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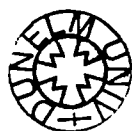
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**ENGLISH RULE IN IRELAND, C.1272-C.1315:
ASPECTS OF ROYAL AND ARISTOCRATIC LORDSHIP**

Beth Hartland

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*Submitted to the University of Durham for the degree of Ph.D.
May, 2001*



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Beth Hartland

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Abstract

This thesis explores the theme of English lordship in Ireland between 1272 and 1315 from various, new angles. English lordship is examined from a wide perspective, taking the overall careers and landholdings of lords, royal and aristocratic, into consideration. This is in contrast to the dominant strand in the historiography of medieval Ireland which focuses almost exclusively on the lordship of Ireland itself. Where previous work has concentrated on formal structures of administration, the thesis examines other mechanisms of English lordship in Ireland employed in this period by the king, English earls and lesser nobility.

This thesis maintains that the lordship of both the king of England and other English landholders in Ireland was a balanced affair. Most English lords valued their Irish lands primarily for the revenue which they generated, but their lordship had positive characteristics too. For example, the king in effect focused most of the patronage resources of Ireland upon his Anglo-Irish subjects. In addition, he sent important English household knights to hold key offices (and subsequently land) in the lordship, thereby creating personal bonds between the Dublin administration and the English court. Lesser English landholders primarily contributed to English rule in Ireland through the defence of their lands.

Defence of the substantial liberties of Carlow, Kilkenny and Wexford did not usually necessitate the presence of their English lords due to their sophisticated, multi-layered and militarily active administrations. Prominent English lords with Irish lands maintained links with the lordship of Ireland through the employment of various classes of administrators. (This demonstrates that links between England and Ireland were not only multi-faceted at the royal level). Whilst English rule in Thomond depended on the military presence of its de Clare lord, English lordship in Leinster was still practicable and profitable at a distance between 1272 and 1315.

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Abbreviations

<i>Admin. Ire.</i>	<i>The Administration of Ireland 1172-1377</i>
<i>AH 34 (1987)</i>	Philomena Connolly, 'Irish material in the class of ancient petitions'
<i>AH 36 (1995) C81</i>	Philomena Connolly, 'Irish material in the class of chancery warrants'
<i>AH 36 (1995), mem</i>	Philomena Connolly, 'List of entries on the memoranda rolls of the English exchequer'
<i>Annals of Ross</i>	<i>The Annals of Ireland by Friar John Clyn and Thady Dowling, together with the annals of Ross</i> ed. Richard Butler (Dublin, 1840)
<i>BIHR</i>	<i>Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research</i>
<i>BBCS</i>	<i>Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies</i>
<i>CCR</i>	<i>Calendar of close rolls</i>
<i>CDI, 1252-1307</i>	<i>Calendar of documents relating to Ireland, 1252-1307</i>
<i>CFR</i>	<i>Calendar of fine rolls</i>
<i>Clyn, Annals</i>	<i>The Annals of Ireland by Friar John Clyn and Thady Dowling, together with the annals of Ross</i> ed. Richard Butler (Dublin, 1840)
<i>CJR, i-iii</i>	<i>Calendar of justiciary rolls Ireland, 1295-1314</i>
<i>CMCS</i>	<i>Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies</i>
<i>Complete Peerage</i>	Cokayne, <i>Complete Peerage of Great Britain and the United Kingdom</i>
<i>Cosgrove ed. NHI ii</i>	A. Cosgrove ed. <i>A New History of Ireland ii Medieval Ireland 1169-1534</i> (Oxford, 1987)
<i>CPR</i>	<i>Calendar of patent rolls</i>
<i>CVCR</i>	<i>Calendar of various chancery rolls</i>
<i>20, 35-9, 42DKR</i>	<i>20th, 35th-39th, 42nd reports of the deputy keeper of public records in Ireland</i>
<i>DNB</i>	<i>Dictionary of National Biography</i>
<i>Doc. Aff. Ire.</i>	<i>Documents on the affairs of Ireland</i>

Dowling, <i>Annals</i>	<i>The Annals of Ireland by Friar John Clyn and Thady Dowling, together with the annals of Ross</i> ed. Richard Butler (Dublin, 1849).
<i>EcHR</i>	<i>Economic History Review</i>
<i>EHR</i>	<i>English Historical Review</i>
<i>Foedera</i>	<i>Foedera, Literae et Acta Publica</i>
Hore, <i>Wexford</i>	Hore, <i>History of the town and county of Wexford</i>
<i>IHS</i>	<i>Irish Historical Studies</i>
<i>JRSAI</i>	<i>Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland</i>
<i>Knights' Fees</i>	Brooks, <i>Knights' fees in counties Carlow, Wexford, and Kilkenny</i>
Lydon ed. <i>England and Ireland</i>	J. Lydon ed. <i>England and Ireland in the later middle ages: essays in honour of Jocelyn Otway-Ruthven</i> (Dublin, 1981).
Lydon ed., <i>Law and disorder</i>	J. Lydon ed. <i>Law and disorder in thirteenth-century Ireland: the Dublin parliament of 1297</i> (Dublin, 1997).
<i>Mem. Parl.</i>	<i>Memoranda de parlamento, A. D. 1305</i>
<i>Ormond deeds</i>	<i>Calendar of Ormond deeds vol 1 (1172-1350 A. D.)</i>
Orpen, <i>Normans</i>	Orpen, <i>Ireland under the Normans 1216-1333</i>
Otway-Ruthven, <i>Med. Ire.</i>	Otway-Ruthven, <i>A History of medieval Ireland</i>
<i>PRIA</i>	<i>Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy</i>
<i>Rot. Parl. Ang.</i>	<i>Rotuli parliamentorum Anglie hactenus inediti</i>
<i>St. Mary's Abbey, ii</i>	<i>Chartularies of St. Mary's Abbey, Dublin</i>
<i>TCE</i>	<i>Thirteenth Century England</i>
<i>TRHS</i>	<i>Transactions of the Royal Historical Society</i>

Introduction

This thesis, which covers the reign of Edward I and the first third of the reign of Edward II, addresses the topic of English rule in Ireland in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, that is prior to the Bruce invasion of the lordship in 1315. The phrase ‘English rule’ is shorthand for the involvement of both the English Crown and English landholders in the Irish lordship, where ‘English landholders’ are understood to be those lords who held land both in England or Wales and Ireland but for whom the lordship of Ireland was not a priority. Such landholders and their king (for whom Ireland was certainly not a priority) form a natural group when English involvement in Ireland is to be investigated. The inclusion of the de Clare lords of Thomond, who spent much of their energy on their lands in Ireland, but who were still ‘English’ in their orientation provides a point of contrast.

How the ‘policy’ of English kings and landholders towards the lordship of Ireland is viewed depends on the criteria used to judge it. If the long-term political and financial ‘health’ of the lordship are set as the benchmarks to be met, then English rule in Ireland in this period may well be found wanting. If, however, one’s perspective is both chronologically shorter and geographically wider, regarding the lordship of Ireland as part of ‘a single stage of power which the king of England could treat as a unit for his own financial, military and commissariat needs’,¹ then the picture looks different. Edward I and his English subjects may be charged with myopia by historians of the lordship, but, from where they stood, a broad range of interests were held in focus.

¹ R. R. Davies, *The First English empire. Power and identities in the British Isles 1093-1343* (Oxford, 2000), pp.28-9.



Despite its emphasis on the English, this thesis is a contribution to the wider discipline of British history. It is not a study of either England or Ireland but of the connections and interactions between their political and landed communities. Because it is concerned with English rule, however, it is from the point of view of the *loci* from which such rule was administered, whether that centre of power was at Westminster, Chepstow, Dublin or Carlow, that the thesis is written.

The subject of English lordship in Ireland is a largely neglected one.² Frame's examination of various aspects of English lordship in Ireland between 1318 and 1361 remains the major work on this theme, the chapters on absentee and resident landholders being of particular relevance to this thesis.³ Davies's work on the Welsh March, which shows how aristocratic links can tie a regional society to the centre, is of central importance to any study of landholding at a distance. His consideration of estate administration in the Welsh March, where conditions were not unlike those in Ireland, was also of particular help in the preparation of this thesis.⁴

Many of the questions addressed in this thesis have been examined by historians from an English point of view and in an English context. For example, the place of patronage within society has been dealt with in detail by Waugh who examined the distribution of

² The involvement of certain individuals in the lordship has been addressed, and the upper echelons of those who land on both sides of the Irish Sea have been listed however (J. R. S. Phillips, 'The Anglo-Norman nobility', in J. F. Lydon ed. *The English in medieval Ireland* (Dublin, 1984), 87-104). Several studies, in dealing with a family over a long period of time, devote a little space to Ireland (see M. Altschul, *A Baronial family in medieval England: the Clares, 1217-1314* (Baltimore, 1965); S. A. J. Atkin, 'The Bigod family: an investigation into their lands and activities, 1066-1306' (Ph. D. Thesis, University of Reading, 1979). See also J. R. S. Phillips, *Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke 1307-1324: baronial politics in the reign of Edward II* (Oxford, 1972)). The discussions, however, are limited to the activities of individuals in the setting of their family saga. No study has yet brought these case-studies together, or discussed the topic of English lordship in Ireland in this period in a more general context.

³ R. Frame, *English lordship in Ireland, 1318-1361* (Oxford, 1982).

⁴ R. R. Davies, *Lordship and society in the march of Wales 1282-1400* (Oxford, 1978).

marriages, wardships and other feudal incidents in England.⁵ This discussion of ‘the lordship of England’ can be profitably extended to include Ireland. Again, there is a considerable body of work on estate administration in medieval England, beginning with Denholm-Young.⁶ The historiography is not as rich for Ireland, however. It is, therefore, with the situation in England that comparison has to be drawn at many points.

The thesis is divided into two parts: the first deals with the rule of Edward I and II in Ireland; the second looks at the extent of the involvement of English lords in the management of their Irish lands, and at the mechanisms by which they, like the king, achieved this management from a distance. The attitude of the king towards his Irish lordship is examined before those of his English subjects who held land there because the king set the patterns of itineration, administrative methods and reasons for interest in Ireland which his English subjects followed to a considerable extent.

Part One

Lydon argued that it was only ‘in theory’ that ‘Ireland’s relationship to the English crown was clear and unambiguous’.⁷ Part One of the thesis aims to establish what the English king’s attitude towards Ireland was. This question has been raised from two angles in writings on medieval Ireland. The first is to consider the ranking which Ireland achieved on the king’s list of priorities. This approach, which objects to the low priority accorded to Ireland, it coming a consistently ‘bad fourth’ to England, Scotland and France, has been described as sterile and anachronistic by Frame.⁸ In fact, Ireland

⁵ S. Waugh, *The Lordship of England: royal wardships and marriages in English society and politics 1217-1327* (Princeton, 1988).

⁶ N. Denholm-Young, *Seignorial administration in England* (Oxford, 1937).

⁷ J. F. Lydon, *The Making of Ireland: from ancient times to the present* (London, 1998), p.84.

⁸ See, for example, J. F. Lydon, ‘The Years of crisis, 1254-1315’, in Cosgrove ed. *NHI* ii, 179-204; Frame, *English lordship*, p.7; idem, *Colonial Ireland 1169-1369* (Dublin, 1981), p.68.

had increased in importance to the English monarchy during the thirteenth century. During the reign of Henry II, the centre of interests of the king of England lay in France; the kingdom of England itself was peripheral. With the loss of Normandy, Anjou and Poitou, recognised in 1259, England increased in political importance to its kings. In the context of shrinking dominions Ireland could only have become more important to the king of England. Indeed, this fact had been recognised in 1254 when Ireland, together with the Channel Islands, Oléron and Gascony, had been made inalienable from the English crown.⁹

The second way in which the king of England's attitude to Ireland can be discussed was raised by Davies who questioned whether Ireland's relationship to England was that of a lordship or a colony. Lordship, he argued, was a relationship with obligations on both sides of the bond; it needed to be good, not merely exploitative.¹⁰ Much work has been done by Lydon on what might be termed the exploitative nature of English governance in Ireland. This approach criticises Edward I and II for using Ireland as a supply of men and money for the prosecution of wars, particularly the king's wars in Scotland, and leaving the Dublin government short of the resources needed to undertake necessary defence in the lordship.¹¹ The demands made by Edward I upon Irish resources did have a detrimental effect. Purveyance, for example, placed serious burdens upon the peasantry,¹² and it was actively resisted in Ireland in 1304.¹³ Nevertheless, Edward I 'as lord of Ireland...was fully entitled to utilise the resources of his lordship in whatever

⁹ J. Le Patourel, 'The Plantagenet dominions', *History* 50 (1965), 295, 299, 301-2.

¹⁰ R. R. Davies, 'Lordship or colony?', in J. Lydon ed. *The English in medieval Ireland* (Dublin, 1984), pp.144, 147.

¹¹ For example see J. F. Lydon, 'Edward I, Ireland and the war in Scotland, 1303-1304', in Lydon ed. *England and Ireland*, pp.43-61; idem, 'Edward II and the revenues of Ireland in 1311-1312', *IHS* 14 (1964), 39-49; and idem, 'An Irish army in Scotland, 1296', *Irish Sword* 5 (1961-2), 188.

¹² See J. R. Maddicott, 'The English peasantry and the demands of the crown 1294-1341', *Past and Present Supplement* no.1 (1975), 1-75.

way he thought fit'.¹⁴ Utilising Irish resources to support his projects elsewhere did not mean that the king's lordship was bad, or even no lordship at all. Rather, as Chapters 1 and 2 of this thesis demonstrate, the bond between the king and his Anglo-Irish subjects was one of lordship which could be demanding but was not entirely unbalanced.

Chapter 1 explores the exercise of patronage by the English king in Ireland, a key, yet neglected, element in his exercise of lordship there. Alongside this, the requests for such patronage in Ireland which were put to the English king are examined. Several interesting conclusions are reached in Chapter 1 as a result of this investigation. Most pertinent to Edward's ability to exercise rule in Ireland, was the fact that the Anglo-Irish were usually prepared to serve in Edward's wars abroad in order to receive patronage. And, unsurprisingly, military service with the king outside the lordship proved the most successful manner in which relatively obscure Anglo-Irish knights could attract the royal attention. Petitions requesting patronage after the fact of military service, and which were sent to parliament in England, did not fare so well.

From the perspective of good lordship, Chapter 1 shows that the king was successful in balancing the demands made on Ireland for provisions for his wars, especially those in Scotland, with his exercise of patronage to his Anglo-Irish subjects. The king did not have a fixed policy of favouring the Anglo-Irish when it came to receipt of patronage in Ireland, however.¹⁵ Rather, the delicate balance achieved between patronage and

¹³ Lydon, 'Edward I, Ireland and the war in Scotland', pp.53-5.

¹⁴ J. F. Lydon, *The Lordship of Ireland in the middle ages* (Dublin, 1972), p.140.

¹⁵ It is probably incorrect to expect the king to have had any fixed policies towards Ireland. C. A. Empey, 'The Settlement of the kingdom of Limerick', in Lydon ed. *England and Ireland*, p.19 argues that 'the element of expediency was an ever-present factor in the formulation of royal policy'. Examples of fixed policies accorded to kings can be found in R. J. Sutton, *Robert de Ufford: tige des seigneurs de Poswick a la croix engrelée* (Olne, 1968), pp.31-2 and W. L. Warren, 'King John and Ireland', in Lydon ed. *England and Ireland*, pp.27-30.

service owed a considerable debt to the relatively few requests for patronage in the lordship made by the king's English subjects. When an influential English lady such as Agnes de Valence, Edward I's cousin, made demands against a powerful Anglo-Irish lord, the king's tendency was to acquiesce in his English subject's requests. If Irish lands or custodies had seemed a more attractive prospect to more English lords, then the king's exercise of patronage in the lordship would have been more difficult than it was and his requests for Anglo-Irish aid and resources abroad probably less successful.

Chapter 2 examines the English king's employment of household knights as agents of his rule and lordship in Ireland. The works of Richardson and Sayles, Brand and Hand have examined governmental structures in Ireland and the personnel employed in them, but not from the perspective of household connections. The king's household, and especially his military household, 'was the motor of royal power'.¹⁶ The employment of household knights, especially household knights close to him, therefore established important and effective connections between Edward I and his lordship. Edward I appointed trusted household knights to important positions within the lordship, a trend he had begun even before his accession to the throne with the employment of intimates such as James Audley and Robert Ufford as the justiciars of Ireland. A case-study of the work of William fitz Warin as seneschal of Ulster provides a detailed example of the king's employment of household knights in the lordship. It is clear that suggestions that Edward was not interested in the lordship are misplaced. He did not only use Irish resources to meet his needs elsewhere, as was his right; he also ensured that the lordship was governed by capable men.

It was not only in the dispatch of knights of the main household that Edward provided resources of manpower to give effect to his rule in Ireland. From 1276 onwards Edward obliged his justiciar to retain a household of twenty men-at-arms. In this way the king ensured that the justiciar had sufficient men capable of leadership on hand to respond to military emergencies and for the deputation of more routine tasks of government. More interesting, however, were the arrangements in place between c.1273 and c.1276. Rather than have his own household, the justiciar, Geoffrey de Geneville, was seemingly granted the power to retain knights and esquires of the king's household. Ten knights and esquires were retained of the king, although they acted under the justiciar's direction. Of the ten men who were retained of this body, one progressed to high government office in Ireland, and several others continued to serve the king both militarily and in an administrative capacity beyond 1276. The employment of household knights in high office in Ireland had created personal links between the two governments at Dublin and Westminster; the retention of knights of the king's household in Ireland strengthened these links. The continued service of at least some of the men retained of the king's household in Ireland maintained these connections; and in the case of Walter l'Enfaunt senior and junior the baton of royal service was passed from father to son. The royal household, then, reached more deeply into the political structures of the Irish lordship than has previously been recognised.

Part Two

The second, and larger, part of the thesis aims to establish the attitudes of English landholders who held land in Ireland to their holdings there. It also explores the methods of administering land at a distance which they employed, and addresses the

¹⁶ R. R. Davies, *Domination and conquest. The Experience of Ireland, Scotland and Wales 1100-1300* (Cambridge, 1990), p.31.

question of how viable it was for an English lord to hold land in Ireland in this period. In other words, the second part of the thesis asks why, how and how well English lords maintained landed interests in Ireland between 1272 and 1315. The conclusion reached is that English lordship in Ireland was, indeed, still more than viable at a distance prior to the Bruce invasion. This is an important conclusion since it is often wrongly assumed that English landholders were uninterested in their Irish holdings or even parasitic 'absentees'. In fact, as Chapters 3 and 5 show, English landholders had an important role in the management of Ireland and were as much agents of the king's rule as were his household knights. Lordship in Ireland placed a greater burden of personal responsibility for duties, such as defence, on the shoulders of English lords than it did on the English king, the greatest English landholder in Ireland. Whereas English lords inevitably looked to follow the pattern of itineration set by their king, they could not delegate their obligation to attend to the needs of their Irish lands to the same degree as could Edward I and II. This was true even for the greatest English magnates who held land in Ireland. Despite the fact that the administrations of the liberties at Carlow and Kilkenny could cope with the military burdens placed upon them without the presence of their lord prior to c.1315, Roger Bigod, earl of Norfolk and Gilbert de Clare, earl of Gloucester and Hertford (the respective lords of Carlow and Kilkenny) were required to attend to specific problems in Ireland by the king. English landholders in Ireland in fact contributed to the king's resource of deputies who enabled him to rule Ireland successfully from a distance. This is discussed in Chapter 3 of the thesis.

It was not only Bigod and de Clare who combined royal missions with attendance to particular problems in their own Irish lands. The king's endowment of Thomas de Clare with substantial lands in Ireland also met two needs: that of Thomas for land, and that

of the king for a means of controlling an unruly region and for containing the power of the earl of Ulster. The order sent in January 1317 to various English lords to attend to the defence of their lands in the face of the Bruce invasion of Ireland can be seen in the same light of killing two birds with one stone.

Chapter 3, then, confirms Frame's view that arguing for a distinction between royal and baronial activity and interests is not always the best way of looking at medieval political history.¹⁷ During the reign of Edward I, the king's attention was less often drawn to Ireland by baronial squalls than it had been earlier in the thirteenth century. This was the result of changes in the ranks of landholders in Ireland. Prior to 1234, Ireland contained 'important lands belonging to men important elsewhere'. This facilitated the spill over of baronial politics into the Irish lordship. During John's reign and the minority of Henry III, Ireland was also increasingly the residence of magnates whom the king viewed with suspicion. By c.1270, however, these factors had been reversed since the lands of important men who had been viewed with suspicion, such as Marshal and Lacy, had been inherited by men of less consequence or divided among important men whose Irish holdings nevertheless constituted a 'far smaller proportion of their total interests'.¹⁸ This allowed the new generation of English landholders in Ireland to be used as agents of the king's rule there.

The attitudes displayed by English lords towards their holdings in Ireland is also examined in Chapter 3. Not all the English who held some land in Ireland have been included in this discussion, however, because the numbers are too large. A sample has been taken which is representative of the different categories of lord who held land in

¹⁷ R. F. Frame, *The Political development of the British Isles 1100-1400* (Oxford, 1990), p.37.

both England and Ireland in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. At the top end of the scale, English earls and their equivalents are represented by the earl of Norfolk, the earl of Gloucester and Hertford and the lord of Pembroke. These lords were, along with the de Vescy family, co-parceners in the great Marshal fief of Leinster which was subdivided into the substantial liberties of Carlow, Kildare, Kilkenny and Wexford in the late 1240s. Whilst the holdings of these lords in Ireland were substantial, they represented only a fraction of the income which they received from their lands in England and elsewhere. Unsurprisingly, therefore, Ireland did not figure at the top of these lords' priority lists. The attitude and activities of these lords in Ireland is contrasted with those of the family of Thomas de Clare, the English knight whom Edward I endowed with large tracts of territory in south-west Ireland. Thomas and his heir, Richard, focused their careers upon their lordship of Thomond and other lands in southern Ireland, especially Inchiquin and Youghal, which generated the vast majority of their income. The degree of a lord's commitment to given lands, then, was dictated to some extent by the relative worth of those lands in the context of a lord's entire wealth. Less important English landholders in Ireland are represented by the group of some sixteen men summoned to the defence of the Irish lordship by writ in January 1317. This document is used as a spring-board for the investigation into landholding by lesser English lords for several reasons. First, but not most importantly, these men represented those who the Dublin government believed were not taking their duties of defence seriously. Secondly, the Irish lands of these men were scattered from Meath to Limerick and beyond, thus taking the discussion of English landholding beyond the bounds of Leinster and Thomond. And thirdly, they represented a wide cross-section of men, from John Hastings, lord of Abergavenny to the relatively obscure

¹⁸ Frame, *Colonial Ireland*, pp.15, 55-6, 63 (quote).

knight John de Erlegh. The wide divergence in wealth between these men accounted in part for their diverging attitudes towards their Irish lands. Evidence relating to the value of the lands held by these lords is too thin to allow categorical assertions to be made, but the level of interest displayed by these lords in their Irish holdings does seem to have been related to their relative value in the context of their inheritances as a whole.

Despite the fact that many of the English landholders considered in Chapter 3 did make the journey to Ireland at some point between 1272 and 1315, most of the time they were absent from their Irish lands. They therefore needed men to administer their lands. The employment of Anglo-Irish knights as the administrators of English lords was another point of interaction between ‘absentees’ and the settler society within Ireland. This interaction might have been on a lesser scale than that wished for by English lords since talented Anglo-Irish knights were not always willing to work for absent English landholders despite some of the high wages on offer.¹⁹ English lords received little in terms of royal patronage within the lordship and this limited their ability to act as good lords to their employees. Anglo-Irish knights such as Walter l’Enfaunt, senior, whose tenure of the seneschalship of Kildare was brief, may have preferred to associate themselves with greater resident lords or with the king’s administration at Dublin since both of these groups were in receipt of considerable royal patronage. Such factors could have accounted for the tendency for seneschals of the liberty of Carlow during this period to be Englishmen.

Potential recruiting problems aside, it was usual for local knights to be employed as an English lord’s seneschals, treasurers and council members in Ireland. Indeed, it was to

¹⁹ In the 1280s, for example, the seneschals of Carlow were paid £100 *p.a.*

the advantage of English lords to harness the local knowledge of geography and network of contacts (especially within the Dublin government) possessed by Anglo-Irish knights. Local knights were recruited on the English-held Leinster liberties with the role of the seneschal as military chief of the liberty in mind. Knights who had their own local resources of manpower to draw upon were all the more valuable to an English lord; and this factor increased in importance during the early years of the fourteenth century as the tide of 'Gaelic resurgence' in Ireland picked up some pace. The military activities of the seneschals of the liberties of Carlow, Kilkenny and Wexford, and the question of whether the liberties could be defended from a distance, are discussed in Chapter 5. The very present exercise of military rule by the de Clares in Thomond provides a point of contrast.

In addition, officials could be sent over to Ireland from England. This was most commonly the case with regard to auditors, attorneys and messengers, the 'travelling' officials; those employed to oversee the actions of the lord's administrators. It was when such officials met the 'permanent' officers represented by the seneschals, treasurers and council members that interaction between the 'absentees' in England and the Anglo-Irish community of which they were lord most often took place. The need to recruit Englishmen as auditors and attorneys was probably related to the Anglo-Irish origins of those whose activities they oversaw. All the personnel employed, both 'permanent' and 'travelling' officials, are discussed in Chapter 4.

Sources

A potential trap to fall into when studying the reign of Edward I is to be misled by the sudden proliferation in the level of documentation relating to Ireland which dates from the start of his reign. This increase does not indicate that Edward became more

interested in the lordship following his accession to the crown. Rather, the reign of Edward I was to witness an increase in documentation in general and not just in relation to Ireland. The increase in the volume of documents is also exaggerated by the relatively thin scattering of documents relating to Ireland which remain from the years immediately prior to 1272. This dearth of information about the lordship resulted from the transfer of authority over most of Ireland into the hands of the lord Edward from those of the king in c.1254. Prior to 1254 (and after 1272), however, much material relevant to Ireland can be found in the English chancery rolls.

The sources used in this study are haphazard in their survival. The destruction of the Four Courts in 1922 wiped out almost all of the original government records housed in Dublin, leaving only scarce and random survivals.²⁰ A small but none the less significant corpus of records still remains in Dublin. These are mainly abbreviated copies of memoranda and common bench rolls made from the originals by the Record Commission in preparation for publication. Whilst many of these volumes were prepared 'with an utter want of appreciation of the historical value of the materials',²¹ we must be glad that some preparations were made. The Record Commission calendars of common pleas, for example, are the main source of information for the involvement of English landholders in court cases in the lordship, usually involving land. Also important in the light of the events of 1922 are secondary works which drew on the records before their destruction. P. H. Hore ed., *History of the town and county of*

²⁰ For example NAI EX1/1. An edition and commentary on this roll is provided by D. V. Craig, 'The Memoranda roll of the Irish exchequer for 3 Edward II' 2 vols (Ph. D., University of Dublin, 1984). NAI CB1/1, an original plea roll of the Dublin bench for 1 Edward II, is unfortunately too fragile to be handled by readers.

²¹ Mills quoted in Philomena Connolly, 'The medieval Irish plea rolls - an introduction', *Irish Archives* (1995), 8.

Wexford 6 vols (London, 1900-1911) has been particularly useful in this regard for information on the lordships of Carlow and Wexford.

Nevertheless, this study has been possible largely due to the practice of the king's ministers at Westminster who oversaw the activities of the Dublin government; a desire for control which led to the duplication of the financial records generated by the treasurer of Ireland (PRO E101) and which were submitted to Westminster for audit.²² The details of military campaigns contained in these records were particularly useful. It was not only the treasurer of Ireland's accounts which have survived thanks to the process of auditing in England. Much of Chapter 4 is based on the accounts of the liberty of Carlow, the only non-royal administration for which a run of accounts survives from late thirteenth-century Ireland (PRO SC6). The survival of these 101 accounts for the years between c.1280 and 1294 is due to two facts: first their transfer for audit by the earl of Norfolk's ministers, probably at Chepstow; and second, their transfer into royal hands when Norfolk's estates became Crown property.

Much of the manuscript material used in the preparation of this thesis, then, is housed at the PRO London.²³ In addition to PRO E101 and SC6, Ancient Correspondence (PRO SC1), Ancient Petitions (PRO SC8), and inquisitions *post mortem* (PRO C133-135) were important sources. The list of Ancient Petitions which mention Ireland compiled by Philomena Connolly was especially helpful in locating petitions for patronage or

²² *Admin. Ire.*, pp.52-7. See also David B. Quinn, 'Guide to English financial records for Irish history, 1461-1558, with illustrative extracts, 1461-1509', *Analecta Hibernica* 10 (1941), 3-4; Craig, 'Memoranda roll of the Irish exchequer', pp.18-19. There are few references in the thesis to *Irish exchequer payments 1270-1446* ed. Philomena Connolly (Dublin, 1998) because a copy of this work arrived in Durham too late for consultation alongside PRO E101.

²³ Cf. G. O. Sayles, 'Ecclesiastical process and the parsonage of Stabannon in 1351. A Study of the medieval Irish church in action', *PRIA* 55 C (1952-3), 2. Sayles refers to the vast store of material in the PRO London as an abundant harvest of records for the study of medieval Irish history.

justice which were not presented in parliament in England.²⁴ Inquisitions *post mortem* were also very important as a means to gauge the relative extent and/or value of lands which English lords held in Ireland.²⁵

Much recourse was had, of course, to published calendared material. Entries noting grants of attorneys or protection for individuals journeying between England and Ireland in the *Calendar of Patent rolls* and the *Calendar of Close rolls*, for example, were crucial starting points from which to build up a picture of cross-Irish Sea landholding. For the period between 1272 and 1307 the most useful single calendar is H. S. Sweetman ed., *Calendar of documents relating to Ireland, 1252-1307* 4 vols (London, 1877-86). Sweetman provides fairly comprehensive and full extracts from a wide variety of exchequer and chancery records produced by both the Dublin and Westminster governments, as well as from the King's and common benches, which related to Ireland and which were housed in the PRO London. Sweetman was primarily interested in Ireland, however, and this led him to neglect the non-Irish dimension of records; in an inquisition *post mortem* which covered lands in both Ireland and England, for example, he would report on only the Irish lands. Whilst Sweetman is the most useful single source of information for this study, then, it is always necessary to check him against other calendars and manuscripts where possible. Most importantly, Sweetman did not include items from sources housed in Ireland. The justiciary rolls are particularly important. The cases recorded in these rolls open a door onto Anglo-Irish society as it was, rather than as the king's ministers in Dublin wanted it to be.

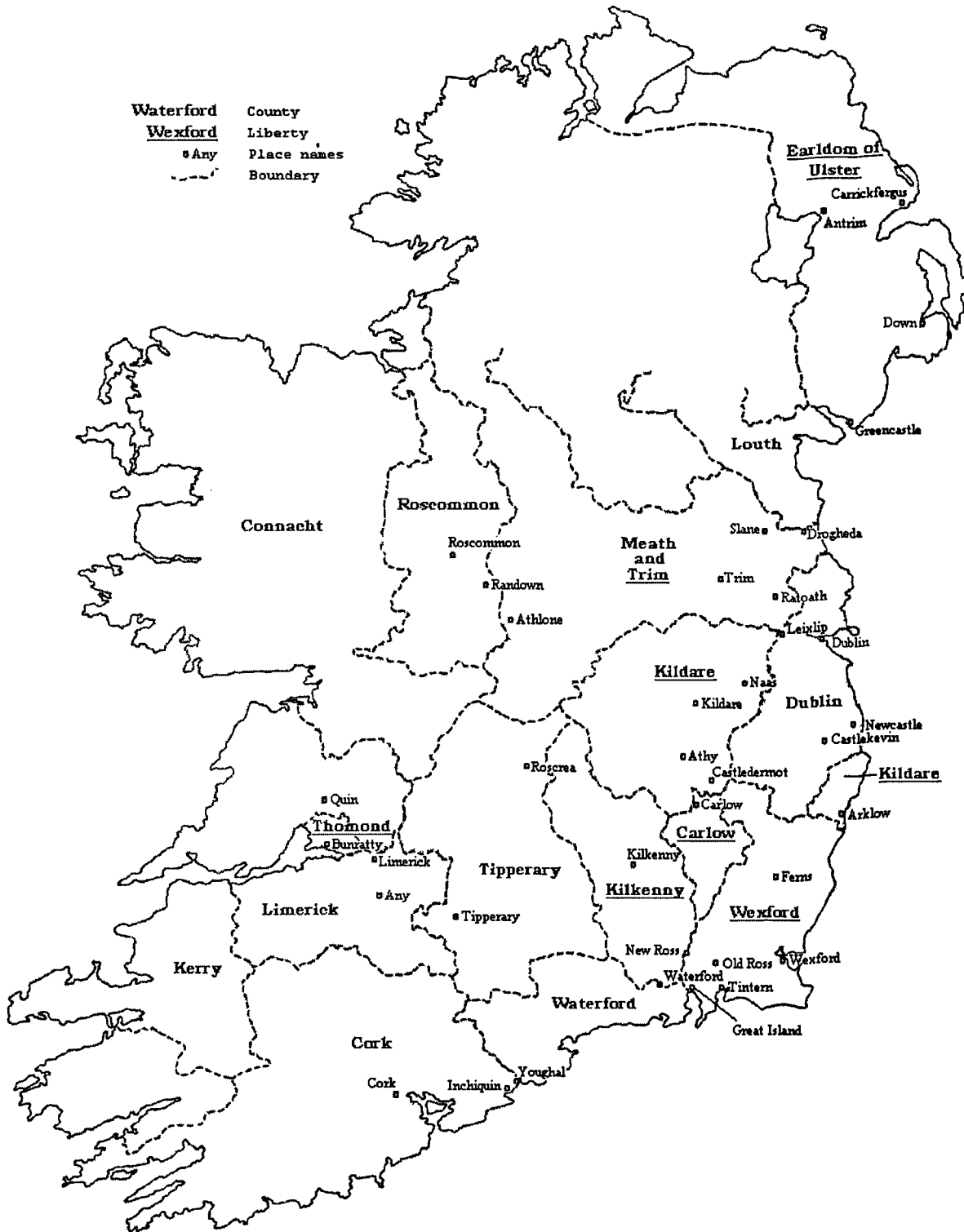
²⁴ Despite the fact that it was compiled as a finding aid, pointing to the records themselves (*AH 34* (1987), 4), reference to the list of Irish entries in the PRO SC8 compiled by Dr. Connolly of the National Archives of Ireland was sufficient for the purposes of this study. In Appendix 1, reference has been made to the fullest version of a given petition in print. Cf. p.23a.

Important collections of records concerning land transactions within Ireland have survived for the regions which came under the control of the Mortimer lords of Trim, the earls of Kildare and the earls of Ormond. These collections have been published as *Calendar of the Gormanston Register c. 1175-1397* (Dublin, 1916), *The Red book of the earls of Kildare* ed. G. Mac Niocaill (Dublin, 1964) and *Calendar of Ormond deeds (1172-1350 A. D.)* ed. E. Curtis (Dublin, 1932) respectively. It is from entries in these collections, for example, that the location and extent of the landholding of Anglo-Irish knights who acted as officers for English lords can be deduced. They can also give indications of the affiliations of such Anglo-Irish knights within the lordship.

Annals have not featured widely in the preparation of this thesis. Gaelic annals dealing with events in south-west Ireland have, however, provided useful information about the activities of the de Clare lords in Thomond, a region remote from the Dublin government. The Anglo-Irish annals of south-eastern Ireland have been of less general use, but do offer the odd sentence upon the activities of important English lords in Ireland.

²⁵ The usefulness of these records is fully discussed in Appendix 2 of the thesis.

Key places mentioned in text



Chapter 1

Petitions and patronage: connections in word and kind

The use of Ireland as a source of patronage for the Crown is an issue which has been neglected, especially, but not only, with regard to the reign of Edward I. Indeed, patronage has not been considered as a subject by historians of the medieval lordship of Ireland in any detail at all. Nevertheless, it is an important subject. The exercise of largesse was crucial to the functioning of a medieval polity. The king of England needed ministers to design and carry through policies, knights to administer the kingdom at a local level, and infantry to participate in military campaigns. Patronage was a means of both recruiting and rewarding such a wide variety of subjects. A wise distribution of the resources of patronage could also help to prevent political problems; a lesson which Edward II learnt to his cost when faced with the Lords Ordainer who represented his disgruntled baronage. Patronage, then, was a political resource and its use a political tool. The prerogative to grant patronage was, for example, part of the 'power of the king of England' through which John fitz Thomas, lord of Offaly, was persuaded to release the earl of Ulster from captivity in 1295.¹ Moreover, in his handling of the feudal incidents of wardship and marriage, the king had power to affect the make-up of the landed political elite of the next generation.

This chapter examines the ways in which kings Edward I and II used their Irish resources as patronage. Consideration of this subject is complicated by the fact that the amount of discretion given to the justiciar of Ireland to dispense patronage within the lordship is generally unclear. In this period the king often sent instructions to the

¹ *The Four masters: annals of the kingdom of Ireland from the earliest period to the year 1616*, iii ed. and trans. John O'Donovan (Dublin, 1856), 463.

justiciar empowering him to act in a specific case - for example to approve the election of a new bishop. Wider powers were granted but it is difficult to tell with what frequency. In the period between 1272 and May 1315, Robert Ufford was the justiciar to whom the most extensive rights to act in the king's name seem to have been granted. His predecessor, de Geneville, had been empowered to remove and appoint all sheriffs, seneschals and other ministers of the king in Ireland.² Ufford, however, was granted this and the power to admit all men into the king's peace.³ As these instances demonstrate, there was not a standard set of powers which the justiciar received on entering office. Indeed, where they survive patents of appointment are frustratingly vague.⁴ What can be established is that the powers granted to a justiciar reflected the condition of the lordship and/or the king's need for manpower resources. It is not surprising, then, to find that Roger Mortimer (sent to Ireland to deal with the Bruce invasion) was given wide powers to not only remove and appoint ministers, but also to grant pardons to felons, the use of English law to Irishmen, the remittance of debts, and even to sell or grant all custodies, wards, marriages and lands in the king's hands 'as shall be best for the king'.⁵

The lack of clarity over the powers held by a justiciar is a problem for this study since it is not always clear whether a grant was made by the king or by his deputy. We cannot, after all, assume that we have records of all the patents which granted powers to justiciars. For the most part, this chapter considers only those grants which were explicitly made by the king.

² *CDI*, 1252-84, no.1021.

³ *Ibid.*, nos.1238, 1240. He was later granted the power to enfeoff suitable persons of the king's waste lands of Ireland (*ibid.*, nos.1697, 2115).

⁴ See, for example, *CDI*, 1285-92, no.768; *CDI*, 1293-1301, no.165. There was confusion over the powers which these vague statements bestowed in the fourteenth century too (see Otway-Ruthven, *Med. Ire.*, pp.145-6).

The kings of England kept a relatively tight control over their patronage resources in Ireland and this makes a study of their handling of these resources all the more important. How Edward I and II distributed the patronage of Ireland reveals something of their attitude to the lordship. Both kings did view Ireland as an economic resource, perhaps even primarily so. But the picture is more complicated than this, and what emerges is that both kings had a more sophisticated approach to their lordship of Ireland than one which just took resources from it and rewarded those ministers who facilitated this process. Previous writing on the king's use of his Irish resources has focused on Edward I's use of Ireland as a source of various supplies for the prosecution of his wars, especially those in Scotland, and has been critical of this policy. In this chapter it will be argued that the English king's approach to his Irish resources deserves more than criticism. From the perspective of patronage, resources were largely kept within the lordship, with most grants made to Anglo-Irish, and not English, subjects of the king. Having said that, it is important to realise that most of the grants of patronage considered here are not grants of land, never the bread-and-butter of patronage, but rather the less attention-grabbing, more numerous grants such as pardons for trespasses against the king's peace, or 'reasonable terms' for the repayment of debts which formed an important part of the English king's exercise of patronage to his subjects in the Irish lordship.⁶ The fact that such grants in Ireland were unlikely to be requested by English subjects of the king should not make them appear less important than they were.

Since the king held tight reins over patronage in Ireland, a large number of petitions from Ireland made their way to Westminster. Although a greater number of these

⁵ *CPR, 1313-17*, p.564.

petitions were concerned with the redressing of grievances, petitions for patronage were also important since most grants made by the king were in response to a received request. In some cases these petitions initiated contact with the king; in all cases petitions received replies. A study of the petitions from Ireland reveals how open the king of England was to requests from his Anglo-Irish subjects. It will be seen that where requests for justice were concerned, no favouritism was displayed. Patronage, however, was another ball game in which petitions presented prior to military service for the king, or during such service, tended to be the most successful. In this political game, the king's refusal to answer certain petitions reveals something more of his attitude towards the resources of his Irish lordship. A study of the petitions also reveals certain characteristics of the communication links between Ireland and England; for example, the fact that the greatest Anglo-Irish magnates were more likely to petition the king outside the forum of parliament than in it.

The first part of this chapter will consider the petitions sent to Edward I and II from Ireland. The second part will consider the grants of patronage (or connections in kind). The petitions and grants of patronage under consideration in this chapter are listed (with references) in Appendix 1, pp.214-247 of the thesis.

(A) Petitions

This section aims to establish the 'how' and 'why' of petitioning with regard to the lordship of Ireland. The petitions under consideration are those brought by English, Anglo-Irish, native Irish and individuals of other nationalities who requested the redress of perceived grievances, or a grant of patronage, in the Irish lordship. The nature of the requests contained in the petitions and their success rate will be indicated also.

⁶ See, for example, *CDI, 1293-1301*, nos.324, 809.

There were four main channels of communication through which men approached the king:

- (i) through written petition addressed to the king or king and council and delivered in person or by attorney to the parliament in England
- (ii) through written petition addressed to the king or king and council but delivered outside parliament
- (iii) through direct oral request, probably during military service with the king⁷
- (iv) through the use of intermediaries

A channel that does not appear to have been used by those who sent petitions from Ireland was that of the Dublin government.⁸ This may have been because the Dublin government officials had access to information which made them unreceptive to the issues which the petitioners wished to raise with the king. This was the suggestion contained in a 1276 petition of the justiciar of Ireland that the king should disregard the false reports of those who travelled from Ireland to the king's court and should turn to his government at Dublin for verification of the truth of the situation,⁹ a common complaint of the Dublin government.¹⁰ Petitioners may also have wished to circumvent the Dublin government as a route to justice or favour if any of its officials were abusing their positions. Thomas de Clare presented such a case in 1285 when he claimed that the manor of one of his knights, indebted at the Dublin exchequer, had been seized by the justiciar. The knight in question 'did not dare to go to the Exchequer of Dublin to ask for other terms and the King's grace, because Stephen de Fulburn, justiciary of

⁷ One parliamentary and two non-parliamentary petitions reminded Edward I of promises made whilst on campaign (*Mem. Parl.*, no.424; *AH* 34 (1987), 23-4).

⁸ This pattern has also been identified in the context of court-cases which 'more often than not...by-passed [the justiciar in their]...progress from an inferior Irish court to the king's bench' (G. J. Hand, *English law in Ireland 1290-1324* (Cambridge, 1967), p.19).

⁹ *Doc. Aff. Ire.*, no.17.

Ireland, wishes and thinks to enjoy it for ever'.¹¹ Given the investigations into the activities of various Dublin ministers in parliament in England (below), Thomas de Clare cannot have been alone in wishing to side-step the Dublin government in questions of aid and patronage.

In terms of the survival of evidence, written petitions delivered outside parliament seem to have been the most numerous. We cannot tell how many requests may have been put to the king in person. Neither can we know how many petitions of whatever type have been lost.

Table 1: Numbers of petitions relating to Ireland, c.1272-c.May 1315

Type of petition	Number extant
Parliamentary	192
Non-parliamentary	277
Via intermediaries	37
Other	?

It is, however, likely that the survival rate of petitions presented in parliament was relatively high; and it can, therefore, be assumed that parliament was not the most important forum for the presentation of petitions relating to Ireland in this period. This is not surprising since the cost and trouble involved in sending a petition to parliament in England was prohibitive to many.¹²

¹⁰ Dublin ministers were almost paranoid about this in the 1350s (see Frame, *English lordship*, pp.121-3).

¹¹ *CDI*, 1252-84, no.2365.

¹² H. G. Richardson and G. O. Sayles, 'The Irish parliaments of Edward I', *PRIA* 38 (1928-9), C no.6, 137. See also *CDI*, 1285-92, no.730.

Following discussions with editors of the forthcoming *Parliament rolls of medieval England*, it has become clear that petitions cannot be as readily divided into the categories of parliamentary and non-parliamentary petitions as this section of the thesis may suggest. There is no guarantee, for example, that all petitions included in the *Rolls of Parliament* by previous editors were in fact presented in parliament, although most of them were. More importantly, a large number of petitions contained in the class of Ancient Petitions (PRO SC8) may have been presented in parliament, although they have never been represented in print as parliamentary petitions. For many petitions it is not possible to be categorical.

Nevertheless, preliminary investigations using the (admittedly limited) information available in the *Calendars of Patent rolls* and the *Calendars of Close rolls* suggest that only about eight to ten of the 278 petitions categorised as non-parliamentary in the following pages, were actually probably presented in parliament. For more precise clarification, however, the reader is referred to the forthcoming volumes of the *Parliament rolls of medieval England*.

Much of the analysis contained in the following pages can probably be accepted. For example, the general conclusions reached about non-parliamentary petitions in 1302 stand. Non-parliamentary petitioning was at a high point in that year because of negotiations underway for the employment of Anglo-Irish troops in Edward I's Scottish wars. Most of the petitions categorised as non-parliamentary in 1302 were presented (and answered) in Northumberland and Scotland. In this instance it is not the case that parliamentary petitions have been incorrectly identified. Petitions from Ireland, however, were very probably also presented in parliament in England in 1302. They have not been included in this discussion, because the petitions with which this thesis is concerned are those addressing grievances or requesting patronage within the medieval lordship of Ireland. There are therefore many petitions from Ireland which are not considered within the scope of the thesis because they are concerned with issues *outside* the lordship of Ireland.

(i) Parliamentary petitions

The receipt of petitions relating to Ireland in parliament in England was more important during the reign of Edward I than that of Edward II. Parliament in England seems to have been opened to petitions in Easter 1275, possibly as a result of invitations to deliver complaints being sent out with the summons.¹³ As far as the surviving evidence indicates, however, petitions from Ireland were not heard in parliament in England until 1281 at the earliest, and possibly not until 1283. In 1290 the volume of petitions necessitated the appointment of committees of auditors to try petitions from specific locations, that is the Channel Islands, Gascony, Scotland and Ireland.¹⁴ In 1305, the year in which most petitions relating to Ireland were presented in parliament in England, the auditors' duties were necessarily adjusted and finalised. The picture was different during the reign of Edward II. Despite the appointment of auditors in 1319-20, for example, the number of petitions brought to parliament in general, and those relating to Ireland specifically, fell dramatically.¹⁵ The reign of Edward I may have witnessed both the first petitions related to Ireland heard in parliament in England and the high-point of such petitioning.¹⁶ Edward I's reign, then, whilst not typical for the high profile of this channel of communication between Ireland and England, was certainly important.

Table 2: Distribution of requests brought to parliament in England

Date	1283	1284	1290	1290	1293	1303	1304	1305	1307	1308	1312	1314
Total	3	1	57	49	19	1	1	44	4	5	1	1

nb. The table excludes the petition of 1281, brought by the community of Dublin, which may have been brought before the Irish parliament

¹³ J. R. Maddicott, 'Edward I and the lessons of baronial reform: local government, 1258-80', *TCE* 1 (1985), 25. See also G. O. Sayles, *The King's parliament of England* (London, 1974), p.76.

¹⁴ Sayles, *op. cit.*, p.80.

¹⁵ H. Cole ed., *Documents illustrative of English history in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries* (Record Commission, 1844), p.13; H. G. Richardson and G. O. Sayles, *The Irish parliament in the middle ages* (Philadelphia, 1952), p.251. This may have been due to an official reaction against the clogging of parliament with petitions which occurred during the reign of Edward I (cf. H. Rothwell ed. *English historical documents iii 1189-1327* (London, 1975), 931).

¹⁶ Cf. Davies, *The First English empire*, pp.183-4. The peak in petitions reaching England from Ireland in 1305 was undoubtedly related to the fact that English domination of the British Isles was at its greatest then.

As the table shows, the two parliaments of 1290, and those held in 1293 and 1305 were the parliaments at which most petitions relating to Ireland were presented. The volume of petitions in 1290 and 1293 can be explained by contemporary investigations into the activities of the treasurer and justiciar of Ireland in these years. Unsurprisingly, most of these requests were for the redress of grievances. It is however possible that, owing to the serious nature of the complaints against the king's ministers, the petitions presented in 1290 and 1293 were more carefully preserved than those presented in other years. The Lenten parliament of 1305 was busy due to other factors, primarily the involvement of Anglo-Irish troops in Edward I's Scottish wars and secondly the fact that no council or parliament had been held in the lordship of Ireland since December 1302. 'Good service' was cited as the grounds upon which at least ten requests for patronage should be granted at the parliament of 1305. The petitioners of 1305 were also remarkable for the high number of Anglo-Irish of relatively humble status among them. Their status may explain why they presented their petitions to parliament, theoretically a level playing field, and not to the king in person. Certainly, the king refused a number of Anglo-Irish requests in 1305 because he did not know the petitioners in question. In their right to send petitions to parliament and to receive a response all the king's subjects were equal. They were more equal, however, if their petition requested the redress of wrongs (in which circumstances status or relation to the king held little sway). Edward I does not seem to have regarded parliament as an equally valid forum for the receipt of petitions which requested patronage. Petitioners whom he did not know were, therefore, more likely to be sent away with empty hands than petitioners whose service record could readily be called to mind. In parliament those remote from the royal court could not expect to receive the same treatment in patronage terms as those nearer the centre.

The most common type of petition among those presented in parliament in England was that requesting the righting of perceived or real wrongs.¹⁷

Table 3: Types of request

Date	Total no. requests	Redress of grievances	Patronage (eg. offices)
1272-1307	185	117	65
1307-1315	7	2	5

These were brought by all ‘groups’ of petitioners (below) bar the native Irish who had no recourse to English law unless this had been granted to them. These petitions were also the most successful type presented in parliament. Only seven complaints were refused redress without inquiry; and these petitions were those in which the requests ran counter to the king’s rights or which were clearly the result of fabrication or exaggeration on the part of the petitioner. For example, the prior and convent of St. Mary de Ponte, Fermoy petitioned that their poor tenants be exempted from assizes but this was refused because it was contrary to ‘common justice’. The king also refused the request of his bachelor, John Fulburne, who had been taken hostage by Calvath O’Connor, for the liberation of Irish hostages taken for peace because this was contrary to right.¹⁸ Orders were at least issued that the rest of these petitions be inquired into and it is notable that the status or nationality of the petitioner did not affect this response. The king’s most enthusiastic response, for the provision of ‘as speedy justice as possible’, was given to Joan de Bohun, an English lady.¹⁹ Nonetheless, the king was as prepared and as willing to see justice done in Ireland to his Anglo-Irish subjects whom he had never met as to his English subjects who had interests in the lordship.

¹⁷ This was probably the type of request envisaged when parliament was opened to the hearing of private petitions (Maddicott, ‘Edward I and the lessons of baronial reform’, p.24). A distinction is drawn between petitions for the righting of wrongs and those which requested grants. A similar distinction between requests for ‘justice’ and patronage is drawn in J. G. Edwards, “Justice” in early English parliaments’, in *Historical studies of the English parliament i Origins to 1399* ed. E. B. Fryde and Edward Miller (Cambridge, 1974), p.281.

¹⁸ *CDI, 1285-92*, nos.558, 622.

¹⁹ *CDI, 1285-92*, no.622.

Table 4: Make-up of parliamentary petitions

Type of petitioner	Approximate percentage of total no. requests
'English'	10%
Important Anglo-Irish magnates	7%
Ministers	15%
Other Anglo-Irish	37%
Ecclesiastics	23%
Groups (based on Irish towns/manors)	6%
Native Irish	2%
Widows	2%

NB. 'Ministers' includes 'English' who were serving as part of the Dublin government at the time of their petition. 'Important Anglo-Irish magnates' are those of the first order of importance such as Richard de Burgh, earl of Ulster, John fitz Thomas, lord of Offaly, and Richard de Clare, lord of Thomond.

Less common were requests for grants of patronage. This made sense since the obvious parliamentary forum for the presentation of many requests for patronage was in Ireland where the justiciar held varying sections of the patronage of the lordship within his discretion. In 1305, for example, Edward I referred Thomas Fowel, who had requested the custody of Leixlip castle, to the justiciar or treasurer of Ireland who usually dealt with such custodies to the king's advantage.²⁰ The frequency with which parliaments were held in Ireland also worked against the likelihood of petitions for patronage trickling through to parliament in England.²¹ The prohibitive cost and trouble involved in sending a petition to parliament in England, especially for the Anglo-Irish of relatively humble status who were behind most of the requests for patronage in parliament in England, suggests that petitioners needed good reason to resort to this forum. This reason may have been provided by the fact that ministers of the Dublin government could not always be relied upon to be fair in their distribution of patronage. Petitioners to parliament in England knew that the king would at least put them in the way of getting a possibly fairer answer before the session closed.²² There was also the important fact that the king, unlike the justiciar, had no constraints upon the size or

²⁰ *Mem. Parl.*, no.436.

²¹ Twenty-five parliaments were held in Ireland between 1276 and 1315 (H. G. Richardson and G. O. Sayles, *Irish parliament in the middle ages* (Philadelphia, 1952), pp.333-5).

²² *Rot. Parl. Ang.*, ix-x.

importance of the grants of patronage which he could make. And it is notable that the Anglo-Irish petitioners of 1305, relatively humble though they were, requested substantial grants such as the custody of Dublin prison for life.

The largest 'group' of petitioners to parliament in England was the Anglo-Irish of knightly status or below. Far fewer were the requests for grants presented by either English lords (seven) or the greatest Anglo-Irish magnates (five). This may have been because both groups could access the king's ear outside parliament if they wished to. Requests for grants did not fare as well in parliament as did requests for the redress of grievances, eighteen requests being refused outright.²³ Fourteen requests were, however, granted in full, with an additional four grants made subject to the justiciar's approval. Another five were made in part; a typical example being a grant of terms for the payment of debts in response to a request that a debt be pardoned.

The small nature of the sample makes it difficult to address the question of which 'group' were most successful in their pursuit of patronage through parliament in England. However, Dublin ministers seem to have fared well with four grants and three refusals in response to nine petitions; and all three requests to enjoy English law were granted to the native Irish who made them. Indeed, Dublin ministers (such as John de Sandford, an escheator and keeper of Ireland, Walter de Islip, a treasurer and escheator, and Thomas de Chedworth, a justice of the Dublin bench), and some men who served as sheriffs of various counties (such as Robert de Stapledon), were in receipt of considerable amounts of royal patronage. Such men were in the best position to know about patronage opportunities, and in a good position to petition the king for such

²³ N. D. Humard, *The King's pardon for homicide before A. D. 1307* (Oxford, 1969), p.221 found that the king seemed less likely to grant requests for pardons for homicide in the public arena of parliament.

patronage. Ministers of both Anglo-Irish and English background sought such promotion and patronage. This was perhaps more important for ministers of Anglo-Irish background who were less likely to achieve equivalent positions in England. In the case of English ministers, such as John Wogan, it made sense to look for patronage in Ireland if that was where their career was concentrated.²⁴ In return, it was only natural for the king to reward his ministers through promotion and the granting of favours.

In contrast to the success of Dublin ministers, only one request put by an English lord was granted. This is important because it suggests that in this context, at least, the king did not listen disproportionately to the voice of the English in matters concerning Ireland. This may, however, have resulted from the likelihood that the English who approached the king for patronage through parliament were probably those who lacked general access to his ear and hence influence with him. Also unsuccessful were the petitions of relatively obscure Anglo-Irish presented in English parliament for patronage in return for service; in general, these petitioners had missed the boat. They were disadvantaged by the fact that the king was most likely to make grants in return for service whilst on campaign or in order to secure men to go on campaign.

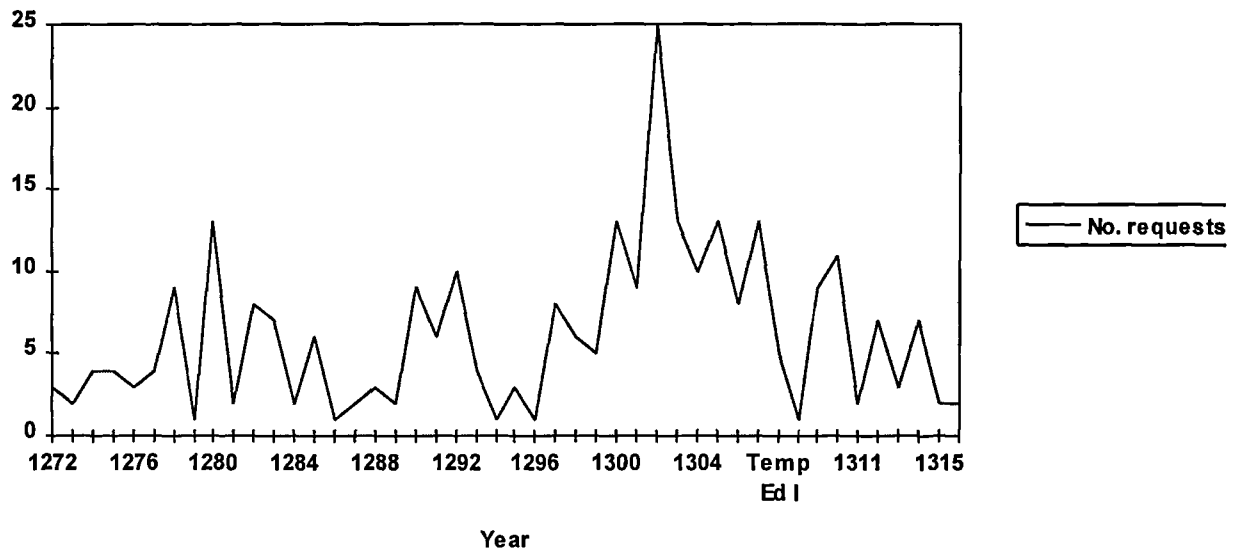
²⁴ R. H. R. Mortimer, 'Lordship and patronage: John Darcy and the Dublin administration 1324-47' (M. Phil Thesis, University of Durham, 1990), p.199.

(ii) Non-parliamentary petitions

The distribution of non-parliamentary petitions is shown by the graph below.

Diagram 1

Distribution of non-parliamentary petitions, c.1272-c.1315



The most notable point is that petitions were at their highest in 1302. This is because negotiations for Anglo-Irish involvement in Scotland were then under way at Roxburgh. In the majority of cases, however, it is not possible to link these petitions with grants. Several points need to be made about the non-parliamentary petitioners. First, the proportion of Anglo-Irish magnates was higher among non-parliamentary than among parliamentary petitioners. This was probably because such influential men could gain access to the king's ear without recourse to the forum of parliament. These magnates were also more likely to request patronage through the medium of non-parliamentary petitions, twenty of their requests being for grants of varying kinds against fifteen requests for the redress of grievances. The example of Richard de Burgh, the earl of Ulster and most powerful noble in Ireland, illustrates these points. In 1309, the earl was present at parliament in England, but did not present any petitions; in 1310, however, he sent a petition from Ireland to England containing eight requests, most of which were for grants of patronage. And Richard de Burgh, who received the greatest number of

grants in Ireland from English kings during this period, was clearly a successful petitioner, although his position as the most important magnate in Ireland was only part of the explanation for his success.²⁵

Table 5: Make up of non-parliamentary petitions

Type of petitioner	Percentage of total no. of requests
Other Anglo-Irish (knightly status and below)	36%
Anglo-Irish magnates	17%
Ecclesiastics	17%
'English'	13% (incl. 2 non-Irish ecclesiastical foundations)
Ministers	8%
Groups (based on Irish towns/manors)	6% (incl. 2 groups of merchants)
Native Irish	1%
Widows etc.	1%
Unclear	1%

Second, the petitions presented by English lords or ladies represented a desire to maintain the rights already held in Ireland, but not a desire to receive new grants. Out of the thirty-six petitions presented, thirty-four were related to difficulties encountered with the Dublin government or with resident Anglo-Irish lords. This suggests that the 'English' did not desire grants in the lordship to any great degree. Indeed, the evidence of those lords such as Ralph Pipard, John de Mohun and William de Walhope, who wished to pull out of Ireland is important here.²⁶ The fact that the king made few grants of Irish resources to the English does not, therefore, mean that he was pursuing a deliberate policy of preferring to reward his Anglo-Irish subjects within Ireland. In the instances in which English lords and clerks desired grants of patronage in Ireland the king did his best to accommodate them. Indeed, Edward I's continued sponsorship of the rights of the absentee Agnes de Valence vis-à-vis John fitz Thomas, who was in possession of Agnes's lands in Kildare,²⁷ suggests that the king might have listened to

²⁵ Other factors were his wife, Margaret's, relation to the queen; his former status as ward of the king; and the king's need to court his service in Scotland.

²⁶ *CDI, 1293-1301*, nos. 677, 834; M. C. Prestwich, *Edward I* (Berkeley, 1988), p.554. See also the petition of Alice Bigod.

²⁷ Cormac Ó Cléirigh, 'The Absentee Landlady and the Sturdy Robbers: Agnes de Valence', in C. Meek and K. Simms ed. *'The Fragility of Her Sex'? Medieval Irishwomen in Their European Context* (Dublin, 1996), p.114. The situation was resolved by Wogan, the justiciar, who, in an attitude of *realpolitik*

English requests for patronage to the detriment of the Anglo-Irish if such requests had been made. Lesser English landholders who also held land in Ireland are not well represented by the extant petitions. Such landholders were, however, more likely (though not very likely) to journey to Ireland to deal with problems encountered there. This may have reflected their relative lack of influence with the king compared to that exerted by the greater English nobles.

The largest 'group' of petitioners outside parliament was the Anglo-Irish of knightly status or below and their petitions were fairly evenly divided between requests for grants of patronage and requests for the redress of grievances. Most of this group's non-parliamentary requests were made during years when no petitions relating to Ireland are known to have been received in parliament in England despite the fact that parliaments were held. This boycotting of the channel of English parliament suggests that the petitioners were in proximity to the king and council. And, indeed, the years in which this group presented four or more petitions outside parliament in England were, with the exception of 1291-2, years in which Anglo-Irish served in the wars of Edward I (1282, 1297, 1300, 1302-3, 1305).

(iii) Petitions via intermediaries

These are the least common, but in some ways the most interesting, of the extant petitions which relate to the lordship of Ireland between 1272 and May 1315. In these petitions, favours or help are not requested directly from the king but from a third party who may be asked to influence the king in the petitioner's favour.

ignored the king's orders for the payment of compensation to Agnes because of the important role fitz Thomas had to play in keeping the peace.

Thirty-seven examples of this type of petition have been identified. This figure, however, underestimates the importance of intermediaries as stepping-stones to the king because there were certainly more intermediary petitions. This is clear since several of these petitions are themselves written on behalf of another person, who presumably first approached the petitioners in question for aid. In addition, eight petitioners addressed the king or king and council on behalf of a third party. And the king also made a number of grants of patronage relating to Ireland 'on the information of', or 'at the request of', a third party: Edward II, for example, made five grants with the knowledge or intervention of Aymer de Valence, the earl of Pembroke,²⁸ but no petitions remain that address the earl and request the use of his influence in relation to Ireland. Further, a letter of Prince Edward revealed that he was the recipient of an intermediary petition from Ireland. In his letter to the king's clerk, John de Banstede, Edward forwarded a petition of Walter de Bodenham, the valet of John fitz Thomas, imprisoned without reason by certain men at court, and requested that it be read before his father, Edward I. The prince, in his turn, had received this petition from *nostre cher cousin* the earl of Ulster, John fitz Thomas and Eustace le Poer.²⁹

Most of the thirty-seven extant petitions were addressed to chancery officials: twenty-eight were addressed to the chancellor; five were addressed to the keeper of the chancery rolls;³⁰ and a further one was probably addressed to Robert Burnell in his position as the chancellor of Lord Edward. If these petitions are representative in terms of their addressee, then the English chancellor was the official of whom the exercise of influence was most often requested. This is not a surprising conclusion to come to.

²⁸ *CPR, 1307-13*, pp.107, 482-3, 495; *CPR, 1313-17*, pp.48, 80.

²⁹ *Letters of Edward Prince of Wales 1304-5* ed. Hilda Johnstone (Cambridge, 1931), pp.17-18. Edward received other letters from Ireland requesting aid (*ibid.*, pp.22, 46-7, 73, 104).

Waugh, writing with regard to the mechanism by which English wardships were usually requested of the king, found that it was more typical for individuals to ask ‘influential courtiers or ministers to intercede with the king on their behalf’ than to approach the monarch directly; and, in a detailed example of how this system could work, he quoted petitions made to Robert Burnell, the chancellor of England, whose position he described as ‘pivotal’.³¹ The commanding position held by the chancellor had previously been noted by Wilkinson who argued that ‘his office gave him the right and opportunity to influence administration at every point’.³² Approaching the chancellor or other chancery officials in this way did not necessarily smack of corruption, however, since gifts lubricated the wheels of medieval officialdom as a matter of course.³³ And, in any case, as the justiciar wrote to Robert Burnell in 1284, the matter detailed in the letters of Robert Bagod, which had accidentally been opened, ‘belongs to the Chancellor’.³⁴

It is possible that the dominance of petitions addressed to chancery officials among the intermediary petitions reflected not only the influence which these officials were able to bring to bear, but also the fact that petitions presented to the chancery were more likely to survive than petitions to other men such as Aymer de Valence or Piers de Gaveston who were also able to influence the king.³⁵ For example, one of the extant petitions is

³⁰ This was John de Kirkby who had a particular role in deciding what business came before parliament in his position as the first clerk of the chancery (Sayles, *The King’s parliament of England*, pp.81-2).

³¹ Waugh, *The Lordship of England*, pp.147-8.

³² Bertie Wilkinson, ‘The Chancery’, in James F. Willard and William A. Morris ed. *The English government at work 1327-1336 i Central and prerogative administration* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1940), 185.

³³ M. Hagger, ‘The De Verdun family in England, Ireland and Wales, 1066-1316: a study’ (Ph.D. Thesis, University of St.Andrews, 1998), p.95 has, for example, suggested that the £50 owed by Theobald de Verdon to Robert Burnell in 1282 represented a fee for the bishop’s help requested in that year.

³⁴ *CDI*, 1252-84, no.2225.

³⁵ Piers de Gaveston, as lieutenant as Ireland, may have recommended many of the men appointed to office in the lordship by the king in 1308 and 1309. Gaveston may have appointed John de Boneville, to

from the burgesses of New Ross to Gilbert de Clare, the earl of Gloucester. It is very likely, however, that these burgesses also wrote to Roger Bigod, the earl of Norfolk, and William de Valence, the lord of Pembroke, and to the same end, since Bigod petitioned the king on their behalf three times and Valence did so once.³⁶ On the other hand, the fact remains that New Ross aside there is no evidence in the form of petitions to suggest that the Anglo-Irish regarded English lords who held some land in Ireland as obvious intermediaries to the king - even when they were their own lords (cf. pp.138-9 where the patronage avenues opened by serving English lords in Ireland are discussed). Whilst Edward II made five grants relating to Ireland at the suggestion of Aymer de Valence, this was small fry in comparison with the scores of grants relating to England and elsewhere made at Aymer's instigation which litter the English patent and close rolls. The burgesses of New Ross had good reason to approach English lords rather than chancery officials with their request, however: their quarrel, which related to the privileges granted to the harbour of Waterford and the restrictions put upon their own harbour, was with the king himself in his role as lord of Waterford.³⁷ On balance, therefore, it seems likely that most intermediary petitions were addressed to officials of the English chancery.³⁸

whom he granted the farm of the barony of Old Ross and Great Island in Carlow (*CPR, 1307-13*, p.194), as seneschal of Carlow and Kildare, for example. There seems to have been rivalry between Arnold le Poer, the previous seneschal, who was paid for holding this office for only 52 days, and de Boneville which could have resulted from le Poer being dismissed in favour of Gaveston's candidate (PRO E101/235/20). Arnold, who had been ordered in 1309/10 'to desist from attacking the king's officers in co. Carlow', was certainly suspected (although exonerated) of John's death (TCD, V.1.7. Shaw-Mason MS, p.41; *Knights' Fees*, p.87; *CJR*, iii, 163-4).

³⁶ Cf. Eamonn McEaney, 'Mayors and merchants in medieval Waterford city, 1169-1495', in W. Nolan and T. P. Power ed. *Waterford: history and society. Interdisciplinary essays on the history of an Irish county* (Dublin, 1992), p.155.

³⁷ For this dispute see idem, 'Waterford and New Ross trade competition, c.1300', *Decies* 12 (1979), 16-24.

³⁸ Hurnard, *King's pardon for homicide*, p.229 reckoned that about fifteen percent of pardons granted for homicide *ad instantiam* before 1294 were granted on the intercession of some eighty great lords and ladies and lesser landowners.

Most of the extant intermediary petitions were written by members of the Dublin government or by nobles of high lay or ecclesiastical rank. Status and position, then, largely determined whether a man would approach the English chancery for favours or help. This reflects Wilkinson's argument that 'the great magnates...looked with confidence to...favours in chancery'.³⁹ Both magnates and officials were likely to have had dealings with the English chancery at some point. Indeed, a remarkable feature of a number of these intermediary petitions is evidence of familiarity, regular correspondence or even a relationship of some depth between the petitioner and the addressee. For example, in 1275, Dame Emma Locard sought to utilise her blood relationship with the English chancellor for the advancement of her daughter whom she sent to him. In another petition Thomas fitz Maurice thanked the chancellor, in whom he had all his hope, for his 'counsel and aid so frequently given'. Evidence of a relationship between petitioner and addressee was most obviously the case with respect to Robert Burnell, bishop of Bath and Wells, and chancellor of England (1274-92), to whom seventeen of the extant petitions were addressed and who has been described as 'thoroughly approachable'.⁴⁰ Evidence of a relationship was most notable with regard to Theobald de Verdon, the constable of Ireland, who seems to have been a friend of the bishop. De Verdon's petitions to Burnell contained news items, for example the comment that 'Richard de Baskerville is either married or about being so. The wife of Walter de Baskerville is not pregnant as he had heard'. This suggests that Burnell had inquired of de Verdon regarding the Baskervilles. The existence of a friendship between de Verdon and Burnell is also suggested by the arrangement made in 1286

³⁹ Wilkinson, 'The Chancery', p.203.

⁴⁰ Prestwich, *Edward I*, p.233.

whereby Theobald gave the bishop the power to confer all the churches of his gift in England that became vacant whilst Theobald was in Ireland.⁴¹

It is not surprising that as many as seventeen of the thirty-seven extant intermediary petitions relating to Ireland should have been addressed to Burnell. First, he was chancellor of England for eighteen of the forty-three years under consideration. Second, he held a position of influence with the king apart from his role as chancellor.⁴² And third, Burnell may have developed connections with the lordship of Ireland where he had been sent as a messenger of the king and lord Edward in 1262 for an indeterminate period of time.⁴³ Burnell may have made acquaintances in Ireland who were later to petition him in his role as chancellor in England. This could explain why Thomas de Chedworth, a justice, wrote to Burnell on the behalf of his superior, Robert Bagod, the chief justice of the Irish bench, to request another wardship.⁴⁴ If Thomas had met Burnell in person, he would have been in a better position to petition him than was Bagod, despite his more junior post.

A final interesting point to be made about these intermediary petitions is that even intimates of the king such as Thomas de Clare, Geoffrey de Geneville and William de Vescy (all former household knights of Edward I) requested favours of the English

⁴¹ *CDI*, 1285-92, no.242.

⁴² Waugh, *The Lordship of England*, pp.147-8. See also R. Huscroft, 'Robert Burnell and the government of England', *TCE* 8 (2001), 64-5, 70.

⁴³ *CDI*, 1252-84, no.727. F. Elrington Ball, *The Judges in Ireland, 1221-1921* i (London, 1926), 18-20 suggested that Burnell served as a justice of assize in Ireland and that he, as chancellor, went on to exercise great influence over the first appointments to the Irish bench under Edward I. The idea that Burnell served as a justice probably stems from a misreading of *CDI*, 1252-84, no.1177. Burnell is not listed as a justice in either Richardson and Sayles, *Admin. Ire.* or in Paul Brand, 'The Birth and early development of a colonial judiciary: the judges of the lordship of Ireland, 1210-1377', in W. N. Osborough ed. *Explorations in law and history: Irish legal history society discourses, 1988-1994* (Blackrock, Dublin, 1995), pp.1-48.

⁴⁴ *CDI*, 1252-84, no.1405. Thomas may also have met Burnell when he went to England in 1275 (*ibid.*, no.1136).

chancellor when they were resident in Ireland. Their employment of the influence of chancery officials, however, seems to have been restricted to periods of residence in Ireland: Geoffrey de Geneville certainly received grants of patronage in response to requests made of the king in person in 1301; and Edward I instructed Thomas de Clare that ‘when [he]...shall come to England and present himself to the K., the K. will exhibit himself gracious and favourable in regard to matters which Thomas desires to promote.’⁴⁵

* * *

In the period between 1272 and 1315 a variety of ways existed for the Anglo-Irish to petition the king in England: the most novel of these was through petition delivered in parliament in England; and the most effective, in terms of securing grants of patronage, was through military service outside Ireland. In this respect, there was, indeed, a ‘positive’ angle to Anglo-Irish involvement in wars outside the lordship.⁴⁶ Considering the fact that even Edward I’s ministers found it difficult to divert his attention to Irish affairs,⁴⁷ a high number of these petitions received attention. The communication channels between Ireland and Westminster, then, were open.

(B) Patronage

This section aims to consider the attitude of both the English king and his English subjects to the patronage resources at his disposal in the lordship of Ireland. Whether grants of patronage in the lordship were desired, and by whom, will be addressed, for example. The important issue of whether a general policy lay behind the grants made by the king or whether the grants were haphazard and made merely in response to

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, no.2005.

⁴⁶ Frame, *English lordship*, p.156.

⁴⁷ See the 1290 parliamentary petition of the archbishop of Dublin. See also PRO SC1/18/16.

petitions will also be discussed. The grants which are considered as patronage here include grants of land, free warren, fairs and markets, and murage; appointments to benefices and offices; pardons of debts and crimes and so on. The types of grant typically given in return for military service will be examined. The patronage provided by land and feudal incidents, and ecclesiastical benefices, none of which were particularly linked to service in war, will provide case-studies aimed at answering whether the king had a patronage policy which extended beyond a desire to recruit troops.

(i) The service equation

The most obvious point to be made about the grants made by Edward I and II is that the kings tended to reward the service of their subjects, and especially their military service. Patronage was one half of a bargain, of which the other half was service. It was therefore expected and only natural that the king should make grants in return for service received.

Between 1272 and May 1315 Edward I and II made 146 known grants of patronage specifically in return for 'good service'. This figure probably does not represent the total number of gifts made in return for service, however, since other grants were made alongside these, during the campaigns against the Scots, whose wording simply fails to specify that they were rewards for service. In the cases of many of the 146 grants that we can be sure were made in return for service the type and location of this service was left unspecified beyond the use of adjectives such as 'lengthy', 'good', 'laudable' or 'faithful'. These 146 grants covered the patronage range from a grant of land to a respite of the payment of debts. More Anglo-Irish of relatively humble status received

these grants than any other group, but important nobles and Dublin ministers were prominent recipients too.

In ninety-three of these 146 cases, the theatre of action was named. The low number of grants made in return for service in Ireland probably reflects the fact that service in the lordship was usually rewarded by the justiciar. Obviously, more Anglo-Irish served the king militarily in Ireland than in Scotland. Nevertheless the service most rewarded by the king was that given in Scotland, which accounted for at least sixty-five of the 146 definite service-related grants.

Table 6: Locations of patronage rewarded service

Location	Scotland	Flanders	+1 location named	Wales	Ireland	Gascony	Rome
No. grants	65	11	7	5	3	1	1

The locations in which these grants for service were made shows that most grants for service in war were made whilst the king was on campaign with his men. Four grants were made at Westminster, but these were in anticipation of service in Flanders and were made just prior to departure for the Low Countries.

In addition to the grants made specifically in return for good service, a number of other grants can be identified as probably made in return for or in expectation of service. These were the grants made whilst men were undertaking military service for the king or whilst negotiations for military service were under way. For example, it has been observed that the ‘flood of favours’ granted at Roxburgh in the winter of 1301-2 to Anglo-Irish who had served in Scotland must have been related to the negotiations then under way for future Anglo-Irish contributions to Edward’s Scottish wars.⁴⁸

⁴⁸ Lydon, ‘Edward I, Ireland and the war in Scotland, 1303-1304’, p.43.

The correlation between service in war and increased numbers of patronage grants was more marked among certain types of grants. The pardon of debts owed at the Dublin exchequer was one such type of patronage. Six grants, for example, were made during the Welsh war in 1282-3, and about twenty-four identified grants were made during the Scottish campaigns between 1301 and 1304. The pardon of such debts may have been part of the bargain of serving in Scotland. Certainly, Richard de Burgh, the earl of Ulster, demanded the acquittance of debts as a condition of his service in 1302; and Edward I empowered certain of his knights to 'speak to the great lords of Ireland and provide how these men shall go to Scotland', giving them the power to respite and release debts in the hope of raising 300 men-at-arms and 2000 foot from the lordship.⁴⁹

Another type of patronage that was linked to service in war was pardons for trespasses committed against the king's peace in Ireland. Such grants were probably often made in return for service. In 1298, for example, at least twenty-seven (and probably more) grants were made in Flanders and Scotland where Anglo-Irish soldiers were in service.⁵⁰ It seems likely that such grants were usually secured by captains for their men. John fitz Thomas, for example, secured letters of pardon for those who had served the king in Flanders;⁵¹ and Richard de Burgh secured a pardon for his relative, William, in return for service in Scotland in 1304. The bulk of bread-and-butter patronage represented by respites and pardons of debts, and pardons of trespasses went to the Anglo-Irish of knightly rank or below, the 'group' in receipt of the largest number of grants. A third

⁴⁹ *CDI*, 1302-7, no.151. See J. F. Lydon, 'Irish levies in the Scottish wars, 1296-1302', *Irish Sword* 5 (1961-2), 210.

⁵⁰ Cf. Hurnard, *King's pardon for homicide*, p.219.

⁵¹ John fitz Thomas also requested pardons for men not engaged in the king's service outside Ireland. In 1295 he, 'and the people of Ireland', requested a pardon for those in the 'present war'; and in 1300 he requested a pardon for his bachelor, Philip Purcel.

type of patronage connected to absence from the lordship of Ireland on the king's service was the respite of suits. At least five such grants were made because men were elsewhere on military service.⁵²

Other types of patronage were not so evidently tied to service in war. A number of grants of the marriages of heirs and of free warren, and appointments to office within the lordship of Ireland, for example, were given in return for military service but this was only one factor among several. The type of patronage most readily distributed in return for service in war by the king, then, was that which cost him little in the short-term but which was nevertheless gratefully received by the grantees in question. It has been argued that grants of the pardon of debts contributed to the lack of revenue available at the Dublin exchequer for the maintenance of the king's peace, and thereby added to the lawlessness and disorder of the Irish lordship.⁵³ Many of these debts, especially the larger and older ones, were unlikely to have been collected, however; the pardoning of them did not thus represent a large blow to real revenues at the Dublin exchequer. Nevertheless, this did not detract from the desire to secure such pardons since threats to enforce payments of debts could be used to force the king's subjects to certain action. This had been seen in 1295 when a body of English magnates reluctant to serve in Gascony, even at the king's wages, were compelled so to do by a threat of distraint at the exchequer for all debts owed to the Crown.⁵⁴ It has also been argued that the granting of general pardons for trespasses in return for service 'clearly helped to promote crime'.⁵⁵ This is stronger ground, especially since some grants were even

⁵² The wording of these grants suggests that they were distinct from the normal protections, with or without the clause *volumus*, granted to men on the king's service (cf. Donald W. Sutherland, *The Assize of novel disseisin* (Oxford, 1973), pp.54-5).

⁵³ Lydon, *The Lordship of Ireland*, pp.133-4.

⁵⁴ Prestwich, *Edward I*, p.407.

⁵⁵ Lydon, *op. cit.*, pp. 136-7.

made in advance of crimes being committed.⁵⁶ Hurnard maintained that the policy of granting general pardons in return for military service contributed to lawlessness by undermining ‘the deterrent force of prospective punishment’: there was no guarantee that recruits would not later revert to a lawless way of life; and the granting of pardons to recruits created a climate in which it was harder to refuse pardons to non-combatants.⁵⁷

Despite the non-spectacular nature of the rewards typically given by Edward I to his Anglo-Irish soldiers, their willingness to serve abroad suggests that the king had the patronage-service equation quite well balanced with regard to Ireland. The opportunity to serve the king abroad was a welcome one for many Anglo-Irish. It got men close to the king and able to put requests to him; it gave the king a reason to grant their requests; and it provided a way in which men, such as John fitz Thomas, who needed to prove their loyalty could do so.⁵⁸ And, as Frame has noted, for lords resident in Ireland any grants of patronage ‘may have possessed an extra meaning, in offering a visible sign that Anglo-Irishmen were fully part of a broader political world.’⁵⁹

⁵⁶ Seán Duffy, *Ireland in the middle ages* (Dublin, 1997), p.132.

⁵⁷ Hurnard, *King's pardon for homicide*, pp.vii (quote), 311-12, 315, 321, 325.

⁵⁸ Cf. Frame, *Colonial Ireland*, p.68. Edward I's ability to bring John fitz Thomas to heel after his abduction of the earl of Ulster was in fact largely dependent on fitz Thomas's own desire to achieve legitimisation of his landed position and receipt of royal patronage (Ó Cléirigh, ‘Agnes de Valence’, p.116). Lydon, ‘Irish army in Scotland’, p.185 argues that Anglo-Irish magnates would only serve the king in Scotland ‘for what they could get out of it for themselves’.

⁵⁹ Frame, *English lordship*, p.10.

(ii) Land

(a) Permanent grants

With respect to the allocation of landed resources, the dates chosen for this examination of the distribution of the patronage available in Ireland make good sense. This is because the big grants of land fell, largely, before and after the period under consideration. Henry III did not make many fresh grants of land; he was, however, fortunate to have a bevy of heiresses to marry off which resulted in the acquisition of considerable Irish estates for certain of his foreign relatives and certain important Englishmen (for example, William de Valence, his Poitevin half-brother and Roger Bigod, the earl of Norfolk). By 1272 virtually all Ireland had been granted out, even though not all areas were effectively occupied. The one well-known grant made by Edward I was that of the lordship of Thomond, in south-west Ireland, to Thomas de Clare. This grant is so well known, however, because it was an anomaly; and, indeed, in a real sense Edward did not make this grant out of his own resources, but rather acted as a broker between Robert de Muscegros (who wanted out of Ireland) and Thomas de Clare (who wanted in). Considerable grants of land in Ireland were only made again in any real number by Edward II after the Bruce invasion of Ireland when he had the land forfeited by rebels at his disposal.⁶⁰

Before the grants made by Edward I and II can be discussed, the suggestion that Edward I, together with his justiciar, John Wogan, instituted a period of 'territorial acquisitiveness' in the last decade or so of his reign should be examined.⁶¹ Considerable parcels of land did come into the king's hand during this period, the most

⁶⁰ For example see *CPR, 1317-21*, p.204. Other grants were made to reward service against the Scots from land already in the king's hand. Most obvious and important among these were the appointment of John fitz Thomas to the earldom of Kildare and John de Bermingham to the earldom of Louth (*CChR, 1300-26*, pp.307, 408; cf. Frame, *English lordship*, p.152).

important of these being the liberties of Carlow and Kildare, and the lordship of Dysert in Meath. Nevertheless the king did not set out to accumulate landed resources in Ireland into Crown hands; rather, he acquired several of these lands at the behest of lords who wished to pull out of Ireland. For example, the acquisition of Ralph Pipard's lordship of Dysert was in response to Pipard's desire to exchange his Irish lands for lands in England. Further, the acquisition of Carlow was incidental, the by-product of the Edward I's acknowledged desire to increase the Crown lands in England,⁶² since it was the earl of Norfolk's lands in England and Wales that were the more important politically. Likewise the acquisition of Kildare should be viewed primarily as part of the king's punishment of William de Vescy, who attempted to misuse his powers as justiciar in order to expand his landed power.

Edward I did, however, tend to keep hold of valuable and substantial lands which came into his hands, probably because of the heavy demands made by the Scottish wars upon resources. Certainly, neither Dysert nor Kildare were granted out during the period in question,⁶³ and Carlow was not granted to Thomas de Brotherton until 1312 when he became earl of Norfolk. Nevertheless, a by-product of Edward's acquisition of lands in Ireland was to increase the king's patronage resources in terms of grants of custodies. For example, direct lordship of the liberties of Carlow and Kildare enabled Edward II to present Nicholas de Hugate to the church of Carlow; to appoint first John de Boneville and then John de Lyvet as steward of Kildare and Carlow; and to grant all the castles, towns, manors and tenements of Carlow to both of his half-brothers.⁶⁴

⁶¹ M. C. Prestwich, 'Royal patronage under Edward I', *TCE* 1 (1985), 47.

⁶² See K. B. McFarlane, 'Had Edward I a 'policy' towards the earls?', *History* 50 (1965), 145-159.

⁶³ Much of Kildare was taken under the effective control of John fitz Thomas, lord of Offaly.

⁶⁴ *CPR, 1307-13*, pp. 73, 147, 272, 363.

Edward I's coronation oath promise to recover past losses did not prevent him from making permanent grants of land.⁶⁵ Edward I made thirty-six grants of land in Ireland; and Edward II made six. Many of these were small grants of land made to undistinguished recipients (such as the forty acres given to William Douz in 1315 and the more substantial three carucates granted to John Stretton in 1285), or were grants which affected the way in which lands were held. The distribution of grants of land does not suggest any pattern of reward. Two and six grants of land were made in 1282 and 1283 respectively, and these may be explained in terms of reward for service given in Wales. However, the greatest number of grants of land made by Edward I fell in 1280, and in each case the grant was made for a different reason. Neither did the grants made bear much relation to the extant petitions which requested grants of land.

There were many petitions that touched upon the issue of land in the Irish lordship between 1272 and 1315. Most of these, however, requested redress of grievances and not new grants of acres. A smaller number of petitions, about thirty-five, requested a grant of land, a confirmation of a grant of land or a change in the exact terms by which land was held. In general, petitioners who requested a grant of land asked for a relatively small parcel where they already had interests, and they justified their requests in terms of making their position more tenable. These petitions were made by men who, in their own eyes at least, needed rather than wanted more land. Such a man was John de Burgh who requested a grant of waste lands in Limerick at farm for a term of twenty years in 1290, arguing that he could not lodge there or spend money otherwise because

⁶⁵ Prestwich, *Edward I*, p.154 makes the point that to have made permanent grants of land 'would have run counter to the policy enunciated in his coronation oath, to maintain royal rights and recover past losses.' Nevertheless, the lands which Edward granted to Robert de Stapledon in 1281 had previously been leased by Robert from John of Kent, keeper of the king's demesnes in Ireland (*CDI*, 1252-84, no.1784). Edward also made a grant from Crown lands in Ireland before his accession to the throne (*ibid.*, no.844).

he held only from year to year. In contrast, extant petitions for large amounts of land were few. Richard de Burgh made several requests in 1310, none of which seem to have been granted; and John fitz Thomas requested £100 of land in 1302, in response to which he was promised £60 of land.⁶⁶

Of the more considerable grants of land made by Edward I, most went to the king's servants in Ireland and to important Anglo-Irish nobles. For example, in 1280 £100 waste lands in Connacht were granted to Robert de Stapledon, sheriff of Waterford and Cork; this grant was of the order which a 'favoured king's knight' might expect to receive 'fairly well on in his career'.⁶⁷ And in 1293 the king granted the land of Desmond and Decies to Thomas and Margaret fitz Maurice, who had a claim to the land; this grant represented a rather unsuccessful attempt to establish English rule in Desmond which had been in royal hands and granted out to custodians between 1223 and 1259 when it had been granted to John fitz Thomas by Edward.⁶⁸

A couple of major grants were made to English knights who lacked interests in Ireland - in 1276 Thomas de Clare was granted the land of Thomond and in 1278 John de Walhope received £30 waste land - but it is notable that these grants were made at the beginning of the period in question before the 'Gaelic resurgence' of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries became a serious problem for landholders. After this no English sought land in Ireland through the agency of the king unless they were already involved in the lordship as ministers.

⁶⁶ He had still not received this in September 1315 (J. R. S. Phillips, 'Documents on the early stages of the Bruce invasion of Ireland, 1315-16', *PRIA* 79 C (1979), 259).

⁶⁷ B. P. Wolffe, *The Royal demesne in English history. The Crown estate in the governance of the realm from the conquest to 1509* (London, 1971), p.61.

In the case of land, grants made were pretty much haphazard and do not seem to have followed any set policy. The king responded to the petitions that he chose to respond to; and he seems to have answered those which he thought were deserved. Many of the grants made were justified in terms of good service, money spent on land, and service to be rendered. Other petitions may not have been answered for political reasons. It has been suggested that Edward I did not noticeably reward his justiciar, John Wogan, with lands because of the disaster that had occurred in having William de Vesey, the lord of Kildare, as justiciar because of the conflict of interest that arose.⁶⁹ Grants which were not made to Richard de Burgh, for example, can also be seen in the light of not wanting him to become too powerful.⁷⁰ Another reason for not answering petitions is the fact that the king needed to keep resources in his own hands as far as possible to meet the demands of the Scottish wars.

(b) Custodies

In Ireland, as in England, appointments to the custody of lands were more numerous than permanent grants of land. These custodies were either of the king's own demesne lands,⁷¹ or of the lands of tenants-in-chief during the minorities of their heirs. Connected to the latter type of custody were the feudal incidents of wardship and marriage of heirs. Taken together these feudal incidents formed one of the most important resources of the English kings in Ireland. Indeed, the English lay feudal

⁶⁸ Orpen, *Normans*, iii, 136-7, 140-1, 144-5. See A. F. O'Brien, 'The territorial ambitions of Maurice fitz Thomas, first earl of Desmond, with particular reference to the manor of Inchiquin, co. Cork', *PRIA* 82 C (1982), 59-88 for the longer term effects of this grant.

⁶⁹ Prestwich, 'Patronage under Edward I', p.48.

⁷⁰ cf. Chapter 5, p.198n94.

⁷¹ The composition of these demesnes changed over time, but certain manors (such as Chapelizod, Crumlin, Newcastle Lyons, Newcastle McKeynegan and Tassagard in county Dublin) were stable components of the royal demesne in Ireland both prior to and during the reigns of Edward I and II.

incidents alone were numerous and important enough to warrant a recent detailed monograph.⁷²

Edward I made sixty-one appointments to the custodies of lands and Edward II twenty-two. By far the greater proportion of these custodies were grants of parts of the king's demesne lands in Ireland. Although both types of land needed to be farmed out for management purposes, grants of custodies were still acts of patronage.⁷³ They were usually granted in return for service given: only the grant of the lands of George de Cantilupe to David de Offinton in 1273 was clearly made in order to provide an income in the lordship for a man about to go Ireland on the king's service. Grants were not concentrated in particular years, although the years in which four or more grants were made can, with the exception of 1292-3, be explained as the years in which support was required or being given for Scottish campaigns (1302, 1304), in which loyal service during the king's absence in Gascony was being rewarded (1290), or in which the king was keen to gain support (1311).

Most grants of custodies were given to the king's servants in Ireland and resident Anglo-Irish. No custodies of land were granted to 'English' unless they had already had interests in the lordship or were serving the king there. It thus seems that English subjects of the king not already associated with the lordship did not seek to hold custodies in Ireland. There was probably sufficient competition for such custodies among the English who served in the Dublin government and the king's Anglo-Irish subjects to prevent the king from rewarding others with them.

⁷² Waugh, *The Lordship of England*.

⁷³ cf. Wolffe, *Royal demesne in English history*, p.61.

The duration of grants of custody made by the king was indicative of his attitude towards his Irish resources. The most usual term applied to custodies of the king's demesne lands was 'during pleasure'. This phraseology allowed sudden curtailment of a custody. Edward I made only eight grants of custodies for a fixed term of years, usually about ten; and Edward II made two grants of custodies for life.⁷⁴ Both Edward I and II were, therefore, careful not to alienate many resources and little demesne land was permanently alienated from the Crown.

Also indicative of the king's attitude towards his Irish resources was the extent to which lands were left in the escheator's hands, or merely leased out to custodians who were required to account for issues at the Dublin exchequer. Edward I from the start reserved vacant bishoprics and abbeys to himself.⁷⁵ These were a valuable source of income: in 1277-9 the escheator was responsible for receipts of £1, 669 2s. 5½d. from the archdiocese of Dublin alone.⁷⁶ The value of lay escheats retained by the king in certain years is shown in the table (below).

Table 7: Value of lay escheats retained by the king in Ireland

Accounting period	Approximate value
1275/6	£1, 300
1286-8	£2, 785
1289/90	£1, 595
1296-8	£1, 509
1298-1302	£881
1307/8	£865
1308-10	£482

As these figures bear out, the king kept most valuable lands which were subject to wardship under his direct control. This was different to the situation in England where

⁷⁴ These were the castle, mills, meadow and town of Carlow to Geoffrey de Cave in 1311 and the manor of Chapelizod, with its fishery, to Richard de Wodehouse in 1315.

⁷⁵ Otway-Ruthven, *Med. Ire.*, p.161.

⁷⁶ *36DKR*, pp.41-2 (PR 7 Ed I).

the reasons to make grants of wardship were more compelling than thoughts of the income which they could generate for the royal coffers.⁷⁷ Direct receipts from feudal incidents reached a peak in England in the late thirteenth century 'when Edward I's urgent need for cash impelled his ministers to squeeze profit from every resource.'⁷⁸ Since Edward had kept most escheats in Ireland under ministerial control the fact that the sums for which the escheator was responsible dropped off markedly in 1298-1302 must be due to the fluctuating nature of feudal incidents as sources of income. In general, valuable wardships of heirs or their lands were not granted as patronage in Ireland.

Edward I and II were more prepared to grant marriages of the heirs of tenants-in-chief. In England ministers were the largest group of recipients of these feudal incidents.⁷⁹ Although the sample from Ireland is small (eleven) the same does not seem to be true. Only four of these eleven grants were to members of the Dublin government; most of the rest went to Anglo-Irish knights. The most important grant, that of the marriage of the heir of Peter de Bermyngham, was given to Richard de Burgh, earl of Ulster. In this case, the desire of nobles, evident in England, to keep their family concerns within a certain social group was met in Ireland too.

The fact that only one grant of a marriage was made to an Englishman does not necessarily mean that the king deliberately sought to keep the politics of Anglo-Irish families within the borders of the lordship. The only extant petitions requesting the wardship or marriage of heirs in Ireland were from Walter l'Enfaunt, the justice of the justiciar's bench, and Geoffrey de Morton, a Dublin merchant. This suggests that most

⁷⁷ Waugh, *The Lordship of England*, p.144.

interest in Anglo-Irish feudal incidents came from the Anglo-Irish and it was probably this factor which determined the locality of the grantees. It is difficult, in fact, to know how far the king was behind all these grants. Writing of England, Waugh noted that the king's role in the granting of wardships was 'not readily visible' in all cases.⁸⁰ Much the same was true in Ireland, and a couple of the grants included here may have been made at the discretion of the escheator.⁸¹

(iii) Ecclesiastical benefices

It has been suggested that, 'the clerks probably did the best out of all Edward [I]'s household servants, with the benefices that came their way.'⁸² If the clerks were the most rewarded of Edward I's servants then it makes sense to examine the king's attitude to the disposal of benefices in Ireland. Sweetman's *Calendar of documents relating to Ireland* and the English patent and close rolls reveal at least sixty-eight appointments made to ecclesiastical benefices in Ireland by Edward I and nineteen by Edward II prior to May 1315. In most of these cases, ecclesiastical benefices fell into the king's gift through the vacancy of a see, although a number of churches belonged to the king's patronage permanently.⁸³ Under neither Edward I nor Edward II were ecclesiastical benefices in general granted to either English or Anglo-Irish clerks to the exclusion of the other group. The distribution of grants made by the king reflected the relative

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p.168.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p.186.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, pp.148-9.

⁸¹ See, in particular, the grants to Walter de la Haye in 1281/2 and to Nicholas de Cruces sometime between 1299 and 1304.

⁸² Prestwich, *Edward I*, p.154.

⁸³ See, for example, *CDI*, 1285-1292, no.831. The king of England had a right to appoint to benefices when a see was void. This right, *la droit de régale spirituelle*, was not admitted by the papacy, but neither was it usually contested (Waldo E. L. Smith, *Episcopal appointments and patronage in the reign of Edward II* (Chicago, 1938), pp.57-8). Edward I made two, and Edward II five, appointments to prebends of the king's free church of Penkridge (*CDI*, 1252-84, no.1172; *CDI*, 1293-1301, no.669; *CPR*, 1313-17, pp.4, 82, 116, 120). Although this church was said to be in the see of Dublin, it was located in Staffordshire but within the patronage of the archbishop of Dublin who was dean there (J. H. Denton, *English royal free chapels: a constitutional study* (Manchester, 1970), pp.105-6, 145).

prosperity of the Anglo-Irish sees, which can be gleaned from the receipts of the ecclesiastical taxation of Ireland between 1302 and 1306.⁸⁴ Unsurprisingly, most presentations made by the English king were to churches or prebends within the archdiocese of Dublin, the ecclesiastical 'region' which was in general richer than its neighbours, although the dioceses of Cashel and Meath also offered attractive prospects.⁸⁵ In contrast only one presentation was made in the relatively poor diocese of Cloyne. Presentations were generally made to the richer of the churches within any given diocese, suggesting that only the more valuable livings were petitioned for; and it seems that when the king made prospective grants of benefices, it was to those worth at least thirty marks *p.a.* that he sought to present his candidates. The attitude of the English kings to ecclesiastical offices as a source of patronage will be examined through the case-study provided by the coveted prebends of St. Patrick's cathedral, Dublin.⁸⁶

St. Patrick's was a 'special case' among the secular cathedral chapters of Ireland because whereas other chapters tended to be filled with members of leading local families, most of the canons in St. Patrick's were royal officials.⁸⁷ St. Patrick's was also special because it was the only secular cathedral chapter in Ireland that could rival the wealth of English secular cathedral chapters.⁸⁸ An appointment as a prebendary there was thus one of the ultimate prizes on offer to clerks within the lordship of Ireland; and these prizes were sought by English clerks as well. It is not surprising, therefore, that Edward I and II sought to exercise their right to appoint to vacant prebends in St.

⁸⁴ *CDI*, 1302-7, nos.693-729.

⁸⁵ The most valuable living in Ireland, worth forty pounds *p.a.*, to which the English king presented in this period, however, was to the church of Trim in Meath at the behest of Geoffrey de Geneville for his son Nicholas.

⁸⁶ For evidence of competition see *CDI*, 1302-7, no.447.

⁸⁷ Otway-Ruthven, *Med. Ire.*, p.132.

⁸⁸ G. J. Hand, 'The Medieval chapter of St. Patrick's cathedral, Dublin. The Early period (c.1219-c.1279)', *JRSAL* 92 (1962), 229.

Patrick's when the archbishopric of Dublin was vacant. It is important to note, however, that neither Edward I nor Edward II sought to prolong the vacancy of the see of Dublin for their own purposes: the long period of vacancy between 1271 and 1279 stemmed rather from the inability of the cathedral chapters of Dublin's two cathedrals (St. Patrick's and Christ Church, the regular cathedral in Dublin) to agree on suitable candidates.⁸⁹

Sweetman's calendars and the English patent and close rolls reveal twenty-four appointments made by Edward I and nine appointments made by Edward II to the prebends of St. Patrick's. These records underplay the extent to which the English kings exerted their influence over this source of patronage, however. H. J. Lawlor, *The Fasti of St. Patrick's, Dublin* contains the names of canons not included in the appointments numbered above but whom the king most probably did prefer. These include Robert Burnell, the chancellor of lord Edward, Antony Bek, the future bishop of Durham, and Walter Langton, the treasurer of England.⁹⁰ Further, Hand has calculated that Edward I made nineteen appointments to the cathedral chapter during the episcopal vacancy of 1271-9 alone.⁹¹

The desire of the English kings to reward their clerks well can be seen in the fact that they always appointed to the best prebend available.⁹² Indeed, in 1297 the king wrote to apologise to Wyebold, Dean of Cologne, whom he referred to as his secretary, that he had not yet supplied him with a prebend worth eighty marks *p.a.* in St. Patrick's because

⁸⁹ See idem, 'The Rivalry of the cathedral chapters in medieval Dublin' in Howard Clarke ed. *Medieval Dublin: the living city* (Dublin, 1990), pp.105-110. Christ Church was also known as Holy Trinity.

⁹⁰ H. J. Lawlor, *The Fasti of St. Patrick's, Dublin* (Dundalk, 1930), pp.94, 113, 162.

⁹¹ Hand, 'Medieval chapter of St. Patrick's', 224.

'no prebend which it would have become him to receive had been vacant in that church'.⁹³ The king could not present to the deanery, election to which belonged to the cathedral chapter. He could, however, appoint to the precentorship, the second dignity in terms of precedence, and accordingly at least four attempts were made to appoint to this office. Edward I also successfully appointed to the archdeaconry of Dublin despite protest on the part of Christ Church that this was to their prejudice.⁹⁴ Surprisingly only one record of appointment to the prebend of Swords, the so-called 'Golden Prebend',⁹⁵ remains; but then the incumbent collated in 1277, Iter de Angoulême, was still in possession some twenty years later.⁹⁶

The prebends of St. Patrick's were one source of patronage where the English kings did make a significant number of grants to men who had no interests in Ireland and only wanted a prebend as a source of income.⁹⁷ Indeed, Hand noted that under Edward I the cathedral chapter of St. Patrick's became noticeably more absentee in its composition due to the collation of a higher number of clerks who did not so much as travel to Ireland.⁹⁸ Among those in question were Antony Bek, the future bishop of Durham; Robert Burnell, the chancellor of lord Edward; Walter Langton, the treasurer of England; Ralph le Mantone, Edward I's treasurer of Scotland; Richard of Abingdon,

⁹² The king generally nominated candidates to specific prebends. There were only five instances in which the justiciar was ordered to provide men with a prebend of St. Patrick's, Dublin without further specification.

⁹³ *CDI, 1293-1301*, no.370.

⁹⁴ *CDI, 1252-84*, nos.1178, 1184.

⁹⁵ W. M. Mason, *The History and antiquities of the collegiate and cathedral church of St. Patrick, near Dublin* (Dublin, 1820), p.48. This prebend was worth £60, and the deanery worth £66, in 1309 (*Ibid.*, lxiv-lxv).

⁹⁶ Lawlor, *Fasti*, p.155.

⁹⁷ Some offices were also granted as sinecures. See, for example, *Historic and municipal documents of Ireland A.D. 1172-1320* ed. J. T. Gilbert (London, 1870), no.71.

⁹⁸ Between 1220 and 1271 only five out of the forty-two canons were definitely absentee; in contrast, of the nineteen presentations made by Edward I between 1271 and 1279, six were definitely absentee and a substantial proportion of the others may well have been (Hand, 'Medieval chapter of St. Patrick's', pp.244-5).

chamberlain of Wales; Master John of Caen, a queen's clerk⁹⁹ who was resident in England; Lewis of Savoy, the king's cousin; and James of Spain, the queen's nephew. This trend continued under Edward II with the presentation of numerous 'king's clerks'. It is clear that both kings regarded the prebends of St. Patrick's as suitable rewards, or sources of income, for their clerks in England.¹⁰⁰ The provision of a prebend of St. Patrick's as a source of income for a clerk actually sent to Ireland on the king's service seems to have been an exception to the general rule.¹⁰¹

Edward I and II also preferred Anglo-Irish clerks to prebends of St. Patrick's, although to a lesser degree. The kings of England did not, then, regard St. Patrick's as a source of patronage to be jealously guarded for the benefit of English clerks alone. Indeed, it provided a useful source of patronage for Dublin ministers such as Nicholas de Clere, the treasurer, and Walter de Thornbury, the chancellor of Ireland. The English kings did, however, object to the preferment of a clerk, whatever his nationality, by the justiciar to a prebend which they had in mind for a candidate of their own; and this objection led Edward II to exert his control more fully over the distribution of prebends.

Edward I had disagreed with the justiciar over several appointments to vacant prebends, perhaps as a result of problems in communication between Dublin and Westminster, but his approach was to deal with each episode as it arose.¹⁰² Edward I did pursue his

⁹⁹ *Records of the wardrobe and household 1286-1289* ed. B. F. and C. R. Byerly (London, 1986), nos. 2112, 2169, 2172, 2253, 3216, 3221, 3223.

¹⁰⁰ In one sense this was legitimate since the system of vicars choral had been instituted to deputise for prebendaries who were absent on the service of the bishop or the king (Hand, 'Medieval chapter of St. Patrick's', p.243).

¹⁰¹ This may have been the motivation behind the collation of Walter de Wymburn to the office of precentor in 1278, the same year as his appointment to the Irish bench (Lawlor, *Fasti*, p.54).

¹⁰² Edward I annulled the appointment of Richard de Geyton, the queen's clerk, to the prebend of Lusk and the appointment of Michael de Boyton to the prebend of Tipper. In the latter instance Edward claimed that he had appointed his cousin to the prebend 'before the justiciar could have heard...of the

rights, however. In 1306 a case was heard to determine whether the collation made by the archbishop of Dublin or by Edward I to the prebend of Tipperkevin was the valid one.¹⁰³ Since the king only had a right to make appointments when the see of Dublin was vacant, the collation made by the archbishop should have been upheld. Whatever the outcome of the case, the death of the archbishop, Richard de Ferrings, gave the king free rein once more and, on the following day, he presented his candidate for the third time. The king also contested at least one appointment made by the pope when he disputed the collation of the papal candidate to the archdeaconry of Cashel in 1304.¹⁰⁴

Edward I, however, also knew the value of granting out his power to appoint to benefices and thus allowing others to act as a source of patronage.¹⁰⁵ In 1285, for example, he granted faculty to the chancellor of the Dublin exchequer to present to the church of Loughsewdy, Meath when vacant and of the king's gift by reason of vacancy in the see of Meath.¹⁰⁶ Similarly, in 1302 he granted John Wogan, his justiciar, the power to promote John de Hothum to a benefice worth sixty marks.¹⁰⁷ And although he revoked Ufford's appointment of his nephew to the prebend of Tipper, the justiciar's power, granted to him by the king, to provide a benefice for his relation stood.¹⁰⁸

vacancy'. He also withheld acceptance from Richard de St. Leger as archdeacon of Dublin (Lawlor, *Fasti*, pp.77, 124, 167; *CDI*, 1252-84, no.1433).

¹⁰³ Lawlor, *Fasti*, p.171.

¹⁰⁴ *CDI*, 1302-7, no.321.

¹⁰⁵ Edward II did likewise (see *CPR*, 1307-13, p.351).

¹⁰⁶ *CDI*, 1285-92, nos.111, 286. He had granted power to Thomas de Cheddeworth, a previous chancellor, in 1275 to collate a vicarage within the archdeaconry of Dublin to a fit chaplain (*CPR*, 1272-81, p.76).

¹⁰⁷ *CDI*, 1302-7, no.16.

¹⁰⁸ *CDI*, 1252-84, no.1433. See also *ibid.*, no.975.

In 1318, however, following a period of considerable confusion over appointments to the chapter of St. Patrick's,¹⁰⁹ Edward II decided to resolve the problem of double appointments to prebends by removing the power to make certain appointments from the justiciar. He forbade the dean and chapter to admit anyone armed with a letter sealed with the seal of Ireland to a prebend within the church; and he did this because 'many disputes' had been caused by the justiciars suppressing the collations of those who were issued with a letter sealed with the great seal, the king considering for the present 'that dignities and prebends in the said church ought not to be conferred by letters under any other seal than the Great Seal and on his testimony only'.¹¹⁰ St. Patrick's was jealously guarded as a source of patronage for their clerks by both Edward I and II, and this was probably intensified by the fact that they could only make appointments during episcopal vacancies.

* * *

At the outset of the chapter it was claimed that in their distribution of the patronage resources of Ireland the English kings deserves more than criticism. It has been shown that pardons of debt owed to the king at the Dublin exchequer and pardons of the king's suit of peace were the grants most likely to be made to Anglo-Irish, especially in return for military service outside Ireland. Whilst most grants of patronage, including those of land and custodies, were made to those resident in Ireland however, the king's preparedness to distribute the coveted prebends of St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin as

¹⁰⁹ Edward revoked the collation of Nicholas de Balscote to the prebend of Thomathan made by the justiciar in 1315 in favour of his clerk, William de Atherston. He also removed Nicholas from the chancellorship of St. Patrick's in favour of another king's clerk (*CPR, 1313-17*, p.271; *CPR, 1317-21*, p.132). Problems of communication between the king and his justiciar affected appointments to ecclesiastical benefices in other dioceses as well (*CCR, 1313-18*, p.533). See also Sayles, 'Ecclesiastical process and the parsonage of Stabannon', pp.8-9, 13.

¹¹⁰ *CPR, 1317-21*, pp.197-8; cf. Frame, *English lordship*, p.108. The election of a new archbishop threw a stone in the works of this mandate with the result that seven months later the king was still trying to achieve acceptance of his candidate for the chancellorship (*CPR, 1317-21*, pp.318-19).

sinecures to his English clerks reveals that this generosity to the Anglo-Irish was not necessarily the result of a thought-out policy. It is likely that a greater proportion of the patronage resources available to the king in Ireland would have leaked out of the lordship had English based lords and clerks made more requests for other types of grant in Ireland. In terms of their relations with their Anglo-Irish subjects, then, Edward I and II were fortunate that in general the grass did not look greener from the English side of the Irish Sea.

Lack of clarity over the extent of the justiciar's authority to make grants of patronage has not made coming to conclusions about the attitude of either Edward I or II to their Irish lordship easy. Nevertheless, the fact that the justiciar was not routinely handed wide powers with his commission suggests that Edward I and II took a higher level of interest in the detailed affairs of the lordship than the current historiography would lead one to expect. Virtually all the grants of patronage listed in Appendix 1, pp.233-247 of the thesis were made by the king, and the chance survival of evidence means that this list cannot be comprehensive. Edward I and his son, then, were fairly 'hands-on' when it came to the exercise of patronage in Ireland. This reflected the situation in the Channel Islands, another outlying dominion of the king of England.¹¹¹ It was only when the military situation in Ireland was particularly serious that evidence of wider powers being granted to justiciars exists. In general, power over patronage dwelt with the king. In this way the king, though absentee, was responsible for the connections made between himself and his Anglo-Irish subjects through petitions.

¹¹¹ The Channel Islands were in the custody of Otto de Grandison during the reign of Edward I (see, for example, *CPR, 1272-81*, p.188). Otto received all escheats, but ecclesiastical patronage remained in royal hands (*CCR, 1288-96*, pp.359, 427-8; *CCR, 1296-1302*, p.12; see also *CPR 1281-92*, p.362). In Gascony, the seneschal's authority was wider. They had authority to appoint personnel, found new towns, grant franchises and liberties, receive homage and, during the seneschalship of Jean de Grailly,

exchange or even sell ducal lands (J. P. Trabut-Cussac, *L'Administration Anglaise en Gascogne sous Henry III et Edouard I de 1254 à 1307* (Genève, 1972), pp.155-9).

Chapter 2

Household knights: the king's agents in Ireland

The employment of household knights in the political structures of the lordship established important links between the king in England and his government in Ireland. Indeed, several of the knights of the main household deployed by Edward I in Ireland were among his intimates and this brought a personal aspect to the communication network between Dublin and Westminster. This chapter aims to show how the employment of household knights in Ireland indicated the king's interest in his lordship. Household knights were not, then, merely recruited from Ireland, although twenty-six knights were.¹

Edward I also retained a separate household of some ten knights and esquires in Ireland under the leadership of the justiciar between c.1273 and c.1276. These knights were probably recruited by Geoffrey de Geneville, the justiciar of Ireland. De Geneville had certainly been given wide powers within Ireland, where the English colony was militarily beleaguered on various fronts, and these could have included the right to retain men of the king's household to aid him in the management of Ireland. When Edward I, returned from the Holy Land, reviewed the situation from England in 1276, he reorganised the system by obliging the justiciar to retain twenty men-at-arms, referred to here as the justiciar's knights. Knights 'of the king's household' were a temporary measure in Edward I's management of Ireland, although household knights

¹ R. I. Ingamells, 'The Household knights of Edward I', ii (Ph.D. Thesis, University of Durham), i, 59; ii, 12-13.

had been employed in Ireland in a similar manner by Henry III.² Despite the short-lived nature of this experiment, the retention of a cadet household in Ireland can only have helped to tie the king more closely to the lordship. This was not necessarily a function that the justiciar's knights fulfilled.

(A) Knights of the main household

Household knights formed an important part of the communication network between the king in England and his lordship of Ireland.³ This was a function of the involvement of such knights in the lordship as office holders of the king, or on his military service.⁴ Some household knights also held land in the lordship of Ireland, either by reward or descent. Such knights were not entirely distinguishable from the lords who held lands primarily in England but also held some land in Ireland. Not all household knights who held land in Ireland will, therefore, be discussed in this section. A case in point is Thomas de Multon whose contribution to the pacification of the lordship, undertaken not in his role as household knight but rather in his capacity as a landholder in Limerick and the son-in-law of Richard de Burgh, earl of Ulster, is discussed in Chapter 3.

(i) Office-holding

Household knights were employed by Edward I in Ireland in a variety of roles, the most important of which was as justiciar of Ireland. The responsibilities of the justiciar have been summed up by Otway-Ruthven who described the position as that of 'an omnicompetent official...at one and the same time the military chief of the colony, the

² R. F. Walker, 'The Anglo-Welsh wars, 1217-67: with special reference to English military developments' (Ph.D. Thesis, Oxford University, 1954), p.79 notes that several knights were retained by means of annual fees granted by the Dublin exchequer in Henry III's service in 1225. An order sent by the king to the justiciar in 1231 suggests that these men were of Henry's household. The justiciar was ordered to take the lands of those of the king's household in Ireland who received an annual fee from the king (and who had failed to perform their service) into the king's hand (J. F. Lydon, 'Three exchequer documents from the reign of Henry the third', *PRIA* 65 C (1966-7), 16, 24-25).

³ Ingamells, 'Household knights of Edward I', ii, 12-13, 22.

head of its civil administration, and its supreme judge'.⁵ With so much power residing in the hands of a deputy, it made sense for Edward I to appoint trusted household knights as justiciar. Further, the military expertise of household knights was crucial to the person of justiciar who spent a good proportion of his time putting down revolts.⁶ Not all Edward's justiciars were household knights, but household knights were regularly appointed to this position. Indeed, James Audley (1270-2), Robert Ufford (1268-70, 1276-81), Geoffrey de Geneville (1273-6), William de Vescy (1290-4)⁷ and John Wogan (1295-1308) were all household knights appointed to the justiciarship. According to Frame, such a practice underlined Edward I's rule in Ireland.⁸ And in addition to these household knights, the English knight, William de Oddingseles, also served as justiciar between 1294 and 1295.

Edward I clearly made something of a policy of appointing household knights to the justiciarship of Ireland. The frequency with which household knights were appointed as justiciar may have been related to Edward's intention to extend *Quo Warranto* as well as other unpopular proceedings to Ireland.⁹ It has been argued that the deployment of household knights as justiciars signalled that Edward, as king, was taking a new level of interest in his lordship of Ireland.¹⁰ The appointment of household knights as justiciars did, indeed, indicate Edward's deeper interest in Ireland. This interest, however,

⁴ J. O. Prestwich, 'The military household of the Norman kings', *EHR* 96 (1981), 3 made this general point but did not extend his discussion to Ireland.

⁵ Otway-Ruthven, *Med. Ire.*, p.145.

⁶ Ingamells, 'Household knights of Edward I', ii, 13.

⁷ De Geneville and de Vescy were magnates with substantial lands in Ireland as well as household knights. For de Geneville see my 'Vaucouleurs, Ludlow and Trim: the role of Ireland within the career of Geoffrey de Geneville, c.1226-1314', *IHS* (forthcoming). This discusses the role Geoffrey had to play as a royal servant within Ireland.

⁸ Frame, *Colonial Ireland*, p.65.

⁹ The Dublin government was voicing considerable suspicion about liberties in 1278, for example (*Doc. Aff. Ire.*, no.25).

¹⁰ Orpen, *Ireland under the Normans*, iv, 9 and Lydon, *The Lordship of Ireland*, p.125 regard the appointment of Geoffrey de Geneville in 1273 in this light.

predated his accession to the throne of England. The role played by the household knights of Edward I as justiciar has already been examined by Ingamells, and a thesis is currently under preparation on the justiciarship of at least one of Edward I's household knights. Nevertheless, the subject cannot be passed over in silence and some general comments may be made.

Ingamells implied that as justiciars household knights lacked independence.¹¹ This argument is based on the fact that Geoffrey de Geneville was in frequent contact with the king over issues concerning Ireland. Status as a household knight, however, did not make justiciars less independent. No justiciar was independent; and all justiciars needed to be in regular contact with the king who had the final say over the affairs of his lordship. Household knights may have been in greater contact with the king over Ireland than other justiciars but this was positive. It eased communications between Dublin and Westminster. And these communications were not necessarily subservient. De Geneville used his position as an intimate of the king to tell Edward what he ought to do regarding Ireland.¹² Robert Ufford was also in a position to pen a fairly direct letter.¹³ And even John Wogan, who faithfully carried out the king's requests for money, men and materials for his wars in Scotland, ignored Edward's injunctions that justice be done to Agnes de Vescy in order to keep sweet John fitz Thomas, whose help was needed to preserve peace in the lordship.

¹¹ Ingamells, 'Household knights of Edward I', ii, 17.

¹² R. Frame, 'The Dublin government and Gaelic Ireland 1272-1361: the making of war and the making of peace in the Irish lordship' (Ph.D. Thesis, University of Dublin, 1971), pp.82-3; J. F. Lydon, 'Land of war', in Cosgrove ed. *NHI* ii, 258. The king did not heed de Geneville's warnings in time to prevent military debacle in Glenmalure, co. Wicklow in 1276, but this defeat did bring home the fact that Robert Ufford, the next justiciar, would need more support.

¹³ Sutton, *Robert de Ufford*, p.52.

A potential problem with appointing household knights as justiciars was that they could be regarded as a new and intrusive presence. This seems to have been the experience of Geoffrey de Geneville who reported that he was the victim of 'secret opposition' within Ireland.¹⁴ This may have been a reference to the fact that Geoffrey did not find the Anglo-Irish magnates very accommodating when it came to organising the many military campaigns he needed to undertake.¹⁵ The opposition could also have stemmed from his performance of certain aggressive royal directives.¹⁶ The latter seems more plausible since Geoffrey had not faced opposition when he, as a powerful Anglo-Irish magnate himself, had taken temporary charge of the Irish council in 1265 to bring a peaceful conclusion to the conflict between the Geraldines and the de Burghs. Robert Ufford does not seem to have faced problems of opposition, moreover, and his remit (according to the author of the *Annals of Connacht*) was specifically to 'order and settle the country'.¹⁷ On the whole, then, household knights were accepted as legitimate heads of the king's administration in Ireland by the Anglo-Irish. Indeed, the deployment of important household knights as justiciars probably acted to reassure the Anglo-Irish members of the Dublin administration of the king's interest in his lordship.

William de Vescy, of course, was not acceptable even to the king as justiciar of Ireland by the end of his term of office. De Vescy had misused his position as justiciar in an attempt to use the knight service of Ireland against his rival John fitz Thomas, the lord of Offaly.¹⁸ Edward's policy of employing household knights as justiciars should not be

¹⁴ *Doc. Aff. Ire.*, no.17.

¹⁵ See *CDI*, 1252-84, nos.1020, 1160; *CPR*, 1272-81, p.104.

¹⁶ See *CCR*, 1272-9, p.102; *CDI*, 1252-84, nos.1050, 1072. See also *CPR*, 1272-81, pp.57, 72.

¹⁷ *Annála Connacht: The Annals of Connacht (A. D. 1224-1544)* ed. A. Martin Freeman (Dublin, 1944), p.153.

¹⁸ K. J. Stringer, 'Nobility and identity in medieval Britain and Ireland: the de Vescy family, c.1120-1314', in B. Smith ed. *Britain and Ireland 900-1300. Insular responses to medieval European change* (Cambridge, 1999), pp.235-6; Otway-Ruthven, *Med. Ire.*, p.210.

discredited as a whole by the example of William de Vescy, however. De Vescy, as lord of Kildare, was a major landholder in Ireland and therefore not a typical household knight. It was personality and not landed endowment, however, which led to de Vescy's conflict of interests. A similar problem had not arisen for de Geneville, the lord of Trim, who had in fact put the manpower and material resources of his liberty at the king's disposal during his justiciarship.¹⁹ Edward I managed individuals more than he managed regions. This was why the appointment of household knights to the justiciarship of Ireland worked well in general.

Not all other offices held by household knights in Ireland were performed in person. However, the most important office below the rank of the justiciarship, that of the seneschalship of Ulster, was. This office was important because its holder was responsible for the entire de Burgh earldom of Ulster, which was a profitable source of income for the king between 1272 and 1281 during the minority of Richard de Burgh who was in the wardship of the king.

Table 8: Other offices held by household knights

Household Knight	Office held	Dates of tenure
Adam de Creting	Sheriff of Cork Clerk of the market	Appointed 1293 Appointed 1300
Otto de Grandison	Sheriff of Tipperary	Pre-1272
John Louth	Custodian of a castle	Appointed 1305
William de Pouton	Custodian of a castle	Appointed 1305
William fitz Warin	Seneschal of Ulster Deputy escheator	1272-1281 Pre-1285

It was not the decision of Edward I, who was absent on crusade, to employ William fitz Warin, an English household knight, as seneschal of Ulster. Edward did confirm this

¹⁹ The burden of prise and purveyance may have fallen largely upon Geoffrey's liberty of Trim during his justiciarship since he was granted that no prejudice would be created to him or his heirs in respect of 'the prises made or to be made by him within his land and liberty of Meath' whilst justiciar (*CPR, 1272-81*, p.57). He also contributed some 2000 troops from Trim to the 1276 campaign in Glenmalure (Orpen, *Ireland under the Normans*, iv, 17; *CDI, 1252-84*, p.257).

appointment *in absentia* however, and continued to support his beleaguered seneschal on his return to England.

Fitz Warin's appointment as seneschal was, and was seen as, an assault on de Burgh power within Ireland. He was the choice of Maurice fitz Maurice, the new justiciar of Ireland and 'an open enemy of the late earl', who did not wish to see the seneschalship remain with Henry de Mandeville, an important de Burgh tenant.²⁰ William did hold £30 land in Connacht but he had only been granted this in 1270-1 and his main land holdings were in England.²¹ Fitz Warin was, therefore, a new and intrusive presence within Ulster and was regarded as such by both the de Mandevilles and Emelina, the dowager countess of Ulster. Indeed, according to Katherine Simms, it was William's high-handed behaviour in reclaiming Twescard from de Mandeville and five strategically important castles from the custody of the dowager countess that led to open conflict in 1272-3.²²

Fitz Warin has not received a good press as seneschal of Ulster. According to the contemporary report of Stephen Fulburne, the treasurer of Ireland who had conducted an

²⁰ K. Simms, 'The O Hanlons, the O Neills and the Anglo-Normans in thirteenth century Armagh', *Seanchas Ardmhacha* 9 (1978), 83.

²¹ Fitz Warin held his land in Connacht of the king, although Richard de Burgh claimed it was held of him; he also held one messuage and twenty acres in Tipperary (NAI RC7/12, pp.288-9; NAI RC8/9, pp.10-11; NLI D.1501; NAI EX1/1, m.20; PRO C133/93/7; *CJR*, ii, 11; *CDI, 1293-1301*, no.108). In England, he held £22 10s. 11½d. in Northamptonshire, Berkshire and Wiltshire, as well as possible parcels of land in Oxford, Leicester and Worcester (*CCR, 1279-88*, p.52; *CIPM*, ii, 186; *CIPM*, iii, 576; *CIPM*, v, 615; *CIPM*, vi, 103). William was probably a member of a cadet branch of the fitz Warins of Whittington since his land in Berkshire was held of Fulk fitz Warin (the head of the family) and since a Fulk fitz Warin IV had granted the manor in question, Wantage, to a William fitz Warin in 1258 (J. Meisel, *Barons of the Welsh frontier: the Corbet, Pantulf, and fitz Warin families, 1066-1272* (London, 1980), p.51).

²² Simms, 'The O Hanlons, O Neills and Anglo-Normans', p.83. The first sign of trouble was the seizure of Twescard, the richest part of the earldom of Ulster, by Henry de Mandeville who appropriated its rent, accepted bribes and killed some twenty-seven Englishmen (J. A. Claffey, 'Richard de Burgh, Earl of Ulster (c.1260-1326)' (Ph.D. Thesis, University College Galway, 1970), pp.95-6, 98). Emelina supported de Mandeville when she brought her complaints before the Dublin administration, which then forwarded these complaints to the king's regents in England (*Doc. Aff. Ire.*, no.7; *CPR, 1272-81*, p.7).

investigation into fitz Warin's activities, he was a far better soldier than bailiff in the king's service.²³ And, indeed, William's term of office ended in hostility much as it had began.²⁴ When reviewing William fitz Warin's conduct as seneschal, however, we must keep in mind the facts that Edward I himself sought to keep de Burgh power within certain limits in Ireland and that the war in Ulster was not as important as its percentage volume among the remaining documents relating to Ireland in this period would suggest.²⁵

It was not only within Ulster that fitz Warin faced hostility, but also within the king's council in England where Simms has argued that the de Mandeville cause was strongly represented by 'the powerful friendship of the de Burgh interest'.²⁶ Fitz Warin presented his case to the king and his council largely through the medium of letters.²⁷

²³ PRO SC1/23/90; Simms, 'The O Hanlons, O Neills and Anglo-Normans', p.84. It is not clear whether Fulburne's comment can be taken at face value, however, since fitz Warin stated in 1282 that 'he does not trust the justiciar [Fulburne]' (*AH* 34 (1987), 93; *CDI*, 1252-84, no.1918). Historical opinion has been kinder than Fulburne in estimating the loss of revenue from Ulster during fitz Warin's seneschalship (see Orpen, *Normans*, iv, 136; Otway-Ruthven, *Med. Ire.*, p.136; Claffey, 'Richard de Burgh', pp.98-99).

²⁴ William had to be 'smuggled' out of the earldom by Mac Cartan, the chief of south Down and one of his allies from 1273, whilst Thomas de Mandeville, the new seneschal and the son of fitz Warin's former adversary, launched an onslaught against him and his lands (Simms, 'The O Hanlons, O Neills and Anglo-Normans', p.85).

²⁵ Orpen, *Normans*, iv, 136; Otway-Ruthven, *Med. Ire.*, pp.203-4.

²⁶ Simms, 'The O Hanlons, O Neills and Anglo-Normans', p.84.

²⁷ A letter from the community of Ulster showed support for William's actions in disseising de Mandeville of custody of Twescard in 1273 (Orpen, *Normans*, iv, 134). Fitz Warin defended himself (?in writing) before the king prior to March 1274 when the king wrote to him to commend his actions in capturing and imprisoning the king's enemies and to request that he continue in his defence of the region against the de Mandevilles and their accomplices (PRO SC1/12/192). Fitz Warin also wrote to the king to defend his actions in seizing the castles which he regarded as crucial to the defence of Ulster and which James Audley had left in the hands of the dowager countess (PRO SC1/62/42). This letter, addressed to Burnell, one of the king's regents, is very damaged, with only the left-hand side of the document legible. A further three letters written by the fitz Warin party were sent to England in c.1274-5. A letter from the mayor and community of Carrickfergus stated that the war in Ulster had been started by Henry de Mandeville and his *familiares* who had instigated an uprising by certain native Irish chiefs led by O'Neill which had led to general devastation. According to this version of events, not only had fitz Warin restored peace, but only his continued tenure of the seneschalship could ensure this peace (*Foedera*, iii, 1061). A second letter sent to the king by a set of Irish kings, whose lands lay predominantly among those of the English, stated that they had entered the king's lands only at fitz Warin's mandate in order to pursue the king's Irish enemies (presumably those who had sided with de Mandeville). They asked the king to trust the word of William fitz Warin with regard to their actions rather than the voice of certain of his council in Ireland who were falsely suggesting that they were among the king's enemies (*Foedera*, iii, 1061-2; Orpen, *Normans*, iv, 134-5). Simms, 'The O Hanlons, O

He may also have seen the king in person. Certainly, he did not stay in Ireland throughout his term of office; and his journeys between England and Ireland on the king's business kept his links with the English court strong. Despite William's protestations, however, Edward I took the complaints against his seneschal seriously. He consequently empowered his justiciar to provide 'for the custody of the county of Ulster by the removal, if need be, of its bailiffs' in September 1274; and instructed fitz Warin to be 'intensive and responsive to Geoffrey de Gyenville...in what he shall determine regarding [the county of Ulster]'.²⁸ He also ordered an investigation into the accusations against fitz Warin's military intervention against Henry de Mandeville, who had died during the conflict, and into his disinheriting of de Mandeville's sons.²⁹ It is important to note that the king did not automatically support fitz Warin in 1275, despite his earlier endorsement of his seneschal's actions; and this foreshadowed the way in which Edward later did not automatically support William de Vescy as justiciar against John fitz Thomas, the lord of Offaly. The king did order that fitz Warin have the property taken by him from de Mandeville returned but this command resulted from a custom in those parts of Ireland which operated whilst an investigation was in progress.³⁰

Royal support for fitz Warin as seneschal, personified by a grant to hold the four pleas usually reserved to the Crown in Ulster in 1280,³¹ does not seem to have been misplaced. During William's term of office, Ulster furnished Edward with much

Neills and Anglo-Normans', p.84 argues that fitz Warin probably dictated the contents of this letter to the assembled Irish chiefs. The third letter was from fitz Warin himself to Robert Burnell, the chancellor of England, in which he stated that de Mandeville's actions had been without reason (PRO SC1/17/71). This letter is also damaged. The castle of 'Durbruichy' and dealings with the justiciar and the escheator of Ireland are mentioned.

²⁸ *CPR, 1272-81*, p.57; *CDI, 1252-84*, no.1032.

²⁹ *CPR, 1272-81*, p.117; Orpen, *Normans*, iv, 135.

³⁰ *CCR, 1272-9*, p.148; *CDI, 1252-84*, no.1088; *CPR, 1272-81*, p.8. We are not told what this custom was.

needed supplies of money and goods for his Welsh war;³² and his management of the county and earldom was sufficiently effective to support his absence on the king's business elsewhere for short periods. William left Ireland for Wales at the king's request in 1276, for example, where he was deployed in maintaining the peace around Oswestry castle in December;³³ his absence from Ulster did have to be cut short, however, because he had 'suffered great damage in his country in Ireland'.³⁴

William fitz Warin was an important link between Edward I and Ireland. As well as seneschal of Ulster, he also served as a deputy for John de Saunford, the escheator of Ireland, in Ulster sometime before 1285. He also contributed to the administration of the lordship of Ireland by acting as one of the pledges for the 1000 mark debt owed to the king by Calvagh O'Connor until hostages for the debt were delivered.³⁵ Moreover, he maintained personal contact with Ireland through regular visits in 1283, 1285, 1288 and 1290;³⁶ despite the fact that his military career in the king's service after 1281 took him to Gascony (before 1295) and to Galloway and Scotland (in 1296-9) where he was

³¹ *CPR, 1272-81*, p.383.

³² In May 1277 Edward requested that fitz Warin take all the available issues of the county at Midsummer to Chester 'for the furtherance of the arduous affairs in Wales', and in August 1277 fitz Warin paid £100 to the king's clerks (*CPR, 1272-81*, pp.209, 227). In addition, William sent a ship of his holding corn and victuals from Ireland to Wales in the summer of 1282 (*CVCR*, p.236).

³³ *CPR, 1272-81*, p.187. During his service in Wales, William was to be respited the payment of his debts (*CCR, 1272-9*, p.363).

³⁴ *CDI, 1252-84*, no.1399. This should perhaps be associated with a memorandum dating from 1277 to the effect that no-one knew who was seneschal of Ulster (*Doc. Aff. Ire.*, no.19). William fitz Warin, seneschal of Ulster, should not be mistaken for William fitz Warin, king's yeoman. That they were two distinct individuals is clear from an agreement dated May/June 1280 in which William fitz Warin, knight, acknowledged a debt of £100 to William fitz Warin, king's yeoman, to be levied in default of payment of his lands and chattels in counties Oxford and Northampton (*CCR, 1279-88*, p.52). This confusion is not eased by the fact that William fitz Warin, seneschal of Ulster, was also referred to as 'king's yeoman' on occasion (*CPR, 1272-81*, p.187). This ambiguity is not resolved in C. E. Moor, *Knights of Edward I*, ii (Harleian Society, 1929), 68-9. It is not entirely clear which William fitz Warin was in receipt of household wages as a squire in the mid 1280s and who was employed to make inquests in the forest of Oxfordshire, although it was probably the former seneschal of Ulster (*Records of the wardrobe and household, 1285-6*, ed. B. F. and C. R. Byerly (London, 1977), xxxviii, xxxix, no.1688; idem, *Records of the wardrobe and household 1286-9*, nos.468, 1463).

³⁵ *CDI, 1285-92*, nos. 622, 1018.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, nos. 83, 418, 446, 763; *CDI, 1252-84*, no.2130.

imprisoned.³⁷ Testimony to the strength of this link formed by William is paid by the fact that his son, Alan, also served the English king in Ireland.³⁸ Indeed, Alan was numbered among important Anglo-Irish lords to whom Edward II communicated regarding the Bruce invasion of Ireland.³⁹ Alan did 'go off the rails' by siding with the Scots against the king during the Bruce invasion for which his lands and goods were forfeited in 1316, but he was pardoned this treason in 1319, and in 1326 the king wrote to commend his faithfulness in Ireland.⁴⁰

A number of offices, aside from the seneschalship of Ulster, were also held by household knights in Ireland. Adam de Creting, for example, acted as sheriff of Cork.⁴¹ He received this appointment in 1293, and still owed arrears of his account in 1310.⁴² He was also appointed to the office of the clerk of the market in Ireland, a job that involved the arrest of goods on sale at markets to the king's use in his Scottish expeditions, in 1300. He seems to have still held the post in 1315, but his tenure of the office was broken in 1307-8 due to the appointment of Roger de Smalrys.⁴³ Adam also formed a link between the household and Ireland through his marriage to the widow of Thomas de Clare. The combination of Edward's grant to Adam of the marriage of

³⁷ *CCR, 1288-96*, pp.468, 502; *AH 34* (1987), 26.

³⁸ *CPR, 1307-13*, pp.483, 551.

³⁹ *Foedera*, iii, 510-11.

⁴⁰ Moor, *Knights of Edward I*, ii, 65; cf. Frame, *English lordship*, pp.134, 137. During this period of rebellion Alan and his brothers broke the house of Elias de Assheburne, a future justice of the justiciar's bench, and carried away his goods to the value of twenty marks (NAI KB2/7, p.5; *Admin. Ire.*, pp.169-70).

⁴¹ Adam, as a knight of the queen consort's household, received his robes from the queen and his *feoda* from Edward I (*The Court and Household of Eleanor of Castile in 1290* ed. John Carmi Parsons (Toronto, 1977), p.154).

⁴² *CDI, 1293-1301*, nos.1101, 1119; Ingamells, 'Household knights of Edward I', ii, 21; NAI EX1/1, m.53.

⁴³ *CDI, 1293-1301*, no. 21; *CCR, 1307-13*, p.29; *CPR, 1307-13*, p.21; RIA MS.12.D.8., pp.305, 362. Moor, *Knights of Edward I*, i, 249 incorrectly states that Adam de Creting died in the late 1290s.

Juliana (along with her manor of Inchiquin and the town of Youghal, Cork)⁴⁴ and his later appointment to the shrievalty of that county, acted to tie this less accessible part of Ireland more firmly to the king during the minority of Gilbert, the son of Thomas de Clare, lord of Thomond.

Two household knights received the custody of unidentified castles within the marches of Ireland in 1305 by way of a reward for their service in Gascony and Scotland. These were John Louth, the king's 'dear bachelor' and William Pouton. The protracted negotiations over the sums which were to be paid suggests that they fulfilled their duties in person. This was certainly the intention of Edward I who informed John Wogan, his justiciar, to put them 'in charge of castle or elsewhere in the March, where...[they] may be of service to the King'.⁴⁵

Not all knights of the king's household who were rewarded with office in Ireland fulfilled their duties in person, however. The appointment of the important household knight, Otto de Grandison, as sheriff of Tipperary, was also by way of a reward. Otto deputised this office to John of Coventry,⁴⁶ who was still a bailiff for Otto in 1274.⁴⁷ It has been argued that Otto visited the lordship of Ireland in 1269-70, during which time he founded a Franciscan friary at Clonmel, where he held lands.⁴⁸ One manuscript does

⁴⁴ Ingamells, 'Household knights of Edward I', ii, 5, 21. This marriage seems to have taken place in February 1292 in which month Adam and Juliana appointed attorneys for their lands in Ireland (*CDI*, 1285-92, nos.1056, 1059). The lands which came to Adam by right of Juliana were of far greater extent than handful of knights' fees which he held in England (*CIPM*, iii, 492). For the importance of the manor of Inchiquin see Chapter 5, p.199n95.

⁴⁵ *CJR*, ii, 103.

⁴⁶ *36DKR*, p.25 (PR 1 Ed I). Otto had previously deputised the office to William de Waleye (*35DKR*, p.48).

⁴⁷ *CPR*, 1272-81, p.58. He may have been a bailiff for Otto in England.

⁴⁸ B. Williams, 'The "Kilkenny Chronicle"', in T. B. Barry, R. Frame and K. Simms ed. *Colony and frontier in medieval Ireland: essays presented to J. F. Lydon* (London, 1995), pp.85-6 suggests that the scribe who recorded the building of the Welsh castles, the siege of Babylon and the death of Emperor Henry VII (events which Otto was involved in or had knowledge of) may have travelled with Grandison.

note Otto's return from Ireland to England in 1270 in the same year as John de Vescy and Roger Clifford, although not necessarily in their company.⁴⁹ It is at least possible that all three men had been in Ireland in order to sort out their affairs, both financial and spiritual, before departing on crusade with Edward in 1270.⁵⁰ Nevertheless, Otto was essentially an absentee from Ireland despite his receipt of extensive lands there.⁵¹ The only region in which Otto systematically sought to build up his landed resources was in his lordship of Grauntson in the Pays de Vaux; these ancestral lands were his landed priority. In contrast, despite appearances by attorney contesting various parcels of Irish land in the judicial records of the lordship, Otto was content to use his Irish lands to finance his activities, diplomatic and otherwise. Similarly, he did not regard his wardenship of the Channel Islands 'as anything other than a source of revenue'.⁵² His lands in Ireland and the Channel Islands had probably been granted to him by Edward I in order to augment his income; and in terms of his usefulness to Edward I and II Otto was better employed in diplomacy on the Continent than in Ireland.⁵³ Indeed, his deputation of the shrievalty of Tipperary (which he held for a relatively short time) had far less damaging an impact on Ireland than did his deputation of the office of governor

These were all important events, however; and Frame, *English lordship*, p.8 has argued that Anglo-Irish chroniclers were interested in the actions of the king and events in England *per se*. Similarly, the fact that *St. Mary's Abbey*, ii, 321 records Otto's escape from Acre in 1293, does not mean that the abbey had a connection with Grandison. As a clerk, the scribe would probably have been interested in the crusading expedition to Acre independent of the identity of the leader of the English contingent.

⁴⁹ R. Flower, 'Manuscripts of Irish interest in the British Museum', *Analecta Hibernica* 2 (1931), 332.

⁵⁰ For crusaders' preparations see S. Lloyd, *English society and the crusade 1216-1307* (Oxford, 1988), pp.154-197 *passim*. John de Vescy had conveyed lands to his mother, Agnes, before his departure on Crusade and these may have included lands which he (at least later) held in Ireland (*ibid.*, pp.173-4; *CDI*, 1285-92, nos.245-6). Roger de Clifford was granted a wardship worth £500 in July 1270 and this may have been satisfied by a grant of the manor of Ratoath, Meath, which he sold to the queen for £500 in 1283 (Lloyd, *English society*, pp.178-9; *CDI*, 1252-84, no.2055). What is certain is that Otto de Grandison conveyed his Irish lands to his nephews and brother in 1290 in order to provide for the eventuality of his death in Acre in a later crusade (*CDI*, 1285-92, nos.608, 705-6, 732; E. R. Clifford, *A Knight of great renown: the life and times of Othon de Grandson* (Chicago, 1961), pp.211-12).

⁵¹ *CDI*, 1252-84, no. 1847.

⁵² NAI RC7/6, pp.102, 284; NAI RC7/7, p.26-31, 166-7, 169-70, 329; NAI RC7/10, pp.3, 7, 193, 264-5, 272, 470-1, 564; NAI RC7/11, pp.24, 80-1, 138, 410; NAI RC7/12, pp.230-1, 284-5; NAI RC7/13/2, p.33; NAI RC8/7, pp.14-16; NAI RC8/11, pp.6, 151; Clifford, *Othon de Grandson*, pp.68, 248-9, 264

of the Channel Isles for some fifty years. It was probably also less important than his deputation of the office of justiciar of all Wales between March 1284 and September 1295.⁵⁴

The failure of a handful of household knights to fulfil the offices granted to them in person should not detract from the service rendered by other household knights in Ireland, particularly in the role of justiciar. Such an approach would not compare like with like since the offices and lands granted to Otto de Grandison were probably always intended to be sinecures. In contrast, other household knights, especially those appointed as justiciars, displayed considerable commitment to the service of their king in Ireland. It was, for example, death and illness which brought an end to the justiciarships of James Audley and Robert Ufford respectively. And William fitz Warin's tenure of the seneschalship of Ulster was ended only by the majority of Richard de Burgh.

(ii) Military Operations

The military involvement of household knights within Ireland was also important. This was not necessarily performed by those household knights who held land in the lordship since they had often been recruited to perform military service in other of Edward's dominions.⁵⁵ These men did perform military service in their role as landholders in Ireland, however; and several men whose military activity will be discussed in the

(quote); *CDI, 1285-92*, nos.389, 681; *CDI, 1252-84*, no.2275, p.541. Otto tended to lease his Irish properties out to men resident in Ireland.

⁵³ See, for example, *CCR, 1272-9*, p.493.

⁵⁴ Clifford, *Othon de Grandson*, pp.71, 263, 268. Otto was also appointed to the archbishopric of York on condition that he apply the issues to the construction of castles in Wales (*CPR, 1281-92*, p.193).

⁵⁵ One example is Henry Cantok, the brother of the chancellor of Ireland, who was probably recruited for service in the Scottish wars and does not seem to have served in a household capacity within the lordship (Ingamells, 'Household knights of Edward I', i, 23; ii, 12).

section on landholding were also household knights, Thomas de Clare and Thomas de Multon being cases in point.

The information relating to the military involvement of several knights is very thin. One such knight was William Montagu, a household knight who held land in county Dublin. He investigated the whereabouts of Scottish prisoners who had been hiding in Ulster and escorted them to Dublin castle in 1307.⁵⁶ Another household knight, Nicholas Boys, was entrusted (with others) with the task of speaking 'to the great lords of Ireland' in order to arrange the conditions on which they would serve in Scotland, with the organising of the requisite transport in 1302.⁵⁷ And Thomas de la Cornere, who was later to be a household knight in 1283-4, participated in the justiciar's army against the Irish of 1281.⁵⁸

The fullest account of military activity undertaken in Ireland relates to John Fulburne, an English household knight.⁵⁹ John, who was a nephew of the justiciar and a ward of the king,⁶⁰ presents a particularly interesting case. He was involved militarily in Ireland both whilst he was in receipt of fees and robes as a knight of Edward I's household (which he received in 1284-5, 1285-6 and 1300-1),⁶¹ and during the period from c.1289 when he was paid as a knight of the king's household in Ireland. Edward I instigated

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, ii, 5; *CDI*, 1302-7, no.633.

⁵⁷ *CDI*, 1302-7, nos.151, 154.

⁵⁸ Ingamells, 'Household knights of Edward I', ii, 6; *CDI*, 1252-84, no.1892.

⁵⁹ John held land in counties Cambridge and Lancaster (*CCR*, 1296-1302, p.7; *CVCR*, p.70). His uncle, Stephen Fulburne, was also of English origin (*CCR*, 1272-9, pp.34, 83, 106).

⁶⁰ *CDI*, 1285-92, no.814; *AH* 34 (1987), 101.

⁶¹ Ingamells, *op. cit.*, ii, 11. He did not receive his fee for Nativity term 1285-6 because he did not present himself at the wardrobe (*Records of the wardrobe and household 1285-6*, no.1196).

John's latter status because of Fulburne's destitution which had left him unable to serve at his own expense.⁶²

Although an English knight, John held some land in county Dublin⁶³ which he may have received through his relation to Stephen Fulburne, bishop of Waterford and later justiciar of Ireland and archbishop of Tuam, who was his uncle.⁶⁴ Both these factors help to explain John's military involvement in the lordship. John was involved in his uncle's expedition to Connacht in 1284, for example, for which his uncle granted him fifty shillings expenses (a grant that was backed up by a writ from Edward I to the treasurer of Ireland).⁶⁵ He was further recruited by Nicholas de Clere, the treasurer of Ireland, in late 1285 as one 'in whom he confides to bring over Welshmen to the K[ing]'s service in Ireland.'⁶⁶ He may also have served with these 'Welshmen' in Connacht since he lost a horse in the king's service at Roscommon in 1286-7. John, then, clearly owed his military employment in the lordship to his uncle and the king. Indeed, it was the council, headed by the justiciar, who granted him ten pounds for this service; and Edward I wrote to the treasurer of Ireland on several occasions to secure John's payment not only of his expenses in bringing the Welsh mercenaries to Ireland, but also for the loss of two horses.⁶⁷ The treasurer refused to pay John's wages because, as he argued, John had not rendered an account of his expenses to him. Interestingly, his refusal to pay the ten pounds allowed to John by the council at Kilkenny related to

⁶² *CDI, 1285-92*, no.997. John's complaint was that the treasurer had so oppressed him that he 'could not maintain himself but the Archbishop of Dublin retained him of the King's household when he went against the Irish.'

⁶³ He held land at Donbren and 'Kilresk' in county Dublin, and at 'Grenath' (*CDI, 1285-92*, no.997).

⁶⁴ *Admin. Ire.*, pp.81, 99.

⁶⁵ PRO E101/230/2; E101/234/21.

⁶⁶ *CDI, 1285-92*, no.78. These 'satellites' (or vassals as Sweetman translates the term) in fact comprised ninety-two Welshmen and twenty-eight Englishmen. The account (PRO E101/231/4) is fully and accurately rendered in Sweetman, *CDI, 1285-92*, no.548.

⁶⁷ *CDI, 1285-92*, no.998; PRO E101/231/26.

the fact that John had been at king's wages and that he had no right to be paid further.⁶⁸ Edward I in fact wrote to Nicholas de Clere from England, France and Gascony in an effort to secure payment from the treasurer for John's expenses in Ireland.⁶⁹

It is not clear if John left Ireland after 1286-7 because he was in the lordship in 1289 in which year he served in the king's army in Offaly against the O'Connors.⁷⁰ This army may have been partly composed of the Anglo-Welsh forces which he had originally brought to the lordship in 1285-6.⁷¹ The importance of John's participation in this campaign probably looms larger in the surviving record evidence than it actually was. This is because the records of various negotiations to secure his release from Calvagh O'Connor, who had captured him during the expedition, remain. John was not released until well into the summer of 1290 because Edward I refused to give into Calvagh O'Connor's request for the release of hostages taken for peace in exchange for Fulburne, despite the fact that Fulburne was clearly high in the royal affection.⁷² John's release was instead made in exchange for all the hostages detained for money;⁷³ and in recognition of this release, the king pardoned a debt of 1000 marks to Calvath O'Connor.⁷⁴

John Fulburne was another English household knight who, like William fitz Warin, became very involved in the king's affairs in Ireland. It was through John Fulburne that

⁶⁸ PRO E101/231/26. Neither would the treasurer of Ireland pay a writ of *liberate* for the amount of forty pounds, to be paid to John whilst he was in recruiting in Wales (*CDI, 1285-92*, no.814; PRO E101/231/5).

⁶⁹ *CDI, 1285-92*, no.998; PRO E101/231/26.

⁷⁰ *CDI, 1285-92*, no.551; Ingamells, 'Household knights of Edward I', ii, 11.

⁷¹ A. Thomas, 'Interconnections between the lands of Edward I: a Welsh-English mercenary force in Ireland, 1285-1304', *BBCS* 40 (1993), 145.

⁷² The king did sanction the release of Malachelyn, the hostage requested who was in detention for a debt of eighty marks (*CDI, 1285-92*, no.558).

⁷³ *Ibid.*, no.698.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, no.1018.

a large contingent of Anglo-Welsh mercenaries were recruited for service in Ireland (see p.76). These mercenaries were recruited at the king's instigation and, it has been suggested, for their experience in the Welsh campaign of 1282-3 which was characterised by military action followed by castle and town-wall building - a pattern of conquest that may have been intended for Connacht and Newcastle McKynegan. This mercenary force may have been intended to 'deter by its presence and...mount expeditions at short notice', thereby combatting the small-scale disturbances committed by the Irish.⁷⁵ Clearly, the lordship of Ireland was not entirely left to its own defences by the English king.

* * * * *

The household knights of Edward I contributed to the exercise of English rule in Ireland in their capacities as office-holders (primarily that of justiciar) and in a military role, as shown by the activities of John Fulburne and William fitz Warin. Whilst a negative light has previously been cast upon Edward I's recruitment of knights from Ireland, twenty-six of whom were recruited from the lordship but not all of whom served the king there in their capacity as household knights, it is not necessary to regard Edward's recruitment of Anglo-Irish knights for service outside the lordship in this way. It was not just because of the relatively low priority accorded to Ireland by Edward I that more household knights (even of Anglo-Irish extraction) did not hold office or act in a military capacity in the lordship. Rather, it was because this burden of defence and management was intended to fall upon the shoulders of a 'group of permanently employed professionals',⁷⁶ namely the knights 'of the king's household' in Ireland and the 'justiciar's knights'.

⁷⁵ Thomas, 'A Welsh-English mercenary force in Ireland', pp.138,141-2.

⁷⁶ A. J. Otway-Ruthven, 'Royal service in Ireland', *JRSAI* 98 (1968), 39.

(B) Knights 'of the king's household' in Ireland

At one further remove from Edward I than the knights of his main household whom he employed in Ireland, were the knights whose specific remit was to serve the justiciar. Records of the Dublin exchequer dating from 1275-7 refer to these knights as 'of the king's household', and it will be argued here that in the mid-1270s, at least, these knights belonged to the king's household in Ireland rather than to that of the justiciar. The fact that retention of knights of the king's household in Ireland was a temporary phenomenon does not mean that these knights were not important. It will also be argued that these knights were more specifically attached to Edward I's interests than were the 'justiciar's knights' who re-appear from the late 1270s. The knights of the king's household have previously been viewed as in fact justiciar's knights, the equivalent of those knights to be retained by the justiciar from 1276 onwards, and in consequence the activities of these ten knights and esquires have been used to illustrate the duties of the justiciar's knights.⁷⁷ It does not necessarily follow that the activities of these knights were the same, however.

It will be argued here that not only were the knights of the king's household in Ireland distinct from the justiciar's knights later retained by Ufford, but that these knights were more important too. This is because they were retained of the king and thus formed an important potential link between Edward I and Ireland through the network provided by the Dublin administration, both prior to and after 1276.⁷⁸ Before the importance of these knights as agents of the English king's rule in Ireland can be examined, however,

⁷⁷ R. Frame, 'English officials and Irish chiefs in the fourteenth century', *EHR* 90 (1975), 762; Ingamells, 'Household knights of Edward I', i, 59-60.

⁷⁸ The knights of the king's household in Ireland may have owed their existence to the dual control over the lordship exercised by Henry III and his son between 1254 and 1272. During this time, knights of Lord Edward had looked after his interests in the lordship. At the same time the justiciar may have

it is necessary to outline the arguments for identifying them as retained of the king rather than of the justiciar (although under his leadership).

(i) Nature of retention

From 1276 onwards the justiciar of Ireland was required to retain a retinue of some twenty men-at-arms (knights and other heavy cavalry) to assist him in the management of Ireland, and it is usually assumed that these knights were paid out of the £500 allowed to the justiciar as his yearly fee.⁷⁹ It seems that these twenty or so knights might properly be referred to as 'of the justiciar's household'. Unfortunately due to a lack of evidence the names (and hence activities) of these knights cannot be determined since the justiciar did not have to account for his salary. A certain number of men, who were retained by indenture, can probably be identified as justiciar's knights. Henry de la Roche, lord of the Rower, Kilkenny, seems to have served as a justiciar's knight under Wogan, for example. Clauses of an indenture drawn up between them in 1306 which state that Henry was to serve Wogan or another who held his place and that Henry was to serve Wogan in Ireland on the king's business suggest that Wogan was negotiating this contract in his capacity as justiciar. The fact that Wogan was in a position to cancel Henry's debts at the Dublin exchequer as a result of his entering into this indenture also supports this argument.⁸⁰ Adam de la Roche was also probably a justiciar's knight.

retained knights to assist him with his tasks. In his absence in the Holy Land, Edward's accession to the throne may have been met in Ireland with a merging of these two groups of knights.

⁷⁹ *CDI*, 1252-84, no.1237. According to Otway-Ruthven, the justiciar's salary was fixed at £500 in 1228, having peaked at some £580 in 1226; and from this sum it was specified in 1295 that the justiciar should maintain twenty men-at-arms, of which he was usually to count as the twentieth, and a like number of armoured horses (Otway-Ruthven, *Med. Ire.*, p.147; eadem, 'The Chief governors of mediaeval Ireland', *JRSAI* 95 (1965), 230; see also H. Wood, 'The Office of the chief governor of Ireland, 1172-1509', *PRIA* 36 C, no.12 (1923), 214).

⁸⁰ 'Private indentures for life service in peace and war 1278-1476' ed. Michael Jones and Simon Walker in *Camden Miscellany XXXII* 3 (Camden, 5th Series, 1994), pp.44-6. Frame, 'Dublin government and Gaelic Ireland', p.472 provides the text of a similar indenture, by which John son of William Butler retained himself as a valet to Wogan in 1310.

Adam was retained of Edmund le Butler to come with his force 'wherever Sir Edmund be', whenever he was not retained on the king's business.⁸¹

The evidence does not exist to tell us whether any justiciar appointed prior to 1276 was stipulated to maintain twenty men-at-arms or not. It certainly cannot be argued that the ten men named as 'of the king's household' in the treasurer's accounts of 1275/6 and 1276/7 were not justiciar's knights on the ground that only ten, and not twenty, men were retained. This is because - in the fourteenth century at least - the number of men-at-arms which the justiciar was allowed to retain varied considerably according to the urgency of the situation facing the Dublin government.⁸² Nevertheless, there are valid grounds on which to base a different interpretation of the exact status of these men; the fact that the men listed in these accounts were knights and esquires and therefore possibly the same rank of soldier (men-at-arms) which the justiciar was later obliged to maintain from 1276 onwards,⁸³ does not mean that they were 'justiciar's knights'. Prior to 1276, however, it is only the names of the ten knights and esquires retained by de Geneville for which we have evidence.⁸⁴ The reasons for regarding these men as retained 'of the king's household' are strong. First, their fees and robes were paid out of the king's treasure in Ireland in general and not specifically from the justiciar's salary;⁸⁵ a situation similar to that which may have prevailed during the reign of Henry III.⁸⁶ If

⁸¹ NLI D.578.

⁸² Frame, 'Dublin government and Gaelic Ireland', pp.14-16, 19.

⁸³ Henry and Adam de la Roche, retained later by John Wogan and Edmund le Butler respectively were also of this rank. There may have been a connection between the knights from 1276 and Henry de la Roche, John son of William Butler and Adam de la Roche in that many of them were recruited from the counties south of Dublin (R. Frame, 'Military service in the lordship of Ireland 1290-1360: institutions and society on the Anglo-Gaelic frontier', in R. Bartlett and A. MacKay ed. *Medieval frontier societies* (Oxford, 1989), p.117n51).

⁸⁴ John Fulburne was retained, *in extremis*, of the king's household in Ireland in 1289.

⁸⁵ The accounts in question were compiled by the treasurer, not the justiciar (cf. Ingamells, 'Household knights of Edward I', i, 59).

⁸⁶ The knights retained by Henry III in 1225 received their wages from the treasurer (Walker, 'The Anglo-Welsh wars, 1217-67', p.79). The men paid as constables of the *satellites* sent from Ireland to

these men were justiciar's knights then only a situation in which the justiciar had to account for his salary pre-1276 would account for the disappearance of evidence of men receiving robes and fees from the accounts. If the system was essentially the same, there was no reason for the accounting formulae to have differed.

Another reason for arguing that these men were retained 'of the king's household' is that this was the formula used in the accounts. Indeed, in the account rendered by James Audley, justiciar of Ireland, for 1270/72 distinction is made between the justiciar's and the king's knights. Audley accounts for the 'purchase of dyed cloth and furs for the robes of the said James as justiciary, and of his knights, clerks and esquires, pay, garments, and furs, for balisters both horse and foot, remaining with the justiciary on account of the war and disturbance of Ireland.' The next item accounts for 'robes, furs, and saddles, for Richard of Exeter, Alexander of Nottingham, Richard Fitz John, knights, and others of the council and the K[ing]'s household retained...'⁸⁷ These accounts seem to be exact in describing who retained such knights. Thus, the account of Lord Edward's treasurer of Ireland for the same years, records the payment of his robes and fees to Nicholas Dunheved 'of the household of the lord Edward.'⁸⁸

The fact that these knights and esquires were paid in Ireland does not preclude them from membership of the royal household,⁸⁹ even if knights of the king's household were usually paid in England. Payment seems to have been related to location. Payments to household knights active or resident in Ireland through the agency of the Dublin

Wales in 1257 were of an unspecified, seemingly Irish-based, household and were paid through the exchequer (Lydon, 'Three exchequer documents', pp.16, 24-25).

⁸⁷ *CDI, 1252-84*, p.148.

⁸⁸ PRO E101/230/2.

⁸⁹ Ingamells, 'Household knights of Edward I', i, 59-60 argues that household knights, even Anglo-Irish knights recruited for service elsewhere, were usually paid in England.

exchequer may have been the norm. Two knights who usually received their wages at Westminster were paid in Ireland when there. These were Henry Cantok, brother of the Irish chancellor, who received the arrears of his wages through the Irish exchequer in 1301;⁹⁰ and John Fulburne, an English knight, who was temporarily retained 'of the king's household' by the justiciar on account of his poverty. Another knight, William Hosee, retained 'on the king's household during his life' by Edward I in 1280, was in receipt of 10 marks *p.a.* from the Dublin exchequer.⁹¹ Further, John Louth and William Pouton, household knights sent to Ireland by Edward I in 1305, were to be paid by the justiciar who was to be allowed these payments in his accounts.⁹² A similar situation could well have existed in Gascony had the influx of Gascon knights into the king's household not coincided with Edward I's visit to the region in 1286-9. Since the wardrobe travelled with Edward I these knights were obviously paid through it. The fact that only three Gascon knights remained as household knights for a year after Edward's return to England, unfortunately does not provide a parallel with the situation in Ireland since these knights returned to England with Edward.⁹³

A further point relates to payment. It has been suggested that the wages received by the knights of the king's household in Ireland did not correspond to the sums usually paid to knights and squires in the king's household in England.⁹⁴ Knights of the king's household in England usually received £12 *p.a.*, whilst bannerets received £24 *p.a.* for fees and robes. It is true that the sums recorded in the treasurer's accounts for 1275/7 do

⁹⁰ These wages had been 'computed in the king's wardrobe' (*CDI, 1293-1301*, no.826).

⁹¹ *CDI, 1252-84*, nos.1715, 1739 (p.358), 1781, 1835, 1860, 1935, 2075, 2127, 2169, 2189, 2310. William had served the king in Ireland in the early 1270s when he fortified the castle of Roscommon. He also received fees for other unspecified service (*ibid.*, nos.891, 1038, 1525).

⁹² *CJR*, ii, 103.

⁹³ Ingamells, 'Household knights of Edward I', i, 61-2.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, i, 59. However, John Fulburne and Henry Cantok received wages equivalent to 4 marks paid to squires when they received robes worth four marks and wages of £6 13s. 4d. (*Liber quotidianus*

not match these amounts, but in most cases information is lacking or inconsistent and therefore insufficient grounds on which to build an argument.

Table 9: Sums paid to knights of ‘the king’s household’ in Ireland

Name of knight/squire	Payment received	Term(s) for which paid
Walter l’Enfaunt	£4 0s. 8d. part payment of fee	1275/6
Nicholas Dunheved	£7 for robes £5 9s. 8d. part payment fee £20	Pentecost & Nativity 1275/6 1275/6
William Caunetone	£7 for robes (£40 for messuage)	1275/6
W. Caunetone & associate	£7 for robes	Pentecost/Christmas 1276/7
Richard fitz John	£7 for robes	Pentecost 1274/Christmas 1275
William Cadel	£12 fee; 40s. for robes	1275/6
Milo Dywe	3½ marks for robes	Pentecost & Christmas 1275/6
Robert Nugent	3½ marks for robes	Pentecost & Christmas 1275/6
Ralph le Curteys	3½ marks for robes	Pentecost & Christmas 1275/6
Simon de Monteny	3½ marks for robes	Pentecost & Christmas 1275/6
David Barry	3½ marks for robes	Christmas 1275/6

For example, we know that the squires received 3½ marks (£2 6s. 8d.) for their robes, but have no information regarding the level of their fees. In contrast Nicholas Dunheved received more than was typical for a banneret to receive in England, the amount for his fees and robes totalling £27,⁹⁵ although this was considerably less than the average of £34 13s. 4d. *p.a.* which he seems to have received for his fees, robes and cloaks as a knight of the household of Lord Edward in Ireland between Easter 1265 and Easter 1271.⁹⁶

It might be that consistency in the sums received by these knights should not necessarily be expected. As there could be flexibility over the location and method⁹⁷ of payment, there could also have been variation in the levels of payment between England and Ireland. The cases of John Louth and William Pouton, custodians of castles in the marches of Ireland for some nine months in 1305-6, show that there was scope for

contrarotulatoris garderobae. Anno regni regis Edwardi primi vicesimo octavo. AD. MCCXCIX et MCCC (London, 1787), pp.190, 312, 325-6).

⁹⁵ Nicholas also received a fee of £20 ‘for his messuage’ for Michaelmas term 1275 and Easter term 1276 (PRO E101/230/4).

⁹⁶ *CDI, 1252-84, p.150.*

negotiation in the assignment of wages. John Wogan had proposed to pay them forty marks *p.a.* This they refused as insufficient and requested a sum between forty marks and forty pounds *p.a.* It was finally agreed that they should receive fifty marks *p.a.* and two equipped horses.⁹⁸ In the arena of non-royal service, the stewards for the estates of the earls of Gloucester and Norfolk in Ireland received considerably higher wages than their counterparts in England. And Walker found that the knights retained of Henry III's household during the Welsh wars were paid in a variety of ways, if not necessarily a varying amount.⁹⁹

These knights as a group did not receive a large amount of patronage. However, under Edward I, even a favoured household knight could not expect to receive more than a single manor as a reward in return for service, and that towards the end of his career.¹⁰⁰ The fact that only Walter l'Enfaunt, Nicholas Dunheved (and William Hosee) received grants¹⁰¹ does not mean that the knights retained in Ireland were not of the king's household. Indeed, enough has been said to demonstrate the strong probability that these knights were retained of the king's household; a probability which casts their contribution to the pacification and administration of the lordship of Ireland in a different light. After all, if these men were members of Edward I's household then the king cannot be so easily accused of putting his other dominions before Ireland in terms of recruiting men away from the lordship for service elsewhere.

⁹⁷ Walker, 'The Anglo-Welsh wars, 1217-67', pp.78, 85-6.

⁹⁸ *CJR*, ii, 103.

⁹⁹ Walker, 'The Anglo-Welsh wars, 1217-67', pp.78, 85-6.

¹⁰⁰ Wolffe, *Royal demesne in English history*, p.61.

¹⁰¹ *CCR*, 1272-9, p.546; PRO E101/230/13/2; E101/230/231/1, 3. William Hosee was not to be put on juries or recognizances or made to perform any other office against his will in Ireland (*CDI*, 1252-84, no.1730).

(ii) Military operations

As knights the main emphasis of their contribution to the management of Ireland was military. Indeed, like Henry III's household knights who provided military commanders for the king's wars in Wales, these knights provided a source of responsible leaders to whom tasks could be delegated.¹⁰² Such was the extent of the employment of these men on the military expeditions of the justiciar during the 1270s that only two, William de Cauneton and Richard fitz John, served in Wales in 1277.¹⁰³ Few details of the military activities of these men survive. Nevertheless, a few examples can be given which illustrate the types of activity in which they were engaged in their roles as household knights. During the period of their known retention as household knights, they took a leading part in de Geneville's military campaigns within the lordship. William Cadel was employed to protect O'Dempsey from aggressive attacks;¹⁰⁴ he also probably acted as paymaster for an expedition against the O'Briens in south-west Ireland in 1276/7 which brought them temporarily to the king's peace.¹⁰⁵ Walter l'Enfaunt participated in the 1275 expedition to Glenmalure, county Wicklow, and ensured its success by capturing the rebel chief Murtough MacMurrough;¹⁰⁶ and Ralph le Curteys and Milo Dywe participated in the 1276 campaign to Glenmalure, during the course of which they both lost horses.¹⁰⁷ Walter l'Enfaunt and Milo Dywe had been separately responsible for the custody and garrison of Ballymore, county Meath and the adjacent parts in 1274/5.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰² Walker, 'The Anglo-Welsh wars, 1217-67', p.66; Frame, 'Dublin government and Gaelic Ireland', p.12.

¹⁰³ Ingamells, 'Household knights of Edward I', i, 60.

¹⁰⁴ *36DKR*, p.33 (PR 4 Ed I).

¹⁰⁵ *CDI*, 1252-84, p.266; Frame, 'Dublin government and Gaelic Ireland', pp.12, 49.

¹⁰⁶ *St. Mary's Abbey*, ii, 318. Murtough's capture probably gave his brother Art further reason to cause trouble for the Dublin administration, however (see Orpen, *Normans*, iv, 17).

¹⁰⁷ Ingamells, 'Household knights of Edward I', ii, 18.

¹⁰⁸ 'Accounts of Thomas of Chedworth, *custos* of the temporalities of the archbishop of Dublin from 1221 to 1256 (*recte* 1271-9) from the great roll of the pipe' ed. W. Bethan, *PRIA* 5 C (1856-8), 159.

Certain of these knights and esquires continued to serve the justiciar after their known retention as household knights of the king, and it is possible that a number of them were appointed as justiciar's knights by Robert Ufford. Nicholas Dunheved, for example, had the custody of the castle of Leye committed to him 'to keep in time of war', and it was probably in connection with this that he sustained losses of 220 marks in the king's service sometime before 1280.¹⁰⁹ The knight who most notably continued in the justiciar's service was Walter l'Enfaunt.¹¹⁰ In c.1279-80, Walter had charge of the castle of Geashill, Offaly.¹¹¹ On 9 September 1288 he was appointed (with two others) 'to enter defaults and survey the whole service...of Leinster' by the then keeper of Ireland, John, archbishop of Dublin. After this, the keeper travelled to Desmond having taken 'into his retinue Sir W. de Beverly, then Chancellor of Ireland, and Sir W. l'Enfaunt, who with their households went to those parts.' In 1290 Walter l'Enfaunt and William Oddingseles acted as lieutenants of the keeper of Ireland and in this capacity led 'a great army to overcome Omalachelyn and the other enemies of the K[ing] then at war in the marches of Meath, and...cut the pass of Delvin'. During the course of this action, Walter l'Enfaunt lost five horses.¹¹² During the same period, from Easter 1286 to Easter 1290, Walter also held the custody of the important royal castle of Athlone in Connacht.¹¹³ Walter l'Enfaunt, senior, who had been in the king's service since 1270-2,¹¹⁴ seems to have passed this commitment to the service of the king on to his son, Walter l'Enfaunt, junior, who was to be found as custodian of the castle of

¹⁰⁹ NAI EX2/1, p.2; *CDI*, 1252-84, no.1634; PRO E101/230/13/1.

¹¹⁰ Nicholas Dunheved and Walter l'Enfaunt may have continued to be retained of the king's household in Ireland, however, since both continued in the receipt of unspecified fees and robes for several years after 1276 (for Dunheved see *CDI*, 1252-84, nos.1496, 1738). Walter may have continued to receive fees and robes as a knight of the king's household in Ireland until 1281 when he received sixty-six shillings for unspecified fees and robes (*CDI*, 1252-84, no.1890).

¹¹¹ Frame, 'Dublin government and Gaelic Ireland', p.107.

¹¹² *CDI*, 1285-92, nos.559, 684 (PRO E101/231/9). Being taken into the retinue of the keeper of Ireland does not necessarily identify Walter as a justiciar's knight.

¹¹³ PRO E101/231/24.

¹¹⁴ *CDI*, 1285-92, no.558; *Admin. Ire.*, p.80.

Kildare between 1299 and 1300 and again in 1303.¹¹⁵ In 1308 he was employed as a messenger charged with inducing the earl of Ulster to fight and defeat the felon, Murtough MacGeoghagan.¹¹⁶

The knights of the king's household in Ireland also had duties as landholders to defend the lordship of Ireland.¹¹⁷ Their experience, standing within their own communities and the likelihood that they had their own retinues (a manpower resource which could be utilised by the justiciar) enhanced their usefulness as military servants of the Crown in Ireland. Indeed, Ralph le Curteys was seneschal of Meath at the same time as his retention as a household knight.¹¹⁸ It was such attributes, in addition to their contacts within the Dublin government, which later made these men attractive propositions as estate stewards to 'absentee' English lords. Walter l'Enfaunt, father and son, again provide a useful example of the military actions which these knights might undertake on both their own and the Crown's behalf. As landholders in the area, they had a responsibility to attend to the defence of Kildare and Offaly.¹¹⁹ Walter l'Enfaunt, senior, successfully captured Calvagh O'Connor, the rebel chief who later took John

¹¹⁵ PRO E101/233/8, 17. It is not clear when the references contained in the records shift from Walter l'Enfaunt senior to Walter l'Enfaunt junior. The editor of the justiciary rolls presumed that the same Walter pursued a career in the Dublin administration from pre-1295 to early Edward II (*CJR*, i, iv-v; see also Ball, *The Judges in Ireland*, i, 22). Hand and Brand follow the 'timetable' suggested in *Admin. Ire.* where Walter senior's last judicial appointment is taken to date from 1294 and Walter junior's first from 1298, although Hand states that he follows this 'with some hesitation' (Hand, *English law in Ireland*, pp.46-7; Brand, 'Birth of a colonial judiciary', pp.35n176, 43). The first references to Walter l'Enfaunt, junior, date from 1291-2 (*CDI*, 1285-92, nos.1016, 1056, 1063, 1163). In 1297 Walter l'Enfaunt, junior, was listed among those owing money to Agnes de Valence; in a similar listing dating from 1305 he was referred to merely as Walter l'Enfaunt. His father had therefore died sometime between 1297, when the last reference to Walter l'Enfaunt, junior, is found and 1305 (*CJR*, i, 102, 104-5; *CJR*, ii, 5).

¹¹⁶ *CJR*, iii, 26.

¹¹⁷ For example, Nicholas Dunheved held land in co. Louth; Richard fitz John and Robert Nugent held land in co. Meath; David Barry and William Cauneton held land in co. Cork; and Walter l'Enfaunt held land in Kildare and Limerick (Ingamells, 'Household knights of Edward I', ii, 18).

¹¹⁸ *36DKR*, p.33 (PR 4 Ed I), p.37 (PR 5 Ed I).

¹¹⁹ Walter held half a knight's fee in Kildare (*CIPM*, ii, 436).

Fulburne hostage, at Kildare in 1286; and his son contracted with Matthew de Millebourne in 1305 for the head of the felon, Maelsechlainn O'Conor.¹²⁰

In addition to serving militarily within Ireland, several of the knights and esquires retained of the king's household by Geoffrey de Geneville demonstrated their commitment to the king's service through participation in military campaigns outside the lordship. Walter l'Enfaunt, senior, served in Flanders in 1297 as part of the contingent led by John fitz Thomas, lord of Offaly.¹²¹ William de Cauneton served 'laudably' in Scotland in 1304, as had William Cadel in the retinue of fitz Thomas in 1296.¹²² And Milo Dywe travelled to England in 1282 on the king's business, possibly in connection with the Welsh war.¹²³ Walter l'Enfaunt, junior, later served the king in Scotland between 1307 and 1314.¹²⁴

(iii) Office-Holding

It was not only in a military capacity that these knights served the king in Ireland. A couple of them held important offices in government too. William de Cauneton served as sheriff of Cork in 1303-5 and sometime between 1309 and 1316.¹²⁵ And Walter l'Enfaunt, senior, made a distinguished career for himself as the first justice of the justiciar's bench between 1286 and 1294,¹²⁶ an office taken over by his son, Walter

¹²⁰ Frame, 'Dublin government and Gaelic Ireland', p.108; Cormac Ó Cléirigh, 'The Problems of defence: a regional case-study', in Lydon ed. *Law and disorder*, pp.32, 45-6.

¹²¹ *CDI, 1293-1301*, no.396, 458; B.L. Add. MS. 7965, fol 68v.

¹²² *CDI, 1293-1301*, no.354; *CDI, 1302-7*, no.344.

¹²³ *CDI, 1252-84*, no.1907 (p.423).

¹²⁴ *AH 36* (1995) C81, 202. Edward I had written to Walter l'Enfaunt, senior, with regard to his serving in the Scottish war but there is no evidence that he participated in this conflict (*CDI, 1293-1301*, no.270).

¹²⁵ *CDI, 1302-7*, no.274; *Letters of Edward Prince of Wales 1304-1305*, p.104; cf. Chapter 3, p.108). Prior to this he had received payment as custodian of Idrone, Carlow in 1279 (PRO E101/230/8, 12, 13/1).

¹²⁶ *Admin. Ire.*, p.166; *CDI, 1285-92*, nos.584, 636. According to Ball, *The Judges in Ireland*, i, 22 Walter, as the first justice of the justiciar's bench, deserves a special place in the history of the English legal system in Ireland. It was probably Walter's prior administrative experience, rather than any special legal skill, that led to his appointment as a justice (cf. Brand, 'Birth of a colonial judiciary', p.36).

l'Enfaunt junior, in 1306.¹²⁷ Walter l'Enfaunt, senior, also acted in a number of miscellaneous capacities. He was custodian of the Dublin customs for a brief period before taking on the role of justice; in 1284 he was entrusted with the tallies recording the justiciar's expenditure; and in 1287 he was one of the executors of the chest containing official documents belonging to the late justiciar, the archbishop of Tuam.¹²⁸ Of the men retained of the king's household in Ireland in the mid 1270s, Walter l'Enfaunt, senior, provides the best example of commitment to the king's service in the lordship. His importance as a loyal servant throughout the reign of Edward I was probably a crucial factor in his son's success in following in his footsteps as a justice of justiciar's bench. That Ralph Pipard, lord of Dysert, deputised Walter, junior, along with Nicholas Boys, a knight of the main household, to deliver seisin of his lands to Edward I is evidence of the standing of the l'Enfaunts within the lordship.¹²⁹

* * * * *

Edward I was able to count men of the calibre of Walter l'Enfaunt and William de Cauneton among his loyal servants in Ireland. These ties of service were nurtured by their retention as household knights, which helped to establish an association with royal government throughout their careers. These links were not maintained by royal effort, however. Indeed, Edward I, for whom Ireland was a relatively low priority, played no active part in the recruitment of such men into the Dublin administration and other posts. Rather, it was the efforts of members of the Anglo-Irish community to overcome the distance between themselves and the royal court which preserved these connections.

¹²⁷ Walter l'Enfaunt, junior, also acted as an itinerant justice in Louth and Cork in 1301, in Cashel (Tipperary) in 1306 and, but for the cancellation of an eyre, in Meath in 1302-3. In 1308 he held some assizes with Nigel le Brun (*Admin. Ire.*, pp.142, 144, 166-7; PRO E101/233/17; *CDI*, 1302-7, no.120; PRO E101/233/23; E101/235/13).

¹²⁸ PRO E101/230/18; *CDI*, 1252-84, p.517; *CDI*, 1285-92, no.408.

¹²⁹ *CDI*, 1293-1301, no.834. Walter was also to make an extent of these lands (*CDI*, 1302-7, nos.148-9).

England, and above all its king, was the centre to which the Anglo-Irish population looked for government and patronage, whatever the attitude of that centre was to Ireland.¹³⁰

Whilst it was not through his own sweat that Edward I retained either the initial or the continued service of the men recruited into his household by Geoffrey de Geneville, the positive contribution made towards the administration of Ireland and the maintenance of the king's peace by Walter l'Enfaunt and his associates was important. Their service contributed another fibre to the rope that bound the king, however loosely, to his lordship. There had to be some reason for men such as Walter, 'no less distinguished on the field than in the council',¹³¹ to serve the king especially when payment for these services was so slow to come forth, as Walter complained in his petition to the parliament of December 1289.¹³² Royal service had indebted Walter and yet he continued to participate in it. Nevertheless, association with the Dublin administration was a way of getting closer to the English court; presumably a more pressing problem in the case of knights such as Walter who lacked English lands.¹³³ It was unfortunate for Walter that his petition to the king at the parliament of 1305 for the marriage of the heirs of Richard de St. Michael (as a reward for his service in war in Scotland and Flanders) could not be granted since Edward had granted the marriage to another before the parliament had been summoned.¹³⁴ This was a single disappointment, however, and did not negate the potential advantages of serving the king.

¹³⁰ Frame, *English lordship*, p.8; Hand, *English law in Ireland*, p.19.

¹³¹ Ball, *The Judges in Ireland*, i, 22.

¹³² *CDI, 1285-92*, no.558.

¹³³ This idea is reinforced by evidence that knights such as Walter were regarded as a link to the Dublin administration (*CDI, 1285-92*, no.4).

¹³⁴ *Mem. Parl.*, p.244. During Walter's absence in Flanders the king had ordered that all debts and most pleas against Walter be respited until his return (*CCR, 1296-1302* pp.188-9).

Chapter 3

English lords as landholders in Ireland: absent or 'absentee'?

An assumed responsibility of land-holding was that all tenants should defend their lands; thus all those who held land in the lordship of Ireland had a role to play in its management.¹ It follows that the greater the extent of a lord's holdings, the greater his responsibility to participate in the process of maintaining the king's peace among other duties. An examination of the roles played by both major and lesser English lords in Ireland will show that in practice this theory was not always followed; and where evidence permits an attempt will be made to relate such prioritising by English lords to the relative value of their lands in Ireland in the context of their entire landed income and their careers as a whole.²

Recently some valuable work has discussed the Irish dimensions of the careers of certain landholders and placed them in the context of all their interests. Of particular importance and relevance to this thesis is Stringer's work on the de Vescy lords of Kildare in Ireland and Alnwick in Northumberland which discusses William de Vescy's role as justiciar of Ireland between 1290 and 1294.³ Other important work has looked at the lords of Meath and Louth.⁴ It is hoped that the discussion of English lords as landholders in Ireland in this chapter will add valuable case-studies to this existing body of work.

The major English lords under consideration here are the earl of Norfolk, the earl of Gloucester and Hertford and the lord, and later earl, of Pembroke. All of these men held land in the former Marshal lordship of Leinster and were the lords of Carlow, Kilkenny

¹ Frame, *English lordship*, p.55.

² The evidence used to calculate such figures include inquisitions *post mortem*, manorial accounts and escheator's accounts. The problems associated with using such evidence are discussed in Appendix 2, pp.248-256.

³ Stringer, 'Nobility and identity in medieval Britain and Ireland'. William de Vescy's personal involvement in Ireland is too large a subject to be covered here, although the administrators employed by the de Vescy family in Ireland are discussed in Chapter 4.

⁴ Brendan Smith, *Colonisation and conquest in medieval Ireland. The English in Louth, 1170-1330* (Cambridge, 1999); Hagger, 'De Verdun family'; Hartland, 'Vaucouleurs, Ludlow and Trim'.

and Wexford respectively. At the beginning of the reign of Edward I, the Irish lands of these lords were well within the land of peace even if they were somewhat beleaguered. By the early years of the reign of Edward II, however, pressure upon these lordships from the native Irish had increased considerably. There was, therefore, an increasing need for these lords to attend to the defence of their lands at least.

An examination of the role played by the de Clare lords of Thomond, the English lords who were most involved in Ireland in this period, will provide a point of comparison and contrast. Unlike the lords of the Leinster liberties referred to above, Thomas and Richard de Clare were not involved in defending an inheritance which had long been part of the English colony in Ireland; rather, their remit was to carve out an inheritance in the south-west of Ireland from a grant that had been made to them on parchment, although they also held Youghal and Inchiquin in established parts of the colony in county Cork. The process of conquest in Thomond had not achieved any lasting result by the reign of Edward I despite a former grant of the region to Robert de Muscegros. The de Clare lords of Thomond also differed from the lords of Carlow, Kilkenny and Wexford in that they were members of the cadet branch of the de Clare earls of Gloucester rather than the heads of a magnate house. To give a wider and more comprehensive perspective on the subject of English landholding in Ireland the involvement of a number of less important English lords will also be examined.

(A) English magnate rule in Leinster: the extent of personal involvement

In his study of English earldoms during the reign of Edward I, Tout gave no consideration to the Irish lands of those earls who possessed them. He justified this exclusion on two main grounds: namely that these lands cost more to upkeep than they brought in profit and were thus 'becoming more a source of weakness than of strength to their owners', and because they were more remote from English politics than the Welsh lands of these earls.⁵ Despite Tout's seeming presumption that English earls were uninterested in their Irish estates, the lords of Carlow and Kilkenny (who were English earls) visited Ireland during the reign of Edward I. Armed with an unsurprisingly different attitude to that of Tout, Frame has argued that such visits supported the exercise of Edward I's rule in his Irish lordship.⁶ Whether the visits of these lords were motivated by service or by other factors will be examined below. An attempt will also be made to assess their contribution to English rule in the lordship.

(i) The Lords of Carlow

The personal involvement of Roger Bigod, earl of Norfolk and lord of Carlow, in the lordship of Ireland was undertaken in response to orders from Edward I. The personal presence of the lord of Carlow in Ireland in 1279 was required by the Dublin government because he was the immediate lord of the MacMurroughs who had emerged as the leaders of the native Irish of the Wicklow mountains during the 1270s. The problem was that these native Irish had commenced raiding English settlements in Leinster in c.1270, and had begun to threaten demesne manors of the king such as Saggart, county Dublin.⁷ Bigod therefore had a responsibility to defend his lands⁸ and to

⁵ T. F. Tout, 'The Earldoms under Edward I', *TRHS* 8 (1894), 150n1. G. A. Holmes, *The Estates of the higher nobility in fourteenth-century England* (Cambridge, 1957), p.18 likewise decided not to include the Irish estates of the Mortimer family in his discussion of their family interests even though these lands 'dominated' familial considerations during the reign of Richard II.

⁶ Frame, *Colonial Ireland*, pp.65-6.

⁷ Frame, 'English officials and Irish chiefs', p.752. The inability to find tenants for the land at Castlekevin by 1279 has been attributed to MacMurrough raids (J. F. Lydon, 'Medieval Wicklow - "a land of war"', in W. M. Nolan and K. Hannigan ed. *Wicklow: history and society* (Dublin, 1994), pp.162-3). The important manors of the vacant archbishopric of Dublin were also affected (Bethan, 'Archbishopric of Dublin', pp.161-2).

bring these Irish chiefs to the king's peace, especially since one explanation given for the commencement of raids by the Leinster Irish is 'a loss of colonising impetus' (see map, p.96). Whilst Bigod's administration based at Carlow usually dealt with problems of defence, it probably was important that Bigod attended to the problem presented by the MacMurroughs in person rather than through an attorney. This is because the MacMurroughs seem to have attached some importance to the fact that they were related to the earl of Norfolk;¹⁰ presumably a reference to Bigod's relation to Strongbow, earl of Pembroke and husband to the daughter of Diarmait MacMurrough. The details of this episode are dealt with in Chapter 5, pp.178-180. Whilst Nugent argued that Bigod may have travelled to the lordship of Carlow on another occasion, this cannot be corroborated since Nugent gave no reference for this second journey.¹¹

It is initially surprising that Bigod journeyed to Ireland because he was heavily involved in English politics. It is more specifically surprising because of the situation in Wales both before and after his journey to Ireland in 1279.¹² In his defence both of his Welsh and his Irish lands, Bigod was responding to the orders of the king. Indeed, considerations such as the relative value of these lordships were unlikely to have influenced his prioritising since his Irish lands only contributed up to eight, and his Welsh lands some six plus, percent of his total landed income.¹³

⁸ Bigod's manor of Fennagh had certainly been detrimentally affected by these raids by 1280/1 when it was reported 'that scarcely anyone wanted to stay there for fear of Art' MacMurrough (Kevin Down, 'Colonial society and economy in the high middle ages', in Cosgrove ed. *NHI* ii, 461).

⁹ R. Frame, 'Two kings in Leinster: the crown and the MicMhurchadha in the fourteenth century', in *Colony and frontier in medieval Ireland. Essays presented to J. F. Lydon* ed. T. B. Barry, R. Frame, K. Simms (London, 1995), p.158. Other contributing factors included a loss of royal leadership, improvements in Irish military tactics and, more basically, the onset of poor climatic conditions that led to famine among those who lived in the mountains where the land was agriculturally poor (*ibid.*; M. C. Lyons, 'Weather, famine, pestilence and plague in Ireland, 900-1500', in E. M. Crawford ed. *Famine: The Irish Experience 900-1500. Subsistence crises and famines in Ireland* (Edinburgh, 1989), pp.40-2).

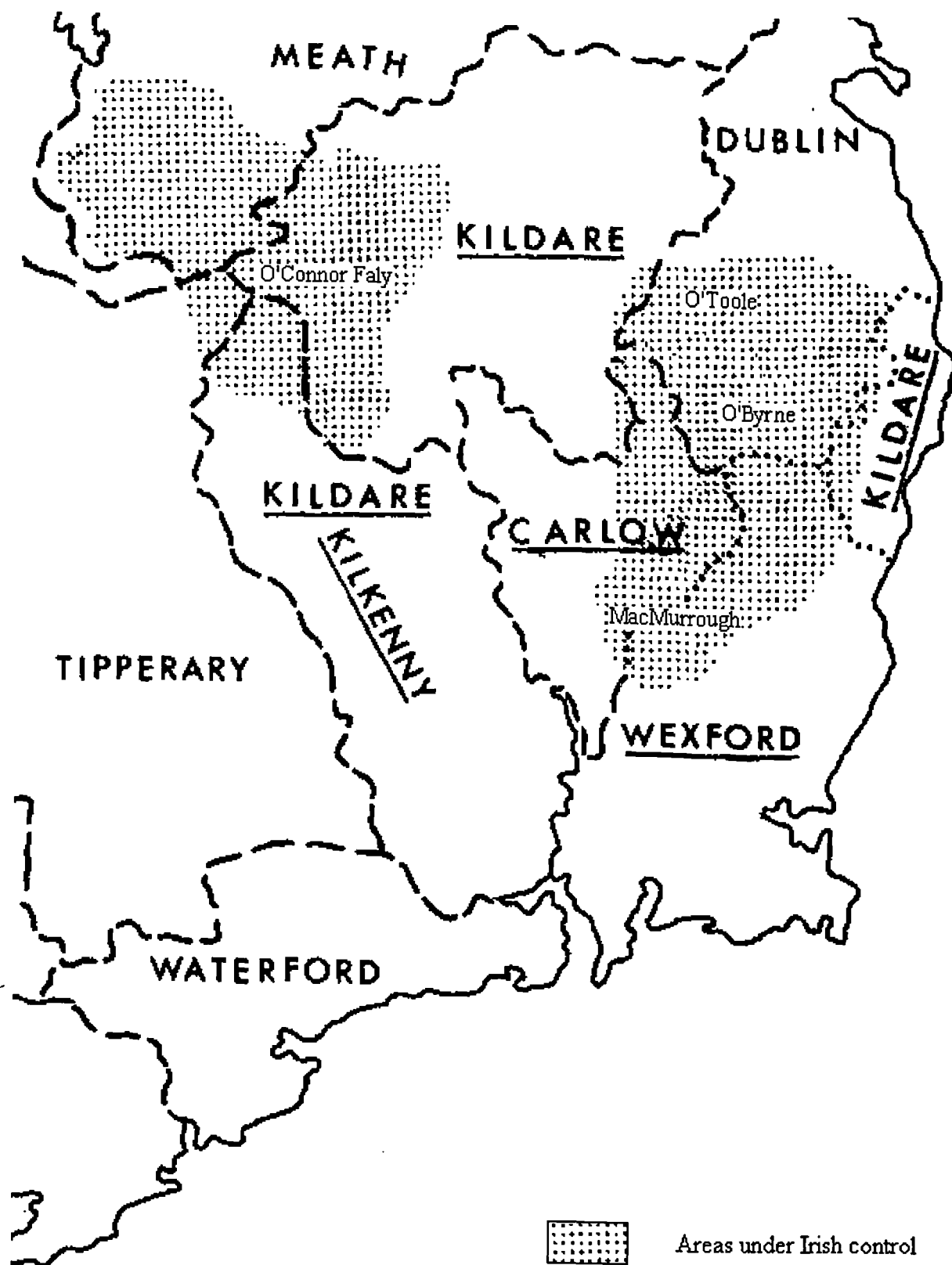
¹⁰ In a letter to Edward I, Roger Bigod wrote that 'quosdam consanguineos nostros prout nobis dicebatur invenimus videlicet Moriardack et Art Mcmoruch fratrem suum' (R. Frame, 'The Justiciar and the murder of the MacMurroughs in 1282', *IHS* 18 (1972-3), 229).

¹¹ The money paid to Philip Benter in 1281/2 'for passage of the earl into England' probably referred to the visit of 1279. The relevant account is summarised in Hore, *Old and New Ross*, pp.18-19.

¹² See, for example, *CVCR*, p.278.

¹³ PRO C133/127; *CIPM*, iv, 434; W. F. Nugent, 'Carlow in the middle ages', *JRSAI* 85 (1955), 67.

Irish districts of Leinster c. 1297



Bigod did much more in the way of fulfilling his duties as lord of Carlow than did his successor Thomas of Brotherton, the half-brother of Edward II. Thomas did not visit the lordship of Carlow at all despite being named among the absentees who should undertake their duties in the face of the Bruce invasion in January 1317. His response to this summons was seemingly limited to the dispatch of an attorney to the lordship of Ireland, after the Bruce invasion had been successfully repelled, to investigate the damage done to his lands.¹⁴ It is possible that Thomas was busy in Scotland, the defence of which he had been summoned to in February 1316; Thomas had been pardoned service in Scotland in 1314, but may have begun active service by two years later.¹⁵ Thomas' lack of involvement in Ireland might also be explained by his youth since he was born in 1300 and was consequently more active in the late 1320s when he acted on the regency council in England.¹⁶

Thomas's lack of interest in the liberty of Carlow relative to that displayed by Bigod might also be explained by the decrease in the profitability of the lordship, occasioned by low-level war, which had occurred during and after the latter half of the reign of Edward I.¹⁷ Indeed, in 1319, Thomas of Brotherton claimed that his liberty was so devastated it yielded him no money and that his seneschals could not perform their duties.¹⁸ This shift in attitude between Bigod and Brotherton is reflected in a move away from demesne farming at Carlow during the reign of Edward II;¹⁹ the Carlow administration under Bigod, at least during the profitable 1280s, had rather sought to expand and consolidate the demesne.²⁰ Bigod's preparedness to follow royal orders and

¹⁴ *CPR, 1317-21*, pp.122, 125.

¹⁵ *Foedera*, ii, 463, 476; *ibid.*, iii, 553; *Complete peerage*, ix, 597.

¹⁶ *Complete peerage*, ix, 596; Arthur Clark, 'Chepstow: its castle and lordship' (Newport and Monmouthshire branch of the historical association, 1953), p.24.

¹⁷ The greater prosperity of Carlow in the later thirteenth century is discussed in Appendix 2.

¹⁸ *AH 34* (1987), 30.

¹⁹ J. B. Swan, 'The Manor of Rossclare', *Old Wexford Society Journal 4* (1972-3), 82.

²⁰ Down, 'Colonial society and economy', p.460. £35 6s. 8d. (1283/4), £23 5s. 2d.(1286/7), 20s. 0d. (1287/8) and £2 6s. 8d. (1288/9) were spent on the purchase of land respectively (PRO SC1/1239/3, 6-8). Several cases of *novel disseisin* were also brought against the Carlow administration under Roger Bigod (NAI RC7/4, p.168; NAI RC7/5, pp.290, 333-4, 368, 481-3; NAI RC7/6, pp.114, 181-5; NAI RC7/10, p.263).

attend to the problems occasioned by the MacMurroughs may, then, have been helped by the importance and profitability of his Carlow estates.

(ii) The lords of Kilkenny

During the period under consideration, Kilkenny had three lords: Gilbert the Red, the penultimate de Clare earl of Gloucester and Hertford; Ralph Monthermer, earl of Gloucester by right of his wife, Countess Joan, the widow of Earl Gilbert; and Gilbert de Clare, the last earl of Gloucester who famously met his death at the battle of Bannockburn in 1314.²¹ Of these three lords only the Red Earl travelled to Ireland.²² The journey for which we have documentation was undertaken in 1293-4, almost certainly at the behest of the king. It is also possible that Gilbert visited his Irish estates in 1274, although there is no conclusive proof of this.²³

Various explanations have been offered for Gilbert's journey to Ireland in 1293-4. The most obvious reason for this undertaking was 'the pacification of Kilkenny', a phrase recorded in the grants of attorneys and/or protections made to some of his retinue of at least twelve knights who accompanied him to Ireland in 1293.²⁴ Clearly, there was a military element to the expedition since John de Hastings took the precaution of ensuring that the executors of his will should hold two of his manors for three years should he die as a result of it.²⁵ And, indeed, there was a need for Gilbert to undertake defensive duties since the native Irish of Leinster had caused disturbance once more. A

²¹ Recorded in *Annála Connacht*, pp.229-231, where the earl was described as 'he who of all the English was of most nobility and dignity and inherited the greatest estate'.

²² O Cleirigh, 'The Problems of defence', p.53 mistakenly states that Ralph Monthermer travelled to Kilkenny in 1305.

²³ According to Altschul, *The Clares*, p.285 there is clear evidence that Gilbert the Red visited Kilkenny in June 1274, and made a more prolonged stay in 1279. This is based upon the fact that Gilbert, who was 'going beyond seas', secured a number of grants of attorney in these years (*CPR, 1272-81*, pp.53, 298, 306, 333). There is no evidence to support the idea that Ireland was the earl's destination, however; or that he even made the intended trips.

²⁴ *CDI, 1293-1301*, no.20.

less likely explanation of this journey is offered by Ward who argued that Gilbert travelled to Ireland to avoid the king's court in England following his recent humiliation there over his conflict with the earl of Hereford regarding the lordship of Glamorgan.²⁶ This interpretation of Gilbert's motivation is not convincing because rather than skulking away to Ireland to avoid the king, Gilbert appears to have been sent to the lordship as the king's unofficial representative. Ward's argument would be more convincing if attached to the trip made by Earl Richard in 1253.²⁷ This journey may well have been made out of pique because Henry III would not allow Richard to accompany the king overseas.²⁸

Regarding Gilbert as the king's unofficial representative removes the necessity of seeing Gilbert's presence in Ireland at the time of the hearing between John fitz Thomas, the lord of Offaly, and William de Vescy, the lord of Kildare, as coincidental. The suit between fitz Thomas and de Vescy was heard 'in the presence of Gilbert de Clare, Richard de Burgh, John de Hastings, and other barons and magnates',²⁹ and it is not improbable that this eventuality was intended. The fact that one annal records that Gilbert went to New Ross (his initial destination) does not preclude this interpretation, especially since the next item noted in the same annals was the quarrel between fitz Thomas and de Vescy.³⁰ The quarrel between these two men was sufficiently serious for the king to wish to be strongly represented at its hearing because fitz Thomas had accused de Vescy of uttering treasonable comments against him. And Gilbert de Clare was certainly an important enough man to be sent to help contain the volatile political

²⁵ *Ibid.*, no.70.

²⁶ J. C. Ward, 'The Estates of the Clare family, 1066-1317' (Ph.D. Thesis, University of London, 1962), p.92.

²⁷ *Annales de Monte Fernandi (Annals of Multifernan)* ed. A. Smith (Dublin, 1842), p.13; *Annales de Theokesberia* ed. H. R. Luard (*Annales Monastici*, i, Rolls Ser., 36, 1896), p.153.

²⁸ *Annales de Theokesberia*, p.153. Contrary to Altschul, *The Clares*, p.285, this was not an extended stay. Rather, *Annales de Theokesberia*, p.153 reads 'Dominus Ricardus de Clare adivit partes Hiberniae nec multum post ab eisdem rediit'.

²⁹ *CDI, 1293-1301*, no.147.

³⁰ Clyn, *Annals*, p.10. The annal merely names the destination as Ros; it was probably New Ross since Gilbert tried to wrest control of the ferry at New Ross away from Bigod during his stay.

situation.³¹ Even before his marriage to Joan of Acre, the king's eldest daughter, in 1290, Gilbert had ranked as 'the single most powerful magnate of the realm'.³² Indeed, it was through Gilbert that the earls and barons made known their negative response to the request made on behalf of the king in the parliament of February 1289 for a grant of taxation to fund his foreign wars.³³ And his union to Joan of Acre certainly increased his importance since in the event of the childless death of all the king's male offspring, any son born to Joan and Gilbert was in line for the throne.³⁴ Unsurprisingly, therefore, Gilbert's marriage to Joan, the birth of their son, Gilbert, and their advent and departure from Ireland were all events worthy of note in the annals of Ireland.³⁵ Neither was John de Hastings, also present at the hearing between fitz Thomas and de Vescy, an unimportant man: rather, he was married into the family of William de Valence, the king's uncle; had a claim to the Scottish throne; and later served as the king's *locum tenens* in Aquitaine.³⁶ An interpretation which sees Gilbert de Clare as Edward I's unofficial representative in Ireland also explains why John de Hastings, who was usually a member of the retinue of William de Valence, formed part of the earl of Gloucester's retinue for the pacification of Kilkenny especially since John had granted all his Irish lands to his brother, Edmund, some years before.³⁷ As in the case of the lord of Carlow, then, at least one lord of Kilkenny made the journey to Ireland and that at the behest of the king.

Kilkenny was not particularly important in terms of monetary value for either Earl Richard or Earl Gilbert. Earl Richard was much more focused on his lands in the march

³¹ This is alluded to in Davies, *The First English empire*, p.87.

³² Altschul, *The Clares*, p.34.

³³ Enoch Powell and Keith Wallis, *The House of Lords in the middle ages. A History of the English House of Lords to 1540* (London, 1968), pp.211-12.

³⁴ *Foedera*, ii, 497.

³⁵ *St. Mary's Abbey*, ii, 320, 322-3. See also A. Gwynn ed., 'Some unpublished texts from the Black Book of Christ Church, Dublin', *Analecta Hibernica* 16 (1946), 336. If Joan of Acre's retinue was anything like as impressive as the entourage of '200 knights, ladies, maids of honour, and esquires' which accompanied her whilst she dined with her brother, the prince of Wales, in 1293 (F. Devon ed., *Pell records exchequer Hen III - Hen VI* (London, 1837), p.108) then her arrival in Ireland with Gilbert de Clare would have been all the more noteworthy.

³⁶ *Foedera*, ii, 55, 578; *ibid.*, iii, 184.

³⁷ *CJR*, i, 237.

of Wales worth some £2, 000 - £2, 500 against the £360 or so rendered by Kilkenny.³⁸ Gilbert took the opportunity of his presence in Ireland in 1293-4 to investigate his rights in the lordship of Kilkenny and to attempt to extend them at the expense of the lord of Carlow.³⁹ He was later accused of often attempting to appropriate land, through the agency of his bailiffs, which belonged to the king and others,⁴⁰ a tendency that seems to have been taken up by Ralph Monthermer.⁴¹ Nevertheless, Ward's argument that the Clare earls 'took little personal interest in their Irish estates' and were presumably 'mainly interested in their Irish revenues'⁴² seems to have been correct.

(iii) The Lords of Wexford

Unlike his contemporaries, Roger Bigod and Gilbert de Clare, William de Valence did not undertake any of his defensive duties in Ireland in person. This was not quite the ironic state of affairs which Ridgeway would have us believe. William was not married to one of the Marshal co-heiresses of Leinster as part of Henry III's 'preference for deploying foreigners in potentially treacherous borderlands'.⁴³ The grant stemmed from a shortage of patronage in non-peripheral zones rather than from a desire to secure areas of the lordship of Ireland. William did consider travelling to Ireland in early 1272, probably in connection with the acquisition of the wardship of one of the Geraldine lords of Offaly, a move undertaken to protect the rights of his daughter, Agnes, in Ireland.⁴⁴ He did not make this trip, however, and it was William's relationship and closeness to the king rather than his involvement in Ireland that earned him a valedictory mention in the *Annals of Inisfallen*.⁴⁵

³⁸ Altschul, *The Clares*, pp.68, 293, 300-02.

³⁹ See Nugent, 'Carlow in the middle ages', p.70.

⁴⁰ *CJR*, i, 353. See NAI KB1/1, m17r, 59r; NAI RC8/1, pp.29, 62, 425; NAI RC7/3, pp.1, 331, 362, 384-5, 398, 445-6; NAI RC7/4, pp.44, 316-19; NAI RC8/8, p.351.

⁴¹ NAI RC8/1, pp.344-5; NAI RC7/6, pp.3, 45-6, 62, 73, 122, 335, 349-51, 475, 494; NAI RC7/7, pp.134, 245, 281-2, 286; NAI RC7/10, pp.526, 533-4; NAI RC7/11, pp.45-8.

⁴² Ward, 'Estates of the Clare family', p.104.

⁴³ H. Ridgeway, 'King Henry III and the 'aliens', 1236-1272', *TCE* 2 (1987), 85. On the other hand William did not cause any trouble in Ireland.

⁴⁴ See Chapter 4, pp.132-3.

⁴⁵ *Annals of Inisfallen* (MS. Rawlinson B. 503) ed. and trans. Seán Mac Airt (Dublin, 1951), p.389.



Neither did William's son, Aymer, visit the lordship of Ireland for any reason.⁴⁶ This is not surprising since Aymer was more involved in English politics than any other lords of Wexford, Carlow or Kilkenny in this period. The de Valences also still had lands in France which were more important to them than their Irish lands.⁴⁷ Aymer's importance to events elsewhere meant that he was not named among the absentees who should come to the defence of the lordship in January 1317 in spite of his responsibility as lord of Wexford.⁴⁸ Indeed, Phillips has shown that for Aymer Ireland was not even important for the recruitment of retainers, which need he met instead from his close association with Edward II.⁴⁹

Of the de Valence lords of Wexford, it would have made sense for Joan, Countess of Pembroke and widow of William de Valence, to have been the most interested in Wexford during the period in question. Wexford was Joan's inheritance and its management fell to her from 1296 until her own death in 1307. During Joan's tenure, Wexford contributed some fifty-two percent of her total landed income of approximately £650 per annum.⁵⁰ In contrast, Wexford represented between six and thirteen percent of William de Valence's total income of about £2, 500;⁵¹ and just over ten percent of Aymer de Valence's total landed income of approximately £3, 160.⁵² The greater import which one could expect Joan de Valence to have attached to the income generated by the liberty of Wexford seems to have been reflected in the fact that the only evidence of auditors examining the liberty accounts comes from her period of

⁴⁶ On 1 August 1316 'the messenger of the Lord Adomar de Valencia, [was paid] 40s., by his own hands, for certain news which he brought to the King from the said Lord Adomar from Ireland' (*Pell records*, p.127). It is most probable that this messenger came from Ireland to Aymer and was then sent to the king especially since Aymer was almost exclusively to be found in London or Westminster during June and July 1316 (Phillips, *Aymer de Valence*, p.328).

⁴⁷ Phillips, *Aymer de Valence*, p.8 stresses the importance of these French lands, which made Aymer particularly valuable as a diplomat, despite the lack of evidence relating to them.

⁴⁸ Aymer had been commissioned as an envoy to Avignon and had been captured and held as a hostage in France (*ibid.*, pp.110-11).

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, pp.258-9. This argument also applied to Aymer's lands in the Welsh March.

⁵⁰ PRO C134/4/1; *CIPM*, v, 56.

⁵¹ *CDI, 1293-1301*, no.306; *38DKR*, pp.41-2 (PR 25 Ed I); H. Ridgeway, 'William de Valence and his familiares, 1247-72', *Historical Research* 65 (1992), 242-3.

⁵² Phillips, *Aymer de Valence*, pp.240-44.

tenure.⁵³ Transcripts of legal records show both Joan and Aymer to have been interested in maintaining their rights but neither as particularly litigious.⁵⁴

A positive facet of the general absence of Bigod, de Clare and de Valence from Ireland is that they did not keep *ociosi* (idle-men) and thereby did not create a burden by billeting them on other lords' lands. The keeping of idle-men beyond an individual's resources was ordained against at the Dublin Parliament of 1297, a prohibition which was reiterated at Kilkenny in 1310.⁵⁵ Military lordship was a matter of men, the most important of whom were a lord's *fideles* on whom he could rely to defend and uphold his lordship.⁵⁶ Whilst they, of course, had feudal tenants in Ireland, the fact that Bigod, de Clare⁵⁷ and de Valence do not seem to have had *fideles* in the lordship may not have been a negative factor since the military side of their lordship was usually carried out by their administrators whom they may have required to maintain a number of men-at-arms.⁵⁸ It is hardly surprising, then, that the personal involvement of these lords in the lordship of Ireland was more political than military in emphasis.

* * *

In terms of personal involvement in the management of their lands, the lords of Carlow, Kilkenny and Wexford were rather 'hands off'. However, as it will be argued in Chapter 4, their employment of a hierarchy of administrators allowed them to exercise their lordship effectively from a distance most of the time. This is not to downplay the

⁵³ PRO SC1/48/71.

⁵⁴ NAI RC7/6, pp.234-5, 303, 448; NAI RC7/7, pp.316-7; NAI KB1/1, m59r; NAI RC8/1, pp.330-1; NAI RC8/7, p.272; NAI RC8/8, p.351; NAI RC8/11, p.71, 232, 279-80, 739-42.

⁵⁵ *Statutes and Ordinances, and Acts of the Parliament of Ireland. King John to Henry V* ed. H. F. Berry (Dublin, H. M. S. O., 1907), pp.203, 269.

⁵⁶ Davies, *Lordship and society in the march of Wales*, p.76; idem, *The First English empire*, p.105.

⁵⁷ A case held during the 1297 eyre of Kildare which referred to a robbery carried out by certain men 'with the following of the earl of Gloucester' presumably relates to the 1293-4 visit of Gilbert de Clare (*CJR*, i, 179).

⁵⁸ Craig, 'Memoranda roll of the Irish exchequer', p.40 argues that the royal seneschals for Carlow and Kildare (a single office formed in 1309) may have had to retain armed men with part of their fee of £100. There is no evidence to support the idea that either Bigod or de Vescy had required this of their seneschals.

importance of the visits of Bigod and de Clare to Ireland, however. Indeed, in comparison to English lords who held land in Ireland during most of the fourteenth century, when the epithet 'absentee' was more deserved, Bigod and de Clare were very involved in their Irish estates. Their journeys were all the more important, as well, because they were acting not only to maintain their own, but also the king's, lordship in Ireland.

(B) The de Clare lords of Thomond: king's agents by another name

Thomas and Richard de Clare were as much royal servants as territorial magnates in Ireland. This will be demonstrated through an examination of the offices which they held in the lordship of Ireland. Their personal involvement in Ireland extended to their lordship of Thomond, of which they were the active military heads. This facet of their lordship is discussed in Chapter 5 to provide a contrast with the organisation of military defence on the lordships of Carlow, Kilkenny and Wexford. The commitment of Thomas and Richard de Clare to their Irish lands reflected their extent and value relative to the lands they held in England after c.1278. For example, the English lands of Gilbert, son of Thomas de Clare were valued at just over £18 in 1307.⁵⁹ In contrast, the de Clares's Irish lands were variously valued at some £357 (1288), £414 (1287-9), £379 (1289-91), £203 (1296-9) and £551 (1321) respectively.⁶⁰

Both Thomas and Richard de Clare served the king by holding administrative office in Ireland. In this they differed from the English earls who held land in Leinster. This mode of service probably owed more to Thomas's background as a household knight than to the greater amount of time which he and his son spent in Ireland relative to that spent by the lords of Carlow, Kilkenny and Wexford. Nevertheless, the weight which both Thomas and Richard carried as major landholders in Ireland can only have been a

⁵⁹ PRO C134/2/18; *CIPM*, v, 44. Richard de Clare even sold the stewardship of the forest of Essex (*CPR*, 1317-21, p.239).

⁶⁰ PRO C133/43/5; *CIPM*, ii, 696; *37DKR*, pp.35-6, 42 (PR 16 Ed I); *38DKR*, p.39 (PR 25 Ed I); PRO C134/67/2; *CIPM*, vi, 275.

positive factor in the execution of these offices (below), which they usually attended to in person.

Table 10: Offices held by Thomas de Clare in Ireland

Office held	Performed in Person?	Dates of tenure
Sheriff of Limerick	No	Sep 1274 – June 1276
Chancellor of Ireland	Yes	Michaelmas 1275
Justice of Dublin bench	Yes	Summer 1276
Member king's Irish council	Yes	c.1280
Service on commissions	Yes	1274 – 1286 <i>passim</i>

There are several reasons which can be put forward to explain the frequency with which Thomas de Clare held office in the lordship of Ireland during the 1270s and 1280s. First, Thomas had a wealth of military and diplomatic experience to draw upon. He fought during the Barons Wars and went on crusade with Lord Edward and in both enterprises acquitted himself well. He was also employed as a royal envoy for affairs touching the Agenais between 1272 and 1273.⁶¹ Second, he was a man of some capability: he had attended Oxford where he had received training for a possible clerical career.⁶² This training at Oxford makes his apparent service as chancellor of Ireland more believable. The evidence that Thomas held this position comes from a list in a *coram rege* case transcribed and translated by Sweetman, but which has not been taken at face value.⁶³ Fromund le Brun, the chancellor given in the lists compiled by Richardson and Sayles, may have been otherwise occupied, however. This at least was the case on another occasion at Easter 1276 when he explained that he had been precluded from auditing an account for Christiana de Mariscis by 'the multiplicity of the K.'s business'.⁶⁴ Thomas may well have temporarily held the post of chancellor, then, as William de Vescy held the post of keeper of the seal in 1291⁶⁵ despite being justiciar. Third, Thomas had held other responsible posts in England and therefore had experience, which it was sensible for the king or the Dublin administration to utilise in Ireland. For example, Edward I had instructed the mayor and bailiffs of London to receive Thomas 'in the king's place to aid and counsel them concerning the defence and custody of the city' in 1273.⁶⁶

⁶¹ Altschul, *The Clares*, pp.188-9.

⁶² *Ibid.*, pp.187-8.

⁶³ Cf. Frame, *English lordship*, p.90.

⁶⁴ *Admin. Ire.*, p.92; *CDI, 1252-84*, no.1207. Cf. Ingamells, 'Household knights of Edward I', ii, 17.

⁶⁵ *Admin. Ire.*, p.93.

⁶⁶ *CCR, 1272-9*, p.10.

Fourth, as a member of Edward's *familia* both before and after his accession to the throne, Thomas was high in the royal favour. Certain posts that he held in England, such as the stewardship of royal forests,⁶⁷ can be seen as grants of patronage; and his receipt of the shrievalty of Limerick, which he fulfilled through deputies, could also be seen in the light of a sinecure, although it sat well with his position as lord of Thomond.⁶⁸

Lastly, and most importantly in terms of the connections between Edward and Ireland, Thomas' household background probably recommended him to the head of the Dublin administration throughout most of the 1270s. During this period the justiciarship of Ireland was held by Geoffrey de Geneville (1273-6) and Robert de Ufford (1276-1281), both household knights who, like Thomas, had been on crusade with Edward. The office of sheriff of Limerick must have come to Thomas through his connection with the justiciar, especially since the king had empowered de Geneville to appoint new sheriffs in certain counties including Limerick.⁶⁹ It was also during de Geneville's justiciarship that Thomas acted with most frequency on commissions. He was involved in treating with O'Connor for a lease of Connacht; undertook a commission of *oyer et terminer* to investigate the activities of the seneschal of Ulster; was involved in a commission investigating the death of William de St. Nicholas, chaplain; and was commissioned to provide Walter de Pembroke with an ecclesiastical benefice.⁷⁰ It was also during this period that Thomas apparently acted as chancellor of Ireland, as well as fulfilling the post of justice of the Dublin bench.⁷¹ Moreover, it was Thomas to whom de Geneville entrusted the responsibility of taking news of his problems as justiciar and of the state of the lordship to the king in England in May 1276.⁷² Thomas acted with Ufford to bring a

⁶⁷ Altschul, *The Clares*, pp.189-90. See, for example, *CPR*, 1272-81, p.29; *CCR*, 1272-9, pp.140, 165; *CCR*, 1279-88, p.276.

⁶⁸ *36DKR*, pp.39-40 (PR 5 Ed I).

⁶⁹ *CPR*, 1272-81, p.57, 149. Thomas was also granted the custody of lands in Limerick (*37DKR*, p.29 (PR 16 Ed I)). It seems more likely that Thomas owed his temporary position as chancellor to his association with de Geneville than to his friendship with Robert Burnell, the chancellor of England, as suggested by Ball, *The Judges in Ireland*, i, 19.

⁷⁰ *CPR*, 1272-81, pp.96, 117 (*CDI*, 1252-84, no.1091 relates to the same matter), 152; *CDI*, 1252-84, no.1196. Thomas had been employed as a mediator by the king earlier in England (*CCR*, 1272-9, p.217).

⁷¹ *CDI*, 1252-84, no.1163, p.203; *CCR*, 1272-9, p.304.

⁷² PRO SC1/18/13.

report before the king in Easter 1280 on the progress of a plea in Ireland. He also probably advised Ufford in his capacity as a member of the king's council in Ireland, in which role he witnessed an exchange of land between the king and the bishop of Killaloe.⁷³

Although Thomas did not have a household connection with Stephen Fulburne, the justiciar who succeeded Ufford, he had acted with him in the investigation into the activities of William fitz Warin, seneschal of Ulster.⁷⁴ During Fulburne's justiciarship Thomas acted with the escheator to secure a loan for the Welsh war from the lay and ecclesiastical communities of Ireland 'conjointly or separately'; the importance of this commission is evident from the fact that it was to take precedence over all Thomas's other affairs.⁷⁵ It was also during Fulburne's justiciarship that Thomas was entrusted with a commission alongside Geoffrey de Geneville and the archbishop elect of Dublin 'to let the K.'s waste lands in Connacht...and to enfeoff men thereof'.⁷⁶ A year later in 1286 Thomas entered into an agreement alongside Richard de Burgh, earl of Ulster, which may have related to the control of highland warriors brought into Connacht by Aedh O'Connor, warriors who may have contributed to the wasted nature of the king's lands.⁷⁷ This argument is tenuous but if it did apply to Connacht then it was commendable of Thomas since he was more usually opposed to the de Burgh family.⁷⁸ The last evidence of Thomas's involvement in judicial affairs also dates from 1286

⁷³ *CCR*, 1279-88, p.55; *CDI*, 1252-84, nos.1648, 1663.

⁷⁴ Thomas did not necessarily have good personal relations with Fulburne, however (see *CDI*, 1252-84, no.2365).

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, nos.1980-1; *CVCR*, p.239.

⁷⁶ *CDI*, 1285-92, no.137.

⁷⁷ Claffey, 'Richard de Burgh', pp.103-4, 106, 108-9; see also F. M. Powicke, *The Thirteenth century, 1216-1307* (Oxford, 1962), p.598n1. For Aed O'Connor and gallowglasses see Seán Duffy, 'The Bruce brothers and the Irish sea world, 1306-29', *CMCS* 21 (1991), 69-70. Richard de Clare killed a large number of gallowglasses in 1311. These had presumably been employed against Richard (*St. Mary's Abbey*, ii, 340; Dowling, *Annals*, pp.18-19; Gwynn, 'Unpublished texts from the Black Book of Christ Church, Dublin', p.337).

⁷⁸ The agreement is known as the Turnberry band because it was made at Turnberry on 20 September 1286. It bound several important Scottish magnates, including Robert Bruce, and the steward of Scotland, to give unfailing support to Richard de Burgh and Thomas de Clare in all their enterprises and against all their adversaries saving the magnates' fealty to Edward I and whoever should assume the throne of Scotland. It has also been interpreted as an attempt by the Bruces to secure support in the event of civil war in Scotland (A. A. M. Duncan, 'The Community of the realm of Scotland and Robert Bruce: a review', *Scottish Historical Review* 45 (1966), 188; Prestwich, *Edward I*, pp.359-60).

when a commission was renewed to him and Robert Bagod to inquire in counties Cork, Waterford, Tipperary and Limerick regarding the death of a burgess of Cork who had been under the king's special protection.⁷⁹ Both Thomas and his brother Gilbert de Clare, earl of Gloucester, then, were employed by the king on commissions of a non-military nature in Ireland. Thomas's contribution was more significant in terms of the number of commissions he served on and the length of time he spent in Ireland, but the importance of Gilbert de Clare's presence at the hearing between de Vescy and fitz Thomas in 1294 was probably increased by the fact that he was usually absent from the lordship.

Thomas's eldest son Gilbert did not visit Ireland and so was not employed in any capacity within the lordship.⁸⁰ However Richard de Clare, who succeeded his absentee elder brother in 1308, did hold office in the lordship of Ireland. Richard lent his weight to decisions reached at the Kilkenny parliament of 1310. For example, the decision to excommunicate all who willingly disturbed the king's peace was announced in the presence of Richard de Burgh, John Wogan and Richard de Clare amongst others.⁸¹ He also held the office of the sheriff of Cork for half of the time during which he had seisin of his father's lands.⁸² Richard's terms of office as sheriff of Cork (1309, 1312-16)⁸³ were interspersed by terms when William de Cauneton held the office.⁸⁴ Richard de Clare used deputies during his first term of office,⁸⁵ and may have done so during his second term. He was unable to render his account at the Dublin exchequer in 1312 because he was engaged in war against the Irish of Thomond.⁸⁶ It was natural that his role as lord of Thomond should take precedence over his duties as sheriff of Cork.

⁷⁹ *CDI*, 1285-92, no.206.

⁸⁰ Had Gilbert travelled to Ireland he might have been so employed since it was intended that he should be one of those accompanying the prince of Wales to France to aid the conclusion of a peace between Edward I and Philip IV of France (*CCR*, 1302-7, pp.530-1; see also TCD V.1.7. Shaw-Mason MS f.34).

⁸¹ *Statutes and Ordinances*, p.275.

⁸² Although Richard had a contemporary namesake in Ireland (NAI KB2/9, p.19), it is clear that it was Richard de Clare, lord of Thomond, who held the shrievalty (for example, see NAI EX1/2, m43d).

⁸³ These are the dates given by Altschul, *The Clares*, p.196. See also *39DKR*, p.73 (PR 10 Edward II).

⁸⁴ NAI EX1/1, m3, m51d.; NAI EX2/3, pp.462, 469-70; NAI RC8/5, pp.74-6, 152; NAI RC8/7, p.40; Craig, 'Memoranda roll of the Irish exchequer', A46 n10; H. F. Berry, 'Sheriffs of county Cork - Henry III to 1660', *JRSAI* 35 (1905), 44.

⁸⁵ Craig, 'Memoranda roll of the Irish exchequer', A609 n10; NAI EX1/1, m31.

⁸⁶ NAI RC8/7, p.10.

Richard probably did perform some of this second term in person. Westropp noted that Richard spent the autumn, winter and early spring of 1316/17 at Cork 'of which he was sheriff'.⁸⁷ Richard, 'perhaps the most distinguished of all the earlier sheriffs in the roll for county Cork',⁸⁸ brought weight to the office when he performed any of its duties in person.

* * *

De Clare lordship of Thomond contributed to the management of Ireland through Thomas and Richard de Clare's preparedness to act as agents of royal control and of the king's peace,⁸⁹ roles which no doubt helped to reinforce their fledgling authority in the area. As Frame has argued, the de Clares 'acted as pillars of the English interest in south-west Ireland.'⁹⁰ And the English kings were pleased with the de Clares, not only as office-holders, but also in their role as landholders. Edward II's regard for Richard de Clare's exertions, especially against the Bruces, was considerable: he pardoned Richard £1000 of debt 'for his great labour and cost in repelling the Scotch in Ireland'; and he also granted him the custody of the de Clare liberty of Kilkenny.⁹¹ And Edward I was full of praise for his former household knight, writing in 1282 that he 'much commends his diligence in preserving the peace of Ireland...and that when Thomas shall come to England...the K[ing] will exhibit himself gracious and favourable in regard to matters which Thomas desires to promote.'⁹²

(C) Lesser English lords and rule in Ireland: contrasting patterns

The grouping 'lesser English lords' is a catch-all one, intended to embrace all those lords below the level of men such as Bigod, de Clare and de Valence who held land in both England and Ireland, but primarily in England. In order to reduce this group to a

⁸⁷ TCD MS 975, 76a.

⁸⁸ Berry, 'Sheriffs of county Cork', p.42.

⁸⁹ For example see *CPR, 1272-81*, p.264.

⁹⁰ Frame, *English lordship*, pp.52-3.

⁹¹ Frame, 'The Bruces in Ireland', p.95; *AH 36* (1995) C81, 185; NAI RC8/7, pp.171-2, 584; *AH 34* (1987), 34; Flower, 'Manuscripts of Irish interest', p.335. A grant of the custody of the de Clare liberty of Kilkenny aided both Richard, by increasing his resources, and the king, who made him responsible for the defence of the lands and castles of this important area.

⁹² *CDI, 1252-84*, no.2005.

manageable size, those lords who were summoned to the defence of the lordship of Ireland in January 1317, and whose lands lay primarily in England, are taken as the core of this part of the thesis.⁹³ This is because these lords form a convenient group to study. This discussion of the involvement of lesser English lords in Ireland will mainly look at whether these lords visited the lordship and undertook military action there. The areas of office-holding and defensive building will not be discussed in any detail due to the paucity of evidence.⁹⁴ As with other categories of lords, where possible an attempt will be made to relate the involvement of lesser English lords in Ireland to the value of their lands in the lordship relative to that of their entire inheritance.

These lesser English lords can be broadly split into two groups: those who responded positively to the writ of January 1317 and those who did not. It is difficult to subdivide these groups any further as the circumstances in which lesser English lords held Irish lands were different in each case. For some of the lords who did not respond positively to the writ of 1317, the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries witnessed a drop in their level of involvement in Ireland; a drop which was not, however, necessarily long-term. For others, this period witnessed a more or less constant level of involvement in their Irish lands. The best way to approach the Irish landholding of the lesser English lords, then, is to deal with each case in turn.

Of the lords considered here, only four responded positively to the writ of January 1317. The men in question were Baldwin le Fleming, Herbert de Marisco, John Wogan

⁹³ John de Hastings and Thomas of Brotherton, who were summoned in 1317, have been discussed under the grouping of major English lords.

⁹⁴ Other than John Wogan and Adam de Creting (discussed under the grouping of household knights) there is little definite evidence of a lesser English landholder in this period who held a royal administrative post in Ireland and fulfilled its duties in person. The exception is Gilbert de Bohun, younger brother of the earl of Hereford, who was sent to Ireland by the king to act as *custos* of Kilkenny and who also served as constable of Kilkenny castle (*CDI, 1293-1301*, nos.381, 386, 482). Thomas de la Roche was sheriff of Cork and Connacht, but he may have deputed his offices since no grants of protection or attorneys remain which suggest that he was in Ireland during his tenure of them (*CDI, 1285-92*, nos.120, 123). Sweetman contains a reference to William de Grandison as the *locum tenens* of the justiciar in affairs touching the merchants of Lucca in c.1289-90 (*CDI, 1285-92*, nos.830, p.375). However, the justiciarship in question is almost certainly that of Wales since a letter of c.1288 names William as the lieutenant of the justiciar of Wales (*PRO SC1/13/57*) and since William's brother, Otto de Grandison, was the justice of North Wales at this time.

(discussed briefly as justiciar of Ireland in Chapter 2), and John Maltravers. Both Baldwin le Fleming and Herbert de Marisco may have held lands in Ireland which outstripped their English lands in value. If their Irish lands were the more valuable, it adds fuel to the idea that involvement in the management of Ireland was more willingly undertaken by those English lords whose holdings in Ireland constituted a greater part of their overall resources.

Table 11: Lesser English Lords and their participation in Ireland, c.1272-c.1318

Lesser English Lord	Visited Ireland? ⁹⁵	Held Office?	Undertook Military Action?	Summoned as absentee in 1317?
Thomas de Multon	1305		Yes	Yes
Herbert de Marisco	1310; 1317		Yes (in response to 1317 summons)	Yes
Baldwin le Fleming	1316		Yes (in response to 1317 summons)	Yes
John Maltravers	1281-3; 1299; 1310; 1316 (son)		Yes (in response to 1317 summons)	Yes
Gilbert de Bohun	1297 -1310	Yes - in Kilkenny liberty		Yes
John de Carreu	1278, 1284, 1288-92 (father); 1308, 1318		Probably (father)	Yes
William de Caumville	1278, 1291, 1299 (father); 1313-1314/15			Yes
John de Erlegh	1299, 1316			Yes
W. de Fiennes				Yes
William de Grandison				Yes
Thomas de la Roche	1295 (father); 1315	Sheriff of Cork, 1285-92, and of Connacht, 1285-92 (father)	Possibly (both)	Yes
William de la Zouche of Haringworth				Yes

In fact we do not know the value of Baldwin le Fleming's Irish lands. Whilst extents exist for his lands in Cornwall and Devon, similar information is not available for his

⁹⁵ The main evidence for this is based on grants of attorneys and protections taken out whilst staying in or going to Ireland. This evidence is problematic because protections and grants of attorneys that might have been granted do not necessarily remain extant. Another problem is that many people must have travelled to Ireland without taking out such protections and grants of attorneys. The more important an individual was in terms of wealth, the more likely he or she was to take such legal precautions. Further, it is not always clear whether those who sought a grant of attorneys and/or protection because they intended to journey to Ireland actually went.

lordship of Slane in Meath.⁹⁶ He was clearly of importance in an Irish context, however, since he was named after Richard de Clare in a letter requesting Anglo-Irish lords to attend to defence in the face of the Bruce invasion.⁹⁷ And the fact that he was summoned as an Anglo-Irish lord also suggests that his lands in Ireland were extensive. He was probably already in the lordship of Ireland when the summons of January 1317 was issued since he had appointed attorneys for England in June 1316 because he was going to Ireland.⁹⁸ This indicates the importance of the lordship of Slane to him. And the grants of attorneys and protections taken out prior to 1316 may well have been required for his English lands whilst he was absent in Ireland.⁹⁹

More information survives about the value of the lands held by Herbert de Marisco in Tipperary and Somerset. From an extent held in 1319 it can be calculated that his lands in Tipperary contributed some fifty-seven percent of the value of his lands in England and Ireland.¹⁰⁰ It is, therefore, not surprising to find that Herbert left England for the lordship in April or May 1317,¹⁰¹ or that he had previously visited Ireland in 1310.¹⁰² Herbert's interest in his Irish inheritance is also clear from his actions in disseising other landholders of their tenements, and the frequency with which he entered into litigation in the lordship in general.¹⁰³ His commitment to his Irish lands was not one that he

⁹⁶ For example see *CIPM*, iii, 31; *CIPM*, iii, 604; *CIPM*, iv, 35.

⁹⁷ *Foedera*, iii, 510-11.

⁹⁸ *CPR*, 1313-17, p.480.

⁹⁹ None of these grants specify either the country or the reason for which they were needed. He was certainly in Ireland in 1310 (NAI EX1/1, m41).

¹⁰⁰ PRO C133/39/7; *CIPM*, ii, 531.

¹⁰¹ *CPR*, 1313-17, p.646.

¹⁰² *CPR*, 1307-13, p.230.

¹⁰³ NAI KB1/1, 6v, 11r, 53r; NAI EX2/2, pp.303-4; NAI RC7/1, pp.359-61; NAI RC7/2, p.30; NAI RC7/10, pp.118, 413; NAI RC7/11, p.135; NAI RC7/12, pp.195-6, 228-30, 284-5, 413; NAI RC7/13/2, pp.34-5; NAI RC7/13/4, p.40; NAI RC8/8, pp.4, 30, 130, 277; NAI RC8/11, pp.369-70.

inherited, however. His grandfather, William, had rather sought to increase his landed stake in Somerset at the expense of his lands in Tipperary.¹⁰⁴

John Maltravers was another lord who responded positively to the writ of 1317. In his case neither lands nor commitment to Ireland were heritable quantities since John does not seem to have owned land in Ireland until 1281. In this year (1281) he granted a life interest in the manor of Wolcomb Maltravers, Dorset to Roger Waspayl in return for a grant in fee of all Roger's rights in his lands in county Limerick.¹⁰⁵ John probably visited these new lands in Ireland in 1281-3, 1299, 1310 and 1316.¹⁰⁶ These trips probably reflected needs to administer and defend his lands since two men accompanied him in 1281, and three in 1299. Although direct evidence of military action being undertaken is for the most part lacking, it does not seem unreasonable to conclude that he took his responsibilities to defend his lands seriously. Indeed, John Maltravers' son, another John, also journeyed to Ireland in 1316 and appointed attorneys in December 1317 because he was staying in the lordship on the king's service at the king's command, presumably a reference to his inclusion in the writ of January 1317.¹⁰⁷ This active interest in their Irish lands continued on the part of the Maltravers family into the later fourteenth century when they seem to have regarded their Irish lands as suitable lands for younger sons.¹⁰⁸ Unfortunately, it is not possible to gauge the relative value of their lands in Limerick since extents have only survived for their lands in England.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁴ *CDI*, 1252-84, no.2090. William had exchanged 20marks of annual rent in Tipperary for the tenement of Estricheholt in la Pole in Somerset with Alexander Crok. However, William lost seisin of this tenement in Somerset to Alexander's grandson, Maurice, and received compensation from the lands of Maurice's father, Nicholas, in Ireland.

¹⁰⁵ *CDI*, 1252-84, no.1778.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, nos.1829, 1868; *CDI*, 1293-1301, nos.580-1; *CPR*, 1307-13, p.281; *CPR*, 1313-17, p.508.

¹⁰⁷ *CPR*, 1313-17, p.480; *CPR* 1317-21, p.64.

¹⁰⁸ Frame, *English lordship*, pp.61-2.

¹⁰⁹ For example see PRO C133/79/4; *CIPM*, ii, 689; *CIPM*, iii, 404, 544; *CIPM*, iv, 127, 184; *CIPM*, v, 263, 607. In 1297 John's English lands were valued at £49 13s. 7½d.

More numerous are the lords for whom no evidence of a positive response to the writ of 1317 remains. It was, however, arguably reasonable for these lords to leave the defence of their lands to the Anglo-Irish and the soldiers raised for the Hothum (1315-16) and Mortimer (1317-18) missions, most of whom had no interest in the lordship.¹¹⁰ English landholders, after all, were subject to summonses to defend the lands of the king (and others) in Scotland, Wales and Gascony where they did not necessarily have any interest.

It is, of course, possible that some of these lords did journey to Ireland in 1317 and that no evidence remains. This seems likely in the case of Thomas de Multon (d.1321), lord of the liberty of Egremont in Cumberland and of an unspecified amount of land in Ireland. Thomas held at least one knight's fee in the barony of Any, county Limerick, and another fee jointly with Maurice de Carreu in county Cork. The knight's fee in Any was an inheritance from his mother, Edmunda de Butler.¹¹¹ He was concerned about the maintenance of his rights in Limerick as the appearance of his name in relation to cases concerning his inheritance there shows.¹¹² Thomas himself was married to Eleanor, the eldest daughter of Richard de Burgh, earl of Ulster, in 1297¹¹³ and this union probably brought Thomas more lands in Ireland in form of a dowry. Thomas was at any rate

¹¹⁰ Only two of the knights, Henry Mortimer and John Wogan, accompanying Roger Mortimer had definite interests in the lordship (*CDI*, 1302-7, no.574; *CDI*, 1252-84, nos.1096, 1109; *CPR*, 1313-17, p.660). Seven men had possible familial links with the lordship (*CPR*, 1313-17, pp.277, 620, 635, 650, 660; *CIPM*, vi, 54, 518; *CIPM*, vii, 67; *CDI*, 1252-84, p.180; *CDI*, 1285-92, no.114; *CDI*, 1293-1301, nos.53, 75; *CDI*, 1302-7, no.129; *CPR*, 1307-13, p.280). The remaining thirty-three had no discernible connection with Ireland. Indeed, Mortimer arranged for 1000 Genoese soldiers to come to defend the lordship (Otway-Ruthven, *Med. Ire.*, p.232), although I am not aware of any evidence that they arrived in Ireland. For other failed plans involving Genoese see Colm McNamee, *The Wars of the Bruces. Scotland, England and Ireland 1306-1328* (East Linton, Scotland, 1997), p.181. For the Hothum mission see J. R. S. Phillips, 'The Mission of John de Hothum to Ireland, 1315-1316', in Lydon ed. *England and Ireland*, pp.62-85.

¹¹¹ *CIPM*, vi, 275; *CDI*, 1252-84, no.1080; *CIPM*, ii, 696.

¹¹² NAI RC7/7, pp.436, 439-40; NAI RC7/9, pp.399-400, 443; NAI RC7/10, pp.92, 162-3, 262, 376-7, 585-6; NAI RC7/11, pp.303-4, 316, 321, 504-5; NAI RC7/13/3, pp.43-5, 90, 93, 95.

¹¹³ *Complete Peerage*, ix, 404.

involved in pleas concerning land in Kildare, Cork and Connacht,¹¹⁴ and these lands may have come from his marriage. Unfortunately, it is not possible to calculate the discrepancy in value between his lands in England and in Ireland - the extent for Ireland is missing and that for England is incomplete. His English lands, valued at more than £180 in 1323, may well have exceeded his Irish lands in value.¹¹⁵

There is no evidence that Thomas responded to the writ of 1317, but it would have been in keeping with his interest in his Irish lands if he had. In 1305-6 he had taken a retinue of nineteen men, including two knights, to the lordship of Ireland;¹¹⁶ an action that may have been undertaken to aid his father-in-law, Richard de Burgh, in his defence of his lands in Ulster and/or Connacht.¹¹⁷ He did, then, fulfil the duties of defence incumbent upon a landholder. His general absence from Ireland was dictated by his duties as a household knight which involved him in an almost uninterrupted defence of the Scottish border between 1297 and 1315.¹¹⁸

Neither John de Carreu nor John de Erlegh seem to have responded to the writ of January 1317. This is not surprising because the period from 1272 to c.1317 witnessed a clear downshift in the level of interest displayed by them in their Irish lands. Less

¹¹⁴ NAI RC7/10, pp.376-7; NAI RC7/13/3, pp.43-5; NAI RC7/13/4, p.3. *Calendar of the Gormanston Register c.1175-1397* (Dublin, 1916), pp.111-116 lists certain additional manors held by Thomas's son, John, in Ireland but there is no evidence that they had previously been held by Thomas. It was apt that Thomas should hold lands in the west march of northern England and in Ireland since the situation in both regions, where 'lordship...created the profitability of the estates', was similar (I. Hall, 'The Lords and lordships of the English west march: Cumberland and Westmoreland c.1250-1350' (Ph.D. Thesis, Durham University, 1986), p.58).

¹¹⁵ PRO C134/71/1; *CIPM*, vi, 331. The inquisition is damaged; the sums relating to the knights' fees for Cumberland are missing; and the value of four knights' fees in Lincolnshire omitted. A sum of £156 was transferred from Ireland to Cumberland in 1312-13 (NAI RC8/6, p.264). The length of time over which this money had been gathered, however, cannot be known.

¹¹⁶ *CDI*, 1302-7, nos.356, 402; PRO SC1/26/1.

¹¹⁷ Richard de Burgh was concerned with defensive operations in 1305-6 (*CDI*, 1302-7, nos.416, 434, 453). It was likely that Thomas, concerned with household duties, travelled to Ireland from Scotland and returned thence which might suggest action in the more northern part of the lordship.

¹¹⁸ See also TCD V. 1. 7. Shaw-Mason MS fols.27-9.

predictable was the renewed interest shown by both these families in their lands in Ireland later in the fourteenth century. The failure of English lords to respond to the writ of 1317 did not, therefore, necessarily signal a complete curtailment of commitment to lands held in Ireland.

John de Carreu, for example, spent much less time in Ireland, where he held the barony of Idrone in Carlow for five knights' fees,¹¹⁹ than did his father, Nicholas. Nicholas may have spent up to seven years in the lordship between 1278 and 1305,¹²⁰ despite a career which also took him (and his son, John) to France in the entourage of Aymer de Valence, sent to negotiate a marriage treaty for Edward I in 1299,¹²¹ and to Scotland where he served as constable of Bothwell castle (Strathclyde) for Aymer in 1302.¹²² In contrast, his son, John, visited Ireland only twice: in 1308, the year after his father's death, and again in May 1318, when the Bruce invasion was effectively over.¹²³ John's greater concentration upon his English lands is understandable. Although he held more land in Ireland than his father had, the increase had come from lands inherited by his wife, a daughter and co-heiress of William de Mohun; but this inheritance had increased his English land holdings even further.¹²⁴ As a result of this, John's career was refocused upon Somerset, where he served as a commissioner of the peace and on a number of miscellaneous commissions, and Dorset, where he served as sheriff.¹²⁵ It was such duties in the king's service in England which occupied John during the years of the

¹¹⁹ *CIPM*, iv, 434; *Knights' Fees*, pp.60-2. It was probably another John de Carreu who held a knight's fee of Thomas de Clare in the barony of Any (*CIPM*, ii, 696; *CIPM*, vi, 275; *CJR*, iii, 135-6,139).

¹²⁰ *CDI*, 1252-84, nos.1441, 2355-6; *CDI*, 1285-92, nos.430, 687, 1065; *CDI*, 1302-7, no.398; *CPR*, 1307-13, p.142; *CPR*, 1317-21, p.143.

¹²¹ *CPR*, 1292-1301, pp.399, 420, 444; Phillips, *Aymer de Valence*, p.23.

¹²² Phillips, *Aymer de Valence*, p.293.

¹²³ Walter de Bluet (in person) and Thomas de Brotherton (by attorney) likewise investigated the damage to their lands after the danger had passed (*CPR*, 1317-21, pp.122, 125, 143).

¹²⁴ PRO C133/30/8; *CIPM*, ii, 436. At £81 3s. 7d., William de Mohun's Irish lands formed some thirty two percent of his total landed income according to an extent of 1282.

Bruce Invasion. Yet despite John's relative lack of interest in his Irish lands,¹²⁶ his descendant John de Carreu, was escheator of the lordship between 1349 and 1358.¹²⁷

The story of the de Erlegh family who held land in Kilkenny and Somerset is not dissimilar, although their relative lack of interest in their Irish lands seems to have started earlier.¹²⁸ No de Erleghs appear in Sweetman's *Calendar of Documents Relating to Ireland* other than as a detail in an inquisition *post mortem* of the estates of one of the major lords. No grants of attorneys or protections were taken out by Henry de Erlegh, John's father, for his Irish lands. It may, however, be that he did visit the lordship of Ireland but without paying for a grant of attorneys or protection. In this event no trace of a journey to Ireland would remain in the chancery rolls; a scenario which helps to explain why relatively obscure families and individuals of the time remain obscure to historians who lack a parchment trail with which to track their subjects' activities. John de Erlegh did appoint attorneys for his Irish lands between 1299 and 1316¹²⁹ but again no concrete evidence of his having visited these lands remains and the family name does not occur among the records of the courts of the lordship. John was more active in the king's service elsewhere, campaigning in Scotland in 1299 and at least finding a knight to serve at his cost in Gascony in 1297.¹³⁰ Nevertheless, despite John de Erlegh's relative lack of interest in his Irish lands, his son, John, seems to have been resident on the family lands in Kilkenny in the early 1320s.¹³¹

¹²⁵ *CPR, 1307-13*, pp.66, 339; *CCR, 1307-13*, p.205; *CPR, 1313-17*, pp.49, 123, 299, 317, 319, 406, 471, 505, 529, 593, 597, 679, 689, 693; *CCR, 1313-18*, p.395.

¹²⁶ There are only a few references to John being involved in pleas of land in Ireland (NAI RC7/5, pp.104, 157; NAI RC7/6, pp.13, 187).

¹²⁷ *Admin. Ire.*, p.128; Frame, *English lordship*, p.266n11.

¹²⁸ The Erleghs's lands comprised three-quarter's of a knight's fee in Earlstown and Coyllagh, co. Kilkenny (*Knights' Fees*, p.243) and various lands in Somerset held by (amongst other things) the service of two knights' fees (*CIPM*, vi, 505).

¹²⁹ *CDI, 1293-1301*, no.580; *CDI, 1302-7*, no.26; *CPR, 1307-13*, pp.78, 285, 589; *CPR, 1313-17*, p.471.

¹³⁰ *CCR, 1296-1302*, pp.32, 44; *CCR, 1302-7*, p.360.

¹³¹ Frame, *English lordship*, p.62.

In at least one case a family who did not respond to the summons maintained a more or less constant level of interest in their Irish lands. Neither William de la Zouche of Haringworth nor his mother, Milicent de Montalt visited their lands in Leinster,¹³² preferring to deal with administrative or legal problems through the appointment of attorneys.¹³³ A similar level of interest in their Irish lands might also have existed on the part of Thomas de la Roche, father and son. The elder Thomas de la Roche was sheriff of both Connacht and Cork, in name at least, between 1285 and 1292.¹³⁴ The first evidence of his going to Ireland, however, probably to make account for his terms of office, dates from 1295.¹³⁵ The debt he owed as sheriff of Cork could not be levied from his lands in Ireland which were waste, and had to be levied from his lands in England and Wales.¹³⁶ Thomas de la Roche, the son, visited the lordship probably in June 1315.¹³⁷ This journey may have been undertaken with the need to defend his lands in mind.

Unlike the de Erlegh and de Carreu families, a failure to respond to the summons of 1317 could be symptomatic of a family's declining interest in their Irish lands. William de Caumville and William de Grandison represent families whose interests in Ireland declined during the period in question and did not revive subsequently. William de

¹³² They held one thirtieth (a half of a third of a fifth) of the Marshal inheritance (Orpen, *Normans*, iii, 103, 105).

¹³³ *CDI*, 1252-84, nos.1659, 1915, 1917, 2157, 2211; *CDI*, 1285-92, no.492; *CDI*, 1293-1301, nos.287, 482-3, 558; *CPR*, 1307-13, pp.60, 353; *CPR*, 1317-21, p.46.

¹³⁴ Thomas was appointed sheriff of Connacht for a term of seven years and sheriff of Cork for a term of five years (*CDI*, 1285-92, nos.120, 123). His tenure of the shrievalty of Cork was extended by the king for a further five years in 1290, but was interrupted in 1292 by an alternative appointment made by the justiciar. The king reappointed Thomas for a term of four years but this does not seem to have taken effect (*CDI*, 1285-92, nos.654, 1048, 1050).

¹³⁵ *CDI*, 1293-1301, no.88.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, no.387.

¹³⁷ *CPR*, 1313-17, p.300. The son was designated as 'Thomas of Wales'. An extent remains of their lands in Wales (*CIPM*, v, 64). During the minority of Reginald de Dene, Thomas de la Roche the father enjoyed the income from the whole of Reginald's inheritance and not just the dowered third which he was entitled to as the husband of Thomas de Dene's widow (*CDI*, 1285-1292, no.997; *CIPM*, iv, 434; *CIPM*, vi, 275).

Grandison displayed even less interest in his Irish lands than had his brother Otto who had endowed him with them (see Chapter 2, p.73). And William de Caumville visited Ireland only once, in 1313 (for between one to two years), whereas his father, Geoffrey, had visited the lordship on three occasions in 1278, 1291 (for up to two years) and 1299.¹³⁸ This downshift in the level of interest shown in their Irish lands by successive generations of the de Caumvilles is also borne out by the frequency with which Geoffrey appears in the records contesting small parcels of land, whilst William is absent from these records.¹³⁹

Ó Cléirigh has argued that the legislation enacted by the Dublin parliament of 1297 regarding defence led 'several absentees to divest themselves of property' in the lordship.¹⁴⁰ The examples he gives are Emelina de Longespée and Alan de la Zouche, who sold their interests in Ireland to the lord of Offaly. These examples are not representative of English landholders in Ireland, however.¹⁴¹ This small survey of English lords who held land in Ireland has shown that increased military burden did not necessarily encourage primarily English lords to pull out of the lordship. Some of the lesser English landholders summoned in 1317 did fail to fulfil their military duties, but

¹³⁸ *CDI*, 1252-84, no.1453; *CDI*, 1285-92, nos.933, 948; *CDI*, 1293-1301, no.581; *CPR*, 1307-13, p.558; *CPR*, 1313-17, p.28.

¹³⁹ The de Caumvilles held land in Cahir in Tipperary but their Irish lands do not feature in any inquisitions *post mortem* (Phillips, 'Anglo-Norman nobility', p.91; *CIPM*, ii, 76; *CIPM*, iii, 423; *CIPM*, v, 75, 143; *CIPM*, vi, 406). Geoffrey de Caumville contested land cases overwhelmingly in Tipperary, but at least one in each of Kildare and Limerick also (see for example NAI RC7/4, pp.102, 185, 446; NAI RC7/5, pp.98, 101-2, 145, 159, 401-2, 409-10, 472; NAI RC7/6, pp.14, 332, 447; NAI RC7/7, pp.47-8; NAI RC7/9, pp.267, 337, 340; NAI RC7/10, p.576; NAI RC7/11, p.151; NAI RC7/12, p.23; NAI RC7/13/3, p.45; KB1/2, m6r). There was an ongoing case between Geoffrey de Caumville and George de la Roche, which the king requested be speedily dealt with by the justices of the Dublin bench in 1304 (PRO SC1/12/157).

¹⁴⁰ Ó Cléirigh, 'The Problems of defence', p.46. Davies, *The First English empire*, pp.178-9 suggests that the Gaelic resurgence led to the withdrawal of several English landholders from Ireland. He includes Bigod and de Vescy in this list; this is misrepresentative of the means through which the English king came to hold their lands.

¹⁴¹ Ralph Pipard, for example, exchanged his Irish for English interests in this period but this was primarily due to the declining value of his lands (*CDI*, 1302-7, no.167). Other reasons included his declining health and disagreements with his heir (*ibid.*, no.149; *Complete Peerage*, x, 532-3). Davies,

they did not regard their Irish lands as sufficiently burdensome to cause them to withdraw from the lordship. Ó Cléirigh's assumption that the 1297 legislation led to the abandonment of Irish lands by English lords cannot be applied as a general rule. The legislation was, in fact, quite generally aimed at all landholders, whether based in England or Ireland, who did not defend their marches properly.

* * *

Attention should not be confined to those landholders listed as absentees by Edward II in January 1317 when considering the contribution made by lesser landholders to the defence of the English settlement in Ireland.¹⁴² This list, after all, probably did not constitute a preconceived royal idea of the more important absentees from the lordship of Ireland. The list was more likely to have been the result of pressure from the Dublin government on Edward II (as was to be the case with Edward III),¹⁴³ an interpretation which is reinforced by the delayed nature of the 1317 writ which was not issued until more than a year and a half after the Bruce invasion had begun. This writ, therefore, was most likely to have represented the lords whom the Dublin government regarded as the most culpable 'absentees' and whom they believed to be in England at that time. Whether there was a strong consciousness of absenteeism in the early fourteenth century is even to be doubted since the summons of 1317 was in response to the very particular circumstance of the Bruce invasion of Ireland.

The First English empire, pp.92-3 argues that the cultural and political differences between the English in Ireland and the native Irish were behind Pipard's withdrawal from the lordship.

¹⁴² The list is used here because it provides a convenient sample. Other men journeyed to Ireland in response to the Bruce Invasion. For example, Richard le Constantyn, Richard Loveday and John fitz Simon, who all held land in Ireland, were all present in the lordship (or journeyed to it) independently and prior to the mission of Roger Mortimer (*CPR, 1313-17*, pp.122, 333, 456, 526). Other men, some of whom were certainly 'absentees', left for Ireland later but were still independent of the main mission (*CPR, 1313-17*, pp.457-8, 618-19, 642; *CPR, 1317-21*, p.2; *CDI, 1252-84*, nos.1618, 2297).

¹⁴³ Frame, *English lordship*, p.55.

As in the case of the de Clare lords of Thomond (see Chapter 5), the lesser English landholders who did play a part in the maintenance of English rule in Ireland did so in person. Unlike the de Clares this did not reflect the fact that they spent a large amount of time in Ireland, but that they lacked the infrastructure and manpower of the lords of Carlow, Kilkenny and Wexford. The degree to which lesser English lords involved themselves in the maintenance and defence of their Irish lands was probably related to the value of their Irish lands relative to their lands held in England. The greater the percentage of a lord's income which his Irish lands generated, the greater was the probability that he would fulfil his duties of land ownership.

* * * * *

Absenteeism was a fact of life¹⁴⁴ at all levels in Ireland from the king of England and lord of Ireland to men such as John de Erlegh who did not even hold a knight's fee in the lordship. To talk of 'absentees' as if they were all the same is nonsense in terms of both the varying extents of their holdings in Ireland and the degree to which they were interested in those holdings. This was true among both the greater and lesser English landholders who held land in Ireland. It could also be true for the lords of the same lordship at different times (for example, the different attitude displayed toward Carlow by Roger Bigod and Thomas of Brotherton), and the varying levels of interest shown in Ireland by different generations of families such as the de Carreus.

English landholders in Ireland should not be judged for spending little time in the lordship. English, as well as Anglo-Irish, lords looked to the king as their centre and source of patronage. It is hardly surprising that their patterns of itineration tended to follow those of Edward I and II, neither of whom journeyed to Ireland. The kings of

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p.74.

England, represented by their administrators at Dublin, could afford to be absent from Ireland. The same was more or less true for the lords of Carlow, Kildare, Kilkenny and Wexford (see Chapter 4). Among the lesser English lords, whose Irish administrations were less complex, the need to attend to affairs in person was more pressing.

In this period, however, we are not dealing with 'absentees' in the pejorative sense of that word. In the years between 1272 and 1314 a good number of English lords acknowledged their responsibilities of defence in Ireland and responded to the king's orders to attend to Irish affairs, political or military. The same was not to be true of the typical English lords who held land in Ireland in the mid fourteenth century. Further, in this period, a whole swathe of land in south-west Ireland came under effective English rule for the first time (see Chapter 5). The de Clares in Thomond were the best but not the only example of English lords who sought to establish themselves as landholders in Ireland in this period. The example of John Maltravers has already been discussed. John Walhope was another English lord whose landholding in Ireland began in this period. He was awarded thirty librates of land in 1278 as a reward 'for his long service';¹⁴⁵ he intended to pursue this grant but unfortunately died in 1283.¹⁴⁶ Between those lords whose holdings in Ireland were established and who sought to retain them and the lords who sought to establish themselves in Ireland there is ample proof that English landholding in Ireland in this period was alive and, in the period before the Bruce invasion, well.

¹⁴⁵ *CDI, 1252-84*, no.1466. An extent taken in 1295 measured his lands at five and a half carucates (*CIPM*, iii, 288).

¹⁴⁶ *CDI, 1252-84*, nos.2002, 2083.

Chapter 4

The personnel of administration: English lords' estate officials in Ireland

Unless an English lord was prepared to make Ireland his base (and, indeed, even if he made Ireland his base), he would need some sort of administrative structure to look after his interests in the lordship. In the period in question, very few lords who were important in England made the lordship of Ireland their main base, the most obvious exceptions being Geoffrey de Geneville (who was married to a Lacy co-heiress of Meath in 1252) and Thomas de Clare (who received a speculative grant of Thomond in south-western Ireland in 1276). Neither Geoffrey nor Thomas had extensive landed interests in England, however: their importance in an English context stemmed from their position as intimates of Edward I. A lord whose main landed interests were in England was more likely not to visit Ireland at all, or at least, only rarely. This did not mean that these lords were necessarily neglecting their Irish lands, however, since most great lords 'were absent from most of their lands most of the time':¹ indeed, Roger Bigod, earl of Norfolk, only visited his manor of Forncett, Norfolk, on a three to four yearly basis.² The need for some sort of administration in Ireland for such lords, then, is apparent.

This administrative structure was not necessarily a complex one. For example, the name of the seneschal of Thomas de Multon, a landholder in Cumbria and Limerick, who looked after his Irish interests survives but his administration has left no further trace in the record sources.³ Similarly, Thomas de Clare's administration in Thomond has left virtually no trace in the records.⁴ This lack of record evidence could be a result of the military nature of the lordship of Thomas and Richard de Clare in Thomond. In

¹ Frame, *English lordship*, p.60. See also J. F. Baldwin, 'The Household administration of Henry Lacy and Thomas of Lancaster', *EHR* 42 (1927), 180.

² F. G. Davenport, *The Economic development of a Norfolk manor 1086-1565* (London, 1906), p.23.

³ *CJR*, ii, 435. In 1311-12 this position was held by Simon le Waleis and in 1317-18 it was held by John Tailor (NAI RC8/6, p.264; NAI KB1/1, m2).

⁴ See, for example, NAI EX2/2, p.413.

addition to the more agrarian focus of the Leinster liberties, their proximity to Dublin helped to ensure that relatively abundant information about them survived in the government records. And their proximity to Dublin, the complexity of their administrations, and the status of their lords as important English magnates were all factors in the creation of relatively large numbers of such records.⁵ Since Carlow, Kildare, Kilkenny and Wexford were among the English-held lordships in Ireland for which most evidence survives from the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, it is with these liberties that this chapter is primarily concerned. Good records also survive for the de Verdon liberty of Meath which has been recently been studied by Hagger.⁶

Evidence, then, survives to permit a study of the administrations of the liberties of Carlow, Kildare, Kilkenny and Wexford, and this is due in part to their complexity. Writing of an earlier period, Bartlett argued that it was not difficult for great magnates to 'establish large, quasi-autonomous estate administrations that would run their Irish lordships while they were in England'.⁷ By the late thirteenth century, the administrations of Carlow, Kilkenny and Wexford had been set up and running as individual units for about thirty years, following the division of the Marshal fief of Leinster. The situation was more complicated in Kildare, where the liberty was divided between the seven daughters of Sibyl Marshal. By 1272, however, Agnes de Vescy was, to all intents and purposes, lady of Kildare.⁸ Despite Bartlett's assertions that 'those in the middling stratum of the aristocracy' faced the brunt of administrative problems (catalogued as 'the provision of effective legal representation in both regions, the remittance of revenue, pirates, bad weather, spurious reports of death, and...the

⁵ Liberty status alone did not lead to the production of large numbers of records. Thomas de Clare, for example, held Bunratty as a liberty (Hand, *English Law in Ireland*, pp.131-2).

⁶ Hagger, 'De Verdun family'.

⁷ R. Bartlett, 'Colonial aristocracies of the high middle ages', in R. Bartlett and A. MacKay ed. *Medieval Frontier Societies* (Oxford, 1989), pp.39.

⁸ After a 'spirited quarrel' it was agreed that Agnes should appoint the seneschal, treasurer and sheriff and that these officers should swear fealty to the other co-parceners (A. J. Otway-Ruthven, 'The Medieval county of Kildare', *IHS* 11 (1958-9), pp.187-8).

sceptical attitude of the two exchequers involved'), these problems were in fact faced by all strata of landholders.⁹

Absentee and, indeed, resident landholders could only administer their lands through other individuals. This chapter will therefore focus on the men whom English lords employed to run their Irish estates. The attendant problem of how such agents could be controlled will also be dealt with. Attorneys, auditors, councils and personal intervention were all part of the equation and it will be seen that the men appointed to supervise a lord's administrators needed to be chosen with care. This was appreciated by Edward I who, for example, ordered the chancellor and treasurer of Ireland to assign 'a trustworthy companion to supervise and control' William fitz Warin's attorney who was charged with delivering William's lands into the king's hand and with auditing the accounts of William's bailiffs and receivers.¹⁰

The first section of this chapter will examine the officers of these administrations who were usually resident in Ireland. The second section will look at the group of officials who maintained contact between a lord's administration in England and Ireland.

(A) The resident officers: seneschals, treasurers and members of the council

(i) The seneschals

The seneschal was the most important of a lord's administrators. He was not only in overall charge of administration but in the case of liberties he also 'presided over the

⁹ Bartlett, 'Colonial aristocracies of the high middle ages', p.40. For example, William de Valence, the lord of Pembroke, sent one attorney to Ireland via Chester and another via Pembroke in December 1282 to combat the problem of dangerous seas (PRO SC1/24/157). And spurious reports of death affected both John de Meriet and Agnes de Valence (*CCR, 1307-13*, p.378; *CPR, 1307-13*, pp.57, 189, 201, 375; *CDI, 1302-7*, no.190). These problems were probably keener for the 'gentry with moderate interests' both for reasons of finance and influence. R. Frame, 'King Henry III and Ireland: the shaping of a peripheral lordship', *TCE* 4 (1991), 187-8 highlights the need for research in this area, especially at the level of lesser landholders.

¹⁰ *CCR, 1296-1302*, pp.176-7. William fitz Warin had been taken prisoner in Scotland.

chief court of the liberty' and acted as the 'principal military commander'.¹¹ A seneschal's duties were, indeed, not unlike those of the justiciar of Ireland, albeit on a smaller scale.¹² The important role played by the seneschal and, in particular, his interaction with the Dublin government as head of a liberty, had the fortuitous result of leaving references in the records of the lordship which show the identities of these officials. Therefore whilst only ten letters (or references to such letters) appointing named individuals to seneschalships are extant, the identities of the seneschals can be discovered from a variety of records which originated in Irish courts and the exchequer.¹³

More difficult to ascertain with any precision are the dates between which given seneschals held office. It is not unusual for a receipt roll to name more than one individual as the seneschal of a given liberty within the same term; for example, in Michaelmas term 1305, Maurice de Rocheford and Adam de la Roche are both named as seneschals of Wexford. In this instance, however, Maurice paid the debts of the lord of Wexford at the exchequer and the arrears of the account of Adam,¹⁴ thus indicating that Maurice was the current seneschal. It is from such details that terms of office are estimated.¹⁵ Although the receipt rolls usually refer to these men as *sen* (the abbreviation for seneschal) and not specifically as *senescallus libertatus*, it is likely that it was the seneschal of the liberty that is referred to and in many cases this is corroborated by the justiciary rolls. Other references for the identities of the seneschals

¹¹ Down, 'Colonial society and economy', p.466.

¹² K. B. McFarlane, *The Nobility of later medieval England*, p.47 described each estate administration with its lord at the head as 'a monarchy'. The seneschals' duties have been described as 'particularly onerous and important' (Altschul, *The Clares*, p.287).

¹³ For the letters and references to them see *CDI*, 1252-84, no.2032; *CDI*, 1293-1301, no.594; *CPR*, 1307-13, p.363; NAI RC8/5, pp.655-6; NAI RC8/7, pp.295-7; NAI EX2/1, pp.152-3, 200; RIA MS 12.D.12, p.103; PRO SC1/28/48. The meagre survival of appointments in writing may be partly explained by the findings of a 1279 inquisition which found that at least some seneschals of Carlow and Wexford were 'wont de facto, though not de jure, to substitute other seneschals for them' (quoted in Hore, *Dunbrody Abbey*, pp.72-3; cf. Richardson and Sayles, *The Irish parliament in the middle ages*, pp.294-5). The officers of the Dublin exchequer did not look kindly upon such practice (NAI EX2/3, pp.512-13). Cf. Charles Johnson ed. *Dialogus de scaccario* (Oxford, 1983), p.81 where strict rules are set out regarding the appointment of attorneys by sheriffs.

¹⁴ PRO E101/234/12.

¹⁵ The problems of calculating terms of office from records which 'only show a moment when...[an] individual was seneschal' has been noted for the Irish stewards of the de Verdun family (Hagger, 'De Verdun family', p.106).

come from charter witness lists and P. H. Hore, *History of the Town and County of Wexford* which contains material no longer extant. The names (and probable county of abode) of the seneschals can be found in Appendix 3, pp.257-61.

The information listed in Appendix 3 shows that most men did not stay in the post of seneschal for very long. This was not unusual and does not reflect a particularity of administration in Ireland. Granted, the job of managing lands ‘geographically at the farthest remove...from the centre of [a lord’s]...territorial interests and power and from the normal radius of his itineration’¹⁶ was more difficult than the equivalent role in England; especially when the lands concerned were in Ireland where many of the lords were ‘absentee’. And it was for this reason that the seneschals of the liberties of Kilkenny and Carlow were paid more than their counterparts on the de Clare and Bigod estates in England and Wales.¹⁷ Nevertheless, men were also attracted to similar jobs in England for ‘varying amounts of time’, including short spells.¹⁸ The duties required of the person of seneschal were not light and men may not have wished to undertake them for more than a year or two at a time. The constant change-over of men may also have been due to the fact that it was usual for royal officers, such as the sheriff of a county, to be changed regularly in an attempt to prevent the onset of corruption. And seneschals of liberties were royal, as well as private, officers.

The rapid turnover of men who acted as seneschals for the lords of Carlow, Kildare, Kilkenny and Wexford highlights the problem of recruitment which faced Bigod, de Vescy, de Clare and de Valence. The responsible nature of the post meant that the seneschals needed to be competent. They also needed to be trustworthy and

¹⁶ Davies, *Lordship and society in the march of Wales*, p.199.

¹⁷ The Clare seneschal of Kilkenny received payment of £100 *p.a.*, making him ‘the highest paid of all the Clare officials’, the seneschal of the English lands receiving forty marks and the seneschal at Usk twenty marks *p.a.* (Altschul, *The Clares*, pp.226, 259, 288 (quote)). The Bigod seneschal of Carlow also received a salary of £100 *p.a.* in the 1280s, and 100 marks *p.a.* (plus goods in kind) in c.1306. This contrasted with the stewards in Norfolk/Suffolk and Chepstow whose wage was ‘a matter of individual bargaining’ with results ranging from £26 13s. 4d. to £60 *p.a.* (Denholm-Young, *Seignorial administration*, p.45; NAI EX2/1, p.200).

¹⁸ This quote relates to men who had undertaken royal service and then worked on the de Clare estates (Altschul, *The Clares*, p.229).

accountable. These criteria did not, however, necessarily lead to the appointment of English knights known to the lord or his mainland administrators. The Irish council of Elizabeth de Burgh, lady of Kilkenny, did advise in 1327 that the liberty required ‘an adequate knight or other worthy man who is knowledgeable and alert, sent from England’ as seneschal;¹⁹ but the appointment of an English knight was not always a sure bet. Joan de Valence had cause to imprison Robert de Immer, one of her English officials of Wexford, because of discrepancies in his account.²⁰ And Roger Bigod was obliged to take the English knight Robert Cokerel to court for having profited from his position as seneschal of Carlow.²¹ The appointment of an English knight as seneschal was not, then, synonymous with the appointment of a trustworthy official. Robert de Immer and Robert Cokerel were, however, exceptions in their duplicity and it was with Philip de Bocland, a *familiaris* of the earl of Norfolk since 1257 and a member of the household of both the fourth (d.1270) and fifth (d.1306) earls,²² that Cokerel was replaced as seneschal of Carlow.

The problem of whether to appoint a local or an English knight as seneschal was not unlike the problem of control of regions that faced a king who had to decide whether to implant new men or recognise the power of the local magnates. As a general and rough rule of thumb, however, it was the practice of the English lords of the Leinster liberties to appoint Anglo-Irish knights as their seneschals. Indeed, seventy-one percent of the seneschals in this period were Anglo-Irish. There were both obvious advantages and potential disadvantages to the appointment of local knights to such an important position. Nevertheless, the danger that ‘their ties with the locality and the community might compromise both their efficiency and their loyalty to their lord[s]’,²³ was

¹⁹ *Doc. Aff. Ire.*, no.155 (p.127).

²⁰ Robert de Immer may have numbered among the English seneschals of Wexford (PRO SC1/48/32).

²¹ Cokerel had, for example, sold oaks from Bigod’s forest of Bentry. In the end Bigod remitted all accusations against him save fourteen pounds clear arrears. In return Cokerel dropped his charges of ‘unjust imprisonment and robbery’ against Bigod and his men (*CCR, 1279-88*, p.138; NAI RC7/2, p.22). In 1280 Robert Cokerel was in the service of William de Valence as his constable of Goodrich Castle (*CCR, 1279-88*, p.26). It may have William de Valence who wrote a letter in 1281 in defence of Robert Cokerel who had suffered many damages in Norfolk’s service (PRO SC1/31/172).

²² Denholm-Young, *Seignorial Administration*, p.139n7.

²³ Davies, *Lordship and society in the march of Wales*, p.207.

outweighed by the numerous advantages which their association with the locality brought to the post. For example, through the possession of retinues of local knights, Anglo-Irish seneschals had ready access to a network of military support throughout the locality. This was crucial to the seneschal in his role as military head of the liberty. They also had a knowledge of the local geography, crucial in times of war and unrest but also very important in the course of the everyday duties of the seneschalship. Treatises on estate management expected a seneschal to possess or acquire knowledge regarding the layout of the estates in his charge.²⁴ And the seneschal, who was required to hold courts, views of frankpledge, juries of assize and take recognisances and inquests,²⁵ was a highly peripatetic official in both England and Ireland.²⁶

Local knights also often had links with the Dublin government. It was to the lord's advantage if this was the case since the seneschals of the liberties in question were accountable to the royal government 'in all matters pertaining to the king's rightful interests within the liberty'.²⁷ This meant that the sheriff of Dublin, who also had jurisdiction over the crosslands of the liberties, could act in default of justice or action by a liberty administration. Associations between a lord's administrators and the king's officials in Dublin could help to oil the wheels of communication between the jurisdictions. Most communications were routine, such as the payment of debts or scutage; others, however, were less regular and could be aided by the donation of small gifts of food, cloth or money to the officials at Dublin.²⁸

²⁴ *Walter of Henley and other treatises on estate management and accounting* ed. D. Oschinsky (Oxford, 1971), pp.265, 267, 269; *Fleta ii Prologue, Book I, Book II* ed. and trans. H. G. Richardson and G. O. Sayles, *Selden Society* 72 (1955), 241.

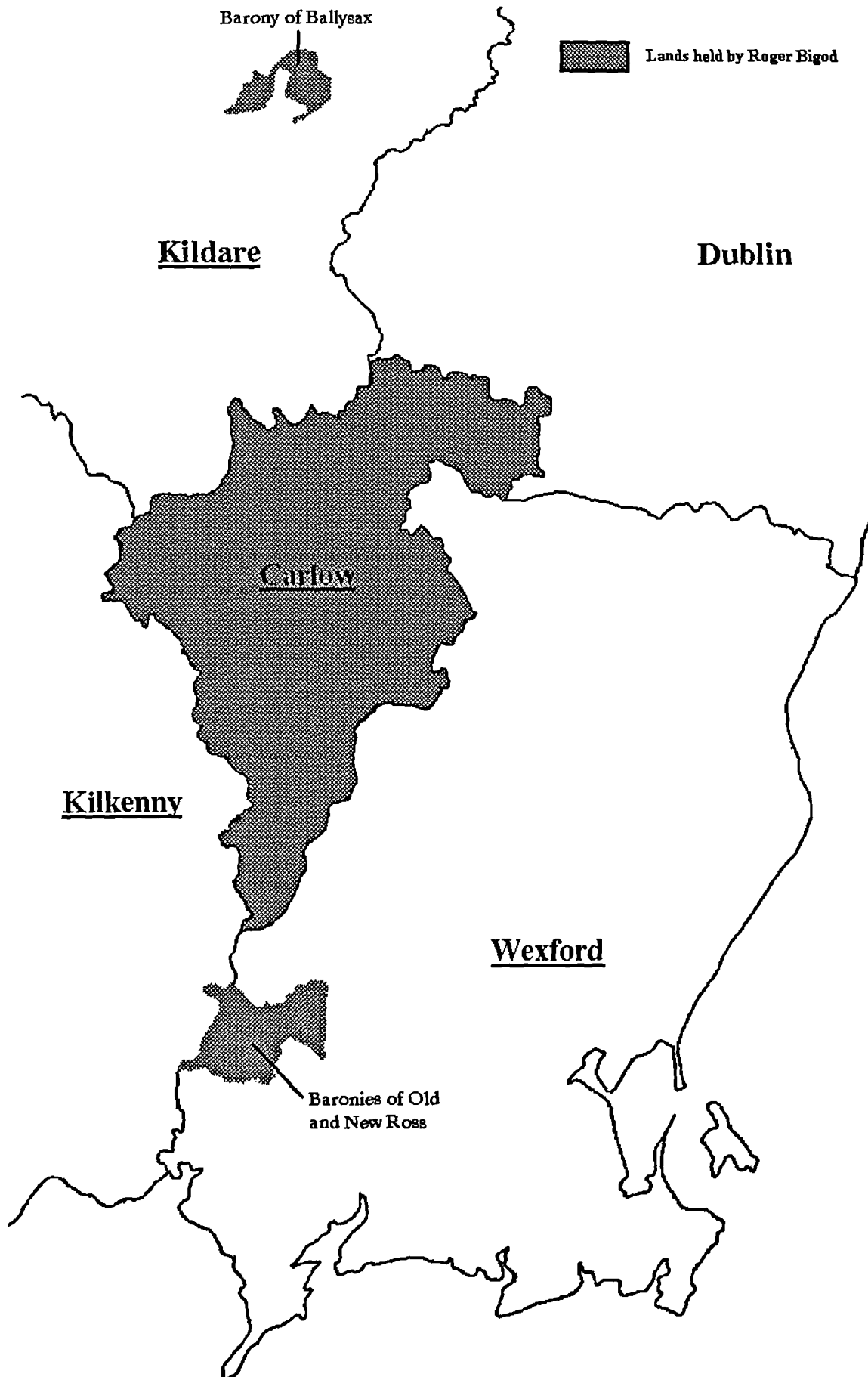
²⁵ These were among the duties outlined in William de St. Ledger's patent of appointment as the seneschal of Kilkenny in 1311 (NAI RC8/5, pp.655-6).

²⁶ The seneschal was the most peripatetic of officials on the estates of the bishopric of Winchester in the early 1300s, for example (Mark Page ed., 'The Pipe roll of the bishopric of Winchester 1301-2', *Hampshire Record Series* 14 (1996), p.xvi).

²⁷ Nugent, 'Carlow in the middle ages', p.68.

²⁸ For example see PRO SC6/1239/1, 3, 4; cf. Frame, *English lordship*, p.5.

Liberty of Carlow



The practice of the English lords of Carlow, Kildare, Kilkenny and Wexford in appointing Anglo-Irish knights as seneschals was found elsewhere in the lordship.²⁹ It also supports Frame's impression of the period between 1318 and 1361 as one in which, although outsiders were periodically sent in, it was usual for absentees 'to harness the influence of an Anglo-Irish lord'.³⁰ Indeed, in the case of the de Valence lords of Wexford, the families from which seneschals were recruited could be surprisingly important. Maurice de Rocheford, for example, acted as seneschal of Wexford in 1305-6 and again in 1325-27.³¹ Rocheford was a substantial landholder both in Ireland and in Poitou whose status alone probably secured his position as a *locum tenens* of the justiciar.³² It made sense, if de Rocheford was to act as seneschal for any of the greater 'absentee' lords of Ireland, that he should do so for Valence, his fellow Poitevin.³³ The de Valences also successfully recruited John Cogan, an important man in both England and Ireland; Nicholas Avenel, who eventually married Juliana, widow of Thomas de Clare and Adam de Creting;³⁴ and Thomas de Dene, a member of a substantial family with lands in Wexford, Carlow, Cork and Waterford.³⁵

In choosing to appoint local knights as seneschals, the English lords of Carlow, Kildare, Kilkenny and Wexford were following the precedent set within the former Marshal lordship of Leinster.³⁶ The seneschals in this period were largely descended from families who had been enfeoffed with land by the first William Marshal. Whilst the English lords of Carlow, Kildare, Kilkenny and Wexford recruited their seneschals

²⁹ See, for example, the seneschals of Ralph Pipard (*Ormond Deeds*, nos.140, 141, 188, 193, 222, 224, 254, 256, 268, 316).

³⁰ Frame, *English lordship*, p.71.

³¹ Phillips, *Aymer de Valence*, p.292. It may not have been the same Maurice who served as seneschal on both occasions. Maurice de Rocheford (II) did, however, live from 1253x1259 to c.1333 (*Knights' Fees*, p.140).

³² Frame, 'Henry III and Ireland', p.193; Ridgeway, 'King Henry III and the 'aliens'', p.84; *AH* 34 (1987), 23; Phillips, 'Anglo-Norman nobility', p.95n3.

³³ Maurice's grandfather, Guy, was Poitevin and had been granted lands in Ireland at about the same time as William de Valence.

³⁴ *CJR*, ii, 388-9.

³⁵ *NAI EX1/2*, m.1; *CDI*, 1285-92, no. 622; *CDI*, 1252-84, no.1618; *CDI*, 1293-1301, p.262; *CIPM*, ii, 696; *CIPM*, iv, 434; *CIPM*, vi, 275, 518. Thomas de Dene was appointed as seneschal of Wexford in 1320.

³⁶ *Knights' Fees*, pp.73, 183.

primarily from within these same counties, it did not necessarily follow that they employed their own tenants or even sub-tenants as seneschals. There was, after all, no reason why the lands of the knightly families of Leinster should fit neatly within the divisions which were not brought in until 1247 when the Marshal lands were divided. This point may be illustrated by an example such as that of William de St. Ledger who was seneschal of Kilkenny but held six knights fees of Bigod, the lord of Carlow.³⁷ There also seems to have been a particular connection between the men who served as seneschals of Wexford and the lordship of Carlow: Gilbert de Sutton, for example, held half a knight's fee in Wexford of Bigod for whom he witnessed a charter in c.1283-6.³⁸

Given the advantages of recruiting Anglo-Irish knights as seneschals, there must have been good reasons behind the decisions to appoint the twelve knights (twenty-one percent of the whole) who were definitely English and who were appointed as seneschals during this period. This was probably the case with regard to the liberties of Kildare, Kilkenny and Wexford. On these liberties, the appointments of English knights to the seneschalship marked periods when their lords took a keener interest in their Irish lands than was usual. John de Thedmershe, for example, was appointed seneschal of Kilkenny following the visit of Gilbert de Clare to Ireland in 1293-4 - an expedition which John had undertaken with Gilbert.³⁹ In Wexford, the appointment of John Wogan followed a period of investment in the lordship by William de Valence who had married his daughter, Agnes, to Gerald fitz Maurice (a member of one of the most important settler families in Ireland)⁴⁰ and had purchased the custody of lands, with the marriage

³⁷ *CJR*, ii, 344, 346.

³⁸ *Knights' Fees*, pp.15-16; *CDI*, 1302-7, no.617.

³⁹ *CPR*, 1292-1301, p.23. John later returned to Ireland to attend to the affairs of Joan, Countess of Gloucester (*ibid.*, pp.179, 183).

⁴⁰ Ó Cléirigh, 'Agnes de Valence', pp.101-2, 104 argues that the marriage may have been motivated on William's part by the advantage of having a 'local ally' to facilitate the maintenance of his Irish interests.

of heirs, of Maurice fitz Gerald (a potential rival to Agnes' claims) in 1274.⁴¹ William de Valence even considered travelling to Ireland, probably in connection with the purchase of this wardship, in early 1272.⁴² The appointment of Richard de Pevensey by Joan de Valence likewise reflected her greater interest in Wexford which contributed up to fifty-two percent of her income following William's death in 1296.⁴³

It was during the tenure of Agnes de Vescy that English knights were appointed to the seneschalship of Kildare. Agnes was involved in litigation against her sisters regarding their respective *pourparties* of the Marshal inheritance⁴⁴ and presumably wanted to appoint known quantities as seneschals. Certainly the appointment of Thomas Darcy coincided with the first extant appointment of attorneys for Agnes in Ireland.⁴⁵ Her appointment of John Punchardon, an Anglo-Irish knight from Kildare who acted as an attorney for John fitz Thomas, lord of Offaly,⁴⁶ may have represented a link between the de Vescy lands in Alnwick and Kildare since John may have been related to Nicholas Punchardon of Northumberland who represented that county at the Westminster Parliament of October 1297.⁴⁷ Conversely, the arrival of William de Vescy in Ireland as justiciar heralded an end to the appointment of English knights as seneschals of Kildare.

⁴¹ *CDI, 1252-84*, no.1039. The purchase of this wardship may have been deliberately designed to forestall Geraldine complaint against the fact that Agnes had a right to a large amount of traditional Geraldine property for the rest of her life as a result of her marriage agreement with Gerald fitz Maurice (Ó Cléirigh, 'Agnes de Valence', p.115). William also bought William de Karnet out of the lands which he held of him in Wexford in 1282 (*CDI, 1285-92*, no.1052). William de Valence's seneschals between c.1257 and c.1270 were also English, hailing from Suffolk and Derby respectively (Ridgeway, 'William de Valence and his *familiares*', pp.252-3).

⁴² PRO SC1/8/45.

⁴³ The reappointment of Richard de Pevensey in c.1305 may have been due to the need to reassert control from England after the imprisonment of Robert de Immer by Joan's auditors for lacunae in his accounts (PRO SC1/11/104, SC1/48/32).

⁴⁴ *CDI, 1252-84*, nos. 935, 1096, 1107, 1206, 1333. Most of this litigation was with Matilda, Eleanor and Agatha, the sisters with whom Agnes shared governmental rights (Otway-Ruthven, 'Medieval county of Kildare', pp.187-9).

⁴⁵ *CDI, 1285-92*, no.347.

⁴⁶ NAI EX2/1, p.3.

William's interest in Kildare was keen, indeed too keen, but none of the eight men who accompanied him to Ireland in 1290 were appointed to the post of seneschal even after his departure from the lordship in 1295.⁴⁸ William's presence on the scene precluded the need for an English knight to supervise his interests.

The situation was different in Carlow. Bigod seems to have preferred to appoint English knights or at least knights known to him personally as seneschals, even after the unfortunate episode with Robert Cokerel, his profiteering seneschal of the 1270s. Half of the twelve English knights appointed as seneschals were appointed to the seneschalship of the liberty of Carlow. Of the thirteen knights appointed prior to Bigod's death in 1306, six were definitely English. It can be no coincidence that Bigod would have met William Cadel, the one local man who served as seneschal for an extended period of time, during his sojourn in Ireland in 1279; indeed, he presumably appointed him as temporary seneschal on that occasion.⁴⁹ The short appointments held by other local knights probably represented a tendency on the part of Bigod's English seneschals to appoint local men to 'hold the fort' at Carlow until a new seneschal arrived from England.⁵⁰ Bigod's practice of appointing English knights was not followed by either the Dublin administration or Thomas of Brotherton, his eventual successor as lord of Carlow. Brotherton appointed Adam de la Roche, a knight who held land in Wexford, and who had eight or nine years of experience gained as seneschal of Wexford and Kildare to draw upon. The Dublin administration appointed

⁴⁷ C. H. Hunter Blair, 'Members of parliament for Northumberland (October 1258-January 1327)', *Archaeologia Aeliana* 4th ser. 10 (1933), 152-3. I owe this reference to Andy King.

⁴⁸ *CDI*, 1285-92, no.767; PRO SC1/24/175.

⁴⁹ Reginald de Lyvet, who had proved his worth in the office of sheriff of Carlow, also held a year-long appointment as seneschal.

⁵⁰ Such a practice was an offence from the point of view of the Dublin administration because such substitutes had not sworn to faithfully serve the king at the Dublin exchequer as required (see NAI EX2/3, pp.512-13).

local men whom they could theoretically control to the joint seneschalship of Carlow and Kildare after 1306. In doing so they may have been following in Bigod's footsteps more closely than is at first apparent.

The English lords of Carlow, Kildare, Kilkenny and Wexford were, in fact, generally successful in recruiting both local and competent knights to act as their seneschals. A basic measure of their ability is the fact that the vast majority of Anglo-Irish seneschals made a good, or at least not a documented and bad, job of the office. In the historiography, however, competence is measured by prior experience in an administrative role. This service was often, but not exclusively, performed in the royal administration. Out of the fifty-six men who served as seneschals, sixteen had prior experience of royal administration, seven of whom were Anglo-Irish. Administrative experience could equally have been gained within a similar, or the same, estate administration which individuals were later to lead. This was the case for a number of Anglo-Irish seneschals, for some of whom appointment to the seneschalship in question represented the pinnacle of their administrative career.⁵¹ Reginald de Lyvet, for example, served as sheriff of Carlow before becoming seneschal; and John de Clare served as sheriff of the liberty of Kilkenny.⁵² The historiography of estate administration also focuses on the question of whether individuals secured posts in the royal administration after serving as 'lay' seneschals. The understanding is that the

⁵¹ Only about one third of the seneschals held any post in the royal administration either before or after their appointment as seneschals. Four men served as seneschal on more than one of the liberties in question in this period. In addition, Adam Bretoun, former seneschal of Carlow, headed the resurrected liberty of Kildare for Thomas fitz John in 1321-3 (*42DKR*, p.41 (PR 15 Ed I)); and Peter de Beccles (seneschal of Wexford ?1268-1270) may have been seneschal of Carlow at some point (Ridgeway, 'William de Valence and his *familiares*', p.253n79). It was probably a relative of Fulk de la Freigne, seneschal of Kilkenny, who headed the restored liberty of Tipperary for the Butlers in 1347 and served Elizabeth de Burgh in 1349 (C. A. Empey, 'The Butler lordship', *The Journal of the Butler Society* 1 (1968-71), 178; R. Frame, 'Power and society in the lordship of Ireland 1272-1377', *Past and Present* 76 (1977), 14; T. B. Butler, 'Seneschals of the liberty of Tipperary', *The Irish Genealogist* 2 (1943-55), 301).

competent seneschal might expect to progress into the king's service.⁵³ Fifteen (twenty-seven percent) of the seneschals of Carlow, Kildare, Kilkenny and Wexford later went into royal service. Of these only about three had previously held posts in the royal administration and ten were Anglo-Irish.

What, if anything, do the statistics regarding the administrative experience of the seneschals tell us about the ability of the English lords to recruit suitable men as officials? This is a difficult question. On the one hand, we may suppose an active desire on the part of the lords to recruit men with connections to the Dublin administration. The fact that four of the six men who served as knights of the king's household in the mid 1270s served as seneschals on various administrations seems to corroborate this view, especially since William Cadel headed three administrations.⁵⁴ We may also suppose that a seneschalship was attractive in terms of financial reward. The fee paid to seneschals of the liberties of Carlow and Kilkenny was about £100 *p.a.*; the fee paid to the seneschals of Kildare and Wexford was probably of a similar order. A seneschalship, then, was lucrative and it certainly paid better than royal service. William Cadel and Roger Oweyn can be cited as examples of the disparity between royal and private wages. Cadel, whilst a knight of the king's household in Ireland, had been in receipt of a fee of only £12 *p.a.*; and Roger Oweyn, who acted as king's serjeant in the 1260s and who was in want of his wages, asserted that 'he could have received

⁵² PRO SC6/1239/4; NAI RC8/1, p.38.

⁵³ Denholm-Young, *Seignorial administration*, p.70 regarded appointment to a seneschalship as a stepping-stone to employment in the royal administration. Altschul, writing about the Clare seneschals, saw the movement of men between 'public' and 'private' office as more two-way and argued that individuals were more likely to flit between the two sectors of service and possibly even work in both at the same time (Altschul, *The Clares*, pp.227, 228-9). Hand, *English Law in Ireland*, p.116 has argued that 'the higher personnel of liberty and seignorial administrations belonged to a managerial class for whom transition to the king's service was easy.'

⁵⁴ William Cadel headed Kildare, Carlow and Kilkenny; William de Cauneton headed Kilkenny; Walter l'Enfaunt headed Kildare; and Ralph le Curteys headed Meath (Ingamells, 'Household knights of Edward I', ii, 19). Cf. Mortimer, 'Lordship and patronage', p.245.

large fees from the magnates of Ireland if he had not been in the king's service'.⁵⁵ Further, when the Dublin administration appointed a single sheriff of Carlow and Kildare to undertake many of the responsibilities which had previously fallen upon the seneschals of Carlow and Kildare, the sheriff received a fee of only £100 from which he may have had to pay for the fees and robes of a retinue of armed men.⁵⁶ Given the incentives available, why were the English lords of the Leinster liberties unable continually to appoint men with prior experience of administration at a high level as their seneschals?

Three reasons come to mind. First, that the numbers of such men were probably not high. In the case of professional serjeants, studied by Brand, numbers in Ireland were low relative to the situation in England. Ireland, then, whilst not backward, was behind in the provision of specialized officers. Despite this, most of the serjeants practising in Ireland came from her 'eastern seaboard counties';⁵⁷ and the fact that Leinster was relatively forward in terms of the provision of professionally trained individuals probably helps to explain why the English lords did not have to break out of 'the honorial strait-jacket'⁵⁸ in order to find competent men.

Secondly, high wages may not have been enough to entice all men out of royal service. The case of Walter l'Enfaunt is illustrative here. It was argued in Chapter 2, p.91 of the thesis that Walter stayed in royal service not because of its financial rewards but

⁵⁵ *CDI*, 1252-84, no.930; Paul Brand, 'The Early history of the legal profession of the lordship of Ireland, 1250-1350', in D. Hogan and W. N. Osborough ed. *Brehons, serjeants and attorneys: studies in the history of the Irish legal profession* (Dublin, 1990), p.45. The royal attitude to local government has been summarised as 'the maximum exploitation of talent at the least cost' (C. Parker, 'Local government in co. Waterford in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Part I. The office of sheriff, c.1208-1305', *Decies* 50 (1994), 18).

⁵⁶ Craig, 'Memoranda roll of the Irish exchequer', i, 40.

⁵⁷ Brand, 'Early history of the legal profession', p.31.

⁵⁸ Carpenter cited in Crouch *et al*, 'Debate: bastard feudalism revised', *Past and Present* 131 (1991), 185.

because of the potential avenues towards the receipt of patronage within the lordship which it opened. The most sure routes to the receipt of patronage for Anglo-Irish knights were either service within the king's administration in Ireland or military service with the king outside the lordship usually in the retinue of a major Anglo-Irish lord. The example of William Cadel highlights this since the patronage which he received came from these two sources. For example, he received a gift of ten marks rent from John fitz Thomas, lord of Offaly, some time prior to December 1292;⁵⁹ and as a result of military service under fitz Thomas in Scotland in 1296, he received a pardon for an assault and robbery with which he had been charged during the 1297 eyre of Kildare.⁶⁰ Most telling of all, it was 'the praiseworthy service to the King often done by William Cadel', and not intervention on the part of one of his English employers, that secured a pardon for his daughter Isabella following her treasonable associations with Dermot O'Dempsey, a felon of the mountains.⁶¹ The English lords of Leinster were not in an equivalent position to secure patronage within the Irish lordship for their officials; their main provision of patronage were the fees which they paid to their officers.

Nevertheless, the lure of possible patronage does seem to have secured the appointment of various experienced men as seneschals. These appointments coincided with the death of a former lord or lady of a liberty and succession of a new lord; and with the visits of a lord to Ireland. Thus, William Cadel became seneschal of Carlow, and Roger de Penbrok and William de Athy became seneschals of Kilkenny following sojourns in Ireland by their lords. The appointment of Walter de Ivethorn as seneschal in 1298 may have resulted from the fact that Joan, countess of Gloucester was now not only lady of

⁵⁹ *The Red Book of the earls of Kildare* ed. G. Mac Niocaill (Dublin, 1964), no.10.

⁶⁰ *CDI, 1293-1301*, no.354; *CJR*, i, 171.

⁶¹ *CJR*, i, 368.

Kilkenny but also an heir (albeit an increasingly distant one) to the throne.⁶² The appointment of William de Cauneton marked the beginning of the seisin of his estates by Gilbert the last earl of Gloucester and the king's cousin. In this case, William de Cauneton may have been secured as a seneschal for Gilbert by another of his cousins, Richard de Clare, lord of Thomond, who would have had dealings with William in his office as sheriff of Cork. It was the kinship of the de Valence family with Edward I and II that enabled them to appoint local men of ability and standing as their seneschals. It has been argued, for example, that membership of Aymer de Valence's retinue was sufficient to recommend men for positions in the Dublin administration.⁶³ It may not, therefore, be a coincidence that Agnes de Valence (William's daughter) was able to recruit John de Hothum, 'king's clerk' and a former exchequer clerk, as one of her bailiffs in Ireland.⁶⁴

Thirdly, it was more important to the English lords of Leinster, in general, to appoint local men with the advantages which they brought than to appoint a man with a certain type of administrative experience. In other words, the questions posed in the historiography of estate administration which ask if seneschalships were stepping-stones to royal office or vice versa are not relevant here.

The seneschals employed by the lords of Carlow, Kildare, Kilkenny and Wexford came from varying geographical backgrounds and had differing quantities of administrative experience to draw upon. They were, nevertheless, a coherent group in terms of their

⁶² *Foedera*, ii, 497.

⁶³ Mortimer, 'Lordship and patronage', pp.95-8.

⁶⁴ John later served in the Dublin administration again as a baron of the exchequer in 1305 and as chancellor of the exchequer in 1309 (Phillips, 'The Mission of John de Hothum', p.64; *AH* 34 (1987), 17). Agnes had similarly recruited the likes of Nigel le Brun and Hugh Canon, both future escheators of Ireland, to act as her attorneys in 1296 (*Red Book of the earls of Kildare*, no.37).

social background and fit into what Denholm-Young regarded as 'a distinct class'.⁶⁵ That is to say that the seneschals of the English-held liberties of Leinster were of knightly origin.⁶⁶ It is therefore not surprising to find five men who had held the post of seneschal at some point being required to attend the parliament of Kilkenny in 1310.⁶⁷ Not only were the seneschals from the same strata of society, there were also connections between many of the Anglo-Irish knights who held these posts. This was to be expected given the interconnected nature of the tenurial arrangements within the four liberties in question. John Wogan, justiciar of Ireland and sometime seneschal of Wexford, for example, married a daughter of Walter de Ivethorn, seneschal of Kilkenny;⁶⁸ and the heir of Fulk de la Freigne, seneschal of Kilkenny, married the daughter of Gilbert de Sutton, seneschal of Wexford.⁶⁹ Whilst a community probably did not exist between these men, there were social interactions between them at least.

In the above discussion, general reasons have been sought to explain the appointment of broad categories of men as seneschals. In reality each case had its own peculiarities and each seneschal had his own range of potential drawbacks and advantages to bring to the post. It therefore seems appropriate to present a detailed case-study of one of the seneschals for whom most information survives. The man chosen for discussion is

⁶⁵ Denholm-Young, *Seignorial administration*, p.69

⁶⁶ There is a consensus of opinion that seneschals should have been of knightly origin and experienced in administration, law and estate matters (*ibid.*, p.70; J. Mills, 'Accounts of the earl of Norfolk's estates in Ireland, 1279-1294', *JRSAI* 22 (1892), 51; Nugent, 'Carlow in the middle ages', p.67; Altschul, *The Clares*, p.228; J. C. Ward, *English noblewomen in the later middle ages* (London, 1992), p.113; M. Moynihan, 'The Administration of justice in Wexford', *Old Wexford Society Journal* 5 (1974-5), 7; Hagger, 'De Verdun family', p.180).

⁶⁷ *Statutes and Ordinances*, pp.259, 261. These men were John de Cogan, Maurice de Rocheford, William de St. Ledger, Nigel le Brun and John de Boneville.

⁶⁸ E. St. John Brooks, 'The De Ridelesfords', *JRSAI* 82 (1952), 53.

⁶⁹ *CJR*, ii, 159.

David de Offinton, seneschal of Kilkenny between 1283 and 1284 or 1285, and between 1285 and 1288.⁷⁰

David de Offinton was in many ways an ideal appointment as seneschal of Kilkenny. First, he was in the royal favour and had good connections among the highest officials of the lordship following his brief service as sheriff of Dublin.⁷¹ Second, he was a local knight, with local connections - including, for example, William Cadel the contemporary seneschal of Carlow.⁷² Third, he himself held land in Oxford and Kildare⁷³ and therefore had direct experience of the problems of 'absentee' landholding. This, however, is to gloss over the details. The earlier part of David's career had not recommended him to royal service at all. Despite being primarily a landholder in Kildare, David was in England during the Barons' Wars during which time he committed trespasses against Roger Mortimer amongst others.⁷⁴ Whilst he did not receive a pardon until 1280 he was in the royal favour by 1273 when the custody during pleasure of the lands and tenements which had belonged to George de Cantilupe (a co-parcener of the Marshal inheritance) in Ireland was granted to him.⁷⁵ Alongside this custody, the justiciar was instructed to 'commit to David the expedition of other affairs

⁷⁰ Altschul, *The Clares*, p.291 notes that David de Offinton was seneschal on three separate occasions between 1283-93. David was appointed as an attorney for three years for Gilbert de Clare in 1285 (*CPR*, 1281-92, p.167).

⁷¹ See for example *CChW*, p.13. Thomas Cantok, the chancellor of Ireland, took David's part regarding a request for a fifteenth from Ireland in 1292 (PRO SC1/31/170, 178; *Parliaments and councils of mediaeval Ireland* i ed. H. G. Richardson and G. O. Sayles (Dublin, 1947), 198-9).

⁷² *Ormond Deeds*, nos.236, 266.

⁷³ David mainly held land in the cantred of Leix, although it is not clear which of the Marshal co-parceners he held these lands of. He also held land in England, (*CDI*, 1252-84, no.2032) certainly in Oxford and possibly in a number of southeastern counties (see, for example, *CIPM*, v, 538). His will and inventory of 1295 mentioned only Irish property, however (NLI D.412).

⁷⁴ *CPR*, 1272-81, pp.12, 400; *CCR*, 1279-88, p.119.

⁷⁵ *CDI*, 1252-84, no.992. It was not until 1276 that the promulgation of outlawry against David was ordered to be entirely superseded in Bedfordshire (*CCR*, 1272-9, p.314); and Edmund, earl of Cornwall, had been instructed in April 1274 to return any of David's lands which he may have seized (PRO SC1/12/134).

of the king in those parts in which he may be necessary to the king'.⁷⁶ In accordance with this David served as sheriff of Dublin between 12 May 1280 and 21 December 1282, and as keeper of the castle of Newcastle MacKynegan for at least some of that time.⁷⁷ The post of sheriff of Dublin would have prepared David for the rigours of a seneschalship since the office of sheriff of Dublin was a particularly arduous one with 'responsibilities covering at least half the lordship'.⁷⁸ David's career was never destined to be plain-sailing, however, and through some misdemeanour he fell onto the wrong side of the royal favour, perhaps during 1282. Nevertheless he was readmitted to the king's service in November 1282 because 'he had satisfied Roger de Mortimer and the executors of his will, the K. having previously commanded Sir Robert de Ufford, formerly justiciary of Ireland, not to retain David on the K.'s service.'⁷⁹

David's actions during his seneschalship and his comments on the position of seneschal present a picture of the independent and possibly wayward men appointed to the heads of liberties by English lords. David was a man of some standing in Kildare. He, for example, acted as one of the pledges for the payment of the 1000 marks owed by Calvath O'Conor of Offaly to the king.⁸⁰ He was also of sufficient rank to be represented in court by an attorney, and to employ his own bailiff and serjeant.⁸¹ As seneschal, David was confident: in 1297 his bailiff stated in his defence in an assize of novel disseisin that 'one Seneschal has not the power to correct the acts of another'.⁸² It was during his seneschalship that David participated in some disreputable property

⁷⁶ *CCR*, 1272-9, p.61.

⁷⁷ *CDI*, 1252-84, p.421; *CDI*, 1293-1301, no.169, p.70; PRO E101/230/12, 13/1, 19.

⁷⁸ G.McGrath, 'The Shiring of Ireland and the 1297 parliament', in Lydon ed. *Law and disorder*, pp.117-20 (quote p.120).

⁷⁹ *CDI*, 1252-84, no.1994.

⁸⁰ *CDI*, 1285-92, no.1018. He also delivered Geoffrey McGilchelthy and his wife, who had received Irish felons who went against the king's standard, to the constable of Dunamase (*CJR*, i, 170).

⁸¹ *CJR*, i, 85-6, 88, 177. In one instance, his attorney was specified as his bailiff, Robert de Athy.

transactions, possibly with the connivance of Walter Fulburne, dean of Waterford, chancellor of Ireland and brother of Stephen Fulburne, the Irish justiciar.⁸³ He was also accused by Nicholas de Clare, the treasurer of Ireland, of having levied the goods of John Fulburne within the liberty of Kilkenny without warrant.⁸⁴

It was to check the abuse of power by men such as David that English lords retained an arsenal of 'travelling officials' to keep affairs in a far-flung Irish liberty in order. A man such as David, however, was too valuable a servant to be overlooked by either the Crown or the earls of Gloucester, both of whom continued to employ him in the 1290s.⁸⁵ Without recourse to Anglo-Irish knights, the administration and defence of lands across the Irish Sea would have been much harder for both English lords and their king to organise effectively.

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In late thirteenth-century and early fourteenth-century Ireland, the seneschal was still the most important officer employed by a liberty administration. The seneschal owed this pre-eminence to the increasingly military role of his office (discussed in Chapter 5).⁸⁶ In England, the situation was different. There, receivers and wardrobers had been brought to the fore by the 'increasing complexity of private finance.'⁸⁷ The real need to

⁸² *CJR*, i, 88.

⁸³ Walter Fulburne had granted land to David at 'Leychyok' and 'Balykenan' in the cantred of Leix, Kildare (land which he himself had of the gift of Stephen Fulburne) sometime between 1284 and 1286 (*Ormond Deeds*, no.266). This 'grant' was part of a transaction whereby Agnes de Beltoft (who had granted certain lands to Stephen de Fulburne for a term) should have recovered seisin of her property. She had sent David to Walter with eighty marks to acquit the tenements for her use but instead he 'procured himself to be enfeoffed by Walter' (*CJR*, ii, 60-2, 91). This case ended with the re-enfeoffment of Agnes by David de Offinton, the son, in c.1310 (NLI D.546 (calendared in *Ormond Deeds*, no.446)).

⁸⁴ PRO E101/231/26.

⁸⁵ *CDI*, 1285-92, nos. 791, 911; *CDI*, 1293-1301, nos.172, 248, 273, 346 (p.162), 360, 456; *38DKR*, p.47 (PR 25 Ed I).

⁸⁶ A similar distinction existed between the office of keeper of the peace in England and Ireland (R. Frame, 'The Judicial powers of the medieval Irish keepers of the peace', in R. Frame, *Ireland and Britain, 1170-1450* (London, 1998), pp.301-3; cf. Watt, 'Anglo-Irish colony under strain', pp.360-1).

⁸⁷ Denholm-Young, *Seignorial administration*, p.69.

defend the liberties of Leinster against attacks from the native Irish was probably behind the English lords' general decision to retain local men with local manpower as their seneschals. Considerations of administrative experience were luxuries to be reserved for more peaceful times and regions, especially towards the end of our period.

(ii) The Treasurers or receivers

After the seneschal, the most important officer within a liberty administration was the treasurer or, at times when the liberty was in the king's hand, the receiver. The evidence relating to the treasurers of the liberties of Carlow, Kildare, Kilkenny and Wexford is scrappy and thin. The identities of these treasurers can be found in Appendix 3, p.263 of the thesis. The most information available relates to the liberty of Carlow for which certain treasurer's accounts are extant.

Despite the paucity of the evidence, certain points are clear. First, the treasurers probably had an exchequer where the liberty bailiffs were required to render annual accounts. This was certainly the case at Carlow, where the exchequer was housed in the castle.⁸⁸ There was also an exchequer at Kilkenny because its barons are referred to.⁸⁹ Second, the treasurer was paid considerably less than the £100 *p.a.* allocated to the seneschal. At Carlow, in the 1280s, the treasurer's salary was £13 16s. 8d. *p.a.*; and the receiver at Kilkenny in 1314-16 was paid £10 *p.a.*⁹⁰

The third point suggested by the evidence is surprising. This is that the treasurers appointed by the lords of the liberties tended to be local men. The most extant information relates to Thomas Wade, treasurer of Carlow between 1280 (or earlier) and 1289. Thomas, who had originated from the town of Alveton, county Carlow, was a landholder within the liberty and a burgess of Carlow town.⁹¹ His own accounts inform

⁸⁸ Hore, *Old Ross and New Ross*, p.6.

⁸⁹ *Ormond Deeds*, no.254. The treasurer at Carlow was assisted by a clerk.

⁹⁰ Nugent, 'Carlow in the middle ages', p.69; SC6/1239/1-9; Ward, 'Estates of the Clare Family', p.99. The treasurer of Carlow's salary, like that of the seneschal, may have changed by 1306. In that year the treasurer was allowed to take 'robes and other things as Geoffrey de Colecestre late treasurer took' (NAI EX2/1, p.200).

⁹¹ *CDI*, 1252-84, no.2183.

us that he paid £1 8s. 10d. *p.a.* for the rent of various tenements within the lordship, his lease of which probably ended with his stint as treasurer. He was also probably related to Ralph Wade, the constable of Carlow, who paid £3 13s. 0d. rent for seventy-three acres of land within the lordship.⁹² Thomas was still living in Carlow in 1314 when he paid 5s. 0d. of the arrears of his account.⁹³ William Gyming, the treasurer appointed to Carlow in 1290, was probably local as well since a man named David Gyming served as provost of the castle of 'Fothered' in this year.⁹⁴ And Adam Breton, the treasurer at Carlow in c.1303-7, was also a landholder in the liberty. The only English knight, Geoffrey of Colchester, who served as treasurer in Carlow, also served Bigod as an auditor in England and Ireland (below, p.169).

The appointment of local men to the office of treasurer did not necessitate the employment of untalented men at Carlow. William Gyming acted as a clerk of the treasurer of Ireland in 1296. Again, Adam de Breton, a future sheriff and seneschal of Carlow, acted alongside John Wogan, the justiciar, in the collection of a fine from the liberty of Carlow in 1297 and in c.1309 held the position of sub-escheator of Ireland.⁹⁵

The fact that the treasurer of Carlow was usually a local appointment is surprising given the fact that the primary interest of English landholders in their Irish lands was financial. The tendency for the seneschal of Carlow to be an English knight may have provided the necessary degree of supervision over the treasurer of the liberty. It was at least stipulated, at the time of John de Houton's appointment as seneschal of Carlow, that all money was to be received by view of the seneschal or one of his men and kept in the castle under a lock with two keys one of which was to be kept by the seneschal whilst the treasurer had custody of the other.⁹⁶ During the majority of Thomas Wade's term of office as treasurer in Carlow, however, the seneschal was William Cadel, another

⁹² PRO SC6/1239/1-9. In the account for 1293/4 Thomas is referred to as 'Thomas Wade of Carlow'.

⁹³ PRO E101/236/9.

⁹⁴ PRO SC6/1239/9. The lord of Carlow had a manor at 'Fothered' or 'Fothrid'. It should probably be equated with the barony of Fethard, adjacent to the barony of Tintern, in county Wexford.

⁹⁵ *CDI, 1293-1301*, nos.310, 319 (p.180); *AH* 34 (1987), 71.

⁹⁶ NAI EX2/1, p.200.

Anglo-Irishman. It was probably in situations such as these that auditors and attorneys became of heightened import (below). The appointment of local men as treasurers, however, could not be a disadvantage in terms of their knowledge of local geography. The impression given by the Carlow accounts is that the treasurer was a fairly peripatetic officer. Thomas Wade's accounts, at least, reveal that the treasurer of Carlow made up to twelve journeys to Old Ross in one year, as well as trips to Dublin.⁹⁷ Whilst these particular routes were not that difficult, they are symptomatic of the need of the treasurer to travel in the course of his duties.

Treasurers of the liberties of Kildare, Kilkenny and possibly Wexford also appear to have been local men. Robert de Flatisbiry, a treasurer of Kildare appointed in 1280, for example, held land in both Kildare and Kilkenny and had served as a deputy seneschal of Kildare in 1277-8. Again, Simon Dunynes and John Godyn, treasurers of the liberty of Kilkenny, almost certainly hailed from that county where they acted as jurors and were involved in a plea of conspiracy and trespass.⁹⁸ The lack of evidence relating to certain of the treasurers of Kilkenny and Wexford, notably Master Henry de Bageley and Hamond Peris, may suggest that these men were not well-known outside their Irish locality, although it is possible that they were English.⁹⁹

More surprising is the fact that the Dublin administration also seems to have appointed local men to the receiverships of these counties and liberties. For example, Henry Estmound, the receiver at Wexford in 1308-9 and member of an enduring Wexford 'gentry' family, had previously been a bailiff there in 1306.¹⁰⁰ Similarly, although of lower estate, John Swein, the man appointed as king's receiver of Bigod's manors in Ireland in 1302-3, was the individual (or the heir of the same) who paid 10s. 0d. rent for

⁹⁷ PRO SC6/1239/4-8. On the bishopric of Winchester in the early 1300s the steward was a more peripatetic official than the treasurer (Page, 'Pipe roll of the bishopric of Winchester 1301-2', p.xvi).

⁹⁸ *CJR*, ii, 1, 25, 38, 50, 71, 89, 334; *CDI*, 1302-7, no.653; NAI EX2/3, pp.512-13.

⁹⁹ Hamond Peris may have been related to John Perys of Kilkenny who, alongside others, accounted for the issues of the see of Dublin in 1299-1300 (*CDI*, 1293-1301, pp.294, 316, no.748; *The Red book of Ormond* (Dublin, 1932), no.14, p.38).

¹⁰⁰ *CJR*, ii, 265; PRO E101/235/18. For a William Estmound of Wexford see *CJR*, i, 283 and *CJR*, iii, 235-6.

his tenement in the liberty of Carlow in the 1280s and whose relative acted as provost of Fennagh in the same liberty.¹⁰¹ Such local appointments by the exchequer are surprising because it was the department of the Dublin government most strongly dominated by English clerks, reflecting the primary interest of English kings in the revenue and resources which could be obtained from their Irish lordship.¹⁰² Indeed, the period in question witnessed an intensification in the control exercised from England over fiscal matters in Ireland after 1293, as a reaction against the fraudulent accounting exercised by two recent Irish treasurers.¹⁰³

Ministers in Ireland were presumably interested in appointing men whom they could control. Indeed, the officials of the Irish exchequer at no point seem to have had a particular problem in getting either the treasurers or receivers of the liberties and counties in question to account at Dublin, as the regular entries now preserved in abbreviated form in the *Reports of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records in Ireland* show. This was probably because the Dublin government appointed known persons as treasurers of these liberties and counties. Henry de Belinges, a king's receiver in Kildare, for example, had previously acted as custos of Geoffrey de Lusignan's lands in Louth and as a collector of a fifteenth in county Dublin.¹⁰⁴ Similarly, John Swein had acted as a collector of a fifteenth in county Carlow in 1295-8.¹⁰⁵

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¹⁰¹ *38DKR*, p.59 (PR 29 Ed I); PRO SC6/1239/1-8, 1237/16. William Spynell paid 12*d.* rent *p.a.* for twelve acres at Fothered and recovered a debt in the court at Carlow in 1305-7 (*CJR*, ii, 50, 162-3, 267, 346-7). Henry de Belinges acted as a witness, juror and pledge in Louth, Dublin and Trim (*CJR*, i, 30, 83, 224, 228-9, 263; *CJR*, ii, 258; *CJR*, iii, 76-7; *CDI*, 1252-84, nos.1283, 1596, 1953; *CDI*, 1285-92, pp.61, 413). John Rauf appeared in the records of common pleas in 1306 relating to Tipperary (*CJR*, ii, 301). Thomas Shynagh acted as a mainpriser and juror in Kildare (*CJR*, i, 441; *CJR*, ii, 496). The patronymic le Poer (Carlow) belonged to a prolific Anglo-Irish lineage.

¹⁰² Frame, *English lordship*, p.92; T. F. Tout, *The Place of the reign of Edward II in English history* (Manchester, 1914), p.385. Hubert Hall, *The Antiquities and curiosities of the exchequer* (London, 1891), pp.xi, 80 regarded the royal exchequer as a prototype for all fiscal procedures and the treasurer as the most important office.

¹⁰³ J. F. Lydon, 'The Enrolled account of Alexander Bicknor, treasurer of Ireland, 1308-14', *Analecta Hibernica* 30 (1982), 9-10; *Admin. Ire.*, p.57.

¹⁰⁴ *CDI*, 1293-1301, nos.48, 90, 113, 160, 208, 222, 282, 301, pp.191, 251, 307, 334; *CDI*, 1302-7, pp.10, 25, 38, no.608; *38DKR*, p.57 (PR 29 Ed I).

¹⁰⁵ *CDI*, 1293-1301, pp.93, 233.

The English lords of the liberties of Carlow, Kildare, Kilkenny and Wexford seem to have appointed local men not only to act as their seneschals but, more surprisingly, as their treasurers as well. The tendency for treasurers often to be from relatively obscure Anglo-Irish families may have been due to the relatively low wages on offer to the financial officers of the liberties. Local ties did not give the treasurers scope to abuse their position. Audits of accounts were fairly regular and thorough and it may have been usual for the seneschal, as in Carlow in 1306, to exercise a degree of supervision over his subordinate colleague. This system seems to have worked since no evidence of fraud by the treasurer of a liberty exists, in contrast to the evidence lined up against several treasurers of Ireland.

(iii) The Council

The council was part of the mechanism that allowed English lords' administrations in Ireland to deal with the day-to-day problems which they faced. A council had greater responsibility and power to act than did a single officer of an administration. The king's council of Ireland, for example, could undertake more difficult decisions than could the justiciar alone.¹⁰⁶ Similarly, it was with the agreement of the liberty council that the seneschal of Wexford decided to provision the castle of Ferns in 1294 against the possible repercussions of the capture of the earl of Ulster by John fitz Thomas.¹⁰⁷

It has long been known that lords had councils: indeed, Denholm-Young argued that the 'typical' thirteenth-century magnate could be assumed to possess one to help him to 'supervise the work of his local officials'.¹⁰⁸ This is not surprising since magnates' administrative structures mirrored those of the crown. Neither should it be surprising

¹⁰⁶ Otway-Ruthven, *Med. Ire.*, p.148. The council in Ireland was 'relatively more important' than that in England because 'the authority of the justiciar or lieutenant was only a delegated one.' The king, therefore, undertook to ensure that he had good counsel available to him in Ireland and in 1292, for example, requested that both the bishops of Meath and of Ossory should attend all future councils in the lordship (*CDI, 1285-92*, no.1153). Even in England, the justiciar had not been the primary voice in the council (F. West, *The Justiciarship in England 1066-1232* (Cambridge, 1966), p.233).

¹⁰⁷ J. Lydon, 'Land of War', in Cosgrove ed. *NHI* ii, 260.

¹⁰⁸ Denholm-Young, *Seignorial administration*, p.27. Ward, *English noblewomen*, p.114 suggests that the council in the late thirteenth century was probably only informal.

that a lord should have a council of which he was not usually a part. Neither Edward I nor Edward II visited the lordship of Ireland but this did not preclude them from having a council there. Indeed, councils were all the more important and authoritative when the landowner in question was an absentee.¹⁰⁹

What the composition of such a liberty council was is more difficult to pin down.¹¹⁰ There is some consensus in the historiography, written from an English perspective, that a lord's officials and substantial tenants would have been important council members.¹¹¹ The Anglo-Irish council of Geoffrey de Geneville, the lord of Trim, was indeed composed of his 'most important sub-tenants'.¹¹² William Cadel also may have owed his position on the council in Carlow initially to the fact that he held land there. Cadel was still in receipt of fees and robes, presumably as a councillor, at least at the beginning of the seneschalship of John de Houtone (after Cadel's tenure of the office), in which role presumably he travelled to Dublin with Reginald Lyvet and the earl of Norfolk's *narratores* (pleaders) on his business.¹¹³ However, Cadel may have owed his membership of the council of Carlow at this time to his experience as seneschal of the liberty.¹¹⁴

Cadel was a member of the Carlow council during his tenure of the seneschalship as well. It seems likely that the seneschal of a liberty was always a member of the council, and probably took a presiding role. Certainly, the seneschal was also a member of the council for the liberty of Wexford. In the Michaelmas term of 1300 the sheriff of Dublin was sent to the court of the liberty of Wexford to record a plea which had been

¹⁰⁹ C. Rawcliffe, 'Baronial councils in the later middle ages', in C. Ross ed. *Patronage, pedigree and power in later medieval England* (Gloucester, 1979), p.98.

¹¹⁰ This is also true for the contemporary council of the king of England (J. F. Baldwin, *The King's council in England during the middle ages* (Oxford, 1913), pp.70-1).

¹¹¹ Altschul, *The Clares*, p.235; Denholm-Young, *Seignorial administration*, p.28; Holmes, *The Estates of the higher nobility*, p.76; Rawcliffe, 'Baronial councils', p.94; Kate Mertes, *The English noble household 1250-1600: good governance and politic rule* (Oxford, 1988), pp.127-9. See also R. R. Davies, 'Baronial accounts, incomes, and arrears in the later middle ages', *Economic History Review* 21 (1968), 222.

¹¹² J. N. O'Halloran, 'The lordship of Meath, 1172-1307' (MA, University College Dublin, 1984), p.169.

¹¹³ PRO SC6/1239/9.

¹¹⁴ Cf. *CDI*, 1285-92, no.999 (pp.450-1) where the former keeper of Ireland is referred to as chief of the king's council in Ireland.

heard before ‘Richard de Penkeskey, then seneschal of Wexford, Richard fitz Simon, John fitz Henry and others of the council of lady Joan de Valence countess of Pembroke’.¹¹⁵ John fitz Henry had been the seneschal of Wexford prior to the appointment of Richard de Pevensey. It is probable that officers other than the seneschal would also have formed part of a lord’s council. Although the word ‘council’ is not mentioned, a final concord made in the court of the liberty of Kilkenny in January 1311 suggests that this was the case. This concord was made in the presence of ‘Sir Stephen de la Mora then seneschal of Kilkenny, Sir Simon Dunynes then treasurer there, Robert Deneys then sheriff of the same place, William Alexander and other faithful men of the aforesaid lord earl then there’.¹¹⁶

There is also evidence of at least one outside professional forming part of a lord’s council in Ireland.¹¹⁷ In 1303-4, Adam de la Roche, another seneschal of Wexford, petitioned to be allowed 60s. 0d., which he had paid to William de Athy ‘to remain of the council of the lady and to be an aid in the assizes and pleas’.¹¹⁸ William had previously been the seneschal of Kilkenny¹¹⁹ and seems to have been a professional serjeant practising in Dublin.¹²⁰ Moreover, in January 1294 William de Athy was appointed, alongside John de Horton, to act as a substitute for Robert Bagot, chief justice of the Dublin Bench, whenever Bagot was unable to act through illness.¹²¹ It would not be surprising if more evidence were to be found of such professionals being members of a lord’s council. Historians of a later period, in which references to payments to lawyers retained by a lord to give counsel are more common, have certainly concentrated ‘upon the legal aspects of seignorial councils’.¹²² Parallels are often drawn

¹¹⁵ NAI RC7/6, pp.336-7.

¹¹⁶ NLI D.1959. Altschul, *The Clares*, p.290 questions whether the de Clares had a council in Ireland.

¹¹⁷ A. E. Levett, ‘Baronial councils and their relation to manorial courts’, in H. M. Cam, M. Coate and L. S. Sutherland ed. *Studies in manorial history* (Oxford, 1938), 26 noted the occasional presence of a judge or itinerant justice on a lord’s council.

¹¹⁸ *Doc. Aff. Ire.*, no.64. This method of recruiting council members was later used by Elizabeth de Burgh in relation to her Irish lands (Frame, *English lordship*, p.66).

¹¹⁹ *CJR*, i, 72.

¹²⁰ Brand, ‘Early history of the legal profession’, p.32.

¹²¹ *Idem*, ‘Birth of a colonial judiciary’, pp.21-2.

¹²² Rawcliffe, ‘Baronial councils’, p.88.

between conditions in the Welsh march and Ireland but it would be unlikely if the councils retained by Bigod, de Clare, de Valence and de Vescy in Ireland carried the virtual judicial omnicompetence of their counterparts (and, indeed, of these same men, excepting de Vescy) in the Welsh march.¹²³ Apart from anything else, Irish liberties lacked the total jurisdictional independence and the individual customs of the Marcher lordships. And, indeed, it seems that on occasion Bigod's council at Carlow deferred to his mainland council for instructions: this certainly occurred when Carlow was threatened with the loss of Old Ross, one of its most profitable manors (below, p.169).

Levett suggested that that men trained in the law may have been 'the most important ...section of the council'.¹²⁴ There is some evidence that men of legal experience employed as *narratores* (pleaders) by English lords were also retained as members of their councils in Ireland. This evidence relates to Elyas de Ibbestan who received a fee of 55s. for being a member of Bigod's council in 1283/4. This was distinct from his retainer of £5 which he received from 1282/4 for service as a *narrator*.¹²⁵

More interesting, however, is whether Bigod's other *narrator*, William de Weston, was retained as a member of his council. Weston was retained as a *narrator* for the earl at the fee of £5 from 1280 to 1289; and the Carlow treasurer's accounts for 1293/4 record the purchase of cloth and fur for William de Weston's robes as *narrator* but do not mention his fee.¹²⁶ William, moreover, was a royal justice. He acted as an itinerant justice for the king at Clonmel in 1289, at Limerick in 1290 and at Waterford in 1297.¹²⁷ And, as Maddicott has argued, 'few connections were more important for most magnates than those which they sought with the king's justices'.¹²⁸ It would have made

¹²³ See Davies, *Lordship and society in the march of Wales*, pp.168-9. A. J. Otway-Ruthven, 'The Constitutional position of the great lordships of South Wales', *TRHS* 8 (1958), 1, makes the point that Irish, like English, liberties never had the same degree of independence as the Welsh marchers.

¹²⁴ Levett, 'Baronial councils and their relation to manorial courts', p.26.

¹²⁵ PRO SC6/1239/2, 3, 5. Members of the de Clare council in England were paid £31 *p.a.* in 1307 (Altschul, *The Clares*, p.235).

¹²⁶ PRO SC6/1239/9.

¹²⁷ *Admin. Ire.*, p.143; *CDI*, 1285-92, no.559, p.268; *CJR*, i, 152.

¹²⁸ J. R. Maddicott, 'Law and lordship: royal justices as retainers in thirteenth and fourteenth century England', *Past and Present* Supplement no.4 (1978), 2.

good sense for Bigod to retain Weston, who seems to have been the first appointment of a professional lawyer to the bench in Ireland,¹²⁹ as a council member.

Unfortunately we cannot prove that Weston was retained of Bigod's council, although we may suspect that he was. There was, for example, royal precedent for the retention of justices as council members. Edward I, the greatest English lord in Ireland, who ordered his treasurer of Ireland to pay twenty marks *p.a.* to Robert Bagot, justice of Common Pleas in Ireland, 'that he may be of the K.'s Council there.' This payment was distinct from the £40 *p.a.* which Robert received as his fee as a justice.¹³⁰ Further, Bigod knew the advantages of retaining important justices in an English context: Thomas Weylaund, justice of the Common Bench at Westminster 1274-8 and chief justice 1279-89, was retained by Bigod from 1271 onwards and, as noted, was alleged to be Bigod's 'chief counsellor' in 1289.¹³¹ It is possible that Elyas de Ibbestan was appointed to the council at Carlow in the absence of Weston who was concerned with various business of the earl in Dublin.¹³²

Although Bigod had retained important justices to be part of his English council, there is no definite proof that justices were retained as council members at Carlow. Indeed, there is no evidence that any of the English lords retained justices as part of their Irish administrations at all.¹³³ All evidence rather points to the fact that it was the seneschal who presided over the liberty court. This requirement was implicit in the extant patents of appointment of seneschals, and the justiciary rolls bear out the fact that the seneschals

¹²⁹ Brand, 'Birth of a colonial justiciary', p.30.

¹³⁰ *CDI*, 1285-92, no.169, p.77.

¹³¹ Maddicott, 'Royal justices as retainers', p.16. Weylaund was also appointed as one of Bigod's attorneys while he himself visited Ireland in 1279 (*CPR*, 1272-81, p.319). A. L. Spitzer, 'The Legal careers of Thomas de Weylaund and Gilbert of Thornton', *Journal of Legal History* 6 (1985), 65-6 describes Bigod as Weylaund's 'patron'.

¹³² Elyas's status as a *narrator* in Carlow certainly increased during Weston's absence (Elyas had previously been on the books at a lesser fee). It is possible that Weston's absence also affected Elyas's position by leaving a gap for a legally trained man on the liberty council.

¹³³ Hand, *English Law in Ireland*, p.116 argues that the seneschal was accompanied by 'other members of a lord's council, justices or assessors' on judicial business. Justices and/or assessors were not necessarily council members, however.

did hold the courts within the liberty for which they were responsible.¹³⁴ Pleaders (or serjeants) such as William de Weston were employed to represent a lord in the king's courts.¹³⁵

Considering the relatively low numbers of professional serjeants available in the late thirteenth-century lordship, it would not be surprising if such men served on the council of more than one lord. The professional serjeant, William de Athy, presumably brought his expertise to the council of Gilbert de Clare whilst he was seneschal of Kilkenny as well as to the council of Joan de Valence at Wexford. Both Elias de Ibbestan and William de Weston were employed by the earl of Gloucester as well as by Bigod. Elias was nominated as an attorney for Gilbert de Clare in 1277 and William de Weston was associated with David de Offinton, seneschal of Kilkenny, as an assessor.¹³⁶ Although there is no direct evidence that the de Clare lords established a separate council in Ireland, it is at least possible that Ibbestan and Weston gave their counsel to the administration at Kilkenny. And another final concord made in the liberty court at Kilkenny adds some weight to this view, the deed being made in the presence of 'Sir Andrew Avenel then seneschal of Kilkenny, Master Henry de Bageleye then Treasurer of the same place, William de Weston and Walter de Shuldham then sheriff of Kilkenny and others...'¹³⁷

* * *

The Irish councils of these liberties, which possibly included Kilkenny, seem to have been composed of leading members of the liberty administration (who may also have been important tenants of the lord), and men of legal expertise. The existence of a council enabled the administration to act with greater self-sufficiency, since the council's endorsement lent increased authority to the actions of the seneschal. These

¹³⁴ The justiciary rolls record one occasion when the court of the liberty of Kildare was held by persons other than the seneschal, but in this case it was held by his deputies and not by justices (*CJR*, i, 171).

¹³⁵ Cf. Brand, 'Early history of the legal profession', pp.45-7.

¹³⁶ *CPR 1272-81*, p.203; *CJR*, i, 88-9. Elias also held land of the earl of Gloucester in Kilkenny (*CIPM*, iv, 435), which may have secured him a position on Gilbert's council (see Rawcliffe, p.149n111).

¹³⁷ *NAI RC7/11*, pp.73-4. Brand, 'Early history of the legal profession', p.43 has also found evidence that the services of professional serjeants were available and required in Kilkenny liberty in the early 1300s.

Irish councils were, nevertheless, probably subordinate to those of their lord in England or Wales.

(B) Travelling officials: messengers, attorneys and auditors

This section will examine the role played by visiting officials in the administration of English lords' lands in Ireland. Messengers, auditors and attorneys will be considered in the same section because there was not always a clear distinction between these categories of official. Messengers could act as attorneys and auditors; auditors could act as messengers; and attorneys brought messages relating to their business with them. This section will largely deal with the liberty of Carlow between 1280 and 1294 for reasons of the survival of evidence.

(i) Messengers

An obvious way for an English lord to keep in contact with the administrators of his Irish lands was through the agency of messengers. Evidence of the sending of messengers remains only for the liberty of Carlow. This is tabulated in Appendix 3 of the thesis. The Carlow accounts reveal two distinct categories of messenger: the *nuncius domini comitis* who were actually retained of the lord, and the *nuncius locatus* who were employed on an *ad hoc* basis. This terminology reflected a distinction made by the English chancery between *nuncius regis* and *nuncius locatus* during King John's reign, although the phraseology of royal documents had changed to *nuncius regis* and *cokinus* by the reign of Edward I.¹³⁸ Whereas the English royal wardrobe employed both *nuncii regis* and *cokini*, however, it was the Carlow administration who employed *nuncii locati* whilst named *nuncii comiti* were sent to Carlow by the earl of Norfolk.

The social and economic origins of the men employed as messengers in Bigod's name probably paralleled those of the *nuncii regis* and the *cokini*. Hill argued that 'the king's messengers came of land-holding stock, probably from the smaller free tenants on the royal demesne'; in contrast, *cokini* were found among the court's 'hangers-on' and 'jack[s]-of-all-trades'.¹³⁹ It seems likely that the named earl's messengers in the Carlow accounts were both tenants of Bigod and in receipt of livery, probably at Chepstow. The messengers named Richard Faucun, Ardern, Litepruce and Robert all seem to have been retained by Bigod and made the journey from England to Carlow on the business of the earl on several occasions between 1280 and 1294 at least. The unnamed *nuncii locatii* in contrast were employed on an *ad hoc* basis to run errands within Carlow or perhaps to Dublin, and certainly were not retained by the Carlow administration. The business which were they were concerned was usually not specified although a couple of entries refer to the precise nature of their employment (see Appendix 3, Table D, pp.265-7). Evidence relating to similar messengers comes from the 1314/16 receiver's account for the liberty of Kilkenny, which records the expenses of 'divers messengers...on divers journeys to divers places of Ireland.'¹⁴⁰

As already suggested, however, the sending of information was not confined to these two categories of messenger. There may have been a third category of messenger, one who carried messages from Carlow to England but was not referred to as *nuncius domini comitis*. In 1287/8 Hugo Tal[]ar travelled to England 'on business of the earl' with Brother Walter, the earl's auditor, and returned to Ireland; and he travelled to England again in 1288/9 on the earl's business. Hugo was not designated as a

¹³⁸ Mary C. Hill, *The King's messengers 1199-1377. A Contribution to the history of the royal household* (London, 1961), pp.12, 14-15.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp.15, 127.

¹⁴⁰ PRO SC6/1239/13.

messenger in the accounts but the entry relating to him immediately followed those relating to *nuncii domini comitis* in the messenger part of the expenses section. It is probable that Hugo conveyed information between Carlow and the earl's administration in England.

The precise reasons for messengers being sent to Carlow from England were not always recorded but the frequency with which messengers crossed the Irish Sea seems to have been higher when communication was needed on issues of particular concern to Bigod or his mainland council. This may have reflected the limited authority of the council at Carlow. For example, between 1283 and 1285 seven sets of messengers made this journey and some, if not all, were involved with the important wrangle over the manor of Old Ross that looked likely to proceed against the earl.¹⁴¹ The time spent in Carlow by the earl's messengers in general did not increase significantly at such times, however. The messenger Wylletok spent three weeks and four days in the lordship of Carlow in 1293/4, presumably in connection with the dispute over the ferry at New Ross,¹⁴² but from the evidence available the average sojourn in the Irish lordship by such messengers was some nine weeks and five days. The longest stay by a messenger in the lordship for which we have evidence was that by Robert, earl's messenger, in 1283/4 who travelled to Carlow 'for the plea of Kenles [?Kells]' and stayed in the lordship for over five months.¹⁴³ As Nugent explained, messengers often 'came on specific errands...and frequently stayed for many weeks...to see the matter through'.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴¹ See Nugent, 'Carlow in the middle ages', p.69.

¹⁴² See *ibid.*, p.70; *CJR*, i, 126.

¹⁴³ A Master Gilbert O'Bergath defended Carlow's licence to the church of 'Kenles' in this year for which he received 13s. 4d. by letter of the earl (PRO SC6/1239/3).

¹⁴⁴ Nugent, 'Carlow in the middle ages', p.73.

These extended sojourns in Carlow by the earl's messengers point to the fact that these men did not just relay instructions or information. Here it is necessary to depart somewhat from Nugent who stated that messengers 'on the whole...seem to have acted through the seneschal or treasurer in matters affecting the internal affairs of the liberty.' At least three of Bigod's messengers acted as his attorneys. The Carlow treasurer's account for 1283/4 records a payment to 'Faucun and Ardern, messengers of the earl, who attended the plea of Old Ross, and who were attorneys in the said plea.' It is not possible to tell whether they were appointed as attorneys by the seneschal of Carlow on their arrival in the liberty, or whether their status had always been that of attorneys. The latter option is more probable since it is not clear that Cadel had the authority to make attorneys at this time, and since Faucun himself received messengers whilst he was in the lordship. The fact that Litepruce, earl's messenger, stayed in Carlow for only eleven days in 1288/9 but was recorded as the earl's attorney suggests he was sent to Ireland with this status. It is possible, however, that a request for a change in the status of Faucun and Ardern in 1283/4, who stayed in the Carlow for over three months, was communicated to Bigod who then sent further instructions. The fact that the wages received by messengers and those received by attorneys whilst in Ireland were the same at 2*d.* per day does not clarify the issue. Rather this allows the possibility that other men recorded as messengers in the Carlow accounts and in receipt of 2*d.* per day also acted as attorneys for the earl.

The earl's messengers may also have had a role to play in the process of auditing the Carlow accounts. On five occasions messengers were sent to Carlow with the task of *acquietand'* [acquitting liberty officers of debts]. The role that these messengers had to play was probably in the provision of writs and letters of the earl allowing certain expenses that the treasurer or seneschal of Carlow had made. Several expenses in many

of the Carlow accounts are allowed *per litteras comitis* or *per breve comitis*. It seems likely, for example, that William Cadel was able to persuade the auditors to allow expenses in 1286/7, which had been disallowed in 1285/6, owing to the receipt of a writ from the earl. Richard, earl's messenger, was present in the liberty for the purpose of acquitting in this year, and Bigod is known to have issued writs to other of his officials who had appealed to him over his auditors' heads.¹⁴⁵

(ii) Attorneys

An obvious means of remaining up to date with their affairs in Ireland on the part of English lords was to employ attorneys to act for them. Such men could be given extensive discretion to act in the name of a lord. This was the way in which John de Fresingfeld the elder and younger, for example, communicated with the lordship from 1308 onwards.¹⁴⁶ Another instance of the use of attorneys is provided by Milicent de Montalt and her son William de la Zouche of Harringworth, neither of whom appear to have visited their Irish lands in Leinster, and who were consequently entirely dependent upon the use of attorneys to maintain their interests in the lordship between 1290 and 1318.¹⁴⁷ It has also been argued that the de Clare lords of Kilkenny conducted their 'business in Ireland' through attorneys.¹⁴⁸ The importance of attorneys has been recognised by Frame who has argued that the significant, and often unseen, role of such virtual 'plenipotentaries' should not be overlooked.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁵ Several such writs issued by Bigod to auditors are printed by Denholm-Young, *Seignorial administration*, pp.165-6.

¹⁴⁶ *CPR, 1307-13*, pp.72, 188, 324, 510; *CPR, 1313-17*, pp.10, 106, 282, 553. John de Fresingfeld acquired lands in Ireland during his service as a justice of the Dublin bench.

¹⁴⁷ *CDI, 1252-84*, nos.1659, 1915, 1917, 2157, 2211; *CDI, 1285-92*, no.492; *CDI, 1293-1301*, 287, 482-3, 558; *CPR, 1307-13*, pp.60, 353; *CPR, 1317-21*, p.46.

¹⁴⁸ C. A. Empey, 'Co. Kilkenny in the Anglo-Norman period', in W. Nolan and K. Whelan ed. *Kilkenny: history and society. Interdisciplinary essays on the history of an Irish county* (Dublin, 1990), p.84.

¹⁴⁹ Frame, *English lordship*, p.66.

The English lords of Carlow, Kildare, Kilkenny and Wexford used various sources of attorneys in their dealings with their Irish liberties. Perhaps the most obvious source was from among the men associated with a lord in England. Such men were probably chosen by the lord himself and familiar with his business, an important factor when the seneschals and treasurers of the liberties were Anglo-Irish. The de Clares, for example, usually employed 'an official from...[their] lordship in England and Wales',¹⁵⁰ such as John de Crepping who was sent to Ireland on the affairs of the earl of Gloucester in 1287 and who was made sheriff of Glamorgan in 1289, 1292 and 1293.¹⁵¹ Brother John, who served Bigod as an attorney in 1293/4, could have hailed from Tintern Abbey, Monmouth, from which institution Bigod drew some of his auditors.¹⁵² Roger of Castle Goodrich, one of Aymer de Valence's attorneys to Ireland appointed in 1304 and 1305, likewise hailed from de Valence lands in England.¹⁵³

Attorneys sent to Ireland from England could also take up-to-date information to the lord's administrators in Ireland. Roger Ryvaus and David Walons, the attorneys who visited Carlow in 1285/6 and stayed some six weeks and five days, did just this.¹⁵⁴ Such short-term stints were essentially the same as those performed by Bigod's messengers who also doubled as attorneys. These men were probably sent to Ireland on specific missions. Although he was not named as an attorney, this was probably the position

¹⁵⁰ Empey, *op. cit.*

¹⁵¹ *CDI, 1285-92*, nos. 293, 364; Altschul, *The Clares*, pp.263-4. Altschul argued that the sheriffs of Glamorgan were more involved in the 'over-all administration' of the de Clares than their other officials. This stemmed from their membership of the earl's *comitiva* and their membership of long-standing Glamorgan families.

¹⁵² PRO SC6/1239/9. John could equally have been a member of Tintern Abbey, Wexford. 'Brother Walter' who audited the liberty accounts in 1293/4 may have come from this institution (below, p.167). Another of Bigod's attorneys was a Robert Duvall who served the earl in this capacity in 1279/80 (PRO SC6/1239/10).

¹⁵³ *CPR, 1281-1292*, p.44; *CPR, 1301-07*, p.242, 382.

¹⁵⁴ PRO SC6/1239/5; see also PRO SC6/1237/17. Roger Ryvaus had previously served the earl as an attorney in 1281/2 (PRO SC6/1239/10).

held by Philip de Othinton, clerk, who travelled to Ireland in 1282 to organise the shipment of various goods to the earl of Norfolk in Wales.¹⁵⁵

There was another potential source of attorneys: the officials whom a lord already employed on his Irish estates.¹⁵⁶ Such men could be trusted and were already familiar with their 'client's' affairs; indeed, acting as a lord's attorney could be 'a common duty of the thirteenth-century steward'.¹⁵⁷ As mentioned, the earl of Gloucester employed his seneschal as an attorney in 1283.¹⁵⁸ This was a tactic also used by Roger Bigod who appointed William Cadel, the *locum tenens* of his seneschal at Carlow, as one of his attorneys in Ireland in 1282.¹⁵⁹ William de Valence appointed his seneschal, John de Castro Martini, as one of his attorneys in 1280.¹⁶⁰ Thomas de Multon, a landholder in Limerick and Cumbria, similarly appointed his seneschal, John le Taillur of Egremont, as his attorney in all pleas in Ireland, with power to appoint other attorneys, for a term of two years in 1314.¹⁶¹ This is an timely reminder that important as seneschals and other officials were, they were not empowered to act for their lord as his *loci tenentes* unless specifically so appointed. Bigod did, nevertheless, appoint three of his seneschals, including Cadel, to act as attorneys for him in Ireland. The other two men in question were John de Houtone and Robert le Marchaund, appointed as attorneys in 1293 and 1297 respectively.¹⁶² Gilbert de Clare also appointed David de Offinton as an

¹⁵⁵ *CDI*, 1252-84, no.2009; PRO SC6/1239/2.

¹⁵⁶ Brand, 'Early history of the legal profession', p.47 attributes this trend to a lack of professional attorneys.

¹⁵⁷ Page, 'Pipe roll of the bishopric of Winchester 1301-2', pp.xvi-xvii.

¹⁵⁸ *CPR*, 1281-92, p.56; Altschul, *The Clares*, p.287.

¹⁵⁹ *CPR*, 1281-92, p.34. Bigod also appointed the abbot of Tintern as his attorney in Ireland in 1304 (PRO SC1/28/48). Atkin, 'The Bigod family', p.237 suggests that Roger Bigod took the precaution of appointing two attorneys 'presumably to keep a check on one another' and that this practice followed his dismissal of Robert Cokerel, seneschal, for his poor management of Carlow. The appointment of two attorneys, however, seems to have been the usual practice.

¹⁶⁰ *CDI*, 1252-84, no.1711.

¹⁶¹ NAI KB2/5, pp.128-9.

¹⁶² NAI RC7/5, pp.44-5; *CPR*, 1292-1301, pp.9, 226.

attorney for him in 1285 for three years;¹⁶³ and Thomas de Brotherton, lord of Carlow, appointed Adam de la Roche to act as both attorney and seneschal for him when he came into the seisin of his Irish lands in 1312.¹⁶⁴ Not surprisingly, men who served one lord as a seneschal could be found serving another as an attorney. Richard de Pevensey, three times seneschal of Wexford whose last term in this office seems to have ended in 1302, was appointed as an attorney for Joan Butler and John de Tany (his father-in-law) in 1302 and for Edmund Butler in 1303.¹⁶⁵

Attorneys found within the lordship of Ireland could also provide a source of future officials for a lord's estates. In 1282 Bigod appointed Reginald Lyvet his future sheriff of Carlow to act as an attorney for him in Ireland with William Cadel (below). Gilbert de Clare appointed a John de Clare, who acted as seneschal of Kilkenny in 1300, as his attorney in Ireland in 1277 and 1279.¹⁶⁶ Agnes de Valence likewise appointed her future bailiff, John de Hothum, as her attorney in Ireland in 1293 and 1294.¹⁶⁷

At this point it is necessary to make a distinction between the type of attorneys already discussed who were virtual plenipotenaries of a lord, and attorneys appointed to represent a lord in a particular court and/or case. This latter type of attorney could be acquired within the lordship since he did not necessarily need to have a detailed command of a lord's interests prior to appointment. It was by this method that Adam de la Roche, steward of Wexford, acquired an attorney 'at Dublin for the lady during two years' for ten pounds.¹⁶⁸ There is no evidence that the lords of Carlow, Kildare or

¹⁶³ *CPR, 1281-92*, p.167.

¹⁶⁴ *NAI RC8/7*, pp.295-7.

¹⁶⁵ *CPR, 1301-07*, pp.36, 43, 152.

¹⁶⁶ *CPR, 1272-81*, pp. 233, 352.

¹⁶⁷ *CPR, 1292-1301*, pp.27, 125.

¹⁶⁸ *Doc. Aff. Ire.*, no.64.

Kilkenny purchased the services of professional attorneys at Dublin, perhaps because there were few men whose services could be retained.¹⁶⁹ When Gilbert de Clare appointed David de Offinton and Richard de Leye as his attorneys in Ireland with power to appoint others as attorneys for him, he presumably envisaged that David and Richard would act as his plenipotentiaries and appoint other men to deal with specific cases. Attorneys acquired in this manner may have been able to do little more than represent their clients in legal cases by appearing in court on all the days nominated - a traditional definition of an attorney's duties.¹⁷⁰ Depending on who was hired this system could have its advantages. Most attorneys were probably going to be brought into contact with the Dublin government and as such the appointment of 'royal ministers...or men closely associated with them' was advisable.¹⁷¹ This was probably the logic behind Otto de Grandison's decision to employ Walter de la Haye, escheator of Ireland, as one of his attorneys in Ireland in 1290.¹⁷²

Attorneys were, of course, just as useful a means for predominantly Irish-based lords to keep in touch with their English interests. It was for this reason that Nicholas Dunheved, for example, appointed attorneys in England in 1295-6, because he was staying in Ireland.¹⁷³ Thomas de Clare, who, apart from a brief period of time between November 1283 and September 1284, spent most of his time in Ireland from October 1274 onwards, likewise found it important to appoint attorneys for his English lands.¹⁷⁴

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¹⁶⁹ Brand, 'Early history of the legal profession', p.47.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p.16.

¹⁷¹ Frame, *English lordship*, pp.68-9 (quote p.69). Smith, *The English in Louth, 1170-1330*, p.129 argues that absentees valued men 'with local knowledge and connections as attorneys'.

¹⁷² *CPR, 1281-92*, p.371. Otto's other attorney was William de Drayton, the custodian of his lands.

¹⁷³ *CDI, 1293-1301*, no.287.

¹⁷⁴ Altschul, *The Clares, 1217-1314*, p.193; *CDI, 1252-84*, nos.1059, 1914, 2144, 2210, 2308.

It is not always possible to tell if a man appointed as an attorney was authorised to act in all his lord's business or just in a limited case. Neither can the activities of attorneys be known in full. Their patents of appointment survive but details of the cases in which they acted do not. In so far as messengers and auditors acted as attorneys, however, some details can be recovered.

(iii) Auditors and accountability

Another means of retaining control over what occurred on far-flung estates was through auditors. The importance of the auditors was put, rather brusquely, by McFarlane who argued that a lord's ministers 'could only be trusted if they were efficiently watched and made to watch one another.'¹⁷⁵ That there was certainly a need for auditors can be seen from the problems that Agnes de Valence encountered with her bailiff in Ireland, John de Valle: when John's accounts were audited they revealed that £426 were definitely missing, and he was unable to account clearly for another £1,023.¹⁷⁶

The main evidence with which the topic of auditors can be approached is again that of the accounts of the liberty of Carlow between 1280 and 1294. This section will examine how often auditing occurred, which accounts were audited and whom Bigod employed as his auditors. A distinction will be made between the accounts of the liberty (the treasurer's accounts) and the manorial accounts.

¹⁷⁵ McFarlane, *Nobility of later medieval England*, pp.52-3.

¹⁷⁶ Ó Cléirigh, 'Agnes de Valence', p.106. The need to keep a check on officials may even have increased throughout the period in question if Parker's analysis of the calibre of the men who held the

(a) Frequency of audit

Most of the ninety-two accounts of the manors, boroughs and mills of the liberty of Carlow bear signs of correction (sometimes in an apparently different ink or hand) and some contain marginal notes of sums; these features, however, cannot be taken as evidence that the accounts were definitely audited.¹⁷⁷ Neither does the existence of views of account, twenty of which survive at the manorial level, necessarily indicate that auditing had occurred: a view of account, drawn up as a statement on a yearly, half-yearly or on a more regular basis, could be drawn up by auditors and was subject to correction, but it was not the equivalent of an auditor's copy of the account.¹⁷⁸ The heading 'Auditur' on manorial accounts of 1280/1 and 1283/4 is more reliable evidence that auditing had occurred;¹⁷⁹ and the existence of allowance sections towards the end of thirty-two of these accounts suggests that some sort of audit had taken place. These allowance sections are evenly spread throughout the years for which accounts survive and this suggests that auditing occurred at a manorial level on an annual basis. The signs of auditing found in the Carlow accounts are tabulated in Appendix 3, Table E, pp.268-271 of the thesis.

There is less evidence relating to the auditing of the accounts of the liberty. Of the nine treasurer's accounts for the liberty of Carlow two (for the years 1281/2 and 1293/4) are views of account and three (for the years between 1284-7) contain allowance sections. The fact that the allowance sections from the accounts for 1285/6 and 1286/7 include

office of sheriff of Waterford can be extended to the Leinster liberties (Parker, 'Sheriffs of Waterford in the early fourteenth century', p.89).

¹⁷⁷ None of these accounts bear the recognised marginal notation used by some auditors which represented an abacus since this was a fifteenth-century innovation (C. L. Hector, *The Handwriting of English documents* (London, 2nd edn., 1966), p.41).

¹⁷⁸ Denholm-Young, *Seignorial administration*, p.132; P. D. A. Harvey, *Manorial records* (British Records Association, 1984), p.26; D. Oschinsky, 'Notes on the editing and interpretation of estate accounts', *Archives* 9 (1969-70), 142-3.

items which are not copied from manorial accounts for that year indicates that these treasurer's accounts were probably audited and that the allowances were not just included from manorial accounts of the liberty.¹⁸⁰ It cannot be a coincidence that the treasurer's accounts that contain the worst internal discrepancies do not have allowance sections. The respective receipt sub-totals from the accounts for 1287/8 and 1293/4 add up to an amount some £121 (9%) and some £52 (3.6%) less than the total receipts as given in the accounts.¹⁸¹ Much more numerous among the accounts of the liberty of Carlow are those which bear the interlineations, marginal notes, erasures and corrections of the auditors. Some of these accounts were clearly drawn up in a certain hand and ink, and had their totals and summaries sections filled in later by the auditors in another hand and ink.¹⁸² This reading of the internal evidence of the Carlow accounts corroborates Nugent's analysis that auditors did not visit the lordship every year.¹⁸³ Indeed, only the liberty account for 1288/9 records the expense of *computatores sui compotes in Hibernia audiend*, related to which ten 'lower' accounts for the year 1287/8 have survived which show signs of having been audited.¹⁸⁴ That this lapse of time between audits was true for the liberty of Kilkenny is suggested by the order to the executors of Gilbert de Clare, earl of Gloucester, to examine the Kilkenny accounts.¹⁸⁵

¹⁷⁹ PRO SC6/1238/25, 29.

¹⁸⁰ PRO SC6/1239/5-7, 9.

¹⁸¹ Errors in arithmetic were very unlikely in the case of accounts used for audit because the accuracy of the figures would have been thoroughly checked by 'too many people' (Harvey, *Manorial records*, p.26). In most instances the margins of error between the receipt and expense sections of the treasurer of Carlow's accounts is a matter of shillings and/or pence: the total sum of expenses given in the 1286/7 account seems to be too large by some £36 but since this was the amount allowed by the auditors it may simply be the case that the sum was not deducted.

¹⁸² Oschinsky, 'Editing and interpretation of estate accounts', 150; Baldwin, 'Household administration', p.185n4; J. S. Drew, 'Manorial accounts of St. Swithun's priory, Winchester', *EHR* 42 (1947), 25-6. Theoretically, at least, the clerks who drew up accounts were not supposed to make erasures but to underline the mistake and insert the correct text after the cancellation (*Dialogus de scaccario*, p.31).

¹⁸³ Nugent, 'Carlow in the middle ages', p.73n27.

¹⁸⁴ PRO SC6/1239/8. Drew, 'Manorial accounts of St. Swithun's', p.24n1 stated that *computans* referred to an accountant and *auditor* to an auditor in medieval rolls and that this distinction should be adhered to. The verb *computare* was used in various contexts in the Carlow accounts, however, and it makes sense to render *computatores* as 'auditors' in the context of expenses being paid for the hearing of accounts.

¹⁸⁵ NAI RC8/10, p.99.

The evidence of the Carlow accounts, then, suggests that the accounts of the various manors, mills and boroughs of the liberty were audited more frequently than those for the liberty itself compiled by the treasurer. The evidence from these accounts may not hold true for the whole period up to 1314 under review here. The latest Carlow account dates from 1293/4, the same year in which the Westminster parliament decided that the account of the Irish treasurer should be audited in England on an annual basis. Prior to this, accounting procedures at the Irish exchequer had been more relaxed and views of account had been regarded as adequate. And although the directive of 1293 did not drastically change affairs, with many Irish treasurers accounting only once at the end of their period in office,¹⁸⁶ it is possible that this drive for closer control by the English government may have affected the practices of individual landholders. Certainly, auditors were more important on the estates of the bishop of Winchester after c.1300.¹⁸⁷ We cannot, however, know if liberty accounts were audited more frequently after 1293 or not.

(b) Identity of auditors of (i) manorial accounts

Seneschaucy argued that liberty officers should be involved in the auditing of the accounts of the individual manors.¹⁸⁸ Accordingly, in Carlow, the treasurer was involved in the process of auditing the manorial accounts. For example, in 1284/5 Thomas Wade and his clerk travelled to Old Ross 'to hear the views of account of the

¹⁸⁶ Craig, 'Memoranda roll of the Irish exchequer', i, 18-19. Auditing of English royal accounts was also pretty *ad hoc* during the reign of Edward I (Hall, *Antiquities and curiosities of the exchequer*, p.292). Closer control over accounts at the English exchequer was also evidenced by the appointment of clerks to audit foreign accounts in 1310 (D. M. Broome, 'Auditors of the foreign accounts of the exchequer 1310-27', *EHR* 38 (1923), 64).

¹⁸⁷ Mark Page, 'Challenging custom: the auditors of the bishopric of Winchester, c.1300-1310', in *TCE* 6 (1995), 41.

¹⁸⁸ *Walter of Henley*, pp.267, 289-91; *Fleta*, ii, 260.

provosts'.¹⁸⁹ The treasurer and his clerk were not the only individuals involved in the audit of the manorial accounts. The liberty accounts reveal that a 'Brother Walter' of Tintern was paid expenses on several occasions. In 1282/3 he was paid expenses for having made views of account at various manors during the past four years.¹⁹⁰ He audited the accounts at Old Ross in 1286/7; and in the same year he and Thomas Curteys stayed at Fothered, where hay was bought to feed Walter's horses, for four days in order to hear accounts.¹⁹¹ Again, in 1292/3 Brother Walter was paid expenses for making views of account at Carlow and New Ross.¹⁹² It seems likely that Walter, who was referred to as a *computator comitis* in the Carlow accounts, and his fellows travelled around the liberty attending to the making of views on certain manors, as well supervising the audit at Carlow castle.¹⁹³ The question of which house Walter was a monk at (that is, Tintern abbey in Wexford or in Monmouth) is raised under the discussion of liberty accounts.

(b) (ii) liberty accounts

Clearly, no officers from the liberty could be involved in the audit of their own accounts. This much was stipulated by the author of *Seneschaucy*. Auditors of the liberty accounts, then, had to come from outside the liberty. The interesting question in the case of English-held lands in Ireland is whether English auditors were ever sent to Ireland or whether the liberty accounts were ever sent for audit in England, as were the Dublin exchequer accounts.

¹⁸⁹ PRO SC6/1239/4. Many examples in this section will relate to the manors of New Ross, Old Ross and Fothered. This is because these manors were located in county Wexford and journeys to them, being more expensive, featured in the expenses section of the treasurer's accounts.

¹⁹⁰ PRO SC6/1239/2.

¹⁹¹ PRO SC6/1239/6, SC6/1237/21, 53.

¹⁹² Hore, *Tintern Abbey*, p.45; PRO SC6/1239/9, 1237/22.

The accounts which survive from Carlow survive because they were sent to England. It seems likely that they were taken to England by Brother Walter and his fellows. There are payments recorded in two of the liberty accounts for such travel expenses: in 1285/6 Walter and Andrew were paid for crossing the sea 'in coming and returning'; in 1293/4 Walter's expenses in England were paid by the liberty.¹⁹⁴ Bags of money were certainly entrusted to Walter to take to Bigod's administrators at Chepstow.¹⁹⁵ It is not hard to believe that he also carried accounts with him, especially given his role in the auditing of the manorial accounts.

Accounts could also have been taken to England for audit by members of the liberty administration. It is not impossible that seneschals were required to present themselves and a liberty's accounts before a lord's mainland auditors. Certainly, seneschals made journeys to England during their tenure of office which are otherwise difficult to account for - especially when the seneschals in question had no connections with England. William Cadel's trip to England was definitely connected to his position at Carlow because the liberty accounts for 1284/5 record that he received his robe that year in England.¹⁹⁶ Adam de la Roche, seneschal of Wexford, travelled to England at least seven times between 1299 and 1303, 'passages which he made towards the lady going and returning for the needs of the lady'. He had also been in England on another occasion necessitating the appointment of a *locum tenens* for him in Ireland.¹⁹⁷ There is also evidence that a seneschal of Kilkenny, William de Caunetone, 'sailed toward

¹⁹³ In the 1293/4 account the expenses of auditors staying in Carlow, and the expenses of Brother Walter travelling to Carlow and Old Ross are recorded (PRO SC6/1239/9).

¹⁹⁴ PRO SC6/1239/5, 9.

¹⁹⁵ PRO SC6/1239/6.

¹⁹⁶ PRO SC6/1239/4.

¹⁹⁷ *Doc. Aff. Ire.*, no.64.

England' during his term of office.¹⁹⁸ Philip de Bocland, an English knight, also travelled to England during 1280/1.¹⁹⁹ He may, however, have been acting as an auditor for the earl in England, an office which he had previously performed in 1278.²⁰⁰ The possibility that English knights may have reported to their lord at the close of their term of office, should not be overlooked.

Evidence of auditors being sent to Ireland from England is thin. This is surprising given the tendency for the 'resident' officers of the liberties to be Anglo-Irish. This lack of evidence ties in with Ward's hesitancy in suggesting that auditors might be sent on a special trip to the liberty of Kilkenny.²⁰¹ It is possible that the men who wore two hats as messengers and attorneys to Ireland at times wore a third, auditorial, hat as well. Philip l'Albe, Joan de Valence's *locum tenens*, certainly acted as the auditor for the accounts of Adam de la Roche, her outgoing seneschal.²⁰²

The evidence that does exist of auditors being sent to Ireland from England relates to Philip de Bocland and Geoffrey of Colchester, a future seneschal and treasurer of the liberty of Carlow respectively, and a monk from Tintern abbey, Monmouth, all of whom audited the liberty accounts prior to 1280.²⁰³ (These auditors may have been sent in connection with the investigation into Cokerel's activities). More important than the fact that they journeyed from England, however, was the fact that they were retained by Bigod in England. It was not unusual for a lord's officers to audit the accounts of their fellow officers in different branches of his management. The auditors of the earl of

¹⁹⁸ NAI EX2/3, pp.512-13. This seems to have been a hasty departure since William did not have time to present his deputy at the Dublin exchequer in the proper manner.

¹⁹⁹ PRO SC6/1239/1.

²⁰⁰ Denholm-Young, *Seignorial administration*, p.139.

²⁰¹ Ward, 'Estates of the Clare family', pp.94, 100.

²⁰² *Doc. Aff. Ire.*, no.64; *CJR*, ii, 13.

Lincoln were often stewards and treasurers in ‘the most important posts’ elsewhere in his administration, for example.²⁰⁴ Whilst it is not possible to know whether Brother Walter, auditor of the Carlow manorial accounts, belonged to Tintern Abbey in Wexford or Monmouth, we know that he was retained as an auditor by Bigod’s mainland council. First, there is no indication that he was retained by the Carlow administration; and second, he had sufficient authority to issue instructions to the Carlow administration regarding a gift to a clerk and the sale of wheat.²⁰⁵ It is possible, therefore, that Walter and his fellows audited the liberty accounts too. Further, it is possible that the auditors of a lord’s Irish lands were retained directly by the lord in question. Aymer de Valence, at least, issued a writ authorising two of his clerks to audit his French lands, and these clerks were also empowered to give orders regarding Aymer’s business in France.²⁰⁶

More evidence exists for accounts from English-held lands in Ireland being audited by men resident in the lordship than auditors sent specially from England. John de Newcastle, who heard the accounts of the Kilkenny demesne manors in 1314-16, was a local man.²⁰⁷ Also local to the lordship of Ireland was Walter de la Haye, the escheator of Ireland, the auditor selected by William de Valence to audit the accounts of his brother, Geoffrey de Lusignan’s, bailiffs.²⁰⁸ Again, Christiana de Mariscis arranged that the accounts of her bailiff, William de Donerent, should be examined by her attorney

²⁰³ Denholm-Young, *Seignorial administration*, pp.139-40; Nugent, ‘Carlow in the middle ages’, p.68.

²⁰⁴ Baldwin, ‘Household administration’, p.184.

²⁰⁵ PRO SC6/1239/5, 9; cf. Page, ‘Auditors of the bishopric of Winchester’, p.42. One cloth was purchased for Walter’s use, probably on the instructions of the Chepstow council.

²⁰⁶ BL Add. Charter 19835.

²⁰⁷ *AH*, 34 (1987), 46.

²⁰⁸ *CDI*, 1293-1301, no.173.

and 'two free tenants of the vicinity of Kinelehan' (of which manor William was bailiff).²⁰⁹

The employment of local men as auditors does not seem to have raised problems. Lords seem to have taken care to retain reputable and able men to act as their auditors. It was argued in *Fleta* that 'auditors of accounts should be circumspect, with a perfect knowledge of the art of allowance and charge, men of good faith and not vexatious.'²¹⁰ The author of *Seneschaucy* likewise argued that it was not necessary to speak of auditors' duties in great detail 'because they ought to be so prudent, loyal, and experienced in their work that they ought not to have any need for instruction from others concerning the audit.'²¹¹ This was probably true, at least, of John de Newcastle, the auditor of the accounts of Kilkenny in 1314-16 since he went on to become the second engrosser of the Dublin exchequer.²¹² English lords, or their councils, tried to act in accordance with this advice when selecting auditors. They seem to have employed men with whom they already had associations. Estate officials, then, were an obvious source if they had not been involved in the production of the particular account. The auditors assigned to view the accounts of Adam de la Roche, *custos* of the liberty of Wexford, in 1305 were Gilbert de Sutton and Henry Estmond, the liberty's then seneschal and bailiff.²¹³ The employment of ecclesiastics was probably another way to try to ensure the good character of an auditor. The retention of Brother Walter has already been discussed. Such a choice was not unusual, however: the proposed auditors

²⁰⁹ *CCR*, 1272-9, p.513. In this case William had given a charter to Christiana which arranged that his lands in Ireland would be surrendered to her if any discrepancy appeared in his account (*ibid.*, pp.512-13).

²¹⁰ *Fleta*, ii, 260.

²¹¹ *Walter of Henley*, p.291.

²¹² *AH*, 34 (1987), 92.

²¹³ *CJR*, ii, 87. Richard de Pevensey, the former seneschal of Wexford, also acted as an auditor for the English lord, John le Butler, in 1303 (*Red book of Ormond*, no.42).

for Joan de Valence's lands in Kent in 1296 included the archdeacon of Surrey; and the chaplain of Clitheroe castle was a regular auditor for Henry Lacy, the earl of Lincoln.²¹⁴

One thing that auditors in the employ of all lords had in common was their stringency. The plea of John de Hothum, bailiff of Agnes de Valence, that 'the auditors of the account unduly aggrieved him'²¹⁵ was probably not an uncommon sentiment. It was shared by Adam de la Roche, seneschal of Joan de Valence, lady of Wexford, who submitted a lengthy petition concerning the amounts which Philip Abbot, Joan's *locum tenens*, would not allow to the sum of £257 9s. 8¾d.²¹⁶ Robert Immer, who had served Joan in some unspecified capacity in Ireland, and who had been imprisoned as a result of discrepancies in his account, also complained that her auditors were impossible to please.²¹⁷

* * *

Messengers, attorneys and auditors all represented the interests of their particular lord, but not necessarily those of his Irish administration. It is not surprising, then, to find that lords kept in frequent contact with their Irish estates through such 'travelling officials'. The frequency of the visits by these officials suggests that English landholders were interested in their Irish lands; this in turn suggests that English lordship in Ireland in this period was profitable.

Distinctions between the separate categories of 'travelling officials' were not always clear. Indeed, this category at times embraced the seneschal of a liberty. To look for evidence of distinct officials may say more about the modern than the medieval mindset,

²¹⁴ PRO SC1/48/71; Baldwin, 'Household administration', p.184n2. Joan's auditors were organised by her parson of Sutton Valence.

²¹⁵ *CJR*, ii, 19-20.

²¹⁶ *Doc. Aff. Ire.*, no.64.

however. It was not unusual, after all, for medieval officials to wear more than one hat at the same time.

* * * * *

The administrative structure in operation on the liberty of Carlow in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries was relatively complex and mirrored the administrative structures to be found in contemporary England. The main difference was that the seneschal, and not the treasurer, was the predominant officer. The important military role played by the seneschal ensured him this position.

Control over the activities of the administrations was exerted through a number of mechanisms. The manorial bailiffs were kept in check by the treasurer. The seneschal and treasurer acted as a mutual check on each other and both came under the scrutiny of the auditors. The authority of the seneschal, though extensive, could be superseded by that of a lord's attorneys or extended through the backing of the liberty council. The administration at Carlow certainly came under the authority of the earl of Norfolk's administration at Chepstow in the Welsh march. A similar situation probably existed with regard to Kilkenny and Wexford, although the situation in Kildare was complicated by the division of the liberty among the seven daughters of Sibyl Marshal.

Whether the picture painted of administrations running relatively smoothly and largely without need for intervention is true of the period as a whole is questionable, however. The bulk of the evidence used comes from the 1280s, a period of relative peace and prosperity in south-east Ireland after 1282, and the situation which pertained on the eve of the Bruce invasion may have been somewhat different. Certainly, the seneschals of

²¹⁷ PRO SC1/48/32.

these liberties had become more active in their military roles during the early years of the fourteenth century. It is also clear that the level of income generated by the liberty of Carlow, at least, had fallen considerably. Nevertheless, the period between 1272 and 1314/15 was one in which English lords profited from their Irish estates at little inconvenience to themselves, if not to their administrators. Without detailed study, however, it cannot be assumed that the conclusions reached for the period between 1272 and 1315 can be applied to any other period.

Chapter 5

The military exercise of English rule in Ireland

The responsibilities of landholders to defend their lands were noted in Chapter 3. Landholders also had a wider duty to contribute to the general defence of the lordship. This chapter aims to examine how, and how effectively, such military duties were carried out by English landholders in Ireland. The administrations of the English lords of Carlow, Kildare, Kilkenny and Wexford will provide one case-study. De Clare lordship in Thomond, which was essentially military in nature, will provide a point of comparison and contrast. In both cases, the topics of relations with the local Irish, contributions to the general defence of the lordship, and local defence will be discussed.

The duties attendant upon landholders in Ireland were spelt out at the Dublin Parliament of 1297, which made no distinction between absentee and resident lords in its proclamations. It was stipulated, for example, that absentees and resident lords alike should guard their lands in march areas since their neglect to defend them had caused many marches to either be 'altogether destroyed' or made 'for the greater part ruinous'. It also decreed that each county and liberty was to appoint two magnates to treat for peace in the absence of the justiciar.¹ Neither were the laxity of absentees or resident lords treated differently; and no distinction was made between the absentee Roger Bigod and his resident tenant, John Lyvet, when both were found not to have horses at arms as assessed at Ballysax.²

¹ *Statutes and Ordinances*, p.199; P. Connolly 'The Enactments of the 1297 Parliament', in Lydon ed. *Law and disorder*, pp.152-3, 161.

² NAI RC7/4, p.419; *CJR*, i, 175.

Nevertheless, whilst the concept of absenteeism was much stronger in the fourteenth century, late thirteenth-century Leinster and Thomond were regarded as problem areas by the Dublin government. In Leinster, the Dublin administration had found itself undertaking the work of the Leinster lords in its expeditions to Glenmalure and Offaly in the 1270s and 1280s. The region of Leinster was facing acute problems in terms of Gaelic risings in the late thirteenth century. This problem was compounded by the political geography of Leinster. The borders between Carlow, Kildare, Kilkenny and Wexford lay in march zones; and shared responsibility clearly made the defence of these borders difficult to organise (see map, p.96). It may be no coincidence, then, that the only instance of personal feudal service by the sub-tenants of the Leinster lords in this period was in 1288 at the express command and organisation of the keeper of Ireland.³ Still, the administrations at Carlow, Kildare, Kilkenny and Wexford had to try to co-operate. Indeed, the Dublin Parliament ordained that ‘the whole community of Leinster, which formerly was one liberty, shall together levy, together contribute to, together maintain, war against the Irish, [and] be led by a common counsel’.⁴ When problems had become more acute in 1310 it was agreed at Kilkenny ‘for the welfare of the peace of the districts of Leinster, that if any man, Irish or English, be at war in one of the four counties of Leinster, that all the four counties of Leinster ought to hold him as at war’.⁵ This agreement may have served to reinforce the liberties’ and counties’ obligation contained in the Statute of Winchester (applied to Ireland in 1308) to come to the aid of their neighbours in order to resist Irish felons.⁶

³ The 1288 summons of the royal service is the only evidence of a service being performed in person in this period, however (Frame, ‘Dublin government and Gaelic Ireland’, pp.105-6).

⁴ *Statutes and Ordinances*, p.211.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp.271, 273.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp, 254-7; *CCR, 1307-13*, p.38.

In Thomond the problem was not the lack of organization among those responsible for defence, it was the lack of an effective lord to first establish rule in, and then defend, the area. Henry III had tried to bring Thomond under English rule by granting it to Robert de Muscegros in 1249x1253. The process of conquest in Thomond, however, had not achieved any lasting result by the reign of Edward I. By 1272 Thomond had become the most pressing problem for the Dublin administration. The justiciar, James d'Audley, had been killed in Thomond in 1272 and his successor, Maurice fitz Maurice, had thus needed to lead an expedition there against the O'Briens in 1273.⁷ Edward I's solution for this 'troublesome area' was to grant the land of Thomond (which Thomas was to hold as a liberty) to Thomas de Clare in 1276.⁸ The largely absentee de Muscegros family were happy to sell out to Thomas de Clare in return for less troublesome English lands.⁹

(A) Dealings with the Irish

Within the area which came under their lordship, the Dublin government required English and Anglo-Irish lords to exercise some level of control over the native Irish. This control often took the form of military action, which could involve the harnessing of the power of one group of native Irish against another. Lords also tried to forestall recourse to arms through peaceable arrangements with the Irish. The different methods used to deal with the Irish in Leinster and in Thomond reflected the difference between

⁷ Flower, 'Manuscripts of Irish interest', p.232; Otway-Ruthven, *Med. Ire.*, p.201.

⁸ Frame, 'Power and society in the lordship of Ireland', p.12; *CDI, 1252-84*, nos.1192,1194; Orpen, *Normans*, iv, 66. This liberty 'never properly established itself' (Hand, *English law in Ireland*, p.131).

⁹ Frame, 'King Henry III and Ireland', pp.194, 196; *CDI, 1252-84*, no.1223. Thomas also gave English lands to Edmund de Basingburne in return for the manor of Any, Limerick (*CDI, 1252-84*, no.1504). Thomas had built up lands in the Thames valley region through purchase of at least one crusader's lands prior to 1270 (Simon Lloyd, 'Crusader knights and the land market in the thirteenth century', *TCE 2* (1987), 128-9). Thomas still held small amounts of land in Essex, Dorset and Hertford, however; and lands in Somerset were granted to Richard de Clare in 1315 (PRO C133/98/4, C133/43/5; PRO C134/2/18, C134//67/2; *CIPM*, ii, 126, 421, 696; *CIPM*, iii, 609; *CIPM*, v, 44; *CIPM*, vi, 275; Westropp, 'Normans in Thomond', p.292).

an established part of the lordship of Ireland, and an area in which the de Clares were striving to establish their lordship.

Nowhere in the lordship of Ireland were relations between the English or Anglo-Irish and the Irish worked out in precise legal terms. Far from being their tenants-in-chief, the English and Anglo-Irish exercised an undefined overlordship over the Irish. Relations with the Irish, however, were a practical, not a theoretical, exercise and the Irish were not always in the subordinate position. Indeed, the balance of power in Leinster has been described as an 'unstable equilibrium' in this period.¹⁰ Having said that, the fragmented nature of Irish politics, typified by dynastic succession disputes, was vulnerable to the practice of divide and rule. Further, the English and Anglo-Irish might find a ready source of allies among the ambitious vassals of an Irish chief; as there were layers of lordship among the settler community, so 'pyramid[s] of authority' were to be found in Gaelic polities.¹¹

(i) Leinster

The dealings of Roger Bigod, lord of Carlow, with the MacMurroughs were the most important interactions between Irish chiefs and English lords in this period. The background to these interactions is set out in Chapter 3, pp.94-5. The MacMurroughs held land which lay within the liberty of Carlow.¹² It was, therefore, assumed by the Dublin government and the king that Roger Bigod was their immediate lord¹³ and that it

¹⁰ Frame, 'Two kings in Leinster', p.165.

¹¹ A. Nic Ghiollaímháith, 'Kings and vassals in later medieval Ireland: the Uí Bhriain and the MicConmara in the fourteenth century', in T. B. Barry, R. Frame and K. Simms ed. *Colony and frontier in medieval Ireland: essays presented to J. F. Lydon* (London, 1995), p.201.

¹² Cf. Frame, 'Two kings in Leinster', p.155.

¹³ Orpen, *Normans*, iv, 16-17 and Mills, 'Accounts of the earl of Norfolk', p.55 both held that the payments made by the Carlow administration to the MacMurroughs were an annual fee paid to them for 'policing the Irish districts within the liberty' (Orpen, *Normans*, iv, 17) and thus represented the existence

was his responsibility to restrain their raiding activity. As was noted in Chapter 3, the situation in Leinster was sufficiently serious to require the personal presence of the lord of Carlow. It was also probably felt that the MacMurroughs' dignity should be courted since they regarded themselves as cousins of Bigod.

What was requested of Bigod by the Dublin government was that he 'deal with them [the MacMurroughs] tactfully lest any disturbance of the king's peace be plotted by them.'¹⁴ Bigod's remit was therefore that incumbent upon 'every magnate...to try and manage the local Irish.'¹⁵ Bigod attempted to do this by endeavouring to remove the MacMurroughs to England and by acknowledging their importance through the extension of his patronage to them in the form of *dona* and *feoda*. As Frame has noted, 'the earl marshal [Bigod] was assisting the government at some expense to himself'; and Nugent made the salient point that the fee paid to Art MacMurrough equalled the yearly fee of the treasurer of Carlow.¹⁶ Indeed, the full amount spent on the MacMurroughs at Bigod's instance cannot be known. Whilst Hore listed various Carlow accounts in which the items recorded for the MacMurroughs totalled £18 10*s.* 0*d.*, he also noted that the 1282/3 account of the provost of New Ross mentioned that 'there were so many payments made out of Leinster funds for Arthur McMurrough and his brother "Makmurch" that after their death the accounts could not be known, nor account made for them to the Exchequer.'¹⁷ It is clear that these payments were made at Bigod's instigation since they were only made in the year of Bigod's visit to Ireland and the year that followed. This also seems to be the case because the payments were not continued

of an official relationship (cf. Nugent, 'Carlow in the middle ages', p.74). It is argued here that these payments reflected only the particular political situation.

¹⁴ Frame, 'Justiciar and the murder of the MacMurroughs', pp.224.

¹⁵ Idem, 'Power and society in the lordship of Ireland', p.7.

¹⁶ Idem, 'Justiciar and the murder of the MacMurroughs', p.225 (quote); Nugent, 'Carlow in the middle ages', p.74.

to the MacMurrough leaders whom Bigod had not met and who replaced Art and Murchertach.¹⁸

The fact that Bigod's diplomatic strategies to restrain the MacMurroughs from further hostile activity did not work should not detract from the effort and cost that he expended to this end. And it is little wonder that he refused to admit that either he or his men were liable to pay the *capitagium* for the head of Art MacMurrough who was later murdered, probably at the instigation of Stephen Fulbourne, the justiciar of Ireland.¹⁹

Bigod's dealings with the MacMurroughs were an anomaly within Leinster in this period: no other English lord had direct dealings with the Irish; and diplomacy was not again preferred to a recourse to arms. The next prominent dealings which the Leinster administrations had with the MacMurroughs were very different. These dealings were again initiated by the Dublin government but in this scenario, in 1312/13, the MacMurroughs joined forces with the administrations of the English lords against the O'Byrnes who were responsible for 'ceaseless murders, robberies, and arsons...in divers parts of Leinster'. A convention of south Leinster magnates at Ross, presided over by the justiciar, elected that Walter Wogan, the seneschal of Wexford, should take the lead in bringing the O'Byrnes to heel. It consequently fell to Walter to pay part of the fees of Maurice MacMurrough. MacMurrough was employed by the Dublin government to bring war against the O'Byrnes, receiving wages for one equipped horseman, thirty hobelars and twenty-four foot soldiers. His forces were to 'travel about and dwell in the most fitting place for the suppression of these disorders'. As an incentive Maurice

¹⁷ P. H. Hore, *Old and New Ross*, pp.13-15, 142-4, 146-8; see also PRO SC6/1239/10.

¹⁸ Frame, 'Dublin government and Gaelic Ireland', pp.87n33, 88. Most payments had been made to Art, the junior brother, because the Dublin government was holding Murchertach as its hostage.

¹⁹ Frame, 'Justiciar and the murder of the MacMurroughs', p.226.

MacMurrough received a subsidy of ten pounds for the sustenance of his men. Wogan was obliged to pay twenty of the forty marks granted to MacMurrough as his fee. Walter had previously paid other of MacMurrough's expenses on behalf of the Dublin government which were allowed to him in his account and which were incurred as a result of the harnessing of MacMurrough against the O'Byrnes at the Kilkenny parliament of 1310. These sums amounted to £76 13s. 4d. and were paid for the capture of Irish felons subsequently imprisoned in Wexford castle, 'in good service resisting the obrynnes', 'for his expenses in guarding the marches of Wexford' and 'for his wages and expenses while subduing the Irish felons of the Leinster mountains.'²⁰

The dealings of both Bigod and the Wexford administration with the MacMurroughs reflected the fact that the Dublin government regarded the MacMurroughs as potential overlords over other lineages in Leinster.²¹ The MacMurroughs were not the only lineage which administrations had peaceable dealings with, however. The administration at Carlow entered into a number of agreements with less powerful Irish whereby, in return for a small sum of money, the payee was afforded protection 'from any arbitrary injury to his person, seizure of his goods, or interference with his means of livelihood.' These Irish were 'undistinguished and vulnerable', relatively few in number and their advowry payments were minimal.²² The alignment of such men to an English lord was, nevertheless, important because it reduced the power of the greater chiefs through a diminution of vassal lineages subordinate to them.

²⁰ Hore, *Old and New Ross*, p.177; *39DKR*, p.49 (PR 3 Ed II); Frame, 'Dublin government and Gaelic Ireland', pp.185, 188-9; Lydon, 'Medieval Wicklow', p.170; Frame, 'English officials and Irish chiefs', p.768; Dowling, *Annals*, p.19; NAI RC8/9, pp.325-6. Six pounds were paid to MacMurrough from Carlow revenues for his service against the O'Byrnes in 1313.

²¹ Frame, 'Two kings in Leinster', pp.161-2.

²² Nugent, 'Carlow in the middle ages', p.74 (quotes); PRO SC6/1239/1-9. Only eleven distinct men are mentioned in the Carlow accounts between 1280 and 1289. The most that was paid was 2s. More usually the sum was 12d., although as little as 6d. could be paid. The total sum of money from such

(ii) Thomond

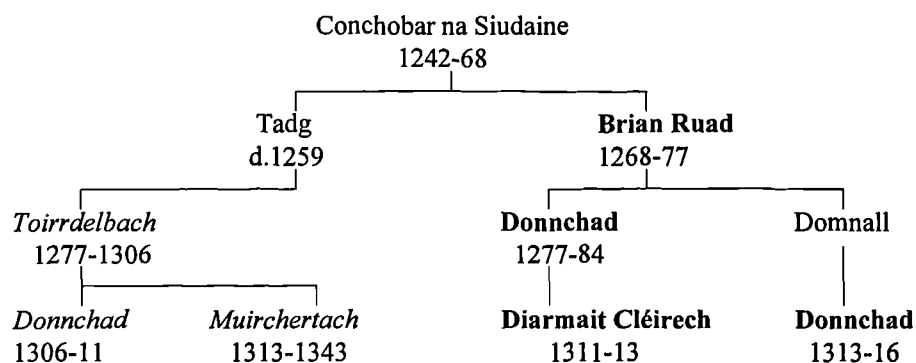
In practical terms, de Clare lordship in Thomond was more or less confined to a small area around Bunratty and Quin.²³ Nevertheless, Thomas and Richard de Clare were regarded as the overlords of the O'Briens and other Irish lineages in Thomond. Thomas had been granted 'the whole of the land of Thomond' and all the hostages taken or pledges given for the preservation of the peace there.²⁴ Moreover, it was stipulated in 1280, in response to an attempt by the Dublin government to get Thomas to pay debts owed by the O'Briens, that he held the O'Briens' lands of the king's gift.²⁵

The de Clares' dealings with the O'Briens usually centred around a consideration of which branch of the lineage were not supported by the de Burghs. The de Clares and de Burghs tended to support opposing sides in the regular O'Brien conflicts, with either the de Clare or de Burgh sponsored candidate triumphing as king.

Diagram 2 The Allegiances of the O'Briens

Key:

Toirrdelbach de Burgh ally
Brian Ruad de Clare ally



payments amounted to £3 0s. 11d. For advowry payments see also Hand, *English law in Ireland*, p.197 and Davies, *Lordship and society in the march of Wales*, pp.138-9.

²³ See Orpen, *Normans*, iv, 21.

²⁴ *CDI*, 1252-84, nos.1194, 1197.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, no.1675.

These alliances were not necessarily long-lasting. Thomas de Clare's execution of his erstwhile ally, Brian O'Brien, sometime prior to 1278 is well known. This incident is infamous partly because of the success of the propaganda machine of John McGrath, the author of *Caithréim Thoirdhealbháigh* who was biased towards the de Burghs as patrons of Clann Taig, McGrath's branch of the O'Briens.²⁶ Thomas' murder of Brian O'Brien is also well-known because of the purported nature of the relationship between de Clare and Brian which was portrayed as that of sworn blood brothers.²⁷

The event was still alive in the native Irish memory in 1317-18 when it featured in the Irish remonstrance to the pope against English rule.²⁸ Nevertheless, it is unlikely that de Clare ever entered into such a compact. Nic Ghillomhaith has persuasively argued that Thomas was 'no "degenerate" Anglo-Irishman, but an Englishman in traditions and outlook.'²⁹ And if the de Clares were really as dishonourable as McGrath would have us believe, it is hard to understand why the author of the *Annals of Inisfallen* was not even tempted to blame Richard de Clare for the murder of Donnchad O'Brien in 1311 despite the fact that he was in Thomond 'on a hosting' at the time.³⁰ The murder of Brian O'Brien did not create a storm in the English or Anglo-Irish worlds, however.³¹ Thomas de Clare, with his hands bloodied in the management of a more unruly part of Ireland than contemporary Leinster, could not afford to employ the methods of a Roger Bigod vis-à-vis a MacMurrough. Frame's comment that 'local rule had differing intensities and took varying forms'³² might be well applied here.

²⁶ *Caithréim Thoirdhealbháigh* ed. and trans. Standish H. O'Grady (London, 1929), ii, 10; A. Nic Ghillomhaith, 'Dynastic warfare and historical writing in north Munster, 1276-1350', *CMCS* 2 (1981), 76-9. McGrath's history significantly recommenced with the rule of Richard de Clare at Bunratty castle in 1310 (TCD MS 975, p.43a).

²⁷ *The Annals of Loch Cé. A Chronicle of Irish affairs from A.D. 1014 to 1590* ed. and trans. W. M. Hennessey, i, (London, 1871), 481; *The Four Masters*, iii, 427.

²⁸ T. J. Westropp, 'The Normans in Thomond', *JRSAI* 21 (1890-1), 288. J.R.S. Phillips, 'The Irish remonstrance of 1317: an international perspective', *IHS* 27 (1990), 129 argues that hostility between the native Irish and Anglo-Irish was 'exaggerated for effect' in the remonstrance.

²⁹ Nic Ghillomhaith, 'Dynastic warfare and historical writing', pp.84-5.

³⁰ *Annals of Inisfallen*, p.407. De Clare and Donnchad were ordered to stop waging war against each other (TCD Shaw-Mason MS V. 1.7., f43).

³¹ Nic Ghillomhaith, *op. cit.*; Orpen, *Normans*, iv, 71.

³² Frame, *English lordship*, p.41.

The de Clares were not wedded to the promotion of the interests of a particular clan of the O'Briens. Their aim was to secure peace in Thomond to allow them to establish their lordship in the area. Thomas de Clare, therefore, had no scruples in acknowledging the authority of Toirdhealbach (who had killed Thomas' former ally, Donnchad) in return for an annual rent of some £121 from him for the uncolonised part of Thomond.³³ Richard, although he generally aligned himself to the descendants of Brian Ruad, was not rigid in this. Indeed, during the Bruce invasion he contributed to the armies of the lordship in various ways (below), despite the fact that the O'Brien faction which the de Clares traditionally supported had sided with the Scots.³⁴ Nic Ghillomhaith has argued that he 'was interested in picking off the Uí Bhriain vassals, holding their hostages directly and making them his direct tenants.'³⁵ Richard had good reason to respond to the overtures from O'Brien vassals for alliances. It had been an O'Brien vassal, Coveta MacNamara, who ruined the de Clare castle of Quin in 1305 at a time when the English settlements in Thomond were in the king's hand.³⁶ It is not surprising, therefore, that Richard de Clare entered into direct negotiations with vassal lineages. Ironically, however, it was at the hands of the men of Conchobhar O'Dea, an O'Brien vassal, that Richard met his death, 'cut into tiny pieces', in 1318.³⁷

(B) Military defence

In Leinster, the administrations of the liberties of Carlow, Kildare, Kilkenny and Wexford, and more particularly the seneschals, had a crucial role to play in defence. They led or participated in expeditions, paid scutage, raised local subsidies and, occasionally, fortified castles. Aside from the expedition of Gilbert de Clare in 1293-4, the English lords of these liberties did not participate in defence. The practice of

³³ Orpen, *Normans*, iv, 74; Nic Ghillomhaith, 'Kings and vassals in later medieval Ireland', p.214.

³⁴ R. Frame, 'The Bruces in Ireland', in R. Frame, *Ireland and Britain 1170-1450* (London, 1998), p.96.

³⁵ Nic Ghillomhaith, *op. cit.*

³⁶ TCD MS 975, p.266. An inquisition reported that nine and a half townships had been laid waste (*CIPM*, ii, 696).

³⁷ K. Simms, 'The Battle of Dysert O'Dea and the Gaelic resurgence in Thomond', *Dal g Cais* 5 (1979), 63-4; Clyn, *Annals*, p.13; *St. Mary's*, ii, 358.

devolving responsibility to their seneschals was not one which deserved censure, however: as Frame has commented 'the maintenance of control required a local presence, local knowledge, and a web of local relationships.'³⁸ And the transfer of responsibility from lords to administrators was readily accepted by the Dublin government which summoned the seneschals of these liberties to attend its parliaments.

The situation was different in Thomond where Thomas and Richard de Clare provided active military leadership. The pivotal role played by the de Clares in creating and maintaining the peace in Thomond is evident from the fact that renewed disturbances broke out during their visits to England, and during the minority of Gilbert de Clare. Because their lordship was in its infancy, the de Clares lacked a sophisticated administration to which duties of defence could be effectively devolved. The de Clares were also more 'hands-on' when it came to contributing to the defence of the lordship of Ireland in general. Both Thomas and Richard led armies against various enemies in other parts of the lordship. This contrasted with the monetary contributions provided by the administrations of Carlow, Kildare, Kilkenny and Wexford when the knight service was summoned outside Leinster.

(i) Leinster

Although it was an old-established part of the lordship, the need to undertake defence in Leinster was real. Indeed, in the period under consideration, the problems caused by Gaelic raiding were increasing. Late thirteenth-century Leinster had not experienced complete peace, but the scale of warfare changed after 1300.³⁹ Indeed, from c.1306

³⁸ Frame, 'Power and society in the lordship of Ireland', p.7.

³⁹ Lydon, 'Medieval Wicklow', p.166. It is possible that our picture of Irish disorder in Leinster is inflated by the relative abundance of chronicle and judicial evidence relating to 1295-1315, but Frame has concluded that the necessity to launch eight government expeditions to the area between 1302 and 1313 confirmed this impression (Frame, 'Dublin government and Gaelic Ireland', p.158).

onwards, there was general war between the English and Irish of Leinster.⁴⁰ The urgency of the situation was reflected in increased obligations: from December 1306 onwards local tenants in Leinster were to pay for any horse lost by a man-at-arms engaged in fighting against the Irish of the Leinster mountains;⁴¹ and the seneschal of Kilkenny, at least, was required to retain 'armed horsemen and footmen...beyond the twenty caparisoned horses he was bound to maintain, to suppress the rebellion of Maurice de Caunetone and others his relatives...who confederated with the Irish of the family and name of the Obreyns' between 1306 and 1310.⁴²

In defending the area under their jurisdiction and the lordship of Ireland in general, various tasks fell to the seneschals of the liberties of Carlow, Kildare, Kilkenny and Wexford. Increasingly important in this period was the leading of expeditions; indeed, two seneschals died in action against the Irish of Leinster between 1305 and 1310, and another was gravely wounded.⁴³ The available evidence seems to suggest that defence was not such a priority during the last decade of the thirteenth century as it was later to become, but this was not universally true. In 1293/4, for example, the seneschal and chief serjeant of Carlow found it necessary to defend the manor of Fennagh against the O'Nolans and the O'Tooles by placing it in the custody of William Chevre.

⁴⁰ Lydon, 'Medieval Wicklow', pp.167-8.

⁴¹ Frame, 'Dublin government and Gaelic Ireland', pp.168-9; Lydon, 'Land of war', p.262.

⁴² *39DKR*, p.31 (PR 3 Ed II).

⁴³ Gilbert de Sutton, seneschal of Wexford, was killed by some Irish in 1305 (*St.Mary's*, ii, 291); and John de Boneville, king's seneschal of Carlow and Kildare, met his death in Carlow castle in 1310 allegedly at the hands of Arnold le Poer, a previous seneschal, who was supposedly in alliance with the Irish of the mountains (*CJR*, iii, 163-4; Otway-Ruthven, *Med. Ire.*, p.220). William de St.Ledger, the seneschal of Kilkenny, was unable to attend a convention of south Leinster magnates in 1312/13 due to the wounds he had received at the hands of the Irish (see *Parliaments and councils of mediaeval Ireland* i, no.1).

Nevertheless, from c.1300 onwards, there appears to have been a renewed emphasis on the need to fulfil the obligation to defend the locality.⁴⁴

There are many examples of military action organised and undertaken by the seneschals. For instance, sometime prior to 1301, Adam de la Roche, seneschal of Wexford, spent £28 on the placement of guards in the marches of Wexford in response to the rising of the MacMurroughs and the O'Byrnes. In his defence of his account Adam claimed that he 'would have lost the land' without this expenditure. The king's seneschal of Kildare similarly accounted for the costs of three esquires with caparisoned horses and twelve guards 'to resist the Irish felons in the parts of Offalie' in 1302-3.⁴⁵ Likewise, Adam Bretoun, king's sheriff of Carlow ably defended the liberty in c.1314. He 'drove back the Irish rebels, who intended to destroy' these lands which were in the king's hand. According to his own petition Adam had caused his men to maintain ten barded horses, sixteen hobelars and fifteen men for a period of six months during which time he had brought them back to the king's peace and got them 'to exchange hostages for peace'.⁴⁶ John Lyvet, a previous sheriff of Carlow, performed 'good service in fighting against the Irish felons of the Leinster mountains in the district of Idrone in the liberty of Carlow'.⁴⁷

If necessary, seneschals could request an aid from local tenants to pay for the defensive needs of the liberties. In 1280-1, for example, an aid was raised for the strengthening of

⁴⁴ Cf. Frame, 'Dublin government and Gaelic Ireland', pp.160-1 where he argues that disorder began to re-appear in the Leinster mountains in 1301.

⁴⁵ *38DKR*, p.101 (PR 33 Ed I). County Kildare also bore the cost of a further ten caparisoned horses and 100 guards.

⁴⁶ *Doc. Aff. Ire.*, no.91.

⁴⁷ *39DKR*, p.73 (PR 10 Ed II).

Fennagh castle on the liberty of Carlow.⁴⁸ The money raised amounted to at least £83 10s. 5d.⁴⁹ Since the treasurer of Carlow's account for 1281/2 is the earliest extant, it is probable that work on a castle at Fennagh had commenced before this date and that the aid raised rather more than £83 10s. 5d. A local subsidy was similarly raised on the liberty of Kilkenny in 1314-16. Its custodians received two shillings from every carucate to maintain the king's war in the liberty and to guard Matilda de Clare's lands. £164 11s. 1d. were paid to Raymond Archdeacon and Fulk de la Freigne who acted as captains in the marches of Slieve Bloom, maintaining twenty caparisoned horses, thirty hobelars and 200 footmen there for almost seven weeks in order to preserve the peace. At the same time Arnold le Poer and men of his company had remained in the district of Leix 'to suppress the Irish rebels and enemies'. These enemies now included the Scots who had taken part in the Bruce invasion of Ireland, as a result of which four Scottish prisoners were held in Kilkenny castle from late May 1315 until late July 1316.⁵⁰

Not all the defensive needs of Leinster were left to the organisation of individual seneschals, however. The justiciar summoned the knight service of Ireland for the defence of Leinster on eight occasions between 1302 and 1313. The involvement of the justiciar ensured communication between the seneschals, necessary for the organisation of defence of the marches which bordered the liberties. The details of defence were probably usually worked out at meetings of important south Leinster tenants.

English lords, like all tenants of the king, either paid scutage or contributed manpower in response to summonses of the knight service of Ireland. Between 1272 and 1315 the

⁴⁸ This fortification was probably begun at Bigod's direct command since work began in the immediate aftermath of his visit to Carlow.

⁴⁹ PRO SC6/1239/1; Mills, 'Estates of the earl of Norfolk in Ireland', p.53.

knight service was summoned on twenty-four occasions,⁵¹ thirteen of which were for the defence of the province of Leinster (see map, p.190). Evidence of payments only exists for sixteen of the summonses (see table).

Table 12: Payments towards the knight service of Ireland, c.1272-1315.

Justiciarship	Knight Service
Ufford, 1268-70	Castledermot (Carlow) ⁵²
?Geneville, 1273-6	Roscommon, Glenmalure (Carlow) ⁵³
Ufford, 1276-81	Quin (Carlow/Wexford), Athenry (Carlow/Kildare/Kilkenny) ⁵⁴
Fulbourne, 1281-8	Leix (Carlow/Wexford), Cashel (Carlow/Kildare/Kilkenny/Wexford) ⁵⁵
Ros, deputy justiciar, 1301-2	Newcastle McKynegan (Carlow/Kilkenny/Wexford) ⁵⁶
Saunford, 1288-90	'Kildare' (Carlow/Kildare), Roscrea (Carlow/Kildare/Wexford) ⁵⁷
Wogan, 1295-1308, 1309-1312	Castledermot (Carlow/Kildare/Kilkenny/Wexford), Newcastle McKynegan (Carlow) Loughsewdy (Carlow/Kildare/Kilkenny/Wexford), Cork (Wexford) ⁵⁸
Gaveston, 1308-9	Castlekevin (Wexford) ⁵⁹
Butler, 1312-14	Greencastle (Kilkenny) ⁶⁰

The administrations may not have contributed to the other eight summons. Since the records of the Dublin exchequer are comprehensive and claims were made for arrears of service,⁶¹ it is likely that a lack of evidence denotes a lack of payment.

⁵⁰ SC6/1239/13; 42DKR, pp.50-1 (PR 16 Ed II). A similar subsidy of two shillings was levied in Fingal at the same time for the defence of Dublin (Lydon, 'Medieval Wicklow', p.171).

⁵¹ Otway-Ruthven, 'Royal service in Ireland', pp.42-4. Summons of the knight service and other expeditions necessary in Leinster have been studied from the point of view of the Dublin government by Frame, 'Dublin government and Gaelic Ireland', pp.79-95, 159-94.

⁵² 36DKR, p.40 (PR 5 Ed I).

⁵³ 36DKR, pp.46 (PR 8 Ed I), 72 (PR 11 Ed I); 37DKR, p.33 (PR 16 Ed I); Hore, *Town of Wexford*, p.92.

⁵⁴ 36DKR, pp.46 (PR 8 Ed I), 73 (PR 11 Ed I); SC6/1239/1; CDI, 1252-84, p.392.

⁵⁵ 37DKR, pp.28-9 (PR 15 Ed I); PRO SC6/1239/6; PRO E101/231/8, 28.

⁵⁶ 38DKR, pp.70-1 (PR 31 Ed I), 97 (PR 33 Ed I).

⁵⁷ 37DKR, p.50 (PR 21 Ed I); PRO SC6/1239/7-8; PRO E101/231/28; PRO E101/232/6; NLI MS 760, p.140; CDI, 1293-1301, no.86.

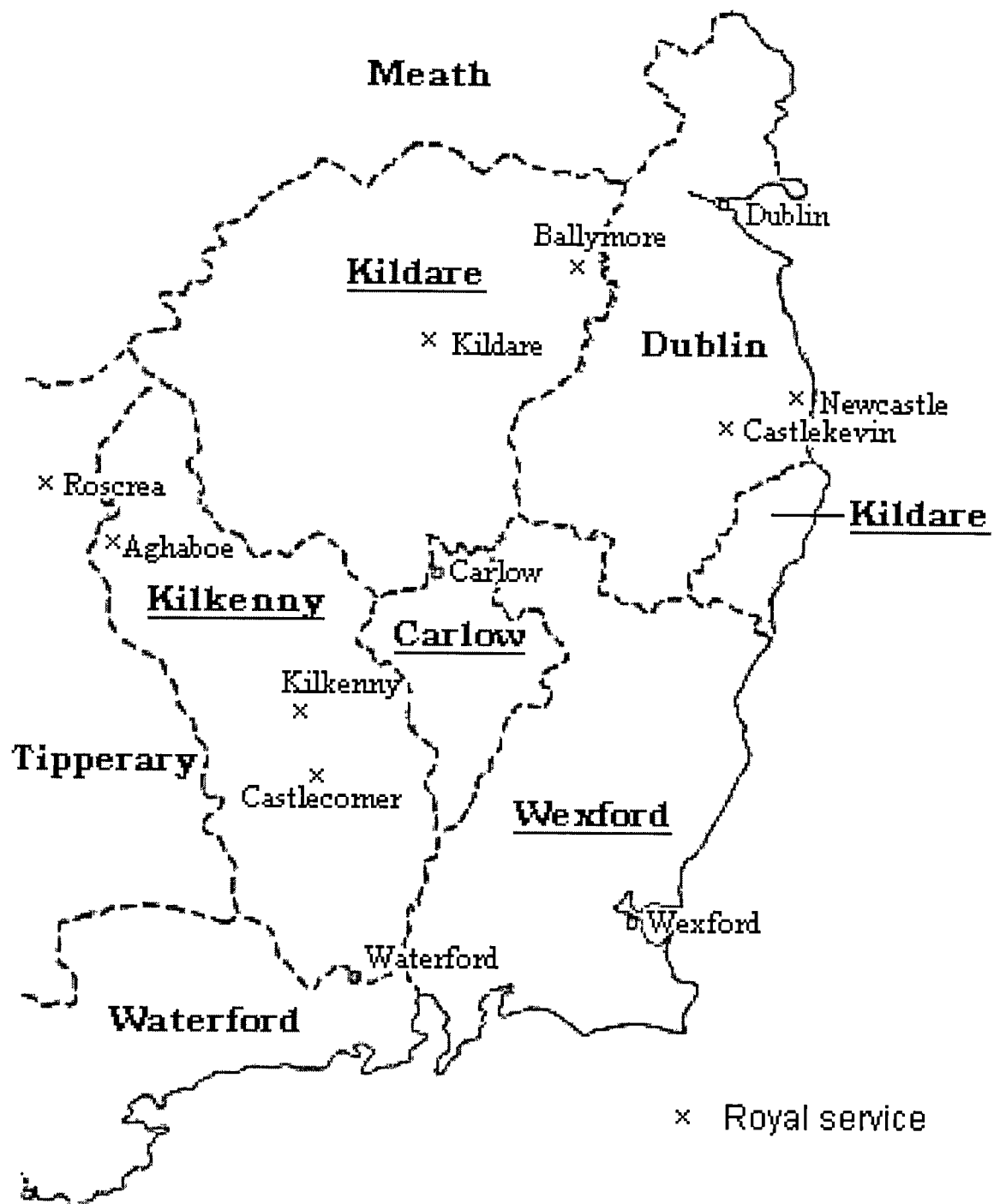
⁵⁸ NAI EX2/1, pp.82-3; CDI, 1293-1301, nos.281, 288, 509 (p.235), 527, 547, 590; PRO E101/232/20; PRO E101/235/6, 15; NAI RC8/7, p.38.

⁵⁹ 39DKR, p.49 (PR 3 Ed II); E101/235/6, 15.

⁶⁰ 42DKR, p.50 (PR 16 Ed II).

⁶¹ For example see P. McCotter, 'The Sub-infeudation and descent of the FitzStephen/Carew moiety of Desmond (part II)', *Cork Historical and Archaeological Journal* 102 (1997), 95.

Royal service in Leinster 1272-1314



It cannot be assumed that the administrations contributed personal service to the eight summons of knight service not listed above.⁶² This was not that important, however. Just as knight service did not represent the most important contribution to the defence of Ireland in general, the paid army being of far greater importance,⁶³ neither did the payment of scutage or its equivalent by the Leinster administrations represent their most important contribution to that same defence. Indeed, whilst the administrations at Carlow, Kildare, Kilkenny and Wexford may not have contributed to all summonses of knight service between 1272 and 1315, they did contribute to a number of local subsidies.

Table 13: Contributions to local subsidies, c.1272-1315

Location for which aid/subsidy raised	Administration(s) which contributed
1 st army towards Glenmalure (Geneville)	Carlow/Kildare/Kilkenny/Wexford ⁶⁴
New Town of Leix (Fulbourne)	Wexford ⁶⁵
Glenmalure (Fulbourne)	Kildare ⁶⁶
Defensive operations (Saunford)	Carlow ⁶⁷
Suppression of rebellion of Maurice Caunetone (Wogan)	Kilkenny/Wexford ⁶⁸
Leinster Mountains (Wogan)	Carlow/Wexford ⁶⁹
Ward at Arklow (Butler)	Carlow/Kildare ⁷⁰

Such subsidies or aids, unlike contributions to the knight service of Ireland, required consent.⁷¹ The agreement of the administrations to pay them (see table) therefore

⁶² Evidence of payments by the administrations to the knight service summoned for Kilkenny in 1304 or the army of Kildare summoned in 1305, for example, does not exist. Yet we know that the service for Kilkenny, and that for Dublin in 1309, were to be taken in cash from secondary writs which specified this. Indeed, Frame, 'Dublin government and Gaelic Ireland', pp.23-4, 127 found no evidence to indicate personal service being done after the summons to Offaly by Saunford in 1288 until the Bruce invasion of Ireland.

⁶³ Frame, 'Dublin government and Gaelic Ireland', p.32. Lydon, 'Enrolled account of Alexander Bicknor', p.12 illustrates how royal service produced less income than anticipated by the 1288 survey and that the majority of the money raised came from county Dublin.

⁶⁴ *36DKR*, pp.46 (PR 8 Ed I), 72, 74 (PR 11 Ed I); *37DKR*, p.33 (PR 16 Ed I).

⁶⁵ *37DKR*, pp.28, 30 (PR 15 Ed I); *38DKR*, p.36 (PR 25 Ed I); PRO E101/233/11; *CDI, 1293-1301*, no.735, p.344.

⁶⁶ PRO E101/231/6.

⁶⁷ PRO SC6/1239/8 records an unspecified payment of 100 marks by the seneschal of Carlow to John de Saunford at this time. NLI MS 760, p.113 records a payment of £33 12s. 0d. aid for the army going to Leinster to expel the Irish of the Leinster mountains.

⁶⁸ *39DKR*, p.49 (PR 3 Ed II).

⁶⁹ *39DKR*, pp.24 (PR 1 Ed II), 31 (PR 3 Ed II).

⁷⁰ Frame, 'Dublin government and Gaelic Ireland', p.187.

⁷¹ Frame, *Political development of the British Isles*, p.182.

provides a good measure of the diligence with which they performed their duties of defence. Beyond the lordship of Ireland, the administrations also contributed financially and otherwise to the king's expeditions to Gascony and Scotland.⁷²

Seneschals were required to take a leading part in centrally organised expeditions on occasion. John de Houtone, the seneschal of Carlow, was ordered by the king to participate in the expedition to Offaly in 1287-8 in person.⁷³ The meeting of south Leinster magnates presided over by the justiciar at Ross in 1312/13 decided that Walter Wogan, the seneschal of Wexford should take the lead in bringing measures against the O'Byrnes (above, p.180). The liberty of Wexford was also to provide payment for the two hundred and twenty-eight men ordered to guard Clonmore, Wicklow and Arklow.⁷⁴ The seneschals also provided leaders in 1305-6 when the Dublin government launched its most expensive and largest intervention in the Leinster mountains since the justiciarship of Ufford.⁷⁵ Among the leaders in this campaign were the king's seneschal of Carlow and Kildare (Arnold le Poer), the future king's seneschal of these two counties (John de Bonevill), a former seneschal of Kildare (Nigel le Brun), and the current and future seneschal of the liberty of Wexford (Maurice de Rocheford and Walter Wogan respectively). Likewise among the leaders of Gaveston's expedition to CastleKevin were John de Boneville (the king's seneschal of Carlow and Kildare) and William de St.Ledger (the future seneschal of Kilkenny).⁷⁶

⁷² 38DKR, pp.36, 63 (PR 29 Ed I), 70-1 (PR 31 Ed I); PRO E101/233/16.

⁷³ PRO SC6/1239/7.

⁷⁴ The wages of the captains and men whilst in the marches were also to be met by the king and the counties of Dublin, Carlow and Kildare.

⁷⁵ Frame, 'Dublin government and Gaelic Ireland', p.166; Lydon, 'Medieval Wicklow', p.168.

⁷⁶ Frame, *op. cit.*, pp.178-9.

This highlights the importance of the military capability of the men employed as seneschals of the liberties of Leinster. The place they held in local society also contributed to their usefulness in defensive terms: David le Maziner, a sheriff of Kildare in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, was allowed to pay back a debt of £200 in reasonable instalments 'consideration being had that all the adjacent county on both sides of the lands of the aforesaid David...would be very much deteriorated and weakened if...David should be impoverished or oppressed...on account of the continual resistance which he has made in times past and still makes from day to day against the aforesaid Irish in the aforesaid parts.'⁷⁷ Also important to local defence was David de Offinton, the former seneschal of Kilkenny, who travelled to Newcastle McKynegan with horse and foot to 'resist the Irish then at war';⁷⁸ an expedition probably undertaken in connection with the major campaign launched in Leinster following the burning of Newcastle and other towns by the Irish in 1295.⁷⁹

A lord's tenants (to whom a larger amount of land was let than was farmed as demesne) also shouldered a large part of need to maintain fortifications. This trend was encouraged by landlords;⁸⁰ and this had been the case historically as well since the great majority of remaining earthwork castles in Ireland were built by the tenants of the great lords.⁸¹ There is evidence relating to three knights that this trend continued into the early fourteenth century. The murder of John de Bonevill, king's seneschal of Carlow and Kildare in the early fourteenth century, who was engaged in the construction of a

⁷⁷ RIA MS 12. D. 8, p.203. Another example of the military standing of the seneschals is provided by John de Valle, seneschal of Kildare in 1277/8, who went with 'horses and arms' to the justiciar's campaign to Roscommon in 1284 (*CDI, 1252-84*, p.541).

⁷⁸ *38DKR*, p.47 (PR 25 Ed I).

⁷⁹ Lydon, 'Medieval Wicklow', pp.164-5.

⁸⁰ Down, 'Colonial society and economy', p.455; Frame, 'Dublin government and Gaelic Ireland', p.192 reports that two tenants in Leixlip were granted land for ten rather than the two years petitioned for in order to enable them to construct a stone house.

stone fortress, caused loss to the liberty for some four years.⁸² The community of the liberty of Wexford undertook to grant a subsidy to David de Cauneton to allow him 'to build a fortalice in his manor of Moylagh, to resist the malice of the Irish of that march'.⁸³ And William Douz, a knightly tenant of the king's land of Saggart, undertook to build a stone fortress for defence against the Irish of the mountains.⁸⁴

Seneschals were also required by the justiciar to guard areas of march land either during or after an expedition. The participation of the administrations in the defence of Offaly in 1288 when they were obliged to guard the marchlands along the Barrow has already been alluded to.⁸⁵ In 1305 another justiciar led an expedition against the MacGillapatricks in Slieve Bloom, and in the autumn of that year left the situation in the hands of Fulk de la Freigne, the seneschal of Kilkenny.⁸⁶

The Dublin government also relied the seneschals upon to enforce terms of peace arrived at with the Irish of Leinster. At the end of a successful expedition, the Irish were required to hand over hostages and fines of money or cows were imposed upon them as payment for the trespasses or depredations which they had committed.⁸⁷ Even if the administrators of the liberties had not themselves brought the Irish to peace it was the responsibility of their officials to collect the fines of the Irish and present the moneys at Dublin. Indeed, in at least one case, an official had to go in search of the requisite cows

⁸¹ T. McNeill, *Castles in Ireland: feudal power in a Gaelic world* (London, 1997), p.58.

⁸² *CJR*, iii, 41-2; *Doc. Aff. Ire.*, no.90.

⁸³ *CJR*, ii, 13, 190.

⁸⁴ Frame, *op. cit.*, p.191.

⁸⁵ *CDI*, 1285-92, no.559 (PRO E101/231/9).

⁸⁶ *38DKR*, p.97 (PR 33 Ed I); Frame, *op. cit.*, p.128.

⁸⁷ See Ó Cléirigh, 'Problems of defence', pp.30-1; Frame, 'English officials and Irish chiefs', p.760.

himself.⁸⁸ Liberty administrators performed these tasks with regularity during the reign of Edward I,⁸⁹ but less frequently after c.1309-c.1314 when it seems to have been less easy to even impose a fine on a body of Irish.

* * *

The obligation to undertake local defence, which was reinforced at the parliaments of Dublin in 1297 and Kilkenny in 1310 and by the enforcement of the Statute of Winchester in Ireland from 1308 onwards, was separate from summons of the knight service. This obligation to undertake local defence was of increasing relevance to the administrations of Carlow, Kilkenny and Wexford in the early fourteenth century due to an escalation of the problems caused by Irish raids and wars in this period. Seneschals were the servants of their English lords but also royal officials and this was borne out in their military activities.

(ii) Thomond

The military exercise of English rule in Thomond was not handled by deputies. Thomas and Richard de Clare led their tenants and allies in battle. Their aims also differed from those of the seneschals of Carlow, Kilkenny and Wexford. In Leinster, administrators sought to defend the established rights of their lords. In Thomond, the de Clares had to make good the rights granted to them on parchment; conquest and pacification were, thus, the orders of the day. The military activities of the de Clares in Thomond are summarised below.⁹⁰

⁸⁸ This was John de Crepping of the liberty of Kilkenny who sought cows in the region of Slieve Bloom in c.1286-8 (*37DKR*, p.27 (PR 15 Ed I)). John had been sent to Ireland 'on the affairs of the earl of Gloucester' in February 1287 (*CDI*, 1285-92, no.293).

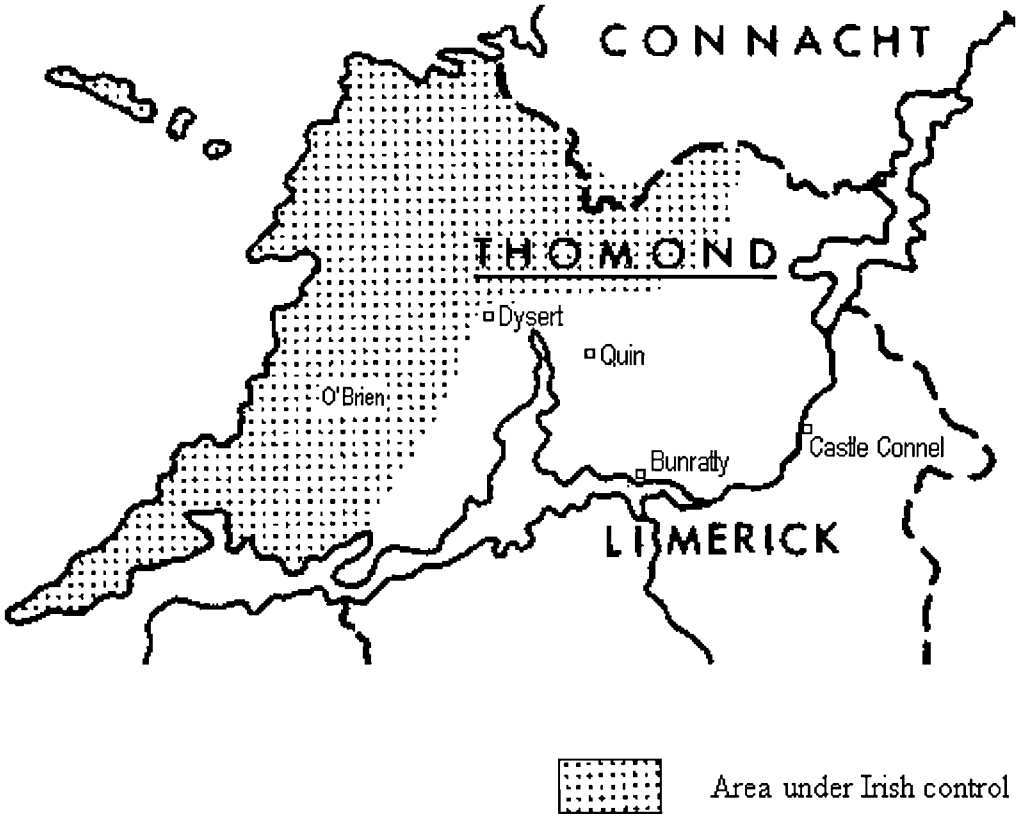
⁸⁹ See *36DKR*, pp.72-3 (PR 11 Ed I), 74 (PR 12 Ed I); *37DKR*, pp.27 (PR 15 Ed I), 46 (PR 20 Ed I); *38DKR*, pp.63 (PR 30 Ed I), 71 (PR 31 Ed I), 97 (PR 33 Ed I); *39DKR*, p.31 (PR 3 Ed II). References for the receipt rolls of the Irish treasurer include PRO E101/231/16, 28; E101/233/11, 16. Similar arrangements were made by the officials of the liberty of Trim (see *37DKR*, p.55 (PR 22 Ed I)).

⁹⁰ For what follows see *Annals of Inisfallen*, pp.373-429, *Caithréim Thoirdhealbhaigh*, ii, 7-127 *passim* and *Annála Connacht*, p.169.

De Clare military activity in Thomond was concentrated in two periods - the lordship of Thomas de Clare (1276-1287) and that of his younger son Richard (1308-18). At its outset, de Clare military activity was not a catalogue of success. Thomas's ally Brian was defeated and, as discussed above, executed by Thomas. When the alliance with Donnchad was renewed in 1278, the war against Toirrdelbach turned against the de Clare party, many of whom were slaughtered in what may have been a pitched battle at Quin in that year (see map, p.197). Nevertheless, with the help of the government intervention promised to Thomas, Toirrdelbach was forced to come to peace in 1281 and Thomas presided over a short-lived partition of Thomond between the warring O'Brien factions. The years between 1281 and 1287 were relatively peaceful: the war between the O'Briens had recommenced almost immediately but Thomas's overlordship was still recognised by Toirrdelbach who had undertaken to pay rent to de Clare for his lands in Thomond. It was not until 1287, the year of Thomas's death, that de Clare took to arms against the O'Briens once more. This was in response to a de Burgh sponsored invasion by Toirrdelbach.

The power vacuum created by Thomas's death was not left unfilled. Rather, Toirrdelbach ruled as king, with de Burgh support, until his own death in 1306. The return of a de Clare to the lordship in 1311 was greeted with invasion by Donnchad, Toirrdelbach's successor. In this instance Richard de Clare, who was supported by Maurice de Rocheford, was victorious, although many of his followers were killed. His attempt to make Diarmait 'full king' of Irish Thomond was short-lived as William 'Liath' de Burgh successfully invaded later in 1311. Between 1314 and 1317 military and political ascendancy in Thomond changed hands between Muirchertach (the de

Thomond c. 1297



Burgh sponsored candidate for the kingship) and Donnchad (the de Clare nominee). Following a massacre of Clan Brian Ruad in 1317, however, Richard de Clare stood as the only obstacle to the domination of Thomond by Muirchertach. It was during an invasion of Thomond in pursuit of Muirchertach that Richard was killed by the men of Conchobar O'Dea.

As this brief survey shows, Thomond under de Clare rule was not peaceful. However, Davies comments that 'he who ruled peacefully...ruled by the sword' in the Welsh March, and that is pertinent here.⁹¹ The de Clares did prevent O'Brien expansion into existing Anglo-Irish settlements and, therefore, 'the problem of this area was dealt with' when looked at from the English point of view.⁹²

The royal grant of Thomond to Thomas de Clare aside, effective rule of the region rested on the military might of the de Clares and their allies.⁹³ In Leinster, the only antagonists whom the seneschals of Carlow, Kilkenny and Wexford were likely to face were Irish. In Thomond, the de Clares faced the rivalry of the de Burgh earls of Ulster and lords of Connacht.⁹⁴ It was therefore essential for the de Clares to secure allies

⁹¹ Davies, *Lordship and society in the march of Wales*, pp.69-70.

⁹² Otway-Ruthven, *Med. Ire.*, p.201.

⁹³ Frame, 'King Henry III and Ireland', p.201; *CJR*, ii, 80-1. The de Clares were very much a real presence in Thomond despite Simms' comment that their grant of Thomond resulted from 'a conscious decision...that a powerful magnate must be artificially created' (Simms, 'Battle of Dysert O'Dea', p.62).

⁹⁴ Edward I could perhaps have dealt with the problem of Thomond more effectively if he had granted it to Richard de Burgh. Richard already had interests in Thomond and his clashes with the de Clares merely added to the destabilisation of the region (see, for example, *Foedera*, iii, 280). It seems, however, that Edward did not wish to see de Burgh power which encompassed Ulster, Connacht and Limerick, extended within Ireland. Indeed, he gave Thomas de Clare custody during pleasure of his castle of Conning 'which belonged to Walter de Burgh, earl of Ulster' in 1276; and in 1283 the justiciar was ordered to replace Richard de Burgh in seisin of the land of Wethny, co. Limerick, by Thomas de Clare who was to hold it on lease during pleasure at a rent of ten pounds *p.a.* (*CDI*, 1252-84, nos.1190, 2103). Edward's instruction to the justiciar, John Wogan, that he should remain in Ireland if de Burgh did not serve in Scotland, also demonstrated the king's wariness toward the earl of Ulster (*CDI*, 1293-1301, no.849). In fact de Burgh influence expanded without encouragement to fill the power vacuum created by Gilbert de Clare's minority. In July 1305, Prince Edward wrote to Richard de Burgh requesting that he provide letters of recommendation for Gilbert de Clare's attorney whilst he journeyed through the lands under Richard's power (Johnstone, *Letters of Prince Edward*, p.43).

among the Anglo-Irish baronage. To this end, Thomas married Juliana, the daughter and co-heiress of Maurice fitz Maurice in 1274/5.⁹⁵ This union ‘firmly established’ Thomas in Ireland, and especially in Connacht where most of Maurice’s lands lay; it also, however, increased the likelihood of hostility from the de Burghs. This was because Geraldine influence in Thomond threatened the ability of the de Burghs to maintain a link between their estates in Connacht and Limerick.⁹⁶ Nevertheless, Edward wrote to Thomas in 1282 that he much approved ‘of his retaining Thomas fitz Maurice to resist the forces of some persons who strive to infringe that peace [of Ireland]’.⁹⁷ This could have been a veiled reference to the activities of Richard de Burgh since he seems to have taken his followers into Thomond during a brief visit to Ireland in early 1281.⁹⁸ Richard de Clare may also have attempted to ‘solidify his...position in the ranks of the Anglo-Irish baronage’, and ease his military situation in Thomond, through the mechanism of marriage in 1309. Altschul argued that Richard may have urged his cousin, the earl of Gloucester, to tie his family to the de Burghs. This seems plausible especially since Richard was present among Earl Gilbert’s retinue at a tournament at Dunstable in 1309.⁹⁹ Probably of more importance in effecting these marriages, however, was the influence of Edward II who wanted to predispose de Burgh (his

⁹⁵ This marriage also brought Thomas the manor of Inchiquin, county Cork, which included the rich port of Youghal ‘crucial to the Clare fortunes in Ireland’ (Frame, ‘King Henry III and Ireland’, p.201n51). Sixty-one percent of the total revenue of the manor of Inchiquin was generated by the port of Youghal, a major trading centre (A. F. O’Brien, ‘Politics, economy and society: the development of Cork and the Irish south-coast region c.1170 to c.1583’, in P. O’Flanagan and C. G. Buttimer ed. *Cork: history and society. Interdisciplinary essays on the history of an Irish county* (Dublin, 1993), p.88).

⁹⁶ Flower, ‘Manuscripts of Irish interest’, p.232; Altschul, *The Clares*, p.191; Simms, ‘Battle of Dysert O’Dea’, p.62.

⁹⁷ *CDI, 1252-84*, no.2005. Edward I thus supported Thomas’ associations with two different branches of the Geraldines since Maurice fitz Maurice was the uncle of the lord of Offaly and Thomas fitz Maurice was the heir of Desmond.

⁹⁸ Claffey, ‘Richard de Burgh’, p.92.

⁹⁹ Altschul, *The Clares*, pp.46, 237.

potential lieutenant of Ireland) to be friendly to Gaveston whom the king was about to send to Ireland in exile and who was already related to Earl Gilbert by marriage.¹⁰⁰

The de Clare reliance on military presence as a style of rule had its drawbacks. The minority of Gilbert de Clare (1287-1303) led to erosion of de Clare influence in Thomond, with Bunratty castle, for example, being besieged in 1298 and 1299.¹⁰¹ The early death of Thomas de Clare in 1287 left an effective vacuum in lordship until 1308.¹⁰² De Clare absences from the lordship also created problems. Civil war broke out among the O'Briens as soon as Richard de Clare left the lordship of Ireland for England in 1314;¹⁰³ and it was necessary for the Dublin government to attend to the defence of Bunratty castle 'to protect it and the parts adjacent after the death of Richard de Clare'.¹⁰⁴ Thomas, son of Richard de Clare, however petitioned that default by the Dublin administration during his minority had caused his father's lands in Thomond to be wasted and destroyed by the Irish.¹⁰⁵ The problems occasioned by de Clare absences from Thomond seem to have been appreciated by Edward I who did not seek to withdraw Thomas from Ireland during the Welsh wars of either the 1270s or 1280s.

Nevertheless, the grant of Thomond to Thomas de Clare did relieve pressure on the resources of the Dublin administration in the short-term. Other than a grant of knight service made for the pacification of Thomond, and a 'strong ship' sent to Cork with £100 of wheat by the king's order in 1282,¹⁰⁶ there was little Dublin involvement in the

¹⁰⁰ P. Chaplais, *Piers Gaveston: Edward II's adoptive brother* (Oxford, 1994), p.51; *CPR, 1307-13*, p.83.

¹⁰¹ Gilbert came of age in 1299 but did not receive seisin of his Irish lands until 1303 (*CCR, 1302-7*, p.17); *38DKR*, p.42 (PR 25 Ed I); *CDI, 1293-1301*, no.521. In 1295 the Dublin government found it necessary to commission two men to treat with the O'Briens (*CJR*, i, 74).

¹⁰² *CDI, 1293-1301*, nos.656. Prior to 1308, the citizens of Limerick and the O'Briens had been in conflict (*CJR*, iii, 2).

¹⁰³ *Annals of Inisfallen*, p.417. The text reads, 'Lord Richard de Clare went to England, and immediately afterwards Murichertach Ó Briain began warfare against Donnchad Ó Briain.'

¹⁰⁴ *42DKR*, p.21 (PR 12 Ed II).

¹⁰⁵ Frame, 'Dublin government and Gaelic Ireland', p.153.

¹⁰⁶ *CCR, 1279-88*, p.89.

area after it had been granted to Thomas. This was a major turnaround because Thomond had been the most pressing problem for the Dublin administration in 1272.

The de Clare lords of Thomond were more actively engaged in fortification than the contemporary English lords in Leinster. Apart from the construction of Fennagh in 1281/2, building activity in Carlow was largely restricted to structures such as the halls of Bigod's castles, important in terms of prestige, administration and justice.¹⁰⁷ The de Clares, in contrast, lacked even sufficient castles from which to launch their military ventures. There was a castle at Bunratty, but this was in need of repair. The justiciar, Geoffrey de Geneville, apparently ordered its repair prior to 1276.¹⁰⁸ Thomas later attended to this. According to *Caithréim Thoirdhealbhaigh* he built 'a castle of dressed stone, girt with thick outer walls, containing a roofed impregnable donjon' to which he later added of necessity 'a broadbased high-crested rampart, with ditch, running from the stream to the sea'.¹⁰⁹

Thomas also constructed a fortress at Quin. No castle existed at Quin in 1278 since in this year the church at Quin had to be used as a fort.¹¹⁰ Work on the castle began in c.1278/9 utilising the money granted to Thomas through his grant of the royal service of Ireland.¹¹¹ Quin was the site of a pitched battle between Thomas de Clare and Toirrdelbach O'Brien who was supported by Richard de Burgh in 1278. The sources do not agree as to whether the battle occurred before or during the construction of Quin castle - Thomas barely escaping with his life to Bunratty castle - although they do agree

¹⁰⁷ McNeill, *Castles in Ireland*, pp.77-8. In Carlow the exchequer was the object of many repairs (PRO SC6/1238/25, 27, 29, 39).

¹⁰⁸ Frame, 'Dublin government and Gaelic Ireland', p.114; see also, Orpen, *Normans*, iv, 104.

¹⁰⁹ *Caithréim Thoirdhealbhaigh*, ii, 7-8.

¹¹⁰ TCD MS 975, p.266.

¹¹¹ *CCR*, 1272-9, pp.470-1. This was the service referred to as 'the army of Confy' in Otway-Ruthven, 'Royal service in Ireland', p.42. In practice much aid did not materialise until 1281 (*CDI*, 1252-84, nos. 1476, 1835, 1860 (p.400), 1892).

that the result of this conflict was that most of Thomas de Clare's force were destroyed.¹¹² It is clear, then, that Quin was built in response to an urgent situation.

Quin and Bunratty castles were important symbols and facets of de Clare lordship in Thomond. As such they threatened de Burgh aspirations to power in the area. It is thus not surprising to find that Richard de Burgh, the main Anglo-Irish rival of the de Clares, took advantage of Gilbert de Clare's minority to build or fortify the castle of Connel, in the marches of co. Limerick.¹¹³ Neither is it surprising to find that the de Clare fortresses were the targets of Irish attacks. Quin was ruined by Coveta MacNamara during the minority of Gilbert de Clare. Richard de Clare may have lacked the time and/or money to attend to its reconstruction since Quin church was again used as a fortress in 1318.¹¹⁴ An inquisition taken during the minority of Richard's heir found that the castle of Quin was 'thrown down' and 'could not be rebuilt in these times', and that both the castles of Quin and Bunratty (and their chapels) were worth nothing.¹¹⁵ Dilapidation among estate buildings in Leinster may have been due to an unwillingness on the part of estate officials or lords to 'diminish profits by ploughing any portion of them back into non-productive installations.'¹¹⁶ In contrast, the violence which ruined the de Clare castles in Thomond is not in doubt.

The de Clares were also engaged in military activities to disturbed parts of the lordship of Ireland beyond Thomond. Like the lords of Carlow, Kilkenny and Wexford, the de Clare lords of Thomond had an obligation to contribute to these general forces. Unlike

¹¹² Altschul, *The Clares*, p.193; Otway-Ruthven, *Med. Ire.*, p.203; *Annals of Inisfallen*, p.375; *Annals of Loch Cé*, i, 483; *Annála Connacht*, p.169; *The Four Masters*, iii, 429.

¹¹³ *Annals of Loch Cé* i, 523; Claffey, 'Richard de Burgh', p.302.

¹¹⁴ TCD MS 975, p.266.

¹¹⁵ *CIPM*, vi, 275.

¹¹⁶ Down, 'Colonial society and economy', p.455.

these Leinster lords whose contribution to the armies which sought to pacify Glenmalure in Leinster was financial, Thomas de Clare took a much more active role leading a successful expedition there in 1275 and taking overall command of the unsuccessful expedition of 1276. This activity was partly motivated by the promise of a grant of the royal service for the pacification of Thomond which was conditional upon the king's peace or rule having been effectively extended to the Irish of Glenmalure. It was also part of Thomas' close association with the Dublin government during the justiciarship of Geoffrey de Geneville who, otherwise occupied in Connacht, had himself been unable to lead the expedition of 1275.¹¹⁷

Neither did Richard de Clare shirk his duties to defend the English settlement in Ireland; rather, unlike the contemporary lords of Carlow and Wexford, he responded to the need to defend the lordship in the face of the Bruce invasion.¹¹⁸ Richard formed part of the army assembled by Edmund Butler in 1317, during which year he was said to have held a great guard at 'Dernaht'.¹¹⁹ He was also noted as one of the marshals of the army,¹²⁰ and he further used his demesne crops to support his contingent in the royal army.¹²¹ To a considerable extent, then, Richard (whose traditional O'Brien allies had defected to the Scots) put his duty to the king before the de Clare policy for the pursuit of lordship in Thomond.

* * *

The de Clare lordship of Thomond did not contribute effectively to the management of Ireland in the long-term for it left the area in need of military government, a need that

¹¹⁷ *CDI*, 1252-84, nos.1191, 1389; *36DKR*, pp.29, 33 (PR 4 Ed I), 36 (PR 5 Ed I), 45 (PR 7 Ed I); E101/230/4; Orpen, *Normans* iv, 17.

¹¹⁸ In September 1315 Richard promised to do all in his power to resist the Scottish enemies, in response to an order sent by Edward II to the most important Anglo-Irish magnates (Phillips, 'Documents on the early stages of the Bruce invasion', pp.249-50, 259-60). Richard stated his loyalty to the king again in February 1316 in a letter from a number of Anglo-Irish lords who undertook to fight against the Bruces and give hostages as pledges (*Foedera*, iii, 546-7).

¹¹⁹ *Annals of Ross*, p.13.

¹²⁰ Frame, 'Dublin government and Gaelic Ireland', p.214. Although Richard de Clare was not present at the battle of Skerries, Frame has suggested that this was due to his Irish refusing to join him in Leinster.

¹²¹ Frame, 'Dublin government and Gaelic Ireland', pp.225-6.

had existed in 1276.¹²² Short of increasing de Burgh power within the lordship, however, there was no realistic alternative. It was more surprising that any English lord should want to take the challenge of Thomond on, than that the failure of his family in the male line should leave the region in native Irish hands.

* * * * *

How the military exercise of English rule in Ireland was organised depended largely on the age of the settlement in a particular region and the extent of land held by a given lord. In the established area of Leinster, lords of the extensive liberties of Carlow, Kilkenny and Wexford, who employed sophisticated administrations, did not usually need to attend to matters of defence in person. Orpen's argument that the division of 'great fief of Leinster' weakened it irrevocably can, therefore, be refuted for this period. He argued that 'when...a great fief became divided among female heirs whose husbands were absentees with greater interests elsewhere...the disruptive forces, whether internal or external, were apt to gather head and become difficult of restraint.'¹²³ Orpen's line has been followed by Lydon, Frame and Simms who respectively argued that the division of the strong unit of Leinster 'inevitably led to weakness', 'a crisis of lordship' and that the loss of the resident lord deprived the Dublin government of 'the figure to whom they would expect to delegate control of frontier chieftains.'¹²⁴

This was not really the case in the period under examination here, however. The lordships of Carlow, Kilkenny and Wexford were still sufficiently large units for their lords to take interest in them and for their administrations to be capable of undertaking the necessary defensive measures. These lordships did experience a change in their defensive needs during this period, but this was as a feature of the 'Gaelic resurgence' and not the result of any further fragmentation of their resources. The results of Orpen's

¹²² Cf. Frame, *English lordship*, p.159.

¹²³ Orpen, *Normans*, iii, 75-6.

¹²⁴ J. F. Lydon, 'The Expansion and consolidation of the colony, 1215-54', in Cosgrove ed. *NHI* ii, 169; Frame, 'Two kings in Leinster', p.158; Simms, 'Relations with the Irish', p.82.

feudal weaknesses were probably rather to be seen in the years shortly after 1314.¹²⁵ Indeed, it was in 1319 that Thomas de Brotherton, requested an allowance of £33 at the Dublin exchequer because destruction caused by both the Irish and the Scottish meant that he could not levy this sum from his tenants. Similarly, in c.1322, William Comyn petitioned the king for a grant of lands in Leinster 'which are waste and occupied by the Irish' in return for which he would inhabit and defend the lands.¹²⁶ During the opening years of the fourteenth century, then, there was nothing reprehensible about the 'absentee' nature of the lordship of the lords of Carlow, Kilkenny and Wexford in Ireland.

The situation in Thomond was markedly different. There the military presence of the de Clares was crucial to the maintenance of the king's peace since it was during times of de Clare absence in England or minority that the English colony in Thomond came under Gaelic attack. In the long-term, it was failure in the male line which spelt the end of de Clare lordship in Thomond. In the short-term, the lack of effective deputies seriously undermined de Clare achievements in Thomond.

¹²⁵ Frame, *English lordship*, p.53 argues that the period between 1297 and 1327 saw 'critical changes' in the nature of cross-Irish Sea landholding in terms of further sub-division of territorial units. It was in 1319 that Thomas of Brotherton, lord of Carlow, claimed that his liberty was so devastated it yielded him no money and that his seneschals could not perform their duties (*AH* 34 (1987), 85). See also Frame, *op. cit.*, p.159.

¹²⁶ *AH* 34 (1987), 34.

Conclusion

'English rule' in Ireland by the king and his English subjects who also held land in the lordship was usually, but not always, exerted from a distance. English lords such as the de Clares in Thomond were exceptions to this rule. Neither Edward I nor Edward II visited the lordship of Ireland, a pattern of itineration inherited from Henry III and bequeathed to Edward III, because it was not absolutely necessary for them to do so. Their failure to journey to Ireland was based upon prioritising, but it was also based upon King John's success in extending the base of government in Ireland through a system of shiring.¹ The ability of the English king to govern Ireland successfully by proxy had its foundation in a period of more active royal intervention in the lordship.

The government of the lordship of Ireland did not occur independently of the kings of England, however. Edward I built personal links between the Dublin and Westminster governments through the appointment of intimate household knights to the justiciarship and other high offices of the lordship. Ever since the beginnings of the English colony in Ireland, the export of English law and English institutions had ensured that the Anglo-Irish looked to the English king as the head of their society. During the reigns of Edward I and his son, the two political communities were linked also by the transfer of court cases and the sending of petitions from Ireland to England. The connections between England and Ireland during this period were not confined to those between Dublin and Westminster. The communications network in operation was more vital than that, as exemplified by the sending of intermediary petitions. Neither were the communications between England and Ireland one-sided. Petitions sent to parliament in England and elsewhere were answered, and often positively. This royal reaction

¹ Empey, 'Settlement of the kingdom of Limerick', p.20; Frame, 'King Henry III and Ireland', pp.179-

encouraged the sending of more petitions, especially during the parliaments of Edward I.

Also important were the links maintained by English landholders with land in the lordship. The petitions of such lords for the maintenance of their rights, for example, brought the king's attention back to the lordship of Ireland more frequently than would have been the case had the landholding communities of England and Ireland been distinct. Ireland may have suffered from the fact that Edward I preferred his ministers in Dublin to remain there and attend to their duties, rather than present their petitions in person in England. Nevertheless, in the period between 1272 and 1315 it does not seem to have been the case that Edward I or II listened to the plaintive voice of English petitions in preference to those of his Anglo-Irish subjects. This was in contrast to the situation in the mid to late fourteenth century when Frame has suggested that it was difficult for the king to deal fairly with Ireland and his Anglo-Irish subjects because of the requests he received from English lords with vested interests in the lordship; a royal response that fuelled anti-'absentee' feeling in the lordship.² It was fortunate for Edward I and II that the English in general were not interested in securing grants of patronage in Ireland, even during Gaveston's tenure of the lieutenanship of the lordship,³ because this allowed the kings to pay more attention to the requests of their Anglo-Irish subjects. Nevertheless, to have had their English subjects keen to foster new interests in Ireland would have helped to tie the lordship closer to the mainland.

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² Frame, *English lordship*, pp.72-4.

³ The only notable increase in grants of patronage made in the lordship during Gaveston's tenure of office were appointments to office in c.1308-9. The complaint put forward by English chroniclers that Edward II dismissed large numbers of his father's officials in order to replace them with sycophants has long been discredited. Many of the apparently new appointments made were re-issues of existing letters patent or

The English king's attitude to Ireland was to view it primarily as a resource. It has even been suggested that Edward I may ultimately have refused to extend English law to the native Irish because the price on offer was not high enough.⁴ But, as even Lydon has acknowledged, it was the king's prerogative to view Ireland in this light; and whilst the demands of the Scottish wars blinded Edward I to the burdens he was imposing on both England and Ireland, it was not an entirely unbalanced approach. The king was interested in Ireland: no monarch intended to undermine his position in any of his dominions and Edward I was no exception to this general rule. The needs of the lordship may never have achieved pole position on his 'things to do' list, but neither were they neglected. Edward dispatched trusted men of ability from his household to govern the lordship on a regular basis; and a number of other household knights acted for the king in Ireland, notably William fitz Warin as seneschal of Ulster and John Fulburne as the captain of Anglo-Welsh mercenaries sent to Ireland in the mid 1280s. In addition, Edward retained a body of knights of his household in Ireland, paid from the king's treasure, to assist the justiciar in his work. This body seems, however, to have been replaced in c.1276/7 with the formal establishment of the justiciar's household of twenty men-at-arms. This may have been intended to provide the justiciar of Ireland with more resources in the form of reliable men to whom tasks could be delegated; Edward's previous justiciar, Geoffrey de Geneville, had certainly complained of a lack of resources. Nevertheless, the justiciar was not granted an increased salary from which to meet the costs of retaining these men, but had to bear the costs of their retention from the £500 which he traditionally received. As with Job's God, then, the king could give with one hand whilst taking away with the other.

close under the name of the new king (J. C. Davies, *The baronial opposition to Edward II, its character and policy. A Study in administrative history* (Cambridge, 1918), pp.53-6).

The link created between England and Ireland by the establishment of Thomas de Clare as lord of Thomond was initially one between an intimate household knight and his king. And, during the justiciarships of de Geneville and d'Ufford both of whom were household knights, Thomas worked closely with his former colleagues in the king's service in Ireland. During Richard de Clare's rule in Thomond, the emphasis of de Clare activity in Ireland had shifted. Richard, never a household knight, did not hold office centrally in the lordship. He was far more a member of the Anglo-Irish baronage than his father had been. He still served the king as sheriff of Cork but this service was local to his sphere of influence. Within the space of forty years, a remote part of Ireland had been tied more firmly to both Dublin and Westminster through the establishment of a household link which matured into a tenurial connection. The example of the de Clares showed the potential which the employment of other household knights in Ireland had for the establishment of permanent links between the lordship and England.

Edward I and II also sent resources to Ireland in the form of 'absentee' English landholders whom they required to fulfil their obligations of defence in the lordship. William and Aymer de Valence, and Thomas of Brotherton, as close kinsmen of the kings may have escaped this requirement but the same was not true of Roger Bigod, Gilbert de Clare and those named in the 1317 summons to the defence of their lands, all of whom were obliged to journey to Ireland in person or by attorney even if they did not do so in practice. The king's approach to his lordship was then primarily as a resource, but it was not a resource which he left untended.

Neither were the king's requests for supplies of men and materials entirely negative in their impact upon the lordship of Ireland. True, the Dublin government was left short of

⁴ Prestwich, *Edward I*, pp.14, 288, 353.

much-needed revenue; and the pardoning of criminals in return for military service probably did encourage lawlessness in Ireland, even on the part of fairly substantial men such as Robert de Verdon in Louth and the de Caunetons in Leinster. Nevertheless, the receipt of patronage in return for service in war contributed to the governance of Ireland. The English king needed the co-operation of his Anglo-Irish subjects as agents of his peace within the lordship, as well as their military service outside it. Lords sure in the knowledge of their place in the king's affections, confirmed to them by receipt of patronage and proximity to the royal person on campaign, were more likely to accede to the king's requests within Ireland. It was, for example, important for John fitz Thomas, the lord of Offaly, to receive royal recognition and acceptance of his position. Nevertheless, grants of patronage did not make fitz Thomas blind to his own interests: there was no question of his surrendering his ill-gotten lands to the absentee Agnes de Valence. In an act of patronage of sorts, however, the justiciar, John Wogan, turned a blind eye to fitz Thomas's activities in Kildare in return for his aid in fighting the Irish there. In general, then, Edward I and II achieved a balance between reward and service: this was testified to by the loyal response of most of the king's Anglo-Irish subjects to the need to defend the lordship against the invading Scots in 1315; service which, of course, was encouraged by rewards during the conflict.

The attitudes of English landholders who also held some land in Ireland may have differed depending on the relative value of their Irish estates in the context of their lands as a whole. As a general rule of thumb, the greater the percentage of a lord's income which they generated, the more important such Irish lands were to that particular lord. This importance of his Irish lands to an English lord was assessed in Chapter 3 by reference to the level of their active involvement in the management of their lands,

either in terms of defence or administration; in many cases the evidence for such involvement was provided by a grant of protection or attorneys for a lord journeying to Ireland. But there were other factors in the equation as well. For example, the geographical situation of a lord's lands: the St. Amand manor of Gormanston on the Dublin coast was far more accessible (and seemingly easy to manage by proxy) than the lands of John Maltravers in Limerick, although the Maltravers family managed to hold on to these lands. The geographical extent of a lord's holdings was also important. This was why men such as Roger Bigod, earl of Norfolk, and Gilbert de Clare, earl of Gloucester, had to travel to Ireland: although their respective lordships of Carlow and Kilkenny rendered a relatively small percentage of their total income, they were, nevertheless, lords of substantial lordships in south-east Ireland and could not entirely ignore their duties of defence. The relative self-sufficiency of the multi-layered administrative structures in place on the liberties of Carlow, Kilkenny and Wexford, however, effectively excused the lords of these liberties from their defensive duties much of the time. This semi-independence was fostered by the employment of local men as leading officers of the liberties. No administrative incident which could not be handled by these administrations occurred in this period, however.

During the period between 1272 and 1315, the lordship of land in Ireland was still a viable option for English landholders. For many of them, their primary interest in land in Ireland was as a source of income; a perspective typified by the close control which they sought to maintain over the activities of their administrators. The attractiveness of land ownership in Ireland did not hold its real value during the period under consideration for all English lords, however; and the early fourteenth century witnessed the severing of several ties that had bound Dublin and Leinster to England.

Landholding in Ireland may only have been viable at a distance for the greatest English lords whose administrations were able to undertake defence in their absence. It is probable that problems of administration and defence in Ireland were keener for lesser English landholders than they were for men such as Bigod and Gilbert de Clare. A more frequent presence in the lordship of Ireland was therefore required of those English lords who lacked sophisticated administrations to undertake their duties for them. This was also the case for the de Clare lords of Thomond whose rule depended on an active military presence. The Bruce invasion of Ireland may well have made it more difficult for lesser English landholders with a stake in the lordship to attend to their responsibilities of defence and administration from a distance. This may explain why later generations of families such as the de Carreus and the de Erleghs sent members to reside on their lands in person in the 1320s.

In this thesis, the attitude of the king towards his Irish lordship was examined before that of his English subjects who held land there. This arrangement was chosen in part because the itineraries of such lords, the reasons for their interest in their Irish lands, and to some extent the arrangement of their administrations followed the pattern set by the king. Whilst it was the prerogative of the English king to prioritise among the demands on his attention, this was not true to the same extent for his subjects. Neither Edward I nor Edward II made the journey to Ireland, but this did not excuse English lords who held land there from their duties of defence. Even lords such as Bigod and de Clare, who usually attended to their problems from a distance, could be compelled to take a personal interest in their Irish lands and to undertake duties there for the king. The management of land in Ireland from a distance was achieved most comprehensively in

this period, then, by the king of England; a king whose resources far surpassed, and could include, those of the administrations at Carlow or Kilkenny.

Appendix 1: Petitions and patronage related to the lordship of Ireland, c.1272-c.May 1315

(i) Parliamentary petitions

Date	Petitioner	Request	Reference
1281	Citizens of Dublin	Confirmation of rights	<i>AH 34 (1987), 15.</i>
1283	Castre, Maud widow of Adam	Heir charged with fines for which Adam part surety	<i>Rot. Parl. Ang., pp.23-4.</i>
	Crepe, John le	Sold tenement to J. Tankard; refuses to pay	<i>Ibid., p.22.</i>
	Crispus, John	Inquiry into goods taken from lands	--
1284	Mapp, J.	Allowance of money spent in king's service	<i>CDI, 1252-84, no.2364.</i>
1290	Abbot of Port St. Mary	Day for plea v Templars	<i>CDI, 1285-92, no.558, p.251.</i>
	Archbishop of Armagh	English law for Irish woman married to English man	--, pp.251-2.
		Licence to exchange rents/land for advowsons worth ~£20	
		Pardon fine £40 imposed by justices	
		Remedy: deprived temporalities of 5 vacant sees	
	Archbishop of Dublin	King apply himself to problems of Ireland	--, p.250.
	Beltesdale, William de	Promotion; remedy v treasurer (ousted him from church)	--, pp.258-9.
	Bishop of Emly	Distrained in lands rented from Grandison	--, pp.259-64.
		Treasurer distrained tenants harshly	
		Treasurer sequestered corn; not allow in debts	
		Delay in paying farm due to treasurer	
		Remedy v treasurer (distrained bishop on arrival in Eng.)	
		Escheator took pleas & perquisites of manor; let thief go for fine 5s.	
		Treasurer & Drayton intercepted letters to king on state business	
		Treasurer refused to deliver issues of see	
		Escheator extended manor beyond its value	
		Treasurer took £40 from 1 st issues prebend	
		Treasurer seized & sold sheep; not allow in debts	
		Distrained of oxen/sheep by sheriff of Limerick (on part	

		of treasurer)	
	Bodenham, Walter de	Remedy v treasurer (re. £200 arrears)	--, pp.252-4.
		Remedy v treasurer (in prison until gave bond)	
		Remedy v treasurer (took produce 50 acres)	
		Remedy v treasurer (not accept sureties)	
	Bohun, Joan de	Remedy v escheator	--, p.251.
	Callan, Robert	Remedy v treasurer (detained in prison)	
	David the clerk	Remedy v chancellor (ejection from church)	--, p.248.
	L'Enfaunt, Walter	King to think of him	--, pp.249-50.
		King regard him so not have to sell lands	
		Payment of fees	
		Redress: burnt manor	
		Allowance: horses lost	
		Writ to treasurer	
	Exeter, Richard de	Charter for £30 land	--, p.252.
		King's grace v escheator (put up rent)	
		Grace re. arrears of fee	
		King retake unprofitable land	
	Fulbourne, Adam de (executor of Stephan de Fulbourne)	Remedy v treasurer (ejected brother, Andrew, from church of Kylbery)	--, pp.254-8.
		Remedy v treasurer (ejected brother, Andrew, from church)	
		Remedy v treasurer on (stole secret document)	
		Remedy v treasurer (took & lost justiciary rolls)	
		Remedy v treasurer (took crops sown)	
		Remedy v treasurer (wanted to sell ornaments in Stephen's chapel)	
		Remedy v treasurer (sold Stephen's goods for less than worth)	
		Remedy v treasurer (not release deceased's goods)	
		Send discreet men to Ire. to audit accounts of Stephen's executors	
		Admittance to explain complaints of uncle re. himself & brother, J.	--, p.250.
	Fulbourne, John de	Release specific hostage (surety taken)	--, p.248.
	Hastings, Robert de	Grant Newcastle McKeynegan in fee	--, pp.250-1.
	Penlyn, Philip	Discharge fine 100s. for escape prisoners	--, pp.248-9.

	People of co. Tipperary	Remedy v sheriffs co. Tipperary (take 0.5m. per knight's fee)	--, p.250.
	Prior of Llanthony	King's writ for prosecution of plea	--, p.249.
	Prior/convent St. Mary de Ponte, Fermoy	King's letters of protection	
		Exempt poor tenants from assizes	
		Restoration of lands/rents/churches	
		Confirmation of charters	
	Abbot St. Thomas, near Dublin	Payment of 70m. arrears of alms	<i>Cole, Documents, xiv.</i>
1290	Abbot & convent of our Lady of the Rock, Cashel	Confirmation of grant of land in free alms by archbishop	<i>CDI, 1285-93, no.622, pp.316-17.</i>
		Remedy for trespass	
	Abbot of Port St. Mary, Dunbrody	Plea v Templars heard as soon as possible	--, p.305.
	Berkhamstede, William de	Proper payment as deputy keeper new customs	--, p.309.
	Bermingham, Meyler de	Deliverance from Dublin castle, in order to present grievances	--, p.311.
	Bishop of Lismore	Not allowed £50 owed by king to pay debt	--, p.317.
	Bishop of Waterford	Reseisin lands (ejected from by treasurer)	--, p.311.
		£60 chancellor's fee in arrears	--, p.319.
	Brun, David	Remedy v sheriff of Waterford for distraint	--, p.311.
	Brun, Reginald	Remedy v sheriff of Waterford (forced sale of 100m.land for 20m.)	--, pp.313-14.
		As above; presented as felon; prays inquiry	
	Burgesses of Schendon (men of Cogan & Rochfort)	Not allowed to trade as used to; led to impoverishment	--, p.307.
	Burgh, John de	Grant of land	--, p.310.
	Burgh, Richard de & Poer, Eustace de	Delivery of Robert le Poer	--, pp.307-8.
	Butler, Theobald	Grant issues of lands	--, p.315.
		Restoration of lands	
		Hold office of Butler	
		Hold Bray by serjeancy	
	Carreu, Robert de	Return of inheritance	--, pp.312-13.
	Carrik, Walter, brother of William	Remedy v treasurer (distraint him for £20 2s. debt of William)	<i>Cole, Documents, xv-xvi.</i>
	Citizens of Tipperary	Sheriffs exact too much	<i>CDI, 1285-92, no.622, p.316.</i>
	Citizens of Waterford	Grant of murage	--, pp.309-10.
		Letter to justiciar to order defence charters	
		Terms for payment debt	
	Cogan, Gyle de	Writ to chancellor re. postponed assizes	--, p.307.
	Cogan, John de	Writ to justiciar re. seizure of	--, p.306.

		lands	
		Inquest v J.de Barry	
		Writ of judgement to treasurer v de Verdon	
	Cosyn, Thomas	Grant of land	--, p.307.
	Craddoc, David	Remedy of king	--, pp.317-18.
	Dene, Reginald de	Remedy v escheator	--, p.316.
		Enact agreement re. allowance of debt	--, p.308.
	Devenys, William	Charter of warren	--, p.309.
		Recover petagii [sic]	
		Grant rights/liberties	
	FitzPhilip, John	Remedy v sheriff of Waterford (took cattle)	--, pp.314-15.
		Remedy v sheriff of Waterford (falsely accusation of robbery)	--, pp.315-16.
	FitzWarin, William; Penkeston, Richard de	Remedy v distraint as sureties for Fulbourne	--, pp.311-12.
	Fleming, Hugh son of Michael	Remedy v sheriff of Waterford (took rent)	--, p.310.
	Fulbourne, John de	Liberation of hostages	--, pp.318-19.
	Garynard, Adam	Remedy v treasurer	--, p.310.
	Hastings, Robert de	King take Newcastle McKeynegan back; debts owed to king calculated	--, p.320.
	Juvene, John le	Treasurer caused sheriff to steal goods	
	Lynham, Thomas de	Payment for services	<i>Cole, Documents, xiv.</i>
	MacGothmond, Philip	Licence for 400 to use English customs in Ire.	<i>CDI, 1285-1292, no.622, p.305.</i>
	Macotere, Maurice	Grant of Eng. customs	--, p.306.
	Marshall, Henry	Grant of charter of 'free guest'	--, pp.310-11.
	Ufford, John	Enfeoff with land Okethy	--, p.313.
	Vincent, Thomas, executors of	Money owed by archbishop to be recovered from goods/chattels	--, p.305.
	Wynle, Nicholas de	App. king's clerk in to receive merchants' recognizances in Dublin & Drogheda	--, pp.308-9.
1293	Abbot St. Thomas, Dublin	Remedy v de Vescy (acted v crosslands)	<i>Rot. Parl. Ang., p.39-41.</i>
		Remedy v de Vescy (detained temporalities of see & seal of house)	<i>Ibid., pp.39-40.</i>
		Remedy v de Vescy (took murderer and tried him in Kildare; took goods from crosslands for no reason)	--, pp.31-3.
	Barstere, Maurice de	Remedy v de Vescy	--, p.33.
	Bishop of Kildare	De Vescy prevented him performing office	--, p.38.
	Galweye, Roger de	Remedy v sheriff of Kildare	--, p.37.
	FitzMaurice, Thomas	Remedy v de Vescy (intervened in war)	--, pp.35-6.
	FitzThomas, John	Remedy v de Vescy (not	--, pp.33-4.

		allow king's protection in Kildare)	
		Remedy v de Vescy (maintained justices)	--, pp.34-5.
		Remedy v sheriff of Kildare (measured standards in liberty)	--, pp.43-4.
		De Vescy not allow J's Irish his peace	--, pp.44-5.
	King's men of Kylgagan & Jacobeston	Sheriff of Kildare distrained 100m. goods; came v them with banners unfurled	--, p.36.
	King's burgesses of Tristeldermot	Remedy v sheriff of Kildare (took goods & holds tourn 3x pa)	--, p.37.
	Mortimer, Edmund	Remedy v de Vescy (imprisoned all men who dealt with certain Irish)	--, pp.37-8.
		Remedy v men of de Vescy (secretly entered/detained lands & killed men)	--, p.39.
	Ridelesford, Walter de	De Vescy detains his land	--, pp.42-3.
	Vescy, William de	FitzThomas protected felon (burnt lands) in Roscommon castle	--, pp.41-2.
	Wodelok, Walran; Benet, Philip	De Vescy distrained them for debt of which acquitted	--, pp.30-1.
	'Wynton, Elye de' (presented by bishop of Kildare)	Inquiry: seneschal of Kildare usurped rights of crosslands	--, pp.38-9.
1303	Mortimer, Agatha; Vivon, Joan; Beauchamp, Cecilia	Treasurer/barons of exchequer should pay them rent from Kildare	<i>Placita Parliamentaria</i> , p.291.
1304	Prior Hosp. St. John of Jerusalem in Ire.	Assistance of treasurer & barons of Exchequer	<i>Doc. Aff. Ire.</i> , nos.76-7.
1305	Abbot/convent of Beauchamp	Reseisin of lands taken into king's hands (defaulted on rent)	<i>Mem. Parl.</i> , no.419.
	Archbishop of Dublin	Grant rights given to former archbishop of ordinary jurisdiction for life in archbishopric	<i>Ibid.</i> , no.446.
	Ayleward, David fitz Gilbert	Office of measures in Ire. for life	--, no.438.
	Benet, Adam	Grant Eng. law in Ire.	--, no.432.
	Braybrok, William	Bailiff of earl marshal unjustly detained £10 goods	--, no.409.
	Brom, Henry	Office of 2 nd engrosser of exchequer for life	--, no.431.
	Boun, Jacob	Restitution of issues of lands	--, no.421.
	Brun, Nigel, executor of Robert le Bray	Writ of Eng. chancery v Jacob le Rene	--, no.416.
	Cantok, Thomas	Allowance of sums in marriage of heirs	--, no.428.
	Caunteton, Maurice de	Remedy v justiciar	<i>AH 34</i> (1987), 12.
	Citizens of Dublin	Order justiciar to respect charters	<i>Mem. Parl.</i> , no.412.
		Remedy v treasurer (took	<i>Ibid.</i> , no.415.

		rents for lands in king's hand)	
		Pardon £71 debt	--, no.441.
		Pardon 50m. fine	--, no.443.
	Cornubia, John de; Whyutlaghe, William	Renunciation of his service	--, no.435.
	Dean/chapter of Armagh	Grant future archbishop to receive compensation re. issues	--, no.417.
	Dean/chapter of Ferns	Pardon 100m. fine	--, no.423.
	Deveneys, Nicholas	£91 pollards given him by exchequer; £45 ruin	--, no.429.
	L'Enfaunt, Walter	Marriage of heir of R. de St. Michael	--, no.425.
	Faversham, Juliana widow of Simon	Grant perch in waters of Dublin	--, no.427.
		Remedy v William de Moenes (took mill whilst plea undecided)	--, no.406.
	FitzNicholas, John	Remittance £20 debt (de Burgh requested)	--, no.422.
	Foghel, Nicholas	Grant alnage on cloth	--, no.411.
	Fowel, Thomas	Custody of castle of Salmon Leap	--, no.436.
	Fox, Walter le; FitzRalph, Roger	To hold 100a. land of king at 12d. per acre	--, no.414.
	Graddoke, Walter (on behalf Benedict le Poer)	Pardon £10 debt	--, no.426.
	Hunkel, Joseph	Marriage of M. Austyn	--, no.437.
	Mariscis, Christiana de	Writ to judges in Ire.	<i>AH</i> 34 (1987), 8.
	Mortimer, Agatha;	Re. share of issues of Kildare court & county	<i>Mem. Parl.</i> , no.244.
	Morton, Geoffrey	Payment £256 8s for goods taken by justiciar	<i>Ibid.</i> , no.434.
		Payment for hemp bought in wardrobe	--, no., no.430.
		Allowance expenses & losses in king's service	--, no.440.
	Neel, Richard & Peter	Charter of English law	--, no.447
	Nicholas of Dublin	Payment for 6 crannocs of wheat	--, no.418.
		Remission £9 arrears	--, no.445.
	Prior/brothers Hospital of St. John, Dublin	Pay fine at Dublin exchequer rather than in Eng. exchequer	--, no.405.
	Prior/convent St. Nicholas, Exeter	Lost church Corebeke by prosecution	--, no.408.
	Russel, Henry	Promotion to ecc. benefice	--, no.424.
	Seleby, John	Restoration to office of usher of exchequer	--, no.433.
	Somerset, William	Custody Dublin prison for life	--, no.439.
	Stratton, John	Distraigned for £132, but paid to exchequer	--, no.407.
	Staneye, Peter de	Lost custody land by unjust process	--, no.413.
	Taillour, William le, merchant	Redress v officials of Bordeaux	--, no.410.
	Valence, Agnes de	Redress v justiciar	--, no.420.

1306	Beauchamp, Cecilia de	Remedy re. issues of Kildare liberty taken by de Vescy	<i>Placita Parliamentaria</i> , p.329.
1307	Bagod, Robert	Allowed 100s. rent of archbishop of Armagh	<i>Ibid.</i> , pp.349-50.
		Service owed for lands changed; revert back	--, p.350.
	Balivyn, Richard de	Office of marshal of eyre in Ire.	--, p.349.
	Beauchamp, Cecilia de	Compensation for her share of Kildare liberty	<i>Rotuli Parl.</i> , I, 195, no.26.

1308	Carreu, Maurice de	Reseisin of lands	<i>Ibid.</i> , pp.267-7, no.19.
	Bigod, Alice	Exchange Irish dower lands for English ones	<i>AH 34</i> (1987), 6.
	Morton, Geoffrey de	Murage in Dublin for 10 years	<i>Rotuli Parl.</i> , I, 275, no.14.
	Prior of St. Edmund, Athissell	Licence to buy £100 land	<i>Ibid.</i> , p.277, no.24.
1312	Archbishop of Dublin	Restoration lands let out by predecessor without licence	<i>Rot. Parl. Ang.</i> , p.56.
1314	Mackoury, Duncan de	Custody of lands t-in-c	<i>Ibid.</i> , p.70.

(ii) Non-parliamentary petitions

Date	Petitioner	Request	Reference
1272	Abbot of Baltinglass	Compel justiciar to enquire re. seizure lands	<i>Doc. Aff. Ire.</i> , no.81.
	FitzRichard, Thomas	Inquiry into his actions in Ulster	<i>AH 34 (1987)</i> , 91.
	Lacy, Maud de	Remedy v bailiffs of Agnes de Vescy	<i>Ibid.</i> , 44.
1273	Archbishop of Cashel	Respite from demands for goods of usurer	--, 105.
	Rochelle, William de la	Grant of land granted by Burnell	--, 56-7.
1274	Archbishop of Cashel	Re. building of prison in Cashel	<i>Doc. Aff. Ire.</i> , no.8.
	Borough of Clonmel	Repayment money lent to justiciar	<i>Ibid.</i> , no.14.
	Geneville, Geoffrey de	Acknowledge ordinances made in 1264	--, no.9.
1274x 1280	Gorham, Henry & Annora	Allowed to pay £20 in which bound in 5 years at 2 terms	<i>CDI, 1252-84</i> , no.1760.
1275	Community of Dublin	Confirmation of liberties (abused by justiciars)	<i>Doc. Aff. Ire.</i> , no.16.
	Rochelle, William de la	Letter to treasurer/barons for redress (goods distrained for debt which not allowed)	<i>CDI, 1252-84</i> , no.1177.
		Restoration to land held for a term	<i>Ibid.</i>
		Settle matter of £20 fee as justice	--
	Audley, Henry	Respite payment of debts because ill	--, no.1212.
	Cheddeworth, Thomas	Letter ordering treasurer/barons to audit his account	--, no.1283, p.233.
	Geneville, Geoffrey de	Speedy auditing of accounts	<i>Doc. Aff. Ire.</i> , no.17.
1277	Avein, Amory de	Inquiry re. charter for brother's land	<i>AH 34 (1987)</i> , 90-1.
	Bigod, Roger	New Ross & Waterford to have equality in trading	<i>Doc. Aff. Ire.</i> , no.22.
	Carreu, William de	Restoration serjeancy of co. Waterford (taken because ground some of king's corn without licence)	<i>CDI, 1252-84</i> , no.1402.
	Clare, Gilbert de	Allowed issues of lands taken by escheator after lands restored by king	<i>Ibid.</i> , no.1394.
1278	Community of Cork	App. non-Irishman as collector of customs	<i>Doc. Aff. Ire.</i> , no.35.
	St. Edmund, Robert de	Allowed £10 10s. 4d. acquitted in acc.	<i>CDI, 1252-84</i> , no.1418.
		Return of chattels of felon granted him	<i>Ibid.</i> , no.1417.
	Feypo, Richard de	Grant of fair & free warren at Skreen	--, nos.1397, 1555-7.
	FitzMaurice, Maurice	Justice: half lands taken at false suggestion	<i>AH 34 (1987)</i> , 92.
	Friars Preachers of Youghal	Re. causeway between old & new churchyard	<i>Doc. Aff. Ire.</i> , no.40.
	Prendergast, Geoffrey	Restoration 10m. at Farnan (G's right)	<i>CDI, 1252-84</i> , no.1422.
		Restoration lands/tenements (G's right)	<i>Ibid.</i> , no.1474.

	Ufford, Robert de	Expedition affair Theobald Butler in king's court	--, no.1510.
1279	Bishop of Clonfert	Temporalities of Lismore see withheld	<i>Doc. Aff. Ire.</i> , no.28.
1270-1280	Geneville, Geoffrey de	Justiciar to send suit of case v citizens of Dublin to king in Wales	<i>AH</i> (1987), 86.
1280	?	Remedy re. plaint re. tenements of Clongill	<i>CDI, 1252-84</i> , no.1648.
	Bishop of Killaloe	Allowed to appoint attorneys	<i>AH 34</i> (1987), 97.
	Bishop of Meath	Help in dispute re. treasurer's accounts	<i>Doc. Aff. Ire.</i> , no.34.
	Burgh, Richard de	Inquiry whom writs to be sent to in Ulster	<i>AH 34</i> (1987), 57.
	Carmelite Friars of Dublin	Dublin city levy charges on lands	<i>Ibid.</i> , nos.31-2.
	Cheddeworth, Thomas de	Extent made of 1/3 lands of t-in-c	<i>CDI, 1252-84.</i> , no.1687.
	FitzWarin, William	Hold escheats in Ulster as used to	<i>Doc. Aff. Ire.</i> , no.30.
		Lands of Mandevilles etc. restored	<i>Ibid.</i>
	Friars of Our Lady at Carmel, Dublin	Enrolment of letters re. grant	<i>AH 34</i> (1987), 71.
	Gorham, Henry & Annora	Renewal of letter to justiciar/treasurer	<i>Ibid.</i> , 98.
		Terms for payment of debt; respite in payment of rent	--, 56.
	Russel, Maurice	Grant vill of Maynhowe at 35m. pa.	<i>CDI, 1252-84</i> , no.1665.
	Verdun, Theobald	Restoration of liberty in land in Meath	<i>AH 34</i> (1987), 25.
1281	Keepers of exchanges at Dublin & Waterford	Sums for satisfaction, incl. wages	<i>Ibid.</i> , 14.
	Poer, Maheu le	Remedy in suit re. 20 carucates land	--, 44.
1282	Bohun, Gilbert	Adjournment of suit in Ireland	PRO SC1/22/115.
	FitzWarin, William	Inquire who responsible for damage done to him	<i>AH 34</i> (1987), 93.
	Geneville, Geoffrey de	Remedy v justices common pleas (put knights on assizes outside liberty)	<i>CDI, 1252-84</i> , no.1953.
	Rochelle, Philip de la	Remedy v scutage demanded (father did service)	<i>Ibid.</i> , no.986.
		Chattels distrained in Ire. be allowed in debts of rent	<i>Ibid.</i> , no.1986.
		Relief from demands for fee farm & knight service (rendered by father)	--
		Restoration lands (rented for a term) for which escheator demands rent	--.
	Walhop, John de	Grant 1.5 carucates, 50a. land	--, no.2002.
1272-1283	Lacy, Maud de	Remedy v William de Londres	<i>AH 34</i> (1987), 44.
1283	Abbot & Convent St. Thomas, nr. Dublin	Record/process be sent before king's council in England (impleaded in liberty court of Trim)	<i>AH 36</i> (1995) C81, 139.
	Cheddeworth, Thomas	Special protection with licence to	<i>CDI, 1252-84</i> ,

		go to Wales	no.2148.
		Writ to treasurer/barons ordering his debtors to answer re. their debts	<i>Ibid.</i>
	Community of Roscommon	Compensation for devastation done by Cathal O'Connor	<i>Doc. Aff. Ire.</i> , no.39.
	Community of Waterford	Rights vis-à-vis New Ross maintained	<i>Ibid.</i> , no.38.
	Hauberger, Walter de	Remedy v justiciar (arrested W's Irishmen)	<i>AH 34</i> (1987), 17.
1284	FitzWarin, William	Allowance in account as seneschal of Ulster	<i>CDI, 1252-84</i> , no.2358.
1275-1284	Foreign tenants of Saggart	New extents made of land	<i>AH 34</i> (1987), 63.
1285	Archdeacon of Meath	App. someone to protect archdeacon & clergy v justiciar	<i>Ibid.</i> , 70.
	Cruces, Hugh de	Exemption from assizes/inquests	<i>Doc. Aff. Ire.</i> , no.44.
		Lease king's demesne manors co.Dublin	<i>Ibid.</i> , no.45.
	Dunhevet, John de	Not have to pay sums demanded by justiciar (received as wages for men-at-arms)	<i>CDI, 1285-92</i> , no.4.
	Prior & convent of Clonard	Deal sympathetically with messenger	<i>Doc. Aff. Ire.</i> , no.43.
	Tenants of manor of Tassagard	Reduction in rent	<i>Ibid.</i> , no.41.
	Valence, Agnes de	King's judgement in assize of common pleas	<i>CDI, 1285-92</i> , no.56.
1286	Bakerville, Joan wife of John de	Payment 40m. arrears of J's fee as castle constable (justiciar not paid)	<i>Ibid.</i> , no.216.
1287	Carreu, Maurice de	Terms for payment of debt	--, no.325.
	Tyrel, Hugh	End distraint made for non-performance of service	<i>Doc. Aff. Ire.</i> , no.46.
1288	Emelina wife of Maurice FitzMaurice,	Free administration of his goods	<i>CDI, 1285-92</i> , no.422.
	Geneville, Geoffrey de	Remedy v Abbot St. Thomas re. alleged cross-lands	<i>Ibid.</i> , no.452.
	Teling, Philip de	Jury of foreigners or Dublin citizens to investigation of detention of chaplain	--, no.405.
1289	Bentley, John de	Leave to act to rescue John de Fulbourne (taken hostage by Irish)	--, no.541.
	Jevene, John le	Remedy of imprisonment to damage £500	--, no.815.
1290	Barry, William de; Waleis, Gilbert de	Remedy for grant of peace to Donald Og MacCarthy	--, no.817.
	Burgh, Richard de	Custody of eldest son & heir of Turlough O'Brien (king's hostage)	--, no.756.
	Dean & chapter of Tuam	Treasurer withheld gifts from them	<i>Doc. Aff. Ire.</i> , nos.47-8.
	Fulbourne, John de	Treasurer to pay expenses £100 awarded by common council of Ireland	<i>CDI, 1285-92</i> , no.998.
		Remedy v treasurer (unjustly seized lands/chattels)	<i>Ibid.</i> , no.997.
	Haye, Walter de la	Allowance at exchequer; payment	--, no.730.

		of fees	
	Houlf, William, the children of	King not allow their disinheritance	--, no.1730.
	Merchants of Lucca	Remedy v treasurer (took £300)	<i>Cole, Documents</i> , xvi.
	Valence, Agnes de	Intervention in assize re. A's right to manor of Green, co.?Limerick	<i>CDI, 1285-92</i> , no.800.
1291	Friars Preachers	Permission to increase holdings; letters of protection; grant of murage	<i>Doc. Aff. Ire.</i> , no.49.
	Keche, Gilbert & Joan de	Remedy v treasurer	<i>Cole, Documents</i> , xiv-xvii.
	Lacy, Walter de	Remedy v tenants of land in Portlester	<i>CDI, 1285-92</i> , no.891.
		Remedy re. lands in Portlester, Trim	<i>Ibid.</i> , no.962.
	Marshall, Henry	Enfeoff in fee with land presently holds at will	--, no.953.
	Verdun, Theobald de	Payment arrears for castle/manor	--, no.857.
1292	Bigod, Roger	All merchants/ships be allowed to stop & trade at New Ross	--, no.1160.
	Creting, Adam & Juliana de	Restoration of Inchiquin manor	--, no.1142.
	FitzMaurice, Thomas	Judgement in plaint re. Killoran manor	--, no.1028.
	Penbroke, Margery wife of Roger	Remedy v treasurer (caused R £400 damages)	--, no.999.
		Remedy v treasurer (caused R, detained in prison, £200 damages)	<i>Cole, Documents</i> , xxiii.
	Penbroke, Roger de	Order treasurer to allow fines in acc.	<i>CDI, 1285-92</i> , no.999.
	Prene, William de, king's carpenter	Remedy v itinerant justices (imprisoned him, would have hanged him if not made fine)	<i>Ibid.</i> , no.1151.
	Geneville, Geoffrey & Matilda de	Inquire into rights to hold pleas re. advowsons	--, no.1075.
	Tenants of king's manor of Crumlin	Removal of Hugh Cumpton as custodian	--, no.1169.
1275-1292	Valence, William de	Undisturbed passage for burgesses of New Ross	PRO SC1/21/39.
1293	Abbey of St. Thomas, Dublin	Remedy v de Vescy (proceeded in plea v king's orders)	<i>CDI, 1293-1301</i> , no.26.
	Staunton, Peter son of Philip de	Remedy v irregular process & outlawry	<i>Ibid.</i> , no.100.
	Uncle, Walter de	Remedy error in £100 amerced by justices itinerant	--, no.107.
	Vescy, William de; Kyme, Matilda de; Mortimer, Agatha	Remedy in plea v Abbot St. Thomas, Dublin re. cross lands	--, no.22.
1294	Geneville, Geoffrey de	Restoration of liberty	--, no.125.
1295	Cantok, Thomas	Pardon of debts owed by him at exchequer	<i>Doc. Aff. Ire.</i> , no.52.
	FitzThomas, John & people of Ireland	Pardons for those in present war	<i>AH 34 (1987)</i> , 38-9.
	Oddingseles, William de, heirs of	Issues of lands in England restored	<i>Ibid.</i> , 100.
1296	Angoulême, Iter de	Bailiff in Ire. to render account	<i>CDI, 1293-1301</i> , no.343.
1297	Dean & Chapter of Elphin	Justiciar to restore temporalities of see	<i>Doc. Aff. Ire.</i> , nos.55-6.

	Deveneys, William de	Hold land at fee-farm at rent aforesaid	<i>CDI, 1293-1301, no.422.</i>
	Geneville, Geoffrey de & Matilda	Writs to be sent immediately to them	--, no.424.
	Grandison, Otto de	Remedy v archbishop of Cashel (moved Tipperary co. court from Tipperary)	<i>CDI, 1293-1301, no.419.</i>
	Hothum, John de	Writ to levy £100 owed by treasurer	<i>AH 34 (1987), 17.</i>
	Kent, Hugh	Grant English law for himself & heirs	<i>Ibid., 57.</i>
	People of Ireland	Grant of Magna Carta etc.	<i>Doc. Aff. Ire., no.54.</i>
	Vescy, William de, executors of	Justiciar etc. to inquire into debts owed	<i>AH 34 (1987), 101.</i>
1298	Bishop of Cork	Not to be disinherited re. advowsons	<i>Ibid., 85.</i>
	FitzThomas, John	Not admit men outlawed for death R. Harald to peace without satisfaction to those affected	<i>CDI, 1293-1301, no.519.</i>
		Payment (as king ordered) of £515 spent on justiciar's order in Connacht	<i>Ibid., no.518.</i>
		Remedy v de Burgh (broke truce)	--, no.514.
	Marshall, William, heir of John	Writ ordering delivery of office of marshal	<i>AH 34 (1987), 56.</i>
	Vescy, Isabella de	Judgement in an action of dower	<i>Ibid., 106.</i>
1299	Afton, Richard de	Licence to enfeoff another with lands	<i>CDI, 1293-1301, no.604.</i>
	Archbishop of Armagh	Charter allowing acquisition of land	<i>Doc. Aff. Ire., no.60.</i>
	Heraud, John	Pay £200 arrears in instalments	<i>AH 34 (1987), 102.</i>
	Hollywood, Adam of	Licence to assign land to archbishop	<i>CDI, 1293-1301, no.605.</i>
	Russel, Reginald & Margaret (formerly wife of Thomas fitz Maurice)	Accept fine for transgression in marrying without licence	<i>Ibid., no.609.</i>
1300	Abbot & convent of Baltinglass	Inquiry into seizure of abbey's lands	<i>AH 34 (1987), 81.</i>
	Archbishop-elect of Dublin	Grant liberties used by predecessors; respite of suits re. liberties; protection for 2 years	<i>Ibid., 57.</i>
	Carreu, Maurice de	Reduction in no. fees holds land by	--, 33.
	Citizens of Dublin	Pardon debt £521 owed since Henry III	<i>Doc. Aff. Ire., no.78.</i>
	FitzThomas, John	Pardon for Philip Purcel, his bachelor	<i>AH 34 (1987), 62.</i>
	FitzWarin, Alan	Remedy re. judgement v father	<i>Ibid., 26.</i>
	Morton, Geoffrey de	Grant of marriage/wardship of heir	--, 44-5.
	Nicholas, valet of earl of Ulster	Grant for good service in wars	--, 105.
	Penkeston, William	Writ <i>novel disseisin</i> v treasurer	--, 50.
	Puntz, John de	Order treasurer to give £10 land (owed from grant £30)	--, 48.
	Roche, Adam de la	Allowance of sums in account	<i>Doc. Aff. Ire., no.64.</i>
	Ulster, Walter de	Be allowed to come to Dublin to defend himself v accusation	<i>Ibid., no.63.</i>
1301	Exeter, Richard de	Charter for £30 lands granted to	<i>CDI, 1293-1301,</i>

		father	no.806.
	FitzThomas, John	Writ to justiciar to cause record/process to come before justiciar (J's jurors removed from commission investigating lands of J and Richard de Burgh)	<i>Ibid.</i> , nos.835, 843.
	Geneville, Geoffrey de	Justice re. violations of his liberty	<i>AH 34 (1987)</i> , 40.
		Allowance of sums owed to him as justiciar	<i>Doc. Aff. Ire.</i> , no.65.
	Merchants of Cheshire & North Wales	Ministers not to impede the removal of food from Ireland	<i>AH 34 (1987)</i> , 12.
	Nuns of house of St. John; Hareford, Agnes de	Licence to take advowsons/lands in enclosed writ	<i>CDI, 1293-1301</i> , no.801.
	Prior & hospitaller of St. John of Jerusalem in Ireland	Grant licence for land to be assigned in fee (by Maurice de Carreu & John Wogan)	<i>Ibid.</i> , no.764.
	Russel, Reginald	Allowance to pay debts in instalments	<i>AH 34 (1987)</i> , 23.
	Ufford, Robert de	Restoration of rent from land in Ire.	<i>Doc. Aff. Ire.</i> , nos.66-8.
1302	Abbot & convent of Baltinglass	Payment of debts by instalments	<i>Ibid.</i> , no.69.
	Balybin, John	Chief serjeancy Offelan for life or 10 or 12 years	--, no.70.
	Bigod, Roger	Free trade at port of Ross	<i>CDI, 1302-7</i> , no.100.
	Bishop of Kildare	Restoration of rent 10m. pa.	<i>Doc. Aff. Ire.</i> , no.71.
	Burgh, Richard de; Butler, Joan de - heirs of Richard FitzJohn	Widow to be compelled to release charters etc.	<i>AH 34 (1987)</i> , 102.
	Chapter & Dean of Kilfenora	Licence to elect successor	<i>AH 36 (1995) C81</i> , 139-140.
	Chapter & Dean of Limerick	Licence to elect new bishop	<i>Ibid.</i> , 139.
	Furmery, John	Remedy v disinheriting of father	<i>AH 34 (1987)</i> , 16, 81.
	FitzThomas, John	Grant of service of Ireland to aid construction of a new fortress	<i>CDI, 1302-7</i> , no.48.
		Grant charter of pardon for all crimes	<i>AH 34 (1987)</i> , 58.
		Custody £100 land until majority heir	<i>Ibid.</i> , 39.
		Order justiciar to assign lands	--, 89.
	Fresingfeld, John	Licence to give land to a church	--, 16.
		Grace re. goods of merchants (came into his hands)	--, 26-7.
	Hothum, John de	Presentation to benefice in Ireland	--, 17.
	Marshall, Henry; Wylleby, Robert	Assistance in levying debts in Ireland	--, 89.
	Ofalve, Dermot	Grant English law	--, 47.
	Poer, John	Remedy v father & chancellor	--
	Poer, Geoffrey	Remission 100m. owed at exchequer	<i>CDI, 1302-7</i> , no.35.
	Rochford, Maurice de	Grant warren in manors; permission to exchange lands	<i>Doc. Aff. Ire.</i> , no.72.
	Russel, Maurice	Pardon debts owed at Irish exchequer	<i>AH 34 (1987)</i> , 23.
		General charters pardon for M & valet	<i>Ibid.</i>
		Debt pardoned in part; terms for rest	--, 23-4.
		App. sheriff Cork & Waterford	--

	Sandford, Nicholas de	Pardon part of debt; terms for rest	--, 24.
1303	Butler, Edmund	Reduction in farm 25 vills in Connacht	<i>CDI, 1302-7, no.198.</i>
	Chapter & Dean of Armagh	Licence to elect new bishop	<i>AH 36 (1995) C81, 140.</i>
	Chapter & Dean of Elphin	Assent to election of Donatus Oflannagain as bishop	<i>Ibid., 140.</i>
	Chapter & Dean of Ferns	Licence to elect new bishop	--
	Citizens of Dublin	Remedy in various moves v statutes	<i>AH 34 (1987), 106.</i>
	Constantyn, Richard	Writ to justiciar re. accepting attorney	<i>Ibid., 82.</i>
	Feypo, Simon de	Remedy against Thomas de Verdon (committed £2000 of damage)	<i>CDI, 1302-7, no.255.</i>
	Geneville, Geoffrey de	Restoration of liberty (taken for personal trespass of seneschal)	<i>Ibid., no.241.</i>
	Prior of Hospital St. John of Jerusalem	Grant of a charter	<i>Doc. Aff. Ire., no.74.</i>
	Ryvere, William de	Protection for 2 years	<i>AH 34 (1987), 86.</i>
		Letters of protection granted in 31 Ed I be enforced	<i>Doc. Aff. Ire., no.73.</i>
	Valence, Agnes de	Distrain J. fitz Thomas to pay +£1000	<i>AH 34 (1987), 27.</i>
	Zouche, William de la	General attorneys in Ire. for 3 years	<i>Ibid., 59.</i>
1304	Abbot & convent of Beaubec	Right to be done to them in suit	--, 88-9.
	Bohun, James de	Seisin of his lands in Ireland	<i>CDI, 1302-7, no.361.</i>
	Burgh, Richard de	[fragment] on behalf Walter de Kenley	<i>AH 34 (1987), 53.</i>
	Carreu, Maurice de	Remedy re. 8 knight services due to him	<i>Ibid., 93.</i>
	Convent & Prior St. Mary's, Duleek	Licence to elect successor	<i>AH 36 (1995) C81, 141.</i>
	Kenley, Walter de	Land in Ireland to be regranted to him	<i>AH 34 (1987), 53.</i>
	Kent, John de, Emma widow of	Remedy v Pipard (given manor to king in exchange for lands in England)	<i>Ibid., 18, 100.</i>
	Monthermer, Ralph & Joan	Action before justiciar superceded	--, 60-1.
	Prior of Sts. Peter & Paul of Knock	Licence to elect new abbot	<i>AH 36 (1995) C81, 141.</i>
1305	Berkeweve, Elias de	Allowance 2s. per day for robes	<i>AH 34 (1987), 32.</i>
	Burgh, Richard de	Grant of Scilmorthy to earl or any Englishman	<i>CDI, 1302-7, no.437.</i>
	Carreu, Maurice de	Order treasurer/barons to allow arrears of fees in debts	<i>AH 34 (1987), 63.</i>
	Clere, William de	?Recognition of letters pardoning debt	--, 94.
	Furmery, William de	Remedy re. disinheriting of father	--, 39.
	Grandison, Otto de	Remedy v Robert de Haliwell (killed 6 of O's men)	<i>CDI, 1302-7, no.452.</i>
		Remedy v bailiff (owes £200)	<i>Ibid., no.446.</i>
	Mariscis, Christiana de	Not to be hindered in her right in assize <i>mort d'ancestor</i>	--, no.468.
	Morton, Geoffrey de	Treasurer to be summoned to parl.	<i>AH 34 (1987), 58.</i>

	Nugent, Richard de	Remedy v chancellor (ousted him from prebendary St. Patrick's, Dublin)	<i>Ibid.</i> , 46.
	Rochford, Maurice de	Restoration of lands in Poitou	--, 48.
	Prior of Inistioge	Charter of general protection	--, 40.
	Taylor, William le	Letter to duke of Brittany demanding redress	--, 71.
1306	Chapter & Dean of Emly	Licence to elect canon as bishop	<i>AH</i> 36 (1995) C81, 142.
	Deveneys, William de	Grant wreck of sea etc.	<i>CDI</i> , 1302-7, no.547.
	Geneville, Geoffrey de	Allowance in debts for arrears of fee in compensation for castles held by king	<i>Ibid.</i> , no.571.
		Allowance of debts owed to king in debts owed to G by king	--, no.535.
		Allowance in debts £279 16s. 10d. owed to G by king	--, no.596.
	Grandison, Otto de, attorneys of	Respite of pleas re. O until end of eyre	<i>AH</i> 34 (1987), 16.
	Prior of Holy Trinity & canon of St. Patrick's, Dublin	Licence to elect new bishop	<i>AH</i> 36 (1995) C81, 142.
	Ryvere, William de la	Seisin of land returned to him (wrong judgement in assize <i>novel disseisin</i>)	<i>CDI</i> , 1302-7, no.564.
1272-1307	Abbot & convent St. Thomas, near Dublin	Writ of bounds in dispute with community of Dublin	<i>AH</i> 34 (1987), 65.
	Citizens of Waterford	Grant of franchises of Bristol renewed	<i>Ibid.</i> , 25-6.
	Community etc. of Roscommon	Well disposed to priory of Roscommon	<i>Doc. Aff. Ire.</i> , no.80.
	Irish prelates	Re. franchises/jurisdiction Irish church	<i>Ibid.</i> , no.82.
	Ryvere, William	Remedy v legal actions brought v him when on king's service in England	--, no.79.
1307	Bohun, Joan de	Grant of dower in Ireland (difficulty in receiving it)	<i>CDI</i> , 1302-7, no.654.
	Burgh, Richard de	Extension of his grant of protection	<i>AH</i> 34 (1987), 91-2.
	Burgesses of Drogheda	[fragmentary] writ of liberate to treasurer	<i>Ibid.</i> , 105.
	Chapter & Dean of Clonfert	Licence to elect successor	<i>AH</i> 36 (1995) C81, 143.
	Chapter & Dean of Kilmacduagh	Licence to elect successor	<i>Ibid.</i> , 142.
	Exeter, Richard de	Payment of arrears of father's fee	<i>AH</i> 34 (1987), 99.
	Fulbourne, John de	Justiciar to expedite all J's business as directed in writs	<i>Ibid.</i> , 101.
	Mailek, Roger	Custody of lands in king's hand	--, 22.
	Mandeville, John de	Peter de Bermingham make suitable provision for his daughter-in-law (J's widowed daughter)	--, 20.
	Mortimer, Roger	Restoration of land/licence to inherit	--, 56.
	Prebendary of Glenmore	Redress v ministers (attached him for debts)	--, 104.
	Rochford, Maurice de	Certain men not to be admitted to king's peace	--, 23.

		Confirmation of grant of market	--
	Shropshire, John de	Charter for pardon of death	--25.
1308	Haye, Walter de la	Aid in recovering debts owed to him	AH 36 (1995), mem no.18.
1309	Blount, John le	Grant of manors for life	AH 34 (1987), 87.
	Brun, John le	Restoration of serjeancy of Connacht (not done fealty)	CCR, 1307-13, p.221.
	Burgh, Richard de	Pardon Henry Waleton (jailed for taking king's money)	AH 36 (1995), mem nos.15, 17.
	Chaplain of Llanthony, near Gloucester	Bishop of Meath allow them profits of church of Duleek	AH 34 (1987), 19.
	Clere, Nicholas de, executors of	Arrears acc. set v surplus £617 7s. 2d.	AH 36 (1995), mem no.12.
	Clere, William de	Distrained for brothers debts but holds none of his lands	Ibid., no.19.
	Procurator St. Saviour's Priory, New Ross	Solicitation of alms for priory authorised by papal bull	Doc. Aff. Ire., nos.84-5.
	Taloun, John	Writ of <i>novel disseisin</i>	AH 34 (1987), 71.
	Wodehouse, Richard de	Engrossers in exchequer paid equally	CCR, 1307-13, p.90.
1310	Burgh, Richard de	Inquiry re. part of town of Down of which R's father seised	Doc. Aff. Ire., no.86.
		Grant Dysert, Meath, in fee	Ibid.
		Grant four pleas of crown	--
		King make known will for rent of Ratoath & Carlingford	--
		Bishops of Ulster intendant to him	--
		Franchises in Connacht which holds in Ulster	--
		Grant franchises in Derecolmykll	--
		Treasurer to repair castles Roscommon/Athlone	--
	Butler, Ralph le	End exchequer requests for payment of debts of Joan Morteyn, R's ancestor	CCR, 1307-13, p.194.
1311	Chapter & Dean of Limerick	Licence to elect successor	AH 36 (1995) C81, 143.
	Wogan, John	Open war needed; money needed for it	AH 34 (1987), 106.
1312	Athy, John de	Repair of Limerick castle	Ibid., 30.
	Bishop of Down	Enrolment/observation of decision re. ownership 22 carucates	CCR, 1307-13, pp.547-8.
	Community of Dublin	Grant of murage for further 10 years	Doc. Aff. Ire., no.87.
	Community of Limerick county	Replacement of Irish for English monks in abbey of Monasteraneagh	Ibid., no.88.
	Douce, William de	Grant of land to him and heirs	AH 34 (1987), 36.
	Leche, John de	Ministers not interfere with property sequestered for debts	Ibid., 37.
	Sniterby, Thomas de	Allowed sums paid to justiciar/arrears of fee in acc.	AH 36 (1995), mem, nos.42-3.
1313	Burgh, Richard de	Repair king's castles in Connacht	CCR, 1307-13, p.533.
	Mortimer, Roger de; Verdon, Theobald de	Release prisoners (who then come to king in Scotland) upon mainprize	Ibid., pp.525-6.

	Poor Carmelites of Ireland	Letter to pope requesting confirmation of grant	<i>Doc. Aff. Ire.</i> , no.89.
1314	Archbishop of Armagh	Restoration of land leased out by predecessor & taken into king's hand	<i>AH 34</i> (1987), 100.
	Breton, Adam le	Writ to treasurer/barons allowing expenses (fighting Irish)	<i>Doc. Aff. Ire.</i> , no.91.
	Butler, Edmund, keeper of Ireland	Prevent removal Nicholas de Staveleye as clerk of rolls & writs	<i>Ibid.</i> , no.90.
	Clare, Richard de	Custody chattles & 2/3 lands Kilkenny	<i>AH 36</i> (1987), 56.
	Collan, John son of Philip	Justiciar inquire into rights of custody	<i>Ibid.</i> , 101.
	Newcastle, John de	Charter English law for father	--, 46.
		Issue new charter of liberty	--
1315	Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin	Letter to ministers in Dublin	--, 76.
	Hewiz, Thomas de	Custody of king's demesne at will	<i>CFR, 1307-19</i> , p.239.

(iii) Intermediary Petitions

Date	Petitioner	Request	Addressee	Reference
1272	Clare, Thomas de	Expedition of affairs Walter de Worcester	Chancellor of lord Edward (Robert Burnell)	<i>CDI, 1285-92,</i> no.1181; PRO SC1/22/164
1273	FitzJohn, Richard	Assistance for countess of Ulster	Chancellor (Walter Merton)	PRO SC1/7/213.
	Mandeville, Henry de	Remedy for injuries done by seneschal of Ulster	Keepers of the realm (Walter Giffard, archbishop of York; Roger Mortimer; Robert de Burnell)	PRO SC1/8/35.
1275- 1292	Cogan, John de	Letters of protection	Keeper of chancery rolls (John de Kirkby)	<i>CDI, 1252-84,</i> no.1759.
1275	Locard, Dame Emma	Letters for daughter to distraint husband for lands	Chancellor (Robert Burnell)	<i>Ibid., no.1155.</i>
1277	Ross, burgesses of	King remove restriction on harbour	Earl of Gloucester (Gilbert de Clare)	<i>Doc. Aff. Ire., no.21.</i>
	Cheddeworth, Thomas	Provision of another ward etc. for R. Bagod	Chancellor	<i>CDI, 1252-84,</i> no.1405.
1278	Verdon, Theobald	Allowed to take goods out of Ire.	Keeper of chancery rolls	PRO SC1/10/113.
	Armagh, Archbishop of	Expedite hearing of his petitions	Keeper of chancery rolls	<i>Doc. Aff. Ire., no.23.</i>
1281	Fulburne, Stephen	Writ of Eng. chancery for aid in recovering land	Keeper of chancery rolls	PRO SC1/10/61.
1282	Verdon, Theobald	Counsel/remedy (fears king will seize manor)	Chancellor	<i>CDI, 1252-84,</i> no.1988.
	Fulburne, Stephen	King's council to discuss judgement of 1267 re. wardship	Chancellor	<i>Doc. Aff. Ire., no.37.</i>
	Valence, William de	Attorneys admitted to plea in Dublin bench	Keeper of chancery rolls	PRO SC1/24/156.
1283	Clare, Thomas de	Release of men from Dublin prison	Chancellor	PRO SC1/22/165.
1283	Geneville, Geoffrey de	Writ of allocate for John de Saunford	Chancellor	PRO SC1/23/96.
1284	Fulburne, Stephen	Inform king that held certain custody by agreement with Verdon	Chancellor	<i>CDI, 1252-84,</i> no.2156.
	Waterford, bishop of	Carry out matter in R. Bagod's letters	Chancellor	<i>Ibid., no.2225.</i>
1285	Fulburne, Stephen	King's charter for commission counties Cork and Waterford to R. de Stapledon	Chancellor	<i>CDI, 1285-92,</i> no.16.
	Eleanor, queen mother, lady of Ireland	Favour to Master Roger, letter bearer	Chancellor	<i>Ibid., no.25.</i>
	Clare, Thomas de	Letters for Griffin	Chancellor	PRO SC1/22/154.

		fitz Alan		
	Ferns, archdeacon of	Remedy for goods unlawfully impleaded	Chancellor	<i>Doc. Aff. Ire.</i> , no.42.
	Stapledon, Robert de	Instruction (custody of county contested)	Chancellor	<i>CDI</i> , 1285-92, no.17.
1286	Verdon, Theobald	Aid/counsel for J. Maap (on king's service)	Chancellor	<i>CDI</i> , 1252-84, no.2366.
1287	FitzMaurice, Thomas	Postpone date of rendering homage; delivery of seisin in meantime	Chancellor	--, no.360.
1281-8	?	Letters of protection; counsel for affairs of Walerand de Wellesley	Chancellor	--, no.464.
1289	Kildare, bishop of	Free son of Irish noble held hostage in Dublin castle	Chancellor	--, no.828.
1292	Montalt, Milicent de	Writ to Cantok or Bagod re. her affairs	Chancellor (John de Langton)	--, no.1172.
1292-1302	Bohun, Humphrey de, earl of Hereford	Letters of protection for brother in Ire.	Chancellor	<i>CDI</i> , 1302-07, no.168.
	Geneville, Geoffrey de	Order chancellor of Ire. to act as Eng. chancellor re. franchises	Chancellor	PRO SC1/26/196.
	Vescy, William de	Attend to affairs of Lady Idonea de Leybourne	Chancellor	PRO SC1/27/178.
	Kent, John de	Confirm by king's letters grant of custody of seal of chancellor	Chancellor	<i>CDI</i> , 1285-92, no.1185.
	Brun, William le	Aid for Thomas de Mandeville	Chancellor	<i>Ibid.</i> , no.1188.
1300	D'Oron, Gerard	Re. grant of lands	Chancellor	PRO SC1/26/32.
1304	Bigod, Roger, earl of Norfolk	Acceptance of steward in Ire.	Adam de Osgodby	PRO SC1/28/48.
1314	Butler, Edmund le	Prevent removal of clerk of writs & rolls	Chancellor (John Sandale)	<i>Doc. Aff. Ire.</i> , no.90.
1315	Verdon, Nicholas	Conf. pardon for non-appearance before justices	Chancellor	<i>AH</i> 34 (1987), 93.
1316	?	Respite account of John le Poer	Chancellor	<i>Ibid.</i> , p.94.

(iv) Grants of patronage

Grantee	Grant	Date	Reference
40 men, incl. Walter Pulle & Robert de Verdon	Release from jail on mainprize	1304	CCR, 1307-13, pp.525-6.
Abbnugdome, Richard de	Prebend in St. Patrick's	1285	CDI, 1285-92, no.26.
	Custody Dublin Archbishopric	1294	CDI, 1293-1301, no.171.
Achonry, dean & chapter of	Licence to elect bishop	1312	CPR, 1307-13, p.459.
Acre, Joan of	Restoration of chattels	1297	CDI, 1293-1301, nos.428, 486.
	Custody lands Thomas de Clare	1294	Ibid., no.154.
Angoulême, Iter de	Prebend in St. Patrick's	1274	CDI, 1252-84, nos.1060, 1073.
		1277	Ibid., no.1375.
Antony, Hugh	Pardon £1000 debts	1304	CDI, 1302-1307, no.343.
Appeledrefeld, William	Just defence in liberty court	1299	CDI, 1252-84, no.1010.
Archbishop of Armagh	Restoration of temporalities	1307	CPR, 1307-13, p.4.
	Remission payment £1000 fine	--	Ibid., p.10.
Archbishop of Dublin	Restoration of temporalities	1312	CCR, 1307-13, p.411.
Archiaco, Aymer de	Licence to grant lands in fee	1309	CPR, 1307-13, p.182.
Ardern, Gilbert de	App. chancellor of exchequer	1302	CDI, 1302-7, no.138.
Athereston, William de	Prebend in St. Patrick's, Dublin	1314	CPR, 1313-17, p.81
Athy, John de	Appointed sheriff of Limerick	1310	CFR, 1307-19, pp.55, 135.
	Appointed sheriff of Kerry	1312	Ibid., p.151.
	Terms for payment £41 debt	1313	Ibid., p.167.
Audele, Roger	Prebend in St. Patrick's, Dublin	1314	CPR, 1313-17, p.171.
	Prebend in St. Patrick's, Dublin	--	Ibid., p.174.
	Precentorship of St. Patrick's	--	Ibid., p.171.
Austyn, John	Pardon king's suit of peace	1298	CDI, 1293-1301, no.485
	Pardon king's suit of peace	--	Ibid., no.569.
Bagod, Robert	App. chief justice Dublin bench	1274	CDI, 1252-84, nos.1054-5.
	Restoration to former employ	1275	Ibid., no.1132.
	200m. of king's treasure	1280	Ibid., no.1695.
	Pardon escape of prisoners	--	Ibid., no.1698.
	Remain as chief justice	1284	Ibid., no.2196.
	App. justice of Dublin bench	1307	CPR, 1307-13, p.19.
Bailiffs & good men of Clonmel	Customs on merchandise	1298	CDI, 1293-1301, no.511.
Bailiffs & good men of Dublin	Murage on all wares sold	1308	CPR, 1307-13, pp.90-1.
	Murage on all goods brought in	1312	Ibid., p.451.
Baker, Alan the	Grant English law	1295	CDI, 1293-1301, no.19.
Balimor, Peter de	Terms for payment £20 arrears	1282	CFR, 1272-130, p.177.
Balscote, Nicholas de	App. chancellor of exchequer	1310	CPR, 1307-1313, p.206.
	App. chief baron of exchequer	1313	Ibid., p.572.
Balybin, John de	Chief serjenacy of Offalan	1302	CDI, 1302-7, no.50.
Balygavern, William de	App. doorkeeper of exchequer	1304	Ibid., no.308.
Barry, John	Quittance common summonses	1292	CDI, 1285-1292, no.1045.
Barry, Luke de	Custody of manors in Wexford	1311	CFR, 1307-19, p.87.
Barry, Philip de	Pardon 20m. out of fine 100m.	1302	CDI, 1302-7, no.28.
Baskerville, John	40m. arrears of wages	1281	CDI, 1252-84, no.1839.
Bataill', Robert	Competent bailiwick	1277	Ibid., no.1387.
Beauchamp, Cecilia de	Licence to grant lands for ever	1301	CDI, 1293-1301, no.816.
	Lands & issues delivered	1304	CDI, 1302-7, no.315.
Belinges, Henry de	Custody lands G. de Lusignan	1302	38DKR, p.95 (PR 33 Ed I).
Beneger, John	App. justice of Dublin bench	1312	CPR 1307-13, p.504
Bentley, John	Competent office	1299	CDI, 1293-1301, no.625.
Berdefeld, William de	App. justice Dublin bench	1308	CPR, 1307-13, pp.75, 77.
	App. pleas following justiciar	1315	CPR, 1313-17., p.274.
Bereford, Richard de	App. chancellor of Ireland	1314	Ibid., p.102.

Berkeley, Nicholas de	App. deputy rolls/writs in pleas	1290	<i>CDI, 1285-92, no.575.</i>
--, Thomas de	Pardon 200m./terms for 500m.	1285	<i>Ibid., no.14.</i>
	Given aid in levying debts	1298	<i>CDI, 1293-1301, no.531.</i>
	Marriage of heir	1302	<i>CDI, 1302-7, no.773.</i>
Berneval, Wulfran de	Same pay as other sheriffs	1284	<i>CDI, 1252-84, no.2257.</i>
Bernevalle, Reginald de; Cadel, William; Richard, Robert	Pardon king's suit of peace	1296	<i>CDI, 1293-1301, no.354.</i>
Bernevalle, Reginald de	Respite all debts	1302	<i>CDI, 1302-7, no.97.</i>
	Pardon 100m. debt	1304	<i>Ibid., no.346.</i>
Bigod, Roger	Respite payment of debts	1278	<i>CDI, 1252-84, no.1480</i>
	Restoration liberty of Carlow	1285	<i>CDI, 1285-92, no.95.</i>
	Safe-conduct for one of men	1294	<i>CDI, 1293-1301, no.150.</i>
	Restoration liberty of Carlow	1301	<i>Ibid., no.813.</i>
	Restoration liberty of Carlow	1302	<i>CDI, 1302-7, nos.53, 87.</i>
Bikenore, Alexander de	App. escheator of Ireland	1307	<i>CFR, 1272-1307, p.556.</i>
	App. treasurer of Ireland	--	<i>CPR, 1307-13, p.13.</i>
	Conf. app. archbishop of Dublin	1314	<i>CPR, 1313-17, p.79.</i>
Birton, William	Archdeaconry of Armagh	1308	<i>CPR, 1307-13, p.64.</i>
Biset, Hugh	£100 land & rent	1296	<i>CDI, 1293-1301, no.313.</i>
Bishop elect/chapter Limerick	Pardon penalty for election	1311	<i>CPR, 1307-13, p.405.</i>
Bishop of Clonfert	Custody of Lyuekan manor	1274	<i>36DKR, p.31 (PR 4 Ed I).</i>
Blakeman, Richard & Amabilia	Pardon 10m. debt	1302	<i>CDI, 1302-7, no.29.</i>
Blound, Richard le of Arklow	Acquittance 21m. issues of land	1308	<i>CCR, 1307-13, p.29.</i>
Blund, John le	Custody manors of	1309	<i>CFR, 1307-19, p.49.</i>
Blund, Richard de	Grant of church	1276	<i>CDI, 1252-84, no.1279.</i>
	Vacant prebend/church	1278	<i>Ibid., no.1423.</i>
Bohun, Gilbert de	Terms for payment fine	1305	<i>CDI, 1302-7, no.384.</i>
Bohun, John de	Licence to sell lands	1280	<i>CDI, 1252-84, no.1683.</i>
Boneville, John	App. steward Carlow/Kildare	1308	<i>CPR, 1307-13, p.147.</i>
	Pardon £100 farm manors due	1309	<i>Ibid., p.194.</i>
Boudon, William de	Prebend in St. Patrick's, Dublin	1307	<i>Ibid., p.2.</i>
Bradicot, William de	Custody lands/tenements/castles	1282	<i>CDI, 1252-84, no.2015.</i>
Bray, Maurice de	Grant English law	1296	<i>CDI, 1293-1301, no.19.</i>
Brisbon, Walter	Pardon for death & outlawry	1314	<i>CPR, 1313-17, p.80.</i>
Britun, John le	App. custody rolls/writs of pleas	1307	<i>CPR, 1307-13, p.17.</i>
Brotherton, Thomas of & Woodstock, Edmund of	Custody of liberty of Bigod's former lands and castles	1310	<i>CPR 1307-13, p.272.</i>
Brotherton, Thomas de	Grant of liberty of Carlow	1312	
	Pontage at New Ross	1313	<i>CPR, 1313-17, p.43.</i>
	Trading rights to New Ross	--	<i>Ibid., p.47.</i>
	Custody Curton town	--	<i>CFR, 1307-19, p.185.</i>
	Custody forfeited lands	--	<i>Ibid.</i>
Broun, William of Drogheda	English law	1309	<i>CPR, 1307-13, p.183.</i>
Bruges, Hugh	Custody of lands	1291	<i>CDI, 1285-92, no.894.</i>
Bruges, Hugh; Rys, John	Custody of lands	--	<i>Ibid., no.913.</i>
Bruges, Robert de	Benefices in Killaloe diocese	1280	<i>CDI, 1252-84, no.1641.</i>
Brun, Fromund le	Prebend or other benefice	1282	<i>Ibid., no.1987.</i>
Brun, Geoffrey	Competent benefice	1290	<i>CDI, 1285-92, no.658.</i>
	App. chamberlain exchequer	--	<i>Ibid., no.750.</i>
Brun, John le	Serjeancy of Connacht	1284	<i>CDI, 1252-84, no.2270.</i>
Brun, Nigel le	Custody of land	1290	<i>CDI, 1285-92, no.665.</i>
	Exemption from assizes etc.	1291	<i>Ibid., no.910.</i>
	Free warren in demesne lands	1304	<i>CDI, 1302-7, no.319.</i>
	Licence to acquire manor	1307	<i>39DKR, p.21 (PR 1 Ed II).</i>
	App. escheator of Ireland	1307	<i>CFR, 1307-19, p.6.</i>
	Ransom/forfeiture incurred by x	1308	<i>CPR, 1307-13, p.76.</i>
	£746 owed by former escheator	--	<i>Ibid., p.106.</i>

	Free warren in demesne lands	1309	<i>CChR, 1300-26, p.126.</i>
	Land	--	<i>CPR, 1307-13, p.154.</i>
Brun, Reginald	Terms payment arrears	1315	<i>CCR, 1313-18, pp.177-8.</i>
Burgesses of Drogheda	Confirmation of charters	1305	<i>CChR, 1300-26, p.59.</i>
Burgh, Emelina de	Aid in recovery debts	1275	<i>CDI, 1252-84, no.1115.</i>
Burgh, Henry de	Pardon for crimes	1304	<i>CDI, 1302-7, no.330.</i>
Burgh, Richard de	Grant castles held by father	1280	<i>CDI, 1252-84, no.1629.</i>
	Grant castles/lands/tenements	--	<i>Ibid., no.1646.</i>
	Terms for payment all debts	--	<i>Ibid., nos.1769, 1774.</i>
	Pardon £500 debt	1281	<i>Ibid., no.1794.</i>
	Grant of lands in fee tail	1283	<i>Ibid., nos.2099-2100.</i>
	Pardon part debts below £1000	1285	<i>CDI, 1285-92, no.112.</i>
	Pardon all transgressions	1296	<i>CDI, 1293-1301, nos.314-15, 319.</i>
	Respite homage/relief	1301	<i>Ibid., no.768.</i>
	Respite all debts	--	<i>Ibid., no.821.</i>
	Distraints/demands relaxed	1302	<i>CDI, 1302-7, nos.107-8.</i>
	Free chace in all demesne lands	1304	<i>Ibid., no.304.</i>
	Custody land/heir of Pipard	--	<i>Ibid., no.323.</i>
	Pardon all debts	--	<i>Ibid., no.340.</i>
	Payment £4000 owed	1305	<i>Ibid., no.371.</i>
	Quittance scutage last Sc. war	1306	<i>Ibid., no.488.</i>
	Licence to enfeoff 24 chaplains	--	<i>Ibid., no.510.</i>
	Grant £2, 150 owed in debts	1308	<i>CCR, 1307-13, p.38.</i>
	Marriage heir of Bermingham	--	<i>CPR, 1307-13, p.76.</i>
	App. king's lieutenant	--	<i>Ibid., p.83.</i>
	Pardon arrears rent 500m.	1309	<i>Ibid., p.186.</i>
	Discharge debts due to Edw. I	--	<i>CCR, 1307-13, p.172.</i>
	Pardon annual rent 500m.	--	<i>CPR, 1307-13, p.182.</i>
	App. custodian king's castles	--	<i>Ibid.</i>
	Pardon acquisition land	1310	<i>Ibid., p.292.</i>
	Custody of manors	--	<i>CFR, 1307-19, p.76.</i>
--, William de	Custody 50m. land <i>p.a.</i>	1304	<i>CDI, 1302-7, no.338.</i>
Burnell, William	Bailiwick of water Dublin city	1276	<i>CDI, 1252-84, no.1230.</i>
	Grant land with housebote etc.	1283	<i>Ibid., no.2199.</i>
	Grant land with housebote etc.	1285	<i>Rot pat et clau., no.3.</i>
Butler, Edmund	Terms payment £3000 debt	1301	<i>CDI, 1293-1301, no.774.</i>
	Inheritance prior to homage	1304	<i>CDI, 1302-7, no.279.</i>
	Pardon annual rent 25 vills	1309	<i>CPR, 1307-13, p.189.</i>
	App. justiciar Ireland	1315	<i>CCR, 1313-17, p.207.</i>
Butler, Joan	Conveyance money from Ire.	1301	<i>CDI, 1293-1301, no.830.</i>
Butler, John	Custody of lands	1304	<i>CDI, 1302-7, no.337.</i>
	Pardon £12 4s. 0d. debt	--	<i>Ibid., no.343.</i>
Butler, Ralph & many others	Pardon acquisition land	--	<i>Ibid., no.595.</i>
Butler, Theobald	Pardon £200; terms for £900	1278	<i>CDI, 1252-84, no.1502.</i>
	Allowance 400m; grant £100	1279	<i>Ibid., no.1607.</i>
	Terms payment of debts	1292	<i>CDI, 1285-92, no.1168.</i>
Butler, Thomas	Custody castles/lands/tenements	1314	<i>CFR, 1307-19, p.201.</i>
Caen, John de, Master	Archdeaconry of Glendalough	1295	<i>Lawlor, Fasti, p.77.</i>
Caumville, Geoffrey de	Grant weekly fair & market	1285	<i>CChR, 1257-1300, p.327.</i>
	Letters of protection	1297	<i>CDI, 1293-1301, no.449.</i>
--, William	Acquitted demand for scutage	1314	<i>CCR, 1313-18, p.53.</i>
Canons of Llanthony, Ireland	Confirmation of charter	1309	<i>CPR, 1307-13, p.161.</i>
Canoun, Hugh	App. justice of Dublin bench	1308	<i>Ibid., p.92.</i>
	--	1313	<i>--, p.556.</i>
	Custody of land	1313	<i>39DKR, p.40 (PR 3 Ed II).</i>
	Hold pleas following justiciar	1315	<i>CPR, 1313-17, p.289.</i>

Cantok, John	Prebend in church of Cashel	1302	<i>CDI, 1302-7, no.112.</i>
--, Thomas	Prebend in church of Cashel	1302	<i>Ibid., no.111.</i>
	App. chancellor of Ireland	1308	<i>CPR, 1307-13, p.76.</i>
Capella, John de	Grant fair & weekly market	1291	<i>CDI, 1285-92, no.920.</i>
Carpenter, William le	Custody of king's rents etc.	1290	<i>Ibid., no.827.</i>
Carreu, Maurice	Pardon £400 debts	1304	<i>CDI, 1302-7, nos.343, 413.</i>
Carreu, Nicholas & John	Letters of protection	1301	<i>CDI, 1293-1301, no.842.</i>
Carreu, William de	Restoration to sergeancy	1277	<i>CDI, 1252-1284, no.1402.</i>
Cashel, Archbishop of	Grant of land in frank almoyn	--	<i>CChR, 1257-1300, p.204.</i>
Cauneton, Maurice & retinue	Pardon for death of another	1309	<i>CCR, 1307-13, p.181.</i>
--, William	App. sheriff of Cork	1303	<i>CDI, 1302-7, no.274.</i>
	Pardon £100 debts	1304	<i>Ibid., no.343.</i>
	App. sheriff of Cork	1307	<i>CFR, 1307-19, p.11.</i>
	Respite payment of debts	1309	<i>CCR, 1307-13, p.235.</i>
	App. sheriff of Cork	--	<i>CFR, 1307-19, p.51.</i>
	Respite payment of debts	1311	<i>CCR, 1307-13, p.378.</i>
	Respite of payment debts	1312	<i>Ibid., p.416.</i>
	Mainprize for felonies cont.	--	<i>Ibid., p.413.</i>
	Aquitted £100 debts; allowed £276 17s. 0d.	--	<i>Ibid., p.422.</i>
Cave, Geoffrey de	Custody of Carlow castle etc.	1311	<i>CFR, 1307-19, p.94.</i>
Cheddeworth, Thomas de	Allowed 40m. wages	1276	<i>CDI, 1252-84, no.1278.</i>
	Custody of lands	--	<i>Ibid., no.1283.</i>
	Allowed £848 1s. 0d.	--	<i>--, no.1286.</i>
	Prebend in church of Kildare	--	<i>--, no.1300.</i>
	Allowed sums; account audited	1282	<i>--, no.2148.</i>
	Grant of fee & arrears of fee	1284	<i>--, no.2264.</i>
	Allowed various sums	1299	
	App. archbishop-elect of Dublin	1295	<i>CDI, 1293-1301, no.242.</i>
Chevre, Nicholas	Pardon suit of king's peace	1298	<i>Ibid., nos.557, 598.</i>
Cinurghethan, Philip, Simon, John	Grant English law	--	<i>CDI, 1285-92, no.64.</i>
Clahull, Geoffrey de	App. sheriff of Kerry	1284	<i>CDI, 1252-84, no.2194.</i>
	Grant wreck of sea	--	<i>Ibid., no.2198.</i>
Clare, Gilbert	Grant fair & weekly market	1286	<i>CDI, 1285-92, no.237.</i>
--, -- & Joan	Grant of lands etc.	1290	<i>CDI, 1285-92, no.659.</i>
--, -- son of Gilbert	Allowed to inherit whilst a minor	1307	<i>CPR, 1307-13, p.1.</i>
	Remission of payments	--	<i>Ibid., p.21.</i>
	Respite payment of all debts	1309	<i>--, p.107.</i>
	Grant issues bishopric of Down	1314	<i>CPR, 1313-17, p.89.</i>
--, --, -- executors of	Licence to take deer in his park	--	<i>--, p.131.</i>
--, --, --, Matilda wife of	Custody of dower before extents taken	--	<i>CCR, 1313-18, p.126.</i>
Clare, Gilbert, son of Thomas	Allowed to inherit whilst a minor	1299	<i>CDI, 1293-1301, no.656.</i>
	Respite payment of all debts	1307	<i>CDI, 1302-7, no.674.</i>
Clare, Richard, son of Thomas	Respite payment of debts	1308	<i>CCR, 1307-13, p.25.</i>
	App. sheriff of Limerick	1309	<i>CFR, 1307-19, p.42.</i>
	Respite payment of debts	1314	<i>AH 36 (1995) mem, no.52.</i>
	App. sheriff of Cork	1309	<i>CFR, 1307-19, p.48.</i>
Clare, Richard de, Master	Presentation to church Dondarvan	--	<i>CPR, 1313-17, p.201.</i>
Clare, Thomas	Grant land of Thomond in tail	1276	<i>CDI, 1252-84, no.1194.</i>
	Grant all liberties in Thomond	--	<i>Ibid., no.1192.</i>
	Knight service for Thomond reduced	--	<i>--, no.1189.</i>

	Grant hostages for peace	--	--, no.1197.
	Custody Conning castle	--	--, no.1190.
	Grant knight service of Ireland	--	--, no.1191.
	Grant land/castle etc.	--	--, nos.1204, 1224.
	Right to enfeoff knights	--	--, no.1261.
	Grant knight service of Ireland	1278	--, no.1476.
	Pardon debts owed by O'Briens	1280	--, no.1675.
	Lease land of Wethny	1283	--, no.2103.
	Grant of weekly market	1284	--, no.2283.
Clauthan, Peter	Grant English law	1293	<i>CDI, 1293-1301</i> , no.19.
Clement, William son of; FitzDavid, Thomas etc.	King's protection	1280	<i>CDI, 1252-84</i> , no.1682.
	Protection in rights granted	--	--, no.1747.
Clere, Nicholas de	Presentation to church	1286	<i>CDI, 1285-92</i> , no.286.
	Grant of vacant prebend	1289	<i>Ibid.</i> , no.515.
Clerk, Peter le	Terms for payment 10m.	1284	<i>CFR, 1272-1307</i> , p.208.
Clifford, Roger de	App. keeper of king's castles	1292	<i>CDI, 1285-92</i> , no.1036.
Clondowan, John de & siblings	Grant English law	1293	<i>CDI, 1293-1301</i> , no.19.
Clonfert, bishop of	Restoration of temporalities	1308	<i>CPR, 1307-13</i> , p.57.
Cogan, John de	Allowed to inherit whilst a minor	1281	<i>CDI, 1252-84</i> , no.1789.
	Power to admit Irish to peace	1283	--, no.2092.
Cokerel, Guy	Justiciar to give remedy	1290	<i>CDI, 1285-1292</i> , no.635.
	Pardon £10 debt	1304	<i>CDI, 1302-7</i> , no.346.
Collectors of new custom	Paid competent stipend	1282	<i>CDI, 1252-84</i> , no.1987.
Comyn, William de	Not in default for absence at plaint	1302	<i>CDI, 1302-7</i> , no.92.
Constantyn, Richard	Restoration of lands	1299	<i>CDI, 1293-1301</i> , no.696.
Consyn, John	Grant office of measures in Ire.	1313	<i>CPR, 1313-17</i> , p.40.
Cotegrave, Thomas de	App. chamberlain of exchequer	--	<i>CPR, 1307-13</i> , p.590.
Craddock, Walter	Pardon £9 debt	1304	<i>CDI, 1302-7</i> , no.343.
Creting, Adam de	App. clerk of market in Ireland	1307	<i>CPR, 1307-13</i> , p.21.
Crok, John	Custody of king's manor	1302	<i>CDI, 1302-7</i> , no.17.
Crues, Hugh de	Custody of king's demesnes	1279	<i>CDI, 1252-84</i> , no.1528.
--, Milo de	Free warren in demesne lands	1286	<i>CDI, 1285-92</i> , no.177.
--, Nicholas de	Marriage of heir	--	<i>38DKR</i> , p.80 (PR 31 Ed I).
Cumpton, Henry de	Custody of king's demesnes	1292	<i>CDI, 1285-92</i> , no.1073.
	Church worth £20 or 40m.	--	<i>Ibid.</i> , no.1076.
--, Hugh de	Custodian of merchants seal	--	--, no.1081.
Curteys, Walter de	Custodian writs/rolls of bench	1313	<i>CPR, 1313-17</i> , p.48.
	App. chirographer in bench	1315	<i>Ibid.</i> , p.269.
Cusak, Walter de	App. chief justice in eyre	1308	<i>CPR, 1307-13</i> , p.78.
Dene, Reginald	Allowance £200 in debts	1292	<i>CDI, 1285-92</i> , no.1049.
Dene, Thomas	Relax distraint for £300	1273	<i>CDI, 1252-84</i> , no.982.
Dene, William, heirs of	Peace re. his debts as justiciar	1275	<i>Ibid.</i> , no.1130.
Dispenser, Robert le	Custody of lands	1293	<i>CDI, 1302-7</i> , no.85.
	Restoration to lands	1302	<i>Ibid.</i>
Deveneys, Warin le	Grant of customs	1285	<i>CDI, 1285-92</i> , no.73.
--, William le	App. justice common pleas	1306	<i>CDI, 1302-7</i> , no.178.
	Gift 12 oaks fit for timber	1283	<i>CDI, 1252-84</i> , no.2084
	App. chief justice king's bench	1308	<i>CPR, 1307-13</i> , p.63.
	Grant of land in fee farm	1283	<i>CDI, 1252-84</i> , no.2070.
	App. justice of bench	1312	<i>CPR, 1307-13</i> , p.504.
	App. engrosser of exchequer	1299	<i>CDI, 1293-1301</i> , no.617.
Dorim, Gerard	Custody £100 land	1300	<i>Ibid.</i> , no.756.
Douz, William	Grant 40a. land	1315	<i>CFR, 1307-19</i> , p.249.
Down, Milo of	Custody of manor	1276	<i>CDI, 1252-84</i> , no.1401.

Dublin, archbishop of	Restoration of temporalities	1307	<i>CPR, 1307-13, p.6.</i>
	Grant to use/enjoy all liberties	1310	<i>Ibid., p.266.</i>
	Grant of temporalities & issues	1311	--, pp.321-2.
	Delivery of temporalities	--	--, p.378.
	App. treasurer of Ireland	1313	--, p.585.
--, --, elect	Respite pleas until end of eyre	1291	
Effanye, Peter de	Custody of lands	1310	
Elphin, bishop of	Licence to elect bishop	1307	<i>CPR, 1307-13, p.2.</i>
	Restoration of temporalities	1310	<i>Ibid., p.295.</i>
Engleys, Thomas le	Not to be knighted against his will	1277	<i>CDI, 1252-84, no.1380.</i>
Ergadia, John de	Sum for maintenance of him & household	1315	<i>CCR, 1313-18, pp.139-40.</i>
Ergaill, John de	Payment 100m. arrears wages	1311	<i>CCR, 1307-13, p.297.</i>
Estdene, William le	Grant king's demesne lands of Chapelizod	1293	<i>CDI, 1293-1301, no.69.</i>
Everle, Geoffrey de	Presentation to church	1278	<i>CDI, 1252-84, no.1468.</i>
Exeter, Jordan de	Custody of lands/marriage heir	1304	<i>CDI, 1302-7, no.332.</i>
--, Richard de	Grant £20 land in fee farm	1280	<i>CDI, 1252-84, no.1704.</i>
	Terms for payment of debt	1301	<i>CDI, 1293-1301, no.805.</i>
	Land to rent at certain farm	1302	<i>CDI, 1302-7, no.105.</i>
	App. chief justice of bench	--	<i>Ibid., no.140.</i>
	Grant of lands in fee tail	1303	--, no.209.
	Grant of 9 villata in fee farm	1304	--, no.316.
	App. chief justice of bench	1308	<i>CPR, 1307-13, p.75.</i>
Ferndon, Michael de	Custodian rolls/writs in eyre	1311	<i>Ibid., p.333.</i>
Ferns, dean & chapter	Licence to elect bishop	1312	--, p.415.
	Not to be molested if elected without licence	1312	<i>CCR, 1307-13, p.400.</i>
Ferre, John	Grant £1000 owed by king	1275	<i>CDI, 1252-84, no.1126.</i>
Feypo, Richard de	Grant fair & weekly market	1279	<i>Ibid., nos.155-7.</i>
FitzAlan, Geoffrey	Terms for payment of debt	1282	--, no.2018.
FitzHenry, Hugh	Not to be put on assizes etc.	1291	<i>CDI, 1285-92, no.984.</i>
FitzJohn, Ralph	Respite in becoming a knight	1282	<i>CDI, 1252-84, no.2003.</i>
--, William	Restoration of lands etc.	1290	<i>CDI, 1285-92, no.668.</i>
FitzMaurice, Gerald	Grant fair & weekly market	1286	<i>Ibid., no.238.</i>
--, Margaret wife of Thomas	Assigned dower; heir delivered	1298	<i>CDI, 1293-1301, no.531.</i>
--, Robert	Custody £40 lands/ward	1276	<i>CDI, 1252-84, no.1225.</i>
	Terms for payment of debt	1280	<i>Ibid., no.1729.</i>
--, Thomas	Letters of protection	1284	--, no.2363.
	Grant of customs	1286	<i>CDI, 1285-92, no.226.</i>
	Grant of land	1284	<i>Rot. Pat. et clau., no.2, p.1.</i>
	Terms for payment of debt	--	<i>CDI, 1252-84, no.2233.</i>
	Custody of Cork castle/prison	--	<i>Ibid., no.2231.</i>
	Respite payment of debts	1282	--, no.2004.
--, -- & Margaret	Grant land of Decies etc.	1292	<i>CDI, 1285-92, no.1051.</i>
FitzPhilip, William	App. sheriff of Limerick	1308	<i>CFR, 1307-19, pp.24-5.</i>
FitzRoger, Robert	Custody land/marriage heir	1290	<i>CDI, 1285-92, no.723.</i>
FitzSimon, John son of Henry	Pardon king's suit of peace	1302	<i>CDI, 1302-7, no.20.</i>
FitzThomas, John	Licence to treat for peace	1292	<i>CDI, 1285-92, no.1103.</i>
	Pardon king's suit of peace	1296	<i>CDI, 1293-1301, no.344.</i>
	Free warren in demesne lands	1302	<i>CDI, 1302-7, no.7.</i>
	Grant £60 land in fee	--	<i>Ibid., no.37.</i>
	Custody £100 land without payment	--	--, no.38.
--, -- & 7 others	Respite payment of all debts	1297	<i>CDI, 1293-1301, no.461.</i>
	Respite certain pleas	--	<i>Ibid., no.461.</i>

--, --, companions of	Pardon king's suit of peace	1298	--, no.480.
FitzThomas, Thomas son of John	Ecclesiastical benefice worth £100	1302	--, no.51.
FitzWalter, Simon	Presentation to church	1276	CDI, 1252-84, no.1245.
FitzWarin, William	Custody earldom Ulster	1272	Ibid., no.941.
	Continue as seneschal Ulster	1274	PRO SC1/12/192
	Custody land; £30 land of king's gift	1277	CDI, 1252-84, no.1371.
	Allowed to hold crown pleas	1280	Ibid., nos.1691-2.
	Grant £20 for arrears of wages	--	--, no.1696.
	Pardon £400; terms for rest	1285	CDI, 1285-92, no.100.
	Custody land/marriage heirs	1290	Ibid., no.764.
	Respite payment of debts	1298	CDI, 1293-1301, no.416.
--,--; Penkeston, Richard etc.	Quittance 1000m. sureties for	1292	CDI, 1285-92, no.1018.
Fleming, John le	Presentation to vacant benefice	1279	CDI, 1252-84, no.1624.
Foliot, Richard	Grant of marriage of widow	1310	CPR, 1307-13, p.280.
Fore, Priory of	Allowed to dispose of goods for profit	1294	CDI, 1293-1301, no.187.
Fraunceys, Stephen de	Pardon £8 debt	1304	CDI, 1302-7, no.343.
Fresingfeld, John de	Grant fair & weekly market	1302	--, no.18.
	Terms for payment of debt	1304	--, no.44.
	Hold pleas following justiciar	1306	Ibid., no.524.
Gaveston, Piers de	App. king's lieutenant	1308	CPR, 1307-13, p.83.
Gaynard, Adam	Custody lands/castle	1283	CDI, 1252-84, no.2124.
--, William	Terms for payment A.'s debt	1304	CDI, 1302-7, no.347.
Gerard, John	Prebend in church of Kilkenny	1287	CDI, 1285-92, no.323.
Geneville, Geoffrey de	Account as justiciar audited	1278	CDI, 1252-84, nos.1484-5, 1489.
	Grant 1000m. from escheats	1283	Ibid., no.2137.
	Remedy v. judgement in <i>novel dissesin</i>	1289	CDI, 1285-92, nos.453, 525.
	Grant of customs	1290	Ibid., no.560.
	Pardon of transgression	1295	CDI, 1293-1301, no.211.
	Respite payment of all debts	1297	Ibid., no.421.
	Help in suit re. liberty	1297	PRO SC1/45/82.
	To receive justice	1297	CDI, 1293-1301, no.447.
	Allowance £130 18s. 4d. ob. In debts owed	1300	Ibid., no.757.
	Respite payment of all debts	--	--, no.744.
	Allowance £124 5s. 0d. in debts	1301	--, no.797.
	Liberty replevied	1302	CDI, 1302-7, no.146.
	Licence to surrender lands	1307	CPR, 1307-13, p.33.
--, --; St. Omer, Thomas de	Letters of protection; respite payment of debts	1299	CDI, 1293-1301, no.642.
--, Nicholas de	Presentation to church of Trim	1283	CDI, 1252-84, no.2072.
	Prebend of St. Patrick's	1295	CDI, 1293-1301, no.198.
Geyton, Richard de	Benefice worth £60	1283	CDI, 1252-84, no.2088.
	Custody of lands	1291	CDI, 1285-92, no.849.
	Benefice worth 50m.	1278	CDI, 1252-84, no.1490.
Gilbert of Friars Minors	Pardon 410m. debt; terms for rest	1308	CFR, 1307-19, p.27. .
Gonneis, Thomas de	Prebend in St. Patrick's	1274	CDI, 1252-84, no.1047.
Gorham, Henry	Autumn corn sown in land	1273	Ibid., no.964.
	Terms for payment of debt	1283	--, no.2329.
--, -- & Annora	Terms payment £40 debt	1281	--, no.1841.
	Custody Chapelizod manor	--	--, no.1841.
Grandison, Otto	Extensive grant of land	1280	Rot. Pat et clau, no.7, p.1.
	Free warren in demesne lands	1290	CDI, 1285-92, no.694.

	Pardon £132 7s. 6d. ob.	--	<i>Ibid.</i> , no.655.
	Reduction in service owed	--	--, no.690.
	Free warren in demesne lands	1299	<i>CDI</i> , 1293-1301, no.646.
	Grant fair & weekly market	--	<i>Ibid.</i>
	Pleas touching Otto adjourned	1305	<i>CDI</i> , 1302-7, no.452.
Hacche, John de	Custodian rolls/writs next eyre	1291	<i>CDI</i> , 1285-92, no.929.
--, William	App. custodian Athlone castle	1304	<i>CDI</i> , 1293-1301, no.703.
	Respite payment of debt	1299	<i>Ibid.</i> , no.681.
Haket, Walter	App. custodian Newcastle McKeynegan	1309	<i>CPR</i> , 1307-13, p.180.
Hampton, William de	Custody of lands	1276	<i>CDI</i> , 1252-84, no.1288.
Haraud, John	Terms for payment £200 debt	1299	<i>CDI</i> , 1293-1301, no.664.
Harstonge, Robert	Pardon £20 arrears of farm	1284	<i>CDI</i> , 1252-84, no.2285.
Haspale, Geoffrey de	Archdeaconry of Dublin	1278	<i>Ibid.</i> , nos.1486, 1492.
Hastings, Edmund	Letters of protection	1300	<i>CDI</i> , 1293-1301, no.700.
--, Robert de	Custody of Newcastle McKeynegan & land	1290	<i>CDI</i> , 1285-92, no.762.
Hastyn, Richard	Not to be put on assizes etc.	1291	<i>Ibid.</i> , no.922.
Haustede, John & Rose	Pardon arrears annual rent	1302	<i>CDI</i> , 1302-7, no.25.
--, Robert & Margery	Grant marriage of heir	1291	<i>CDI</i> , 1285-92, no.834.
Haye, Walter de la	Remain as sheriff of Waterford	1275	<i>CDI</i> , 1252-84, no.1125.
	Marriage of heir	1281	36DKR, p.64 (PR 9 Ed I).
	Appropriate fee as constable	1282	<i>CDI</i> , 1252-84, no.1983.
	Free warren in demesne lands	1285	<i>CDI</i> , 1285-92, no.82.
	App. escheator	--	<i>Ibid.</i> , no.119.
	Grant weekly market	--	--, no.131.
	Conf. grant of Waterford town	1286	--, no.229.
Hegleye, Roger	Pardon 10m. debt	1304	<i>CDI</i> , 1302-7, no.343.
Hengham, Ralph	Prebend in Penkrigde church	1275	<i>CDI</i> , 1252-84, no.1172.
Hereford, Simon de	Prebend in St. Patrick's	1276	<i>Ibid.</i> , no.1216.
--, John & Richard	Pardon suit of king's peace	1298	<i>CDI</i> , 1293-1301, no.538.
Hewish, Thomas de	Grant custody Dublin castle	1314	<i>CFR</i> , 1307-19, p.193.
	Custody of Newcastle McKeynegan	1315	<i>CPR</i> , 1313-17, p.269.
Hothum, John de	Grant benefice worth 60m.	1302	<i>CDI</i> , 1302-7, no.16.
	Grant benefice worth 60m.	1308	<i>CPR</i> , 1307-13, p.75.
	App. chancellor of exchequer	1309	<i>Ibid.</i> , p.114.
	Custody castle/land/fishery	1311	<i>CFR</i> , 1307-19, p.102.
	Custody Leixlip & Okethy	1312	<i>CCR</i> , 1313-18, p.53.
--, William de, Master	App. chancellor of exchequer	--	<i>CPR</i> , 1307-13, p.451.
Hugate, Nicholas de	Presentation to church	1308	<i>Ibid.</i> , p.73.
Husee, William le	Grant annuity 10m.	1280	<i>CDI</i> , 1252-84, no.1715.
	Not to be put on assizes etc.	--	<i>Ibid.</i> , no.1730.
	Grant 100m.	1283	--, no.2161.
Ideshale, John de	Grant 2m.	1290	<i>CDI</i> , 1285-92, no.657.
--, William	Grant £100 compensation	1292	<i>Ibid.</i> , no.1099.
	App. marshal of exchequer	1284	<i>CDI</i> , 1252-84, no.2261.
	App. marshal of exchequer	1285	<i>CDI</i> , 1285-92, no.114.
Insula, Roger de	Presentation to church	1290	<i>Ibid.</i> , no.676.
Ipswich, John of	Prebend in church of Kidlare	1274	<i>CDI</i> , 1252-84, no.1003.
	Prebend in church of Cloyne	--	<i>Ibid.</i> , no.1002.
Ireland, John of	Presentation to church	1295	<i>CDI</i> , 1293-1301, no.234.
Istelep, Walter de	Custody archbishopric Dublin	1307	<i>CFR</i> , 1272-1307, pp.546-7.
	App. baron of exchequer	1308	<i>CPR</i> , 1307-13, p.65.
	App. first baron of exchequer	1309	<i>Ibid.</i> , p.189.
	App. escheator of Ireland	1310	<i>CFR</i> , 1307-19, p.74.
	Custody office of escheator	1313	<i>Ibid.</i> , p.162.

	Custody of lands	1314	42DKR, p.50 (PR 16 Ed II).
	App. treasurer of Ireland	--	CPR, 1313-17, p.82.
	Custody of castles		39DKR, p.64 (PR 9 Ed II).
Ivethorn, Walter de	Custody of castles/manors/bishopric etc		38DKR, p.101 (PR 33 Ed I).
James of Spain	Prebend in Meath	1283	CDI, 1252-84, no.2074.
	Prebend in St. Patrick's	1284	Ibid., no.2323.
Jarnak, Joan lady of	Custody late husband's lands	1275	--, no.1149.
Jon, Geoffrey	Pardon for cutting plea-roll	1312	CCR, 1307-13, pp.423-4.
Ken, Peter le	Pardon suit of king's peace	1298	CDI, 1293-1301, no.476.
Kenlegh, Albert de	Custody of lands	1292	CDI, 1285-92, no.1123.
--, -- & Joan	Pardon marriage without licence	--	Ibid., no.1122.
	Custody of castle	1302	CDI, 1302-7, no.24.
Kent, Hugh, of Galway	Grant English law	1297	CDI, 1293-1301, no.19.
Kent, John of	Extension of protection	1279	CDI, 1252-84, no.1595.
	Pardon suit of king's peace	1298	CDI, 1293-1301, no.540.
Keting, James de	Pardon £35 amerced	1292	CDI, 1285-92, no.1088.
	Custody of lands		
	Restoration custody of lands	1293	CDI, 1293-1301, no.469.
	Restoration of lands	1295	Ibid., no.230.
--, John & Thomas; Omarky, Robert	Pardon suit of king's peace	1299	--, no.610.
Kilkenny, Geoffrey of	Presentation to vicarage	1273	CDI, 1252-84, no.983.
--, Simon	Prebend in church of Kildare	1279	Ibid., no.1559.
--, men of	Customs for enclosing town	1306	CDI, 1302-7, no.537.
Killaloe, bishop of	Grant land in frank almoin	1280	CChR, 1257-1300, p.225.
L'Enfaunt, Walter	Hold pleas following justiciar	1290	CDI, 1285-92, no.584.
	App. chief justice of bench	1308	CPR, 1307-13, p.78.
	Custody of lands	1310	CFR, 1307-13, p.66.
Lacy, Wentilana de	Allowed to convey food from Ire. for profit	1278	CDI, 1252-84, no.1463.
Langeton, William de	Grant pension until receives benefice	1302	CDI, 1302-7, no.102.
Laules, Elias Master	App. chamberlain of exchequer	1314	CPR, 1313-17, p.96.
Launde, Henry de la	Custody of manor	1295	CDI, 1293-1301, no.218.
Launie, Geoffrey de	Pardon £60 of £80 fine	1313	CPR, 1313-17, p.16.
Leek, John de	Prebend in St. Patrick's	1307	CPR, 1307-13, p.6.
Leye, Hugh de	Pardon for transgressions	1298	CDI, 1293-1301, no.470.
--, William	App. marshal before itinerant justices	1280	CDI, 1252-84, no.1725.
Limerick, dean & chapter	Licence to elect bishop	1311	CPR, 1307-13, p.376.
Lismolin, prioress & nuns	Free warren in demesne lands	1279	CChR, 1257-1300, p.214.
Logan, Richard	Pardon suit of king's peace	1302	CDI, 1302-7, no.8.
London, Edmund de	Grant prebend in St. Patrick's	1314	CPR, 1313-17, p.81.
--, John de	Custody of manor	1292	CDI, 1285-92, no.1039.
--, Thomas	App. receiver in exchequer	1290	Ibid., no.798.
--, William	Allowed expenditure in custody of castle	1276	CDI, 1252-84, no.1242.
Lorenz, Patrick	Pardon for transgressions	1304	CDI, 1302-7, no.350.
Louth, John	Custody of castle	1305	CJR, ii, 103.
Lungespeye, Emelina	Licence to grant lands in fee	1305	CDI, 1302-7, no.411.
Lusignan, Geoffrey de	Restoration of manors	1302	Ibid., no.143.
	Allowed to convey £100 from Ire.	1301	CDI, 1293-1301, no.784.
Lydgate, John de	App. engrosser of exchequer	1307	CPR, 1307-13, p.3.
Lyvet, John de	App. steward of Carlow/Kildare	1311	Ibid., p.363.
Machirechao, Mareite dau. of	Use of English law	1286	Rot. Pat et Clau., no.11, p.2.

Mackarwyl, Matthew, Peter son of	Prebend in church of Cashel	1304	<i>CDI, 1302-7, no.321.</i>
Macmolisii, Rose dau. of	Use of English law	1286	<i>Rot. Pat et Clau., no.12, p.2.</i>
--, Christopher son of Donald	--		<i>--, no.10, p.2.</i>
Maltravers, John	Grant fair & weekly market	1314	<i>CChR, 1300-26, p.269.</i>
Mandeville, Thomas de	Pardon all amerciaments	1282	<i>CDI, 1252-84, no.2021.</i>
	Paid due amount for head	1283	<i>Ibid., no.2049.</i>
	Preference in purchase of marriage	1301	<i>CDI, 1302-7, no.34.</i>
	Custody of lands	1303	<i>38DKR, p.80 (PR 31 Ed I).</i>
Manfeld, Robert de	Custody of land/heir	1284	<i>CDI, 1252-84, no.2206.</i>
Mantone, Ralph le	Prebend in St. Patrick's	1299	
--, Richard de	Presentation to church	1295	<i>CDI, 1293-1301, no.232.</i>
	Presentation to church	1296	
Marche, William de la	App. chamberlain of exchequer	1311	<i>CPR, 1307-13, p.354.</i>
Marchia, Thomas de	App. chamberlain of exchequer	1313	<i>Ibid., p.590.</i>
Mareschal, Ranulph le	Grant land in fee farm	1283	<i>CDI, 1252-84, no.2069.</i>
--, William	Restoration to office marshalsea	1309	<i>CCR, 1307-13, p.116.</i>
Mariscis, Christiana de	Bailiff to render account	1276	<i>CDI, 1252-84, no.1207.</i>
	Ministers to be aiding etc.	1278	<i>Ibid., no.1478.</i>
	Grant to turn land to profit	1285	<i>CDI, 1285-92, no.15.</i>
	Restoration to manor & town	1291	<i>Ibid., no.835.</i>
	Possession detained lands	1293	<i>Ibid., no.52.</i>
	Justiciar to give aid & favour	1295	<i>CDI, 1293-1301, no.202.</i>
Marisco, William	Respite debt 70m.	1273	<i>CDI, 1252-84, no.960.</i>
Marshal, Henry	Grant of land in fee farm	1291	<i>CDI, 1285-92, no.996.</i>
	Not to be distrained for debts	1279	<i>CDI, 1252-84, no.1568.</i>
--, John le	Grant benefice worth 30m.	1299	<i>CDI, 1293-1301, no.665.</i>
--, --; Noble, Richard le	Licence for alienation in mortmain	1308	<i>CPR, 1307-13, p.84.</i>
--, Ralph	Pardon suit of king's peace	1299	<i>CDI, 1293-1301, no.596.</i>
Meath, bishop of	Grant yearly fair	1279	<i>CDI, 1252-84, no.1603.</i>
	Grant weekly market	--	<i>Ibid., no.1604.</i>
	Free warren in demesne lands	--	<i>CChR, 1257-1300, p.214.</i>
	Custody of land	1285	<i>CDI, 1285-92, no.9.</i>
	Licence to grant messuage	1290	<i>Ibid., no.713.</i>
Melinis, Alfonsus de	Presentation to church	1285	<i>--, no.158.</i>
Mellifont, Nicholas de; Omoledich, Gilbert; John son of Augustine of Ardagh; Carnan, Henry	Grant English law	1293	<i>CDI, 1293-1301, no.19.</i>
Melton, William de	Prebend in St. Patrick's	1307	<i>CPR, 1307-13, p.2.</i>
Merlawe, Drogo de	Restoration of barony & issues	1315	<i>CCR, 1307-13, p.531.</i>
Messagier, Thomas le	Pardon suit of king's peace	1298	<i>CDI, 1293-1301, no.469.</i>
Moenes, William de	Presentation to church	1295	<i>--, no.236.</i>
	Custody of lands	--	<i>39DKR, pp.53 (PR 8 Ed I), 60 (PR 9 Ed I).</i>
	App. baron of exchequer	1309	<i>CPR, 1307-13, p.189.</i>
	App. chief baron of exchequer	1311	<i>Ibid., p.354.</i>
	App. baron of exchequer	1313	<i>--, p.572.</i>
Monceus, Robert	Custody of lands in co. Dublin	1308	<i>CFR, 1307-19, p.20.</i>
	Custody of lands	--	<i>Ibid., p.23.</i>
Monelia, John de	Custody of customs	1314	<i>--, pp.209-10.</i>
Monille, John de	App. chamberlain of exchequer	1313	<i>CCR, 1313-17, p.22.</i>
Montgomery, Philip de	Confirmation of grant of land	1282	<i>Rot. Pat. et Clau., no.6, p.1.</i>
Monthermer, Ralph de	Respite of suit before justiciar	1303	<i>CDI, 1302-7, no.248.</i>
	Respite of suit	1304	<i>Ibid., no.302.</i>

--, -- & Joan	Acquittance of debts	1307	--, no.652.
Mortimer, Edmund de	Licence to give castle/manor	1302	--, no.67.
--, Roger	Not have to contribute to tallage	1277	<i>CDI, 1252-84, no.1410.</i>
	Allowed to inherit whilst a minor	1307	<i>CCR, 1307-13, p.15.</i>
	Grant pavage & murage	1308	<i>CPR, 1307-13, p.70.</i>
--, -- of Wigmore	Grant fair & weekly market	--	<i>CChR, 1300-26, p.110.</i>
	Pardon for burning houses	1309	<i>CCR, 1307-13, p.188.</i>
	Pardon £600 debt	--	<i>AH 36 (1995) mem., no.26.</i>
Multon, Thomas de	Respite payment of debt	1297	<i>CDI, 1293-1301, no.453.</i>
Mynimes, Thomas de	Grant annuity 6d. per day	1280	<i>CDI, 1252-84, no.1719.</i>
Nanye, Peter de	Custody of lands	1288	<i>37DKR, p.35 (PR 16 Ed I).</i>
Neel, Richard & Walter; FitzDavid, Roger	Grant English law	1293	<i>CDI, 1293-1301, no.19.</i>
Nesse, Madoc of	Presentation to vicarage	1275	<i>CDI, 1252-84, no.1142.</i>
Netterville, Nicholas de	Not to be put on assizes etc.	1284	<i>Ibid., no.2297.</i>
Neweland, John de	Presentation to church	1314	<i>CPR, 1313-17, p.84.</i>
Nicholas, son of Brice	Grant English law	1293	<i>CDI, 1293-1301, no.19.</i>
Northburgh, Roger de	Prebend in St. Patrick's	--	
O'Boghel, John	Presentation to church	1304	<i>Rot. Pat. et Clau., no.6, p.4.</i>
Obresshille, Clement	Use of English law	1312	<i>CPR, 1307-13, p.458.</i>
Oddingseles, William	Custody of lands	1286	<i>CDI, 1285-92, no.86.</i>
	Grant land/castle Donymegan	1294	<i>CChR 1257-1300, p.457.</i>
	-- in fee	--	<i>CDI, 1293-1301, no.184.</i>
	App. justiciar of Ireland	--	<i>Ibid., no.165.</i>
	Grant of land with appurtenances	1295	<i>Rot. Pat. et Clau., no.30, p.3.</i>
--, -- wife of	Delivery of goods/chattels	--	<i>CDI, 1293-1301, no.243.</i>
Offinton, David de	Custody of lands/heir	1273	<i>CDI, 1252-84, no.992.</i>
	App. baron of exchequer	1294	<i>CDI, 1293-1301, no.172.</i>
	Payment as justice	1295	<i>Ibid., no.248.</i>
Oflynnard, Nicholas	Grant English law	1298	--, no.19.
Olousy, Thomas	Archdeaconry of Cashel	1304	<i>CDI, 1302-7, no.320.</i>
Order Friars Minors	Grant of alms as under Ed I	1307	<i>CCR, 1307-13, p.2.</i>
Order Friars Preachers	--	--	<i>Ibid.</i>
Paneter, William, executors of	Restoration of custody of lands	1302	<i>CDI, 1302-7, no.86.</i>
Paneter, William	Custody of lands	1293	<i>CDI, 1293-1301, no.75.</i>
Parefay, Thomas	Retained on king's wages	1277	<i>CDI, 1252-84, no.1353.</i>
Passavaunt, John	Payment arrears of wages	1283	<i>Ibid., no.2063.</i>
Pembroke, David, wife of	Pardon 32m. owed for farm	1314	<i>CPR, 1313-17, p.167.</i>
--, Roger	Allowance in debts; terms for payment	1304	<i>CDI, 1302-7, no.345.</i>
	Acquit £72 of £500 debt	1309	<i>CCR, 1307-13, p.116.</i>
--, Walter	Grant competent benefice	1276	<i>CDI, 1252-84, no.1196.</i>
Pers, Peter le	Respite pleas/plaints	1283	<i>Ibid., no.2042.</i>
--, mariner	100m. for good service	1297	<i>CDI, 1293-1301, no.456, p.216.</i>
Pipard, Ralph	Allowed 50 or 60m. in debts	1273	<i>CDI, 1252-84, no.978.</i>
Poer, Arnold & John	Grant 300m. land	1304	<i>CDI, 1302-7, no.339.</i>
--, Eustace	Free warren in demesne lands	1296	<i>CDI, 1293-1301, no.347.</i>
	6 male & 6 fallow deer	--	<i>Ibid., no.352.</i>
	Free warren in demesne lands	1302	<i>CDI, 1302-7, no.6.</i>
	Grant of 700m. owed to king	1304	<i>Ibid., no.336.</i>
	Free chace in all demesne lands	--	--, no.331.
--, John	Pardon 50m. debts	1304	--, no.343.
--, -- son of Peter	Pardon £160 debts	--	--, no.348.
--, Meyler	Grant benefice	--	--, no.349.
--, Peter	Not in default for non-	1283	<i>CDI, 1252-84, no.2101.</i>

	appearance at plaint		
--, Richard	Pardon £100 arrears	1315	<i>CPR, 1313-17, p.279.</i>
--, Robert & Peter	Pardon of transgressions	1290	<i>CDI, 1285-92, no.714.</i>
--, Roger	Pardon £20 of £40 debt	1304	<i>CDI, 1302-7, no.343.</i>
--, Stephen	Pardon 20m. debt	--	<i>Ibid.</i>
Ponte, John de	Custody of lands	1305	<i>38DKR, p.78 (PR 31 Ed I).</i>
	Custody of lands	1294	<i>Ibid., pp.38 (PR 25 Ed I), 78 (PR 31 Ed I).</i>
	Grant £30 land from custodies	1293	<i>CDI, 1293-1301, no.73.</i>
Pouton, William	Custody of castle	1305	<i>CJR, ii, 103.</i>
Prendergast, William; Haket, Henry; Gaynard, William	Custody of lands	1290	<i>CDI, 1285-92, no.797.</i>
Prene, William de	App. keeper king's works	1284	<i>CDI, 1252-84, no.2278.</i>
	Exonerate 100s. farm for 3 yrs	1289	<i>CDI, 1285-92, no.528.</i>
	Continued custody Athlone	1304	<i>CDI, 1302-7, no.342.</i>
Pudding, Richard of Tassagard	Terms for payment £8 debt	1292	<i>CDI, 1285-92, no.1109.</i>
Purcel, Hugh	Respite all pleas	1297	<i>CDI, 1293-1301, no.460.</i>
	Free warren in demesne lands	--	--, no.377.
	Terms for payment 300m. debt	1298	<i>Ibid., no.512.</i>
	Respite payment of debt	1302	<i>CDI, 1302-7, no.36.</i>
--, Robert	Free warren in demesne lands	1286	<i>CDI, 1285-92, no.225.</i>
Rathekenny, Henry of	Prebend in St. Patrick's	1279	<i>CDI, 1252-84, no.1531.</i>
	Presentation to church	--	<i>Ibid., no.1532.</i>
Rivere, Laurence de la	Custody of lands	1307	<i>CCR, 1307-13, p.9.</i>
	Payment £114 3s. 8d. wages	1312	<i>Ibid., p.474.</i>
--, Peter	Pardon suit of king's peace	1298	<i>CDI, 1293-1301, no.543.</i>
--, Roger	Not to be put on assizes etc.	1280	
--, William	Custody lands/heir	1302	<i>CDI, 1302-7, no.79.</i>
	Rent lands		<i>38DKR, p.81 (PR 31 Ed I).</i>
	Marriage of heir		<i>Ibid.</i>
Roche, Thomas de la	App. sheriff of Connacht	1285	<i>CDI, 1285-92, no.120.</i>
	App. sheriff of Cork		<i>Ibid., no.123.</i>
	App. sheriff of Cork	1290	--, no.654.
	Reapp. Sheriff of Cork	1292	--, no.1048.
	Pardon £259 arrears of acc.	1298	<i>CDI, 1293-1301, no.488.</i>
	Pardon 400m. mainprize	--	<i>Ibid., no.489.</i>
	Letters of protection	1309	<i>CPR, 1307-13, p.107.</i>
Rocheford, Maurice de	Free warren in demesne lands	1302	<i>CDI, 1302-7, no.19.</i>
Rochelle, William de la	Respite exactation for when sheriff	1274	<i>CDI, 1252-84, no.1018.</i>
Rudham, Simon de	App. remembrancer of exchequer	1308	<i>CPR, 1307-13, p.76.</i>
Ruilly, Herbert	Respite payment of debt	1274	<i>CDI, 1252-84, no.1037.</i>
Russel, Maurice	Grant Maynhowe quit of relief	1280	<i>CChR, 1257-1300, p.225.</i>
	App. sheriff of Cork & Waterford	1302	<i>CDI, 1302-7, no.10.</i>
	Respite payment £100; terms for payment £200 debt	--	<i>Ibid., no.114.</i>
--, Reginald	Custody of lands	1299	<i>38DKR, p.79 (PR 31 Ed I).</i>
	Terms for payment of debt	1303	<i>CDI, 1302-7, no.166.</i>
--, -- & Margaret	Terms for payment £300 debt	1311	<i>CCR, 1307-13, p.366.</i>
Salinis, William de	Archdeaconry of Dublin	1274	<i>CDI, 1252-84, nos.1081, 1184.</i>
Samayl, Walter	Pardon suit of king's peace	1298	<i>CDI, 1293-1301, no.478.</i>
	Pardon suit of king's peace	--	<i>Ibid., no.561.</i>
Smalrys, Roger de	App. clerk of market	1307	<i>CPR, 1307-13, p.7.</i>
	Reapp. To office king's market	1308	<i>CCR, 1307-13, p.29.</i>
Sandale, John	Prebend in St. Patrick's	1299	

Saubaudia, Lewis de	Prebend in St. Patrick's	1277	<i>CDI, 1252-84, no.1386.</i>
	Prebend in St. Patrick's	1278	<i>Ibid., no.1433.</i>
Saun, Nicholas de	Terms for payment £30 debt	1302	<i>CDI, 1302-7, no.33.</i>
Saunford, John de	App. escheator of Ireland	1272	<i>CDI, 1252-84, no.942.</i>
	Payment expenses in king's service	1274	<i>Ibid., no.1006.</i>
	Grant robes & fees	1274	--, no.1028.
	Custody lands/tenements	1280	--, no.1722.
	Custody of lands	1280	--, no.1724.
	Enfeoffed with waste lands	1283	--, no.2115.
	Discharged £34 fee farm	1283	--, no.2119.
	Licence to buy lands	1280	--, no.1683.
	Free warren in all demesnes	1290	<i>CDI, 1285-92, no.609.</i>
Scamel, Walter	Prebend in St. Patrick's	1278	<i>CDI, 1252-84, no.1490.</i>
Seleby, John de	Grant of manse of Chapelizod	1305	<i>CDI, 1302-7, no.397.</i>
	App. doorkeeper of exchequer	--	<i>Ibid., no.394.</i>
Serjeant, Walter de	Pardon king's suit of peace	1297	<i>CDI, 1293-1301, no.380.</i>
Serland, William de, heirs of	Confirmation of charter	1312	<i>CChR, 1300-26, p.198.</i>
Sodington, Thomas de	Prebend in St. Patrick's	1284	<i>CDI, 1252-84, no.2253.</i>
Sprot, Peter le	Licence to be enfeoffed	1299	<i>CDI, 1293-1301, no.655.</i>
St. Albin, Adam de	Custody of castle	1293	<i>CDI, 1252-1284, no.2365.</i>
St. Amand, Amory de	Licence to export corn	1280	<i>Ibid., no.1757.</i>
	Safe-conduct for Geoffrey de Ingepenne	1300	<i>CDI, 1293-1301, no.745.</i>
St. Edmund, Robert de	Allowance for debts	1285	<i>CDI, 1285-92, no.143</i>
	App. sheriff of Tipperary or other county	1278	<i>CDI, 1252-84, no.1414</i>
	Custody king's weirs/fisheries	--	<i>CFR, 1272-1307, p.91.</i>
St. John Baptist without Newgate, Hospital	Licence to acquire land in mortmain	1308	<i>CPR, 1307-13, p.84.</i>
St. John of Jerusalem, Hospital	Confirmation of grant of manor	1290	<i>AH 34 (1987), p.30.</i>
St. John, Thomas de	Terms for payment of debt	1302	<i>CDI, 1302-7, no.14.</i>
	Custody king's pools Limerick	--	<i>Ibid., no.15.</i>
	Pardon £15; respite payment other £15 debt	--	--, no.30.
St. Katherine nr. Waterford, prior & convent	Grant of deodands	1308	
St. Kinani of Duvelech, church	Confirmation of charter	1309	<i>CChR, 1300-26, p.128.</i>
St. Ledger, Simon	Pardon suit of king's peace	1295	<i>CDI, 1293-1301, no.215.</i>
St. Martin, Richard de	--	1298	<i>Ibid., no.560.</i>
St. Michael, Richard de	Pardon £30 debt	1304	<i>CDI, 1302-7, no.346.</i>
St. Neott's, Bartholomew of	Presentation to church	1284	<i>CDI, 1252-84, no.2242.</i>
St. Omer, John de	Prebend in St. Patrick's	1275	<i>Ibid., no.1173.</i>
St. Patrick in Down, prior etc.	Licence to elect	1311	
Stangely, Nicholas de	Presentation to church	1310	<i>CPR, 1307-13, p.292.</i>
Stapledon, Robert	Grant of land	1280	<i>CChR, 1257-1300, p.247.</i>
	Grant £100 waste land in fee	--	<i>CDI, 1252-84, no.1702.</i>
	Grant of land in fee farm	1281	<i>Ibid., no.1784.</i>
	Grant £10 of land	1282	--, no.1954.
	App. sheriff of Tipperary	1290	<i>CDI, 1285-92, no.734.</i>
Staveleye, Nicholas de	Grant custody writs/rolls	1312	<i>CPR, 1307-13, p.495.</i>
	App. custody writs/rolls bench	1314	<i>CPR, 1313-17, pp.120-1.</i>
Stratton, Adam de	App. baron of exchequer	1311	<i>CPR, 1307-13, p.354.</i>
Stretton, John de	Grant 3 carucates in fee farm	1285	<i>CDI, 1285-92, no.7.</i>
Taillard, Robert	Custody earldom of Connacht	1282	<i>CDI, 1252-84, no.2020.</i>
Taillur, Osbert	App. marshal of bench	1308	<i>CPR, 1307-13, p.59.</i>
Taloun, John	Grant wardship of lands	1311	<i>CFR, 1307-19, p.93.</i>

Tathmon, Nicholas de	Prebend in St. Patrick's	1276	CDI, 1252-84, no.1277.
Teling, Richard	Terms for payment of debt	1292	CDI, 1285-92, no.1082.
Theling, Stephen	Respite from military service	1278	CDI, 1252-84, no.1473.
Thornbury, Walter de	App. chancellor of exchequer	1307	CPR, 1307-13, p.16.
	App. chancellor of Ireland	1308	<i>Ibid.</i> , p.106.
	Prebend in St. Patrick's	1311	--, p.353.
	Marriage of heiress	--	39DKR, p.58 (PR 9 Ed II).
Totekeyn, John of Munkeroche	Pardon 40m.	1278	CDI, 1252-84, no.1413.
Trumplyton, Hugh de	App. constable Kildare castle	1315	CPR, 1313-17, p.285.
Tuam, bishop of	Restoration issues of bishopric	1308	CPR, 1307-13, p.135.
Tyrel, Roger	Justices to receive writs re. R	1310	CCR, 1307-13, p.310.
Ufford, Joan de	Grant of dower	1299	CDI, 1293-1301, no.641.
--, John	App. escheator of Ireland	1313	CFR, 1307-19, p.171.
--, Robert	Grant fee-farm £45	1301	CDI, 1293-1301, no.820.
	Restoration £44 8s. 10d. ob. rent	1302	CDI, 1302-7, no.95.
Ulf, Richard & Philip	Pardon £70 amerciements	--	<i>Ibid.</i> , no.346.
Uncle, Joseph	Pardon suit of king's peace	1298	CDI, 1293-1301, no.537.
--, Walter	App. sheriff of Tipperary	1282	CDI, 1252-84, no.1979.
	Terms for payment £200 debt	1284	<i>Ibid.</i> , no.2218.
	Respite payment of £100 fines	1295	CDI, 1293-1301, no.213.
Usher, John le	App. custodian Dublin castle	1302	CDI, 1302-7, no.21.
Val, Adam & Stephen de	Payment of arrears of wages	1278	CDI, 1252-84, no.1427.
Valence, Agnes de	Restoration of issues of liberty	1275	<i>Ibid.</i> , no.1106.
--, Joan	Terms for payment of debt	1298	CDI, 1293-1301, no.525.
	Restoration of liberty	1302	CDI, 1302-7, no.32.
--, William	Free administration brother's goods	1275	CDI, 1252-84, no.1118.
	Pardon trespass of steward	1280	<i>Ibid.</i> , no.1690.
	Terms for payment of debt	1289	CDI, 1285-92, no.510.
	Pardon 800m. debt	1291	<i>Ibid.</i> , no.895.
Various (11) men	Pardon for acquiring lands in chief	1313	CPR, 1307-13, pp.595-6.
Verdon, Theobald	Terms for payment of relief	1275	CDI, 1252-84, no.1131.
	Respite payment of fine	1280	<i>Ibid.</i> , no.1743.
	Power to take Irish into peace	1284	--, no.2298.
	Grant fair & weekly market on 7 manors	--	--, no.2303.
	Pardon of fine	1292	CDI, 1285-92, no.1046.
	Quit of common summonses	--	--, no.1047.
--, -- senior	Licence to grant land	1302	CDI, 1302-7, no.67.
--, -- junior	Grant issues of inheritance	1310	CCR, 1307-13, p.197.
	App. justiciar of Ireland	1313	CPR, 1307-13, p.568.
Vescy, Agnes de	Grant of attorneys in case	1273	PRO SC1/7/2.
	Respite for demand of dower	1275	CDI, 1252-84, no.1107.
	Restoration of liberty	1278	<i>Ibid.</i> , no.1503.
	Restoration of liberty	1283	--, no.2035.
--, Isabella	Pardon debts	1282	--, nos.1974, 1977.
	--	1301	CDI, 1293-1301, no.839.
--, William	App. justiciar of Ireland	1290	CDI, 1285-92, no.768.
	Expenses for war v Irish	--	<i>Ibid.</i> , no.771.
	Respite payment all old debts	--	--, no.776.
	Treasury to protect his rights	1295	CDI, 1293-1301, no.272.
	Grant county/castle/manor etc.	1297	<i>Ibid.</i> , no.414.
	Grant of dower	--	--, no.448.
--, -- of Kildare	Pardon debts	1303	CDI, 1302-7, no.226.
Vienna, Hugh of, Master	Prebend in St. Patrick's	1276	CDI, 1252-84, no.1301.

Vivon, Joan	Licence to grant land in fee	1310	<i>CPR, 1307-13, p.282.</i>
Vured, Simon	Pardon 60m. debt	1275	<i>CDI, 1252-84, no.1138.</i>
Wadenhall, Adam de	Prebend of St. Patrick's	1277	<i>Ibid., no.1374.</i>
Waldeshof, Walter de	App. collect customs on alien merchants	1310	<i>CFR, 1307-19, p.69.</i>
Waleys, Gilbert de, senior	Pardon £20 for fines	1304	<i>CDI, 1302-7, no.344.</i>
Walhope, John de	Grant £30 land in fee	1278	<i>CDI, 1252-84, no.1466.</i>
	Grant 5 carucates land	1279	<i>CChR, 1257-1300, p.220.</i>
Waterford, citizens of	Confirmation of charter	1309	<i>CChR, 1300-26, p.129.</i>
--, dean & chapter	Licence to elect bishop	1307	<i>CPR, 1307-13, pp.27-8.</i>
--, men of	Terms for payment £380	1309	<i>CCR, 1307-13, p.116.</i>
Waterville, Ralph de	Presentation to church	1274	<i>CDI, 1252-84, no.1051.</i>
Welles, Geoffrey de	Custody of land	1292	<i>CDI, 1285-92, no.1117.</i>
	Custody 2 parts of manor	1293	<i>CDI, 1293-1301, no.53.</i>
Wellesleye, William de	Custody of lands	1315	<i>CCR, 1313-18, p.159.</i>
Wetheney, Abbot of	Terms for payment of fine	1290	<i>CFR, 1272-1307, p.285.</i>
Weylaund, John	Restoration of lands	--	<i>CDI, 1285-92, no.716.</i>
	Free warren in demesne lands	1303	<i>CDI, 1302-7, no.276.</i>
Whatton, Robert de	App. chamberlain of exchequer	1290	
White, Thomas le	Grant of forfeited goods	1308	
	Pardon death of another man	1311	<i>CPR, 1301-13, p.375.</i>
Wodeford, Roger de wife of	Seisin 32s. lands	--	
Wodehouse, Richard de	Presentation to church	1309	<i>CPR, 1307-13, p.182.</i>
	Grant manor with fishery	1310	<i>CFR, 1307-19, p.71.</i>
	Regrant manor with fishery	1315	<i>Ibid., p.228.</i>
Wogan, John	Payment £100 owed	1302	<i>CDI, 1302-7, no.22.</i>
	Custody of lands	1305	<i>Ibid., no.391.</i>
	App. justiciar of Ireland	1308	<i>CPR, 1307-13, p.75.</i>
	Pardon 100m. payment	1309	<i>Ibid., pp.122-3.</i>
	Respite payment £400	--	<i>--, p.122.</i>
	Licence to marry		<i>39DKR, p.66 (PR 9 Ed II).</i>
	Custody lands & marriage	1311	<i>CPR, 1307-13, p.381.</i>
	Restoration of custody of lands	1312	
	Licence for alienation in mortmain	1312	<i>Ibid., p.518.</i>
	Grant of land	1313	<i>CCR, 1313-18, p.53.</i>
	Grant of land	--	<i>Ibid., p.588.</i>
Woodstock, Henry of	Prebend in St. Patrick's	1274	<i>CDI, 1252-84, no.1013.</i>
Worcester, Walter of	Satisfaction for 2 horses	1282	<i>Ibid., no.2000.</i>
Wyght, William	Custody £10 land	1292	<i>CDI, 1285-92, no.1126.</i>
Wyk, Robert de	App. sheriff of Kerry	1290	<i>Ibid., no.602.</i>
Wymburn, Walter de	Prebend in St. Patrick's	1284	<i>CDI, 1252-84, no.2299.</i>
	App. king's Irish council	--	<i>Ibid., no.2300.</i>
	App. justice of common pleas	--	<i>--, no.2293.</i>
Wyngefeld, Roger de	Prebend in St. Patrick's	1314	<i>CPR, 1313-17, p.83.</i>
Wythiford, Roger de	Pardon for death of man	1311	<i>CPR, 1307-13, p.355.</i>
Yarmouth, Jordan of	Rights/liberties to be defended	1290	<i>CDI, 1285-92, no.674.</i>
Zuche, Alan	Deliver lands & issues	1289	<i>Ibid., no.543.</i>

Appendix 2: The reliability of inquisitions *post mortem*

Inquisitions *post mortem* (IPMs) are the main tool available for the calculation of the values of estates. This class of documents are widely used by historians for this purpose, albeit often with a proviso informing the reader of the unreliability of the records usually due to the tendency for lands to be undervalued. Another problem associated with IPMs is that they represent at best a 'fair copy' of other documents in which a compromise was probably worked out between the escheator and the jurors.¹ Despite these and other problems, IPM returns form the main source of information from which to gain some idea of the relative value of their Irish lands to English landholders. In some cases it is possible to compare IPMs with information from other sources. In any case, it is necessary to discuss the pitfalls and advantages of the types of evidence used.

The usual problem cited with using the valuations of land contained within IPMs is that the values are often too low. It is argued that it was in the interest of 'the jurors' to underestimate the true value of the land because in their position as potential farmers of the land, this was to their advantage.² A similar argument has been used to question the reliability of the accounts of custodians of such land. It is argued that such custodians, who held the land for a relatively short period, would have sought to maximise their profits from it and that the values contained in their accounts are therefore untypically

¹ R. F. Hunnisett, 'The Reliability of inquisitions as historical evidence', in D. A. Bullough and R. L. Storey ed. *The Study of manorial records. Essays in honour of Kathleen Major* (Oxford, 1971), p.207.

² These arguments are rehearsed in J. A. Raftis, *Assart data and land values: two studies in the east Midlands 1200-1350* (Toronto, 1974), p.12. Another explanation for this consistent underestimation is that the jurors were simply 'not well informed about the overall financial condition of the estates'. The fact that the amounts in IPMs were rounded sums should also be taken into consideration (B. M. S. Campbell, J. A. Galloway and M. Murphy, 'Rural land-use in the metropolitan hinterland, 1270-1339: the evidence of *inquisitiones post mortem*', *The Agricultural History Review* 40 (1992), 5).

high (at least in relation to the valuation secured by the escheator).³ The escheator's accounts for lands that were not farmed out to custodians, or the lands that were in the king's hands for a short time, do not fall under this criticism. The escheator collected the farms due at the appointed terms only.⁴ This, however, brings us back to the initial problem of the fact that the sums the escheator sought to collect were based on the 'low' valuations contained in the IPM returns.

The question then remains of how reliable these documents are in terms of calculating value. IPMs are not viewed universally with suspicion. J. A. Raftis, whilst acknowledging that the documents consistently omit information, has argued that it is important to keep in focus that many important points of information were included in the valuations. His belief in the usefulness of *this class of documents stems from the* fact that the government, who after all had an official whose primary job was to take such extents, would have noticed had the information it received been consistently unreliable over successive generations.⁵ The escheator's job was to determine the true value of the lands within his remit. The fact that the valuations contained within the IPMs are depressed does not necessarily mean that escheators, as a rule, colluded with the prospective purchasers of wardships, although there is evidence that such practices occurred. Rather, the fact that the IPM returns sought to outline the revenue which the escheator could be expected to collect from the lands, should be borne in mind. The escheator, unlike custodians, did not have the time or the interest to invest in the exploitation of particular lands.⁶

³ E. R. Stevenson, 'The Escheator', in W. A. Morris and J. A. Strayer ed. *The English government at work, 1327-1337 ii Fiscal administration* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1947), pp.136-7.

⁴ Stevenson, 'The Escheator', p.150.

⁵ Raftis, *Assart data and land values*, pp.14, 16.

⁶ Stevenson, 'The Escheator', pp.136, 166-7. See also Campbell et al, 'Rural land-use', p.4.

Holmes preferred to use estate accounts to IPMs when calculating magnate income, especially the accounts of lower officials 'who were closest to the sources of income.'⁷ Accounts which could, and have, been used to complement the valuations contained in IPMs are the Bigod Ministers' Accounts, the main extant accounts originating from Ireland relevant to this study. The accounts used in this project include those compiled by the treasurer of Carlow, as well as a fairly extensive run of lesser accounts for the individual manors for various years between 1278/9 and 1293/4.

Whilst these accounts cannot help us gain an impression of the reliability of the valuation of Bigod's estates in England and Wales, they can provide a measure of the reliability of extents of Carlow taken in Ireland in 1304 and 1306. There are problems inherent in using these accounts, however. The first is that custodians, and by the same token the earl's administrators, could be expected to generate more revenue from the same estates than could the escheator. It is thus not surprising that Nugent found the actual annual value of the liberty to be between £110 and £121 greater than its estimated value.⁸

The second problem relates to the economy of south-eastern Ireland in the late thirteenth century. The valuation of Carlow in 1247 was set at approximately £343. During the 1280s, as the Bigod Ministers' Accounts show, the liberty was clearly worth more than this amount. Gross receipts in the 1280s (and in 1293/4) averaged at £752 19s. 2d. but fluctuated from £589 14s. ¼d. in 1282/3 to the especially large £1019 8s. 8d. in 1286/7. However, the 1280s may well have been an exceptionally profitable period in the

⁷ Holmes, *Estates of the higher nobility*, p.85.

⁸ Nugent, 'Carlow in the middle ages', p.67.

economy of south-eastern Ireland. It is Lyons' thesis that the Bigod accounts 'relate to the years when the Irish agrarian economy was probably at its most buoyant in the thirteenth century, and the supply trade to Wales and Scotland still profitable.' Lyons argues that the area of land under cultivation in Carlow was consistently expanded during the 1280s and that new experimental manorial centres were established at Fennagh and Dunleckny in response to the continued and increasing demand for grain to provision Edward I's wars and castellation programme. By the early fourteenth century, however, Lyons identified that a local depression may have hit south-eastern Ireland as the focus of Edward's wars turned to Scotland and the important Irish ports for the shipment of provisions became Dublin and Drogheda, as opposed to Waterford and New Ross. In addition to this, the 1290s had witnessed agrarian crises, most notably a famine in 1294-6. It is, therefore, not surprising to find that the extents of Carlow taken in 1306-7 include signs of 'considerable contraction and decline...even given the propensity of medieval jurors to undervalue and conceal.'⁹ For example, that Fennagh had become part of the march by 1307 can help explain the large discrepancy between the valuation of Carlow given in 1307 and the evidence of the Carlow accounts since during the 1280s Bigod was able to derive, at its greatest productivity, some £90 16s. 0d. from this experimental manor.

Carlow treasurer's accounts: receipts from the manor of Fennagh

Year	Receipts ¹⁰		
	£	s.	d.
15/8/1280-Mich 81	2	19	1
1282/3	21	15	4
1283/4	30	10	-
1284/5	64	17	3
1285/6	64	8	10½
1286/7	90	16	-
1287/8	53	8	3½
1288/9	69	11	8½
1293/4	64	6	3½

⁹ Lyons, 'Manorial administration and the manorial economy', pp.5, 57-8, 66, 345-6, 349.

¹⁰ Includes advowry payments since these originated from Fennagh.

Lyons argues that nothing other than deliberate undervaluation could explain the drop in the value of the pleas and perquisites of the liberty.¹¹ However, although the valuation of 1306-7 stated these to be worth £45, the fees of the ministers had been deducted from this sum.¹² Towards the end of the 1280s these ministers fees were usually in the order of £126 and by 1306 may have been in the order of £84.¹³ Adding these sums together, the valuation of 1306-7 put the pleas and perquisites of the liberty at somewhere between £129 and £171. Both of these conjectured sums are less than those received in the 1280s, although the sum of £171 is not grossly so. This is not surprising since any stagnation can have been expected to hit all sectors of the liberty's income. In other words, the valuation of 1306-7, whilst undervaluing the liberty from the viewpoint of a farmer, may not have been as unrealistic as has been supposed. Indeed, Phillips has argued that war in the Irish lordship probably meant that Aymer de Valence's Irish lands had been reduced in value to well below that given in the extent of 1324.¹⁴ The Bruce invasion seems to have had a similar effect on the liberty of Kilkenny since its annual value (calculated from the custodians' account for 1314-16) was considerably lower than the official valuation made in 1317, whilst the value (calculated from the escheator's account 1307/8) was only slightly less than the extended value.¹⁵ Comparisons between the valuations contained within IPMs and the figures rendered by manorial accounts for other estates have tended to show that whilst the accounts give greater figures than the IPMs, the difference between the two is not substantially greater.¹⁶

¹¹ Lyons, 'Manorial administration and the manorial economy', p.82.

¹² *CDI, 1302-7*, no.617.

¹³ In terms of payment in cash, the seneschal's fee had decreased by a third by 1306. The sum of £84 represents two-thirds of the sum of £126 spent on all fees in the 1280s.

¹⁴ Phillips, *Aymer de Valence*, p.243.

¹⁵ Altschul, *The Clares*, p.293.

¹⁶ Campbell et al, 'Rural land-use', p.5.

The escheator's and custodians' accounts, as mentioned above, provide another source of information on the value of lands. Although these accounts are based on extents made by jurors, they are important sources of information for the purposes of this study. These accounts can provide another snapshot of an estate, supplementing pictures provided by IPMs which might be separated in date by many years. Such information can help guard against the temptation to regard the value of lands as fossilised at a certain level and, indeed, increments in income are often indicated. These accounts can also provide more information about the makeup of the receipts from lands than provided by the valuations contained in the IPMs. This is certainly the case with regard to the account of the custodians of the liberty of Kilkenny between 1314 and 1316. Altschul questioned the usefulness of this account from this point of view arguing that the sums contained were probably not representative of 'normal conditions'.¹⁷ However, the proportions suggested by this account do not seem unlikely given the yardstick of the Bigod accounts against which to measure it.

Despite the focus of attention on the low valuations for estates returned by jurors, this is not the only problem attendant on the use of IPMs. A major problem from the point of view of this study, is that the escheator was only concerned with lands held in chief of the king. This makes an attempt to determine the relative value of Irish estates to primarily English-orientated landholders almost impossible below the level of tenants-in-chief, a class of tenants which did not necessarily include those with the most extensive land holdings. This is also a problem considering the fact that the Irish holdings of men below the rank of the like of Bigod and de Clare were likely to be proportionately of greater importance to them. It also means that even the holdings of

tenants-in-chief are not fully represented since the lands which they did not hold in chief of the king are not listed.

Another problem is that these documents cannot be relied upon to include all the holdings that a tenant held even in chief of the king. To some extent this problem of oversight could be combated by prospective holders of the wardship in question. Stevenson cites the case of John Maltravers who wrote to the English escheator in 1327 regarding the estates of John Giffard of Brimpsfield because several manors had been omitted from previous inquisitions.¹⁸ Nevertheless, omissions clearly did occur. To take an example relevant to this study, IPMs taken in relation to the lands of Cicely de Beauchamp include lands from the counties of Cambridgeshire, Dorset, Surrey, Somerset and Wiltshire.¹⁹ However, we know that she held land both in Bedfordshire and in Ireland in chief of the king. Such an omission in relation to one of the coparceners of the Marshal inheritance about which the office of escheator must have been well-informed is not encouraging. Even allowing for the fact that the inquisitions were actually taken in relation to Cicely's holdings in Bedford and Ireland and the information subsequently lost, the potential for lacunae in these documents is clear. Whilst information from other sources can highlight us to some of these gaps, the inquisitions cannot necessarily be taken to represent the entirety of a lord's estates.

In a very real sense, the questions which an escheator put to jurors in an Irish context were not those that could reflect the reality of how valuable certain lands were. To an Anglo-Irish lord, power and wealth was not measured in acres and pounds but in lordship over men. It is for this reason that the best way that Ó Cléirigh could find to

¹⁷ Altschul, *The Clares*, p.292.

express the importance of the lands which Agnes de Valence held in Ireland was to refer to the fact that she controlled almost half of the estates which made ‘the Geraldines of Offaly, in Professor Frame’s words, one of “the two most powerful settler families”, along with the de Burghs.’²⁰ This is a similar problem to that discussed by Davies in relation to using tax-returns to indicate the distribution of wealth within the Welsh March where the Marcher lords often came below the more wealthy religious houses because ‘their wealth and authority lay in land and lordship rather than in stock and moveables.’²¹ We have seen, however, that the majority of the English lords who held land in Ireland were not sufficiently involved in the lordship for its importance to them to be in terms of authority over men. In this case, the IPM returns provide answers to the correct questions from an English lord’s perspective, that is value expressed in monetary terms.²² This may have been as true for the lesser as well as the greater landholders with whom we are concerned. Bartlett found that for the knightly Escotot family, at least, it made sense to make their ‘ties with Ireland purely economic and to abandon all expectation of political or social weight’.²³

Nevertheless, despite all these problems, reliance on the IPMs for a sense of the relative value of the different lands which a lord held cannot be avoided, especially in light of the fact that as a class of documents they have less lacunae in terms of their geographical and chronological coverage than do manorial accounts.²⁴ It is to be hoped that the fact that Chapter 3 aims to give an impression of relative value of Irish estates to

¹⁸ Stevenson, ‘The Escheator’, p.127.

¹⁹ *CIPM*, vi, 276.

²⁰ Ó Cléirigh, ‘Agnes de Valence’, p.104.

²¹ Davies, *Lordship and society in the march of Wales*, p.401.

²² Indeed, from 1254 to 1272, the escheator in Ireland basically farmed the vacant bishoprics and religious houses in the lordship to the profit of the greatest English lord, King Henry III (*Admin. Ire.*, pp.27-8). The Irish escheator’s remit was largely to calculate the value of land in the king’s hand.

²³ Bartlett, ‘Colonial aristocracies of the high middle ages’, p.39.

²⁴ Campbell et al, ‘Rural land-use’, p.4.

their English lords compared against their other lands will render the tendency of jurors to undervalue assets of less importance here than it would be to a calculation of actual income. This, of course, presumes that jurors in Ireland would tend to undervalue estates to the same degree as their counterparts in England and Wales but little progress can be made on this front if this assumption is not made.

Valuations are given in £ s. d. where this information is available. This preference is based on the fact that, as mentioned above, it was the monetary worth of their Irish lands which was of the greatest importance to the English lords. It is also based on the unsuitedness of the alternative units of extent (acres and knights' fees) to comparisons between Ireland and England and Wales, and even between different manors in the same county in either of these countries.²⁵

²⁵ Of these two units, acreage is more useful than knights' fees. In IPMs land is usually measured in fiscal acres which removes the need to estimate the differing value of land in alternative locations (Harvey, *Manorial records*, pp.16-17). In contrast, the amount of land which constituted a knight's fee was never uniform in any part of England; and in Ireland the size of a knight's fee increased according to its proximity to the march (Down, 'Colonial society and economy', p.443).

Appendix 3

(A) Seneschals and sheriffs of the liberties of Leinster, showing the probable locations of their land-holding

(i) Liberty and county of Carlow, c.1272-c.1316

Year	Name	Counties	References
1265 - 1274/5	William le Grasther [recte Gras]	Carlow/Kilkenny/ Gloucestershire	36DKR, p.26 (PR Ed I); CDI, 1302-7, no.2158; <i>Knights' Fees</i> , pp.72-4, 234-7.
1274/5 - 1278/9	Robert Kokerel	?Norfolk/?Suffolk	36DKR, p.40 (PR 5 Ed I); CCR, 1302-07, p.466; CVCR, p.75.
Mich 1279 - Easter 1283	Philip de Bocland	Hertfordshire	36DKR, pp.46 (PR 8 Ed I), 52 (PR 9 Ed I); Holmes, <i>Estates of the higher nobility</i> , p.88; CCR, 1272-9, p.13.
Easter 1283 - Mich 1283	William Cadel	Carlow/?Kilkenny	36DKR, p.72 (PR 11 Ed I); CJR, i, 150, 218-19, 250, 453-4; <i>Ormond Deeds</i> , nos.427, 456-8.
1284	Robert Doket	?Carlow	Hore, <i>Dunbrody Abbey</i> , pp.76-7.
- 1287/8	William Cadel	Carlow/?Kilkenny	PRO SC6/1239/7.
1287/8 - Easter 1289	John de Houtone	?Northampton	PRO SC6/1239/7, 8; 37DKR, p.32 (PR 16 Ed I); CChW, p.460.
Mich 1293/4	Reginald Lyuet	Carlow	37DKR, p.55 (PR 22 Ed I); PRO SC6/1239/9.
- Mich 1294	John de Houtone	?Northampton	37DKR, p.50 (PR 21 Ed I); CDI, 1285- 92, no.1087.
Mich 1294/8	Robert le Marchaund		38DKR, p.36 (PR 25 Ed I); CJR, i, 184.
Hil 1295 & Easter 1298	Robert de Criketot	?Carlow/?Meath/ ?England	CDI, 1293-1301, no.587; CDI, 1302-7, no.278; CPR, 1307-13, p.66; CIPM, iii, 537; CIPM, iv, 230; CIPM, vii, 67; CJR, i, 227, 243, 278.
11/2/99 -	William de Hauekeswell	York/?Kilkenny	CDI, 1293-1301, no.594, 825; CCR, 1288-96, p.88; NAI EX2/1, p.216.
13/1/1301- 10/11/1301	Milo Rodborough	?Gloucestershire	38DKR, p.71 (PR 31 Ed I); CIPM, vii, 600; CPR, 1281-92, p.278.
Mich 1301-Easter 1302	Richard de la Rokele	Norfolk	CDI, 1293-1301, no.825; CDI, 1302-7, no.58; NAI EX2/1, pp.82-3; CIPM, iii, 355; CCR, 1279-88, p.531.
? Easter 1302 or 8/4/1304-16/5/05	Milo de Rodborough	?Gloucestershire	N. Saul, <i>Knights and esquires: the Gloucestershire gentry in the fourteenth century</i> (Oxford, 1981), p.94; CJR, ii, 70; NLI MS 760, p.250; PRO SC1/28/48.
?16/5/05 - 23/1/1306	John de Houtone	?Northampton	NAI EX2/1, p.153; NLI MS 760, p.270.
?1306-16/10/1308	Arnold le Poer	?Carlow/Kildare	PRO E101/235/20; Craig, 'Memoranda roll of the Irish exchequer', i, 40; CJR, iii, 5, 14-16, 42, 156; Otway-Ruthven, 'Knight's Fees', p.166.
16/10/1308-1310	John de Bonevill	Carlow/Kildare/ 'Any'/Trim	<i>Knights' Fees</i> , p.83; <i>Ormond Deeds</i> , no.340; CJR, iii, 27, 41-2; 39DKR, p.44 (PR 3 Ed II); CIPM, ii, 52; CIPM, iv, 434; Craig, 'Memoranda roll of the Irish exchequer', B753.
c.1309	Gilbert le Paumer, late sheriff	?Carlow	CJR, iii, 141-2.
27/6/1311 -	John de Lyvet	Carlow/Kildare	CPR 1307-13, p.363; CJR, ii, 328-9; Otway-Ruthven, 'Knight's Fees', p.173.

16/12/1312 -	Adam de la Roche	Wexford	NAI RC8/7, pp.295-7; <i>Knights' Fees</i> , p.54.
1310-13	Adam Bretoun, sheriff	Carlow	NLI MS 760, p.300; <i>CJR</i> , ii, 41.
8/3/1314 - 21/12/1316	Adam Bretoun	Carlow	<i>39DKR</i> , p.73 (PR 10 Ed II); RIA MS 12.D.12, p.103.

(ii) Liberty and county of Kildare, c.1272-c.1316

Year	Name	Counties	References
1270-1272/3	Henry de Bok; John de Athy, deputy	?	NLI MS 760, p.11.
1274/7	William de Caversham (<i>recte</i> Caverswell); John de Kent, sheriff ¹	?Stafford	NLI MS 760, p.26; <i>CPR, 1272-81</i> , p.109; <i>36DKR</i> , p.36 (PR 5 Ed I).
1277/8	John de Valle; John de Kent, Robert de St.Edmund, Robert de Flatisbiry, deputies	Carlow/Kildare	<i>Red book of Ormond</i> , no.1; NAI RC8/1, p.23; <i>36DKR</i> , p.44 (PR 7 Ed I); <i>CJR</i> , i, 173.
1278/80	William Cadel	Carlow/?Kilkenny	<i>36DKR</i> , p.50 (PR 8 Ed I).
1280/84	Robert de Flatisbiry	Kildare/Kilkenny	<i>36DKR</i> , p.73 (PR 11 Ed I); <i>CDI, 1285-92</i> , nos.287, 309, 780, 884; <i>CDI, 1302-7</i> , no.531; <i>CJR</i> , iii, 81; Otway-Ruthven, 'Knight's Fees', p.167
24/6/1287-1287/8	John Punchardon	Kildare/?Wexford/ ?Devon	<i>37DKR</i> , p.27 (PR 15 Ed I); <i>CDI, 1285-92</i> , nos.622, 1018, 1163; <i>CJR</i> , i, 102, 105, 400; <i>CJR</i> , iii, 188; <i>CIPM</i> , iii, 31 (p.27); <i>CCR, 1288-96</i> , p.237; NAI RC8/4, p.361.
29/8/1287-	Thomas Darcy	Lincs/Dublin/ ?Kilkenny	<i>37DKR</i> , p.46 (PR 20 Ed I); <i>CDI, 1293-1301</i> , no.22; <i>CJR</i> , ii, 1; Mortimer, 'Lordship and patronage', p.11.
Easter 1290	Hugh de Stradeley	?Kildare	BL Add. Charter 13598; <i>CJR</i> , i, 82, 288, 292.
2/8/91-pre 10/11/1293	Richard de Penkeston	Kildare	<i>CDI, 1293-1301</i> , nos.26, 102; <i>CDI, 1285-92</i> , nos.622, 1018; <i>AH 34</i> (1987), 50.
Mich 1295	Robert Perceval	Kildare	<i>CDI, 1293-1301</i> , no.259; <i>CJR</i> , ii, 28; Otway-Ruthven, 'Knight's Fees', p.172.
1296/7	David le Maziner	Kildare	NAI RC7/5, pp.2-3; <i>CJR</i> , i, 188; <i>CJR</i> , ii, 70.
1297	Nigel le Brun; David le Maziner & Robert de Perceval, deputies of seneschal		<i>CJR</i> , i, 171.
c.12/2/98-17/5/99	Nigel le Brun	Dublin	<i>CDI, 1293-1301</i> , no.587; <i>CJR</i> , i, 247; <i>CJR</i> , ii, 213-14.
Easter 1301- 18/2/1302	David le Maziner, Albert de Kenleye, sheriffs	Kildare	<i>38DKR</i> , p.69 (PR 30 Ed I); <i>CDI, 1302-7</i> , no.24.
18/2/1302-1304	Albert de Kenleye, sheriff		<i>CDI, 1302-7</i> , no.24; NLI MS 760, p.267.
1304-6	Adam de la Roche	Wexford	NLI MS 760, p.250.
16/8-16/10/1308	Arnold le Poer	Kildare/?Carlow	PRO E101/235/20. ²

¹John de Kent held land in co. Louth (*CJR*, ii, 243-4).

² This is the period for which Arnold le Poer was paid as seneschal by the Dublin exchequer. Craig, 'Memoranda roll of the Irish exchequer', i, 40 suggests that Arnold le Poer may have held the post of seneschal since 1306.

16/10/1308-1310	John de Bonevill; John de Sutton, <i>locum tenens</i>	Carlow/Kildare/'Any'/Meath	NAI EX1/1, m.1.
6/6/1311-15/4/1313	David le Maziner; John de Wellesleys, sheriffs	Kildare/?Somerset	39DKR, p.45 (PR 6 Ed II); Frame, 'King Henry III and Ireland', pp.189-90.

(iii) Liberty of Kilkenny, c.1272-c.1316

Year	Name	Counties	References
1282	[?John] de Ufford ³	?Suffolk/ ?Waterford	RIA MS 12.D.12, pp.3-4; <i>CDI, 1293-1301</i> , no.820.
11/1/83-	David de Offinton	Kildare/Oxford/ ?Hertford/?Essex/ ?Lincs/?Berks	<i>CDI, 1252-84</i> , no.2032; <i>CJR</i> , i, 170; <i>CCR, 1279-88</i> , pp.314, 317; <i>CIPM</i> , v, 538.
c.1284	William Cadel	?Kilkenny/Carlow	Ward, 'Estates of the Clare family', p.352.
c.1284/6	Henry de la Roche	Kilkenny	<i>Ormond Deeds</i> , no.267; <i>CJR</i> , iii, 125, 251.
Easter 1287- Jan.1289	David de Offinton	Kildare/Oxford	37DKR, p.27 (PR 15 Ed I).
1294	Roger de Penbrok	Kilkenny/?Kildare	Ward, 'Estates of the Clare family', pp.101, 352; <i>Knights' Fees</i> , pp.266-7.
pre 10/11/1295	William de Athy	Kilkenny/?Kildare	<i>Red book of Ormond</i> , no.8; <i>CJR</i> , i, 72; <i>CJR</i> , ii, 35, 114, 199, 268.
1295/6	John de Thedmershe	Berkshire	<i>CJR</i> , i, 88; <i>CIPM</i> , iv, 319.
14/4/1297- 2/6/1297	Andrew Avenel	Kilkenny/ Wexford	<i>CDI, 1293-1301</i> , nos.391, 408; Ward, 'Estates of the Clare family', p.101; <i>Ormond Deeds</i> , no.355.
c.Jul. 1297-Mich 1298	Gilbert de Bohun, custos	?Welsh March/ ?Kilkenny	<i>CPR, 1292-1301</i> , pp.465, 564-5; <i>CDI, 1302-7</i> , no.168.
Mich 1298- c.12/11/1299	Walter de Ivethorn	Kildare/?Somerset	<i>CDI, 1293-1301</i> , nos.549, 658; 38DKR, p.36 (PR 25 Ed I); <i>Ormond Deeds</i> , no.338; <i>CJR</i> , i, 350; <i>CJR</i> , ii, 197; <i>CCR, 1288-96</i> , p.456.
c.27/10/1299	David de Offinton	Kildare/Oxford	<i>CDI, 1293-1301</i> , no.658.
c.1300	John de Clare	?Kilkenny	<i>Ormond Deeds</i> , no.348; RC8/1, p.38; MS 760, p.2.
24/4/1300	Walter de Ivethorn	Kildare/?Somerset	<i>CJR</i> , i, 305.
Mich 1301	F[ulk] de Ash		<i>CDI, 1293-1301</i> , no.825.
1302	Nicholas Avenel		Ward, 'Estates of the Clare family', p.352.
?1303-13/1/1306 ⁴	Fulk de la Freigne	Kilkenny/?Kildare	38DKR, pp.62-3 (PR 30 Ed I), 96-7 (PR 33 Ed I); <i>CJR</i> , ii, 334; MS 760, p.270; Ward, 'Estates of the Clare family', p.101; <i>AH 34</i> (1987), 16.
1305-6	Nicholas de Blanchevill	Kilkenny	<i>CJR</i> , ii, 1, 67, 197; <i>Ormond Deeds</i> , nos.427, 456, 471.
1307-8	John Droill	Tipperary	Ward, 'Estates of the Clare family', p.352; <i>CJR</i> , iii, 111, 257.

³ John de Ufford, brother of Robert the former justiciar of Ireland, travelled to Ireland to defend his brother's rights in 1281 (Sutton, *Robert de Ufford*, p.69). It is possible that Harris, who transcribed the documents contained in RIA MS 12. D. 12, misread an abbreviation of Uffinton for Ufford.

⁴ Fulk de la Freigne took his oath to serve the king well and faithfully at the Dublin exchequer on 15 January 1306 (NAI EX2/1, p.152). The information given in the Freigne family pedigree Butler, 'Seneschals of Tipperary', p.301 that Fulk served as seneschal of Kilkenny in 1299 and 1314 appears to be mistaken. Various members of the Freigne family did go on to serve as seneschal of Kilkenny, however (see Watt, 'Anglo-Irish colony under strain', pp.360-1)

1308, 1309	William de Cauntetone	Wexford/?Oxford	<i>Ormond Deeds</i> , no.435; <i>39DKR</i> , p.31 (PR 3 Ed II); <i>CCR</i> , 1307-13, p.555; <i>CIPM</i> , vi, 518.
Easter 1311	Stephen de la More	'Drochendale' in ?Kildare	PRO E101/235/25; <i>CDI</i> , 1285-92, p.412; <i>CDI</i> , 1302-7, no.52.
c.6/5/1311-Mich 1314	William de St.Ledger	Tipperary/ Kilkenny/Kildare /?Devon/?Kent	<i>Red book of Ormond</i> , no.26; R.C.8/5, pp.655-6; <i>CJR</i> , iii, 216; <i>Ormond Deeds</i> , nos.471, 473; PRO E101/236/9; <i>CJR</i> , ii, 344, 346; Otway-Ruthven, 'Knight's Fees', p.177; <i>CCR</i> , 1272-9, p.190; <i>CCR</i> 1302-07, p.392.
Easter 1315	Walter de Istelep - custodian		<i>42DKR</i> , p.50 (PR 16 Ed II); PRO E101/236/14/3.
1314-16	Thomas le Butler	Kilkenny	PRO E101/236/12; SC6/1239/13; Ward, 'Estates of the Clare family', p.101.

(iv) Liberty of Wexford, c.1272-c.1326

Year	Name	Counties	References
1262-75	Walter de Redesham	Welsh March	<i>36DKR</i> , p.24 (PR 1 Ed I), 26 (PR 2 Ed I); <i>CPR</i> , 1281-92, p.210.
Early 1270s-c.1280	John Wogan	Pembrokeshire/ Devon/Dorset/ Somerset	Ridgeway, 'William de Valence and his <i>familiares</i> ', p.253n79; Hand, <i>English law in Ireland</i> , p.22; Mortimer, 'Lordship and patronage', i, 97; <i>CCR</i> , 79-88, pp.185, 471.
Dec 1276-Sep 1277	John Cogan	Cork/Somerset/ Devon/Glamorgan	PRO E101/230/6; <i>CIPM</i> , iv, 89; <i>CIPM</i> , v, 538.
1277/8	John de Castro Martini	?Wicklow/ ?Pembroke	NAI RC8/1, pp.126-8.
1285/6	Andrew Avenel	?Kilkenny ('Glancoman')	<i>CDI</i> , 1285-92, no.149; Ward, 'Estates of the Clare family', p.101; <i>Ormond Deeds</i> , no.355.
1286/7	Gilbert de Sutton	Kilkenny/ Wexford/ ?Northampton	<i>Red book of Ormond</i> , no.14; <i>CDI</i> , 1285-92, no.271; <i>Knights' Fees</i> , pp.15-16; <i>CDI</i> , 1302-7, no.617; <i>CChW</i> , p.94.
15/6/89	Philip le Albe, <i>locum tenens</i>	?	<i>CDI</i> , 1285-92, no.475.
Easter 1291	Gilbert de Sutton	Kilkenny/ Wexford/ ?Northampton	<i>CDI</i> , 1285-92, no.834.
c.1/6/92	Adam de la Roche	Wexford	<i>CJR</i> , i, 397-8; <i>Knights' Fees</i> , p.54.
-1291/2	Gilbert de Sutton; Philip le Albe, <i>locum tenens</i>	Kilkenny/ Wexford/ ?Northampton	<i>37DKR</i> , pp.27 (PR 15 Ed I), 29 (PR 16 Ed I), 48 (PR 20 Ed I).
1295 - 9/6/1297	John son of Henry	?Carlow	RC7/3, pp.316-17; <i>CDI</i> , 1293-1301, nos.329, 391, 408; <i>CJR</i> , iii, 85.
1297	Maurice de Caunetone	Carlow	<i>CJR</i> , i, 148; <i>CJR</i> , ii, 344, 349.
Easter - Mich 1298	Richard de Peuenesey	Sussex/Berkshire/ Somerset	<i>CDI</i> , 1293-1301, nos.509, 550; <i>38DKR</i> , p.36 (PR 25 Ed I); <i>CIPM</i> , vi, 499; <i>CCR</i> , 1279-88, pp.163-4.
1298/1303	Adam de la Roche	Wexford	<i>38DKR</i> , p.70 (PR 31 Ed I); <i>CJR</i> , i, 396, 397-8.
1299	Richard de Pevensy	Sussex/Berkshire/ Somerset	<i>CJR</i> , i, 254.
27/1/1305-	Gilbert de Sutton	Kilkenny/ Wexford/ ?Northampton	<i>St. Mary's Abbey</i> , ii, 291; <i>CJR</i> , ii, 13,41.

Easter 1305	Nicholas Avenel	Kilkenny/Dublin/ ?Wexford	<i>CDI, 1252-84</i> , no.1618; <i>CJR</i> , ii, 115; <i>38DKR</i> , p.100 (PR 33 Ed I).
20/6/1305	Adam de la Roche	Wexford	<i>CJR</i> , ii, 87.
?Easter 1303- ?18/11/1305	Maurice de Rocheford ⁵	Cork/Limerick/ Wexford	NLI MS 760, p.249; <i>38DKR</i> , p.100 (PR 33 Ed I); <i>CJR</i> , ii, 155; <i>CIPM</i> , vi, 518; <i>Knights' Fees</i> , p.140; <i>CDI, 1285-92</i> , no.622; <i>CDI, 1302-7</i> , no.19.
c.June 1305-April 1306	Richard de Pevensey	Sussex/Berkshire/ Somerset	<i>CDI, 1293-1301</i> , nos.507, 613 (pp.294- 6); Phillips, <i>Aymer de Valence</i> , p.292
27/11/1306	Adam de la Roche	Wexford	Phillips, <i>Aymer de Valence</i> , p.292.
3/6/1306- 13/10/1306	Maurice de Rocheford	Cork/Limerick/ Wexford	<i>Ibid.</i>
1/29/1308-1309	Adam de la Roche	Wexford	NAI EX1/1, m.16d.; EX2/2, p.295; <i>CJR</i> , iii, 107; <i>Knights' Fees</i> , pp.150-1.
25/5/1309- 7/5/1314	Walter Wogan	Wexford/Kildare/ Pembroke	<i>39DKR</i> , p.49 (PR 3 Ed II); <i>CDI, 1293- 1301</i> , no.764; Otway-Ruthven, 'Knight's fees', p.174; Mortimer, 'Lordship and patronage', p.97.

⁵ The Anglo-Irish families of Rocheford and Rochefort are difficult to distinguish in the sources, especially since these patronymics are used interchangeably. It is possible that Maurice de Rocheford belonged to a less important family than is suggested here.

(B) Other administrative posts held by the seneschals of the liberties of Leinster

(i) Carlow

Name	Position held
Philip Bocland	King's keeper of Dunwich city, 1272; auditor of Carlow liberty accounts, 1278-9; seneschal of English Bigod manor ⁶
William Cadel	Knight of the king's household in Ireland, 1270s
William le Gras	Sheriff of Tipperary, 1279 ⁷
William de Haukeswell	Itinerant justice, county Kilkenny, 1305 ⁸
Adam de la Roche	Knight of justiciar's household, August 1313 ⁹
Richard de la Rokele	?Commissioner of <i>oyer et terminer</i> , Norfolk and Kent, 1304/5 ¹⁰

(ii) Kildare

Name	Position held
John de Athy	Sheriff of Limerick; ? King's serjeant ¹¹
Nigel le Brun	King's valet, pre-1298; Farmer of Chapelizod, 1290; Escheator of Ireland, 1308 ¹²
William de Caversham/Kaverswell	Farmer of part of Archbishopric of Dublin, 1259-61; Auditor of account of mayor of Dublin, 1275; Justice, primarily in Staffordshire ¹³
Robert de Flatisbiry	Justice of assize ¹⁴
Adam de la Roche	Knight of justiciar's household, August 1313

⁶ Nugent, 'Carlow in the Middle Ages', p.68.

⁷ *Knights' Fees*, p.235.

⁸ *CDI*, 1302-7, no.384.

⁹ RIA D.578.

¹⁰ *CPR*, 1301-07, pp.280, 283; *CCR*, 1302-7, p.253. The Richard de la Rokele who served as a commissioner of *oyer et terminer* in Norfolk and Kent may have been a distinct individual from the Richard de la Rokele who was seneschal of Carlow.

¹¹ Brand, 'Early history of the legal profession', pp.46-7. Another John de Athy was later sheriff of Kerry (NAI RC8/8, pp.562-3).

¹² *CDI*, 1285-92, no.665; *Admin. Ire.*, p.126.

¹³ *CDI*, 1252-84, nos.638, 697; *CPR*, 1272-81, pp.118, 244, 263, 338; *CPR*, 1281-92, pp.100, 103, 201-2, 308.

¹⁴ *CJR*, i, 91, 152.

(iii) Kilkenny

Name	Postition held
William de Athy	King's serjeant; temporary justice ¹⁵
William de Cauneton	Knight of king's household in Ireland; sheriff of Cork ¹⁶
John de Clare	?Sheriff of liberty, 1278/9 ¹⁷
Walter de Ivethorn	Constable of castles of Roscommon and Randown, 1295-6, and Athlone, 1296 ¹⁸
David de Offinton	Sheriff of Dublin, May 1280-2; keeper of Newcastle McKynegan ¹⁹
Roger de Penbrok	Sheriff of Tipperary, 1289-92 ²⁰
John de Thedmershe	Sheriff of Oxford and Berkshire, pre-1285 ²¹

(iv) Wexford

Name	Postition held
Richard de Pevensey	Commissioner of <i>oyer et terminer</i> , Sussex, 1283; king's messenger to Rome, c.1286; auditor for John le Butler, 1303 ²²
Adam de la Roche	Knight of the justiciar's household
Maurice de Rocheford	<i>Locum tenens</i> of justiciar ²³
Gilbert de Sutton	Sheriff of Kildare; justice itinerant in Kilkenny ²⁴
John Wogan	Justiciar of Ireland ²⁵
Walter Wogan	Custodian of castles of Roscommon and Randown, 1302; justice of justiciar's bench ²⁶

¹⁵ *CDI*, 1252-84, no.1915; Brand, 'Birth of a colonial judiciary', pp.21-2. In January 1294 William de Athy and John de Horton were appointed to act in the place of the chief justice of the Dublin bench whenever he was ill.

¹⁶ Ingamells, 'Household Knights of Edward I', i, 59; *CDI*, 1302-7, no.274.

¹⁷ *NAI RC8/1*, p.38.

¹⁸ *CPR*, 1292-1301, p.230; *38DKR*, p.101 (PR 23 Ed I).

¹⁹ *CDI*, 1252-84, p.421; *CDI*, 1285-92, no.169.

²⁰ Ward, 'Estates of the Clare Family', pp.101, 352. Roger's father had been sheriff of Tyrone (*CCR*, 1302-7, p.169).

²¹ *CPR*, 1282-91, pp.44, 71, 156, 158, 171, 174, 183, 204.

²² *Red book of Ormond*, no.42; *CPR*, 1281-92, p.73; *Records of the wardrobe and household, 1286-9*, nos.21, 26, 288, 294, 900.

²³ *CJR*, i, 412.

²⁴ *Knights' Fees*, p.16; *CJR*, i, 209; *CDI*, 1302-7, no.384.

²⁵ *Admin. Ire.*, pp.82-3. Prior to John Wogan's appointment as justiciar of Ireland he served as a justice of gaol delivery in Lancaster, Westmoreland and Cumberland (*CChW*, p.35; *CCR*, 1288-96, p.374).

²⁶ *PRO E101/233/17*; *Admin. Ire.*, pp.167-8.

(C) Treasurers and receivers of the liberties and counties of Leinster

(i) Carlow

Name	Position	Dates	Reference
Thomas Wade	Bigod's Treasurer	c.1280-9	PRO SC6/1239/1-8.
William Gyming	Bigod's Treasurer	1290	PRO SC6/1239/9.
John Swein	King's Receiver	1302-3	38DKR, p.59 (PR 29 Ed I).
Geoffrey de Colecestre	Bigod's Treasurer	pre c.1303	NAI EX2/1, p.200.
Adam Breton	Bigod's Treasurer	c.1303-7	NAI EX2/1, pp.196, 200.
Adam Breton	King's Receiver	1307-10	39DKR, p.55 (PR 8 Ed II).
William Spynel	King's Receiver	1309-10	NAI EX1/1, m.47; NAI RC8/4, pp.801-2.
Roger le Poer	King's Receiver	1310-11?12	NAI RC8/4, p.802.
Philip Okney	King's Receiver	1312-13	NAI RC8/7, p.227.

(ii) Kildare

Name	Position	Dates	Reference
Robert de Flatisbury	Vescy's Treasurer	1280-1	NAI RC7/2, p.129.
Henry Belinges	King's Receiver	pre-1310?	NAI EX1/1, m.52d.
Thomas Shynagh	King's Receiver	1310	NAI EX1/1, m.49d; RC8/4, p.823.

(iii) Kilkenny

Name	Position	Dates	Reference
Richard de Lega	Treasurer	1294	<i>Ormond Deeds</i> , no.315.
Mr.Henry de Bageley	Treasurer	1297-8	NAI RC7/11, pp.73-4.
Simon Dunynes	Treasurer	1305-6	<i>CJR</i> , ii, 60; Ward, 'The Estates of the Clare Family', p.352.
Simon Dunynes	Treasurer	1311	NLI D.1959
Richard de Lega	King's Receiver	pre 1311-12	NAI RC8/5, p.765.
John Godyn	Treasurer	1314-16	PRO SC6/1239/13; Ward, 'Estates of the Clare Family', p.352.

(iv) Wexford

Name	Position	Dates	Reference
Hamond Peris	Treasurer	1302	Phillips, <i>Aymer de Valence</i> , p.293.
Henry Estmound	King's Receiver	c.1308-9	NAI RC8/5, pp.324-5.
John Rauf	King's Receiver	1309	PRO E101/236/14/3.

(D) Employment of messengers in relation to the liberty of Carlow, c.1280-1294

Year	Category and/or name of messenger	Location	Duration in Ireland	Purpose of visit	Reference (all start PRO SC6/)
1280/1	Messenger found	Fothered to New Ross	2 days	Business of the earl	1237/42
1280/1	Robert, messenger of the lord earl	New Ross to England			1238/25
1280/1	Several messengers found	Ballysax		Going to Dublin with letters of the seneschal	1237/1
Easter 1282-Easter 1283	Several messengers found	Carlow		Sent by seneschal	1237/12
1282/3	Litepruce	New Ross to Carlow			1237/27
1282/3	Ardern	New Ross to England			1237/27
1282/3	Litepruce	Great Island			1238/2
1282/3	Ardeme, messenger of the lord earl	Lord earl to Carlow	6 weeks and 3 days	Arriving with letters of the lord earl	1239/2
Easter 1283-Hilary 1284	Several messengers found	Carlow		Carrying various letters of the seneschal to the sheriff etc.	1237/13
Hilary-Mich 1284	Several messengers found	Carlow		Sent on business of the earl	1237/15
1283/4	Several messengers found	Carlow		Regarding the business of the lord earl	1239/3
1283/4	Richard Faucun and Ardern, messengers of the earl	England to Carlow; return to England	14 weeks and 4 days	Coming for the plea of Old Ross, who were attorneys in the said plea	1239/3
1283/4	Faucun, messenger	Carlow to Dublin; and return	2 days	Travelled there by order of the seneschal	1239/3
1283/4	Robert, messenger of the lord earl	England to Carlow; return to England	23 weeks and 1 day	Coming for the plea of Kenles	1239/3
1284/5	Several messengers found	Carlow		Carrying various bags for the business of the earl	1237/16
1284/5	Richard Faucun, messenger of the lord earl	Carlow; return to England	17 weeks and 1 day		1239/4
1284/5	Robert, messenger of the lord earl		6 weeks and 3 days		1239/4

Year	Category and/or name of messenger	Location	Duration in Ireland	Purpose of visit	Reference (all start PRO SC6/)
1284/5	Richard Faucun, messenger of the lord earl	Carlow; return to earl	13 weeks and 2 days		1239/4
1284/5	Robert, messenger of the lord earl	Carlow; return to England	8 weeks and 4 days		1239/4
1284/5	David, messenger, Roger Cadico and Simon de Steyuston	Passage to England		Came [to Ireland] with new orders regarding the manor of Old Ross	1239/4
1284/5	Several messengers found	Carlow		Business of the earl	1239/4
1285/6	H[]b[], messenger of the lord earl	Carlow; return to England	7 weeks	Discharging/acquitting	1239/5
1285/6	Richard Faucun, messenger of the lord earl	Carlow; return to England	17 weeks and 5 days	Discharging/acquitting	1239/5
1285/6	Several messengers found	Various places		Business of the lord earl	1239/5
1285/6	Several messengers found	Carlow			1237/17
1286/7	Several mrsengers found	Carlow to Dublin, New Ross or elsewhere		Business of the earl	1237/21
1286/7	Robert, messenger of the lord earl	Lord earl to Ireland; passage	10 weeks and 3 days		1239/6
1286/7	Richard, messenger of the lord earl	Carlow; passage	7 consecutive weeks	Discharging/acquitting	1239/6
1286/7	Litepruce, messenger of the lord earl	Carlow; passage	7 consecutive weeks	Came for business of the earl	1239/6
1287/8	Several messengers	Various places		Business of the earl	1239/7
1287/8	Henry, messenger of the lord earl	England to Ireland; return to England	12 days	Came to William Cadel on business of the earl	1239/7
1287/8	Hugo Tal[]ar [in messenger expense section]	To England; return to Ireland		To earl's treasurer on business of the earl, with Brother Walter	1239/7
1288/9	Litepruce, messenger of the lord earl	Ireland; return to England	11 days	Attorney of the lord earl in Ireland, acquitting/discharging	1239/8

Year	Category and/or name of messenger	Location	Duration in Ireland	Purpose of visit	Reference (all start PRO SC6/)
1288/9	Hugo Talljar [in messenger expense section]	To England		Regarding the business of the lord earl	1239/8
1293/4	Several messengers found	Carlow to Dublin		Returning writs of the king	1237/22
1293/4	Several messengers found	Carlow		To make response	1239/9
1293/4	Several messengers sent	Carlow		To buy meadow by order of the earl	1239/9
1293/4	Wylletok, messenger of the lord earl	Carlow; return to England	3 weeks and 4 days	Discharging/acquitting	1239/9

(E) Evidence of possible auditing among the accounts of the liberty of Carlow, 1279-1294

Reference All start PRO SC6/ Date of account (Mich- Mich unless stated otherwise)	Account by?	View of account?	Allowance section?	Other evidence (eg. erasures/corrections)
1237/40	Provost of manor of Fothered	Yes		Marginal notes; interlineations in different ink
1238/1	Provost of Insula	Yes		
1237/42	Provost of manor of Fothered	Yes		Corrections in different ink and hand
1237/41	Provost of town and castle of Fothrid			Corrections, marginal notes, additions in different ink
1238/25	Provost of Rospont		Yes	Account headed 'Auditor compot'; sums in darker ink
1239/1	Treasurer of Carlow			Some sums crossed out, others erased and rewritten in different ink
1237/1	Provost of manor of Ballysax	Yes		
1237/32	Bailiff of Fennagh	Yes		
1239/10	Receiver of Old Ross	Yes	Yes	
1238/42	Master of meadow of Old Ross	Yes		
1237/43	Provosts of manor of Fothrid			Marginal notes; sums crossed out and rewritten in different ink
1239/11	Receiver of Old Ross		Yes	Substantial crossings-out
1238/43	Provost of manor of Old Ross	Yes	Yes	Some sums corrected
1239/12	Treasurer of Carlow receiving rent of Old Ross	Yes		
1237/33	Bailiff of Fennagh	Yes	?	Corrections in different ink
1238/2	Provost of Insula		Yes	
1237/44	Provosts of manor of Fothered	Yes		Additions & corrections in different ink; entire total expenses section crossed through and rewritten
1237/2	Provost of Ballysax			Sums in different ink
1239/2	Treasurer of Carlow	Yes		Some sums crossed through and rewritten in different hand and ink; marginal notes and summations
1237/45	Provost of town and castle of Fothrid			Arrears, end of liberate and final section written in different ink
1238/27	Provost of New Ross			Erasures, crossings-out, corrections

Reference PRO SC6/	Date of account	Account by?	View of account?	Allowance section?	Other evidence (eg. erasures/corrections)
1238/44	26 May 1283-Mich 1283	Provost and Constable of town of Old Ross	Yes	Yes	Some sums crossed-out and rewritten in different ink; some erasures
1237/3	1283-4	Provost of Ballysax	Yes		
1238/29	1283-4	Provost of New Ross			Erasure of detailed marginal notes; Corrections, additions in darker ink
1238/28	1283-4	Executor of constable of Ros	Yes	Yes	Couple of corrections
1238/46	1283-4	Provost of town of Old Ross		Yes	Sums filled in later in darker ink
1238/3	1283-4	Provost of Insula		Yes	
1237/34	1283-4	Bailiff and provost of Fynvagh			Corrections in different ink and hand; erasures
1237/47	1283-4	Provost of manor of Fothrid			Marginal summations in different ink; some sections filled in later; erasures
1237/46	1283-4	Provost of town of Fothrid			Corrections
1238/45	1283-4	Provost of manor of Old Ross			Corrections, additions in darker hand
1239/3	1283-4	Treasurer of Carlow			Some sums crossed through; erased and rewritten in different hand and ink; some sums added in; marginal summations
1238/48	1284-5	Provost and Constable of town of Old Ross		Yes	Erasures/corrections
1237/4	1284-5	Provost of Ballysax		Yes	
1239/4	1284-5	Treasurer of Carlow		Yes	Marginal summations; some sums crossed through/erased and rewritten in darker ink; some sums added in later
1237/35	1284-5	Bailiff and provost of Fennagh			Some corrections, additions, erasure
1238/4	1284-5	Provost of Insula			Corrections in darker ink; total receipts erased and rewritten
1238/30	1284-5	Provosts of New Ross			Corrections in darker ink
1238/32	20 Nov 1284-19 Nov 1285	Custodian of meadow of New Ross			Sums corrected in darker ink
1238/26	1280-6	Farmer of mill at Rospont	Yes	Yes	Sums corrected
1238/5	1285-6	Provost of Insula		Yes	
1237/36	1285-6	Bailiff and provost of Fennagh		Yes	Corrections in different ink and hand
1238/49	1285-6	Provost of manor of Old Ross		Yes	Corrections, additions, many sums in darker ink
1239/5	1285-6	Treasurer of Carlow		Yes	Erasures/crossings-through of sums; rewritten in darker ink

Reference PRO SC6/	Date of account	Account by?	View of account?	Allowance section?	Other evidence (eg. erasures/corrections)
1238/58	1285-6	Ward of Tullagh			Marginal summations
1237/51	1285-6	Provost of castle of Fothrid			Corrections and additions in darker ink
1237/50	1285-6	Provost of castle of Fothrid			Additions; crossings-out
1238/31	1285-6	Provost of New Ross	Yes		Marginal notes, corrections and additions in darker ink; final sums in larger hand
1237/37	20 Nov 1285-19 Nov 1286	Bailiff of Fennagh		Yes	Corrections in different ink ?and hand
1238/36	1286-7	Custodians of mill at New Ross		Yes	
1237/5	1286-7	Provost of Ballysax		Yes	
1237/53	1286-7	Provost of manor of Fothered		Yes	Sums, additions, marginal notes in different ink and hand
1237/52	1286-7	Provost of town of Fothered		Yes	Marginal note; corrections in different ink
1238/59	1286-7	Part of Ward of Tullagh		?	Some corrections
1239/6	1286-7	Treasurer of Carlow		Yes	Some sums crossed through and corrected in darker ink; sums added later in darker ink; marginal notes. general crossings out
1237/20	1286-7	Custodian of mill at Carlow			Some crossings-out
1238/35	1286-7	Provost of New Ross			Corrections; erasures; sums added in darker ink
1238/38	1287-8	Custodians of mill of New Ross		Yes	Marginal notes; crossings-outs, corrections in different ink
1237/6	1287-8	Provost of Ballysax		Yes	
1237/54	1287-8	Provost of town of Fothered		Yes	Corrections in different ink
1238/52	1287-8	Provost of town of Old Ross		Yes	
1237/38	1287-8	Bailiff of Fynvagh			Marginal summations; corrections in ?different hand
1237/55	1287-8	Provost of Fothrid			Marginal notes; payment entry in different hand
1238/37	1287-8	Provost of New Ross			Additions, totals in different hand; corrections and marginal notes of sums
1239/7	20 Nov 1287-19 Nov 1288	Treasurer of Carlow			Crossings-out and erasures; sums erased and rewritten
1238/53	20 Nov 1287-19 Nov 1288	Provisos of manor of Old Ross			Some crossings-out/some sums underlined

Reference	Date of account	Account by?	View of account?	Allowance section?	Other evidence (eg. erasures/corrections)
PRO SC6/ 1238/9	30 Nov 1287-30 Nov 1288	Custodian of mill at Insula	Yes	Yes	Sums corrected; different ink on total expense and final section
1238/40	1288-9	Custodians of mill at New Ross	Yes	Yes	Final section erased and rewritten
1237/39	1288-9	Bailiff of Fennagh	Yes		Sums in different ink and ?hand
1238/60	1288-9	Custodian of ward of Tullagh		Yes	Marginal notes of sums; expenses section crossed through and rewritten
1238/54	1288-9	Provost of town of Old Ross		Yes	Final section completed in different ink
1238/39	1288-9	Provost of New Ross			Corrections; crossings-out
1239/8	1288-9	Treasurer of Carlow			Erasures with sums/text rewritten in darker ink; sums crossed through and corrected; sums underlined
1238/61	28 Oct 1288-Mich 1289	Custodians of mill of Tullagh		Yes	
1237/22	1293-4	Provost of Carlow and mill of Carlow	Yes		
1239/9	1293-4	Treasurer of Carlow	Yes		Crossings-through; corrections and additions in darker ink - especially of sums
1238/51	undated	Old Ross		Yes	Corrections in darker ink

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Add. Charter 13598	Common Bench roll Ireland 18 Ed I
Add. Charter 19835	Appointment of auditors

Public Record Office

(i) Chancery

C133	Inquisitions post mortem Edward I
C134	Inquisitions post mortem Edward II
C135	Inquisitions post mortem Edward III

(ii) Exchequer

E101	Exchequer, Accounts various
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(iii) Special Collections

SC1	Ancient Correspondence
SC6	Ministers' Accounts
SC11	Rentals and surveys: rolls
SC12	Rentals and surveys: portfolios

DUBLIN

National Archives of Ireland (NAI)

EX1	Original Memoranda Rolls
EX2	PROI Draft Calendars of Memoranda Rolls
KB1	Original Justiciary Rolls
KB2	PROI Draft Calendars of Justiciary Rolls
RC7	Record Commission Calendars of Plea Rolls (Common Bench)
RC8	Record Commission Calendars of Memoranda, De Banco and Justiciary Rolls

Trinity College (TCD)

T.3.10 - Reeves MS	Sundry transcripts of state and legal records relative to Ireland
V.1.7 - Shaw-Mason MS	Irish grants, &c., from King John to King James 1 st

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