little doubt that it related to Ormond's third appointment in February 1442 when he was indeed appointed for seven years, considerably longer than the one-year and two-year terms he had been offered in 1425 and 1420 respectively (see above, Appendix I, list 1, pp. 478-80). The proposed dates scarcely fit the circumstances of 1425: then the need for a new appointment was not apparent in Ireland until a bare two weeks before Candlemas when the earl of March died in office on 18 January, and the news is unlikely to have reached Westminster until at least a week later. Although Ormond's first appointment as lieutenant in 1420 was indeed made in February, a prominent request for a 'reasonable' seven-year term makes little sense in this context as Ormond then had no previous experience of shorter terms of office.

[33] This supplementary document, presumably listing points which the earl wished to be included in his letters patent, unfortunately appears to have been lost.

next suyng c li. and afterwarde yerely to resceyve here in England for the saide office duryng the saide terme be the handes of the Tresorer of England for the tyme beyng iiij^{m} marc at the termes of Ester Nativite of Seint Baptist Michelmesse and Cristenmasse.

Also that sufficiant warant be made be the kyng to the keper of his priue seal for the tyme beyng chargyng [and] comaundyng hym to make fro tyme to tyme sufficiant warant to the tresorer of England for the tyme beyng to make the saide paiementes to the saide Erle in the fourme above rehersed.

And [this] don and performed be the kyng to the saide Erle the saide Erle grauntes and promicces to kepe and defende the said lande save and suyre after his trewe power to the profitte and the availle of our saide soverayne lord duryng the saide terme.

(Endorsement of seven or eight words ending 'Irland'.)

vi) Richard, duke of York's, copy of indentures between himself as lieutenant and Ormond, dated 23 August 1450 (Bodleian Library, Western MS. 31647, part i, pp. 1-2)[34]

This endenture made betwix the right high and mighty prince my lord Richard duc of York lieutenant of Irland on the toon part And James Erle of Ormond on the other part bereth witnesse that how bee hit that the saide Erle is Withholden with the saide duc by other endentures bering

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[34] For a discussion of this document, see above, pp. 443-5.

date at Divelin the xxij day of August the xxviij yere of the Regne of oure souverain lord the Kyng that now is as his lieutenant and deputee thourgh oute alle this lande of Irland and Capitaine and gouverneur of the kynges werres and of his takyng v^{c} marc for the yere after the teneur and fourme of the saide endentures. Nevertheless the saide Erle wol and graunteth by thees endentures that at suche tyme as the saide duc shal departe oute of this land of Irland he shal bee charged noo ferther towardes the saide Erle in paiement of the saide v^{c} marc but oonly after the rate (sic) of the abiding here of the saide duc. Item where the saide Erle is withholden and belast with the saide duc in the saide endentures as his lieutenant and deputee for the keping and charge of this lande of Irland during the absence of the saide duc and that he shal take mille li. the furst yere for his astate and for the sustentacion of the werres and to bee paied as the saide endentures maken mencion. And also alle manere yssues proufites as the bonnaghtes fisshinges and alle other comoditees partenyng or that may parteen to the saide duc as of his Erldame of Uluestre except the landes and rentes of his enheritance. Yit the saide Erle wol and graunteth by thees endentures that he shal paye this present yere xl li. for the kepyng of the Castel of Cragfargous of the furst and best paiement of the saide yssues and proufites. And after the furst yere of his witholding finisshed he shal berre and susteen the werre of Uluestre unto his power and paie c marc unto the Sensechal of Uluestre for the yere and xl li. for the Connestableship of Cragfargous for the same yere of the furst and best paiement of the saide yssues and proufites comyng of the same Erledame of Uluestre and soo forth from yere to yere whiles he bereth the saide charge and to kepe the Castel of Ardglas and bere the charges therof. And for the furst quartr of the witholding of the saide Erle the saide duc wol that he bee paied of ccl li. of alle

manere of fines which been growen or that may growe or parteen unto the kyng or to the saide duc in Irland betwix this and mighelmasse next comyng by the taxacion and ordonnance of the saide duc and the kynges conseil and suche taxacions and fines to bee determined and made seure to the saide Erle ar the saide duc goo oute of this lande. And that to bee deducted of the saide somme of mille li. and yif hit soo bee that the saide Erle bee not paied assigned or otherwise pourveyed to the agreement of the saide Erle by the eende of the second quartr of his witholding after the afferamit of the saide somme of mille li. and soo forth from quartr to quartr whiles the saide Erle shal occupie the saide office, the saide duc wol and graunteth by thees endentures that the saide Erle bee not appeched ner bere noo blame for the saide charge of this lande, the furst endentures not withstanding. In witnesse of which thinges to the toon part of this endenture remaynyng towardes my saide lord the duc the saide Erle hath doo set his seell. Yeven at Divelin the xxiij day of August the xxviij yere of the Regne of oure souverain lord kyng Henry the Sext.

(dorse) xxiij die augusti anno xxviij^{o}.

APPENDIX IV

ORMOND'S ENGLISH LANDS[1]

Buckinghamshire:

The manor and town of Aylesbury[2] ...	A	B	C	D
The manor of Hulcott[3]	A	...	C	D
The manor of Great Linford	A	...	C	D
The manor of Twyford[4]	A	B	C	...

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[1] The letter 'A' after a property indicates that it is cited in the inquisitions *post mortem* of the third earl of Ormond (P.R.O., C137/52/19; /85/9; 138/39/49; E149/87/1; E152/415/2; see also *Calendar of inquisitions post mortem*, xix, pp. 7-8, although this does not include C138/39/49). The letter 'B' after a property indicates that it was one of those which the fourth earl of Ormond was licensed to enfeoff on 1 March 1430 (*C.P.R., 1429-36*, p. 27; see also above, pp. 247-8). The letter 'C' indicates properties included in the account of the fourth earl's receivers in England for Michaelmas 1434 to Michaelmas 1435 (P.R.O., SC6/1250/4). The letter 'D' indicates properties cited in the inquisitions *post mortem* of the fourth earl (P.R.O., C139/148/11; E149/193/5).

[2] Aylesbury was previously held by both the first and second earls of Ormond (d. 1338 and 1382), forfeited by the fifth earl in 1461 and regained by the fourth earl's youngest son, Thomas, the seventh earl, when his elder brother's attainder was reversed in 1485. The neighbouring manor of Bierton, Aylesbury, was held by the Mortimer earls of March and by Richard, duke of York: see Frame, *English lordship*, p. 48; *The Victoria history of the county of Buckingham*, ii (London, 1908), p. 321; iii (London, 1925), pp. 7-11.

[3] Hulcott was apparently acquired by the third earl of Ormond in the late fourteenth century and was granted by the fifth earl to the hospital of Sir Thomas of Acre in 1453: ibid., ii, pp. 342-4; *Rot. parl.*, v, pp. 257-8; see also above, p. 251, no. 101.

[4] The manors of Great Linford and Twyford were originally acquired by the first earl's father, Edmund Butler. Although he was not in possession of them in the last years of his life, they subsequently passed to his heir: *Calendar of inquisitions post mortem*, vi, p. 215; see also *The Victoria history of the county of Buckingham*, iv (London, 1927), pp. 256, 388. Twyford was apparently sold by the fourth earl to a Thomas Giffard at some point after 1435, possibly about 1440: ibid., p. 255.

Essex:

The manor of Smeetham[5] ..... A ... ... D

Gloucestershire:

The manor of Cold Aston[6] ..... A ... C D

Hampshire:

Half of the manor of Sopley[7] ..... A ... ...

Herefordshire:

The castle and manor of Kilpeck .... A B ... D

The manor of Treville[8] .... B ... D

Oxfordshire:

Land in Fritwell[9] .... C ...

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[5] Also held by Edmund Butler and the first and second earls: *Calendar of inquisitions post mortem*, vi, p. 168; viii, p. 124; xv, p. 283.

[6] Also held by the first and second earls: ibid., viii, p. 124; xv, p. 282.

[7] Also held by the first and second earls: ibid., viii, p. 124; xv, p. 282. No record of a Hampshire inquisition after the death of the fourth earl seems to have survived.

[8] The inquisition *post mortem* of the first earl in Herefordshire refers merely to the manor of Kilpeck; the inquisition after the death of the second earl also mentions the castle, but neither mention Treville (ibid., viii, p. 125; xv, p. 282). One of the Ormond deeds records the grant by the fourth earl of the lordship of Kilpeck to lady Abergavenny to the use and profit of her daughter, Joan, his first wife (N.L.I., D 1645). The document is undated, but is certainly earlier than the date of 1432 suggested in *C.O.D.*, iii, no. 100, pp. 82-3, as Joan died in 1430 (see above, p. 250). After the death of the fourth earl, Kilpeck was valued at 12 marks *per annum*, Treville at a mere 20 shillings a year: P.R.O., E368/230, m. 168.

[9] Edmund Butler held a messuage with 80 acres of land, a one-acre meadow and rents of £4/2/0d in Fritwell and the second earl a messuage, land and rents of £8/6/0d (*Calendar of inquisitions post mortem*, vi, p. 274; xv, p. 282). There seems to be no surviving record of an Oxfordshire inquisition *post mortem* for the fourth earl, but he still held land in Fritwell in 1438-9, when his receiver, William Clerk, collected £5 of receipts totalling £5/13/4d: Birmingham Reference Library, HC 504038.

Somerset:

The manor of Belweton	...	...	...	D
The manor of Brean	A	...	C	D
The manor of Cameley[10]	A	...	C	...
The manor of Exton	A	...	C	D
The manor of Huntspill Maris[11]	A	B	C	D
The manor of Pensford	A	...	...	D
The island of Steep Holme	...	...	...	D

Suffolk:

The manor of Cantilupe[12]	A	...	...	...

Surrey:

The manor of Shere Vachery[13]	A	...	C	D

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[10] Belweton, Brean and Cameley were all held by the second earl: *Calendar of inquisitions post mortem*, xv, p. 283.

[11] Possession of Huntspill Maris was in dispute between the third earl of Ormond and Janico Dartas c. 1397-1405; legal proceedings apparently resolved the issue in the third earl's favour: P.R.O., KB27/562, m. 59; for Dartas, see above, pp. 197-9.

[12] Cantilupe in Finborough was also held by the second earl; the Suffolk inquisition after the death of the first earl cited the manor of Finborough: *Calendar of inquisitions post mortem*, viii, p. 124; xv, p. 284.

[13] Also held by Edmund Butler and the first and second earls; the neighbouring manor of Shere Ulton or Ebor was held by the Mortimer earls of March and by Richard, duke of York: P.R.O., SC2/205/6; *Calendar of inquisitions miscellaneous, 1399-1422*, pp. 257, 278; *Calendar of inquisitions post mortem*, vi, p. 74; viii, p. 124; xv, p. 282; see also *The Victoria history of the county of Surrey*, iii (London, 1911), pp. 111-120.

Warwickshire:

The manor of Long Compton[14] ..... A B C ...

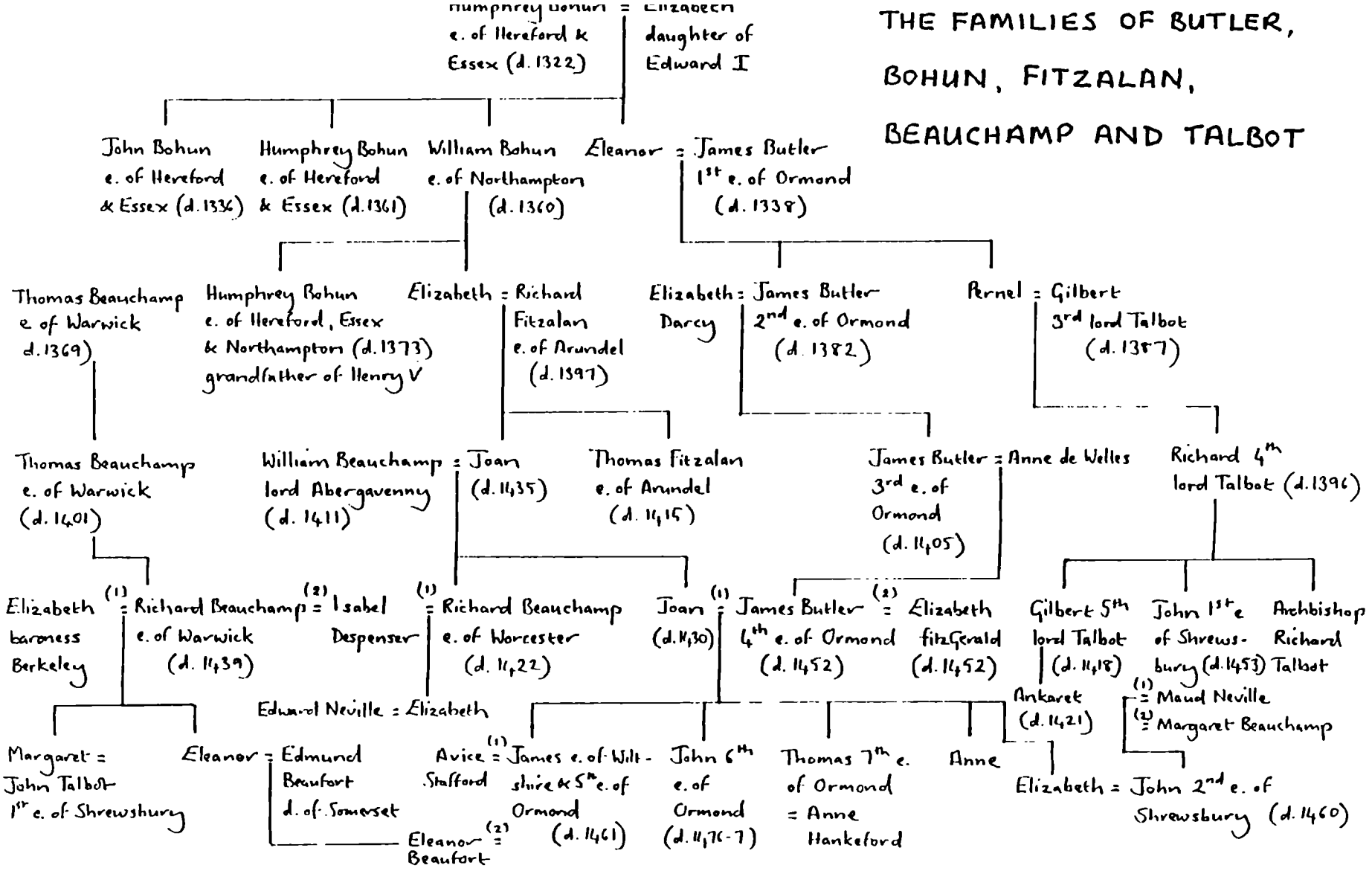
The manor of Shotteswell[15] ....

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[14] Also held by Edmund Butler and the first and second earls, although the Warwickshire inquisition for the latter refers only to a messuage in Long Compton. No record of an inquisition *post mortem* in Warwickshire seems to have survived for the fourth earl, but the fifth earl's inquisition *post mortem* cites half of the manor of Long Compton: P.R.O., C140/3/29; *Calendar of inquisitions post mortem*, viii, p. 124, xv, p. 281; see also *The Victoria history of the county of Warwick*, v (London, 1949), p. 54.

[15] The fourth earl apparently purchased Shotteswell in 1436 (ibid., p. 149; *C.C.R., 1435-41*, pp. 101-2). In 1438-9 receipts from Shotteswell totalled £18/12/8d, of which £16/16/8d was collected by Ormond's receiver, William Clerk (Birmingham Reference Library, HC 504038). The manor was cited in the fifth earl's inquisitions *post mortem* in 1461: P.R.O., C140/3/29.

THE FAMILIES OF BUTLER, BOHUN, FITZALAN, BEAUCHAMP AND TALBOT



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