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**TITLE: LORDSHIP AND PATRONAGE: JOHN DARCY AND THE
DUBLIN ADMINISTRATION 1324-47**

QUALIFICATION: M PHIL., UNIVERSITY OF DURHAM, 1990

ABSTRACT

John Darcy rose from being a landless member of a cadet branch of a minor Lincolnshire family to serve as steward and chamberlain in the king's household. Justiciar of Ireland for twelve years in total, he developed close links with both Edward II and Edward III, surviving changes of regime in England in 1326 and in 1330, and served as one of the king's captains in Scotland and France. He acquired property in the north Midlands, and in Ireland, where he married into the comital house of de Burgh.

This thesis examines his career as justiciar, steward, and chamberlain, exploring how it illustrates the search for, and provision of, 'good lordship'. It assesses whether his friends and associates benefited from his influential position. The personnel of the Dublin government - judicial courts, chancery, exchequer, customs, escheatry, and royal constables - are investigated to discover the impact of Darcy upon appointments. This is set in the context of the influence of other chief governors and that of other evident patterns of patronage within the administration.

To do this effectively, the thesis is divided into two parts. The first part surveys Darcy's career, while in the second half, the Dublin administration is examined by department, commencing with the offices over which Darcy exercised most influence, before following a more conventional hierarchical approach. The thesis concludes by assessing the implications of the influence of Darcy and others upon the relationship of the lordship of Ireland and the kingdom of England.

**LORDSHIP AND PATRONAGE:
JOHN DARCY
AND
THE DUBLIN ADMINISTRATION**

1324-47

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1990



15 NOV 1991

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Declaration:

None of the material contained in this thesis has previously been submitted for a degree in this or any other university.

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ABBREVIATIONS

<i>Account Roll, Holy Trinity</i>	<i>Account Roll of the Priory of the Holy Trinity, Dublin, 1337-46</i> , ed. J. Mills
<i>Admin. Ire.</i>	H.G. Richardson and G.O. Sayles, <i>The Administration of Ireland 1172-1377</i>
<i>Baker</i>	<i>Chronicon Galfridi le Baker de Swynebroke</i> , ed E.M. Thompson
<i>Baldwin, Council</i>	J.F. Baldwin, <i>The King's Council in England during the Middle Ages</i>
<i>Ball, Judges</i>	F.E. Ball, <i>The Judges in Ireland, 1221-1921</i> , i
<i>Berry, Statutes</i>	<i>Statutes, Ordinances, and Acts of Parliament of Ireland, King John to Henry V</i>
b,BEx	Baron of the Dublin Exchequer
<i>Brooks, Knights' Fees</i>	E. St J. Brooks, <i>Knights' Fees in Counties Carlow, Wexford, and Kilkenny</i>
<i>Bull. Inst. Hist. Res.</i>	<i>Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research</i>
C	Chirographer
<i>Cal. Ormond Deeds</i>	<i>Calendar of Ormond Deeds</i>
CCR	<i>Calendar of Close Rolls</i>
CChR	<i>Calendar of Charter Rolls</i>
CDI	<i>Calendar of Documents relating to Ireland</i>
CDS	<i>Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland</i>
ChambEx	Chamberlain of the Dublin Exchequer
ChanEx	Chancellor of the Dublin Exchequer

<i>CIM</i>	<i>Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous</i>
<i>CIPM</i>	<i>Calendar of Inquisitions post mortem</i>
<i>CJCB</i>	Chief Justice of the Dublin Bench
<i>CJJB</i>	Chief Justice of the Justiciar's Bench
<i>Clyn</i>	<i>The Annals of Ireland by Friar John Clyn [and Thady Dowling]</i>
<i>Complete Peerage</i>	G.E. Cokayne, <i>Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain, and the United Kingdom</i>
<i>CPR</i>	<i>Calendar of Patent Rolls</i>
<i>R.F. Darcy, Life</i>	R.F. Darcy, <i>The Life of John Darcy, First Baron Darcy of Knaith</i>
<i>Dowdall Deeds</i>	<i>Dowdall Deeds</i> , ed. C. McNeill and A.J. Otway-Ruthven (Dublin: Irish MSS Commission, 1960)
<i>Dublin Annals</i>	chronicles contained in the <i>Chartularies of St Mary's Abbey, Dublin</i> ed. J.T. Gilbert, 2 vols (Rolls Series 1884-6)
E	Easter Term
<i>EHR</i>	<i>English Historical Review</i>
<i>Foedera Syllabus</i>	T.D. Hardy, <i>Syllabus of Documents relating to England and other kingdoms, contained in the collection known as Rymer's Foedera</i>
<i>Frame, Lordship</i>	R.F. Frame, <i>English Lordship in Ireland 1318-61</i>
<i>Frame, PhD</i>	R.F. Frame, 'The Dublin Government and Gaelic Ireland, 1272-1361'
<i>Frame, 'Ufford'</i>	R.F. Frame, 'The Justiciarship of Ralph

	Ufford: Warfare and Politics in Fourteenth-Century Ireland'
Fryde, 'Removal'	N.M. Fryde, 'Edward III's Removal of His Ministers and Judges, 1340-1'
Fryde, <i>Tyranny</i>	N.M. Fryde, <i>The Tyranny and Fall of Edward II, 1321-26</i>
C. Given-Wilson, <i>Royal Household</i> <i>Gormanston Reg.</i>	C. Given-Wilson, <i>The Royal Household and the King's Affinity</i> <i>Calendar of the Gormanston Register</i> ed. J. Mills and M.J. McEnery
H	Hilary Term
Hand, <i>English Law</i>	G.J. Hand, <i>English Law in Ireland, 1290-1324</i> (Cambridge, 1967)
<i>IHS</i>	<i>Irish Historical Studies</i>
JCB	Justice of the Dublin Bench
JJB	Justice of the Justiciar's Bench
JKB	Justice of the King's Bench
K	Keeper
<i>Knights' Fees</i>	BROOKS, E.St.J., <i>Knights' Fees in Counties Carlow, Wexford, and Kilkenny</i> (Dublin: Irish MSS Commission, 1950).
K Seal	Keeper of the Seal
<i>Lanercost</i>	<i>Chronicon de Lanercost</i> , ed J. Stevenson
Lawlor, <i>Fasti</i>	H.J. Lawlor, <i>The Fasti of St Patrick's, Dublin</i>
M	Michaelmas Term
Maddicott, 'Law and Lordship'	J.R. Maddicott, 'Law and Lordship: Royal Justices as Retainers in Thirteenth and Fourteenth Century England'

<i>Murimuth</i>	<i>Chronica Adae Murimuth et Roberti de Avesbury</i> , ed. E.M. Thompson
<i>New History of Ireland: IX</i>	<i>A New History of Ireland: IX Maps, Genealogies, Lists</i> , ed. T.W. Moody, F.X. Martin, and F.J. Byrne (Oxford, 1984)
<i>Norwell</i>	M. Lyon, B. Lyon, H.S. Lucas, <i>The Wardrobe Book of William de Norwell, 12 July 1338 to 27 May 1340</i>
Parker, 'Patronage and Service'	J.M. Parker, 'Patronage and Service: The careers of William Montagu, Earl of Salisbury, William Clinton, Earl of Huntingdon, Robert Ufford, Earl of Suffolk, and William de Bohun, Earl of Northampton'
Phillips, <i>Pembroke</i>	J.R.S. Phillips, <i>Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke 1307-24</i>
PRO	Public Record Office (London)
PROI	Public Record Office of Ireland (Dublin)
<i>Proc. RIA</i>	<i>Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy</i>
<i>RCH</i>	<i>Rotulorum Patentium et Clausorum Cancellariae Hiberniae Calendarium</i>
<i>Reg. Hosp. St John</i>	<i>Register of the Hospital of St John the Baptist without the New Gate, Dublin</i> , ed. E. St. J. Brooks (Dublin: Irish MSS Commission, 1936)
<i>Reg. Kilmainham</i>	<i>Registrum de Kilmainham</i> , ed C. McNeill
<i>Rep DKI</i>	<i>Reports of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records of Ireland</i>

<i>Rot. Parl.</i>	<i>Rotuli Parliamentorum</i>
<i>Rot. Scot.</i>	<i>Rotuli Scotiae</i>
Sayles, <i>Affairs</i>	<i>Documents on the Affairs of Ireland Before the King's Council</i> , ed. G.O. Sayles
T	Trinity Term
Tout, <i>Chapters</i>	T.F. Tout, <i>Chapters in the Administrative History of Medieval England</i>
TRHS	<i>Transactions of the Royal Historical Society</i>
Wilkinson, <i>Chancery</i>	B. Wilkinson, <i>The Chancery Under Edward III</i>
Willard	<i>The English Government at Work, 1327- 36</i> , ed. J.F. Willard, W.A. Morris, J.R. Strayer & W.H. Dunham Jr

INTRODUCTION

John Darcy rose from landless cadet to positions of highest responsibility in the royal household, successively as steward and chamberlain from 1337 to 1346. A royal captain in Scotland and France, his career in royal service pivoted on his governorship of Ireland, of which he was justiciar intermittently for a total of twelve years. Serving initially in the retinue of Aymer de Valence, he was 'poached' by Edward II. He was able to transfer his service and loyalties to Edward III, surviving the downfall of both the Despenser and Mortimer regimes.

His career was successful, but was it remarkable? How did he use his influential position, and what can be learned of the nature of appointments both from his own career and from those who served under him in the lordship of Ireland? What light does his long service in Ireland throw on government and office-holding in the lordship? How does any influence he may have had compare with that of the governors who succeeded him - Thomas fitzJohn, Anthony de Lucy, Thomas Charlton, and Ralph Ufford? What place does Darcy have in the histories of England and Ireland and what does this reveal about the relationship between the kingdom and lordship? This thesis aims to examine the career of John Darcy, particularly exploring office-holding in the Dublin administration during his four justiciarships and during those of his immediate successors. It analyses discernible groups and patterns within the administration and assesses the place of patronage in the government of the lordship.

* * *

The period covered in detail - 1324-47 - encompasses the latter years of the reign of Edward II, the brief regime of Mortimer and Isabella, and the first two decades of Edward III's reign. The Anglo-Scottish war and conflict with France form a backdrop to Darcy's career. The closeness of the lordship of Ireland to Scotland, with Ulster providing a 'second front' to both the Bruces and Plantagenets, meant that the former



had a much more immediate - and, in the form of the Bruce invasion, a more devastating - effect on the lordship. Events in both arenas, however, shaped affairs in the lordship.

Balliol's victory at Dupplin Moor in 1332 induced Edward III to cancel his expedition to Ireland. This visit would have been the first by a king since John, and would have reinforced strong measures being taken by Anthony de Lucy and William de Burgh to restore royal authority over the four provinces. Edward III's fury at the English government's failure to supply him with necessary money for the prosecution of the war in Flanders in 1340, led to enquiries into the conduct of the administrations first in Westminster and then in Dublin, culminating in the political crisis of 1341/2.

More significant were the complex ties of kinship and landholding between the kingdom and the lordship, and divisions between those great and powerful both at court and in the lordship, or in one sphere only. The devolvement of many lordships within Ireland on heiresses led to absentee lordship, and to the transfer of hostilities between rival factions at the English court to the politics of Ireland, most importantly, between Despenser and Mortimer. Mortimer's dominance between 1327 and 1330 left Edward III suspicious of the lordship's political community.

Absentees exercised powerful influence at court, but such influence was not always in proportion to the reality of their control over their estates in Ireland. The lady of Clare and the lady of Trim had access to the king's ear, but equally so did the claimants to the Clare inheritance in Thomond. The former were effective mistresses of large estates, but the latter's control was virtually nominal. Many were the voices seeking to affect Anglo-Irish affairs and to influence appointments within the administration. Such patronage was a sign of power as well as a means of increasing influence. It was not merely petitioned for, but a privilege, the exercise of which was also actively sought. The analysis in Part II seeks to identify to what extent such patronage was exercised regarding offices within the Dublin administration, and by whom. The chancery,

judiciary, and exchequer are all examined, as are the escheatry, customs, and constabships of royal castles.

* * *

The analysis is based on biographies of officials within the administration, constructed from extant source material. With the destruction of much of the Public Record Office in Dublin in 1922, the calendars of English Patent, Fine, Close, and Charter Rolls, and Inquisitions post mortem form the basis of much of the research. They provide the bulk of the material from English records, giving appointments to office, and grants of protection. Valuable material from the Irish records does survive in the form of the summaries of Pipe roll entries in the Deputy Keeper's Reports, in what remains of the Irish Chancery rolls, in the Irish exchequer issue and receipt rolls, and the early nineteenth-century calendars containing brief and crude summaries of the Irish exchequer memoranda rolls, which have left the researcher at the mercy of the whims of the copy clerks.

All these Irish sources contain information concerning payments of fees and gifts and thus length of tenure of office. The Deputy Keeper's Reports in particular include information about the escheatry, customs, and military expeditions, while the memoranda rolls contain records of appointments, payments, and a variety of writs and legal cases yielding biographical information. Other references are provided by surveys of other sources of royal and government material in the Record Offices, such as Dr. Phil Connolly's survey of Irish material in the Ancient Petitions in London. Surviving documents of leading families, such as the accounts of Elizabeth de Clare, and the Red Book of the Earls of Kildare, also provide valuable insights. The records of the Dublin ecclesiastical houses afford glimpses of a complex interrelationship between the personnel of the Dublin government and the lordship's magnates and prelates.

A complete list of primary and secondary material can be found in the bibliography. However, several works must be mentioned here. Richardson and Sayles' *The Administration of Ireland 1172-1377* was an invaluable starting point for senior positions within the Dublin government. I would beg to differ with them over several minor pieces of information.¹ Secondly, F.E. Ball's survey of the judges in Ireland contains some useful biographical details of many of the more important administrators. Nevertheless, he fails to state his sources, in some cases has drawn incorrect conclusions, or is just lacking information.²

Thirdly, R.F. Darcy's *Life of John Darcy, First Baron Darcy of Knaith* helpfully distinguishes John Darcy from his cousin of the same name. Dugdale's *Baronage* had concluded that the justiciar of Ireland was the brother of Baron Philip of Nocton. This is not the case and John Darcy 'le frere' (Philip's brother) must not be confused with John Darcy 'le cosyn' (Philip's cousin), justiciar of Ireland, steward and chamberlain of the royal household. John Darcy's connexion with Aymer de Valence is also highlighted. Nevertheless, R.F. Darcy's overall interpretation of fourteenth-century government has more of a nineteenth-century flavour and lacks a sufficient grasp and feel of the period and of the nature of the chief governorship.

His suggestion that Darcy was an influential figure is valid to some extent, but this conclusion is too bold in view of the rather crude analysis of Edward III's reign and lack of detailed knowledge of the Irish lordship. He concludes that silence in his sources for

1. (a) *Admin. Ire.* p108. Richardson and Sayles confuse Robert of Scarborough with Robert of Scorburch. Letters of appointment were issued to the latter as chief baron on 16.7.1334, not to Scarborough, who was appointed CJCB.

(b) *Admin. Ire.* p128. Thomas de Exon and Thomas de Eton are probably one and the same. 'Exon' may be a misreading of 'Eton'.

(c) *Admin. Ire.* p158. Scarborough was appointed CJJB not CJCB on 2.10.1333.

(d) *Admin. Ire.* p188. Richard de Hauxley was appointed chirographer of the English bench, not the Dublin bench, in 1327.

2. Eg *Judges*, pp70, 75 - see biographies of Thomas and Henry Bagod; p72 - Robert Power neither died nor retired in 1344.

Ireland was "a great tribute to the efficiency of Sir John's administration",³ implying peace and stability. This thesis partly aims to reassess Captain Darcy's conclusions about John Darcy, but also to examine, in particular, Darcy's governorships of Ireland, and the nature of the Dublin administration.

3. R.F. Darcy, *Life*, p38

PART I

JOHN DARCY c.1284-1347

1. JOHN DARCY c.1284-1327 : Beginnings and First Justiciarship

John Darcy's early traceable career was spent in the service of Aymer de Valence, earl of Pembroke and lord of Wexford and Montignac. He first appears in the records as the recipient of a pardon at Aymer's request for a felony committed in 1306.¹ The significance of his membership of the Pembroke-Wexford affinity in relation to his later career in Ireland is explored in chapter five, but it is clear that his initial advancement in England was due to his association with the earl. This chapter outlines his career with the earl, and his drift into the royal administration, culminating in his appointment as justiciar of Ireland in 1323. This latter appointment is set in context, and an assessment is given of Darcy's first governorship.

The Darcys of Nocton were a minor northern baronial family who had held properties in Lincolnshire, principally in Lindsey, since the Conquest. John's father, Roger Darcy, was a younger son, inheriting none of the family patrimony. He seems to have died very soon after John's birth, leaving him lands in Oldcotes, Styrrup and Blyth, Nottinghamshire, which he had acquired by purchase.² However, John forfeited these in 1306 and despite his pardon did not recover them. His cousin, Philip Darcy of Nocton, was sent to the Tower in June 1306, also convicted of "diverse trespasses", but he recovered his lands. If this was an example of the lineage acting in concert, it was not repeated, and at Boroughbridge the family was divided - Philip and his son Norman fighting with Thomas of Lancaster, Philip's brothers Robert and John, and John Darcy "le cosyn" supporting the king.³

The loss of his lands in 1306 may have occasioned John Darcy's entry into Valence's service; certainly his loss made him more dependent upon Aymer. It was natural for John to take up service with Aymer, since the latter held lands in Lincolnshire.

1. *CPR 1301-7* p528; *1307-13* p44; *CCR 1307-13* p5

2. *Complete Peerage* p54

3. John Darcy was in Pembroke's retinue, and so not present at the battle itself.

Following the death of his mother in 1307, Aymer de Valence entered his full inheritance in Ireland, Wales, England, and France. He had served Edward I in Scotland and was appointed king's lieutenant there on Edward II's accession. A cousin of the king, his career lay before him. Darcy was therefore attaching himself to a man with wide interests, who had good prospects and the ability to reward his followers. Agreements, dated November 1309 and 3 April 1310, between the earl and John, survive.⁴ In the first Darcy agreed to remain in the earl's service for life in times of peace and war, Valence in turn agreeing to maintain him. He had given him £5 in land or rent in tail by charter in Gainsborough, Lincolnshire, and in 1310 granted him rights over the fords of the Trent there worth twenty marks. This was the foundation of what was later to become John's baronial properties based around Knaith. In return, Darcy was to take up knighthood, serving the earl for life in peace or war, at home or abroad, and accompanying him to the Holy Land.

Darcy remained in Pembroke's service until his appointment as justiciar of Ireland in November 1323, some seven months before Valence's death. There are specific references to his presence in the earl's retinue in 1313, 1320, 1321 and 1322.⁵ In the years between Bannockburn and Boroughbridge, Darcy gained two important commands. He was appointed constable of Norham castle in January 1317 and sheriff of Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire in November 1319.⁶ Norham was a vital border fortress on the Tweed. Following Bannockburn, the Scots raided deep into Northumberland and Durham. Norham and Berwick were the northernmost outposts of English rule, and together with Alnwick and Bamburgh were the only fixed points - somewhat isolated, vulnerable, and under pressure - in the no-man's land into which north-east England was collapsing. Darcy had thus been entrusted with an important and significant charge. His appointment can undoubtedly be attributed to Pembroke,

4. R.F. Darcy, *Life* pp17-18; *Complete Peerage* p55

5. *CPR 1307-13* p581; *1317-21* pp521,591; *1321-24* p186

6. *CPR 1313-17* p616; *CFR 1319-27* p6

whose influence was again increasing after a temporary eclipse, and who seems to have been organizing northern defences.⁷

John's appointment may also have been an attempt to strengthen royal support among junior members of the Darcy family. Philip Darcy's brother, Robert, served as a knight in the king's household in 1313, and had profited from an association with Peter de Gaveston.⁸ But Thomas of Lancaster controlled the Lacy earldom of Lincoln, and the lord of Nocton's later support for the earl at the battle of Boroughbridge indicates where his loyalties lay. Custody of Philip Darcy and his son Norman, both captured at Boroughbridge, was granted to Philip's brothers Robert and John, and to John Darcy. John Darcy "le frere" and John Darcy "le cosyn" emerge from this point as the active leaders of the family. They were named respectively as the senior commissioners of array in Lincolnshire and Nottinghamshire in 1322.⁹

Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire were counties in which Thomas of Lancaster held important estates and Darcy's tenure of the shrievalty from 1319 to 1322 was marked by the growing hostility between the king and the earl culminating in the battle of Boroughbridge. These appointments were testing commands giving Darcy opportunities to prove himself and his loyalty. His employment in the early 1320s and his appointments in 1323 indicate that he did so. He was sent with Andrew Harcla to Scotland to negotiate with Robert Bruce in August 1320, and in February 1323 was one of those appointed "to receive the surrender of Harcla's adherents".¹⁰

More significantly, he was appointed on 10 February 1323 to the shrievalty of Lancashire, and in November to the justiciarship of Ireland.¹¹ These have been

7. Phillips, *Pembroke*, p 106

8. N. Saul, *Knights and Esquires: the Gloucestershire Gentry in the Fourteenth Century* (Oxford, 1981) p112

9. *CPR 1321-24* pp103,125,131,132,208

10. Phillips, *Pembroke*, pp203,230

11. *CFR 1319-27* p193, *CPR 1321-24* p348

portrayed as part of a number of "royal favours" granted to men associated with Pembroke and this may have been so, but the importance of both posts must not be underestimated. The county of Lancaster had an important defensive role against the Scots. Robert Bruce burned Preston in June 1322. Moreover, with the estates of Alice de Lacy, virtually the whole county had been held by Thomas of Lancaster.¹² The sheriff needed to be a man of loyalty and ability to enter such a turbulent situation.

Lancashire was placed in a more immediately vulnerable situation following the fall of Harcla. Darcy's appointment may have been a reaction to the turmoil on the Cumbrian march. In the government's responses to events on the Scottish border, this appointment was certainly a logical step in those that involved him. He had been appointed commissioner of array for Nottinghamshire in May 1322 to raise troops and conduct them to Newcastle to join Pembroke on an expedition north.¹³ This did not set out, but fresh orders were issued in September commanding him to array troops in Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire to relieve Norham. Carlisle was named as the new objective in October following reports of a Scottish incursion into Cumbria.¹⁴ Four months later, Harcla was arrested, and Darcy was appointed to secure the north-west. As sheriff, Darcy had "forty men-at-arms, six of whom were knights, himself included, and twenty hobelars".¹⁵

Orders were issued on 21 February 1323 to Oliver de Ingham, commissioner of array in Chester, to join John Darcy with his levies and again set out for Newcastle.¹⁶ However, the conclusion of the thirteen-year truce by Pembroke, Baldock, and Hugh le Despenser the Younger superseded these orders. Darcy was replaced as sheriff on 15 July.¹⁷

12. Fryde, *Tyranny*, p127

13. *CPR 1321-24* pp125,186

14. *CCR 1318-23* pp679,680

15. *Complete Peerage* p55n

16. *CPR 1321-24* pp247,264; *CCR 1318-23* p695

17. *CFR 1319-27* p222

Although still in Pembroke's service, Darcy seems increasingly to have been employed by the king. He had profited from his service under the earl, particularly against the Scots. In the process he seems to have come to Edward II's notice. His elevation to the rank of banneret on 12 August with a life grant of the manors of Edgefield and Walcote, Norfolk, valued at just over £30 per annum, to support him, is the first indication of a more formal contract of service with the king.¹⁸ His appointment as justiciar of Ireland set the seal on this act of "poaching", though Darcy lamented leaving Pembroke's employ.¹⁹

* * *

The appointment of Darcy to "the office of justiciary of Ireland" on 18 November 1323 was couched in customary terms, similar to the appointment of John Wogan in 1295.²⁰ He was granted custody of the lordship and its castles, and could draw from the Dublin exchequer a salary of £500 a year. His retinue - "twenty men-at-arms, himself being the twentieth, with caparisoned horses" - was less than the one he had enjoyed as sheriff of Lancashire, but the responsibility was undoubtedly greater.

Should we be surprised at his appointment? He had no previous connection with the lordship. Members of the Darcy family had served before in Ireland but this was merely coincidental. Norman and Robert Darcy of Nocton had accompanied King John to Ireland in 1210.²¹ John's uncle, Thomas Darcy, who held the manor of Scottlethorpe in Lincolnshire, had been a knight in the service of William de Vescy, and was seneschal of Kildare in 1293.²² He was imprisoned the following year in Dublin gaol

18. *CPR 1321-24* p332, *1330-34* p158, *CChR 1321-41* p118

19. Phillips, *Pembroke*, p268

20. *CPR 1321-24* p348

21. *CDI* i p64

22. R.F. Darcy, *Life*, p141; *CDI* iii pp460,475, iv pp15,43,44. There is no evidence that Thomas Darcy held any land in Kildare; John's own later connection with Kildare was

for various crimes including "concealing the king's treasure".²³ Their presence, like the connexions of Anthony de Lucy to the lordship through his Multon cousins who held property in Limerick, and those of Ralph Ufford, whose brother the earl of Suffolk, had inherited a grant in Munster from his grandfather Robert, justiciar from 1268 to 1270 and from 1276 to 1281, were purely coincidental to the appointment of these justiciars. They illustrate, however, the complexity and plethora of links between England and Ireland.

John Darcy was not of premier or even middling rank among English magnates, and, having no vested interests in Ireland at the time of his first appointment, did not begin to match Anglo-Irish magnates such as the earls of Louth and Kildare. But no Plantagenet prince, such as Earl Edmund of Kent, Earl Henry of Derby, or the Black Prince, all lieutenants of Gascony, was appointed justiciar of Ireland. When a royal prince was sent to govern the lordship - Lionel of Clarence in 1361 - it was as "king's lieutenant", a title previously reserved in 1331 for a man of high birth, namely William de Burgh, earl of Ulster and lord of Connacht, and a great-grandson of Edward I. In 1316 it had been given to Roger Mortimer, appointed during the crisis of the Bruce invasion, but first appears in 1308, as a mark of high favour, to Peter Gaveston, in a political manoeuvre to turn exile into advancement.

The common feature distinguishing John Wogan, John de Bermingham, John Darcy, Anthony de Lucy, John Charlton, Ralph Ufford, and Thomas Rokeby was not high

purely coincidental. Scottlethorpe, in any case, was inherited by Philip Darcy (*Complete Peerage* p52).

23. There were also a number of other men surnamed Darcy settled in the lordship, but whether they were related to the Darcys of Nocton is unclear. One William Darcy was named as a juror in cases before the Dublin bench in 1278 and 1299 (*CDI* ii p295, iii pp123,360,400, iv p288). John and Adam Darcy were named as merchants of Dublin and Drogheda in the 1310s (*CDI* iii p74, *CCR 1307-13* p252, *CPR 1317-21* pp346,373, *PROI RC8/13* p286). There are also references to a Philip Darcy junior, who inherited land at Stevenston and Foukeston in Balyrothery, co. Dublin from Philip Darcy who held it of the heir of Robert de Clahulle (*Rep DKI 43* p19). One John Darcy had livery on 27.4.1323 of 90a of land acquired by his father Philip from Richard de Ideshale in Foukeston (*Rep DKI 42* p56). The frequency of the names John and Philip is interesting.

birth, status or wealth - although these qualities were not lacking to some - but proven loyalty and ability in a military and administrative context. Wogan and Charlton had gained experience in the Welsh march; Charlton was lord of the turbulent region of Powys,²⁴ while Wogan held lands in Pembrokeshire. Bermingham was the hero of Faughart; Ufford had fought in France. Darcy, Lucy, and Rokeby were seasoned border captains from the north of England. Lucy had served before his appointment as sheriff of Cumberland and constable of Carlisle, Rokeby as sheriff of Yorkshire and constable of Edinburgh and Stirling, Darcy as constable of Norham and sheriff of Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire, and of Lancashire.

Darcy had proved his capabilities and his worthiness for appointment in his previous commands. Moreover, there are further indications that Edward II was not averse to raising up new men. He had been prepared to send Ralph de Gorges, a Despenser retainer, to Ireland as justiciar in February 1321. Andrew Harcla had been created earl of Carlisle on the evidence of proven ability; he was the "hero of Boroughbridge", and, like his father, sheriff of Cumberland, but not drawn from the northern magnate families of Neville, Percy, Clifford and Lucy.

* * *

Appointments were frequently made in reaction to immediate problems and concerns. John Darcy's appointment to the Irish justiciarship must be set in two contexts - a perceived threat to the security of the lordship, and a number of administrative reforms drawn up in the summer of 1323 to increase royal income. Its immediate context and cause seems to have been the alarm felt by the English and Dublin governments following the escape of Roger Mortimer from the Tower. The English government was concerned that Mortimer would make for Ireland. Rumours and fears were fuelled by Roger Outlaw, the Irish chancellor, and Alexander Bicknor, archbishop of Dublin, sent

24. Natalie Fryde speculates that Charlton was pardoned so quickly after Boroughbridge "because his lands, without him, were ungovernable", and indicates that he had trouble reasserting his seisin of the lordship of Powys (Fryde, *Tyranny*, p80).

to England by John de Bermingham and the Irish council.²⁵ They undoubtedly exaggerated, and some of the substance of the rumours was extremely dubious. However, it was still felt to be sufficient to warrant a change in the Irish administration.

There is nothing particularly unusual about the earl of Louth's removal from office. Indeed, he may have been glad to resign in order to continue pacifying his disturbed liberty of Louth.²⁶ Seneschalships in Gascony were often of short duration, and Ireland, save for Wogan's long rule from 1295 to 1308, was no different in this respect. The Bermingham lineage had benefited from Louth's justiciarship, and the placing of a trusted, loyal, able household retainer, with diplomatic and military capabilities and no vested interests in the land, in the office of chief governor was thought desirable and necessary.

The reforming measures that accompanied Darcy's appointment followed in the wake of ordinances concerning reform in the English exchequer. The English government was casting a stringent eye not only over its own procedures, but also over the Dublin administration. Edward's objective was to raise more revenue.²⁷ A writ, dated 25 July and sent to John de Bermingham, ordered the extending of all lands and wardships that were in or were to come in the future into the king's hands, and the selling of all marriages falling to the king.²⁸ The initiative for these reforms came from Edward himself, motivated both by greed and by necessity. Parliament refused to grant subsidies after 1322, even though the costs of war remained high. Although conflict in Scotland was brought to a close in 1323, plans to fight in Gascony with Castilian and Aragonese forces would have been expensive if realised.²⁹ In place of subsidies

25. Frame, *Lordship*, p167

26. J.F. Lydon, 'The Braganstown Massacre, 1329', *Jnl. Co. Louth Archaeological and Historical Society* xix (1977) p9

27. M.C. Buck, 'The Reform of the Exchequer 1316-26', *EHR* xcvi (1983) p245

28. *CPR 1321-24* p332

29. Buck, *op. cit.*, p252

Edward turned to "traditional sources of revenue, to ancient debts and prerogative taxation". He had become very rich by the end of his reign "leaving £62,000 in the Tower of London alone".³⁰

The Irish exchequer was similar in structure to that of England, but on a smaller scale, as was the whole business of government in Dublin. The lordship did not face the same difficulties in relation to the number of contrariants and size of estates to be absorbed by the administration, although Mortimer's lordship of Trim proved valuable to the Dublin government, yielding "approximately £300 a year".³¹ Nevertheless, it is clear that some reforms were initiated in the financial sphere during Darcy's first governorship, involving changes of personnel in the administration. Two royal clerks were appointed to key positions in the Dublin exchequer. Adam de Herewynton was appointed chief baron in August 1323. This was not effective and fresh letters patent were issued the following May. He took up office at Michaelmas 1324.³² Joscelin de Brankscombe, however, previously associated with the English treasurer, Walter de Stapledon, bishop of Exeter, took up office as chancellor of the exchequer two months after his appointment on 10 July 1323.³³

The introduction of English personnel does seem to have had some impact on the exchequer, although it may well have been Adam de Herewynton who was responsible for introducing changes. From Michaelmas 1324, views of account appear on the memoranda rolls for the first time.³⁴ Writs appear on the English memoranda rolls between 1316 and 1327 ordering the stringent prosecution of debts by sheriffs with

30. Buck, *op. cit.*, p255

31. Frame, *Lordship*, p65

32. *CPR 1321-24* pp331,421; PROI RC8/13 p553; PRO E101/238/17

33. *CPR 1321-24* p323; PRO E101/238/12

34. Craig, D.V., 'The Memoranda Roll of the Irish Exchequer for 3 Edward II' (unpub. PhD thesis, TCD, 1984) p117

financial penalties for failure to attend the views of accounts.³⁵ Thus the recording of the latter on the Irish rolls may indicate the introduction of some of the practices of the English exchequer into the lordship.

This tightening up of exchequer practices in both England and Ireland may have triggered the discovery in December 1325 that the treasurer, Walter Islip, when a baron of the exchequer, had been party to fraud with Alexander Bicknor, while the latter was treasurer. He was dismissed and imprisoned and his goods confiscated.³⁶ Robert de Cotgrave, chamberlain under both treasurers, was also implicated and dismissed.³⁷ Herewynton was appointed keeper of the treasury and replaced Brankscombe, whose dismissal was ordered on 3 January 1326 by Edward, as chancellor of the exchequer in October.³⁸

The whole of the Dublin administration came under scrutiny in 1323. The workings of the justiciar's court were reviewed. A second justice was added to the bench in 1324, and Henry of Thrapston's appointment in July 1323 as keeper of its writs and rolls indicates a concern for accurate record keeping.³⁹ Darcy confiscated the marshalsea of Ireland because no-one had "come to the justiciary at his first coming to Ireland to execute that office at the justiciary's summons".⁴⁰ He was ordered, in a writ dated 25 July 1324, to restore the office to Robert de Morley, who held it by right of his wife, the sister and heiress of John IV Marshal, hereditary marshal of Ireland.⁴¹ At the parliament in May 1324 the statutes of Lincoln (1316), concerning sheriffs and

35. Buck, *op. cit.*, p246

36. PROI RC8/14 pp 676ff; *CCR 1323-27* p432, *1327-30* p430; *CPR 1324-27* p197. Bicknor's defection to Queen Isabella undoubtedly added a political dimension to the investigation and auditing of his accounts.

37. PROI RC8/14 pp663-67; *Rep DKI 47* p58

38. *CCR 1323-27* pp438; *CPR 1324-27* p295

39. *CPR 1321-24* pp335,420; *CCR 1323-27* p14

40. Hand, *English Law*, p48

41. *CCR 1323-27* p205

hundreds, and of York (1318), concerning judicial procedures relating to various assizes, were published. The Bruce invasion had evidently caused much long-lasting disruption. The treasurer and barons of the Dublin exchequer were ordered on 7 July to hand over to the chancellor, Roger Outlaw, all rolls, writs, inquisitions and memoranda of the Irish chancery which had been stored in Dublin castle for safe-keeping.⁴²

* * *

In this review, close attention was also paid by the English government to the powers of the justiciar. Of greatest significance to Darcy were the limits set on his own authority, since these shaped his ability to govern effectively. In conjunction with his letters of appointment were issued two ordinances dealing with the justiciar's powers. The first concerned pardons for homicides in Ireland which "had hitherto been pardoned too easily".⁴³ It related to a writ to John de Bermingham, dated 25 July 1323, which forbade the justiciar to pardon those guilty of homicide, or to grant protections, because they "have returned to their evil ways ... and homicides and divers other crimes have been perpetrated there with impunity".⁴⁴

The later writ, issued at the time of Darcy's appointment, reiterated the prohibition on granting pardons and bade Darcy "observe this order in the future", but stated that regarding crimes committed before the date of the writ "the justiciar and chancellor of Ireland, with the advice of the council of Ireland, may make such pardons as they think best for the king's honour and advantage, and for the peace and tranquillity of the people of that land". This was presumably because of the eyre taking place in Meath. However, a clear statement limiting the justiciar's powers to pardon was necessary because of the plethora of pardons granted during and after the Bruce invasion. This had drawn complaints from the lordship that crime was thereby propagated and not

42. *CCR 1323-27* p10

43. *CPR 1321-24* p354

44. *CCR 1323-27* p10

curtailed.⁴⁵ Darcy was granted an extension of his authority to pardon in July 1326; whether this was specifically to deal with Ulster following the earl's death, or whether it extended his original power is unclear.⁴⁶

On his reappointment as justiciar in 1328, Darcy petitioned the English Council to be given power to grant pardons for "felonies and trespasses", to order the issue of such charters, and for a clear statement on the course of action he should adopt towards "rebels".⁴⁷ The authority to pardon and to receive "rebels" into the king's peace was a requisite power in the turbulent conditions of the lordship. This capability was vital to end quickly the continual outbursts of friction between Anglo-Irish lineages, and the uprisings of the Gaelic Irish. Moreover, "for the justiciar, the capacity to pardon was an instrument and sign of his authority; pardons ... were an inexpensive, indeed even profitable, form of patronage".⁴⁸ Darcy was granted authority to pardon in March 1329, and similar powers to pardon and to receive rebels into the king's peace on the advice and consent of the Irish council were granted to Lucy and Charlton.⁴⁹

The second ordinance, issued on Darcy's appointment, restated in a more concise form the writ concerning pardons, and outlined a number of other areas where the justiciar and other ministers were not to overstep the bounds of their authority.⁵⁰ Firstly, "neither the justiciary nor any other minister in Ireland is to purchase lands within the bounds of his bailiwick without special licence"; lands so acquired would be subject to forfeiture. Since this is not an item mentioned in previous legislation, this clause may have been an attempt to correct an abuse that had arisen during or after the Bruce invasion. It may have referred to a specific case. Roger Outlaw was pardoned on 24

45. Hand, *English Law*, p29

46. *CPR 1324-27* p301

47. Baldwin, *Council*, pp473-75

48. Frame, *Lordship*, p109

49. *CPR 1327-30* p373, *1330-34* p220, *1334-38* p477

50. *CPR 1321-24* p363ff; Berry, *Statutes*, p293

November 1324 for acquiring in mortmain without licence a church in Meath.⁵¹ He received similar pardons in October 1327.⁵² Walter Islip sold land in Thorncastle to Robert de Nottingham in May 1317.⁵³

The next item concerned the unauthorised purveyance of goods, simply by virtue of office. Roger Mortimer supposedly failed to settle his debts for victuals on leaving the lordship in 1320. Four other items concerning certain financial and judicial irregularities reveal further signs of "administrative slackness"⁵⁴ and sharp practice that Darcy's administration was to crack down upon. They dealt with payments for the writing and sealing of documents, and for bail from the marshalsea. Finally, only writs sealed under the Irish seal were to be "received by the king's ministers", and no assize of novel disseisin was to be adjourned to another county, thereby hindering a fair hearing for all parties concerned.

These ordinances clearly indicate the English government's close interest in the conduct of the chief governor and the administration in Dublin. The government's main concern was to correct abuses of office, and to retain a tight control over the justiciar, emphasising the Crown's authority. Petitions sent from the lordship were heeded, but the royal council was not unmindful of the requirements of the chief governor. As the discussions of 1328 and the terms of Darcy's appointment and those of his successors show, it is clear that the justiciar contributed to deliberations over the powers granted to chief governors and that this was an evolving process. In practice, as in the case of authority to pardon, privileges were granted, but only for limited periods. Darcy chafed at the limits set on him for very practical reasons, since his ability to serve the king effectively was reduced; it was not just some petulant quest for independence of command. Nevertheless, he was obliged to accept these limits, since the king had no

51. *CPR 1338-40* p90

52. *CPR 1327-30* p171

53. *RCH* p27 no47

54. Frame, *Lordship*, p168

intention of surrendering any more authority to his representative in the lordship than he thought was absolutely necessary.

* * *

What were Darcy's responses to the tensions and fears arising from Mortimer's flight from the Tower? How did he cope with sustained pressure from the Gaelic Irish, and with the severe crises that threatened to divide the domestic administration and to engulf southern and south-west Ireland? To assess his effectiveness during his first justiciarship, and to see whether he did prove himself worthy of the trust placed in him, it is necessary not only to examine how Darcy dealt with the crises that arose during these years, but also to ask by what criteria he is being judged, and precisely what results one would realistically expect.

John arrived in the lordship on 1 February 1324 amid the fears and suspicions of the court and the very real possibility that Mortimer might seek refuge in Meath and raise a revolt against the king. As far as Mortimer's own territory was concerned, the eyre, initiated in Meath in 1321, was renewed in May 1324, while the liberty remained in the government's hands.⁵⁵ Darcy himself was paid as constable of Trim from August 1325.⁵⁶ He also benefited from the division of Mortimer spoils and was granted custody of the manor of Moylagh in August 1324.⁵⁷

The summoning of a parliament to meet in May in Dublin was a means of testing as well as of encouraging the loyalty of the magnates. It gave both them and the justiciar an opportunity to appraise one another. Those present agreed to discipline their lineages, in accordance with ordinances made at a parliament at Kilkenny in 1310, promising "that until the next parliament, according to their power, they will take and

55. Frame, *Lordship*, p165

56. PRO E101/238/26

57. *CFR 1319-27* p297; *PROI RC8/14* pp7,8,16

cause to be taken the felons, robbers and thieves of their own family and surname, and their adherents".⁵⁸ It was an attempt to curtail disorder in the lordship, though magnates' willingness and ability to comply is arguable; similar undertakings were made at the parliament at Kilkenny in 1325.

The presence at the parliament of the leaders of all the leading lineages⁵⁹ would have been an encouraging sign. However, it warranted a response from the king. The principal magnates had come to weigh up the king's new representative and to court favour and reward. Darcy returned to England in the summer of 1324, and on 18 July, letters were issued to Thomas fitzJohn, earl of Kildare and to fifty four others indicating that the justiciar had informed the king of the situation in Ireland. Edward voiced his special thanks to the earl, since Darcy had "informed the king by word of mouth that the earl had been prompt and well-wishing in all things touching the king" and that he had "much commended the earl's good and faithful conduct towards the king" who "orders and requests him to continue his good conduct with strenuous works" so that "the king may be bound to commend his constancy and to further his profit".⁶⁰

Reading between the lines, this letter indicates that the justiciar had given the king an accurate and none too rosy picture of the lordship. The letter was sent to fifty five Anglo-Irish notables, and would therefore seem to be more of a blanket statement. Perhaps, as has been suggested, this missive was prompted by the anticipated difficulty of persuading Anglo-Irish magnates to serve in Gascony, should the situation in the duchy deteriorate further.⁶¹ The crisis over the Kyteler affair probably led Darcy to seek a request from the king to the magnates "to be intendant and assistant to the

58. Berry, *Statutes*, p307

59. Those present included the earls of Ulster, Kildare and Louth, Maurice fitzThomas, John de Barry, John le Poer of Donoil, Arnold le Poer, Thomas Butler, Richard Tuyt, Nicholas de Verdon, Maurice de Rochefort, Raymond Archdeacon, Thomas de Dene, Richard le Waleys, Robert de Caunteton, and George and David de la Roche.

60. *CCR 1323-27* p308

61. Frame, *Lordship*, p169N

justiciary in the things that touch the king's honour and the good government and safe custody of that land". The letter did dangle the carrot of future rewards for continuing good conduct. The king could not have been expected to offer more.

* * *

The factional struggles that broke out between 1324 and 1326 had deep and complex roots. It would be wrong to blame the eruption of war in Munster and west Leinster in 1325 on weak rule by Darcy, and simplistic to expect him to have brought about an effective settlement. The lordship was volatile at the best of times, and tensions between the leading figures had been brewing some time before Darcy's arrival. Two disputes lay at the root of the general strife in the south, linked both by the person of Arnold le Poer, seneschal of Kilkenny and Carlow, and by complex threads and relationships which drew in influential figures at Dublin and the English court.

Bishop Richard Ledrede of Ossory accused a wealthy Kilkenny widow, Dame Alice Kyteler, of sorcery, possibly as a result of malicious hints dropped by her step-children who had lost out as a result of considerable dower property she had acquired by outliving four husbands.⁶² She and her heir, William Outlaw, her son by her first marriage, were connected with Roger Outlaw, the chancellor, possibly the brother of William's father. William also enjoyed the special friendship of the treasurer, Walter Islip, custos of Kilkenny, and a close working relationship with Arnold le Poer. With such powerful backers, Alice and William could afford to ignore the bishop and his summons to appear before him. Le Poer obstructed the bishop, and Roger Outlaw summoned the latter to appear before the justiciar. The matter came before parliament in May 1324. Ledrede complained that le Poer had attacked him while he was carrying the consecrated Host, thus accusing him of violating the Body of Christ. Early in July, therefore, Darcy ordered Roger Outlaw to issue instructions for the detention of the

62. A.R. Neary, 'The Origins and Character of the Kilkenny Witchcraft Case of 1324', *Proc. R.I.A.* lxxxiii (1983), C no13 p343ff

accused. Alice escaped to England, but Ledrede formally pronounced her and her associates guilty of sorcery before the justiciar at Kilkenny.

The accusations had thus precipitated a severe crisis in the Dublin administration, since the justiciar was opposed by both the chancellor and treasurer over this matter. Without doubt le Poer had acted high-handedly, and the bishop was correct to demand a fair hearing. Darcy stood against the vested interests of his two colleagues, but undoubtedly his authority had been flouted, since Alice had been allowed to escape arrest. But, at this point, Darcy went to England, leaving Roger Outlaw as deputy justiciar. Ledrede had already secured the detention and questioning of Alice's accomplices. Many were released on bail, but he was determined to arrest William Outlaw. However, the chancellor and treasurer refused, residing and holding court at William's house. When Darcy returned, Ledrede again pressed for William's arrest, having forced confessions from others. A compromise was reached - William submitted to the bishop but his sentence of imprisonment was reduced to a penance. Alice's associates, Petronella de Midia and Robert of Bristol, perished at the stake in November. Ledrede again imprisoned William in January 1325 before a further compromise was reached, Roger Outlaw and other Kilkenny notables agreeing to provide sureties totalling £1,000.

Darcy must have played a part in arranging a compromise. The feud between the bishop and le Poer was not ended, but the justiciar ensured that the process of law continued, despite the opposition and personal interest of the chancellor and the treasurer. Alice and William escaped with their lives, though the Outlaws were forced to pay a heavy penalty; Petronella and others were not so fortunate. However, a major division in the administration seems to have been averted. One wonders at the subsequent working relationship between Darcy and Roger Outlaw, and what confidence the justiciar placed in him. Nevertheless, the Prior was a powerful figure in his own right and the chancellorship a direct royal appointment outside the justiciar's influence. Would Darcy have wanted to alienate so powerful a man? Presumably it

was more convenient to patch up any differences. Outlaw acted as Darcy's deputy in 1329, 1330, 1335, 1336-37, and 1340-41.

* * *

No sooner had this affair been settled than trouble blew up in the south-west, and le Poer was in conflict with Maurice fitzThomas, probably over the Clare inheritance in Thomond, Limerick and Cork, over which fitzThomas had reasserted his control, storming Bunratty.⁶³ Possibly le Poer, as seneschal of Kilkenny, of which two thirds were held by the king, and the remainder by the Younger Despenser, was defending the interests, either on instructions, or on his own initiative, of Robert de Welles and his wife Maud, the elder sister and coheirss of Lord Richard of Thomond, who were in favour at court. Le Poer was not a Despenser partisan, but he was the man best able to rule Kilkenny. Thus he retained the favour of the new regime in 1326/7 through the influence of the de Burgh family, in addition to enjoying court patronage under the Despensers.⁶⁴ Maurice fitzThomas was overlord of the le Poers in the Decies where their principal lands lay, and was opposed to the de Burghs over interests in Thomond. Darcy was forced to intervene between fitzThomas and le Poer, setting out for Munster in February 1326. Information is sketchy; Bunratty does not seem to have been recovered, but an accommodation appears to have been reached.

Darcy appears, therefore, to have contained the troubles. Could or should he have done more? It was neither in his nor in the king's interests to quash or remove either of the men who undoubtedly provided effective rule in the south-west and in southern Leinster. It was in the king's interest to provide 'good lordship' for both these men, but that lay in the politics of the English court, and was not in Darcy's purview. Edward, moreover, was more likely to heed those with a voice at court, and the order to resume into government control the purparty of Maud de Welles' sister Margaret de

63. Frame, *Lordship*, p173

64. In July 1326 he was granted the first wardship or custody worth £100 to fall vacant.

Badlesmere, in April 1324, may have been a contributory factor to the trouble.⁶⁵ The order was effected since fitzThomas lost Bunratty, but was Darcy or le Poer its agent? The matter was complicated by the fact that the leading royal officer in southern Leinster had as the overlord of his own estates, the man whom he opposed over Thomond. Government control was initially successfully reasserted over the Clare inheritance, but Darcy was bedevilled by the complexities of feudal ties and relationships in the lordship.

The feud between le Poer and fitzThomas was not settled and fresh disputes broke out in late 1327, but the situation had changed significantly since early 1326. Darcy had withdrawn. The earl of Ulster had died, leaving the de Burghs deprived of a family head. Both Ireland and England had been unsettled by the change of regime - a change which brought de Burgh interests to the fore, and the younger Clare heiress into influence at court, since her husband had been a close associate of Mortimer. Le Poer thus continued in favour, confirmed as seneschal of Kilkenny, appointed constable of Kilkenny castle and assigned £100 from the liberty's issues, while Maurice fitzThomas was left without influence and without an advocate at the English court.⁶⁶

* * *

Thus Darcy does appear to have effected settlements, if only temporarily, in two different disputes as far as they touched him. How did he fare in more routine military activity? There were no crushing victories or the capture of some vital stronghold. As Froissart commented "it is hard to find a way of making war on the Irish effectively for, unless they choose, there is no-one there to fight and there are no towns to be found". The Gaelic Irish avoided pitched battles, but fought on the move, in pursuit or in retreat. Raiding for booty and plunder, or as punitive action for some grievance, or merely as an assertion of independence, was the perennial way of life both of the Gaelic Irish, and

65. *CFR 1319-27* p269

66. Frame, *Lordship*, p178

also, in response and among themselves, of the Anglo-Irish. Surprise was the key factor; rapid response was called for to take hostages as guarantees of peace.⁶⁷ Authority to bring rebels back into the king's peace was necessary for the justiciar and great lords alike, to deal with the roving bands of kerns and idlemen, as well as the mountain Irish who resided within the lordships' extensive tracts of territory. Strong leaders were needed to keep these men in check and to provide them with the wherewithal to live, employment, and the prospect of future rewards. But increasing absentee lordship, with Thomond and the Leinster liberties passing to heiresses, failed to provide such leaders and contributed to the problem.

John Darcy was not inactive. He spent a month in action against the O'Byrnes, Macmurroughs, O'Mores and Roches some time in May and June 1324. He regarded the situation as serious enough to warrant the proclamation of a royal service at Tullow, Co. Carlow. Presumably a temporary settlement was reached allowing him to go to England in the summer. He returned in October with 500 marks⁶⁸ and led a fresh full-scale expedition to Leinster. MacMurrough's son Janok was taken hostage in November, while Arnold le Poer defeated the Roches forcing them to give hostages.⁶⁹ This emphasises further the difficulties Darcy faced with the Kyteler case since le Poer, as seneschal of Carlow and Kilkenny was a vital military commander in this area and one whom he could ill-afford to lose.

The O'Byrnes, however, were not quiescent, and in May 1325 further action was taken against them, with the earl of Kildare keeping a defensive ward in the west, while Newcastle McKynegan's garrison was strengthened to the east against them and the O'Tooles. Darcy was obliged to move south against the Irish of Slievemargy and Thomond, and against the Cauntetons. He successfully took hostages from both with

67. K. Simms, 'Warfare in the medieval Gaelic lordships', *Irish Sword* xii (1975) pp98-108; R.F. Frame, 'War and Peace in the medieval lordship of Ireland' in *The English in Medieval Ireland* ed. J.F. Lydon (Dublin, 1984) pp118-41.

68. *CCR* 1323-27 p215

69. Frame, PhD, p247

only a relatively small force. Troubles broke out again in the south because of the struggle between le Poer and fitzThomas, with the O'Briens both aiding the latter and taking advantage of the overall turmoil. The expedition to Munster in February 1326 does not seem to have achieved any 'reconquest' of Thomond from Maurice, but some sort of accommodation was reached. The death of the lordship's senior earl, Richard de Burgh, forced Darcy north to instal guardians in the earldom of Ulster. to exact guarantees of peace, and to counter the possibility of a renewed threat by Robert Bruce.

* * *

Events were complex and developed rapidly in the lordship in these years. Darcy moved rapidly in response, albeit somewhat forced by the pace of events. He does seem to have gained some temporary accommodations and settlements. However, his initiatives were overwhelmed by swiftly changing circumstances. He faced two major crises within the Dublin administration - the Kyteler case, and the disgrace of Islip in January 1326 - and the difficulty of holding in check two men, fiercely opposed to one another, yet vital for the control of the south-west and of southern Leinster. This was against the background of perennial raiding by the Leinster and Thomond Irish, the politics of the English court, which exacerbated the situation in the south, the exile of the lord of Trim, minorities in the Butler and Hastings families, and the death of the earl of Ulster in mid-1326. The verdict of the new earl of Ulster may nevertheless be most telling concerning his ability. In Darcy's requests to the English council upon his reappointment as justiciar in 1328, he refers to an offer of a contract of retainer from the earl of Ulster,⁷⁰ presumably made on the advice of the lady of Clare's council, but recognising that the justiciar was a useful man of experience and expertise.

70. Baldwin, *Council*, pp473-75

2. JOHN DARCY 1327-30 : The Regency Government

John Darcy emerges in 1330 as a valued and trusted member of Edward III's household. Yet he was also promoted by the government of Mortimer and Isabella to responsible commands in England and Ireland. Courted by different factions during these years, Darcy steered a successful course through hazardous waters. His effectiveness in carrying out the tasks entrusted to him commended him to the young king. This chapter charts his dealings with the regency government and assesses his relationship with Roger Mortimer.

John's recall was an inevitable consequence of the establishment by Mortimer and Isabella of the regency government in the name of Edward III. The new regime wanted to be certain of its control over the lordship. The appointment of its own new nominee to the chief governorship was the most effective way of achieving this, and also of testing the political climate. Edward II had been fleeing to the west, with the intention, it was rumoured, of making for Ireland, possibly with the thought of allying with Robert Bruce.¹ Mortimer sought restoration of his estates and his own influence in the lordship. The appointment of his former deputy, Thomas fitzJohn, earl of Kildare, as justiciar was therefore logical.²

The government was also concerned over Darcy's loyalties. He was no Despenser man, and indeed as a former retainer of the late earl of Pembroke he may have felt only antipathy towards the man who, after the death of John de Hastings in 1325, had seized custody of the Pembroke lands inherited by Aymer's nephew and co-heir, and who had treated his former lord's widow and other heirs with scant respect.³ However, Darcy was a banneret in the king's household, bound by personal ties of loyalty, obligation and gratitude to Edward II. This may well explain why the king was making for Ireland,

1. Frame, *Lordship*, pp139,175

2. *CPR 1327-30*, p29

3. Frame, *Lordship*, p163N

and why the accession of Edward III was not formally acknowledged in the lordship until 13 May, twelve days after Darcy had left for England. Despite the despatch of letters, issued on 14 February, to nine bishops and nineteen magnates, reporting the new king's accession and the intention to appoint Kildare as justiciar,⁴ and the issue of formal letters patent of appointment to the earl on 12 March, accurate news of events in England, especially relating to the fate of the king, would probably have been scarce. Darcy doubtless considered it unwise to desert his lord for what might turn out to be an abortive rebellion led by the man against whom he was originally sent to hold the lordship.

Nevertheless, negotiations seem to have been underway to secure Darcy's service for Edward III, transferring his loyalty and ties of obligation to the new king. The truce with Scotland was breaking down, and the new government was anxious to acquire the service of this experienced border captain. Darcy was appointed "for the safe custody of those parts" to the shrievalty of York on 30 September 1327, a strategic military and administrative office, especially in view of the expedition to Scotland.⁵ He was reappointed a banneret and granted £100 for his maintenance, and "in aid of his preparations against Scotland".

Yet this appointment as a banneret of Edward III's household with a £70 increase in fee was obviously in the mind of the new regime in the early months of 1327, and was accepted by Darcy. On 25 April he was granted "for good service" custody of Aldeby and Foulsham manors in Norfolk, worth some 200 marks per annum, "until he be provided with £100 of land a year for life, to hold for his stay with the king".⁶ He was thus circumspectly waiting to see how events would develop in England, but open to tentative negotiations with the new regime, exacting a high price for his service. His

4. *CCR 1327-30*, p106

5. *CFR 1327-37* p64; *CCR 1327-30* p315

6. *CFR 1327-37*, p38

fortunes remained linked to the person of the monarch, and not to the regency government.

* * *

As sheriff of York, Darcy was fitting back into the northern baronial group from which he had been drawn, and where he had previously served under Pembroke, at a time when the Scots were raiding deep into northern England, and the 'border' could be said to be further south, with Yorkshire, Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire, and Lancashire acting as frontier shrievalties. His predecessor, and successor, as sheriff of York in August 1328,⁷ Henry de Faucomberge, had also been sheriff before him in Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire and served for a second time there June 1323 - February 1327.⁸ Similarly, Roger Ingram was sheriff of Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire in 1322 in succession to Darcy, and in 1327 to Faucomberge. For the government continuity of personnel may have added security in the north.

Darcy's appointment was a response to fears concerning the sustained Scottish threat to Northumberland voiced at the parliament held in Lincoln in mid September. Norham, Alnwick and Warkworth were all besieged. Orders were issued on 30 September, 2 October and 5 October for the array of men from eight shires.⁹ But John's tenure of office was only just under one year. Following the abortive Weardale campaign the demoralized government opened negotiations which culminated in a peace treaty in the spring of 1328. Kildare's death in April cut short Darcy's stay in England; John was reappointed justiciar of Ireland on 21 August.¹⁰

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7. *CFR 1327-37*, pp64,101

8. *CFR 1319-27*, pp6,210; *1327-37*, p17

9. R. Nicholson, *Edward III and the Scots* (Oxford 1965) pp45,46

10. *CPR 1327-30*, p316

In his absence earlier feuds, exacerbated by the changes at court in England, burst into violent conflict in Munster. Maurice fitzThomas, joined by James Butler, and by William de Bermingham, who had married Lord Richard of Thomond's widow, attacked the le Poer and Burgh lineages. Kildare had been unable to assert effective authority over the southern lords, but fitzThomas was concerned to show that his attacks were not directed against the government. The death of the justiciar, and the arrival of Earl William de Burgh in the lordship in the summer 1328, left the situation unresolved and coalescing into fresh tensions.

The livery of the earldom of Ulster to William de Burgh reflected the revival in fortunes of his mother, the Lady of Clare, and the influence of his guardian and father-in-law, Earl Henry of Lancaster, a senior member of the regency council.¹¹ The grant was intended to bring greater stability to the north and west of the lordship and to secure the north-west flank against Scotland. However, to fitzThomas this and the volte-face of his former ally James Butler, now profiting from Mortimer largesse, must have appeared as further evidence that he was being left out in the cold, and would gain no redress or favour from the English court. Mortimer brought Butler to court in the summer, and at the Salisbury parliament in October James was created earl of Ormond.¹² He received Tipperary as a liberty and Eleanor de Bohun, a granddaughter of Edward I, as his bride. In promoting Butler, Mortimer was doubtless anxious to buy peace in the lordship and to gain a new client following the death of his associate Kildare.

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Presumably judged as the man with the greatest capability and experience in governing the lordship who could be trusted and spared by the government, Darcy was sent to

11. Frame, *Lordship*, pp183ff

12. *CPR 1327-30*, p336

Ireland to reconcile fitzThomas to the court and settle the dispute over Thomond. Described as "shortly setting out for Ireland" on 30 August,¹³ he was nevertheless present at the Salisbury parliament in October 1328, stood mainprise for Hugh Despenser, who was imprisoned at Bristol in December, and witnessed the handing over of the great seal by the chancellor, the Bishop of Lincoln, to the king, in Queen Isabella's lodgings at Northampton in January 1329.¹⁴ Roger Outlaw acted as deputy justiciar until Darcy's arrival, but the records of payment on the English pipe roll do not distinguish between the two.¹⁵ Fresh letters patent were issued on 18 February and a grant of protection on 26 April, indicating that he probably did not arrive in Ireland until May.

During these months he bargained vigorously with the council, petitioning for the grant of a number of requests.¹⁶ These petitions survive, as do the council's comments in reply. They are significant because they are the only set of petitions from an incoming chief governor which survive from the first half of the fourteenth century. They shed light on the processes and negotiations involved in the appointment of justiciars of Ireland. They also provide an insight into the mind and concerns of a man who had already served for several years in Ireland, and who was aware of the difficulties that arose from limitations placed on the justiciar's authority.

His requests included appointments to the courts of the justiciar's and common bench, and of barons of the exchequer. Surviving letters of appointment reveal that these requests were granted concerning both justices on the justiciar's bench. However, only his nominees as second justice of the common bench and second baron were agreed

13. *CCR 1327-30*, p316

14. *CCR 1327-30* pp347,425, *1330-33* p326

15. PRO E372/176 m46

16. Baldwin, *Council*, pp473-5

upon. His nominee as keeper of the writs and rolls of the justiciar's court was also accepted, with the consent of the new chief justice.¹⁷

In these petitions Darcy asked for a clarification of his authority to grant pardons and to receive rebels into the king's peace. This was of vital importance for his dealings with FitzThomas. Furthermore, he sought the removal of a number of curbs on his authority and ability to govern effectively. His request for permission to inspect the treasury at least twice a year,¹⁸ and for the treasurer to make payments quickly, may have been standard requests, but were probably also shaped by the discovery of Islip's fraud. The former was to form the basis of explicit powers granted to the justiciar which took on greater significance as concern grew over revenue and the conduct of royal ministers. The petition concerning swift payment reflected the necessities of war and the need to make a quick response, buying off insurgents. A later clause concerning the justiciar's fee reiterates this: a payment of £100 was requested for this end.

Darcy sought greater consultation over matters such as grants by the king of pardons for felonies committed in Ireland, and gifts of land and office: consent was given only to the first. He also wanted greater freedom of action to lease out waste lands in the marches,¹⁹ and to grant permission for the purchase of wasteland in mortmain.²⁰ His request to be allowed to receive the fealty of and grant livery of temporalities to prelates whose income was less than £20 was probing into too sensitive an area of principle, and met with a flat rejection. No quarter was to be given to over-reaching claims of papal authority, and ecclesiastical preferments were useful pawns in relations with Avignon. It should be remembered that these petitions came before the regency council and not a king who might have been more understanding of his representative's difficulties. The council would have been cautious, and anxious to safeguard the king's prerogatives. In

17. See below - this is examined in greater detail in chapters 6, 8 and 9.

18. *CCR 1327-30*, p312

19. *CFR 1327-37*, p102

20. *CPR 1327-30*, p315

practice, however, both Darcy, during his first governorship, and Kildare had been allowed to receive fealty and to deliver temporalities.²¹ Each case, though, seems to have been treated as an individual one, and writs always concluded with the warning that "this grace is not to be drawn into a precedent prejudicial to the king".²²

Darcy's request for the king to appoint suitable English knights to guard the castles of Rindown, Roscommon and Bunratty, when taken with the earlier item concerning consultations over appointments, may have been an attempt to increase his ability to appoint his own associates. However, the singling out of these particular castles may indicate problems of enforcing authority on the Meath-Connacht border as well as in the south-west. The appointment of John d'Athy, the former royal constable of Carrickfergus, to Roscommon in December may have been a response to this request.

Darcy was also keen that copies of legislation enacted in England should be made and sent to be held in the lordship, and that legislation be brought before the Irish parliament that all the Irish should enjoy the entitlements and processes of English law if they so wished, rather than by individual purchase of charters. The last proposal was included in a set of ordinances sent from England in 1331.²³

Darcy was able, therefore, to gain some concessions from the English government. It is clear that the justiciar was listened to, and that decisions were carefully weighed in the light of his comments. It is evident also that his opinions fed into the ongoing deliberations about Ireland, as indicated by the proposal concerning English law. In terms of cash and authority to pardon, as the writs issued to him on 2 March indicate,²⁴ he was equipped for the main task he had been given: the reconciliation of the earl of Desmond.

21. *CPR 1324-27*, pp155,251,271,344; *1327-30*, pp144,145,258, 300,336

22. *CPR 1327-30*, p336

23. Berry, *Statutes*, p325

24. *CPR 1327-30* p373

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Darcy arrived in the lordship in May 1329. He was permitted to draw £100 from the Dublin exchequer in addition to the £200 he brought with him.²⁵ He remained in the lordship for just over six months. His task of reconciliation had been eased by the deaths of the leaders of the le Poers: the baron of Donoil in late 1328, Arnold le Poer in prison in March 1329, freshly charged with heresy by Bishop Ledrede, who himself had fled to Avignon in April. Agreement was reached over the Clare inheritance, and in July the justiciar, accompanied by senior ministers, attempted to reconcile the hostile parties. FitzThomas went to England with James Butler. He signed over Margaret Badlesmere's lands to her and was created earl of Desmond, with Kerry as a liberty, and various other privileges. Darcy was granted power on 1 November to receive Desmond's men into the king's peace "for a reasonable fine" for felonies committed after Michaelmas 1327.²⁶

The political initiatives undoubtedly came from Mortimer, since the justiciar had no such authority, but Darcy had the difficult task of negotiating the initial settlement. In this he was successful, and can be commended, especially in view of his preoccupation with the other crises that disturbed the peace of the lordship. He took inquisitions at Drogheda in late June into the murder of the earl of Louth at Ardee manor, and attempted to subdue the turbulent liberty. Much of the latter part of 1329 was spent engaged in inconclusive warfare against the O'Byrnes. His capture of the chieftain, Murgh O'Byrne, exchanging him for other hostages, did not keep the peace for long,²⁷ and he was obliged to summon Desmond to aid him against them, and against the O'Mores and O'Dempseys, who had risen up in September. The latter were joined by

25. *CCR 1327-30* p439

26. *CPR 1327-30* p457

27. Frame, PhD, pp254ff

the McGeoghegans and O'Nolans who had captured Henry Traherne and Lawrence Butler, brother of the earl of Ormond in November.

Ormond himself was hard pressed in his own liberty of Tipperary. That the insurgents could only be crushed with fitzThomas' help indicates that the disorder was serious. Moreover, following the deaths of Thomas Butler, killed by the McGeoghegans in August, and of Arnold le Poer and the baron of Donoil,²⁸ the justiciar had been robbed of important military commanders in the south. Nevertheless, it was only because Desmond was now conciliated that Darcy was able to summon him. The English government could thus be satisfied with the successful outcome of its efforts in Ireland, and the man responsible for their achievement.

* * *

Darcy's second justiciarship was overshadowed by Mortimer's dominance in both England and Ireland. His authority as justiciar was upstaged. Following the murder of John de Bermingham, full pardons were granted to the men of Louth in September 1329 and May 1330, part of some two hundred charters of pardon issued at Mortimer's request. Ireland was enjoying greater attention from the English court than it had had for a long time, but it came not from the king, but from one of its own magnates, in the ascendant in England, and determined to reconstruct Anglo-Irish politics in his own favour. To his own liberty of Trim, Mortimer added those of Meath and Louth, and gained custody not only of the earldom and castle of Kildare in January 1330 during the minority of Earl Richard fitzThomas, but also of the liberty of Kildare on 31 May.²⁹ The earls of Desmond and Ormond were his creations, while the earl of Louth, an earlier beneficiary of his patronage, was murdered, possibly with his connivance and certainly to his benefit.

28. *Dublin Annals* pp34,35

29. *CPR 1327-30* pp484,527,538

What was the relationship between the justiciar and the earl of March? Was John Darcy a loyal supporter of the new regime? Did the earl buy his service? Darcy benefited materially from a number of grants during these years, but it is clear from an examination of the individual circumstances of each grant, and from evidence linking him to the Lancaster/Burgh faction, that he was not a Mortimer partisan. Moreover, Darcy was in a position to cultivate links with the new king, the fruits of which are visible in the responsibilities given to him from the spring of 1330 onwards.

His initial approach to the regency government had been one of caution. He was slow to abandon his lord, Edward II, and placed his loyalty in the person of the latter's son, rather than attaching himself to the new regime *per se*. His service with the new government was a politically sensible move. Membership of the late king's household and past experience on the northern border brought him sensitive and important responsibilities, such as tenure of the shrievalty of York, and the preparations for Edward II's funeral at the end of 1327. As a royal banneret and as sheriff, Darcy remained closely tied to the court while it and the government were based at York, and it was there that Edward III wedded Philippa of Hainault in January 1328. Darcy was present at the Salisbury parliament in October 1328 and at court the following January, and he presumably spent much of the intervening time in attendance on the king while bargaining with the council over the terms of his reappointment as justiciar.

Earl William de Burgh and his father-in-law Earl Henry of Lancaster sought to cultivate relations with him during these years. Darcy referred to an offer of a contract of retainer from the Brown Earl in his petitions to the English council in 1328. The justiciar's marriage to Earl William's aunt, Joan de Burgh, tied him closer to the earls. Two months later, on 22 September 1329, Earl William was granted licence to enfeoff John Darcy with £100 of land to hold in fee simple.³⁰ Earl Henry of Lancaster's household accounts reveal one 'Sir John d'Arcy' receiving an annuity in 1330-31 of

30. *CPR 1327-30* p454

£26.13.4.³¹ That this was John Darcy of Knaith and not his cousin seems to be confirmed by the fact that another beneficiary was John de Barkeworth who accompanied Darcy to Ireland in 1324.³²

Whether or not this annuity was paid any earlier and quite what service Darcy was expected to perform in return is unclear. As a household knight, he could only stand loyal at the time of Lancaster's rebellion in the latter part of 1328. Although aimed against Isabella and Mortimer, it was a revolt against the monarch since it was in his name that the regime ruled. Indeed Darcy may have been held back from setting out to Ireland because of Lancaster's rebellion. He was one of a number of household knights to whom letters were addressed including anti-Lancaster, pro-Mortimer men such as John Mautravers, Maurice de Berkeley and Henry Percy, and also friends of the king such as William Montagu and Edward Bohun.

* * *

Darcy received a number of grants in England and Ireland during these years but it would be wrong to assume that Mortimer was heaping favours upon him, as a study of each grant reveals. Firstly, custody of the manors of Aldeby and Foulsham, co. Norfolk, was confirmed and regranted to him on 1 March 1328.³³ The manors had originally been granted to Darcy on 25 April 1327 for his maintenance as a banneret until an income of £100 in land could be found for him elsewhere. However, John's custody of Aldeby was disputed. The two manors formed part of the inheritance of William de Morley, a minor in the king's ward, and son and heir of Hawise, daughter of William II Marshal, hereditary marshal of Ireland. But the escheator south of the Trent had delivered the manor to Robert fitzPayn and his wife Ela, the widow of William

31. G.A. Holmes, *Estates of the Higher Nobility in Fourteenth Century England* (Cambridge 1957) p65

32. *CPR 1324-27* p15

33. *CPR 1327-30* p250

Marshal's late son and heir John IV Marshal, believing it to be part of Ela's dower property.³⁴ This was found to be incorrect and the manor was restored to Darcy. A new extent was made indicating the manors' yield to be £63.10.5¹/₄.³⁵ In the interim John sought allowance in his account as sheriff of York for the revenue that was due to him for his fee.³⁶

His original banner-fee, the manors of Edgefield and Walcote, co. Norfolk, were resumed into the king's hands in 1327, and were restored to their former holder, Thomas Roscelyn, who had fought with Lancaster at Boroughbridge. In their stead, Darcy was granted the rich manor of Wark-in-Tynedale, "with all knights' fees, advowsons, parks, chaces, warrens, fisheries, forfeitures, fairs, markets, royalties, lordships, liberties, reversions, and other appurtenances".³⁷ However, the grant was only made in November 1328, indicating that Darcy had some difficulties in obtaining redress. Given the wealth assigned to Queen Isabella, this was not because the government was hard-pushed to find suitable grants to award to its servants.

Expenses of £38.12s incurred at the Salisbury parliament and as part of his fee were met by assignment from the sheriff of Lincoln,³⁸ but Wark was intended to provide a more permanent income. It was a valuable property and a suitable custody for a household knight and former border captain. There was both a defensive aspect and a political angle to the grant. The government may have wanted trusted men in place - in as far as any landholder could be said to be physically 'in place' for any length of time - to bring security on the northern border. The addition of the life-grant of the peel of Staworth on 25 April 1329 was probably also for defensive reasons.³⁹

34. *CCR 1327-30* pp163,211

35. *CPR 1327-30* p250

36. *CCR 1327-30* p315

37. *CPR 1327-30* p335, *1330-34* p158; *CChR 1327-41* p118

38. *CCR 1327-30* p347

39. *CPR 1327-30* p385

The grant of Wark-in-Tynedale to Darcy in November 1328 also had a political complexion in that it was a further indication to members of 'the disinherited' that their claims were unlikely to be pursued. It does not, in itself, infer that Darcy was a supporter of the earl of March; he was merely being granted revenue that was due to him. The Comyn heirs had difficulty in asserting their claims to property within the lordship, but this was due to their own relations with the government, rather than because the tenant-in-chief was a favoured adherent of the regime.⁴⁰ It is interesting to note that both these grants had a coincidental Irish dimension. The Morley family held the marshalsea of Ireland, while both Richard Talbot, by right of his wife, and Earl David of Athol were co-heirs of Earl Aymer de Valence, thus emphasising the close ties between kingdom and lordship, and the diverse landholdings of the relatively small and tight-knit ruling elite of these two Plantagenet domains.

Darcy was certainly honoured to be granted the hand of Joan de Burgh, dowager Countess of Kildare, in July 1329. The marriage may have been an inducement that overcame his tardiness in going to the lordship, since presumably her marriage would have fallen to the Crown and was licensed by the Council. Darcy thus became a territorial lord in the liberty adjoining the county of Dublin, through Joan's third of the inheritance of Thomas fitzJohn which she held in dower. His authority and standing as justiciar was augmented, with additional resources upon which to draw. The marriage set him on a more equal footing with other lords: Maurice fitzThomas himself, and the earl of Louth, murdered in June, had married daughters of the Red Earl. From the government's viewpoint a valuable prize had been placed in trustworthy hands. The match could thus have been approved by both Mortimer and the Lancaster/Burgh faction. Indeed, it was advantageous to Darcy to maintain a foothold in each camp.

40. *CCR 1327-30* p481; *1330-33* (in chronological sequence) p122; pp16,132; p34; p51; *CFR 1327-37* p186; *CCR 1330-33* pp102,189

The grant to the justiciar on 2 July 1329 of land in Ardee and Donaghmayn formerly belonging to John de Bermingham may simply have been the sensible precaution of placing a disturbed area in the hands of the king's representative.⁴¹ On the other hand, given Mortimer's acquisition of the liberties of both Louth and Kildare, one wonders if Darcy may have been used, albeit unwittingly, to add legitimacy to the laundering of estates by the earl of March. However, the grant of the constabship of Newcastle McKynegan for life with all its issues on 22 September was made for purely strategic reasons in the context of the war against the O'Byrnes.⁴² The Dublin Annals report Darcy's presence in mid-August in "the area of Newcastle McKynegan and Wicklow".⁴³

The remaining grants, made in March and April 1330, seem to have come in the context of a visit to England by Darcy in the early months of this year.⁴⁴ He was probably reporting Desmond's cooperation against the Leinster Irish, and the likelihood of renewed conflict given Earl William's intransigence and the attacks by fitzThomas' client, Brian Ban O'Brien, on de Burgh property. Darcy also sought payment from the Dublin exchequer of the £100 promised to him in March 1329.⁴⁵ The grants awarded to him on 16 March related to property that he already owned, and doubtless arose from his own petitions. He was given licence to impark his manors of Notton in Yorkshire, which he held by courtesy of England as the inheritance of his first wife, and Knaith, Lincolnshire, to hold a weekly market and yearly fair at Knaith, and of free warren in his demesne lands in Knaith, Kexby and Upton.⁴⁶

41. *CFR 1327-37* p143

42. *CPR 1327-30* p452; *PROI RC8/15* p385

43. *Dublin Annals* p35

44. 12.1.1330, Darcy, "licensed to go overseas" nominated Roger de Preston and Henry Fraunceys as his attorneys (*PROI RC8/16* p142). 20.3.1330, Darcy, "going to Ireland", acknowledged the appointment of attorneys in England (*CPR 1327-30* p498). He probably did not return before going to Gascony.

45. *Analecta Hibernica* xxxiv p77

46. *CPR 1327-30* p501; *CIPM IX* p31; *CChR 1327-41* p161

The grant in April of £16 in rent in the manors of Ormesby, Co. Norfolk, and Brockelsby and Greetham, Lincolnshire, following the forfeiture of the earl of Kent, was made "in consideration of his agreement to stay always with the king, with twenty men-at-arms in time of war".⁴⁷ It is unclear whether this was a renegotiation of his contract of retainer, with a further increase in fee, or part of the original agreement, with compensation for the loss of the manor within Wark-in-Tynedale claimed by the heirs of John Comyn of Badenoch. Other beneficiaries from the Kent estates included Queen Isabella, Bishop Burghersh, Geoffrey de Mortimer and Hugh Turpington, and also friends of the king, not associated with Mortimer, such as William Montagu and Edward Bohun.⁴⁸ All that can be concluded concerning Darcy from this is that he was someone whose continuing support was sought, and who was therefore regarded as a significant figure. The award to Darcy of the marriage of the heir of Peter le Poer of Donoil on the same day that Mortimer received the liberty of Kildare and confirmation of other grants - 31 May - would seem merely a coincidence, and indicative that the council happened to be dealing with Irish business that day. Outlaw was appointed deputy justiciar in Darcy's stead following his assignment to Gascony in May.⁴⁹

Following Mortimer's fall, Darcy did suffer a number of penalties, but this was as a result of the restoration of others and he received compensation for his losses. The manors belonging to the earldom of Kent were resumed. In August 1331, he was granted in their stead Marshton Meysey, Wiltshire, with Wick Valors, Gloucestershire, former Despenser properties, worth £22.60s.⁵⁰ In addition, on 27 October 1332, he also received custody of the manors of Horkesley, Essex, and Wyston, Suffolk, with the marriage of the heir during the minority of Robert de Swynburn.⁵¹

47. *CPR 1327-30* pp513,520,538

48. D.A. Harding, 'The Regime of Mortimer and Isabella 1326-30' (unpub. MPhil thesis, Durham 1985) p196

49. *CPR 1327-30* p529

50. *CPR 1330-34* pp165,268; *CFR 1327-37* p274

51. *CPR 1330-34* p366

Another beneficiary of Mortimer's demise was Thomas Roscelyn who had fled abroad after Lancaster's rebellion. He received his estates and a reversal of a decision made in August 1328 concerning his property on the manor of Edgefield which he complained had been carried off by men acting as Darcy's bailiffs. It had been ruled that the timber, fish and other moveable goods were Darcy's since the manor belonged to him as part of his banner-fee. In the closing months of 1330 Darcy was ordered to present his account for both Edgefield and Walcote. The extent made in 1323 was £32.7.9 per annum, but in just under four years Darcy had levied some £284.13.10. Thomas was to receive the sum of the extent - £100.14.5 - from the English exchequer, and the remainder, £183.19.5, from Darcy himself.⁵² However, on 25 June 1331, Darcy was pardoned his debt for his "good service to the late king" and the whole sum was to come from the English exchequer.⁵³

Edward III evidently aimed for reconciliation following Mortimer's execution. Some changes were made in the personnel of central government, and the escheator south of the Trent, Simon Bereford, was hanged for harbouring criminals. Others were more fortunate and soon found themselves entrusted with important charges. Oliver de Ingham was pardoned and appointed seneschal of Gascony. Bishop Henry Burghersh of Lincoln was reappointed treasurer in 1334. Maurice Berkeley was serving as a knight in the king's household, virtually in charge of the defence of the north during the winter of 1334-5. Darcy, however, had already entered the circle of trusted household associates before the earl of March's hanging and the king made full use during the 1330s of his diplomatic capabilities and his experience in Ireland and on the Scottish border.

52. *CCR 1330-33* p203

53. *CCR 1330-33* p250

3. JOHN DARCY AND THE NEW KING 1330-37

That Darcy was already attached to the king's circle and enjoyed his trust is borne out by his assignment in May 1330 to the expedition of John of Eltham to Gascony.¹ Together with John de Haustead, the duchy's seneschal, Darcy was given authority "to receive back in the king's peace the nobles and men of Agen and others who adhered to the French against the late king" and "to grant to the citizens and burgesses of Bayonne, Bordeaux and other places in the duchy such liberties as they shall see fit".² Tensions had been running high within the duchy, and the royal treasury was in no position to finance hostilities against France.³ The mission aimed to restore peace, and to conciliate and woo dissident parties back into harmony with the English court.

Darcy had already demonstrated his negotiating skills and his ability to handle sensitive commands. Royal policy concerning the duchy was formulated by the regency council,⁴ but the appointment of a household retainer as a senior negotiator indicates the influence of the king, and Edward's confidence in Darcy. His employment on diplomatic embassies in the 1330s mirrors that of other household intimates such as William Montagu and William Clinton.⁵ Nevertheless, at this stage in his career, it may also indicate that he could be spared to go, unlike other men more closely connected to the king. Since his initial reappointment as justiciar in August 1328, John had spent only six months in the lordship. The young king's desire to fashion his own grouping in a household whose chief officers had been chosen by the earl of March explains the diverse and somewhat unusual employment of the Irish justiciar. Yet it was also part of what was to become Edward's practice during the 1330s and 1340s of concentrating

1. *CCR 1327-30* p529

2. *CPR 1330-34* p7

3. Fryde, *Tyranny*, pp223,224

4. J.M. Parker, 'Patronage and Service', p32

5. J.M. Parker, *op. cit.*, p143. Montagu served on eleven missions 1329-44; Clinton on seven 1332-41; Suffolk on two in the 1340s and 1350s; Bohun on one to Scotland.

appointments on household members while retaining their services at court;⁶ Darcy's appointment as justiciar in 1340 was a further example of this.

The Irish chancellor, Roger Outlaw, was formally appointed deputy justiciar, while John Darcy was in Gascony, on 31 May.⁷ Although there is a gap in the recorded payments on the issue rolls between 1328 and July 1330, it would seem that John did not return to Ireland for any length of time, if at all, between January and July 1330.⁸ His grant on 10 May of protection with clause *volumus* was authorised until the following Easter,⁹ but he was certainly back in England in November,¹⁰ and probably gave evidence concerning Mortimer's excesses in the lordship. Accusations concerning the fulsome pardons granted to the men of Louth, and the failure to act or proceed with the judicial enquiries initiated by the justiciar following Bermingham's murder, appeared in Mortimer's indictment. Darcy was also one of the twelve jurors at the trial of Thomas Berkeley.¹¹

Darcy remained attached to the royal household following Mortimer's execution in October. He was named as a mainpernor for Geoffrey de Mortimer on 22 January 1331,¹² and on 15 July he and William Trussel were appointed "proctors and special envoys to treat with Philip king of France for a marriage between Edward the king's son

6. Henry Ferrers, chamberlain in the royal household 1337-40, was keeper, with William Montagu, of the Channel Islands 1334-37, and justice of Chester 1336-43; William Clinton was constable of Dover 1330-43; Robert Ufford, keeper of the Forests south of the Trent 1330-35; Bartholomew Burghersh, constable of Dover 1327-30, 1343, 1346-50, keeper of the forests south of the Trent 1335-43, and chamberlain 1345, (Parker, 'Patronage and Service', pp141,203,206,208,219; *Complete Peerage*, vol 2, p426).

7. *CPR 1327-30* p529

8. PRO E101/239/29

9. *CPR 1327-30* pp518,523

10. *CCR 1330-33* p166

11. *Rot. Parl.* ii 53,57

12. *CCR 1330-33* p178

and a daughter of the French king".¹³ Letters of credence had been issued on 5 July in favour of Darcy and Trussel "the king's secretaries" on an embassy to the courts of Castile, Portugal, Navarre, Aragon, Majorca and France.¹⁴ The two envoys had returned by 24 October and were paid £100 each for their expenses.¹⁵ Sometime before this embassy to France, however, John had been entrusted with a very significant charge - custody of the Tower of London, for which he received wages of £10.¹⁶ He had also been replaced as justiciar of Ireland on 27 February. The reasons for this lay not in any dissatisfaction with, or distrust of, Darcy, but had their origins in the lordship itself.

* * *

The negotiations over the Clare inheritance in Thomond and the conciliation of Desmond at the English court in 1329 had failed to take into account the more complex relationships in south-west Ireland, and the headstrong characters of two other leading players in the region, Earl William de Burgh and Brian Ban O'Brien. De Burgh interests stretched down through Connacht to patrimonial properties in Limerick and Tipperary. Earl William was intent on reasserting lordship over his lineage and his Connacht holdings. His interests thus clashed with those of the earl of Desmond in Thomond and Limerick.

FitzThomas was one of the leading figures in the lordship who enjoyed the least contact with the English court. His position may be compared to that of earls on the outer rim of the Scottish kingdom: quasi-independent lords linked by ties of kin, custom and fostering to both the Gaelic and non-Gaelic worlds. Political settlement in England, therefore, did not match up to reality and necessity in the west of Ireland. Desmond's power in the south-west was partly forged, like that of other Anglo-Irish lords, in

13. *CPR 1330-34* p157

14. *CCR 1330-33* p331

15. *CCR 1330-33* p350

16. *CCR 1337-39* p10

relationships with the Gaelic Irish, most notably in his case, Brian Ban O'Brien. Desmond's initial seizure of the Clare inheritance may have been as much of necessity as of greed, in order not only to defend Anglo-Irish interests, but also to develop and maintain his lordship over O'Brien as his client.

When O'Brien killed the sheriff of Limerick and attacked de Burgh property in the spring of 1330, Desmond's contact with his client was regarded as evidence of connivance.¹⁷ However, the relationship between the two is unclear at this point. O'Brien may have perceived the earl's agreement to hand over the Clare inheritance as a sign of weakness, and also of aggression since Earl William was of Clare blood. Desmond himself may merely have been trying to reestablish his supremacy in the south-west rather than being overtly hostile towards the Dublin government. Nevertheless, Outlaw imprisoned him, and bound over Earl William to keep the peace. Following an attack on his lands by Walter de Burgh, Desmond escaped. Mortimer was attempting to arrange a peace between the two earls when he was hanged in October.

* * *

Edward III was thus faced with continuing conflict in a lordship which in Meath and Munster particularly bore the stamp of the earl of March. He determined that tough measures should be enforced to dismantle the large territorial blocks Mortimer had created for himself and for those he had sought to tie in dependence to him. A writ was issued on 5 March 1331 ordering the resumption of all grants made since the king's accession and was sent with detailed ordinances concerning the government of Ireland.¹⁸ Fresh policies required a new governor to execute them. Anthony de Lucy, an experienced border magnate, lord of Cockermouth, and a former constable of Carlisle, sheriff of Cumberland and warden of the West March, was appointed

17. Frame, *Lordship*, p194

18. *CFR 1327-37* p241; Berry, *Statutes*, pp322-30

justiciar.¹⁹ He was accompanied by a number of Cumbrian associates,²⁰ and by a new chancellor and treasurer, while new appointments were made to senior posts in the exchequer and judiciary. William de Burgh was created king's lieutenant on 3 March. Added to an order for absentees to provide adequate defences for their lands, this emphasised the concern of the English government to tackle the insurgency of the Gaelic Irish and to reestablish royal control over lost territory.

Darcy lost the de Bermingham custodies as a result of the resumption order. Nevertheless, his replacement was less to do with concerns over any personal stake in the lordship, than the king's desire to set a new tone in the government of Ireland and to reorder the lordship along his own lines with swiftness and decisiveness. The appointment of William de Burgh indicated that Desmond and O'Brien were not going to be the recipients of royal favour. Since Darcy had been the agent of reconciliation in 1329, it was more fitting to use a new man to wield force, if necessary, to break the earl's power, and to confront the Anglo-Irish political community into which Darcy had been so carefully placed. Presumably, the former justiciar contributed in some way to the formulation of this policy. Moreover, since the king himself was preparing to go to the lordship, Darcy would doubtless have been expected to accompany him, as one of the 'absentee' lords by right of his wife.

The king's plans for Ireland, however, were changed by the turn of events in Scotland.²¹ In August 1332, Edward Balliol, with other 'disinherited' lords including Henry Beaumont, Richard Talbot, and Earl David of Athol, landed in Scotland, with Edward III's secret connivance, and defeated a Bruce army on Dupplin Moor.²² He was

19. *CPR 1330-34* p83

20. *CPR 1330-34* p104

21. Although the king had it in mind in 1331 to visit Ireland, a departure date was not settled until the parliament in January 1332. The initial date in August was then postponed until Michaelmas by which time events in Scotland brought about the cancellation of the expedition (Frame, *Lordship*, pp198,199).

22. *Lanercost* p267; *Baker* p49; R. Nicholson, *Edward III and the Scots* (Oxford, 1965) p73ff

crowned king in September. With crisis developing on his northern border, Edward III wanted the Cumbrian march securely defended. Lucy was recalled and served against the Scots until his death in 1343. The royal expedition to Ireland was cancelled, and at the York parliament in January 1333, by which time Balliol had been ousted and forced to flee to Carlisle, Edward declared his intention publicly to intervene in Scotland. The lordship of Ireland was required to resume its traditional role of furnishing supplies and troops for its lord's wars against the Scottish kingdom. John Darcy was once more entrusted with its government.

* * *

During this year Darcy continued to enjoy marks of royal favour. He was summoned to the parliament in January 1332, and this was followed by a number of grants and responsibilities. On 10 February he received custody of the wardship of the earldom of Kildare during the minority of Maurice fitzThomas.²³ Two days later he was appointed as a commissioner of the peace in Nottinghamshire "pursuant to the statutes of Winchester and Northampton".²⁴ This appointment was renewed on 21 March and extended to encompass both Derbyshire, and the statute ordering the arrest of lawbreakers promulgated in the recent parliament. It was a recognition of his standing at court and influence as a property holder along the Trent.²⁵ That the sheriff of Nottinghamshire was to array sixty archers in July for the royal expedition to Ireland on his advice is further evidence of this.²⁶ On 25 March his grants of Marshton Meysey and Wick Valors were extended to grants for life, rent-free.²⁷

23. *CFR 1327-37* p300

24. *CPR 1330-34* p287

25. *CPR 1330-34* pp295,297

26. *CCR 1330-33* p487

27. *CPR 1330-34* p268

His reappointment as justiciar on 30 September²⁸ must be set firmly in the context of renewed tension on the Scottish border. The king sought to make full use of Darcy's previous service in the lordship and against the Scots, and of his negotiating skills. He was sent on 26 October with William Denholme to meet with envoys despatched by the guardian of Scotland, Sir Andrew Moray, to treat with Edward III.²⁹ Darcy's arrival in the lordship in mid-February entailed no break in his involvement with the Anglo-Scottish war, since he was commissioned with Earl William to raise troops to join the royal army. More importantly, following Lucy's harsh and unyielding governorship, he was entrusted with the reconciliation of the Anglo-Irish magnate community to secure its services against the Scots.

The former justiciar and king's lieutenant, encouraged by the prospect of the king's imminent arrival, had moved swiftly and with severity to enforce the resumption order and to bring the lordship to heel. James Butler had been deprived of his grants, but almost immediately received signs of hope and favour from Edward who had summoned him to England in November 1331. Earl William had sought to establish a firm grip on his earldom, cutting down to size Henry de Mandeville, formerly his seneschal in Ulster, and his cousin Walter de Burgh, with whom he clashed in Connacht over support for Turlough O'Connor. Lucy had moved into Meath and Louth, the heart of Mortimer's former power-base, vigorously asserting royal dominance at the expense of several rightful tenants-in-chief such as Nicholas de Verdon and the Lady of Trim, who had been obliged to petition the king for restoration.³⁰

Desmond and William de Bermingham had initially been pardoned for their failure to obey a summons to parliament. Within days, however, Lucy had arrested and imprisoned the earl, and had begun taking inquisitions into his conduct. These had been

28. *CPR 1330-34* p340; it was accompanied by confirmation of the grant of Horkesley and Wyton on 27 October 1332 (*CPR 1330-34* p366).

29. Nicholson, *op. cit.*, p95

30. Frame, *Lordship*, p206ff

continued in the spring of 1332 when William de Bermingham and his son Walter had also been arrested and imprisoned. Furthermore, the justiciar had moved into Leinster between May and August 1331 against the Wicklow Irish. He had recaptured and rebuilt the castle of Clonmore, and the Butler castle of Arklow, which had been overrun in April 1331.³¹ Lucy was brooking no opposition. William de Bermingham was executed in July 1332, after attempting to escape, and the justiciar was in Thomond riding against Brian Ban O'Brien, when letters of recall were issued.³²

Darcy was advantaged in his task of reconciliation by the fact that he had negotiated with Desmond in 1329, and that he was in favour with Earl William, who had sought his service in 1328, and with whom he was now connected by marriage. Doubtless these factors further commended him to the king. Nevertheless, the terms for reconciliation were not easy-going. Desmond was released on 17 May 1333 in Christ Church, Dublin, at a public ceremony where he swore solemn oaths for his future good conduct. Virtually all the leading lords, including the earl of Ulster, provided guarantees for his good behaviour, and Desmond bound over four of his kinsmen as pledges.

Grants resumed in 1331 were gradually restored. He received the liberty of Kerry in July 1334.³³ The earl served with Darcy in Scotland in 1335. This was an indication of his readiness to serve a king who provided him with 'good lordship', but also a sign of the security of his own position in the south-west, by then free of de Burgh interference. Walter de Bermingham also regained his father's lands in April 1335,³⁴ but was not fully restored until March 1337, when Darcy, Elias de Ashbourne, and Nicholas de Snyterby entered a £1000 recognisance for his good behaviour.³⁵ Further

31. *Rep DKI 43* pp54,55

32. *Rep DKI 43* p56

33. *Frame, Lordship*, pp219,220; *CPR 1330-34* p564

34. *CPR 1334-38* pp94,95

35. *CCR 1337-39* p119

evidence of a conciliatory attitude, certainly of Edward III's wise generosity, was the presence in Darcy's retinue as he set out for Ireland of Roger de Mortimer, a younger son of the earl of March, and of Walter de Turpington, son of Hugh, March's associate and king's steward, killed on the night of the earl's arrest.³⁶

* * *

Nevertheless, although the reconciliation of Desmond was underway in the summer of 1333, preparations to join the king at the siege of Berwick were cut short by the assassination of Earl William de Burgh. His widow fled to England with their daughter. Darcy immediately went north to take preliminary measures for securing the earldom of Ulster, and then crossed over to Scotland.³⁷ Few details exist concerning his movements and his deployment in this campaign or of the forces that he took with him.³⁸ But he commended himself through swift action in the face of a serious crisis, while still seeking to fulfil his military obligations. The justiciar did not return to the lordship until January 1334. More permanent arrangements concerning the earldom of Ulster had to be agreed upon. Carrickfergus was placed in the custody of an English constable as were Northburgh and Carlingford the following year.³⁹ More complex, however, was the handling of the Ulster tenantry and the de Burgh lineage itself.

The instigators of Earl William's murder were believed to be Henry Mandeville's brother Richard and his wife Jill, sister of Walter de Burgh, who had died in 1332 following his imprisonment by the earl. Darcy clashed with the countess of Ulster over

36. *CPR 1330-34* pp393,458

37. Frame, *Lordship*, pp145,146

38. Captain Darcy, referring to Holinshed, states that Darcy fought at Halidon Hill and "played a prominent part" in the complete rout of the Scots (R.F. Darcy, *Life*, pp64,65). According to Henry Marlborough's chronicle, however, the justiciar was in one part of Scotland, and the king in another. Moreover, although "fuit per hibernicos magna occisio in Scotia", the western isles were not secured for Balliol (Frame, *Lordship*, p146N)

39. *CPR 1330-34* pp472,546; PRO E101/240/5; *Rep DKI 44* p39

Mandeville's release. Her demands initially carried greater weight, but in March Mandeville was freed. His dealings with Irish chiefs that summer and capture of Greencastle in December reveal the advantages of this policy. Some sort of peace settlement was also required within the de Burgh lineage now led by Earl William's uncle, Edmund son of Richard, and Walter's brother, Edmund the Scot. Darcy was intimately involved with this, since proclamation of enjoyment of the king's peace by the de Burghs was accompanied by a marriage agreement between William, his son by Joan de Burgh and thus the nephew of Edmund son of Richard, and Matilda, the daughter and heiress of Walter de Burgh.⁴⁰ Moreover, Roger Darcy was granted the chief serjeanty of Connacht on 12 March 1334.⁴¹ These actions were accompanied by a fresh review of the royal administration in the lordship. A number of appointments were made to the Dublin exchequer and courts, and Darcy, with the chancellor, treasurer, and chief justice of the justiciar's bench, was ordered "to survey the state and array of all the king's places in that land and to amend whatever is amiss in them to his best advantage".⁴² The king remained anxious that he should profit from his lordship of Ireland.

* * *

Service from the lordship was again required in Scotland in 1335. An attack on the western isles was suggested by Balliol in conjunction with the main royal expedition north.⁴³ Orders were sent to Darcy and the new treasurer, John de Ellerker, to requisition ships, and to array men-at-arms, hobelars and footsoldiers. The citizens of Dublin and the prelates were requested to provide troops, while summonses were issued to the earls of Desmond and Ormond, to some fifty four knights and to one hundred and

40. Frame, *Lordship*, pp223,224

41. *Rep DKI 44* p57

42. *CPR 1330-34* p473

43. Nicholson, *op. cit.*, p187

ten squires.⁴⁴ The justiciar was empowered to grant pardons to both 'English' and 'Irish' to encourage their service.⁴⁵

Darcy's forces included troops led by Desmond and Walter de Bermingham, but not Henry de Mandeville, Edmund son of Richard de Burgh, or Edmund de Burgh the Scot. This probably reflected the greater security in the south-west enjoyed by Desmond, and the relative instability in the north and west which made it undesirable for the leading de Burgh lieutenants to leave despite the royal summons. Outlaw's expedition north to treat with O'Neill and Macartan during the justiciar's absence lends further weight to the latter premise.⁴⁶

It is therefore difficult to assess Darcy's actions and royal policy in Munster, Ulster and Connacht in the light of this expedition, since it was Earl William's murder that altered the stability of these regions. Desmond, secure in the south-west, could only gain by serving in Scotland, to prove his loyalty to the king and further cultivate royal favour. On the other hand, Mandeville and the de Burgh cousins may have had everything to lose in their lordships by serving abroad. Tensions within the de Burgh lineage were still strong. They boiled over again in 1338 when Edmund the Scot drowned the Red Earl's son.⁴⁷ For Desmond at least, however, Darcy proved himself a useful channel giving access to the court.⁴⁸

The expedition itself achieved little of military value. Rothesay castle was unsuccessfully besieged. Although tardy in departure, Darcy's eventual arrival does seem to have further intimidated the Scots, causing the turncoats Earl David of Athol

44. *Rot.Scot.* i pp337,341-5

45. *Rot.Scot.* i p351

46. Frame, PhD, p292

47. Frame, *Lordship*, p231

48. On 28 November 1336, Desmond had confirmation of the liberty of Kerry in tail male and of the release to him of 200 marks from the rent of Dungarvan (*CPR 1334-38* pp337,338).

and Robert Stewart to defect to the king. However, the general break-up of the main royal army as Edward moved south to organise the administration of Lothian, curtailed its operations. Desmond remained with Darcy until mid-October in the king's service.⁴⁹

* * *

Within the lordship, the Dublin government was hard-pressed by the Gaelic Irish and Darcy was active in warfare against them. In recovering Clonmore and Arklow, Lucy had merely restored what had been lost just before his arrival. In the long term he achieved little by way of a peace settlement. Nevertheless, he had been acting in the light of a proposed royal expedition, during which the king, accompanied by 'absentee' lords summoned to defend their lands and recover lost territories, would probably have taken submissions from the Irish chiefs. Darcy's tactics took the form of swift responses to the perennial raids and uprisings - the O'Connors in Offaly in the summer of 1333, and the spring of 1335; the O'Byrnes and O'Tooles in Leinster in 1334, and the O'Reillys in Meath in 1334-5.⁵⁰ Information about the size of the forces employed by the justiciar is negligible but his expeditions appear to have been small-scale. Evidence is also scarce concerning the details of these expeditions. He did detach Donal son of Art MacMurrrough into government pay in 1334-5,⁵¹ and in June 1336 rebuilt Balyten and installed a constable.⁵²

It is possible to interpret the continuing insurgency in a number of ways. On the one hand, the continual uprisings may indicate the weakness of the government and the ineffectiveness of the justiciar's responses, compounded by the problem of absentee lords. The increase in frequency of trouble and more concerted action, certainly by the

49. Nicholson, *op. cit.*, p222

50. Frame, PhD, pp281ff

51. On 13 November 1334 Donal received £40 "for service against the O'Byrnes", and in 1335 accompanied Darcy to Scotland (Frame, PhD, p288; 'English Officials and Irish Chiefs in the Fourteenth Century', *EHR*, vol xc 1975 pp765,769)

52. PRO E101/240/13

Leinster Irish, in the 1340s and 1350s may well signify a growing breakdown in the government's authority in the face of a Gaelic resurgence. On the other hand, the 1330s may not fit comfortably into this pattern.

Lucy's recapture and rebuilding of Clonmore and Arklow, and the refortification of Balyten by Darcy, may have increased pressure on the Leinster Irish. His detachment of MacMurrough was perhaps more a sign of strength than of weakness, while more concerted action later by the Irish may have been in response to the division caused by an earlier 'divide and rule' policy, successfully prosecuted by the justiciar. Minority in the Kildare family and the reversal in fortunes in the Mortimer family would account for increased disorder in Meath and Offaly. But they would also account for the upsurge in activity by the justiciar in these areas, resulting in a greater quantity of extant evidence concerning them. More information cannot, therefore, simply be interpreted as a sign of a growth in the insurgency itself. This could be especially true on the borders of Kildare in view of Darcy's own enlarged responsibilities in that lordship.

His wardship of the earldom of Kildare during the minority of the young Earl Maurice and the dower holdings of Countess Joan were augmented on 28 February 1333 by the specific grant of custody of all lands held by the late Earl Richard fitzThomas and by his grandmother, the dowager Countess Blanche. It excluded lands granted to Alexander de Fetherstonehalgh, Herbert de Gresseby, and Robert fitzMaurice for good service to the king, but included custody of properties in Limerick and Kilkenny, and the castles of Kildare, Maynooth, Estgrene, Adare and Croom.⁵³ The constabships of the first four were worth per annum £20, £5, £10 and ten marks respectively. To this was added on 10 December 1334 the castle and manor of Glynneth, Co. Limerick, which was held of the earl of Kildare, in wardship during the minority of the heir of John le Poer.⁵⁴ Furthermore, on 6 April 1335, while in England, Darcy was granted the Mortimer manors of Rathwire and Kildalkey, which were Lacy forfeits held by

53. PROI RC8/18 pp510,613; *Rep DKI 44* pp28,29,32,34,35

54. *RCH* p40 no136

Nicholas de Verdon, and also reversion of the grange of Rathwire held by Herbert de Sutton.⁵⁵

Such grants must have added to the resources upon which Darcy could draw, and increased his standing in the lordship. However, this remains difficult to assess in concrete terms. No details exist concerning the names of those who accompanied him on expeditions against the Irish in the 1330s. Lists are extant for August and October 1329, revealing many Kildare and Dublin tenantry.⁵⁶ The presence of Kildare tenantry cannot, however, be attributed specifically to his marriage to Joan de Burgh, since they may have been responding to a summons by him in his capacity as justiciar. It was also natural for them to serve in their own proximity against the Irish. Moreover, John de Wellesley, and Thomas Wogan, who accompanied Darcy to Scotland, were men of substance in England and Wales.

* * *

New royal ministers arriving in Ireland in 1335 may have perceived Darcy's growing personal stake in the lordship as too great, and the position of his associates in high office as prejudicial to the king's own interests. Such a perception seems initially implicit in actions accompanying ordinances despatched to Dublin in May 1336 which aimed to reform and tighten up the Irish government. But is it correct to view such actions as attempts to counter Darcy's apparent growing entrenchment, or does this interpretation impose too crude a gloss on events that in reality were complex and less politically motivated?

These ordinances were anchored firmly in the immediate context of the Anglo-Scottish war with prohibitions against the unlicensed export of victuals from the lordship, but also in the more general context of royal concern for the maintenance and prosecution

55. *CPR 1334-38* p94; *Analecta Hibernica* xxxiv p39

56. Frame, PhD, p255

of the king's rights. They embodied anxieties about the wide-ranging powers enjoyed by the lords of liberties, wages for war, and the liberal grants and gifts made from royal lands and revenues.⁵⁷ Two significant results of this reforming impetus were the resumption of the customs into the king's hands on 8 July and the appointment of the treasurer, John de Ellerker, as escheator on 12 May.⁵⁸ Sub-collectors of customs from the ports were henceforward to account directly to the Dublin exchequer.

The victims of this reorganisation were intimate associates of the justiciar: John Morice, escheator since 1329, and Thomas de Saundeby, appointed customer in October 1333. However, it is far from clear that these men were removed either because of misconduct or a connection with John Darcy. The latter would seem to have been incidental. The king was only interested in improving his income. The customer received an annual fee of £80 which absorbed most of what was collected. Direct accounting by sub-collectors was perhaps considered more cost-effective. John Morice had petitioned John Stratford, chancellor of England, for assistance in making his sub-escheators pay him what they had collected, suggesting that they should account to the Dublin exchequer.⁵⁹ The solution to his problem may have been more radical than he expected.

It is true that several Darcy associates had gained valuable constabships,⁶⁰ and that Roger Darcy in particular had benefited from exemption in August 1335 from payment of rent for the chief serjeanty of Connacht until Elizabeth de Burgh attained her majority,⁶¹ and from succession in October to Henry de Badowe as constable of Dublin. But these grants cannot be assumed to have been prejudicial to royal interests any more than it should be assumed that John de Ellerker was devoid of ambition because he was

57. Sayles, *Affairs*, pp167-71

58. *CFR 1327-37* pp484,491

59. *Analecta Hibernica* xxxiv p93; Sayles, *Affairs*, p167

60. See chapter 6

61. *Rep DKI 44* p57

a prominent agent of the 1336 reforms. His rapid acquisition of the constableness of Athlone, the chief receivership of the lands of Elizabeth de Clare, with an annual fee of £40 equalling his income as treasurer, custody in September of the lands of Isabella and Laurence de Hastings in Wexford, followed in July 1336 by grants of the escheatorship and the constableness of Wexford castle would seem to imply greed on his part.

The evidence is ambiguous, however. Athlone had been held by his predecessor, Thomas de Burgh, while the lady of Clare's previous chief receiver had also been a prominent royal minister. The Wexford custodies were later regranted on 3 November 1337 rent-free "because of his losses in the service of the earl of Kent, Edward II and Edward III"⁶² and presumably were granted originally to pay off arrears. Wexford also constituted a special case since it was in royal hands during the minority of Earl Laurence de Hastings and was the subject of much government attention in 1335-6. Robert Power, described as seneschal, was granted expenses of £40 for holding pleas there with two justices of the Bench and the king's pleader in the early part of 1335.⁶³ Possibly Power, who had been serving in the lordship for some eight years, and was currently holding office simultaneously as chief baron and chancellor of the exchequer despite efforts to separate the two offices, may also have been regarded as too entrenched. Therefore, Ellerker himself took the constableness of Wexford, and installed his associate Peter de Okeburn as seneschal.⁶⁴ Who better than a reliable, responsible high minister of state to take these valuable custodies and offices into his own hands to ensure the king received his due, while legally ensuring he also received his due?

The grants to Roger Darcy can also be construed in a favourable light. The actual rent yielded by Connacht may have been quite small, if not negligible, given the limited government presence and influence in the province. Furthermore, for the justiciar to

62. *CPR 1334-38* pp225,547; PROI RC8/18 p651

63. *RCH* p41 no31

64. *CPR 1338-40* p127

have a trusted associate as constable of the seat of government was highly desirable.⁶⁵ John Darcy's own position was not threatened or curtailed in any way, save over the manor of Rathwire, originally a Lacy property, which had passed into the hands of Roger Mortimer in 1317, and then to Nicholas de Verdon in 1330.⁶⁶ It was then granted to John Darcy and Joan de Burgh in April 1335 as an escheat by forfeiture of Roger Mortimer.⁶⁷ John was ordered in a writ dated 6 July 1336 to restore Rathwire to Nicholas "to hold for six years" but he was to enjoy its revenues following the expiry of the said term.⁶⁸ A writ was also directed to Ellerker ordering him as escheator to resume the manor and to deliver it to Nicholas should John refuse to cooperate.⁶⁹ Was Darcy perceived as being too entrenched and unwilling to "disgorge"?⁷⁰

The terms of the grant to John and Joan are not specified, but a letter to the English council, dated 1335, provides information that Simon fitzRichard, chief justice of the Bench, was in the process of reversing the forfeiture of Rathwire and that John Darcy had asked for it to be granted to him and Joan in tail male.⁷¹ Understandably he was prompted to acquire a landed inheritance to bequeath to his children by Countess Joan, since they would inherit none of the Kildare lands enjoyed by the couple, nor, should his elder sons survive, the Lincolnshire properties. It is unclear whether the king's grant to John was in answer to this information, or whether this action was commenced by John following the grant to ensure his family's possession of the manor. The writ to Ellerker recognised John's strong interest in the manor, and the necessity of providing 'good lordship' to de Verdon because of his "good service". Its wording expressed de Verdon's fears rather than those of the king.

65. See chapter 6

66. Frame, *Lordship*, p206

67. *CPR 1334-38* p94

68. *CCR 1333-37* p591

69. *CCR 1333-37* p592

70. Frame, *Lordship*, p206

71. *Analecta Hibernica* xxxiv p39

* * *

The main thrust of the 1336 ordinances was directed at improving royal income. The exchequer was busy attempting to levy ancient debts as indicated by the respites granted in April to Elizabeth de Clare and in September to the de Verdon heirs.⁷² Such exemptions, however, procured by those influential at court,⁷³ were anathema to royal ministers, who argued against lavish grants which undermined all they were attempting. But, on the other hand, such double-mindedness was not just evident on the king's part. Ellerker served the lady of Clare and held the Wexford custodies despite a writ dated 1 July 1336, forbidding royal ministers to hold custody of liberties or lands of other lords on pain of forfeiture.⁷⁴

Darcy's position in the lordship was strengthened during his third governorship, but he remained active in prosecuting the king's rights and carrying out the tasks entrusted to him. There is no reason to suppose that he was unwilling to comply with the directives from Edward, or that royal confidence in him did not remain high. The liberty of Tipperary was resumed, and not restored until August 1337. Trim was also confiscated even though Joan de Mortimer had been granted custody of the liberty only in May. Orders were issued in January 1337 for its restoration.⁷⁵ The justiciar was not afraid to take tough action when required. Nevertheless, objections to the government's overall conduct would seem to have been voiced prompting a writ issued on 2 June 1336 which stated that the king had heard suggestions of partiality towards the great and powerful.⁷⁶ The writ which follows it on the rolls, begging cooperation in the minting of new

72. *CCR 1333-37* pp666,715

73. Elizabeth de Clare secured repeated exemptions (*CCR 1333-37* pp501,700, 1337-39 p528, 1339-41 pp124,258,479, 1341-43 p276); Henry de Ferrers 14.5.1339 (*CCR 1339-41* p125)

74. *CCR 1333-37* p689

75. Frame, *Lordship*, p234N; *CPR 1334-38* p429; *CCR 1337-39* p157

76. *CCR 1333-37* p679

coinage and addressed to "the communities of cities, boroughs, towns, and other people of the said land", may suggest the authorship of these grievances. The civic communities represented a further source of information and petitions to the English council, which may or may not have contained specific charges, but which aroused concern in England about the conduct of royal ministers.⁷⁷ To this the attention of the English government was repeatedly to return.

77. Eg *Analecta Hibernica* xxxiv pp15,20,41, but particularly p14

4. JOHN DARCY 1337-47 : STEWARD AND CHAMBERLAIN

Darcy was honoured during the last decade of his life with the two highest offices within the king's household. He was rewarded for good service with a seat in the royal council, and the privilege of participating in war against Philip de Valois. This chapter assesses his career during these years, and explores his changed relationship with the lordship of Ireland, of which he again held the chief governorship from 1340 to 1344, and in which his vested interests remained strong. His role in the ministerial crises in England in 1340-1, and in Ireland in 1341-2, is discussed, and the underlying concerns of the English government regarding Ireland are examined. Darcy's strong foothold in both the lordship and kingdom is set in the wider context of close connexions with Ireland enjoyed by many high in favour at the English court, and the impact of these intimate ties is assessed.

John Darcy's appointment as king's steward was one of a number of promotions in March 1337 within the royal household in preparation for war against France. William Montagu, William Clinton, Robert Ufford, and William de Bohun, the four remaining bannerets retained at court in constant service in 1336-7, were raised to the rank of earl with Hugh d'Audley and Henry of Grosmont. Darcy replaced Ufford as steward, and he and Henry Ferrers, the new chamberlain, formed the nucleus of a new and growing number of bannerets retained permanently with the king. Darcy held the stewardship until December 1340 when he succeeded Ferrers as chamberlain.¹

The steward and the chamberlain were the two most senior posts in the royal household, responsible only to the king. They were included in the list of royal ministers who were required in the 1311 Ordinances and 1341 statute to be accountable to parliament. The stewardship possessed a military flavour. The entry into and behaviour within the household of the squires, knights, bannerets and serjeants-at-arms came under the steward's jurisdiction as part of his responsibilities for the regulation of discipline and

1. Tout, *Chapters*, vi pp43,46; Parker, 'Patronage and Service', pp8,76,244

law and order within the household. He also oversaw the administration of the household accounts, receiving submissions of accounts, ensuring efficiency and punishing irregularity and dishonesty. He was frequently a member of the royal council and was summoned to parliament. During the fourteenth century the steward exercised a number of duties, negotiating with the commons, presiding over parliament's business, giving the opening address, and ensuring a correct representation of burgesses and knights.² The chamberlain was an equally significant figure. He had overall charge of the king's personal treasure in coin and jewels stored in the chamber, and most importantly controlled all direct and written access to the king.³ Darcy thus occupied a powerful and influential position at court from 1337.

* * *

The establishment of costly alliances in the Low Countries and preparations for military intervention in France absorbed the energies of the royal household during Darcy's stewardship and dictated his employment in these years. His tested negotiating skills were used at home and abroad. A commission in Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire in August 1337 to communicate decisions of the royal council to the "leaders of the commonalty" reflected his influence and previous service in the north Midlands.⁴ His territorial position around the headwaters of the Trent was augmented on 3 September by a grant, during the minority of Earl David of Athol, of the manor and town of Gainsborough. This was in lieu of payment due from Queen Philippa for the manor of Wark-in-Tyndale, which he had sold to her in 1336, although it is unclear why. Two days previously he had been granted, for good service, remainder of the manors of

2. It is unclear what was already perceived as customary for the steward in his parliamentary duties. In some actions the king's employment of Darcy may have set a precedent.

3. C. Given-Wilson, *Royal Household*, pp9,10,20,72,73; Parker, 'Patronage and Service', pp1,76,77

4. *CPR 1334-38* p503

Temple Newsom and Templehirst, co. York, and of Torksey, Lincolnshire, held by Marie de St Pol, dowager Countess of Pembroke.⁵

Preparations for a substantial embassy abroad were made in the autumn of 1337.⁶ The bishop of Lincoln, John Darcy, and the earls of Northampton and Suffolk formed the key team of negotiators during this period. They were appointed to further Edward's dealings with the Emperor, and to continue the negotiation of alliances in the Low Countries. The envoys were to conciliate Flemish merchants and to arrange a marriage between the Princess Joan and Count Louis of Flanders' heir.⁷ On 7 October, the day he claimed the French crown, Edward assigned his envoys to meet nuncios sent by the pope in an effort to stave off conflict.⁸ His mind was set on war, however, and by late January the negotiators were in Brabant providing assurances to its duke, and advising the king against a lengthy truce which might discourage his allies. A restoration of trade had been agreed upon between England and Flanders by June 1338.⁹

Despite the king's arrival in Brabant in July, his plans were frustrated by the continuing inability of the English government to collect wool and to sell it to raise revenues to pay for his diplomacy. His financial situation became increasingly embarrassing and he was forced to borrow on heavy terms. Darcy, as steward, was one of a number of royal ministers drawn in, perhaps somewhat too closely for their own comfort, to provide guarantees for the payment of bonds at extortionate rates of interest. With William de Northwell, keeper of the wardrobe, he entered into a bond on the king's behalf with two Newark merchants for a loan of £640, for which the king promised to pay double that amount. Darcy and Northwell were granted a promise on 2 November "to save them

5. *CChR 1327-41* p428; *CIPM* ix p31

6. H.S. Lucas, *The Low Countries and the Hundred Years' War 1326-47* (Michigan 1929) p233

7. Lucas, *op. cit.*, pp240,251

8. Lucas, *op. cit.*, p239

9. *CCR 1337-39* p 515

harmless from this bond".¹⁰ The royal envoys must have been hard pressed to maintain the adherence of Edward's principal allies. His inability to meet financial obligations severely strained the goodwill of Count Reginald of Guelders and Margrave William of Juliers. However, his allies were doubtless anxious that the king should not default on his debts.

Yet the king's financial problems did not ease. Darcy was sent to England with the earl of Derby in the summer of 1339 to ensure the collection of wool to honour the king's debts.¹¹ He had returned to Edward's side in July, and was named with other councillors as guarantors of bonds to the townsfolk of Malines for 54,000 gold florins, and for payment of reparations for damages against Flemish ports and towns.¹² Darcy remained with the king until Edward's return to England in February.¹³ Military action was initiated in the Cambrésis in September, but Philip refused to give battle when Edward's forces reached the French border. The king's army began to break up at the end of October. Nevertheless, a diplomatic breakthrough was achieved in a firm alliance between England, Flanders, and Brabant. Edward returned to England with his principal household officials to seek funds from parliament for payments on his loans to his allies.

* * *

On 3 March 1340, the king appointed John Darcy to the justiciarship of Ireland for life.¹⁴ Consideration was given to his banner fee and a landed income in the lordship.

10. *CPR 1338-40* p 191. John was also a signatory, with other members of the council, to charters of grants and acknowledgements by the king to other creditors - William de la Pole for £6000 in November 1338; a Jew in Strasbourg for 340,000 florins in April 1339 (*CPR 1338-40* pp193,371).

11. *CPR 1338-40* pp 311,383,384

12. *CPR 1338-40* p372

13. *CPR 1338-40* pp374,394,396,407; *CCR 1339-41* p454

14. *CPR 1338-40* p432

William de Morley was due to attain his majority in June 1340 obliging Darcy to relinquish custody of his banner fee of Aldeby and Foulsham. In recompense, he was granted on 1 March the manors of Eckington, Derbyshire, and Kirkeby, Nottinghamshire, to hold of Hugh d'Audley, with reversion should the earl die without male heirs. Darcy was also granted the manors of Louth and Garristown, with all other lands in Ireland formerly held by the Count of Eu.¹⁵ This grant may have been compensation for the surrender of custody of the earldom and liberty of Kildare to his step-son Earl Maurice, on 24 January, and of the le Poer manor of Glynneth held of the earl by the baron of Donoil.¹⁶

The appointment of a new justiciar would seem to have arisen from a dissatisfaction at the lack of progress being made by the Dublin government. The administration of John Charlton, lord of Powys, appointed justiciar on 28 July 1337, and of his brother Thomas, bishop of Hereford, who served as his chancellor before replacing him, had had a bright start.¹⁷ Both men were experienced in government, since although it was several years since either had held high office, they were familiar with the turbulent conditions of the Welsh march.¹⁸ They took with them 1000 marks in cash and a retinue of 200 Welsh archers, but little was achieved. Revenues from Ireland dropped further, and the administration was characterised by a growing concern in England over the quality of royal ministers.¹⁹ John left Ireland in June 1338, quarrelling with his brother over some £210 which the bishop had not received from his share of the 1000 marks.²⁰ His withdrawal is something of a mystery, but conditions in Powys may have

15. *CPR 1338-40* p441

16. *PROIRC8/21* p510; *Rep DKI 47* pp45,46

17. *CPR 1334-38* p476, *1338-40* p80

18. John Charlton was king's chamberlain 1310-18; Thomas Charlton, Bishop of Hereford 1327-44, was keeper of the seal 1316-20, controller of the wardrobe 1316-18, and treasurer 1328-9 (Tout, *Chapters*, vi pp45,50,21)

19. *CCR 1337-39* pp314,422

20. *CCR 1337-39* p422

warranted his return, while the king, crossing to Brabant, may have thought it preferable to maintain a strong guard in mid-Wales.²¹

The good relations John Darcy had established with the earl of Desmond were maintained by the Charlton administration. Moreover, the earl won a number of important custodies that strengthened his position in the south-west. Following the deaths of the earl of Ormond and of Giles Badlesmere in 1338, he received custody of the Butler lands in Limerick and Tipperary, and of the Badlesmere purparty of the Clare inheritance. However, conflict broke out between the le Poer and de la Freigne families in the wake of James Butler's death. Thomas Charlton responded by acting forcefully, incarcerating the leaders of the le Poers in Dublin gaol in early 1339.²²

Herein may lie further pointers to the decision to appoint a new justiciar. Contacts between the lordship and the court were very close in this period. The earl of Salisbury was lord of Carlow, while Robert Ufford, earl of Suffolk, held lands in Co. Waterford. William de Bohun, earl of Northampton, was the brother of Countess Eleanor of Ormond, and was married to Elizabeth de Badlesmere, sister and co-heiress of Giles de Badlesmere, and mother by her first marriage of the heir to the lordship of Trim, Roger Mortimer. Earl Henry of Derby was the brother of Countess Matilda of Ulster. Several members of the royal council were connected to the lady of Clare, who held valuable properties on both sides of the Irish Sea, both as a co-heiress of the Clare earls of Gloucester and Hertford, lords of the liberty of Kilkenny, and also as a widow enjoying properties from the de Burgh lordships settled on her in jointure, and dower portions from the inheritance of her second husband, Theobald de Verdon. Henry Ferrers, chamberlain from 1337 to 1340, was her son-in-law, through his marriage to Isabel de Verdon, and Bartholomew de Burghersh was the husband of her step-daughter, Elizabeth de Verdon. Both held lands in Meath by right of their wives from the de

21. John's lordship had been attacked by Roger Lestrangle, steward of the earl of Arundel, in June 1337 while he was at Stamford, negotiating his departure to Ireland (*CCR 1337-39* p136).

22. Frame, *Lordship*, p231

Verdon inheritance. Her sister-in-law, Joan de Burgh, was dowager countess of Kildare, and wife of John Darcy, while her niece, Margaret Audley, was heiress presumptive to her mother's purparty of Kilkenny, and was married to Ralph Stafford, who was to succeed Darcy as steward in 1340.

Although it cannot conclusively be proven that all or even any of these possible routes of influence into royal counsels were open or used, or that political alliances were aligned along blood ties, it is possible that calls came from within the court circle for the appointment of a new justiciar. The disturbances in 1338 can only have alarmed those with interests in Tipperary and Kilkenny, while the murder of Edmund son of Richard de Burgh must have further fuelled the fears of Matilda of Lancaster for the life and inheritance of her daughter Elizabeth de Burgh. The countess was still seeking vengeance for the murder of Earl William, and had placed a price on the heads of Richard and Jill de Mandeville, believed widely to have arranged the killing, seeking their capture alive or dead. John Charlton was prohibited from pardoning anyone involved with the assassination.²³

That the voices of those in the court circle were heard and listened to in relation to the affairs of the lordship is also clear from a number of appointments during the Charlton administration. William Benet, appointed customer on 26 March 1337, was in the service of William Montagu, acting as attorney for the earl and the following year as seneschal of his liberty of Carlow.²⁴ John Gernon, appointed justice of the Dublin Bench on 15 May 1338, was the attorney of the Countess of Ulster, while another of her associates, Hugh de Burgh, was appointed chief baron of the Dublin exchequer on 23 September 1337, and treasurer on 29 June 1339 specifically at her request.²⁵ Furthermore, Thomas Wogan, granted the escheatry of Ireland on 18 April 1337, and

23. *CCR 1337-39* pp155,170

24. *CFR 1337-47* p9; *Rep DKI 44* p61, 45 p42; *CCR 1334-38* p393; *PROI RC8/21* pp 2,187,333, *RC8/22* p173

25. *CPR 1330-34* pp 484,486, *1334-38* pp179,462,486,520, *1338-40* pp81,157; *CFR 1337-47* p137

Thomas Saundeby, who was reappointed customer in succession to Benet on 25 November 1339, were both associates of John Darcy.

Against this background of probable disquiet concerning turbulence in the lordship came the king's own concern over the yield of revenue from Ireland and the quality of royal ministers there. Thomas Charlton was thus summoned to report on the state of affairs in the lordship and Darcy was appointed justiciar in his place. He was undoubtedly well qualified and may have been proposed by influential voices at court.²⁶ Darcy was allied to the de Burghs by marriage, and was held in favour by other quarters of the Anglo-Irish community, as is evident in the petitions of 1342 which requested that he, specifically, be sent to the lordship.²⁷ He had been the agent of reconciliation in 1329 and 1333-4 in the case of the earl of Desmond, and in securing Ulster and arranging a settlement within the de Burgh lineage following Earl William's murder.

Reconciliation was underway in the spring of 1340. Edmund de Burgh and his brother Raymond were pardoned in March. Both Raymond and Eustace le Poer served in the Low Countries with the king in the summer.²⁸ Such conciliation may have begun before Charlton left and it is difficult to assess Darcy's role since he remained with the king. Nevertheless, Edward presumably did intend, initially at least, that the new justiciar should go to Ireland, but his attitude was ambivalent. Having obtained funds from parliament, he returned to the Low Countries, taking his steward with him. Darcy's appointment was overtaken by the crisis in the English government in late 1340, and by March 1341 Edward had decided that he could not "dispense with his presence

26. *CCR 1339-41* p463. Darcy acknowledged a debt of £200 to the lady of Clare in April - evidence of contact but not necessarily a 'political' alliance.

27. Sayles, *Affairs*, p179. Alternatively, the demand may just have been for the presence of the chief governor, irrespective of identity. He happened to be John Darcy, and was named.

28. Frame, *Lordship*, p232; *CCR 1339-41* pp397,547. Raymond was described as king's yeoman on 10 April, and was granted £100 for the array and passage of men and hobelars to France.

in continual attendance at his side". The justiciar's associate, John Morice, was deputed in his place.²⁹

* * *

Darcy was presumably involved, as steward, in the presentation of business at the parliament which gathered on 29 March 1340.³⁰ He received two commissions in its wake. Parliament had voted taxes on wool of a ninth and on mobilia of a ninth and a fifteenth. Darcy was one of those appointed supervisors on 20 April of tax-collectors in Lincolnshire, and on 28 April one of three appointed to inspect ports between Boston and Ipswich in view of continuing difficulties in enforcing prohibitions on the smuggling of wool and evasion of customs duties.³¹

The king embarked for Flanders with a fleet of some forty ships on 22 June. Payment to members of his household was long overdue and he issued writs of payment by assignment on the ninth. Darcy was owed £740.12.3¹/₂.³² He fought with the king at Sluys on 24 June and at the siege of Tournai in August and September.³³ However, the siege proved laborious, divisive, and ultimately unsuccessful. Quarrels between van Artevelde and Duke John of Brabant divided the king's forces. This and continuing financial difficulties obliged Edward to agree to a truce at Esplechin in the autumn. English officials were still unable to enforce a royal monopoly on wool and to collect the ninth. The king could not, therefore, meet his obligations. Vast sums were owed to

29. *CPR 1340-43* p144

30. *CPR 1338-40* p516

31. *CPR 1338-40* pp499,500,507

32. *CCR 1339-41* p523

33. *CPR 1340-43* p116

creditors in England and the Low Countries and to many in his service. Darcy himself was owed £1,100 in wages.³⁴

In fury the king determined to return to England and to call his ministers to account for their failure to provide him with the resources necessary to honour his promises. He arrived by night at the Tower of London on 30 November to find the constable absent. The latter was dismissed, as were the chancellor and treasurer. The chief justice of the King's Bench, four justices of the Common Bench, and other officials were arrested. Judicial commissions were issued to investigate alleged misconduct in the localities. Deep rooted seeds of doubt and distrust had formed in the king's mind in the latter months of 1340 against his principal minister in England, Archbishop John Stratford, and the latter was to face the full force of Edward's wrath.³⁵

In January 1341 Edward lifted the exemption enjoyed by church lands from the ninth.³⁶ Stratford objected but the king was determined to break him. Darcy, appointed chamberlain of the household in December, and William Kilsby, keeper of the privy seal, were the king's instruments in attempting to force the archbishop to yield to his demands in late April and early May. Their efforts to prevent him from entering parliament and coming into the king's presence were frustrated on 28 April by Earl Warenne and the earls of Northampton and Salisbury, who objected to Edward's high-handedness. In the following two days, Darcy and Kilsby published articles against the archbishop and attempted to stir up London against him. Nevertheless, the magnates insisted he be judged by his peers and a superficial reconciliation took place between Edward and Stratford in full parliament on 3 May.³⁷

34. *CCR 1339-41* p608. Bernadot d'Albret in Gascony was owed over £12,500, and Reginald of Guelders was due 110,000 gold florins, and 1030 sacks of wool (Lucas, *op. cit.* p429).

35. Fryde, 'Removal', 149-61.

36. G.L. Harriss, *King, Parliament, and Public Finance in Medieval England to 1369* (Oxford, 1975) p288

37. B. Wilkinson, 'The Protest of the Earls of Arundel and Surrey in the Crisis of 1341', *EHR* xlv (1931), 177-193

That the king had failed to achieve his demands was not due to a lack of zeal on the part of his household officials, but to the opposition of the magnates, and significantly that of two of his close associates, William Montagu and William de Bohun, who had profited so much in his service. With the return of the earl of Derby, however, who had remained at Malines with the earl of Warwick as a hostage for the king's debts, the breaches began to heal. The statute embodying parliament's demands in May was rescinded by Edward in October, but while he maintained his rights to choose his own councillors, it has been argued that he involved the magnates much more in decision-making processes as the royal council became more broadly-based. Moreover, opportunities to serve in France in the 1340s diverted their energies, and enabled the king to offer them 'good lordship'.³⁸

The events of this crisis beg the question as to how much the household officers such as Darcy and Kilsby were just executors and agents of royal policy and to what extent they were influential in policy formulation. Kilsby may have borne some personal animosity against the archbishop, since Stratford had preferred William Zouche over him in the spring of 1340 to the see of York.³⁹ Darcy as a soldier and royal councillor actively involved in the prosecution of war and the forging of alliances in the Low Countries can only have been frustrated by the lack of progress and apparent ineptitude of the domestic government in financing the war. It is noteworthy that Kilsby accompanied Edward to Scotland in late 1341, but resigned the privy seal the following June in preparation for a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. Harriss argues that a greater reconciliation was possible between the king and those who had been in the domestic administration of 1340 because of Kilsby's drift away from the royal council.⁴⁰ Had he taken a lead in the campaign against Stratford, fuelled by his own animus, and was Edward now dispensing with his services as a royal councillor on account of his failure?

38. Harriss, *op. cit.*, p308

39. Fryde, 'Removal', p159

40. Harriss, *op. cit.*, p308

He had incurred magnate displeasure and his position may have become untenable with the growing rapprochement between Edward and his earls.

Darcy was more fortunate. He too served with Edward in Scotland in late 1341 and like Kilsby was absent from England in the latter half of 1342 with William de Bohun in Brittany. Nevertheless, he remained chamberlain and justiciar, retaining royal favour because he could offer the king valuable military service. A new contract was drawn up on 1 August 1341 between Edward and Darcy.⁴¹ It is possible that Northampton's Breton expedition provided him with breathing space, since the king's measures for the reform of the Dublin administration had by then turned sour. Yet Darcy's contribution to these measures is not easy to assess, and if the king attributed the crisis in Ireland 1341-2 to the errant advice of his justiciar and chamberlain, why did he not dismiss him, or send him to the lordship as the Anglo-Irish community requested, rather than allowing him to go to Brittany?

* * *

Edward's attention had turned to the administration of Ireland in the early months of 1341. A wide-ranging sweep was made of the higher echelon of royal ministers and the new team of appointees was required to conduct a thorough investigation of the Dublin government.⁴² The king's primary concern was to raise the yield of revenue from the lordship for the war against France. A writ issued on 15 March ordered the cancellation of atterminations and the levy of all debts made after 1327, and all pardons of arrears of ministers' accounts, save in certain specified cases and exempting the grants of Leixlip and Chapelizod to the late prior of the Hospitallers, Roger Outlaw.⁴³ A more severe

41. He agreed to maintain 10 knights, 40 men-at-arms, 30 armed men and 40 archers in the king's service (*CPR 1340-43* p259).

42. *CPR 1340-43* p207; Frame, *Lordship*, p242ff; R.F. Frame, 'English Policies and Anglo-Irish Attitudes in the Crisis of 1341-2' in J.F. Lydon (ed.), *England and Ireland in the Later Middle Ages : Essays in Honour of Joscelyn Otway-Ruthven* (Dublin 1981), 86-103

43. *CCR 1341-43* p30

measure followed. In a writ dated 27 July, the justiciar was ordered to seize "all lands and liberties" granted since 1307 "so that answer be made for the issues thereof at the exchequer of Dublin; warning all concerned that all grants made for true, just and reasonable causes shall be renewed and all grants obtained by fraud and untrue suggestion shall be quashed".⁴⁴

The order was far more extensive in range and scope than the writ directed to Lucy in 1331, since it threatened the privileges of many of the major towns and ecclesiastical foundations, and encompassed all three southern earldoms and their liberty endowments. Nevertheless, the fact that such hostility was aroused against royal ministers, as steps were taken to put the measure into effect, was because the promise of restoration, should grants be found to have been made justly, received no mention in the notice of the writ given by John Morice to the Dublin exchequer.⁴⁵ The chancellor and treasurer hastened to England while the Anglo-Irish community, united by this common threat, drew up petitions alleging misconduct and abuse of office by royal ministers. These were sent to the king, thus presenting him with an opportunity to restore the situation with his ministers as scapegoats.

Why was such an order issued and what part did John Darcy play in this crisis? He was, after all, a member of the royal council and justiciar of Ireland. The resumption order stated that the king had revoked all grants "by the council and assent of the learned men sitting with him". Presumably Darcy was one of those "learned men" with the king when the decision was taken.⁴⁶ Of the administration entrusted with the commission, John Morice was his deputy and a close associate, while William Epworth, flung into

44. *CFR 1337-47* p234

45. Frame, *Lordship*, pp249,250

46. This is only an assumption. Darcy was, however, chamberlain of the royal household. Eight days later, on 1 August, while the king was still at the Tower of London, Edward renewed Darcy's contract as a banneret, and awarded an annuity of £40 to his son "for good and gratuitous service in staying by the king's side for a long time without any fee and in consideration of the great place which he holds for him" (*CPR 1340-43* pp259,283).

prison for his attempts to carry out the revocation order, had been granted the seneschalcy of the royal demesne lands near Dublin on 12 March "on the information" of the chamberlain.⁴⁷

One cannot conclude from this, however, that Darcy played a particularly prominent role in formulating policy towards the lordship. The grants to Morice and Epworth, and the appointments of Roger Darcy and Roger de Preston,⁴⁸ illustrate his standing at court and his influence as justiciar but no more. It remains impossible to assess to what extent he was an active propounder in royal counsels of the impetus to scrutinise royal government. By virtue of his office he was undoubtedly involved, but the driving force behind the investigation of his administration would seem to have been Edward himself and its scope covered England, Wales, and Ireland.⁴⁹ With regard to 'reform' in England, Darcy had been prominent in the campaign against Stratford, but it was Kilsby who seems to have taken a greater lead. Moreover they were acting as Edward's agents in a personal attack launched by a furious and suspicious king. They may have seen themselves as attacking a slothful, inefficient and corrupt domestic administration because of its failure to finance the French war, but in terms of dealing with the Dublin government, the council left by Edward between 1338 and 1340 had been similarly 'reform-minded'. Moreover, although there is consistency in the English government's concerns about the Dublin government from 1341 to 1344, there is no evidence by which one can attribute this to John Darcy. Although nominally justiciar, he was preoccupied with the duties of the chamberlainship, and the fortunes of the French war. While he may have favoured an investigation into grants, he was certainly opposed to any reorganisation of the customs and escheatry, since this was contrary to the interests of his associates.

47. *CPR 1340-43* p146

48. See chapter 5

49. W.H. Waters, *The Edwardian Settlement in North Wales in its Administrative and Legal Aspects (1284-1343)* (Cardiff, 1935) p84

A closer examination of the revocation order reveals that careful thought went into its drafting, but it remains impossible to tease out any specific contribution by John Darcy. The order does seem to be worded quite carefully. The warning that all true grants would be renewed and all fraudulent ones quashed and the conclusion that all grants were revoked "until he be informed of the merits of the grantees and causes and nature of the grants" may indicate a concern for the possible reaction in the lordship to a blunter statement. The "learned men" were possibly alive to its likely impact, therefore, but, in view of the close court contacts with the lordship, were more probably mindful primarily of their own interests. In comparison, the writ addressed to Lucy in 1331 had contained no such indications as to subsequent action.

The reasons for the issue of the order were clearly set out. Although differently worded from those in the writ to Lucy which stated that resumption had been ordered because the royal government "had been conducted by the king's councillors to his damage and dishonour", it embodied similar concerns even though these were occasioned by different factors.⁵⁰ The 1331 writ was an extension in Ireland of moves in England to cancel the grants specifically made by Mortimer. The 1341 order was concerned that "many excessive grants [had been] made ... by the importunity of suppliants, of the merits of whom and of whose petitions the king has no knowledge". As in England, franchisal privileges were under attack, and the king was not just aiming at lordships with liberty status but at smaller, but still valuable, fry.

The timing of the writ is also significant. It was issued not in March when the new administration was commissioned but some two months after its arrival in Ireland. The justiciar, chancellor, and treasurer had taken with them orders to send back to the king a detailed breakdown of his administration in the lordship: the number of ministers, what offices they held, whether or not such offices were to the king's profit, how many ministers were required, how many had served in the past, and under what terms they

50. *CFR 1327-37* p241

had served.⁵¹ The content of a measure issued on 27 July stating that "the king will be better served in that land by English ministers having rent and possessions in England than by Irishmen or Englishmen who are married and have possessions in Ireland and nothing in England"⁵² suggests that information had been received from Dublin. The revocation order, dated three days earlier, may have been part of the same response, possibly arising from a suggestion from Dublin and originating in a concern about the vested interests of royal ministers, as well as franchisal liberties in general.

The July writs may have been issued with the examples of the two Dublin chief justices, both Anglo-Irishmen, in mind. Elias de Ashbourne, dismissed from the justiciar's bench on 20 March, not only clung to office until 25 May, but did not yield Arklow castle until 22 June.⁵³ His grants had been cancelled on 20 March, but grants of the constabship of the castle had been issued to Walter de Boneville on 8 April 1340 and 26 February 1341.⁵⁴ Simon fitzRichard, dismissed from the Dublin Bench on 13 March after failing to account for his temporary custody of the escheatorship, lost a number of grants, one of which at least he certainly seems to have obtained in suspicious circumstances.⁵⁵

The original impetus for the order may, therefore, have come from Dublin, although ministers' minds there may have been coloured by what they had seen of events in England. Darcy's own opinions remain obscure. One cannot conclude that he was an author of this order, simply because he was justiciar, but presumably he must have been party to the discussions about it. The king and council failed in wisdom by not sending the justiciar to Ireland to carry out the order, and by leaving it to John Morice who lacked Darcy's standing, experience and military prowess. With their minds

51. *CPR 1340-43* p207

52. *CCR 1341-43* p184

53. PRO E101/240/17, 241/5

54. *CCR 1341-43* p33; *CPR 1340-43* pp143,149

55. See biography

undoubtedly preoccupied with the French war, the full implications of the order do not seem to have been realised. Nevertheless, revocation orders issued in 1331 and 1336 were successfully enforced and the violence of the storm that broke in the lordship can be attributed to the lack of promises of restoration in the order Morice sent to the exchequer. The threat the Anglo-Irish community faced was, on the face of that order, very real.

* * *

The king would thus seem to have been the main instigator of the reforming ordinances aimed at Dublin. Darcy's role remains difficult to ascertain. What is apparent though is the continuing favour in which he was held at court. He successfully petitioned, as did the lady of Trim, for restoration of all his lands in Ireland. This was granted "in consideration of his good service in constantly remaining at the king's side", and doubtless too because payments due for his military service were still outstanding. A similar writ was issued at his request in favour of his yeoman John de Founteys.⁵⁶ Moreover, he may have played an important part in defusing the crisis. As chamberlain he controlled access to the king, and may have enabled news of the reaction in the lordship, and the representations of the Anglo-Irish community, to be received in a favourable atmosphere. Thomas Wogan, chosen with John Larcher to convey the petitions to England, although a tenant-in-chief of the king in Ireland, was also a close

56. *CCR 1341-43* p293 - 10.10.1341. A number of grants were issued to Darcy as assignment of wages due to him. On 10 October he received promise of a repayment of £1060.17.4¹/₂ which he had lent to the king two days previously. This loan seems to have been in the form of a temporary surrender of bills of payment owed to him for his wages, those of his retainers and for horses lost in royal service (*CPR 1340-43* p292). On the same day he was granted custody of the dower lands of the late widow of Thomas de Swynburn during the minority of his heir (*CPR 1340-43* p304). These manors lay in the Severn valley. On 28 November Darcy was granted assignments on the rents of the lands in England of the Normandy abbey of Lire (*CCR 1341-43* p323). Custody of these lands had been granted to him and his attorney, William de Finchdene, for a rent of £130 per annum, but the following February he was granted licence to levy the £1060.17.4¹/₂ due to him in wages, from the abbey's lands (*CCR 1341-43* pp323,385; *CFR 1337-47* p269). Assistance was ordered in August when royal serjeants-at-arms were sent to resist the confiscation of his property (*CPR 1340-43* p547).

associate of John Darcy, and had served in the steward's retinue in the Low Countries in 1339.⁵⁷

As the king began to retreat from the stark orders issued the previous year while the petitions were deliberated and discussed, a number of ministers entrusted with the revocation order - Robert Askeby, William Epworth, and William Power - were replaced. John Morice, however, was to remain as deputy justiciar, and there was no question of Darcy going to the lordship, since the king could not "conveniently do without him".⁵⁸ Darcy's son, Roger, appointed escheator on 28 August 1341, retained office, as did the customer, Thomas Saundeby, another associate, despite the king's initial proposals that the escheatry and customs collection be reorganised.⁵⁹ In addition Roger and Thomas were allowed to appoint deputies while serving in Brittany with the justiciar.⁶⁰

Darcy was not alone among royal council members to continue in the king's favour. Other influences represented in the royal council are also evident in appointments to the administration in Dublin. The Countess of Ulster's associate Hugh de Burgh held the treasurership right through this period until the appointment of John de Burnham in 1343, while her attorney, John Gemon, had been appointed chief justice of the Dublin Bench on 4 August 1341, with Roger de Preston, associated also with the Darcy grouping, as his colleague. The Countess of Ormond's attorney, William de Bromley, secured the chancellorship of the exchequer in October, after an ineffective appointment as second baron in July. The influence of other council members with vested interests in the lordship is demonstrated in writs directed to the justiciar cancelling demands

57. Both had strong grievances of their own - Larcher at the loss of Chapelizod and Leixlip; Wogan for his treatment at the hands of the treasurer who had not "cared" to receive his security for the issues of the escheatry, and had confiscated his goods and lands for failure to account - he had been in Wales on the king's service at the time.

58. *CPR 1340-43* pp391,408

59. Sayles, *Affairs*, p177; Berry, *Statutes*, p357

60. *CPR 1340-43* pp502,510

made for scutage levied on the lands held by Henry de Ferrers and Bartholomew de Burghersh during the minorities of their respective wives.⁶¹

* * *

The drawing up and issue in 1341 of the writs relating to the royal administration and revenues in Ireland, as has been suggested, was most probably triggered by specific problems. A similar case can be argued for the ordinances of 1336 and 1338-9. Nevertheless, although this expression of concern, in the form of ordinances and writs and new appointments, for the state of the profits and government of the lordship, was spasmodic, there was a greater depth of continuity to these measures than merely the superficial similarity of language. The petitions and complaints of disgruntled ministers and aggrieved parties, and disputes between rival candidates for office, were additional strands to the central thread of alarm at the declining receipts from the lordship. Why was there a fall-off and how was it to be halted? How could the king ensure his ministers in Ireland carried out their duties efficiently and responsibly to his greatest profit? The Charlton administration failed to halt the decline, while the 1341 ordinances disastrously misfired.

Edward III wanted increased revenues from the lordship particularly from 1337 to finance the war against France. He therefore wanted an efficient administration free from ministers who looked to their own interest before his. But ministers required incentives to faithful service. Possession of incomes in Ireland cast them in a suspicious light - hence the desire for officials with holdings only in England, which could be sequestrated for sharp practice. The king also required military service to provide the manpower to fight his wars. To encourage this he also needed to offer 'good lordship' to the knightly classes - the means of sustenance, incentives, revenues, as well as opportunities for service. Such grants frustrated 'reform-minded' ministers in the Dublin government because attempts to 'reform' never went far enough and were

61. *CCR 1341-43* p415

undone by the king's own patronage. This remained the case especially during the decade that John Darcy was in such a position of influence at court, from 1337 to 1347, when his interests and those of his associates were upheld.

The chamberlain was a tried and trusted loyal servant, efficient and effective in fulfilling the duties and tasks entrusted to him. He provided valuable military service in the Low Countries in 1339/40, in Brittany in 1342 and 1345, and in Normandy in 1346.⁶² He had served the king and his father faithfully in Scotland and Ireland. Darcy was, therefore, rewarded, and encouraged to continue in royal service, by grants of land and privilege in England, giving him an influential position in the counties of Lincolnshire, Nottinghamshire, and Derbyshire, and in Ireland, and through grants to his family and associates who profited not only on account of their own service, but also from his own influential position and place in the king's favour. This is evident in the aftermath of the 1341/2 crisis, with the further indication that there were others successful in courting royal favour, and it is again apparent in the years between that crisis and his death in 1347.

The concern of the English government about the Dublin administration did not die away, but was next expressed in direct action in the appointment of a new administration in 1344 headed by Ralph Ufford. Some of the writs issued in 1344 were direct counterparts of those drawn up in 1341. More careful consideration had been given to the implementation of quo warranto enquiries, but the government had also been given sharp teeth in the form of a retinue of 200 archers and 40 men-at-arms.⁶³ Ufford was granted 1000 marks towards his costs, reminiscent of the grant in 1337 to

62. Darcy went to Brittany in 1342. An expedition left in August under the earl of Northampton; the king followed in October. Knighton indicates that Darcy accompanied Bohun (*Chronicon Henrici Knighton*, ed J.R. Lumby, 2 vols (Rolls Series, 1889-95), ii p25), but grants to the chamberlain continued until 18 October, suggesting that he set out with the king (*CPR 1340-43* pp 502,506,509,510,513,531,547; *CCR 1341-43* pp 580,649,656). Darcy did accompany Bohun to Brittany in 1345 (*Foedera Syllabus*, i p342).

63. *CPR 1343-45* p227

the Charlton brothers.⁶⁴ Nevertheless, the political complexions and alignments within the lordship overtook any straight administrative exercise. Ufford's death brought the necessity of further reconciliation and as in 1342, Darcy, whose involvement in the lordship's affairs had lessened when the king bought out his life-grant in 1344, was in a position to aid this process.

* * *

Examining the years between 1342 and 1347 in more detail, it is evident that Darcy remained in a powerful and favoured position. He was king's chamberlain until his death, with one intermission, 1345/6, while he was in Brittany with the earl of Northampton. He was able to consolidate his holdings in the North Midlands and in Ireland. In October 1342 Darcy established the legality of his rights in Torksey, consulting Domesday.⁶⁵ He also secured restoration of the manor of Glynneth.⁶⁶ The following May he was granted an annual fair and twice weekly market in Gainsborough.⁶⁷

Two grants were awarded to John Darcy in recompense for his surrender of his life-grant of the office of justiciar. On 16 February 1344, he was assigned £100 per annum from the revenues of York city, previously held by William de Roos of Helmsley.⁶⁸ He later demised this on 5 May to Ralph Neville, to whom he owed £500.⁶⁹ He was also granted an assignment of £183.6.8. from the farms of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Scarborough and the county of Nottinghamshire, held by Countess Marie of

64. *CCR 1343-46* p301

65. *CPR 1340-43* p531

66. *PROI RC8/22* p311

67. *CChR 1341-1417* pp38,19

68. *CPR 1343-45* p200

69. *CPR 1343-45* p250; *CCR 1343-46* p372

Pembroke.⁷⁰ This arrangement was advantageous to the king. Darcy had been granted in fee the reversion of Temple Newsom, Templehirst and Torksey, and held these properties on a twelve-year lease. The Countess was to release the said income to Darcy, and to receive this sum from the king to whom reversion of the properties was now to fall on her death.

On 20 January 1345 Darcy was granted free warren in Torksey, Templehirst, Temple Newsom, Eckington, and Kirkeby, and the following day received licence to impark his woods on these manors. He was also granted the advowsons of the priories of St Leonard's by Torksey and Fosse by Torksey, and of the church of Beghton, Derbyshire. On the same day he received confirmation of earlier grants of the manors of Rathwire, Kildalkey and Garristown, the reversion of the grange of Rathwire, and the manors of Eckington, and Kirkeby.⁷¹ The final grant, relating to Torksey, which Darcy received on 10 May before he left on the Breton expedition, was confirmation of a borough charter issued by Henry II.⁷² Two appointments which reflected and augmented his standing in the north Midlands were those on 2 March 1344 as constable of Nottingham castle for life, and on 9 January 1345 to supervise the assessment of the men of Nottinghamshire and Lincolnshire for the provision of forces, in proportion to their income, for the defence of the realm.⁷³

* * *

The Breton expedition of 1342 proved a fresh venture and a useful diversion for the energies of the court. Initial military success united the somewhat fractured magnate circle, who had provided only half-hearted support for the expedition to Scotland the

70. *CPR 1343-45* p208

71. *CChR 1341-1417* p36; *CPR 1343-45* p382; *PROI RC8/23* p318. Darcy's Irish manors may have been the subject of quo warranto enquiries initiated by the writs of 10.8.1344.

72. *CPR 1343-45* p466

73. *CPR 1343-45* pp214,427

previous winter.⁷⁴ Breathing-space was also provided for Ireland, but the English government maintained its watch over the Dublin administration. The survey of the exchequer that had resulted in the issue in November 1341 of so many writs relating to its procedures, and the petitions from the Anglo-Irish community itself, doubtless aroused concern and warranted verification.⁷⁵ A writ was issued on 5 September 1342 ordering the retention of copies of all writs sent from the English chancery during the preceding two years, while the originals were to be returned to England.⁷⁶ The examination of grants made by the king was thus to continue. A new treasurer, John de Burnham, formerly a clerk of the king's wardrobe and subsequently entrusted with the treasurership of Prince Edward's household, was appointed in place of Hugh de Burgh in January 1343.⁷⁷ John was commissioned with John de Balscote to investigate the conduct of previous treasurers, auditing their accounts and arresting them if necessary.⁷⁸ Hugh was ordered to account for the issues of the lordship in person accompanied by one of the exchequer chamberlains.⁷⁹

These investigations culminated in the appointment of a fresh administration. Since the king could not dispense with his chamberlain's services, he bought out Darcy's life-grant by providing him with revenues in England, and a new justiciar was appointed. The new husband of the Countess of Ulster, Ralph Ufford, another banneret in the royal household, and a younger brother of the earl of Suffolk, was chosen. A representative of de Burgh interests, Ralph was a suitable candidate to reassert control over the earldom of Ulster - of particular interest to the king, not merely to ensure the security of

74. The king's expedition in October achieved little, ending in the Treaty of Malestroit, but Northampton had successfully relieved Brest in August, and defeated Charles de Blois at Morlaix in September.

75. *CCR 1341-43* pp308,309

76. *CCR 1341-43* p652

77. *CFR 1337-47* p319; *CPR 1343-45* p3; *PROI RC8/22* p386

78. *CPR 1343-45* p8

79. *PROI RC8/22* p642

the north and west of Ireland, but also because Elizabeth de Burgh, heiress of both the Brown Earl and of the lady of Clare, had been betrothed to his son Lionel in 1341.⁸⁰

The writs that accompanied Ufford's appointment are of considerable interest, revealing the continuity in the thinking of the English government, yet also its shaping by events in 1341. Darcy's part in royal counsels is again unclear. If content to advocate some reform, he was still protecting Roger Darcy and Thomas Saundeby. On 3 February all former ministers were ordered to stay in Ireland pending investigations into their conduct by the new justices being sent from England.⁸¹ The charges against Elias de Ashbourne may have provided an immediate trigger for the writ's issue, but its scope was wide and reflected the worries of the previous few years. Two standard powers were granted to the justiciar on 4 June. Like Anthony de Lucy, John Charlton, and Thomas Charlton before him, he was granted authority to remove sheriffs and other ministers, if they should prove inadequate, and to appoint others on the advice of the treasurer and chancellor.⁸² Ufford was ordered to inspect the exchequer biannually with other members of the council and to correct irregularities.⁸³ Darcy had petitioned for this right in 1328, but Ufford's writ is more reminiscent of the commission given to Darcy, Morice and Askeby in November 1341 to survey the exchequer, correcting faults and abuses, and reporting on the conduct of ministers, indicating such an inspection was now regarded in England as a necessity.⁸⁴

The justiciar was also to seize all waste lands and to lease them to the king's advantage, and he was given authority to receive felons into the king's peace.⁸⁵ Concern about the defence of the marches underlay the interest in lands wasted and abandoned, but the

80. *Foedera Syllabus*, i p321

81. *CCR 1343-46* p341

82. *CPR 1343-45* p263 cf *CPR 1330-34* p83, *1334-38* p477, *1338-40* p126

83. *CCR 1343-46* p320

84. *CPR 1340-43* p349

85. *CFR 1337-47* p380, *CPR 1343-45* p268

English government wanted information as to where the lands lay and under what terms they had been leased. A further writ was issued eleven days later on 14 June requesting further information regarding how long such lands had been occupied by the Irish, implying a concern that such leases and grants should not be made carelessly.⁸⁶

Commissions issued on 10 August renewed quo warranto enquiries, dropped with the cancellation of the 1341 revocation order.⁸⁷ Nevertheless, there was to be no seizing of lands and custodies. Those claiming liberties were to appear before the justices of the justiciar's court on a day set by the latter "to propound their claims". The justices were to send their claims to the Irish chancery for verification, and these were to be returned within a set period. Once more liberties were the focus of royal scrutiny. The writ did not specify what would happen should such claims fail to find recognition, and seems to allow some discretion on the part of the justices.⁸⁸

The commissions also addressed several problems referred to in the 1342 petitions, such as checks on the fees of constables and the appointment of sheriffs as escheators and of customs collectors in the localities, "as the king is informed that the escheator and collector of customs in that land cannot exercise their offices by reason of the wars". Although the writ stated that both "receive great and divers fees from the king yearly ... and that the said offices might be executed for a less substantial sum and with a greater utility by the sheriffs and others", Roger Darcy and Thomas Saundeby both retained office, presumably through John Darcy's influence. Roger's appointment was confirmed on 16 October, stating that he was not to be removed without reasonable cause, but it is notable that he felt constrained to be back in the lordship in 1345.⁸⁹

86. *CPR 1343-45* p268

87. *CCR 1343-46* pp454,455

88. The justices "shall do what is right for the final discussion of those liberties and other things which they shall find to have been usurped from the crown by inquisitions taken before them".

89. *CPR 1343-45* pp350,481; Frame, 'Ufford', pp25,31

Royal ministers were to receive only the fees due to them and not additional wages for themselves or their households every time they accompanied the justiciar beyond Dublin, as on purely military expeditions. Furthermore, abuses in the courts were to be corrected, and Robert of Scarborough, entrusted with the supervision of the quo warranto enquiries, was also to oversee the procedures of both benches. As in England,⁹⁰ two new seals were made for use in both courts and Scarborough was to enjoy their custody and profit, as writs were being issued without being sealed with the royal seal. Scarborough was also to look after "the rolls of records and processes of pleas in that Bench". The writ does not make it clear whether his predecessors or the keeper, William de Bosworth, appointed by John Darcy, were at fault. What it does indicate is that the lordship had suffered from the wars and demands of its lord which kept its justiciar at his side, leaving a deputy without the necessary standing, ability, and inclination to supervise the justiciar's court and to keep a check on the conduct of the chief justice Elias de Ashbourne. Further writs pursuing the quo warranto enquiries were issued in November probably in the light of information from Ufford, who was granted permission to demise forfeited lands to new tenants, and was ordered to make extents of lands granted by the king so that accurate figures were submitted to the exchequer countering "favour and fraud".⁹¹

* * *

The progress of these fresh initiatives at reform is difficult to monitor, although it is clear that revenue receipts rose sharply.⁹² A new judicial team was appointed in June and July 1344. Investigations were carried out into the conduct of Elias de Ashbourne, the former chief justice of the justiciar's bench, and into that of John de Balscote, chief engrosser. A strong political complexion overlay the events of the justiciarship and Ufford's attack on Desmond and the destruction of the le Poers were not just the results

90. Wilkinson, *Chancery*, p13

91. *CCR 1343-46* p478; *CFR 1337-47* p401

92. Frame, 'Ufford', p38

of an enforcement of the quo warranto enquiries using the large retinue the justiciar had brought over. Ufford represented a number of interests influential at court - de Burgh, Badlesmere, and Ormond.⁹³

The Badlesmere purparty of the Clare inheritance once more proved the cause of Desmond's unseating and war in Munster. Thomas Charlton had ruled that Inchiquin and Youghal were held of the earl and had granted him custody following the death of Giles Badlesmere.⁹⁴ The husbands of Giles' four sisters and coheiresses had sought redress in July 1342, requesting verification as to whether the lands were held of Desmond or in chief of the king.⁹⁵ Doubtless their grievances were among those prompting the enquiries into tenure of land. The king granted custody of Inchiquin to two of the Badlesmere heiresses, Margery and Elizabeth, in June 1344,⁹⁶ and Ufford's first action in the lordship was to move south-west to Cork to enforce this grant.

Elizabeth Badlesmere's husband, Earl William de Bohun of Northampton, enjoyed particular favour at court during these years. Successful in Brittany in 1342, he captained another expedition in 1345, when he was accompanied by another rising military commander, Sir Thomas Dagworth, who had married Bohun's sister, the dowager Countess of Ormond, sometime in 1343/4. De Bohun influence at court doubtless secured his wife's inheritance and their interests were established directly by Ufford.⁹⁷ In addition to the Badlesmere inheritance, Desmond had also held custody of the Butler lands in Munster during the minority of the young earl of Ormond.⁹⁸

93. Frame, *Lordship*, p266

94. Frame, *Lordship*, p229

95. *CCR 1341-43* p636

96. *CPR 1343-45* pp269,270; Frame, *Lordship*, p273

97. By her first marriage to Edmund Mortimer of Wigmore, Elizabeth Badlesmere was the mother of Roger Mortimer, the heir to Trim. Mortimer interests were represented in Ufford's retinue too, as is evident from the presence of Edmund Hakeluyt, later seneschal of Trim in the 1350s (Frame, *Lordship*, p266).

98. A.F. O'Brien, 'The Territorial Ambitions of Maurice fitzThomas, First Earl of Desmond, with particular reference to the Barony and Manor of Inchiquin, Co. Cork', *Proc. R.I.A.* lxxxii (1982), C, no 3 p72

Countess Eleanor disputed the custody, recovering it briefly in 1343, but was competing once more with the earl in 1344.⁹⁹ After protracted negotiations, the king, perhaps mindful of the ruling over Inchiquin and Youghal, and concerned to give 'good lordship' to Desmond, awarded custody to the earl in September in return for a hefty fine.¹⁰⁰ The same month, however, Ufford appointed Dagworth and the Countess as custodians.¹⁰¹ De Bohun influence had not prevailed at court but did achieve its ends through muscle in the lordship exercised by one confident not only of the king's favour towards him but to his fellow military captains.

Desmond and the justiciar were thus soon at war.¹⁰² The earl's attempt in February 1345 to resist these unjust proceedings through summoning a parliamentary gathering as in 1341 was unsuccessful.¹⁰³ Ufford was undoubtedly being heavy-handed in his actions, and Desmond was no Charles de Blois. By the time of the justiciar's death on 9 April, Desmond was in hiding, his allies the le Poers were dead, and the earl of Kildare, who had also fallen foul of Ufford, was in prison.¹⁰⁴ The king was urgently required to rebuild what was now a dangerously crippled lordship with all four comital houses suffering either minority or disgrace. Edward's absorption in his imminent expedition to northern France increased the necessity for rapid action. He turned to his chamberlain and to former ministers and associates of Darcy as temporary stop-gaps.

News of Ufford's illness and the likelihood of his death reached the king in the early months of 1346. John Morice was being sent back to Ireland to raise troops for the French expedition and Edward issued letters on 7 April appointing him justiciar in the

99. *CFR 1337-47* p341

100. A.F. O'Brien, *op. cit.*, p72; Frame, *Lordship*, p271

101. *CFR 1337-47* pp404,405; Frame, *Lordship*, p273

102. Frame, *Lordship*, p267ff

103. *Clyn*, p21; Frame, *Lordship*, p274

104. Frame, *Lordship*, p277

event of Ufford's death.¹⁰⁵ John Darcy, who returned in January from Brittany where he had served with the earl of Northampton and Thomas Dagworth, had been appointed constable of the Tower of London on 12 March.¹⁰⁶ The Tower was a major royal arsenal and Edward had no intention of dispensing with his chamberlain's services by sending him to Ireland. But on the other hand, the situation was too serious in the lordship to warrant the despatch of a mere deputy. Swift moves were made to replace Ufford with Walter de Bermingham.¹⁰⁷ In the interim Roger Darcy was appointed acting justiciar by the Irish Council and John Morice took up office on 16 May serving until Bermingham's arrival, and replacing Larcher as chancellor in August.¹⁰⁸

Although Edward did not intend to send John Darcy to the lordship, he was able to use the former justiciar's connexions in the rebuilding and reconciliation of the Anglo-Irish community. On 24 March the chamberlain was granted the marriage of the young Ormond heir "for good and long service" and a fine of 1000 marks.¹⁰⁹ Elizabeth Darcy, to whom James Butler was betrothed, was granddaughter of the Red Earl of Ulster and half-sister to Earl Maurice of Kildare, as well as the daughter of the king's chamberlain. The marriage thus brought Butler intimately into the court circle and anchored him firmly in the Anglo-Irish comital nexus. John Darcy was awarded the controversial Butler custodies on 4 April, but the following February James was granted seisin of his lands "because the king wishes him to come to his service in parts beyond the sea".¹¹⁰ As in 1342 when Desmond and Kildare were called to provide troops for Brittany, the king's provision of 'good lordship' and reconciliation, went hand in glove with the desire for military service.

105. PROI RC8/23 p589; *RCH* p49 no 58; Frame, *Lordship*, p278

106. *CPR 1345-48* p54. This post which he had held in 1332 carried an annual fee of £100.

107. *CPR 1345-48* p82

108. PROI RC8/23 p533; *RCH* p49 no44; PRO E101/241/13; *CCR 1346-49* p29

109. *CFR 1337-47* p465, *RCH* p50 no92; Frame, *Lordship*, p280

110. *CFR 1337-47* p465; *CCR 1346-49* p193

The king was also anxious to offer 'good lordship' to the young earl of Kildare, whom Ufford had arrested in August 1345. Darcy had been in Brittany during this time, but may have intervened on Maurice's behalf. Ufford was ordered to restore to Countess Joan and John Darcy her dower "issues and profits of the liberty of Kildare" on 25 March,¹¹¹ and it is clear that Kildare was being discussed. According to the Dublin Annals, the earl was released eight days after Maurice arrived in the lordship.¹¹² Nevertheless, this would appear to have been due to uprisings in the marches of Kildare. By the time the disturbances were suppressed and the earl was ready to go to the king, Darcy was dead, but the earl's service against the Irish, and obedience to his summons to Calais commended him to the king and won his eventual pardon.

Any involvement of Darcy in Desmond's case is more difficult to trace. The earl in any case had his own advocates in his Berkeley cousins, and faced the hostility of the royal ministers in Dublin.¹¹³ But Darcy was granted custody in March 1347 of Sir Walter de Mandeville, one of Desmond's closest allies, while one of the chamberlain's former associates, Herbert de Sutton, was constable of Bunnratty in December 1346.¹¹⁴ Like Ormond, both Kildare and Desmond were brought intimately into the household circle.¹¹⁵ Kildare was betrothed to Elizabeth, daughter of Bartholomew Burghersh, the king's chamberlain, while Desmond's heir, Maurice, was married to Beatrice Stafford, daughter of Ralph Stafford, king's steward from 1341 to 1345. Stafford and Richard Talbot, who succeeded him as steward, acted as Desmond's mainpennors and custodians during his gradual restoration. All these men - Darcy, Burghersh, Stafford, and Talbot -

111. *CCR 1346-49* p16; Frame, *Lordship*, pp281-2

112. *Dublin Annals*, p47

113. Frame, *Lordship*, p284ff

114. *Foedera Syllabus*, i p356; *RCH* p37 no 141

115. Frame, *Lordship*, pp283,290

held high office at court and important interests in Ireland, emphasising the continuing close connections between court and lordship in the 1340s.¹¹⁶

* * *

The last year of John Darcy's life provides a fitting conclusion to his long service with the king. He fought at Crécy and was commissioned on 9 September to take news of the victory to parliament and inform it of the king's intentions while Edward maintained the siege of Calais.¹¹⁷ Darcy's name also appears among those who fought at the battle of Neville's Cross in October when David Bruce, who had sought to take advantage of Edward's absence and to invade northern England, was captured.¹¹⁸ As constable of the Tower, he had custody of the prisoners, leading the king and a number of his earls to captivity in the south from the castles where they had been secured immediately following the victory.¹¹⁹

The security of these prisoners occupied his attention during the winter months of 1346-7. In April 1347 he was appointed to two judicial commissions in Hertfordshire, where he also held property, but died at the end of May.¹²⁰ A pardon, dated 30 May and issued "by Calais", was awarded to him "for good service in the war of France" of any crimes and of all "accounts and arrears of accounts and farms, as well as all debts at the

116. Bartholomew Burghersh had married Elizabeth, daughter and co-heiress of Theobald de Verdon; Ralph Stafford married Margaret Audley, heiress of Margaret de Clare, sister and co-heiress of Earl Gilbert of Gloucester and Hertford, lord of Kilkenny; Richard Talbot had married Elizabeth, daughter and co-heiress of Joan de Valence, sister and co-heiress of Earl Aymer of Pembroke, while Richard's son, Gilbert, married firstly the sister of Earl James II of Ormond, and secondly Ralph Stafford's daughter Joan.

117. *CPR 1345-48* p474; *Rot.Parl.* ii pp157-60; *Murimuth* p217

118. *Rot.Scot.* i 676

119. *CDS 1474,1485,1487,1488,1491*; *Rot.Scot.* i 680,685; *CCR 1346-49* p186

120. *CPR 1345-48* pp301,311; *CIPM* ix p31 no49

exchequer".¹²¹ A similar pardon relating to debts was issued under the privy seal on the same date at Abingdon.¹²²

121. *CPR 1345-48* p541

122. *CPR 1345-48* p358

5. JOHN DARCY : FRIENDS, FAMILY, AND ASSOCIATES

John Darcy benefited from 'good lordship' provided initially by the earl of Pembroke, and then by Edward II and Edward III. He, in turn, as justiciar, steward, and chamberlain, was able to offer 'good lordship' to family and associates, placing men he trusted in responsible positions, recruiting soldiers to serve under him in his lord's wars, and rewarding his sons and loyal colleagues. This chapter examines a number of men who grouped themselves around John Darcy, exploring connections with the Pembroke affinity, and surveying recruitment from the counties of the North Midlands where Darcy was influential, and from the lordship of Ireland itself. It concludes with outlines of the careers of his sons, charting their rise in royal service.

* * *

Before his appointment as justiciar of Ireland in 1324, John Darcy had been in the service of Aymer de Valence, earl of Pembroke, lord of Wexford and Montignac, "son bon maistre e seigneur".¹ Four months after the justiciar's arrival in Ireland, Pembroke died in France. Aymer's retinue began to dissolve on his death and the Wexford affinity fragmented. Former Pembroke men already serving in the Dublin administration, or who appeared in Ireland at this time, form an interesting study, since some were successful in attaching themselves to a new patron, in the person of John Darcy, while others failed to secure enduring 'good lordship'. The particular splinter grouping around Darcy maintained a traceable coherence despite the loss of the central figure around whom it had revolved because one of its number was appointed to high office and was able to influence the provision of 'good lordship' to members of the group. John Darcy's continuing ability to provide this, and his promotion of his own associates remoulded and extended the group, with himself as the new centre.

1. Phillips, *Pembroke*, p268

Two men in particular who accompanied Darcy to Ireland in February 1324 are identifiable as having served previously with Pembroke. John Barkeworth, who presumably served in the justiciar's retinue in the lordship, had been in Valence's service with John Darcy in 1322, and held twenty marks worth of land in Waddington, Lincolnshire.² He was pardoned in February 1327³ for acquiring this from the earl of Lancaster, and like Darcy was receiving an annuity from Earl Henry in 1330-1. Barkeworth appears regularly in Lincolnshire in the 1330s and 1340s, acting as a commissioner of the peace in 1332,⁴ an assessor and collector of the tenth and fifteenth in Kesteven in 1335, a commissioner of oyer and terminer in 1337, of array in Kesteven in 1338, a collector and vendor of the ninth in Holland in 1340, and a commissioner of the peace in 1345.⁵

John Morice, a knight, served under Pembroke in 1310, 1315-16, 1318-19, 1322 and 1324.⁶ He acted in Ireland in many capacities until Darcy's death. As a royal minister he held the offices of escheator from 1329 to 1336, deputy justiciar from 1341 to 1344, and acting justiciar and chancellor in 1346. He was also sometime seneschal of Carlow, Wexford, and Kilkenny, an executor with Countess Matilda and Roger Outlaw of the will of Earl William de Burgh, and a receiver for Elizabeth de Clare between 1333 and 1336. The Pembroke/Wexford links were further maintained as he continued to offer occasional service to Aymer's widow, Countess Marie de St Pol, accompanying her to France in 1325, and acting as her attorney in 1343. His son John was seneschal of Wexford for Laurence de Hastings between 1339 and 1342, and one William Morice served in the exchequer in 1362-3.⁷

2. *CCR 1323-27* p42

3. *CPR 1327-30* p5

4. *CPR 1330-34* pp293,297,299

5. *CPR 1330-34* p357; *CCR 1333-37* p504; *CPR 1334-38* p443, *1338-40* pp138,500

6. Phillips, *Pembroke*, p300

7. See biography

Three other members of the administration during John Darcy's first justiciarship also had identifiable links with Earl Aymer. The treasurer Walter Islip had been appointed escheator in 1310 "on the information of the earl of Pembroke" and was treasurer of Ferns cathedral in 1313,⁸ but there is little evidence that he was part of any Pembroke grouping in the mid-1320s, and he had developed close links with Roger Outlaw, Alexander Bicknor, and leading men in the liberty of Kilkenny of which he was custos. Walter Wogan and Walter Curtis, on the other hand, maintained strong Pembroke/Wexford links.

Walter Wogan's father, John, had held the justiciarship of Ireland from 1295 to 1308 and from 1309 to 1312, and held lands of Aymer in the lordship of Pembroke. Walter was Aymer's seneschal in Wexford from 1310 to 1317, and served as chief justice of the justiciar's bench in 1317-18, 1318-20, and 1323-24. He held 2¹/₂ knights' fees in Wiston, Co. Pembroke. Walter Curtis was temporarily appointed keeper of the writs and rolls of the Dublin bench in November 1313 at Aymer's request. He regained their custody in 1317, serving until 13 May 1327, the date Kildare succeeded Darcy as justiciar, with only a short break in 1322 when he was restored at Pembroke's behest. He was also chirographer of the justiciar's bench from 1315 to 1327, and had custody of the writs and rolls of that court between March and October 1327.⁹

As Aymer's retinue fragmented following his death, a number of Anglo-Irish knights and Pembroke retainers took temporary service under the Despensers including Aymer's nephew and co-heir John Hastings who had been regularly employed by the earl of Winchester.¹⁰ Walter Wogan would seem to have looked to John Hastings as a new patron. His reappointment as second justice of the justiciar's bench in September 1324¹¹ was possibly due to a petition through a Hastings/Despenser route, but his

8. *CFR 1307-19* p74; Ball, *Judges*, i p61

9. See biographies

10. N. Saul, 'The Despensers and the Downfall of Edward II', *EHR* xcix (1984) 1-33

11. PRO E101/238/17,19,26

previous experience and link with Darcy through Earl Aymer would also have commended him. He was unfortunate in that John died the following year, and he was replaced as second justice in August 1326.¹²

The downfall of the Despensers left many seeking new lords, and a number of former Pembroke retainers, such as Hugh Turpington and Robert de Waterville, entered the service of the ascendant Roger Mortimer of Wigmore.¹³ Since custody of the Pembroke inheritance had been granted to or acquired by Hugh le Despenser the Younger, and then passed to Mortimer, who married John Hastings' son and heir Laurence to his daughter Agnes in May 1328,¹⁴ this may suggest some degree of continuity in the Wexford affinity. Wogan's search for 'good lordship' may have led him along the same route and to his appointment as escheator in February 1327.¹⁵ The path of his petition for his appointment may also have been via a Hastings connection. John Hastings' widow, Juliana de Leyburne, wealthy by inheritance and dower, married Thomas le Blount, Edward II's steward, who deserted to Queen Isabella with most of the king's household in October 1326.¹⁶

Curtis, though lesser fry, also profited from his Pembroke/Hastings connections. He acted as attorney for Earl Aymer between 1315 and 1324, for Walter Wogan in 1317, and for John Hastings between 1314 and 1320. He also served Isabella Despenser, whom John Hastings senior had married following Isabella de Valence's death, as attorney in 1331. The search for 'good lordship' did not result in the wholesale abandonment of previous connections in the event of the failure of one source and the need to seek another. The widowed lady required protection and service too and could

12. PRO E101/239/5

13. Saul, *op. cit.*, p14

14. R.R. Davies, *Lordship and Society in the March of Wales 1282-1400*, (Oxford, 1978) pp280-1

15. *CFR 1327-37* p14

16. Parker, 'Patronage and Service', p3; *Complete Peerage*

reward loyalty. Darcy himself showed his sorrow at leaving Earl Aymer's service, but Countess Marie still maintained links both with him, as demonstrated by various property transactions, and with John Morice.¹⁷

* * *

A core of men can be traced serving with Darcy in the lordship and on the continent continually over a number of years. They benefited from their service in his retinue - he was in a position to reward them, and as his career developed, new men were attracted to his service. The group fluctuated and changed. Some names only appear once. This may be due to what records survive, but death or injury may have precluded further service. Others recorded in his entourage en route for the lordship or the continent may have only been travelling with him and not in his service.

No lists survive of those that formed the company of men-at-arms that he agreed to maintain as justiciar or as a banneret, but a number of grants of protection for men accompanying him to Ireland are extant, while the wardrobe accounts contain a number of payments to men in his service between 1338 and 1340. From these references it is evident that a number in his retinue were drawn from Lincolnshire and Nottinghamshire. One such, who served continuously with Darcy, was Thomas Saundeby. He accompanied the justiciar to Ireland in 1324, and was there during his first and second justiciarships. He went with him to Gascony in 1330, to the Low Countries in 1339, and to Brittany in 1342. He was customer of Ireland from 1334 to 1336, and from 1339 until his death. Saundeby lay across the Trent from Knaith and Gainsborough.¹⁸

17. At his death Darcy held Torksey, Templehirst, Temple Newsom, and Cheshunt of the Countess.

18. See biography

Two other men in his retinue in 1324 were Philip Caltoft and John de Swynford.¹⁹ The latter may have been related to William de Swynford, later constable of Limerick, and to the Darcy family itself.²⁰ Caltoft was in custody in Lincoln gaol for murder in 1332, but in 1336 was commissioned with Richard de Strelley, who was named as an esquire of Darcy in 1324, and others to arrest and convey to the Tower of London those guilty of peace-breaking in Lincolnshire. The following year Caltoft was serving as a commissioner of array in Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire.²¹ Richard de Strelley²² was presumably a relation - or misreading - of Robert de Stralley whose father was granted licence in June 1327 at Darcy's request to grant him the manor and the advowson of the church of Stralley, Nottinghamshire.²³ Robert was pardoned the death of a relative in September 1337 and was granted protection to go overseas with Darcy in October. He was still in the steward's service in 1339.²⁴

Of those who set out to Ireland with the justiciar in 1333, Henry Hillary served as a commissioner of array in Lindsey in 1325 and 1338, and had custody of Kynefare forest in 1331, while John de Husee was lord of Flyntham in Nottinghamshire.²⁵ Robert de Jorz, a Nottinghamshire knight, and sheriff of Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire from 1331 to 1333, was in Darcy's retinue in 1337. He was pardoned all his debts in 1340 and served as a vendor of the ninth in Nottinghamshire that year.²⁶ To this group

19. *CPR 1324-27* p15

20. Baron Norman of Nocton (d 1295) had married as his second wife the widow of William de Swynford, sometime sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk. In 1312, Margaret, widow of Thomas de Swynford, sheriff of Nottinghamshire 1310-11, was pardoned arrears of his account at the request of Robert Darcy and John Darcy [unspecified] (*CPR 1307-13* p479). John de Swynford of co. Northants had mainperned with Norman and Philip Darcy for Thomas Darcy on 19.6.1294. Thomas was in Dublin gaol "for concealment of the king's treasures and other felonies" (R.F. Darcy, *Life*, p141).

21. *CPR 1330-34* p299, *1334-38* p290, *CCR 1337-39* pp161,164

22. PROI RC8/14 p8

23. *CPR 1327-30* p125

24. *CPR 1334-38* pp508,530; *Norwell* p313

25. *CPR 1324-27* p216; *CCR 1330-33* p370; *CPR 1330-34* p342, *1338-40* p138, *CPR 1330-34* p381

26. *CPR 1334-38* p524; *CCR 1339-41* p437

drawn from Lincolnshire and Nottinghamshire must be added John de Barkeworth, and John de Finchdene, parson of Darcy's manor of Knaith, who was a trustee in a settlement of Darcy's English lands in 1332, and was paymaster for troops on expeditions in Ireland in 1329 and in 1334-35.²⁷

One William de Finchdene acted as John Darcy's attorney between 1324 and 1337.²⁸ He was appointed with Darcy and John de Trehampton in July 1342 to survey Torksey priory.²⁹ Although references are only continuous for the 1330s, Darcy's attorneys form an interesting group in themselves. Peter de Saltmarsh, nominated in 1324, was an influential figure in Yorkshire. He was appointed as a commissioner *de vallis et fossatis* in 1323 and 1325, served as sheriff of Yorkshire from June 1332 to January 1335 - Darcy was one of his mainpernors - and as collector of the tenth and fifteenth in the East Riding in 1336.³⁰ Darcy's possession of Notton would have drawn him into contact with the south Yorkshire gentry, a contact later reinforced by his own tenure of the shrievalty.

John de Bolingbroke, who acted as John's attorney between 1329 and 1337, had served as escheator north of the Trent from 1328 to 1330. William de Wakefield was named in place of Saltmarsh in November 1324. He may have been related to Peter de Wakefield, a royal clerk, appointed second engrosser of the Dublin exchequer in March 1341, and this would explain Peter's rapid adherence to the Darcy grouping in the lordship. He was acting as attorney for John de Founteys in April 1341, and was appointed one of Roger Darcy's deputies as escheator and constable of Dublin castle in

27. Frame, *Lordship*, pp97,98; *Rep DKI 43* pp28,29; *RCH* p37 no8

28. *CPR 1321-24* p389, *1324-27* p40, *1327-30* pp402,498, *1330-34* pp157,381,514, *1334-38* pp76,105,533

29. *CPR 1340-43* p544

30. *CPR 1321-24* pp373,389, *1324-27* p144; *CFR 1327-37* pp315, 430,481



August 1342. He was an attorney in Ireland in the 1350s for John Darcy of Knaith, Roger Darcy, John Morice, and Thomas Saundeby, and also of Elizabeth de Clare.³¹

* * *

Some of those listed in Darcy's company remain only names: William Shut going to Ireland in 1324;³² William Bertelmeu of Cheventon, and Robert son of Richard son of John de Hodelston accompanying him to Gascony in 1329;³³ William de Chartray, Robert de Chaworth, and John de Leghton going to Ireland in 1333;³⁴ Henry de Sothill, Raymond de Struchely, John Ferbrate, Richard de Stanley, destined for the Low Countries in 1337;³⁵ and Thomas Uriet and John de la Chamber there in 1339.³⁶ For others, though, a few biographical scraps survive, in a number of cases providing evidence of continuity of service. John de Rigeon, who accompanied Darcy to Ireland in 1324, petitioned the king c.1330 for payment of £40 for which he was ransomed in Scotland. A further £100 seems to have been owing to him and his appeal was made on the basis of thirty four years spent in the king's service in the footsteps of his father and grandfather in Scotland, Flanders, and Ireland.³⁷

Of those in Darcy's company in 1333, Robert de Grendon may have served in the Welsh administration with Robert Power, Henry le Bray of Est Haddon's letters of protection were renewed following Darcy's written petition in 1335, and Robert de Dartford was serving with the steward in 1339.³⁸ William de Bingham, granted letters of protection

31. See biography

32. *CPR 1324-27* p15

33. *CPR 1327-30* p523

34. *CPR 1330-34* pp381,393

35. *CPR 1334-38* p524

36. *Norwell*, p313

37. *Analecta Hibernica* xxxiv p24; *CCR 1330-33* p272

38. *CPR 1330-34* p461, *1334-38* p57

in October 1337 was also still with Darcy in 1339.³⁹ The 1333 company also included a number of Anglo-Irish knights - William Staunton, Roger Mortimer, and Thomas de Blaunkfort, a Mortimer retainer.⁴⁰ These may, however, have been merely travelling with the justiciar rather than in his service. Also "staying in Ireland in the company of John Darcy" was Walter Turpington, son the former Pembroke and Mortimer retainer Hugh, who died defending the earl of March.⁴¹

Also with the steward in 1339 were several men drawn from the lordship: Thomas Wogan, John Jordan, John de Founteys,⁴² and a member of the de la Roche family. Founteys was constable of Rindown from 1334 to 1341, but was in the Low Countries and northern France from 1339 with the steward. Described as king's yeoman from 1340, he benefited from Darcy's position in the royal household, and his interests in the lordship were specifically protected on Darcy's request in the face of the resumption order. John fitzWilliam Jordan had been employed by Darcy in negotiations with the Scottish court in 1327 and 1333. Granted £50 in 1332 for service to the king he was appointed customer, presumably at his petition, in remuneration of the earlier grant, but he was not successful in displacing the incumbent, Thomas Saundeby.

Thomas Wogan was a man of substance in Pembroke and Kildare. Nephew of Walter Wogan, and grandson of the justiciar John Wogan, he received seisin of his lands in March 1331. He was drawn into Darcy's ambit through the justiciar's marriage to the dowager Countess of Kildare, and the couple's acquisition of the wardship of the earldom and liberty of Kildare in 1331. Wogan was constable of Clonmore from 1333 and escheator in 1337-38. When Earl Maurice attained his majority in 1340, Wogan linked his fortunes to his new lord, serving as seneschal of Kildare in 1343. His presence at Calais, and that of other Kildare knights such as Walter de Boneville,

39. *CPR 1334-38* p524, *Norwell* p313

40. *CPR 1330-34* pp183,393, *1334-38* p338

41. *CPR 1330-34* p458

42. For Founteys, Jordan, and Wogan see biographies

William Calf, and William de Wellesley who died of sickness in the town, was due to the arrival of Earl Maurice, and not because they had been recruited by the chamberlain.

Another man who attached himself to Darcy in the lordship was Herbert de Sutton, a Meath tenant.⁴³ Granted the grange of Rathwire manor for life, following the forfeiture of Almaric de Lacy in 1317, he may have sought to protect his property by entering the justiciar's service, while the latter held the constablenesship of Trim, following Roger Mortimer's forfeiture in 1323. Darcy himself was granted Rathwire and reversion of the grange in 1335. Sutton was appointed paymaster of troops accompanying Darcy to Leinster, Slievemargy and Thomond in 1325. He served as escheator in 1326-27 and as constable of the castles of Drogheda in 1330-31, Athlone in 1334-35 and Bunratty in 1346. He accompanied Darcy to suppress troubles in Meath in 1329 and also to Gascony the following year.

Roger de Preston should also be added to this group. Although he had joined his brothers in developing a profitable trade across the Irish Sea between Preston and Drogheda, he also began a long judicial career during Darcy's first justiciarship, serving alternately on both benches during all four of Darcy's terms as chief governor. He had been reappointed to the justiciar's court in 1328 on John's petition. He was named as general attorney for the steward and Countess Joan in 1339/40, and was named as one of Roger Darcy's deputies as constable of Dublin in 1342. The keeper of the writs and rolls of the justiciar's court from 1328 was William de Bosworth, nominated by Darcy on his reappointment following Kildare's death. He held office for life.

One man made a successful transition with the justiciar from a career in Ireland to one in the royal household. Thomas Cross, baron of the exchequer in 1335 and 1336, may well have been a protégé of John Darcy. He was preferred to the prebend of Yagoston in January 1334. This was in the gift of the earl of Kildare and thus of Darcy who held the custody of the earldom. Cross acted as paymaster to the army sent to Scotland in

43. For Sutton, Preston and Cross see biographies

1335. He was appointed keeper of the Great Wardrobe in September 1337, a position he held until 1344.

* * *

Darcy's three elder sons also served with him in the Low Countries in 1339, and in Brittany in 1342. His family benefited from his success and ability to provide for them, but in the cases of John and Roger, it was not from empty sinecures, but from opportunities to prove their own mettle before the king in his service and to display their own loyalty and diligence. By his first wife, Emmeline Heron, heiress of Notton, Wollay and Silkstone, Darcy had three sons - John, named after himself, and distinguished later by the appellation 'le fitz'; Aymer, named after the earl of Pembroke; and Roger, who bore the name of John Darcy's father, and that of the last lord of Notton whose daughter had brought that manor to the Heron family. His second marriage produced two children, William and Elizabeth, who may have been named after Earl William of Ulster and the lady of Clare.

John Darcy 'le fitz' went to Ireland with John in 1324,⁴⁴ and probably entered the king's household on his father's promotion as king's steward in 1337. He fought in Scotland in October 1337 and was granted life reversion in February 1338 of the manor of Marshton Meysey which his father held.⁴⁵ He was described in 1338/9 as a household knight.⁴⁶ He received payment by assignment on the ninth in June 1340 of £93.2.8 for wages still owing from the previous campaign. Aymer and Roger, household esquires, received £10 each.⁴⁷ The following year John Darcy 'le fitz' was awarded a succession of grants which stressed his own service to the king. He was entrusted with custody of

44. *CPR 1321-24* p392, *1324-27* p15

45. *Rot.Scot.* i 508; *CPR 1338-40* p16

46. *Norwell*, pp252,301,303,318,340,388,424 - gives details of an allowance of 4 marks for robes in winter and summer, and indicates that he had ten horses and two men-at-arms.

47. *CCR 1339-41* p523

Minster Lovel priory on 28 May 1341.⁴⁸ An annuity of £40 per annum was awarded to him and his heirs on 1 August, the same day that Darcy renewed his contract of retainer, "for good and gratuitous service in staying by the king's side for a long time without any fee in consideration of the great place which he holds for him".⁴⁹ On 21 November he was granted the marriage of Elizabeth de Menill "in consideration of the good service of John Darcy 'le cosyn' to Edward II and the present king, and his great labours and great anxieties, and of his own acceptable service in staying by the king's side".⁵⁰ He successfully petitioned the following April for restoration of property to Elizabeth's widowed mother Alesia and for licence to her to marry her own choice.⁵¹ Papal dispensations were granted on the chamberlain's petition in 1342 and 1344 allowing John to marry Elizabeth,⁵² and his annuity of £40 was granted in property from her inheritance on 5 July 1344.⁵³

John Darcy 'le fitz' served on the Breton expedition in 1342,⁵⁴ and would appear to have been gaining prestige within the household. A Jerseyman, one William Boland, was appointed gate-keeper of the royal castle of Jersey in 1344 "in consideration of his good service in the king's wars in the company of Walter de Mauny and John Darcy le fitz".⁵⁵ Darcy was rewarded on 1 October with the valuable custody of Burstwick-in-Holderness "with all its members", and the escheatorship of Holderness which he retained until 18 March 1346.⁵⁶ He appears in the list of royal councillors in the

48. *CFR 1337-47* pp226,242,376

49. *CPR 1340-43* p283

50. *CPR 1340-43* p352

51. *CPR 1340-43* pp399,410

52. Elizabeth was related in both the 3rd and 4th degrees to John Darcy 'le fitz's' first wife Eleanor Holand (*Complete Peerage*, p60).

53. *CPR 1343-45* p485

54. *Murimuth* p116

55. *CPR 1343-45* p267; *CCR 1343-46* p325

56. *CFR 1337-47* pp390,456

summer 1345.⁵⁷ On 15 July 1346 he was raised to the rank of banneret in advance of the Crécy campaign with an annuity of £200. He fought at the battle with his father and his brothers Aymer and William.⁵⁸

News of the chamberlain's death in 1347 soon reached the royal camp outside Calais. William Darcy was appointed constable of Newcastle McKynegan for life on 5 June "in consideration of good and gratuitous service done by his father ... and his own good service".⁵⁹ John Darcy 'le fitz' inherited something of his father's mantle. He was appointed constable of the Tower of London for life on 7 June, and as a commissioner to treat with papal envoys for peace with France in September. He was regularly summoned to parliament, and, like his father received in April 1353 a full pardon for all crimes and all arrears and debts in the past or future, before dying in March 1356.⁶⁰

Roger Darcy's career lay chiefly in Ireland, though he was active in the king's service in the Low Countries and northern France under his father from 1337 to 1343. He was in the lordship during John's second and third justiciarships and was appointed chief serjeant of Connacht in 1334. This grant was extended the following year to be held rent-free until Elizabeth de Burgh came of age.⁶¹ Roger was installed as constable of Dublin in October 1335 and was formally appointed on 14 January 1337 for a term of ten years.⁶² He was granted the manor of Esker for life in October 1340 and was appointed escheator the following August.⁶³ The offices of escheator and constable of

57. *CPR 1343-45* p468; *CCR 1343-46* pp569,634

58. *Complete Peerage* p59; he was transferred with other bannerets Reginald Cobham, Maurice Berkeley, Thomas Ughtred, and William fitzWarene from the king's household to that of the Prince Edward before the battle (J. Vale, *Edward III and Chivalry*, (Woodbridge, 1982) p153N). Aymer and William were knights (R.F. Darcy, *Life*, p91) - they may have been knighted before the battle. Aymer disappears from the records from this point; he may have been killed in the battle.

59. *CPR 1345-48* pp331

60. *Complete Peerage* p60

61. *Rep DKI 44* p57

62. PRO E101/240/10; *CPR 1334-38* p349

63. *CFR 1337-47* pp193,221

Dublin castle were granted to him for life on 21 August 1342, and he was permitted to appoint deputies, in order that he might serve in Brittany.⁶⁴

Roger returned to Ireland in 1343. He was careful to secure the office of escheator in October 1344 following Ufford's appointment, and four days later on 20 October he was nominated with the Countess of Ormond's attorney, William de Bromley, as attorney for her brother, the earl of Northampton.⁶⁵ Ufford's early death left him in an influential position in the lordship. He was chosen by the Irish council as acting justiciar in April 1346 and as keeper of the seal in December when Morice set out for Calais.⁶⁶ His appointment as a guardian for James Butler on 1 May 1347 strengthened Darcy links with the Ormond-Bohun nexus, following the betrothal of Elizabeth Darcy to James, and may have been the last act of his father before he died.⁶⁷

Nevertheless, like his brothers, he initially continued to enjoy royal favour. He was pardoned all offences and arrears of account on 10 November 1347 and was appointed as a commissioner with Thomas Saundeby and three others to enquire into abuses by the king's ministers in the lordship.⁶⁸ He was again keeper of the seal from April 1349 to January 1350, but the absence of an influential advocate at court and continuing concern over Irish revenues, brought his removal from office as a new administration headed by Thomas Rokeby was appointed.⁶⁹ John de Carew was appointed escheator in September 1349, and James Butler constable of Dublin in the following March.⁷⁰ A

64. *CPR 1340-43* p502; *PROI RC8/22* p180

65. *CPR 1343-45* pp350,353

66. *PROI RC8/23* p533; *RCH* p49 no44,53 no78; *Admin. Ire.* pp87, 95(NB for John, read Roger).

67. *CPR 1345-48* pp283,431

68. *CPR 1345-48* pp429,464

69. *Admin. Ire.* p96(NB for John, read Roger).

70. *CFR 1347-56* p151; *PROI RC8/25* p129; *CPR 1348-50* p483 [the writ appointing the earl of Ormond ordered "the executors of the will of Roger Darcy, late constable of the castle" to deliver the castle to him, indicating the clerk drafting the writ assumed he was dead - unless this was the pretext used to remove him].

year later, Esker manor, the life grant of which had been confirmed in 1346, passed to Thomas de Dent.⁷¹ Roger returned to England, where he disputed the inheritance of his father's lands in 1356 on the death of his brother.⁷² He was granted an annuity of 40 marks for life in 1366 and died two years later.⁷³

* * *

Darcy interests were clearly strong in the lordship in the 1340s with Saundeby, Morice and Roger Darcy holding high office, and John Darcy in an influential position at court. Not surprisingly, a number of men became attached to, or developed links with, this grouping. Peter de Okeburn is one such example. He had initially gone to the lordship in the company of John de Ellerker, through whose influence he was appointed royal seneschal of Wexford.⁷⁴ He was employed by the administration following Ellerker's withdrawal and was granted custody of Limerick in January 1340, though this was initially ineffective.⁷⁵ During the 1340s he would appear to have drifted into the ambit of the Darcy grouping. One Thomas de Okeburn served with John Morice during his deputy justiciarship.⁷⁶ Peter acted as Morice's attorney between 1346 and 1363,⁷⁷ initially with Roger Darcy, for John Darcy of Knaith in 1348,⁷⁸ for William Darcy in

71. *CCR 1349-54* p295; *PROI RC8/25* p121

72. *CCR 1354-60* p485; *Complete Peerage* p59

73. *CPR 1364-67* p317; *CFR 1356-68* p397

74. *CPR 1334-38* p104, *1338-40* p127; *Rep DKI 53* p27

75. *CCR 1339-41* p32

76. *PRO E101/241/5*

77. *CPR 1348-50* p503, *1350-54* p300, *1354-58* pp100,277,586, *1358-61* pp63,459, *1361-64* p185

78. *CPR 1348-50* p114

1349,⁷⁹ and with Peter de Wakefield in 1353 for Thomas Saundeby and John de Founteyns.⁸⁰

In serving the king in high office, and in retaining men in royal service, John Darcy 'le cosyn' was clearly a source of 'good lordship' for many men, ranging from clerks and men-at-arms, to knights of the shire, and important tenants-in-chief in Ireland such as Thomas Wogan. He was perceived as influential and effective. Men from Lincolnshire and Nottinghamshire were attracted to his retinue, and were prepared to serve in Ireland and in the Low Countries, while for Anglo-Irish knights, he offered a useful connection with the royal court as well as a focus for service and reward in Ireland itself. On account of his own long career in royal service, he was able for many years to offer employment and the prospect of handsome remuneration. Continuity in his service by several of his associates, particularly those who had been with him under Pembroke, is evident. As his family grew up, they too benefited from his success. But they made the most of the opportunities presented to them, and maximised their prospects by their own endeavours, though undoubtedly, an advocate and protector at court in the person of their father proved extremely valuable.

79. *CPR 1348-50* p261

80. *CPR 1350-54* pp476,496

PART II
THE DUBLIN ADMINISTRATION
1324-47

INTRODUCTION

It is clear from the survey of his family and associates in the previous chapter that John Darcy did place men in positions of responsibility within the Dublin administration, and that he was able to use his influence at court and his position as justiciar to provide 'good lordship' through appointments to this sphere of royal government. In what way should such influence be regarded? To assess its significance, the different offices within the Dublin administration are examined in this second part of the thesis. Appointments are analysed and are set in context. The influence of John Darcy is compared to that of his successors as chief governor, while other interest groups, both in England and Ireland, are identified and assessed. Who else sought to influence appointments, and what role did 'patronage' and 'good lordship' play? The survey begins in chapter six with an examination of the areas of the Dublin government over which Darcy exercised the strongest influence: the escheatry, the customs, and appointments to the constabships of royal castles in the lordship. Subsequent chapters follow a more conventional hierarchical approach, examining the chancellor and treasurer, the judiciary, and the exchequer.

6. ESCHEATRY, CUSTOMS, AND ROYAL CASTELLANS

The offices of the escheator, the customer, and constables of royal castles, all carried high and fixed fees. The offices were thus valuable sources of income, and it is notable that associates of John Darcy profited from his ability to influence appointments to these custodies. These three areas of the administration are surveyed in this chapter, and the extent and impact of Darcy's 'patronage' is assessed.¹

The Escheatry:

The escheatry in the lordship was organised around a central escheator with a number of sub-escheators accounting to him. The number of sub-escheators varied. Four of the six escheators for whom evidence survives in the period 1309-49 had five or six based in the royal shires, but under Morice and Wogan, sub-escheators were appointed in the liberties as well.² The central escheator was granted allowance in his account for the wages of his sub-escheators and for the costs of employing messengers. His own fee was £40 per annum with £2 for robes.

Firm evidence concerning the tenure of the escheatorship during the period 1324-47 becomes increasingly patchy, especially during the 1340s. Letters of appointment were issued in favour of nine men; only one grant was ineffective.³ Accounts survive from

1. The section dealing with the royal castles, by its very nature and scope, is considerably larger than the first two sections.

2. Richard Woodhouse (1316-17) had 5 sub-escheators, based in Dublin, Louth, Waterford, Tipperary, and Limerick (*Rep DKI 42 p26*); Edmund Hakeluyt (1317-21) had 6 with the addition of Cork (*Rep DKI 42 p21*); de la Pulle had 5 based in Dublin, Louth, Waterford, Limerick, and Kilkenny (*Rep DKI 42 p60*); Morice had 13 in Dublin, Louth, Waterford, Tipperary, Limerick, Cork, Kerry, Kilkenny, Carlow, Wexford, Kildare, Meath and Ulster (*Rep DKI 44 p39*); short tenure of office may explain why Morteyn appears only to have had 6 based in Louth, Waterford, Cork, Meath, Ulster, and the liberty of Kerry (*Rep DKI 45 p49*); Wogan had 11 - see Morice, less Kerry and Wexford (*Rep DKI 53 p43*).

3. Robert Power's grant was cancelled.

Table 1: Escheators 1324-47

Walter de la Pulle 4.1.1323 - 16.2.1325 (- 3.9.1326)	Appointed 4.11.1322 (<i>CFR 1319-27 p184; PROI RC8/13 p117; Rep DKI 42 p55; RCH p36 no123</i>)
Herbert de Sutton 26.11.1326 - 1.3.1327	<i>RCH p37 nos138,139,158</i>
Walter Wogan 17.5.1327 - 21.12.1328	Appointed 16.2.1327 (<i>CFR 1324-27 p26; Rep DKI 43 p18</i>)
Walter Islip	Appointed 15.7.1328 (<i>CFR 1327-37 p98</i>)
John Morice 2.3.1329 - 10.8.1336	Appointed 2.3.1329 (<i>CFR 1327-37 p125; PRO E101/239/29, 240/10</i>)
[Robert Power 6.5.1331 - cancelled (<i>CFR 1327-37 p253</i>)]	
John de Ellerker	Appointed 12.5.1336 (<i>CFR 1327-37 p484</i>)
Edmund Morteyn 15.5.1337 - 3.10.1337	Appointed 15.1.1337 (<i>CFR 1327-37 p506; Rep DKI 45 p45</i>)
Thomas Wogan 4.10.1337 - 16.10.1338	Appointed 10.4.1337 (<i>CFR 1337-47 p13; Rep DKI 53 p33</i>)
Thomas de Eton 4.3.1340 - 18.5.1341	Appointed 3.3.1340 (<i>CFR 1337-47 p162; PROI RC8/22 p10; Admin. Ire. p127</i>)
Roger Darcy 1341 - 1349	Appointed 28.4.1341 (<i>CFR 1337-47 p221</i>), for life 21.8.1342 (<i>CPR 1340-43 p502</i>) during good behaviour 16.10.1344 (<i>CPR 1343-45 p350</i>)

only five.⁴ The majority of escheators in this period were English. However, Edmund Morteyn was the only man to be brought in direct from England, and some previous experience of the lordship was a common hallmark of the others. Islip, Ellerker and Morteyn were all clerks, while Thomas de Eton⁵ was allied to the Dublin oligarchy through marriage to Eglentine, widow successively of Robert de Nottingham, mayor of Dublin, and Thomas de Bagod, a baron of the exchequer.⁶

* * *

John Darcy's influence over appointments to the office of escheator was strong. Herbert de Sutton, John Morice, Thomas Wogan, and Roger Darcy were closely linked to the justiciar, as their careers, outlined above, indicate. Moreover, Roger Darcy and John Morice were the two longest serving escheators. But should such influence be seen in a suspicious light? Escheats, wardships and marriages were a valuable source of revenue, and granting these out may have been a means of rewarding faithful service, but it is difficult to assess to what extent this occurred. That the justiciar was in a position to do this is acknowledged in one of the 1331 ordinances, but the king was concerned only for profit. The justiciar was ordered to sell wardships and marriages, but not to give them away. Such selling was to be for the king's profit, but could be done "according to their discretions".⁷

4. De la Pulle, Walter Wogan, Morice, Morteyn, Thomas Wogan.

5. *Admin. Ire.* p128. Thomas de Exon and Thomas de Eton are probably one and the same. A writ was issued at Trim on 3.12.1346 pardoning and exonerating Simon fitzRichard for the account of the escheator, Thomas de Exon, for which the treasurer and barons of the exchequer had pursued him. The writ stated that fitzRichard had been appointed Thomas' deputy when the latter set out overseas, and that after Thomas had rendered his account both had been exonerated (*RCH* p55 no153). Richardson and Sayles assume Thomas de Exon acted sometime in 1346. Nevertheless, Roger Darcy remained in office 1341-49. 'Exon' may be a misreading of 'Eton'. Thomas de Eton rendered his account for the period 4.3.1340 - 18.5.1341 (*Admin. Ire.* p253). FitzRichard's goods were forfeit by February 1342, legal action was being taken against him, and he was ordered to appear before the king in England (*CCR 1341-43* pp492,553). Such severe action may have arisen because the exchequer officials believed he had not rendered his account.

6. PROI RC8/19 pp140,333,338, RC8/20 pp326-29,372-78

7. Berry, *Statutes*, p325

As concern for the declining receipts from Ireland grew in the 1330s, the escheatorship came under scrutiny in common with other offices. The office was committed to the treasurer, John de Ellerker, in 1336. Nevertheless, this would seem to have occurred not on account of any misconduct on the part of John Morice, but because he himself had petitioned for help in making his sub-escheators pay him what they had collected.⁸ He suggested that they should be called to account at the exchequer, and this scheme was duly adopted by appointing Ellerker escheator. Six months later a royal clerk from England was appointed, but was almost immediately followed by Thomas Wogan, who doubtless secured office at the petition of the new steward, John Darcy. When Wogan went to the continent with Darcy in 1338, sub-escheators once more began accounting directly to the exchequer. The records contain accounts of escheators in Kerry, and in Meath and Louth commencing on 16 October, and in Kilkenny from April 1339. The latter ran until Eton's appointment, while the account for Kerry ends on 27 January 1340 when Hugh de Burgh, treasurer, was appointed deputy escheator.⁹

The only direct evidence for abuse of office comes in the 1342 petitions. It was claimed that escheators resumed lands merely to obtain the fee due in order to procure their return.¹⁰ Presumably this was based on a specific grievance, but if so, it is difficult to ascertain what this might have been or which of the "escheators of Ireland" were at fault. It would seem unlikely to have been Wogan himself, since he was one of the bearers of the petitions. Possibly he himself, however, was the author of the grievance since his goods had been forfeited for failure to render his account.¹¹ The lands were to be restored if he found security that he would render his account, but he petitioned that the treasurer had not cared to receive his security. On the other hand, it may have been a further complaint about the 1341 resumption order framed in such a way as to put

8. Sayles, *Affairs*, p167

9. PROI RC8/21 p480; *Rep DKI 47* p63

10. Berry, *Statutes*, p351

11. *CCR 1339-41* p480; PROI RC8/22 p92

blame on royal ministers. Whatever the merits of Wogan's particular case, it would be naive to assume that those serving in the escheatry did not take some advantage of their position.

The 1342 petitions further reveal a recommendation by Edward that, "as ... newly ordained in England", sheriffs should act as escheators in their counties "since the escheator there takes 40 pounds yearly and makes little profit".¹² Nevertheless, Roger Darcy remained in office, and his appointment was extended for life in August with the recruitment drive for Brittany and rapprochement with the lordship in full flood. He enjoyed protection at court and as Edward had gone on to say, "this matter the king places in the discretion of the Justiciar of Ireland or his lieutenant ... ". Roger Darcy's grant was later amended in October 1344, following the arrival of Ufford's administration, to one based on 'good behaviour', but this was in the more general context of concern over the king's lavish grants rather than being aimed just at the individual.

The escheator was bound to come under some suspicion since his wage of £40 always remained fixed, becoming an ever increasing proportion of total revenues as receipts fell. The same general problems that affected all rents and revenues - war, the decay of estates, and the shortage of coin made a drop in profits from the escheatry inevitable. Similarly, the fees and allowances for messengers and sub-escheators as well as for the central escheator reduced net profits. John Morice was granted a gift of £100 from the king in October 1332 for losses, and some forty marks in 1335 for levying issues from the lands of William de Burgh.¹³ Thomas Wogan was awarded expenses of £10 for taking the Butler inheritance into royal hands in 1338.¹⁴ The fall in profits, a fixed fee, and the absence of Thomas Wogan and Roger Darcy on military expeditions made the escheatorship an obvious 'soft' target for other reform-minded ministers.

12. Berry, *Statutes*, p357

13. *CPR 1330-34* p362; PRO E101/239/24, 240/10,13; *RCH* p41 no32

14. *Rep DKI 53* p43

£40 was a valuable income, and doubtless the office was much sought after. Darcy was not alone in securing the appointment of his associates. Edmund Hakeluyt, whose family saw long service with the Mortimer lords of Wigmore and Trim, was appointed in 1317 when Roger Mortimer was king's lieutenant. Walter de la Pulle, holding office under Earl John de Bermingham, was a former sheriff of Louth and held de Verdon custodies in that county.¹⁵ The appointment of Walter Wogan, as has been suggested, and of Walter Islip, through the influence of his colleague Alexander Bicknor, once more in the ascendant, came through the patronage of the regency government.

The office was thus one that was open to the influence of the chief governor, useful for rewarding a faithful retainer. The placing of such a valuable office in the hands of a loyal associate, gained him a trustworthy official in an important post. The king was anxious for his profits but the justiciar and escheator were still able to have first pick at petitioning for custody of plum escheats. In February 1331, Morice himself was granted custody of two thirds of Ardee manor, which had been in the escheator's hands since de Bermingham's murder, and he held this until the last of Louth's three heiresses came of age.¹⁶

The Customs:

In the lordship of Ireland, the collection of the great new custom - duty on the export of wool, woolfells and hides - was in the hands of a central collector. But the collectors of the small new custom - duty on the exports and imports of foreign merchants - seem to have answered directly to the exchequer.¹⁷ In some cases the same men carried out

15. *Rep DKI 42* p64, 43 p41, 47 p21; *CPR 1313-17* p565; *Rep DKI 42* p16

16. *CFR 1327-37* p237; *PROI RC8/16* p13; *Rep DKI 44* pp38,44, 47 p39, 53 p39

17. *Rep DKI 44* pp52, 60 (Drogheda), 53 (Ross), 61 (Cork, Dublin); 45 p43 (Ross, Drogheda, Dublin); 47 p37 (Waterford), 65 (Dublin). Subcollectors of the great new custom accounted directly only from Sept 1332 to Mar 1333, and from Nov 1336 to 23.5.1337, when the office of central customer was vacant (*Rep DKI 44* pp51

both the sub-collection of the great new custom and the collection of the small new custom, in others not.¹⁸ Dublin, Drogheda and Cork were designated as staple towns in the Statute of the Staple (1326),¹⁹ but presumably customs were levied at all the principal ports in royal hands. The English Council referred in 1342 to seven ports where customs were levied.²⁰ Certainly, Limerick, Waterford, and Wexford can be added to the staple towns, while the seventh at this time may have been Carrickfergus. New Ross was held by the earl of Salisbury, and although Clyn pays tribute to the "petitions, work, and diligence of Ralph Meyler", it was probably due to the earl's influence that on 1 May 1340 "the king and his council granted the town of New Ross the passage of all ships without exception".²¹ Two other doubtless profitable ports, Youghal and Dungarvan, were once more in the custody of the earl of Desmond, probably a further source of grievance to the Dublin ministers.

* * *

Between 1319 and 1354, the office of chief customer was held by five men, of whom three were Italians, and the other two, English. As with the escheatry, John Darcy's influence over this office, once the Italian grip had been loosened, was strong. His close associate, Thomas Saundeby, held the office for over seventeen years, and Thomas clearly benefited from Darcy's protection, especially in the 1340s, when suggestions were mooted for the reorganisation of the customs collection.

The customs had been committed by Edward I firstly to the Bardi, and then to the Frescobaldi, but the grants to Pelegrine de Controne, Peter Pigoletti and Andrew Gerard

(Rosponde), 61 (Cork); 45 pp42 (Waterford), 43 (Youghal, Ross, Dublin), 44 (Drogheda); 47 p37 (Waterford)).

18. See Dublin (*Rep DKI 45 p43*) and Drogheda (*Rep DKI 45 pp43,44*)

19. Berry, *Statutes*, p315

20. Sayles, *Affairs*, p177

21. *Clyn*, p19

Table 2: Customers 1324-47

Pelegrine de Controne 1319 - Feb 1327	Appointed 8.3.1319 (<i>CCR 1318-23 p60</i>)
(Deputy: Peter Pigoletti July 1323 -1327	Appointed 12.7.1323 (PROI RC8/14 p14))
Peter Pigoletti Feb 1327 - 1332	Appointed 21.2.1327 (<i>CFR 1327-37 p32</i>) Reappointed 14.1.1331 (<i>CFR 1327-37 p219</i>) Reappointed 17.6.1332 (<i>CFR 1327-37 p316</i>)
Andrew Gerard 3.3.1333 - 3.3.1334	Appointed 16.12.1332 (<i>CFR 1327-37 p339; Rep DKI 44 pp27,51</i>)
[John fitzWilliam Jordan 3.3.1334	CFR 1327-37 p391]
Thomas Saundeby 3.3.1334 - 8.7.1336	Appointed 1.10.1333 (<i>CFR 1327-37 p378; Rep DKI 44 p51</i>)
William Benet 23.5.1337 - Mich 1339	Appointed 26.3.1337 (<i>CFR 1337-47 p9; Rep DKI 44 p61, 45 p42; PROI RC8/21 p333</i>)
Thomas Saundeby Mich 1339 - 1354	Reappointed 25.11.1339 (<i>CFR 1337-47 p153, PROI RC8/21 p504</i>) for life 4.1.1341 (<i>CPR 1340-43 p83</i>) still in office 12.7.1354 (PROI RC8/26 p502)

seem to have been made to the individuals themselves rather than to the representatives of a particular company. Controne, a merchant, was a brother of the king's leech, Master Pancius de Controne, and may have gained his appointment through his brother's influence. Peregrine nominated Pigoletti as his deputy while going overseas, but his prolonged absence led to Pigoletti's permanent appointment in 1327. He may have taken advantage of the change of regime to secure his own position, while Mortimer and Isabella were able to remove an associate of Edward II and yet retain the services of the acting collector on new terms.

Pigoletti was dead by mid-1332, apparently in disgrace, certainly in debt, his goods and chattels forfeit. Sub-collectors accounted directly to the exchequer until the appointment in March 1333 of Andrew Gerard, a member of the Bardi Society and customer in 1304, and from 1308 to 1314. He had settled in Waterford, and was sub-collector there until September 1340. He rose to be a man of influence locally, becoming mayor of Waterford in 1326 and 1329, and in the wider political world, conveying instructions from the king in 1336, and from the prior of the Hospitallers in Ireland to the Grand Master in Rhodes in 1348.

Gerard was replaced in March 1334 following the appointment the previous October of Thomas Saundeby as a reward for faithful service with the justiciar in Scotland. Thus in his third term of office, Darcy had placed two of his closest associates, Morice and Saundeby, in important positions in the Dublin administration, both of which yielded high and fixed salaries. However, coincidentally on the same day that Saundeby took office, letters patent were issued in favour of John fitzWilliam Jordan, who had also attached himself to John Darcy. Jordan had been employed by the justiciar to negotiate with the Scots in 1327 and 1333. For the former service he had been awarded in 1332 £50 worth of land from the royal demesne lands at Crumlin, but this does not seem to have been forthcoming, and he was appointed customer in compensation. This grant

was ineffective and later that year he was regranted issues from the farms of Crumlin and Newcastle Lyons.²²

The customer's fee was fixed at eighty marks per annum,²³ and as with the escheatry, as customs receipts declined during the 1330s, this rose as a proportion of total income and was perceived as a hindrance to the king's profit. Orders were given for the resumption of the customs on 8 July 1336 and for sub-collectors to account directly to the exchequer. Accounts survive from collectors in Cork, Waterford, Youghal, and Ross commencing on 15 November.²⁴ However, this remedy was undone by the appointment of a new central collector, William Benet, in March 1337. Benet was a yeoman in the king's household, and more significantly an associate of William Montagu, earl of Salisbury, lord of Carlow and New Ross, which explains his appointment, and Montagu's awareness that the office was vacant. Benet was serving as seneschal in Carlow the following year, flouting another of the 1336 ordinances that royal ministers should not hold office under magnates, while in the king's service.²⁵

An ordinance issued in December 1338 again expressed concern that the collector received such a high fee, which it claimed now practically absorbed the total receipts. The appointment of "faithful and competent" collectors in each port was again recommended, and presumably they were to account directly to the exchequer. Charlton's administration was to investigate this and propose suitable fees for them, "as may be best for the king's benefit". Whether or not action was taken, or recommendations sent to England, Benet's position had been so undermined by the following Michaelmas that Saundeby was able to secure reappointment "for good service beyond seas and elsewhere".²⁶

22. See biographies

23. *CCR 1337-39* p580

24. *Rep DKI 44* p61, 45 pp42,43

25. *CCR 1333-37* pp689,690

26. *CFR 1337-47* p153

Edward's immediate desire to reward and retain loyal service evidently outweighed the more long term problems of financing the French war and increasing revenues from Ireland. Doubtless, he was persuaded that Saundeby would do a better job. This certainly must have been the case in January 1341 when Thomas' appointment was extended to a life-grant, at a time when such severe measures were being taken in England to root out inefficient officials. Again it may have been a reward for loyalty and a sign of trust in John Darcy, when the king seemed surrounded only by disloyalty and treachery. With the appointment of John Morice as deputy justiciar, Darcy had restored both associates to high office, and with the escheatorship in the hands of his son, had creamed off plum positions for the benefit of his own intimate circle.

Like the escheator, the central customs collector was an easy target for criticism about lavish grants in fee, and the memoranda of Irish business to be discussed with Edward in England in 1342, drawn up by the English council as they deliberated the petitions and information sent from Ireland, specifically named Saundeby, and drew attention to the high fee of eighty marks.²⁷ It recommended the appointment in each port of two customers, a controller, a weigher, and a coket, as in England, and that no man should be granted the office in fee. The king assented to this proposal, willing "that it be done in the same manner in Ireland and that they be chosen before the Justiciar or his lieutenant" and others of the council.

Nevertheless, the central collector remained in office, and Saundeby was allowed to appoint deputies in August in order to serve on the Breton expedition with John Darcy. Walter Coumbe and Thomas Smothe were to swear before the Irish council "to be of good behaviour".²⁸ Their very appointment would seem to be an improvement on earlier absenteeism, but there is little evidence that other improvements were made during Saundeby's tenure of office. He was present in the lordship in the mid-1340s,

27. Sayles, *Affairs*, pp177,178

28. *CPR 1340-43* p510

and was appointed with Roger Darcy and others in 1347 to investigate the conduct of ministers.²⁹ In 1352, by which time Saundeby had returned to England, a writ was issued ordering the resumption of the customs and their commitment to another "as the king is informed that the said office is badly kept by the neglect and defect of those who hold it" to his detriment,³⁰ but the exchequer was still being ordered to check the arrears of Thomas' fee in 1354.

* * *

Darcy clearly promoted the interests of his associate, Thomas Saundeby, while steward and chamberlain, securing him in office, and preventing his dismissal. Like the escheatry, the customs was a valuable office because it carried a fixed fee, and it was a useful means of providing for a faithful retainer, as the case of Montagu and Benet similarly illustrates. It is unclear to what extent speculation occurred, but such a high guaranteed fee was in itself an incentive to obtain appointment to the office. The same suspicions that fell upon the escheatry were bound to encompass the customs as well. Customs receipts dropped with the disruption of war to trade, and with the shortage of coin, but the customer's fee remained at the same high level. Yet with Darcy's protection, his nominees remained in office, and neither escheatry nor customs collection were reorganised; royal revenues continued to slump.

Royal Castellans:

"Appointment, during pleasure, of John Darcy to the office of justiciary of Ireland and to the keeping of the land of Ireland with the castles..."

(18.11.1323, *CPR 1321-24* p348)

29. *CPR 1345-48* p464

30. *CCR 1349-54* p330

How did the chief governor exercise his responsibility of maintaining the king's castles and what place did these constablerships play in the politics and government of the lordship? This section concludes the survey of offices over which John Darcy exercised a notably vigorous control. It commences by identifying the particular castles under discussion, and by examining the nature, and the implications of, extant evidence about them. A more detailed study of each fortress follows, and the section concludes with an assessment of Darcy's influence in this sphere.

Castles appearing on the payroll of the Irish exchequer during this period do not form a homogeneous group. They can be divided roughly into two groups: royal castles, by tradition retained in the king's control; and magnate castles coming into royal hands during minorities or forfeitures. In the former group lie Drogheda, Dublin, and Leixlip, the fortresses along the Shannon - Roscommon, Rindown, Athlone and Limerick - and in Leinster the castles of Newcastle McKynegan, and by conquest Arklow, Balyten, and Clonmore. As a result of minority and forfeiture, Bunratty, Carrickfergus, Cashel, Ferns, Kildare, Trim and Wexford also appear on exchequer records.

Nevertheless, this division is not clear-cut. Custody of Roscommon, Rindown and Athlone was granted to Earl Richard of Ulster in 1309 for life, and to Roger Mortimer in 1319. Athlone was further granted in fee to Mortimer on 24 June 1330.³¹ Carrickfergus, on the other hand, recovered from the Scots in 1318 by John d'Athy, remained in royal hands in Athy's custody for some ten years, until it was delivered up, possibly on Elizabeth de Clare's petition, to William de Burgh with the rest of the Red Earl's inheritance.³² The Butler castle of Arklow, taken by the Leinster Irish in 1330/1, was recaptured and rebuilt by Anthony de Lucy. Subsequently regranted to James Butler in 1335, it returned to royal hands on his death, remaining there during his son's minority.

31. Frame PhD p146; *CPR 1317-21* p317, *1307-19* p393

32. *CFR 1327-37* p28; *CPR 1327-30* p271

Evidence concerning the constabships is patchy, partly because of the nature of surviving records, and partly due to the histories of individual castles and their relative importance to the Dublin government. Minority, forfeiture and military involvement bring particular castles to the fore at particular times. Trim appears on the exchequer records only during the period of Roger Mortimer's first forfeiture. Kildare and the Wexford castles appear only during minorities in the Kildare and Hastings families. Military expeditions to Leinster give prominence to castles surrounding the Wicklow mountains. Arklow and Clonmore were both rebuilt by Lucy in 1332, but it may be only because Lucy's objectives were the recapture and repair of these two castles, that so much is known about them. On the whole, written evidence about military expeditions in Leinster is by no means consistent, and provides few details regarding castles and their constables. The military function of the castles themselves may also explain the fluctuations in information about them. Garrisons were small, and the Leinster castles seem merely to have been bases for operations, rather than a strategically located network of fortresses designed to encircle and enclose the Wicklow Irish and to hold down the surrounding areas. Quick campaigns involving small forces were the usual form of warfare in Leinster. Castles were sometimes used as a base for operations, sometimes not; therefore, the very nature of an expedition often determines what information survives about castles and their keepers.³³

While the Leinster 'problem' focusses attention on the Wicklow castles, the corresponding decline in government intervention in Connacht seems to have been matched by a decreasing importance attached to the three fortresses of Roscommon, Rindown and Athlone, although the modern historian's perception may be prejudiced by the weight of extant evidence for Leinster compared to Connacht. The province may have been regarded as the preserve of its de Burgh lords, a fact recognised at the appointment of William de Burgh as king's lieutenant in 1331.³⁴ On the other hand,

33. K. Simms, 'Warfare in the Medieval Gaelic Lordships', *Irish Sword*, xii(1975) pp98-108. R.F. Frame, 'War and Peace in the Medieval Lordship of Ireland', in *The English in Medieval Ireland* ed J.F. Lydon (Dublin, 1984) pp118-141.

34. Frame, *Lordship*, p204

this also made Connacht's lord the agent of royal policy and government in the region. Nevertheless, the appointment may also infer a tacit acknowledgement of the failure to shire Roscommon and maintain a more direct involvement by the Dublin administration in the province. The subsequent political reorientation of the fortresses may explain their decline in importance.

The three castles were already in a state of disrepair when granted to the Red Earl. In 1342 it was claimed that they were all in Irish hands.³⁵ However, it is unclear whether this was due to neglect on the part of the Dublin government and those installed as constables, or the power vacuum created by the reversal in de Burgh fortunes following the successive killings of Walter de Burgh, the earl of Ulster and Edmund son of Richard de Burgh. The claim comes in the context of the 1342 petitions which detailed three main complaints regarding constables of royal castles. It was claimed firstly that some could not fulfill their duties since they were deprived of a large part of their fee by greedy treasurers seeking to appropriate the remainder to themselves yet having full allowance on their accounts, and withholding the fees entirely until constables agreed to take a lower sum. Secondly, some constables were not exercising their duties in person, but were taking the full fee and appointing deputies in their stead. Finally, some were receiving payments as constables of castles no longer in royal hands.

To what extent were these allegations true? Do they merely sum up the immediate situation or characterise much of the preceding decade too? What sort of men were appointed? - Darcy himself petitioned in 1328 for 'English guardians' for Roscommon, Rindown and Bunnatty for the improvement of the king's estate.³⁶ It is not always possible to draw up complete lists of constables, but a number of conclusions can be drawn from surviving material from the period, though one must be wary of generalisations in dealing with such a heterogeneous group. Constables were frequently drawn from the local tenantry, but it is clear that successive chief governors

35. Berry, *Statutes*, p337

36. Baldwin, *Council*, pp473-5

exercised a strong influence over appointments. A more detailed study of different groups of castles emphasises various features.

* * *

Examining firstly the constables of the three Connacht fortresses of Roscommon, Rindown and Athlone, it is clear that a number of those appointed were from families who were important Meath tenants. The Tuyt,³⁷ Mape³⁸ and fitzRicheri³⁹ families all fall into this category, as do Henry fitzOtuel de Cruys, and Herbert de Sutton. Cruys, Richard fitzSimon fitzRicheri, and Sutton all served as sheriffs of Meath.⁴⁰ The appointment of these Meath tenants cannot have been due to the influence of the lord of Trim, Roger Mortimer, since he was in exile between 1323 and 1327, and it is clear that they were political appointments, although only in the case of William fitzWalter de Bermingham was an obvious associate of the justiciar inserted. Their position was being bolstered by the Dublin government, both to protect Meath in Mortimer's absence, and to cultivate their support against him. The four years of power before his death saw custody of Roscommon and Rindown removed from the hands of Cruys and Tuyt respectively, and placed in those of the archbishop of Dublin, while Mortimer himself replaced Tuyt as constable of Athlone.⁴¹ Bicknor's successor at Rindown, Walter de Verdon, probably did owe his appointment to Mortimer's patronage; an example of a collateral member of a family whose fortune was dissipated among heiresses now throwing in his lot with the dominant lord in Ireland.

37. In November 1323 Richard de Tuyt was addressed immediately after the earls of Ulster, Kildare and Louth, and Maurice fitzThomas in a writ to aid and counsel John Darcy; similarly in February 1331 he was named after the earl of Ulster, Ormond, and Desmond, and Roger Outlaw to aid Lucy (*CCR 1323-27* p145, *1330-33* p294)

38. Henry Mape appears as constable of Roscommon in 1321, while John was called to account for the fisheries of Athlone in 1334 (*RCH* p29 nos45,46, *PROI RC8/18* p412)

39. Richard fitzRicheri, possibly the uncle of Richard fitzSimon fitzRicheri, had been constable of Roscommon in 1315 (*RCH* p20 no14).

40. *Rep DKI 47* p55, 54 p56; *PROI RC8/14* pp1,211,215

41. *PRO E372/176* m46

Table 3: Constables of Royal Castles on the Connacht border
1324-47

Athlone

Richard Tuyt 29.9.1321 - M 1328	PRO E101/238/8,17,19,26, 239/5,7; <i>RCH</i> p34 no27
[Roger Mortimer] - Oct 1330	PRO E372/176 m46; granted office in fee 24.6.1330 (<i>Frame, Lordship,</i> p192)
[William de Burgh] (24.2.1331)	<i>CPR</i> 1330-34 p79; PROI RC8/16 p14
John Mape 2.6.1331 - 3.12.1331	40 marks pa PRO E101/239/24,29, 240/1,5
Richard fitzRicheri 1.5.1332 - 1.8.1333	£40 pa PRO E101/239/24,29, 240/1,5
Herbert de Sutton 18.2.1334 - 14.8.1335	PRO E101/240/10; <i>RCH</i> p38 no41
[Thomas de Burgh] (16.7.1334)	<i>CPR</i> 1330-34 p568
John de Ellerker 14.8.1335 - 14.11.1336 (18.5.1335)	PRO E101/240/10,13 <i>CFR</i> 1327-37 p442; PROI RC8/18 p607
John de Scotton (14.1.1336, mur. by Mar 1340)	<i>CPR</i> 1334-38 p347, 1338-40 p440
Henry Dillon 31.5.1342 - 31.5.1346	PRO E101/241/5,12; <i>RCH</i> p44 no31
<i>Rindown (£40 pa)</i>	
Henry Mape 1321 - 20.6.1326	PRO E101/238/6,12,17,19,26; <i>RCH</i> p29 nos45,46, p31 nos72,73, p32 no95
Richard fitzSimon fitzRicheri 25.6.1326 - 25.9.1327	PRO E101/238/26, 239/5,7; <i>RCH</i> pp34 no28, 35 no51, 36 no74
Richard Tuyt 25.9.1327 - 1328	PRO E372/176 m46

[Alexander Bicknor]	PRO E372/176 m46
Walter de Verdon 15.5.1329 - 1.5.1331 (15.5.1329,12.9.1330)	PRO E372/176 m46 <i>CFR 1327-37 pp134,189</i>
John Dufford 1.5.1331 - 1.5.1332 (22.1.1331)	PRO E101/239/22,24,29 <i>CPR 1330-34 p44</i>
Richard fitzRicheri 1.5.1332 - 1.8.1333	PRO E101/239/24,29, 240/1,5
John Fountayns 28.2.1334 - 21.11.1341 (7.5.1335 for life)	PRO E101/240/5 <i>CPR 1334-38 p100; PROI RC8/18 p591</i>
<i>Roscommon</i>	
William fitzWalter de Bermingham 24.1.1324 - 27.7.1327	PRO E101/238/12,17,19,26, 239/5; <i>RCH pp30 no6, 31 no54, 34 no30, 36 no 88; PROI RC8/13 p569, RC8/14 p158</i>
Henry fitzOtuel de Cruys 12.10.1327 - 12.1.1328	PRO E101/239/7
[Alexander Bicknor]	PRO E372/176 m46; <i>CCR 1333-37 p53</i>
John d'Athy 28.3.1331-11.12.1335	<i>CPR 1327-30 p339; PRO E101/239/29, 240/1,5,10,17</i>
Ranulph Pygot (1.6.1336, 30.6.1337 for 5 years)	<i>CPR 1334-38 p271; CFR 1327-37 p486 1337-47 p23</i>
John d'Athy (24.11.1339 for life)	<i>CPR 1338-40 p331</i>
William de Bermingham (1.7.1342)	<i>CPR 1340-43 p475</i>
Richard Sprot & Walter Winter Jan-Oct 1343	<i>RCH pp43 no9, 45 no58, 46 no99</i>

A slight shift in appointments may be discernible in the 1330s away from members of the regional knightly class. Minority in the Mortimer family again presented the government with the challenge of ensuring adequate defence of the liberty. John d'Athy was appointed constable of Roscommon in the spring of 1331. A former royal constable of the de Burgh castle of Carrickfergus, his appointment could either have been a sign of renewed crown interest in the area in the light of the planned royal expedition, or a recognition of de Burgh power in the area. The two are not incompatible, however, since the earl of Ulster was appointed king's lieutenant. John Dufford, former escheator and seneschal of Carlow, was appointed constable of Rindown in January 1331, but this was most probably as a result of his own petition, rather than a sign of strengthening Dublin authority.

With the appointment of Richard fitzRicheri to both Athlone and Rindown, and of Herbert de Sutton in succession to him at Athlone, one can argue for a return to the employment of local tenants, although Sutton's links with Darcy also doubtless contributed to his appointment. But the second half of the decade saw the appointment of royal ministers and English knights, and an accompanying failure to provide adequate defences for the castles. Athlone was granted successively to the treasurers, Thomas de Burgh and John de Ellerker, before passing to John de Scotton, a king's yeoman. Roscommon was granted to another Englishman, Ranulph Pygot, who was granted protection in November 1336 while staying in Ireland. His grant was renewed for five years in 1337, but it is unclear whether he was resident or even in the lordship at all. The grant of the castle to John d'Athy for life in November 1339 may have been a response to a number of writs to the Charlton administration to ensure the safe-keeping of castles, and to compel keepers to spend money set aside for such purposes on providing adequate defences.⁴²

42. *CCR 1337-39* pp328,423, *1339-41* pp98,244

Yet Athy was clearly no better than Pygot. Turlough O'Connor was in possession of Roscommon in 1341-2 prompting the appointment of William de Bermingham as constable in July 1342. Payment to two deputies in 1343 may indicate that he was successful in recovering the castles. John de Scotton had been murdered by March 1340 and Athlone was held by O'Melaghlin, but payments to Henry Dillon dating from May 1342 may also indicate the recapture of this castle. Presumably Rindown was retaken at the same time. It had been committed in 1334 to John de Founteys, associate of John Darcy, and abroad with him in 1339. In May 1342 the newly appointed chancellor, John Larcher, was commissioned to receive the castle from Founteys who had surrendered it to the king,⁴³ perhaps in consequence of the 1342 petitions.

* * *

Limerick, the fourth castle along the Shannon is slightly different, since it was attached to a major county town and port. The constableness seems to have oscillated between Limerick citizens and appointees from outside, although the origins of a number of the constables are very obscure. Some influence by the chief governor is discernible. William de Weston was constable of Drogheda before his appointment to Limerick, and perhaps was an appointee of John de Bermingham. Four men held the constableness in rapid succession in 1326-7. Thomas fitzHugh de Lees and Thomas de Winchester were named with John de Blound, mayor of Limerick, and Henry de Troye as receivers of grants to repair the walls and buildings of the castle.⁴⁴ Robert de Eeff's origins are unknown, but the city's politics were presumably affected by the shifting balance of power between Maurice fitzThomas, the de Burghs, and the rival claimants to the de Clare inheritance. William de Skelton seems a curious choice as constable, since he was pardoned for breaking prison at Corfe castle four days before his appointment.⁴⁵

43. *CCR 1341-43* p438

44. *RCH* pp34 no7, 35 no34

45. *CPR 1327-30* p28

Table 4: Constables of the royal castles of Limerick and Drogheda 1324-47

Limerick

William de Weston 17.12.1322-16.12.1325 (7.12.1322)	PRO E101/238/12/17; <i>RCH</i> p31 no75 PROI RC8/13 p68
Thomas de Lees 1326	PROI RC8/14 p753; <i>RCH</i> p35 no42
Thomas de Winchester 28.5.1326 - 5.2.1327	PRO E101/239/5; PROI RC8/14 p835; <i>RCH</i> p35 no40
Robert de Eeff 6.2.1327 - 29.7.1327	PRO E101/239/5; <i>RCH</i> p36 no104
William de Skelton 29.7.1327-(29.1.1328) - 1330? (1.3.1327, for life 9.2.1329)	PRO E101/239/7 <i>CPR</i> 1327-30 pp28,361
John le White (25.7.1330 for life)	<i>CPR</i> 1327-30 p545
[Alexander Fetherstanhalgh 28.2.1331 <i>CPR</i> 1330-34 p83]	
William de Skelton 3.6.1331 - 3.6.1334	PRO E101/239/24,29, 240/1,5
William de Swynford 19.10.1334-19.10.1336	5 marks pa PRO E101/240/10,13; <i>RCH</i> p41 nos1,2
John Dufford 12.1.1339 - 12.7.1342 (1.6.1336, for 6 years 20.3.1337)	PRO E101/241/5; <i>RCH</i> p42 no1 <i>CPR</i> 1334-38 p271; <i>CFR</i> 1327-37 p486, 1337-47 p9;
John de Langton (12.11.1342)	PROI RC8/13 p51
Peter de Okeburn 24.12.1342 -(24.3.1343) (24.12.1342, and for life 16.10.1347)	PRO E101/241/5; <i>RCH</i> p44 no17, p46 no91, p61 nos59,83, p78 nos59,81 <i>CPR</i> 1345-48 p416; <i>CCR</i> 1346-49 p332

Drogheda

Lawrence Calf

3.3.1323 - 3.3.1324

PRO E101/238/12

Richard de Preston

14.5.1325 - 14.5.1327

PRO E101/238/26, 239/5;
RCH p36 no107

William fitzThomas

14.5.1327-(14.11.1327)

PRO E101/239/7; E372/176 m46

Herbert de Sutton

(28.11.1330)-28.5.1331

PRO E101/238/19

Richard de Preston

7.6.1331 - 7.6.1332

PRO E101/240/1

Walter de Bikenor

1.5.1332 - 5.2.1332
(11.3.1331)

RCH p38 no36
PRO E101/239/29, 240/1,5,8,10,13
CPR 1330-34 p87

Alan Corc

(6.1.1338)

RCH p43 no15

Perhaps a connection with Roger Mortimer may explain his release if not his imprisonment as well.

Skelton's successor, John de White, a citizen of Limerick, was also appointed for life, and was also ordered to repair a section of wall. He was dismissed following Desmond's escape and the constablenesship was granted to Alexander de Fetherstanhalgh, who served with his brother Thomas in the lordship under Lucy. This grant seems to have been ineffective, Skelton serving again until 1334. His successor, William de Swynford, possibly a Darcy retainer, was replaced by John Dufford in 1336, but the latter appointed Henry Kempe, a former royal constable of Trim, as his deputy in April 1337. The castle was temporarily entrusted to another Limerick citizen, John de Langton, in November 1342, before being granted to Peter Okeburn, former seneschal of Wexford, who seems to have attached himself to the Darcy grouping in the 1340s. He was still constable in 1359.

Drogheda bears some similarity to Limerick, since it was also an important trading centre and at least one leading citizen held the constablenesship of the castle. William de Weston was successively constable of Drogheda and Limerick, appointed to both during the justiciarship of the earl of Louth. Laurence Calf also seems to have been attached to the de Berminghams. Constable of Drogheda in 1323-24, some ten years later he is found rendering account for Carbury manor and castle, and other properties held by William and John de Bermingham.⁴⁶ A member of a Kildare family, the lords of Norragh, he stood as a mainpennor for the marriage of Earl Maurice.⁴⁷

Richard de Preston, brother of William and Roger de Preston, all Lancashire burgesses who settled in Drogheda and prospered from trade across the Irish Sea, served twice as constable. Further evidence of the influence of chief governors is suggested in the appointments of William fitzThomas, constable of Kildare in 1330-1 and possibly a

46. *Rep DKI 47* p66

47. *Rep DKI 49* p65; *CCR 1349-54* p305

nominee of Earl Thomas, and that of Herbert de Sutton, an associate of Darcy. Preston's successor in 1332, Walter de Bikenor, was also a merchant, 'of Dublin', and may have been related to the archbishop.⁴⁸

* * *

Lists of the constables of the Leinster castles during this period also reveal a number of local men of substance among their number, although Duncan McGoffrey, who had been active at sea against the Scots⁴⁹ and served as constable of Newcastle McKynegan until his death in 1326, was a Scottish exile. His successor, Richard Talbot of Malahide, was an important Dublin tenant, but the change of regime may have resulted in his displacement by William fitzHugh Lawless appointed in October 1327 at the request of Thomas Butler. Mortimer seems to have been eager to court the favour of the Butler family; this may have been an early gesture. It may also have been a reward for the Lawless family, active against the Leinster Irish and recently successful in capturing two sons of Dunlaing O'Byrne.⁵⁰

Darcy was leading a fresh expedition against the O'Byrnes in 1329 on his appointment as constable of Newcastle McKynegan for life, and this probably resulted from William's death during the campaign. Presumably, Gilbert de Moenes, member of a leading Dublin family of that name, constable at the time of Lucy's justiciarship, had been installed in Darcy's absence as his deputy, since the life-grant was still recognised in 1347 when bestowed upon his son William. Lucy also entrusted Arklow to Gilbert, but in 1333 it passed to Elias de Ashbourne, member of another notable Dublin family. In common with Gilbert de Moenes and other members of the leading Dublin and Kildare tenantry, Ashbourne accompanied Darcy on expeditions to Leinster in August

48. *CPR 1330-34* p80

49. *CCR 1318-23* p165

50. *Frame PhD* p252

Table 5: Constables of Royal Castles in Leinster 1324-47

Arklow

Gilbert de Moenes 12.1.1332 - 13.2.1333	80 marks pa PRO E101/239/29, 240/10
Elias de Ashbourne 13.2.1333 - 23.9.1335	80 marks pa PRO E101/239/29, 240/1,5,8,19; <i>RCH</i> p38 no27, p41 no7
[Earl of Ormond]	
Elias de Ashbourne (6.10.1338)	<i>CCR 1337-39</i> p544; <i>CPR 1338-40</i> p211
Thomas fitzMichael 11.3.1339 - 31.5.1339	PRO E101/241/5
Elias de Ashbourne 1.6.1339 - 22.6.1341	Grant confirmed 1.3.1340 (<i>CPR 1340-43</i> p143) PRO E101/240/17, 241/5
Walter de Boneville 23.6.1341 - 23.3.1346 (10.11.1339, 8.4.1340, and 26.2.1341)	£40 pa PRO E101/241/5,12 <i>CPR 1338-40</i> p345, <i>1340-43</i> p149
<i>Balyten (£40 pa)</i>	
Gilbert de Moenes 23.6.1336 - 23.12.1336	PRO E101/240/13
Adam de Shavington 27.8.1339 - 6.2.1340 (15.5.1338, 23.5.1340)	PRO E101/240/17 <i>CPR 1338-40</i> pp84,524
John le Botiller 3.3.1340 - 14.7.1341	PRO E101/240/17, 241/5
Robert de Askeby 14.7.1341 - 14.1.1342	PRO E101/240/17, 241/5
John de Sutheys 15.4.1342 - 15.7.1342	PRO E101/241/5

John de Wellesley 20.5.1342 - 20.2.1343	PRO E101/241/5
John de Hampton Feb-Oct 1343 (17.3.1342)	PRO E101/241/5; <i>RCH</i> pp44 no20, 45 no57, 46 no90 <i>CPR</i> 1340-43 pp396,513
John Marshal 5.5.1345/6	<i>RCH</i> p50 no91
<i>Clonmore</i>	
William de Rocheford 27.6.1332 - 22.6.1333	£100 pa PRO E101/239/29
Thomas Wogan 26.6.1333 - 7.4.1347	£50 pa PROI RC8/24 p329; PRO E101/239/29, 240/5,8,10,13,17, 241/5,12; <i>RCH</i> p44 no19
<i>Newcastle McKynegan (£20 pa)</i>	
Duncan McGoffrey 10.3.1321 - 14.5.1326	PRO E101/238/1,8,12,17,19,26; PROI RC8/13 pp179,249,287,384,557, 576; <i>RCH</i> pp28 no25, 31 nos 35,67
Richard Talbot of Malahide 15.5.1326-15.11.1327	<i>RCH</i> p35 no48; PRO E101/238/26, 239/5,7
William fitzHugh Lawless (26.10.1327)	<i>CFR</i> 1327-37 p68
John Darcy (22.9.1329 for life)	PROI RC8/15 p385
Gilbert de Moenes 11.6.1332 - 13.7.1335	PRO E101/239/24,29, 240/1,5,10; <i>RCH</i> p30 nos32,35,54 p41 no4
William Darcy (5.6.1347 for life)	<i>CPR</i> 1345-48 p331; PROI RC8/26 p140

and October 1329.⁵¹ His appointment as constable, therefore, may have arisen from his military service. Nevertheless, although he received the same fee of eighty marks per annum as Gilbert had, the parity of this sum with the figure he was obliged to pay as a fine for various crimes for which he had to answer before Lucy, may hint at the reason behind his desire to secure the constablenesship.⁵² As with the upper Shannon fortresses in the late 1330s, high fees attracted men who may have promised much, but delivered little in terms of providing adequate defence.

Ashbourne was regranted custody of Arklow during the minority of the Ormond heir, but it is unclear whether he secured this before June 1339. He was deprived of all his grants in March 1341, but clung tenaciously to the constablenesship until June. He was replaced by Walter de Boneville whose appointments in 1339 and 1340 he also resisted. A king's yeoman, Walter was a member of a leading Carlow family, possibly the son of a former seneschal of Kildare and Carlow, John de Boneville. Walter was keeper of the lands of John de Hastings in Oboy and seems to have retained custody of Arklow until his death at Calais in 1347.⁵³ Possibly Boneville's appointments in 1339 and 1340 were also in response to the writs directed to the Charltons. As chief justiciar of the justiciar's bench, Ashbourne cannot have exercised his office as constable in person.

Custody of Balyten castle, refortified by Darcy in 1336, had been entrusted to Gilbert de Moenes. His successor, Adam de Shavington, possibly originated in Shropshire and may have been appointed at the request of one of the Charlton brothers. He was one of six constables appointed between 1339 and 1343 and was replaced by John Butler, of the Ormond lineage and a captain of kerns who served with the bishop of Hereford against the MacMurroughs in 1339.⁵⁴ Robert de Askeby, chancellor of Ireland, held

51. *Rep DKI 43* pp28-29

52. PROI RC8/17 p360

53. PROI RC8/18 p495, RC8/22 p414, RC8/23 p697; Brooks, *Knights' Fees*, p87

54. PROI RC8/21 p390, *Rep DKI 47* p40

custody of the castle from July 1341 to January 1342, but was clearly a victim of the 1342 petitions.

John de Suthey's origins are obscure, but John de Wellesley was a leading Kildare tenant, and a Darcy associate. Nevertheless, their appointments may have been made in Dublin, since letters patent were issued in England in favour of John de Hampton, a king's yeoman. Hampton was a common patronymic, but one William de Hampton was holding lands in Kildare in 1339.⁵⁵ Possibly John was in Darcy's service, gaining appointment through his influence. The king's responses to the 1342 petitions do seem to have been adhered to, since Hampton obtained a licence in September 1342 to exercise his office through a deputy, Thomas de Blakeburn, granted lands in June on his petition in Leinster. The constables of Clonmore, William de Rocheford and Thomas Wogan, were also leading Kildare tenants. The former had served as sheriff in Kildare and was a member of a lineage with interests permeating the Leinster lordships.⁵⁶ Wogan, another Darcy associate, also held lands in the earldom of Pembroke.

Of the two remaining royal castles, Dublin was held by two long serving constables between 1314 and 1350. Henry de Badowe, appointed for life in 1318, was connected to John de Hothum and Walter Islip.⁵⁷ His successor in October 1335 was the justiciar's son, Roger Darcy. Two of Leixlip's six constables during this period remain obscure but Thomas de Warilowe, John of Grantchester and John Morice were enjoying high office at the time of their appointments. Their grants may have resulted from their own petitions. The petitions of Maurice de Stokes and Adam de Cusak to be appointed to the constablenesship of Drogheda do survive, but these are exceptions.⁵⁸ In the majority of cases it is unclear on whose initiative appointments were made.

55. PROI RC8/21 p450

56. CFR 1327-37 p331

57. CPR 1307-13 p430, 1313-17 p85; CCR 1323-27 p449, 1327-30 pp430,431; CPR 1324-27 p250

58. *Analecta Hibernica* xxxiv pp33,36

**Table 6: Constables of the Royal Castles of Dublin and
Leixlip 1324-47**

Dublin

Henry de Badowe PRO E101/238/1,17,26, 239/5,7,24,29
14.8.1314 - 2.7.1336 240/1,5,10; E372/176 m46
(14.8.1314, for life CPR 1313-17 p164, 1317-21 p193;
30.7.1318, 13.7.1319) PROI RC8/12 p545

Roger Darcy
21.10.1335 - 23.3.1350
(14.1.1337 for ten years (CPR 1334-38 p349);
confirmed 11.11.1339 (PROI RC8/22 p32; CPR 1338-40 p397);
for life 21.8.1342 (PROI RC8/22 p180; CPR 1340-43 p502))

Leixlip (10 marks pa)

Godfrey fitzRoger
19.10.1321-15.3.1325 *Rep DKI 43 p31*

John de Wadby
15.9.1325 - 15.3.1327 *Rep DKI 43 p31*
(15.3.1325) PROI RC8/14 p183

Thomas de Warilowe
23.2.1327 - 31.1.1331 *Rep DKI 47 p54; PRO E101/239/5*
(1.3.1328) CFR 1327-37 p83

John de Grantchester PROI RC8/16 p82; *Rep DKI 43 p64,*
1.5.1331 - 28.8.1338 47 p41,42
(31.3.1331) CFR 1327-37 p246

John fitzJohn
4.6.1341 - 11.12.1341 PRO E101/241/5

John Morice
(4.12.1341) *Rep DKI 47 p72*

Warilowe presumably gained appointment through the influence of Roger Mortimer, at whose request two months later he was granted property held by Walter de la Pulle in Bretonstown,⁵⁹ though his family connection with the chancellor may also have stood him in good stead. The constablership of Leixlip was one of a number of grants to John de Grantchester in the spring of 1331, although his appointment as second justice of the justiciar's bench was initially without effect. He received payment until at least August 1338. John Morice, serving as deputy justiciar, petitioned, presumably successfully, for his appointment in December 1341. His predecessor, John fitzJohn, had been constable of the castle of Ferns in the liberty of Wexford, of which Morice's own son was seneschal.

* * *

Magnate castles temporarily in royal hands during this period similarly form a heterogeneous group. Bunratty, a Clare castle in Thomond, captured by the earl of Desmond in 1325, came into royal hands when Roger Outlaw, as deputy justiciar, led an expedition against Brian Ban O'Brien. He installed Arnold Outlawe, presumably a relative, as temporary castellan. The castle was again in royal hands following Desmond's forfeiture in 1345, and was held the following year by the Darcy associate, Herbert de Sutton.

Trim came into the king's hands during Darcy's first justiciarship. The chief governor himself was paid as constable from August 1325, at a considerably increased fee. Darcy was also constable of Kildare from February 1333 by which stage he was a leading Kildare tenant by right of his wife, and enjoyed custody of his step-son's lands. His predecessors, William fitzThomas and John de Wellesley were also important tenants in the liberty. In contrast, following the murder of the earl of Ulster, English

59. *CPR 1327-30* p263

Table 7: Constables of magnate castles, temporarily in royal custody 1324-47

Bunratty

Arnold Outlaw *Rep DKI 43 p43*
31.7.1330 - 20.8.1330

Herbert de Sutton *RCH p37 no141*
9.12.1346

Carrickfergus

John d'Athy 100 marks pa
3.3.1319 - 18.5.1328 *CPR 1317-21 p311, 1327-30 p271;*
PRO E101/238/6,12,17,19,26, 239/5,
7; RCH pp34 no33, 35 no25

[William de Burgh] *CFR 1327-37 p28; CPR 1327-30 p271*
(2.2.1327, 18.5.1328)

Roald de Richemund *CPR 1330-34 p472; PRO E101/240/5;*
(1.10.1333, *CPR 1334-38 pp458,560, 1338-40 p53*
1.6.1337, 18.12.1337
for 12 years 30.4.1338)

[Thomas de Menill 24.3.1337, 10.11.1337 (CPR 1334-38
pp404,547,560)]

Cashel

Thomas de Louthir *PRO E101/240/17*
18.12.1339 - 18.9.1340

William de Burton *PRO E101/241/5; CPR 1340-43 p7*
19.8.1340 - 18.12.1342
(16.7.1340 for 6 years)

Peter de Monde *RCH p44 no 35*
1343/4 *PRO E372/191*
18.3.1344-13.3.1345

Peter de Boys *RCH p49 nos 55,56*
1343/4 *PRO E372/191*
13.3.1345-13.3.1346

Adam de Preston *RCH p49 nos 55,56*
1346

Ferns

Richard Whittey Aug - Nov 1334	<i>Rep DKI 45 p43; PROI RC8/18 p423;</i> <i>RCH p38 no 38</i>
Ralph Meiller 22.10.1339 - 19.2.1343	PRO E101/240/17, 241/5
[Lawrence de Hastings] (30.9.1340)	<i>CFR 1337-47 p192</i>
John fitzJohn 22.10.1339 - 22.4.1340	PRO E101/240/17
Gerald de Rocheford Aug - Nov 1344	<i>RCH p46 no 103</i>
William fitzEustace de Roche 23.11.1346	<i>RCH p52 no 68</i>

Kildare

John de Wellesley 28.4.1328	PRO E372/176 m46
Joan de Burgh 28.10.1329-28.4.1330	PROI RC8/15 p625
William fitzThomas 22.11.1330 - 10.5.1331	PRO E101/239/29
John de Wellesley 12.7.1331-12.1.1333	£20 pa PRO E101/239/24,29
John Darcy 20.2.1333-(10.2.1335)	PROI RC8/18 p613

Trim

Henry Kempe 1.4.1322 - 1.8.1325	£20 pa PRO E101/239/5; <i>RCH p36 no 81</i>
John Darcy 1.8.1325 - 1.4.1327	£55 pa PRO E101/239/5

Wexford

John de St John

5.10.1331 - 23.3.1332

PROI RC8/16 pp34,286,290

William de Aldenshales

15.4.1332 - 15.3.1335

Rep DKI 43 p64, 44 p43

John de Ruggeley

(10.6.1335)

CPR 1334-38 p123

John de Ellerker

2.6.1336,
revoked 1.10.1336

CPR 1334-38 pp272,320
Paid arrears 5.2.1340 - 5.5.1340
(PRO E101/240/17)

constables were appointed to the strategic Ulster fortresses of Carrickfergus, Northburgh and Carlingford and were paid from the English exchequer.⁶⁰

In the south evidence for Ferns and Wexford does not provide a continuous record of constables. Of the castellans of Ferns, Richard Whittey was sheriff of Wexford, little is known regarding John fitzJohn, but Ralph Meiller, Gerald de Rocheford and William fitzEustace de Roche were members of local lineages, as was John de St John, constable of Wexford, and seneschal of the liberty. John de Rugeley was appointed at John Darcy's request, but it is unclear whether this appointment was effective and John de Ellerker, the treasurer, granted custody of the Hastings lands, gained the constabship a year later. The constables of Cashel are also obscure, and it is unclear whether William de Burton was the clerk or knight of that name.

* * *

From this survey, it is evident that at times constables of royal castles were drawn from the leading local tenantry, and at others were men who can be shown to have had connections with the justiciars, particularly with John Darcy, but also with other dominant powerbrokers of the time such as John de Bermingham, Roger Mortimer, Anthony de Lucy, and Thomas Charlton. Given Darcy's long though staggered service as chief governor, and the responsibility of safe custody of the lordship's castles that went with the office, it is not surprising that men associated with him should be found holding such commands, and this is especially true of the three Leinster castles considering Darcy's interests in, and custody of, the liberty of Kildare.

What were Darcy's motives in appointing such associates to these castellanies? His petition of 1328 indicates that he believed that reliable constables were needed for the improvement of crown lands. Although the constables of castles were not commanders of particularly large garrisons, they would presumably have exercised some sort of

60. Simon Maupas - Northburgh; Richard Newent and Byndo de Gydelot - Carlingford.

peace-keeping role, for example, in the commercial and judicial affairs of an attached town. Wexford, Trim, Kildare, Limerick, Dublin, Drogheda were the seats of government for the surrounding area, while the Leinster castles were points of refuge, if nothing else, in times of raids by the Irish from the mountains. All were suitable for the detention of prisoners and hostages. It was important, therefore, that trusted captains were appointed to such positions.

Furthermore, such appointments were valuable and were natural sources of patronage to reward and widen his circle of influence. Trusted associates made reliable constables, and 'good lordship' made trustworthy followers. Another dimension to all these appointments at this time was the value of the custody, the income and profit that could be generated by it, and the salary that accompanied the command. The most valuable castellany in terms of fee was Roscommon, the constable receiving £60 per annum. However, this indicates the size of the garrison, the traditional military importance of the castle, and necessity of expenditure to keep it in constant repair. Clonmore's first constable, William de Rocheford, received £100 per annum, presumably because of the rebuilding work. This was reduced to half that amount for Thomas Wogan. Arklow initially carried a salary of eighty marks. This was reduced to £40 per annum in 1341 for Walter de Boneville.

Forty pounds per annum seems to have been the usual fee for the constables of Rindown, Athlone and Balyten. Newcastle McKynegan was valued at half this amount, while the constables of Leixlip and Limerick received ten marks apiece per annum. The fees paid to constables of magnate castles in royal hands were similarly determined by their strategic importance. John d'Athy was granted a fee of 100 marks per annum as constable of Carrickfergus. John de Wellesley received £20 per annum as constable of Kildare, as did Henry Kempe for Trim, although this was increased to just under £55 per annum for John Darcy. Some constabships were therefore extremely valuable prizes, and were doubtless used and sought after as such in the same way as other offices in the administration.

The main focus of the 1342 petitions relating to constables centred on the question of fees. The overall thrust of the petitions was to lay the blame for the crisis over the resumption order squarely on the shoulders of royal ministers in Dublin, and these particular claims constitute part of a concerted attack on the treasurer Robert Askeby, particularly vulnerable, in view of his custody of Balyten. Nevertheless, when taken with the writs addressed to the Charlton brothers in 1338 and 1339, they beg the question of whether these complaints apply beyond the more obvious examples such as Ashbourne and Askeby. After all, Thomas Wogan, a bearer of the petitions, was absent from the lordship in Wales and with Darcy in the Low Countries in 1339. Moreover, the three Connacht castles had fallen into Irish hands, though it is not clear whether fees were still being issued to the constables of all three.

As far as John Darcy himself is concerned, the question is hard to answer. Was acquisition of Trim and Newcastle McKynegan simple profiteering? He did extract a far greater sum from his banner fee of Edgefield and Walcote than allowed for in the original extent, but was this greed or necessity? Taking command of Newcastle McKynegan came in the context of a military expedition following the constable's death, and life grants were a feature of the latter years of Mortimer's rule.⁶¹ Even increasing Trim's fee from £20 to £55 may have been due to reasons other than simple gain. The castle had been ransacked, Bicknor, Islip and John de Bermingham helping themselves to its contents in 1322-23.⁶² Building work may have been required, therefore, to make it even temporarily habitable for the justiciar, his entourage, and the paraphernalia of government.

Only in his third term as justiciar is it evident that a number of his associates were appointed as royal constables. But there is nothing to suggest that this was in any way very different from the appointment of associates and trusted captains of other

61. Eg Limerick 1329, 1330; Athlone 1330

62. Frame, *Lordship*, p166

justiciars, or that it constituted the abandonment of responsible military commands to 'cronies' intent solely on milking them dry and neglecting their duties. If measures in 1336 did hint that new royal ministers were concerned that Darcy was becoming too entrenched, little action was taken to prise away his fingers from the royal castellanies; Wogan, Founteyns, Roger Darcy and the justiciar all retained their commands. In contrast, Herbert de Sutton's displacement from Athlone in 1335 reveals Ellerker's own greed for fees, adding this as he did to the Hastings' custodies and his salary from Elizabeth de Clare.⁶³

Darcy's withdrawal from Ireland did have a significant impact on the royal castles in the hands of his associates, for when he fought in France, his followers fought with him. Dublin, Clonmore, Newcastle McKynegan, Rindown were left without constables, and their fees did go abroad to the "English" holding them. But this was not a case of racketeering. Darcy was fulfilling his military obligations in forming his company for service. Furthermore, knights from the lordship of Ireland were serving abroad in their lord's wars as he desired and frequently sought. The blame, if it be a matter for moral blame, lies at Edward's door. The loss of the Connacht castles and the petitions from Ireland did act as a chastening reminder of the realities of conditions in the lordship. Founteyns surrendered Rindown to the king; Roger Darcy and John de Hampton were careful to secure licence to nominate deputies, in preparation for the Breton expedition.

The 1342 petitions were thus accurate up to a point, but the grant of constabships was not just dictated by greed and the self-interest of a particular grouping. On the other hand, the value of such custodies cannot be ignored, and this explains why so many members of the regional knightly classes and merchant citizens were willing to take up office. Their prestige, power and authority was considerably increased. Yet the government profited too, seeking to tap into 'private' wealth for 'public' construction -

63. Ellerker's predecessor, Thomas de Burgh, had held Athlone - John may have thought he had a right to its custody; certainly there was a precedent.

John le White, although granted Limerick castle for life, was to repair fifty feet of wall and provide six men-at-arms at his own charge to guard the castle.⁶⁴

Although Founteyns surrendered Roscommon in 1342, Dublin, Newcastle McKynegan, Clonmore, and Limerick remained in the hands of Darcy associates throughout the 1340s. It is unclear whether attention was again focussed on the constabships as it was on the escheatry and customs, but neither John nor his sons and colleagues were threatened in their tenure of these offices. The chamberlain's premier position at court may have given protection as it did for the escheator and customer, leaving commands with high fixed fees in the hands of the Darcy circle.

64. *CPR 1327-30* p545

7. THE CHANCELLOR AND THE TREASURER

This chapter examines the two senior offices of state next to that of the justiciar: the chancellor and treasurer. Both were firmly royal appointments, yet the chancellorship also had intimate connections with the Dublin ecclesiastical establishment, while political circumstances allowed a variety of influences to play upon the treasurership.

The Chancery:

The chancellorship was the second greatest office in the lordship, and appointments remained firmly in the king's hands. Bishop Charlton is the only one obviously connected with a justiciar, but if Edward had hoped that blood ties would create a stronger team, he was disappointed, and the brothers quarrelled over the money that he had sent with them.¹ In contrast to its English counterpart, the Irish chancery was small and peripatetic,² with only a limited number of clerks whom it may have shared with the exchequer. The chancellor was a member of the Irish council, often served as deputy justiciar,³ and had custody of the Irish seal, receiving its profits in addition to a fee of £40 per annum. In the fourteenth century the office was most frequently held by high ranking ecclesiastics, giving the appearance under Roger Outlaw, John Larcher, John Frowyk and Thomas Burley, of passing almost by right to successive priors of Kilmainham.⁴ Although Outlaw, the only Anglo-Irish appointee of this period, served for nearly sixteen years between 1322 and 1347, a further five men were appointed

1. *CCR 1337-39* p422

2. A.J. Otway-Ruthven, 'The Medieval Irish Chancery' in *Album Helen Maud Cam*, ii (Louvain and Paris, 1961), pp119,127

3. Outlaw acted in this capacity for Darcy on eight occasions.

4. Outlaw was chancellor 1322-31, 1332-37, 1338-41; Larcher 1342-46, 1347-48; John Frowyk 1356-59; Thomas Burley 1359-64 (*Admin. Ire.* pp94-96; Frame, *Lordship*, p90).

Table 8: Chancellors 1324-47

Roger Outlaw	16.4.1322 - 13.5.1331 (4.1.1322, 6.4.1327)
Adam de Limber	14.5.1331 - 14.11.1332 (26.2.1331)
Roger Outlaw	14.11.1331 - 14.8.1337 (30.9.1332)
[Adam Limber (16.7.1334)]	
Thomas Charlton	15.10.1337 - 1.9.1338 (28.7.1337)
Roger Outlaw	2.9.1338 - 2.9.1340 (15.5.1338)
Hugh de Burgh	23.2.1341 - 23.5.1341 (Keeper of the Seal)
Robert de Askeby	19.5.1341 - 19.11.1341 (14.3.1341)
	Thomas de Newenham Deputy Chancellor
John Larcher	15.5.1342 - 15.8.1342
	John de la Bataille 15.8.1342 - 15.11.1342 (Keeper of the Seal)
John Larcher	15.11.1343 - 17.8.1346
John Morice	18.8.1346 - 8.12.1346 (20.5.1346)
Roger Darcy	8.12.1346 - 24.3.1347 (Keeper of the Seal)
John Larcher	26.3.1347 - 26.3.1348

chancellor, and three more as "keeper of the seal", as can be seen from Table 8. All were clerks save John Morice and Roger Darcy.

Limber, Charlton and Askeby, all with very different backgrounds, were appointed as members of new teams, sent to Ireland by Edward III to deal with specific situations. The chancellor's tenure of office, however, does not usually appear to have been tied to that of a particular chief governor.⁵ The simultaneous appointments of a new justiciar, chancellor, and treasurer in 1331 and 1337 place undue emphasis on the despatch of Lucy and Charlton. It would be wrong to infer thereby an implicit weakness in the administrations of John Darcy, or complacency on the part of the English government, interspersed with bursts of energy directed at taking Ireland to task. The Lucy and Charlton administrations had a superficial shape and stamp which those of John Darcy appeared to lack, but Darcy was sent to Ireland in 1323, 1329 and 1333 with specific tasks to perform in the same manner as were his successors.

Moreover, special circumstances in 1331 and 1337 warranted the despatch of a fresh team. Lucy was sent to enforce tough measures and to signify a break with the previous regime. In 1337 Edward was preparing for conflict with France and wanted to ensure the security of his western flank. The Charlton brothers were far from being rising stars; their appointment entailed missing out on any glory won in France. Edward may have hoped to rely on the lord of Powys' military strength, and the bishop's wealth,⁶ once the funds he had provided ran out. The appointment of the bishop's chaplain, John Rees, as treasurer was perhaps part of the price that had to be paid to send them. Similarly, Thomas de Burgh, though experienced in the royal administration, also had close links with Lucy, and Anthony may have bargained for his appointment as treasurer.

5. Limber's withdrawal was voluntary; Charlton became custos of Ireland in his brother's place; Askeby, a replacement for Outlaw who had died in January 1341, was removed in disgrace.

6. Thomas Charlton was owed £607.3.7³/₄ when he left Ireland in 1340; payment of this was cancelled on 15.1.1341 (*CPR 1340-43* p40, *CCR 1339-41* p601)

Adam Limber had begun his career as a royal clerk serving as a remembrancer in the English exchequer from 1311 to 1322 when he was appointed constable of Bordeaux.⁷ Returning from Gascony in 1326, he served in the English chancery,⁸ and this experience in both these departments commended him for appointment. In addition, he already had a source of income in Ireland as prebendary of Monmohennok in the chapter of St Patrick's.⁹ Among those who accompanied him were William de Limber, presumably a relative, and Herbert de Gresseby, subsequently nominated that year as her attorneys by Elizabeth de Clare.¹⁰ An interesting insight into the provision of 'good lordship' in an ecclesiastical framework is provided by an order to Lucy, dated 12 March 1331, "at Adam's request, to promote three clerks, nominated by Adam to the first three benefices not above £20 in value ... void".¹¹ Limber was reappointed chancellor in July 1334. There is a three month gap in the record of payments to Outlaw, but it is unclear whether this grant was effective.¹² He was appointed a baron of the English exchequer on 9 November and died in 1339.¹³

Robert de Askeby was of lesser substance than his immediate predecessors and in John Morice did not have a colleague of the experience and standing of Anthony de Lucy or John Charlton. A chamber clerk, he had served faithfully in England and the Low Countries between 1338 and 1340, and was appointed with Morice and Epworth in the

7. *CPR 1307-13* p392, *1321-24* p137; T.F. Tout, *The Place of the Reign of Edward II in English History* (Manchester, 1914) p397

8. *CCR 1327-30* pp410,411,453

9. Lawlor, *Fasti*, p133

10. Frame, *Lordship*, p69; *CPR 1330-34* p87

11. *CPR 1330-34* p87. English chancellors had the right to present to livings worth less than twenty marks (Wilkinson, *Chancery*, pp30,31)

12. *Admin. Ire.* p94; *CCR 1333-37* p327; *CPR 1330-34* p568

13. *CPR 1334-38* p46; *CFR 1337-47* pp118,128

turmoil of 1340-1.¹⁴ He returned to England only six months after assuming office, to inform the king of the opposition to the resumption order. He left as his deputy, Thomas de Newenham, an English clerk, who retained custody of the seal until Larcher's appointment.¹⁵ Newenham returned to the English chancery; Askeby seems not to have served again in the king's chamber.

* * *

The longest serving chancellor in this period, Roger Outlaw, as head in Ireland of the Order of St John of Jerusalem, was a powerful man. Hospitaller lands and wealth had been increased through the addition of the Templar possessions in 1314.¹⁶ Outlaw had no qualms about defending family interests in his protection of William Outlaw against the charges of the bishop of Ossory,¹⁷ or in looking after the affairs of the Order, gaining a number of grants, and a significant number of pardons for acquisitions made without licence.¹⁸ Nevertheless he appears to have established a good working relationship with John Darcy, serving as chancellor throughout all three of his resident justiciarships, and taking the initiative in leading expeditions to Leinster, Munster, and Ulster when deputy justiciar in 1327, 1328, 1330, and 1335.¹⁹

Outlaw died early in 1341, and the treasurer Hugh de Burgh had custody of the seal until Askeby's appointment.²⁰ The latter's successor, John Larcher, had been sent with Thomas Wogan bearing the community's petitions to the king in 1342,²¹ and his

14. *CCR 1337-39* p597, *1339-41* p48, 412, *1341-43* pp95, 534, 558, 620, 621, *1343-46* pp54, 73, 179, 184, 206, 209, 254, 538; *CFR 1337-47* p119.

15. *Rep DKI 45* p54, 53 p20; *PROI RC8/22* p178

16. *Reg. Kilmainham* ppvi,ix

17. See chapter 1. In the course of his expedition against Brian Ban O'Brien in 1330 he appointed Arnold Outlawe constable of Bunnratty July-August (*Rep DKI 43* p43)

18. *CPR 1317-21* p197, *1327-30* p171, *1330-34* pp246,319, *1338-40* p90; *CChR 1327-41* p376; *CFR 1337-47* p85

19. *PRO E101/239/5*; *Rep DKI 43* pp18,30,43,44; *RCH* p41 no22

20. *CCR 1341-43* p30; *PRO E101/240/17*

21. *CCR 1341-43* p508

elevation clearly resulted from his presence at court. In February 1343, the chancellor was forbidden to issue writs of liberate for gifts or rewards directed by the treasurer and exchequer barons, without the consent of the justiciar and council.²² This writ was not aimed at Larcher specifically, however, but formed part of the initiatives of the English government to tighten up the administration.

Larcher was replaced by Morice in August 1346 on the arrival of Walter de Bermingham as justiciar, and he in turn was succeeded by Roger Darcy, the escheator, granted custody of the seal by the Irish council in December, while Morice returned to report to Edward.²³ The interim appointments of Morice and Darcy reflect both their own standing and service in the lordship and the influence of John Darcy at court, but more significantly flowed from the king's rapid responses in the face of the crisis resulting from Ufford's death and his own imminent departure for France. Larcher was soon restored to office.²⁴

* * *

The chancery appears to have had only a small staff. References to clerks and custodians of the chancery rolls are scattered. Some were shared with the exchequer,²⁵ and of these Quixhull and Barton were exceptional in being appointed to high office.²⁶ Richardson and Sayles note that chancery clerks appear on the issue rolls in groups of two or three and identify these as senior clerks.²⁷ Possibly, however, these were the

22. *CCR 1343-46* p5

23. *CCR 1346-49* p29; *RCH* p53 no78

24. *CPR 1345-48* pp154,211

25. Eg William Motoun, Hugh de Nassington, Thomas Quixhull and William Barton (*Rep DKI 43* p39, PRO E101/240/1,5, *RCH* p38 no12)

26. **Thomas Quixhull** was appointed chief engrosser, serving 1351-64, and second bEx 1364-65 (*CPR 1350-54* pp123,234, PROI RC8/25 p415). He was granted the prise of wines 16.7.1338 during the minority of the earl of Ormond (*CFR 1337-47* p87). **William Barton** was appointed chief engrosser 17.7.1347 (*CPR 1345-48* p367, PROI RC8/24 p11) and was 2nd chambEx 1354-61 (*Admin. Ire.* p123)

27. *Admin. Ire.* p18. The English chancery had 48 clerks, composed of 2 grades of 12 clerks each, and 24 cursitors (Wilkinson, *Chancery*, pp65,66)

only clerks, but there may be another explanation as to why records of payment are so limited. In 1327 Hugh de Nassington received a grant of a number of privileges at the Hospitaller house of Kilmainham.²⁸ William Bardelby received similar grants in 1333 and 1335.²⁹

Information may therefore be sparse because clerks were maintained directly by the chancellor as in England.³⁰ Such maintenance was perhaps expected in Ireland, explaining why William de Whithurst, on his appointment in 1346, was to have £20 in the exchequer only "if the chancellor of Ireland was not willing to retain him with as many men and horses and the charges of the chancery as others who had stood in the office".³¹ The Hospitaller connection with the Irish chancery was thus of benefit to some of the chancery clerks, and possibly the Crown fostered the link because of the benefits the Prior could offer in providing sustenance. John de la Bataille, briefly keeper of the seal in Larcher's absence in 1342, was also linked to the Hospitallers. Formerly a royal clerk, keeper of the writs and rolls of the Bench, and second chamberlain in the exchequer from 1331 to 1334, he appears in 1335 and 1338 as a witness to Hospitaller charters, described as "frater" and "preceptor of Kilmainanbeg".³²

The chancery rolls did not enjoy a safe existence. Thomas Quantock's records were largely destroyed by a fire in St Mary's abbey, Dublin, in 1300. Only one roll dated earlier than that year was entrusted to Thornbury in 1308.³³ During the Bruce invasion

28. *Reg. Kilmainham* p26. Described as "clericum nostrum", he was granted dining rights, a robe, a plot to construct a chamber for himself and an allowance of wheat and oats.

29. *Reg. Kilmainham* pp34,55,62,135. Bardelby received a life grant of £40 per annum in 1333 (obviously he was serving in a greater capacity than just that of keeper of the rolls), in 1335 as "clericum nostrum" the harvest of the church of Garristown and all rights there for life in recompense for the grant of £40. He was doorkeeper of Kilmainanbeg, and was granted a robe worth 1 silver mark, dining and other rights.

30. Under Edward III the English chancellor was awarded a fee of £500 for the expenses of his clerks (Wilkinson, *Chancery*, p91)

31. *CPR 1345-48* p158

32. *Admin. Ire.* pp122,186; *Reg. Kilmainham* pp60,87

33. Otway-Ruthven, *op. cit.*, pp120,121

they were in the custody of Walter de Kynefare who delivered them into the exchequer for safe keeping, whence their removal was ordered in July 1323 into the hands of Outlaw.³⁴ In England the keeper of the rolls was a member of the royal council. It is unclear whether this was the same in Ireland. Also in England magnate connections with the custodian were common. William de Bardelby, probably related to Robert de Bardelby, a keeper of the great seal, was the first of a number of English chancery clerks sent over to the Irish chancery.³⁵ In the early 1330s he was retained by Elizabeth de Clare for an annual fee of £1.³⁶ Edmund Grimsby, appointed at the same time as new keepers of the writs and rolls were named for both benches, perhaps at Limber or Thomas de Burgh's suggestion, did not take up appointment.³⁷ However, in 1337 Robert de Hemmingburgh, an attorney of Thomas Charlton, arrived with the new chancellor, bringing another clerk, William de Drayton, who was later to succeed him.³⁸

Royal whim thus dictated appointments to the Irish chancellorship. On the whole the Crown was content to rely on the abilities of the prior of Kilmainham, since the Hospitallers were able to provide for the chancery clerks, but the office was also subject to the king's changing intentions about Ireland. Darcy associates were used as stop-gaps in the crisis of 1346, but the office remained largely outside the justiciar's influence. Nevertheless, despite the divisions caused by the Kyteler affair in 1325, Roger Outlaw and John Darcy must have built up a working relationship during their long service.

34. *CCR 1323-27* p10

35. *CPR 1317-21* p493. William was serving in 1325 and 1334 (*RCH* p31 no51, p38 no12; *PRO E101/240/5*). Royal chancery clerks were similarly employed in the chanceries of Lancaster, Durham and Berwick (*Wilkinson, Chancery*, p89).

36. *Frame, Lordship*, p67

37. *CCR 1333-37* p158, *CPR 1330-34* p470

38. *CCR 1330-33* p341, *1337-39* p145; *CPR 1334-38* p515; *CCR 1337-39* p245; *Otway-Ruthven, op. cit.*, p123; *Admin. Ire.* p182

The Treasurer:

The treasurership was the third most important office in the lordship, ranking after the justiciar and chancellor, and the chief governor was frequently ordered to act only on the advice of his two colleagues. The treasurer received an annual fee of £40. Eight clerks, all English, held the office between 1324 and 1347. Only two, Walter de Islip and Hugh de Burgh, were promoted from within the ranks of the administration.³⁹ Of the others, John Cogan remains mysteriously obscure, but Thomas de Burgh, John de Burnham and Robert Power had already served in the royal administration in England.⁴⁰ John de Ellerker had previously been in the service of the earl of Kent, acting as his chancellor in Gascony.⁴¹ John Rees was clerk and later a chaplain of Thomas Charlton, and returned with him to England.

Following the discovery of the frauds perpetrated by Fulbourn and Clere, who successively held office as treasurer between 1274 and 1291,⁴² treasurers were called to account at the English exchequer. The office would seem, therefore, to have been more closely tied to the English administration. However, it was not free of subjection to patronage, the most obvious example of which was Hugh de Burgh's promotion at the request of the Countess of Ulster.⁴³ Nevertheless, only in the appointments of John Rees and Thomas de Burgh does the justiciar seem to have had any influence. Rees was a member of Bishop Charlton's household, while Thomas de Burgh, parson of Brigham in Cumberland, was already connected to the circle of associates who accompanied Lucy to Ireland,⁴⁴ and may have been nominated by the new chief

39. Hugh was chief bEx; Islip bEx, chief bEx and escheator.

40. Thomas was escheator north of the Trent from 1321 to 1324; Power, chamberlain and escheator of North Wales from 1323 to 1327; Burnham, clerk of the king's wardrobe, and keeper of the wardrobe and treasurer of the household of the young Prince Edward.

41. Frame, *Lordship*, p232

42. *Admin. Ire.* p99

43. *CFR 1337-47* p137; Frame, *Lordship*, p69

44. Thomas held an interest in the manor of Skelton. In January 1331 he was appointed surveyor and auditor with Peter Tilliol of the accounts of Roger Mortimer and others in Cumberland and Westmoreland (*CCR 1327-30* p99, *1333-37* p169; *CFR 1327-37* p218)

governor. Presumably Thomas' previous service under Edward II recommended him to Edward III, as perhaps did his foundation in 1329 of a chantry to pray for Edward II as well as other benefactors, friends, and relations.⁴⁵

Islip and Power present more complex cases. Their connections with the lordship were many and various. The chapter of St Patrick's cathedral, of which he became a canon in 1306, undoubtedly played a significant part in Islip's career. He acted as attorney for Richard de Ferings, the archbishop of Dublin, whom he probably accompanied to the lordship.⁴⁶ A fellow canon was Alexander Bicknor, with whom he collaborated in fraud in the exchequer, and who, as archbishop of Dublin, preferred him to the prebend of Swords in 1324. Another member of this St Patrick's group, and probably Islip's main patron, was the archdeacon of Glendalough, John de Hothum, chief baron of the exchequer at the time of Walter's appointment in 1309. Walter acted as Hothum's attorney in 1314. John was later elevated to the see of Ely, and seems to have had a thriving interest in, and influence at court over, the affairs of the lordship.⁴⁷

Islip enjoyed other contacts too. His appointment in 1310 as escheator of Ireland was made by the king "on the information of the earl of Pembroke".⁴⁸ Custos of Kilkenny from 1314 to 1325, Islip may have been able to court the favour of the Despensers,⁴⁹ and later Elizabeth de Clare. In 1324 he was described as a very special friend of William Outlaw, and therefore was obviously on good terms with Arnold le Poer, seneschal of Kilkenny, and Roger Outlaw.⁵⁰ Indeed, Islip enjoyed extensive privileges at Kilmainham and Holy Trinity, in addition to receiving pensions from other religious

45. *CFR 1319-27* pp69,252,283; *CPR 1327-30* p376

46. *CPR 1292-1301* p513

47. Lawlor, *Fasti*, p192; *Admin. Ire.* p3; J.R.S. Phillips, 'The Mission of John de Hothum to Ireland 1315-1316' in *England and Ireland in the Later Middle Ages*, ed. J.F. Lydon (Dublin 1981) pp64,76; *CPR 1313-17* p85

48. *CFR 1307-19* p74

49. *CFR 1307-19* p201; PROI RC8/13 p207; Frame, *Lordship*, p64).

50. A.R. Neary, 'The Origins and Character of the Kilkenny Witchcraft Case of 1324', *Proc. R.I.A.* lxxxiii (1985), C no 13 p343ff

Table 9: Treasurers 1324-47

Walter Islip (15.3.1322)	29.4.1322 - 20.1.1326
Roger Outlaw (Deputy)	Mich 1325 - 20.1.1326
Adam de Herewynton (Keeper 7.12.1325)	21.1.1326 - 4.10.1326
John Cogan (23.7.1326, 24.3.1327)	4.10.1326 - 19.12.1327
Robert Power (30.10.1327)	19.12.1327 - Trin 1331
William de Rudyard (Deputy)	13.3.1331 - 3.6.1331
Thomas de Burgh (26.2.1331)	3.6.1331 - 8.6.1335
Robert Power (Deputy)	East 1334 - East 1335
John de Ellerker the Yger (4.4.1335)	8.5.1335 - 15.10.1337
Robert Power (Deputy)	Hil - Trin 1336
John Rees (28.7.1337, 23.10.1338)	15.10.1337 - 12.8.1339
Hugh de Burgh (29.6.1339)	12.8.1339 - 5.5.1343
John de Balscote (Deputy)	5.11.1341 - Hil 1342
John de Burnham (28.1.1343)	5.5.1343 - 30.9.1349
Robert Power (Deputy)	Easter 1345

houses, such All Hallows, St Wulfstan, and St Thomas the Martyr.⁵¹ Parson of the church of Trim, he may have been connected to Roger Mortimer, but it is unclear at what time this preferment was made, and in whose gift it lay.⁵²

An analysis of his reappointment in 1322 merely highlights the complexity of his connections. He was replaced in 1321 by John de Cogan, who was initially appointed on the same day that a Despenser retainer, Ralph Gorges, was appointed justiciar, in a clear move to curtail Mortimer's influence in Ireland. Presumably Cogan was regarded as reliable by the Despensers. This may explain his replacement by Power in 1327 during Mortimer's regime, especially since the then justiciar, the earl of Kildare, was the man whom Gorges was intended to displace. However, the succeeding appointments in 1321-22 do not seem to match up with the ebb and flow of Despenser fortunes.

The letters of appointment issued to Cogan in February and May 1321 were cancelled, but he did assume office in September.⁵³ As custos of Kilkenny perhaps Islip was regarded as more likely to favour Despenser's opponents, Margaret d'Audley and Elizabeth d'Ammory. In addition, he had been treasurer during Mortimer's justiciarship. Nevertheless, despite Boroughbridge, Islip regained the treasury at Cogan's expense. Presumably he owed his reappointment to John de Hothum and his own skill as a politician. Similarly, his appointment to the escheatorship in July 1328 can be attributed to the revived influence both of Archbishop Bicknor, and Bishop Hothum, chancellor of England, to whom he acknowledged a debt of twenty marks a month later, and the fact that Roger Outlaw was acting justiciar.⁵⁴

* * *

51. *Account Roll, Holy Trinity* pp169,170; *Reg. Kilmainham* pp64,65,99-103; *Frame, Lordship*, p100,101

52. *CCR 1327-30* p408

53. *CFR 1319-27* pp46,59,66; *CPR 1317-21* pp558,572,591; *1321-24* p13

54. *CCR 1327-30* p408

Robert Power had strong connections with Wexford and the Hastings family. He accompanied John de Hastings to Gascony in 1309, and acted as bailiff of Killaban, Co. Carlow, where he was parson.⁵⁵ In 1335, he was described as seneschal of Wexford, holding pleas there, at a time when the liberty was in the king's hands during the minority of Laurence de Hastings. The same year he acquired on petition custody of the lands of another Valence heir, the earl of Athol, in Odough in Kilkenny.⁵⁶ He may have owed his appointment as chamberlain of North Wales to John Hastings' uncle, Aymer de Valence.

A growing link with Roger Mortimer, who had been granted custody of the lands and marriage of Laurence de Hastings, and in whose lordship of Leix the Hastings lands of Oboy lay, is evident in the late 1320s. Power was nominated as one of the attorneys of the lord and lady of Trim in May 1329. The following year he is mentioned as rector of St Patrick's, Trim, and debts were acknowledged to him and Mortimer by Maurice de Rocheford, seneschal of Wexford, and various other Wexford tenants for the issues of lands of Laurence which Maurice held of Mortimer in the liberty.⁵⁷ His tenure of office as treasurer roughly coincided with the regime of Mortimer and Isabella. It would be rash to attribute his appointment to a pre-established connection, but it seems that these years show the beginnings of a relationship between the two, cut short by Mortimer's fall.

Islip is illustrative of an official who can be found in several discernible groupings. Power, while continuing his Wexford connexion, can be seen in the late 1320s entering the ambit of a second grouping. It would have been natural to have been attracted to the dominant power in the lordship and the kingdom, especially in view of the minority in the Hastings family. Clearly, however, membership of the Wexford-Hastings affinity

55. *CPR 1307-13* p196, *1321-24* p193

56. *PRO E101/240/10*; *RCH* p41 nos29,31 p20 no19; *CPR 1337-47* p58; *CCR 1333-37* p408

57. *CPR 1327-30* p395, *1330-34* p2; *PROI RC8/15* pp548,585, *RC8/22* p191. It is interesting that Power seems to have picked up at least two livings held by his predecessor Islip - Trim and Swords.

formed the basis and context of this drift to a new lord, able to provide 'good lordship'. Although Power was replaced by Thomas de Burgh, and failed to gain the escheatorship,⁵⁸ his career in the lordship did not suffer in the long term on account of his previous link with Mortimer. He was fortunate in gaining appointment as chief baron of the exchequer in October 1331, holding this for two terms of five years.

* * *

Neither John de Ellerker nor John de Burnham had any previous connections with the lordship. But the former represents yet another type of official in Ireland, arriving without any obvious links to tenants-in-chief in the lordship, but quickly becoming immersed in a web of connections. Ellerker immediately became attached to the administration of Elizabeth de Clare, succeeding Robert of Scarborough as chief keeper of her lands in Ireland with an annual fee of £40.⁵⁹ He was also granted custody of the lands of both Isabella and Laurence de Hastings.⁶⁰ This may explain why Trim and Tipperary are singled out in the 1336 ordinances, but not Kilkenny or Wexford.⁶¹ Roger Glanville, who acted as his deputy with Robert Power in 1335/6, also acted as a receiver for Elizabeth de Clare at this time.⁶² John de Burnham received a couple of valuable attorneyships, and was preferred to two prebends,⁶³ one of which brought him into the chapter of St Patrick's, but despite long service in Ireland, no other connections are discernible.

Nevertheless, a survey of the treasurership reveals a much more complex pattern of patronage than can be seen in some of the other offices. A greater wealth of evidence

58. *CFR 1327-37* pp239,253

59. *Frame, Lordship*, p70

60. *CPR 1334-38* p225; PROI RC8/18 p651

61. *Sayles, Affairs*, pp169,170

62. PRO SC6/1239/14

63. Thomas de Lucy 6.7.1344 (PROI RC8/22 p541); Queen Philippa 22.7.1345 (*CPR 1343-45* p530). Burnham was prebendary of Howth 1346-54 (Lawlor, *Fasti*, p114) and Kilmademok, Cloyne (*CPR 1345-48* p546). He was also granted custody of the lands of Henry and Isabel de Ferrers in Meath and Louth in 1343 (PROI RC8/22 p541).

throws up a greater number of connexions, real and possible. Their significance is not always easy to elucidate. Such 'public' and 'private' service as exercised by Ellerker seems to have been common practice, royal ministers not just collecting attorneyships, but also serving in magnate administrations,⁶⁴ despite the issue of ordinances against royal officials acquiring their own interests in Ireland or entering the service of tenants-in-chief.⁶⁵ Ministers themselves thus inspired such writs by their complaints but also by their conduct, guilty of the very charges they laid at the door of others in seeking remedy for the poor state of the lordship.

To enforce such measures was therefore impossible, not least because of the numerous exemptions granted by the king, but also impracticable. Ministers may have found far more reliable sources of income from fees earned in the service of tenants-in-chief than from the Crown, where arrears were being paid often years after service had been completed.⁶⁶ Moreover, with interests across the lordship, it made sense for Elizabeth de Clare to employ members of the most extensive administration - that of the king - on her own business.⁶⁷

* * *

In common with Robert Power, Hugh de Burgh and John de Burnham continued to serve in the lordship after their tenure of the treasurership. All three became chief barons of the exchequer, although Burnham was obliged to wait five years for his account to be audited. Hugh de Burgh also suffered investigation of his accounts and

64. Eg Morice and Benet, escheators, were both seneschals in Carlow; Morice also in Kilkenny and Wexford. Ellerker acted as attorney for Bartholomew de Burghersh, Agnes le Poer, Giles Badlesmere, William Zouche of Haringworth, and William Montagu (*CPR 1334-38* pp91,118,228,235,393).

65. Sayles, *Affairs*, p182

66. Eg Ellerker retained custody of the Wexford-Hastings lands in October 1339 as his arrears had not been paid (*CCR 1339-41* p292).

67. In the 1330s Elizabeth's receivers included John de Ellerker, Robert de Embleton, Roger Glanville, John Morice, Roger Outlaw, and Robert de Scarborough, while payments were also made to William Burton, treasurer's clerk, and in the 1340s and 1350s to William Benet, Thomas Quixhull and Peter de Wakefield (engrossers), and to Nicholas de Snyterby (BEx) (PRO SC6/1239/4,26,29).

alleged abuses in 1347 but was restored to office in 1348.⁶⁸ They were fortunate; Bicknor and Islip waited many years for final pardons, but even they were not cast into the wilderness entirely.

In contrast, Rees returned to Hereford with Charlton, while Thomas de Burgh was appointed chamberlain of Berwick, and Ellerker, chamberlain and escheator of North Wales.⁶⁹ Were the latter two appointments successful career moves which the others in some way failed to obtain? Opportunities undoubtedly existed for service elsewhere, but this was subject to royal whim and political developments of the day. Ireland was not in any pecking order of administrative 'plums', but one of a number of centres or off-shoots of English government in areas of which the king of England was also lord and ruler.

Robert Power had already served in North Wales, while the chamberlainship of Berwick was an interlude for Embleton between two periods of service in Ireland.⁷⁰ The use of the lordship to victual the king's castles in North Wales, and expeditions to Scotland, made an interchange of personnel natural. Ireland was no backwater.⁷¹ Limber and Ellerker had both served in Gascony, while Hambury, Scarborough, Herewynton, Limber, Cross and John Darcy went from Ireland to serve in the central English government in King's Bench, exchequer and household.

The treasurers who remained enjoyed long careers in high office: Power was still acting as a baron in 1349, while Hugh de Burgh and John de Burnham both seem to have died in office.⁷² Furthermore, it would have been unusual for Power and Hugh de Burgh, with their close connections with the lordship, to be transferred elsewhere. That Hugh remained should be expected, since the Countess of Ulster returned in 1344 with her

68. *CPR 1345-48* p399; *PROI RC8/24* p73; *CCR 1346-49* p435

69. *CFR 1327-37* p502, *1337-47* pp98,99

70. *CCR 1318-23* p649; *CFR 1319-27* p208, *1327-37* p68; *CCR 1343-46* p7

71. *Frame, Lordship*, p87

72. *Gormanston Reg.* p85; *RCH* p64 no 144; *PROI RC8/25* p533; *Admin. Ire.* p113

new husband Ralph Ufford. Following the loss of her patronage, with Ufford's death and her entrance into a nunnery,⁷³ what is remarkable, is not that he remained, but that he retained high office until his death. Similarly remarkable is Power's permanence in office as long minorities in the Hastings and Mortimer families robbed him of obvious benefactors.

* * *

Some mention too must be made of the five men who acted as deputy treasurer during this period. All were appointed in Ireland and cast a little more light on the connexions of those in office. Roger Outlaw acted as deputy to Islip in Michaelmas 1325 when the latter went to England to render his account.⁷⁴ It is noteworthy that the deputy should be his close associate the chancellor, and not the chief baron, Herewynton, who was appointed keeper following the discovery of his fraud.

Possibly mutual membership of St Patrick's explains why William de Rudyard served as Power's deputy in 1331. Power was deputy for Thomas de Burgh, Ellerker and Burnham, while Balscote, chief engrosser, deputised for Hugh de Burgh while the latter fled to England on the wings of the resumption storm. John de Balscote was probably nominated by John Morice, having served as paymaster for a campaign in Leinster and Munster earlier in the year. Morice presented him to two prebends, but these were revoked as such grants exceeded his authority.⁷⁵

Thus only two nominations to the treasurership were made in this period as a result of the recommendations of chief governors. No associate of John Darcy was promoted to this office, but there is no evidence that he sought to influence appointments to it. Powerful figures at court were able to influence appointments, but the men who held this position also demonstrated the freedom to seek and find new patrons. Of some

73. Frame, 'Ufford', p36

74. PRO E101/238/19

75. *Admin. Ire.* p102; *Rep DKI* 47 p64; *CPR 1340-43* p389, 1343-45 p475

standing in their own right, a number of those who remained in Ireland enjoyed long careers there in royal service.

8. THE JUDICIARY

The central royal courts of Common Bench and Justiciar's Bench in the lordship of Ireland mirrored the judicial structure in England, although on a smaller scale. Interchange of personnel between the courts in the lordship was common, as in England, but a transfer of senior justices between England and Ireland at this level was rare. The chief governor exercised a greater influence over appointments to the justiciar's bench than to the Dublin bench, but even this was not particularly pronounced. The influence of others with a powerful voice at the English court is also evident. Nevertheless, this was countered by the efforts of the Crown, and Edward III in particular in the early 1330s, to nominate justices without any apparent connections in Ireland. This may have been an attempt to appoint men less prone to partiality. However, the absence of ties and resulting fees and rewards robbed many of any incentive to go to Dublin. A number of men failed to take up appointment, especially in the court of the Dublin Bench. Others, though, were willing to go, and profited from their service in Ireland. The two courts are examined separately, each section beginning with a brief analysis of the type of men appointed between 1324 and 1347, and concluding with a brief discussion of clerks of the courts, responsible for the custody of the writs and rolls.

The Court of the Justiciar's Bench:

As can be seen from Table 10, nine men, all laymen, held the office of chief justice between 1324 and 1347; a further four appointments were ineffective.¹ Only Elias de Ashbourne was Anglo-Irish by birth. He was the longest serving chief justice, in office for some eight and a half years in total. Most of the other chief justices had come

1. Thomas Dent was a clerk. According to Richardson and Sayles, Dent's appointment in 1337 was ineffective, but a writ, dated 12.3.1338, was issued to him, John Rees, and Simon fitzRichard to investigate the conduct of Thomas de Louth. Possibly it was effective, therefore.

Table 10: Justices of the Justiciar's Bench 1324-47

Chief Justice

Second Justice

Walter Wogan

20.4.1323 - 2.9.1324
(28.1.1323)

-

Henry de Hambury

2.9.1324 - 6.1.1325
(26.4.1324)

Roger of Birthorpe

2.9.1324 - 6.1.1325
(30.5.1324)

Nicholas Fastolf

6.1.1325 - 12.5.1327
(27.9.1324)

Walter Wogan

6.1.1325 - 12.8.1326
(27.9.1324)

[Gilbert de Singleton
(13.12.1325)]

Roger of Preston

12.8.1326 - 12.5.1327
(8.7.1326)

[Henry de Hambury
(30.8.1326)]

Henry de Hambury

12.5.1327 - 26.7.1327
(18.3.1327)

Elias de Ashbourne

12.5.1327 - 29.10.1327
(4.4.1327)
(16.7.1327)

Nicholas Fastolf

29.10.1327 - 17.6.1329
(22.8.1328)

Roger of Preston

17.6.1329 - 8.6.1331
(22.8.1328)

Elias de Ashbourne

17.6.1329 - 8.6.1331
(2.3.1329)

[Adam Bowes 27.2.1331]

John de Granchester 28.3.1331]

Peter Tilliol

8.6.1331 - 1.5.1332

John de Skelton

8.6.1331 - 1.5.1332

Thomas de Louth

May 1332 - 1.2.1334
(2.12.1331)

John de Grantchester

May 1332 - 1.2.1334
(16.10.1331,
12.3.1332)

Robert of Scarborough

1.2.1334 - 1.8.1334
(2.10.1333)

Roger of Preston

1.2.1334 - 16.10.1337
(2.10.1333)

[Robert Bousser 16.7.1334 John of Kirby Thore 14.7.1334]

Thomas de Louth 29.10.1334 - 16.10.1337 (16.7.1334, 28.7.1337)	[Thomas Dent 28.7.1337]
[Elias de Ashbourne 8.3.1337, cancelled 10.8.1337]	
Elias de Ashbourne 16.10.1337 - 25.5.1341, 26.11.1341 - 15.5.1344 (24.9.1337, 12.9.1338)	[Thomas Dent 2.7.1338]
	John de Middleton 16.1.1339 - 16.7.1341 (23.10.1338, 29.4.1340)
[Thomas de Louth 17.5.1338] [Thomas Dent 24.7.1341]	-
-	John Hunt 16.7.1344 - 28.8.1344 Geoffrey Folejambe 31.8.1344 - 3.10.1349 (28.6.1344, 7.11.1346)
Robert of Scarborough 20.12.1344 - 20.6.1345 (30.7.1344)	
John Hunt 12.10.1345 - 12.7.1346 [Henry de Motlowe 27.5.1346]	
John de Reedness 14.12.1346 - 14.6.1352	

**Table 11: Keepers of the Writs and Rolls of the
Justiciar's Bench 1324-47**

Henry of Thrapston	Appointed 31.7.1323
Walter Curtis	Appointed 15.3.1327
Thomas de Penkeston	Appointed 6.10.1327
William of Bosworth	Appointed 21.8.1328; 20.8.1329; for life 16.8.1330; revoked 13.6.1332; renewed 16.7.1334

[Robert of Lincoln 2.10.1333]

straight from England prior to their first appointments. Both Hambury and Scarborough later gained appointment to the central royal courts in England. Coincidentally, nine men, also all laymen, held the office of second justice. All, save Ashbourne, were English, but the office does seem to have been more open to men already carving out a career for themselves in Ireland. Skelton, Hunt and Folejambe were exceptions to this, brought in with the Lucy and Ufford administrations respectively.

Ashbourne and Folejambe had served as second justice before their later promotion to the chief justiceship.² Such promotion, however, was not automatic or necessarily significant; Wogan, Birthorpe, and Hambury had all served as chief justice before their later appointment as second justice. The interchange of justices between courts was also common: Birthorpe, Dent, Fastolf, Grantchester, Hambury, Preston, Reedness, and Scarborough all served on the Dublin bench as justices or chief justices. The institution of a second justice in the justiciar's court in 1324 was a new initiative, and came in the wake of the Cowick reforms. A second justice was regularly appointed in the period 1324-47 with breaks only from October 1327 to June 1329, and from November 1341 to December 1344.

* * *

Appointments to the justiciar's bench were made in England by the king and council, but the royal council's selection procedure was open to the petitions of the chief governor, and those of individuals aspiring to high office. The petitions of John Darcy, on his reappointment to the justiciarship in 1328, indicate that the chief governor sought to play some part in the nomination process.³ Since the court was peripatetic, following the justiciar, such petitions are not surprising. In 1328 Darcy was successful, and Nicholas Fastolf and Roger Preston were appointed as he requested. Both had served in

2. Hunt was 2nd justice in 1344 - but he served alone; Folejambe was appointed chief justice 31.10.1351 (*CPR 1350-54* p173)

3. Baldwin, *Council*, pp473-75

the court during his first justiciarship, and Preston seems to have developed an association with Darcy, owing later appointments to his influence.

The appointment by justiciars of associates to this court, however, was limited. Adam de Bowes, later a commissioner in Westmoreland and Northumberland, was appointed on the same day as Anthony de Lucy, and was probably nominated by him. John de Middleton was a clerk in the household of Thomas Charlton, accompanying him to Ireland in 1337, while Geoffrey de Folejambe was a Lancastrian retainer, probably nominated by the earl of Derby to his brother-in-law, Ufford's, administration. Peter Tilliol and John de Skelton, close Cumbrian associates of Anthony de Lucy, began acting a few days after his arrival, but the absence of letters of appointment suggests that this was a response on Lucy's part to the situation he found on arrival. Possibly irregularities were uncovered. In 1335, Ashbourne obtained a pardon for various felonies and transgressions for which he had been obliged to answer before Lucy.⁴ New justices were soon appointed in England, inferring that Lucy's promotion of his associates was viewed as a necessary but undesirable stop-gap measure.

Direct petition by those seeking appointment also appears to have been another significant means of gaining office, often achieved through a personal appearance at court. Ashbourne had gone to England in 1327. He had been involved in the proceedings against Bicknor and presumably went to secure immunity from prosecution. He was granted a general pardon, and the following day letters were issued in his favour for the office of second justice. He was also in England at the time of his appointments in 1329, 1337, and 1338. Wogan and Grantchester probably also petitioned for appointment in 1324 and 1331 respectively.

Nevertheless, in the absence of other evidence, one can only conclude that for the majority of judges sent from England, the initiative for their appointment lay with the king and council. Yet not all appointees were willing to take up office. Letters patent

4. PROI RC8/17 p360

were issued on 16 July 1334 to both Robert Bousser and to Thomas de Louth, "in case the said Robert will not go to Ireland".⁵ Not all were able to go; Gilbert de Singleton died before he could take up appointment. Circumstances changed, and John de Shardlow, for example, did not take up office in 1326 as chief justice of the Dublin bench, because of the invasion of Mortimer and Isabella, and so there was no necessity for Henry de Hambury to move to the justiciar's bench.

For others, however, a position on the bench was worth fighting for. Several of the reforming ordinances issued to the Charlton administration were inextricably bound up with the struggle between Ashbourne and Louth for appointment in 1337-38. Ashbourne successfully petitioned for the office of chief justice in March 1337, and letters were issued in his favour. Nevertheless, the incumbent chief justice, Thomas de Louth, secured letters of appointment on 28 July. On the same day, John Charlton was ordered not to remove justices or barons of the exchequer who had been appointed by letters patent under the Great Seal of England, without the king's knowledge.⁶ The writ would seem to have been partly triggered by the dispute between Louth and Ashbourne. Louth had presumably protested at Ashbourne's appointment, petitioned against it, and may have requested dismissals be made only with clear and express authority. Explicit letters of dismissal were issued to Ashbourne and seven incumbent ministers on 10 August, following the appointment of the new administration on 28 July.⁷

The dispute continued, since Ashbourne secured reappointment on 24 September and began acting.⁸ Louth was arrested and imprisoned, alleged by the escheator to have caused wastes in his wardship of the lands of Adam de Howth. An investigation into this was ordered on 26 March, and on 17 May orders were given for Louth's release and

5. *CPR 1330-34* p568

6. *CPR 1334-38* p477

7. *CCR 1337-39* p168

8. *CPR 1334-38* p522, PRO E101/240/17

reinstatement as chief justice.⁹ A writ was issued on 3 March 1338 requesting the assessment of the competence of justices in Ireland in view of a recent ordinance ordering the appointment only of English justices.¹⁰ On his arrest, Louth doubtless protested and petitioned for redress, probably appealing to this ordinance, which had presumably been issued on John Charlton's appointment as a result of the dispute. Ashbourne was a member of a Dublin family, but Louth was English. Louth was unlucky, because when Ashbourne petitioned for redress, the king had gone to Brabant, and Elias' reappointment on 12 September was made by the Keeper and Council in England. This struggle illustrates the importance of the individual's petition. The chief governor's preferences in this case remain unknown, but it is clear that he was able to have some say, as the appointment of John de Middleton in 1338 indicates.

* * *

The influence of the chief governor is also apparent on grants of the custody of the writs and rolls of the court. Thomas de Penkeston was a nominee of the earl of Kildare, while William Bosworth was nominated by John Darcy in 1328. Bosworth enjoyed Darcy's protection, and Robert of Lincoln, appointed in 1333, asked to be discharged because he was suffering from quartan fever, and because Bosworth's appointment had not been revoked in the lordship.¹¹ William had been granted office for life in 1330 and this was regranted in 1334. He held the custody until November 1354.

Darcy had thus protected his associate, although not apparently the safe-keeping and good custody of the court's records, since Robert of Scarborough was ordered in August 1345 to look after them, and was entrusted with the custody of the new seals to be used in both central courts in the lordship.¹² This was ironic, since Darcy had arrived on the

9. *CPR 1338-40* pp74,80

10. *CCR 1337-39* p392

11. *Analecta Hibernica* xxxiv p46

12. *CCR 1343-46* p455

crest of a reforming wave in 1323/4. The Cowick initiatives sought to regularise the appointment of a custodian and to emphasise in Henry de Thrapston's grant that henceforward custody should be entrusted to a clerk appointed in England.¹³ Bosworth had been appointed in England, but with Darcy's protection, he remained in office, and following the justiciar's withdrawal from Ireland in 1337, he appears to have been less than conscientious in his duties. However, this may be an unfair conclusion to draw, and the fault may lie with Ashbourne, against whom the Lawless family brought a number of charges for gross misconduct, and whom Ufford had no hesitation in dismissing and imprisoning.

The Dublin Bench:

When Darcy was first appointed justiciar, four justices were sitting on the Dublin bench. This had been the pattern during the first two decades of the fourteenth century. However, only two sat between 1325 and 1327, and three thereafter until March 1341. From April 1343, the number of justices settled at two, where it remained, on the whole, for the following thirty years. As in the justiciar's court, the chief justice received a higher fee than his fellows - £40 per annum as against forty marks - and as the table shows, eleven men, four of whom were clerks,¹⁴ occupied this position during this period. A further four men failed to take up appointment following the issue of letters patent in their favour. In addition neither of the two nominees of John Darcy gained appointment in 1328.¹⁵ Only two men appointed within the period were Anglo-Irish: Simon fitzRichard and John Gernon, both of whom were promoted from the office of second justice, although such promotion was not the norm.¹⁶ Dent had also previously

13. *CPR 1321-24* p335; *CCR 1323-27* p14

14. Two of these, however, Robert Power and John Rees, were interim chief justices. Robert Power was chief baron of the exchequer at the time; John Rees, treasurer.

15. Peter de Ludington, Robert Thorpe (Baldwin, *Council*, pp473-75)

16. Hambury was promoted in 1325 because Willoughby died; fitzRichard, by petitioning against Dent's appointment in 1334, succeeded Scarborough who was

Table 12: The Dublin Bench 1324-47

Chief Justice

Second Justice

Richard de Exeter
25.12.1302-
25.1.1324
(1.11.1302)

Richard de Willoughby
25.1.1324 -
1.3.1325
(4.9.1323)

Henry de Hambury
6.4.1325 -
12.5.1327
(23.3.1325,
8.12.1325)

[**John de Shardlow**
24.7.1326]

Nicholas Fastolf
12.5.1327 -
12.11.1327
(12.3.1327)

William de Rudyard
12.11.1327 -
15.4.1332

[**Roger Hillary**
16.9.1329]

[**Richard de Foxcote**
22.10.1329]

Robert Bagod
H 1308 -
6.1.1325
(24.6.1307,
5.6.1308)

[**Thomas de Louth**
3.3.1324]

[**Gilbert de Singleton**
30.3.1324]

Roger de Birthorpe
6.1.1325 -
13.6.1327
(27.9.1324,
11.12.1325)

John de Grantchester
13.9.1327 -
10.10.1329
(14.6.1327)

[**John Bever**
16.9.1329]

John de Grantchester
30.9.1330 -
12.4.1331
(29.12.1329)

Thomas Bagod
12.4.1331 -
3.6.1331

Robert of Bristol
E 1322 -
E 1324

Roger de Preston
13.10.1327 -
13.9.1329
(14.6.1327)

Henry de Thrapston
13.9.1329 -
13.10.1330

Richard le Blond
M 1322 -
6.1.1325
(24.11.1323)

Henry de Hambury
6.1.1325 -
6.4.1325
(27.9.1324)

[**William Fauvel**
15.3.1329,
16.9.1329]
Richard Broun
10.10.1329 -
10.10.1330

[Roger de
Bakewell
27.2.1331]

**Robert of
Scarborough**
15.12.1332 -
19.7.1333,
19.10.1333 -
19.1.1334
(2.12.1331)

[Roger de
Bakewell
2.10.1333]

[Robert of
Scarborough
16.7.1334]

Robert Power
19.7.1334 -
19.10.1334

**Simon
fitzRichard**
19.10.1334 -
10.12.1334
13.1.1335 -
13.4.1338
(24.9.1334)

[Robert of
Scarborough
28.7.1337]

John Rees
14.4.1338 -
14.6.1338

**Simon
fitzRichard**
15.6.1338 -
13.3.1341
(1.5.1338,
26.10.1340)

**Simon
fitzRichard**
3.6.1331 -
(27.2.1331,
17.5.1331,

[John de Bray
2.10.1333]

[John de Hornby
30.1.1334]

Thomas Dent
10.12.1334 -
19.10.1335,
10.12.1335 -
19.10.1336
(16.7.1334)

**Thomas de
Montpellier**
19.10.1335 -
13.3.1341
(15.8.1336)

[Robert Power
14.7.1336]

[Simon
fitzRichard
28.7.1337]

**Roger de
Preston**
12.6.1331 -
14.1.1334
(2.2.1331)

[Richard de
Hattecombe
2.10.1333]

[Robert of
Scorburgh
28.7.1337]

John Gernon
15.6.1338 -
13.10.1341
(15.5.1338)

Richard Broun
3.6.1331 -
19.10.1334
(27.2.1331)

Richard Broun
19.10.1334 -
19.10.1337
(24.9.1334)

Henry Bagod
(20.11.1340,
dim 14.3.1341)

John Gernon
13.10.1341
12.10.1344
(4.8.1341)

**Roger de
Preston**
13.10.1341 -
13.10.1342,
13.4.1342-
12.10.1344
(4.8.1341)

Thomas Dent
12.10.1344 -
15.12.1358
(1.7.1344)

John de Reedness
12.10.1344 -
13.12.1346
(1.7.1344)

Nicholas de Snyterby
14.12.1346 -
6.5.1348
(7.11.1346)

Table 13: Keepers and Chirographers of the Writs and Rolls of the Dublin Bench 1324-47

<i>Tenure</i>	<i>Keeper</i>	<i>Chirographer</i>	<i>Appointment</i>
2.10.1322 - 13.5.1327		Walter Curtis	K (30.6.1322) C (27.3.1315)
13.5.1327 - 12.7.1331		John de la Bataille	(10.11.1327)
		[John of Stafford John de la Bataille	C (24.8.1330) C (16.1.1331)
12.7.1331 -12.1.1332		Peter de Wetwang	(25.2.1331)
	Nicholas fitzRichard of Gowran		K (28.10.1331)
2.11.1332 - 21.1.1334		Walter Kinver	(20.9.1332)
	[John Ashley	Robert of Helpston	(2.10.1333)]
21.1.1334 - 4.5.1335	Thomas de Speton		K (26.11.1333)
5.5.1335 - 5.2.1337		Walter Kinver	(20.9.1334)
6.4.1337 - 6.10.1337	Thomas Fleming		
16.10.1337 - 2.5.1338	William of Gloucester	Nicholas fitzRichard of Gowran	K (28.6.1337) C (4.10.1337, for 10 years)
2.5.1338 - 5.6.1338		Nicholas fitzRichard	(5.3.1338, for 7 years)
15.6.1338 - 9.2.1339		William of Gloucester	(27.4.1338, for 10 years)
22.3.1339 - 21.11.1339	Thomas Fleming	Nicholas fitzRichard	(11.9.1339, for 5 years)
20.11.1340 - 20.5.1357		Nicholas fitzRichard	(31.3.1340, for life)

served as a second justice but only he, Gernon, fitzRichard, and Rudyard had had previous experience of Ireland.

Seventeen men, of whom four were clerks, held the office of 'justice of the Bench' in this period. A further nine, all English and of whom only Robert Power was a clerk, failed to take up letters of appointment. Two other laymen, nominated by Darcy in 1328, failed to gain appointment.¹⁷ Seven of those who held office were Anglo-Irish.¹⁸ Le Blond, Dent, and fitzRichard had all acted as king's pleaders prior to their appointment, while Birthorpe, Fastolf, Hambury [briefly] and Preston had all served on the justiciar's bench. Seven justices had been barons of the exchequer before they were appointed, and it is interesting that between September 1327 and March 1341, one justice, sometimes two, had previously served in the exchequer court. This was not a policy fostered by the English government, however, as the block appointments of September 1329, October 1333 and July 1337 indicate. No other justice apart from Scarborough and Hambury went on to act as a royal justice in England, although promotion was possible within the court and across the administration.¹⁹

* * *

One of the most apparent features regarding appointments to the Bench is the lack of any great influence on the part of chief governors over them. Self-interest was not as great as in the case of the justiciar's court, whose itinerant nature may have prompted the chief governor to seek the appointment of men with whom he was obliged to work closely. It is evident that in the earlier part of the period, the English government was

transferred to the King's Bench in England; Gernon replaced fitzRichard, dismissed and arrested.

17. William Saresfield, William Scot.

18. The Bagod brothers, le Blond, Brown, fitzRichard, Gernon. Robert of Bristol's origins are unclear; Snyterby was probably English but inherited his uncle's lands in Ireland.

19. Hambury and Reedness were chief justices of the justiciar's bench; Birthorpe became chief baron of the exchequer.

active in appointing a number of men with no connections in the lordship. Many failed to take up appointment, but went on instead to serve for many years on judicial commissions in the shires, or to careers in the central royal courts in England. The Crown may have sought to appoint impartial justices to the lordship, but such men did not view it as a useful career move. If Ireland was intended to be a training ground for English justices, this was never realised. The influence of those in favour at the English court is also apparent during the regency government, and in the late 1330s and early 1340s.

None of those appointed during Darcy's first justiciarship were connected to him in any way, but the same fears for the lordship's security and concern for reform that underpinned his own appointment also lay behind that of new justices to the Bench in 1323 and 1324. Of the four justices acting in 1324, Exeter and Bagod had served for a considerable length of time, while le Blond and Bristol had been installed by the earl of Louth. Exeter's retirement was engineered through an anonymous petition calling for his replacement. Marriage to a daughter of Walter de Lacy, in exile in Scotland, cast suspicion upon him.²⁰ The English government was also intent on replacing Bagod as second justice in March 1324, but only Darcy's return to England that summer secured the removal of both Bagod and le Blond by the transfer of Birthorpe and Hambury from the justiciar's court.²¹

John Darcy included several names in his petitions in 1328, but these serve only to raise a number of questions concerning the nature of the petitions, and suggest that other voices in England were interested in appointments to the Dublin bench. Indeed, it is clear that several influences were at play between 1327 and 1330. Peter de Ludington had been a frequent commissioner of oyer and terminer in Lincolnshire, but there are no obvious links between Darcy and the others. In the case of John de Grantchester, the only one to be appointed, Darcy was probably presenting a request by the incumbent to

20. *Admin. Ire.* p154N; *Analecta Hibernica* xxxiv p41

21. Bristol died at some point during this year.

be left in office. William de Saresfield remains obscure, although a family with this surname later appears in Munster. William Scot and Robert Thorpe may, however, have been closely connected to the regency government. One William Scot was bailiff of the liberty of Ely, while Robert Thorpe had been receiver of Ponthieu in 1316 and attorney for Queen Isabella in 1318.²² Assuming that the bishop of Ely, John de Hothum, and Isabella were connected with the nominations of these men, the petition may offer an interesting insight into the politics of the royal council. Was it assumed that these men would stand a better chance of being appointed if they were nominated by Darcy?

Other interests represented in the new regime may have prevented their appointment. The incumbent chief justice, William de Rudyard, was dean of St Patrick's, reflecting Bicknor's revived influence. Similarly, Richard Broun, may also have been a nominee of the archbishop. He had been appointed chief baron of the Dublin exchequer in March 1319 when Bicknor was keeper and justiciar of Ireland.²³ Henry de Thrapston had acted as paymaster to Mortimer's troops in campaigns in 1319 and 1320, but he had also served Darcy in this capacity in 1326. The justiciar had petitioned for Preston's appointment to the justiciar's court and probably brought Thrapston on to the Bench to release Preston to take up his new appointment.

Although the deliberations in 1328 over new justices of the Bench came to nothing, the English government was not content to abandon its say over appointments by default, and issued fresh letters patent in the autumn of 1329. In the cases of two appointees, absentee influence may be discernible. William Fauvel had been nominated in 1327 as the attorney of Robert Clifford, now in the custody of his aunt Margaret Badlesmere, widow of Mortimer's former associate, Bartholomew Badlesmere.²⁴ Richard Foxcote had served in Gloucestershire as a collector and sub-escheator, and was later to become

22. *CPR 1327-30* pp477,479; *CPR 1313-17* p563, *1317-21* p123

23. Bicknor was keeper and justiciar 23.9.1318 - 23.6.1319 (*Admin. Ire.* p84)

24. *CCR 1327-30* p132; *Frame, Lordship*, p179

sheriff,²⁵ possibly connecting him to Margaret de Clare, a co-parcener of Kilkenny and wife of Hugh d'Audley, created earl of Gloucester in 1337.

However, Hillary, Bever, Fauvel, and Foxcote failed to take up appointment, and Edward III's close interest in the lordship in the early 1330s was similarly blighted - Bakewell (1331,1333), Bray, Hattecombe and Hornby (1333), Scarborough (1334,1337), and Scorburch (1337) all remained in England. Why? Like Robert Bousser, nominated for the justiciar's bench, presumably some were unwilling to go. Others already had commitments to fulfill. John Bever had been appointed to a commission of oyer and terminer in June.²⁶ Similar commissions may have prevented Singleton (1324), Bakewell (1331,1333) and Scarborough (1337) from taking up appointment,²⁷ but there is little evidence concerning the others, and no details of any connections either with absentees or influential figures in the lordship. This lack may have been a major reason for not going, since those already serving in the royal administration or on local commissions were well placed to earn rich pickings from private fees.²⁸

* * *

Robert of Scarborough seems to have been regarded as particularly trustworthy by Edward. His initial appointment came in the context of continuing plans for a royal expedition to Ireland, and he reported news of developments in the lordship to the king in the summer of 1332.²⁹ As Edward's attention and energies were diverted to Scotland, so Scarborough's role changed also, and he may have been intimately involved with

25. *CFR 1319-27* p41; *CPR 1321-24* p21; *CFR 1327-37* p328, *1337-47* p26, *1347-56* pp308,348; *CPR 1340-43* p153, *1348-50* pp169,531

26. *CPR 1327-30* p347

27. *CPR 1321-24* p446, *1330-34* pp129,442,445,447,448,495,496,498,552, *1334-38* pp445,450,509,511

28. Maddicott, 'Law and Lordship', p25ff

29. *CCR 1330-33* p483; PRO E101/239/24,29

preparations for the despatch of troops from Ireland against David Bruce,³⁰ accompanying Darcy to Scotland in 1333. Despite his relatively short term in office, Scarborough was able to profit from his time in Ireland, acquiring a number of grants of money, as rewards for service, and custody in 1337 of two thirds of Malahide manor with the marriage of its heir, Thomas Talbot. He was also appointed as her receiver by the lady of Clare, with an annual fee of £40.

Contacts between the administration and the king were close during the early years of Edward's personal rule. Scarborough, the treasurer, Thomas de Burgh, and Darcy himself were high in royal favour. They proved themselves worthy of the confidence the king had placed in them during the renewed Anglo-Scottish conflict, and reaped rewards for faithful service. The commissions of both Thomas and Robert were renewed in July 1334, but Scarborough's elevation to the King's Bench that September prevented his departure. Thomas de Burgh and John Darcy were similarly to follow Robert to high office in England. Their successors, however, did not enjoy such a close relationship with the English government and Edward's confidence and trust in his Irish ministers began to dissipate, as the 1336 reforms and the writs in subsequent years about justices and ministers in general indicate.

Scarborough's colleague, the second justice, Simon fitzRichard seems to have come under suspicion. Simon may have secured office by petition.³¹ His capture of Henry Mandeville the following year earned him the Brown Earl's favour. Nevertheless, attempts to displace him in October 1333 and January 1334 may indicate dissatisfaction with him by other Irish ministers. He was successfully replaced by Thomas Dent in July 1334, and went to England to plead for restoration. Scarborough's sudden promotion left the chief justiceship vacant, and by a stroke of good fortune for him, fitzRichard found himself in the right place at the right time. There is strong evidence that he used his position to his own advantage, but he remained in office until 1341.

30. Frame, *Lordship*, p143

31. See biography

Possibly earlier contacts with the de Burgh family protected him. Plans in 1337 for his demotion to second justice following the reappointment of Scarborough, with a baron of the English exchequer, Robert de Scorburgh, as their colleague, also came to nothing.

The careers of fitzRichard's colleagues also lay in the lordship. Their connections and interests may also have earned them criticism from more recently-appointed ministers, while their long service was probably regarded as evidence of entrenchment and self-preservation. Richard Broun remained in office for some eight years until his dismissal in 1337. Montpelliers, also an associate of Archbishop Bicknor (though it is unclear whether this procured his appointment), survived his dismissal notice and clung to office until 1341.

Yet their replacements were equally well connected. The influence of the Countess of Ulster undoubtedly earned the appointment of John Gernon to the Bench in 1338, despite the ordinance concerning justices not of English origin referred to in a writ issued that March.³² He was a king's pleader, but also her attorney. Following fitzRichard's fall, Gernon was promoted, with John Darcy's associate, Roger de Preston, as his new colleague. Neither survived the appointment of a new administration in 1344 reflecting renewed attempts by the English government at reform in the lordship. But even so, the new chief justice, Thomas Dent, was not free of links with ascendant influences at court. He had acted as attorney for Robert Clifford, who held the other moiety of the Clare inheritance of Thomond, and continued to act for Robert's widow, Isabella de Berkeley, following her husband's death in 1343.³³

* * *

Magnate influence and evidence of sharp practice also emerge from a study of the chirographers and custodians of the writs and rolls of the court. These two offices were

32. *CCR 1337-39* p392

33. *CPR 1338-40* p6, *1343-45* p352

most frequently combined; their subsequent separation led to disputes over tenure. Curtis was attached to a Wexford grouping, owing allegiance to Earl Aymer and to the Hastings family. His successor, John de la Bataille, had also displaced him for six months in 1322, presumably at the instance of the earl of Louth, for whose troops he had been paymaster in 1322. John's rival in 1330, John de Stafford, was a candidate of Roger Mortimer, who was no friend of the earl of Louth.

Peter de Wetwang, brought in with the Lucy administration, was a royal clerk from the East Riding, and may have been related to Walter Wetwang, also a royal clerk, responsible for the victualling of ships in the west of Scotland in the summer of 1334.³⁴ He may have been replaced as keeper by Nicholas fitzRichard of Gowran, appointed at the request of the Bardi.³⁵ Other connections are also possible: Gowran was a Butler manor; Gowran church had been held by Nicholas de Balscote, whose nephew John was chief chamberlain in the Dublin exchequer.³⁶

Walter Kinver had been keeper of the chancery rolls until July 1323, and held property in Dublin.³⁷ The complaints of partiality and extortion by the justices' clerks in the common bench, voiced by the Dublin community to the king in a petition dated around 1334,³⁸ expressed concerns that presumably lay behind the attempt to appoint a new team of justices in October 1333, and to split the offices of chirographer and custodian between new men at the same time. Robert of Helpston, a royal clerk, master of the works of the royal castles in North Wales, was appointed chirographer of the Bench on 2 October, while another royal clerk, Thomas Speton was appointed keeper on 26 November. Speton was acting as chancellor Limber's attorney in 1332 and may have

34. Nicholson, *op. cit.*, p206

35. There is a gap in the payments Jan-Nov 1332. Richardson and Sayles suggest his fees may have been paid by the Bardi (*Admin. Ire.* p186)

36. PROI RC8/9 p62

37. *CCR* 1323-27 p10; *RCH* pp24 no127, 21 no13, 28 nos 81,13, 30 no8

38. *Analecta Hibernica* xxxiv p14

accompanied him to Ireland. Kinver gained fresh letters patent only four days before the appointment as chief justice of Simon fitzRichard, one of the justices whom the October 1333 appointees were intended to replace.

Following Kinver's death in 1337, a protracted struggle broke out for the two offices. Thomas Fleming would appear to have been an interim appointment on the two occasions he was paid for his service. The main protagonists were Nicholas fitzRichard of Gowran and William of Gloucester, who may have been another English clerk. The dispute arose because although fitzRichard was appointed chirographer first, Gloucester was appointed custodian "to hold ... as Walter de Kynefare deceased held the office".³⁹ But Kinver had also been chirographer. On his petition for redress, fitzRichard was appointed to both offices. In the ensuing contest, fitzRichard was ultimately successful and was appointed for life. Gloucester failed to gain entry in to the Dublin administration in either common bench or exchequer.

* * *

The failure on the part of the English government on a number of occasions to secure its nominees to the Bench, and the dominance of magnate interest, certainly raised questions regarding the court's impartiality, and the conduct and quality of royal justices. Yet Ireland was in no worse a plight than England at this time.⁴⁰ Simon fitzRichard seems to have been particularly culpable, but it may be unfair to class all his colleagues in the same category.⁴¹ One must be wary of adopting the same preconceptions as new ministers arriving in Ireland, that longevity of service implied entrenchment and self-interest, and be mindful too that these incoming ministers were just as likely to have been motivated by ambition and greed, seeking to carve out their

39. *CPR 1334-38* p462

40. For England, see Maddicott, 'Law and Lordship'.

41. See biographies

own niches in the Dublin administration. On the other hand, patrons presumably derived some benefit from the promotion of their clients.

Both benches lost their chief justices during Darcy's fourth term as justiciar. Ashbourne was ruined,⁴² and fitzRichard similarly did not recover any position in the royal administration. Ireland in this respect, however, was again no worse off than England. Both lordship and kingdom suffered from Edward III's preoccupation with the French war and his resulting absence. Richard de Willoughby, chief justice of the King's Bench, had been removed several months before Edward's assault on the Stratfords, and was being tried for offences in September 1340.⁴³ Edward's retention of Darcy at court between 1340 and 1344 probably delayed lasting action against Ashbourne, but the king's arm was long enough to sweep the benches and end fitzRichard's career in 1341.

42. See biography

43. Fryde, 'Removal', p157

9. THE EXCHEQUER

The exchequer was divided into two parts: the great or upper exchequer, containing the exchequer court, its writing office, and all the pipe, memoranda, and plea rolls; and the small or lower exchequer, known as the receipt or treasury, where the issue and receipt rolls and all the money were stored. The exchequer was presided over by the treasurer. The key officials in the upper exchequer were the barons of the exchequer court, and the chancellor, who headed the secretariat. Its staff comprised the engrosser, remembrancers, summoner, and the transcriber of estreats. The chamberlains were the senior officials in the receipt, and the treasurer was represented there by his clerk.

Strong royal control over appointment to the highest offices in the exchequer is evident. Significant influence on the issue of letters patent is also revealed by those with a powerful voice at court, including on occasion the chief governor, the archbishop of Dublin, and absentee lords. Political control over the lower offices of the exchequer is less obvious, but great magnates took an interest even at this level.

The Dublin Exchequer: the chancellor:

The chancellor of the exchequer had custody of the seal of the exchequer and was head of the department's writing office.¹ Although receiving the same fee - 20 marks per annum - as the barons of the exchequer, he is placed directly after the treasurer in the issue rolls. Whether or not this signifies a higher status than that of the barons is difficult to assess. Appointments to the office were made in England. All those appointed between 1324 and 1347 were English clerks. Nine men held office; three failed to gain effective appointment. Eight of the twelve had previous experience of

1. A very useful section on the different offices within the Dublin exchequer can be found in D.V. Craig, 'The Memoranda Roll of the Irish Exchequer for 3 Edward II' (unpub. PhD thesis TCD 1984) pp7-16

Table 14: Chancellors of the Dublin Exchequer 1324-47

Thomas de Montpeliers	Easter - Michaelmas 1323
Joscelin de Brankscombe (10.7.1323)	Mich. 1323 - Mich. 1326
Adam de Herewynton (8.7.1326, 17.3.1327)	Michaelmas 1326 - Easter 1327
[William de Broadwood 18.3.1327]	
Thomas de Montpeliers (2.5.1328, 24.9.1334)	Easter 1327 - Trinity 1335
[William de Broadwood 5.11.1328, 26.9.1329] [Henry de Thrapston 15.10.1330] [Thomas Brailes 2.10.1333] [Robert Power 16.7.1334]	
Robert Power (6.6.1335, 25.9.1336, 24.3.1337 for 7 years)	Trinity 1335 - Hilary 1340
[Thomas de Montpeliers 14.7.1336]	
Robert Pincebek (11.7.1340)	Hilary 1340
Robert de Embleton (20.3.1340)	Trinity 1340 - Michaelmas 1341
William Power (30.9.1341)	Michaelmas 1341 - Trinity 1342
Robert de Salkeld (18.4.1342)	Trinity 1342 - Hilary 1343
William de Bromley (16.10.1342)	Hilary 1343 - Michaelmas 1344
Robert de Embleton (26.4.1344)	Mich. 1344 - Mich. 1349

service in the lordship, and of those all save Robert Pincebek and William de Bromley had served in the exchequer.

Although there was some movement upwards within the Dublin exchequer in career terms, with men rising from the position of clerks to become engrossers, chamberlains, and even occasionally a baron of the exchequer,² the chancellorship of the exchequer, in practice, does not appear to have acted as a fixed stepping stone in any particular hierarchy of offices. The chancellors in this period comprised two previous treasurers (Power and Herewynton), two former treasurer's clerks (Embleton and Salkeld), of whom the latter was a chamberlain at his appointment, and a former baron (Thrapston). In addition, two chief barons were appointed, and Herewynton held the office concurrently, as did Power for two years and Montpeliers for a term in 1327 and in 1331. Embleton and Bromley held the office for a second term, and both became treasurers of Ireland. Embleton subsequently became chief baron of the exchequer, a position to which Power reverted, while Salkeld, who had been an interim appointment, reverted to second chamberlain.

Tenure of office varied and was subject to frequent review. The longest serving chancellor in the period was Montpeliers, in office for eight years. Following Power, six men held office in quick succession between Hilary 1340 and Michaelmas 1344 when Embleton secured appointment. Similarly, between 1326 and 1330, and between 1333 and 1336, at least one appointment was made each year, although the majority proved ineffective. Such attention on the English government's part seems to have been due to a desire for efficiency and integrity in the exchequer, and to fight against slackness, corruption and the entrenchment of officials.

* * *

2. Eg Thomas de Quixhull served as a clerk in the exchequer and chancery, was chief engrosser 1351-64, and 2nd baron 1364-65.

Chief governors do not seem to have influenced appointments, but connections between absentee magnates and the chancellors of the early 1340s are evident. The office was not immune from political change in England, and was subject to internal changes within the exchequer. Experience and ability were clearly necessary as the cases of Brankscombe, Montpelliers, Power and Pincebek demonstrate. Brankscombe's appointment came with the exchequer reforms passed at Cowick, but he was replaced on 3 January 1326 by the king "upon trustworthy testimony that he is insufficient ... for the execution of the office", in the wake of the discovery of Islip and Bicknor's fraud.³ Dissatisfaction with his conduct seems apparent even before news of the scandal broke. The chancellor was head of the exchequer's writing office, but in February 1325 the remembrancers, who drew up the writs and rolls, were forbidden to make any writs unless they had the agreement of the chief baron, Adam de Herewynton.⁴ The latter, whose growing suspicions may have alerted the English exchequer to be circumspect in auditing the accounts of the Irish treasurers, was appointed chancellor in July 1326.⁵

Although confirmed in office in March 1327, Herewynton was superseded by Thomas de Montpelliers. Like others in Darcy's administration, including Henry de Hambury and the justiciar himself, Adam returned to England to service in the new government. He was appointed chancellor of the English exchequer in January 1328.⁶ Montpelliers was a close associate of Archbishop Bicknor, and doubtless owed his appointment as a baron of the exchequer to the latter's revived influence. He may also have had connections with the royal household. One Peter de Montpelliers, king's serjeant, was purveyor of spices for the royal household in 1315, while Richard de Montpelliers, who died in 1332, was described as late king's marshal.⁷ As Brankscombe's predecessor, he was presumably deemed suitable to fill the void left by Herewynton's departure,

3. *CCR 1323-27* p438

4. *PROI RC8/14* p157

5. *CPR 1324-27* p295

6. *CPR 1327-30* p225

7. *CPR 1313-17* p360, *1321-24* p127; *PROI RC8/18* p167

although he was not the administration's first choice. Nevertheless, all three attempts to appoint William de Broadwood, whose origins and connections remain obscure, were unsuccessful.

The appointment of Henry de Thrapston, probably made on his petition at being replaced as a baron of the exchequer by Thomas Bagod, was also ineffective. He may have died or been too ill to take up office since it was made "so long as his bodily strength allows".⁸ Montpelliers remained in office, therefore, until the summer of 1335, surviving an attempt in 1333 to appoint a royal clerk, Thomas de Brailes, who was perhaps unwilling to go to Ireland, and a proposal in 1334 to transfer Robert Power to the chancellorship in order to appoint a baron of the English exchequer, Robert Scorburch, as chief baron in Dublin.⁹

Robert Power did replace Montpelliers in 1335 but combined the offices of chief baron and chancellor until August 1337. As in 1334, his appointment was intended to be a transfer in order to appoint a new chief baron. Thomas Cross, in whose favour letters patent were issued for this position, was unable to take up appointment because he went to Scotland that summer as paymaster for the campaign. The subsequent issues of letters patent in favour of Cross as chief baron in October 1335, and of Montpelliers as chancellor in July 1336 would seem to have been further attempts to separate the two offices. Power rendered long service in the exchequer. His success in retaining office may well have rested on his own merit, for his connections with the Hastings and Mortimer families would have been of little use in the 1330s.¹⁰ On his displacement as chancellor on 11 July 1339, he was reappointed chief baron.¹¹

8. *CPR 1330-34* p10

9. *CPR 1330-34* pp470,568

10. See chapter 7. The heads of the Hastings and Mortimer families were both minors during the majority of the 1330s.

11. *CPR 1338-40* p316

Six appointments were made to the chancellorship of the Dublin exchequer in as many years between July 1339 and April 1344. All five men can be linked to those with interests in the lordship.¹² Robert of Pincebek, like Power and Montpelliers, was a canon of St Patrick's. He was also a canon of York and archdeacon of Down. He served only one term, however, before dismissal for incompetence, and was replaced by Robert de Embleton, commended for his long experience in the English chancery.¹³ Embleton was vicar of Lesbury in Northumberland, and prebendary of Clonfert. He had acted as treasurer's clerk in 1334 to Thomas de Burgh, and later followed in his footsteps as chamberlain of Berwick. He was also drawn into the royal household, serving as a chaplain of the chapel royal. It is unclear whether it was through the steward, John Darcy, or his service with de Burgh who died in 1338, that he came to Edward's notice. Embleton also had a past connection with others influential at court, having acted as receiver for Elizabeth de Clare when in Ireland.¹⁴

A new chancellor was appointed at Michaelmas 1341. Possibly Embleton took news of the lordship to England, and William Power was appointed in his place.¹⁵ William had accompanied Charlton to Ireland in 1337, but retained his interests in England, serving as a commissioner of array in Herefordshire and Gloucestershire in 1339. He was nominated as the bishop's attorney in Ireland in February 1341 with another Charlton associate, John de Middleton, justice of the justiciar's bench. As head of the exchequer's secretariat, William Power presumably received notice of the order to revoke all grants awarded since 1307 which was sent in by John Morice from Leinster on 18 September.¹⁶ He, too, would have been responsible for issuing writs to put this

12. Embleton was appointed twice.

13. *CPR 1338-40* p441

14. PRO SC6/1239/14

15. Power was paid £5 for losses going to Ireland on the king's business PRO E101/241/5).

16. Frame, *Lordship*, p249

into effect. It is not surprising, therefore, that he was replaced in April 1342, a scapegoat, like other ministers, for the errors of royal policy committed in 1341.

The new chancellor was Robert Salkeld, a chamberlain in the exchequer, possibly just an interim appointment. He was an English clerk, yet had long experience of service in the lordship, and was connected to absentees with powerful voices at court. He probably accompanied Thomas de Burgh and Anthony de Lucy to Ireland, since his patronymic derives from Salkeld in Cumberland, and he served in the exchequer as transcriber of estreats and treasurer's clerk, before his appointment as second chamberlain.¹⁷ He acted as attorney for Robert de Clifford, heir of Maud de Clare of Thomond, from 1334 to 1343, and on his death in 1343 was granted custody of lands in Limerick during the minority of Clifford's heir.¹⁸

William de Bromley, who succeeded Salkeld, was also connected to the grouping that sought to promote the fortunes of the Thomond heirs. He was attorney of Countess Eleanor of Ormond and was doubtless appointed through her influence. Nevertheless, as in the common bench, ministers with connections to those in power were obliged to give way to new appointees with the despatch of a new justiciar and administration in 1344. Embleton returned with Ufford to serve for the next five years.

Experience was clearly important, as Pincebek's case makes obvious, and connections alone could not secure office. Montpelliers had links both with court and with Bicknor, but his past service was more important, enabling him to survive Bicknor's loss of influence following Mortimer's demise. Similarly, Power gained appointment despite his apparent lack of effective patrons in the 1330s. Magnate influence is particularly evident as Edward's attention seemed increasingly turned towards the French war, but ability still remained important. Embleton, commended by his previous experience,

17. PROI RC8/16 pp60,203,332,408, RC8/18 p354; *CPR 1334-38* p57

18. *CPR 1334-38* pp182,312, 1338-40 p6, 1340-43 pp9,386, 1343-45 p54; *RCH* p47 no135

replaced Pincebek in 1339, and returned to displace Bromley in 1344. Exchequer staffing could not be left totally unsupervised, and the whims of powerful magnates had to be tempered by the requirements of the king for effective servants.

The Dublin Exchequer: the barons

The barons of the exchequer were its senior officials, presiding with the treasurer over the auditing of accounts and resulting pleas.¹⁹ Writs, sent to the exchequer, were most frequently addressed to both the treasurer and the barons, and sometimes to the chamberlains as well. Although all received the same fee of 20 marks per annum, one was designated chief baron. Usually appointed in England, they were two in number until the mid-1330s, when it became increasingly common for a third baron to be appointed. However, the 1330s and the early 1340s are marked by uncertainty over tenure of office by the second baron.

The position of chief baron was held by eight men during this period. Two were laymen; only one was Anglo-Irish.²⁰ Four others, all English clerks, failed to gain appointment. Five of those appointed had previously served in the lordship. However, as with the chancellorship of the exchequer, it does not seem to have occupied a particular niche in a hierarchy of offices, although it does seem to have become something of a preserve for former treasurers in the 1330s, 1340s, and 1350s.²¹ English nominees also dominated appointments to the offices of second and third baron. Thirteen men, of whom two were Anglo-Irish and four, laymen, served during the period.²² Backgrounds were varied and previous experience in any capacity often hard

19. Craig, loc. cit.

20. Birthorpe and Bradstone were laymen; Broun Anglo-Irish.

21. Robert Power, chief baron 1332-36 and 1339-44, treasurer 1327-31; Hugh de Burgh 1344-51, treasurer 1339-44; Robert de Embleton 1352-55, treasurer 1349-50; John de Burnham 1355-61, treasurer 1343-49.

22. Anglo-Irish: Thomas and Henry Bagod; lay: Thomas Bagod, Grantchester, Moenes and Snyterby.

Table 15: Barons of the Dublin Exchequer 1324-47

Chief baron

Richard Broun
E 1319 - M 1324
(8.3.1319)

[Adam de
Herewynton
23.8.1323]

[William de
Fulbourn
3.5.1324]

**Adam de
Herewynton**
M 1324 - E 1327
(3.5.1324,
30.5.1324)

**Thomas de
Montpelliers**
E 1327 - M 1327
(27.3.1327 as b)

Roger Birthorpe
M 1327 - M 1329
(10.11.1327,
14.9.1328)

John de Breydeston
M 1329 - M 1331
(16.9.1329)

[William de
Tickhill
24.2.1331]

**Thomas de
Montpelliers**
M. 1331

Robert Power
H 1332 - M 1336
(14.10.1331,
2.10.1331,
24.9.1334)

Second Baron

William de Moenes
M 1313 - E 1326
(7.5.1313)

[William de
Fulbourn
30.8.1325]

**John de
Grantchester**
E 1326 - M 1327
(8.7.1326)

John Knay
M 1327 - T 1328
(12.7.1327)

Henry de Thrapston
M 1328 - M 1330
(21.9.1328)

Thomas Bagod
M 1330 - M 1334
(12.7.1330,
1.8.1331)

[Thomas Blaston
17.12.1332]

[Thomas de Brailes
21.11.1333]

[Robert de
Scorburgh
16.7.1334]

[Thomas Cross
6.6.1335,
20.10.1335]

Hugh de Burgh
M 1337 - M 1339
(23.9.1337)

Robert Power
H 1340 - M 1344
(11.7.1339,
18.7.1340)

Hugh de Burgh
M 1344 - M 1351
(26.2.1344)

John de Burnham
(4.8.1346 as b)
M 1346 - M 1347
(conjecture -
Hugh in England
under
investigation)

[Hugh de Colewyk
16.7.1334]

Thomas Cross
M 1334 - T 1335
(24.9.1334)

Henry Motoun
T.1335 - E 1336
(10.5.1335)

Thomas Cross
T - M 1336

Henry Bagod
H - M 1337
(20.10.1336)

[John de Carlton
Feb 1337]

Nicholas de Snyterby
M 1337 - H 1341
(22.6.1337,
30.8.1337,
1.5.1338)

[William de Epworth
5.7.1340,
revoked 2.9.1340]

William de Epworth
E - M 1341
(8.2.1341)

[William de Bromley
17.7.1342]

William de Epworth
M 1342 - T 1347
(18.8.1344,
2.9.1344)

[Geoffrey Folejambe
12.2.1344]

John de Troyes
T 1347 - E 1364
(22.2.1347)

[Walter Islip
6.4.1335]

[William de Hoo
10.5.1335]

Hugh de Burgh
H 1336 - M 1337
(8.12.1335)
(13.6.1337,
for 4 years)

Henry Bagod
E 1338 - E 1340
(5.3.1338)

Nicholas de Snyterby
M 1341 - T 1342
(16.5.1342)
H 1343,
12.2.1344 -
5.5.1346

Robert Power
1345, 23.3.1346 -
23.9.1346, T 1347

[Nicholas de
Snyterby,
28.10.1346]

to detect. Only Richard Broun,²³ John de Carlton, whose nomination was ineffective, and William de Moenes, had served in the exchequer at a lower rank.²⁴ Seven, however, went on to serve on the Dublin bench; Grantchester, on the justiciar's bench.

Thomas Cross was especially fortunate, serving as keeper of the Great Wardrobe between 1337 and 1344, and as chamberlain of the English exchequer from 1347 to 1349, and receiving much ecclesiastical preferment, but it would be wrong to regard him as one of the lucky few escaping from the "backwater" of the lordship.²⁵ That only a limited number should be appointed to other administrative 'plums' outside Ireland was inevitable. Anglo-Irish candidates were less likely to gain high office elsewhere, while it should not be assumed that English appointees would have expected or wanted to 'move on'. Men such as John de Grantchester, and William de Moenes had established their careers and families in the lordship. For others, such as Robert Power, given their connections, it is reasonable to argue that a career in Ireland was 'natural'. The Dublin administration offered many opportunities: a large amount of patronage - grants, offices, and ecclesiastical preferment - was at the king's disposal; Burgh, Power, Islip, Moenes, Montpelliers, Snyterby, and Thrapston enjoyed long careers in royal service.

* * *

As with the chancellor of the exchequer, appointments to the exchequer court fall within the natural chronological divisions of the period and are affected by the changes of regime in England. Nevertheless, magnate influence, close links with the Dublin establishment, and attempts, often abortive, by the English government to introduce fresh personnel into the exchequer provide a unifying backdrop. Chief governors do not

23. Chief baron.

24. Broun and Moenes were chamberlains.

25. Frame, *Lordship*, p87

seem to have exercised any particular influence over appointments. John Darcy did make three nominations in the petitions he submitted to the English council in 1328, and Henry de Thrapston was appointed, but neither of his suggestions for the position of chief baron, John Travers or Nicholas de Acton, were adopted. Furthermore, none of the candidates whose names were inserted above his nominations also for consideration were accepted either. As in the case of the Dublin bench, the candidates named in these petitions raise questions about the royal council's selection procedures.

Darcy had no obvious connections with Nicholas de Acton, a clerk in the English exchequer, or with John Travers, who had been constable of Bordeaux between 1324 and 1326. Travers had been in Lancashire when Darcy was sheriff, but this link seems tenuous.²⁶ Two of the other nominees, Ellis de Stapleton and Simon de Balderston, had been associated with Earl Thomas of Lancaster, and both had received grants from him,²⁷ but Robert de Bluntesdon, a canon of Salisbury, remains obscure.²⁸ Possibly Henry of Lancaster's influence lay behind these nominations of men connected with his brother and the Lancaster estates, especially in view of Darcy's own connection with him. This would also explain why none achieved office, providing further evidence of the growing antagonism between Henry and Mortimer. The only other baron connected with Darcy in this period was Thomas Cross.

The period opens with the attention of the English government firmly fixed on the Dublin exchequer following the Cowick initiatives. Adam de Herewynton was successfully introduced as the new chief baron in 1324 after initial difficulties, and the failure to persuade Fulbourn, a baron of the English exchequer, to transfer to Dublin.

26. John Travers was entrusted with extending the lands of Earl Thomas, assessing and collecting the subsidies of the tenth and the sixth, and arraying men for the Scots' war (*CPR 1321-24* pp160,161,224,240,264)

27. *CPR 1321-24* p32; *CPR 1330-34* p154. Stapleton had been a clerk of the earl's household and was an executor of his will (Tout, *Chapters*, ii p186N; *CPR 1327-30* p169). Balderston had been appointed auditor of the accounts of all the receivers and keepers of the earl's forfeited lands north of the Trent (*CPR 1321-24* pp91,103,144,145).

28. *CPR 1317-21* p524

His appointment seems to have had a positive impact on exchequer procedures. Herewynton replaced Richard Broun, possibly a protege of his predecessor, Nicholas de Balscote,²⁹ and/or of Alexander Bicknor, who was justiciar when Broun was appointed chief baron in 1319. The colleague of Broun and Herewynton was William de Moenes, whose family was becoming well established in the Dublin community. Death removed Moenes from office soon after the ramifications of Bicknor and Islip's fraud rocked the administration. His successor, John de Grantchester, was also a member of the Dublin community. His appointment may have been an attempt to placate the establishment in the wake of the charges against the treasurer and archbishop, but it is clear also that the exchequer court provided significant openings for Dublin city families to serve in the royal administration, as the employment of the Bagod brothers indicates.

The change of regime brought Bicknor a pardon and renewed influence in the lordship. His associate, Montpelliers, was appointed a baron in March and acted as chancellor and chief baron following Herewynton's departure, but six months later he was replaced as chief baron by Roger Birthorpe while Grantchester was transferred to the Bench in Birthorpe's place. John Knay remains obscure,³⁰ but served only three terms before his replacement by Thrapston. John de Breydeston was the only successful appointment of September 1329, possibly because he was already in the lordship, but also because of the influence of absentee interests at the English court. He had been nominated the previous year with Roger de Preston as an attorney of Bartholomew de Burghersh, husband of Elizabeth de Verdon who had recently attained her majority. Burghersh was granted custody of the lands of both Elizabeth and her sister Marjory in 1329.³¹ The final appointment during the regency government was that of Thomas Bagod, another

29. Broun was attorney for Balscote in 1310, and engrosser when the latter was chief baron.

30. Knaith, Lincs was a property held by Darcy - but he may only have acquired it in 1330. Nothing else connects him with the justiciar. It seem strange that if he had been connected to Darcy, he should remain in Ireland following Darcy's departure, and then be replaced by one for whose appointment Darcy petitioned in 1328.

31. A.J. Otway-Ruthven, 'The Partition of the De Verdon Lands in Ireland in 1332', *R.I.A.Proc.* lxvi C no5 (1968) p401

member of the Dublin establishment, and was occasioned by Thrapston's transfer to the Dublin Bench to allow Preston to move to the justiciar's court.

* * *

The 1330s were dominated by the apparent failure of the English government to secure the appointment of the nominees it desired to the Dublin exchequer. Incumbent ministers often retained office, therefore, by default. The new chief baron in the Lucy administration, William de Tickhill, did not arrive, but Breydeston had ceased to act by the end of the summer. The chancellor of the exchequer, Montpelliers, served in the interim until the appointment of the former treasurer, Robert Power, in October. It is obvious that experience and ability were regarded as more important than past political ties. Neither Montpelliers nor Power suffered from their past associations with Bicknor and Mortimer respectively. The king was more interested in securing officials in his service than in vindictiveness.

Power remained in office until Michaelmas 1336 at least, while Thomas Bagod served until his death in 1334, despite changes proposed in England. Neither of the two barons of the English exchequer whose transfer to Dublin was proposed - Blaston as second baron (1332,1333) and Scorburch as chief baron (1334) - took up appointment, and neither did Thomas de Brailes. The English government was singularly unsuccessful at introducing new personnel into the Dublin administration during these two years, but possibly the war effort in Scotland absorbed the attention of the English exchequer too much to allow disruption to its own staffing. It is unclear whether the nominees were unwilling to go, or whether the king changed his mind. With minorities in the Mortimer and Hastings families, Power was left without effective patrons, and was not, therefore, being protected.

A third attempt to replace Power also failed. The involvement in the Scottish expedition of Thomas Cross, who had been appointed a baron in September 1334,

prevented him from taking up appointment in 1335 as chief baron. Cross' absence provoked a further rash of appointments to fill the vacancies in the court. Some were ineffective, others were successful, presenting a complex picture, as Table 15 reveals. The recently pardoned Walter Islip,³² and William de Hoo, a clerk formerly in the service of the earl of Kent,³³ did not take up appointment, but Thomas Bagod's brother, Henry, archdeacon of Glendalough,³⁴ and Henry Motoun, an English royal clerk, and like Cross, a prebendary of St Patrick's,³⁵ were appointed. So was Hugh de Burgh, attorney of the Countess of Ulster and of Queen Philippa, and a former clerk in the household of Elizabeth de Clare.³⁶ The thinking of the royal council is far from obvious from these appointments. The voices of Darcy, Bicknor, and Countess Matilda are discernible in the nominations of Cross, Islip and Bagod, and Hugh de Burgh respectively, though individual petitions may have played their part. Islip's failure to take up appointment is more mysterious than the fact that he was reappointed at all. Perhaps Darcy objected.

Motoun may have deputised as chief baron for the Trinity term of 1335 while Cross was in Scotland. Robert Power spent the summer in Wexford holding pleas with Dent and Broun, but presumably he resumed the position of chief baron in the Michaelmas term, Cross not having yet returned.³⁷ By the summer of 1337, therefore, the exchequer court was evidently becoming somewhat crowded with various claimants all able to produce letters of appointment. Hugh de Burgh was appointed third baron for four years on 13

32. *CPR 1334-38* pp32,95

33. *CPR 1334-38* p101

34. *CPR 1334-38* p325; Lawlor, *Fasti*, p84.

35. *CPR 1327-30* pp105,272, *1334-38* p101

36. *CPR 1334-38* pp179,183; *RCH* p42 no50

37. *PRO E101/240/10*; *RCH* p41 nos 29,31, p20 no19; *CPR 1337-47* p58. Power was dismissed as a baron in August 1337 - not 'chief baron'. Possibly Cross was chief baron H-T 1337. However, there are no records of payment to him after Mich. 1336, and the situation is somewhat unclear.

June, while a new candidate, Nicholas de Snyterby, was appointed second baron in Bagod's place.³⁸

With the appointment of a new administration in July, and a dispute raging over the chief justiceship of the justiciar's court, the English government attempted to end the confusion. To retain effective control in England over appointments to the Dublin administration, John Charlton was ordered not to dismiss any justice or exchequer baron appointed by letters patent under the Great Seal, without the king's knowledge.³⁹ Seven dismissal notices were then issued by the king on 10 August, and Power, Montpelliers (who also seems to have been involved), Snyterby and Bagod were all dismissed as barons of the exchequer.⁴⁰ Power and Montpelliers remained as chancellor of the exchequer and a Dublin Bench justice respectively. Snyterby was reappointed second baron on 30 August, and Hugh de Burgh was appointed chief baron on 23 September, following Cross' appointment as keeper of the Great Wardrobe. Henry Bagod was readmitted as third baron in March 1338.⁴¹

* * *

Order was thus restored to the exchequer court and only Burgh's promotion to the treasurership in 1339 altered its composition with the transfer of Power from chancellor to chief baron. Nevertheless, as is clear from the table, Snyterby's tenure of office came under heavy pressure in the early 1340s. His opponent, William de Epworth, was energetic and zealous in his attempts to gain office, and highly successful at inveigling support at the English court. The dispute reveals the vulnerable and suspect position of

38. *CPR 1334-38* pp462,462. No records of payment to Power or Cross are extant for Hil-Trin 1337, but it is clear that Power was still interfering. Cross may have gone to England with John Darcy in November 1336, but no new chief baron had been appointed, and it is unclear who was acting in this capacity.

39. *CPR 1334-38* p477

40. *CCR 1337-39* p168

41. *CPR 1334-38* pp502,490,520, 1338-40 p26. Bagod was dismissed on 20.7.1340 on the grounds that only 2 barons should sit (*CPR 1339-41* p433).

the Dublin ministers, and, as in the case of Ashbourne and Louth, the significant place that the petition of the individual played in securing appointment.

William de Epworth was a royal clerk, serving in 1339 as sub-escheator, sub-collector and treasurer in Ulster.⁴² His appointment in July 1340 as second baron was later claimed to have been procured by him to evade rendering account for these offices,⁴³ and in September investigations into whether his accounts had been submitted and fully answered for were ordered by the English council. His appointment was to be revoked if he was found not to have paid up. When this was settled, the "fittest" for office, Snyterby or Epworth - "preference shall be given to those who know most" - was to be appointed second baron.

Payments to Snyterby for the following two terms indicate the decision was in his favour,⁴⁴ but Epworth returned to England and successfully persuaded the king to reappoint him because letters patent had been issued to him before this latest award to Snyterby.⁴⁵ At a time when the king's fury was targeted at former ministers in England and disloyalty, inefficiency and corruption seemed rife, Epworth's petitioning may have found fertile ground and further fuelled concern and suspicion of royal ministers in Dublin. He returned to the lordship, with a grant of the seneschalcy of the royal demesne lands,⁴⁶ as part of the new team headed by Morice and Askeby, and was the main focus for attack in the winter following the resumption order. He was arrested and imprisoned in Dublin castle.⁴⁷

42. *Rep DKI 53* p42

43. *CPR 1340-43* p20; *CCR 1339-41* p511

44. PRO E101/240/17, 241/5

45. *CPR 1340-43* p127

46. *CPR 1340-43* p146 - "on the information of John Darcy"; though it is unclear what the implications of this statement are.

47. *CCR 1341-43* p367

Snyterby was reappointed in May 1342 in the ensuing rapprochement between king and lordship, but Epworth reinsinuated himself into office by appealing to the earl of Derby, who had only recently returned from custody in Malines.⁴⁸ The issue of letters patent in his favour "by the testimony of Henry of Lancaster" reflects Derby's influence with the king, and cannot be taken as evidence that Epworth was a long-standing client. It was in the interests of Derby's reputation to be successful in gaining the request of a petitioner, but subsequent events reveal no lasting connection. Indeed, in 1344 when Epworth was still in office, the earl's influence secured the appointment of Geoffrey Folejambe first as second baron, and then more successfully as second justice in the justiciar's court.⁴⁹ Derby's "testimony" was sufficient also to override the nomination of Eleanor de Bohun's attorney, William de Bromley, who was more than compensated with the chancellorship of the exchequer.⁵⁰

Epworth remained in office until 1347, but Snyterby does not appear to have ceased to act.⁵¹ This is probably because more than two barons were required in the exchequer court in order that it might be adequately staffed, and that the treasurer might be accompanied by one of the barons as he toured the shires levying royal debts. This explains patchy references to Power's continuing employment in the exchequer following his replacement as chief baron by Hugh de Burgh in 1344.⁵² Hugh later came under investigation in 1346 and it is probable that John de Burnham, the treasurer, temporarily replaced him while he was in England.⁵³

48. *CPR 1340-43* p511

49. The dates of Folejambe's appointments, 12.2.1344 and 28.6.1344, lie either side of an expedition made by Derby to Aquitaine. Folejambe was a long-serving Lancastrian retainer.

50. *CPR 1340-43* pp488,535

51. *Rep DKI 54* p31; *RCH* p43 no10; *PROI RC8/23* pp629,680

52. Eg Burnham and Snyterby - spring 1343 (*RCH* p44 no 36); Power and Embleton - summer 1345 (*PROI RC8/23* p59)

53. This is conjectural, based on letters patent in Burnham's favour - 4.8.1346 (*RCH* p51 no18) - and Hugh's absence (*RCH* p51 no 36; *CPR 1345-48* p399; *PROI RC8/24* pp73; *CCR 1346-49* p435; *CPR 1348-50* p85)

Epworth's conduct also came under the scrutiny of the English government in 1347, and despite the issue in September 1348 of letters patent reappointing him, which stated that "all sinister suspicions of him ... came from his enemies and untruthful men", it is clear that such suspicions were not ill-founded.⁵⁴ He had been granted the water-mills next to the Dame's gate in Dublin in 1343 on condition he carried out necessary repairs, but these were resumed in 1347 because he had failed to do so.⁵⁵ In 1355 he was accused of theft and corruption during his custody of the temporalities of the see of Canterbury in 1349, and it is ironic that a call in 1359 for him to account for other custodies held in the late 1340s was frustrated by the lack of any goods or chattels in the lordship that could be confiscated from him.⁵⁶

* * *

The exchequer court was subject to much attention between 1324 and 1347 from the English government. Reforming measures were initially successful during Darcy's first justiciarship, but exchequer procedures may have been considerably disrupted by the redeployment of officials in the mid-1330s, and by the disputes over tenure of office that characterised the latter years of the period. As with the Dublin bench, Edward III's early attempts to appoint fresh ministers frequently came to nothing, while magnate influence was a feature of the regency government, and of the late 1330s and the 1340s. The employment of men such as William de Epworth cannot have increased the efficiency of the exchequer, and it is ironic that his appointment should have come at a time when the English government was most concerned about declining receipts. Nevertheless, the long service of ministers such as Robert Power, although probably perceived as a sign of entrenchment and self-interest, may actually have kept the whole department functioning.

54. *CPR 1348-50* p144

55. *PROI RC8/22* p296, *RC8/24* p339

56. *CPR 1354-58* p215; *PROI RC8/27* p405

The Chamberlains of the Exchequer:

The chamberlains were the senior officials of the small or lower exchequer or receipt. Income was paid into the receipt and money issued for the payment of expenses and fees. The chamberlains were normally appointed in England. One was designated chief chamberlain, the other second chamberlain, but there does not seem to have been any differentiation in duties. Both received the same fee of 10 marks per annum. Both had the same access to the records and receipts. Usually one of the chamberlains was summoned to England for the presentation of the accounts of the Irish treasurer.⁵⁷

As can be seen from Table 16, between 1324 and 1347, three men held the chief chamberlainship and six held the office of second chamberlain. Two appointments as chief chamberlain and three as second proved ineffective. All were clerks but the origin of these men is difficult to identify. John de Balscote was definitely Anglo-Irish, and probably so also were John de Carlton, Robert de Wight, Walter de Gnosall and Walter de Coumbe. Chastel, Gloucester, Langton, Salkeld, and Woodweston were certainly English. No definite conclusions can be reached concerning de la Bataille, Cotgrave, Hatfield, and Puriton.

With only eight men serving as chamberlain during this period, not many general conclusions can be drawn from such a small sample. The relative stability and lower status of the office did mean that it was less 'political', and therefore the chamberlainship may have been one of the highest positions within the exchequer to which clerks in the lower echelons of the administration could realistically aspire. Balscote and de la Bataille were respectively deputy treasurer, and keeper of the seal, but both held these positions during the troubled months of 1341-2 and for only a short period of time.⁵⁸ Salkeld's appointment to the chancellorship of the exchequer also

57. Craig, op. cit., p10

58. PRO E101/241/5. Bataille's temporary promotion was due to his Hospitaller connections.

Table 16: Chamberlains of the Exchequer

<i>Chief Chamberlain</i>	<i>Second Chamberlain</i>
Robert de Cotgrave Trin 1322 - Mich 1325 (18.5.1322)	John de Balscote Easter 1323 - 16.1.1326 (8.12.1322)
John de Balscote Hill 1326 - Trin 1332 (24.3.1327, 1.5.1331)	Robert de Wight Hill 1326 - 3.6.1331 (19.1.1326, 24.3.1327)
[John de Langton 27.2.1331]	[William de Hatfield 10.10.1327] [John de Balscote 28.2.1331]
	John de la Bataille Trin 1331 - Mich 1334 (1.5.1331, 8.6.1331)
Walter de Coumbe Trin 1332 - Mich 1351 (12.6.1332, 6.6.1335)	John de Carleton Hill 1335 Robert de Salkeld East 1335 - Hill 1336 (21.1.1335) John de Carlton Hill 1336 Robert de Salkeld East 1336 - Mich 1342 (25.3.1340) East 1343 - Trin 1344 (10.7.1343 for 10 yrs) [Walter Gnosall 24.10.1338, 13.11.1338]
[William de Gloucester 8.8.1340]	[Nicholas du Chastel 7.10.1340]
	William de Puriton Mich 1342 - East 1343 (4.8.1342) Mich 1344 - East 1345 (11.5.1344)
	Robert de Salkeld Trin 1345 - 1348 (18.5.1345)
[Thomas de Woodweston 6.6.1346]	

seems to have been exceptional.⁵⁹ Six of those appointed were already serving as clerks in some capacity in the administration.⁶⁰ Few have identifiable connections with possible patrons before their appointments, but, not surprisingly perhaps, valuable attorneyships and links were acquired during their careers. Whether or not these links had political implications is debatable.

* * *

The two chamberlains who held office in 1324 were well entrenched members of the establishment. Prior to his promotion, Cotgrave had served as second chamberlain from 1313 to 1321.⁶¹ His career was closely tied to that of the treasurer, Walter Islip. He was implicated in Islip's fall in December 1325 and was suspended as chamberlain. His goods were confiscated, but unlike Islip, he did not later receive a pardon.⁶² John de Balscote was related to Nicholas de Balscote, a former chief baron and chancellor of the exchequer. Deputy to Richard de Middleton, yeoman of the king's chamber and marshal of the measures in Ireland, and attorney for the king's leech, Pancius de Controne, John may have gained appointment as second chamberlain through the influence of men close to the king's ear.⁶³

Balscote was promoted on Cotgrave's suspension. His new colleague, Robert de Wight, had been bailiff of the liberty of St Sepulchre for two years prior to his appointment.⁶⁴ This may connect him with Bicknor and Islip, but presumably his appointment met with the approval of Herewynton who was entrusted with the reordering of the exchequer.

59. *CPR 1340-43* p421

60. Coumbe and Salkeld were both treasurer's clerks; Carlton, summoner (PROI RC8/15 p417; *CPR 1330-34* p317).

61. *Admin. Ire.* pp120,121

62. PROI RC8/14 pp663-67; *Rep DKI 47* p58

63. *RCH* p26 no18; PROI RC8/12 p138; *CPR 1313-17* p662, 1321-24 p127; PROI RC8/13 p162; *CPR 1321-24* p222

64. PROI RC8/14 pp701,842

Balscote and Wight were confirmed in office in March 1327.⁶⁵ Nevertheless, the return of Kildare to power presumably induced William de Hatfield, who had served as chief chamberlain during the earl's earlier justiciarship, and as second chamberlain before Balscote, to petition for reappointment.⁶⁶ He accompanied the earl on his expedition to Leinster in the summer of 1327, but did not take up appointment.⁶⁷

* * *

In preparation for the royal expedition proposed in 1331, personnel from the English exchequer were appointed to head the Dublin exchequer, but neither the new chief baron, nor the new chief chamberlain, John de Langton, arrived. Wight was dismissed and Balscote was to be demoted to second chamberlain, but in May, John was reinstated with John de la Bataille as his colleague.⁶⁸ Coumbe succeeded Balscote in July 1332, probably because he had been treasurer's clerk during the treasurership of Robert Power, now the new chief baron.⁶⁹ Balscote was not out of favour since he was appointed chief engrosser two months later.⁷⁰ Coumbe served for nineteen years. He was granted the seneschalcy of the royal demesne lands at Newcastle Lyons, Saggart, and Crumlin in May 1334, holding on to this until November 1343, when he was displaced by Epworth.⁷¹ He gained a number of attorneyships, particularly in the Darcy

65. *CPR 1327-30* p58

66. *CPR 1327-30* p180; *Admin. Ire.* p121

67. *Rep DKI 42* p48. He too was involved in the affairs of Bicknor and Islip, commissioned to extend the archbishop's lands 1325/6, and appointed Islip's attorney and keeper of his lands and chattels in 1326 (PROI RC8/14 pp775,854; *CCR 1323-27* p449, *1327-30* pp430-31; *CPR 1324-27* p250).

68. *CPR 1330-34* pp83,106

69. *Rep DKI 43* p34; *CPR 1330-34* p317

70. *CPR 1330-34* p331

71. *CFR 1327-37* p402; PROI RC8/22 p649

grouping at the turn of the decade.⁷² Possibly this connection with Darcy prevented William de Gloucester taking up appointment in 1339.⁷³

* * *

The office of second chamberlain was contested in 1334-35, following the confiscation of the goods of John de la Bataille in the autumn for debts he owed.⁷⁴ Presumably he was removed from office at the same time. Quite in what context these debts were owed is unclear. He had been entrusted with large sums of money at various times in the early 1330s,⁷⁵ and the fine of five marks for his pardon seems trivial in comparison to grants he was awarded of £5 on 12 October for service, and of twenty marks on 11 December for travelling to England on royal business;⁷⁶ presumably loss of office was the main penalty.

His successor, John de Carlton, was appointed in Dublin on 10 December.⁷⁷ Carlton had served in the exchequer since the mid-1320s, latterly as summoner. He was also keeper of the works of Dublin castle and had served as paymaster to Darcy's troops on an expedition to Munster earlier in 1334.⁷⁸ He may have been nominated by his fellow Dubliner, Walter de Coumbe. However, on his return from Ulster, the deputy justiciar,

72. Clifford (1334-36), John Darcy (1339), John Founteyns (1341). He was appointed deputy customer with Thomas Smothe for Saundeby in 1342 (*CPR 1330-34* p550, *1334-38* pp182,312, *1340-43* pp172,510, *1343-45* p460; *Rep DKI 47* p46).

73. *CPR 1338-40* p314

74. *PROI RC8/18* p327

75. He was paymaster for troops retained by Lucy and Darcy on expeditions to Munster and Leinster (*PRO E101/239/22*; *PROI RC8/16* p300; *PRO E101/239/29*; *Rep DKI 43* pp56,57). He had been appointed a purveyor of victuals for shipment to England in 1331 and 1333, and receiver of the goods and chattels of William de Bermingham in 1332 (*RCH* p38 no 21, p39 no93; *PROI RC8/18* p296; *PRO E101/239/24, 240/1*; *Rep DKI 43* p64).

76. *RCH* p39 no77, p38 no 25, p39 no63; *PRO E101/240/8*

77. *PROI RC8/18* p414

78. *PROI RC8/14* pp344,346,621, *RC8/15* p417, *R/16* pp365,407; *CPR 1330-34* p317; *PRO E101/239/22,24,29, 240/1*

Thomas de Burgh, secured the appointment of his clerk, Robert de Salkeld.⁷⁹ Salkeld, despite Carlton's protests, the issue of letters patent in John's favour in England in May, and the temporary displacement of Salkeld by Carlton in the Hilary term 1336, retained office through the influence of Thomas de Burgh.⁸⁰

Salkeld remained in office until his appointment as chancellor of the Dublin exchequer in 1342. Attempts to appoint Walter of Gnosall in late 1338 were ineffective, but it is unclear why.⁸¹ Gnosall seems to have been of Anglo-Irish origin, possibly related to Richard de Gnousehale, archdeacon of Glendalough in the 1220s.⁸² The appointment of Nicholas de Chastel, a royal clerk, in October 1340, was also ineffective. William de Puriton who succeeded Salkeld in August 1342, was an attorney for the priory of Llanthony, and had also acted, before his death in 1337, for William le Blount, first husband of Marjory de Verdon.⁸³

Salkeld resumed his duties as chamberlain in the Easter term 1343 following Bromley's appointment as chancellor of the exchequer, and in July was granted the office for ten years.⁸⁴ Puriton succeeded in gaining reappointment the following year and Salkeld was removed by Ufford.⁸⁵ However, their fortunes were reversed in May 1345, Salkeld resuming office until his death in 1348.⁸⁶ Thomas de Burgh had died in 1338, and Robert de Clifford, for whom he had served as attorney from 1334,⁸⁷ died in 1343, but

79. *CPR 1334-38* p57

80. *CPR 1334-38* pp101,170; *Analecta Hibernica* xxxiv p65

81. *CCR 1337-39* p544, *CPR 1338-40* p161

82. Lawlor, *Fasti*, p83

83. *CPR 1340-43* p492; *PROI RC8/22* p175; *CPR 1327-30* p527, *1330-34* p562

84. *CPR 1343-45* p55; *PROI RC8/22* p452

85. *CPR 1343-45* pp257,300

86. *CPR 1343-45* p471; *PROI RC8/23* p19

87. *CPR 1330-34* p550, *1334-38* pp182,312, *1338-40* p6, *1340-43* pp9,386, *1343-45* p547

in 1343 and 1345 Robert appears to have found a patroness of the highest rank. The ten year grant was made "by the council and testimony of Queen Philippa", and in July 1345 he was appointed her attorney with John de Burnham.⁸⁸

The Exchequer: Lesser Officials:

Some of the features revealed in the study of the chamberlains are found in a survey of the lesser officials of the exchequer. Royal ministers promoted the interests of their clerks, and there are a number of connexions too between officials and figures influential in the lordship's affairs both within Ireland and at court, although the nature and implications of such links are not always clear. The section commences with brief descriptions of the lower orders of the exchequer by function.

(1) Engrossers:

There were two engrossers in the Dublin exchequer, the senior of whom was more important than his colleague. Both received the same fee and allowances, and had a clerk who deputised when necessary, but the chief engrosser customarily received a further £7 per annum. The chief engrosser was an important official, ranking just below the chancellor of the exchequer, with responsibility for enrolling the accounts of sheriffs, seneschals and bailiffs, once audited, on the pipe roll. The second engrosser copied out a counter-roll of all the accounts.⁸⁹

Without exception all engrossers were clerks. Both were usually appointed in England. In practice, the chief engrosser seems to have enjoyed greater security of tenure of office than his colleague. As can be seen from Table 17, three men held the office of chief engrosser between 1319 and 1346. Thomas de Warilowe died in office;⁹⁰ John de

88. *CPR 1343-45* p530; *Rep DKI 54* p51

89. Craig, *op. cit.*, p12

90. PRO E101/239/24

Table 17: Engrossers of the Dublin Exchequer 1324-47

Chief Engrosser

References

Thomas de Warilowe
29.6.1319 - 26.3.1332

CPR 1317-21, p354; PROI RC8/12
pp67,757, RC8/13 p579, RC8/16 p60;
CPR 1327-30 p58; PRO E101/239/24

John de Balscote
27.4.1332 - Oct 1344

PRO E101/239/24,29, 240/1,5,8,10,
13, 241/5.

Letters of Appointment:
20.9.1332 (*CPR 1330-34* p331),
16.4.1333 (*CPR 1330-34* p423),
6.6.1335 (*CPR 1334-38* p412),
25.11.1339 (*CPR 1338-40* p334)

William de Burton
Oct 1344 - summer 1346

Appointed 25.10.1344
PROI RC8/23 p352

[John de Hampslape 22.5.1346 (*CPR 1345-48* p119)]

William de Barton
(17.7.1347)

CPR 1345-48 p367; PROI RC8/24 p11

William de Burton
(5.11.1347)

PROI RC8/24 p59

Second Engrosser

References

John de Lidgate
(E 1321 - 21.12.1336)

Appointed:
Mich 1320 (PROI RC8/12 pp485,569),
24.3.1327 (*CPR 1327-30* pp58,308),
18.1.1331 (*CPR 1330-34* p44),
2.3.1334 (*CPR 1330-34* p524),
30.9.1334 (*CPR 1334-38* p27,
PROI RC8/18 p280)

Payments:
PROI RC8/13 pp19,68,
RC8/18 pp354,553;
PRO E101/239/24,29, 240/1,5,8,10,13

John de Hampslape
(22.5.1328)

No records of payment
CPR 1327-30 p272. Served 1328-1331?

John de Newcastle
(12.8.1330,
31.3.1331,
12.12.1331)

No records of payment
CPR 1327-30 p546
CPR 1330-34 p96
CPR 1330-34 p229

Hugh de Nassington
(21.5.1332)

No records of payment
CPR 1330-34 p282

Roger de Glanville
2.2.1335 - 15.3.1335

PRO E101/240/13

John atte Hawe
(Mich 1337 -)
30.9.1339 - 21.11.1339
(12.3.1337)

PRO E101/240/17
CPR 1334-38 p390

John de Puriton

22.11.1339 -

23.12.1340

(20.7.1339)

PRO E101/240/17; PROI RC8/21 p540

CPR 1338-40 p316; PROI RC8/21 p336

Peter de Wakefield

16.2.1341 - Dec 1349

(15.3.1341)

PRO E101/240/17, 241/5

CPR 1340-43 p158

restored on petition 6.6.1346

CPR 1345-48 p120; PROI RC8/23 p633

[John de Maydenford 26.3.1344 (*CPR 1343-45* p220)]

Balscote was dismissed by Ufford for alleged failure to account for various custodies he held;⁹¹ while William de Burton enjoyed tenure of office during Ufford's justiciarship, but thereafter was engaged in a struggle with William de Barton, appointed at the request of Henry of Lancaster.⁹² Neither Barton nor Burton seem to have been worthy of office: both were dismissed for fraud and subsequently pardoned, while Burton received a further pardon in 1351 with Roger del Wich for robbery against Barton.⁹³ John de Lidgate enjoyed long tenure of office as second engrosser, although this term of office may have been interrupted in the early 1330s. Peter de Wakefield was in office for most of the 1340s.

(2) Remembrancers, Summoners, Transcribers of Estreats:

Accurate records of those who held office in this period are difficult to construct, since only exceptionally are clerks serving in these capacities named in the issue rolls. Most of the information linking payment to named clerks can be gleaned only from the memoranda rolls and from what the Deputy Keeper's reports contain of the Irish pipe rolls. There were two **remembrancers**, responsible together for compiling the memoranda rolls - records of writs issued and received and other business of the exchequer - and writing the writs and rolls of fines and debts as contained in the memoranda rolls. They divided an annual fee of £5 and an allowance for robes between them, but the chief remembrancer received a slightly higher additional payment by assignment than his colleague.

The writing out of summonses, initiating the levying of debts and fines was entrusted to one clerk, the **summoner**, who received a fee and a further payment by assignment, while another clerk drew up copies of estreats of sheriffs, seneschals and bailiffs, as

91. *RCH* p48 nos151,160, p49 no36; PROI RC8/23 pp350,352

92. PROI RC8/23 p352; *Rep DKI 54* p64; PROI RC8/24 pp59,395,399; *CPR 1348-50* p336; PROI RC8/25 p129

93. PROI RC8/24 p59; *CPR 1348-50* p113, *1350-54* p171

Table 18: Remembrancers of the Dublin Exchequer 1324-47

First Remembrancer

Thomas Smothe
T 1323 - M 1348

References

PROI RC8/12 p760, RC8/14 p346,
RC8/15 p417,482, RC8/16 pp61,204,
RC8/18 pp357,556,559,660, RC8/21
p387, RC8/22 p219; *Rep DKI 44* p45,
45 pp27,30,56, 47 pp40,54,74,
53 pp21,51, 54 p31,42; *RCH* p44 no54

Second Remembrancer

William de Stransale
Mich 1324 - 1331?
(17.12.1325)

References

PROI RC8/14 p344
CPR 1324-27 p251; PROI RC8/14 p813

**Nicholas fitzRichard
de Gowran**
1331 - Mich 1334?
(23.1.1331,
9.11.1331)

CPR 1330-34 p54
CPR 1330-34 p213

William de Burton
T 1331, or M 1334 -
1347
(2.5.1331,
6.6.1335)

CPR 1330-34 p107
CPR 1334-38 p123
Payments where named:
PRO E101/240/17; *RCH* p39 no60, p44
no 54; *Rep DKI 54* pp31,42;
PROI RC8/24 p397

William de Compton
1342

PROI RC8/22 p221

Table 19: Summoners of the Dublin Exchequer 1324-47

Maurice de Esker 1323-24	PROI RC8/13 pp295,578, RC8/14 p182
John de Carlton 1329	PROI RC8/15 p417
John de Leicester (29.4.1331)	<i>CPR 1330-34</i> p107
John de Carlton (24.7.1332)	<i>CPR 1330-34</i> p317
Richard de Derby 1334 - Dec 1340	PROI RC8/18 pp567,660, RC8/21 pp44, 133,198,259,384,538; <i>Rep DKI 45</i> pp27,30,31,39, 47 pp20,27,61; PRO E101/240/17
William de Burton H 1341 - T 1348 (4.3.1341)	(NB Barton PRO E101/240/17, but all other references, Burton) <i>CPR 1340-43</i> p150 Also remembrancer; payments indistinguishable.

Table 20: Transcribers of Estreats 1324-47

Richard of York E 1320 - M 1324 [- 1329?]	PROI RC8/12 pp422,478, RC8/13 pp296,399,486,558, RC8/14 pp91, 345, RC8/15 p416
John de Beverley (23.1.1330)	PROI RC8/15 p486; <i>Rep DKI 44</i> p20, 47 p54
Robert de Salkeld H 1332 - 1333	PROI RC8/16 pp60,203,332,408
Andrew Godgrom 1334-43	PROI RC8/18 pp358,569,661, RC8/21 pp45,129,259,384,544, RC8/22 pp218, 224,318,394; <i>Rep DKI 45</i> p27,40, 47 pp20,21,76, 53 p25, 54 p41
John of Aylesbury 1345-47	PROI RC8/23 pp473,555,602,673, RC8/24 p47

their accounts were audited. The **transcriber of estreats** received payment only by assignment. The office first emerged at the beginning of the fourteenth century. The remembrancers, and some of the summoners were appointed in England. Probably all the transcribers of estreats, and some of the summoners were assigned their duties from within the exchequer.⁹⁴

(3) The Treasurer's Clerk, and the Clerk of the Common Pleas:

The **treasurer's clerk** was the treasurer's representative in the lower exchequer, responsible for drawing up the rolls of issues and receipts, of which the chamberlains kept counter-rolls. He had access to the chests of money and records. He was probably appointed by the treasurer, and in common with the remembrancers and summoners is not named in the issue rolls. The **clerk of the common pleas** of the exchequer - clerks of the chancellor of the exchequer - wrote the rolls of the common pleas of the exchequer, and was presumably appointed by the chancellor.⁹⁵

Evidence is patchy concerning holders of both offices. Neither of the two clerks of the common pleas for whom references exist appear to be connected to the chancellors of the exchequer serving at the same time. Their tenure of office seems largely independent of the turnover of chancellors. Simon de Leiston's varied assignments may indicate that there were a number of clerks in the exchequer, providing a pool to be drawn on for a variety of different tasks and functions. The paucity of evidence prohibits any firm conclusions. This is also true of the treasurer's clerks. Robert de Salkeld was clearly connected to Thomas de Burgh, but although he accompanied Lucy to the lordship, the first reference to him as treasurer's clerk does not occur until 1334.⁹⁶ The other treasurer's clerks do not have obvious connections with the treasurer; Burton and Carlton had already been serving in the exchequer for a number of years.

94. Craig, *op. cit.*, pp12-14

95. Craig, *op. cit.*, pp10,13

96. PROI RC8/18 p354. Salkeld was transcriber of estreats 1332-34.

Table 21: Treasurer's Clerks 1324-47

Walter de Coumbe 1329	<i>Rep DKI 43 p34</i>
Robert de Salkeld 1334	PROI RC8/18 p354; <i>RCH</i> p38 no11; PRO E101/240/5
William de Burton 1333-36	PRO SC6/1239/14
John de Carlton 1337	<i>Rep DKI 45 p37</i>
John Auger 1339	PROI RC8/21 p261
John de Wodeston 1340-44	PROI RC8/21 pp542,545, RC8/22 pp109,212,393; <i>Rep DKI 53</i> p54, 54 p46

Table 22: Clerks of the Common Pleas 1324-47

Richard le Mareschal 1337-42	<i>Rep DKI 47</i> pp20,38,49; PROI RC8/21 pp261,541, RC8/22 p106
Simon de Leiston 1342-44	<i>Rep DKI 53</i> p27, 54 p30; PROI RC8/22 pp219,392; <i>RCH</i> p45 no60

Table 23: Marshal of the Exchequer 1324-47

Richard de York (Deputy) 1324-31?	PROI RC8/14 pp83,84; <i>Analecta Hibernica</i> 34 p50
Peter de Hunton 1328-38	<i>CPR 1327-30</i> p267, 1330-34 p537, 1334-38 p128
Thomas de Bentham 1338-54	PROI RC8/21 pp17,45; <i>CPR 1338-40</i> p12, 1354-58 p81
Hugh le Joignour 1344	<i>CPR 1343-45</i> pp26,257,262

Table 24: Ushers of the Dublin Exchequer 1324-47

Ushers

Henry de Guldeford

1309 - 23.4.1335,
29.9.1335 - 20.5.1340

Craig, op. cit., pp647,648;
PRO E101/238/12,17,19,26,
239/5,7,19,22,24,29,
240/1,5,8,10,13,17; PROI RC8/21
pp256,257,372,373; *RCH* p20 no30,
p42 nos51-53

Thomas Char

23.4.1335 - 29.9.1335

[John de Stafford 5.3.1331 (*CPR 1330-34* p110)]

[Richard de Hampton 13.7.1340 (*CPR 1340-43* p6)]

Stephen de Crophill

21.5.1340 - 5.4.1343
(6.7.1340)

PROI RC8/22 p472
PRO E101/240/17, 241/5
CPR 1340-43 p16

William Bette

1343-63

PROI RC8/22 p453; *CPR 1340-43* p501
1361-64 pp60,424

Deputies

Martin Fissachre

17.11.1309 - c1325

Craig, op. cit., p648;
PRO E101/238/12

Roger Fissachre

15.12.1325 - 8.8.1327

PRO E101/238/26, 239/5

Nicholas de Pembroke

9.8.1327 - ?

PRO E101/239/7

John de Lidgate

14.1.1329 - 7.8.1333

PROI RC8/16 p197; PRO E101/239/19,
22,24,29

Thomas Char

23.4.1335 - 20.5.1340

PRO E101/240/13,17; PROI RC8/21
pp256,257,372,373; *RCH* p20, no30,
p42 nos51-53

Adam de Lidgate

10.8.1339 - 20.5.1340

PRO E101/240/17

Simon de Leiston

1344

PROI RC8/23 p389

William de Burton

1344

PROI RC8/23 p389

(4) The Marshal and Usher:

The usher of the exchequer was appointed for life but frequently exercised the office through deputies. He was responsible for guarding the exchequer, for the transport of money and records, the delivery of writs and summonses to sheriffs, seneschals, and bailiffs, and for the purchase of parchment, wax and other necessities in the exchequer.⁹⁷

The marshalsea of the exchequer was held by a deputy of the hereditary marshal of Ireland, who during this period was Robert de Morley.⁹⁸ To what extent Robert exercised any influence over the appointment of deputies is unclear. Darcy had resumed the office, finding it vacant on his arrival in 1324, and although he had been ordered to restore it, Robert may later have been deprived of the grant of the exchequer marshalsea, the Crown exercising rights of patronage. Hunton, Bentham, and Joignour were all appointed for life by letters patent in England. Hunton was deprived in Bentham's favour in 1338, and the latter was wrongly assumed to be deceased in 1343.⁹⁹ Thomas Bentham was a citizen of Drogheda, Joignour, a yeoman of the king's chamber.

* * *

Bentham's eventual successor on his death in 1354 was appointed "at the request of the king's daughter Isabel".¹⁰⁰ Such interest by influential figures in these lesser but still

97. Craig, *op. cit.*, p15

98. Robert was the husband of Hawise de Marshal, sister and heiress of John IV Marshal, and held the office by courtesy of England (Hand, *English Law*, p48).

99. Bentham's goods were forfeit through debt. He was pardoned arrears of account on land at Kilmatalwey in July 1343, served under Ufford, and was chief serjeant of Waterford in 1347 (*Rep DKI 54* p26; *RCH* p45 no85; Frame, 'Ufford', p47; PROI RC8/24 p62). Evidently the appointments of Joignour were made as a result of confusion in England as to whether the office was actually vacant.

100. *CPR 1354-58* p81

extremely valuable offices was not uncommon.¹⁰¹ Henry de Guldeford, usher for the majority of this period, had been a yeoman of the chamber of Peter de Gaveston, and was appointed by him in 1309 during his brief lieutenancy.¹⁰² Stephen de Crophill, king's yeoman, was appointed usher on his petition in 1340, and as marshal of the Dublin Bench for life in 1345 both "at the request of Henry of Lancaster", earl of Derby.¹⁰³

Derby's influence also lay behind the issue of letters patent to John de Maydenford as second engrosser in 1344 and to William de Barton as chief engrosser in 1347. Both appointments were made "at the request of Henry of Lancaster".¹⁰⁴ Maydenford may have been in Derby's household,¹⁰⁵ but there are no obvious links between Barton and the earl. Neither grant provides evidence that Derby was attempting to build up a Lancastrian element in the administration. They do indicate the powerful and influential position the earl enjoyed at court, but it is noteworthy that Barton was already serving in the lordship. His appointment was effective; Maydenford's was not. Barton's subsequent reappointments, also at Henry's request, were set in a complex tussle between Dublin and Westminster, both governments attempting to secure the appointment of honest and efficient clerks. Barton, though found guilty of fraud in November 1347, had the ear of the English government and was able to cast suspicion on the ministers in Dublin trying to replace him.¹⁰⁶ It was not, therefore, a matter of the earl merely acting as an advocate for a retainer.

101. Acting as the usher's deputy was clearly profitable - Martin Fisshacre paid 20 marks to act as Guldeford's attorney 1309/10 (Craig, op. cit., p10).

102. Craig, op. cit., p647N

103. Possibly related to John de Crophull, 3rd husband of Marjory de Verdon, and/or to Ralph de Crophull, sheriff of Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire 1311-12, 1313-14, counties containing a number of Lancaster estates.

104. *CPR 1343-45* p220, 1345-48 p367; PROI RC8/24 p11; *CPR 1348-50* p149; PROI RC8/24 p399

105. He acknowledged a debt of 100 marks to Henry in 1350 (*CCR 1349-54* p271).

106. PROI RC8/24 p59; Frame, *Lordship*, p303ff

Crophill only held the office of usher for three years, since a previous grant had been made to one William Bette, taken prisoner in France before he could take up his letters patent. Bette's grant was confirmed on his release. He was a clerk in the great wardrobe, and had acted as the attorney of its keeper, Thomas Cross, perhaps gaining his original appointment as usher through the influence of Cross and/or the steward John Darcy.¹⁰⁷ Peter de Wakefield, second engrosser from March 1341, may also have gained and retained appointment through Darcy's influence.¹⁰⁸

On the whole, tenure of these offices in the exchequer was not tied to changes of governor or treasurer or of regime in England. Thomas de Warilowe was chief engrosser for thirteen years; Thomas Smothe, first remembrancer throughout the entire period. Nevertheless, preparations for the royal expedition in 1331 led to some changes even at the lowest levels of the exchequer. Some appointments, such as John de Leicester as summoner, were effective; others, such as John de Newcastle as second engrosser, were not. It is unclear which of Nicholas fitzRichard and William de Burton was appointed second remembrancer. Possibly, the change of regime in 1330 provoked a flurry of petitions for office.

* * *

The exchequer was a department where absentee interests were represented, and where the voices of powerful magnates and prelates did not go unheard in the deliberations about the appointments of its officials. As the biggest department in the administration, and the one dealing with accounts and revenues owed to the Crown, it is not surprising that such figures should seek to have their interests represented and nurtured. But it would also be strange not to find magnate influence here since, as the largest department, containing openings for service at a number of levels, it attracted a wide range of men petitioning for office. To gain appointment successfully, such aspirants

107. *CPR 1340-43* p501; *PROI RC8/22* p453; *CCR 1337-39* p217; *CPR 1343-45* p132

108. See chapter 5. He was appointed in March 1341 when Morice was appointed.

needed connections at court, and so it is not surprising to find that those in office were linked to influential figures both within Ireland and outside the lordship. Such ties were important guarantees of reward and income, vital to the existence of royal officials, since royal salaries were notorious for falling into arrears. The need and desire to have such links may lie behind the failure of Edward III to introduce new personnel in the early 1330s.

Another notable feature of the exchequer in this period is the number of opportunities it provided for members of the Dublin community to enter royal service, and it is to the relationship between the royal administration and the Dublin establishment, that the next chapter turns its attention.

10. THE DUBLIN GOVERNMENT AND THE DUBLIN ESTABLISHMENT

The Dublin administration is strongly marked by a complexity of links with the Dublin establishment at many levels across every department. A number of Dublin ministers were bound together in a further web of interrelationships through membership of St Patrick's. Marriage ties anchored others, both Anglo-Irish and new English settlers, into the Dublin elite. In the lower echelons of the administration, particularly amongst the lesser officials of the exchequer, it is common to find family groupings. This chapter explores the relationship between the royal administration and the community of the city of Dublin in which it was based, examining firstly the cathedral church of St Patrick's, and then links with the Dublin oligarchy and burgeoning middle classes.

The chapter of St Patrick's, 1324-47:

A common thread linking a number of men in the Dublin administration during this period, particularly ministers of middling rank, was membership of the cathedral church of St Patrick's. Preferment to the chapter was a useful means of providing an income for royal ministers and of rewarding faithful service to the king both within and outside the lordship.¹ Richardson and Sayles compare the role of St Patrick's to that of the chapters of St Paul's and St Martin-le-Grand in London in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.² The canonries and prebends of St Patrick's were the wealthiest in the lordship and the nearest equivalent to those in English cathedral chapters.³

1. **Adam de Herewynton** was presented to the prebend of Howth in 1330 (Lawlor, *Fasti*, p114). He had also been presented to a prebend in St Peter's, Cashel (*CPR 1327-30* pp225,232,372). **Adam Limber**, was presented to the prebend of Monmohennok in 1323 while serving as constable of Bordeaux (Lawlor, *Fasti*, p133). It was one of a number of benefices he obtained during his life. Both men were absentees from the lordship for most of the time that they held prebends.

2. *Admin. Ire.* p2

3. G.J. Hand, 'The Church in the English Lordship' in P.J. Corish (ed) *A History of Irish Catholicism* ii pt 3 (1968) p10. Clondalkin, held by the dean, was the most valuable at 120 marks. Swords was valued at 100 marks, but over half fell in the 15-40 mark range (G.J. Hand, 'The Medieval Chapter of St Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin' in *Repertorium Novum* v (1964), p235)

Of particular interest are those men whose careers lay entirely in the lordship and who were already members of St Patrick's before their appointment as royal ministers. Mutual membership of the chapter provided opportunities for contact between them. Doubtless political rivalries and ambitions transferred from one sphere to the other, but an opportunity was also afforded to build friendships and make allies. This is perhaps most spectacularly evident in the fraud perpetrated by Alexander Bicknor and Walter Islip, fellow canons, both serving in the exchequer. Bicknor was treasurer, while Islip served as chief baron and escheator, before succeeding him in office. This fraud was discovered in 1325, but not before Bicknor, preferred to the archbishopric of Dublin in 1317, had collated Islip as prebendary of Swords in 1324.⁴

* * *

This scandal undoubtedly served to arouse questions about the conduct of ministers in Dublin in the minds of ministers in England, but this did not occur until the early 1330s when Bicknor's account was reopened. The change of regime in England in 1326 brought the archbishop a pardon and revived political influence. The scandal, therefore, did not have any significant effect on the overall position of the chapter in the higher echelons of the administration, and although fewer clerics were appointed to the benches between 1324 and 1347, membership of the chapter continued to include a high proportion of royal ministers.

There was continuity both in length of service and in strength of numbers. The careers of Montpeliers and Power matched those of the long-serving Thomas Chedworth, chancellor and dean of St Patrick's, and the canons, Thomas Snyterby, William de Moenes, and Robert Bagod.⁵ In the 1310s, the administration also included Walter of

4. *Admin. Ire.* p3

5. Power became prebend of Swords in 1330. This grant was revoked, but he still held it in 1332. **Thomas Chedworth** - JCB 1276-95, 1297-1303; **Thomas Snyterby** JCB

Thornbury, chancellor of Ireland from 1308 to 1314 and treasurer of St Patrick's in 1311, and Nicholas de Balscote, successively chancellor and chief baron of the exchequer, and archdeacon of Glendalough in 1314-15 and chancellor of St Patrick's in 1317-18.⁶ Two decades later, Rudyard, Limber, Cross, Motoun, Power and Montpelliers were both royal ministers and members of the chapter.⁷ Similarly the highest ranking exchequer officials continued to be connected with St Patrick's in the 1340s and 1350s: William de Bromley, John de Burnham, and John de Troye.⁸

Yet was this a case of St Patrick's in the 1340s and 1350s maintaining an entrenched position in the administration, or of the government keeping a stranglehold on the 'plums' of St Patrick's? While Mortimer and Isabella held sway in England, the former is discernible because of the influence of Archbishop Bicknor. The archbishops of Dublin exercised a considerable degree of control over appointments within the chapter, nominating the precentor, chancellor, treasurer, and archdeacons. Relations remained cordial between chapter and archbishop throughout this period.⁹ A supporter of the Queen from 1325 during her exile in France, Bicknor was a valuable and trusted associate of the regime in Ireland especially following Kildare's death. Rindown and Roscommon castles were committed to his custody, and the appointments of William

1295-1308; **William de Moenes** chamb.Ex. 1293-99, bEx 1298-1326 (*Admin. Ire.* pp 106-7,119,148-56; Ball, *Judges*, pp53,57; Lawlor, *Fasti*, p192)

6. **Thornbury** was also chancellor of the Dublin exchequer 1308-9, and deputy treasurer 1311-13. Bicknor's rival for the archbishopric, he was drowned at sea in 1314 sailing for Avignon to press his claims (*Admin. Ire.* pp94,100,115; A. Gwynn, 'Anglo-Irish Church Life in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries' in P.J. Corish (ed) *A History of Irish Catholicism* ii pt 4 (19687) p11. **Balscote**: *Admin. Ire.* pp106-7,115; Lawlor, *Fasti*, pp61,84.

7. Rudyard CJC B 1327-32; Limber, chancellor 1331-32; Montpelliers, chanEx 1327-35, JCB 1335-41; Cross, Motoun bsEX.

8. **William de Bromley**, chanEx 1343-4,1350, KSeal 1350, treasurer 1350-55, was prebendary of Lusk 1345-53, dean of St Patrick's 1353-74 (*Admin. Ire.* pp96,103,117; Lawlor, *Fasti*, pp41,125). **John de Burnham**, treasurer 1343-49 and chief baron 1355-61, held the prebend of Howth 1346-54 (*Admin. Ire.* pp102,112-13; Lawlor, *Fasti*, p114). **John de Troye**, 2nd bEx 1347-64, treasurer 1365-66,1367-68, chanEx 1368-71, succeeded as chancellor of St Patrick's in 1348 (*Admin. Ire.* pp104,111-13,117; Lawlor,*Fasti* p61).

9. Bicknor held the see of Dublin till his death in 1349.

Rudyard, Thomas de Montpelliers and Richard Broun as royal ministers may have resulted from his influence.

Rudyard was dean of St Patrick's from 1312 to 1338 when he was succeeded by Montpelliers. Thomas seems to have had a close association with the archbishop, acting as his attorney. He was also a royal clerk and his connections with the royal household form another important thread in his own promotion and his association with Bicknor.¹⁰ Montpelliers was preferred to the double prebend of Lusk in 1322, possibly on his own petition, also held that of Glynmethan, and was dean until his death in 1346.¹¹ Walter Islip, temporarily restored to favour as escheator in 1328, may also have benefited from Bicknor's renewed influence. However, he served at the most for three months and continued to be plagued by calls to account for the money missing on his submissions. He was obliged to quitclaim various lands and rents in Kildare in January 1330 to John Darcy.¹²

* * *

During the 1330s the relationship between St Patrick's and the administration altered. Bicknor's influence was eclipsed following Mortimer's fall. It becomes difficult to assess either the cohesion and the political influence and importance of the chapter, or the extent to which Bicknor recovered some of his authority and prestige as archbishop. Limber, Cross and Motoun were all members of the chapter but to what extent was this merely coincidental to their appointments? Limber had been preferred to Monmohennok in 1323. His experience in Gascony and the central English

10. One Robert de Montpelliers, "king's yeoman" served as Bicknor's attorney in England from August 1328. He was appointed steward of the royal demesne lands in Dublin in 1332. He may have provided a useful contact for Bicknor into the royal household (*CPR 1327-30* p34; *CFR 1327-37* p309)

11. Lawlor, *Fasti*, pp40,99,125; *CPR 1321-24* p123

12. *Gormanston Reg.* p161. Islip also benefited from his connections with John de Hothum, bishop of Ely, chancellor of England 1327-28, a former archdeacon of Glendalough and chief baron of the Dublin exchequer - see chapter 7.

administration made him a highly suitable candidate to head the Irish chancery. Henry Motoun, another English royal clerk, had been preferred to Maynooth in Bicknor's place in 1328, some seven years before his appointment as a baron of the exchequer. Maynooth, like Yagoston, granted to Cross in 1334, was in the gift of the earl of Kildare, and thus both were in the king's gift by reason of the minority of the Kildare heir.

Membership of the chapter may have influenced the decision to appoint these individuals, since they already had incomes in Ireland upon which they would be able to draw. Moreover, in the light of the continuing investigations into Bicknor's accounts, perhaps membership was perceived as a further benefit, since trustworthy king's men could be inserted into the chapter, lessening any tendencies towards self-interest that ran counter to that of the king. If this was the case, short tenure of office afforded little possibility of much impact.

The appointment of Henry Bagod, archdeacon of Glendalough, as a baron of the exchequer and justice of the Bench, indicates that Bicknor may still have been able to influence some appointments, despite a fierce struggle. But membership of the chapter did not guarantee retention of office. Pincebek, named as a canon in 1312, was dismissed as chancellor of the exchequer in 1340 for incompetence after only one term's service. For Bromley, Burnham and Troye, preferment was most probably in order to provide a means of income. St Patrick's was thus serving the purposes of the government, but it would be interesting to know what the impact was of such fraternal relations on investigations into Burnham's account in the 1350s.

* * *

St Patrick's was not the only source of benefices available to the Crown, and royal ministers received other preferments. Walter Islip was precentor and treasurer of Ferns in 1313, prebendary of St Martin of Blakerath in Ossory (1317), rector of Swords,

Athboy (1325), and Trim (1328).¹³ Richard Broun was appointed prebendary of Cloncamery, Ossory, in 1327, and John de Burnham prebendary of Kilmademok, Cloyne, in 1347, while William de Epworth and Robert de Embleton were preferred to the archdeaconries of Cork (1350) and Meath (1349) respectively.¹⁴ Islip was a confrater of Kilmainham, and enjoyed dining rights there and at Holy Trinity in addition to pensions from a number of other houses.¹⁵

Thus for some royal ministers, St Patrick's was only one of a number of religious confraternities with which they had links, and for the king, only one among many foundations to court and use. St Canice's, Kilkenny was also wealthy, and Kilmainham provided three chancellors in successive priors: Roger Outlaw, John Larcher, and John Frowyk. For ministers, high ecclesiastical office was rarely forthcoming, but Bicknor's two immediate successors were drawn from the royal administration and served in the Dublin government following their consecration. Nevertheless, St Patrick's represented a valuable source of income and patronage, and, although there is little surviving evidence connecting presentations to the direct actions of justiciars, they certainly had authority to make such presentations,¹⁶ while those with a voice at court may well have been able to influence appointments on the petition of those seeking preferment or to reward loyal clerks. A variety of interests were represented and at work in the chapter, and it cannot be portrayed solely as a self-interested grouping.

13. Ball, *Judges*, p61; *RCH* p21 no23; PROI RC8/14 pp167-77; *CCR 1327-30* p408

14. Lawlor, *Fasti*, p161; *CPR 1345-48* p546, *1348-50* pp 408,422

15. *Account Roll, Holy Trinity* pp169,170; *Reg. Kilmainham*, pp64,65,99-103; Frame, *Lordship*, pp100,101

16. *CPR 1340-43* p513 - rights of preferment, withdrawn from John Morice, who had used them anyway, were restored to John Darcy 16.9.1342 "as he and other justiciaries, by pretext of their office, had used to do of ancient time".

The Dublin Oligarchy:

The Dublin administration was linked closely not only with the ecclesiastical establishment of the city and see of Dublin, but also with some of the city's leading families, identifiable mainly from their appearance on the mayoral list. It is noteworthy that relatives of several of the canons of St Patrick's also carved out careers for themselves in royal government. They included John de Balscote, Nicholas de Snyterby, and various members of the Moenes and Bagod families. This section examines at the top of the scale the families of Ashbourne, Bagod, Douce, Moenes, Morton, and Nottingham, and concludes by identifying some of the patronymic groupings found in the lower ranks of the administration.

Such records as remain only provide limited windows on the Dublin city establishment. Mayoral office is a helpful indicator of the standing of a family or citizen, and members of five of the families named above held the office of mayor of the city. Other important families, such as Lawless, Tanner, Cradock, le Decer, and le Serjeant, also attained high civic office.¹⁷ Such service undoubtedly brought burdens and duties, but, if not still profitable at this time, was an indication of prestige and status, and was evidently sought after, since a number of names appear more than once. The status of the Bagod and Moenes families is emphasised by the marks they left on the city in the form of property named after them. 'Rathmines' and 'Bagotsrath' bear testimony today to areas of land and property once owned by the respective families on these sites.

On the whole, however, evidence is very sketchy, and the records do not provide an easy means of detecting the progress of a particular family. If the male heir did not aspire to or achieve high office, or if there were no male heirs, the family name disappears from the records. Influence and wealth descending through the female line is not so easy to trace, but frequently occurred as the fortunes of the Douce, Morton and

17. *New History of Ireland* : IX pp548,549. The le Serjeant family provided two influential mayors in the persons of John I elected on six occasions between 1294 and 1310, and John II who held office continuously 1341-47.

Nottingham families demonstrate. The Irish Sea doubtless claimed lives, and wealth, and trade, the foundation of many of these merchant families, were subject to the vicissitudes of war as well as of the elements.¹⁸ In view of such limited extant evidence, the traceable continuity of a family can best be regarded as exceptional as well as a success.

Royal service brought status and offered opportunities to a number of families, both in the lower echelons, such as Smothe and de la Sale,¹⁹ and at the top, Bagod being a prime example. Some sort of clerical or legal training was presumably essential. The fortunes of some were strengthened through such service. The Preston family grew rich on the profits of trade from Drogheda, enabling Robert, king's pleader and chief justice of the Bench, to marry into the de Bermingham family. His great-grandson was created Viscount Gormanston.²⁰ But for other families, such as that of Ashbourne, government service brought ruin. With the increasing frequency of orders advocating the appointment only of Englishmen to the benches, the Bagod family were an exception in providing a succession of men to high office. Only through marriage were the families of Douce, Morton, and Nottingham connected with the government.

* * *

Successive members of the Bagod family are found on the Dublin bench and in the exchequer court. Robert Bagod the elder, sometime sheriff and constable of Limerick, was chief justice of the Dublin Bench between 1274 and 1298.²¹ Three of his sons also served as royal ministers, while family influence in Limerick was maintained. Robert II

18. Thomas de Burgh, treasurer, lost £300 in money, goods and horses through storms at sea (*CPR 1334-38* pp172,221). Ships were requisitioned for the king's use, as in 1335 in preparation for the expedition to Scotland. Ships were seized if thought to be enemy vessels (eg Sayles, *Affairs* p19).

19. See chapter 7

20. Frame, *Lordship*, p95

21. *Admin. Ire.* pp148,150; Ball, *Judges*, p52

Bagod was granted custody of the chief serjeanty in August 1318, while William Bagod was sheriff in 1335. Robert II Bagod was also a long-serving justice on the Dublin Bench from 1307 to 1324.²² His brothers,²³ Thomas, and Henry, archdeacon of Glendalough, served in the exchequer and on the Bench, while one of his sons, Sylvester, was collector of the new custom in Dublin between 1354 and 1356.²⁴

Thomas Bagod, whose career was cut short by his death in 1334, had married Egentine, widow of Robert de Nottingham, mayor of Dublin in 1309-10, 1314-15, from 1316 to 1319, and from 1320 to 1322.²⁵ Robert was presumably a relation, probably a son, of Alexander de Nottingham, itinerant justice from 1253 to 1271.²⁶ Egentine married as her third husband, Thomas de Eton, escheator of Ireland in 1340-1.²⁷ Eton may have been related to Robert de Eyton, bailiff in Dublin in 1318.²⁸ The Nottingham family was unfortunate since Robert's son and heir William died childless, leaving a widow Matilda and a sister and heiress Egentine. Matilda, like her mother-in-law, also married three times. Her second husband was John Gernon, king's pleader from 1334 to 1338, justice of the Bench from 1338 to 1341 and from 1348 to 1355, and chief justice of the Bench from 1341 to 1344. Her third husband, John Keppok, was also from Louth and also a royal justice - king's pleader from 1358 to 1365, justice of the justiciar's bench in 1365-66 and chief justice in 1368-69, and from 1375 to 1382.²⁹ Both

22. *Admin. Ire.* pp152,154,156

23. Ball identifies Thomas and Henry as the sons of Robert II (*Judges*, pp61,70,75). Nevertheless, the memoranda rolls refer only to 3 sons: Richard, Sylvester, and Edmund (PROI RC8/18 pp559-64). In addition, although Thomas and Henry only enter the records in 1330/1, Robert II and Thomas, deaths were close (Robert died c.1335, Thomas in 1334 (PROI RC8/18 p341). In contrast, Sylvester Bagod's career was rooted in the 1350s.

24. From the catalogue of accounts in the great rolls of the pipe of the Irish exchequer (roll 30 EdIII m40). I am grateful to Dr Philomena Connolly in the National Archive Office, Dublin, for this information.

25. PROI RC8/18 p449, RC8/20 pp326-29

26. Ball, *Judges*, p50; *Admin. Ire.* pp137,138

27. PROI RC8/19 pp140,333,338, RC8/20 pp326-29

28. *Reg. Hosp. St John* p12

29. *Admin. Ire.* pp160,163,164,173,176,179,180; Ball, *Judges*, pp76,84

Nottingham widows subjected the family to a series of complicated dowry disputes, wrangling over property in Lucan manor.

Two other families whose fortunes devolved to heiresses were those of Douce and Morton. William Douce was mayor of Dublin from 1322 to 1324 and in 1330-31. His daughter and heiress Joanna married William Benet,³⁰ customer from 1337 to 1339 and seneschal of Carlow in 1338. He settled in the lordship, acting in the 1350s as an attorney for Elizabeth de Clare, serving as receiver of her lands and travelling to Clare. He also acted as attorney for her grandson William de Ferrers and her step-daughter Marjory de Crophull.³¹ Geoffrey Morton was also sometime mayor of Dublin. He died leaving two daughters, the elder of whom, Alice, married before 1308 John de Grantchester, whose career is well documented.³²

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The mayoral office was held by two other families intimately connected with royal service. William de Moenes was a long-serving chamberlain and baron of the exchequer. Four members of the family were mayors of the city in the fourteenth century: Robert in 1319-20, his son John in 1330-31 and in 1335-36, his grandson Robert in 1351-52, and Nicholas in 1374-75 and from 1376 to 1378. John's brother, Gilbert, was constable of the castles of Newcastle Mckynegan, Balyten, and Arklow. Nicholas de Moenes was serving on the justiciar's bench in 1374.³³

While the Moenes family prospered, that of Ashbourne was not so fortunate. Roger of Ashbourne was mayor of Dublin from 1261 to 1263 and in 1268-69. His grandson

30. PROI RC8/27 p452

31. *CPR 1350-54* pp223,398,500; *RCH* p57 no140; *CPR 1354-58* p428, *1358-61* p102; *CPR 1358-61* p440; *CPR 1354-58* p279, *1358-61* p116

32. *CPR 1321-24* p330; see biography

33. See biography

Elias was also mayor in 1325 and rose to high office as chief justice of the justiciar's bench. Nevertheless, his fall in 1344 was ruinous. His lands passed into royal custody because of his debts, his English property ending up in Darcy's hands, and his son was pleading for sustenance for his family in 1358. Elias had married an English heiress, and like Grantchester, was accustomed to travelling frequently across the Irish Sea. Other members of the family were also minor royal officials. Disgrace and the taint of corruption, when combined with a loss of patronage, proved of lasting damage to the Ashbourne family. Elias was pardoned in 1346 and restored to his Irish lands in 1347, but these had passed to Robert de Holywood in 1356.³⁴

It is hard to gauge the connections of Dublin's leading citizens to important patrons, but undoubtedly such links existed and were significant. Ashbourne was with Darcy in England in March 1337 when he was appointed chief justice of the justiciar's bench.³⁵ Grantchester was pardoned in 1347 at the request of Peter de Beauchamp, assayer of measures and a yeoman in the king's household, for not having taken up knighthood.³⁶ John acted as his attorney and enjoyed a useful connection in turn with the royal court.

These Dublin families rode in the justiciar's levies against the Irish. Royal service may have resulted from and certainly augmented their connections and contact with the justiciar who was their local lord. Not many made it to high office, and the Bagod family was exceptional in the promotion of successive members, but the Dublin civic establishment could not complain of exclusion from the royal administration. Nor in view of the wealth and strategic place of the city was it in the king's interest that they should feel alienated.

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34. See biography

35. *CCR 1337-39* p119

36. *CPR 1345-48* p257

A number of officials with the same patronymic, serving in the lower ranks of the administration would seem to have been members of Dublin families, either achieving office through the influence of an older family member, or themselves able to introduce others into the minor offices of the administration. One such example is John de Lidgate, second engrosser between 1321 and 1336. He may have been a relative of the Simon de Lidgate who accompanied John Wogan to Ireland in 1296. Simon served as a justice of the Bench from 1298 to 1302, and had a son Laurence.³⁷ The Simon de Lidgate who acted as attorney for the prior of Holy Trinity, Dublin, in 1319, and was successively a canon and then prior of the same house from 1343 to 1346, may have been another son.³⁸ One William de Lidgate was attorney in 1315 for Richard de York and later summoner and transcriber of estreats.³⁹ Adam de Lidgate was serjeant of the exchequer in 1337, and attorney (as had been the engrosser John de Lidgate) until 1340 with Thomas Char for Henry de Guldeford. He, and another John de Lidgate, serving as an exchequer clerk in the 1340s, may represent the next generation.⁴⁰

In this category can be placed groupings with the patronymics Carlton, Leicester, Derby, and York.⁴¹ But the clearest example of a family which entrenched itself in this part of the administration is that of Maurice de Esker, transcriber of estreats in the Dublin exchequer in 1316, summoner 1323-24, and attorney for the executors of William de Moenes in 1326.⁴² His son, Reginald, appears in the exchequer in 1331, and served in the mid-1330s as the clerk of the second engrosser, John de Lidgate.⁴³ He was comptroller of the great new custom, small custom and the prise of wines in

37. *CPR 1292-1301* p198, *1307-13* p72; *Admin. Ire.* p150

38. *PROI RC8/12* p42; *Account Roll, Holy Trinity* pxviii

39. *PROI RC8/10* p31

40. *Rep DKI 45* p27; *PROI RC8/22* p218; *RCH* p45 no60; *Rep DKI 54* p47

41. See biographies - John de Carlton, John de Leicester, Richard de Derby, Richard de York.

42. *PROI RC8/10* p634, *RC8/13* pp295,578, *RC8/14* pp182,741

43. *PROI RC8/16* p408, *RC8/18* pp353,519,568-69

Dublin between 1341 and 1349 (possibly till 1359) and second engrosser between 1350 and 1352, and from 1364 to 1367.⁴⁴ He in turn left a son Peter who was receiver of the king's money in Newcastle Lyons in 1358.⁴⁵ There are also references to Adam fitzJohn de Esker in 1322-23, reeve of Esker, which was a royal manor in which Reginald was later granted life-interests, and John de Esker, an exchequer clerk in 1355, and 1358.⁴⁶

At the lower levels of the administration, a shortage of clerks in the lordship, and a plethora of opportunities and capacities for service, as the careers of Thomas Smothe, John de Carlton, and Simon de Leiston reveal, may have caused the government to draw more heavily on certain families. To dismiss this as blatant nepotism and evidence of offices being treated as property would be too simplistic; such promotion of the interests of kith and kin and the recommendation of trusted acquaintances is, after all, part of the fabric of human society. But although it found expression in appointments at all levels of the lordship's government, it was balanced to some extent by attempts to secure the appointment only of those suitable for the job, even if these were frequently frustrated and unsuccessful, as indicated by the career of William Barton.

The appearance of men with the same patronymic and evidence of blood ties was not peculiar to the royal administration in Ireland. In the English chancery, for example, several pairs of men with the same patronymic can be found during Edward III's reign.⁴⁷ Similarly, 'administrative dynasties' are also found in England in the highest

44. PROI RC8/22 p398, RC8/23 p606; *Rep DKI 54* p64; PROI RC8/27 p398

45. PROI RC8/27 p427

46. PROI RC8/13 p178; *CFR 1347-56* p88; PROI RC8/27 pp199,370. A further example of such family relationships is provided by Martin and Roger de Fisshacre, attorneys of Henry de Guldeford. William de Burton may have owed his initial entry to the exchequer to Master William de Burton, canon of St Patrick's, who travelled in John de Hothum's company in 1314.

47. Wilkinson, *Chancery*, pp80,206,89: Thomas and William de Newenham, Elias and Edmund de Grimsby; Thomas Cottingham the Elder and the Younger; Robert and William de Embleton, chancellors of Berwick - all chancery clerks. Cf too, John de Ellerker the Elder and the Younger - both royal clerks.

echelons of government, as the examples of the Stratfords and the Richards de Willoughby, father and son, justice and chief justice of the King's Bench, illustrate.

Furthermore, such career advancement was not confined in Dublin to the royal administration. William de Warilowe and Robert de Warilowe, possibly brothers of the chief engrosser, Thomas de Warilowe, took service with Roger Outlaw. William was acting as the Prior's attorney in July 1322.⁴⁸ Robert was commissioned with Nigel Bettori to supervise the transport of corn to Skinburness in 1323 and 1325. He acted as Outlaw's attorney in 1331, and in a grant in 1333 was named as preceptor of St John de Kilmainham.⁴⁹ Thomas had been appointed to sue for and levy the debts of the Society of the Sons of Bettori in 1320, and accompanied the chancellor to Munster in 1328 and 1330.⁵⁰ The Warilowe family thus found employment from Roger Outlaw in both the royal and Hospitaller administrations.

With the royal government largely based in Dublin during the period 1324-47, interaction between the city community and the administration was inevitable. Royal government drew on men from Dublin and its surrounding shire to staff the lower levels of the exchequer, and used the city's ecclesiastical foundations to reward senior and middle-ranking ministers, and in the case of Kilmainham, to maintain the chancery clerks. For the city community, the presence of the exchequer and judicial courts offered opportunities to enter royal service, and some chance, albeit limited, of rising to a high level. It was in its interests to serve the justiciar, riding in his levies, and to court his favour, since he represented an obvious, though not the sole, channel of access to the king. Significantly too, he was also their immediate military defender against the attacks of the Wicklow Irish. The justiciar would have wished to retain the cooperation of the city, and to reward those in his service, but grants given could be taken away, and

48. PROI RC8/12 p460

49. PROI RC8/13 pp174,390, RC8/14 p248, RC8/16 p15; *Reg. Kilmainham* p34

50. *CFR 1319-27* p14; *Rep DKI 43* p30, PROI RC8/15 pp613,614

the community lay at the chief governor's mercy, as Thomas Smothe discovered during Ufford's justiciarship.⁵¹

51. *Analecta Hibernica* xxxiv p52).

CONCLUSION

During this period a complex interplay of interests was at work within the Dublin administration and the influence of the chief governor formed only one strand in a web of interrelationships. The hand of each justiciar can be seen in appointments during his tenure of office, but this was expressed in different ways and to varying degrees. The extent to which he influenced appointments was not a reflection on his own relative importance. For example, although the earl of Kildare had only a limited impact in terms of appointments, he was only in office for a short time, and to a certain extent he shared the limelight with Archbishop Bicknor, who successfully nominated a number of associates. But both men enjoyed the favour of Roger Mortimer. Lucy and Charlton both brought treasurers who were close associates. In contrast, while there was a Lancastrian element in Ufford's administration, Ralph's own followers, serving in his retinue, were not employed in the Dublin government. Yet this did not exclude them from responsible commands and commissions, or valuable rewards and custodies.

There was no wholesale changeover in personnel each time a new justiciar was appointed and no positions were tied to the term of office of the incumbent governor. It is clear, however, that John Darcy exercised a considerable influence over appointments to the Dublin administration, particularly over the escheatry, the customs, and royal constables. Yet in view of his long service in Ireland, and the favoured position he enjoyed at court for such a considerable length of time, this is not surprising. His length of service, and his ability to protect his own, allowed his associates a unique hold, especially over the customs and the escheatry, but the practice of appointing associates was commonplace among chief governors. Edward III's interests suffered when he withdrew Darcy in 1337, since a number of John's associates who held important castellanies withdrew as well. Retaining Darcy at court between 1340 and 1344, and allowing the nomination of John Morice as deputy justiciar, were further mistakes, as the 1341 crisis revealed. John's protection of Saundeby and Roger Darcy prevented a

reorganisation of the customs and escheatry, and thus the saving of the fat fees enjoyed by the customer and the escheator.

In general terms, appointments to the higher echelons of the Dublin government were subject to royal whim, the politics of the English court and whoever had access to the king's ear, and the aspirations of hopeful petitioners. They were affected by the changing relations with Scotland and France, which dictated the king's movements and the employment of key personnel in his administration as a whole. 1331 represented something of a reaction to Mortimer's rule, but the flood of proposed changes in personnel was initiated in the main by the king's intention to visit Ireland. Events in Scotland overtook this project and as a result several of the proposed changes were not implemented.

Connections with magnates influential at court were bound to exist, since it was only through them that aspirants could hope to gain office. Their petitions were most likely to succeed only if promoted by someone close to the king's ear. Those with a powerful voice at court were also not unmindful of their own interests, and influenced the shape of political developments in the lordship in the 1330s and 1340s. This was partly expressed in the securing of appointment of associates to office, by women as well as men - the dowager Countesses of Ulster and Ormond, the lady of Clare, and the earls of Derby, Salisbury, and Northampton. One can argue that Irish affairs were thus high on the agenda of the English court. Powerbrokers right at the heart of the court were interested in Ireland and the Dublin government, and these figures, influential not just in the affairs of the lordship but of the kingdom itself, were the lordship's own magnates. In Henry Ferrers, Bartholomew Burghersh, John Darcy, Ralph Stafford, and Richard Talbot, men with interests in Louth, Kildare, Kilkenny, and Wexford staffed the royal household at the most senior level. Their fellow counsellors were the lords of Carlow and Inchiquin, and even Earl Henry of Derby had a landed interest in the Wexford custodies he had been granted.

Yet these were 'English' lords defending interests in Ireland, which they enjoyed more often than not as part of the inheritance of their wives. They were not 'Anglo-Irish' magnates, who to be powerful in the lordship had to resident. The physical barrier of the Irish Sea hindered the development of smooth relations between the king and his 'Anglo-Irish' lords, especially the three southern earls with their liberty endowments, anathema to royal ministers in Dublin. The earl of Desmond is the most obvious example of a lord resident in Ireland, without English interests, and unable to wield influence at court. Mortimer's favour proved a false start following the accession of the new king. Desmond was reconciled in 1333-4, but was only retained in harmony with the English court through the good offices of John Darcy and Thomas Charlton. Opposed by Earl William de Burgh and later by Eleanor and William de Bohun, and Ralph Ufford, he came to grief when this powerful opposition at court was able to direct the newly sharpened teeth of the Dublin government against him in 1344-45.

Desmond's example, however, illustrates and enforces the case that it was not so much a question of 'English' and 'Anglo-Irish', but essentially one of who was in favour at court, and thus open to the king's 'good lordship', and who was not. Earl Thomas of Kildare enjoyed Mortimer's favour, as did James Butler and Maurice fitzThomas. Yet the connexions of Butler and fitzThomas with the earl of March tainted their relationship with Edward III, and even Earl James, drawn nearer by marriage to Eleanor de Bohun, was subject to a further loss of favour in 1336, with the confiscation of the liberty of Tipperary. In contrast, Earl William de Burgh, admittedly endowed with an important and strategic earldom, and sponsored by two powerful advocates at court in the persons of his mother, the lady of Clare, and his father-in-law, Earl Henry of Lancaster, enjoyed Edward's trust and confidence despite his residence and over-vigorous assertion of his authority in Ireland.

That said, Anglo-Ireland was unfortunate in that on the whole, favour at court could only be obtained by attendance at court. This reinforced absenteeism, which meant that to some extent the cohesiveness of the bonds of society was affected by the absence of a

whole tier of senior lords and the lack of more opportunities for reward and service that greater contact brought. Resident 'Anglo-Irish' lords were effective, but their power could be blunted by lack of influence at the English court, and the necessity of working through 'middlemen', more often than not royal ministers in Dublin opposed to the whole basis of their authority and standing. Anglo-Ireland was thus caught in a paradoxical situation.

That absenteeism was not in Ireland's interest was recognised and acknowledged in legislation against absentees, but again the terminology is incorrect. It was not a question of the interests of either Ireland or England, but solely one of the king's interests. These were Edward's prime concern, and it was not in his interests that his lordship of Ireland should be weakened through the absence of its lords. But equally, it was in his interests that they should be at his side, giving counsel and advice, and fighting in his wars in France and Scotland.

The presence at court of so many men with Irish interests further ensured that Irish business was on the agenda. Royal and magnate interests in Ireland were not ignored, and problems not unacknowledged, but they were of a different order and magnitude to France and Scotland. Despite the assorted claims about Desmond's supposed ambitions, the lordship threw up nobody who claimed the Irish kingship or the lordship of Ireland in rivalry to Edward. The wars with France and Scotland were fought between rival claimants to kingship, sovereignty, and possession. No-one rivalled Edward's claims in Ireland as he threatened those of Philip of Valois or David Bruce.

In the absence of any royal expedition to, and presence in, Ireland, it is less surprising that absentee magnates sought to protect and preserve their interests by developing links with, employing, or seeking the promotion of their own retainers as, officials within the royal administration. As the king's government in Ireland, Dublin ministers represented the highest secular legal authority in the land, able to protect, but more significantly posing the greatest threat to, the interests of others. The appointment of magnate

nominees was thus not only an indication of the lord or lady's influence at court, but was also intended to be of benefit to the patron as well as to the retainer.

Royal ministers were forbidden in July 1336 from simultaneously holding offices in magnate administrations, but this had not prevented a trusted official such as Robert of Scarborough, nor John de Ellerker, treasurer and escheator when the writ was issued, from acting as the lady of Clare's chief receiver. The fee of £40 equalled that which they received as royal ministers. Such 'private' and 'public' service was common, but it does seem to have been service to both magnate and king, and not one-sided. Royal officials were thus as much part of magnate administrations as magnate nominees were part of the royal administration. John de Ellerker was not a 'Clare' man because he was retained by the lady of Clare, and it is far from clear that his service brought her any particular benefits that she would not have received had he not been treasurer. But presumably he was as diligent in the responsibilities entrusted to him by her, as he was in those entrusted to him by the king.

The records are silent as to any discernible clashes of interest, but patrons would not have paid out so much in fees if it had not been in their interests to do so. Studies of justices and exchequer barons in England reveal corruption and bribery to a large degree. Ireland was no different from England, although an ordinance against royal ministers accepting offers of retainer comes ten years before anything of a similar nature in England. The king was only anxious to suppress such activity when it seriously threatened his war effort.¹ A letter, written in 1346, the same year as the ordinance in England, from Morice and Burnham to Edward, complained that "the lawyers at the king's disposal are the paid retainers of the magnates of Ireland and reveal to them the king's business".² It is far from clear who either the lawyers or the magnates referred to were, and why they were singled out on this occasion. Royal ministers were particularly opposed to any rehabilitation of the earl of Desmond at this

1. Maddicott, 'Law and Lordship', p40

2. Sayles, *Affairs*, p182

time, but the records only reveal the names of the attorneys of those going overseas and not of lawyers within the lordship itself.

Undoubtedly, like everyone else, royal ministers sought to safeguard their own interests and futures, and to profit as much as possible from the opportunities that came their way. Proximity to the king and to the business of government meant that they were often more likely to be the first to hear of valuable custodies and wardships, and were in a better position to petition successfully for them, especially in lieu of arrears of salaries. Such arrears were another reason for accepting well-paid positions in magnate administrations.

The appended biographies provide many examples. Some, like Ellerker, continued to hold such custodies even after withdrawing from the lordship. Others were guilty of exploiting such wardships, as Thomas de Louth was claimed in 1334 to have done. Corruption and exploitation were not confined just to Ireland, or solely perpetrated by English ministers, as the careers of Epworth, Islip and Bicknor illustrate, but were inevitable counterparts to this expression and means of 'good lordship'. Proximity to the king also led others to seek 'good lordship' from royal ministers themselves. Associates wanted career advancement, as in the case of Robert de Salkeld and Thomas de Burgh, while the communities from which officials came sought privileges. In 1332 the bailiffs and burgesses of Scarborough were granted the quayage on wares landed on their quay for three years at the request of Robert of Scarborough.³

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The Dublin administration during this period thus reflects a society bound by ties of service - both military and administrative - and reward, in cash and land. A series of interlocking networks linked together magnate, knight, cleric, and administrator, ultimately with the king at the centre. Gravitating in towards the king, were men

3. *CPR 1330-34* p266

seeking opportunities for service, office, reward, sustenance. Gravitating outwards were men able to offer this 'good lordship', seeking those willing to provide service of some sort. Proximity to those able to dispense such lordship was a greater guarantee of success, whether for lesser lords, or household servants and officials. Mutual attraction brought together those seeking rewards, money, land, and office, and those seeking clients, military service, and estate managers.

The search for 'good lordship' brought Darcy into Aymer de Valence's retinue. Edward II's desire to attract men into royal service and his ability to offer greater rewards and opportunities led to Darcy's gradual entry into the king's employ, first through Aymer's influence, and then through his own merit, military ability and trustworthiness. He left Pembroke's service with some regret, but proved faithful to his new lord, and to his son in turn. Yet Darcy also maintained links with the Pembroke household, despite Earl Aymer's death in 1324. He was involved in several land transactions with Countess Marie, and in 1328 was chosen by Roger de Grey, who had married Aymer's niece and coheiress Elizabeth Hastings, as an arbitrator in a dispute with his brother Henry.⁴

Darcy took service in Edward III's household in 1327, and resisted to some extent overtures made to him by Earl William de Burgh, and William's father-in-law, Henry of Lancaster. It is clear that John received some fees and grants from the two earls, and undoubtedly his second marriage to Joan de Burgh drew him closer to them, but they were also allies of the young king, and it was in the latter's service that he remained. Like his father, Edward III wanted military service. Darcy was recruited to provide this in return for fees and grants of land and privilege. These were extended and increased as his contract of retainer was renewed. Darcy in turn recruited men into his employ, and as he rose to high office and was drawn closer into the circle of royal intimates, so his own ability to offer his associates 'good lordship' increased. This further drew men

4. *CCR 1327-30* pp395,398-99

into his service, both from Ireland and the north Midlands, as well as attracting others such as Ashbourne and Epworth, who merely sought to further their own ambitions.⁵

John Darcy's rise profited his own immediate family, but it is also evident that they were not just hanging on his coat tails. John 'le fitz', Aymer and Roger gained entry to the royal household through their father's influence, but were obliged to prove themselves once this opportunity for service had been given. The wider Darcy family was also affected. One William Darcy, an arrayer of men in Lindsey with John Darcy 'le frere' in 1322, and a holder of Flixborough manor on Baron Norman of Nocton's death in 1340, was described in 1341 as "king's yeoman", and was granted the chief serjeanty of Dublin the following year for good service in France and Scotland.⁶ He was still holding this in 1349, and in 1346 had been pardoned at the request of John Darcy 'le fitz' for the death of another.⁷

Baron Philip of Nocton does not seem to have recovered from his reversal of fortunes at Boroughbridge. The division of the Nocton inheritance between him and his brothers undoubtedly weakened his position, but Robert, who had inherited Dunston and Stallingborough, and John 'le frere', lord of Coningsby, did receive important commissions especially in the 1330s.⁸ John 'le frere' also seems to have served in the royal household in 1328-29, and fought in Scotland in 1337 and 1340.⁹ Philip's son

5. Ashbourne was in Darcy's company in 1337 when appointed chief justice of the justiciar's bench in March. Epworth was granted the seneschalcy of the royal demesne lands in 1342 at Darcy's request.

6. *CPR 1321-24* p132; *CIPM ix* pp398-400; *CPR 1340-43* pp146,497; PROI RC8/22 p186

7. PROI RC8/25 p101; *CPR 1345-48* p130

8. Robert was entrusted with guarding the ports and shores of Lincolnshire in 1333, and arraying men in Lindsey in 1335. He was responsible with others for safe custody of Leicestershire, Northants, Rutland, and Lincolnshire against invading Scots. Both brothers were summoned to serve in Scotland in 1335 (*Rot. Scot.* i 249,307,309,312,314,317,321, 360,370,385,405,407).

9. *CCR 1327-30* p439; *CPR 1327-30* p475; *Rot. Scot.* i 487, 601. John Darcy 'le frere' had served with Pembroke in 1314, his brother with the earl in 1307 and 1314. Robert's daughter and heiress Margaret married John d'Argentine who -or whose father - had also served in Pembroke's retinue.

Norman also served in Scotland in October 1337 and in Hainault in 1339.¹⁰ On his death in 1340, John Darcy 'le cosyn' was awarded the marriages of his widow Isabella and his son Philip, emphasising his position as the most powerful member of his family.¹¹

The Darcies of Knaith were rising stars in the 1340s, benefiting from the profits of war. These enabled John Darcy to afford the marriage of the young earl of Ormond; his position at court enabled him to buy it. Family fortunes were temporarily cut short by the death of John Darcy 'le fitz' in 1356, and a squabble over the inheritance between his brother Roger and his widow.¹² Nevertheless, perhaps because of Roger's long custody till his death in 1368, and the early demise of John's eldest son in 1362, an intact inheritance passed to his second son Philip, who went on to serve in Picardy under Gaunt in 1369, and in Brittany under Buckingham in 1380/1. He fought in Scotland in 1384 and 1385, was appointed admiral from the Thames northwards in 1385, and accompanied Richard II to Ireland in 1392 to recover and defend his inheritance,¹³ indicating that his grandfather must have been able to leave something by way of a landed inheritance to his sons, although no records survive indicating what this was.¹⁴

Despite John Darcy 'le cosyn's' marriage to a daughter of the Red Earl, and their daughter's marriage to the earl of Ormond, the family was never grafted on to the top echelons of magnate society. Both marriages were made in the context of the politics of the lordship, and Elizabeth Darcy's de Burgh lineage, rather than her relationship to the king's chamberlain, made her a worthy bride for James Butler. Darcy's marriage to the dowager Countess of Kildare was in some senses a precursor of the marriage of Ralph

10. *Rot. Scot.* i 508; *Complete Peerage* p 53

11. *CPR 1340-43* pp42,46; *CFR 1337-47* p194

12. *Complete Peerage* p59; *CCR 1354-60* p485

13. *Complete Peerage* pp61,62; *CFR 1356-68* p397

14. It is unclear whether William Darcy was the ancestor of the Darcies of Westmeath, especially given the numerous other Darcies identified in chapter 1.

Ufford to Countess Matilda. Both justiciars were thus endowed with property by right of their wives, and adequate defence thus provided for the Ulster and Kildare lands during the minority of the heirs. Thomas Dagworth's marriage to Countess Eleanor of Ormond can be seen in a similar light, while all three, and the marriage of Walter Manny to the countess of Norfolk, were a form of rewarding the king's military captains.

* * *

Nevertheless, John's second marriage and that of his daughter were personal triumphs for him. They formed part of his success story, his rise from landless cadet, whose estates had been confiscated in 1306, to that of a senior household official. Surviving the outworkings of Despenser-Mortimer rivalry, he successfully retained office through changes of regime in 1326 and 1330, serving loyally in the king's household. An able military captain, he built a fortune through service in Scotland, Ireland, and France. As far as he was able, he tackled the complexities of the Irish governorship well, even if this meant no more than keeping his head above water in containing the troubles in southern Ireland, and the crisis within the administration in the mid-1320s. He played his part in the reconciliation of Desmond in 1329 and 1334, and he was able to lead an Anglo-Irish contingent to Scotland in 1333 and 1335, and, one can argue, to Hainault in 1339. His hands were always tied, however, by Mortimer between 1328 and 1330, and to a large extent later by Edward III. Although he was part of the group moving against the Stratfords in 1340, and played a part in the decisions of 1341 relating to Ireland, he was only one player on a stage upon which the king was the prime mover.

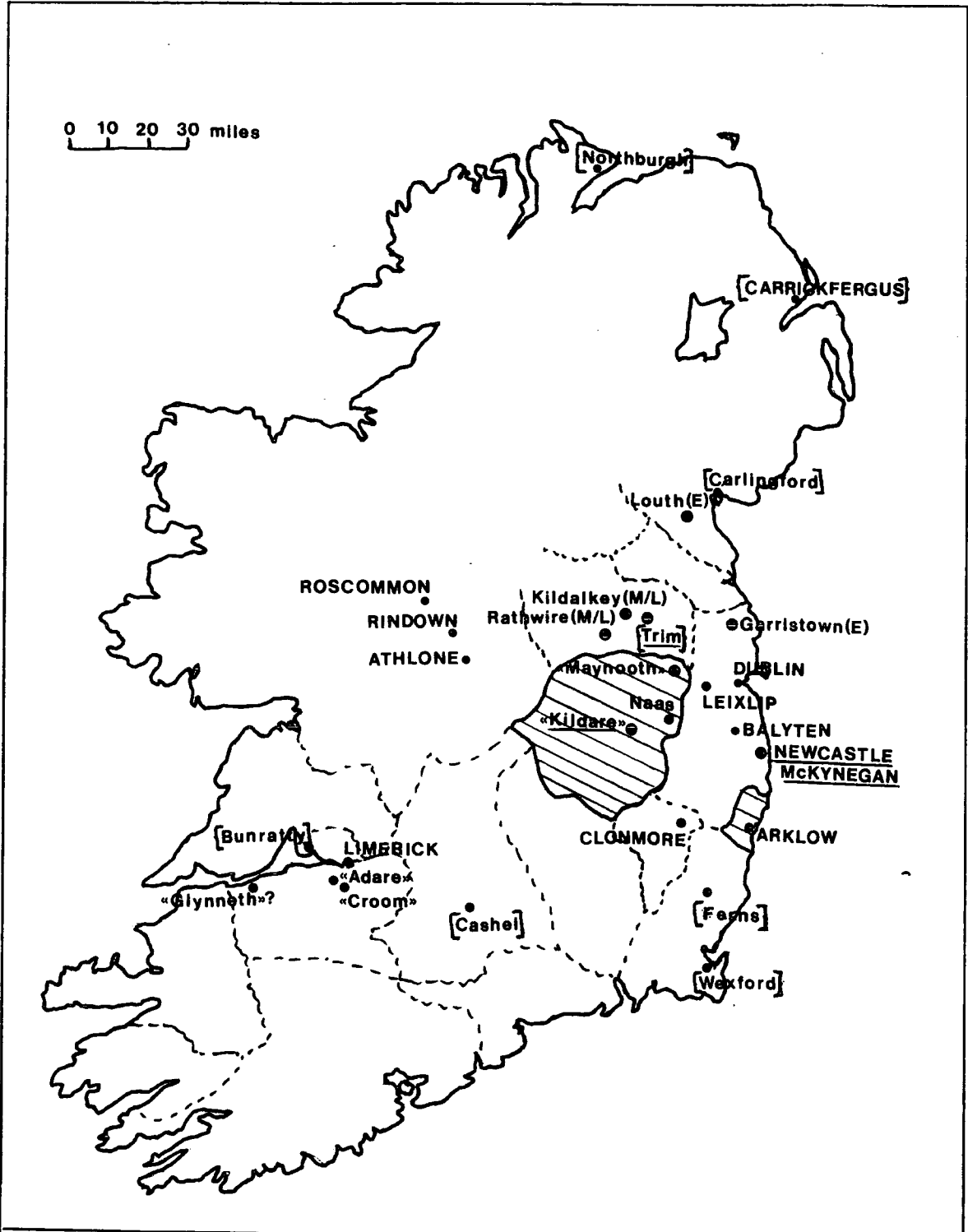
Darcy secured appointments for his associates in Ireland, but so had other justiciars. While he was in Ireland, these were not necessarily damaging to the king's interests. When Edward appointed him elsewhere, the lordship did suffer from the withdrawal of constables, and royal revenues might have improved slightly from a reorganisation of the customs and the escheatry, if this had not been prevented by his protection of


Saundeby and Roger Darcy. The 1341 orders were a mistake and Darcy cannot be totally exonerated, but neither can Edward. The team entrusted with the resumption order was poorly equipped and unreliable. A failure to communicate the initial orders may lie at the heart of the crisis. Nevertheless, a rapprochement was aided by Darcy's presence and influence at court both in 1342 and 1346. He was a useful intermediary, but in the last analysis it was the king's actions and the king's relations with his Anglo-Irish magnates that counted, and his presence in Ireland that would have made all the difference.

John Darcy made the most of the opportunities that were presented to him. Unafraid to make money where he could, whether from Roscelyn's manors or from the king himself - illegally levying duty in 1341 on wool passing Torksey¹⁵ - he nevertheless displayed a degree of loyalty to Pembroke and to both Edward II and Edward III that went beyond mere self-interest. He proved a worthy recipient of the 'good lordship' they offered and which he sought.

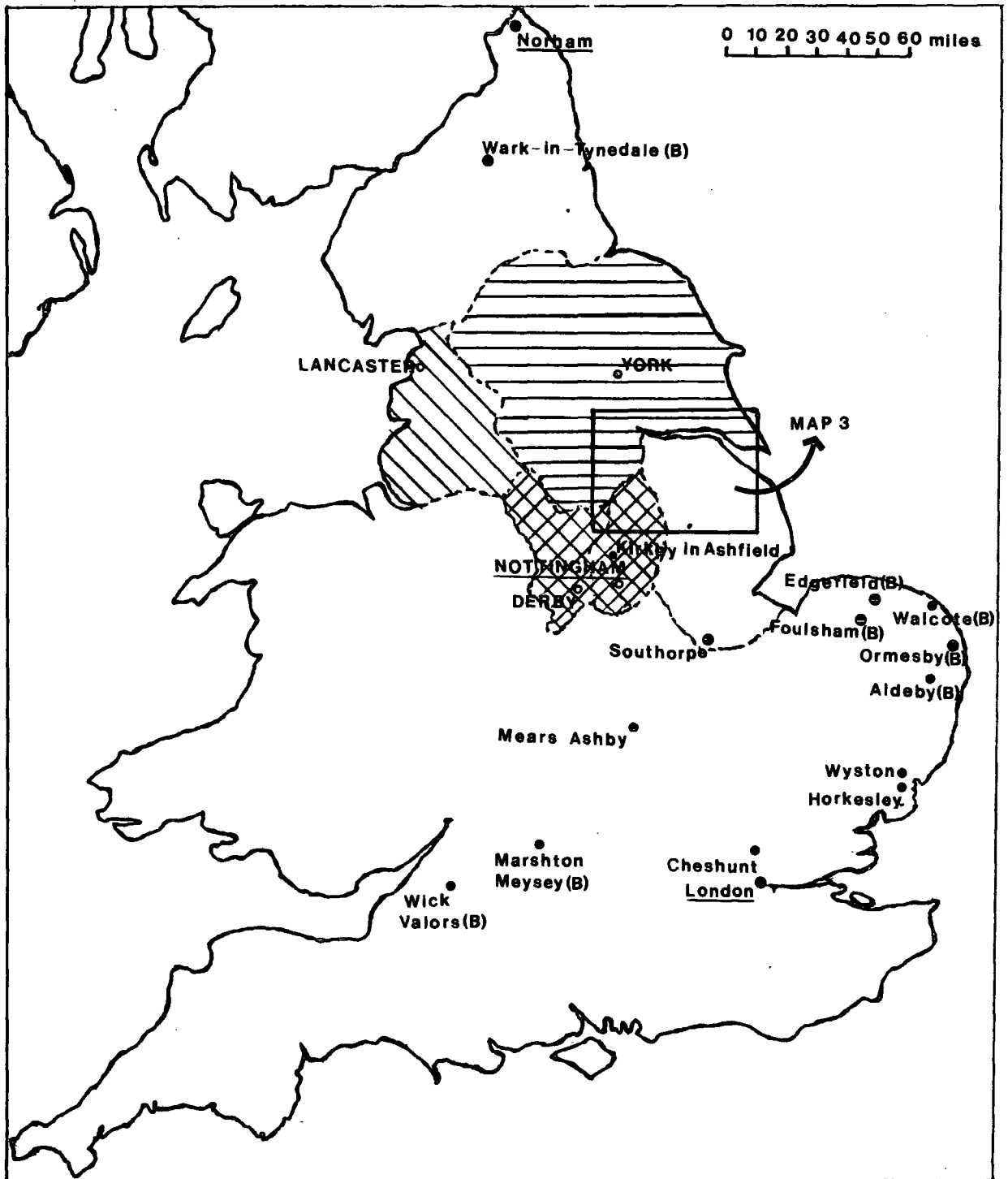
15. *CCR 1341-43* p273

APPENDIX A



 Kildare liberty
 "Croom" : Kildare properties
 Rathwire(M/L) : MORTIMER/LACY forfeits
 Louth(E) : EU forfeits
Trim : constablerships held by John Darcy
 DUBLIN : royal castles
 [Ferns] : magnate castles

MAP 1 : JOHN DARCY'S POSSESSIONS IN IRELAND

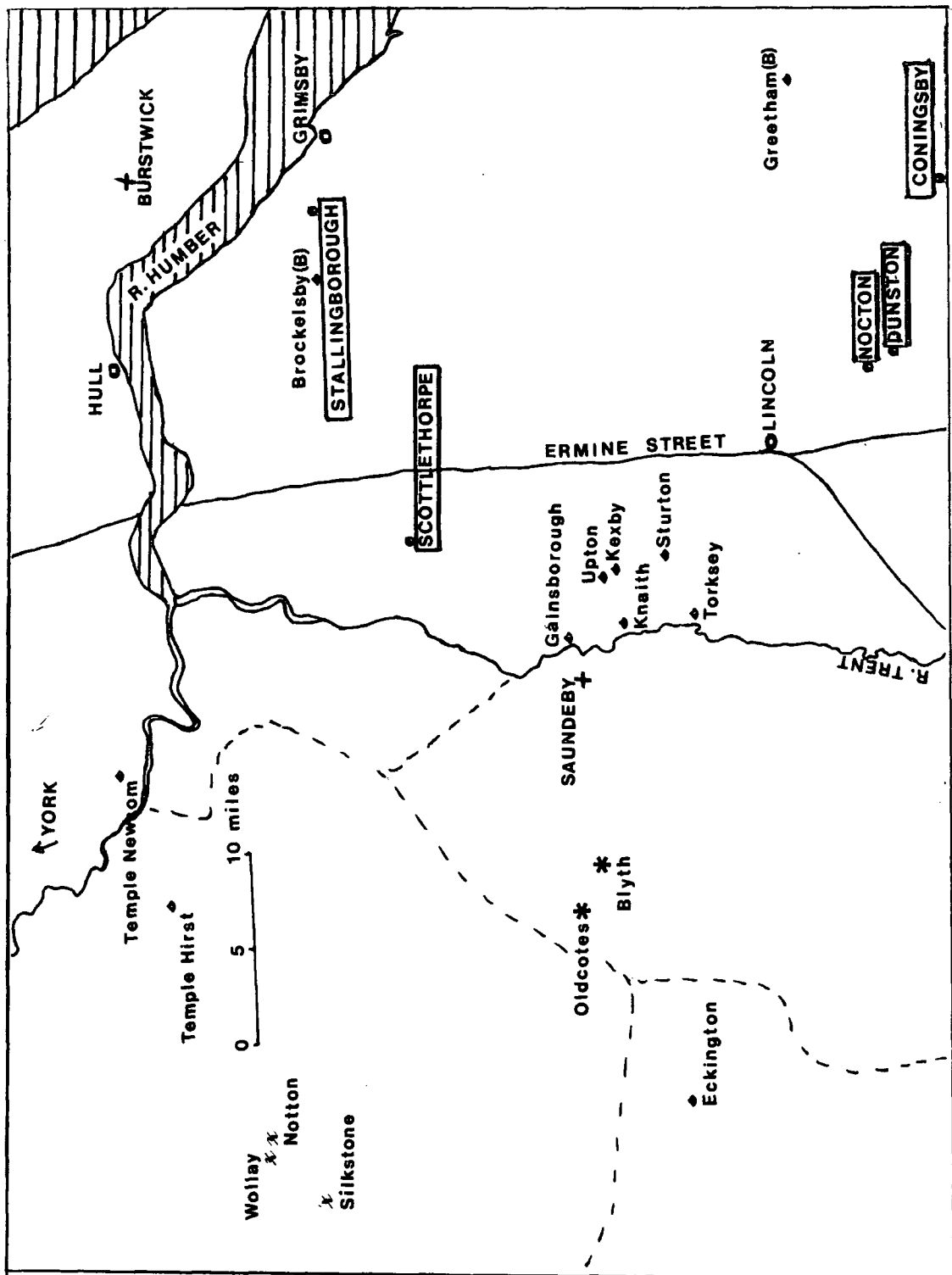


Constables: Norham

Shrievalties: YORK

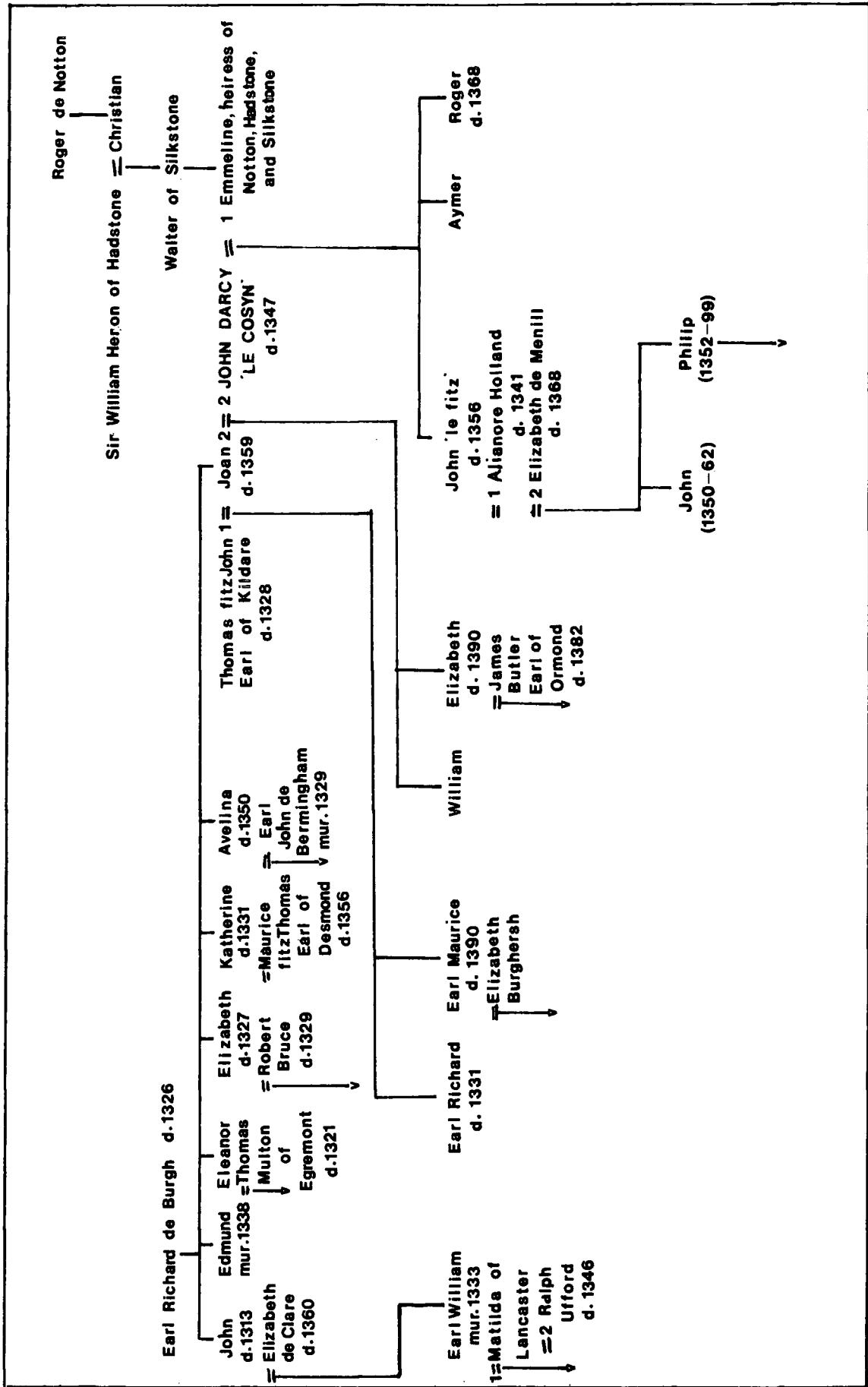
Banner fees: Aldeby (B)

MAP 2: JOHN DARCY'S LANDS IN ENGLAND



* : patrimonial properties **NOCTON** : manors of the Darcies of Nocton
 x : the Notton inheritance
 Knaith ◊ : John's manors

MAP 3 : JOHN DARCY'S TERRITORIAL HOLDINGS IN THE NORTH MIDLANDS



GENEALOGICAL TABLE 2: THE FAMILY OF JOHN DARCY

**APPENDIX B: BIOGRAPHIES OF OFFICIALS WITHIN THE DUBLIN
ADMINISTRATION BETWEEN 1324 AND 1347**

Nicholas de Acton

Justice of gaol delivery in Bristol 1309 (*CPR 1307-13* p158). Appointed 10.11.1312, at request of Ingelard de Warle, keeper of the Wardrobe, as keeper of the coket seal in Berwick, and of the exchange there (*CPR 1307-13* p510); confirmed 12.6.1315 (*CPR 1313-17* p299). Oct 1317 to receive corn and wine for king's use from Anthony Pessaigne of Genoa (*CPR 1317-21* p45).

8.2.1322 appointed exchequer clerk (*CPR 1321-24* p63). 17.7.1322 to pay Welsh footmen going to Scotland (*CPR 1321-24* p179). 19.2.1323 appointed purveyor in Kent (*CPR 1321-24* p242). 19.6.1323 to sell victuals stored in Carlisle and Skinburness (*CPR 1321-24* p303). 10.5.1324 to purvey gangways and hurdles for the transport of horses from Portsmouth (*CPR 1321-24* p413).

20.4.1327 confirmed as exchequer clerk; 8.5.1327 replaced (*CPR 1327-30* pp98,103). 8.7.1327 keeper of Bermondsey priory (*CPR 1327-30* p136). July 1328 nominated in John Darcy's petitions to English council as **chief baron of the Dublin exchequer** (Baldwin, *Council*, pp473-75). 20.3.1329 chamberlain of N. Wales, till 19.6.1330 (*CFR 1327-37* pp127,182); 22.5.1329 escheator of N. Wales, till 20.6.1330 (*CFR 1327-37* p134).

6.1.1331 surveyor and auditor of accounts in the lands of Roger Mortimer and others in N. Wales (*CFR 1327-37* pp217,218). 23.7.1332 to gather ships in Cornwall to send to Whitehaven (*CPR 1330-34* p323). 28.7.1332 to array with all speed 400 footmen in S. Wales to accompany the king to Ireland at Mich (*CPR 1330-34* p321). 24.10.1334 sent by the king to convey money from London to York (*CPR 1334-38* p38). 8.10.1336

granted a prebend in Bridgenorth (*CPR 1334-38* p324). 28.10.1336 'chamberlain', appointed royal proctor (*CPR 1334-38* p330).

William de Aldenshales

Constable of Wexford 15.4.1332 - 15.4.1335 (*Rep DKI 43* p64, 44 p43).

John of Ashley

King's clerk. 2.10.1333 appointed **keeper of the writs and rolls of the Dublin Bench**; ineffective (*CPR 1330-34* p470).

Robert de Askeby

Probably kinsman of Robert de Askeby, a former keeper of the Great Seal. 19.1.1338 'Master', parson of Washington, Durham (*CCR 1337-39* pp287,380). 17.12.1338 king's clerk, lading wool from Newcastle to Antwerp (*CCR 1337-39* p597). Apr-Nov 1340 appointed to receive subsidy of 40s in Flanders (*CCR 1343-45* pp54,73,179,184,206,209,254,538). 28 May-28 Sept searcher of ships in London (*CCR 1339-41* p412). 21.6.1340 receiver of money for wool in the chamber (*CPR 1340-43* pp534,558,620,621).

14.3.1341 appointed **chancellor of Ireland** (*CPR 1340-43* p151); paid 19.5.1341 - 19.11.1341 (PRO E101/241/5). 28.3.1341 appointed to investigate the Dublin administration with John Morice and Hugh de Burgh (*CPR 1340-43* p207). Apr 1341 going to Ireland; 40 marks expenses (*CPR 1340-43* p165; *CCR 1341-43* p56; PRO E101/241/5). 14.7.1341 - 14.1.1342 **keeper of Balyten castle** (PRO E101/240/17,

241/5). 2.8.1341 - 2.10.1341 accompanied Morice to Leinster (*Rep DKI 47 p64*). 20.11.1341 ordered with Morice and Hugh de Burgh to prohibit export of arms and victuals to Scotland (*CPR 1340-43 p360*). 25.11.1341 to survey the Dublin exchequer correcting irregularities (*CPR 1340-43 p349*). Nov 1341 to England; paid £60 (PRO E101/241/5).

5.8.1342 called to account (*CCR 1341-43 p578*). 26.6.1344 parson of Brantingham, York diocese (*CCR 1343-45 p303*). 23.6.1349 parson of Gt Stanmore church, London diocese (*CPR 1348-50 p329*). 10.7.1349 prebendary in Salisbury (*CPR 1348-50 p343*). 15.8.1349 exchanged prebend in Lincoln for Pagenham church with Simon de Islip, ratified 18.3.1350 (*CPR 1348-50 pp377,485*). 24.3.1351 king's clerk, sent by Simon, archbishop of Canterbury, to Rome on business (*CPR 1350-54 p58*). 16.4.1351 parson of Ingham church (*CCR 1349-54 p172*). 15.8.1351 1 of 3 commissioners visiting hospital of St John the Baptist, Dorchester (*CCR 1349-54 p339*). 10.12.1352 had been to Rome; to answer for contempt (*CPR 1350-54 p159*). 8.1.1364 licensed to alienate property to church of St Mary, Salisbury (*CPR 1361-64 p439*).

Elias de Ashbourne

Son of Roger de Ashbourne, citizen of Dublin (*CPR 1313-17 p469*), and his wife Beatrice (PROI RC8/11 pp473,787), and grandson of Roger de Ashbourne, mayor of Dublin in 1261-63, and in 1268-69 (*New History of Ireland: IX p548*). Married at some point Juliana, daughter and heiress of William fitzWarin. lord of half of Mears Ashby, Northamptonshire (ed. L.F. Salzman, *The Victoria History of the Counties of England: Northamptonshire*, iv (London, 1937) p131).

First appears in 1309, guilty of arson and theft at N. Ashby (*CPR 1307-13 pp247,252*). Pardoned 2.11.1312 for felonies in Northamptonshire (*CPR 1307-13 p508*). 1313 lost 35a of land in Glynmethan, granted without licence by the archbishop of Dublin (*CPR*

1307-13 p596). From 1314 acting as attorney in Dublin (eg PROI RC8/9 p584; *CPR 1317-21* pp164,207,442,443). 1316 in England: pardoned arrears of rent for Dunbro manor for good service (*CPR 1313-17* p469). Complained men of Mears Ashby had conspired against him, charging him with murder. Acquitted "at the instance of John de Hothum" (*CPR 1313-17* pp502,581). Dec 1316 going overseas with John de Hothum (*CPR 1313-17* p570). Regularly travelling between England and Ireland.

27.2.1318 granted custody of lands & marriage of William fitzOweyn (*Rep DKI 42* p19). 11.8.1318 in England: grant of 35a in Glynmethan restored (*CPR 1317-21* p204). 1.6.1319 king's yeoman, granted 60s pa, rendered to the king by Isabella de Mares for the custody of lands in Ashby Mears, and the marriage of the heir Giles (*CPR 1317-21* p338). Attorney Mich 1320 for William de Rudyard, dean of St Patrick's (PROI RC8/12 p79), 6.12.1321 for John de Hothum for 2 years (*CPR 1321-24* p41), 18.5.1322 for Robert and Maud de Welles for 2 years (*CPR 1321-24* p114). 8.12.1321 king's yeoman. 12.7.1322 marshal before the justices in eyre in Meath for good service (*CFR 1319-27* p144). c1324-25 mayor of Dublin (*New History of Ireland: IX* p551). 10.12.1325 granted Islip's holdings in Dunbro & Hunteton; cancelled 15.3.1326, but Elias to be compensated with grant of £10 pa (*CFR 1319-27* p369; *CPR 1324-27* p250). 1325-26 involved in the proceedings against Bicknor; appointed seneschal of St Sepulchre; went to England with information about the archbishop's goods (*Frame, Lordship*, p103); £50 expenses (*CCR 1323-27* p603).

3.4.1327 general pardon (*CPR 1327-30* p52). 4.4.1327 **2nd JJB**; reappointed 16.7.1327, paid till 29.10.1327 (*CPR 1327-30* pp60,139; PRO E101/239/5,7). 26.6.1327 ratification of grant by Dublin community to Roger son and heir of Roger de Ashbourne and his heirs of exemption from all tolls & tallages for 1 silver mark pa (*CPR 1327-30* p128). 9.7.1327 pardoned £20 (*CPR 1327-30* p135; PRO E101/239/5); granted £40 expenses 18.7.1327 (*CPR 1327-30* p138; PRO E101/239/5). Summer 1328 £20 for hard work (*Rep DKI 43* p18). 19.12.1328 granted custody of Albert de Kenley's lands in Balygonner, Co. Dublin; confirmed 2.6.1329, 4.7.1329, 26.6.1332, 20.7.1332

(*CPR 1327-30* pp397,403, *1330-34* p309; *CFR 1327-37* p320). 2.3.1329 - 7.6.1331 **CJJB** (*CPR 1327-30* p372; *PRO E101/239/19,29*). 1329 accompanied Darcy to Kilkenny, Leinster, Kilkenny, Meath and Leinster (*Rep DKI 43* pp28,29). 20.10.1330 - 30.4.1331 accounted for Gormanston manor (*Rep DKI 43* p40).

8.5.1332 licensed to grant 20 marks for chantry (*CPR 1330-34* p303). 29.9.1332 life grant for £6 15s pa of 760a in Killynyn, Brune, Staghnanwyn, Lesnekille, Staghcony, Killowian and Bothircolyn in Leinster, which he had held since 28.7.1329; confirmed 10.10.1332 (*CFR 1327-37* pp331,335; *Rep DKI 43* p63; *CCR 1330-33* p609). 2.2.1333 - 23.9.1335 **constable of Arklow** at 80 marks pa (*PRO E101/239/29, 240/1,5,8,10*; *RCH* pp38 no27, 41 no7). 2.4.1333 pardoned felonies; fined 80 marks (*PROI RC8/17* p360). 4.2.1335 40 marks expenses fighting in Leinster (*PRO E101/240/10*; *RCH* p41 no42). 18.6.1335 granted wasted royal lands in Balyauley, Balihamoun, Balitire, Nordan, Balitarfyn, Corbaly, Kilmatushe, and Topeland in Leinster (*CFR 1327-37* p449). 20.6.1335 pardoned rent for 7 years on the 760a because they were wasted; Elias to build a castle to repel the Irish (*CPR 1334-38* p126; *Rep DKI 53* p48).

8.3.1337 **CJJB**; appointment accompanied by a number of grants, including 23.4.1337 first wardship worth up to £20 in royal hands (*CPR 1334-38* pp393,397,409,433; *CFR 1337-47* pp7,14). 26.3.1337 party with John Darcy and Nicholas de Snyterby to a £1000 recognisance for the good behaviour of Walter de Bermingham (*CCR 1337-39* p119). 10.8.1337 dismissed; 24.9.1337 reappointed; 17.5.1338 Louth appointed **CJJB**; 12.9.1338 Elias reappointed **CJJB** (*CCR 1337-39* p168p; *CPR 1334-38* p522, *1338-40* pp80,127). 6.10.1338 reappointed **constable of Arklow** (*CCR 1337-39* p544; *CPR 1338-40* p211; *PRO E101/240/17, 241/5*); confirmed 1.3.1340, but granted to Walter de Boneville 8.4.1340 & 26.2.1341 (*CPR 1340-43* pp143,149). 8.6.1339 granted marriage of the heir of Geoffrey le Botiller, and 30.3.1340 £20 from Geoffrey's lands for service with Bishop Charlton in Leinster (*CFR 1337-47* p132; *PROI RC8/21* p375, *RC8/22* p6; *Rep DKI 45* p28).

20.3.1341 dismissed, all grants revoked and resumed; payments ceased as CJB on 25.5, and for Arklow on 22.6 (*CCR 1341-43* p33; PRO E101/240/17, 241/5). Paid as CJB 26.11.1341 - 15.5.1344 (PRO E101/241/5; *RCH* pp43 no7, 44 no43). 1342 3 suits prosecuted against Elias by Prior of St John the Baptist, claiming Elias had disseised him of property in Dublin, but the mayor relaxed the sentence of imprisonment on Elias (*Reg. Hosp. St John* pp33-36, 67-75). 7.12.1342 pardoned £8 for good service against the O'Byrnes (*Rep DKI 47* p58).

Summer 1344 the Lawless family presented a series of bills to the king's council in England charging Elias with malpractice; he was to return to Dublin to stand trial (*Sayles, Affairs*, p280). Elias initially accompanied Ufford to Leinster, retaining men-at-arms at his own expense (*Rep DKI 53* p60), but 23.11.1344 his goods and chattels were confiscated "for flight" and granted to Sir Walter de Nerford (*RCH* p48 no167; *Rep DKI 54* pp23,49; *Frame, Lordship*, p265). Mich 1345 petitioned for restoration of the 760a, reentering them on the word of the justiciar (*CPR 1354-58* p431), but was evidently in prison since 24.6.1346 he was pardoned at the request of John Larcher, Roger Darcy, John de Burnham, and Hugh de Burgh, and granted 40 marks for his losses in prison and his expenses fighting in Leinster (*RCH* p53 no83; *Rep DKI 54* p23).

Restored to his lands (*Rep DKI 54* p60), but Elias enfeoffed Robert de Holywood as his tenant in the 760a 15.9.1356 (*CPR 1354-58* p431). 6.6.1358 probably dead; lands confiscated for debt; his son Thomas quitclaimed 760a to Holywood, and 1.11 pleading for maintenance, was awarded 30 marks pa (*RCH* p73 nos30, 48-50; PROI RC8/27 p356).

Various references to his son Thomas, who seems to have looked after the Northamptonshire property (*CPR 1327-30* p501, *1330-34* p231,399), become a knight (*CPR 1334-38* p489), and served as a collector and vendor of the 9th in Derbyshire (*CPR 1340-43* p152) and a surveyor of weights and measures in Notts and Derbyshire (*CPR 1343-45* p72). Elias' other son John was attorney for Mark and Mary Husee from

1343 to 1347 (*CCR 1343-45* pp18,445), and deputy in 1346 for Peter de Beauchamp, assayer of measures (*PROI RC8/23* p457).

Elias was presumably related to Robert de Ashbourne who may have been another son (*CPR 1330-34* p231). Robert was a purveyor in Dublin for the Scots war in 1322-23 and in 1332. He gave security for Elias as keeper of the lands of Geoffrey le Botiller, and was appointed to sell the goods of Robert de Cotgrave (*Rep DKI 42* p75, 45 p28, 47 p58, 53 p18, 54 p22; *Sayles, Affairs*, pp159,160).

John d'Athy

Presumably from Athy, Co. Kildare. Son of John d'Athy, and kinsman of William d'Athy (*CPR 1307-13* p463; *CFR 1319-27* p373). 1308-9 **sheriff of Limerick**. 23.1.1310 reappointed sheriff of Limerick, and **constable of Limerick castle** (*CFR 1307-19* p55); reappointed 7.6.1312 (*CFR 1307-19* p135), petitioned that the castle be repaired (*Analecta Hibernica* xxxiv p30). 2.11.1312 appointed **sheriff of Kerry**; reappointed 12.2.1313; held both counties till December 1313 (*CFR 1307-19* pp151,163,167; *Rep DKI 39* p48; *PROI RC8/9* pp2,301). Fell into arrears with farm for Co. Limerick; fined; called to account Easter 1316; seems to used the farm to raise money to fight the Scots; granted custody of 60a in Co. Kildare to pay his debts (*CFR 1307-19* p167; *Rep DKI 39* p48; *PROI RC8/9* pp293,295,297, *RC8/10* pp556, 564, 583).

1315-18 active against the Scots during Bruce invasion on land and at sea. 28.3.1317 appointed **captain of the fleet in the Irish sea**, transporting Roger Mortimer to Ireland (*CPR 1313-17* p632). 4.4.1317 ordered to remain at sea, he was granted power to receive rebels into the king's peace (*CPR 1313-17* p635). Served as admiral until 1322 (*CPR 1321-24* p121). Captured Thomas Dun, a pirate (*Dublin Annals* p24). 6.7.1317 granted custody of the Isle of Man (*RCH* p21 no10; *CFR 1307-19* p332). 20.3.1318

granted Dissard manor, Co. Meath, for life, for good service (*CPR 1317-21* p126). 28.8.1318 granted custody of all lands of Robert de Clahulle, and the marriage of his heir; John later sold this to Alexander Bicknor to raise money to maintain the siege of Carrickfergus which fell in the autumn (*Analecta Hibernica* xxxiv pp14,29,88; Sayles, *Affairs* pp95-97).

4.2.1319 granted Rathlin island, and 28.2.1319 Glenarm manor, Ulster, both forfeited by Hugh Biset (*CPR 1317-21* pp271,313). 2.3.1319 appointed **constable of Carrickfergus castle**; held at 100 marks pa until 18.5.1328 (*CPR 1317-21* p311, 1327-30 p271; PRO E101/238/6,12,17,19,26, 239/5,7; *RCH* pp34 no33, 35 no25). 1326 letters of goodwill were sent, following John's recommendation, to leading Ulster tenants after the death of Earl Richard (*CCR 1323-27* p534). 11.9.1326 appointed **sheriff of Cos. Carrickfergus and Antrim** (*RCH* p33 no9).

2.2.1327 to hand over Carrickfergus to William de Burgh; payments as constable continued at least until Mich; 21.2.1328 regranted custody; 18.5.1328 custody regranted to Earl William (*CFR 1327-37* p28; *CPR 1327-30* pp202,271). 13.12.1328 appointed **constable of Roscommon** (£60 pa); paid 28.3.1331 - 11.12.1335 (*CPR 1327-30* p339; PRO E101/239/29, 240/1,5,10,17). 1332 references to Walter fitz John d'Athy in Tipperary, and to Maurice d'Athy in Connacht (PROI RC8/18 pp13,22). Summer 1335 admiral of the fleet that sailed to Scotland; 40s expenses (*RCH* p41 no33; PRO E101/240/10). 24.11.1339 life appointment as **constable of Roscommon** (*CPR 1338-40* pp331,351,417); unclear whether he was in Ireland; Roscommon had fallen to the Irish by 1342. 26.1.1341 Henry de Birchele of London petitioned for John's fee as constable as John was unable to pay his debts (*CCR 1341-43* p4). 30.7.1341 commissioned to arrest ships (*CCR 1341-43* p208).

John Aunger

1333/4 collector of the small new custom at Ross (*Rep DKI 44* p53). 1339 treasurer's clerk (PROI RC8/21 p261).

John de Aylesbury

10.8.1345 - 1347 clerk writing estreats in the exchequer (PROI RC8/23 pp473,555,602,673, RC8/24 p47).

Henry de Badowe

16.2.1312 nominated as attorney for 2 years by John de Hothum (*CPR 1307-13* p430). 14.8.1314 appointed constable of Dublin castle (*CPR 1313-17* p164). 16.1.1318 granted custody at Le Nalle (PROI RC8/10 p563). 30.7.1318 appointed constable of Dublin for life with fee of 12d per day; repeated 13.7.1319 (*CPR 1317-21* p193; PROI RC8/12 p545). 15.8.1318 witness to charters of William de London with Islip, and Alexander de London (*Gormanston Reg.* p157). 16.4.1319 letters from William de Hothum, prebend of Swords, exonerating Henry from his custody of William's lands (PROI RC8/12 p55). 9.6.1319 granted custody of king's lands of Corbaly in Saggart for 30 years (PROI RC8/12 p452). 24.2.1320 nominated as attorney with Richard Broun for 2 years by William de Ayremynne, clerk (*CPR 1317-21* p424).

Mich 1322 - Mich 1324 sheriff of Meath (PROI RC8/13 pp1,335,510). 28.11.1322 witness to charter between William son of William d'Athy and William de Bermingham (*Gormanston Reg.* p171). 7.12.1325 owed 100 marks arrears as sheriff of Meath; to pay 20 marks pa (*CFR 1319-27* p369). 2.2.1326 1 of 5 attorneys appointed to safeguard goods and chattels of Walter de Islip (*CCR 1323-27* p449, *1327-30* pp430,431; *CPR*

1324-27 p250) . 16-24.8.1329 & 10-18.12.1329 accompanied Darcy to Leinster to subdue the O'Byrnes (*Rep DKI 43* p28). 2.7.1335 payments as constable of Dublin castle cease; Roger Darcy paid from 21.10.1335 (*RCH* p41 no3; PRO E101/240/10).

Henry Bagod

Brother of Robert II Bagod (see next entry). 14.5.1331 'Master', nominated with Thomas Bagod as attorneys in Ireland by Richard de Burgh (*CPR 1330-34* p117). 1333 archdeacon of Glendalough (still 1349) (*Lawlor, Fasti*, p84; *Account Roll, Holy Trinity* p171). 1334 executor of the will of Thomas Bagod (*Rep DKI 44* p41; PROI RC8/18 p341). 20.10.1336 appointed **2nd baron of the Dublin exchequer**; served H 1337 (*CPR 1334-38* p325; PRO E101/240/13). 22.6.1337 Nicholas de Snyterby appointed in his place; 10.8.1337 Henry dismissed (*CPR 1334-38* p463; *CCR 1337-39* p168). 5.3.1338 - Easter 1340 **BEx** (*CPR 1338-40* p26; PRO E101/239/17, 240/5). 12.5.1339 - 8.10.1343 held custody of the Steyne, Co. Dublin, during the minority of the Earl of Ormond (*Rep DKI 47* p71, 54 p59). 20.7.1340 ordered not to interfere with office of 2nd **BEx** (*CCR 1339-41* p433). 20.11.1340 - 14.3.1341 **JCB** (*CPR 1340-43* p56; *CCR 1341-43* p26).

Robert II Bagod

Son of Robert Bagod, knight, of Bagotsrath, Dublin, **CJCB** 1274-1298, sometime sheriff and constable of Limerick (*Ball, Judges*, p52). 1307-E 1324 **JCB**. 6.8.1316 granted custody of chief serjeanty of Limerick; 23.10.1316 repeated, to hold during minority of the heir (PROI RC8/10 p131; *RCH* p22 no34; *Rep DKI 42* p18). 27.9.1324 Roger Birthorpe appointed **JCB** in his place; arrears of fees paid till 1329 (*CPR 1324-27* p26; *RCH* p37 no169; PRO E101/238/19,26, 239/5,7). c1335 died; left widow, Amicia,

against whom William Bagod contested her dowry, and three sons: Richard, Silvester, and Edmund (PROI RC8/18 pp559-564, RC8/20 p91).

Thomas Bagod

Brother of Robert II Bagod. Married Eglentine, widow of Robert de Nottingham, mayor of Dublin (PROI RC8/18 p449). 12.7.1330 appointed **2nd BEx**; served Mich 1330 - Mich 1334; 1.4.1331 appointment confirmed (*CPR 1327-30* p537; PRO E101/239/19,22,24,29, 240/1,5; *CPR 1330-34* p96). 12.4.1331 - 3.6.1331 **JCB** (PRO E101/239/24,29). 14.5.1331 nominated with Henry as attorneys in Ireland for 2 years by Richard de Burgh (*CPR 1330-34* p117). 18.7.1331 - 26.5.1332 held custody of certain lands of Walter de Islip in Co. Dublin (*Rep DKI 44* p41). 12-27.6.1332 accompanied Anthony de Lucy to Leinster to recover Clonmore; paid £8 for retaining 5 men-at-arms, 7 hobelars, and 12 footmen (*Rep DKI 43* p54). 1332 acknowledged he owed £1000; paid (PROI RC8/16 p325). 4.4.1333 granted licence to acquire in fee £20 of land in rent in Ireland (*CPR 1330-34* p423). 1334 died; Henry named as executor (PROI RC8/18 p341). Eglentine married Thomas de Eton, escheator of Ireland 1340-1 within a couple of years of Thomas' death.

Roger of Bakewell

1330-50 commissioner of oyer and terminer. 1332 assessor of the tallage in Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire (*CPR 1330-34* p168). 27.2.1331 & 2.10.1333 appointed **CJCB**, Dublin; ineffective (*CPR 1330-34* pp82,470). 8.1.1340 appointed **JKB** (*CCR 1339-41* p595). 1340-1 collector of the ninth and fifteenth.

Simon de Balderston

24.3.1322 parson of Heversham, Co. Westmoreland (*CPR 1321-24* p85). 28.3.1322 appointed auditor N of the Trent of the auditors of all accounts of all receivers, bailiffs and keepers of the forfeited lands and goods of Earl Thomas of Lancaster and other rebels (*CPR 1321-24* pp91,103). 4.7.1322 auditor of the lands of the above in cos. Derby, Staffs, Lancaster, Chester and Wales (*CPR 1321-24* pp144,145). 1328 suggested as **chief BEx** during discussions of Darcy's petitions by the English council (Baldwin, *Council* pp473-75). 1328-1335 commissioner in Yorks (*CPR 1327-30* pp286,563, *1330-34* p130,202, *1334-38* p374).

John de Balscote

Related to Nicholas de Balscote (successively engrosser (1302), chancellor (1310), and chief baron (1313-18) of the Dublin exchequer, and ineffectively appointed chancellor of Ireland (1317)). Nicholas died 1319/20, and held property at Little Balscote, Co. Kildare (Ball, *Judges*, p63; Lawlor, *Fasti*, p172; PROI RC8/12 pp491,498). John and his brother Ralph acted as attorneys for Nicholas in 1319; John was the executor of Nicholas' will; the brothers inherited his property in Dublin (*RCH* p26 no18; PROI RC8/13 p79; Sayles, *Affairs*, p102; *CCR 1318-23* p273).

5.6.1317 appointed deputy of Richard de Middleton, yeoman of the king's chamber, marshal of the measures of Ireland; reappointed 2.6.1322 (*CPR 1313-17* p662, *1321-24* p127). 1322 attorney for Richard de Clare, for Pancius de Controne, customer of Ireland, and for Elizabeth de Clare (*CPR 1321-24* pp127,222,228; PROI RC8/13 pp118,162). 8.12.1322 appointed **chamberlain of the Dublin exchequer**; paid E 1323 - T 1332 (*CPR 1321-24* p222; PRO E101/238/6,12,17,20,22,26, 239/5,7, 19,22,24).

1326 20 marks expenses for travelling to England for the audit of Adam de Herewynton's accounts (PRO E101/239/5). 24.3.1327 appointed **chief chamberlain** (CPR 1327-30 p58). Mich 1329 granted revenues from the farm of Dublin city for long service (PROI RC8/15 p394). 1329 £5 to John and to Walter de Coumbe for repairing the rolls, writs, inquisitions, and memoranda rolls kept in chests in Dublin castle, putting them in order in bags, and storing them in suitable places (*Rep DKI 43* p34). 20.2.1330 commissioned with Thomas Warilowe to supervise debt levying in Munster, to punish negligent officials, to extend the temporalities of the see of Ossory, and to audit the account of collectors of a subsidy in Co. Limerick (PROI RC8/15 pp505,506). 1331 commissioned to receive from the seneschal, treasurer, and constable of Trim all the documents, charters and letters of Roger Mortimer; 20s for 2 journeys to Trim (PROI RC8/16 pp22,26).

28.2.1331 demoted to **2nd chamberlain**; 1.5.1331 reappointed **1st chamberlain** (CPR 1330-34 pp83,107). 12.11.1331 parson of Dungarvan, Lismore diocese (CPR 1330-34 p214). 20.1.1332 - 24.9.1332 paymaster for Lucy's troops on expeditions to Munster and Leinster (PROI RC8/16 pp190,191; *Rep DKI 43* pp53,55; PRO E101/239/24,29). 20.9.1332 appointed **chief engrosser**, at 5d a day, and an additional customary £7 pa for which he petitioned (CPR 1330-34 p331; PRO E101/239/29; PROI RC8/16 pp366-368, RC8/18 p558, RC8/22 pp24,395,597; *Rep DKI 44* p26, 45 pp31,32, 47 p23, 54 p42); reappointed 16.4.1333, 4.6.1335, 3.4.1337 for 10 years - confirmed 25.11.1339 (CPR 1330-34 p425, 1334-38 pp109,412, 1338-40 p334).

1335 pardoned £10 debts for good service (PROI RC8/18 p430; *Rep DKI 44* p46). 7.7.1335 & 15.7.1338 attorney for Adam de Herewynton (PROI RC8/18 p509, RC8/21 p27); and for the executors of his will 12.7.1344 (CPR 1343-43 p328). 2.4.1337 granted custody of the king's weirs at Limerick with profits for 10 years at 20s pa (CPR 1337-47 p10, PROI RC8/21 p44). 1339 £5 for debt levying in Munster (PROI RC8/21 pp383,384,386). 1341 £5 expenses going to Kilkenny and Munster with Morice; 2.8. - 2.10.1341 paymaster for Morice's troops in Leinster (*Rep DKI 47* p64, 54 p31; PRO

E101/241/5). 5.11.1341 - H 1342 **deputy treasurer**. 2.3.1342 revocation of his preferment by Morice to the prebend of St Columba of Tylagh, St Laserian, Leighlin diocese (*CPR 1340-43* p389); John forcefully contested possession with the new incumbent, and took his case to Avignon (*Analecta Hibernica xxxiv* p75).

10.2.1343 commissioned with Morice to audit accounts of past treasurers and ministers, and to arrest any guilty of fraud (*CPR 1343-45* p8). 22.11.1343 granted custody of Erleyston manor (*RCH* p48 no159). 20.10.1344 John's arrest and the seizure of all his property was ordered (*RCH* p48 nos 151,160; PROI RC8/23 pp350,352). This was caused because no extent for the weirs of Limerick was found in the exchequer records. These and his other lands were restored 1345/6 for good service and the payment of a fine (*RCH* p49 no36). 6.6.1345 revocation of his preferment by Morice to the prebend of Agthur, St Canice, Kilkenny (*CPR 1343-45* p475). 25.4.1346 exonerated of the account of Erleyston manor, which he still held in 1355 during the heir's minority (PROI RC8/23 pp476,479,597; Brooks, *Knights' Fees*, p246).

24.5.1354 - E 1355 **deputy treasurer** (*Admin. Ire.* p103). 7.11.1354 attorney for Ralph, Earl Stafford (*CPR 1354-58* p133). 29.1/4.9.1356 parson of Callan church, and keeper of the temporalities of Ossory (*RCH* pp55 no1, 64 no 149). Presumably related to Alexander de Balscote, bishop of Ossory (1370-86), of Meath (1386-1400), and treasurer of Ireland (1376-84).

William de Bardelby

16.1.1305 royal chancery clerk (*CPR 1313-17* p130). 25.11.1318 presented to Garristown church (*CPR 1317-21* pp215,239). Held various attorneyships, including Robert de Bardelby, keeper of the Great Seal (*CPR 1317-21* pp493,521, 1321-24 pp22,24,26). 1322/3 collector of the Queen's gold (PROI RC8/13 p248). 25.1.1325 keeper of the chancery rolls (*RCH* p31 no51). 1326 sent at Darcy's command to

extend and take into royal hands the lands of Earl Richard de Burgh; granted 10 marks 6.7.1330 for expenses (PROI RC8/15 p595). 25.6.1328 & 2.8.1332 nominated as attorney by Count Ralph of Eu, and Countess Petronella of Dreux (*CPR 1327-30* p304, *1330-34* p325).

19.6 1332 appointed steward of the royal demesne lands at Saggart, Crumlin, and Newcastle Lyons (*CPR 1330-34* p339). 24.8.1332 attorney for John de Hothum (*CPR 1330-34* p328). 1333-35 retained by Elizabeth de Clare at 20s pa (*Frame, Lordship*, p67). 1333 received life grant of £40 pa from the Hospitallers; 20.6.1335 commuted to a grant of the harvest of Garristown church and all rights there; described as 'clericum nostrum' and 'de Ruall', he was janitor of Kilmainanbeg, and was granted a robe worth 1 silver mark, and dining and other rights (*Reg. Kilmainham* pp34,55,62, 135).

William de Barton

1337-45 Irish **chancery clerk**. 1337 petitioned for 12 year lease on carucate in Balymargyn and mill of Milltown, Co. Dublin (*Analecta Hibernica* xxxiv p66; *Sayles, Affairs*, p171); granted the carucate 24.3.1346 (PROI RC8/23 p562), and the mill 22.3 1348 (PROI RC8/24 p398; *CFR 1347-56* p76; *Rep DKI 54* p52). 1340 **clerk of the works of Dublin castle** (PRO E101/241/5). 28.8.1340 presentation by John Charlton to Malahide church revoked; 3.9.1340 to be granted first suitable void benefice (*CPR 1340-43* pp17,36,37). 4.3.1341 appointed **summoner** (*CPR 1340-43* p150). 4.2.1344 granted 1 messuage in Crumlin for 12 years (*RCH* p46 no 108). £10 expenses debt-levying in Munster (PROI RC8/23 pp69,329). 27.5.1346 £5 expenses to Barton and Thomas Pipard for travelling to England on very urgent business (PROI RC8/23 p675).

17.7.1347 appointed **chief engrosser** at the request of Henry of Lancaster (PROI RC8/24 p11; *CPR 1345-48* p367). 5.11.1347 replaced by William de Burton for attempted fraud, prompting an enquiry by the king, presumably on Barton's petition

(PROI RC8/24 pp33,34,59). 5.6.1348 replaced as summoner (*CPR 1348-50* p46). 30.8.1348 reappointed **chief engrosser** at Derby's request but Burton regained office 12.9.1348 (*CPR 1348-50* p149; PROI RC8/24 p399). 23.6.1349 reappointed **chief engrosser** (*CPR 1348-50* p336; PROI RC8/25 p129), surviving the appointment 1.2.1351 of Quixhull whose letters were revoked (*CPR 1350-54* p34). Jan - May 1350 levying debts in Leinster and Munster (Frame, *Lordship*, p84). 9.3.1351 appointed for 12 years, and granted custody of 2a of land at Milltown, Kilmatalwey, and Rancailagh (*CPR 1350-54* p48; PROI RC8/25 pp249,280; *CFR 1347-56* p279).

30.7.1351 Rokeby committed office of chief engrosser to Quixhull because Barton was seized by sudden fits (*CPR 1350-54* p123). Nov 1351 - Mar 1352 levying debts in Munster and Leinster. 7.11.1351 Burton and Roger del Wich were pardoned for committing robbery against Barton. 20.4.1352 granted custody of 50a of royal demesne land for 7 years (*CFR 1347-56* p327). Oct 1352 - Apr 1353 levying royal debts (Frame, *Lordship*, p84). 7.12.1353 seneschal of the royal demesne lands (*CPR 1350-54* p365). Mar 1354 purveyor of oats for shipment to England (*CCR 1354-60* p5).

20.3.1354 appointed **2nd chamberlain**; paid M 1354 - H 1361 (*CPR 1354-58* p16; *Admin. Ire.* p123); revoked 10.7.1355 because of John of Evesham's appointment; reappointed 6.10.1355 (*CPR 1354-58* pp261,286; PROI RC8/27 p29). 28.1.1356 justiciar and chancellor to settle dispute between Barton and Evesham, appointing the more suitable (*CCR 1354-60* p251). Various references to debt-levying 1357-59 (PROI RC8/27 p283; *RCH* p74 no86). Dead by 1362; 29.10.1362 his widow Elena petitioned for what he was owed (PROI RC8/28 p198).

John de la Bataille

1321/22 paymaster of troops of John de Bermingham (PROI RC8/12 p766). 2.4 - 2.10.1322 **keeper of writs and rolls of the Dublin Bench** (PRO E101/238/6).

19.2.1327 reappointed keeper; 10.11.1327 confirmed, held office till 12.7.1331, & **chirographer** till August 1330 (*Admin. Ire.* p186; *CPR 1327-30* pp188,550; PRO E101/239/5,7,24). 1330 commissioned to receipt keepers of victuals at Waterford, Cork, Ross, Youghal, and Clonmel (PROI RC8/15 p613). 16.1.1331 reappointed **keeper and chirographer**; 25.2.1331 superseded (*CPR 1330-34* pp44,77). 1.5.1331 appointed **2nd chambEx**; repeated 8.6.1331, held office till M 1334 (*CPR 1330-34* pp106,123; PRO E101/239/22,24,29, 240/1,5).

25.7 - 7.10.1331 paymaster for Lucy's troops on expedition to Munster (PRO E101/239/22; PROI RC8/16 p300). M 1331 - H 1332 chief receiver of victuals en route for England. Commissioned to speed royal debt-levying in Munster and Leinster; granted £4 for this and for surveying the gates and walls of Limerick (PRO E101/239/24; *Rep DKI 43* p59; PROI RC8/16 p400). June 1332 took flour and wine to Lucy's army at Clonmore (*Rep DKI 43* p55). Appointed receiver and seller of goods of William de Bermingham; paid for bringing some from Cashel to Dublin (*Rep DKI 43* p64). 1333 purveyed victuals from Ireland to Skinburness (*CFR 1327-37* p360; PRO E101/240/1). May 1333 & 24.8 - 3.11.1334 paymaster of troops retained by Darcy in expeditions to Munster and Leinster (PRO E101/239/29; *Rep DKI 43* pp56,57; *RCH* p38 no21, p39 no93; PROI RC8/18 p296).

Goods confiscated for debt; Balscote and Lidgate mainprised for him; pardoned (PROI RC8/18 p327). 1335 attorney for Thomas de Burgh (PROI RC8/18 p513). 1335 & 1338 witness to charter, described as 'frater' and preceptor of the Hospitaller foundation of Kilmainanbeg (*Reg. Kilmainham* pp60,87). 13.8 - 15.11.1342 **deputy keeper of the Seal** (PRO E101/241/5).

William Benet

12.4.1329 property in Leics (*CCR 1327-30* p535). 12.9.1329 1 of 6 accompanying William Montagu overseas (*CPR 1327-30* p443). 25.4.1333 'merchant vintner' of Gascony (*CPR 1330-34* p429). 20.3.1337 nominated as attorney for 2 years for William Montagu, earl of Salisbury (*CPR 1334-38* p393). 26.3.1337 'king's yeoman', appointed customer of Ireland; held office from 23.5.1337 to Mich 1339 (*CFR 1337-47* p9; *Rep DKI 44* p61, 45 p42; PROI RC8/21 p333). M 1338 to M 1342(?) seneschal of Carlow (PROI RC8/21 pp2,187,333, RC8/22 p173). 2.2.1340 attorney for William de Epworth for treasurership of Ulster (PROI RC8/21 p521).

Attorney for Elizabeth de Clare 8.2.1352, 27.1.1353, 24.9.1353, 20.9.1355, 30.7.1356, 4.10.1358; receiver of her lands (*CPR 1350-54* pp223,398,500, 1354-58 p428; *RCH* p57 no140; PRO SC6/1239/26,29). Attorney for Earl David of Athol 28.8.1355 (*CPR 1354-58* p278), for John and Marjory de Crophill 10.9.1355, 8.11.1358 (*CPR 1354-58* p279, 1358-61 p116), for John Commynges of London 'mercier' (*CPR 1354-58* p433), and for William de Ferrers 3.7.1360 (*CPR 1358-61* p440). Married Joanna, daughter and heiress of William Douce, mayor of Dublin. Held 4a in Saggart for his heirs in perpetuity rendering 46s 8d pa (PROI RC8/27 p452).

Thomas de Bentham

16.10.1337 of Drogheda (*CPR 1334-38* p544). 9.2.1338 appointed marshal of the exchequer; 13.8.1338 for life (*CPR 1338-40* p12; PROI RC8/21 pp17,45). 1342-16.7.1347 farmed 60a at Kilmatalwey (PROI RC8/22 p399, RC8/24 p35, *Rep DKI 53* p52). 24.8 - 20.11.1345 served with Ufford (Frame, 'Ufford', p47). 1347 chief serjeant of Waterford (PROI RC8/24 p62). 5.7.1354 'deceased' (*CPR 1354-58* p81).

William de Bermingham

1.7.1342 appointed constable of Roscommon castle (*CPR 1340-43 p475*).

William fitzWalter de Bermingham

24.1.1324 - 12.7.1327 constable of Roscommon castle (PRO E101/238,12,17,19,26, 239/5; *RCH* pp30 no6, 31 no54, 34 no30, 36 no88; PROI RC8/13 p569, RC8/14 p158).

William Bette

5.12.1337 & 10.8.1348 attorney of Thomas Crosse, keeper of the Great Wardrobe (*CCR 1337-39 p217; CPR 1348-50 p140*). 4.8.1342 confirmed as usher of the Dublin exchequer; had previously been appointed, but was a prisoner in France, released on parole and obliged to return. Held office till 1363 (PROI RC8/22 p453; *CPR 1340-43 p501, 1361-64 p424*). 3.11.1343 allowed to discharge office by deputy since he was required in the Wardrobe: nominated William de Burton and Simon de Leiston in 1344 (*CPR 1343-45 p132; PROI RC8/23 p389*). 10.6.1344 deputy for Hugh le Joignour, marshal of the Dublin exchequer (*CPR 1343-45 p262*). 10.11.1345 & 12.3.1346 nominated as deputy for Thomas de Colley, gauger of wines in Ireland (*CPR 1345-48 pp8,53; RCH p49 no52*). Held various other attorneyships in Dublin (*CPR 1348-50 pp108,267, 1350-54 pp48,57,292,470, 1354-58 p257*). Purveyor of grain to England and Gascony with Andrew de Guldeford & Thomas de Quixhull in 1351, and with Peter de Wakefield and William de Barton in 1353 (*CPR 1350-54 p126; CCR 1354-60 p5; PROI RC8/26 p598; RCH p59 no37*).

John Bever

1323-28 commissioner of oyer and terminer (*CPR 1321-24* pp371,373,375, **1324-27** pp64,73,139, **1327-30** pp84,206,211, 289). 16.9.1329 appointed **2nd JCB**; ineffective (*CPR 1327-30* p443).

John de Beverley

23.1.1330 appointed **transcriber of estreats** by the treasurer Robert Power (PROI RC8/15 p486; *Rep DKI 44* p20, 47 p54).

Walter de Bikenor

3.3.1331 merchant of Dublin, licensed to import corn from Gloucestershire for the justiciar's household (*CPR 1330-34* p80). 11.3.1331 appointed **constable of Drogheda castle**; repaired its buildings (*CPR 1330-34* p87; *Rep DKI 43* p67). Paid 1.5.1332 - 5.2.1337 (PRO E101/239/29, 240/1,5,8,10,13; *RCH* p38 no36). 20.5.1355/56 1 of 3 scrutineers to prevent export of fish or corn from the ports between Dublin and Holmpatrick (*RCH* p62 no110).

Roger de Birthorpe

Son of John de Birthorpe. Held land in Lincs and Cambs. 20.5.1304 John licensed to grant Roger Birthorpe manor in fee simple, and for Roger to grant the same to John with reversion to Roger (*CPR 1301-07* p229). 27.7.1312 commission of oyer and terminer: Roger alleged to have attacked Sempringham priory with his brothers, John

and Thomas. 7.9.1312 commission of oyer and terminer: prior of Sempringham alleged to have attacked Roger at Birthorpe in retaliation (*CPR 1307-13* pp530,598,550,533). Feb 1316 **keeper of the escheatry of Ireland**. Pardoned for outlawries (PROI RC8/10 p549; Ball, *Judges*, p64).

13.5.1318 **JJB** in Walter Wogan's place; paid 2.9 - 13.10; reappointed 10.11.1320 and 26.8.1321 and paid 13.5 - 5.7.1320, 13.5.1321 - 29.10.1322, and 1.3. - 20.4.1323 (*CPR 1317-21* pp193,524, 1321-24 p22; *Admin. Ire.* p168). 30.5.1324 appointed **2nd JJB**; paid 9.9.1324 - 1.1.1325 (*CPR 1321-24* p420; PRO E101/238/17). 27.9.1324 & 11.12.1325 appointed **JCB**; paid 1.1.1325 - 13.6.1327 (*CPR 1324-27* pp26,198; PRO E101/238/17,26, 239/5,7). 1326 executor of the will of William de Moenes (PROI RC8/14 p741). 10.11.1327 - M 1329 **chief baron of the exchequer**; reappointed 16.9.1328 (*CCR 1327-30* p183; *CPR 1327-30* pp188,319).

26.8.1326 commissioner of oyer and terminer in Lincs, and of array 10.9.1340 (*CPR 1327-30* p564, 1340-43 p94). Had son John (*CCR 1333-37* p500), but Birthorpe manor had passed out of the family 1343 (*CCR 1343-46* pp201,321; *CPR 1343-45* p173).

Thomas Blaston

Had property at Blaston, Leics. 1318 parson of Cotsbeche (*CPR 1317-21* p298). 24.3.1324 appointed to audit accounts in Warwickshire, Leicestershire, Rutland, Northamptonshire, and Lincolnshire (*CFR 1319-27* p265). 7.3.1328 king's clerk, appointed chamberlain of Chester; described as late chamberlain July 1331 (*CFR 1327-37* p85; *CCR 1330-33* p253). 8.11.1328 presented to Barewe chapel, Coventry and Lichfield diocese (*CPR 1327-30* p335). 2.11.1332 & 20.1.1341 appointed **baron of the English exchequer** (*CPR 1330-34* p362, 1340-43 p80). 17.12.1332 & 2.10.1333 appointed baron of the Dublin exchequer (*CPR 1330-34* pp378,470); neither were

ineffective. 1339 rector of Solihull (CPR 1338-40 p212). Dead by Sept 1342 (CPR 1340-43 p515).

Richard le Blond 'of Arklow'

M 1297 - M 1307 **2nd King's Pleader** (*Admin. Ire.* pp174/6). 14.1.1302 life grant by Archbishop Nicholas of Armagh of 1 carucate of land at Rathhull for 5 marks pa; confirmed 6.4.1308; 7.4.1308 acquitted rent of 21 marks while see vacant (CPR 1307-13 p63; CCR 1307-13 p29). M 1307 - 21.3.1322 **1st King's Pleader** (*Admin. Ire.* pp174/6). 1319 petitioned for exemption from all offices, juries, and assizes in Ireland; 6.6.1319 granted for good service (*Analecta Hibernica* xxxiv p31; CPR 1317-21 p344). March 1322 itinerant justice in Meath (PRO E101/238/6). M 1322 - 6.1.1325 JCB; appointed 23.11.1323 (CPR 1321-24 p354; PRO E101/238/6,12,17,19,26).

Robert of Bluntesdon

1311 master, attorney of Archbishop William of York (CPR 1307-13 p378). 22.11.1320 canon of Salisbury, nominated as attorney for 4 years by Raymond de Farges, cardinal deacon of Sancta Maria Nova, archdeacon of Leicester (CPR 1317-21 pp524,552). 1328 suggested as **chief BEx** during discussions of Darcy's petitions by the English council (Baldwin, *Council*, pp473-475).

Walter de Boneville

Possibly son of John de Boneville, seneschal of Kildare and Carlow, who held land in Oboy, Co. Carlow. John was killed by Arnold le Poer c.1309. He had served in Scotland in 1305, and in 1302 had married Matilda, granddaughter and coheiress of

David fitzGerald, last Baron of Naas, and widow of William de Londres (Brooks, *Knights' Fees*, p4).

13.10.1332 Granted custody of the lands of John de Hastings at Oboy, during Lawrence's minority, at the request of the Countess of Desmond (*CFR 1327-37* p332).
10.11.1339 king's yeoman, appointed, for good service overseas, **constable of Arklow castle** (£40 pa), during James Butler's minority (*CPR 1338-40* p345); grant renewed 8.4.1340, and confirmed 26.2.1341 with 20 marks for repairs, but effective only from 23.6.1341; paid till 23.6.1346 (PRO E101/241/5,12; *CPR 1340-43* pp56,149).
20.10.1340 granted £20 pa from forfeitures and custodies in Ireland (*CPR 1340-43* p143). 1347 killed outside Calais (Brooks, *Knights' Fees*, p87).

William de Bosworth

9.7.1324 attorney with Elias de Ashbourne for Richard de Wotton, prebendary of Yagoston, St Patrick's (*CPR 1321-24* p439). 21.8.1328 appointed **keeper of the writs and rolls of the justiciar's bench**; 20.8.1329 grant repeated, and for life 16.8.1330 & 16.7.1334 (*CPR 1327-30* pp316,419,546, *1330-34* p564; *Analecta Hibernica* xxxiv p46); held office till 25.11.1354. Accompanied Darcy to Meath 10-22.11.1329 (*Rep DKI 43* p28), Lucy to Munster 20.1 - 2.5.1332 (was paid £5 for lost horses) (PROI RC8/18 p209), Thomas de Burgh to Munster 1334 (was paid £5 for losses) (PRO E101/240/1,5), Thomas Charlton to Leinster 1-22.3.1340 (£5 for expenses and good service) (*Rep DKI 45* p27; PROI RC8/22 p4; PRO E101/241/5), and Ufford to Munster 1345 (granted 20 marks on his petition 24.6.1346) (PROI RC8/23 p667).

1335 granted custody of the king's gifts at Saggart for 10 years rendering 23s 4d pa (PROI RC8/18 p431). 1335 granted, for faithful service to the Hospitallers, for life, for his maintenance, 1 groom and 1 horse and a manger, and other necessities in Kilmainham (*Reg. Kilmainham* p76); repeated 1338, with additional grant of a robe of

the same cloth as that of the prior or 20s instead (*Reg. Kilmainham* p96). Feb 1337 attorney for Robert Power (*RCH* p43 no 18). 20.9.1337 pardoned for a breach of the peace (*RCH* p42 no9).

1338/9 Thomas Charlton seized lands of William de Bosworth and his wife Margaret at Foukeston, formerly belonging to Philip Darcy (*CCR 1337-39* p609). 3.11.1343 appointed **deputy gauger of wines**; reappointed 26.4.1344 (*CPR 1343-45* pp134,243). Had a clerk named Hugely (*Account Roll, Holy Trinity*, p42).

John le Botiller

1339 £5 expenses fighting the MacMurroughs with Thomas Charlton (*PROI RC8/21* p390; *Rep DKI 47* p40). **Constable of Balyten** 3.3.1340 - 14.7.1341 (*PRO E101/240/17, 241/5*). Captain of kerns in the 1350s.

Robert Bousser

Son of John de Bousser (*CCR 1323-27* p320). 1329-1340 appointed to various commissions in Essex (*CPR 1327-30* p431, 1330-34 p134). 1332 guardian of John de Veer, earl of Oxford, a minor, going to Santiago on pilgrimage (*CPR 1330-34* p259). 16.7.1334 appointed **CJJB**; ineffective (*CPR 1330-34* p568; *CCR 1333-37* pp326,327). 24.8.1349 died (*CPR 1348-50* p390).

Adam de Bowes

1330-45 commissioner in northern England: Westmoreland, Northumberland, N. Riding (*CPR 1327-30* p574, 1330-34 pp287,441,496,573, 1334-38 pp146,216, 1340-43

pp320,327,328,452, 1343-45 pp298,511). 27.2.1331 appointed **CJJB**; ineffective (*CPR 1330-34* p83).

John de Breydeston

12.9.1328 nominated with Roger de Preston as attorney of Bartholomew de Burghersh (*CPR 1327-30* p443). 16.9.1329 appointed **chief baron of the Dublin exchequer**; held office till M 1331 (*CPR 1327-30* p443; PROI RC8/15 p380; PRO E101/239/19,22). 10.3.1330 commissioned with Robert Power and Simon fitzRichard to supervise debt levying in Meath and Louth, and to enquire into the goods and chattels of the late earl of Louth; paid £5 expenses (PROI RC8/15 pp512,563,564; *Rep DKI 43* p37). 2.7. - 3.9.1330 accompanied Roger Outlaw to Munster; 20 marks expenses (*Rep DKI 44* p20). 21.8.1330 attorney for John de Mohun of Dunster (*CPR 1327-30* p551). 1331 Went to Wexford and Carlow; paid 50s (PRO E101/239/19). Aug 1332 accompanied Lucy to Leinster (*Rep DKI 43* p55).

Thomas de Brailes

1328-30 commissioner of oyer and terminer in England. 2.10.1333 appointed **chancellor of the Dublin exchequer**; 21.11.1333 appointed **2nd BEx**; both ineffective (*CPR 1330-34* p470). 24.2.1334 king's clerk, presented to churches of Tamworth, Warks, and Brightwell, Berks (*CPR 1330-34* p516). 1339,1347 commissioner of oyer and terminer in Norfolk (*CPR 1338-40* p362, 1345-48 p316).

Joscelin de Brankscombe

12.12.1307 attorney for Walter de Stapledon, bishop-elect of Exeter (*CPR 1307-13* p14). 20.12.1307 king's clerk, to deliver a writ to the sheriff of Somerset and Dorset (*CPR 1307-13* p28). 16.12.1310 assessor of the tallage in Cornwall and Devon (*CPR 1307-13* p521). 1.12.1322 1 of 2 appointed keepers of the temporalities of Glastonbury abbey; cancelled 14.12.1322 (*CPR 1324-27* pp189,190). 12.5.1323 appointed constable of the English exchequer (*CPR 1321-24* p287). 10.7.1323 appointed **chancellor of the Dublin exchequer**; held office till M 1326 (*CPR 1321-24* p323; PROI RC8/13 p341, RC8/14 pp687,691,759; PRO E101/238/12,17,26). 6.6.1327 parson of Tomerton, Worcs, presented to a moiety of Ermington, Essex, in an exchange of benefices with Henry de Weymouth (*CPR 1327-30* p127).

John de Bray

2.10.1333 appointed **2nd JCB**, ineffective (*CPR 1330-34* p470). 2.3.1335 to supervise repairs to York castle (*CCR 1333-37* p378; *CPR 1334-38* p85). 1339-45 commissioner in the south-east.

Robert de Bristol

A number of men surnamed 'de Bristol' appear in Dublin's history: Master Geoffrey de Bristol, canon of St Patrick's c1220, and William de Bristol, mayor in 1271-2, and from 1288 to 1292 (*Reg. Hosp. St John*, pp48,224; *New History of Ireland: IX*). Whether Robert was related to any of them is unclear.

11.5.1318 witness to a grant; his name appears immediately after those of the mayor and bailiffs (*Reg. Hosp. St John* p61). 1319 "serviens narrator" (PROI RC8/12 p223). E 1322 - E 1324 JCB; dead by M 1324: arrears of fee paid to his widow Alice and son Richard (PRO E101/238/6,12,17,26). One Robert de Bristol, clerk, appears in Ledrede's narrative of the proceedings against Alice Kyteler. Anne Neary concluded that although the death dates coincided, it would be rash to identify the two as being the same person (Neary A., 'Richard de Ledrede: English Franciscan and Bishop of Ossory' (unpub. Moderatorship thesis, TCD, 1978) p35).

William de Broadwood

18.3.1327, 5.11.1328, 26.9.1329 appointed **chancellor of the Dublin exchequer**; ineffective (*CPR 1327-30* pp39,332,451). 3.7.1327 commissioner of oyer and terminer in York (*CPR 1327-30* p153). 24.4.1329 to enquire about the theft of wine in Milford, Hampshire (*CPR 1327-30* p428).

William de Bromley

Appointed attorney for Countess Eleanor of Ormond 25.6 1340, 15.5.1341, 8.9.1343, 8.11.1347, 26.5.1349, 8.1.1351, and 28.9.1351 (*CPR 1338-40* p547, *1340-43* p184, *1343-45* p113, *1345-48* p296, *1348-50* p291, *1350-54* pp20,47); for Thomas Dagworth 29.6.1344, 12.4 1347, 8.11.1347, 26.5.1349 (*CPR 1343-45* p304, *1345-48* pp165,296, *1348-50* p291); for William de Bohun 20.10.1344 (*CPR 1343-45* pp353); for James Butler, earl of Ormond, and as his guardian 27.11.1347 (*CPR 1345-48* p431); for the abbot of Osney 8.2.1348 and 17.10.1350 (*CPR 1348-50* pp12,577); for Ralph Stafford 12.3.1348 and 7.11.1354 (*CPR 1348-50* p39; PROI RC8/26 p458); for John Morice 10.5.1350, to render his account for Killemanekyn (*CPR 1348-50* pp244,503); for

William de Retford 7.3.1351 (*CPR 1350-54* p47); and for John Darcy of Knaith (*CPR 1350-54* pp125,375).

17.7.1342 king's clerk, appointed 2nd BEx; 18.8.1342 revoked (*CPR 1340-43* pp488,511; PROI RC8/22 p176). 10.10.1342 appointed chanEx; held office till M 1344 (*CPR 1340-43* p535; PROI RC8/22 p181). 20.9.1343 for good service, to receive the same fee as other chansEx; it had been reduced by 5 marks by Hugh de Burgh (PROI RC8/22 p622). 1345-53 prebendary of Lusk, St Patrick's (Lawlor, *Fasti*, p125). 1347 petitioned for £10.18.2¹/₂ surplus in his account when receiver of the king's lands in Dungarvan, Clonmel, and Kilsheelan (PROI RC8/24 p40). 12.5.1347 ratified parson of Dungarvan, by presentation of Archbishop John of Cashel (*CPR 1345-48* p538).

22.6.1349 appointed chanExc; held office till M 1350 (*CPR 1348-50* p329). 20.1.1350 - 27.7.1350 KSeal (*Admin. Ire.* p96). 13.7.1350 appointed treasurer; held office till E 1355, when he was found guilty of fraud (*CFR 1347-56* p248; Frame, *Lordship*, p114). 24.7.1350 commissioner to investigate abuses of office by ministers in Ireland from 1327 (*CPR 1348-50* p592). 1353-1374 Dean of St Patrick's (Lawlor, *Fasti*, p41). 18.3.1354 summoned to England to account; dismissed E 1355 (*CCR 1354-60* p61; PROI RC8/20 p458). 9.2.1359 to pay 10 marks pa for £159.10.1 he owed of his £200 fine (PROI RC8/27 pp430,470; *CPR 1354-58* p460).

Richard Broun

Various references which may or may not all refer to the same person. 10.12.1307 Richard le Brun 'of Ratoath' (manor belonging to the earl of Ulster) nominated as attorney of William de Somery, English chancery clerk (*CPR 1307-13* p25). 1310 attorney of Nicholas de Balscote (Ball, *Judges*, p65). 1313-14 provost of Saggart (*Rep DKI* 39 p50). 7.7.1316 appointed engrosser; held till 22.11.1317 (*CPR 1313-17* p524; *CPR 1317-21* p57). 1317 presented to prebend of Cloyne and ¹/₃ of Kilmaboy church,

Ossory diocese (*RCH* p21 no22). 1319-M 1324 chief bEx (*CPR 1317-21* p424; PRO E101/237/9,12,14,16,19, 238/1,6,12). 24.2.1320 attorney for William de Ayremynne (*CPR 1317-21* p424). 1320 Thomas, son of Richard Broun, to pay for Nicholas de Balscote's corn at Little Balscote (PROI RC8/12 p491).

1321-22 accompanied John de Bermingham to Munster; paid £6.13. 'Of Ratoath', attorney of Earl Richard of Ulster, delivered his fee as constable of Roscommon (*Rep DKI 42* pp46,49,50,76). 1322 itinerant justice in Meath (PRO E101/238/6). 23.4.1323 commissioned to supervise provision of victuals in Cos. Dublin and Meath (PROI RC8/13 p166). 10.10.1329 appointed JCB; served until 19.10.1337; reappointed 3rd JCB 27.2.1331, 2nd JCB 24.9.1334, dismissed 10.8.1337 (PROI RC8/15 p499; PRO E101/239/24,29, 240/1,5,8, 10,13,17; *RCH* pp38 no22, 39 no64; *CPR 1330-34* p82, 1334-38 p22; *CCR 1337-39* p168).

25.5.1330 10 marks for service in assize in Munster (PROI RC8/15 p596). 20.1. - 2.5.1332 accompanied Lucy to Munster; 10 marks for losses (PRO E101/239/29). 1334 Prior of Llanthony petitioned that a judgement in Richard's favour concerning the church in Drogheda be annulled and that the prior should be restored to possession (*Analecta Hibernica* xxxiv p19). Principal supervisor in Meath and Louth of the levy for the Scots war; £5 expenses (*Rep DKI 45* p52; PROI RC8/18 pp644,658).

30.7.1335 granted 5 marks for service with Robert Power holding pleas in Wexford (*RCH* p20 no19; PRO E101/240/13). 136 case against John fitz Hubert le Waleys who by force carried off Richard's goods at Carlingford worth £40 (PROI RC8/19 p389). 24.1. - 3.8.1340 held custody of lands of Thomas and Joan de Furnival in the manor of Duleek, Meath (PROI RC8/21 p483; *Rep DKI 47* pp31,43).

Possibly related to Robert Broun, provost of Saggart 1.12.1343, Richard le Brun JCB 16.7.1350 & JJB 20.3.1351, and to William Broun, escheator's clerk 1353 (*Rep DKI 47* p38; *CPR 1348-50* p558; *CCR 1349-54* p292; PRO SC6/1239/26)

Hugh de Burgh

Clerk in Elizabeth de Clare's wardrobe (Frame, *Lordship*, p69). Appointed attorney for Countess Matilda of Ulster 22.11.1335, 12.8.1337, 14.10.1338 (*CPR 1334-38* pp179,486, *1338-40* p157); for Queen Philippa 8.12.1335 & 1348 (*RCH* p42 no50; *Rep DKI 54* p51); for John de Ellerker 20.8.1338 (*CPR 1338-40* p126); for William de Montagu 28.4.1340 (*CPR 1338-40* p433); for John Darcy of Knaith 12.7.1348 (*CPR 1348-50* p114); for John and Margaret de Segrave (*CPR 1348-50* pp151,446); for Elizabeth de Clare (*CPR 1348-50* p405); for John Morice (*CPR 1348-50* p503); and for Countess Marie of Pembroke 10.11.1351 (*CPR 1350-54* p180).

8.12.1335 appointed **3rd bEx**; held office till Easter 1337 (*CPR 1334-38* p183); reappointed for 4 years 13.6.1337 for good service (*CPR 1334-38* p462). 12.6.1337 granted $\frac{1}{3}$ of Ratoath manor during the minority of Elizabeth de Burgh (*CFR 1337-47* p21). 23.9.1337 appointed **chief bEx**; held office till 1339 (*CPR 1334-38* p539). 24.11.1338 granted $\frac{2}{3}$ of the lands of John de Sutton in Monmohennok, Co. Kildare, rendering £4.13.2 pa (*Rep DKI 47* p39). 29.6.1339 appointed **treasurer** at the request of Countess Matilda; held office till May 1343 (*CFR 1337-47* p137; Frame, *Lordship*, p69).

28.1.1340 **deputy escheator** (PROI RC8/21 p480; *Rep DKI 47* p63). 3.3.1341 commissioned with Morice and Askeby to survey the administration, informing the king of the number, duties, fees, and behaviour of ministers (*CPR 1340-43* p207). 20.11.1341 mandated with Askeby and John Darcy to prohibit the export of arms and victuals to Scotland (*CPR 1340-43* p360). 28.3.1342 commissioned to investigate the conduct of the deputy gauger of wines (*CPR 1340-43* p452). 28.6.1343 ordered to account in person in England (PROI RC8/22 p642). 26.2.1344 appointed **chief bEx**; held office till 1351 (*Admin. Ire.* pp109-12).

14.6.1346 granted £30 on petition in recompense for 200 marks worth of jewels stolen from him in Dublin; £20 expenses travelling to Kilkenny parliament, and to Dundalk with the treasurer and escheator (PROI RC8/23 p670; *Rep DKI 54* pp55,64). 1346-7 in England under investigation; 3.9.1347 enquiry into abuses committed by him as treasurer and chief baron (*CPR 1345-48* p399). 10.2.1348 restored on petition (*CCR 1346-49* p435). 17.4.1348 pardoned all offences committed in Ireland before 18.2.1346 and any subsequent outlawries (*CPR 1348-50* p48). 18.3.1352 died; lands taken into king's hands (*RCH* p64 no144; PROI RC8/25 p533).

Thomas de Burgh

25.8.1321 appointed escheator north of the Trent; 29.11.1323 relinquished Notts, Derbyshire, and Lancs; 13.6.1324 relinquished Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Yorks (*CFR 1319-27* pp69,252,283). 3.3.1327 acknowledged a debt of £20 on the security of his lands in Cumberland, where he was parson of Brigham, and held 2 parts of $\frac{1}{3}$ of Skelton manor worth 60s pa (*CCR 1327-30* p99, 1333-37 p169). 1327 executor of the will of Master John Walewayn (*CCR 1327-30* p104). 22.3.1329 alienated a moiety of Brigham manor and the advowson of the church to pay for a daily mass for the souls of Edward II, John Walewayn, and other friends, relatives, and benefactors (*CPR 1327-30* p376).

1.1.1331 surveyor and auditor with Peter Tilliol of the accounts of the lands of Roger Mortimer and others in Cos. Westmoreland and Cumberland (*CFR 1327-37* p218). 26.2.1331 appointed **treasurer of Ireland**; held office till 8.6.1335; included in wide-sweeping grants of authority with Lucy and Limber (28.2, 4.3); £50 expenses; to be granted 1st void benefice (*CPR 1330-34* pp80,83,85,135; *CFR 1327-37* pp239,241; *CCR 1330-33* pp212,291,294,305). Accompanied Lucy to Munster 12-16.6.1331

retaining 34 men-at-arms, 30 hobelars, and 48 footmen, and to Munster 1-8.5.1332 retaining 24 men-at-arms and 12 hobelars (*Rep DKI 43* pp54,67).

3.12.1332 - 12.2.1333 **deputy justiciar** (PRO E101/239/29, 240/1). 40 marks for losses in the company of William de Burgh. 4.2.1333 to receive 100 tuns of wine for the use of the royal household; to send 3000 quarters of wheat and 500 quarters of oats to England without delay (*CCR 1333-37* pp4,5). 4.4.1333 to remain in Ireland; order to account at Westminster cancelled (*CCR 1333-37* p104). 29.6.1333 - 18.1.1334 **deputy justiciar**. 3.10.1333 appointed with Darcy, Outlaw, and Scarborough to survey the king's lands; £40 for losses against the le Poers in Waterford (PRO E101/240/1; *CPR 1330-34* p473).

20.1.1334 ordered to England to account (PROI RC8/18 pp604, 605). 16.7.1334 to return to Ireland: £20 pa until promoted to a benefice; **constable of Athlone** 1.9.1334 - 14.2.1335; to receive the oaths of the chancellor, the chancellor and barons of the exchequer, the justices and other ministers for good behaviour; granted authority to remove sheriffs, sub-escheators etc; to be deputy justiciar whenever the justiciar was absent (*CCR 1333-37* p243; *CPR 1330-34* pp562,568; PRO E101/240/5,10). Lost £300 worth of horses, money and goods through great storms at sea; pardoned this loss Oct 1335 & 27.1.1336 (*CPR 1334-38* pp172,221). 19.10 - 19.1.1335 deputy justiciar; led expedition to Ulster.

By 30.9.1335 appointed chamberlain of Berwick (*CIM* ii p349); held office till 1338. 24.3.1337 mainpernor with John Darcy, Peter de Tilliol, Ranulph de Dacre and Robert Parvyng for the inheritance of John de Multon of Egremont (*CCR 1337-39* p26). June 1338 died (*CCR 1337-39* p420; *CFR 1337-47* p88).

John de Burnham

Son of William de Burnham (*CPR 1330-34* p465). 15.8.1325 'Master', presented to Aylesham church, Norwich diocese (*CPR 1324-27* p161). 6.12.1326 clerk of the king's wardrobe (*CPR 1324-27* p339). 13.6.1328 to receive yearly pension from see of St David's (*CCR 1327-30* p396, *1330-33* p517, *1333-37* pp2,45). 12.12.1330 keeper of Prince Edward's wardrobe, and 10.5.1333 - c1339 treasurer of Prince Edward's household (*CCR 1333-37* pp45,523, *1339-41* p135). 12.8.1333 presented to Felmersham church, Lincoln diocese (*CPR 1330-34* p465). 12.3.1338 to check John de Ellerker's purveyance of 2000 quarters of wheat in London, Surrey, Sussex, Kent and Middlesex (*CPR 1338-40* p84). 24.8.1340 assessor of the 9th in Bedfordshire and Buckinghamshire (*CPR 1340-43* p27). 20.2.1342 pardoned for any offences committed while treasurer of Prince Edward's household (*CPR 1340-43* pp383,385). £10 for supervising array of men-at-arms for Scotland (*CCR 1341-43* p582).

28.1.1343 appointed treasurer of Ireland; held office till M 1349 (*CFR 1337-47* p319; *CPR 1343-45* p3; PROI RC8/22 p386). 10.2.1343 commissioned with Balscote to investigate the conduct of previous treasurers; 40 marks expenses in going to Ireland (*CPR 1343-45* p8; *CCR 1343-46* p9). 6.5.1343 £40 expenses levying Crown debts in Munster, Wexford and Kilkenny (*RCH* p44 no36). 20.9.1343 granted custody of lands of Henry and Elizabeth de Ferrers in Meath and Louth (PROI RC8/22 p541). E 1344 £20 expenses debt-levying in Dublin, Meath, Louth, Waterford, Kilkenny, Trim and Kildare (*Rep DKI 54* p41). 6.7.1344 appointed attorney for Thomas de Lucy; renewed 8.2.1348 (*CPR 1343-45* p326, *1348-50* p7). 19.9.1344 to send 200 quarters of wheat, 40 quarters of salt and 20 tuns of wine to Carlisle (*CCR 1343-45* p412). 26.10.1344 granted property in Dublin formerly belonging to Nicholas de Balscote; ratified 18.4.1345 (PROI RC8/23 p350; *CFR 1337-47* p418). 18.11.1344 to render account in England with William de Puryton (PROI RC8/23 p360).

30.1.1345 100 marks for good service with Ufford in Munster (PROI RC8/23 p668).
22.7.1345 appointed attorney of Queen Philippa (CPR 1343-45 p530). 13.6.1346
granted £40 expenses retaining 16 men-at-arms levying Crown debts (*Rep DKI 54* p64).
10.7.1346 - 1354 prebendary of Howth (CPR 1345-48 p150; Lawlor, *Fasti*, p114).
4.8.1346 appointed BEx (*RCH* p51 no18). 15.11.1346 allowance for all payments to
suppress the uprising [in Kildare] (CCR 1346-49 p121). 12.7.1347 prebendary of
Kilmademok, Cloyne (CPR 1345-48 p546). Nov 1347 summoned to England with
Walter de Bermingham and others (*Frame, Lordship*, p302). 18.3.1348 allowed respite
till Trinity to render account (CCR 1346-49 p505).

May 1349 - March 1350 in England (CPR 1348-50 pp278,285,472). 3.6.1351 had
returned to England to render his account, and remained there until 1354 (CPR 1350-54
pp99,464, 1354-58 p82). 19.7.1355 appointed chief bEx; held office till H 1361 (CPR
1354-58 p261). Appointed attorney for John Morice 18.8.1355, 18.7.1357, 7.7.1358,
and 15.9.1360 (CPR 1354-58 pp277,586, 1358-61 pp63,459). 1361 travelled to
England, summoned with other exchequer officials, returning to Ireland in Feb (CPR
1358-61 p566; CCR 1354-60 p157).

William de Burton

1329 clerk in the Dublin exchequer (PROI RC8/15 p416). 2.5.1331 appointed 2nd
remembrancer (CPR 1330-34 p107); reappointed 6.6.1335 (CPR 1334-38 p123). 1335
treasurer's clerk, retained by Elizabeth de Clare (PRO SC6/1239/14). 15.9.1339
appointed attorney for Roger Glanville (CPR 1338-40 p314); and for Edmund Mortheyn
1339 (PROI RC8/21 p392). 16.7.1340 one William de Burton was granted the
constableness of Cashel (10 marks pa) for 6 years; paid 18.9.1340 - 18.12.1342 (CPR
1340-43 p7; PRO E101/241/3). 1341 possibly summoner, but probably Barton (PRO
E101/240/17; CPR 1340-43 p150). 28.3.1342 commissioned with Hugh de Burgh to
enquire into the conduct of the gauger of wines (CPR 1340-43 p452). 5.7.1342

appointed **deputy gauger of wines**; reappointed 3.11.1343 (*CPR 1340-43* p484, 1343-45 p134). 20.4.1343 pardoned £10 for good service (*RCH* p45 no63).

13.2.1344 appointed **deputy usher** (PROI RC8/23 p389). 25.10.1344 appointed **engrosser** (PROI RC8/23 p352). Nov 1344 - July 1346 10 marks for service with Ufford (*Rep DKI 54* p64). 5.11.1347 replaced William de Barton as **chief engrosser** (PROI RC8/24 p59). 1.1.1348 appointed attorney of Earl Hugh d'Audley of Gloucester (*CPR 1340-43* p78). 28.5 1348 had been brought up before the Council for fraud, imprisoned in the Fleet, fined 40 marks, and pardoned (*CPR 1348-50* p113). 10.8.1348 appointed attorney for Thomas Cross (*CPR 1348-50* p140). 16.9.1348 reappointed **chief engrosser**, but Barton was confirmed in office 23.6.1349 (PROI RC8/24 pp395,399, RC8/25 p129; *CPR 1348-50* pp149,336). Appointed attorney for Robert Power 1348 (PROI RC8/24 p510), and for Robert de Emeldon (*CPR 1350-54* p133). 7.11.1351 pardoned for robbery of William de Barton (*CPR 1350-54* p171). 26.4.1361 appointed attorney for William de Bromley (*CPR 1361-64* p2).

Lawrence Calf

Constable of Drogheda (£5 pa) 3.3.1323 - 3.3.1324 (PRO E101/238/12). 28.4.1333 - 18.4.1334 rendered account for Carbury manor and castle (*Rep DKI 47* p66). 1335 summoned to Scotland (*Rot. Scot.* i 343). 1.3.1351 released of his mainprise for the marriage of Maurice fitzThomas, earl of Kildare (*CCR 1349-54* p305).

John de Carlton

Difficult to distinguish from another king's clerk of the same name. May have been an adherent of Thomas of Lancaster, an attorney for John de Hothum, and was possibly sent to Ireland on royal business in 1316 (*CPR 1313-17* pp24,346,444; J.R.S. Phillips,

'The Mission of John de Hothum to Ireland, 1315-16' in *England and Ireland in the Later Middle Ages*, ed. J.F. Lydon (Dublin 1981) p74). One Hugh de Carlton was bailiff of Dublin c1310 (*Reg. Hosp. St John* p11)

M 1323 attorney for Roger Birthorpe, and for William Bardelby (PROI RC8/13 pp376,377); and in 1326 for William (PROI RC8/14 p689). 12.9.1324 nominated by Robert de Cotgrave and William the 2nd remembrancer to carry out their duties (PROI RC8/14 pp344,346). 1325 serving as an exchequer clerk (PROI RC8/14 p621). 1329 writing summonses (PROI RC8/15 p417). 1331-34 **keeper of the works of Dublin castle** (£5 pa) (PRO E101/239/22,24,29, 240/1; PROI RC8/16 pp365,407). 24.6.1332 appointed **summoner** (*CPR 1330-34* p317). 1334 granted £1.13.4. above fee for great labours (*Rep DKI 44* p19). Attorney for John Butler and Archbishop Bicknor (PROI RC8/18 p351). Paymaster for troops retained by Darcy in Munster (PRO E101/240/5). 1334-5 **writing estreats** in the exchequer (PROI RC8/18 p554).

10.12.1334 appointed **2nd chambEx**; paid H 1335 (PROI RC8/18 p414; PRO E101/240/6,10); reappointed 15.5.1335, revoked 11.10.1335 (*CPR 1334-38* pp107,170). Summer 1335 travelled to Munster with Thomas de Montpeliers to levy Crown debts (PROI RC8/18 p623; *Rep DKI 45* p31). 7.6.1335 assigned with Henry Kempe to supervise purveyance of victuals in Munster, and to impound ships for the king's use; paid £7 (*RCH* p41 no30). Feb 1337 appointed **2nd BEx**; ineffective (*RCH* p42 no1). H-T 1337 **treasurer's clerk** (*Rep DKI 45* p37, 47 p38). 13.8.1343 - 23.3.1346 **clerk of the works and munitions of Dublin castle**; left Ireland with the Countess of Ulster; 8.2.1348 petitioned for restoration, and held office till 15.2.1354 (*RCH* p46 no95; PROI RC8/23 p583, RC8/24 p245; *CPR 1348-50* p28). M 1353 **clerk of the common pleas of the exchequer**. 15.2.1354 died, leaving a widow, Mariona la Weles. She handed in his accounts to the exchequer and was paid his arrears on 20.3.1354 (PROI RC8/26 pp273,423,471)

Possibly related to Adam de Carlton, chief carpenter (1346), and Richard Carlton, clerk in the exchequer (1362), and to William de Carlton, attorney for William Bardelby (Oct 1331) (PRO E101/241/12; PROI RC8/28 p234, RC8/16 p20).

Thomas Char

9.4.1335 'valettus', granted office of **usher** of the Dublin exchequer; paid 23.4. - 29.9.1335. Acted as Henry de Guldeford's **deputy** 29.9.1335 - 20.5.1340 (PRO E101/240/8,10, 13,17). E 1340 paymaster for troops accompanying Outlaw to Leinster (PRO E101/240/17).

Nicholas de Chastel

7.10.1340 king's clerk, appointed **2nd chambEx**; ineffective (*CPR 1340-43 p63*). 1345,1346 commissioner in Norfolk (*CPR 1343-45 pp393,516*).

Philip Clifford

Exchequer clerk. 1338/9 1 mark for work in the exchequer with John Rees, accompanying Thomas Charlton to Leinster (*Rep DKI 54 p37*).

John Cogan

King's clerk. 9.9.1321 appointed **treasurer** of Ireland; held office till 29.4.1322; previous letters of appointment had been issued 1.2.1321 & 31.5.1321 and were cancelled (*CFR 1319-27 pp46,59,66; CPR 1317-21 pp558,572,591, 1321-24 p13*).

23.7.1326 reappointed **treasurer**; held office 4.10.1326 - 19.12.1327 (*CFR 1319-27* p402; PRO E101/239/5,7).

Hugh de Colwick

23.2.1326 presented to the church of Bencombe, Dorset (*CPR 1324-27* p245).
16.7.1334 appointed **bEx**; ineffective (*CPR 1330-34* p568). 7.1.1343 commissioned to audit the account of Peter de Gildesburgh, treasurer of Prince Edward (renewed 16.2.1345, 21.5.1345), and that of John de Hale, keeper of Prince Edward's wardrobe (*CPR 1340-43* p577, 1343-45 pp492,513; *CCR 1346-49* p387).

William de Compton

1342 clerk, **2nd remembrancer** (PROI RC8/22 p221).

Pelegrine de Controne

8.3.1319 appointed **customer** (*CCR 1318-23* p60). 28.3.1324 Peter Pigoletti appointed his deputy (PROI RC8/13 p484). 17.6.1325 granted the tenements of John de Bourne in St Botolph's, Billingsgate, London (*CPR 1324-27* p132). Brother of Master Pancius de Controne, king's leech, and executor of his will March 1331 (*CCR 1330-34* p288).

Alan Corc

Constable of Drogheda 6.1.1338 (*RCH* p43 no 15).

Robert de Cotgrave

31.5.1313 appointed **2nd chambEx**; held office till M 1321. Reappointed 18.5.1322; held office till M 1325 (*CPR 1307-13* p590, *1321-24* p113; PRO E101/238/1, 6,12,17). 24.2.1318 life-grant, for good service, 34a land in Termonfeckin, to hold for yearly rent of a pound of pepper (*RCH* p23 no98; *Rep DKI* 42 p15). 1318-22 petitioned to be restored to the church of Tarmefeghyn, because he had been deprived of it through the connivance of the prior of Louth and Archbishop Roland Jorz of Armagh (*Analecta Hibernica* xxxiv p99; Sayles, *Affairs*, pp108,109).

1320 clerk of the stores of Dublin castle with Thomas Smothe; a debt of £6 14s for 10,000 cross-bow bolts remained unpaid (*Rep DKI* 42 pp32,47,73, 43 pp26,38,56, 44 p48, 45 p41, 47 pp33,57; *RCH* p28 no34). 12.9.1324 nominated John de Carlton as his deputy (PROI RC8/14 p344). £10 expenses for travelling to England to account for Walter de Islip (PRO E101/238/17). Dec 1325 dismissed; discovered to have been party to Bicknor and Islip's fraud; goods confiscated and to be sold (PROI RC8/14 pp663-67; *Rep DKI* 47 p58). 1335? died: 6.6.1335 Thomas Smothe was granted his messuage in Gilmeholmokeslane, Dublin (*CFR 1327-37* p448).

Walter de Coumbe

Origins unclear, but possibly related to John and Cecilia de Coumbe of Dublin (PROI RC8/11 p345).

M 1329 **treasurer's clerk**, granted £5 with John de Balscote for repairing and reordering the exchequer records (*Rep DKI* 43 p34). 8.11.1331 commissioned to levy the debts of the Ricardi and the Society of the Sons of Bettori of Lucca (PROI RC8/16 pp32,305,365,377). 12.7.1332 appointed **1st chambEx**; renewed 6.6.1335; held office

till M 1351 (*CPR 1330-34 p317, 1334-38 p118*). Jan 1334 accompanied Thomas de Burgh to England to render his account; paid 20 marks expenses (*PROI RC8/18 p353,604-5; RCH p38 no45*). E 1334 granted £5 with his fellow chamberlain and the treasurer's clerk for making up Thomas' account; Walter was also granted £1.6.8 for his work in examining the papers of the merchants of Lucca (*Rep DKI 44 p52*).

16.5.1334 appointed seneschal of the royal demesne lands at Crumlin, Saggart, and Newcastle Lyons for 6 years; extended to 10 years 8.6.1334 at £5 pa; held office until 21.11.1343 (*CFR 1327-37 p402; CPR 1330-34 p546; PROI RC8/18 p442, RC8/22 pp554,613; Rep DKI 47 pp72,76,77, 54 p46*). 18.6.1334 appointed attorney for Robert de Clifford, renewed 26.11.1335 (*CPR 1330-34 p550, 1334-38 p182*). 1337 10 marks for accompanying Ellerker to England to render account (*Rep DKI 45 p44*). 20.10.1338 granted custody of the lands in Co. Dublin of Geoffrey le Botiller during the heir's minority; held till 8.6.1339 (*CFR 1337-47 pp99,132; PROI RC8/21 p375*).

1339 attorney for John Darcy (*Rep DKI 47 p40*), and for John de Founteyns 4.4.1341 and 6.5.1345 (*CPR 1340-43 p172, 1343-45 p460*). 20.8.1342 appointed **deputy customer**, and 20.9.1342 **deputy assayer of measures** (*CPR 1340-43 pp510,518*). 11.11.1344 John de Burnham was ordered to render his account in England; Coumbe, Salkeld, and Puriton brought the counter-rolls for inspection at the exchequer (*PROI RC8/23 p360*). 1.8.1351 because of great infirmity, unable to work any longer (*PROI RC8/25 p414; CPR 1350-54 p126*).

Stephen de Crophill

30.5.1340 granted for 20 years 80a at Thomastown, and 19a at Daudeleyeston, Co. Meath (*CFR 1337-47 p259*); repeated 20.2.1342 (*CFR 1337-47 p259; PROI RC8/22 p390*), and 1.2.1346 (*PROI RC8/23 p548*). 6.7.1340 appointed **usher of the Dublin exchequer** for life at the request of Henry of Lancaster (*CPR 1340-43 p16*); paid 21.5 -

5.4.1343 (PRO E101/240/17; PROI RC8/22 p472). 20.2.1342 granted property in Dublin (*CFR 1337-47 p259*; PROI RC8/22 p321), and 7.6.1345 (*CFR 1337-47 p423*). 18.5.1345 life-grant at the request of Henry of Lancaster of the office of **marshal in the Dublin Bench** (*CPR 1343-45 p482*). 28.1.1346 for good service in Scotland and Ireland granted property and 130a of land in Martynsarfeldeston and Philippeston Croice in Meath, forfeited by Walter de Lacy. Attorney for John de Troye 22.8.1346, and for Hugh de Burgh 30.8.1346 (*RCH p51 nos 35,36*). 1349 Possibly dead? - William Bette, his successor as usher, paid for Crophill's corn, in the king's hands because of debt (PROI RC8/25 p113).

Thomas Cross

3.2.1334 appointed prebendary of Yagoston, St Patrick's (*CFR 1327-37 p386*; *CPR 1330-34 p507*). 24.9.1334 appointed **bEx** (*CPR 1334-38 p22*). 6.6 and 20.10.1335 appointed **chief baron**; ineffective (PROI RC8/18 p598; *CPR 1334-38 pp122,175*). 11.6.1335 & 20.8.1337 appointed attorney for Agnes le Poer (*CPR 1334-38 pp118,500*). 13.6.1335 appointed prebendary of Loghreth in Clonfert; revoked 5.5.1336 (*CPR 1334-38 pp123,264*). Summer 1335 paymaster of the troops sent under Darcy to Scotland (*RCH p41 no19*). 23.1.1336 granted 1st void benefice for good service (*CPR 1334-38 p196*). 4.5.1336 2 miners and refiners from Devon sent with Thomas to seek and work mines in Ireland (*CCR 1333-37 p579*). 11.5.1336 granted office of the king's market in Ireland, for good service (*CPR 1334-38 p261*). 10.7.1336 appointed keeper of the change of Dublin; granted £20 (*CFR 1327-37 p491*; *CCR 1333-37 p596*; *Rep DKI 45 p40*).

17.8.1337 Dean of St Burian, Cornwall (*CPR 1334-38 p492*). 2.9. - 1.8.1344 keeper of the Great Wardrobe (*CPR 1334-38 p490*; *CFR 1337-47 p386*). 22.2.1338 prebendary of Wetwang, St Peter's, York; revoked 16.6.1338 (*CPR 1338-40 pp19,95*). 3.2.1339 presented to the church of Market Overton, Lincs (*CPR 1338-40 p199*). 3.3.1340 for

good service, granted custody of the priories of Craswell, Cowick, Barnstaple, Oterington, Totnes, Thardraith, and Moddebury, rendering 16 marks, 60 marks, £100, 40 marks, £45, and 16 marks respectively (*CFR 1337-47* p165). Further ecclesiastical preferment: 19.3.1340 presented to Ippelpenne church, Exeter diocese; 31.3.1340 granted custody of St Michael's Mt priory and the manors of Northam and Exmouth, Devon; 12.4.1340 prebendary of Saunford, Crediton; 28.4.1340 presented to Ledrede church, Winchester diocese; 9.9.1340 prebendary of Wodeland, Crediton; 22.10.1342 prebendary of Southcarle, St Mary's, Lincoln (*CPR 1338-40* pp442,452,469; *CFR 1337-47* p167; *CPR 1340-43* pp29,40,506,532).

18.3.1347 appointed chamberlain of the English exchequer (*CPR 1345-48* p265).
8.5.1347 presented to the church of Cary Rivel, Bath and Wells (*CPR 1345-48* p84).
20.8.1348 Dean of St Stephen's, Westminster (*CPR 1348-50* p146). Jan 1349 died (*CPR 1348-50* p254).

Henry fitz Otuel de Cruys

Constable of Roscommon 12.10.1327 - 12.1.1328 (PRO E101/239/7). Sheriff of Meath (*Rep DKI 54* p56).

Walter Curtis

28.11.1313 appointed **keeper of the writs and rolls of the Dublin bench**, at the request of Aymer de Valence; paid 14.2 - 29.5.1314 (*CPR 1313-17* pp48,120; *Admin. Ire.* p186). Appointed attorney for Thomas de la Roche 6.9.1314, and for William fitz Thomas de la Roche 28.6.1326 & 24.2.1327 (*CPR 1313-17* p170, 1324-27 p281, 1327-30 p24); for John de Hastings Sr 15.9.1314, and John de Hastings Jr 3.8.1317 (*CPR 1313-17* p174); for Earl Aymer 14.3.1315, 3.8.1317, and 27.6.1322 (*CPR 1313-17*

p271, 1317-21 p8, 1321-24 p138); and for Isabella de Clare, and Isabella de Hastings 25.10.1331 (*CPR 1330-34* p193).

27.3.1315 appointed **chirographer of the justiciar's bench** (*CPR 1313-17* p269). 24.12.1317 - 24.3.1322 **keeper of the writs and rolls of the Dublin bench** (*Admin. Ire.* p186). 30.6.1322 appointment as keeper ratified at Earl Aymer's request, following Walter's displacement by John de la Bataille Mar - Oct 1322; paid 2.10.1322 - 13.5.1327 (*CPR 1321-24* p142; PRO E101/238/6,12,17,19,26, 239/5; *RCH* pp30 no22, 31 no69, 34 no14, 35 no68). 15.3.1327 appointed **keeper of the writs and rolls of the justiciar's bench**; displaced 6.10.1327 (*CPR 1327-30* pp42,177). 1331 deputy assayer of measures (PROI RC8/16 p25).

Roger Darcy

Son of John Darcy, by Emmeline Heron. 10.5.1328 owed debt of £20 by John de Staunton of Devon; 16.8.1328 moved for prosecution of the recognisance (*CCR 1327-30* pp385,409). 1329 attorney of John Darcy in Ireland (PROI RC8/15 p562). 12.3.1334 appointed chief serjeant of Connacht rendering 5 marks pa; commuted 24.8.1335 to hold rent-free during the minority of Elizabeth de Burgh (*Rep DKI 44* p57). 22.9.1334 appointed attorney for Norman Darcy (*CPR 1334-38* p9). From 21.10.1335 paid as constable of Dublin; 14.1.1337 king's yeoman, appointed **constable of Dublin castle** for 10 years; confirmed 11.11.1339 for good service in Ireland, Scotland, and the Low Countries (PRO E101/240/10; *CPR 1334-38* p349, 1338-40 p397; PROI RC8/22 p32).

1336 10s for good service (*Rep DKI 45* p52). 22.6.1340 £10 wages for service in Brabant (*CCR 1339-41* p526, 1341-43 p82). 4.10.1340 granted Esker manor for life; held till 8.4.1351 (*CFR 1337-47* p193). 28.8.1341 appointed **escheator** of Ireland (*CFR 1337-47* p221). 21.8.1342 granted escheatry and constableness of Dublin for life;

allowed to appoint deputies since serving overseas with John Darcy (*CPR 1340-43* p502; *PROI RC8/22* p180). 12.6.1343 £10 expenses for retaining men in the company of John Morice; justice of gaol delivery in Limerick (*RCH* pp45 no80, 46 no111). 16.10.1344 grant of the escheatry confirmed (*CPR 1343-45* p350). 20.10.1344 knight, appointed attorney of William de Bohun (*CPR 1343-45* p353).

10.4 - 15.5.1346 **Justiciar** (*PROI RC8/23* p533; *RCH* p49 no44; *Admin. Ire.* p95). 15.5.1346 life-grant of Esker manor (*PROI RC8/23* p646; *RCH* p48 no30). 18.5.1346 100 marks for good service with Ralph Ufford (*PROI RC8/23* p665). 10.10.1346 ordered with Walter de Bermingham to safeguard the dower lands of Countess Matilda (*CFR 1337-47* p485). 8.12.1346 - 24.3.1347 **KSeal** (*RCH* p53 no78). 1.5.1347 appointed guardian of James Butler, and his attorney 27.11.1347 (*CPR 1345-48* pp283, 431). Appointed attorney of William Darcy 16.8.1347 (*CCR 1346-49* p317), and for John Darcy of Knaith 6.9.1347 & 12.7.1348 (*CPR 1345-48* p401, *1348-50* p114). 10.11.1347 pardoned all arrears and offences; commissioner of oyer and terminer touching all abuses by royal ministers (*CPR 1345-48* pp429,464).

20.4.1349 - 20.1.1350 **KSeal** (*Admin. Ire.* p96). 28.9.1349 John de Carrew appointed escheator; paid from 16.3.1350; 23.3.1350 James Butler appointed constable of Dublin; 8.4.1351 Esker manor granted to Thomas Dent (*CFR 1347-56* p151; *CPR 1348-50* p483; *PROI RC8/25* pp121,125; *CCR 1349-54* p295). 15.10.1356 complained of assault at Beckingham, Notts (*CPR 1354-58* p492). 26.3.1357 entered John Darcy's lands without licence; summoned to answer at the exchequer (*CCR 1354-60* p485). 14.10.1366 40 marks pa for life (*CPR 1364-67* p317). Nov 1368 died (*CFR 1356-68* p397).

Thomas Dent

6.6.1331 - 3.3.1334 **2nd King's pleader** (£5 pa) (PRO E101/239/24,29, 240/1,5). Appointed steward of the royal demesne lands at Crumlin, Saggart, and Newcastle Lyons (*RCH* p39 no72; PROI RC8/16 p411). 9.9 - 15.11.1331 paymaster for Lucy's troops in Thomond; paid 10 expenses travelling to England with Alexander de Fetherstanhalgh; May 1332 6 marks expenses accompanying Lucy to Munster (PRO E101/239/24,29; *Rep DKI* 43 p56; PROI RC8/18 p211). 16.7.1334 appointed **2nd JCB**; held office 10.12.1334 - 19.10.1336 (*CPR* 1330-34 p569; *CCR* 1333-37 p327; *Admin. Ire.* pp158-60). 30.7.1335 appointed by the justiciar and council to hold pleas in Wexford with Robert Power; paid 10 marks (*RCH* p41 no31). 28.7.1337 appointed 2nd **JJB**; ineffective (*CPR* 1334-38 p477).

12.2.1338 appointed attorney by Robert Clifford (*CPR* 1338-40 p6). 26.3.1338 commissioned with Simon fitzRichard and John Rees to investigate conduct of Thomas de Louth (*CPR* 1338-40 p74). 26.7.1341 appointed **CJJB**; ineffective (*CPR* 1340-43 p252). 20.6.1343 commissioner in Kendal, Westmoreland (*CPR* 1343-45 p93). 1.7.1344 appointed **CJCB**; held office 12.10.1344 - 15.12.1358 (*CPR* 1343-45 p316; *CCR* 1343-46 p448; PROI RC8/23 p341; *Admin. Ire.* pp160-162). 12.7.1344 appointed attorney by Isabella Clifford, Robert's widow (*CPR* 1343-45 p352).

9.9.1347 commissioned with Robert de Emeldon to investigate abuses of office committed by Hugh de Burgh, and 10.11.1347 by other ministers (*CPR* 1345-48 pp399,464). 8.2.1348 & 20.7.1355 appointed attorney of Thomas de Lucy (*CPR* 1348-50 p7, 1354-58 p265). 24.7.1350 commissioned to investigate abuses by royal ministers appointed after 1327, and 25.7.1350 trespasses in the manors of the see of Dublin during the see's vacancy (*CPR* 1348-50 pp590-2). 8.4.1351 granted custody of Esker manor; still holding it in 1359 (*CCR* 1349-54 p295; PROI RC8/25 p121; *CPR*

1358-61 p213). 1.12.1357 commissioned to investigate the offences of the treasurer, John de Bolton (*CPR 1354-58 p657*). 20.12.1361 in England (*CPR 1361-64 p130*).

Richard de Derby

1331 Dublin exchequer clerk, transcribing estreats, by 1334 summoner (4 marks pa) (PROI RC8/16 pp61,204,332,409, RC8/18 pp351,355,444,555,567,657,660). Served till 1340 (PROI RC8/21 pp44,133,198,244,259,377,384,422,522,538; *Rep DKI 45 pp27,30,31, 47 pp20,27,61, 53 p19*).

Possibly related to *Gervase de Derby* clerk, proclaimer, and serjeant in the exchequer (PROI RC8/18 pp356,357,568). Various other Dublin citizens had the patronymic 'de Derby': **William de Derby**, witness to a charter of the Prior of the Hospital of St John the Baptist in 1240, and holding tenements in Dublin c1284-5 (*Reg. Hosp. St John pp86,121*); **Roger de Derby** c1281-2 (*Reg. Hosp. St John p124*); **Matilda de Derby** c1276 (*Reg. Hosp. St John p128*); **Thomas de Derby**, clerk, given custody of Clondalkin manor 24.1.1316 (PROI RC8/14 p700).

Henry Dillon

Constable of Athlone (£40 pa) 31.5.1342 - 31.5.1346 (PRO E101/241/5,12; *RCH p44 no31*).

William de Drayton

Chancery clerk, accompanied Robert de Hemmingburgh to Ireland in 1338 (Otway-Ruthven, Chancery). 1346/7 5 marks for work with Thomas de Quixhull in Connacht in the company Walter de Bermingham (*Rep DKI 54 p60*).

John Dufford

Difficult to distinguish between references to several John d'Uffords. 8.5.1313 appointed **escheator** of Ireland; paid 1.9.1313 - 28.6.1316 (*CFR 1309-17 p171; Rep DKI 39 p62*). 2.6.1319 Roger Mortimer, John Wogan, John de Bermingham, Thomas fitzJohn, Arnold le Poer and Walter Islip to carry out all the instructions John was conveying from the king (*CCR 1318-23 p139*). 6.6.1319 to be paid 5s per day + expenses attending to the affairs of Hugh d'Audley and Margaret de Clare, whose business "he has long superintended". 20.11.1320 reappointed **escheator**; paid 20.2.1321 - 1.8.1322 (*CFR 1319-27 p40; Rep DKI 42 p44*).

1325-6 seneschal of Carlow (*PROI RC8/14 pp216,637*). 22.1.1331 for service to Edwards I, II, & III, granted custody of **Rindown** (£40 pa); paid 1.5.1331 - 1.5.1332 (*CPR 1330-34 p44; PRO E101/239/22,24,29*). 1.6.1331 granted custody of **Limerick** castle, and 20.3.1337 for 6 years (*CPR 1334-38 p271; CFR 1327-37 p486, 1327-37 p9*). 1.4.1337 John granted Limerick to Henry Kempe; paid 12.1.1339 - 12.7.1342 (*RCH p42 no1; PRO E101/241/5*).

Robert de Eeff

Constable of Limerick 6.2.1327 - 29.7.1327 (*PRO E101/239/5; RCH p36 no104*).

John de Ellerker the Younger

To be distinguished (though this is sometimes difficult) from his brother, John de Ellerker the elder, also a royal clerk, keeper of the hanaper 1314-23, commissioner & collector etc in Yorks (*CPR 1313-17* p83, *1317-21* p528, *1324-27* p289).

1309 one John de Ellerker, clerk, pardoned at the instance of Hugh le Despenser, for the rape and abduction of Elizabeth, daughter of Geoffrey Luterel, and in Oct 1313 for adhering to Thomas of Lancaster (*CPR 1307-13* p181, *1313-17* p25). 28.3.1322 appointed attorney for Elias de Ashbourne (*CPR 1321-24* p118). 15.8.1323 imprisoned in the Marshalsea; found mainprise (*CCR 1323-27* p134). 28.3.1324 accompanying Earl Edmund of Kent to Gascony (*CPR 1321-24* p404). 6.6.1325 summoned to appear before the king; Edmund gave reasons why he was unable to do so (*CPR 1324-27* p91). 5.5.1328 obtained lands in Stapleford, Notts, and 12.3.1329 reversion of 3 messuages in York (*CCR 1327-30* pp380,525). Party to recognisances 20.2.1331 for £2000, £2900, and £600, and 28.4.1332 for £666.13.4 (*CPR 1330-34* p45; *CCR 1330-33* p557).

4.4.1335 appointed **treasurer** of Ireland; held office till 15.10.1337 (*CFR 1327-37* pp439,441; PROI RC8/18 p512). Appointed attorney for Bartholomew de Burghersh 4.4.1335 (*CPR 1334-38* p91); for Agnes le Poer 11.6.1335 (*CPR 1334-38* p118); for William la Zouche of Haringworth 14.3.1336 (*CPR 1334-38* p228); for Giles Badlesmere 24.3.1336 & 20.5.1337 (*CPR 1334-38* pp235,436); and for William Montagu 20.3.1337 (*CPR 1334-38* p393).

18.5.1335 appointed **constable of Athlone**; paid 14.8.1335 - 14.11.1336 (*CFR 1327-37* p442; PROI RC8/18 p607; PRO E101/240/10,13). 14.6.1335 to examine the memoranda rolls and cause all debts to be speedily levied (*CCR 1333-37* p402). Appointed keeper of her lands in Ireland (£40 pa) by Elizabeth de Clare (Frame, *Lordship*, p70). 3.9.1335 granted $\frac{1}{3}$ of the de Burgh manor of Ratoath, Meath, and

9.9.1335 custody of the lands and manors in Wexford of Lawrence de Hastings at £84 pa, and the dower lands of Isabella de Hastings (*Rep DKI 44* p56; *CPR 1334-38* p225; *PROI RC8/18* p651).

6.12.1335 £40 expenses for travelling to Scotland and England to inform the king of the state of the lordship (*RCH* p41 no34). 20.3.1336 parson of Leverington; ratified 8.11.1337 (*CPR 1334-38* pp235,547). 3.5.1336 100 marks expenses for going to England (*CCR 1333-37* p579; *Sayles, Affairs*, p171). 12.5.1336 appointed escheator of Ireland; held office till 15.5.1337 (*CFR 1327-37* p484; *Rep DKI 45* p45). 2.6.1336 appointed **constable of Wexford**; revoked 1.10.1336 (*CPR 1334-38* pp261,272). 3.11.1337 allowed to continue holding the custody of Wexford liberty rent-free, pardoned of all arrears, because of his losses in the service of Earl Edmund, Edward II, and Edward III. Prebendary of St Peter's, York 8.11.1337 (*CPR 1334-38* p547).

12.3.1338 appointed to purvey 2000 quarters of wheat in London, Surrey, Sussex, Middlesex, and Kent (*CPR 1338-40* p84). 13.5.1338 receiver of the king's money and victuals to be sent to Gascony (*CCR 1337-39* p372). 18.10.1338 appointed chamberlain, and escheator 28.10.1338, of North Wales; till 28.5.1340 (*CFR 1337-47* pp98,99,175). 6.12.1338 to purvey victuals for the king's castles in N Wales (*CPR 1338-40* p164). 12.12.1338 appointed to survey the king's castles in N Wales (*CPR 1338-40* p183). 14.1.1339 arrears of fee as constable of Wexford to be paid; Nicholas de Ellerker, keeper of the tronage of wool at Caernarvon, acted as his attorney receiving payment 5.2 - 5.5.1340 (*PROI RC8/21* p482; *PRO E101/240/17*; *CPR 1338-40* p322).

10.9.1339 exchanged prebend of Toleshunt Knights for that of Holington, Bodiam, and Iwhyrst in Hastings (*CPR 1338-40* p315). 24.10.1339 still holding custody of the lands of Lawrence de Hastings because his arrears had not been paid (*CCR 1339-41* p292). 24.10.1339 granted 20 marks pa by Hugh le Despenser (*CPR 1338-40* p328). 8.6.1340 receiver north of the Trent of the subsidy of the 9th (*CCR 1339-41* p480). 21.6.1340 assessor and collector of the 9th and 15th in the North and West Ridings (*CPR 1338-40*

p551). 3.12.1340 appointed receiver of the biennial 10th in Yorks (*CFR 1337-47* p201).

2.10.1341 reappointed chamberlain and escheator of N Wales; to levy debts as quickly as possible and to arrest defaulting officials (*CFR 1337-47* pp252,256; *CCR 1341-43* p326). 15.6.1344 receiver of the king's victuals in various counties (*CCR 1343-46* p315). 1348/9 died?

Robert de Embleton

Embleton, Northumberland. Probably related to Richard de Embleton, burgess and merchant of Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

1315 chancery clerk (*CCR 1313-18* p215; *PROI RC8/22* p73). 18.10.1329 vicar of Lesbury, Northumberland (*CPR 1327-30* p449). 1331 treasurer's clerk in the Dublin exchequer under Thomas de Burgh (*PROI RC8/16* p409, *RC8/17* p433; *Rep DKI 43* p66, 44 p52). 1334 receiver for Elizabeth de Clare (*PRO SC6/1239/14*). 1335 £5 expenses travelling to England (*Rep DKI 45* p54). 18.1.1336 pardoned, for good service in Ireland, the death of Ralph de Byrton, knight, and any subsequent outlawries (*CPR 1334-38* p194; *CCR 1333-37* p564). Vicar of Logregh, Clonfert; confirmed 6.5.1336 (*CPR 1334-38* p264). 15.6.1336 to purvey wheat and wine in Southampton; paid 4s per day (*CCR 1337-39* p36; *CPR 1334-38* p274). 1338 went to Brabant with Edward III. 1339 chaplain of the chapel royal (*CCR 1339-41* p310).

20.3.1340 appointed **chanEx**, commended for his long experience in the English chancery; held office T 1340 - M 1341 (*CPR 1338-40* pp441,532; *PROI RC8/22* p73,74,103; *PRO E101/240/17*, 241/5). 6.2.1343 reference as chamberlain of Berwick (*CCR 1343-46* p7). 4.4.1344 reappointed **chanEx**; held office M 1344 - M 1349 (*CPR 1343-45* p254; *Admin. Ire.* pp116-17). King's treasurer in Connacht; 19.6.1345 arrears

of fee to be paid (*Rep DKI 54* p43; PROI RC8/23 p13). Commissioned with Robert Power to levy debts in Cos. Waterford, Cork, Limerick, Tipperary, Wexford, Kilkenny, and Carlow (PROI RC8/23 p59). Pardoned £13 2s for good service in Connacht (PROI RC8/23 p203). 12.6.1346 £20 for service with Ufford in Munster (PROI RC8/ 23 p681).

16.7.1347 granted 1 messuage and 1 carucate in Kilmatalwey, Co. Dublin for 7 years (PROI RC8/24 p35). 8.8.1347 granted the prise of wines at Youghal, rendering 5 marks pa (*CFR 1347-56* p42). 3.9.1347 commissioned with Thomas Dent to investigate abuses of office committed by Hugh de Burgh, and 10.11.1347 by other ministers (*CPR 1345-48* pp399,464). Commissioned to levy debts in Munster and southern Leinster (PROI RC8/24 p332). 22.3.1348 grant of 16.7.1347 transferred to William de Barton with Robert's consent (*CFR 1347-56* p76; PROI RC8/24 p398). T 1348 - M 1349 **deputy treasurer**. 17.3 1349 appointed **treasurer**; held office 9.9.1349 - 15.1.1350 (*CPR 1348-50* p261; *Admin. Ire.* p102). 11.11.1349 archdeacon of Meath; John de Bolton appointed as archdeacon 17.5.1354 (*CPR 1348-50* p422, 1354-58 p47).

Jan 1350 imprisoned in Dublin castle. 5/24.2.1350 the king ordered that he be brought to England, and sent his serjeant-at-arms to take him into custody. Robert had been charged with theft, extortion, robbery, rape, and failure to pay the justiciar. He exonerated himself, and Rokeby was ordered to restore his goods and chattels 7.7.1351 (*CPR 1348-50* p517; *CCR 1349-54* pp205,310; Sayles, *Affairs*, pp194-202). 18.10.1351 appointed **chief bEx**; held office H 1352 - M 1355 (*CPR 1350-54* pp133,168; *Admin. Ire.* p112). 28.2.1355 ordered to account in England; William Lawless was sent with the counter-rolls (PROI RC8/26 p629).

William de Epworth

1339 sub-escheator, sub-collector of the great new custom, and treasurer of Ulster; ordered to account, he nominated William Benet as his attorney 2.2.1340 (*Rep DKI 53* p42; PROI RC8/21 pp189,303,456,521). 5.7.1340 appointed 2nd BEx; revoked 2.9.1340 because it appeared he had not accounted for his Ulster offices (*CPR 1340-43* pp20,28; *CCR 1339-41* p511). 8.2.1341 reappointed 2nd BEx (*CPR 1340-43* p127; *CCR 1341-43* p18). 12.3.1341 appointed seneschal of the royal demesne lands, "on the information of the steward"; ineffective till Nov 1345 (*CPR 1340-43* p146; PROI RC8/22 p649). 6.1.1342 to be protected from the attacks made on him resulting from his efforts to enforce the revocation order; he had been molested, arrested, and imprisoned in Dublin castle. He was to be sent to England to answer the complaints against him (*CCR 1341-43* p367). 16.5.1342 appointment revoked (*CPR 1340-43* p432).

28.8.1342 reappointed at the request of Earl Henry of Derby (*CPR 1340-43* p511; PROI RC8/22 p176). 27.3.1343 granted the water-mills outside the Dame's gate, on condition that he repaired them (PROI RC8/22 pp313,391). 1344 appointed to extend and take into safe custody the lands and chattels of William Montagu (PROI RC8/23 p581). 17.6.1344 allowed £30 in his account as treasurer of Ulster (*RCH* p45 no71). 21.10.1345 Thomas Pipard was appointed seneschal of the king's demesne lands, as William was engaged elsewhere on royal business (*CPR 1343-45* p562). 1346 granted custody of Montagu's lands at Ballysax, Co. Kildare (PROI RC8/23 p603).

22.2.1347 John de Troyes appointed 2nd BEx in Epworth's place (*CPR 1345-48* p262). Collector of a subsidy in Cork. The water mills next to the Dame's gate were resumed and granted to Robert de Moenes because William had not repaired them (PROI RC8/24 pp124,339). 2.9.1348 reappointed 2nd BEx, recognising that all accusations

made against him were unjust and from his enemies; ineffective (*CPR 1348-50* p144). 5.6/28.9.1349 appointed custodian of the temporalities of the see of Canterbury; revoked 19.10.1349 (*CFR 1347-56* pp137,150; *CPR 1348-50* p408). 5.1.1350 appointed archdeacon of Cork (*CPR 1348-50* p442).

1.3.1355 pardoned £44 16³/₄d for his labours as custodian of Canterbury's temporalities (*CPR 1354-58* p186). 23.5.1355 pardoned various accusations of theft and corruption when custodian made by his enemies (*CPR 1354-58* p215). 28.11.1355 commission of oyer and terminer on complaint by Ralph Neville of Raby that a number including William and his chamberlain broke into his park at Middleham, York, and hunted there (*CPR 1354-58* p331). 7.10.1359 called to account for the issues of Ballysax (4.6.1346 - 22.10.1351), a subsidy in Kilkenny (M 1346), and the temporalities of the see of Cork (4.6.1347 - 20.1.1348). But William had no goods and chattels in Ireland to confiscate (*PROI RC8/27* p405).

Maurice de Esker

Transcriber of estreats in the exchequer E 1316 (*PROI RC8/10* p634). **Summoner** 1323 (*PROI RC8/13* pp295,578, *RC8/14* p182). **Attorney for the executors of William de Moenes** 1326 (*PROI RC8/14* p741). **Father of -**

Reginald de Esker

Exchequer clerk 1331 (*PROI RC8/16* p408). 1334 clerk of John de Lidgate, 2nd engrosser (*PROI RC8/18* p353). 28.4.1340 - 16.1.1341 keeper of 10a of land in Esker manor (*Rep DKI 53* pp23,47). 16.10.1341 - 25.2.1349 (possibly - 18.2.1359) **controller of the great new custom, small custom, and prise of wines in Dublin** (*PROI RC8/22* p398, *RC8/23* p606, *RC8/27* p398; *Rep DKI 54* p64). 27.4.1348 for good service,

received life-grant of 60a in Esker manor (*CFR 1347-56 p88*). 1353 attorney of Earl Maurice of Kildare (PROI RC8/26 p468), and 1355 for Elias and John de Ashbourne against the executors of Alexander Bicknor (PROI RC8/27 pp63,133). 13.2.1364 appointed **2nd engrosser**; reappointed 8.2.1365, 8.2.1367 (*CPR 1361-64 p468, 1364-47 p376*; PROI RC8/28 p561).

Left a son **Peter**, receiver of the king's money in Newcastle Lyons 1358 (PROI RC8/27 p427). Probably related to Adam fitzJohn de Esker, reeve in Esker 1322/3 (PROI RC8/13 p178), and John de Esker, clerk, 1355/8 (PROI RC8/27 pp199,370).

Thomas de Eton

Possibly related to Robert de Eyton, bailiff of Dublin (1318) (*Reg. Hosp. St John p12*).

1335/6 married Eglentine, widow successively of Robert de Nottingham, mayor of Dublin (d. 1327), and of Thomas Bagod, baron of the exchequer (d. 1334). Involved in a number of legal disputes arising over Eglentine's dower properties from her previous marriages (PROI RC8/19 pp140,333,338, RC8/20 pp326-9, 372-8). 3.3.1340 appointed **escheator of Ireland**; held office till 18.5.1341 (*Admin. Ire. p127*; *RCH p55 no153*).

Thomas Everard

Exchequer clerk 1342 (PROI RC8/22 p220). 1354-58 (at least) **2nd remembrancer** (PROI RC8/26 p579, RC8/27 pp115,317).

Richard de Exeter

Knight. Son of Sir Richard de Exeter (deputy justiciar, JJB), landholder in Connacht. CJCB 1302 - 25.1.1324 (*Admin. Ire.* pp150-5). Removed following a petition (1323) for his replacement because of his association with Walter de Lacy (*Analecta Hibernica* xxxiv p41). July 1331 died, leaving a widow, Elizabeth de Lacy, and a son, Richard (*Rep DKI 44* p32).

Nicholas Fastolf

Son of Thomas Fastolf. 1315 Thomas and Nicholas were granted Redham manor, Norfolk, by Oliver de Ingham (*CCR 1313-18* p312). 21.8.1319 commission of oyer and terminer appointed on complaint by John & Edmund de Shardelowe and Nicholas and his brother Lawrence that they were robbed at Great Wilburgham, Cambridgeshire (*CPR 1317-21* p463). 8.9.1323 to enquire into offences against the staple ordinances in Hampshire and Dorset (*CPR 1321-24* p147). Mar 1324 witness to charter of the Bishop of Norwich (*CCR 1323-27* p167). 27.9.1324 appointed CJJB; paid 6.1.1325 - 12.5.1327 (*CPR 1324-27* p26; PRO E101/238/17,19,26,239/5). 10.2.1326 appointed seneschal of the temporalities of the see of Dublin (PROI RC8/14 p706).

12.3.1327 appointed CJCB; paid 12.5 - 12.11.1327 (*CPR 1327-30* p29; PRO E101/239/5,7). 15.6.1327 to give advice to the treasurer and barons concerning payments, terms of payment and respite of the king's debts (*CPR 1327-30* p135). CJJB 29.10.1327 - 17.6.1329; appointed 22.8.1328 (*Admin. Ire.* p169; *CPR 1327-30* p316). Custodian of Lucan manor during the minority of William de Nottingham (*CCR 1330-33* p492). 21.8.1328 for good service, granted custody of any wardship to the value of £20 (*CPR 1327-30* p316). Dec 1329 - June 1330 appointed justice in eyre and of oyer

and terminer in Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, and Bedfordshire (*CPR 1327-30* pp465,521,528,565,569,573). 4.10.1329 granted a wardship in Meath (*CPR 1330-34* p9). 1330/Jan 1331 died, leaving his wife Cicely, Lawrence and Nicholas, as his executors (*CPR 1330-34* pp45,66; *CCR 1333-37* p434).

William de Fauvel

Son of Constantine Fauvel of York (*CCR 1333-37* p317). June 1327 attorney of Robert Clifford (*CCR 1327-30* p132). 15.3.1329 appointed JCB, repeated 16.9.1329; ineffective (*CPR 1327-30* pp375,443). 16.9.1332 appointed to assess and levy in Westmoreland the 15th and 10th on mobilia for the Irish expedition; cancelled 2.12.1332 (*CPR 1330-34* p358). 28.3.1333 collector of subsidies on wool in Westmoreland (*CFR 1327-37* p354). 27.6.1334 acknowledged debts of 100 marks to Robert de Clifford (*CCR 1333-37* p317). 23.9.1335 acknowledged a debt of £30 to William, archbishop of York (*CCR 1333-37* p527).

Alexander de Fetherstanhalgh

Of Cumberland. 30.7.1323 life grant to Alexander and his brother William of Andrew Harcla's lands in Sedburgh in Lonsdale (*CPR 1321-24* p329). 28.2.1331 appointed constable of Limerick, and 12.3.1331 of Dublin; ineffective (*CPR 1330-34* pp83,85). 1332 £5 expenses travelling to England with Herbert de Gresseby (*PRO E101/239/24*; *CCR 1330-33* p453). 1334 holding 20 marcates of land, granted 1331, in the manor of Maynooth, Kildare, from the inheritance of Richard and Maurice fitzThomas during their minorities (*Rep DKI 44* pp34,45; *PROI RC8/18* p510).

28.1.1347 commissioner investigating the claims by Thomas de Lucy and William de Greystoke that their lands in Northumberland had been devastated by the Scots (*CPR*

1345-48 p302). 4.6.1355 granted life exemption from assizes, recognisances, or juries, or appointment as mayor, sheriff, escheator, coroner, bailiff, or minister (*CPR 1354-58* p245). 4.10.1356 commissioner to levy in Northumberland the aid of 40s on each knight's fee lately granted for the knighting of Prince Edward (*CFR 1356-68* p13).

His brother, Thomas, appointed keeper of Wark-in-Tynedale 2.9.1327 and 26.9.1327, also served with Lucy in Ireland (*CPR 1340-43* p511; *CFR 1327-37* pp63,64; PRO E101/239/29).

Henry Fisshacre

M 1329-45 clerk in the exchequer (PROI RC8/15 p415, RC8/16 p409, RC8/18 pp568,661, RC8/21 pp34,129,261,544, RC8/22 pp109,220, RC8/23 pp473,543).

Related ? to -

Martin Fisshacre

11.11.1309 appointed attorney for Henry de Guldeford, usher of the exchequer; acted till 1324 (D.V. Craig, 'The Memoranda Roll of the Irish Exchequer for 3 Edward II' (unpub. PhD thesis, TCD, 1984)). 15.7.1310 appointed chamberlain of the Dublin exchequer; ineffective (*CPR 1307-13* p268).

A Fisacre family was based in Devon in the fourteenth century. Possibly there was a Dublin family too: Warin de Fisacre was chamberlain of the Dublin exchequer 1234-56, and archdeacon of Glendalough c1260; Isaac de Fisacre was Warin's deputy Aug 1240 - Mar 1241 (*Admin. Ire.* p118; *Reg. Hosp. St John* p214).

Roger Fisshacre

Possibly Martin's son? 1325-31 acted as attorney for Henry de Guldeford (PRO E101/238/26,239/5; PROI RC8/16 p384).

John fitzJohn

Constable of Ferns (10 marks pa) 22.10.1339 - 22.4.1340 (PRO E101/240/17), and of **Leixlip** 4.6 - 11.12.1341 (PRO E101/241/5). Possibly John Morice's son.

Thomas le fitzMichael

Constable of Arklow 11.3 - 31.5.1339 (PRO E101/241/5).

Nicholas fitzRichard of Gowran

The church of Gowran, Kilkenny, was a Templar possession. Nicholas de Balscote was answering for its farm M 1313 (PROI RC8/9 p62).

23.1.1331 appointed **2nd remembrancer** of the exchequer; reappointed 9.11.1331, but unclear whether he took office (*CPR 1330-34* pp54,213; PROI RC8/16 p407). Appointed **deputy assayer of measures** (PROI RC8/16 p25). 28.10.1331 appointed **keeper of the writs and rolls of the Dublin Bench** at the request of the Bardi; possibly effective in 1332, perhaps being paid by them (*CPR 1330-34* p192; *Admin. Ire.* p186).

4.10.1337 appointed **chirographer of the Dublin Bench** for 10 years (*CFR 1337-47* p45). 5.3.1338 appointed **keeper of the writs and rolls of the Dublin Bench** for 7

years (*CPR 1338-40* p22). Possession of the offices was contested. 11.9.1339 reappointed **chirographer** for 5 years (*CPR 1338-40* p313). 10.10.1339 overseas, deputed John de Puryton to act in his place (*CPR 1338-40* p318). 31.3.1340 appointed **chirographer and keeper** for life; held until 1357 (*CPR 1338-40* p478; *RCH* pp45 no59, 63 no126).

Simon fitzRichard

21.3.1322 - 21.3.1327 & 9.9.1327 - 6.6.1331 served as **2nd King's Pleader** (PRO E101/238/6,17,19,26, 239/5; *RCH* pp31 no84, 36 no80). 6.4 - 20.7.1322 keeper of the temporalities of the see of Armagh (*Rep DKI 42* p38). Justice in eyre in Meath; £10 (PROI RC8/12 p732). 18.1.1330 holding custody of Gormanston manor during the minority of the St Amand heir; formally granted its custody (*CFR 1327-37* p224); 30.1.1330 granted £100 from its extent for losses in the king's service (*CPR 1327-30* p524). 27.2.1331 appointed **2nd JCB**; paid 3.6.1331 - 19.10.1334; appointment renewed 17.5.1331 & 16.4.1333 (*CPR 1330-34* pp82,114,423; *Admin. Ire.* pp156-60). 30.3.1331 granted permission to transport 160 quarters of corn to Ireland for his maintenance (*CCR 1330-33* p298).

20.8.1331 granted $\frac{2}{3}$ of $\frac{2}{3}$ of Maynooth manor during the minority of Earl Richard; petitioned for this and licence to purchase lands to the value of £40 (*CFR 1327-37* p271; *Analecta Hibernica* xxxiv p23). Captured Henry de Mandeville. 18.3.1332 granted custody of $\frac{1}{3}$ of Maynooth manor, held in dower by Blanche, widow of John fitzThomas; presumably Simon lost all his Maynooth custodies to John Darcy 28.2.1333 (*CFR 1327-37* p304). 6.4.1332 granted licence to acquire in fee land and rents worth up to £20, and to make grants of land, whether his own or his wife's inheritance (*CPR 1330-34* p271). June 1332 accompanied Lucy to Leinster; paid £32.10.3 for retaining 14 men-at-arms, 36 hobelars, and 33 footmen (*Rep DKI 43* p54). Granted custody of the Louth co-heiresses (*Frame, Lordship*, p104).

1333 £20 for service in bringing the Berminghams to peace, and going to Carlingford, of which he was given custody, and taking the lands of Earl William into the king's hands (Frame, *Lordship*, p104). 24.9.1334 appointed **CJCB**; paid 19.10.1334 - 13.4.1338 (*CPR 1334-38* p11; *Admin. Ire.* pp156-60). 28.9.1334 regranted Gormanston manor, for good service, rent-free and pardoned of arrears (*CPR 1334-38* p25; *PROI RC8/18* p286). 9.5.1336 pardoned for acquiring in fee, while in office, lands in Ireland worth £60 (*CPR 1334-38* p308).

22.3.1337 granted, as a result of his petition, £20 pa out of the farm of Drogheda till he was granted land of that value and £100 gift for the capture of Henry de Mandeville (*CPR 1334-38* p408; *Rep DKI 47* pp34,40). 28.7.1337 demoted to **2nd JCB**; ineffective (*CPR 1334-38* p477). 17.9.1337 - 10.4.1340 accounted for the farm of the lands of the Count of Eu, which John Charlton had granted him, although Henry Russel, burgess of Drogheda, had been granted it for 6 years in 1335 (*CFR 1337-47* p77; *Rep DKI 47* pp34,60). 26.3.1338 commissioned with Dent and Rees to investigate Thomas de Louth's conduct (*CPR 1338-40* p74).

Travelled to England on royal business and was ordered to remain there (*CCR 1337-39* p396). 28.4.1338 petitioned for restoration of lands which he claimed had been granted to him in fee by Robert Power, and which had previously belonged to Hugh de Lacy; to be granted if Simon was correct; repeated 18.3.1339 (*CCR 1337-39* p360, *1339-41* pp65,369). 1.5.1338 appointed **CJCB**; renewed 26.10.1340; paid 15.6.1338 - 13.3.1341 (*CPR 1338-40* p86, *1340-43* p49). 12.5.1338 payment of the £100 owing for the capture of Henry de Mandeville ordered (*CCR 1337-39* p363). 14.5.1338 granted permission to enfeoff his and his wife's lands at will (*CPR 1338-40* p62). 15.5.1338 granted custody of a wardship worth up to £20, and the marriage of the ward (*CPR 1338-40* p106).

1.9.1339 ordered to hand over the count of Eu's manors of Louth and Garristown (*CFR 1337-47* p144). Feb 1341 John de Bath and his wife Eglentine, heiress of Robert de Nottingham, released all their rights in Lucan manor which they had granted to Simon (*Cal. Ormond Deeds* i p317). **Deputy escheator** spring 1341 for Thomas de Eton; pardoned arrears 3.12.1346 (*RCH* p55 no153). March 1341 dismissed, grants forfeited. Mainprise was given to bring him before the king's council by Thomas Wogan and John de Bereford 26.2.1342, and by John Darcy, John de Bereford, Gerard of St Michael, and Thomas Bossher 20.7.1342; all actions brought against him were to be suspended (*CCR 1341-43* pp492,553). 1345 to account for Moilagh manor (PROI RC8/23 p693).

Nov 1347 entered several recognisances with Thomas Wogan, Earl Maurice of Kildare and Bartholomew de Burghersh (*CCR 1346-49* p407). April 1348 released all right to lands in Philipstown, Nugent, Nyweston of Coly, Castleton of Dundalk, Ken, Verdonston, and in Colyman, with which he enfeoffed John White, burgess of Dundalk (*CCR 1346-49* p500; *CPR 1348-50* p45. 15.8.1348 enrolment of general release to John Rees (*CCR 1346-49* p552).

Married Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas fitzOvery. He left 4 sons: Thomas (possibly farmer of the chief serjeanty of Meath 1342), Walter, William, and Henry (PROI RC8/25 p242; *CCR 1330-33* p183, *1333-37* p263, *1354-60* p493; *CPR 1348-50* p135).

Robert fitzRobert

Paymaster for troops retained by Thomas Charlton on expeditions to Munster 6.11.1338 - 9.2.1339, to Leinster 16-28.8.1339, and 3-29.9.1339, and to Meath 25.6 - 11.7.1339, by Outlaw to Leinster 1-22.3.1340, and by Morice to Meath 16.1 - 18.5.1342 (PROI RC8/22 pp113,297). Clerk of John de Balscote, chief engrosser (PROI RC8/21 p422).

Richard fitzRicheri

1315 constable of Rindown; granted £10 for repairs 7.12.1315 (*RCH* p20 no14).
1.5.1332 - 1.8.1333 constable of Athlone (£40 pa) and Roscommon (£40 pa) (PRO
E101/239/2,29,240/1,5). 1335 summoned to Scotland (*Rot. Scot.* i 343). Uncle ? of -

Richard fitzSimon fitzRicheri

Son of Simon fitzRicheri and his wife Richarda (*Rep DKI* 42 p63). 25.6.1326 -
25.9.1327 constable of Rindown (PRO E101/238/26, 239/5,7; *RCH* pp34 no28, 35
no51, 36 no74). Sheriff of Meath c1329, possibly 1339-41 (*Rep DKI* 47 p55).

Godfrey fitzRoger

Constable of Leixlip 19.10.1321 - 15.3.1325 (*Rep DKI* 43 p31).

William fitzThomas

Constable of Drogheda 14.5 - 14.11.1327, and of Kildare 22.11.1330 - 10.5.1331
(PRO E101/239/7,29).

Thomas Fleming

24.2.1324 attorney for Baldwin le Fleming (*CPR 1317-21* p418). 1324,1330 a Meath tenant, called to account for his fine for conspiracy (*Rep DKI 42* p62, 43 p36). 1332 had a wife, Basilia (*PROI RC8/18* pp142). Attorney for Richard de Rudyard and his wife Margeria in a dowry dispute (*PROI RC8/18* p267). 28.6.1335 granted custody of the dower lands of Isabella, widow of John de Hastings at 10 marks pa (*PROI RC8/18* p651; *Rep DKI 44* pp56,57). 16.4 - 16.10.1337 & 22.3 - 21.11.1339 **keeper of the writs and rolls of the Dublin Bench** (*Admin. Ire.* p187). 20.4.1344 appointed attorney by Elizabeth de Clare (*CPR 1343-45* p224). 12.11.1352 appointed attorney by Simon son of Baldwin le Fleming (*CPR 1350-54* p353).

Godfrey Folejaumbe

Of Derbyshire, where he is located in a number of references in the 1330s, and where he was a commissioner of oyer and terminer in 1338, and a vendor and collector of the 9th 1340-1 (*CPR 1338-40* pp137,504,552; *CCR 1339-41* pp437,659,662).

8.2.1344 obtained licence to found a chantry in Bakewell for himself and the guild of the Holy Cross (*CPR 1343-45* p196). 12.2.1344 appointed **2nd BEx**; ineffective (*CPR 1343-45* p206). Appointed attorney in Ireland 1.3.1344 by Countess Mary of Norfolk, and 15.6.1344 by Roland and Elizabeth Dauneys (*CPR 1343-45* pp225,302). 28.6.1344 appointed **2nd JJB**; reappointed 7.11.1346; paid 31.8.1344 - 3.10.1349 (*CPR 1343-45* p307, *1345-48* p219). Bearer of letters from Ufford to Edward III (*Sayles, Affairs*, p181). 20.7.1345 - 4.4.1346 keeper of the temporalities of the see of Cashel (*PROI RC8/25* p667). 14.5.1346 50 marks expenses for good service (*CCR 1346-49* p33).

Appointed attorney for Robert Ufford 20.5.1346, and 8.2.1348 (*CPR 1345-48* p91, 1348-50 p22); for Hugh le Despenser 20.5.1346 (*CPR 1345-48* p94); for Countess Matilda 6.6.1346 (*CPR 1345-48* pp96,120); for Ralph, baron Stafford, 12.3.1348 (*CPR 1348-50* p39); for Hugh de Menill 8.5.1354 (*CPR 1354-58* p39); and for Geoffrey de Stynecle, serjeant of Co. Cork 28.3.1356 (*CPR 1354-58* p354). 18.1 - 7.10.1347 keeper of the temporalities of the see of Ossory (PROI RC8/25 p667). Pardoned £40 debts for his service and losses with Ufford in Munster (PROI RC8/24 p37). Accompanied Burnham and Bermingham to England. 30.9.1349 pardoned all offences (*CPR 1350-54* p173). 1.4.1351 commissioned to visit St Leonard's Hospital, Derby (*CPR 1350-54* p84). 31.10.1351 appointed CJJ; paid 15.6.1352 - 3.11.1354. 1354 requested payment for services and losses in war, and to be reappointed; the latter petition was refused (Sayles, *Affairs*, p208).

31.3.1356 named with the earl of Kildare and John de Gatesden, seneschal of Ulster, as empowered to receive Irish rebels into the king's peace; this appears to have been specifically linked to the successful wooing of John of the Isles into Edward III's service (*CPR 1354-58* p356; Frame, *Lordship*, p151). 1357-c1382 appointed to numerous commissions. He also rose high in the service of John of Gaunt, as steward of the honour of Tutbury 1372-75, constable and steward of Newcastle-under-Lyme, the duke's steward in Cos. Derby and Stafford, and chief steward (*John of Gaunt's Register*, ed. S. Armitage Smith, Camden 3rd Series xx,xxi,lvi,lvii (London, 1911-) nos4,1105,1118,1745).

Thomas Folejaumbe, possibly a nephew, was appointed 18.2.1354 keeper of the works of Dublin castle, and receiver of the Queen's gold, and 9.9.1354 was nominated as attorney of Robert Ufford (PROI RC8/26 pp421,694; *CPR 1354-58* p102).

John de Founteyns

1334-41 constable of Rindown (£40 pa); paid 28.2.1334 - 21.11.1341 (PRO E101/240/5,10,13,17, 241/4; *RCH* p38 nos 23,57); appointed for life 7.5.1335 (*CPR* 1334-38 p100). 22.9.1334 appointed attorney for Norman Darcy (*CPR* 1334-38 p9). 31.12.1340 king's yeoman, life-grant, for service overseas and in Ireland, of 40 marks from the town of Crumlin; confirmed 26.5.1342 (*CPR* 1340-43 p74; PROI RC8/23 p443); records of payment for M 1341, E 1342, 1342/3, M 1347, E 1348 (*Rep DKI* 53 p54, 54 pp26,51). 20.10 1341 at John Darcy's request, all his lands were to be restored by the Dublin government (*CCR* 1341-43 p293). 20.5.1342 John Larcher, chancellor of Ireland, was ordered to receive Rindown from John who had surrendered it to the king (*CCR* 1341-43 p438).

Richard de Foxcote

1320-1 subescheator in Gloucestershire (*CFR* 1319-27 p41; *CPR* 1321-24 p21). Feb 1322 appointed to hold the king's courts in the castles, manors, and hundreds in the lands late of Hugh Despenser the Younger in Gloucs, Worcs, Oxon, Berks, and Bucks (*CFR* 1319-27 p100). April - October 1322 granted custody of various manors (*CFR* 1319-27 pp122,180). 1327 plundered property of Sir John de Wilington at Yate, Frampton and Tormanton, removing cattle worth £300; extracted £20 from the prior of Duntisbourne by imprisoning him in Gloucester; 1328 raided Sir John de Acton's estates at Iron Acton, and Elkstone (Saul, N., *Knights and Esquires: the Gloucestershire Gentry in the Fourteenth Century* (Oxford, 1981), pp182,183).

22.10.1329 appointed **CJCB**; ineffective (*CPR* 1327-30 p452). Sheriff of Gloucester 30.9.1332 - 4.5.1338 & 18.10.1351 - 25.3.1352 (*CFR* 1327-37 p328, 1337-47 p76, 1347-56 pp308,348). 1341 collector of the subsidy in Gloucestershire (*CPR* 1340-43

p153). 1348-50 commissioner of oyer and terminer in Gloucestershire (*CPR 1348-50* pp169, 531).

William de Fulbourn

30.9.1321 - 16.1.1323 treasurer's remembrancer. 1.6.1323 appointed a baron of the English exchequer; reappointed 2.2.1327 (*CPR 1321-24* p303, *1327-30* p2; Tout, T.F., *The Place of the Reign of Edward II in English History* (Manchester, 1914) p343). 3.5.1324 appointed chief bEx, and 30.8.1325 2nd bEX; ineffective (*CPR 1321-24* p412, *1324-27* p164). 15.12.1326 presented to a prebend in the chapel of Penryn, Cornwall (*CPR 1324-27* p338). 16.4.1327 appointed at Queen Isabella's request as an auditor of the account of Robert Miles, receiver of the issues of the Queen's lands when they were in Edward II's hands (*CCR 1327-30* p82). 3.10.1327 commissioner to investigate those claiming to be part of the Queen's household (*CPR 1327-30* p24). 12.9.1329 deceased; executor: William de Fulbourn, king's yeoman (*CCR 1327-30* p490).

Andrew Gerard

Of the Bardi Society. **Customer of Ireland** 1304, 1308-14, and 5.3.1333 - 3.3.1334; appointed 16.12.1332 (Craig, D.V., 'The Memoranda Roll of the Irish Exchequer for 3 Edward II' (unpub. PhD thesis, TCD, 1984) p52; *CFR 1327-37* p339; *Rep DKI 44* pp27,51). E 1315 citizen of Waterford, and sub-collector of the customs there until 11.9.1340 (PROI RC8/10 pp84,85, RC8/16 p170; *Rep DKI 42* pp48,74, 43 pp30,39, 44 p26, 47 pp37,38), he held a stone house opposite the Friars Minor for 2s pa, but without royal licence, and so it was resumed (*Rep DKI 42* pp21,26,34,45, 43 p19). Land in the county had been granted to him by Edmund Butler (*Cal. Ormond Deeds* i p281) 1326,1329 mayor of Waterford city (*Rep DKI 42* p68; PROI RC8/15 p379). 1336

transporting goods belonging to the king (CPR 1334-38 p280). 6.8.1348 sent by John Larcher, prior of the Hospitallers in Ireland to the Grand Master at Rhodes (CCR 1346-49 p554).

John Gernon

Of Molynestown; son of Roger Gernon, sheriff of Louth (*Rep DKI* 39 p25). 17.3.1319 rewarded for good service against Edward Bruce (CCR 1317-21 p318; *RCH* p28 nos91,92). 1320 John petitioned for a life-grant of the fishery of the river from Gernonstown to the sea, because he had been maimed in the right hand at Dundalk (*Analecta Hibernica* xxxiv p29). 29.3.1327 - 22.11.1330 & 2.11.1334 - 6.6.1338 **1st King's Pleader** (*Admin. Ire.* pp176,177). Appointed attorney for Countess Matilda 28.11.1333, 22.11.1335, and 1.5.1346 (CPR 1330-34 p484, 1334-38 p179; *RCH* p49 no47); and 1.12.1333 a guardian of Elizabeth de Burgh (CPR 1330-34 p486). 14.2.1334 - 16.3.1335 keeper of Dromeskyn manor, while the temporalities of the see of Armagh were in the king's hands (*Rep DKI* 54 p45).

1336 John and his wife Matilda were involved in a dispute over dower claims in Lucan manor, with Eglentine, the mother of Matilda's first husband, William de Nottingham (PROI RC8/19 p140, RC8/20 pp326-29, 372-8). 6.12.1336 granted 6a in Ardee by Thomas Godknavé (*Dowdall Deeds* no125). 15.5.1338 appointed JCB; paid 15.6.1338 - 13.10.1341 (CPR 1338-40 p81; PRO E101/240/17, 241/5; *RCH* pp43 no11, 44 no22). 4.8.1341 CJCB; paid 13.10.1341 - 12.10.1344 (CPR 1340-43 p257; *Admin. Ire.* p160). 1343/4 enfeoffed with 2 parts of the manors of Kille and Arthureston; confirmed 13.7.1343/4 (*RCH* pp45 no72, 47 no137).

20.2.1344 granted a messuage in Ardee by Simon son and heir of John Henry of Ardee; Simon released all right to it 22.1.1345. 8.12.1344 John and Matilda granted a messuage in Ardee to their sons Walter and Roger, and to Stephen son of Roger Gernon

and to Adam Gernon (*Dowdall Deeds*, nos 150,152,155). 14.3.1348 appointed **2nd JCB**; paid 6.5.1348 - 6.2.1352 (*CPR 1348-50* p38; PROI RC8/24 p242). 8.3.1350 indenture between John & Matilda and John their son, granting him all messuages, lands, and tenements in Moleynstown and Ardee to hold for Matilda's life, and granting to their sons John and Roger all land held as Matilda's dower (*Dowdall Deeds*, nos 189,190). 25.7.1350 commissioned to investigate trespasses in the manors of the see of Dublin while it was in the king's hands (*CPR 1348-50* pp590,591).

On his death Matilda married John Keppok, who also rose to high office on the Dublin Bench. John Gernon left 4 sons: John, Roger, Reginald, and Walter (*Dowdall Deeds*, nos 125,152,208).

Roger de Glanville

2.2 - 15.3.1335 **2nd engrosser** (PRO E101/240/13). Receiver for Elizabeth de Clare (PRO SC6/1239/14). Dec 1335 - mid-1336 **deputy treasurer** (*Rep DKI 45* p32). 1339 attorney for John de Ellerker (RCH p42 no13).

William of Gloucester

28.6.1337 appointed **keeper of the writs and rolls of the Dublin Bench**; paid 16.10.1337 - 2.5.1338 (*CPR 1334-38* p462; *Admin. Ire.* p187). 27.4.1338 appointed **chirographer and keeper** for 10 years; revoked 20.1.1339 (*CPR 1338-40* pp30,58,197); appointment to the office was contested with Nicholas fitzRichard of Gowran. 8.8.1340 appointed **1st chambEx**; ineffective (*CPR 1338-40* p314).

John of Glynmethan

Clerk of John de Balscote, chief engrosser 1334 - 1340/1 (10s per term) (*CPR 1330-34* p525; *PROI RC8/18* pp353,518, *RC8/21* pp255,420,421,542; *Rep DKI 45* p30, 47 pp23,36,37).

Walter of Gnosall

Possibly related to Richard de Gnousehale, archdeacon of Glendalough 1226 (Lawlor, *Fasti*, p83). 24.10/13.11.1338 appointed **2nd chambEx**; ineffective (*CCR 1337-39* p544; *CPR 1338-40* p161). 7.4.1348 'Master', appointed by the papal nuncio in the British Isles as his commissary and vice-gerent of Ireland (*CPR 1348-50* p46). Canon of Dublin. 1350 Treasurer of Leighlin (Lawlor, *Fasti*, p193).

Andrew Godgrom

Transcriber of estreats 1334-43 (*PROI RC8/18* pp358,569,661, *RC8/21* pp45,129,259,384,544, *RC8/22* pp218,224,318,394,588; *Rep DKI 45* pp27,40, 47 pp20,21,76, 53 p25, 54 pp41,42).

John of Grantchester

Son of Ralph de Grantchester of Cambs (*Rep DKI 47* p54). Before 1308 settled in Dublin, marrying Alice heiress of Geoffrey de Morton, sometime mayor of Dublin. 1309 party to an indenture with the mayor and commonalty of Dublin granting John and Alice permission, having first obtained royal licence, to rebuild certain houses, next to the city wall in Bridge St, which had been partially demolished because they were

interfering with the city defences; John and Alice agreed to build a fortified walkway and pay an annual rent. 9.3.1318 licence to rebuild was granted by the justiciar. 11.3.1318 John and Alice were pardoned £21.17.4 which Geoffrey owed to the king (*CPR 1321-24* p330; *RCH* p23 nos 105,106).

1321-2 "serviens narrator" (PROI RC8/12 p560, RC8/13 p136). 12.4.1326 appointed **2nd BEx**; confirmed 8.7.1326; paid E 1326 - M 1327 (PROI RC8/14 p744; *CPR 1324-27* p294; PRO E101/238/26, 239/5). Wolfram de Bristol demised open land between the quay and Scarlet lane in Dublin to John. Alice's sister, Ermengarde, released all rights to a quarry [*parva terra lapidea*] to John. Acted as executor of Geoffrey de Morton's will (PROI RC8/14 p844-7). 14.6.1327 appointed **2nd JCB**; paid 13.9.1327 - 10.10.1329 (*CPR 1327-30* p128; *Admin. Ire.* p156). 12.7.1327 king's yeoman, granted custody of William Comyn's lands in Co. Dublin during his heir's minority; confirmed 6.9.1327; held the custody 12.7.1327 - 15.3.1331 (*Rep DKI 43* pp20,25,39,63; *CPR 1327-30* p165). Petitioned for life-grant of the castle and manor of [...] and of the seneschalcy of the royal demesne lands of Newcastle Lyons, Saggart and Crumlin; 16.9.1327 seneschalcy granted (*Analecta Hibernica* xxxiv p50; *CFR 1327-37* p63).

8.7.1329 an appeal concerning an assize of novel disseisin (19.4.1327) was heard before the justiciar; John put forward letters testifying to the excommunication of one of the parties, Walter de Islip, thus involving a notary public and the Papal Court; he was dismissed, imprisoned and fined 500 marks. 29.12.1329 pardoned, at the instance of Queen Philippa, the 500 marks, and reappointed **2nd JCB**; paid 30.9.1330 - 30.3.1331 (*Sayles, Affairs*, p279; *CPR 1327-30* pp471,472,475; PROI RC8/15 pp480,481). 6.6.1330 appointed receiver and keeper of Queen Philippa's property in Ireland (PROI RC8/15 p632). 14.8.1330 pardoned a debt of £77.13.4 (*CPR 1327-30* p546).

28.2.1331 appointed **2nd JJB**; ineffective (*CPR 1330-34* p83). 26.3.1331 pardon of £77.13.4 and the 500 marks confirmed (*CPR 1330-34* pp90,97; PROI RC8/16 p144). 31.3.1331 granted custody of **Leixlip** castle and manor; held 1.5.1331 - 28.8.1338 (*CPR*

1330-34 p246; PROI RC8/16 p82; *Rep DKI 43* pp64, 47 pp41,42). 1.4.1331 granted permission (8.11.1311 to Geoffrey de Morton) to build 2 crenellated and turreted towers (*CPR 1330-34* p98). 16.10.1331 appointed 2nd JJB; paid E & T 1332 & 1.11.1332 - 1.2.1334; reappointed 12.1.1332 (*CPR 1330-34* pp184,233; PRO E101/239/24,29, 240/1). 25.10.1331 granted wardship of the lands of Richard de Exeter which he held 24.7.1331 - 2.5.1339 (*CFR 1327-37* p283; *Rep DKI 44* p32, 47 p30).

12-29.6.1332 paid £22.13.11 for retaining 12 men-at-arms, 24 hobelars and 26 footmen in Lucy's service in Leinster (*Rep DKI 43* p54). July 1332 went to England with Robert de Scarborough to report on the state of the lordship to the king; Lucy was ordered to pay expenses; payments of £12, £6 10s, and £8.13.4. were made to John for expeditions to England, and £10 for good and laudable service (*CCR 1330-33* p483; PRO E101/239/24,29). 6.2.1333 pardoned £43 for expenses (*CPR 1330-34* p402). 1334 petitioned for redress as the exchequer demanded payment of the full extent of Leixlip, but the tenants were so impoverished that they could not pay their rents (*Analecta Hibernica* xxxiv pp76,77). £10 for losses and expenses (PRO E101/240/5).

4.7.1334 pardoned for acquiring lands in Ireland while in office, and licenced to retain them (*CPR 1330-34* p558). 16.7.1334 life-exemption from appointment to recognisances, assizes, or juries, or as mayor, sheriff, coroner, bailiff etc (*CPR 1334-38* p28). 30.9.1334 custody of Leixlip restored (it had been granted to Matthew de Bath), and a debt of £100 was to be paid in instalments of £4 pa (*CCR 1333-37* pp256,267). Had custody of Croke manor (PROI RC8/18 p482). 1335 Alice died. John endowed 2 canonries in Holy Trinity (Ball, *Judges*, pp30,68). Summoned to Scotland (*Rot. Scot.* i 343). 1336 case concerning a house and 4 shops John held in Dublin of Matthew and Letitia Godgrom and John fitzNicholas le Clerk (PROI RC8/19 p563). 28.9.1336 ordered not to interfere in the manors of Garristown, Louth, Castlefrank, and Disshe (*RCH* p43 no11).

26.3.1337 to account for Derver manor, dower property of Joanna de Exeter; held till 2.5.1339 (*Rep DKI 47 p41*). 1338 granted extensive privileges of residing in Kilmainham priory with servants and horses for good and laudable service (*Reg. Kilmainham pp88,121*). 2.3.1338 William fitz Robert Daundon surrendered all his rights to John in the manor of Ballycarrick and his lands in Balytra; an extent of these properties was taken 15.6.1339; John de Balscote and Richard de Derby mainprised for John; he held the custody 26.10.1339 - 23.11.1341 (*PROI RC8/21 pp532,240,244; Rep DKI 47 pp73-75*). 18.12.1339 quitclaimed all rights to William son of Sir William de London in the manors of Le Naas, Killussy, Baronsrath, Killyne, Kellerken, and the Cronies, reserving the pensions, fees and gifts granted to John for life by Sir William and his son (*Gormanston Reg. p162*).

1340 commissioner with John Gernon to investigate royal rights regarding the temporalities of Holy Trinity (*CCR 1339-41 p472*). 16.10.1342 assize of novel disseisin over land in Corbaly between John fitzSimon de Clondalkin and John de Grantchester; John Morice quashed this and all subsequent appeals (*Sayles, Affairs, p297; CCR 1346-49 pp549,550*). 11.10.1343 Ralph de Stanley released all rights in Ballycarrick to John, and 16.5.1343 Thomas fitzSimon fitzRobert released all his rights in Ballycarrick and Balytra to John (*PROI RC8/23 pp604,605*). 20.4.1346 appointed attorney for Peter de Beauchamp, assayer of measures (*CPR 1345-48 p72*).

1.1.1347 on John's petition, royal ministers were forbidden to molest him, his servants and possessions (*PROI RC8/24 p241*). Licenced by the prior of Holy Trinity to build a chapel in St Michan's churchyard in place of performing certain duties before the image of Our Lady on the Bridge; for the previous 6 years he had taken the alms offered before the image (*Ball, Judges, p31*). 4.3.1347 pardoned, at Peter de Beauchamp's request, for not having taken up knighthood in line with the royal ordinance to this effect; exempted from being compelled to do so (*CPR 1345-48 p257*). 19.5.1348 licenced to charge a rent of 6 marks pa on his tenements in Dublin and to grant this to the prior of the Augustinian Friars in Dublin to pay for 6 students to study in England,

and 8.7.1348 for 4 friars to celebrate mass daily in the 4 churches of the Order in Dublin, Drogheda, Cork, and Rospointe for the souls of the king's ancestors and heirs, and for John himself (*CPR 1348-50* pp94,114).

6.8.1348 pardoned all offences in Ireland (*CPR 1348-50* p140). 24.10.1348 licenced on petition to build a chapel to Our Lady on the Bridge, establishing 2 chaplains there and giving £5 of land to the city for their maintenance (*Analecta Hibernica* xxxiv p78; *CPR 1348-50* pp197,229). 10.2.1349 granted free warren in all his demesne lands in Levediscastel, Dieulamande, Ballycarrick, and Feuilleston (*CCHR 1341-1417* p109). Died this year: Walter de Grantchester was described as his son and heir (*PROI RC8/25* p114). Walter married Agnes, was sheriff of Kildare 4.11.1349; confirmed in possession of Ballycarrick; and in 1357 petitioned for the removal of Robert of Holywood, remembrancer, for misconduct (*PROI RC8/25* pp7,211; *Analecta Hibernica* xxxiv p16).

Edmund de Grimsby

1326-54 English chancery clerk, closely associated with the Despensers under Edward III (Wilkinson, *Chancery*, p159). 1.11.1333 appointed **keeper of the rolls and writs of the Dublin chancery**; ineffective (*CCR 1333-37* p158; *CPR 1330-34* p470).

Henry de Guldeford

Yeoman of the Peter Gaveston's chamber. Life-grant of the office of **usher of the Dublin exchequer**; held office 24.4.1309 - 23.4.1335, & 29.9.1335 - 20.5.1340; confirmed in office for life 3.8.1327 (Craig, D.V., 'The Memoranda Roll of the Irish Exchequer for 3 Edward II' (unpub. PhD thesis, TCD, 1984), p647N; *PRO E101/238/12,17,19,26*, *239/5,7,19,22,24,29*, *240/1,5,8,10,13,17*; *PROI RC8/16*

pp47,197,332, RC8/21 pp256,257,372,373; *RCH* pp20 no30, 42 nos51-53). Possibly related to **Andrew de Guldeford**, who accompanied Ufford to Ireland, and was later royal admiral in the North and West in 1348 and 1360 (*CPR 1343-45* p244, 1348-50 p71, 1358-61 p509).

Henry de Hambury

Son of Geoffrey de Hambury of Worcestershire (*CCR 1313-18* p614). 15.6.1309 witness to a grant by Thomas de Lancaster to his chaplain William de Tutbury (*CPR 1317-21* p204). 1315-22 appointed to a number of commissions of oyer and terminer. 29.5.1318 Roger Mortimer of Chirk acknowledged debts of £200 to Henry and £600 to Philip his brother (*CCR 1313-18* p614). 12.11.1329 pardoned for his adherence to Thomas de Lancaster (*CPR 1317-21* p232). 4.2.1323 the abbot of Bordesle demised Holewey manor to Henry and his heirs for 80 years; life-grant 30.6.1324 (*CPR 1321-24* pp239,437).

24.4.1324 appointed **CJJB**; paid 2.9.1324 - 6.1.1325 (*CPR 1321-24* p409; PRO E101/238/17). 27.9.1324 appointed **3rd JCB**; paid 6.1 - 6.4.1325 (*CPR 1324-27* p26; PRO E101/238/17; *RCH* p31 no71). 23.3.1325 appointed **CJCB**; paid 6.4.1325 - 12.5.1327; reappointed 12.12.1325 (*CPR 1324-27* pp111,197; PRO E101/238/17,26, 239/5). 30.8.1325 appointed **2nd JJB**; ineffective (*CPR 1324-27* p164). 17.8.1326 commissioned with Adam de Herewynton to take seisin of the de Burgh manor of Ratoath, Meath (PROI RC8/14 p840).

18.3.1327 appointed **CJJB**; paid 12.5 - 26.7.1327; 10.6.1327 ordered to cease because he had indicated that he could not continue as it would prove damaging to his affairs in England (*CPR 1327-30* pp39,136; PRO E101/239/5). 30.12.1329 appointed **JKB** (*CCR 1327-30* p511). 28.10.1331 exempted for life from appointment to juries, assizes, recognisances, or as mayor, sheriff, coroner, escheator, bailiff etc against his will (*CPR*

1330-34 p197). 18.10.1345 endowed a chantry for himself and his wife Isabella (*CPR 1343-45 p557*).

Related to John and Robert de Hambury, chamberlains of N Wales?

John de Hampslape

Hampslape, Buckinghamshire, was a manor of the Beauchamp earls of Warwick. 22.5.1328 appointed **2nd engrosser** (*CPR 1327-30 p272*). 22.5.1346 appointed **chief engrosser**; superseded by Barton's appointment 17.7.1347 (*CPR 1345-48 pp119,367*; PROI RC8/23 p629, RC8/24 p11).

John de Hampton

17.3.1342 king's yeoman, appointed **constable of Balyten** castle (£40 pa); 22.9.1342 going to Brittany with the king, he nominated Thomas de Blakebourn as his deputy (*CPR 1340-43 pp396,513*; PRO E101/241/5; *RCH pp44 no20, 45 no57, 46 no90*).

There are also references to Richard de Hampton, unsuccessfully appointed 13.7.1340 usher of the Dublin exchequer (*CPR 1340-43 p6*); to one or several Williams de Hampton, constable of Bunnratty 1318/19, reeve of New Ross 1336, holding lands in Kildare (*Rep DKI 42 p20*; *Cal. Ormond Deeds i p285*; PROI RC8/21 p450); and to Bartholomew and Roesia de Hampton of New Ross in 1327 (*Cal. Ormond Deeds i p254*).

William de Hatfield

E-M 1321 & M 1322 - E 1323 2nd chambEx (PRO E101/237/14, 238/6). 1325/6 commissioned to extend Bicknor's lands (PROI RC8/14 p775). Jan 1326 attorney and keeper of Islip's lands and chattels (CCR 1323-27 p449, 1327-30 p430/1; CPR 1324-27 p250; PROI RC8/14 p854). 1327 £2 for accompanying the earl of Kildare to Leinster (Rep DKI 42 p48). 10.10.1327 appointed 2nd chamberlain; ineffective (CPR 1327-30 p180).

Richard de Hattecombe

1332 commissioner of oyer and terminer (CPR 1330-34 p299). 2.10.1333 appointed JCB; ineffective (CPR 1330-34 p470). 1337-50 commissioner of oyer and terminer in Oxon.

John atte Hawe

25.3.1333 acknowledged a debt of £10 to John de Langford; held property in Berks (CCR 1333-37 p98). 28.3.1333 appointed escheator in Surrey, Sussex, Kent, and Middlesex (£10 pa); revoked 3.6.1333 (CFR 1327-37 pp352,360). 12.3.1337 appointed 2nd engrosser (CPR 1334-38 p390). 14.9.1337 accompanied Thomas Charlton to Ireland (CPR 1334-38 p524). 15.1.1340 appointed attorney in England for David Caunton (CPR 1338-40 p346).

Robert de Helpston

20.1.1331 appointed master of the works at Beaumaris, Caernarvon, Conway, Criccieth, and Harlech (12d per day); confirmed 10.10.1332 (*CPR 1330-34* pp50,343). 2.10.1333 appointed **chirographer of the Dublin Bench**; renewed 7.1.1334; held office till Sept 1334 (*CPR 1330-34* p470; *CCR 1333-37* p188).

Robert de Hemmingburgh

of Northampton (*CCR 1333-37* p611). English chancery clerk. Received a number of ecclesiastical benefices: a 4th part of St Mary's, Antigham, Norfolk 20.7.1310 (*CPR 1307-13* pp272,280); the prebend of Renfrew, Glasgow 19.7.1319 (*CPR 1317-21* p380); the church of Winifred Newburgh, Salisbury diocese 27.5.1322 (*CPR 1321-24* p123); Puriton church, Worcester diocese 13.10.1325, exchanged 16.7.1326 for Ottenham church, Canterbury (*CPR 1324-27* pp177,296); Tichemarsh church 26.3.1331 and Wotton church 20.5.1331, both Lincoln diocese (*CPR 1330-34* pp90,120,170); Islip church, Lincoln diocese 24.11.1333 (*CPR 1330-34* p483).

12.10.1331 & 12.7.1337 appointed attorney of Thomas Charlton (*CCR 1330-33* p341, *1337-39* p145). 26.6.1332 visited prelates in Kent concerning the aid for the marriage of the king's sister, Eleanor (*CCR 1330-33* p591). 23.7.1337 appointed to take into the king's hands the lands of all aliens in Oxon and Berks (*CCR 1337-39* pp96,169). 28.8.1337 appointed **keeper of the writs, rolls and memoranda of the Dublin chancery**; to be granted the first void benefice in Ireland worth not more than 40 marks; his position in the English chancery was to be kept open (*CPR 1334-38* p515; *CCR 1337-39* p245); served 1337-1340 (PRO E101/240/17, 241/5) 28.3.1349 still alive (*CPR 1348-50* p275).

Adam de Herewynton

Son of William de Herewynton, Worcestershire (*CPR 1292-1301 p470*). Nov 1297 attorney for William de Beauchamp, earl of Warwick (*CCR 1296-1302 p137*); and for Margaret, widow of Edmund Mortimer 1304 (*CCR 1302-07 p219*). 4.9.1303 received, at the request of Earl Guy de Beauchamp of Warwick, custody of Tatlington manor, Worcestershire (*CPR 1301-07 p155*). 14.10.1305 went overseas with Bishop William of Worcester (*CPR 1301-07 p384*). 13.11/12.12.1307 presented to Awe church, Hereford diocese (*CPR 1307-13 pp12,22*). 16.12.1311 commissioned to enforce the statute of Winchester in Herefordshire (*CPR 1307-13 p329*). 28.9.1312 accompanied the earls of Gloucester & Hertford, Richmond, and Hereford & Essex to meet the cardinal priest of St Prisca, the Count of Évreux, and the Bishop of Poitiers (*CPR 1307-13 pp498,502*). 5.10.1312 in the company of Earl Humphrey de Bohun (*CCR 1307-13 p481*). 16.10.1313 pardoned for supporting the earl of Lancaster (*CPR 1313-17 p23*).

1314-22 commissioner of oyer and terminer in England. 3.10.1314 appointed keeper of the writs and rolls of the English Common Bench; held office till 11.6.1322 (*CPR 1313-17 p185, 1321-24 p133*). 10.3.1315 1 of 3 to whom Guy de Beauchamp demised 5 manors for 10 years (*CPR 1313-17 p263*). 17.6.1315 granted custody of the lands of Robert de Brus in Tottenham, Middx at £12 pa; held till 29.3.1317 (*CFR 1307-19 pp251,322*). 1.12.1315 executor of the will of Guy de Beauchamp (*CPR 1307-19 p265*). 24.5.1316 granted custody of Winchcombe abbey (*CFR 1307-19 p279*). 28.3.1319 prebendary of Morton Magna, St Ethelbert's, Hereford (*CPR 1317-21 p321*).

23.8.1323 appointed **chief bEX**; renewed 3.5.1324 & 30.5.1324; paid M 1324 - E 1327 (*CPR 1321-24 pp331,421*; PROI RC8/13 p553; PRO E101/238/17,19,26 239/5). 1.2.1325 the remembrancers were forbidden to make any writs without Adam's agreement (PROI RC8/14 p157). 19.5.1325 initiated investigations into arrears of debt in Munster and Leinster (PROI RC8/14 p223). 7.12.1325 appointed **keeper of the**

treasurership following Islip's dismissal for fraud; acted 20.1 - 4.10.1326 (*CPR 1324-27* p197; PROI RC8/14 pp663-7,678-81; PRO E101/238/26). 8.7.1326 appointed **chanEx**; served M 1326 -E 1327; reappointed 17.3.1327 (*CPR 1324-27* p295; PRO E101/239/5; *CFR 1327-30* p58). 17.8.1326 commissioned with Hambury to take seisin of the earl of Ulster's manor of Ratoath, Meath (PROI RC8/14 p840).

24.3.1327 attorney of the Bishop of Hereford (*CPR 1327-30* p61). 24.9.1327 presented to the church of Bishop's Cleeve, Worcester diocese; revoked 6.5.1328 (*CPR 1327-30* pp167,262). 5.11.1327 licenced to found a chantry (*CPR 1327-30* p184). 29.1.1328 - Dec 1330 chancellor of the English exchequer (*CPR 1327-30* p225, *1330-34* p28). 2.2.1328 prebendary in St Peter's, Cashel (*CPR 1327-30* pp225,232,372). 15.3.1328 presented to Tredington church, Worcester diocese (*CPR 1327-30* p347). 7.2.1329 appointed with the treasurer, Bishop Thomas Charlton, and Master Henry de Clif to reopen parliament (*CPR 1327-30* p359). 1329-34 commissioner of oyer and terminer.

1.8.1331 attorney of the Bishop of Worcester (*CPR 1327-30* p483). 1331-7 prebendary of Howth, St Patrick's (Laylor, *Fasti*, p114). 6.6.1331 surveyor and auditor of the accounts of the lands of Roger Mortimer and others (*CFR 1327-37* p218). 8.10.1331 "infirm of body through age and ceaseless labours on behalf of the king's father and mother", at liberty to attend to his own affairs and not to be ordered to take on any office against his will, but to remain a member of parliament and of the royal council (*CPR 1330-34* p173). 28.1.1332 licenced to alienate land to the abbot of Pershore; terms amended 18.5.1340 (*CPR 1330-34* p250, *1338-40* p518). 11.6.1333 vicar-general of the Bishop of Worcester (*CPR 1330-34* p55).

21.8.1337 commissioned with Thomas Charlton and Roger Chaundos to inform the men of Herefordshire of measures to ensure the safety of the realm (*CPR 1334-38* p503). 22.5.1338 commissioner to investigate a dispute over mills belonging to the prior of Great Malvern (*CCR 1337-39* p416). 20.10.1342 confirmation of life-grants, made by the abbot of Bordesle of Combe manor, Gloucestershire at 10 marks pa, and by the

abbot of Bruera of Markenden manor and lands in Netherguting, Gloucestershire (*CPR 1340-43 p535*). March 1344 died (*CPR 1343-45 p225*).

Roger Hillary

1322-56 commissioner of oyer and terminer. 16.9.1329 appointed CJCB, Dublin; ineffective (*CPR 1327-30 p443*). 18.3.1337 appointed JCB, England; reappointed 4.6.1342 (*CPR 1334-38 p397, 1340-43 p464*). 8.1.1341 appointed CJCB, England; held till 1343, continuing as JCB; reappointed CJCB 20.2.1354 (*CPR 1340-43 p75, 1354-58 p7*). June 1356 died; held lands in Warks, Staffs, Suffolk, and Bucks (*CFR 1356-68 pp9,15*).

William de Hoo

Hoo, Kent. Son of William de Hoo (*CPR 1321-24 p404*). 4.8.1322 accompanied Earl Edmund of Arundel to Scotland (*CPR 1321-24 p199*). March 1324 in the service of the earl of Kent, accompanying him to Gascony (*CPR 1321-24 p403*). 21.5.1329 attorney of the earl of Kent (*CPR 1327-30 p391*). 10.5.1335 appointed bEx; ineffective (*CPR 1334-38 p101*). 1339 keeper of Prince Edward's wardrobe (*CCR 1339-41 p336*).

John de Horneby the Younger

Son of John de Horneby. 21.3.1332 keeper of Lancs (*CPR 1330-34 p292*). 1332-41 commissioner of oyer and terminer in Lancs. 30.1.1334 appointed 2nd JCB; ineffective (*CPR 1330-34 p506*).

Nicholas de Hornington

Exchequer clerk. 1334/5 10s for writing out the engrosser's roll of account of escheats (*Rep DKI 44* p26; *PROI RC8/18* p444).

John le Hunte

References to several John le Hunttes. Son of Nicholas le Hunte of Fenny Stratford, Bucks (*CPR 1343-45* p534). 26.4.1344 accompanying Ufford to Ireland (*CPR 1343-45* p227). 16.7 - 28.8.1344 **JJB** (*Admin. Ire.* p170). 12.7.1345 appointed **CJJB**; reappointed 1.8.1345; paid 12.10.1345 - 12.7.1346 (*CPR 1343-45* pp527,534; *Admin. Ire.* p171). 1.5.1346 appointed attorney for Countess Matilda (*RCH* p49 no47).

Peter de Hunton

9.5.1328 appointed **marshal in the Dublin exchequer** (*CPR 1327-30* p267); 3.4.1334 granted office for life (*CPR 1330-34* p537); 14.6.1335 not to be removed from office without reasonable cause (*CPR 1334-38* p128). 18.6.1338 appointed attorney in England for Robert Power (*CPR 1338-40* p93).

Walter de Islip

7.6.1300 attorney for Archbishop Richard de Ferings of Dublin (*CPR 1292-1301* p513). 1.4.1305 Master, presented to Gresham church, Norfolk (*CPR 1301-07* p323). 1306 canon of St Patrick's (*Lawlor, Fasti*, p192). 10.12.1306 - 13.9.1307 keeper of the see of

Dublin (*CFR 1272-1307* p546; *CPR 1307-13* p6). 21.4.1308 appointed **bEx**; held office M 1308 - H 1309 (*CPR 1307-13* p65; *Admin. Ire.* p106). 17.9.1309 appointed **chief bEx**; held office H 1309 - H 1311 (*CPR 1307-13* p189). 27.10.1310 appointed **escheator of Ireland** "on the information of the earl of Pembroke"; held office 8.12.1310 - 1.9.1313; reappointed 4.2.1313 (*CFR 1307-19* pp74,162). 1313 treasurer of Ferns cathedral (Ball, *Judges*, p61).

2.2.1314 appointed **treasurer of Ireland**; held office 15.4.1314 - 9.9.1321 (*CPR 1313-17* p82; *Admin. Ire.* p100). 18.2.1314 attorney for John de Hothum (*CPR 1313-17* p85). 7.7.1314 appointed keeper of the lands of Gilbert de Clare, with Thomas Butler; accounted 24.6.1313 - 29.1.1315, but Islip seems to have remained as custos of Kilkenny for the co-parceners (*CFR 1307-19* p201; PROI RC8/13 p207). 7.8.1314 described as late keeper of the see of Durham (*CCR 1313-18* p112). 8.7.1316 ordered to observe the ordinance to reside in Dublin castle with the rolls and memoranda and the treasure for its safe custody, to cause the castle to be sufficiently provisioned, and not to permit any to dwell in the castle save members of the household appointed to guard it (*CCR 1313-18* p293). In possession of a life-grant of premises at Glynmethan (*Rep DKI 39* p65).

13.1.1317 custos of Dunbro manor, the extent of which was reduced from 19 to 10 marks pa; held the custody till 1326, when it temporarily passed to Elias de Ashbourne, and lost it permanently 28.2.1329 (*CFR 1307-19* p316, *1327-37* p124). 9.5.1317 sold land in Thorncastle to Robert de Nottingham without licence (*RCH* p27 no47). 4.8.1317 to render account in England (*CCR 1313-18* p561). 5.9.1317 for service, granted in perpetuity the lands of John de Boneville in Cradokestown, Kildare with reversions of dowry (*RCH* p21 no14). Prebendary of St Martin of Blakerath (*RCH* p21 no23). 3.3.1318 Dean of Wolverhampton (*CPR 1317-21* p113). 11.8.1318 a grant by Archbishop Ferings to Islip of 80¹/₂a at Glynmethan at 52s 6d pa was regularised (*CPR 1317-21* p204). 15.8.1318 Sir William de London, bound to him in a debt of £160,

granted him land worth £20 pa for 8 years, and a life-grant of his purparty of the barony of Le Naas (*Rep DKI 42* p23; *Gormanston Reg.* pp156,157).

26.2.1319 granted indemnity for conduct during the Bruce invasion (*CPR 1317-21* p269). 27.1.1320 Maurice fitzGerald and William le Deveneis quitclaimed all rights in Barounsrath, Co. Kildare, to Walter (*Gormanston Reg.* p157). 2.12.1321 in England to render his account (*CPR 1321-24* p39). 15.3.1322 reappointed treasurer; held office 29.4.1322 - 20.1.1326 (*CFR 1319-27* p109; PRO E101/238/1,3,6,12,17,19). 16.4.1322 surveyor and chief keeper of the lands late of Hugh le Despenser the Younger, Roger Dammory, and Hugh d'Audley the Younger (*CFR 1319-27* p121). 13.12.1322 parson of Whitingdon church (*CPR 1321-24* p82). 24.7.1323 ordered to restore the lands of Hugh le Despenser; and 28.8.1323 to urge all to seek Mortimer's arrest (*CCR 1323-27* pp9,133).

1324 described as a very special friend of William Outlaw, during the Kyteler case, and obviously on good terms with Roger Outlaw, and Arnold le Poer, seneschal of Kilkenny (Neary, A.R., 'Richard de Ledrede: English Franciscan and Bishop of Ossory' (unpub. Moderatorship thesis, TCD, 1978) p38). Prebendary of Swords (*Admin. Ire.* p3), and Feb 1325 rector of Swords and Athboy (PROI RC8/14 pp167-77). 19.4.1325 granted respite from rendering his account (*CCR 1323-27* p287). 6.12.1325 on discovery that he had been party to fraud with Alexander Bicknor when the latter was treasurer, Islip was suspended and all his lands and goods in England and Ireland were confiscated and valued (PROI RC8/14 pp676ff; *CCR 1323-27* p432, 1327-30 p430; *CPR 1324-27* p197); 3 books and a box containing several hundred pounds worth of silver and jewels were found among his possessions (*Account Roll, Holy Trinity* pp169,170). 14.3.1326 pardoned; fined 500 marks; paid £100.15.10 immediately; lands and goods to be restored (*CPR 1324-27* p250; PROI RC8/14 p748). The checking of his account continued at least until 1332, and payment was demanded of his arrears into the 1340s.

19.4.1327 William de London successfully brought an assize of novel disseisin against Walter over the manors of Killean, Baronsrath, Naas, and Killashee (Sayles, *Affairs*, p279). 10.3.1328 enquiry ordered into the levying of the remaining 200 marks of his 500 mark fine (*CCR 1327-30* p266). 15.7.1328 appointed **escheator of Ireland**; possibly held office Dec 1328 - March 1329 (*CFR 1327-37* p98; *Admin. Ire.* p127). 16.8.1328 parson of Trim, acknowledged a debt of 20 marks to John de Hothum (*CCR 1327-30* p408). 8.7.1329 appealed against the assize of novel disseisin brought by William de London (19.4.1327). John of Grantchester was dismissed and fined for contempt of court for allowing documents regarding Islip's excommunication to be heard. The case was heard on 2.9.1328 and found in Islip's favour. London later petitioned that the case be heard before the King's Bench (Sayles, *Affairs*, p279; *Analecta Hibernica* xxxiv p96).

21.1.1331 quitclaimed all rights in Killean, Baronsrath, and Le Naas to John Darcy (*Gormanston Reg.* p161). 18.12.1331 ordered to pay £1332.18.1¹/₄ from his lands but the writs were superseded and his lands restored (PROI RC8/16 p308), although Rathdon manor, alienated to Islip without licence by Fromund le Bruyn, was granted to Thomas de Montpellier (PROI RC8/16 p328), and Thomas Bagod continued to hold custody of lands in Co. Dublin till 26.5.1332 (*Rep DKI 44* p41). 1334 custody of Islip's lands granted to John Darcy (PROI RC8/18 p441). 9.9.1334 granted a full pardon (*CPR 1334-38* p32; PROI RC8/23 p451). 6.4.1335 appointed **bEx**; ineffective (*CPR 1334-38* p95). Enquiries about his debts 1340,1343, and 1344 (PROI RC8/21 pp455,501-3, RC8/22 pp458-64,529, RC8/23 pp90, 356-60; *CCR 1343-46* p111).

Confrater of Kilmainham; enjoyed extensive dining rights at Kilmainham and Holy Trinity priories, and received pensions from All Hallows, St Wulfstan's, and St Thomas the Martyr (*Account Roll, Holy Trinity* pp169,170; *Reg. Kilmainham* pp64,65,99-103; *Frame, Lordship*, pp100,101).

Hugh le Joignour

22.4.1343 yeoman of the chamber, granted the stewardship of the Dublin exchequer as Thomas de Bentham, deceased, held it (*CPR 1343-45 p26*). 29.5.1344 granted the **marshalsea of the Dublin exchequer** as Bentham held it (*CPR 1343-45 p257*). 10.6.1344 attendant continually in the chamber on the king's service, he nominated William de Puriton and William Bette as his deputies (*CPR 1343-45 p262*). Bentham, however, was still alive and still in office. 21.8.1347 sent to the abbey of Notteley to receive maintenance for life as Richard Dicoun had there (*CCR 1346-49 p388*). 7.6.1355 life-grant of 10 marks for long service; now so infirm, unable to labour any longer (*CPR 1354-58 p252*).

John fitz William Jordan

May 1327 involved in successful negotiations with Robert Bruce, who had landed on the Antrim coast (*CPR 1334-38 p133; Analecta Hibernica xxxiv p26; Frame, Lordship, p140*). 28.1.1332 granted £50 worth of land, for service to Edward II and Edward III, out of the royal demesne lands at Crumlin; granted Crumlin manor rent-free 11.9.1332 (*CPR 1330-34 pp245,337*). Spring 1333 went to Ulster, and travelled twice to the court of David Bruce (*Frame, Lordship, pp143,144*). 3.3.1334 appointed **customer**, in remuneration of the £50, but Thomas Saundeby remained in office (*CFR 1327-37 p391*). Granted issues from Newcastle Lyons and Crumlin; 1335 petitioned for this to be implemented (*Analecta Hibernica xxxiv p26*), and 8.6.1335 was granted £13 in Newcastle Lyons, because Crumlin was only worth £37 (*CPR 1334-38 p133*).

1.6.1336 granted £12.12.6. from the farm of Dublin county and licence to demise his grants to whoever he desired; demised the £12.12.6 to John de Leicester and his wife Milana (*CPR 1334-38 pp266,272; CCR 1337-39 p9; PROI RC8/21 p373*). 10.9.1336 granted 100 marks expenses (*CCR 1333-37 p612*). 1338 granted Crumlin manor to

John fitz Walter Jordan, burgess of Drogheda. 1339 accompanied Darcy to the Low Countries. Dead by 15.1.1341 (*CCR 1339-41* p609; PROI RC8/23 p443).

Henry Kempe

Constable of Trim (£20 pa) 1.4.1322 - 1.8.1325 (PRO E101/239/5; *RCH* p36 no81).
Attorney for John Dufford 12.1.1340 - 12.7.1342 for **Limerick** (PRO E101/241/5).

Walter de Kinver

Keeper of the chancery rolls till 25.7.1323 (*CCR 1323-27* p10). Mar 1318 granted, for service, land and the marriage of the heir of Thomas Kenefeg in Rathskyr (*RCH* p23 no112; *Rep DKI 42* p15). 20.8.1318 presented to the church of Balysiothenan (*RCH* p24 no127). 27.8.1318 pardon granted to 5 Dublin citizens because of Walter's service (*RCH* p21 no 13). 2.5.1320 pardon granted to John le Deveneis at Walter's instance (*RCH* p28 no81). 18.9.1321 granted 2 shops in New St (*RCH* p21 no13). 24.8.1325 Robert Shyrebourne granted all his rights in his tenements in Cobblers St in St Nicholas' parish (*RCH* p30 no8). 20.9.1332 appointed **chirographer of the Dublin Bench** (held till Oct 1333) and **keeper of its writs and rolls** 2.11.1332 - 21.1.1334 (*CPR 1330-34* p339; PRO E101/239/29, 240/1). 20.9.1334 reappointed **chirographer** (till 1337) and **keeper of the writs and rolls** (5.5.1335 - 5.2.1337) for 10 years (*CPR 1334-38* p7; PRO E101/240/10,13).

John of Kirby Thore

Free tenant in Westmoreland (*CCR 1313-18* p178, *1333-37* p375). 16.7.1334 appointed **2nd JJB**; ineffective (*CPR 1330-34* p568).

John Knayth

12.7.1327 appointed **baron of the exchequer**; served M 1327 (*CPR 1327-30* p139; PRO E101/239/7). 18.7.1327 Master, £40 expenses (*CPR 1327-30* p138). H-T 1328 **bEx** (*Admin. Ire.* p108). 20.3.1337 appointed attorney for William de Montagu (*CPR 1334-38* p393).

John de Langton

1319 citizen of Limerick, had custody of the weirs (PROI RC8/10 p118). 12.11.1342 **constable of Limerick** (PROI RC8/23 p51). 1345 holding the weirs (PROI RC8/23 p573).

John de Langton

6.4.1323 appointed chamberlain of the English exchequer; replaced 29.1.1327 (*CPR 1321-24* p269, *1327-30* p2). Presented to Langton and Curtlingstock churches (*CPR 1321-24* pp270,354). 4.3.1325 presented to Foxcote church, Bath & Wells (*CPR 1324-27* p97). 5.11.1326 commissioned to take the lands in Gower of Earl Hugh le Despenser of Winchester into royal hands (*CFR 1319-27* p422). 6.11.1326 purveyor in Swansea; appointed steward of Gower (*CPR 1324-27* pp334,336). 17.2.1327 to receive treasure, goods and chattels in Caerphilly castle (*CFR 1327-37* p14).

20.6.1327 appointed chamberlain of the English exchequer (- 1336?) (*CPR 1327-30* p133, *1334-38* p268). 27.1.1331 presented to St Peter's, Chichester (*CPR 1330-34* p66). 27.2.1331 appointed **chief chamberlain of the Dublin exchequer**; ineffective (*CPR*

1330-34 p83). 21.7.1334 presented to St Martin's, Gloucestershire (*CPR 1330-34* p565). 25.4.1335 presented to Ashcombe church, Exeter diocese (*CPR 1334-38* p97). 3.3 - 20.4.1339 held custody of Langeneth priory, S Wales (*CFR 1337-47* pp122,128). 12.12.1339 presented to St John the Baptist's, Dunwich (*CPR 1338-40* p345).

John Larcher

English knight. Prior of the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem in Ireland 1341-9. Retained at Rhodes by Grand Master Villeneuve 1332 (*Reg. Kilmainham* pxi). 3.12.1325 licenced to alienate 3 stalls in the suburb of London to the prior and brethren of the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem in England to found a chantry to pray for his soul and that of his brother Thomas (*CPR 1324-27* p199). Early 1342 travelled to England with Thomas Wogan to present petitions from the Anglo-Irish community to the king (*CCR 1341-43* p508). 10.3.1342 appointed **chancellor of Ireland**; paid 15.5 - 15.8.1342 & 15.11.1343 - 17.8.1346 (*CPR 1340-43* p395; PRO E101/241/5; *Admin. Ire.* p95).

Petitioned that the prior and brethren be allowed to levy sums contained in recognisances made to Roger Outlaw (*Analecta Hibernica* xxxiv; Sayles, *Affairs*, p180). 10.4.1342 justiciar ordered to restore Garristown church to the Hospitallers (granted to Outlaw 20.7.1332), and the lands and liberties granted to the Hospitallers by the king; eg Chapelizod manor (40 marks pa) (*CCR 1341-43* pp407,416). 10.2.1344 accompanied John Morice to Munster; pardoned 40 marks from the farm of Chapelizod for losses (PROI RC8/22 p650). 26.7.1346 reappointed **chancellor**; renewed 16.11.1346; paid 26.3.1347 - 26.3.1348 (*Admin. Ire.* p95). 11.8.1346 pardoned all transgressions (*RCH* p51 no26).

25.11.1347 appointed **deputy justiciar** while Bermingham was in England; paid 28.11.1347 - 26.4.1348 (PROI RC8/24 pp36,144,148; *Admin. Ire.* p88). 6.8.1348 still

prior, but had been succeeded by John fitzRichard by 28.6.1349 (*CCR 1346-49* p554; *Reg. Kilmainham* pxii). Possibly Thomas Larcher, prior of the Hospital in England c1321-40, was his brother. John Larcher the Younger was appointed 26.7.1345 an attorney of Philip de Thame, prior of the Hospital in England; renewed 18.7.1348 & 12.10.1349 (*CPR 1343-35* p526, **1348-50** pp126,405).

William Lawless

Exchequer clerk 1337-47 (*Rep DKI 47* pp41,72, 53 p54, 54 p36; PROI RC8/21 pp260,542, RC8/22 pp107,213,392, RC8/23 p676, RC8/24 p42).

May be same as ***William fitzThomas Lawless***, appointed **1st chamberlain** 1.8.1351; paid M 1351 - H 1364; reappointed 6.6.1352 (*CPR 1350-54* pp126,293; PROI RC8/25 p414; *Admin. Ire.* p123). 28.2.1355 accompanied Embleton to England with the counterrolls (PROI RC8/26 p629). Attorney for Robert de Embleton 30.8.1351 (*CPR 1350-54* p133); for Ralph Bernard, marshal of the exchequer 8.7.1354 (*CPR 1354-58* p86); for William Epworth 10.7.1354 (*CPR 1354-58* p88); for the earl of Desmond 12.5.1355 (*CPR 1354-58* p218); for William de Retford, prebendary of Rathmigel 1.7.1355, 11.7.1357, & 16.6.1364 (*CPR 1354-58* pp257,577, *1361-64* p510); attorney for the prior of Little Malvern 30.9.1363 & 26.4.1364 (*CPR 1361-64* pp390,489); and for Britellus Avenel, prebendary of Kilcowan (*CPR 1361-64* p509).

Other members of the Lawless family in the Dublin administration:

Elias Lawless: master, canon of St Patrick's, **1st chamberlain** E 1314 - T 1317, appointed 27.3.1314 (PROI RC8/14 p835; *Admin. Ire.* p120).

William fitzHugh Lawless: 26.10.1327 appointed constable of Newcastle McKynegan, at the request of Thomas Butler; held till Sept 1329 (*CFR 1327-37* p68).

William fitzRichard Lawless: 5.6.1348 appointed **summoner** at the Dublin exchequer (*CCR 1349-54* p99). Richard Lawless was bailiff (1293) and mayor of Dublin (1311/12) (*Reg. Hosp. St John* pp132,149).

William fitzSimon Lawless was attorney of Thomas de Bentham, marshal of the exchequer (PROI RC8/24 p486).

Richard Lawless was a scribe in the exchequer 1354 (PROI RC8/26 p581).

Nicholas Lawless was a messenger of the exchequer 1355 (PROI RC8/26 p700, RC8/27 p114).

Peter de Ledymeton

Nominated by John Darcy on his reappointment as justiciar 1328 as **CJCB**; ineffective. Probably **Peter de Ludington**, keeper in England of the writs and rolls of the Common Pleas 4.2.1327 - 1335/6 (*CPR 1324-27* pp349,350, 1327-30 p208). Frequent commissioner in Lincolnshire 1316-30 (*CPR 1313-17* p588, 1317-21 pp101,278,284,358,489,549,603, 1321-24 pp146,147,150,256,317,381,442,455, 1324-27 pp67,138,145, 231, 1327-30 pp17, 217, 281, 291, 293, 294, 423, 427, 434). Deceased by 12.3.1336 (*CPR 1334-38* pp155,228).

Thomas de Lees

Son of Hugh de Lees (*RCH* p35 no42). **Constable of Limerick** 1326 (PRO E101/239/5; *RCH* p35 no37). 1335 summoned to Scotland (*Rot. Scot.* i 343).

Simon de Leiston

Exchequer clerk 1334-42 (PROI RC8/18 p356,555, RC8/21 p261; *Rep DKI 44* p48, 45 p27). 1336 clerk of the works of Newcastle McKynegan (*RCH* p20 no15; PRO E101/240/13). 1336 paymaster of Darcy's troops in Munster and Leinster (*RCH* p20 nos8-11; PRO E101/240/13). 1340 clerk of William de Burton, remembrancer (PROI RC8/21 p542). 1342 **clerk of the common pleas of the exchequer** (*Rep DKI 53* p27, 54 p30; PROI RC8/22 pp219,392; *RCH* p45 no60). Attorney for Meiler de Burgh 1334 (PROI RC8/18 p352); for William Bette 1344 (PROI RC8/23 p389); for John de Troye 22.8.1346 and Hugh de Burgh 30.8.1346 (*RCH* p51 nos35,36); and for Roger de Preston and John fitzJohn 1347 (PROI RC8/24 pp4,190).

John de Leicester

There are references for at least 3 different men of the same name during this period in Dublin:

1. Clerk, summoner

28.4.1318 chancery clerk; for service, not to be summoned or distrained by the mayor and bailiffs of Dublin (*RCH* p24 no145). M 1319 attorney for Robert de Nottingham (PROI RC8/12 p193). 29.4.1331 appointed **summoner** (*CPR 1330-34* p107).

2. Bailiff, citizen of Dublin

1311 bailiff of Dublin city, witness to a charter of the Hospital of St John the Baptist without the New Gate (*Reg. Hosp. St John* p51). 1332/3 serjeant of Dublin city (PROI

RC8/18 p396). 1.6.1336 John fitzWilliam Jordan granted £12.12.6 from the farm of Dublin city to John de Leicester and his wife Milana; paid till 1343; Thomas Smothe acted as their attorney (*CCR 1337-39* p8; *Rep DKI 45* p40, 47 pp32,57; PROI RC8/21 p373, RC8/22 p67). 20.4.1339 citizen of Dublin, petitioned the king to order the release of his ship, wool, and merchandise; he had been transporting victuals from Ireland to Skinburness and his ship had been driven by storms to Caernarvon (*CCR 1339-41* p68). 20.2.1343 John and Milana had petitioned for restoration of John Jordan's grant which had been confiscated; it was to be restored if they could provide security (*CCR 1343-46* p18).

3. Clerk, attorney

10.3.1341 son of Thomas de Leicester (*CPR 1340-43* p146). 23.11.1352 - 12.2.1359 king's attorney (*Admin. Ire.* p178; *RCH* pp61 nos66,81, 63 no125).

There are also references to a number of other men surnamed 'de Leicester':

Nicholas de Leicester, merchant of Dublin 1310/11 (*RCH* p17 no97).

Richard de Leicester, merchant of Dublin 1322/3 (PROI RC8/13 p279).

Robert de Leicester, appointed keeper of the writs and rolls and memoranda of the Irish chancery 1.12.1350 (*CPR 1350-54* p16) and 2nd chamberlain 27.2.1352; revoked 8.9.1352 (*CPR 1350-54* pp234,320).

Philip de Leicester, clerk, paid 2 marks 1.8.1358 (*RCH* p71 no107).

In England John de Leicester served as chamberlain in the English exchequer late 1330 - March 1340 (*CPR 1330-34* p30, *1338-40* p448).

John de Lidgate

28.8.1307 appointed engrosser of the Dublin exchequer (*CPR 1307-13* p3). 10.5.1311 presented to Cruystown church (*RCH* p18 no141). Attorney for John fitzJohn le Poer 1314 (PROI RC8/9 pp358,361); for John de Hothum 1.7.1314 (PROI RC8/9 p363); for Richard de York 1315 (PROI RC8/10 p31); and for John de Hastings 10.8.1321 (*CPR 1321-24* p11). M 1320 appointed 2nd engrosser; renewed 24.3.1327, 18.1.1331, 2.3.1334, and for 12 years 30.9.1334; paid E 1321 - M 1336 (PROI RC8/12 pp485,569; *CPR 1327-30* pp58,308, *1330-34* pp44,524, *1334-38* p27; PROI RC8/18 p280; PRO E101/239/24,29, 240/1,5,8,10,13; PROI RC8/13 pp19,68, RC8/22 pp354,553).

1.1.1329 - 7.8.1333 attorney for Henry de Guldeford, usher of the exchequer (PROI RC8/16 p197; PRO E101/239/19,22,24,29). 1332 reference to his wife, Sibilla (PROI RC8/18 p225). 3.4/3.7.1334 complained about non-payment of the customary £7 over his fee (PROI RC8/18 pp298,299).

Probably related to:

Simon de Lidgate who accompanied John Wogan to Ireland 8.9.1296 (*CPR 1292-1301* p198); served as JCB M 1298 - M 1302 (*Admin. Ire.* p150); had a son Lawrence (*CPR 1307-13* p72), and possibly another son -

Simon, attorney for the Prior of Holy Trinity, Dublin 1319, canon, and Prior of Holy Trinity 1343-46, dying 9.9.1346 (PROI RC8/12 p42; *Account Roll, Holy Trinity* pxvii).

William de Lidgate was an attorney for Richard de York E 1315 (PROI RC8/10 p31).

Adam de Lidgate, serjeant of the exchequer 1337-41 (*Rep DKI* 45 p27, 47 p34, 53 p21), attorney with Thomas Char for Henry de Guldeford 15.10.1337 - 20.5.1340 (PROI RC8/21 pp256,257,372, RC8/22 p394; PRO E101/240/17).

John de Lidgate exchequer clerk 1342-4 (PROI RC8/22 p218; *RCH* p45 no60; *Rep DKI* 54 p47).

Adam de Limber

16.3.1309 presented to Rye church, Sussex; resigned March 1312 (*CPR 1307-13* pp106,449). 8.1.1310 presented to Freseby church, Lincoln diocese (*CPR 1307-13* p204). 8.10.1311 appointed remembrancer of the English exchequer; successor appointed 21.6.1322 (*CPR 1307-13* p392, *1321-24* p137). 14.4.1312 farmer of Idern manor, Sussex, ordered to repair houses and walls (*CCR 1307-13* pp418,477). 20.7.1312 prebendary of Marshton in the royal chapel of Stafford (*CCR 1307-13* p480). 1314-15 commissioner in Lincs, Rutland, and Salop. 22.10.1315 presented to Berkswell church, Coventry and Lichfield (*CPR 1313-17* p357). 1.12.1315 extended lands of Earl Guy de Beauchamp (*CFR 1307-19* p265).

1316-18 commissioner in Lincs, Stafford, and Essex. 1319 summoned to parliament in York (*CCR 1318-23* p74). 6.11.1319 keeper of the goods and chattels of Bishop John de Sandale of Winchester (*CFR 1319-27* p7). 26.5.1320 granted, for £6 fine, the marriage of John de Cherdewell (*CFR 1319-27* p24). 24.4.1322 appointed constable of Bordeaux (Tout, T.F., *The Place of the Reign of Edward II in English History* (Manchester, 1914) p397); served till 1326. 2.7.1323 presented to Algarkirk church, Lincoln diocese (*CPR 1321-24* pp111,304). 1323 prebendary of Monmohennok, St Patrick's (Lawlor, *Fasti*, p133). 18.10.1324 returned to England to report on Gascony, and went back to the duchy May 1325 (*CCR 1330-33* p100).

18.8.1326 supervising transfer of stores to Porchester castle (*CCR 1323-27* pp603,640).
8.2.1327 1 of 6 auditors appointed to examine the account of a former keeper of the king's wardrobe (*CCR 1327-30* p31). 3.7.1327 summoned to parliament (*CCR 1327-30* p208). 1328-29 chancery clerk (*CCR 1327-30* pp410,411,453). 30.12.1330 petitioned for wages and expenses owing from his constableness of Bordeaux (*CCR 1330-33* p100-101). 14.2.1331 executor of Earl Edmund of Kent (*CPR 1330-34* p178). 26.2.1331 appointed **chancellor of Ireland**; paid 14.5.1331 - 14.11.1332 (*CPR 1330-34* p82; PRO E101/239/22,24,29).

28.2.1331 appointed with Lucy and Thomas de Burgh to remove incompetent ministers and appoint suitable ones; 4.3.1331 commissioned to hear complaints of oppressions by royal ministers (*CPR 1330-34* pp83,135). 12.3.1331 licence, granted at Adam's request, for the prioress of Hingham to acquire land worth 10 marks pa in mortmain; justiciar mandated to promote 3 clerks nominated by Adam to the first 3 void benefices worth up to £20 pa (*CPR 1330-34* p87). Accompanied to Ireland by Herbert and Richard de Gresseby, John de Beaumes, William de Kellesey, William de Limber, Henry Gilling, Thomas le Kou of Petham (*CPR 1330-34* p87).

12.4.1331 appointed collector of the quadrennial tenth in Ireland by the papal nuncio (*CPR 1330-34* p101). 22.4.1331 petitioned for £31 10s wages owed to him as clerk of the privy seal and constable of Bordeaux, and for allowance to be made in his account of £2692.14.1 sterling and £868.16.16 petits tournois for losses and expenses in Gascony (*CCR 1330-33* pp224,226). Commissioner enquiring into the goods and chattels of Peter Pigoletti (PROI RC8/16 p428). Paid £38 8s for retaining 8 men-at-arms in Lucy's service in Munster 24.1 - 30.4.1332; held 170a at Killestre (*Rep DKI 43* pp54,59).

14.7.1334 appointed **chancellor of Ireland**; there is a gap in the record of payments and it is unclear whether he assumed office (*CCR 1333-37* p327; *CPR 1330-34* p568; *Admin. Ire.* p94). 9.11.1334 appointed a baron of the English exchequer (*CPR 1334-38*

p46). 1335-38 commissioner in Lincs and Yorks. April 1339 died, leaving his sister Maud as his heiress (*CIPM IX* p157). William de Kellesey, William de Limber, Richard de Somerby, Stephen de Limber, and Herbert de Gresseby were his executors (*CPR 1338-40* p243; *CCR 1339-41* p307).

Probably related to Adam son of John de Limber, king's clerk, who also served as a commissioner in Lincs, acquired a number of benefices, was a canon of St Mary's, Lincoln, and was still alive 12.10.1370 (*CCR 1343-46* p263; *CPR 1367-70* p464).

Robert de Lincoln

2.10.1333 royal clerk, appointed **keeper of the writs and rolls of the justiciar's bench**, on condition that he exercise it in person (*CPR 1330-34* p470). 1334 petitioned to be discharged from office: he was very ill with quartan fever, and Bosworth's grant of office had not been revoked (*Analecta Hibernica xxxiv* p46).

Thomas de Louth

1322-31 commissioner of oyer and terminer in England, including Bedford, Bucks, Gloucs, Hants, Northants, Salop, and Somerset. 3.5.1324 appointed **2nd JCB**, Dublin; grant surrendered (*CPR 1321-24* p412). 20.11.1331 granted custody of Fallele manor, Berks, with the marriage of the heir, "for service to the king in England and Ireland". (*CPR 1330-34* p219). 2.12.1331 appointed **CJJB**; paid E, T 1332, 1.11.1332 - 1.2.1334. 29.10.1334 - 16.10.1337; reappointed 16.7.1334 in the event of Robert de Bousser not taking up appointment (*CPR 1330-34* pp226,568; PRO E101/239/24,29, 240/1,8,10,13, 241/5).

Accompanied Lucy to Thomond 9.9 - 15.11.1332 (paid £9 for retaining 3 men-at-arms and 20 marks for losses), and Darcy to Munster May 1333 (paid 18s for retaining 3 men-at-arms May 1-6, and £20 for good and laudable service (*Rep DKI 43* pp56,57, 44 p20; PRO E101/239/24, 240/1). Holding £20 annuity from the customs collected at London (Willard, ii 187). 5.8.1334 awarded custody of the 1st wardship worth not more than £30 and the marriage of the heir; 29.12.1334 awarded wardship of Adam de Howthe, Co. Dublin, valued at £31 9s; 1.4.1335 pardoned on his petition for acquiring a wardship worth more than £30, and licenced to hold it (*CPR 1334-38* pp4,91; *RCH* p40 no137; *Rep DKI 44* p37; PROI RC8/18 pp513-15).

3.3.1337 Ashbourne appointed CJB; 28.7.1337 Louth reappointed; 24.9.1337 Ashbourne reappointed (*CPR 1334-38* pp389,477,522). 28.3.1338 Thomas Wogan, escheator, had confiscated his wardship and lands for alleged wastes; Louth was imprisoned; Rees, fitzRichard, and Dent were to investigate (*CPR 1338-40* p74). 17.5.1338 to be released due to the "laudable testimony to his conduct", and reappointed CJB (*CPR 1338-40* p80). 12.9.1338 Ashbourne finally reappointed (*CPR 1338-40* p127).

Thomas de Louthir

Constable of Cashel 18.12.1339 - 18.9.1340 (PRO E101/240/17). Sheriff of Kilkenny 1344-49 (PROI RC8/23 pp162,439,581, RC8/24 pp236,575).

Duncan McGoffrey

1318 at sea with men-at-arms between Scotland and Ireland (*CCR 1318-23* p165). Since his fee was considered too small by the Irish Council, he was assigned Bretonstown worth 20 marks pa; this had already been granted to Walter de la Pulle,

and orders were given 6.11.1319 to assign him something else (*CCR 1318-23* p162).
Constable of Newcastle McKynegan 10.3.1321 - 14.5.1326 (£20 pa). Died or killed;
10 marks were given for his funeral (PRO E101/238/1,8,12, 17,19,26; *RCH* pp28 no35,
31 nos 35,67; PROI RC8/13 pp179, 249,287,384,557,576).

John de Maincestre

M 1321 general attorney for John de Monelia, customer (PROI RC8/12 p660). 1331-40
exchequer clerk (PROI RC8/16 pp203,287-9,291-3,384, RC8/21 pp376,394,540,543).
1334-40 clerk of the works of Dublin castle, succeeding John de Carlton, and
succeeded by William de Barton (PRO E101/240/1,5,8,13,17; PROI RC8/18
pp306,355,357,507, RC8/21 p136). 1338 comptroller of the great new custom in
Dublin (60s pa) (PROI RC8/21 p122). References to Nicholas and Richard de
Maincestre 1322/3 and 1323/4 (PROI RC8/13 pp286,398).

Henry Mape

1321 constable of Roscommon (*RCH* p29 nos45,46). 1321 - 20.6.1326 constable of
Rindown (£40 pa) (PRO E101/238/6,12,17,19,26; *RCH* pp29 nos 45,46, 31 nos72,73,
32 no95). Probably related to -

John Mape

2.6 - 3.12.1331 constable of Athlone (40 marks pa) (PRO E101/239/22,24). 1334
sheriff of Meath ordered to distrain John to answer for the fisheries of Athlone (PROI
RC8/18 p412).

Richard le Mareschal

1335 exchequer clerk (PROI RC8/18 p565). 1337-42 clerk of the common pleas of the exchequer (*Rep DKI 47* pp20,38,49; PROI RC8/21 pp261,541, RC8/22 p106). Sometime keeper of the lands of Earl John de Bermingham (PROI RC8/23 p73).

Simon Maupas

23.5.1334 appointed constable of Northburgh castle (*CPR 1330-34* p546).

John de Maydenford

26.3.1344 appointed 2nd engrosser at the request of Earl Henry of Derby (*CPR 1343-45* p220); ineffective. 22.10.1350 acknowledged a debt of 100 marks to Earl Henry, to be levied, in default of payment, from his lands and chattels in Huntingdonshire (*CCR 1349-54* p271).

Ralph Meiller

1335 summoned to Scotland (*Rot. Scot.* i 343). 22.10.1339 - 19.2.1343 constable of Ferns (PRO E101/240/17, 241/5). 1340 New Ross granted "the passage of all ships without exception" by the English Council, as a result of Ralph's hard work (*Clyn*, p19). John Meiller was sheriff of Wexford in 1355/6 (PROI Catalogue of accounts in the Great rolls of the pipe of the Irish Exchequer mm17-19, roll 30 Edward III).

Thomas de Menill

24.3.1337 king's yeoman, appointed **constable of Carrickfergus**; revoked 1.6.1337 in favour of Roald de Richemund; reappointed 10.11.1337 "at the request of certain persons"; revoked 18.12.1337 in Roald's favour (*CPR 1334-38 pp458,547,560*).

John de Middleton

14.9.1337 clerk of Thomas Charlton; accompanied him to Ireland (*CPR 1334-38 p525*).
23.10.1338 appointed **2nd JJB**; renewed 29.4.1340; paid 16.1.1339 - 16.7.1341 (*CPR 1338-40 pp159,471*; PRO E372/184 m49; E101/240/17). 1339 paid 20 marks for horses lost in Thomas' service (PRO E101/240/17). 18.2.1341 appointed attorney for Thomas Charlton (*CPR 1340-43 p130*).

Gilbert de Moenes

17.3.1330 exemption for life from assizes, juries, recognisances, and appointment as mayor, bailiff, coroner etc against his will (*CPR 1327-30 p535*). **Constable of Arklow** (80 marks) 12.1.1332 - 13.2.1333 (PRO E101/239/29, 240/10), of **Newcastle McKynegan** (£20) 11.6.1332 - 13.7.1335 (PRO E101/239/24,29, 240/1,5,10; *RCH pp30 nos 32,35,54, 41 no4*), and of **Balyten** (£40) 23.6 - 23.12.1336 (PRO E101/240/13). Son of Robert de Moenes, mayor of Dublin 1319-20, brother of John de Moenes, mayor of Dublin 1331-2, 1335-6, 1337-8, and uncle of Robert de Moenes, mayor of Dublin 1351-2 (*New History of Ireland: IX p549*; Mac Niocaill, G., *Na Buirgéisi, XII-XV Aois, i* (Dublin, 1984) p488). Presumably related to William de Moenes (next entry).

William de Moenes

ChambEx 1293-99; **BEx** 1299 - M 1308, H 1309 - H 1311, M1313 - E 1326; **Chief BEx** E 1311 - E 1326 (*Admin. Ire.* pp106-7, 119). 3.12.1313 executor of John de Kerdiff (PROI RC8/9 p109). Held wardship of William Wallop in Balyhamond, Balyhauly, and Balytyr, Co. Dublin (*Rep DKI 39* pp53,60,70). Early 1326 died; Roger de Birthorp, Robert de Moenes, and John Stakespoll acted as his executors (PROI RC8/14 p741).

Thomas de Montpeliers

5.11.1309 described as marshal of the Dublin exchequer; had been replaced by 9.8.1311 (Craig, D.V., 'The Memoranda Roll of the Irish Exchequer for 3 Edward II' (unpub. PhD thesis, TCD, 1984) p647). 8.9.1311 royal clerk, to be preferred to ecclesiastical benefices worth up to £40 pa (*CPR 1307-13* p392). 18.10.1315 appointed attorney of Alexander Bicknor (*CPR 1313-17* p357); acting 1324, 1329-30 (PROI RC8/14 p63, RC8/15 pp392,393,416,494,495,618). 27.1.1318 prebendary of Blakerath, Ossory, and of Glymethan (*CPR 1317-21* p75; Lawlor, *Fasti*, p99). 12.8.1319 appointed Robert Power as his attorney while he went to Santiago on pilgrimage (*CPR 1317-21* p388). 28.5.1322 prebendary of Lusk, St Patrick's (*CPR 1321-24* p123).

5.3.1232 appointed **chanEx**; paid E-M 1323 (PROI RC8/13 p118; PRO E101/238/6). 8.6.1323 appointed attorney for Robert de Woodhouse; renewed 25.7.1328 (*CPR 1321-24* p292, 1327-30 p307). 10.9.1323 ordered with William Douce to seize all ships in the ports of Dublin and Howth and commit them to safe custody for use in England (PROI RC8/13 p298). 5.6.1326 granted custody of 160a in Newchagarde, and 183a in the liberty of St Sepulchre (PROI RC8/14 p857). 27.3.1327 appointed **bEX**; **chief baron** from 12.5.1327; paid E-M 1327 (*CPR 1327-30* p64; PRO E101/239/5). E 1327 -

T 1335 **chanEx**; appointed 2.5.1328, 24.9.1334 (PRO E101/239/5,7,19,22,24,29, 240/1,5,8; *CPR 1327-30* p262, 1334-38 p22).

M 1331 **chief bEx** (PRO E101/239/24). 1.6.1332 granted custody of Rathdon manor, Co. Dublin (PROI RC8/16 p328; *Rep DKI 44* p33). 19.10. 1335 - 13.3.1341 **2nd JCB**; reappointed 15.8.1336; dismissed 10.8.1337, ineffective (*Admin. Ire.* pp159-61; *CPR 1334-38* p309; *CCR 1337-39* p168). 14.7.1336 appointed **chanEx**; ineffective (*CPR 1334-38* p301). 1338-46/7 Dean of St Patrick's (Lawlor, *Fasti*, p40). 1346/7 died.

Related to Peter de Montpeliers, king's serjeant, appointed to purvey spices for the royal household (22.10.1315) (*CPR 1313-17* p360); Richard de Montpeliers, king's marshal, Thomas' attorney in England in 1322 (*CPR 1321-24* p127), and for whom Thomas acted as executor in 1332 (PROI RC8/18 p167); Robert de Montpeliers, appointed attorney for Bicknor in England 10.8.1328, and for Thomas 25.7.1329 (*CPR 1327-30* pp314,415), and granted the stewardship of the royal demesne lands of Newcastle Lyons, Crumlin, and Saggart (*CFR 1327-37* p309); and John de Montpeliers (*CPR 1334-38* p111).

John Morice

Served with Aymer de Valence 1310, 1315-6, 1318-9, 1322, and 1324 (Phillips, *Pembroke*, p300). 23.4.1322 commissioned to levy 500 footmen in Beds and Bucks (*CFR 1319-27* p124; *CPR 1324-27* pp96,124). Granted protection with clause volumus 8.3.1324 & 18.8.1324, accompanying Darcy to Ireland (*CPR 1321-24* p392, 1324-27 p15). 10.3.1324 commissioned to be a keeper of the peace in Beds pursuant to the statute of Winchester; repeated 4.6.1324 (*CPR 1321-24* pp387,454). June 1324 going to France with Earl Aymer (*CPR 1321-24* p427). 17.11.1324 commissioned to array the men of Beds and Bucks for service in Gascony; replaced 14.2.1325 (*CPR 1324-27* pp54,101).

24.1.1325 licenced to enclose a path for enlargement of a dwelling place in Elnstone (*CPR 1324-27* p83). 28.8.1325 commissioned to pursue those waylaying and robbing merchants (*CPR 1324-27* p229). 12.12.1325 granted protection going overseas with Countess Marie of Pembroke (*CPR 1324-27* p200). 28.2.1326 mandated to be more active in dispersing unlawful assemblies and arresting malefactors (*CPR 1324-27* p286). 6.3.1327 commissioner of oyer and terminer because of complaints of oppressions by officers of the king's household in Beds and Bucks, and commissioner of the peace in Beds 14.7.1327 (*CPR 1327-30* pp81,89). 1328/9 accompanied Darcy to Ireland (*CPR 1327-30* p337). 2.3.1329 - 10.8.1336 **escheator of Ireland** (£40 pa, with allowances for robes, and the expenses of his sub-escheators, (*CFR 1327-37* p125; PRO E101/239/29, 240/10; *Rep DKI 44* p39; PROI RC8/18 p617). Sometime seneschal of Carlow, Wexford (*Frame, Lordship*, p71) and Kilkenny (*Rep DKI 43* p44).

5.8.1329 had custody of 2 parts of the Earl John de Bermingham's manor of Ardee; granted custody 1.2.1331 and held it until the majority of Earl John's 3 daughters and coheireses, delivering $\frac{1}{3}$ to Matilda, Bathereda, and Katherine 26.9.1332, 16.9.1336, and 4.4.1338 respectively (*CFR 1327-37* p237; PROI RC8/16 p13; *Rep DKI 44* pp38,44, 47 p39, 53 p39). 2.1 - 2.5.1331 accompanied Lucy to Munster, and was paid £1 4s for retaining 6 men-at-arms 20-25.2.1331, and £4 4s for 7 men-at-arms 28.2 - 11.3.1331 (*Rep DKI 43* p54). 3.2 - 4.8.1332 accompanied Lucy to Leinster and was paid £8 8s for retaining 6 men-at-arms and 12 hobelars 14-27.6.1332; granted 20 marks as a gift (PRO E101/239/29). 27.10.1332 given £100 for losses (*CCR 1330-33* p362; PRO E101/239/24). 10.12.1332 licence for the abbot of St Mary's, Stratford, to grant to John Morice, his wife Agnes, and his heirs, land in Everton, Blounham, Temesford, and Kilmundewyk (*CCR 1330-33* p375).

1-6.5.1333 accompanied Darcy to Munster and was paid £1 16s for retaining 12 men-at-arms 1-3.5.1333 (*Rep DKI 43* p57). 6.7.1333 executor with Countess Matilda and Roger Outlaw for the will of Earl William de Burgh (*CCR 1333-37* p63). 6.9.1334 sent on very urgent business to England; £20 expenses in Munster (*RCH* p38 no20). Oct

1334 witness to a charter of John de Lacy concerning the manor of Recking, Beds (*CCR 1333-37* p341). 10.10.1334 to make inquisition concerning the terms of seisin of the liberty of Ulster as held by Earl William (*CFR 1327-37* p422). 1333-36 receiver for the Lady of Clare (*PRO SC6/1239/14*).

30.7.1335 20 marks for going to Connacht to take certain lands into royal hands; 40 marks for going to Ulster with Roger Outlaw (*PRO E101/240/13*; *RCH* p41 no25). 7.8.1335 20 marks for levying issues from Earl William's lands and for losses (*RCH* p41 no32; *PRO E101/240/10*). Summoned to Scotland (*Rot. Scot.* i 343); marshal of Darcy's army (Nicholson, R., 'An Irish expedition to Scotland in 1335', *IHS* xiii (1962-3) p205). 12.4.1336 allowed £120 for loss of horses, silver vessels, armour, jewels, and other goods to the value of £169 (*Rep DKI 44* p45; *CCR 1333-37* p565). Petitioned for help in making his sub-escheators account (*Analecta Hibernica* xxxiv p93; Sayles, *Affairs*, p167). 18.3.1337 to have £100 profits of office as granted by the king which had not yet been paid, and a further £79.12.8 (*CCR 1337-39* pp41,42; *PROI RC8/21* p19).

28.11.1338 overseer of arrays in Beds, Bucks, and Herts, and to arrest vagrant robbers and murderers (*CPR 1338-40* p185). 1340 £11 for expenses in going to Ulster with Outlaw; further grants of £15 6s, £10, and £20 expenses (*PRO E101/241/5*). 10.12.1340 commissioner of oyer and terminer in Beds, Bucks, Oxon, Berks, Surrey, Sussex, Hants, Wilts, Middx (*CPR 1340-43* p112; *CCR 1341-43* pp20,39). 16.3.1341 appointed **deputy justiciar**; paid 16.5.1341 - 14.7.1344 (*CPR 1340-43* p144; *PRO E101/240/17, 241/5,13*; *Admin. Ire.* p87). 28.3.1341 commissioned with Askeby and Hugh de Burgh to ascertain the number, fees, and duties of royal ministers in Dublin (*CPR 1340-43* p207). 2.8 - 2.10.1341 led an expedition to Leinster (*Rep DKI 47* pp64,68). 25.11.1341 to survey the exchequer (*CPR 1340-43* p349). 4.12.1341 appointed **constable of Leixlip castle** (*Rep DKI 47* p72).

16.1 - 18.5.1342 led an expedition to Meath (*Rep DKI 53 p45*). 16.7 - 4.9.1342 led an expedition to Leinster (*Rep DKI 53 p44*). 11.9.1342 granted wardship and marriage of James de la Hide, which he bought for £200; previous grant to John de Berford was revoked, but regranted 8.4.1343 (PROI RC8/23 p592; *Rep DKI 53 p19*; *CFR 1337-47 pp296,329*). 10.5.1343 appointed attorney for Countess Marie of Pembroke (*CPR 1343-45 p34*). 25.8.1345 commissioner of oyer and terminer in Beds (*CPR 1343-45 p581*). 15.2.1346 life-grant of 200 marks, until granted the equivalent in land or rents (*CPR 1345-48 p42*; *RCH p49 no65*; PROI RC8/23 p592). 25.2.1346 being sent to Ireland, exempt from all contributions and aids save the 10th, 15th, and other aids granted by parliament (*CPR 1345-48 p56*).

15.3.1346 to stay in Ireland with 10 men-at-arms, 2 knights, and 7 esquires (*CCR 1346-49 p15*). 7.4.1346 appointed **justiciar**; paid 16.5 - 28.6.1346 (*RCH p49 no58*; PROI RC8/23 p589; PRO E101/241/13). 20.5.1346 appointed **keeper of the seal**; paid 18.8 - 8.12.1346 (*CCR 1346-49 p29*; PRO E101/241/13; *RCH p51 no30*). 8.8.1346 to keep the peace in Co. Waterford arraying men against the rebels. King's senschal in Desmond's lands in Waterford (*RCH p51 nos23,32*). 24.11.1346 granted the manors of Blakecastel and Babeston, forfeited by Richard de Mandeville, extended at £42 13d (PROI RC8/24 p30). 1347 went to Calais with John de Troye to petition that no grants be made from lands in royal hands until the cause of their seizure had been certified (*Analecta Hibernica xxxiv p75*).

1349 petitioned for the arrears of the 200 marks (*Analecta Hibernica xxxiv p21*). 10.11.1349 commissioner of the peace in Beds; repeated 15.3.1351; and in Dorset 20.2.1350 (*CPR 1348-50 pp383,526, 1350-54 p86*). 20.6.1350 justice of oyer and terminer in Beds; 1 noble per day (*CPR 1348-50 p585*; *CCR 1349-54 p315*). 10.3.1354 commissioner of oyer and terminer in Dorset (*CPR 1354-58 p58*). 1363 died (*CPR 1361-64 pp183,392*).

His John was attorney for the executors of the will of John de St Amand in 1331 (*CPR 1330-34* p151), seneschal of Wexford 1339-42 (*Rep DKI 53* p27), and was granted £10 for taking news of the lordship to court in 1344 (*Rep DKI 54* pp30,38,39,42). One William de Morice served in the exchequer 1362-3 (*PROI RC8/28* p236).

Edmund Morteyn

24.9.1334 commission of oyer and terminer appointed on complaint by Edmund that a number broke his close at Cambridge, assaulted him, his men and his servants and carried away his goods; repeated 24.5.1335 (*CPR 1334-38* pp64,143). 15.1.1337 royal clerk, master, appointed **escheator of Ireland**; paid 15.5 - 3.10.1337 (*CFR 1327-37* p506; *Rep DKI 45* p45). 28.6.1338 commission of oyer and terminer appointed on complaint by Earl Thomas of Norfolk that a number including Edmund Morteyn, parson of the church of Marshton, broke his close at Edworth, Bedfordshire, carrying away £24 in money and goods (*CPR 1338-40* p132). 27.7.1338 petitioned for payment of 107s 9¹/₂d surplus in his account (*CCR 1337-39* p445).

19.8.1339 appointed attorney in Ireland for Earl Hugh d'Audley (*CPR 1338-40* p307). Bicknor and Outlaw acknowledged a debt of £100 to Edmund, who nominated Robert Power and William Burton as his attorneys to prosecute the recognisance (*PROI RC8/21* p392). 1344 commissioner of oyer and terminer (*CPR 1343-45* p408). 12.3.1347 witness to an indenture between Ralph, baron Stafford, and Sir John Lestrangle of Whitchurch (*CCR 1346-49* p247). 28.1.1348 & 8.10.1350 lord of Marshton, 1 of several feoffees of some manors of Ralph, baron Stafford, who subsequently renefeoffed Ralph in tail (*CPR 1348-50* pp19,570, 1350-54 p50). 4.3.1351 parson of Fordingbridge (*CPR 1350-54* p43). 1.9.1361 appointed attorney for Ralph, Earl Stafford (*CPR 1361-64* p55). 24.10.1364 licenced to go on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land (*CPR 1364-67* p30). 15.1.1366 protection for his lands on the petition of

his attorneys, "believing him in good health, because certain men were asserting that he had died on pilgrimage" (*CPR 1364-67* p193).

Henry de Motlowe

27.5.1346 appointed **CJJB**; ineffective (*CPR 1345-48* p94). Commissioner of oyer and terminer in England. 4.7.1354 appointed JCB, England (*CPR 1354-58* p575). 28.1.1359 £20 pa for taking the order of knighthood and for good service (*CPR 1358-61* p163). 20.10.1362 one Henry Motelot was an executor of the will of Elizabeth de Burgh (*CPR 1361-64* p251).

Henry Motoun

17.5.1327 royal clerk, prebendary of Malrepast in the royal chapel of Hastings (*CPR 1327-30* p105). 20.5.1328 prebendary of Maynooth, St Patrick's, in the king's gift during the minority of the earl of Kildare (*CPR 1327-30* p272; *Rep DKI 43* p43). 10.5.1335 appointed **2nd BEx**; paid T 1335 - E 1336 (*CPR 1334-38* p101; PRO E101/240/10,13). 14.3.1336 appointed attorney of William la Zouche of Haringworth (*CPR 1334-38* p228). 14.2.1345 prebendary in Lincoln cathedral (*CPR 1343-45* p437).

William Motoun

1330 Irish **chancery clerk** (*Rep DKI 43* p39). 1333 paid for work in the exchequer (PRO E101/240/1). 7.8.1334 paid 50s for **writing estreats** (*RCH* p38 no12; PRO E101/240/5). 10.10.1335 paid 60s for going to Wexford to proclaim the holding of assizes (*RCH* p41 no29; PROI RC8/18 p356; PRO E101/240/10).

Hugh de Nassington

1327 **Irish chancery clerk**, granted dining rights at Kilmainham, a robe, a place above Malrepos beside the entrance to the tower beyond the gate to Kilmainham castle, for the building of a chamber for himself (*Reg. Kilmainham* p26). 3.6 - 6.8.1328 paymaster for troops retained by Darcy in Munster (PRO E372/176 m46). 21.5.1332 appointed **engrosser** for service in England and Ireland (*CPR 1330-34* p282). 24.8.1332 appointed attorney by Bishop John de Hothum of Ely (*CPR 1330-34* p328). 1333 paid £5 for work in the chancery (PRO E101/240/1). 11.12.1334 paid 5 marks for writing estreats in the exchequer (*RCH* p39 no60).

John of Newcastle

1314 petitioned for a new charter of liberty, and for a grant of a charter of English law in Ireland for his father Roger de Newcastle in consideration of John's good service in the company of John de Hothum (*Analecta Hibernica* xxxiv p46). 1317 acting keeper of the temporalities of the see of Dublin (*Account Roll, Holy Trinity* p144). 6.12.1317 for service, granted the office of **gauger of wines** (*RCH* p24 no152). 28.12.1317 for service, granted custody of the lands of David fitzReymund in Co. Cork (*RCH* p22 no67; *Rep DKI* 42 p20). 1326 appointed to extend the lands of Alexander Bicknor (PROI RC8/14 p775). 12.8.1330 appointed **2nd engrosser**; renewed 31.3.1331, 12.12.1331; ineffective?; petitioned to be granted the office for 10 years, since he had been removed without reasonable cause (*CPR 1327-30* p546, *1330-34* pp96,229; *Analecta Hibernica* xxxiv p92).

Appointed attorney for John de Grantchester 4.3.1331 & 1.12.1331 (PROI RC8/16 p138; *CPR 1330-34* p227); and for Ralph, master of the house of St Thomas the Martyr of Acon, London (*CPR 1330-34* p223). 24.6.1333 granted custody of the lands of

Robert Casselle of Louth at Morestown Turberville, Co. Louth, during the minority of his heir (*Rep DKI 44* p34). 1335 commissioned to extend the lands of Thomas de Verdon (PROI RC8/18 p51). 11.4.1335 granted custody of John fitzWilliam le Rydale's lands and tenements in Austinstown, Ulster, during the minority of the heirs (*Rep DKI 44* p56). Paymaster of Darcy's troops retained in Scotland (PROI RC8/24 p278; PRO E101/239/29).

21.7.1337 granted custody of the Talbot lands of the Kerde in Knockgraffon, Tipperary (£2.13.4 pa), held till 21.7.1338; the Setoun near Dromeskyn, Louth (£1 pa), held till 12.5.1338; Daudeleystown at Burry near Kells, Meath (5s), held till 21.7.1338; Pipardestown, Tipperary (£1 8s), held till 21.7.1338; Fylkerd, Tipperary (2s), held till 21.7.1338; Stradibally Maclanan, Waterford (£1 11s), held till 21.7.1338; Cregbeg, Cork (£3 19s), held till 21.7.1338; Daveyston and Blakrath, Kildare (£6 7s), held till 17.9.1338 (*Rep DKI 45* pp46,47, 53 pp34,35). 20.12.1343 for good service in Scotland, pardoned 3s 4d (PROI RC8/22 p657). Possibly related to Nicholas de Newcastle, paymaster of Darcy's troops in Leinster 20.10.1336 (*RCH* p20 no6; PRO E101/240/13).

Thomas de Newenham

1340 English chancery clerk (*CCR 1339-41* p495). For 3 months between 19.11.1341 and 15.5.1342 served as **deputy** of Robert de Askeby, **chancellor**. Rector of St Mary's, Drogheda; ratified 12.9.1342 (*Rep DKI 45* p54; *CPR 1340-43* p517; *Admin. Ire.* p95). 26.4.1342 chaplain, presented to Wolston church, Worcester diocese; resigned 5.10.1350 (*CPR 1340-43* p422, 1348-50 p576). 8.7.1343 attorney of the abbot of St Augustine's, Canterbury (*CPR 1343-45* p60). 1.3.1345 Ufford not to interfere with Newenham's estate as rector of Drogheda (*CCR 1343-46* p511). 1348, 1365 serving in the English chancery (*CPR 1348-50* pp102,148, 1364-67 p48). 21.8.1349 appointed master and warden of the royal hospital of St Mary's Ospreng, Kent (*CPR 1348-50* p368).

Peter de Okeburn

14.5.1335 accompanied John de Ellerker to Ireland (*CPR 1334-38* p103). 18.10.1336 appointed steward of Wexford; confirmed 2.9.1338; held office E 1337 - 1339 (*CPR 1338-40* p127; *Rep DKI 53* p27). 14.4.1338 appointed attorney for Ellerker (*CPR 1338-40* p47). 7.3.1339 granted custody of the office of changer (*CCR 1339-41* p32). 2.4.1340 pardoned £5 debt for good service with Thomas Charlton in Meath, Leinster, and Munster (PROI RC8/22 p3). 15.2.1342 granted custody of the chief serjeanty of Dublin (*Rep DKI 53* p20, 54 p22). Exonerated of the issues of the lands of Thomas de Furnival (PROI RC8/22 p379). 24.12.1342 appointed constable of Limerick, and for life 16.10.1347 (PRO E101/241/5; *RCH* pp44 no17, 46 no91, 61 nos59,83, 78 nos 59,81; *CPR 1345-48* p416; *CCR 1346-49* p332).

1342/3 involved in a dispute over property in Kenlegstoun (*RCH* p46 no110). 1343 justice of gaol delivery in Limerick (*RCH* p46 no111). Appointed attorney for John Morice 3.12.1346, 14.5.1350, 12.7.1352, 1.9.1354, 18.8.1355, 1.7.1357, 7.1.1358, 15.9.1360, and 3.5.1362 (*RCH* pp52 no74, 58 no153; *CPR 1348-50* p503, 1350-54 p300, 1354-58 pp100,277,586, 1358-61 pp63,459, 1361-64 p185); for John Darcy of Knaith 12.7.1348 (*CPR 1348-50* p114); for William Darcy 12.3.1349 (*CPR 1348-50* p261); for John de Founteyns and Thomas Saundeby 6.7.1353 (*CPR 1350-54* pp476,496); the prior of Llanthony 27.1.1362, 28.1.1363, and 20.10.1364 (*CPR 1361-64* pp156,297, 1364-67 p27); and for John de Crophill 12.10.1363 (*CPR 1361-64* p404).

26.9 - 15.10.1353 paymaster for Rokeby's troops in Leinster (PROI RC8/26 pp349,466). M 1357 - 1.8.1359 collector of customs in Dublin city (PROI RC8/27 pp246,368,459). 1358 assigned to levy 100 crannocks of corn and oats (*RCH* p73 no51). 6.12.1358 to supervise fish catches for the justiciar (*RCH* p74 no67). 20.2.1359 £40 penalty because 8 prisoners escaped from Limerick; pardoned £20 (PROI RC8/27 p430; *RCH* p77

no28). 18.12.1361 for good service appointed **chambEx**; paid H 1362 - H 1364; reappointed 6.5.1362 & 13.2.1364 (PROI RC8/28 pp62,122; *Admin. Ire.* p123; *CPR 1361-64* p468). Presumably related to Nicholas de Okeburn, constable [...] (*RCH* p78 no81), and Thomas de Okeburn, paid 40s in the service of John Morice (PRO E101/241/5).

Roger Outlaw

18.3.1314 proctor for the Hospitallers (PROI RC8/9 p330). 1.8.1317 prior of the Hospitallers in Ireland (*Reg. de Kilmainham pix*). 1318 granted manor of Chapelizod (*Rep DKI 42* p27). 15.8.1318 licenced, for good service against the Scots, to acquire for the order, in mortmain, lands, tenements, rents and advowsons of churches to the value of £100pa (*CPR 1317-21* p197). 4.1.1322 appointed **chancellor of Ireland**; reappointed 6.4.1327; paid 16.4.1322 - 13.5.1331 (*CPR 1321-24* p46, *1327-30* p62). Summer 1323 sent to England by Bermingham to report on the state of the lordship (PRO E101/238/6,13). 24.5.1324 chief justice in eyre in Meath (*CCR 1323-27* pp107,108). July - Oct 1324 **deputy justiciar** (*Admin. Ire.* p85). 24.11.1324 pardoned for acquiring in mortmain without licence a church in Meath (*CPR 1338-40* p90).

M 1325 - 20.1.1326 **deputy treasurer** (PRO E101/238/19,21). 1-12.5.1327 **deputy justiciar** (PRO E101/239/5). Went to Ulster to treat with the men of Ulster (PRO E101/239/5). 2.10.1327 pardoned for acquiring in mortmain without licence the churches of Duncarruok (10 marks pa) and Clonkeen (5 marks pa), Ferns diocese, and Carlingford (5 marks pa), Armagh diocese, with licence to hold the same (*CPR 1327-30* p171). 2.10.1327 pardoned, for good service, £100 of a £200 debt (*CPR 1327-30* p175). 6.4.1328 - May 1329 **acting justiciar**. £20 expenses and losses in going to Leinster and Munster (*Rep DKI 43* pp18,30). Nov 1328 charged with heresy; Jan 1329 cleared his name. 100 marks for setting disputes all over Ireland; and 100 marks for settling disputes in Munster (PROI RC8/15 pp482,584,604).

31.5.1330 appointed **deputy justiciar** while Darcy was in Aquitaine (*CPR 1327-30* p529); served till 2.6.1331 (PRO E101/239/29, 240/1). Paid £50 for expeditions to Munster and Carlingford (*Rep DKI 43* pp43-4). 28.9.1330 ordered to go to England to present to the Council the rolls concerning the case against Desmond (*CCR 1330-33* p157). Responsible with Robert Power for taking Mortimer's lands into royal hands (*Rep DKI 43* p38). 24.10.1330 attended the general chapter of the Hospitallers at Montpellier, and was appointed to hold office for 10 years (*Reg. Kilmainham* pix). Oct 1331 went to England with Thomas Wogan and William de Bardelby (PROI RC8/16 p15). Ordered to account for the issues of Mortimer's lands and chattels (PROI RC8/16 p58; *Rep DKI 44* p23).

2.2.1332 licenced to acquire in mortmain lands, rents, and advowsons not held in chief to the value of £40 pa for the sustenance of the convent of Kilmainham (*CPR 1330-34* p246). Any outstanding arrears of his fee as justiciar were to be paid (*CCR 1330-33* p427). 13.5.1332 confirmation of the grant of Chapelizod (*CPR 1330-34* p301). 19.7.1332 for good service, granted 20 marks from the annual farm of 40 marks of Chapelizod (*CPR 1330-34* p314; PROI RC8/16 p363). 24.7.1332 granted the advowson of Garristown church (*CPR 1330-34* p319). 4.8.1332 appointed to treat with those in Ireland at war with the king, and to enter into agreements with them (*CPR 1330-34* p325). 30.9.1332 reappointed **chancellor**; paid 14.11.1332 - 14.8.1337 (*CPR 1330-34* p340; PRO E101/239/29, 240/1,5,10,13; *RCH* p38 no39).

6.7.1333 executor of Earl William with John Morice and Countess Matilda (*CCR 1333-37* p63). 3.10.1333 appointed with Darcy, Thomas de Burgh, and Robert de Scarborough to survey and repair the king's demesne (*CPR 1330-34* p473). 1333-36 receiver for Elizabeth de Clare (PRO SC6/1239/14). 19.4 - 26.6.1335 & 28.8 - 18.9.1335 **deputy justiciar**; May 1335 expedition to Ulster (PRO E101/240/10). 27.11.1335 paid 100 marks for labours and losses in Ulster (*RCH* p41 no22). 8.7.1336 granted custody of John de Cogan's inheritance for £50 pa (*CPR 1334-38* p303; *CCR*

1333-37 p610). 27.9.1336 granted weekly market at Newcastle Strathelyn and free warren in all demesne lands at Kilmainham (*CChR 1327-41 p374*). 15.11.1336 - 15.10.1337 **deputy justiciar** (PRO E101/240/13; E372/182 m48).

26.1.1338 ordered not to transfer any coin out of Ireland (*CCR 1337-39 p290*). 15.5.1338 reappointed **chancellor**; paid 2.9.1338 - 2.9.1340 (*CPR 1338-40 p81*; PRO E101/240/17). 24.5.1338 pardoned for appropriating without licence to Kilmainham the churches of Kilcanegan (£5 pa) and Moyrath (£2 pa), and the advowsons, with licence to hold them; fined 10 marks (*CPR 1338-40 p83*). 6.6.1338 pardon of 24.11.1324 confirmed (*CPR 1338-40 p90*). 19.6.1338 granted Leixlip manor (£60 pa), rendering £50 pa; promised to pay £200 for the king's expenses to the Low Countries; to be allowed the 1st 2 years rent of Leixlip (*CFR 1337-47 p85*). 24.6.1338 ordered to pay the £200 to Queen Philippa; paid (*CCR 1337-39 p436*; *CPR 1338-40 p116*). 2.7.1338 arrears to be checked (*CCR 1337-39 p437*). 18.8.1338 appointed with Charlton to survey the exchequer and treasury twice yearly, and correct irregularities (*CPR 1338-40 p126*).

24.1.1339 Darcy was ordered to hand over the Kildare custodies, which were then committed to Outlaw, Desmond, John and William de Wellesley, and John Darby, clerk (PROI RC8/21 p510). 40 marks losses serving with Charlton (PRO E101/240/17). 8.4.1340 - 8.1.1341 **deputy justiciar** (PRO E101/240/17, PROI RC8/22 pp111,112). 28.4.1340 appointed attorney for William de Montagu (*CPR 1338-40 p432*). Expedition to Leinster (PRO E101/240/18). Feb 1341 died (*CCR 1341-43 p30*).

Probably related to William Outlaw of Kilkenny, and *Arnold Outlaw*, constable of Bunratty 31.7 - 20.8.1330 (*Rep DKI 43 p43*).

Thomas de Penkeston

1.10.1310 **chirographer of the eyre** (*RCH* p16 no29). 24.3.1322 **keeper of the writs and rolls of the eyre in Meath** (PROI E101/238/12), and 1323 **of the justiciar's bench**; Kildare sought to retain his services when Thrapston was appointed (*Hand, English Law*, p48). 6.10.1327 reappointed **keeper of the writs and rolls of the justiciar's bench** (*CPR 1327-30* p177).

From a Kildare family. William de Penkeston was seneschal of Cloncurry 1312 (*Cal. Ormond Deeds* i, p180), late sheriff of Kildare 1339 (*Rep DKI 47* p55; PROI RC8/21 p195), escheator in Kildare (PROI RC8/23 p409), and was married to Alianora (PROI RC8/15 p195). The son of Richard de Penkeston, William had a brother Richard (*Analecta Hibernica* xxxiv p50), and a son Richard, sheriff of Kildare 1355 (PROI RC8/23 p409; *RCH* p56 no30). There are also references to one James de Penkeston, keeper of the works of Clonmore castle 1331 (*Rep DKI 43* p54); a James de Penkeston who was keeper of the writs and rolls of the justiciar's bench 23.1.1362 - 23.7.1376 (*Admin. Ire.* p190); and a John de Penkeston who was clerk of the common pleas of the exchequer before 6.6.1377 (*Admin. Ire.* p191).

Peter Pigoletti

12.7.1323 appointed **deputy customer** (PROI RC8/14 p14); nominated by Peregrine de Controne. 21.2.1327 appointed **customer** (*CFR 1327-37* p32). 15.12.1328 ordered to render his account (*CCR 1327-30* p350). 14.1.1331 reappointed customer; renewed 17.6.1332; either ineffective, or he died, or was dismissed (*CFR 1327-37* pp219,316). His goods and chattels were confiscated because of debt (PROI RC8/16 pp218,377,428). He left a brother, Thomas, and 3 children, Robert, Cristiana, and Margaret (*Rep DKI 43* p59).

Robert Pincebek

1312 Canon of St Patrick's (Lawlor, *Fasti*, p193). 1316 master (*CPR 1313-17* p399). 3.3.1316 canon of St Peter's, York (*CPR 1313-17* p455). 10.4.1319 prebendary of South Newbold, St Peter's, York (*CPR 1313-17* p453). 20.8.1321 pardoned from any offence against the Despensers on the testimony of Hugh d'Audley (*CPR 1321-24* p18). 30.11.1321 parson of Bringhurst (*CCR 1318-23* p408). 20.7.1335 royal clerk, appointed archdeacon of Down; repeated 2.3.1337 (*CPR 1334-38* pp159,439,464,528). 11.7.1339 archdeacon of Ulster, appointed **chanEx**; paid H 1340; 7.6.1340 dismissed for incompetence (*CPR 1338-40* pp317,441,532; PRO E101/240/17; PROI RC8/21 p537, RC8/22 p73). 1344 presented to a canonry in St Asaph's (Lawlor, *Fasti*, p193).

Probably related to John de Pincebek, a receiver of Elizabeth de Clare 1333-36 (PRO SC6/1239/14), parson of the churches of Portros 1337 (*CPR 1334-38* p438), St Colma, Kilkell, Ulster, and St Nicholas, Ardglass 1351 (*CPR 1350-54* p101).

Robert Power

1309 accompanying John de Hastings to Gascony (*CPR 1307-13* p196). 1.6.1311 licenced to alienate property in Hayton for the celebration of a daily mass in St James', N Tilne, Notts, for him and his ancestors (*CPR 1307-13* p350). 24.2.1318 presented to Lutterworth, Lincoln diocese; vacated (*CPR 1317-21* p106). 1.8.1319 presented to Alderly church, Coventry & Lichfield (*CPR 1317-21* p387). 12.8.1319 appointed attorney in Ireland for Thomas de Montpelliers (*CPR 1317-21* p388). Nov 1319 attorney for Thomas de Burgh prosecuting a recognisance of 100 marks for him (*CCR 1318-23* p215). 3.8.1322 parson of Killaban church, Co. Carlow; had been bailiff of John de Hastings in Killaban (*CPR 1321-24* p193).

11.5.1323 royal clerk, appointed chamberlain of N Wales; reappointed 1.2.1327; held office till 31.10.1327 (*CCR 1318-23* p649; *CFR 1319-27* p208, 1327-37 pp21,68). 19.7.1323 appointed escheator of N Wales (10 marks pa) (*CFR 1319-27* p230). 8.11.1323 & 8.1.1325 buying corn from Ireland to victual the royal castles in N Wales (*CPR 1321-24* p344, 1324-27 p77). 15.10.1325 granted lands in Pesemere, Berks (*CPR 1324-27* p413). 30.10.1327 appointed **treasurer of Ireland**; held office till T 1331 (*CPR 1327-30* p183). 26.5.1329 & 16.9.1330 appointed attorney by Roger and Joan de Mortimer (*CPR 1327-30* p395, 1330-34 p2; *PROI RC8/15* p585). 22.9.1329 granted next void benefice in Ireland (*CPR 1327-30* p452). 12.10.1329 granted custody of Lucan manor during the minority of William de Nottingham (*CFR 1327-37* p153; *CPR 1327-30* p451; *PROI RC8/15* p383).

E 1330 40 marks expenses levying Crown debts (*PROI RC8/15* p544). Rector of St Patrick's, Trim (*PROI RC8/22* p191). Maurice de Rocheford (seneschal of Wexford), and various other Wexford tenants acknowledged debts to Mortimer and Power of £126.10.2¹/₂ and £84.6.9³/₄ from the issues of the lands of Lawrence de Hastings, which Maurice held of Mortimer (*PROI RC8/15* p548). 24.7.1330 late collation of Robert to the prebend of Swords revoked, but he had not been removed by May 1332 (*CPR 1327-30* p543; Lawlor, *Fasti*, p156). £20 expenses for going with Outlaw to seize Mortimer's forfeited goods (*Rep DKI 43* pp38,40).

6.5.1331 appointed **escheator**; cancelled (*CFR 1327-37* p253). 30.5.1331 granted £300 allowance in his account as chamberlain of N Wales (*CPR 1330-34* p121). 14.10.1331 appointed **chief BEx**; reappointed 2.10.1333, 24.9.1334, 11.7.1339, and 18.6.1340; paid H 1332 - M 1336 & H 1340 - T 1344 (*CPR 1330-34* pp182,470, 1334-38 p22, 1338-40 p316, 1340-43 p6; *Admin. Ire.* pp108-11). 16.10.1331 ordered to surrender custody of Lucan manor (*PROI RC8/16* p154). Granted custody of 2 parts of the lands of John de Bermingham in Balyskeagh (*PROI RC8/16* p416). H 1332 £5 levying Crown debts in Louth and Meath, and M 1332 £5 remaining at Kells with Thomas de Burgh and

levying debts owed to the Ricardi and the Sons of Bettori (*Rep DKI 43* p67, 44 p51). 10 marks for going to Carbury against Irish rebels (PRO E101/239/29).

28.3.1333 granted the 1st void benefice he saw fit to accept (*CPR 1330-34* p417).
3.8.1333 in consideration of his service at the siege of Berwick, was exempted from service on assizes, juries or recognisances, and from appointment as mayor, sheriff, coroner etc (*CPR 1330-34* p465). 3.2.1334 pardoned £34.16.3 of £69.12.6¹/₄ arrears of account as treasurer; allowed to pay the residue by instalments over the next 6 years (*CFR 1327-37* p397). E 1334 - E 1335 **deputy treasurer** (PRO E101/240/5,7,8).
6.4.1334 to be presented to the next void benefice in Ireland (*CPR 1330-34* p532).
16.7.1334 appointed **chanEx**; ineffective (*CPR 1330-34* p568; PROI RC8/18 p503).
19.7 - 19.10.1334 **CJCB** (PRO E101/240/5; *RCH* p37 no1). 4.8.1334 for service, pardoned £13.1.6. arrears of account for the lands of Earl John de Bermingham in Balyskeagh, Rathcour, and Isaacstown (*RCH* p37 no7). 19.12.1334 £20 for service accompanying the justiciar against the O'Reillys, and extending the lands of William de Bermingham in the liberty of Trim, and in Cos. Meath and Kildare (*RCH* p39 no65).

6.6.1335 appointed **chanEx**; reappointed 25.9.1336, for 7 years 24.3.1337; paid T 1335 - H 1340 (PROI RC8/18 p597; *CPR 1334-38* pp122,309,405, 1338-40 p205; PRO E101/240/10,13,17; E372/182 m48, 184 m49). 26.6.1335 on petition, granted the forfeited lands of Earl David of Athol in Odough, Leinster, for 20 years (*CCR 1333-37* p408). 16.7.1335 **seneschal of Wexford**; £40 expenses for holding pleas there (PRO E101/240/10, *RCH* p41 nos29,31, p20 no19; *CFR 1337-47* p58). H-T 1336 **deputy treasurer** (PRO E101/240/12, E372/182 m48). 14.7.1336 appointed **2nd JCB**; ineffective (*CPR 1334-38* p301). £5 for troubles and expenses in the exchequer (*Rep DKI 45* p27). 10.8.1337 dismissed as chief baron (*CCR 1337-39* p168).

1339 seneschal of Trim (PROI RC8/21 p333). 1339-41 various payments beyond his fee for good service (PROI RC8/21 pp254,383,539, RC8/22 p105; *Rep DKI 47* pp20,32,35,36,56,76, 53 p21; PRO E101/241/5). Nov 1341 - May 1342 10 marks for

custody of the seal, and maintaining the deputy chancellor and the chancery clerks (PROI RC8/22 pp178,203; *Rep DKI 45* p54, 53 p20). 1343 granted custody of the lands of Reginald de Staunton, formerly royal receiver in the liberty of Trim (56s 8d pa) (PROI RC8/22 p540). Various payments 1341-44 (PROI RC8/22 pp214,215,540,558; *Rep DKI 53* pp27,31). 23.6.1345 reference as **BEx**; seems to have held office till 1347 at least; reappointed 1349 (PROI RC8/23 p16; *Admin. Ire.* p111N;); payment recorded for 23.3 - 23.9.1346 (PROI RC8/23 p679).

11.11.1347 20 marks pa granted to Robert (PROI RC8/24 p36). 25.11.1347 £10 for great labours T 1347 when John de Troye was in Munster, and Hugh de Burgh was "impotens" (PROI RC8/24 p73; *Rep DKI 54* p64). 20.12.1349 holding a tenement in Dublin (*Gormanston Reg.* p85).

William Power

May have been parson of Tichewell 1334, exchanging this for Callan, Ossory 20.8.1338 (*CPR 1334-38* p1, 1338-40 p125). 14.9.1337 accompanied Thomas Charlton to Ireland (*CPR 1334-38* p525). £5 travelling to England on the king's service (*Rep DKI 45* p27). 16.7.1339 1 of 4 commissioned to array men in Gloucs and Herefordshire (*CPR 1338-40* p355). 18.2.1341 appointed attorney for Thomas Charlton (*CPR 1340-43* p130). 30.9.1341 appointed **chanEx**; paid M 1341 - T 1342 (PRO E101/241/5). 17.2.1346 escheator in Herefordshire and the adjacent parts of Wales (*CFR 1337-47* p401).

Richard de Preston

Brother of Roger de Preston (see next entry). 3.11.1322 granted safe-conduct for ships laden with corn and victuals; gave security that he would not communicate with the

Scots and Flemings (*CPR 1321-24 p217*). **Constable of Drogheda** 14.5.1325 - 14.5.1327 & 7.6.1331 - 7.6.1332 (*PRO E101/238/26, 239/5, 240/1; RCH p36 n107*).

Roger de Preston

Son of Adam de Preston. His elder brothers William and Richard engaged in trade across the Irish Sea, acquiring property and settling in Drogheda. Roger followed his brothers property in Drogheda 1314 & 1315 (*Gormanston Reg. ppiv-vi,xi*).

8.7.1326 appointed **2nd JJB**; paid 12.8.1326 - 12.5.1327 (*CPR 1324-27 p295; PRO E101/239/5; RCH pp34 no19, 35 no52, 36 nos85,106*). 14.6.1327 appointed **JCB**; paid 13.10.1327 - 13.7.1329 (*CPR 1327-30 p128; PRO E101/239/7; E372/176 m46*). 22.8.1328 reappointed **2nd JJB** at Darcy's petition; paid 17.6.1329 - 8.6.1331 (*CPR 1327-30 p316; PRO E101/239/19,29*). 7.4.1329 held 60a in Cathelstown, Meath (*Rep DKI 54 p32*). 12.9.1329 appointed attorney till Christmas by Bartholomew de Burghersh (*CPR 1327-30 p443*). 10-22.11.1329 accompanied Darcy against the McGeoghegans and Lacies in Meath (*Rep DKI 43 p28*). 2-30.7.1330 accompanied Outlaw to Munster against Brian Ban O'Brien; 10 marks for the loss of 2 horses (*Rep DKI 44 p21*).

1331 acquired 3 houses in Drogheda; burgess of Drogheda; and acquired 2 in 1329 (*Gormanston Reg. pvi*). 27.2.1331 reappointed **JCB** (*CPR 1330-34 p82*); paid 12.6.1331 - 14.1.1334 (*PRO E101/239/24,29, 240/1,5; RCH p38 no33*). 20.5.1333 granted all tenements in Preston by his brothers (*Gormanston Reg. p90*). 6.6.1333 granted 1 messuage and 6a at Drogheda and Nogentstown, during Elizabeth de Burgh's minority (*Rep DKI 44 p34*). 12.8.1333 appointed attorney for Countess Matilda (*CPR 1330-34 p463*). 2.10.1333 appointed **JJB**; paid 2.2 - 1.5.1334 & 1.11.1334 - 16.10.1337 (*CPR 1330-31 p470; PRO E101/240/5*). 4.3.1334 granted custody of the lands of the abbot of Dundreynan (Galloway) at Bretonstown (*Rep DKI 44 p57*). 1335

accompanied Darcy to Scotland (*CPR 1334-38* p106). 10.8.1337 dismissed; ineffective (*CCR 1337-39* p168). 20.9.1337 pardoned, for service, a breach of the peace (*RCH* p42 no18).

1339/40 general attorney for John Darcy and Joan de Burgh (PROI RC8/21 p510; *Rep DKI 47* p53). 1341 acquired Ministown (*Gormanston Reg.* p37). 4.8.1341 appointed **2nd JCB**; paid 13.10.1341 - 13.10.1342 & 13.4.1343 - 12.10.1344 (*CPR 1340-43* p257; PRO E101/241/5; *Admin. Ire.* p161; *RCH* p44 no23). 21.8.1342 appointed **deputy constable of Dublin castle** with Peter de Wakefield and William de Boulton, while Roger Darcy served in Brittany (*CPR 1340-43* p502; PROI RC8/22 p180). 13.10.1342 for good service with John Morice, pardoned 5 marks of the extent of the messuage and 2¹/₂ carucates in Bretonstown (PROI RC8/22 p177; *Rep DKI 53* p49). 24.5.1343 for good and long service in Ireland, granted land at Bretonstown for 10 years (*CFR 1337-47* p332; PROI RC8/23 p10). 20.12.1343 called to account for the escheatry of Ireland, but had received nothing, having only held it for 15 days (PROI RC8/22 p611).

1347 petitioned concerning rights and land in Ardee manor, leased for life to Roger and his son Robert by Eustace le Poer (*Analecta Hibernica xxxiv* p22). Executor of Herbert de Sutton (PROI RC8/24 p4). Died before 1350, leaving a son Robert, who was CJCB 1358-77, deputy justiciar and keeper 1388, chancellor of the exchequer 1391, married Margery, daughter and heiress of Walter de Bermingham, and died 1396 (*Gormanston Reg.* pxi).

Walter de la Pulle

28.1.1314 mainprise was to be maintained for Walter de la Pulle and Robert de Verdon for various trespasses; they were to serve the king in Scotland (*CCR 1313-18* p36). 3.10.1316 Walter, serving the king in Scotland, returned to Ireland to collect provisions, and was to be allowed to do so (*CCR 1313-18* p368). 24.11.1316 granted £20 worth of

lands and rent formerly belonging to Theobald de Verdon, to hold during the minority of his heirs (*CPR 1313-17* p565; *Rep DKI 42* p16). 10.5.1318 - 2.8.1320 sheriff of Louth (*Rep DKI 42* p64, 43 p41, 47 p21).

27.3.1319 life-grant of 2¹/₂ carucates and a mill at Bretonstown Grange, formerly belonging to the abbey of Dundreynan, Galloway (*Rep DKI 42* p17). Petitioned that the serjeanty of Meath be granted to his valet Robert de Tuyt, because of Robert's good service at Dundalk, and in Scotland and the marches (*Analecta Hibernica* xxxiv p31).

23.10.1319 1 of a number granted pardons for transgressions (*RCH* p26 no24).

10.1.1322 granted a general pardon (*CPR 1321-24* p47). 4.11.1322 appointed **escheator of Ireland**; served 4.1.1323 - 3.9.1326 (*CFR 1319-27* p184; PROI RC8/13 p117; *Rep DKI 42* p55; *RCH* p36 no123). 4.8.1326 granted £20 for going to Connacht to take Earl Richard de Burgh's lands into royal hands (*RCH* p34 no13).

1327 died, leaving a widow, Eva, and a son, John (PROI RC8/15 p201; *Rep DKI 43* p20). John was controller of the custom at Cork in 1322 (*Rep DKI 42* p47). Eva was obliged to sue John over her dowry (PROI RC8/15 p201). Presumably related to Baldwin de la Pulle 1309 (*RCH* p10 nos132-40), Nicholas de la Pulle, seneschal of Kerry M 1354,1355 (PROI RC8/26 p526, RC8/27 p2), and Adam de la Pulle, proclaimer of the exchequer 1354/5, 1359 (PROI RC8/26 p580, RC8/27 p116).

John de Puriton

20.7.1339 appointed **2nd engrosser**; paid 22.11.1339 - 23.12.1340 (PRO E101/240/17; PROI RC8/21 p540). 13.10.1339 appointed **deputy** of Nicholas fitzRichard of Gowran, **chirographer and keeper of the writs and rolls of the Dublin Bench**; paid 20.11.1339 - 20.11.1340 (*CPR 1338-40* p318; PRO E101/240/17). Dead by April 1342, leaving his brother Ralph as his heir to property in Gloucs (*CIPM* viii p241).

William de Puriton

Appointed attorney for the prior of Llanthony 5.6.1330 & 18.3.1337 (*CPR 1327-30* p527, *1334-38* p394); for William le Blount 16.7.1334 (*CPR 1330-34* p562). 4.3.1340 presented to St Mary's, Drogheda (*CPR 1338-40* p431). 5.7.1342 **deputy gauger of wines** (*CPR 1340-43* p484, *1343-45* p243). 4.8.1342 appointed **2nd chambEx**; paid M 1342 - E 1343 (PRO E101/241/5; PROI RC8/22 pp220,393; *Rep DKI 53* p53); reappointed 11.5.1344; paid M 1344 - E 1345 (*CPR 1343-45* p257; *Admin. Ire.* p122); revoked 18.5.1345 (*CPR 1343-45* p471). 10.6.1344 appointed **deputy marshal of the exchequer** (*CPR 1343-45* p262).

Ranulph Pygot

2.7.1328 licensed to alienate land in mortmain to the abbot of Coverham in Melmerly, Yorks, for a canon to celebrate daily mass for him and his ancestors (*CPR 1327-30* p305). 1.6.1336 appointed **constable of Roscommon** (*CFR 1327-37* p486; *CPR 1334-38* p271); and for 5 years 30.6.1337 (*CFR 1337-47* p23). 26.9.1349 collector of the subsidy in the N Riding (*CFR 1347-56* p193).

Thomas de Quixhull

26.1.1333 appointed attorney for Walter de Islip (*CPR 1327-30* p392). 16.7.1338 royal clerk, for good service in Ireland, granted the prise of wines during the minority of the earl of Ormond (*CFR 1337-47* p87). 18.4.1342 appointed receiver of all royal money to be paid for wages of war on every future expedition (*CFR 1337-47* p279). 16.7 - 4.9.1342 paymaster for Morice's troops on an expedition to Wicklow (*Rep DKI 53* p44). 18.7 - 19.8.1342 held 1 messuage and 52a in Yagoston, Kildare (*Rep DKI 54* p36).

1343 Irish chancery clerk (*Rep DKI 54* p41; *RCH* p45 no68). 1344 granted £6.13.4 for losses serving in Wicklow (*Rep DKI 54* p31). M 1345 to account for land in Yagoston (PROI RC8/23 p577).

19.1.1346 granted 20 marks expenses serving with Ufford in Munster (PROI RC8/23 p540). 10.4.1347 appointed attorney for Robert de Morley (PROI RC8/24 p10; *CPR 1345-48* p269). 5.3.1348 transporting 1000 quarters of wheat to Gascony and Calais with Andrew de Guldeford (*CPR 1348-50* p34). 1.12.1350 appointed **chief engrosser**; cancelled (*CPR 1350-54* p16). 12.12.1350 to take 200 quarters of wheat wherever ordered (*CPR 1350-54* p19). 1.2.1351 letters of appointment as chief engrosser revoked in favour of William Barton (*CPR 1350-54* p34). 30.7.1351 reappointed **chief engrosser** (Barton ill); renewed 5.3.1352; held office till 1364 (*CPR 1350-54* pp123,234; PROI RC8/25 p415). 2.8.1351 purveyor with Bette and Guldeford of 500 quarters of corn (*CPR 1350-54* p126).

1353 received payment from Elizabeth de Clare (PRO SC6/1239/14). 10.9 - 31.10.1354 paymaster of Rokeby's troops in Leinster (PROI RC8/27 p146; Frame, PhD, p513). 5.11.1354 granted custody of 1 message in Gilmeholmokeslane, Dublin (*CFR 1347-56* p405; PROI RC8/26 p543). 15.5.1356 appointed attorney for Andrew de Guldeford (*CPR 1354-58* p374). 4-15.7.1359 paymaster for Ormond's troops in Leinster (*RCH* p79 no109). 2.2.1364 appointed **2nd BEx**; served E 1364 - E 1365 (*CPR 1361-64* p468; PROI RC8/28 p400; *Admin. Ire.* p113).

John de Reedness

Son of Stephen de Reedness of Yorks (*CPR 1343-45* p318). 14.2.1334 acknowledged a debt of £10 with 2 others to Peter de Saltmarsh (*CCR 1333-37* p293). 15.9.1335 keeper of the peace between the rivers Ouse and Derwent (*CPR 1334-38* p213). 1337-43 commissioner of oyer and terminer. 1.7.1344 appointed **2nd JCB**; paid 12.10.1344 -

13.12.1346; transferred to the justiciar's bench (*CPR 1343-45* p316; *PROI RC8/23* p341; *Admin. Ire.* p160). 28.2.1345 commissioner of oyer and terminer in Yorks (*CPR 1343-45* p495). 2.7.1346 justice in Ulster (*RCH* p53 no94).

14.12.1346 appointed **CJJB**; paid 14.12.1346 - 14.6.1352, 4.11.1354 - 8.5.1356, 30.6.1356 - 30.6.1358; reappointed 7.11.1347, 20.3.1351, 12.7.1354, 20.6.1356, and **2nd JJB** 15.6.1352 - 3.11.1354 (*Admin. Ire.* pp171-2; *CPR 1345-48* p219, 1354-58 pp8,406; *CCR 1349-54* p292). 10.11.1347 commissioner of oyer and terminer investigating abuses by royal ministers in Ireland (*CPR 1345-48* p464). 15.5.1355 payment of his arrears ordered (*RCH* p59 no27).

John Rees

28.7.1337 master, appointed **treasurer of Ireland**; reappointed 23.10.1338; paid 15.10.1337 - 12.8.1339 (*CFR 1337-47* pp26,99; *PRO E372/184* m49). 26.3.1338 appointed with Dent and fitzRichard to investigate the conduct of Thomas de Louth (*CPR 1338-40* p74). 14.4 - 14.6.1338 **CJCB** while fitzRichard was in England (*PRO E372/184* m49; *Admin. Ire.* p160N). 19.6.1338 ordered to mint new coins (*CFR 1337-47* p85), and 29.6.1338 to pay the expenses of miners and the officers of the mint (*CCR 1337-39* p436). 1.9.1338 granted custody of the lands of Geoffrey le Botiller in Waspeillestown, Co. Dublin (*Rep DKI 53* p44).

20.7.1339 had been ordered to render account, but this was superseded by the necessity of the Leinster expedition (*CCR 1339-41* p244). Aug-Sept accompanied Charlton to Leinster (*PROI RC8/21* p262; *Rep DKI 47* p37, 54 p37). 1340 ordered to render account in England at Easter (*PROI RC8/22* p66). 20.10.1350 presented to Llanllwchhaian church, Co. Cardigan (*CPR 1350-54* p6). 23.11.1350 prebendary of Hyniton, St Ethelbert's, Hereford (*CPR 1350-54* p12). 25.5.1351 1 of a number of

chaplains who, with the Bishop of Hereford, broke a close put up by the Friars Preachers of Hereford (*CPR 1350-54 p153*).

Roald de Richemund

Son and heir of Sir Thomas de Richemund, Yorks (*CCR 1318-23 p214*). 8.11.1320 pardoned for all offences save homicides (*CPR 1317-21 p518*). 15.6.1321 released all right in Purton manor (*CCR 1318-23 p382*). March-May 1322 temporary keeper of Horstone castle (*CFR 1319-27 pp109,119,131; CCR 1318-23 p432, 1323-27 p97; CPR 1321-24 p119*). 24.3.1327 1 of a number who carried off goods of John de Beak at Derby (*CPR 1327-30 p83*). 24.5.1327 pardoned (*CPR 1327-30 p48*). 1.10.1333 appointed constable of Carrickfergus castle (*CPR 1330-34 p472; PRO E101/240/5*). 11.4.1334 fee to be paid from the English exchequer (*CCR 1333-37 p216*). 1337 appointment disputed with Thomas de Menill; Roald reappointed 1.6.1337 & 18.12.1337 (*CPR 1334-38 pp458, 560*). 26.4.1338 granted £50 of beans and meal seized while arresting those transporting victuals to Scotland (*CPR 1338-40 p52*). 30.4.1338 granted custody of Carrickfergus for 12 years (*CPR 1338-40 p53*). 1343/4 £40 pa (*RCH p44 n55*).

William fitz Eustace de Roche

Constable of Ferns 23.11.1346 (*RCH p52 no68*).

Gerald de Rocheford

Constable of Ferns Aug-Nov 1344 (*RCH p46 no103*).

William de Rocheford

Constable of Clonmore (£100 pa) 27.6.1332 - 22.6.1333 (PRO E101/239/29). Sheriff of Kildare till Oct 1332 (*CFR 1327-37* p331). £10 for losses serving with Lucy (PRO E101/239/29). A brass engine was delivered to Clonmore (*Rep DKI 44* p20).

William de Rudyard

1306-7 treasurer of St Patrick's; office vacant 1311 (Lawlor, *Fasti*, p68). 1312-38 Dean of St Patrick's (Lawlor, *Fasti*, p40). 1315 petitioned the king about a case involving the archdeacon of Dublin, asking whether writs from England had superior authority to the instructions of Irish minsters (*Analecta Hibernica xxxiv* p76; Sayles, *Affairs*, p76). 1316 petitioned for custody of the temporalities of the see of Dublin while it was vacant (Sayles, *Affairs*, p82). 1322 acted with the chapter as sub-collectors of the biennial tenth from benefices over 6 marks in value (*Rep DKI 43* p42, 44 p53, 45 pp34,37, 47 p26). Vicar-general of the see of Dublin during Bicknor's disgrace (Frame, *Lordship*, p169N). 12.11.1327 - 15.4.1332 **CJCB** (PRO E372/176 m46, E101/239/19,24,29). 13.3 - 3.6.1331 **deputy treasurer** (PRO E101/239/18,19; *Admin. Ire.* p101).

From a Dublin family? One Roger de Rudyard was appointed in 1355 by Archbishop John of Dublin, chancellor, to provide victuals for the royal household (*RCH* p58 no158).

John de Rugeley

10.6.1335 appointed **constable of Wexford** at Darcy's request (*CPR 1334-38* p123). 4.5.1336 granted the park of Wexford, the king's prises of wine, ale, fish, and flesh in

Wexford town, and the mills (*CPR 1334-38* p257). 1.10.1336 grant of the constablenesship to Ellerker revoked (*CPR 1334-38* p320).

Walter Russell

1335-42 **exchequer clerk** (PROI RC8/18 p555, RC8/21 pp260,546, RC8/22 p110,312; *Rep DKI 45* p27). 24.2.1354 granted custody of 120a in Balymargyn, and 7a pasture in Corbaly to hold for 20 years (*CPR 1354-58* p17). 6.4 - 9.5.1360 paymaster for Ormond's troops in Munster (Frame, PhD, p574).

John de St John

5.10.1331 - 22.3.1332 **seneschal and constable of Wexford** (PROI RC8/16 pp34,280,290). One John de St John was warden of Annandale and Galloway in 1301/2, receiving Robert Bruce's surrender (Barrow, G.W.S., *Robert the Bruce and the Community of the Realm* (Edinburgh, 1979) p172).

Philip de la Sale

1334-43 **exchequer clerk** (PROI RC8/18 pp356,555, RC8/21 pp260,546, RC8/22 pp110,220,393; *Rep DKI 45* p27). June 1342 granted custody of 1 carucate in Balytarsyn, Co. Dublin, for 8 years (£1 pa); granted for a further 20 years on the expiry of the 8 year term (*Rep DKI 53* p51, 54 p57). Various references to the de la Sale family in Co. Dublin: **Haket** was seneschal of the royal demesne lands in Dublin in 1320/1 (PROI RC8/12 p459); **Simon** was reeve of Saggart in 1335 (PROI RC8/18 p621; *Rep DKI 45* p55); **Richard fitzRichard de la Sale** served with Ufford in 1345 (Frame, 'Ufford' p46).

Robert de Salkeld

From Salkeld, Cumberland. H 1332 - 1333 **transcriber of estreats** (PROI RC8/16 pp60,203,332,408). 1334 **treasurer's clerk** (PROI RC8/18 p354; *RCH* p38 no11; PRO E101/240/5). Appointed attorney for Robert Clifford 18.6.1334, 26.11.1335, 24.9.1336, 12.2.1338, 13.7.1340, 24,2,1342, and 8.7.1343 (*CPR 1330-34* p550, *1334-38* pp182,312, *1338-40* p6, *1340-43* pp9,386, *1343-45* p54).

21.1.1335 appointed **2nd chambEx**; reappointed 25.3.1340; paid E 1335 - M 1342 (*CPR 1334-38* p57, *1338-40* p436; PROI RC8/22 p5; PRO E101/240/8,10,13,17, 241/5). Appointed attorney for Thomas de Burgh (PROI RC8/18 pp513,625). 18.2.1335 presented to Natherlagh church, Emly diocese (*CPR 1334-38* p172; *Rep DKI 43* p43). Petitioned to be restored to the office of 2nd chambEx, from which he had been removed and replaced by John de Carlton; Carlton's appointment was revoked 11.10.1335 (*Analecta Hibernica* xxxiv p65; *CPR 1334-38* p170). 16.6.1335 10 marks for work in the exchequer and going to England to render account with Thomas de Burgh; received a gift of 20 marks (PROI RC8/18 p621; *RCH* p41 no27; PRO E101/240/10). 26.1.1335 appointed an attorney for Adam de Limber (*CPR 1334-38* p182).

25.3.1337 appointed attorney for the Multon heiresses: Joan, widow of Robert fitzWalter; Elizabeth, wife of Walter de Bermingham; and Margaret, wife of Thomas de Lucy (*CPR 1334-38* p399). 2.4.1337 granted custody of the royal weirs at Limerick (PROI RC8/21 p44). Aug/Sept 1338 paymaster of Thomas Charlton's troops in Leinster (PROI RC8/22 p63; *Rep DKI 47* p58). 1339-42 various payments of expenses, including 20 marks for going to England with Rees to render his account (PROI RC8/21 pp256,262,539, RC8/22 pp78,105,395; *Rep DKI 47* p41; PRO E101/240/17). 1340

investigation ordered as to whether Salkeld held the office of 2nd chambEx by the king's commission (PROI RC8/21 p503).

18.4.1342 appointed **chanEx**; paid T 1342 - H 1343 (*CPR 1340-43* p421; PRO E101/241/5). 7.9.1342 appointed attorney for Alexander de Venables, and Joan de Mautravers (*CPR 1340-43* p511). 1342-3 payments of expenses (*Rep DKI 54* pp30,42; PROI RC8/22 pp216,544; *RCH* p44 no36). 5.7.1343 granted custody of Robert Clifford's lands in Any and Corkmoyt, Co. Limerick, to hold during the minority of his heir (*RCH* p47 no135). 10.7.1343 appointed **2nd chambEx** for 10 years "on the praiseworthy testimony of his conduct in office", given "by the Council and testimony of Queen Philippa" (*CPR 1343-45* p55; PROI RC8/22 p452); paid M 1342 - E 1343; seems to have continued acting; removed 11.5.1344, and his appointment was revoked 11.6.1344 (*CPR 1343-45* pp257,300; *Rep DKI 54* pp25,31,47; PROI RC8/23 p329; PRO E101/241/5); Puriton was reappointed 11.5.1344.

18.11.1344 Burnham called to account; Coumbe, Puriton, and Salkeld presented the counterrolls at the Dublin exchequer (PROI RC8/23 p360). 18.5.1345 Puriton's appointment was revoked; Salkeld was restored; paid T 1345 - M 1349 (*CPR 1343-45* p471; PROI RC8/23 p19; PRO E101/241/5; E372/191 m42d). 22.7.1345 appointed attorney for Queen Philippa (*CPR 1343-45* p530; *Rep DKI 54* p51). July 1348 paymaster of Bermingham's troops in Meath (Frame, PhD, p510).

William de Saresfield

Nominated in John Darcy's petitions in 1328 as **3rd JCB** (Baldwin, *Council*, pp473-5).

Thomas de Saundeby

Saundeby, Notts. Son of Robert and Isabella de Saundeby (*CPR 1313-17* p213). May 1316 held a toft and 3 bovates of land in Sneyton, Yorks (*CCR 1313-18* p287). 13.7.1322 'late rebel', his lands were placed in the custody of William de Anne, constable of Tickhill (*CCR 1318-23* p572). 1324-27, 1329-30, 1334-36 in Ireland with Darcy (*CPR 1324-27* pp39,281, *1330-34* pp507,514, *1334-38* p105). 1330 accompanied Darcy to Gascony (*CPR 1327-30* p523). 7.12.1330 commission of oyer and terminer appointed on complaint by Thomas that certain persons carried away his goods at Saundeby, Notts; the offenders were pardoned 13.8.1331 at Queen Philippa's request (*CPR 1330-34* pp60,162).

1.10.1333 appointed **customer**; paid 3.3.1334-36 (*CFR 1327-37* p378; *Rep DKI 44* p51). 19.11.1334 £10 for the loss of a horse in Darcy's company in Leinster (*RCH* p39 no70). 20.3.1337 witness to charter concerning a grant of land to Darcy (*CCR 1337-39* p113). Accompanied Darcy to the Low Countries (*CPR 1334-38* p524). 25.1339 reappointed **customer** (*CFR 1337-47* p153; *PROI RC8/21* p504); reappointed for life 4.1.1341 (*CPR 1340-43* p83). 1342 accompanied Darcy to Brittany; 20.8.1342 licensed to nominate deputies (*CPR 1340-43* p510). 21.8.1342 mainpemor for Roger Darcy for the discharge of his offices by deputy (*CPR 1340-43* p502; *PROI RC8/22* p180).

13.5.1343 exempted for life from being put on assizes, juries, or recognisances, or appointment as mayor, sheriff, escheator, coroner, bailiff etc against his will (*CPR 1343-45* p30). 10.11.1347 commissioner of oyer and terminer into abuses by royal minsters in Ireland (*CPR 1345-48* p464). 10.7.1348 granted respite till Mich from proffering his account because afflicted with infirmity (*CCR 1346-49* p545). 8.10.1349 for 15 marks John de Feriby of Sutton was granted by Queen Philippa the custody of all the lands of Thomas de Saundeby who held of her in chief by knight service of the honour of Tickhill, Notts, during the minority of his son and heir William (*CPR 1348-*

50 p423; this reference implies that Thomas had died, but this seems to be inconsistent with subsequent references).

1.3.1351 Thomas acknowledged a debt of 20 marks to Queen Philippa (*CCR 1349-54* p349). 12.7.1354 Dublin exchequer ordered to check arrears of Saundeby's fee (*PROI RC8/26* p502). 8.5.1355 commissioner in Lincs concerning the inheritance of John de Breouse, idiot (*CPR 1354-58* p235). 15.10.1356 commissioner of oyer and terminer on complaint by Roger Darcy of assault in Notts (*CPR 1354-58* p42).

Robert de Scarborough

24.4.1302 appointed attorney for Aymer de Quarto, provost of Beverley (*CPR 1301-07* p32). 26.8.1323 attorney for the prior of Holand (*CCR 1323-27* p135). 22.10.1329 justice in eyre in Notts (*CPR 1327-30* p454). 10.6.1331 justice in eyre in the Channel Islands (*CPR 1330-34* p146; *CCR 1330-33* p245). 2.12.1331 appointed CJCB; paid 15.4.1332 - 19.7.1333; £20 travelling expenses (*CPR 1330-34* p227; *PRO E101/239/24,29*). 1332-4 appointed chief keeper of her lands at £40 pa by Elizabeth de Clare (*Frame, Lordship*, p70). 28.3.1332 at Robert's request, the bailiffs and burgesses of Scarborough were granted the quayage on wares landed on their quay for 3 years (*CPR 1330-34* p266). Sent with Grantchester to inform the king about the state of Ireland; 25 marks expenses; £20 for service; 5 marks for hearing pleas in Meath and Louth (*PRO E101/239/29*).

16.4.1333 granted, for service, custody of 2 parts of Malahide manor, during the minority of Thomas fitz Richard Talbot, and the marriage of the heir; paid 20 marks (*CPR 1330-34* p426; *Rep DKI 44* pp19,33, 45 pp25,28). 22.4.1333 Darcy ordered to heed Robert "to whom the king has made known the intent of his mind" (*CCR 1333-37* p32). T 1333 accompanied Darcy to Scotland; £10; 40 marks for going to Ulster and Scotland (*PRO E101/239/29, 240/1; Rep DKI 44* p39). 2.10.1333 reappointed CJCB;

paid 19.10.1333 - 19.1.1334 (*CPR 1330-34* p470; PRO E101/240/1,5). 3.10.1333 appointed with Darcy, Outlaw, and Thomas de Burgh to survey the royal demesne (*CPR 1330-34* p473).

16.7.1334 appointed **CJCB**; ineffective (*CPR 1330-34* p568). 24.9.1334 appointed justice of the King's Bench (*CPR 1334-38* p22). 25.11.1334 received a £40 gift (*CCR 1333-37* p165). 28.7.1337 appointed **CJCB**; ineffective (*CPR 1334-38* p477). 6.9.1339 appointed JCB, England exchanging places with John de Shardelowe; 18.10.1339 exchange cancelled (*CPR 1338-40* p314; *CCR 1339-41* p213). Aut 1340 charged with Richard de Willoughby with malpractice (Fryde, 'Removal', p157). 10.1.1341 ordered to convey all the rolls and memoranda, concerning the pleas before the king, from York to Westminster (*CCR 1339-41* p596). 5.8.1341 ordered not to intermeddle with any offices by reason of his commissions as JKB, justice of assize, or of gaol delivery (*CCR 1341-43* p269).

25.1.1342 sheriff of Essex ordered to cause Robert to be brought before the king in chancery with his rolls and memoranda to answer for his contempt in not bringing them to Edward (*CCR 1341-43* p474). 30.7.1344 appointed **CJJB**; paid 20.12.1344 - 20.6.1345 (PRO E372/191 m42d). 30.7.1344 acknowledged a debt of 400 marks to the executor of the will of William Montagu (*CCR 1343-46* p452). 10.8.1344 granted custody of 2 seals, which the king had ordered for the sealing of judicial writs, and the fees due for such writs (*CFR 1337-47* p387). 8.9.1344 paid £40 pa fee (*CCR 1343-46* p461). 1346-48 commissioner of oyer and terminer in England, and collector of an aid in the E Riding (*CPR 1345-48* pp184,377,380,462, 1348-50 p160; *CFR 1347-56* p21; *CCR 1346-49* pp356,511).

Robert de Scorburch

1316-40 served on frequent judicial commissions. 2.11.1332 appointed BEx in England; reappointed 19.11.1333 (*CPR 1330-34* pp362,482). 16.7.1334 appointed **chief baron of the Dublin exchequer**; ineffective (*CPR 1330-34* p568). 28.7.1337 appointed JCB, Dublin; ineffective (*CPR 1334-38* p477). Jan 1340 died, leaving sons William and Roger (*CPR 1337-47* p158).

William Scot

Appointed attorney of John de Nevill 28.3.1324 & 18.4.1329 (*CPR 1321-24* p404, 1327-30 p383). Possibly bailiff of the liberty of Ely (*CPR 1327-30* pp477,479). Nominated in John Darcy's petitions in 1328 as **3rd JCB** (Baldwin, *Council*, pp473-5). 18.3.1337 appointed JCB, England, and 2.5.1339 justice of the King's Bench, and served as chief justice Jan 1341-1348 (*CPR 1334-38* p397, 1338-40 p249, 1340-43 p118, 1345-48 p2).

John de Scotton

14.1.1336 king's yeoman, appointed **constable of Athlone** (*CPR 1334-38* p347). Murdered by March 1340 (*CPR 1338-40* p440).

John de Shardelowe

1318 narrator in the Common Bench, England, and 1323-4 steward of Bury St Edmund's (Maddicott, 'Law and Lordship', p30). 1323-44 commissioner in Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridge, Huntingdon, Beds and Bucks. 26.7.1326 appointed CJCB,

Dublin; ineffective (*Admin. Ire.* p156N). 1330 appointed justice of the King's Bench (Maddicott, 'Law and Lordship', p30). 1333 appointed JCB, England (Willard iii 281). 1338 received £2 pa from the Hospitallers in England (Maddicott, 'Law and Lordship', p26). 1340 dismissed for bribery (Maddicott, 'Law and Lordship', p30). 16.5.1342 appointed JCB, England (*CPR 1340-43* p436). 1343-4 received robes from Elizabeth de Clare, appearing on her livery roll as a tenant in Suffolk (Maddicott, 'Law and Lordship', p23). Dead by April 1344 (*CFR 1337-47* p372).

Adam de Shavington

15.5.1338 appointed **constable of Balyten**; reappointed 23.5.1340; paid 27.8.1339 - 6.2.1340 (*CPR 1338-40* pp84,524; PRO E101/240/17).

Gilbert de Singleton

1309-24 commissioner in Lancs and Cheshire. 1322-26 keeper of Holton, Congleton, and Widnes, formerly held by Thomas de Lancaster (*CFR 1319-27* pp116,126). 30.5.1324 appointed **2nd JCB**; ineffective (*CPR 1321-24* p418). 13.12.1325 appointed **2nd JJB**; ineffective (*CPR 1324-27* p198). Feb 1326 dead (*CFR 1319-27* p375).

John de Skelton

20.6 1312 held the wardship of Yarewyth, Westmoreland, with Adam de Skelton (*CFR 1307-19* p136). M 1317 witness to a charter concerning land in Cumbria (*CCR 1313-18* p598). Nov 1321 justice of gaol delivery at Appleby (*CPR 1321-24* p60). 28.7.1323 commissioned to sell all the corn growing on lands forfeited by Andrew and Michael de Harcla and William le Blount (*CPR 1321-24* p334). 22.5.1324 commissioned to levy

scutage in Cumberland (*CFR 1319-27* p282). 3.11.1324 commissioned to enforce assizes of bread, ale, and corn (*CFR 1319-27* pp314,316). 18.4.1325 commissioned to keep the truce with the Scots in Westmoreland and Cumberland (*CPR 1324-27* p116).

1327-30 further commissions in Cumberland (*CCR 1327-30* pp6,80,133, 1330-33 p33; *CPR 1327-30* pp75,426,430,496). 6.2.1331 Patrick de Suthayt was licensed to enfeoff John with a messuage and 16a in Skelton (*CPR 1330-34* p72). 8.6.1331 - 1.5.1332 **2nd JJB** (PRO E101/239/24). Dead by 2.2.1336, leaving a son and heir Clement, as his elder son William had predeceased him (*CIPM viii* p279).

William de Skelton

Unclear whether he was related to the Cumberland Skeltons. 1.3.1327 pardoned for breaking prison at Corfe. 5.3.1327 appointed **constable of Limerick castle**; paid 29.7.1327 - 29.1.1328 & 3.6.1331 - 3.6.1334 (*CPR 1327-30* p28; PRO E01/239/7,24,29, 240/1,5). 9.2.1329 life-grant of the constableness for good service to Edward I and Edward II (*CPR 1327-30* p361). 1331 owed £5 for the escape of William Brekyn, a felon (*Rep DKI 43* p49). 1334 granted 24s 2d for repairing the gaol of Limerick castle at Outlaw's orders (PRO E101/240/5).

Thomas Smothe

Appointed attorney for John le Blound, mayor of Limerick M 1320 (PROI RC8/12 p74); for Henry de Badowe June 1325 (PROI RC8/14 p316); for William the 2nd remembrancer (PROI RC8/14 p345); and for Richard Broun 1325/6 (PROI RC8/14 pp607,688). 21.5.1321 appointed **keeper of the stores of Dublin castle**; held this till 1331 at least (PRO E101/238/17,26, 239/5,7,19). 1323 appointed **chief remembrancer**; held this for life (PROI RC8/12 p760, RC8/14 p346, RC8/15

pp417,482, RC8/16 pp61,204, RC8/18 pp357,556, RC8/21 p387, RC8/22 p219; *Rep DKI 44* pp20,52, 45 pp27,30,56, 47 pp38,40,54, 53 p21, 54 pp31,42; PRO E101/240/17; *RCH* p44 no54).

1326 held lands at Donnybrook (*Account Roll, Holy Trinity* p189). Aug 1326 assigned to victual Carrickfergus (*RCH* p34 no20). 1327 paymaster for Kildare's troops in Leinster (PRO E101/239/5). 5.3.1331 granted custody of the royal mills near Dublin castle for 10 years; held till 17.11.1341; grant restated 20.7.1340 (PROI RC8/16 p407; *Rep DKI 43* p48; *CFR 1337-47* p87). 27.4.1334 for service, appointed steward of the royal demesne lands at Saggart, Crumlin, and Newcastle Lyons; ineffective (*CPR 1330-34* p539; *CFR 1327-37* pp399,402). 14.2.1335 granted custody of 2 parts of Robert de Nottingham's lands in Thorncastle; held during minority till 14.2.1336 when they were granted to John de Bathe, husband of Eglentine, sister and heiress of William, Robert's son (PROI RC8/18 p436; *Rep DKI 44* p45).

£5 expenses levying debts of the Ricardi and the Sons of Bettori (*Rep DKI 44* p19). 5.4.1336 appointed steward of the royal demesne lands for 5 years; ineffective (*CFR 1327-37* p477). 6.6.1336 granted the messuage belonging to Robert de Cotgrave in Gilmeholmokeslane, Dublin (PROI RC8/18 pp551,602; *CPR 1338-40* p157; *CFR 1327-37* p448). 1339 attorney for John de Leicester and his wife Milana (PROI RC8/21 p373; *Rep DKI 47* p32). 1340 paymaster of Outlaw's troops in Leinster (*Rep DKI 53* p47). 15.8.1340 granted $\frac{2}{3}$ of Richard Talbot of Malahide's lands in Kedryth during the minority of his heir (PROI RC8/22 p88; *Rep DKI 47* p74). 22.11.1341 pardoned with his wife Alice, and son Thomas, for a £3 fine, for acquiring for life from Eustace le Poer Oughtrard and Castlewarny without licence, with licence to retain the properties; confirmed in England 24.3.1342 (PROI RC8/23 p90; *Rep DKI 54* p37; *CPR 1340-43* p393).

20.8.1342 appointed **deputy customer** with Walter de Coumbe while Saundeby was in Brittany (*CPR 1340-43* p510). 30.4.1344 appointed attorney for John de Ellerker (*CPR*

1343-45 p240). 1346 complained with Alice and Thomas that their life-grant of Castlewamy and Oughtrard had been confiscated by Ufford and granted in fee to William de Burton (*Analecta Hibernica* xxxiv p52). 30.8.1346 appointed attorney by Hugh de Burgh (*RCH* p51 no36). 7.8.1348 granted a water mill near the Dame's gate for 20 years at a rent of 40s pa (*Rep DKI* 54 p61). 1348 died; his son Thomas and 3 others mainprised to pay his debts of £93.6.8. on the restoration of his goods and chattels (PROI RC8/24 p518).

Nicholas de Snyterby

Kinsman of Thomas de Snyterby, a canon of St Patrick's, who accompanied John Wogan to Ireland in 1296 (*CPR 1292-1301* p198), and acted as a JCB 1295-1308, dying in 1316.

1316/17 "serviens narrator" (PROI RC8/11 p827). 23.1.1326 attorney for Walter de Islip (*CPR 1324-27* p85; PROI RC8/14 pp698,854; *CCR 1323-27* p449). 5.6.1327 appointed constable of Kilkenny castle (10 marks pa) (*CFR 1327-37* p46; *Rep DKI* 43 p25). 6-14.7.1329 assigned with Grantchester and Ashbourne to go to Kilkenny to establish peace between the earls of Desmond and Ulster (PROI RC8/16 p354). 26.3.1337 party to a £1000 recognisance with Walter de Bermingham and John Darcy (*CCR 1337-39* p119). 22.6.1337 appointed 2nd BEx; paid M 1337 - H 1341; dismissed 10.8.1337; reappointed 30.8.1337 & 1.5.1338 (*CPR 1334-38* pp463,502, 1338-40 p50; PRO E372/184 m49, E101/240/17, 241/5; *CCR 1337-39* p168).

5.7.1340 Epworth appointed 2nd BEx; 2.9.1340 Snyterby confirmed as 2nd BEx (*CPR 1340-43* pp20,28; *CCR 1339-41* p511). 8.2.1341 appointment revoked; reappointed 16.5.1342; paid M 1342 - H 1343 (*CPR 1340-43* pp127,432; PRO E101/241/5; *RCH* p43 no10). 1344 holding lands of Thomas de Snyterby (PROI RC8/23 p82). 12.2.1344 - M 1346 BEx (PROI RC8/23 pp629,680). 28.10.1346 appointed BEx; ineffective

(CPR 1345-48 p196). 7.11.1346 appointed **2nd JCB**; paid 14.12.1346 - 6.5.1348 (CPR 1345-48 p219; RCH p52 no69; Admin. Ire. p160). References as **BEx** 24.4.1348, and T 1349 (PROI RC8/24 p322; Admin. Ire. p112). Appointed attorney for John de Burnham 2.5.1349, 1.6.1353 & 4.7.1354 (CPR 1348-50 p278, 1350-54 p164, 1354-58 p82).

26.7.1351 commissioned with others to cause all who held lands of the earl of Desmond to render account (CPR 1350-54 p161). M 1351 - H 1355 **BEx**; appointed 4.7.1354 (Admin. Ire. p112; PROI RC8/25 p533; CPR 1354-58 p82). 31.10.1354 appointed **JCB**; paid 20.1.1355 - 20.4.1357 (CPR 1354-58 p132; RCH pp55 no5, 60 no51, 62 nos113,155; Admin. Ire. p163). 3.4.1358 **BEx** (PROI RC8/27 p287).

Thomas de Speton

1332 attorney for Adam de Limber (PROI RC8/18 p276). 1333 presented to Greencastle church, Down diocese (PROI RC8/17 p512). 26.11.1333 royal clerk, appointed **keeper of the writs and rolls of the Dublin Bench**; paid 21.1.1334 - 4.5.1335 (CPR 1330-34 p484; PRO E101/240/5,10).

Richard Sprot

Constable of Roscommon 1343 (RCH pp43 no9, 45 no58, 46 no99).

John de Stafford

1325/6 clerk, nominated by Thomas de Warilowe as **deputy engrosser** (PROI RC8/14 p818). 24.8.1330 appointed **chirographer of the Dublin Bench**, at the request of Roger Mortimer (CPR 1327-30 p550). 3.5.1331 appointed **usher**; ineffective (PRO

E101/239/19,22,24). 22.5.1331 appointed **marshal of the next eyre** of the justiciar (*CPR 1330-34* p122). 4.1.1334 for service to the king and to the late earl of Ulster, appointed **usher**; ineffective (*CPR 1330-34* p488).

Ellis de Stapleton

10.16.1313 son of Hugh, pardoned for adherence to the earl of Lancaster (*CPR 1313-17* p24); and again in 1.11.1318, when he was clerk of the earl's household (*CPR 1317-21* p235; Tout, *Chapters*, ii 186N). 19.10.1321 parson of Swayton; Earl Thomas granted him 2a next to his dwelling (*CPR 1321-24* pp28,32). 19.9.1327 executor of Earl Thomas (*CPR 1327-30* p169). 12.2.1328 complained that Lancaster's goods had been stolen; commissions were appointed to investigate (*CPR 1327-30* pp279,282,283,286). Nominated in John Darcy's petitions in 1328 as **chief bEx** (Baldwin, *Council*, pp473-5).

William de Stransale

1324 **2nd remembrancer**, nominated John de Carlton as his deputy (PROI RC8/14 p344). 17.12.1325 royal clerk, appointed remembrancer (*CPR 1324-27* p251; PROI RC8/14 p813). 24.11.1331 deputy of John de Melburn, late controller of the king's household, to present John's account (*CCR 1330-33* p381). 18.3.1333 sheriff of Cumberland ordered to repair the buildings, walls, turrets, and bridges of Carlisle castle by the view and testimony of William (*CCR 1333-37* p23). 23.3.1333 to survey and victual royal castles and manors in the north and purvey corn and other victuals for the king's arrival (*CPR 1330-34* p420). 14.5.1335 protection, accompanying Ellerker to Ireland (*CPR 1334-38* p103).

John de Sutheys

Constable of Balyten 15.4 - 15.7.1342 (PRO E101/241/5).

Herbert de Sutton

4.10.1308 king's yeoman, 100 marks for service (*CCR 1307-13* p78). 16.10.1313 pardoned for adherence to the earl of Lancaster (*CPR 1313-17* p22). 1317? life-grant of the grange of Rathwire manor, following the forfeiture of Almaric de Lacy (*CPR 1334-38* p94). 4.8.1324 had held the hamlet of Old Grange in Meath for life from Roger Mortimer; now to hold it from Miles de Verdon and his heirs (*CChR 1300-26* p469). M 1324 - M 1325? sheriff of Meath (PROI RC8/14 pp1,211,215; *RCH* p32 no158). 18.5 - 26.9.1325 paymaster of Darcy's troops in Leinster, Slievemargy and Thomond (PRO E101/238/19). 26.11.1326 - 1.3.1327 **escheator of Ireland** (*RCH* p37 nos138,139,158). 10-22.11.1329 accompanied Darcy to suppress rebellion in Meath (*Rep DKI 43* p28). 1330 accompanied Darcy to Gascony (*CPR 1327-30* p523).

28.11.1330 - 28.5.1331 **constable of Drogheda (£5 pa)** (PRO E101/239/24). 18.2.1334 - 14.8.1335 **constable of Athlone (£40 pa)** (*RCH* p38 no41; PRO E101/240/10). 1335 summoned to Scotland (*Rot. Scot.* i 343). 1344/5 to account for Rathwire (PROI RC8/23 pp147,701). 9.12.1346 **constable of Bunratty**, and keeper of the lands of Robert and Maud de Welles in Co. Limerick (*RCH* p37 no141). 1347 died; Roger of Preston acted as his executor (PROI RC8/24 p4).

William de Swyneford

Constable of Limerick (10 marks pa) 19.10.1334 - 19.10.1336 (PRO E101/240/10,13; *RCH* p41 nos1,2).

Richard Talbot of Malahide

3.5.1321 exempted, at the request of John d'Athy, from judicial or ministerial service (*CPR 1317-21* p582). 15.5.1326 - 15.11.1327 **constable of Newcastle McKynegan** (possibly till 1329) (PRO E101/238/26, 239/5,7; *RCH* p35 no48). Dead by July 1329, leaving a son Thomas; Rerith fitzRerith had wardship of his lands at the request of John de Hothum (*CFR 1327-37* p140; *CCR 1333-37* p32).

Thomas Thonnyr

1339-45 **exchequer clerk** (PROI RC8/21 p420, RC8/22 pp217,392, RC8/23 pp79,326; *Rep DKI 54* pp20,30,41,47).

Robert de Thorpe

1.4.1308 appointed warden of the king's mines in Devon and Cornwall (*CPR 1307-13* p61). 1310-15 commissioner in Cornwall and Devon (*CPR 1307-13* p329; *CFR 1307-19* pp139,203,257), 23.8.1316 appointed to perambulate the forests in Somerset, Dorset, and Devon (*CPR 1313-17* p539). 15.11.1316 appointed receiver of Ponthieu (*CPR 1313-17* p563). March 1318 attorney for Queen Isabella (*CPR 1317-21* p123). 1324 accompanied Earl Edmund to Gascony (*CPR 1321-24* p404). 23.6.1326 1 of 3 sent to Scotland to negotiate with Robert Bruce (*CPR 1327-30* p278). 1328 nominated in John Darcy's petitions in 1328 as **CJCB** (Baldwin, *Council*, pp473-5).

Henry de Thrapston

3.3.1297 appointed attorney in Ireland for Robert fitzPayn (*CPR 1292-1301* p241). 1300 reported to have served the king well in the Irish chancery (*Admin. Ire.* p185N). 18.6.1301 - 16.6.1307) **keeper of the writs and rolls of the Dublin Bench** (*Admin. Ire.* p185). 1310 **keeper of the rolls and writs of the eyre** (*RCH* p16 no43). Appointed attorney for Robert de Holiwell 1311, 28.3.1319, and 24.11.1323 (*CPR 1307-13* p394, *1317-21* p320, *1321-24* p349); and in England for Richard de Burgh 17.8.1318 (*CPR 1317-21* p200). M 1319 commissioned to supervise the enrolling of all expenses and issues of Roger Mortimer for his troops (*PROI RC8/12* p67). May-Aug 1320 paymaster of Mortimer's troops in Slievemargy and Thomond (*RCH* p28 no10).

12.10.1322 appointed as surveyor chief keeper of the lands of Hugh le Despenser the Elder and Younger, with power to appoint provosts, bailiffs etc (*CPR 1321-24* p28; *CFR 1319-27* p75). 10.7.1322 to take the fealty of John de Warenne for 6 manors he held of Alice de Lacy (*CPR 1321-24* p179; *CCR 1318-23* p674). 30.12.1322 appointed with Bertrand de la More, king's serjeant-at-arms, to enforce a prohibition against a tournament at Newport, Staffs (*CPR 1321-24* p233). 11.2.1323 presented to Gamelston church, York diocese (*CPR 1321-24* p236). 31.7.1323 appointed **keeper of the writs and rolls of the justiciar's bench**, with licence to exercise office by deputy (*CPR 1321-24* p335; *CCR 1323-27* p14).

13.2.1326 appointed paymaster of Darcy's troops in Munster, and 14.8.1326 in Ulster (*PROI RC8/14* p69; *PRO E101/238/26*; *RCH* p35 no47). 21.8.1328 appointed **2nd BEx**, on Darcy's petition; paid M 1328 - M 1330 (*CPR 1327-30* p316; *Admin. Ire.* p108). 1329 Toraldus de la Montaigne acknowledged a debt of 40s to Henry and John de Thrapston (*PROI RC8/15* p492). 13.7.1329 - 10.10.1330 **JCB** (*PRO E372/176* m46). 15.10.1330 archdeacon of Cork, appointed **chanEx** "so long as his bodily strength allows"; ineffective (*CPR 1330-34* p10).

John de Thrapston, burgess of Drogheda, held land in Minnistown, Meath; witness to a quitclaim 30.7.1341 (*Gormanston Reg.* p37).

William de Tickhill

1320 keeper of the Great Wardrobe. 24.2.1331 appointed **chief BEx**; ineffective (*CPR 1330-34* p82). 5.12.1331 commissioned to extend the lands of Queen Philippa in Yorks, Notts, and Derbyshire (*CPR 1330-34* p236). Various preferments: Stanhope church, a prebend in Ossory diocese, custody of Grantham hospital.

Peter de Tilliol

Son and heir of Robert de Tilliol (d 1321), tenant-in-chief in Cumberland and Holderness, and his wife Maud (d 1343). Received seisin of his lands April 1321 (*CFR 1319-27* pp45,54, 1337-47 p346). Closely connected with Anthony de Lucy. Served with Harcla 1322 on the Scottish march (*CPR 1321-24* p130). Witness to indentures, grants and charters in Cumberland (eg *CPR 1321-24* p4; *CCR 1323-27* p193).

Served as a commissioner in Cumberland 1324-48 (*CPR 1324-27* pp122,217,222, 1327-30 pp283, 289, 1330-34 p440, 1334-38 pp138, 210, 219, 442, 1338-40 pp135, 555, 1340-43 pp314, 322, 363, 1343-45 pp87, 93, 147, 148, 182, 274, 276, 277, 280, 291, 293, 422, 506, 575, 1345-48 pp240, 301, 1348-50 pp80, 176; *CCR 1333-37* p470, 1337-39 pp5, 26).

Sheriff of Cumberland 4.2.1327 - 5.12.1330, with custody of Carlisle castle (*CFR 1327-37* pp16,200,203). 1331 accompanied Lucy to Ireland (*CPR 1330-34* p104). 8.6.1331 - 1.5.1332 served as **CJJB** (PRO E101/239/24). 28.4.1340 pardoned all his debts (*CPR 1338-40* p470). Nov 1349 died, leaving a son and heir Robert, and a daughter Matilda,

who married Hugh de Louthre the Younger (*CFR 1347-56* pp160,199; *CPR 1338-40* p113). Robert was sheriff of Cumberland 10.11.1356 - 3.11.1358, 10.12.1361 - 20.11.1362 & 16.11.1366 - 20.5.1367.

John Travers

12.1.1318 pardoned for adherence to Earl Thomas of Lancaster (*CPR 1317-21* pp233,235). Commissioner of oyer and terminer in Yorks 18.1.1319, Lincs Mar 1319, and Lancs May 1322 (*CPR 1317-21* pp308,309,361,362, *1321-24* p160). 18.5.1322 appointed to extend the lands of Earl Thomas in Lancs (*CPR 1321-24* p161). 2.12.1322 assessor and collector in Lancaster of the 10th and the 6th (*CPR 1321-24* p224). 12.12.1322 keeper of lands in royal hands in Yorks (*CPR 1321-24* p220). 7.2.1323 ordered to array men in Lancs (*CPR 1321-24* pp240,264). 4.2.1324 licensed to grant in tail to his daughter Katherine, 1 messuage, 144a, and £5 rent in Slyne, Bolton, Skerton, Torisholme, and Bare (*CPR 1321-24* p367). E 1324 - E 1326 constable of Bordeaux (Tout, *Chapters*, vi 68).

1328 nominated in John Darcy's petitions as chief bEx (Baldwin, *Council*, pp473-5). 15.9.1328 appointed royal proctor, with the seneschal and constable of Bordeaux, to negotiate with the Count of Armagnac and lord of Lebret for the recovery of the king's rights (*CPR 1327-30* p319). 2.3.1329 appointed JCB, England; till H 1331 (*CPR 1327-30* p377; Willard iii p280). 8.2.1331 appointed justice in eyre in the Channel Islands; Robert of Scarborough appointed in his place (*CPR 1330-34* pp72,146). May 1331 granted a prebend in Lichfield (*CPR 1330-34* p118). June 1331 - 20.2.1335 constable of Bordeaux (Tout, *Chapters*, vi 68). Dead by Sept 1338 (*CFR 1337-47* p93).

Richard de Tuyt

7.10.1309 king's yeoman, granted custody of Ardee barony and Mandevillestown (*CFR 1307-19* p50). 30.11.1311 granted custody of Ardee castle and the manor of Mandevillestown (*CFR 1307-19* p116). 14.5 - 22.10.1317 keeper with Walter de la Pulle of de Verdon lands (*Rep DKI 42* p16). 29.9.1321 - M 1328 **constable of Athlone and Rindown** (PRO E372/176 m46; PRO E101/238/8,17,19,26, 239/5,7; *RCH* p34 no27). 1323 sent a writ concerning the escape of Roger Mortimer (*CCR 1323-27* pp133/4). 24.11.1323 named with the earls of Ulster, Kildare, and Louth, Maurice fitzThomas etc to aid and counsel Darcy (*CCR 1323-27* p145). 2.3.1326 granted to Sir Hugh de Turpington all lands, rents etc in the towns of Herbardeston, Balerod and Beneston in Ireland (*CCR 1323-27* p547).

27.2.1331 ordered to aid and assist Lucy; named after the earls of Ulster, Ormond, and Desmond, and the prior of the Hospitallers (*CCR 1330-33* p294). Farmer of Dissard manor (PROI RC8/16 p284). 28.6.1332 Dublin exchequer to give Richard respite of all his debts; 18.9.1332 allowed £50; 29.9.1332 granted full allowance (*CCR 1330-33* pp493,502,573). 10.8.1337 to be attendant on John Charlton (*CCR 1337-39* p243). Dead by 10.12.1350; wardship of his lands was committed to Rokeby (*CPR 1347-56* p267).

Walter de Verdon

Received a life-grant of Crakemarsh manor, Staffs, from the inheritance of Theobald de Verdon (d 1316); held this till 1344 when the inheritance was partitioned among Theobald's 4 daughters, Crakemarsh going to Elizabeth and Bartholomew de Burgersh (*CCR 1343-46* p276). 15.5.1329 appointed **constable of Roscommon**; repeated 12.9.1330 (*CFR 1327-37* pp134,189). 18.8.1342 appointed attorney in England for Nicholas de Verdon (*CPR 1340-43* p510). 20.5.1354 for good service, received a life-

grant of 20 marks pa (*CPR 1354-58* p149). 20.8.1355 appointed attorney in England for Thomas de Verdon (*CPR 1354-58* p278).

John de Wadby

15.3.1325 appointed constable of Leixlip; paid 15.9.1325 - 15.3.1327 (PROI RC8/14 p183; *Rep DKI 43* p31).

Peter de Wakefield

15.3.1341 king's clerk, for good service, appointed 2nd engrosser; possibly held this for life, with an interlude 1350-2 when Reginald de Esker was 2nd engrosser (*CPR 1340-43* p158; PRO E101/240/17, 241/5; *Rep DKI 53* p20, 54 p41; *RCH* p45 no61; PROI RC8/22 p392, RC8/28 p187). Appointed attorney for John de Founteyns 24.4.1341, 6.5.1345, 6.6.1349, and 6.7.1353 (*CPR 1340-43* p172, 1343-45 p460, 1348-50 p304, 1350-54 p576); for William Darcy 28.11.1344 & 12.3.1349 (*CPR 1343-45* p366, 1348-50 p261); for William de Epworth 5.1.1350, 8.3.1351, and 10.7.1354 (*CPR 1348-50* p443, 1350-54 p48, 1354-58 p88); for John Darcy of Knaith 22.7.1351 & 20.3.1355 (*CPR 1350-54* p125, 1354-58 p194); for John Morice 12.7.1352, 1.9.1354, 18.8.1355, 18.7.1357, 7.7.1358, and 15.9.1360 (*CPR 1350-54* p300, 1354-58 pp100,277,586, 1358-61 pp63,459); for Roger Darcy 3.6.1353 & 25.4.1355 (*CPR 1350-54* p467, 1354-58 p203); for Thomas de Saundeby 15.10.1353 (*CPR 1350-54* p496); and for the prior of Little Malvern 9.9.1363, 24.4.1364, & 28.10.1366 (*CPR 1361-64* pp390,489, 1364-67 p327).

21.8.1342 appointed deputy escheator and deputy constable of Dublin castle with William de Boulton and Roger de Preston while Roger Darcy was in Brittany (*CPR 1340-43* p502; PROI RC8/22 p180); reappointed Roger's deputy 21.5.1343 (*RCH* p47

no135). 1343 justice of gaol delivery in Limerick with Roger Darcy, Peter de Okebourne, and Walter de Kildare (*RCH* p46 no111). 6.6.1346 had been removed from office; restored on petition (*CPR 1345-48* p120; PROI RC8/23 p633). 8.3.1350 keeper of Dublin castle (PROI RC8/25 p142). 1351 granted custody of the lands of the bishop of Killaloe in Kilsythston in Co. Dublin (PROI RC8/25 p551). 1353 received payment from Elizabeth de Clare (PRO SC6/1239/26).

10.3.1354 had been appointed purveyor of 1006 crannocks and 6 bushels of oats in Cos. Dublin, Meath, Louth, and Kildare; now to purvey 2000 crannocks; petitioned for payment 5.2.1355 (*CCR 1354-60* p5; PROI RC8/26 p598). 10.11.1356 letters patent, dated 24.7.1356, appointing Robert de Loughborough 2nd engrosser, revoked (*CPR 1354-58* p467). 16.3.1359 assigned to array troops for an expedition to Wexford and Kilkenny against the O'Byrnes (*RCH* p79 no99).

One William de Wakefield was attorney for John Darcy in 1324 (*CPR 1324-27* p40).

Thomas de Warilowe

Oct 1309 clerk of Richard de Woodhouse, engrosser (Craig, D.V., 'The Memoranda Roll of the Irish Exchequer for 3 Edward II' (unpub. PhD thesis, TCD, 1984) p645N). 28.12.1315 royal receiver in Tipperary of a subsidy (PROI RC8/10 p169). 1316 receiver in Ossory diocese for the troops of John fitzThomas (PROI RC8/10 p517; *Rep DKI 42* p76). 5.2.1316 commissioned to deliver corn, wine, and oats from Waterford to Carlow (PROI RC8/10 p526). 7.8.1316 appointed 1 of the remembrancers (*CPR 1313-17* p526). 16.8.1318 appointed to sue and levy for the debts of the Ricardi of Lucca (*CFR 1307-19* p372; PROI RC8/12 p61). 29.6.1319 appointed chief engrosser; renewed 24.3.1327; paid till 26.3.1332 (*CPR 1317-21* p354; PROI RC8/12 p67; *CPR 1327-30* p58; PRO E101/239/24).

12.1.1320 appointed to sue and levy for the debts of the Society of the Sons of Bettori of Lucca (*CFR 1319-27* p14). May-Aug 1320 paymaster with Thrapston for Mortimer's troops in Slievemargy and Munster (*Rep DKI 42* p49). 27.2.1321 granted custody of the lands of the bishop of Meath at Ardrath (*Rep DKI 42* p36). 2.1.1324 commissioned to examine and supervise each and every debt in arrears in the manors of Leixlip, Newcastle Lyons, Saggart, Crumlin, and Esker (PROI RC8/13 p399). 29.3.1324 commissioned to take Mortimer's manor of Dunamase into royal hands (PROI RC8/13 p486). 1325 going overseas, nominated John de Stafford as his deputy (PROI RC8/14 p818).

1.3.1328 appointed constable of Leixlip with lands and mills (10 marks pa); paid from 23.2.1327 (*CFR 1327-37* p83; *Rep DKI 47* p54; PRO E101/239/5). 9.5.1328 life-grant, for good service and at the request of Roger Mortimer, a messuage and land in Bretonstown, which Walter de la Pulle held; held till 18.7.1329, when its restoration to Dundreynan abbey following the treaty with Scotland was ordered (*CCR 1327-30* p487). 12.5.1328 on Thomas' petition, the exchequer was to survey Leixlip, and spend up to £20 if necessary on repairs (*Analecta Hibernica xxxiv* p8; *CCR 1327-30* p282; *Rep DKI 47* p54). 3.6 - 6.8.1328 accompanied Outlaw to Munster; paid £3.6.8 expenses (*Rep DKI 43* p30). 28.6.1328 petitioned for the customary additional £7 pa to the engrosser's fee (*CCR 1327-30* p299). 6.7.1329 for good service, granted the stewardship of the royal demesne lands (*Rep DKI 43* p66; PROI RC8/15 p380; *CFR 1327-37* p142).

28-31.10 & 10-18.12.1329 accompanied Darcy to Leinster against the O'Dempseys and O'Morthes (*Rep DKI 43* p28). 1330 commissioned to provide victuals in Dublin, Waterford, Cork, Drogheda, Kilkenny, Ross, and Clonmel for the king (PROI RC8/15 pp505,506; *Rep DKI 43* p42). 2.7 - 3.9.1330 paymaster for Outlaw's troops in Munster (PROI RC8/15 pp613,614). 31.3.1331 Leixlip granted to Grantchester; Thomas pardoned £30 for good service (*CFR 1327-37* p246; *Rep DKI 43* p66). Dead by E 1332.

Related to **William de Warilowe** (attorney of Roger Outlaw in 1322 (PROI RC8/12 p460)), and to **Robert de Warilowe** (commissioned 1323 with Nigel Bettori to supervise the provision of victuals in Kilkenny and their transportation to Dalkey, and on to Skinburness; ordered to seize ships in all ports between Dublin and Drogheda 10.12.1323 for royal use; commissioned to transport corn 1325; 'frater', appointed attorney for Outlaw 12.10.1331; 1333 preceptor of St John de Kilmainham) (PROI RC8/13 pp174,390, RC8/14 p248, RC8/16 p15; *Reg. Kilmainham* p34).

John de Wellesley

12.5.1316 pardoned, for good service and losses and expenses when constable of Kildare, 50 out of 100 marks due in arrears (*CPR 1313-18* p457). 1322 in England on royal service (*CPR 1321-24* p52). 1.7.1324 returning to Ireland (*CPR 1321-24* p437). 1.7.1326 at John's request, his brother, Maurice, was to be given the first void benefice worth up to 40 marks (*CCR 1323-27* p484). 12.7.1331 - 12.1.1333 **constable of Kildare** (PRO E101/239/24,29). 1331 £10 compensation serving with Lucy (PRO E101/239/24). 30.9.1334 granted custody of the lands of Thomas de Sutton in Monmohennok, and Walter le Veel in Norragh during the minorities of their heirs (*CFR 1327-37* p421).

1335 summoned to Scotland (*Rot. Scot.* i 343). 10.8.1337 to be attendant on John Charlton (*CCR 1338-40* p80). 12.5.1338 appointed attorney for Thomas de Lucy (*CPR 1338-40* p80). 25.12.1338 granted custody of the lands of John de Newton, tenant of Earl Maurice of Kildare (*CPR 1338-40* p84). 3.6.1338 for good service, life-grant of 160a in Ingstone, Co. Kildare (*CPR 1338-40* p87). 20.5.1342 - 20.2.1343 **constable of Balyten** (PRO E101/241/5). 15.7.1348 pardoned forfeiture; failed as mainpemor for Desmond (*CPR 1348-50* p129). 1.3.1351 released of mainprise for the marriage of Earl Maurice of Kildare (*CCR 1349-54* p305). Dead by 1352 (*CFR 1347-56* p330).

William de Weston

Constable of Drogheda c1321 - 17.12.1322 (PROI RC8/13 p70; PRO E101/238/6).
7.12.1322 appointed constable of **Limerick**; paid 17.12.1322 - 16.12.1325 (PROI RC8/13 p51; PRO E101/238/12,17; *RCH* p31 no75).

Peter de Wetwang

10.8.1301 vicar of the church of Newtown-in-Glendale (*CCR 1296-1302* p495).
20.11.1316 son of William de Wetwang, pardoned for non-appearance before the justices in Yorks (*CPR 1313-17* p567). 2.5.1328, 16.10.1333, 30.5.1334, parson of Broughton-in-Craven, acknowledged various debts (*CCR 1327-30* p379, *1333-37* pp176,314), and 31.7.1331 parson of Rilkington (*CCR 1333-37* p515, *1339-41* p240).
11.1.1330 general pardon, having "aided the king during the late rebellion" (*CPR 1327-30* p469). 25.2.1331 royal clerk, appointed **chirographer and keeper of the writs and rolls of the Dublin Bench**; paid 12.7.1331 - 12.1.1332 (*CPR 1330-34* p76; PRO E101/239/24). 23.1.1326 pardoned, for good service in the royal household and in Ireland, for the death of Henry Horspache of Oxford, late constable of Oxford, with general pardon for all trespasses (*CPR 1334-38* p195).

John le White

25.7.1330 life-grant of the constablenesship of **Limerick** (10 marks pa). Citizen of Limerick. To repair 50 feet of wall and provide 6 men-at-arms at his own charge to guard the castle (*CPR 1327-30* p545).

William de Whithurst

1346 appointed **keeper of the chancery rolls** (*CPR 1345-48* p158). 17.1.1349 parson of Brixham church, Exeter diocese (*CPR 1348-50* p225)

Richard Whittey

Sheriff of Wexford 1334/5; **constable of Wexford** Aug-Nov 1334 (*Rep DKI 45* p43; PROI RC8/18 p423; *RCH* p38 no38).

Robert de Wight

23.10.1313 executor with Robert de Cotgrave for Robert de Whatten (PROI RC8/9 p61). 1324-26 bailiff of St Sepulchre; received 18d per week (PROI RC8/14 pp701,842). Witness to 2 charters of the Hospital of St John the Baptist without the New Gate, Dublin (*Reg. Hosp. St John* pp122,123). 19.1.1326 royal clerk, appointed **chambEx**; renewed 24.3.1327; paid H 1326 - 3.6.1331 (PROI RC8/14 p670; *CPR 1327-30* p58; PRO E101/238/26, 239/5,7,19). 1329/30 10 marks expenses travelling to England to present the account of Robert Power (*Rep DKI 43* p42, 44 p21). 1332/3 possibly controller of the customs at Cork (*Rep DKI 44* p51).

Richard de Willoughby

Justice of oyer and terminer in England. 4.9.1323 appointed **CJCB**; paid 21.1.1324 - 1.3.1325 (*CPR 1321-24* p342; PRO E101/238/12,17,19,26). Dead by 7.4.1325 (*CFR 1319-27* p341). 30.8.1325 appointed **CJCB**; ineffective because he was dead (*CPR*

1324-27 p164). His son, Richard de Willoughby, rose to become chief justice of the King's Bench.

Thomas de Winchester

Constable of Limerick 28.5.1326 - 5.2.1327 (PRO E101/239/5; PROI RC8/14 p835; *RCH* p35 no40). 3.10.1326 £30 granted to Thomas, John le Blound, mayor, and Henry de Troye, to repair the houses and walls (*RCH* pp34 no7, 35 no34).

Walter Winter

Constable of Roscommon 1343 (*RCH* pp43 no9, 45 no58, 46 no99).

John de Wodestoun

1340-43 treasurer's clerk (PROI RC8/21 pp542,545, RC8/22 pp109,212,393; *Rep DKI* 53 p54, 54 p46).

Thomas Wogan

Son and heir of John Wogan, and grandson of John Wogan, justiciar (d 1321) (*Hand, English Law*, p38).

6.8.1328 granted custody of the lands of John Wogan (*Rep DKI* 43 p23, 45 p54). 21.3.1331 received seisin of his father's lands in the earldom of Pembroke, the lordship of Haverfordwest, and in Ireland (*CCR 1330-33* p213). 26.6.1333 appointed **constable**

of Clonmore (£50 pa); held till 7.4.1347 at least (PROI RC8/24 p329; PRO E101/239/29, 240/5,8,10,13,17, 241,5,12; *RCH* p44 no19). 1335 summoned to Scotland (*Rot. Scot.* i 343). 7.6 - 15.10.1335 banneret, served with Darcy in Scotland with 22 men-at-arms and 40 footmen (Nicholson, R., *Edward III and the Scots* (Oxford, 1965) p222). Jan 1337 itinerant justice (*Admin. Ire.* p146). 18.4.1337 appointed **escheator of Ireland**; served 4.10.1337 - 16.10.1338 (*CFR 1337-47* p13; *Rep DKI 53* p33). 24.4.1337 pardoned £100 debt for good service (*CPR 1334-38* p429; PROI RC8/16 p68).

July 1338 £10 expenses for taking the lands of Earl James Butler into royal hands (*Rep DKI 53* p43). M 1338 seneschal of Trim, but not E 1339 (PROI RC8/21 pp2,187). 26.6.1339 Dublin exchequer ordered to receive Wogan's attorney to render his account for the escheatorship; Wogan was arraying troops in Wales (*CCR 1339-41* p235). 1339 served with Darcy in the Low Countries (*Norwell*, p313). 16.5.1340 granted the prise of wines in Ireland during the minority of the earl of Ormond (and £20 pa for life from the issue of the prise); held this 9.8.1340 - 20.11.1347 (*CPR 1338-40* pp430,517, 1345-48 p421; PROI RC8/22 p69, RC8/23 p5; *Rep DKI 47* p64). 10.6.1340 all his lands etc were confiscated for failure to render account as escheator; to be restored if he found security; Thomas petitioned that the treasurer had not cared to receive his security, and the king ordered him to do so in view of Thomas' good service (*CCR 1339-41* p480; PROI RC8/22 p92). Charged £35 for rendering his account 3 days late (*Rep DKI 47* p52).

26.2.1342 mainpernor to bring Simon fitzRichard before the king (*CCR 1341-43* p492). April 1342 went to England with John Larcher as 'delegates' of the Anglo-Irish 'community' to present a petition to the king concerning the administration (*CCR 1341-43* pp508,516). E 1343 seneschal of Kildare (PROI RC8/22 p374). 13.10.1343 ordered to go to the Leinster march to defend his lands (*RCH* p46 no92). 22.4.1345 appointed keeper of the peace with others in Kildare (*RCH* p50 no80). 1347 serving in France with Earl Maurice of Kildare (PROI RC8/24 p131). 12.11.1347 acknowledged with

Simon fitzRichard and Earl Maurice a debt of 500 marks owed to Bartholomew de Burghersh (who had acknowledged a debt of 1000 marks to the earl); 20.11.1347 Earl Maurice acknowledged a debt of 1000 marls to Wogan and fitzRichard (*CCR 1346-49* p407).

18.3.1348 mainpemor for John de Burnham that he would render his account (*CCR 1346-49* p505). 1.4.1348 acknowledged with Earl Maurice a debt of £60 owed to Bartholomew de Burghersh the elder (*CCR 1346-49* p509). 1349 held 2 parts of Kilkenny manor (PROI RC8/24 pp752-62). March 1352 dwelling in England (*CPR 1350-54* p242). 3.12.1352 granted custody of lands belonging to George le Poer in Rosgarton, Co. Wexford (*CFR 1347-56* p343). 7-29.10.1355 accompanied Rokeby to Leinster (PROI RC8/27 p164). March 1357 died (*CFR 1356-68* p54), leaving a son and heir, John, who had seisin of his lands 4.7.1357 (*CFR 1356-68* p41), and was sheriff of Kildare in 1363 (PROI RC8/28 p303).

Walter Wogan

Son of John Wogan, justiciar (Hand, *English Law*, p38). T 1310 - E 1314 seneschal of Wexford liberty (Phillips, *Pembroke*, p292; PROI RC8/9 pp3,309, RC8/10 pp221,591; *Rep DKI 39* p49). 22.4.1314 allowed £20 for good service (PROI RC8/9 p325). E 1315 described as late farmer of the Bigod lands in Ireland (PROI RC8/10 p64). 1316/17 summoned with his wife Margareta, Miles le Poer and his wife Egidia, Richard le Lette and his wife Isabel, and John de Sutton and his wife [...], to reply to William de Staunton concerning land in Kildenal; Walter Curtis acted as his attorney (PROI RC8/11 pp621,622).

11.5.1317 - 11.5.1318 **CJJB** (PRO E101/237/5,8,9). 22.8.1317 because of war in Leinster, assigned with Maurice de Rocheford to seek adequate help in Wexford (*RCH* p24 no 128). 16.7.1318 reappointed **CJJB**; paid 4.9.1318 - 11.9.1320 (PRO

E101/237/9,12, 239/5; *RCH* p28 no9). 18.7.1318 pardoned £150 debt for good service against the Scots in the company of Roger Mortimer (*CCR 1318-23* p2). Summer 1318 serving in Wales; Roger de Birthorp was appointed to serve in his absence 13.5.1318, confirmed 1.8.1318, and appointed 10.11.1320 to act till Walter's return (*Admin. Ire.* p168N; *CPR 1317-21* pp193,524). 20.5.1322 reappointed **CJJB**, & 28.1.1323; paid 20.4.1323 - 2.9.1324 (*CPR 1321-24* pp113,235; *PRO E101/238/12,17*; *RCH* p30 no20).

10.2.1324 acted with Roger de Birthorpe for the deputy justiciar William de Bermingham (*Admin. Ire.* p168N). 27.9.1324 appointed **2nd JJB**; paid 6.1.1325 - 12.8.1326 (*CPR 1324-27* p26; *PRO E101/238/17,19,26*; *RCH* p31 nos68,77). 16.2.1327 appointed **escheator of Ireland**; paid 17.5.1328 - 21.12.1328 (*CFR 1327-37* p14; *Rep DKI 43* p18). Dead by 1330, leaving a son and heir, Matthias (*PROI RC8/15* p497). Held 2¹/₂ fees in Wiston, Pembrokeshire (Phillips, *Pembroke*, p247; *CIPM* vi 336). To be distinguished from Walter Wogan, brother of John Wogan, justiciar (Hand, *English Law*, p38; *CPR 1292-1301* pp198,324,389,390), and Walter Wogan, constable of Roscommon 1302-3 (Hand, *English Law*, p38; *CCR 1296-1302* pp486,492; *CPR 1292-1301* pp583,584,594).

Thomas de Woodweston

6.6.1346 appointed **chief chambEx**; ineffective (*CPR 1345-48* p95).

Richard de York

7.2.1316 commissioned to seize all victuals (*PROI RC8/10* p618). Aug-Oct paymaster for Mortimer's troops in Leinster (Frame, PhD, p500). 1320 - M 1324 (- 1329?) **transcriber of estreats** (*PROI RC8/12* pp422,478, *RC8/13* pp296,399,486,558, *RC8/14* pp91,345, *RC8/15* p416). Oct-Nov 1324 paymaster for Darcy in Leinster (*PRO*

E101/238/17). M 1329 **writing summonses** in the exchequer (PROI RC8/16 pp289,290). 1331 petitioned for the offices of keeper of the writs and rolls, and of chirographer, of the Dublin Bench, and for the constableness of Drogheda for life, and for £4 granted to the marshal of the exchequer for robes, in view of his good service; ineffective as far the offices were concerned (*Analecta Hibernica* xxxiv p50). 4.3.1331 to be presented to the first void benefice of £40; this had been ordered by Edmund Butler for good service (*CPR 1330-34* p98). Related? to **William de York, summoner** M 1315 - T 1316 (PROI RC8/10 pp467,634,754).

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