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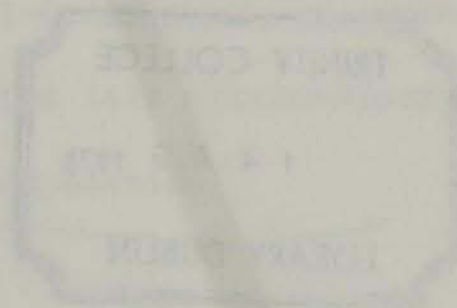
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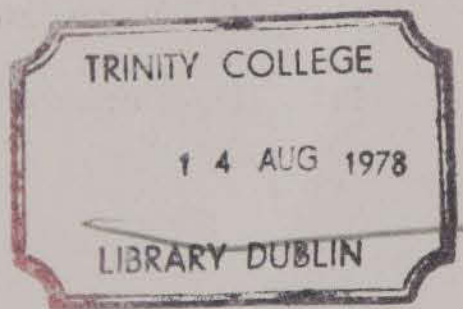
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Philomena Mary Connolly



Submitted for the degree of Ph.D.
University of Dublin

October 1977



THESIS
6

Table of Contents

	page
Acknowledgments	iii
Declaration	iv
Summary	v
List of Abbreviations	vii
Introduction	1
✓ I The appointment of Lionel and its background	10
II The organisation of the army	28
III The payment of army wages	55
IV Transport, equipment and provisions	89
✓ V The army in Ireland, 1361-6	134
VI Irish revenues, 1361-6 (i) ordinary revenues	166
VII Irish revenues, 1361-6 (ii) extraordinary revenues	227
✓ VIII The results of the expedition	266
Appendices	
I Illustrative documents	288
II Lionel's estates	297
III Indentured retinues, 1361-6	301
IV County levies in 1361 and 1362	302
V The size of the army, 1361-4	304
VI The household of Lionel of Clarence	306
VII William of Windsor's account at the English exchequer	308
VIII Shipping at Liverpool for Lionel's army, 1361	314
IX Valuation of horses for Windsor's retinue, 1364	316
X Itinerary of Lionel of Clarence and James, earl of Ormond, in Ireland, 1361-6	319

	page
XI Maps	
(i) Places mentioned in the text	326
(ii) Location of Gaelic Irish chiefs	327
(iii) Castles and Wards in Leinster, 1361-6	328
XII Constables of Irish Castles, 1361-6	329
XIII Documents relating to work on Irish Castles, 1361-6	330
XIV Proffers made at the Irish exchequer, 1361-6	333
XV List of sheriffs, 1361-6	336
XVI Appointments of sheriffs, 1361-6	338
XVII Financial tables	
(i) receipts of the Irish exchequer, 1354-66	340
(ii) expenditure of the Irish exchequer, 1360-66	341
(iii) English expenditure on Ireland, 1361-6	342
Bibliography	343

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Firstly, I must express my gratitude to my supervisor, Professor A. J. Otway-Ruthven, for her patient and painstaking supervision during my work on this thesis. I should also like to thank Professor J. F. Lydon for drawing my attention to the wealth of material available for a study of Lionel's intervention in Ireland, and for his advice and encouragement throughout. I have had numerous fruitful and stimulating discussions on the subject of fourteenth-century Ireland with my fellow research students, David Craig, Helen Walton and Sara White, and particularly with Dr. Dorothy Johnston and Dr. Katharine Simms. Dr. R. F. Frame and Mr. K. W. Nicholls very kindly provided me with references; Dr. C. A. Empey and Brian MacCurtain helped with the identification of several place-names, and Ruth Marshall and Gerry Connolly provided technical assistance with the financial tables.

Finally I wish to thank the staff of the libraries and record offices which I used, particularly Breandán Mac Giolla Choille, Deputy Keeper of the Public Records of Ireland, who facilitated my research in several ways, and my colleagues in the Public Record Office of Ireland.

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis is entirely my own work and has not been submitted as an exercise for a degree at any other university.

Philemena M. Connolly

SUMMARY

The conclusion of peace with France in 1360 enabled Edward III to turn his attention towards the recovery of control in Ireland, in the hope that it would again become a source of profit to the English crown. His son, Lionel, earl of Ulster, who had interests in Ireland through his wife, was appointed lieutenant and given an initial force of 900 men which was composed of both indentured retainers and county levies and was intended to be financed mainly from England, a new departure in Anglo-Irish relations. Attempts were made to get absentees to return, which led to a compromise grant of their Irish revenues for two years, ordinances were issued for the reform of the financial administration, and the decision was taken to move the exchequer to Carlow. This account, based largely on the Irish and English financial records, examines the organisation and payment of the army as well as the attempts to effect a military and financial recovery in Ireland. The size of Lionel's army fell sharply after 1362, due to the reluctance of military leaders to come to Ireland and to a conscious cut-back in military expenditure by the English exchequer from 1364 onwards. Lionel conducted campaigns in Leinster, the midlands and Munster, but without any lasting success, mainly due to the difficulties inherent in the Irish military situation. - There was a financial recovery, but on a smaller scale than might have been expected, and Lionel's dealings with the Irish parliament were hampered by the outbreak of hostility on the part of the Anglo-Irish over official appointments made in 1364. The Statutes of Kilkenny represent an interesting attempt to provide in detail for the military security of the colony, but cannot be seen

as a major achievement. Lionel's relative failure in Ireland was due largely to Ireland's low position among Edward III's priorities and to the inability of the English exchequer to provide financial backing on the scale that was required to deal with the military situation in Ireland.

List of abbreviations used

<u>AC</u>	<u>Annals of Connacht</u> , ed. A.M. Freeman, Dublin, 1944.
<u>A Clon.</u>	<u>Annals of Clonmacnoise</u> , ed. D. Murphy, Dublin, 1896.
<u>AFM</u>	<u>Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland by the Four Masters</u> , ed. J. O'Donovan, Dublin, 1848-51.
<u>AU</u>	<u>Annals of Ulster</u> , ed. W. M. Hennessy and B. MacCarthy, Dublin, 1887-1901.
<u>Avesbury</u>	<u>Chronica Ade Murimuth et Roberti Avesbury</u> , ed. E.M. Thompson, Rolls Series, 1889.
<u>Berry, Statutes, John-Henry V</u>	<u>Statutes and Ordinances and Acts of the Parliament of Ireland, King John to Henry V</u> , ed. H. F. Berry, Dublin 1907.
<u>BIHR</u>	<u>Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research</u>
<u>Black Prince's Register</u>	<u>Register of Edward, the Black Prince</u> , London, 1930-33.
<u>Cal. Close Rolls</u>	<u>Calendar of Close Rolls</u>
<u>Cal. Fine Rolls</u>	<u>Calendar of Fine Rolls</u>
<u>Cal. Gormanston Register</u>	<u>Calendar of the Gormanston Register</u> , ed. J. Mills and M. J. McEnery, Dublin, 1916.
<u>Cal. Inquisitions Post Mortem</u>	<u>Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem</u>
<u>Cal. Justiciary Rolls</u>	<u>Calendar of Justiciary Rolls, Ireland</u>
<u>Cal. Patent Rolls</u>	<u>Calendar of Patent Rolls</u>
<u>Cal. Ormond Deeds</u>	<u>Calendar of Ormond Deeds</u> , ed. E. Curtis, Dublin, 1932-43.
<u>C.A.R.D.</u>	<u>Calendar of the Ancient Records of the City of Dublin</u> , ed. J. T. Gilbert, Dublin, 1890-1944.
<u>C.D.I.</u>	<u>Calendar of Documents relating to Ireland, 1171-1307</u> , ed. H. S. Sweetman, London, 1875-86.

<u>Chart. St Mary's Abbey</u>	<u>Chartularies of St Mary's Abbey, Dublin</u> , ed. J. T. Gilbert, Rolls Series, 1884.
<u>EHR</u>	<u>English Historical Review</u>
<u>IER</u>	<u>Irish Ecclesiastical Record</u>
<u>IHS</u>	<u>Irish Historical Studies</u>
<u>JRSAI</u>	<u>Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland</u>
<u>Knighton</u>	<u>Chronicon Henrici Knighton</u> , ed. J. R. Lumby, Rolls Series, 1889-95.
<u>N.L.I.</u>	National Library of Ireland
<u>Orpen, Normans</u>	G. H. Orpen, <u>Ireland under the Normans, 1169-1333</u> , Oxford, 1911-20.
<u>P.R.O.I.</u>	Public Record Office of Ireland
<u>P.R.O.L.</u>	Public Record Office, London
<u>R.I.A. Proc.</u>	<u>Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy</u>
<u>Richardson and Sayles, Administration</u>	H. G. Richardson and G. O. Sayles, <u>The Administration of Ireland, 1172-1377</u> , Dublin, 1963.
<u>Richardson and Sayles, Irish Parliament</u>	H. G. Richardson and G. O. Sayles, <u>The Irish Parliament in the Middle Ages</u> , Philadelphia, 1952.
<u>Richardson and Sayles, Parliaments and Councils</u>	H. G. Richardson and G. O. Sayles, <u>Parliaments and Councils of Mediaeval Ireland</u> , Dublin, 1947.
<u>Rot. Canc. Hib.</u>	<u>Rotulorum Patentium et Clausorum Cancellariae Hiberniae Calendarium</u> , ed. E. Tresham, Dublin, 1828.
<u>Rot. Parl.</u>	<u>Rotuli Parliamentorum</u> , London, 1783.
<u>Rymer, Foedera</u>	<u>Foedera, Conventiones, Litterae et Cujuscunque Generis Acta Publica</u> , ed. T. Rymer, Record Commission, 1816-69.
<u>S.H.S.</u>	Scottish History Society
<u>T.C.D.</u>	Trinity College, Dublin
<u>TRHS</u>	<u>Transactions of the Royal Historical Society</u>
<u>Tout, Chapters</u>	T. F. Tout, <u>Chapters in the Administrative History of Mediaeval England</u> , Manchester, 1920-33.

INTRODUCTION

Previous writers have adopted a variety of approaches to Lionel of Clarence's expedition to Ireland. A. J. Otway-Ruthven, in her History of Medieval Ireland, draws mainly on the records of the English and Irish chanceries in compiling an account of Lionel's actions in Ireland, and also includes an analysis of the Statutes of Kilkenny. J. F. Lydon, in The Lordship of Ireland in the Later Middle Ages, discusses the importance of the Statutes, but also uses the accounts of Walter of Dalby and John of Clifton to illustrate expenditure on army wages and shipping as well as fluctuations in the size of the army. The Statutes of Kilkenny have also been examined by G. J. Hand and J. A. Watt. The only work dealing specifically with Lionel's lieutenancy is the two part article by Edmund Curtis. The first part of this describes the Irish background, while the second part, dealing with Lionel's activities in Ireland, deals mainly with the Statutes, and his account of Lionel's actions, in which he did not use the financial records relating to the expedition, contains a number of serious inaccuracies and unsupported statements. The present account concentrates on the organisation and financing of the expedition and the attempts to increase the Irish revenues, and the Statutes of Kilkenny are dealt with in this context. This approach is largely dictated by the preponderance of financial records and the deficiencies in other types of source material as described below.

(i) Records of the English administration

Both the English chancery and exchequer were concerned with Irish matters. The chancery rolls contain a variety of entries relating to Irish affairs in the 1360s - appointments of Irish officials, instructions to members of the Irish administration and to officials in England

charged with the provision of men, ships and supplies for Lionel's expedition. The class of Chancery Miscellanea (C.47) contains returns to writs ordering inquiries of various kinds to be held in Ireland, and the Inquisitions Post Mortem sometimes provide information on the Irish estates of English landholders, including those of Lionel himself.

The exchequer was concerned with Irish affairs on two levels. Irish treasurers had accounted at the English exchequer since 1294.¹ Many of the details of the process of audit were enrolled on both series of memoranda rolls and the final account was enrolled on the pipe roll up to 1368 and after that on the foreign roll. In the period 1361-6, four men held the office of treasurer of Ireland - William Charnels, bishop of Ferns (1 April 1361 - 14 January 1362), Thomas Mynot, archbishop of Dublin (14 January 1362 - 9 April 1364), Walter of Dalby (9 April 1364 - 1 February 1365), and John de Troyes (1 February 1365 - 25 September 1366) - but there are enrolled accounts for only two of these, Mynot (E.372/212 m. 43) and Dalby (E.364/7 m.C). Charnels died in 1362 and later in that year, his executor, Robert Savage, undertook to account for him at the English exchequer the following Easter. He failed to do this and the lands of his sureties were taken into the king's hand. In 1368 the tenant of part of these lands succeeded in recovering them by citing a general pardon of all debts and accounts owed to the king in Ireland before 13 October 1362, although this pardon had specifically excluded the treasurer and other ministers.² After this, the whole question of Charnels' account seems to have been dropped, and consequently we have no information as to the receipts and issues of the Irish exchequer during

1. Richardson and Sayles, Administration, pp. 52-64.

2. P.R.O.I., RC 8/30 pp. 12-14. The pardon was issued on 28 February 1367 (Cal. Patent Rolls 1364-7, p. 382).

his treasurership. In the case of John de Troyes, the rolls, counter-rolls and other items of evidence were sent over to England, but his account was never audited, although the reason for this is not apparent. Fortunately, his receipt and issue rolls survive, and in many ways these rolls are more informative than the enrolled accounts. A major deficiency of the latter is that they do not give a detailed breakdown of the receipts, but group them under the headings of rents, farms, debts, escheats and other issues; customs; and subsidies. Furthermore, they do not give any details of gifts and rewards, but merely give a total for this type of expenditure, and as a result of this, we know very little about payments made out of the Irish exchequer to Gaelic Irish chiefs during the years 1361-4.

In the period 1361-6 a large number of officials accounted at the English exchequer for money spent in connection with Lionel's expedition, the most important being Walter of Dalby, clerk of the wages from 1361 to 1365. There are two enrolled accounts covering his term of office,³ but the real importance of his account lies in the detailed particulars which he produced as evidence. Nearly all of these relate to the period of his first account, and include a book of particulars giving details of money received by him and spent on shipping, army wages and gifts and rewards.⁴ It gives the names of ships employed in 1361 and 1363 and the size of their crews, quarterly fluctuations in the size of retinues, and details of Gaelic and Anglo-Irish forces employed by Lionel at various times. A file of subsidiary documents contains transcripts of indentures of retinue, writs of computate and receipts

3. P.R.O.L., E.372/212 mm.49, 49d. (3 July 1361 - 23 April 1364); E.364/7 m.C (23 April 1364 - 1 February 1365).

4. P.R.O.L., E.101/28/21.

by leaders of retinues for wages paid to them.⁵ Dalby also produced three retinue rolls⁶ and a list of horses lost in Ireland.⁷ In connection with his second account he produced a roll of particulars, which has not survived, and a retinue roll.⁸ Ralph Ferrers and William of Windsor accounted separately at the English exchequer and in the case of each of these we have not only the enrolled account but also the particulars which they produced, which in Windsor's case include the valuation of horses for his retinue.⁹ The memoranda rolls contain much information relating to the accounts of Dalby and Windsor, including transcripts of writs, letters and indentures not otherwise available. William of Wenlock and John of Clifton accounted for money spent on the provision of shipping in 1362 and 1364 respectively,¹⁰ and their particulars give details of the names of ships employed, their period of service, the size of crew, and, in the case of Clifton, the tonnage of the ships. They also contain details of repairs carried out on the ships and equipment provided for them. There are also particulars of the accounts of sheriffs who provided hurdles for ships in 1361 and 1363,¹¹ and of sheriffs for expenses in connection with the county levies raised in 1362.¹² The latter give the writs ordering the array and any subsequent orders, and the indenture recording the handing over of the men at the port of embarkation, usually giving their names, as

5. E.101/28/27

6. E.101/28/13, 15, 18

7. E.101/28/11

8. E.101/29/6

9. E.101/28/20 (Ferrers); E.101/29/11 (Windsor)

10. E.101/28/23 (Wenlock); E.101/29/10 (Clifton)

11. E.101/559/25; E.101/567/17; E.101/585/54,56

12. E.101/565/5; E.101/580/41; E.101/584/16; E.101/587/3; E.101/590/21.

well as details of money spent by the sheriff.

Because the expedition was heavily financed from England, the issue rolls contain a large number of entries recording payments for wages and shipping. The warrants for issue occasionally amplify the information given in the issue roll, while a correlation of the issue and receipt rolls enables one to see whether payments were being made in cash or by assignment.

The English judicial records have not been used, as they are unlikely to provide any information relevant to the subject of this thesis. Three classes of Special Collections in the Public Record Office, London, have been used. Ancient Correspondence (S.C.1) provided a number of letters written by Lionel before and after his expedition to Ireland although they are only marginally relevant. Ministers' and Receivers' Accounts (S.C.6) contain a large number of accounts relating to the estates of Elizabeth de Clare, Lionel's wife's grandmother, in Ireland in the 1340s and 1350s, as well as an account relating to Lionel's household in 1366-7. Ancient Petitions (S.C.8) include two messages from the Irish council in 1360 and 1361 and a petition from one of the men who accompanied Lionel as well as a number of documents illustrating conditions in Ireland in the 1340s and 1350s.

(ii) Records of the Irish administration

The bulk of surviving Irish administrative records for the period 1361-6 are financial in nature. From 1294 onwards it became the practice for the receipt and issue rolls of the Irish treasurer and of one of the chamberlains to be produced and compared during the audit of the treasurer's account in England, and a large number of these are to be found in the Public Record Office, London. The receipt roll gives a day by day record of money received by the Irish exchequer, but there are no marginalia to distinguish between true receipts and assignments

and no indication as to what proportion of the total was actually received in cash. The Irish issue roll differs from the English one in that the former gives the issues under different headings, such as feoda privata and dona et concessionones regis, with no indication as to when these payments were made. The Irish exchequer also compiled a 'journal' which corresponded to the English issue roll and gave the payments in chronological order. However, this was not usually sent to England for the audit, and these journals and the second chamberlain's rolls of receipts and issues are no longer extant.¹³ The only surviving receipt and issue rolls for this period are those relating to the treasurership of John de Troyes (1365-6).¹⁴ Writs of liberate and memoranda of various kinds were usually sent to England with the rolls but none have survived for the period under discussion.

The Irish exchequer kept memoranda rolls recording the day to day business of the exchequer on broadly similar lines to those produced by the English exchequer, though it is possible that only one series of rolls was kept in Ireland, instead of two. None of these now survives for the period 1361-6, but the calendar of these rolls prepared by the Irish Record Commission in the 1820s and now in the Public Record Office of Ireland (RC 8) goes some way towards providing a substitute. However, these calendars, for reasons of economy at the time, omitted a large number of entries, and the versions which they give often contain misreadings and are sometimes abbreviated to the point of incomprehensibility. We have no such substitute for the pipe rolls of the Irish exchequer. The Public Record Office of Ireland

13. A transcript of the journal for 48-50 Edward III is in the Public Record Office, London (E.101/245/7)

14. E.101/244/9, 10.

calendar had only reached the roll for 22 Edward III when the rolls were destroyed in 1922, and apart from a few scattered extracts made by Sir William Betham, there is no record of the contents of the rolls for the 1360s. Had the records survived, they would undoubtedly have thrown light on local expenditure, particularly on military matters, and on the control of the exchequer over its accountants.

The patent and close rolls of the Irish chancery for the 1360s had disappeared at some stage prior to 1828 when the Irish Record Commission produced its calendar of Irish chancery rolls. Some chancery letters have survived in private collections such as the Ormond Deeds and the Gormanston Register, and Sir James Ware, working in the seventeenth century, made extracts from some of the rolls, but these are very small in number. In addition, some grants survive in the form of a later inspeximus enrolled on the English patent roll, and many of the letters addressed to the treasurer and barons of the Irish exchequer and being mostly writs of allocate, were enrolled on the Irish memoranda rolls. The absence of these chancery records means that there are inevitably large gaps in our knowledge of the movements of the Irish chancery, and consequently in any itinerary of the chief governor based on the testing clauses of chancery letters. Furthermore, it means that little is known of the appointment of officials under the Irish great seal and of the operation of patronage during Lionel's lieutenancy.

No plea rolls for this period have survived, and so it is impossible to say whether Lionel's period of office saw an increase in the area under the judicial control of the Irish administration. Our only knowledge of the operations of the Irish council comes from odd references to a decision having been made by the council, usually in connection with the granting of rewards, and from petitions presented to the council and referred to the Irish exchequer, which were enrolled

on the memoranda rolls. Similarly, our knowledge of the Irish parliament in this period is limited. Nothing is known of the enactments of the parliaments held in 1362 and 1364, though the statutes enacted in the Kilkenny parliament of 1366 have survived in a number of transcripts.

(iii) Narrative sources

There are few contemporary English chronicles covering the 1360s. The only ones to mention Lionel's expedition to Ireland are the continuations of Higden's Polychronicon (the 'A' text) and of the Eulogium Historiarum, and these are very uninformative as to the course of events in Ireland and contemporary opinions of Lionel and his expedition. The Polychronicon continuation merely records the fact that he went to Ireland to put down the Irish, while the Eulogium records his return to England and determination not to go back to Ireland. Robert of Avesbury and Henry Knighton provide some information on Lionel's activities prior to his appointment as lieutenant. Froissart, in the account of the English in Ireland given to him by Henry Cristede, gives a picture of Irish conditions and mentions a defeat inflicted by Lionel on the MacMurroughs, but his chronology is confused.

In Ireland there are two main classes of narrative sources, the Gaelic annals and a few chronicles produced by Anglo-Irish writers. For this period we have the Annals of the Four Masters, Annals of Connacht, Annals of Clonmacnoise (which exist only in a seventeenth century translation) and the Annals of Ulster. Of the other major medieval annals, the Annals of Innisfallen end in 1324, and the Annals of Loch Cé have a gap from 1316 to 1412. The usefulness of these annals is reduced on two counts. In the mid-fourteenth century, they are not four independent sources, but basically the same text with regional variations. Secondly, they are almost exclusively concerned with the activities of the Gaelic Irish among themselves, and consequently tell us nothing of Lionel's actions, apart from the capture and death

of the MacMurroughs in 1362.

The Anglo-Irish chronicles are virtually non-existent for this period. Clyn's annals end in 1348, and Henry of Marlborough, writing in the first quarter of the fifteenth century gives only a sketchy account of the events of the previous century. The other major Anglo-Irish chronicle, the Annales Hibernie, also known as the Laud annals or Pembridge's annals, are contemporary up to 1347. There is a continuation extending to 1370, but there is nothing to indicate when it was written, as the earliest extant manuscript dates from the middle of the fifteenth century.¹⁵ The doubt as to the date of this narrative is important in assessing the reliability of its account of Lionel's relations with the Anglo-Irish. Later chroniclers, such as James Grace and Thady Dowling, have nothing to contribute for this period.

15. R. Flower, 'Manuscripts of Irish interest in the British Museum', Analecta Hibernica ii (1941), pp. 320-21.

I. THE APPOINTMENT OF LIONEL AND ITS BACKGROUND

On 8 May 1360 the treaty of Bretigny was sealed on behalf of John II of France and Edward III of England, thereby bringing to an end the first phase of the Hundred Years' War. Although the lands ceded to Edward by this treaty were less than he had previously tried to acquire, there was no reason to believe that this 'half-peace' would not be of fairly long duration. It was essentially a compromise, but neither side was in a position to press its claims any further.¹ Peace with France left Edward free to deal with other, less pressing, problems, in Scotland and Ireland. In 1357 an agreement had been reached concerning the ransom of David II of Scotland, and David had been released immediately afterwards. Although Edward Balliol had renounced his claim to the Scottish throne in favour of Edward in 1356, Edward seems to have preferred to try to settle the Scottish succession on himself or of his sons rather than try to enforce his claim during David's lifetime.²

When the news of the treaty of Bretigny reached Ireland, it must have seemed to the Irish council that now was the opportunity for Edward to devote some of his military and financial resources to the settling of the Irish problem. A great council was held at Kilkenny at the end of July 1360 at which a message to the king was drawn up, informing him that Ireland was on the point of being lost, and four messengers, including the Irish chancellor, were chosen to bring it

1. J.J.N. Palmer, 'The war aims of the protagonists', The Hundred Years War ed. K. Fowler, (1971), pp. 59-62.

2. R. Nicholson, Scotland: The later Middle Ages, (Edinburgh, 1974), pp. 161, 163, 170-71.

to England and also to inform the king of other matters not included in the message.³ In the message, the four main problems which faced the Irish government - absenteeism, the financial situation, the Gaelic resurgence and the rebel Anglo-Irish - were outlined, and while some allowance must be made for exaggeration, the message does provide a picture of Irish conditions on the eve of Lionel's intervention. These were, of course, interrelated problems, as the Irish council was at pains to point out.

The great absentees are said to hold more than a fifth of the country. They do not defend their lands but take the profits out of the country, and as a result of this, not only their own lands but also those of their neighbours are overrun by the Gaelic Irish. In addition, there are clerks who hold Irish benefices and take the profits abroad. In former times, the great lords used to defend the marches and the justiciar was left to administer the law and govern the country, but now because of the plague and the negligence of the magnates, the justiciar has to see to the defence of the marches himself, which is obviously an impossible situation. These clauses of the message show clearly the two kinds of absenteeism with which the Dublin government had to contend. First, there was the question of the major absentees, the great lords living in England and neglecting their Irish lands. The council's estimate of one-fifth of the country being in their hands is far too low, unless they were referring only to the area over which the administration had a realistic amount of control. Of the great lordships, Ulster and Connacht belonged to the king's son Lionel, Kilkenny was divided among Lionel, Anne Despensier and the earl of Stafford,

3. P.R.O.L., S.C. 8/258/12900, printed in H.G. Richardson and G.O. Sayles, Parliaments and Councils of Medieval Ireland; (Dublin, 1947), pp. 19-22. Thomas Burley, prior of Kilmainham, was then chancellor; the others were Richard Elerker, John Lumbard and Geoffrey Fitz Eustace.

Wexford belonged to the earl of Pembroke, Meath and Leix to Roger Mortimer and lesser absentees held lands elsewhere in Leinster and in Munster. The profitability of these lands obviously varied from one area to another. In some cases they were, as the council message puts it, pur la greyndre partie destruis. The inquisition post mortem into the lands of Thomas Wogan in Co. Kildare in 1357 states that 'many acres lie uncultivated on account of the war and because they are in the march',⁴ and in 1360 the manor of Loxeudy in Westmeath, part of which belonged to Elizabeth de Burgherssh, was described as 'worth nothing as destroyed by Irish felons'.⁵ However it is clear that some landholders were getting profits from their Irish lands. In the period Michaelmas 1353 - Michaelmas 1357, Elizabeth de Clare had a total of £654/7/2 from her Irish lands sent to her in England, a figure which represents almost two-thirds of the total issues of these lands accounted for by her receiver in Ireland.⁶ But however profitable their Irish lands were, the fact remained that all of these absentees were in possession of more profitable lands in England and consequently were far more concerned about these than about their Irish estates. There is no way of estimating the number of clerical absentees, but they must have included both pluralists and Irish clerks studying abroad. Secondly, there was the problem of what might be called local absenteeism, where a man who held lands in different parts of the country neglected those lands in the marches in favour of his more profitable estates elsewhere, on which he usually resided.

Both forms of absenteeism had been the subject of legislation during the previous sixty years. In 1297, magnates residing outside

4. Cal. Inquisitions Post Mortem, x, no. 376.

5. Ibid., no. 603.

6. P.R.O.L., S.C.6/1239/26-28.

Ireland were ordered to leave 'a competent portion' of their Irish revenues in the hands of their bailiffs in Ireland for the defence of their lands there,⁷ and in 1310 persons having lands in the march were ordered to cause their marches to be guarded.⁸ However, the frequent repetition of this kind of legislation during the first half of the fourteenth century makes it clear that it was ineffective. In 1351 an attempt was made to provide a practical solution to the problem, by ordaining that those who had lands in the march and did not reside there were to provide for the defence of the marches and if they did not do so, the revenues of their lands in the 'land of peace' were to be taken by the king's officers and spent on the defence of the march lands in question.⁹ How far this was put into operation is not clear. We know of one case, that of David, earl of Atholl, where the revenues of his manor of Castledogh in Co. Kilkenny were applied to the defence of Ferns castle,¹⁰ which was also in his possession, but in all probability, the administrative machinery at the disposal of the Dublin government was insufficient to implement the ordinance on any large scale.

The 1360 message continues with a description of the financial problems. The general impoverishment of the country is due not only to the war but also to bad government and the oppressions of the king's ministers. It is impossible because of this poverty to collect old debts due to the crown and as a result the treasury is empty. Furthermore, the justiciar is so involved in war that he cannot hold pleas, which were formerly a great source of revenue, and although justices are appointed to act on his behalf, the people pay no attention to them.

7. Berry, Statutes, John-Henry V, p. 201.

8. Ibid., p. 273

9. Ibid., p. 391

10. Rot. Canc. Hib., p.77 no. 31

Unfortunately there is no surviving evidence relating to the administration of justice at this time, but it is clear from the exchequer records that by 1360 the financial situation had deteriorated considerably. In the period June 1360 - 10 March 1361 the amount received from the customs and the remainder of the ordinary revenue was far below what might have been expected, the area from which this revenue came had shrunk¹¹ and at one point in 1361 it was stated that a payment could not be made because the treasury de thesauro ... ad presens est destitutum.¹² The fact that in 1360-61 the sum of £1260 was owing to Ormond, the justiciar, in wages for the campaigns in Leinster suggests that the exchequer was not able to cope with the expense of warfare and that Ormond had in fact paid these wages himself.¹³ The accusation that the king's ministers were guilty of oppression and maladministration is difficult to prove one way or the other. The financial administration was far from efficient, and the control of the exchequer over sheriffs and other accountants was far less than it had been,¹⁴ but the only other evidence for oppressions occurs in the charge brought against Thomas of Badby, who was treasurer from June 1360 until March 1361, of 'extortions, falsities, deceptions and other misdeeds',¹⁵ but this was apparently without foundation.

11. P.R.O.L., E.101/244/5 (Irish receipt roll, 34-5 Edward III) . For the financial problems and the attempts to solve them see chapter VI below.

12. P.R.O.I., Record Commission Calendar of Memoranda Rolls, RC8/27 pp 608-9.

13. E.101/244/6 (Irish issue roll, 34-5 Edward III).

14. See below, pp. 167-8

15. Cal. Patent Rolls 1358-61, p.581. He was found guilty only of fraud, not of extortion, see below p. 56.

The Gaelic Irish, according to the council

dun assent et covyn sount communement levetz de gerre, ardauntz, destruyantz et praiantz de jour en altre vos liges cèles parties ... si qe ils ount graunt partie de la terre en diverses marchez conquis et degastes, et soi afforcent de jour en altre de lour malices continuer, supposauntz lour malveis purposes a emplir a conquer la dite terre...

After the death of Thomas of Rokeby in 1357 the military situation in Ireland had deteriorated rapidly. In 1360 there was almost constant war in Leinster against the O'Byrnes, O'Tooles, MacMurroughs and other Irish enemies as well as a campaign in Munster in the spring, which was based on Kilmallock.¹⁶ It is possible that there was a concerted plan on the part of some of the Gaelic Irish to take advantage of the weakness of the Dublin government, and the administration certainly believed that this was so. In March 1359, a chancery letter had stated that 'the Irish of Leinster and elsewhere' had agreed among themselves that each Irish captain would begin the war in his own marches at a certain time, so that in this way each of them would be able to conquer the lands of the lieges in his own locality,¹⁷ and the Irish council's message obviously reflects this belief.

The fourth problem mentioned is that of the rebel Anglo-Irish. The message states that the justiciar is no longer empowered to grant general charters of pardon to English wrongdoers, as he had done in the past.¹⁸ As a result, they join the Irish who are at war and

16. E.101/244/6; A.J. Otway-Ruthven, 'Ireland in the 1350s: Sir Thomas de Rokeby and his successors', JRSAI xcvi (1967) pp. 58-9.

17. Rot. Canc. Hib. p.77 nos. 26-7

18. The original reads 'par cause qe la justice d'Irland nad poair de graunter... chartres generales de pardoun'; this is misprinted in Richardson and Sayles as '... la justice d'Irland ad poair...' (op. cit., p.21)

give them great assistance because of their knowledge of the areas where they used to live. Furthermore, the government is thus being deprived of the fines which people used to pay for procuring such a charter. The question of granting general charters of pardon had arisen on several occasions during the 1350s¹⁹ and it was clearly a power which was open to abuse. In 1357, it was stated that because these charters had been 'generally and improvidently granted, seditions, manslaughters, robberies, thefts and trespasses have been more frequently committed'. Consequently, it was ordained that in future, charters were to be granted only in parliaments and councils, and that the felonies were to be specified in them, rather than general charters granted as before.²⁰ However, it is clear from the message that this was not having the desired effect in reducing lawlessness, and that on the contrary, those who might previously have been pardoned, were now carrying their lawlessness to extremes and joining the Irish. The failure of both solutions to the problem of the rebel Anglo-Irish was due mainly to the lack of a strong central government, and it is possible that in different circumstances the system of issuing general charters might have been more satisfactory.

The Irish council concluded its message with two requests. The first was that, having regard to the poverty of the lieges in Ireland and their inability to go to England to prosecute their cases, the justiciar should be allowed to settle cases relating to lands and tenements taken into the king's hand by forfeiture or for other

19. In 1351 the chancellor questioned the justiciar's power to issue such charters (RC 8/25 pp. 230-34) and in 1356 several pardons granted by Rokeby were revoked on the grounds that the grantees were notorious felons and malefactors (Cal. Patent Rolls 1354-8 p. 480)

20. Berry, Statutes John-Henry V, p. 411.

reasons, which he was not then empowered to do. The second was for military aid from England. They state that nous ount endurretz et endurons nostre vie en meytenance de vos terre et droitures a nostre poair et oultre ne poms endurer, and ask for

un bone chiefteyn suffisant, estoffes et efforcez de gentz et tresore, dount ils pount vyver, hors d'Engleterre en hast commander come noble et graciouse prince est tenuz de faire a ses liges.

This is apparently the first occasion on which the English in Ireland were to ask for an English chief governor. More important is the fact that they expected the full cost of the expedition to be borne by the English exchequer, which is understandable in view of the state of Irish finances in 1360 and the fact that England no longer had heavy financial commitments in France. Another significant point here is the emphasis placed on the mutual obligations of king and subjects. The Anglo-Irish, according to themselves, had done their utmost to maintain the king's rights and landed interests in Ireland, and now it was the king's turn to fulfil his side of the obligation by sending them military assistance.

The messengers must have arrived in England in August 1360 and were followed shortly afterwards by Ormond, the justiciar, who was absent from Ireland from 19 September until the following March.²¹ Ormond's mission was probably intended to add weight to their representations and stress the urgency of the situation. However, it was clear that Edward would make no decision on Irish affairs until the treaty of Bretigny was ratified, and even when this was done on 20 October 1360, he seems to have procrastinated further, possibly because of the uncertainty surrounding the future renunciation of their

21. E.101/244/6

claims by both kings. In the autumn of 1360, Thomas Mynot, a baron of the Irish exchequer, was chosen by the Irish council to go to the king in England with further representations as to the state and the peace of Ireland.²² This does not seem to have achieved anything concrete, and the Irish council was obviously becoming desperate. At the end of January or beginning of February 1361, they sent a further message to the king and council asking that the council and the lords dealing with Irish business in the parliament then being held at Westminster should be ordered to provide such remedies as a land in such great danger required, and further stressing the expenses which the messengers were incurring by their enforced long stay in England and the damage which their Irish lands were suffering as a result of their absence.²³ Whether Edward was now convinced of the urgency of the Irish problem or whether he had decided that the prospect of the French war breaking out again over the renunciation issue was remote, is uncertain, but it appears that a decision was taken at this time and possibly in parliament, to send Lionel, earl of Ulster, the king's second surviving son, to Ireland as lieutenant with a sizeable army recruited in England.²⁴

Edward's reasons for intervening in Ireland are complex. First, as lord of Ireland, he was bound to defend both the rights of the crown and those of his subjects there, as the Irish council had reminded him, but in the past his commitments in France and Scotland had

22. Ibid.

23. S.C. 8/171/8545 (see Appendix I, (i) below). The date of this document is fixed by the reference in it to 'cest present parlement', obviously the parliament summoned for 24 January 1361 (Cal. Close Rolls 1360-64, p. 147). (I am grateful to Dr. R. Frame for drawing my attention to this document).

24. No record of the proceedings of this parliament has survived.

seemed more pressing. Secondly, there was the financial motive. In a parliament held in 1366, Edward stated that he had sent Lionel to Ireland, a land which had been profitable in the past, in the hope that it would be so again in the future.²⁵ Since the time of Henry III, Ireland had been a source of men, money and supplies for the English kings in their Welsh and Scottish wars.²⁶ However, its importance in this field declined rapidly in the fourteenth century with the decline in the control of the Dublin government over the whole country, though Irish troops did take part in the siege of Calais in 1347.²⁷ As has been said, the treaty of Bretigny settled nothing. At best it was a long truce with the certainty that the problem of sovereignty would lead to a further outbreak of war as soon as either side felt strong enough to try to impose its view on the other. In the meantime, Edward had a good opportunity to pacify Ireland and restore the authority of the Dublin government over the whole of the lordship in the expectation that when war did break out again, Ireland would be able to make a practical contribution to the English armies in France. Seen in this light, any money now expended in Ireland could be regarded as a good investment. The same view of the situation can be seen in the important set of ordinances for the reform of the Irish financial administration issued in March 1361, which were designed to increase the control of the exchequer over local accountants and ensure that the financial resources of Ireland were exploited to the full.²⁸ It

25. Rot. Parl ii, p. 289

26. J. F. Lydon, The Lordship of Ireland in the Middle Ages (Dublin 1972), pp. 130-34.

27. Analecta Hibernica ii (1931), pp. 225-6

28. These ordinances are examined below, pp. 170-90

may have been a totally unrealistic view, but it was certainly one that both Edward III and later Richard II took seriously. A third reason may lie in Edward's wish to make provision for his sons and indeed in the way in which he regarded his dominions. During the early 1360s, he seems to have been intent on reviving Henry II's scheme of creating separate appanages for his sons. In 1362, negotiations were begun for the marriage of Edmund of Langley to Margaret, daughter and heiress of the count of Flanders, and the granting to them of Ponthieu, Calais and Guines, which would combine with Margaret's inheritance to form a consolidated state in north-western France and the Low Countries.²⁹ Later in the same year, the Black Prince was given the dukedom of Aquitaine,³⁰ and in 1363 Edward succeeded in getting David II of Scotland to agree to settling the Scottish succession on him or one of his sons.³¹ The Flemish and Scottish plans were eventually thwarted, however, in one case by a combination of the French king and the pope, and the other by the Scottish parliament, but it is possible that the appointment of Lionel as lieutenant of Ireland in 1361 was part of the same overall design and that a possible separate lordship of Ireland, as

29. E. Perroy, The Hundred Years War, (London, 1951), p. 153.

30. Rymer, Foedera iii pt. 2 p. 667.

31. R. Nicholson, op. cit., p. 161. John of Gaunt seems to have been regarded as the most likely candidate. (E.W.M. Balfour-Melville, 'Papers relating to the captivity and release of David II', S.H.S. Miscellany IX, (1958), p. 49).

John had had under Henry II and Richard I, was envisaged.³²

Apart from the fact that he was the king's son, Lionel's only recommendation seems to have been the fact that he held extensive lands in Ireland, as at the time of his appointment he was only twenty-two years old and very inexperienced in military affairs. Through his wife, the daughter of the Brown Earl of Ulster, he had acquired the earldom of Ulster and the lordship of Connacht, and on the death of her grandmother, Elizabeth de Clare, in 1360, he acquired lands in Kilkenny.³³ His contacts with Ireland before his appointment seem to have been few. A petition presented to the English parliament in January 1348 expressed concern at the fact that if Elizabeth, Lionel's wife, did not produce an heir, the earldom would descend to several co-parceners, some of whom were the king's enemies, and that they would then wage war against the king in Ireland. The commons asked for a remedy to this situation, but no reply to this

32. In 1254 Henry III had granted extensive possessions, including Ireland, to his eldest son Edward, stipulating that they should never be separated from the English crown (C.D.I. 1252-84, pp.50, 59). J. R. Studd has argued that this, taken with Henry's failure to confer the title of lord of Ireland or duke of Aquitaine on Edward, shows a firm acceptance of the idea of the inalienability of crown lands ('The Lord Edward and King Henry III', *BIHR*, 1 (1977), pp. 6-7). However, it is clear that Edward III had a different view, perhaps going back to the twelfth century concept of the Plantagenet dominions as a family assemblage. Not only did he confer on the Black Prince the formal title of duke of Aquitaine, but he was also prepared to alienate crown lands to form an appanage for Edmund of Langley. In this context, the creation of a separate lordship of Ireland for Lionel was not an impossibility. The fact that it did not happen may be connected with the failure of Edward's plans for John of Gaunt and Edmund of Langley. It is interesting to note that in 1392 when it was proposed that Aquitaine and Gascony should be given to John of Gaunt, the King was in favour of the alienation. (J.J.N. Palmer, *England, France and Christendom 1377-99*, (1972) pp. 29-30).

33. *Cal. Close Rolls, 1360-64*, p. 165. See Appendix II below, for details of his lands in England, Wales and Ireland.

petition has survived, and it is probable that nothing resulted from it, as it was clearly based on a misapprehension as to who the next heirs were.³⁴ In 1351, pardons were granted to Edmund de Burgo, Aedh O'Neill and six others in Ulster and Connacht for all breaches of the peace, and they were ordered to 'be counselling and helping unto Lionel... in the recovery and maintenance of his rights there against enemies and rebels'.³⁵ It has been suggested that this was a preliminary to a proposed expedition by Lionel to Ireland to recover his rights there,³⁶ but there appears to be very little evidence for this. There are no signs of any military preparations being made, and, in fact, the state of the French war made it unlikely that any sizeable force could be spared for Ireland. It is more probable that the order merely referred to co-operation with Lionel's officials in Ulster and Connacht. In any case, if such an expedition was considered, Lionel would have been nothing more than a figurehead, on account of his age. There was evidently some communication with his town of Galway, as in 1348 the men and merchants of Galway going to England, Gascony and elsewhere were given a general protection for one year,³⁷ and in 1360, at the request of Lionel's wife Elizabeth, the town was given a grant of murage for five years.³⁸ Lionel seems to have been on good terms with

34. Rot. Parl. ii, 173. (I owe this reference to Dr. J.F. Lydon). The next heir was Richard, son of Edmund de Burgo who was the third son of the Red Earl of Ulster; this branch of the family had settled in Cos. Limerick and Tipperary. The instigators of the commons petition seem to have thought that the earldom would be divided among the six daughters of the Red Earl, or their descendants. As one daughter had married Robert Bruce, and another Maurice fitzThomas, Earl of Desmond, who had been in revolt in the 1330s and 1340s, the partitioning of the earldom might well have led to large scale war in Ireland. (See. Orpen, Normans iv, 149-50, 159 for the descendants of the Red Earl).

35. Cal. Patent Rolls, 1350-54, p. 148

36. J.F. Lydon, Ireland in the Later Middle Ages, (Dublin, 1973), p. 88.

37. Cal. Patent Rolls, 1348-50, p. 22

38. Cal. Patent Rolls, 1358-61, p. 352

the second earl of Desmond, as in 1358, Desmond, at Lionel's request, granted the chief serjeanty of Cork to Geoffrey Stukely for life.³⁹

However, these Irish contacts did not amount to very much, and it does not seem likely that Lionel had very much interest in his Irish lands, which were, for the most part, unprofitable.

Lionel's military experience before his appointment was not extensive. He had been a member of Henry of Lancaster's abortive expedition to Navarre in July 1355.⁴⁰ In the following November he took part in the campaign in northern France in an army led by the king and including such experienced soldiers as Lancaster and the earl of Stafford. The intention was to attack the French at St. Omer, but the latter retreated, laying waste the surrounding countryside, and the English were forced to return to Calais. At the end of the year news arrived of the capture of Berwick by the Scots and Edward returned to England.⁴¹ He headed north, accompanied by Lionel, and after the recapture of Berwick and the surrender by Edward Balliol of his claim to the Scottish throne, conducted a campaign of destruction and devastation in the south of Scotland.⁴² This was Lionel's only involvement in Scotland, and he does not seem to have taken any part in border warfare which might have been relevant to Irish conditions later on. He did not take part in the Poitiers campaign of 1356, and the following three years were relatively peaceful, thus giving Lionel little opportunity to gain military experience. In 1359-60 he took part in

39. Ibid., p. 96

40. Knighton, ii p. 80

41. Avesbury, p. 425.

42. R. Nicholson, op. cit., pp. 161-2. Lionel had been a witness to Balliol's formal renunciation on 25 January 1356 (Avesbury, p. 451)

24

the Calais campaign with a retinue of 40 men at arms and 40 archers.⁴³ This was a small force compared to some of the other retinues, and understandable in the light of his inexperience, but it is perhaps a reflection of their relative military ability that John of Gaunt, whose experience was no greater, had a force of 200 men at arms and 200 archers.⁴⁴ The campaign lasted for nine months, and although the possibilities for independent action on his part were small, Lionel did have the opportunity of learning from such experienced men as the earls of Warwick, Suffolk, Salisbury and Oxford. However, Lionel could not in any way be described as an experienced leader, such as was needed in Ireland, and on purely military grounds, the earl of Stafford would have been a more suitable choice.

Lionel's administrative experience was even more limited. He had been appointed custos of England on three occasions,⁴⁵ but this was obviously a formality, as on the last of these he was only ten years old. Furthermore, there is nothing to suggest that he had been actively involved in the negotiations leading up to Balliol's renunciation of the Scottish throne in 1356. However, he had a certain prestige as the king's son, as well as a potential interest in Irish affairs, and the deficiencies in his experience could be compensated for by surrounding him with competent advisers.

Although the decision to send Lionel to Ireland was made sometime in February and the preparations for his departure - the financial ordinances and the order to absentees to return to Ireland - were started at the beginning of March, it was not until

43. E.101/393/11 (Account book of William Farley, keeper of the wardrobe, 33-4 Edward III).

44. Ibid.

45. Cal. Patent Rolls 1343-5 p. 487; 1345-8 p. 142; 1348-50 p. 196.

1 July that he was formally appointed lieutenant.⁴⁶ Nothing is known of the negotiations leading up to the appointment, but it is possible that Lionel attempted to attach conditions to it, as John Darcy had done in 1328⁴⁷ and William of Windsor was to do in 1372.⁴⁸ He was given the title of king's lieutenant rather than that of justiciar, but this seems to have been merely for reasons of prestige, a recognition of his importance as the king's son and a major landholder in Ireland.⁴⁹ Lionel's appointment does not include any powers which had not previously been exercised by justiciars,⁵⁰ though in his case all of these powers were specified in the patent of appointment whereas previous justiciars had often been given them in a piecemeal fashion.⁵¹ He was empowered to admit English and Irish rebels to the king's peace and fealty; to issue both general and special charters of pardon to them and to receive fines and ransoms from them; to grant out lands which he managed to recover from the king's enemies, or

46. Rymer, Foedera iii pt. 2 pp. 621-2

47. J.F. Baldwin, The King's Council in England during the Middle Ages (Oxford, 1913) pp. 473-5.

48. S.C.8/257/15849.

49. Previous holders of this title were Richard de Burgh, earl of Ulster (15 June 1308), Piers Gaveston (16 June 1308), Roger Mortimer (23 November 1316) and William de Burgh, earl of Ulster (3 March 1331) (Richardson and Sayles, Administration pp. 83-4). The full patents of appointment of the last three are given in Foedera i pt. 2, pp. 51, 301; ii pt. 2, p. 811.

50. A.J. Otway-Ruthven, 'The chief governors of mediaeval Ireland', JRSAL xcv (1965) p. 229.

51. For example, Ormond was appointed justiciar in February 1359, but it was not until the following July that he was given power to receive English and Irish rebels into the King's peace, and to take into the King's hand and let at farm lands wasted by war (Cal. Patent Rolls 1358-61, pp. 176, 247-8). A further distinction between the two offices was that a justiciar's patent of appointment usually specified that he was to receive an annual fee of £500 and to maintain a force of twenty men at arms; no lieutenant's appointment contains these items, possibly because it was intended to make alternative arrangements.

20

which came into the king's hand through forfeiture; to supervise the actions of the king's ministers and remove and replace any whom he found to be deficient; to do justice to all according to the laws and customs of Ireland, and to do and ordain everything for the good governance and safety of the country and the recovery of the king's rights there. His appointment differed from previous ones in two ways. The first of these was the reinstatement of the clause permitting the granting of general charters of pardon, presumably in response to the Irish council's representations on this subject. The other difference was that in his case, the power to replace officials was unrestricted, whereas the treasurer and chancellor were normally excepted from this. It is difficult to say whether the omission of the clause relating to these two officials was deliberate or not. When Lionel was reappointed in 1364 the clause relating to these two officials was inserted in the patent, but it is possible that this was merely in response to the events of the summer of 1364.⁵² At the same time as his appointment, Lionel made two indentures with the king. The first of these, which has not survived, evidently contained clauses relating to the force which he was to bring with him and to the financing of the expedition. The second, made the day after his appointment, placed a restriction on some of the powers contained in the latter. The indenture states that it is the king's intention that Lionel is to be advised by the Irish council and by the lords who accompany him, on all things passing of favour under the great seal of Ireland or his own seal, and especially on charters of pardon and grants of land.⁵³ It was unusual for a chief governor to be

52. Rymer Foedera iii pt 2 p. 747. These events are discussed below pp. 217-20

53. Ibid. p. 622.

ordered not to act without the assent of the council,⁵⁴ but this indenture was obviously designed to prevent Lionel from acting rashly, through inexperience, in two very important fields. As has been seen, the granting of charters of pardon was one of the problems discussed in the Irish council's message, and although it had been decided to revert to the pre-1357 system of granting general pardons, it was obviously felt necessary to control the issuing of these as much as possible. In the case of the granting of lands, the amount of land liable to be forfeited and granted out to others had been increased by the inclusion of this category of the lands of absentees which had been lost through lack of defence, and thus the possibility of abuse had become greater. Those of the council who are specifically mentioned by name are the archbishop of Dublin, the Irish chancellor and treasurer, William de Notton, who was the chief justice of the justiciar's bench, the earl of Stafford, Ralph Ferrers, John de Carreu and Walter of Dalby. Of these, the presence of Ferrers and Stafford was important for military as well as administrative reasons, while the others were all experienced administrators,⁵⁵ and in this way a counter-balance was provided to Lionel's youth and inexperience in military and administrative affairs.

54. Otway-Ruthven 'Chief Governors' p. 235. Usually the need for the council's assent was specified in connection with the granting of a specific power to the justiciar or lieutenant. However the appointment of William de Burgh as lieutenant in 1331 stated that he was to do everything pertaining to the maintenance of the King's peace in Ireland by the counsel and advice of Anthony Lucy and others of the Irish council (*Foedera* ii, pt. 2, p. 811). In 1346 Walter Bermingham was appointed justiciar 'de faire et devrer en toutes les busoignes qi portent grant charge' by the advice and counsel of the Chancellor, treasurer and escheator (S.C.1/38/110, quoted in Richardson and Sayles, *Irish Parliament*, p. 28 n. 53).

55. Carreu was a former escheator (Richardson and Sayles, *Administration*, p. 128).

II. THE ORGANISATION OF THE ARMY

The army which Lionel was intended to bring with him to Ireland in 1361 was described by the king as 'a great number of men at arms and archers',¹ but in fact the projected force amounted to only 200 men at arms and 970 archers.² This was very small in comparison to previous English armies in France - in 1352 the earl of Stafford as lieutenant in Aquitaine had 4,168 men,³ in 1355-6 the Black Prince had a total force of 2,600,⁴ while the army which invaded France in 1359 amounted to 11,900 men.⁵ It was also small in comparison to the force which Edward III intended bringing to Ireland himself in 1332, which would probably have contained about 3,000 men,⁶ a sign of how the English view of the Irish military situation had changed over the thirty years preceding Lionel's appointment. After the cancellation of this expedition it became usual for Irish justiciars to have a small force from England in addition to the twenty men at arms which they

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1. Cal. Patent Rolls 1361-4, p. 61
 2. This figure is derived from the details of retinues in Walter of Dalby's book of particulars (P.R.O.L., E.101/28/21) and the commissions of array for archers from various counties.
 3. A. E. Prince 'The strength of English armies in the reign of Edward III', EHR, xlvii (1931) p. 366.
 4. Ibid.
 5. Ibid., p. 368
 6. Archers to be raised by commissions of array in July 1332 amounted to 1,900 men (Cal. Close Rolls 1330-33, pp. 487-8); the remainder would have consisted of indentured retinues and returning absentees. The expedition was called off because of the increased Scottish threat.

were bound to maintain out of the justiciar's fee. The largest of these forces seem to have been the 40 men at arms and 200 archers which Ufford had in 1344⁷ and St. Amand's force of 40 men at arms and 100 archers in 1357.⁸ Although these forces were generally brought from England by the justiciar, they were paid out of the Irish exchequer. Thus Lionel's army was an innovation, as it was much larger than previous justiciars' forces and intended to be financed for the most part by the English exchequer.

Like the English armies in France, Lionel's force was composed of two distinct elements, indentured retinues and county levies raised by commissions of array in England. There was also a third element, Gaelic and Anglo-Irish contingents, which will be dealt with separately. In previous armies the proportion of county levies to indentured retinues was 5:2, but in the 1359-60 campaign the beginnings of a change can be seen, as the ratio was then 2:3.⁹ However, in 1361 the intended proportion was nearly 2:1 (770:400) showing that the new scheme was not yet in full operation. The two elements were recruited in different ways and maintained their separate identities throughout the expedition.

The practice of employing indentured retinues as a major part of the army had developed during the first half of the fourteenth century, in response to the needs of the Scottish and French wars, and by 1361 the form and content of the contracts had become standardised.

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7. R. Frame, 'The justiciarship of Ralph Ufford' Studia Hibernica xiii (1973), pp. 13, 44.
 8. J. Otway-Ruthven, 'Ireland in the 1350s: Sir Thomas de Rokeby and his successors', JRSAI xcvi (1967), p. 54.
 9. M. Powicke, Military Obligation in Medieval England, (Oxford, 1962), p. 185.

In his indenture a leader agreed to serve with a specified number of men for a specified period and various conditions relating to the payment of wages, provision of shipping, valuation of horses and compensation for any lost on the king's service were laid down.¹⁰

During the period of Lionel's lieutenancy, nine separate retinues, apart from his own, served in Ireland, and in the case of seven of these, the indentures have survived.¹¹ Of those leaders who came with Lionel in 1361, the only one whose indenture is extant is the earl of Stafford. Lionel himself maintained a force of 70 men at arms and 70 archers throughout the period 1361-4¹² and it is reasonable to assume that he had agreed with the king to serve with this number, although no details of this contract have survived, or of one relating to the force of 60 men at arms and 100 archers which he brought with him on his return to Ireland in 1364.¹³ John de Carreu, who brought 10 men at arms and 10 archers in 1361, did not make an indenture,¹⁴ but there is no apparent reason for this. Ralph Ferrers served in Ireland with 20 men at arms and 20 archers from 1361 to 1364¹⁵ and in his case there is no mention of an indenture, though it seems probable that one was made.

An examination of the terms of the surviving indentures -

10. A. E. Prince 'The indenture system under Edward III' Historical Essays in Honour of James Tait ed. J.G. Edwards, V. H. Galbraith and E.F. Jacob, (Manchester, 1933), pp 283-97.

11. See Appendix III, below.

12. E.101/28/21 ff. 3^v-4; E.364/7 m.C. (Account of Walter of Dalby, 1364-5)

13. P.R.O.L., E.403/418 m.16.

14. The book of particulars of the clerk of the wages states that John 'morabatur in comitiva comitis Ultonie et non habuit indenturam de Rege' (E.101/28/21 f. 6^v). He served until his death in May 1362.

15. E.101/28/20 (particulars of the account of Ralph Ferrers, 1361-4).

Stafford (1361),¹⁶ Windsor¹⁷ and Hoggeshaw¹⁸ (1362), Dabrichcourt,¹⁹ St. Laud,²⁰ Ashton²¹ and Windsor (1363)²² - reveals some interesting differences. A normal indenture might be expected to contain the following terms: length of service and date of commencement, place of service, number, and occasionally rank, of men, wages payable and when they were to be paid, provision of shipping for passage and repassage by the king, appraisal of horses either at the port of embarkation or on their arrival, liberty to return to England at the end of the period of service or if payment fell into arrears. All of the indentures mentioned above include these terms, except that those of Ashton, St. Laud, Dabrichcourt and Windsor (1363) omit the clause relating to arrears of pay. This was presumably because the first three had contracted for six months and were to be paid for the full period within the first three months. In Windsor's case, he was to receive full payment for the whole year for which he had contracted, before his departure from England. In these four indentures also, the clause concerning freedom to return to England at the end of the period of service appears in a modified form. Ashton, St. Laud and Dabrichcourt were not to be compelled to remain in Ireland si ce ne soit par

16. E.101/28/27 m.11 (File of documents relating to Walter of Dalby's account, 1361-4).

17. Ibid. m.2

18. Ibid. m.3

19. Ibid. m.6

20. Ibid. m.7

21. Ibid.

22. P.R.O.L., E.368/137 Trinity Recorda m.10.

novelle bargaine, which was in fact never made, while Windsor was to be allowed return to England and not elsewhere, which perhaps reflects his importance to the king. Stafford's indenture, as well as including the clauses mentioned above, goes into greater detail than do the others. In the case of shipping and compensation for horses, the responsibilities of both parties are set out in greater detail. Furthermore, there are several clauses which occur only in Stafford's indenture, which gives the impression that it may have been the result of hard bargaining on Stafford's part. If the arrangements for the expedition were changed in any way, he was to be recompensed for the expenses which he had incurred, and if the terms of the indenture were infringed in any way, he was to be free to leave Ireland. He was to have livery of any inheritance which might come to him during his absence and the services due to the king were to be respited until his return. He and his men were to have protections and letters of attorney for their time in Ireland and his attorneys were to be assisted in shipping food over to Ireland for the earl's use. While in Ireland he was to be allowed ^{to} do as he wished with any prisoners taken by him and his men, and was to have all other advantages of war. Even the conduct of the war was provided for. If Stafford undertook any empris de guerre according to what he thought best, he was not to be impeached if it should happen that anything went wrong, and if anything should happen to Lionel during the wars in Ireland, Stafford was to be absolved of all responsibility. Finally, if the king himself undertook any expedition outside England, Stafford was to be released from his contract to serve in Ireland and was to join the king. This last item is probably connected with the fact that Stafford had been retained for life with 100 men at arms by the

king in 1354,²³ but these extra clauses, together with the fact that the contract was for nine months instead of the more usual year or six months,²⁴ make it clear that Stafford may not have been enthusiastic about going to Ireland in the first place.

This leads to the problem of how men might be induced to come to Ireland. The most obvious inducements were the necessity to protect one's interests in Ireland and the possibility of booty. In 1361 Edward had tried to get all the major absentees to take part in the expedition, with very little success, as the only magnate of any standing who came was Stafford.²⁵ Most English magnates who held land in Ireland held bigger and more profitable estates in England, and so were unlikely to be concerned about their Irish property to the extent of going there in person. John de Carreu is the only leader of a retinue who may have been influenced by this consideration.²⁶ There was also the possibility that war with France might break out again if John II's ransom were not paid, and the magnates did not want to be committed to service in Ireland if this should happen. Booty, ransoms of prisoners and other spoils of war were a major inducement for service in France,²⁷ but it was

23. Cal. Close Rolls 1354-60, pp. 21-2

24. The unusual features of Stafford's indenture are noted by Prince, 'Indenture system' pp. 291, 296.

25. See below pp. 247-53 for absentees.

26. He held lands in Pembroke, Devon, Hampshire and Berkshire, but his main interests seem to have been in Ireland where he held lands in Meath and Kildare, and had acted as seneschal of the liberty of Meath and escheator of Ireland (Cal. Inquisitions Post Mortem, xi, no. 300; RC8/28 pp. 321-3; E.101/244/5,10; Richardson and Sayles Administration, p. 128)

27. Denys Hay, 'The division of the spoils of war in fourteenth century England', TRHS, 5th series, iv (1954), pp. 92-3

obvious that conditions in Ireland were very different and much closer to conditions on the Scottish border, where the only real form of booty was livestock.²⁸ As a result of this, Edward was forced into virtually bribing men to go to Ireland. Stafford agreed to go on a number of conditions laid down by himself, which provided for his participation in any campaign undertaken by the king in France. William of Windsor, in his second indenture (1363), insisted on a flat rate of £6700 for wages and regard for his force for a year, which was higher than the normal rate, and an additional 1000 marks to cover expenses in assembling his retinue. Just before they left in December 1363, he and his leading retainer Nicholas de Goushull received exemptions for life from being put on assizes or juries and from appointment as mayor, sheriff or other official against their will.²⁹ In the other cases, Edward resorted to more open bribery and each of the contracting parties received a monetary grant around the same time as his indenture was made. Windsor's first indenture is dated 10 June 1362, but the terms were obviously being negotiated for some time before this. On 14 May, in addition to the usual wages and regard for the first quarter, he was given an extra regard of £100³⁰ and two days later a grant of 100 marks a year for life.³¹ Thomas Hoggeshaw, who contracted at the same time as Windsor,

28. Denys Hay, 'Booty in border warfare', Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society, 3rd series, xxxi (1954), pp. 149-50.

29. Cal. Patent Rolls 1361-4, p. 434.

30. E.403/410 m.11

31. Cal. Patent Rolls, 1361-4, p. 198

received an extra regard of £50 on 13 May.³² Dabrichecourt, Ashton and St. Laud received extra regards two days after their indentures, Dabrichecourt receiving £100 and the other two 50 marks each.³³ On 15 March 1363, Dabrichecourt was pardoned £100 of a debt of £200 which he owed the king, the reason being given as his undertaking to go to Ireland.³⁴ Ralph Ferrers received his first payment of wages on 12 May 1361, and it is significant that two days earlier he had been made a grant for life of 100 marks a year.³⁵

In the mid-fourteenth century retinues were usually a multiple of ten and composed of equal numbers of men at arms and mounted archers.³⁶ However, some of the retinues employed with Lionel differed slightly from this. In 1363 Dabrichecourt was to have 32 men at arms and 60 archers, Windsor 120 men at arms and 200 archers, and Ashton and St. Laud 6 men at arms and 20 archers each. In 1364 Lionel's retinue was composed of 60 men at arms and 100 archers. This difference may have been due to the experience of Irish conditions acquired in the first two years of the expedition, which made it desirable to have a greater number of archers. Provision was made in the indentures of Stafford and Windsor (1363) for possible further additions to the retinue, but in fact, neither was augmented, while Dabrichecourt brought an additional 10 men at arms and 20 archers and recruited a further 5 men at arms and 5 archers while in

32. E.403/410 m. 10

33. E.403/412 m. 30

34. P.R.O.L., E.159/142, Easter Brevia directa baronibus m. 4

35. Cal. Patent Rolls 1361-4 p. 17

36. J. W. Sherborne, 'Indentured retinues and English expeditions to France, 1369-1380', EHR lxxix (1964) p. 719.

Ireland.³⁷ After the end of Windsor's first quarter in Ireland in May 1364, he and the Irish council agreed that 70 of the archers should be sent back to England and replaced by 210 kern, which would cost the same in wages.³⁸ Possibly the mounted archers were found to be unsuitable for Irish conditions, but if so, this is the only known occasion on which such a substitution was found necessary. A more likely explanation is that a greater number of men was needed for the wars in the south-east and this was one way of getting them cheaply. At the time there were only two retinues of English origin in Ireland, Windsor's and the remainder of the retinue left behind by Lionel, and as the latter seems to have operated almost exclusively in Meath and Westmeath during the summer of 1364, there may well have been a need for more men elsewhere. At any rate, Windsor seems to have been rather apprehensive about the possible consequences of changing the composition of this retinue as specified in his indenture, and the Irish council had to agree to indemnify him in case the king and council refused to allow him for the wages paid to the kern,³⁹ implying that the initiative in making the change had come from the Irish council.

The core of the retinue was usually composed of the household and permanent retainers of the leader, but it seems that this was usually only a fraction of the total number which he contracted to bring with him.⁴⁰ In the case of the retinues which served in Ireland

37. E.101/28/21 ff 10-10^v.

38. E.159/142 Michaelmas Recorda m.10d. See Appendix I (v) below.

39. E.159/142 Michaelmas Recorda m.10d.

40. M. Powicke, Military Obligation in Medieval England, p. 169; G. A. Holmes, The Estates of the Higher Nobility in Fourteenth-century England (Cambridge, 1957) p. 80.

in 1361-6, it is impossible to estimate what proportion of the total these men formed. There are no records relating to the household of Lionel himself for this period, but it is possible to identify some of its members. It appears that Lionel's household was composed of 3 knights, 18 esquires, 20 valetti and 30 boys.⁴¹ The number of his indentured retainers is not known, but must have been fairly large, as a total of 51 men at arms and 3 archers were personally connected with him and of these only 23 men at arms and two archers can be identified as members of the household.⁴² The same sort of nucleus can also be seen in the retinues of William of Windsor and the earl of Stafford. At least 22 men who served with Windsor in Ireland in 1362-3 returned with him in 1364,⁴³ and many of these names recur in the retinue rolls for Windsor's two later expeditions to Ireland in 1369 and 1371.⁴⁴ In the case of Stafford, several of those who came with him to Ireland appear as witnesses to charters granted by him in England.⁴⁵

The remainder of the retinue was usually made up of men recruited through subcontracts. The leader of the retinue made an indenture with the subcontractor who agreed to serve and bring with him a specified number of men. These subcontractors were often indentured retainers who had agreed to serve the leader for life in

41. E.101/94/4 (account of Lionel's household, 1360-61).

42. See Appendix VI for details. It has been suggested that the 200 permanent retainers maintained by John of Gaunt at this time was an unusually high number (K. B. McFarlane, The Nobility of Later Medieval England (Oxford, 1973) pp. 102-3).

43. There is no retinue roll for 1364, so this figure, which is based on the valuation of horses (E.101/29/5) and includes only men at arms, is probably an underestimate.

44. E.101/30/2; E.101/31/25

45. Staffordshire Record Office, Bagot Collection, D.(W) 1721/1/1, a late fifteenth century cartulary of the Stafford family, contains a large number of fourteenth century charters.

war and peace.⁴⁶ Because of their ephemeral nature many of these subcontracts have disappeared and none relating to Lionel's expedition is extant. However, the operation of this system in Ireland is shown by a couple of isolated references. In May 1362 John Dauncy of Burgundy, who had been resident in London, received a protection for one year for himself, his wife, three fellows and two yeomen, and their horses, armour and equipment, 'going to Ireland on the king's service to stay there with others over the recovery of the king's rights in those parts', and he later appears as a member of Lionel's retinue.⁴⁷ In 1364, Windsor retained the services of Roger de Chesterfield and three archers for the wars in Ireland.⁴⁸ The composition of the retinues is illustrated by the retinue rolls which show that many of the members, judging by their names, came from the leaders' estates.⁴⁹ They also show small numbers of men arriving on the same day and leaving the army together; these obviously formed the small sub-units of which the army was composed.

As in the case of the magnates, there was little to encourage men to serve in Ireland, apart from the wages and the possibility of booty. One inducement that was used frequently during the fourteenth century was the granting of charters of pardon for felonies already committed. These could be granted retrospectively for service already done, as well as for future service, and might be either

46. N. B. Lewis 'The organisation of indentured retinues in fourteenth-century England', TRHS, 4th ser. xxvii (1945) pp. 31-2.

47. Cal. Patent Rolls, 1361-4, p. 199; E.101/28/18.

48. A. H. Thomas (ed.), Calendar of Plea and Memoranda Rolls of the City of London, 1364-81 (1929) pp. 36-7.

49. The relevant retinue rolls are E.101/28/13 (Carreu, Windsor, Hoggeshaw, Dabrichcourt, St. Laud and Ashton); E.101/28/15 (Stafford); E.101/28/18 and E.101/29/6 (Lionel).

general, covering all felonies committed before the date of the pardon, or for participation in a specific crime.⁵⁰ Hewitt has put the proportion of outlaws in Edward's French armies as between 2% and 12%.⁵¹ Only twenty-four pardons relating to service in Ireland during Lionel's lieutenancy have survived, although more may have been granted. Of these only two refer to service to be performed in the future, and all but four relate to cases of homicide, the other crimes being rape, robbery, wounding and forestalling.⁵² Many of the men who came to Ireland were granted protections which prevented others taking proceedings against them during their absence.⁵³

The assembling of the retinue was usually done at the expense of the leader and by his agents, as the payment of wages to the army only began on arrival at the port of embarkation, and no details of the procedure survive. However, it seems that in 1363 archers for the retinues of Ashton, St. Laud and Windsor were raised by commissions of array in the counties in which these leaders had interests. This

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50. N. D. Hurnard, The King's pardon for homicide before A.D. 1307, (Oxford 1969), p. 312
51. H.J. Hewitt, The Organisation of War under Edward III, (Manchester 1966), p. 30.
52. Cal. Patent Rolls, 1361-4, pp. 181, 201, 218, 222, 224, 265, 296, 381, 434-5, 439-40, 468, 472; ibid., 1364-7, pp. 11-12, 14, 30-31, 40-41, 57, 62, 152. According to Hurnard, the total number of pardons was higher than the number which can now be traced (op. cit., p. 316).
53. Cal. Patent Rolls, 1361-4; 1364-7, passim. This did not, however, prevent others from taking extra-legal action against them. William Beatrich, cousin and heir of Robert Bykenore claimed that John Woderowe entered the lands of his inheritance in Dartford, Kent, claiming to be the heir 'a quel temps le dit William si fuist hors du realme Dengleterre en Irland en le service nostre dit seigneur le Roi en la compaignie son tres honore fuitz le Duc de Clarence' (P.R.O.L., S.C. 8/227/11302. I owe this reference to Dr. J. F. Lydon).

was an unusual procedure which may have been adopted to save time.⁵⁴ The length of time allowed between the making of the indenture and the date ordered for assembly at the port was usually short - two weeks in the case of Windsor and Hoggeshaw in 1362 and three weeks for Ashton, St. Laud and Dabrichecourt in 1363. All except Ashton and St. Laud reached the port in time,⁵⁵ and in the case of these two leaders the delay of over a month between the appointed day and their arrival may be due to factors unrelated to the business of raising a retinue, especially since the retinues concerned were so small.

Most of the leaders succeeded in bringing the required number of men with them to Ireland, and Dabrichecourt brought an additional 30 men.⁵⁶ Windsor's initial force in 1362 comprised 52 men at arms instead of the 60 specified in the indenture, but after his arrival in Ireland he managed to bring this number up⁷⁰ to the required strength.⁵⁷ The retinues of the earl of Stafford (97 men at arms instead of 100)⁵⁸ and Thomas Hoggeshaw (32 men at arms and 38 archers instead of 40 of each)⁵⁹ started below strength and were never made up. In fact Stafford's retinue declined rapidly in Ireland, so that by 26 June 1362 when he left Ireland, it had fallen to 53 men at arms and 60 archers.⁶⁰ Most of the other retinues

54. It was later employed for Lancaster's retinues in 1369 and 1373 (Sherborne, 'Indentured retinues' p. 742).

55. E.101/28/21 ff. 7^v-8, 10-10^v.

56. Ibid. f. 10

57. Ibid. ff. 7^v-8

58. Ibid. ff. 5-5^v

59. Ibid. f. 8

60. Ibid. f. 5^v

remained fairly steady in numbers throughout their stay in Ireland. However, an examination of the retinue rolls reveals that although the number of men in a retinue might remain constant, there was a large turnover among the men. An example of this is William of Windsor's first retinue which served in Ireland from June 1362 to June 1363. Although the retinue remained steady at 60 men at arms and 60 archers, 84 men at arms (including four knights) and 94 archers were employed at various times during the year in making up this number.⁶¹ In the case of Lionel himself, a comparison of the retinue rolls for the first quarter of his service in Ireland in 1361 and the quarter immediately preceding his departure in 1364 shows that only fifty-seven names occur in both lists, the majority of these being men at arms and members of his household.⁶²

Men might leave the army for a variety of reasons, the most obvious being death or disability. No details are available for this, but it is possible that several cases of men being absent from the army for weeks or even months and then reappearing on the retinue rolls may represent cases of wounding or disablement. The return of the Black Death in 1361 must have affected the army also. However, in letters from England, the emphasis is placed on desertions as being the main cause of the decline in numbers. In February 1362 the king stated that 'many of the men at arms and archers who lately went at the king's wages with his son Lionel... for the defence of that land, seeing the perils threatening there, have returned to England' and ordered inquiries to be made in England concerning these deserters and those who deserted before they went to Ireland.⁶³

61. E.101/28/13

62. E.101/28/18

63. Cal. Patent Rolls 1361-4 p. 168

In addition to the physical dangers of the war in Ireland, the lack of booty may have encouraged desertions. Furthermore, although we know that the leaders of the retinues received the wages for their men at regular intervals, nothing is known of how frequently the men were paid, or if they were paid in full. There is also the possibility that men may have contracted to serve for a shorter period than that specified in the leader's indenture and that they left the retinue when this period was completed. Little is known of the discipline which the leaders of retinues were able to exert over their men. Musters appear to have been held quarterly, but these were essentially an administrative device rather than a disciplinary one.⁶⁴ The retinue rolls themselves show that a check was kept, presumably by the captain or someone acting on his behalf, on the arrivals and departures from the retinue, but the way in which this was done is not clear.

The majority of the replacements appear to have come over from England, and the constant stream of new recruits for army leads one to question the idea that Ireland was seen as an unattractive place for service. It is understandable that the leaders of retinues might be reluctant to come, but for the men serving under them peace with France and Scotland meant that Ireland was the only area of military activity open to them, and disillusionment may have set in only after actual experience of Irish conditions. Some Anglo-Irish also served in the retinues, but their number was very small. Sometimes temporary deficiencies in the retinue might be made up by promoting archers to the category of men at arms and occasionally demoting them again when they were no longer needed in that capacity.

64. See below pp. 62-3

Transfer from one retinue to another seems to have been uncommon; at the end of a leader's period of service his men returned with him to England, or at any rate did not join another retinue.⁶⁵ As will be seen, the county levies also remained separate and there are no instances of members of these forces joining retinues.

The second element in Lionel's army was composed of men recruited in various English counties by means of commissions of array. This practice had its origin in the Statute of Winchester (1285), which was designed to ensure that there was a permanent reserve of well-equipped men of military age in each county, initially for the purpose of peace preservation. During the reigns of Edward II and Edward III, these were used increasingly to augment the regular army, and from 1327 onwards the principle was accepted that men raised in this manner received the king's wages from the time they left the boundaries of their own counties.⁶⁶ Service was compulsory, though it was sometimes possible to buy exemption,⁶⁷ and it might be made more attractive by the prospect of booty and pardons for previous offences.

Substantial numbers of men for Lionel's army were raised in this way on three occasions - in 1361 for the initial army and twice in 1362 when large reinforcements were called for. There were also two commissions of array in 1363, which may have been to recruit men for some of the indentured retinues.⁶⁸ The commission was usually

65. This information is derived from an analysis of the four retinue rolls for the period 1361-5 (E.101/28/13, 15, 18; E.101/29/6).

66. M. Powicke, Military Obligation in Medieval England, pp. 119-22, 159-161.

67. Hewitt, The Organisation of War p. 37.

68. Above, p. 39

addressed to the sheriff of the county concerned and to one or two other men acting with him. In 1361 these were frequently members of one of the retinues with which the county levies were to sail,⁶⁹ and in 1362, John de Ellerton, a king's serjeant at arms, was commissioned to act with the sheriff in each county.⁷⁰ The commission ordered them to array a certain number of archers, either mounted or on foot, have them furnished with bows, arrows and other suitable arms and brought to the port of embarkation by a certain day.⁷¹ The number of men required from the county was apportioned among the hundreds or other subdivisions of the county, arrays were then held locally by the men named in the commission or by sub-arrayers acting on their behalf and the required number chosen.⁷² It was presumably at this stage that a muster roll was drawn up, although none has survived for this period. The sheriff himself often brought the men to the port; alternatively, he might be ordered to hand them over to a specified person who would perform this task. In both cases an indenture was drawn up, stating the number and names of the men handed over.⁷³

The counties from which men were demanded were almost the same in 1361 and 1362 - Lancashire and Cheshire, Leicestershire, Derbyshire, Warwickshire, Staffordshire, Gloucestershire and Shropshire were ordered to send men in both years, together with Worcestershire

69. Cal. Patent Rolls 1361-4, p. 21

70. Ibid., p. 168

71. See Appendix I, (vi) for the text of a commission of array.

72. A. E. Prince, 'The Army and the Navy', The English Government at Work, 1327-1337, i, ed. W. A. Morris and J. F. Willard, (Cambridge, Mass., 1940) pp. 357-8.

73. E.101/584/16; E.101/590/21 (particulars of the accounts of the sheriffs of Shropshire and Warwickshire for archers, 1362). See Appendix I (vii) for the text of one such indenture.

and Herefordshire in 1361 and Nottinghamshire in 1362.⁷⁴ These were presumably chosen because of their proximity to the ports of Liverpool and Bristol, but the spheres of influence of the leaders of the retinues may also have been a consideration. This can be clearly seen in 1363, when a commission was issued for men from Gloucestershire, Somerset, Dorset and Wiltshire to accompany John de St. Laud and Robert Ashton, as St. Laud had interests in Somerset and Dorset, and the same is true in the case of men from Westmorland and the North and West Ridings of Yorkshire ordered to accompany William of Windsor later in the same year.⁷⁵ On two occasions in 1362 an attempt was made to recruit men from some of the Welsh lordships for Ireland. In the case of Maelenydd, Elfael and Bleddvagh in February 1362 this was to be done through the normal system of array,⁷⁶ but in June 1362 the order was issued directly to the lords themselves and the work of choosing the men seems to have been carried out by their officials.⁷⁷ There is no apparent reason for the choice of the three lordships in February 1362; they were not held by Irish absentees and neither were they especially well-positioned geographically. The lordships involved in June 1362 covered most of eastern and south-eastern Wales and were ideally positioned for the men to join up with county forces from the west of England.

The length of time allowed for the array to be carried out varied considerably. In 1361 the commission was issued on 10 May and the men were to be at Liverpool and Bristol by 1 August, while

74. Cal. Patent Rolls 1361-4 pp. 21, 168.

75. Ibid., pp. 309, 420-21.

76. Ibid., p. 163.

77. Cal. Close Rolls 1360-64, pp. 339-40.

in the summer of 1362 only sixteen days were allowed for the operation. However, this short period was probably due to the fact that in many cases the men had been arrayed earlier in the year and were being held in readiness for an order to go to Ireland.⁷⁸ In 1361 none of the men had reached the port by 1 August; they began to arrive on 20 August and the last contingent came on 6 September.⁷⁹ In 1362 similar delays occurred. The date for assembly was fixed as 1 July, but the men from Staffordshire did not arrive until 15 July and the men from Warwickshire and Leicestershire until 10 August, while those from Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire were still at Derby on 19 July.⁸⁰

In addition to delays in recruiting the men, there might be other difficulties arising from the element of compulsion - desertion and insufficiency. An example of this problem is seen in the case of the Welsh archers recruited in the summer of 1362 who were the responsibility of the sheriff of Herefordshire.⁸¹ On 18 June 1362 he was ordered to bring a total of 400 archers from seven Welsh lordships to Liverpool as soon as possible, and considering his difficulties he did well to have reached Liverpool by 17 July. However, his complement was far from complete. The lordship of Strigoil was in the king's hand after the death of the countess of Norfolk, and the escheator there refused to send the required thirty archers on the grounds that he had received no warrant for this.⁸² In the case of

78. Ibid. p. 340

79. E.101/28/21, ff. 4^v, 5^v.

80. E.101/587/3; E.101/590/21; E.101/580/41 (particulars of the accounts of the sheriffs of Staffordshire, Warwickshire and Nottinghamshire for archers, 1362).

81. E.101/565/5 (particulars of the account of the sheriff of Herefordshire for Welsh archers, 1362)

82. The order relating to the lordship of Strigoil had been addressed to the sheriff of Gloucester, Simon Basset and John Tracy, not to the escheator (Cal. Patent Rolls 1361-4, p. 227).

Lionel's own lordships of Usk and Caerleon, his receiver undertook to bring the archers to Liverpool himself, and the archers from Gower also made their own way to Liverpool as the order to go to Hereford reached them too late. Of the thirty archers from Newport who arrived at Hereford, two were rejected pur leur non pouaire. Only sixty of the archers from Glamorgan turned up and fifteen of these were rejected for the same reason; another archer deserted on the way to Liverpool as did twelve of the sixty-two archers from Brecknock, although three others were recruited in their place. Further desertions seem to have taken place at the port of embarkation while waiting for shipping.⁸³

The problem of desertion continued after the men arrived in Ireland. The 360 archers from Lancashire who came on 6 September 1361 had dropped to 311 by the end of December, 224 by March 1362 and 142 by the following August when they left the army. 49 of these later served from 21 October to 11 March 1363 and of these 20 remained until April 1364.⁸⁴ It is difficult to say how far this decline was due to desertion and how many had been killed in action or by the plague, but judging by the speed at which the other county levies fell off, desertion seems the most likely cause. However, these figures do not give the whole story. The men were organised in groups of twenty called vintaines, each under a vintenarius, and an examination of the retinue rolls shows that there was a very

83. See Appendix I (xi) below. Only 100 of the 124 archers brought by the sheriff to Chester crossed to Ireland. (E.101/28/21 f. 9). The 80 archers from Leicestershire and Warwickshire who reached Liverpool on 10 August 1362 (E.101/590/21) do not seem to have gone to Ireland either, as they are not included in any of the retinue rolls or in Dalby's book of particulars.

84. E.101/28/21 ff. 4^v-5.

high turnover of men within each vintaine. When the size of a vintaine fell below twenty, it was not amalgamated with another or incorporated into one of the retinues, but either remained at this lower level or had its numbers made up by new recruits. It is not clear where these new recruits came from, as their names usually give no indication of their place of origin. However, it is possible that small groups of men were coming over to Ireland of their own volition, especially from the north of England. We know of one group of six archers from Lancashire, which does not seem to have been recruited by any commission of array and which arrived at Dublin on 12 July 1362 and operated as a distinct unit until the following August, and another group of five Lancashire archers who served from 29 January to 13 February 1363.⁸⁵ It was also possible for contingents to leave the army and rejoin it at a later date, as in the case of the Lancashire archers who left on 1 August 1362 and rejoined on 21 October following, and the twenty Welsh archers who served from 1 May to 9 August 1362 and again from 2 October 1362 to 1 May 1363.⁸⁶ The reason for this is not clear; perhaps they went home for the harvest. Alternatively, their return to England may have been delayed by bad weather or lack of shipping, and they may have been induced to rejoin the army when it became evident that the reinforcements sent from England in the summer of 1362 fell well short of the specified numbers.

The length of service of county levies in Ireland varied enormously, as they were not bound to serve for a specific length of

85. Ibid. f. 4^v

86. Ibid. ff. 4^v-5. The identity of these men is established by the retinue roll. (E.101/28/18).

time. Some Lancashire archers served from September 1361 to April 1364,⁸⁷ but in contrast to this, most of the reinforcements which arrived at the beginning of August 1362 stayed for less than a month.⁸⁸ Little is known of how they were used while in Ireland; most are just described as serving in the company of the earl of Ulster. However, it does seem that they were divided among the different leaders of retinues. Of those who came in 1362, the Leicestershire archers served with Ralph Ferrers, those from Worcestershire, Shropshire and Staffordshire with the earl of Stafford and the remainder with Lionel himself.⁸⁹

Although it had been intended for Lionel to bring a force of 200 men at arms and 970 mounted archers to Ireland with him in 1361, the initial army numbered 197 men at arms and only 670 mounted archers. Four counties for which commissions of array had been issued failed to send any men, though the reason for this is not stated, and in the case of a further two counties, the number of men sent was far below that specified.⁹⁰ Once in Ireland, the numbers were reduced by the plague, desertion and the normal casualties of war. By the end of 1361, the force numbered 184 men at arms and 568 archers.⁹¹ The thirteen men at arms who had gone were all members of Stafford's retinue, but the other leaders of retinues managed to keep their numbers up to the required strength and the missing archers were all from the county levies. News of this reduction in numbers

87. E.101/28/21 ff. 4^v-5.

88. Ibid., ff. 8^v-9.

89. Ibid., ff. 4^v, 5^v-6, 7^v.

90. See Appendix IV.

91. See Appendix V for monthly variations in the size of the army.

evidently reached England early in 1362, and steps were taken to remedy the situation. On 10 February a large number of absentees were again ordered to go to Ireland to join Lionel, who, it was said, had 'lost many of his men so that he and the lieges with him are in peril from the continuing strength of the said enemies',⁹² and on the same day commissions of array were issued for a further 180 mounted archers.⁹³ However, despite the acknowledged urgency of the situation, these orders had very little effect. The absentees, who were clearly unwilling to go to Ireland, prevaricated, and finally compromised by granting the king the revenues of their Irish lands for two years from the following June.⁹⁴ The commissions of array did not appoint a day for the archers to be at the port, but merely stated that they were to go to Ireland when summoned, and they remained in array until the following June when orders were issued for their departure. The reason for this is not clear. Edward may have been apprehensive about John II's failure to renounce his claim to sovereignty over the English dominions in France, and was keeping his options open in case of an outbreak of hostilities on this issue. There was also the possibility of trouble with the Scots, as the annual instalments of David II's ransom for 1360 and 1361 had not been paid.⁹⁵ Of the 100 Welsh archers and 100 Welsh spearmen ordered on 8 February to be raised in three Welsh lordships, only 23 archers reached Ireland, and there is no evidence that any more than this were actually raised.⁹⁶

92. Cal. Close Rolls 1360-64, p. 384

93. Cal. Patent Rolls 1361-4, p. 168

94. See below pp. 247-51

95. J. Campbell, 'England, Scotland and the Hundred Years War in the fourteenth century', Europe in the late Middle Ages, ed. J. R. Hale, J.R.L. Highfield and B. Smalley (1965) pp. 201-2.

96. Cal. Patent Rolls 1361-4, p. 163; E.101/28/21 f.5

The summer of 1362 saw a new impetus given to English involvement in Ireland. This may have been due to further representations from Ireland, but it may also have been connected with Edward's negotiations with Louis of Flanders concerning a marriage alliance between them, which would greatly strengthen Edward's position in France and probably deter John II from reopening hostilities.⁹⁷ By May 1362, the army was composed of 141 men at arms and 438 archers, and this was due to be reduced further at the end of the month when Stafford's period of service expired. Indentures were made with William of Windsor and Thomas Hoggeshaw, to provide a total of 90 men at arms and 100 mounted archers to replace Stafford's nominal retinue of 100 men at arms and 100 archers. The council seems to have had several discussions on Irish affairs in June 1362, with Windsor, with Philip de Popham, Lionel's seneschal whom he had sent over to give the council information on Irish affairs, and also possibly with Lionel's wife Elizabeth, who was about to join her husband.⁹⁸ On 15 June orders were issued for the provision of 100 mounted and 620 foot archers from a number of English counties and Welsh lordships.⁹⁹ These 100 mounted archers included 90 of the 200 arrayed earlier in the year by John de Ellerton; the remainder of these were ordered to remain in array until further notice, and in fact never went to Ireland. The order for a large number of foot soldiers rather than

97. Cal. Patent Rolls 1361-4, p. 167

98. E. 403/410 mm. 22. 26. Windsor and Popham were paid for their expenses in remaining in London to discuss matters relating to Ireland with the council. On 1 July, the same day as Popham's departure, a document was made to Elizabeth, daughter of Edward, the seneschal of the king's household, for her personal use in Ireland.

99. Cal. Patent Rolls 1361-4, p. 167

mounted ones seems to have been in response to the character of Irish warfare. Although in the French wars, mounted archers had largely taken the place of foot archers,¹⁰⁰ the mountainous and wooded terrain of Leinster where most of the Irish action had taken place up to this meant that the more mobile foot archers would be of greater use to Lionel,¹⁰¹ and the same reasoning was probably behind the order for Welsh archers and spearmen earlier in the year, and the employment of kern by Windsor in 1364. However, as before, the number of archers fell far short of that specified, and only 47 mounted archers and 217 foot archers actually went to Ireland.¹⁰² With the arrival of these men and the retinues of Windsor and Hoggeshaw, the size of the army reached a total of 653 men. However, most of the county levies stayed for less than a month, and by the end of 1362 the army was composed of 146 men at arms and 226 mounted archers, made up almost entirely of indentured retinues.

We have very little information relating to messages to and from England, but it is clear that the English council was being kept informed of events in Ireland. At the beginning of 1363 a further 54 men at arms and 120 mounted archers were provided in the form of retinues under Ashton, St. Laud and Dabrichecourt, but it appears that no attempt was made to send separate county levies with them and this method of raising troops seems to have been abandoned as far as Ireland was concerned. It may have been decided that

100. A. E. Prince, 'The strength of English armies in the reign of Edward III' *EHR*, xl (1931) pp. 353-71, gives an analysis of the composition of the main expeditionary forces during this period.

101. He had previously employed a force of 88 foot archers under O Kennedy in Leinster in 1361 (E.101/28/21 f. 6).

102. See Appendix IV for details.

it was a futile exercise, as the forces rarely reached the specified numbers, stayed only a short while in Ireland and were extremely prone to desertion. The fact that large numbers of men needed to be raised in this way from 1363 onwards for the Black Prince in Aquitaine may also have been a consideration, as Aquitaine would obviously receive priority over Irish needs.¹⁰³ The retinues of Ashton, St. Laud and Dabrichecourt served for only six months, Windsor and his retinue left on completion of their year of service in June 1363 and by October the army was reduced to 90 men at arms and 120 archers, composed of the retinues of Lionel himself and Ralph Ferrers and thirty Lancashire archers. In November Windsor made a second indenture, agreeing to bring 120 men at arms and 200 mounted archers to Ireland, and arrived in January 1364. In the following April, Ferrers and his retinue and the remaining Lancashire archers left Ireland, as did Lionel himself, leaving only Windsor's retinue and the remainder of Lionel's own retinue (49 men at arms and 69 archers) together with whatever forces Ormond, who was now custos, could raise. Shortly afterwards the size of Windsor's retinue was increased by the retention of 180 kern in place of 60 of his mounted archers.

There is no apparent military reason for Lionel's return to England in 1364, and nothing to indicate whether he had been summoned or had gone of his own accord. By the following July preparations were being made for him to return to Ireland with a force of 60 men

103. The size of forces involved in Aquitaine has not been worked out, but some indication of the numbers involved can be got from the fact that in July 1366 a total of 950 archers was ordered to be raised for this purpose by commissions of array. (Rymer, Foedera iii pt. 2, 797-8).

at arms and 100 archers.¹⁰⁴ There was no attempt to raise county levies to go with him, and after Windsor's departure in February 1365 this was the only English force in the country. This drastic reduction in English involvement in Ireland from 1364 onwards seems to have been due to a number of reasons. First there was the increased involvement in France after the Black Prince's departure for Aquitaine. Secondly, the English exchequer seems to have run into financial difficulties from 1364 onwards, and it is significant that army wages for Ireland which had previously been paid in cash were now being paid by assignment on a variety of sources of revenue.¹⁰⁵ Finally, there was the difficulty of getting both indentured retinues and county levies to come to Ireland for any appreciable period of service, and of keeping them at the required strength when they did come. As a result of this, the character of warfare in Ireland must have changed after 1364 with increased reliance being placed on both Gaelic Irish allies and the Anglo-Irish and on defence by local communities.¹⁰⁶

104. E.403/418 m. 16

105. See below pp. 85-6

106. The participation of Irish forces in the campaigns is dealt with below, pp. 160-62

III. THE PAYMENT OF ARMY WAGES

As there was no direct precedent for the sending of such a large force to Ireland, the payment of wages to Lionel's army created an administrative problem. The obvious solution was to use the existing machinery of the leader's household, as had been done in the Black Prince's expedition to France in 1355, when Henry of Blackburn, described as 'treasurer of our household and keeper of our wardrobe' had paid the wages out of money received from both England and Gascony.¹ While it is true that Lionel's household was unaccustomed to handling large sums of money, as he had only acquired the de Clare lands, which formed the bulk of his estate, in 1360, the newly appointed treasurer of his household, Thomas of Baddeby, had been treasurer of Ireland from June 1360 to April 1361² and had previously been charged with paying men serving on the Scottish border and at the siege of Dunbar in 1338,³ and so would have been capable of dealing with the situation. This may have been the original intention, and in fact Baddeby's appointment as Lionel's treasurer to succeed William of Cheston in April 1361⁴ may have been made with the Irish expedition in mind, but if so, the idea was quickly abandoned. This was probably due to a certain amount of doubt as to his honesty. In April 1361 the king had been informed of 'indictments of extortions, falsities, deceptions and other misdeeds' being laid against him in Ireland, and these appear to have had some

1. A. E. Prince 'The payment of army wages in Edward III's reign' Speculum xix (1944), pp. 155-6.

2. P.R.O.L., E.101/244/6

3. Prince, op. cit. p. 145

4. E.101/327/3 (roll of imprests to the treasurer of Lionel's household, 34-5 Edward III).

basis in fact.⁵ Baddeby continued to act as Lionel's treasurer until 1363,⁶ but it was decided to resort to some other method for paying the army.

The normal practice in the French campaigns was for payment to be made through the wardrobe when the king himself took part, or, in the case of expeditions in the period 1347-59 when the king remained in England, for the leaders of the individual retinues to account separately at the English exchequer.⁷ This was the logical outcome of the growth of the indenture system in the first half of the fourteenth century, and could have been applied in Ireland in 1361. However this method seems to have been ruled out as early as March 1361 when it was ordered that nulles acomptes de gages de guerre ne soient receus ne oiez... forsque tantsoulement par le clerk de gages a ce iurre.⁸ Obviously the appointment of one man to pay the whole army would make for greater efficiency and control, but the actual composition of the army probably contributed to this decision. In 1361 it was hoped to recruit 800 archers by means of commissions of array in various counties of England.⁹ These did not belong to any retinue but were organised separately under vintenarii and so could not be fitted easily into the indenture system of payment. In fact, the ordinance of 1361 was only partly implemented as two leaders of retinues did account separately at the English exchequer, but in both cases this arrangement was due to exceptional circumstances

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5. Cal. Patent Rolls 1357-61, p. 581. When his account as keeper of the liberty of Meath was audited at the Irish exchequer he was found to have committed several acts of fraud, including the forging of two letters of receipt (P.R.O.I., RC8/28 pp. 200-201, 241-2, 294-6).
 6. P.R.O.L., E.101/28/27 m. 10; E.372/211 m. 49 (account of Walter of Dalby, 1361-4).
 7. Prince, 'Payment of army wages', pp. 152, 155.
 8. Berry Statutes, John-Henry V, p. 424.
 9. See Appendix IV below.

and did not affect the machinery for paying the greater part of the army.

The solution finally adopted was in some ways an unusual one. The appointment of a special paymaster who accounted directly at the English exchequer was a throwback to the Scottish campaigns of 1337-8.¹⁰ These provide a parallel to Lionel's Irish expedition in that in both cases the army was composed of both indentured retinues and county levies, and in neither was the king himself a participant. In 1361 however, the paymaster was also made keeper of Lionel's privy seal¹¹ and thus given a position in his household, though the offices of paymaster and treasurer of the household were to remain completely separate. The use of the privy seal here was presumably to facilitate access to the Irish revenues. Although the justiciar or lieutenant does not seem to have been able to authorise payments out of the exchequer by writs under his privy seal alone, privy seal writs or bills under the justiciar's seal could be used as warrants for the issue of writs of liberate under the great seal.¹² The importance of the paymaster, or clerk of the wages as he was usually called, is indicated by the fact that he received 13/4 a day in wages for both offices,¹³ an extraordinarily high figure compared to the 3/4 or 4/- which paymasters in the Scottish campaigns received,¹⁴ and also to the 6/8 which Lionel himself was receiving at the beginning of the

10. Prince op. cit. pp. 140-46

11. E.101/28/27 m. 9

12. Cal. Justiciary Rolls, 1308-1314 pp. 3-4 gives instances of the issue of writs of liberate being authorised by the justiciar.

13. E.101/28/27 m. 9

14. Prince op. cit. pp. 141, 143

campaign.¹⁵

The choice of Walter of Dalby as clerk of the wages was made at some time before 12 May 1361 when he is first charged on the issue roll with a payment for army wages in Ireland,¹⁶ although he was not formally appointed until 3 July.¹⁷ Very little is known of his background. His description as a king's clerk¹⁸ implies that he held some official position and this is reinforced by the fact that in 1352 and 1353 he was presented to two livings in the king's gift.¹⁹ The only reference to his acting in an administrative capacity occurs in 1359 when he was commissioned to inquire into the goods of Henry de Tatton, late parson of Bassingbourn.²⁰ However there is reason to believe that he had served in the wardrobe, possibly under William of Farley in the payment of wages for the 1359-60 campaign in France. The wardrobe was the obvious place to acquire the kind of experience which was necessary for the position in Ireland, and the records produced by Dalby in the course of his work clearly show wardrobe influence.

Dalby's appointment was made on 3 July 1361,²¹ the day after Lionel's indenture as lieutenant, and was for an indefinite period. His duties were to appraise the horses used in the expedition and to pay wages to sailors conveying the army to Ireland, 800 archers which

15. E.101/28/21 f. 3^v.

16. P.R.O.L., E.403/408 m. 21

17. Cal. Patent Rolls 1361-4 p. 61

18. Ibid.

19. Cal. Patent Rolls, 1350-54, pp. 224, 485

20. Cal. Patent Rolls, 1358-61, p. 322

21. E.101/28/27 m. 9. See Appendix I (viii) below. The financial ordinances of March 1361 had stated that all wages of war were to be paid by the clerk of the wages. See below pp.174-6

were to be raised by commissions of array, masons and carpenters going to Ireland to repair the castles there, the retinues of Lionel, Stafford, Ralph Ferrers, John Carreu and others, and any Irishmen who might be retained. These payments were to be made quatenus thesaurus noster ibidem sufficere poterit and by the view and testimony of either Ralph Ferrers or Thomas Dale or both of them. The meaning of the phrase relating to the king's treasure is not clear, but may mean no more than that payments were to be made in cash as far as possible and by bill when the money was not available. The inclusion of Ralph Ferrers' retinue among those to be paid by Dalby is a mistake. Ferrers accounted separately at the English exchequer²² and the wording of the entry on the issue roll referring to his first payment makes it clear that Dalby was in no way responsible for his wages, as the payment was recorded as being made to Ferrers, rather than to Dalby.²³ Ferrers' independent position may have been due to a certain amount of bargaining on his part, but it was obviously to the king's advantage to have an independent check on Dalby. When the keeper of the wardrobe paid wages to the army it was usual to appoint a controller who kept a counter-roll of payments which was used for comparison when the keeper's account was audited.²⁴ There is no record of a controller as such being appointed in the case of Dalby, but it is possible that Ferrers and Dale were expected to perform this function.²⁵ Ferrers accounted independently at the English exchequer, while Thomas Dale, although he was Lionel's chamberlain²⁶ and was paid by Dalby as a

22. P.R.O.L., E.364/9 m.D. (enrolled account of Ralph Ferrers, 1361-4).

23. E.403/408 m. 21.

24. Prince 'Payment of army wages' p. 145.

25. This led to some confusion during the audit of Dalby's account. see below pp. 76-8

26. P.R.O.L., E.121/22/27 m. 2.

member of Lionel's retinue,²⁷ had been retained by the king at an annual fee of £20²⁸ which ensured a measure of independence on his part.

Dalby acted as clerk of the wages from 3 July 1361 until 1 February 1365.²⁹ In February 1364 he was appointed treasurer of Ireland as well as clerk of the wages.³⁰ This was probably connected with the reservation in November 1363 of the entire revenue of Ireland for a year for the war.³¹ The combination of the two offices meant that Dalby knew how much money was at his disposal for the payment of wages. He may also have been appointed treasurer with a view to improving the financial administration and so increasing the amount of money available, but whether this was the intention or not, the period from April 1364, when Dalby took up office, onwards certainly saw an increase in exchequer control over local officials and the collection of debts due to the crown.³² The combination of the two offices was an innovation but due to the outbreak of dissension and opposition to English-born officials in Ireland in the summer of 1364 it did not last long. In September 1364 John de Troyes was appointed treasurer to succeed Dalby,³³ although he did not actually take over the position until the following February.³⁴ Dalby continued as clerk

27. E.101/28/18

28. E.101/28/28 (particulars of the account of Thomas Dale for arrears of his fee, 1362-4).

29. E.372/211 mm. 49-49d.; E.364/7 m.C. (accounts of Walter of Dalby, 1361-4, 1364-5).

30. Cal. Fine Rolls, 1356-68, p. 280.

31. Cal. Close Rolls, 1360-64, pp. 488-9

32. See below p. 226

33. Cal. Fine Rolls, 1356-68, p. 294

34. E.101/244/10 (Irish issue roll 39-40 Edward III)

of the wages also until February 1365,³⁵ but it was clear from July 1364 that he was to be superseded as clerk of the wages and that the army which was being organised to return to Ireland with Lionel later in the year was being paid through Lionel's household.³⁶ Thus three different systems for paying army wages were in operation simultaneously in Ireland during Lionel's lieutenancy - Dalby acting as paymaster and paying the bulk of the wages during the years 1361-5, Ferrers and later William of Windsor accounting directly at the English exchequer during the same period, and the payment of Lionel's second retinue from July 1364 to November 1366 through his existing household machinery.

Dalby was responsible for paying wages to three distinct groups of men - the indentured retinues, county levies and men recruited in Ireland, both Gaelic and Anglo-Irish. As there is a considerable difference in the way in which they were paid, these three elements should be examined separately.

By the middle of the fourteenth century the rate of army wages had become so standardised that most indentures of retinue merely stated that the leader and his men were to be paid the usual wages. These were: an earl 6/8 per day, a banneret 4/-, a knight 2/-, an esquire 1/- and a mounted archer 6d. In addition there was the regard, a type of bonus which was fixed at 100 marks per quarter for every 30 men at arms.³⁷ Payment was usually to be made quarterly in advance, except in cases of indentures for six months' service when the total was payable in advance.³⁸ Indentures usually contained a clause permitting

35. E.364/7 m.C.

36. See below pp. 84-5

37. A. E. Prince 'The indenture system under Edward III' in Historical Essays in Honour of James Tait ed. J. G. Edwards, V. H Galbraith and E. F. Jacob (Manchester 1933) pp. 291, 293.

38. Ibid. p. 292; E.101/28/27 mm. 6-7.

the leader to return to England if his pay fell into arrears.³⁹ Once the indenture had been made and the number of men agreed on, the leader of the retinue received his first quarter's wages and regard at the exchequer. This was entered on the issue roll as a payment to the clerk of the wages by the hands of the leader concerned and the clerk was charged with this sum in his account.⁴⁰

Dalby's patent of appointment had ordered him to account with the leaders from time to time and this seems to have been done on a quarterly basis.⁴¹ The basis for this operation was the retinue roll, which gave exact details of what men had been in the retinue during the quarter, including the dates when any left and any new ones arrived.⁴² The precise working of the muster system in Ireland at this time is not known. It appears that musters were made on the leader's arrival in Ireland, and after that, quarterly, but the retinue rolls reflect a continuous supervision of the composition of the retinue. Newhall has suggested that this was done by a clerk acting on behalf of the leader of the retinue, but if so, some sort of corroborative evidence as to the accuracy of his lists must have been available to the clerk of the wages.⁴³ However no documents illustrating this procedure have

39. Prince 'Indenture system' p. 293.

40. E.403/408 mm. 21, 32

41. E.101/28/21 ff. 3^v-8

42. E.101/28/13, 15, 18.

43. R. A. Newhall Muster and Review (Cambridge, Mass., 1940) p. 54. It is clear that musters of William of Windsor's retinue in 1375-6 were held quarterly before the chancellor and treasurer of Ireland. (E.101/33/5, E.101/245/13) and the practice of paying retinues by the quarter indicates that this may also have been the case in 1361-6. Sir John Stanley's indenture as justiciar in 1389 states that a muster was to be held on his arrival and 'de tempe en tempe quant busoigne serra... sur resonable garnissement en cas qils soient en diverses frontiers' (E.101/247/1 m. 3. I owe this reference to Dr. D. Johnston),

survived apart from the retinue rolls themselves, which give no indication of the machinery behind their composition. After an examination of the retinue roll, it might be found that the leader was due money, possibly for extra men brought by him, or had been overpaid. In the first case, he might have to wait until the end of his period of service to be paid for the extra men, and in the meantime would have to subsidise them himself. This was because Dalby paid out wages on the basis of the number of men specified in the indenture, a copy of which was sent to him, and the authorisation for paying the additional men was usually contained in a writ sent to him after the period of service had expired.⁴⁴ If the leader had been overpaid, which was far more likely because of absences from his retinue, then the overpayment was offset against the next quarter's payment which was again based on the full complement of men specified in the indenture. In these cases too, the leader might have to subsidise his retinue if the quarterly payments were not made on time. Unfortunately neither a complete series of receipts by the leaders nor Dalby's journal, which would give a daily record of payments made, has survived, and the summary of the journal contained in his book of particulars gives no information as to when the payments were made.

Virtually nothing is known of how the leaders paid their retinues. After making his own indenture with the king, the leader subcontracted with various men to provide a certain number of men for the retinue.⁴⁵ These were paid money in advance, probably the first quarter's wages for themselves and the men they had undertaken to supply.⁴⁶

44. E.101/28/27 m. 6

45. Prince 'Indenture System' p. 288

46. Cal. Patent Rolls 1364-7 p. 151

There was obviously a great danger of their absconding with this money, which happened on at least two occasions during this period.⁴⁷

One way of counteracting this was to force the man to give sureties that he and the men whom he had contracted to bring would in fact go to Ireland.⁴⁸ However the same temptation to desert also existed in Ireland if wages were paid in advance, and the leader could stand to lose a considerable amount of money as he would only be allowed for the number of days the men had actually served, irrespective of how much money he had paid them in advance. It is not known whether the members of the retinue were paid quarterly or at some shorter interval which would increase the leader's control over them. It is not clear either whether the leader paid all of the men directly or if the various subcontractors within the retinue were paid wages for themselves and the men whom they had brought with them, but the latter appears to be more probable.⁴⁹

After the end of a leader's period of service, Dalby received a writ of computate under the English privy seal ordering him to account with the leader for the wages and regard due to him for the period covered by his indenture and, if necessary, for any additional days served or extra men brought to Ireland, and also for lost horses

47. Cal. Patent Rolls 1364-7 pp. 20, 151.

48. Calendar of Plea and Memoranda Rolls of the City of London 1364-81, ed. A. H. Thomas, (1929) pp. 36-7.

49. This view is supported by one piece of information relating to John of Gaunt's Spanish expedition in 1386-9. In 1390, Richard of Fotheringay, an esquire who had taken part in this expedition, left instructions with his executors to distribute among those who had been retained with him on that expedition, 200 marks of which he had defrauded them. (K. B. McFarlane, , The Nobility of Later Medieval England, (Oxford, 1973), pp. 26-7). It is highly unlikely that Richard was himself the leader of a separate retinue.

and repassage costs, and to pay him whatever was still owing either in cash or by bill under Dalby's seal.⁵⁰ Overpayment of a leader was unusual, as even if he had received the full amount for the last quarter and had only a partial retinue, he would be due money for lost horses and repassage which was not paid until the period of service had expired.

A bill under Dalby's seal performed the same function as did a wardrobe debenture which was used when the wardrobe was organising payment in military campaigns. It stated how much was due to the person concerned and for what reason.⁵¹ The recipient then took the bill to the exchequer where he got some or all of the money, either in cash, or by an assignment or by receiving in another account an allowance of the amount specified in the bill. In some cases the amount involved could be really large; for example, at the end of the 1359-60 French campaign, the Black Prince was owed a total of £6,749⁵² and in July 1363 the earl of Stafford was still being paid £4,232 due to him from the same campaign, in irregular instalments.⁵³ The use of bills for payment was fairly common and the fact that Dalby made several payments by bill is no indication of financial embarrassment. In fact an examination of Dalby's accounts shows no huge sums such as those mentioned above. There is no complete list of bills issued by him, only a list of those outstanding in April 1364 and an occasional mention of those which were paid in the period 1361-5.

50. E.101/28/27 mm. 2, 4, 7. See Appendix I (ix).

51. *Tout Chapters* i p. 51; ii p. 126. Although no bills under Dalby's seal have survived, there is nothing to indicate that they were essentially different in content from wardrobe debentures.

52. E.101/393/11.

53. E.403/415 m. 24.

There are only a small number of the latter which are noted on the issue rolls as being paid per billam. The largest sum is one of £725/14/1 paid to the earl of Stafford on 18 July 1362,⁵⁴ and although the words per billam are not used in this case, the fact that the payment was being made after Stafford's period of service had ended, implies that a bill was involved. Stafford also received a further £53/15/1 on 11 July 1363.⁵⁵ Both of these payments were in cash, as was £6/9/2 paid to Thomas Hoggeshawe in three instalments between May 1363 and February 1364.⁵⁶ Two payments were made by assignment on Irish sources of revenue, Thomas of Nanton receiving £21/13/4 assigned on the arrears of the account of Thomas Baddeby, the former treasurer,⁵⁷ and Robert Ashton receiving £30/5/4, out of £37 due to him, by assignment on John de Troyes, the current treasurer.⁵⁸ In addition, the sum of £38/-/1 owing to John de Carreu was allowed to his heir in an account of debts owed by John at the Irish exchequer.⁵⁹ At the end of April 1364 there were three bills outstanding - the £37 due to Ashton, £13/13/4 to John of St. Laud and £149 to Eustace Dabrichecourt.⁶⁰ The case of Dabrichecourt illustrates how bills might be discounted in a similar fashion to tallies. Dabrichecourt owed the king £200 of which he had been pardoned £100. On the pipe roll

54. E.403/410 m. 31

55. E.403/415 m. 24

56. Ibid. mm. 11, 15; E.403/417 m. 32

57. E.403/415 m. 12; E.401/472

58. E.403/421 m. 4; E.401/477

59. RC8/28 pp. 399-400

60. E.372/211 m. 49d. No record has been found of these sums being paid to Ashton and St. Laud, but it is probable that they had an allowance of the sums due in other accounts.

for 1366-7 it is stated that he has been granted the remaining £100 in full satisfaction of the bill for £149 and therefore is quit.⁶¹ The total amount of wages which Dalby paid by bill in his first account is £1045/3/1, the bulk of which was due to the earl of Stafford, and of the £778/19/2 due to him, he received £725/14/1 very shortly after he left Ireland and the remainder a year later. As far as can be seen, the bills issued by Dalby had been paid in some form by 1366 and this together with the relatively small amount involved shows that in the period 1361-4 the financial side of the expedition was operating efficiently and that while delays in payment might occur, they were not of any great duration, and consequently the potential strain on the private resources of the leaders was lessened. In 1364-5 when he was responsible for paying Lionel's retinue during his absence, £640/4/7 of the total of £1209/17/-³/₄ was by bill, which was later paid in November 1365 by an assignment on John of Troyes, the Irish treasurer.⁶² This no doubt reflects the shortage of money available to Dalby at the time, but its effects on the retinue were not as great as might be imagined. At the end of April 1364 the retinue had numbered 66 men at arms and 69 archers; by January 1365 it had gone down to 43 men at arms and 56 archers,⁶³ and it is possible that Thomas Bache, Lionel's treasurer, drew on the revenues from Lionel's Irish lands to pay the men when Dalby was unable to pay cash.

Archers raised by commissions of array were unpaid until they

61. Ibid., m. 22d.

62. P.R.O.L., E.364/7 m.C; E.401/483; E.403/425 m. 17.

63. E.101/29/6

reached the county boundary; from there until they reached the sea they were paid by the county for a maximum of ten days, and they were at the king's expense from then on, including whatever time they spent at the port waiting for shipping.⁶⁴ Theoretically the sheriff was supposed to estimate the duration of the journey to the port and pay them their wages in advance,⁶⁵ but in all the writs relating to commissions of array for Lionel's expedition, it is stated that they are to be paid ten days' wages, apparently irrespective of the actual number of days needed.⁶⁶ The rate of wages was fixed at 6d per day for a mounted archer and 3d for a foot archer. Welsh foot archers received 2d.⁶⁷ The men were organised into groups of twenty, each under a vintenarius who received 6d a day, and in addition were accompanied to the port by the sheriff or someone acting on his behalf who paid them.⁶⁸ The members of the county levies raised in 1361 for Lionel's initial expedition were paid by Walter of Dalby from the date of their arrival at the port.⁶⁹ In May 1362, the first lot of reinforcements was paid by Edmund Laurence, who was responsible for bringing them to Ireland, until their arrival, and then by Dalby.⁷⁰

In the summer of 1362 when the next lot of reinforcements was sent, the arrangements were more complicated and the involvement of

64. Hewitt, Organisation of War p. 41

65. Ibid., p. 42

66. E.101/580/41; E.101/584/16; E.101/587/3; E.101/590/21.

67. Hewitt, Organisation of War, p. 36

68. Ibid. p. 43

69. E.101/28/21 ff. 4^v-7^v

70. E.403/410 m.1; E.101/28/21 f.4^v.

several different parties paying wages led to a certain amount of confusion. Archers were raised in seven English counties and in six Welsh lordships.⁷¹ The county levies were to be paid by the counties for ten days on their journey to the port. Once they arrived at Liverpool they would be paid by William of Wenlock who was organising the shipping for Ireland, and after their arrival in Ireland they were to be paid by Dalby. However an examination of the accounts of Wenlock and Dalby shows some discrepancies. The archers from Leicestershire and Warwickshire were paid by Wenlock from 1 August, although they were not handed over at Liverpool until 6 August and 14 August respectively.⁷² The Shropshire archers were paid by the sheriff from 24 June to 4 July and by Wenlock from 15 to 21 July; there is no record of any payment to them during the intervening period.⁷³ The archers were supposed to be paid by Wenlock until their arrival in Ireland, but in some cases there is a gap of several days between the periods for which they were paid by Wenlock and Dalby, and there is no apparent reason for this. The impression one gets is one of confusion, partly due to the number of officials involved, and also probably due to the fact that men raised by a commission of array were a far more amorphous body than was a retinue, and some difficulties were bound to arise, particularly in the absence of a leader who could, temporarily at least, subsidise the men's wages.

The archers raised in the Welsh lordships add another element to this administrative confusion. They were paid by the king from the day on which they left the boundaries of the lordship, and John

71. See above pp. 51-2; Appendix IV below.

72. E.101/28/23 (particulars of the account of William of Wenlock for shipping, 1362); E.101/590/21.

73. E.101/28/23; E.101/584/16.

Somerville, Wenlock's assistant, was sent to the various lordships with money for an initial payment to the men.⁷⁴ This covered their wages until their arrival at Hereford where a general muster of most of the Welsh archers was held. Somerville then accompanied them to Liverpool and paid their wages for that journey. Some idea of the labour involved in this enterprise can be seen from Somerville's itinerary. Starting from London, where he received a prest of £40 charged on Wenlock to cover the wages of the Welshmen, he went to Hereford, Strigoil, Newport, Glamorgan, Usk and back to Hereford, where he spent five days waiting for the Welsh archers to arrive. From there he went to Liverpool where he spent eight days and finally to Romney. The whole journey took thirty-five days and was a fairly hazardous operation, judging by a payment he had to make to divers guydes ove divers compaignons par le chemin pur la plus salve garde de deniers le Roi. The archers were paid by Somerville until 25 July. From then until 31 July they were paid by Thomas del Enes, who was escorting them to Ireland, acting on Wenlock's behalf, and from 1 August until 3 September by Dalby in Ireland.⁷⁵ The archers from Lionel's lordships of Usk and Caerleon did not take part in the muster at Hereford but were brought to Chester by Staphen Derby, the receiver of Usk. He paid their wages until their arrival there, and this money was later refunded to him by Wenlock.⁷⁶

It is not clear whether the sheriff paid the whole ten days' wages in advance or whether wages were paid out at intervals on the journey to the port. The former course of action would encourage desertion but we have no way of determining whether or not it was

74. E.101/28/23. The details of his expenditure are attached to the particulars of Wenlock's account.

75. Ibid.; E.101/28/21 f. 9.

76. E.101/28/23.

employed. The account of the sheriff of Hereford for expenses incurred in connection with the Welsh archers in the summer of 1362 tells of one archer from Glamorgan and eleven from Brecknock who left without leave on the way to Liverpool with the king's wages.⁷⁷ This may indicate that they were paid in advance, but the fact that John Somerville accompanied the archers from Hereford to Liverpool, presumably to pay them, implies the opposite. The vintenarii received the money for wages from Wenlock and they in turn paid the men for whom they were responsible.⁷⁸ The same procedure was followed in Ireland, though here again there is the problem of keeping a check on the numbers in each group. As in the case of retinues, detailed lists were drawn up on a quarterly basis, showing the dates of absences, and payments were based on these, but it is not known how Dalby assured himself of their accuracy. Obviously, musters were held from time to time, but the question of how continuous supervision was achieved remains unanswered.

In addition to paying the retinues and archers from England and Wales, Dalby was also charged with paying wages to any Irishmen retained by Lionel, but his account shows very few payments of this kind. Only a few Irish served as members of the main army, and those who did so were treated differently to the rest of the army. The earl of Ormond served with a force of 30 men at arms, 20 armed hobelars and 20 unarmed hobelars at Tullow from 16 March to 18 May 1362. He was paid the usual rates for himself and the men at arms in his retinue, the two kinds of hobelars being paid 6d and 4d a day respectively.⁷⁹ The indenture of receipt of £165/6/8, the total

77. E.101/565/5

78. E.101/28/23

79. E.101/28/21 f.6

wages for this period, is dated 18 May 1362,⁸⁰ so it seems that he was not paid in advance as was done in the case of the English retinues. Again there is the problem of how Dalby checked the number of men in Ormond's retinue. There may have been musters and Ormond may have kept a list of names, but it is interesting that no retinue rolls relating to either Anglo-Irish or Gaelic retinues were submitted by Dalby when accounting. The other fairly large force recruited in Ireland was that of O Kennedy who served with 11 mounted archers and 88 foot archers from 1 to 21 December 1361 and again with six hobelars from 1 January to 15 May 1362, both times in the company of the earl of Stafford.⁸¹ On 16 May 1362 Dalby was ordered to pay O Kennedy's wages for the whole period, which amounted to £26/16/-, to Stafford,⁸² and it is possible that Stafford had already paid O Kennedy himself. Two other leaders, Donal Gall and Hugh Swift, were also paid wages by Dalby,⁸³ but there is nothing to show how or when the payments were made.

Obviously other Irishmen, both Gaelic and Anglo-Irish, took part in Lionel's campaigns, but they did not receive wages from Dalby. The Gaelic Irish appear to have been paid either by fixed annual fees from the Irish exchequer or by rewards for specific services rendered. These rewards appear in both Dalby's account⁸⁴ and the Irish issue roll,⁸⁵ and there seems to have been no hard and fast rule as to who

80. E.101/28/27 m. 1

81. E.101/28/21 f. 6

82. E.101/28/27 m. 1

83. E.101/28/21 f. 8^v

84. Ibid., ff. 9^v-10

85. E.101/244/10

made them. It seems that the making of such payments was not authorised by Dalby's patent of appointment, as on 4 March 1363 Dalby was sent a writ under Lionel's privy seal ordering him to make certain payments listed in a schedule attached to the writ.⁸⁶ The writ appears to have been retrospective in effect, as at least one payment included in the schedule, that to the earl of Ormond, had been made in the previous year. This sum of £165/6/8 and Donal Gall's wages of £89/2/10 are easily the largest sums in the schedule, which lists items amounting to £331/8/6, mostly rewards of a few pounds apiece to Irish chiefs, messengers and Anglo-Irish involved in local defence, such as the Carmelites at Leighlinbridge and John Galbarry in Co. Carlow. It is interesting that although the Carmelites had 28 archers and John Galbarry 8 hobelars and 20 foot archers, neither received wages for these forces, the payments being described as a reward for expenses. This may be connected with the duty of local defence, but it is also possible that they and various other Anglo Irish who are known to have been involved in Lionel's campaigns were paid locally. However in the absence of Irish pipe rolls for this period it is impossible to be certain.⁸⁷

As specified in his appointment, Dalby was also responsible for payments other than military wages. He made prests to Ralph Ferrers who was not being paid directly by him, and also paid wages to sailors for transporting the initial army to Ireland in 1361 and for Windsor's retinue at the beginning of 1364. Compensation for lost

86. E.101/28/27 m. 1

87. The printed catalogue of pipe rolls for the period up to 1348 shows that most of the sums allowed in sheriffs' accounts for military purposes represented rewards rather than wages, and it is possible that the men concerned served locally without pay.

horses and the cost of repassage of the various retinues to England in the years 1361-4 were also paid by him, as were the wages of masons and carpenters in 1361. He bought lime for the repair of Wicklow castle in 1361, but in general this kind of expenditure was the responsibility of the clerk of the works. Dalby's book of particulars also records the purchase of woollen cloth for making hoods for Donal Gall and his men, which was later disallowed, and of parchment, paper and wax for his own use.⁸⁸

As has been seen, the first quarter's wages of retinues were generally paid in advance at the English exchequer, but obviously more money would be needed in the course of the next three years for further payments to the retinues and for paying the other elements in the army. The most accessible source of money was the Irish exchequer, but although Dalby received £3394/12/4 from the Irish treasurer between January 1362 and April 1364,⁸⁹ and a further £842 before February 1365,⁹⁰ it was clear from the beginning that most of the money for paying the army would come from England. On several occasions money was brought over under guard from England by a special messenger.⁹¹ Payments might also be made at the English exchequer to a clerk or retainer of one of the leaders. In May 1362 Philip de Popham, Lionel's seneschal, was in England to discuss Irish matters with the council, and he took the opportunity to collect 500 marks from the exchequer

88. E.101/28/21 f. 14

89. E.372/212 m. 43

90. E.364/7 m. C.

91. In December 1361 Thomas Dale brought 2,500 marks, and in the summer of 1363 Dalby received money from the English exchequer in person and sent it over in two instalments (E.101/28/25; E.403/415 mm. 20, 28; E.101/28/21 f. 13^v).

for the wages of Lionel's retinue.⁹² On the whole Dalby seems to have been successful in ensuring a regular supply of money for the payment of the army, at least until the summer of 1364 when he had to pay over half of the wages due to Lionel's retinue by bill rather than in cash.

Obviously the clerk of the wages had a post of great responsibility. He must have had clerks to assist him, but no details of these have survived; they may have been members of Lionel's household. During Dalby's absence in England, his duties were performed by William of Carlisle, described in one letter to Dalby as vostre lieutenant,⁹³ who may also have acted as his assistant in Ireland. Dalby appears to have paid two visits to England in the period 1361-4, the first in late 1362, the second lasting from June 1363 until March 1364.⁹⁴ His second visit may have been due to the fact that he began to account at the English exchequer in Michaelmas term 1363, but he also used the opportunity to procure various grants and favours for himself and his associates. The length of this second absence indicates how important it was to have a reliable deputy, as Dalby continued to be accountable during this period although he was not exercising the office in person.

It is clear that Dalby kept a journal of receipts and issues,⁹⁵ but this has not survived as it was not produced when he was accounting. Instead, a book of particulars was prepared from information in the

92. E.403/410 mm. 10, 26.

93. E.101/28/27 m. 6; E.372/212 m. 43 (account of Thomas Mynot, treasurer of Ireland, 1362-4). See Appendix I (xii) below.

94. E.403/412 m. 21; E.403/415 mm. 20, 28; E.403/417 m 35; Cal. Patent Rolls 1361-4, pp. 277, 473.

95. The list of miscellaneous payments in Dalby's account includes one 'pro tribus magnis papiris pro iornalibus pro eodem officio emptis' (E.372/211 m. 49d.).

journal, summarising payments made by him under various headings, such as the different retinues, shipping, gifts and rewards, and necessaria,⁹⁶ in much the same way as the Irish issue rolls sent to England were prepared from journals of payments. The model for his book of particulars was that produced by the keeper of the wardrobe in England, and a comparison of Dalby's book with William of Farley's wardrobe book for 1359-60⁹⁷ shows the format to be identical. In addition Dalby produced composite retinue rolls made up for the purpose of the account from individual lists of retinues,⁹⁸ which may have been drawn up originally by a member of the retinue concerned. There was some doubt as to whether Dalby was supposed to have someone to keep a counter-roll. The exchequer officials evidently expected controllers to appear for Dalby's account and there was a certain amount of confusion when they failed to do so. On 8 November 1363 the treasurer and barons were ordered to account with Dalby despite the absence of controllers.⁹⁹ The proceedings continued until September 1364. By this stage it was clear that the exchequer officials were extremely concerned at the absence of counter-rolls, and it was decided to send Dalby's particulars back to Ireland for verification. The archbishop of Dublin, a former treasurer, and the newly appointed treasurer and chancellor together with Thomas Dale and Robert Holywood were sent a copy of the particulars with instructions to examine them and hear and determine Walter's account.¹⁰⁰ This order was repeated in May 1365,¹⁰¹

96. E.101/28/21

97. E.101/393/11

98. E.101/28/13, 15, 18; E.101/29/6

99. E.101/28/27 m. 9

100. Cal. Patent Rolls 1364-7 pp. 68-9

101. Ibid., p. 148

but in the following November it was realised that these mandates had been couched in the wrong terms, and a further writ was issued stating that 'all such accounts of the king's ministers of money sent to Ireland are and ought to be rendered at the exchequer of England'. The archbishop and his associates were ordered not to hear and determine the account but to

diligently inspect and examine all things relating to the said account and to inquire by all such ways and means as shall be expedient whether all particulars delivered by Walter on his account at the ¹⁰²said exchequer are truly and faithfully made...

It was at this point that copies of the retinue rolls, indentures of retinue, receipts and writs of liberate and computate which Dalby had submitted when accounting were sent to Ireland. In October 1366 the return was sent from Ireland, which, in addition to being rather cautious in tone, showed the practical difficulties of making a check of this kind.¹⁰³ They stated that in the transcripts the headings did not correspond to the contents, evidently due to the way in which they were copied, but that as far as the payment of wages was concerned, it seemed to them prima facie et salvo meliori iudicio that the indentures of receipt should be accepted as sufficient evidence and that the retinue rolls were correct. As for the payments without receipts, they recommended that Walter's personal oath should suffice and finished by stating that although they could not find aliquam calumpniam in the details of the account, si in computacione summarum quas inter nos non computavimus error reperiatur per auditores compoti ut decet scrutetur et in debita forma reformetur. This return was accepted as

102. Cal. Patent Rolls 1364-7 p. 206

103. P.R.O.L., E.368/139 Hilary Record: m. 2.

adequate and Dalby's account proceeded in the normal way.¹⁰⁴ However, when Dalby's account for 1364-5 was being audited, the same problem arose, and again the matter was sent back to Ireland for investigation. This time Robert Ashton, the justiciar, was ordered to inquire as to whether the retinue roll submitted by Dalby was accurate and whether Lionel's treasurer Thomas Bache had received the sums in question and paid the members of the retinue. In his formal return, Ashton stated that Bache had sworn that he had received the money and paid the men, but that although the jurors knew that the retinue had been at Trim and Mullingar during the period in question, they did not know their names. In a letter accompanying the return, Ashton pointed out that Dalby had always been found to be a loyal clerk,¹⁰⁵ and this seems to be a fair judgment. Although he did procure various grants for himself and his friends, there was never any doubt as to his honesty and his dismissal seems to have been due to a desire on the part of the English council to appease Anglo-Irish resentment.¹⁰⁶ He appears to have performed his duties as clerk of the wages efficiently and any problems which arose resulted from the failure to appoint controllers in Ireland and the difficulties inherent in the payment of county levies.

At the same time as Walter of Dalby was accountable for the bulk of money spent on military wages in Ireland, two leaders, Ralph Ferrers and William of Windsor, were answerable directly to the English exchequer for all receipts and payments in connection with their retinues. They received money from England and Ireland and were

104. E.372/211 m. 49d.

105. E.368/145 Hilary Record m. 4. See Appendix I (xiii) below.

106. See below pp. 220-25

responsible for paying the wages and regards to their men as well as whatever money was due as compensation for lost horses and the costs of the repassage of the retinues to England, the arrangements for the transport of the men to Ireland being dealt with by Dalby himself. When accounting, they had to produce particulars of their receipts and expenditure and supplementary evidence in the form of indentures of retinue, writs authorising the retention of additional troops or changes in the composition of the retinue and a roll showing the names of the members of the retinue and when any absences occurred. These were then examined by the auditors at the English exchequer and the sums claimed allowed or disallowed as the case might be. As in the case of the retinues paid by Dalby, there is nothing to show how the retinue rolls were compiled and their accuracy ensured.

Ferrers may have felt that he had more chance of being paid regularly if he dealt with the exchequer directly, rather than run the risk of being paid by bills which might take years to cash, and his previous experience as captain of Calais¹⁰⁷ put him in a good bargaining position. At the same time, it was obviously to the king's advantage to have an independent check on Dalby, though as has been seen this plan misfired due to a failure to appoint Ferrers as controller. Ferrers' indenture has not survived. He served in Ireland with 20 men at arms and 20 archers for $2\frac{3}{4}$ years from August 1361 to May 1364.¹⁰⁸ Apart from an initial payment on 1 May 1361 of £212/15/10 for the first quarter's wages and regard made to him at the English exchequer,¹⁰⁹ he received all of his pay in Ireland. He received two

107. Cal. Patent Rolls, 1358-61, pp. 174, 529

108. E.101/28/20

109. E.403/408 m. 21

prests from Dalby, one of £876/13/4¹¹⁰ and the other of £36/13/4,¹¹¹ but the exact dates of these payments are not known. The latter sum is recorded as having been made per diversas vices between 23 April and 14 May 1364, and it is probable that the larger prest, which was made before 23 April 1364, also represents a number of smaller payments. The other source of revenue for Ferrers was the issues of the lands of absentees, which shows that some at least of the absentee subsidy was being applied to the defence of the country, the purpose for which it was originally granted.¹¹² Ferrers had been given custody of the lands of Anne Despenser and the four holders of the de Verdon lands, William Ferrers, Bartholomew de Burgherssh, John de Crophull and Thomas Furnival. He accounted for these issues at the Irish exchequer and after the necessary allowances had been made he was found to owe £608/5/5½ which he used for the payment of his retinue, together with a further sum of £142/8/6½ which he owed from the lands of Francis de Feypo of which he had custody during the minority of the heir.¹¹³ However the receipts from all of these sources which amounted to £1582/2/2¾ were not sufficient for the payment of wages to his retinue, let alone regards, compensation for horses and repassage costs, and when he finally accounted, it was discovered that he was owed nearly £800.¹¹⁴ He was eventually allowed this sum in other accounts which he rendered at the English exchequer,¹¹⁵

110. E.101/28/21 f. 16^v

111. E.364/7 m.C. Although no dates are given in the account, these limits are determined by the fact that the account is for the period from 23 April 1364 onwards, and Ferrers' period of service ended on 14 May 1364.

112. See below pp. 250-52

113. E.101/28/20

114. E.364/9 m.D.

115. Ibid.

but the episode clearly illustrates the extent to which the leader of a retinue might be forced to subsidise his own participation in an expedition. The fact that he did so is demonstrated by the retinue roll which records no desertions over the whole period of $2\frac{3}{4}$ years.¹¹⁶

The problem of availability of money is also seen in the case of William of Windsor. Windsor had served in Ireland from June 1362 to June 1363, during which time he had been paid through Dalby, but in fact received much of his money directly from the English exchequer.¹¹⁷ An examination of these payments shows that only £13 was paid to him by Dalby and that he must have received this sum before the end of his year in Ireland,¹¹⁸ but the delays in receiving the money from England may have caused considerable inconvenience, as did the fact that when his departure from England was delayed by the weather and shortage of shipping, he was forced to borrow £100 to prevent any of his retinue from deserting.¹¹⁹ In November 1363 Windsor made an indenture for a second period of service in Ireland.¹²⁰ This time he was to have an increased force of 120 men at arms and 200 archers, but the main interest of the indenture lies in its financial provisions. Instead of the usual wages and regard, he was to have £6720 to cover wages and regard for the entire year, and a further 1000 marks for expenses incurred by him before his arrival in Ireland, both sums to be paid in full before his departure. No provision was made for sums

116. E.101/28/20

117. E.101/28/21 ff. 1-2, 3^v

118. There is no record of any payment to him for this period of service between June 1363 and April 1364 and his name does not appear in the list of bills outstanding in April 1364 (E.372/211 m. 49d).

119. E.101/28/23. See Appendix I (xi) below.

120. E.368/137 Trinity Record m. 10.

to be paid to him for repassage and compensation for horses, but it is clear from the indenture that those would be allowed in his account. The indenture does not specifically state that Windsor was to account but the form of the first payment on 16 November 1363 shows that it was Windsor and not Dalby who was answerable.¹²¹ The payment of a sum covering wages and regard for a whole year in advance was extremely unusual and was probably due to a certain amount of bargaining on Windsor's part. It is difficult, in the absence of a retinue roll for this period, to see how the figure of £6720 was arrived at, but it is clear that Windsor's troops were being paid at a rate well above that of the other retinues. The cost of wages and regard for 120 men at arms and 200 mounted archers for a year would be in the region of £5100 and it is possible that the men at arms were receiving a double regard, a practice which became quite widespread in later years, and that this together with the fact that a number of the men at arms were knights and so paid at a higher rate, would account for the remainder of the £6720.

Whatever the calculations involved in arriving at this figure, Windsor was anxious to have it before his departure. The first payment was made on 16 November 1363 and two further payments were made on 29 November and 16 December, amounting to £7333/6/8, all the payments being made in cash at the English exchequer.¹²² This was £53/6/8 short of the sum agreed on, but although Windsor did not leave for Ireland until the middle of February, he did not receive the remainder

121. E.403/417 m. 18

122. Ibid. mm. 18, 22, 26.

of the sum due to him.¹²³

Windsor landed in Ireland on 22 February with the force specified in the indenture,¹²⁴ but towards the end of the first quarter, the Irish council agreed with Windsor that 70 of the archers should be sent back to England and replaced by 210 kerns which would cost the same, kerns being paid at a rate of 2d a day. The council evidently expected some problems in relation to the acceptability of this arrangement at the English exchequer, and in the indenture made on 1 May 1364 formalising it, it was specifically stated that if Windsor was not allowed the money paid in wages to these kerns in his account, the earl of Ormond, Thomas Burley, the chancellor, Dalby and Thomas Dale agreed

a disdammager lavaunt dit monsieur William de
la somme qil ferra payer as avaunt ditz kernes
auxi qe les avaunt nommes deschargerount le
dit monsieur William devers le Roi et son
conseil de ceo qil at retenu des kernes en
liu des archers dengleterre...¹²⁵

Windsor's period of service was due to expire on 22 February 1365, but on 7 February he received orders to return to England, which he did only after a delay of 30 days spent in waiting for shipping.¹²⁶

123. This seems to have been due to some confusion in the exchequer as all of these payments are stated to be part-payments of a sum of 11,000 marks rather than £7386/13/4 (*ibid.*). In fact Windsor may have received more than he was due. On 11 November, Dalby was charged with a payment of £100 to Windsor for wages in going to Ireland, and on 16 November a similar payment for wages amounting to £301/7/10½ was made to Nicholas of Goushill, a leading member of Windsor's retinue (*ibid.*, m. 16). It is clear from Dalby's account, however, that he was not involved in paying Windsor's retinue, and this may be just another example of administrative confusion.

124. E.101/29/11 (particulars of the account of William of Windsor, 1364-5).

125. P.R.O.L., E.159/142 Michaelmas Record m. 10d. See Appendix I (v)

126. E.101/29/11

The process of auditing Windsor's account began on 26 April 1365 and continued until Trinity term 1366, and seems to have been far more complicated than was usual in the case of military leaders.¹²⁷ This was partly due to confusion as to what sums he was to be allowed, but it is possible that political considerations were involved, as well as the general concern about the state of English finances in peacetime, as shown the parliament held in January 1365.¹²⁸ His dealings with the exchequer were obviously not typical, but they do illustrate, if in an extreme form, the problems and delays which could arise when a leader of a retinue accounted separately at the exchequer. Windsor was fortunate in having succeeded in getting the bulk of his money in advance, but the case of Ralph Ferrers shows how a leader might be out of pocket to a considerable extent. Those who received their wages through Dalby may have been worse off than Windsor as far as delays in receiving payment were concerned, but the sums owing to them at the end of their period of service were much smaller than that due to Ferrers, while at the same time they were spared the problems and delays involved in the accounting procedure at the exchequer.

By 6 July 1364 it had been decided to resort to a third method of paying wages in Ireland, as on that day the first payment for Lionel's new retinue of 60 men at arms and 100 mounted archers is recorded as having been made to him by the hands of John Power, his receiver, and there is no mention of Dalby.¹²⁹ However, as has been seen, Dalby continued to pay the wages of the original retinue which had been left behind in Ireland.¹³⁰ The use of the household system,

127. Windsor's account is analysed in Appendix VII below.

128. Rot. Parl. ii p. 285

129. E.403/418 m. 16

130. E.364/7 m.C.

in addition to reflecting the discrediting of Dalby, also shows that Lionel's second expedition to Ireland was to be on a much smaller scale, consisting of only his own retinue and that consequently the household machinery would be well capable of dealing with the payment of wages.

Further payments to John Power and other members of Lionel's household were made out of the English exchequer until February 1367, amounting in all to £12,366/13/4.¹³¹ Unfortunately nothing is known of how this money was spent. Lionel was supposed to account for it at the English exchequer, but neither he nor his executors appear to have done so.¹³² The cost in wages and regards of maintaining Lionel's retinue in Ireland for almost two years would have been in the region of £6000. In addition to this, there would have been the cost of repassage and compensation for horses but this would still leave a large surplus which may have been spent on employing Gaelic or Anglo-Irish forces or in increasing the size of his retinue, although no details of any of these have survived. Whatever the remainder of the money was spent on, it is unlikely that Lionel was ever really short of money, though there may have been delays in receiving payment. Although only one payment to Dalby for military purposes was in the form of an assignment,¹³³ the incidence of assignment in the payment

131. E.403/418 mm. 16, 20, 21; E.403/421 mm. 4-6, 18; E.403/422 mm. 26, 30, 31; E.403/425 mm. 10, 17, 18; E.403/427 mm. 5, 20, 21; E.403/429 mm. 10, 13, 20, 23, 26.

132. On 18 June 1370, auditors were appointed for the accounts of Thomas Hervy and John Power, both former treasurers of Lionel's household (Cal. Patent Rolls 1367-70, p. 439) but no trace has been found of their accounts.

133. E.401/475 (18 March 1364) assigned on a prestitum restitutum of John of Gaunt. An earlier payment of £200 by assignment to Dalby on 19 February 1364 (ibid.) had been for the expenses of the Duchess of Clarence's ladies in returning to England after her death, and not for army wages.

of army wages for Ireland rose steeply in 1364 and over half of the English exchequer's contribution to the cost of Lionel's second force was made by tallies drawn on various sources of revenue in England.¹³⁴ So far as can be judged from the receipt rolls, none of these turned out to be bad tallies, but there was, inevitably, a considerable delay in collecting the money, especially when a sum of £500 was paid by tallies drawn on the customs of three different ports.¹³⁵

There is some confusion as to who paid the retinue. The money from the English exchequer was paid to Lionel through various members of his household, but at the same time, money from the Irish exchequer, which amounted to £898/19/1 for the period February 1365 - September 1366 was paid to John Scrope who was described as 'clerk of the wages for the payment of men at arms, hobelars, archers, horsemen and foot soldiers, both in the company of the lieutenant, wherever he should go in the country and in various castles, fortalices and wards in different parts of the country'.¹³⁶ Scrope was intended to account at the Irish exchequer for the money which he received there, but no trace of this account has survived. It seems likely that Scrope did the actual paying of the men, receiving the money from the treasurer of Lionel's household and from the Irish exchequer, but the reason for the division of responsibility is not clear. It may have been partly due to a desire to keep English and Irish revenues completely separate, which would fit in with the growing concern in 1364 with how the English revenues were being spent. This separation was possible

134. E.401/477 (26 Aug. 1364); E.401/479 (30 Oct., 4 and 5 Nov., 31 Dec., 1364); E.401/483 (29 Oct., 4 Dec. 1365); E.401/485 (7 and 11 July 1366); E.401/487 (22 Oct. 1366).

135. E.401/485 (11 July 1366).

136. E.101/244/10

on paper, but in practice would lead to great confusion with two people paying wages and other expenses from two sources of revenue. Thus the appointment of John Scrope as clerk of the wages simplified the actual machinery of payment by entrusting it to one man, while the device of having two separate people, Lionel and Scrope, account separately for money received from England and Ireland meant that there was little possibility of confusion in the accounts. However, this is merely conjecture as the absence of both accounts makes it impossible to see the system in operation.

The cost of the expedition will be discussed later, but something should be said here of the efficiency of the financial machinery. Dalby appears to have kept up to date with payments to the various retinues and groups for which he was responsible, and the only real case of financial embarrassment occurred in the summer of 1364. The accounts of Dalby, John of Clifton and William of Wenlock all show surpluses, none of them very large, but the surplus of £772/15/3¹/₄ in the account of Ralph Ferrers and the fact that Lionel was still receiving money for his Irish expedition in 1367 show how leaders might have to subsidise their retinues, though this degree of subsidisation was small by contemporary standards. Delays in receiving payment seem to have been a problem and this was probably increased by the more frequent use of assignments from 1364 onwards. The idea of having one man financially responsible for the payment of the whole army was theoretically conducive to efficiency. However, the practical need to have some wages paid to county levies in England and Wales involved the sheriffs of the counties concerned and William of Wenlock. This resulted in confusion over the periods for which each official was to pay the men, while there was further confusion over Windsor's separate accountability in 1364. On the whole, the different methods used for

paying the army in Ireland worked fairly well, as seen by the absence of large-scale desertions and also of large debts outstanding at the end of the expedition.

IV. TRANSPORT, EQUIPMENT AND PROVISIONS

The organisation of shipping, weapons, provisions and horses for Lionel's army was done by a combination of specially appointed officials, sheriffs and the leaders of the individual retinues. Shipping to Ireland was organised by sergeants at arms specially appointed for this purpose, but that for the return journey to England was a matter for the leaders of the retinues. The latter were responsible for seeing that their men were adequately armed, but the privy wardrobe in England and the keeper of the munitions at Dublin castle ensured that further supplies were available. Much of the duty of getting sufficient food for the army was left to the leaders, and was done either through their household officials or through surveyors appointed by them, but the sheriffs of the counties where the ports of embarkation were situated must also have been involved, and the central administration could, and did, intervene by regulating prices and prohibiting the export of food. The supplying of horses, including replacements, was again a matter for the individual leaders, but the exchequer was involved in this aspect of the expedition through the system of paying compensation for horses lost in action. An examination of the way in which shipping, provisions and the supply of weapons and horses were organised shows not only the interaction of the different parties involved, but also the complexity of the administrative machinery required and often the difficulties encountered.

(i) Shipping

The entire responsibility for organising shipping for an army,

whether it was going to France or to Ireland, belonged to the king,¹ and this fact was stated clearly in all the indentures relating to Lionel's expedition. Usually the form is merely that the king is to provide suffisant eskipeson for the retinue in question and their horses, but Stafford's indenture spells out the fact that the king was to be wholly responsible, not only for the provision of the ships, but also for bordes, claves et toutz autres necessaires qe appartiennent pur leskipeson du dit conte ses gentz et toutz ses chivalx aussibien en alant come en retournant.² This is obviously just an elaboration of the suffisant eskipeson mentioned in the other indentures, but Stafford appears to have been intent on protecting himself against all eventualities, as his indenture also contains a clause to the effect that if sufficient shipping for his horses was not provided, then the king would have to pay him compensation for any horses left behind. This may have been a result of some unfortunate experiences during the French campaigns. It was not a normal feature of indentures, but shows clearly the problems which might be expected to arise when the king was dependent on impressed merchant ships for the transport of his troops.

The first step was to decide on a port of embarkation for the troops going to Ireland and to arrange for the ships and supplies to be brought there by a named day. The main ports involved in trade with Ireland were Liverpool, Chester and Bristol, and these were the centres which were also used for shipping troops, the normal sea routes being from Liverpool and Chester to Dublin and from Bristol to ports in the south of Ireland, particularly Waterford. Most of the

1. Prince 'Indenture system' p. 294.

2. P.R.O.L., E.101/28/27 m.11.

retinues embarked from Liverpool and Chester, which were regarded for this purpose as one port. This was the shortest crossing to Ireland from a major port, and Liverpool and Chester were more convenient than Bristol for the majority of the troops which came from the north of England and the north midlands. The only troops to sail from Bristol were those accompanying the earl of Stafford in 1361³ and those of St. Laud, Ashton and Dabrichecourt in 1363.⁴ Again this was a question of convenience, as all these leaders were based in the west of England. The splitting up of the initial force in 1361 made it easier for the shipping and supplies to be brought to the port by the required date, and, if the army had to wait at the port for any length of time, the use of two ports meant less of a drain on the hinterland of both, especially in terms of food. Later when reinforcements had to be sent, the same problem did not arise, as the numbers were much smaller. Those men who sailed from Bristol probably landed at Waterford and then had to make their way up into Leinster where most of the activity was.

Two or three sergeants at arms were appointed, usually under the English great seal, to arrest shipping in a specific area and bring it to the port by the appointed day. The area concerned varied according to the port. In 1361, when contingents were sailing from Bristol and Liverpool, the ships from Lancashire and Wales were to be sent to Liverpool and those from Cornwall, Devon, the Severn and south Wales to Bristol.⁵ In 1364 when only Liverpool was used, the area was from Southampton to Bristol, the Welsh coast and as far

3. E.101/28/21 f. 12.

4. P.R.O.L., E.403/415. m. 24.

5. Cal. Patent Rolls 1361-4, pp. 17-18.

north as Furness.⁶ In all cases, however, the area affected was the west coast of England and Wales and the south-west of England. This was obviously partly for convenience; to get ships from the channel ports or the east coast would take too long, and, in comparison with the forces sent to France, Lionel's army was not a particularly large one, and so it was probable that the shipping from the west coast would be sufficient. There may also have been a strategic motive connected with the French war. There was always the possibility, however remote it might seem, of further trouble with France, and consequently the shipping of the south and east coasts had to remain available in case of need. The strategic motive can be seen also in the fact that in 1361 the ports of Dartmouth and Plymouth, both important naval centres, were excepted in the order for shipping to be sent to Bristol.⁷ However, after 1361 this was not the case. In 1363, the only ships excepted were fishing vessels,⁸ presumably for economic reasons as well as because they were usually too small to be of use, and in 1364 the order excepted only those ships which had previously been ordered to go with the Black Prince to Gascony.⁹

The most usual specification contained in the commission was that the ships were to be 'suitable',¹⁰ although frequently the size and number might be specified. In 1361 the only indication was that those at Bristol were to be sufficient to carry the earl of Stafford and his force of 100 men at arms and 400 archers, with 1000 horses.¹¹ In 1363, all ships of 20 tons and upwards were

6. Ibid., p. 518

7. Ibid., p. 18

8. Ibid., p. 317

9. Ibid., p. 518

10. Ibid., pp. 17-18, 34.

11. Ibid., p. 18

to be arrested, the big ones to go to Plymouth for the Black Prince's passage to Gascony and the smaller ones to Bristol to carry Ashton, St. Laud and Dabrichecourt to Ireland.¹² When the preparations were being made in the summer of 1364 for Lionel's return to Ireland, it was ordered that 80 ships of 40 tons and upwards were to be arrested in the area from Southampton up to Furness,¹³ but a month later this was altered to an unspecified number of ships of 30 to 80 tons.¹⁴ These ships were fairly small by fourteenth century standards,¹⁵ perhaps a reflection of the nature of the trade carried on by the ports in question.

The length of time given to the sergeants at arms to complete their task varied enormously. In 1361 the preparations were begun well in advance of Lionel's proposed departure. The order for shipping went out on 10 May and the ships were to be at Liverpool and Chester by 1 August,¹⁶ giving them 12 weeks. However, later on, the idea seems to have been to get the ships to the port as quickly as possible. In February 1363 the ships were given three and a half weeks to be at Bristol.¹⁷ In most cases the period of time needed seems to have been completely underestimated, and as will be seen, the failure of ships to arrive by the specified day could lead to confusion and extra expense. In July 1364 William Spalding began his work of arresting ships for Lionel's return to Ireland. They

12. Ibid., p. 317

13. Ibid., p. 518

14. Cal. Patent Rolls, 1364-7, p. 12

15. H.J. Hewitt, The Organisation of War under Edward III (Manchester, 1966), p. 76.

16. Cal. Patent Rolls, 1361-4 p. 17

17. Ibid., p. 317

were to be at Liverpool by 25 July;¹⁸ later this had to be changed to 24 August,¹⁹ but it was clearly a difficult task and one which was not completed until 20 February 1365.²⁰ Spalding appears to have performed his duties fairly thoroughly. An entry in his particulars relating to Windsor's journey to Ireland in the winter of 1363-4 refers to

quoddam viagio per ipsum facto per preceptum
consilii regis versus partes de Padilstowe et
Bristoll' et abinde per totam Walliam ad
singulos portus usque portus de Cestria et
Liverpol pro navibus arrestandis.....
et pro passagio eiusdem Willelmi ad diversas
minutas aquas per costeram maris videlicet
pro se hominibus et equis suis²¹ per diversas
vices infra tempus predictum,

Obviously he had some assistants, but nothing is known of these men, and it would appear from the length of time taken that he saw to much of the work in person. In 1364, for Lionel's force, the job was entrusted to Spalding and three other sergeants at arms, John of Ellerton, Robert Appleby and Richard of Imworth, with Spalding apparently in charge of the operation.²² Probably in an effort to speed up the process, they split up the area between them, Ellerton and Imworth taking the coast from Southampton to Plymouth and Dartmouth, Appleby Devon and Cornwall, Liverpool and Chester and Spalding Wales.²³ However this does not seem to have been a hard and fast division, as Imworth was also active in Wales and Lancashire,²⁴ and

18. E.101/28/5 (particulars of the account of William Spalding for arresting ships, 1361-4); Cal. Patent Rolls, 1361-4, p. 518.

19. Cal. Patent Rolls, 1364-7, p. 12.

20. E.101/28/5

21. Ibid.

22. Cal. Patent Rolls, 1361-4, p. 518; Ibid., 1364-7, p. 12

23. E.403/418 mm. 17, 21; E.403/421 mm. 10, 18, 21; E.403/425 m. 16.

24. E.403/425 m. 20.

in all, the division of labour does not seem to have made any noticeable difference to the time involved.

The accounts of the sergeants at arms give no details of the number of ships arrested in each port, and the accounts of the paymaster at the port of embarkation merely state the port of origin of the ships. However in most cases the majority of the ships employed seem to have come originally from the area of the port of embarkation. In 1361, 24 out of the 36 ships which arrived at Liverpool had home ports in Lancashire and north Wales.²⁵ There were also a number of Irish ships, presumably engaged in cross-channel trade; of these three originally came from Drogheda, two from Dublin and one each from Howth and Ross.²⁶ At Bristol in 1361, some of the ships had come from further afield, including one each from Spain, Flanders and Harfleur.²⁷

In addition to arresting the ships, the sergeants at arms were to ensure that they were parate et munite.²⁸ This is a very vague specification, and in view of the amount of repairs which had to be done to the ships at Liverpool and Bristol, it cannot have been interpreted very strictly. Although none of the commissions for shipping for Lionel's army mentions it, the sergeants were also apparently responsible for finding sailors to man the ships, and this could take a considerable length of time.²⁹

25. E.101/28/21 ff. 11-12. See Appendix VIII below.

26. Ibid.

27. Ibid., ff. 12-13

28. E.101/28/5.

29. An order to Robert Appleby and Richard of Imworth to arrest ships for the Black Prince in January 1363 ordered them 'ad tot marinariorum quot pro regimine navium predictarum necessarii fuerint, eligendum et capiendum et in navibus illis ponendum, in eisdem navibus pro regimine earundem ad vadia nostra quamdiu indigerint moraturos...' (Rymer, Foedera iii pt. 2, p. 685)

For carrying out these duties, the sergeants at arms were paid two shillings a day and received allowance in their accounts at the exchequer for any reasonable expenses incurred by them in the course of their work. They received their money in the form of prests from the exchequer either directly or through another royal official who was also accountable there.³⁰

In 1361, arrangements were also made for arresting shipping in Irish ports. On 10 May the justiciar and chancellor were ordered to appoint suitable persons to arrest all the ships which they could find in Ireland, furnish them with men and victuals and bring them to Chester and Liverpool by 1 August.³¹ The treasurer was to pay reasonable wages and expenses to these men and to the sailors and shipmasters.³² We hear of only one man acting in this capacity, Roger Euyas, the constable of Trim castle, who spent most of June and July 1361 arresting ships in Leinster and Munster,³³ but there may have been others whose payments were included in the treasurer's account for 1361 which has not survived. We know of four ships which he arrested at New Ross and Waterford. Those at Ross were a 40 ton ship belonging to John Fisshe and one of 20 tons belonging to John Palmer, David Walsh and William Furlong and those at Waterford were a ship of 80 tons belonging to William Hult and one of 20 tons

30. On 15 July 1362 William Spalding, sergeant at arms, received £3 for this purpose from the exchequer (E.403/410 m. 30). On 9 December 1362 he received £11/4/1 from William of Wenlock, the clerk in charge of the shipping at Liverpool (E.403/412 m. 19). Spalding's account for this period has not survived, but in a later one, covering the years 1363-4 he accounts for a large number of prests, usually of fairly small sums (E.101/28/5).

31. Cal. Close Rolls, 1360-64, p. 187

32. Ibid.

33. P.R.O.L., E.372/212 m. 43.

belonging to John Attersale.³⁴ The ship of 80 tons is exceptionally large for this expedition where most of the ships used were between 20 and 40 tons. None of the ships mentioned occurs in the list of ships paid by Dalby at either Liverpool or Bristol and so there is some doubt as to whether they ever went to England. The wording of the order to the Irish treasurer is rather ambiguous. On the surface it would seem that he was merely to pay the wages to sailors for the passage to Liverpool where they would become Dalby's responsibility, and if this is so, one must assume that the ships arrested in Ireland are included in the ships listed in Dalby's particulars. On the other hand, it is possible that the treasurer was to pay them their wages for their journey to Liverpool and return to Ireland. This seems more likely in view of the fact that all the ships in Dalby's list were paid for their return journey to England.³⁵ Irish ships do not appear to have been used on any other occasion for bringing troops to Ireland, although they were, of course, involved in transporting the retinues returning to England.

Once the ships arrived at the port of embarkation, they were the direct responsibility of a clerk specially appointed for this purpose. These men were appointed for the duration of the operations relating to the departure of one or more forces for Ireland. They might be sergeants at arms, as in the case of Thomas Dautre in 1363,³⁶ or clerks like William of Wenlock in 1362 and John of Clifton in 1364.³⁷ On two occasions, Walter of Dalby, the clerk of the wages in Ireland,

34. P.R.O.I., RC8/27 pp. 608-9.

35. E.101/28/21 f.1.

36. E.403/415 m. 24.

37. E.101/28/23; E.101/29/10 (particulars of the account of John of Clifton for shipping 1364-5)

was employed for this purpose, as he happened to be on hand for the initial embarkation of Lionel's force in the summer of 1361 and for that of Windsor's retinue in February 1364.³⁸ No commission to any of these men has survived, but their terms of employment evidently included payment of wages to sailors, paying for repairs to be done to the ships and for any additional fitting out of ships which was required. In addition they received allowance for their own expenses and those of their assistants. The paymasters accounted directly at the exchequer and it is from the particulars of the accounts of Dalby, Wenlock and Clifton that we get most of the information available on the subject of shipping.³⁹ They received money in the form of prests either directly from the exchequer or through another official. In 1364 John of Clifton recorded the receipt of £100 de eisdem thesaurario et camerariis per manus Thome de Dale apud Cestriam de thesauro dicti ducis Clarencie per litteram dicti thesaurarii.⁴⁰ There may have been another official charged with supervising his payments, though no details of this procedure are known beyond the fact that an indenture was made in January between John of Clifton and William Spalding, which stated that John had paid out the sums of money listed in the particulars for sailors' wages and other expenses by the view and testimony of Spalding.⁴¹

The daily wages for mariners were fixed at 6d for the master, 3d for a valettus and 1½d for a boy.⁴² Occasionally larger ships

38. E.101/28/21 ff. 11-12; 15^v-16

39. Ibid., ff. 11-16; E.101/28/23; E.101/29/10

40. E.101/29/10

41. Ibid.

42. E.101/28/21 f. 11

might have a constable or a lodeman who each received 6d.⁴³ There is no record of any sum being paid to the owner of a ship. All the crews were paid for their return journey to England as well as for the passage to Ireland, and also for any time they spent waiting at the port of embarkation.⁴⁴

As has been stated, although the ships were supposed to appear parate et munite, it is clear that a certain amount of repairs and fitting up of the ships was necessary. All this was the responsibility of the clerk except the hurdles which were provided by the sheriffs of the neighbouring counties. Despite the number of ships arrested for Lionel's passage in 1361, the only payments recorded by Dalby for repairs at this time were £4/18/4 for boards, rings, nails, staples, iron and timber for repairs to ships for Ralph Ferrers' retinue⁴⁵ and £25/3/10 for those for the earl of Stafford.⁴⁶ In 1364 he paid out £14/3/8 for the same kind of supplies for ships for the retinue of William of Windsor.⁴⁷ Wenlock's account for 1362 does not contain any payments of this kind, and it is possible that in all these cases the ships were in fairly good condition and extensive repairs were not necessary. The account of John of Clifton relating to Lionel's return in 1364 is more detailed in this respect.⁴⁸ He paid for 30½ dozen selyngbord, 80 hachebord, 16 large planks, 4 risyngtres, two barrels of pitch and tar, 13 stone of hemp, 57 ells

43. Ibid. f. 13

44. Ibid., f. 1

45. Ibid., f. 13^v

46. Ibid.

47. Ibid., f. 15^v

48. E.101/29/10

of canvas, 2400 spikingnails, 1500 large selyngnails, 1600 bordenails and an unspecified amount of iron. In addition, he paid £2/5/- for five carts to bring these items from Chester to the ships, and the wages of seven carpenters working on the ships for six days and six carpenters working for eight days. These represented the type of expenses which would be incurred in the normal repair of ships. However, the presence of Lionel himself meant that a ship had to be fitted up in a more luxurious fashion for his personal use. The items purchased by Clifton for this purpose included four sconces, five round lanterns, 37 ells of worsted of different colours, and a blue carpet. In addition he paid for the making of a large star to be attached to one side of the sail of the duke's ship and an image of St. Christopher for the other side.

The clerk was paid at the rate of 5/- a day during the time he was employed on this business and also got expenses for himself, his men and horses.⁴⁹ In the case of William of Wenlock, and presumably also of the other clerks employed at Liverpool and Chester, the use of these two ports, although they were so close, necessitated a considerable amount of travelling between the two, which was included in his expenses.⁵⁰ In addition to the duties outlined above, he might be called on to pay out money on the king's behalf to other officials. In 1364, Clifton paid £7 to William Spalding as a prest for his wages and expenses in arresting ships and £6 to Robert Appleby for the same purpose.⁵¹ This was obviously a matter of convenience, as Clifton's headquarters in Liverpool were closer than the exchequer at Westminster for people

49. E.101/28/23; E.101/29/10

50. E.101/28/23

51. E.101/29/10

occupied on the king's business in the north-west.⁵² Occasional payments for specific services might also be made. In January 1365 William Spalding was given £5

super consimilibus vadiis et expensis suis
eundo versus le Holyhed in Wallia ad explorandum
certa nova⁵³ de salubre statu domini ducis
Clarencie.

In the summer of 1362, William of Wenlock had paid the wages of the Welsh archers going to Ireland from their arrival at the port until their arrival in Ireland, and was also charged with a prest of £40 made to John Somerville who went to Wales to collect these archers and pay their wages until they arrived at Liverpool.⁵⁴ On one occasion, he had to lend money to prevent a retinue from dispersing while they were waiting for shipping.⁵⁵

As has been mentioned, the job of providing hurdles for the transporting of horses to Ireland was left to the sheriffs of the neighbouring counties - Lancashire in the case of Liverpool and Chester, and Somerset and Gloucestershire in the case of Bristol. The sheriff was usually ordered to have a certain number of hurdles at the port by a named day, although in one case, the order merely specified sufficient hurdles for 350 horses.⁵⁶ The sheriffs' particulars for 1361 have survived and it is clear that only the 100 hurdles from Somerset arrived in time,⁵⁷ the 100 from Gloucestershire being three

52. One of the payments was made to Appleby when he was on his sick-bed in Lichfield (ibid.).

53. Ibid.

54. E.101/28/23. See above pp. 69-70

55. Ibid. See below p. 104

56. Cal. Close Rolls, 1360-64, p. 450

57. E.101/585/54 (particulars of the account of the sheriff of Somerset for hurdles, 1361).

weeks late⁵⁸ and those from Lancashire six weeks late.⁵⁹ Furthermore, the sheriff of Somerset was the only one who provided the stated number of hurdles. The sheriff of Lancashire provided only 110 instead of 140,⁶⁰ and although the sheriff of Gloucestershire brought 20 extra hurdles they were not used, and he was refused allowance for them in his account eo quod non habuit warrantum ad providendum nisi centum claias.⁶¹ In 1363 the sheriff of Somerset provided 100 hurdles and five gangways,⁶² but there is no mention of gangways in the earlier orders. Clearly some would be needed for getting the horses on board, but they may have been available at the port in 1361.

Hurdles could either be bought ready-made at 5/- a dozen or made specially for the occasion.⁶³ In the latter case, the sheriff bought the wood and paid for the manufacture of the hurdles. In addition, he would have to pay for the carriage of the hurdles from various places in the county to the port. The account of the sheriff of Lancashire in 1361 illustrates the procedure. He bought timber for 29 hurdles at Aldeport, near Manchester, and enough for 81 at Huyton, Hoy, Tarbuck and Knowsley, at a total cost of 15/-. The making of the hurdles cost a further £1/2/8, while the cost of carriage to Liverpool from these places came to £1/7/4.⁶⁴ The delay in providing the hurdles from

58. E.101/559/25 (particulars of the account of the sheriff of Gloucestershire for hurdles, 1361).

59. E.101/567/17 (particulars of the account of the sheriff of Lancashire for hurdles, 1361)

60. Ibid.

61. E.101/559/25.

62. E.101/585/56 (particulars of the account of the sheriff of Somerset for hurdles, 1363).

63. E.101/585/54; E.101/567/17.

64. E.101/567/17.

Lancashire and Gloucestershire was probably due to the fact that they had to be made, whereas in the case of Somerset, they were bought from various people in the neighbourhood of Bristol. When the sheriff brought the hurdles to the port they were delivered to the leader of the contingent or to provisores appointed by him and an indenture was then drawn up recording their delivery.⁶⁵

The delay in providing hurdles was probably not as serious as might have been expected, as in both 1361 and 1364 there was a considerable delay in the arrival of ships at the port. In 1361, they had been ordered to be at Liverpool and Bristol by 1 August.⁶⁶ However only eight ships had arrived at Bristol by this date, a further 23 arrived at various times during the month of August and the last one arrived on 9 September.⁶⁷ At Liverpool, 20 had arrived on 1 August and a further 15 on 10 August,⁶⁸ but here the problem was not so much the delay in arrival as an actual shortage of ships, and only part of the army was able to embark. On 20 September 1361, the sheriff of Lancashire and the constable of Liverpool castle were ordered

so soon as any ships come to that port, to cause all the men at arms, archers and others left in Lancashire after the departure of the king's son Lionel..... to be embarked and sent to him in Ireland, as for lack of ships the earl, whom the king sent over for the ruling of Ireland left behind a great part of the men at arms and archers who were ready to cross with him at his passage, to await the arrival of ships for their passage.⁶⁹

As the retinues were paid from the day their period of service began

65. E.101/559/25; E.101/585/54

66. Cal. Patent Rolls, 1361-4, p. 17.

67. E.101/28/21 ff. 12-13.

68. Ibid., ff. 11^V-12

69. Cal. Close Rolls, 1360-64, p. 212.

and the county levies from the eleventh day of their service, the retinue rolls give no indication of how many had to be left behind. There is no mention of extra ships in the account of the clerk of the wages, but it is possible that they were paid for by the sheriff of Lancashire. In 1362, there was again a shortage of ships at Liverpool for Windsor's passage to Ireland, and this, together with a lack of wind, caused a considerable delay. Part of the retinue embarked but the rest remained behind at Liverpool. This led to the problem of desertions while waiting in the port, and in order to keep his retinue and the county levies sailing with him intact, Windsor was forced to borrow £100 from William of Wenlock to pay the men.⁷⁰

For Windsor's second journey to Ireland in 1364 the delay was not as great. The date fixed was 8 January⁷¹ and by 19 January the 16 ships which he employed had arrived in Liverpool.⁷² When Lionel was returning to Ireland later in the year, he encountered a considerable problem in the matter of shipping. The ships were to be at Liverpool by 24 August but none was there on that date. The first arrived on 29 August and the remaining 18 drifted in at various times between 13 September and 11 October.⁷³ Not only were these delays an inconvenience in that the expedition was being held up, but they were also a financial liability. Troops had to be paid while waiting for their passage and food had to be provided for them. Wages had also to be paid to any ships waiting in the port. In addition, where leaders of retinues had agreed to serve for a specified period, this usually began on the day

70. He explained the situation in a letter to the English treasurer (E.101/28/23). See Appendix I (xi) below.

71. Cal. Patent Rolls, 1361-4, p. 415.

72. E.101/28/21 ff. 15^v-16.

73. E.101/29/10

of their arrival at the sea, and any delay in embarkation would cut short their period of active service in Ireland. Finally, as has been seen, there was the danger of desertions.

The number of ships required was not usually specified in the commissions, and the number which actually arrived often fell short of that required to transport the troops. In 1361 Lionel had 36 at Liverpool and 32 at Bristol, together with whatever number of ships was sent from Ireland and the ships arrested by the sheriff of Lancashire for the remainder of Lionel's troops. In 1362 Windsor had 23 ships at Liverpool to transport 70 men at arms and 70 archers of his own retinue together with 267 archers belonging to the county levies.⁷⁵ This was insufficient, and the problem was finally solved by having 16 of the ships do a double journey to Ireland.⁷⁶ In 1364 he had 17 ships for 120 men at arms and 200 archers,⁷⁷ while later in the year Lionel had 21 ships for 60 men at arms and 100 archers.⁷⁸

Obviously a lot depended on the size of the ships involved. In four of the five lists of shipping the only indication of the size of ships employed is the number of crew members. However in the fifth one, that of the ships provided for Windsor's retinue in 1362,⁷⁹ both the number of crew members and the tonnage are given. From this it is possible to establish a relation between the size of a ship and the number of sailors on it. Ships of under 19 tons employed six or

74. E.101/28/21 ff. 11-12

75. E.101/28/23

76. Ibid.

77. E.101/28/21 ff. 15^v-16

78. E.101/29/10

79. E.101/28/23

fewer sailors; those of between 20 and 35 tons, eight or nine sailors and a boy; those of between 36 and 39 tons, nine or ten sailors and a boy, and ships of over 40 tons, eleven or more sailors and one or more boys. Thus it is possible to arrive at the following figures for ships used for Lionel at Liverpool⁸⁰ and Stafford at Bristol in 1361,⁸¹ for Windsor at liverpool in 1362⁸² and 1364,⁸³ and for Lionel at Liverpool in 1364.⁸⁴

<u>date and place</u>	<u>less than 19 t.</u>	<u>20-35 t.</u>	<u>36-39 t.</u>	<u>more than 40 t.</u>	<u>total</u>
1361 (L)	12	16	8	-	36
1361 (B)	9	10	2	11	32
1362 (L)	6	11	2	4	23
1364 (L)	-	9	6	2	17
1364 (L)	3	7	8	1	21

[includes two ships with no crew specified]

Not only was there evidently some difficulty in getting a sufficient number of ships, but sometimes the specifications as to the size of the ships were not followed. In the case of Lionel's ships in 1364, they were supposed to be between 30 and 80 tons,⁸⁵ but about half of the total appears to have been below this size and only one was more than 40 tons. However in November 1363 Thomas of Stafford and William

80. E.101/28/21 ff. 11-12

81. Ibid., ff. 12-13

82. E.101/28/23

83. E.101/28/21 ff. 15^v-16

84. E.101/29/10

85. Cal. Patent Rolls, 1364-7, p. 12

of Spalding were ordered to provide ships of 20 tons and upwards for Windsor's departure early in the following year,⁸⁶ and as can be seen from the above table, all 17 were above this limit, though only two were above 40 tons. The ships of under 40 tons were small by contemporary standards, but presumably adequate for the short crossing to Ireland, and probably reflect the predominantly short-distance trade of the ports on the west coast of England and Wales. The ships of over 40 tons at Bristol in 1361 were considerably larger, probably due to the difference in trade patterns.⁸⁷ The eleven large ships each had a constable and between 14 and 25 sailors and one and 24 boys. One also had a navigator. It is not known how many men a ship of any given size could carry. Some seem to have been used for horses only, as in 1364 the Michell of Liverpool was used pro frettagio xii equorum de comitiva ducis Clarencie versus Hiberniam,⁸⁸ but unfortunately this is one case where no indication of the size of the ship is given.

The length of time for which the ships were employed varied according to any delays which might occur in getting men and supplies to the port and in carrying out any repairs which might be necessary, and also in waiting for sufficient wind to sail. In 1362 the ships used for Windsor's retinue were paid for 5 weeks which included two journeys to and from Ireland.⁸⁹

The return passage from Ireland to England when the retinue's period of service was completed was organised on a

86. Cal. Patent Rolls, 1361-4 p. 415

87. The lists of ships usually give the port of origin but not the port where the ship was arrested.

88. E.101/29/10

89. E.101/28/23. The journey seems to have taken about four days (E.101/29/11).

different system and consequently there are no lists of ships employed. Usually it seems to have been the practice for men to find their own way back to England and although all the indentures contained a clause to the effect that the king would provide sufficient shipping for their repassage, there is no indication of royal officials being involved in this at any stage, except in the cases of Lionel himself and the earl of Stafford. Stafford's indenture had specified that if any horses had to be left behind in Ireland for lack of shipping, he was to receive allowance for them and for any money which he might have to pay out for shipping.⁹⁰ The costs of the repassage were paid by the clerk of the wages or by the leader himself if he was accountable directly to the exchequer, and the payment was fixed at a rate of 3/4 per horse.⁹¹ Four horses were allowed for a knight, three for a man at arms and one for a mounted archer and the same rate applied to all of the horses.⁹²

Special ships were provided for the repassage of Stafford and Lionel to England. In 1362 Dalby paid £6/13/4 pro quadam nave conducta pro corpore domini comitis Staffordie de partibus Hibernie versus Cestriam.⁹³ No repairs are mentioned in connection with this vessel, but when Lionel was returning to England in April 1364, John Scrope paid out £2/14/5½ for repairing the lieutenant's boat.⁹⁴ This included the wages of carpenters and the provision of a large rope, a hawser, a doublestay, a bowline, a gardrope, planks, doublebordnailles,

90. E.101/28/27 m. 11

91. E.101/28/20

92. Ibid.

93. E.101/28/21 f. 13^v

94. RC8/29 p. 247

flornailles and other necessities. However this expenditure was not normal. Usually the rate paid per horse was to include the hire of ships and the carrying out of any repairs that were needed. In 1365 William of Windsor claimed for £6/14/2 spent on

bordes, fer, clawes et autres chosez necessaires
achatez pur diversez parcellez et despenduz
en mesme le repassage au meillour marches qe
homme poyt,

but this was disallowed quia habet certum pro equo.⁹⁵

(ii) Weapons, armour and other equipment

When a leader agreed with the king to provide a retinue of a certain number of men, it was taken for granted that he would ensure that they were suitably clad and armed, usually at his own expense.⁹⁶ In the middle of the fourteenth century the standard protection for a man at arms consisted of a hauberk, with additional protection in the form of metal plates over it which were held in place by a jupon, or kind of tight-fitting padded tunic, and a baldric, a horizontal belt worn across the hips. A bassinet with a vizor shielded his head and he wore metal plates on his arms, shoulders and legs, and metal gauntlets on his hands.⁹⁷ The shield was passing out of general use at this time,⁹⁸ but was still carried by some. A list of the arms and armour which Lionel brought back with him to Chester in 1366⁹⁹ includes among the items of armour not specifically designated for jousting,

95. E.101/29/11

96. Prince, 'Indenture system', p. 294

97. K. Fowler, The Age of Plantagenet and Valois, (1967), pp. 102, 107

98. Ibid., p. 107

99. E.101/396/6

seven shields. This list shows that the usual items of armour were used by him in Ireland - breastplates with chains and buckles, harnes for the legs, pairs of vauntbras and rerebras, ventailles, cuirasses, kettlehats, helmets, vizors and spurs, and protective covering for the horses. The mounted and foot archers were, of necessity, more lightly clad and usually wore a hauberk and a helmet.¹⁰⁰ These were usually provided by the leader of the retinue, but it appears that the archers belonging to the county levies did not wear any specified protective clothing. There is no mention of it in the commissions of array, so clearly it was very much up to the individuals concerned. Some attempt was made to provide a uniform for some of the archers. In 1362, the sheriffs of Shropshire and Staffordshire claimed in their accounts for money spent in providing caps for the archers which their counties were sending to Ireland,¹⁰¹ while in Ireland, Walter of Dalby claimed to have spent £1/-/7 on cloth for providing caps for Donald Gall and his men.¹⁰² All of these claims were disallowed because they were made without a warrant, so it cannot have been general policy to provide a uniform.

The men at arms were provided by their leaders with their personal weapons - usually a lance, a sword and dagger, and sometimes also a truncheon or axe¹⁰³ - and although any of these might be lost in action, the question of replacements was not a serious one and seems to have been left to the individual man at arms and the leader to arrange between themselves. The leaders may have brought spare

100. K. Fowler, The Age of Plantagenet and Valois, p. 107

101. E.101/584/16, E.101/587/3

102. E.101/28/21 f. 14

103. K. Fowler, The Age of Plantagenet and Valois, p. 107

items with them, as Lionel's list of equipment includes eight swords, seven axes, three lances and twelve heads for lances.¹⁰⁴ In the case of the archers, however, there was a problem in keeping them supplied with weapons and ammunition. They were usually furnished with long-bows, swords or daggers and an initial supply of arrows, at the expense of the leader in the case of members of his retinue and at the expense of the county in the case of county levies.¹⁰⁵ It was evidently decided at the beginning to send an initial large supply of bows and arrows to Ireland with Lionel. On 1 July 1361 a privy seal writ ordered Henry Snayth, the keeper of the wardrobe, to purchase canvas, casks, pipes and coffer for sending bows, bowstrings and arrows to Ireland and to pay the wages of men employed in packing them for the voyage.¹⁰⁶ Snayth paid £10/19/2 for canvas, casks, pipes and coffer and £1/1/- to six men each working for seven days packing and carrying the bows, strings and arrows.¹⁰⁷ A further £22/13/4 was paid out of the exchequer on the wages of carters and expenses of horses in bringing these items and some tents to Liverpool in July 1361 and 10/- to a clerk, Hugh Bulkeley, who accompanied them and supervised their transport.¹⁰⁸ In August 1361, 1000 white bows, 4000 sheaves of good and better quality arrows and 31½ gross of bowstrings were handed over to Roger of Corndale, Lionel's wardrober, to bring to Ireland.¹⁰⁹ In the summer of 1362, when the retinues of Windsor and

104. E.101/396/6

105. Hewitt, Organisation of War, p. 40

106. E.101/394/2 (particulars of the account of Henry Snayth, keeper of the privy wardrobe, 34-36 Edward III)

107. Ibid.

108. E.403/408 m. 37

109. E.101/394/2

Hoggeshawe and levies from a large number of counties and Welsh lordships were being sent to Ireland, further supplies were organised, again by the keeper of the privy wardrobe. In June 1362, 600 white bows, 2000 sheaves of arrows and 2400 bowstrings were handed over to Lionel's clerk John of Hilton,¹¹⁰ who received £20 from the exchequer for their carriage to Liverpool.¹¹¹ This is, however, the last shipment of replacements to Ireland during Lionel's period of office. The account of the keeper of the wardrobe for 1362-5 shows no sign of any further supplies having been sent from there for Lionel's use.¹¹² There may not have been any further need for these items, especially since the size of the army in Ireland declined rapidly after 1363 and sufficient supplies for the reduced needs of the army may have been available in Ireland.

Certainly some weapons were being manufactured in Ireland. At some time between October 1361 and March 1364 John Scrope, the keeper of the works and munitions in Dublin castle, had 100 axes and six iron bills made for use against the Irish enemies.¹¹³ These were evidently items which it had not been thought necessary to bring from England, but which had to be specially manufactured in response to the needs of the Irish terrain. No details of the organisation of the supplies of arms and weapons in Ireland are available, but it appears that Scrope was in charge of the stores at Dublin castle while it was probably Lionel's wardrobe who saw to the normal day to day supplying of the main army. In addition to seeing to the manufacture of the axes and

110. E.101/394/2

111. E.403/410 m. 26; Cal. Close Rolls 1364-8, p. 29.

112. E.101/394/14

113. RC8/28 pp. 343-4.

bills, Scrope also supplied the garrisons of castles with whatever weapons and replacements they needed. In a writ of allocate covering the period 1364-6, it is stated that he provided three crossbows with the same number of baldrics, three bastardbowys, three dozen bowstrings and five sheaves of arrows for Newcastle McKinegan¹¹⁴ and four crossbows, four baldrics and three sheaves of quarrelshafts for the garrison at Carlow.¹¹⁵ In addition he may have provided other castles with similar items the details of which have not survived. It is interesting to note the use of crossbows by the members of the garrisons, especially when compared to the use of longbows by the members of Lionel's army. The crossbows had the advantage of a longer range and heavier missiles, but against this they were slower to load and fire and needed greater skill on the part of the operators. Their longer range was probably the decisive factor in their use for defence against the Irish.

As well as the weapons mentioned above, two others are known to have been brought by Lionel to Ireland, if not actually used by him here.¹¹⁶ The first was a springal with 24 quarrels. This was apparently some kind of large wooden engine which could be wound up and which then discharged its ammunition, usually lead balls,¹¹⁷ but in this case quarrels, probably a larger version of those used in the crossbow. The other item is described as a gonne, evidently a cannon. Cannons had been in use in the English army since the 1340s,¹¹⁸ but

114. RC8/29 p. 246

115. Ibid., p. 238 See Appendix XIII below

116. E.101/396/6

117. Hewitt, Organisation of War, p. 72; Fowler, The Age of Plantagenet and Valois, p. 109.

118. Hewitt, Organisation of War, p. 72

this appears to have been the first one brought to Ireland. It was probably the same cannon as that described as unum parvum gonne de cupro bought by the keeper of the wardrobe from John Brasiere of Cornhull in July 1361 pro dono faciendo domino Leonello and costing 6s. 8d.¹¹⁹ This was handed over with sixteen pounds of gunpowder to Roger de Corndale, Lionel's wardrober, in August 1361 to be brought to Ireland,¹²⁰ and seems to be the first known use of artillery in Ireland, though clearly on a very small scale. Cannons and engines of war such as springals were both offensive and defensive weapons.¹²¹ They could be used for laying siege to castles and towns, but it is difficult to see how they could have been employed in this way in Ireland, except, perhaps, for occasional incidents like the recapture of Athlone castle from the Irish in the summer of 1364. In their defensive rôle, their main function was to destroy the engines of the besieging opponents. This hardly seems relevant to the Irish situation, but a later provision for the making of guns for the defence of Carlow in 1394¹²² indicates that they could also be used effectively against opponents who did not have artillery. The cannon brought over by Lionel could well have been used for the defence of Carlow after the exchequer had been moved there. However the description of the cannon as unum parvum gonne and its cost, which was only half of the cost of cannon bought for the wardrobe in 1353,¹²³ do not lead one to expect much of its destructive capabilities.

119. E.101/394/2

120. Ibid.

121. W. Y. Carman, A History of Firearms (1955) pp. 22-3

122. Rot. Canc. Hib., p. 151 nos. 12-13

123. E.101/392/14, quoted in T. F. Tout 'Firearms in England in the fourteenth century' EHR, xxvi (1911) p. 691. Tout estimates the size of Lionel's cannon as 20lb. (Ibid., p. 683).

A variety of miscellaneous equipment was also needed for use on campaigns. This included tents, cooking utensils, crests and banners and carts for carrying the baggage. We know of tents being sent to Ireland in 1361,¹²⁴ but for any details of the remainder of the equipment the only evidence we have is that contained in the list of Lionel's possessions in the custody of the abbot of Chester.¹²⁵ These obviously comprised only the equipment for his household, but they do give an indication of the kind of items which were employed. His kitchen utensils included two large brass pots and three other pots, a large mortar and pestle, thirteen copper pans, a frying pan, twelve iron spits, a tankard for use in the hall and a cauldron called blakerobyn weighing 63 pounds. It is not known how many tents were sent to Ireland in 1361, but among the goods at Chester were eight large and small tents with their appurtenances and three palliasses. The list also contains a large number of pensels, banners and pennants - twelve depicting St. George, thirty-four with the arms of England and ninety-four with the arms of Ulster - as well as eight standards with the arms of England. These were probably used for both war and tournaments. Another item included among Lionel's goods is a medicine chest, and although there is no mention of a physician or an apothecary accompanying the army, it is probable that Lionel's household included someone with expertise in this field.

He also brought with him a large quantity of armour and equipment which is specifically described as being pro iouste.¹²⁶ These included four pairs of gloves of plate, seven backplates, a pair of gilt stirrups, five pairs of plates, three shields, eleven helmets, a gilt belt, two cloths of gold, two cloths, gilded and enamelled, and four saddles with the arms of England and Ulster.

124. E.403/408 m. 37.

125. E.101/396/6

126. Ibid.

(iii) Provisions

When it was decided to send Lionel to Ireland in 1361 it was probably taken for granted that food would be readily available for his army there, in the same way as had been the case during the English campaigns in France. The first step in ensuring that this would be so was taken on 15 March 1361 when it was ordered that no victuals were to be exported from Ireland as the king 'would make provision that there may be no lack of victuals at the coming of his said son'.¹²⁷ This prohibition lasted for the duration of Lionel's lieutenancy and although it was theoretically possible to get exemption from it, the fact that there is only one surviving licence of this kind, that to William Grevet of Hampshire to ship 10 tuns of fish from Ireland to England in January 1363,¹²⁸ indicates that it was applied fairly strictly.

Although it was assumed that the army would live off the land once it got to Ireland, supplies were needed for feeding the men at the port of embarkation, during the crossing from Liverpool and Bristol, and for the short period between their landing in Ireland and the beginning of a campaign. Hewitt has shown the elaborate provisions made for feeding the army in France in 1346, involving a large number of sheriffs,¹²⁹ but there is no sign of any similar machinery in operation during the preparations for Lionel's departure in 1361, or in the case of his return to Ireland in 1364, or on the departure of any of the reinforcements for Ireland. The accounts of the clerk of the wages and of the clerks entrusted with the organisation and paying of shipping make no reference to food, and although it is possible that the sheriffs

127. Cal. Close Rolls, 1360-64, pp. 255-6

128. Cal. Patent Rolls, 1361-4, p. 296

129. Hewitt, Organisation of War, p. 53

of, for example, Lancashire, Gloucestershire and Somerset, did provide food, it is significant that no mandate to a sheriff to provide food for the army has survived. The alternative method was that used by the Black Prince in 1355, that of organising purveyance through his household.¹³⁰ Lionel's household accounts have not survived, but the same system appears to have been used by him. The Black Prince's register contains a memorandum to the effect that on 10 June 1361 the lieutenant and chamberlain of Chester and the sheriff of Cheshire were ordered to 'give aid and counsel to the purveyors of Sir Lionel, earl of Ulster, in making provision for his passage to Ireland and sojourn there',¹³¹ and it seems likely that similar writs went out to the sheriffs of Lancashire, Gloucestershire and Somerset. What is not clear here, however, is the question of whether purveyance for the whole army was undertaken by Lionel's household, or whether it was just intended for his personal retinue. The leaders of other retinues may have been responsible for finding food for their men. Again, no household accounts survive, and most indentures relating to Lionel's expedition made no mention of food, but in that made between the earl of Stafford and the king on 12 May 1361, there is a clause which reads

et aussint qe les attournes du dit conte eient
garant souz le grant seal et briefs deskipper
toute manere des vitailles pur lui et ses
gentz et de les amener hors dengleterre en
Irland et le Roi a ce trovera eskippeson a
coustages propres du dit Rauf.¹³²

While it is true that purveyance is not specifically mentioned and that the clause merely refers to the shipping of food, the implication is that the earl was looking after the provisions for his own retinue,

130. Black Prince's Register ii, p. 86

131. Black Prince's Register iii, p. 418

132. E.101/28/27 m. 11

presumably at his own cost. It is not clear whether this was intended to refer to the initial supplies for Stafford's retinue, or as a means of ensuring that his men would not go hungry in Ireland. There are no extant letters under the English great seal giving Stafford's attorneys power to ship food to Ireland as stipulated in the indenture, and the fact that Stafford himself was to pay for the shipping, and presumably for the food also, means that there is no record of this operation in the central government archives. Furthermore, it is not certain whether this clause in Stafford's indenture was merely expressing in words something which was taken for granted in other indentures. There is also the problem of the county levies, which were technically not part of any retinue, and, therefore, no-one's direct responsibility. There is no mention of food being supplied for them, but it could have been done in one of two ways. Either the counties provided the food for them on their departure, or they were attached for this purpose to the retinue of whatever leader they were sailing with.

Once the army arrived in Ireland, the duty of finding provisions for both men and horses fell to the purveyors. The whole system of purveyance had been regulated in 1357 when it was ordered that purveyance was to be under the overall control of the Irish council, purveyors were to act only under a commission under the Irish great seal, and victuals were to be appraised locally, having regard to current local market prices, and to be paid for, if not immediately, then within two months.¹³³ Since no patent rolls for the period of Lionel's

133. Berry Statutes, John-Henry V, p. 410. In October 1358 letters patent under the Irish great seal were issued to the sheriff of Kildare, John Syward and Peter of Okebourn to purvey wheat and corn in Co. Kildare for the war in Leinster. (Rot. Canc. Hib., p. 73b, no. 51).

lieutenancy survive, it is impossible to say whether this practice was followed or not. It is possible that the regulations were contravened and that the appointment of purveyors was done under Lionel's privy seal, especially since the posts of keeper of this seal and clerk of the wages were initially held by the same man, Walter of Dalby.¹³⁴ The purveyors may have been members of Lionel's household, who did not account at the exchequer.¹³⁵ There is no mention of any purveyors on the memoranda rolls and the pipe rolls do not survive, but it is possible that the sellers might have been paid by tallies for the amount concerned, as was the case with Windsor's retinue in 1372.¹³⁶ It is also possible that money paid by the exchequer to the clerk of works covers purveyance. Although we do not have his accounts, it seems that he provided food on occasion for the garrisons of castles. A writ of allocate relating to John Scrope's account as clerk of works for the period 10 March 1364 - 25 July 1366 shows that he provided 147 loaves of bread, 5½ pecks of flour, one peck of malt, one crannock of wheat, two cows and some fish for the castle of Newcastle McKinegan.¹³⁷ Most of the cows received from Irish chiefs as a fine for having a charter of peace were sold locally and the money derived from their sale paid into the exchequer,¹³⁸ but it appears that some of the 100 cows received from O Connor Kerry

134. E.101/28/21 See above p. 57

135. In October 1364, a protection was issued for Clement Lavender, a fishmonger of London, going to Ireland with Lionel (Cal. Patent Rolls 1364-7, p. 34). This may be the same man as the 'Lavender' who purchased fish for Lionel's household in the summer of 1361 (E.101/94/4).

136. Rot. Canc. Hib., p. 84b, no. 129

137. RC8/29 p. 146

138. E.101/244/9

in 1365 or 1366 were taken by the lieutenant for the use of his household,¹³⁹ and there may have been other instances of this.

Although the details of the system are not known, some evidence is available on the side effects of purveyance at this time. The logical outcome of the increased demand for food, resulting from the presence of the army in Ireland, was a rise in prices. The Irish council saw price-fixing as the answer to this problem. In 1362 the maximum price of wine was fixed at eightpence a gallon,¹⁴⁰ and this restriction was repeated in an ordinance made on 9 June 1363.¹⁴¹ There are several examples of persons selling wine at a higher price and having the wine forfeited as a result. In these cases the price seems to have varied between tenpence and one shilling a gallon.¹⁴² This ordinance may have only applied to Cos. Dublin, Louth and Meath, as was the case with a more wide-ranging one issued on 8 April 1364. This stated that, at the request of the magnates and commons of Ireland, an inquisition had been held which found that all men having corn and other items could without injury sell them at the rates fixed. The rates per crannock for these commodities were: wheat 8/-, oats 4/-, barley 3/4, wheatmeal 9/4, oatmeal 5/-, beans 6/-, peas 5/4, salt 6/-, and charcoal 2/8. The price of iron was fixed at tenpence a stone.¹⁴³ This proclamation was followed by the appointment of two justices of the common bench to hear and determine cases of transgression in the sale of corn, charcoal, salt or iron in Cos. Dublin,

139. RC8/31, p. 13

140. RC8/28, p. 130

141. Ibid., pp. 296-7

142. Ibid., pp. 296-7, 380.

143. Genealogical Office, MS 192, pp. 140-41.

Meath and Louth, and they appear to have acted in this capacity during the summer of 1364.¹⁴⁴ The lack of plea rolls and of exchequer summonses makes it impossible to say how far these ordinances were put into effect. However, it is clear from the fact that the ordinances were made at all that the problem of increased prices was serious enough for the Irish council, and in 1364 the magnates and commons as well, to be alarmed at the situation and adopt measures to deal with it.

It is probable that there was not enough spare food in Ireland to feed the army and that in making these ordinances the council was merely fighting a losing battle. We have no information relating to supply of provisions for the years 1361-3 but it is significant that from 1364 onwards, the year when the prices were fixed, we have details of provisions being imported, mostly from England. These occur in the form of licences issued to merchants to export wheat, peas and beans to Ireland and probably represent only a fraction of the total trade. The details given in the licences are as follows:

<u>Date</u>	<u>Amount</u>	<u>Port of Origin</u>
12 May 1364 ¹⁴⁵	100 quarters wheat and 60 quarters beans	Shoreham
15 July 1364 ¹⁴⁶	80 quarters beans	Rye
11 November 1364 ¹⁴⁷	300 quarters peas and beans	Bridgwater

144. RC8/28 pp. 626-7.

145. Cal. Patent Rolls, 1361-4, p. 499.

146. Cal. Patent Rolls, 1364-7, p. 1.

147. Ibid., p. 35.

<u>Date</u>	<u>Amount</u>	<u>Port of Origin</u>
23 January 1365 ¹⁴⁸	100 quarters peas and beans	Bridgwater
8 November 1365 ¹⁴⁹	500 quarters peas and beans	Bridgwater

However, there may well have been a large number of merchants engaged in exporting food to Ireland who did not bother with the formality of getting a licence. The fact that this could be done with relative ease is demonstrated by the case of John de Godesland, who took 160 quarters of corn illegally from Bridgwater to the king's Irish enemies on two occasions, but on attempting to repeat this a third time, was discovered and arrested.¹⁵⁰

Before Lionel's return to Ireland in late 1364, he made arrangements for the provision of wine for his men in Ireland, presumably because of a shortage of good wine there. On 24 September 1364 'at the special asking of the king's son Lionel... in order that the duke may the better support the men of war in his company for the ordering of the said land' Lionel's yeoman John of Newbourn was allowed to buy 40 lasts of herrings in England, ship them from Yarmouth to Bordeaux, and with the money from their sale, buy 100 tuns of wine in Gascony and bring it to Ireland.¹⁵¹ On 28 October 1364, Clement Lavender, a citizen and fishmonger of London, who had received a protection on 3 October for going with Lionel to Ireland,¹⁵² was

148. Ibid., p. 61.

149. Ibid., p. 176. The peas and beans may have been used as fodder for the horses.

150. Cal. Patent Rolls, 1364-7, p. 72; Cal. Fine Rolls 1356-68, p. 291.

151. Cal. Patent Rolls, 1364-7, p. 19

152. Ibid., p. 34

given licence to buy wines in Gascony with the sum of £100 received from the sale of cloth and other merchandise taken there by him and to bring the wine from Bordeaux to Ireland 'for the sustenance of the king's lieges staying there in the king's wars.'¹⁵³

Although very little is known of the details of the provisioning of Lionel's army, an examination of what little evidence there is makes one fact apparent - there was not enough food in Ireland to cope with the demands of a large army. This shortage resulted on the one hand in the increased food prices there, a problem which the Irish council tried to solve by regulating maximum prices, and on the other hand in the need to import supplies for the army from both England and Gascony.

(iv) Horses

All the indentures relating to Lionel's expedition include a clause concerning the horses of the leaders and men at arms, where it is stated that the horses are to be appraised, either at the port of embarkation or on their arrival in Ireland, and that the king is to provide sufficient shipping for their transport to Ireland.¹⁵⁴

The principles underlying these clauses, however, are not spelt out, presumably because they formed part of the customary organisation of a contract army and as such were universally accepted. These were that the leaders of the retinues were responsible for ensuring that the members of their retinues had suitable horses, and that the king

153. Ibid., p. 25

154. P.R.O.L., E.101/28/27 (Stafford, Windsor, Hoggeshawe, Dabrichcourt, St. Laud and Ashton); E.368/137 Trinity Record m. 10 (Windsor).

would pay compensation if any of the horses which had been appraised were lost during the campaigns.¹⁵⁵ The appraisal of the horses was an essential part of this procedure. Stafford's indenture is more specific than the others on most points, including the question of horses. The king was to supply horses for Stafford's own use: if this were done, Stafford was to have only one horse appraised, but if he provided his own mounts, then he could have two appraised.¹⁵⁶ This was exceptional and probably connected with the fact that Stafford had been retained for life by the king in 1354,¹⁵⁷ and in indentures of retainer of this kind it was customary for the superior contracting party to provide horses for the personal use of the other party.¹⁵⁸ A clerk was to be assigned to appraise horses in England and the treasurer of Ireland was to be ordered to appraise all horses bought for the earl in Ireland. Each man at arms was to have only one horse appraised and the king would pay compensation for any lost. The king was also to provide adequate shipping for the horses, both going to Ireland and returning, and in default of this, Stafford was to be paid for any horses lost or left behind.¹⁵⁹

It is noticeable from an examination of the indentures that no mention is made of the horses of the mounted archers. It was evidently the leader's responsibility to ensure that they also had suitable mounts and they appear to have been included in the clause relating to shipping, as the indentures refer here to the horses of the leader and his men (gentz), a general term, while in the clause

155. Prince 'Indenture system' p. 294.

156. E.101/28/27 m. 11.

157. Cal. Close Rolls 1354-60, pp. 21-2.

158. Prince 'Indenture system' p. 294.

159. E.101/28/27 m. 11.

relating to compensation the term used is men at arms (gentz darmes).¹⁶⁰ In addition, there are several instances of sums of money being paid for the repassage of horses belonging to archers.¹⁶¹ However, their horses were not appraised, and no compensation was payable for any that were lost. In the case of the county levies, the commission of array stated that the mounted archers were to have horses of their own,¹⁶² but whether these were their personal property or were provided by the county is not known. Like those of the other mounted archers, these horses were not appraised and no compensation was paid.

Nothing is known of the methods employed in the acquisition of suitable horses for the campaign, but it must have been done by agents or household officials of the leaders concerned. Most of the horses were probably acquired in England before the departure of the retinues, although as has been seen above, it was intended that Stafford would buy horses in Ireland in addition to those he was bringing from England. There are no surviving Stafford household accounts to illustrate how this was done, and the valuation of the Irish horses has not survived, but it appears that some horses were acquired in Ireland as an order to the Irish treasurer to appraise them stated that 'the earl.... has caused a great number of such horses to be there purveyed against his coming thither.'¹⁶³

It is difficult to calculate the total number of horses involved in the expedition. Normally, an earl was allowed the transport of six horses, a banneret five, a knight four, a man at arms

160. Ibid.

161. E.101/28/21 f. 13^V; E.101/28/20; E.101/29/11.

162. Cal. Patent Rolls 1361-4, p. 36.

163. Cal. Close Rolls 1360-64, p. 198.

three and a mounted archer one horse.¹⁶⁴ However, it is not certain that all the members of the expedition brought their allotted number of horses to Ireland. The shipping to Ireland was paid for on the basis of mariners' wages,¹⁶⁵ and not, as was sometimes the case, at a flat rate per horse.¹⁶⁶ The repassage was done at this fixed rate,¹⁶⁷ but the surviving figures are incomplete and take no account of the number of horses lost or left behind in Ireland. However, the fact that Ferrers in his account for the years 1361-4 claimed and was allowed repassage costs for 85 horses - four for each knight, three for each man at arms and one for each mounted archer,¹⁶⁸ and the fact that similar figures occur in the repassage of some of the other retinues,¹⁶⁹ indicate that the convention was adhered to and that the figures per man may be close to the actual number used.

Most of the indentures specified that the appraisal of horses was to be done after their arrival in Ireland, but those of Stafford and Windsor (1363) stated that it was to be done before their departure, Stafford's at Bristol,¹⁷⁰ and Windsor's on their arrival at the sea, in his case at Liverpool.¹⁷¹ This was apparently the more usual procedure during the French war,¹⁷² but in the case of Lionel's expedition, it is perhaps significant that these

164. Prince 'Indenture system', p. 294.

165. E.101/28/21 ff. 11-13

166. Prince 'Indenture system' p. 295.

167. E.101/28/21 f. 13^v

168. E.101/28/20

169. E.101/28/21 f. 13^v

170. E.101/28/27 m. 11

171. P.R.O.L., E.368/137 Trinity Record m. 10.

172. Hewitt, Organisation of War, p. 87

indentures seem to have been the result of a certain amount of bargaining on the part of Stafford and Windsor.¹⁷³ The obvious advantage from their point of view, in having the horses valued before they left, was that they avoided the possibility of a lower value being put on the horses as a result of any deterioration in their condition while making the crossing to Ireland. As has been stated, there are no surviving indentures between the king and Lionel himself and no valuations of his horses, but in 1364 his horses were appraised at Liverpool,¹⁷⁴ and it is possible, given the presence there of Dalby, that the same course had been followed in 1361. In most cases during the period 1361-4, the valuation was the direct responsibility of the clerk of the wages. Dalby himself conducted the appraisal of Stafford's horses at Bristol in 1361, in the company of Richard of Imworth, a sergeant at arms,¹⁷⁵ and he also conducted that of Windsor's horses at Liverpool in February 1364.¹⁷⁶ The horses of Dabrichecourt, Ashton and St. Laud were valued in Ireland during Dalby's absence in 1363 by his deputy William of Carlisle acting with Thomas Dale, Lionel's chamberlain.¹⁷⁷ The entire system of paying the army was changed in 1364 with the replacement of Dalby,¹⁷⁸ and consequently the valuation of Lionel's horses at Liverpool in November 1364 was done by Adam de Clifton,¹⁷⁹ a sergeant at arms,

173. See above p. 34

174. Cal. Patent Rolls, 1364-7, p. 29

175. E.101/28/11 (valuation of horses of persons engaged in the expedition to Ireland, 1361-3); Cal. Patent Rolls, 1361-4, p. 49.

176. E.101/29/5 (valuation of horses for Windsor's retinue, 1364).

177. E.101/28/11.

178. See above pp. 60-61

179. Cal. Patent Rolls 1364-7, p. 29

instead of by the clerk of the wages. When the valuation was being made in England, it was usually carried out shortly before the retinue embarked. In the case of Windsor in 1364, his retinue was incomplete on 1 February when the valuation of horses was made, with the result that those of William la Zouche and Henry of Coventry were not included because these two men were occupied elsewhere in assembling the retinue.¹⁸⁰ If the valuation was being made in Ireland some considerable time might elapse between the beginning of the period of service and the making of the valuation. In 1362, Windsor and Hoggeshawe began their service on 24 June but their horses were not valued until 19 August in the case of Hoggeshawe and 7 November in the case of Windsor.¹⁸¹

The valuation of horses in the fourteenth century followed a regular form, with the name of the owner, the price and a description of the animal. These details included the type of horse, its colour and any distinguishing marks.¹⁸² Sometimes the name of the horse was also given.¹⁸³ In some cases the horses had been branded, but it was not the practice to give the horses belonging to one specific retinue an identifying mark.¹⁸⁴ The values of the horses involved in Lionel's expedition varied between five and twenty pounds, with one horse belonging to the earl of Stafford being valued at eighty marks¹⁸⁵

180. P.R.O.L., E.159/142 Trinity Brevia directa baronibus, m. 3.

181. E.101/28/11.

182. E.101/29/5 See Appendix IX below.

183. E.101/29/5; E.101/28/11

184. E.101/29/5. In two cases the horse was branded with the mark of someone who had no connection with the expedition, Ralph Neville and the Prior of Guisborough.

185. E.101/28/11.

and that of John Copson, a member of Windsor's retinue in 1364, valued at nothing.¹⁸⁶

Once the valuation had been made, it was delivered by the person making it to the chamber¹⁸⁷ where it was kept until the account of the clerk of the wages or leader of a retinue was being audited, when it was sent under the great seal to the exchequer as evidence.¹⁸⁸

When a leader and his retinue had finished the specified period of service, he claimed the compensation for lost horses by submitting a list of them to the chamber in England, giving the same sort of details as in the valuation.¹⁸⁹ If these corresponded with the valuation, then the clerk of the wages was ordered to pay him the compensation, and the clerk then received allowance for this in his account.¹⁹⁰ In September 1363 Thomas Dale, Lionel's chamberlain, wrote to Dalby, who was then in England, informing him that two horses belonging to Dabrichecourt and a member of his retinue had been killed and asking him to examine the valuation of Dabrichecourt's horses which Dale had previously sent over, in order to find out if compensation could be paid.¹⁹¹ When Dalby was accounting for the period 1361-4, the number of lost horses was contained in his book of particulars, but in addition he had to deliver a detailed schedule of these horses, giving the same sort of details as appeared in the

186. E.101/29/5

187. Cal. Patent Rolls, 1364-7, p. 29

188. E.101/29/5

189. E.101/28/11

190. E.101/28/27 m. 4. If the details did not agree, the claim for compensation might be rejected (E.101/29/11).

191. E.101/28/27 m. 6.

original valuation, and swear that they had been lost and that the leader concerned had been allowed compensation for them.¹⁹² If it was the leader himself who was accounting, as in the case of Windsor in 1365, then he received allowance for lost horses in his account.¹⁹³

It was evidently assumed that only horses lost in the wars would be paid for. In 1362, Thomas Stafford, a sergeant at arms who frequently acted as a messenger between England and Ireland, claimed for a horse which he had lost while accompanying the lieutenant on a journey from Dublin to Drogheda. However this was apparently adjudged not to have been lost in the wars and therefore the claim was disallowed.¹⁹⁴ It is not clear whether horses which had been valued at Liverpool or Bristol and died before reaching Ireland could be claimed for. In 1365 John de Troyes, the treasurer, stated that he had lost horses to the value of one hundred marks in a storm at sea while crossing from England,¹⁹⁵ but he did not claim compensation for this loss. This was probably due to the fact that his horses were never appraised and consequently the compensation procedure did not apply, but it may also have been connected with the fact that they were not lost in Ireland.

Obviously the fact that only one horse per person was appraised limited the amount of money which the English exchequer had to pay out in compensation. However, given the high values of some of the horses and the numbers that were lost, this could still amount to a

192. E.101/28/11

193. E.101/29/11

194. E.101/314/21 (particulars of the account of Thomas Stafford for a journey to Ireland, 1362).

195. Cal. Close Rolls 1364-8, p. 151

sizeable sum. It is impossible to estimate the total number of horses lost in Ireland. We know of 57 for which compensation was paid, but there is no information about replacement horses or those belonging to mounted archers, neither of which could be claimed for. For the period 1361-4 Walter of Dalby accounted for £310/6/8 paid out in compensation for lost horses to the following leaders:¹⁹⁶

Earl of Stafford	21 horses	£198/13/4
Thomas de Nanton	1 horse	£8
William of Windsor	7 horses	£54
Eustace Dabrichecourt	2 horses	£21/6/8
John de St. Laud	1 horse	£6/13/4
Robert Ashton	3 horses	£21/13/4

The obvious omission here is Lionel himself. There is no mention of compensation for his horses in either Dalby's book of particulars, covering the period 3 July 1361 - 22 April 1364,¹⁹⁷ or in his enrolled account for the period 23 April 1364 - 1 February 1365,¹⁹⁸ nor is there any mention of horses belonging to Lionel's retinue in the particulars of horses lost which Dalby had to submit when his account was being audited.¹⁹⁹ We do not have the text of an indenture of retinue between Lionel and the king, so there is no way of telling whether compensation for horses formed part of the agreement between them. Lionel's position as the king's son and lieutenant of Ireland may have led to other arrangements being made. The fact that he was given 500 marks in October 1364 de dono regis as compensation for horses lost by him and his men in Ireland²⁰⁰ implies that if Lionel

196. E.101/28/21 f. 14^v

197. E.101/28/21

198. P.R.O.L., E.364/7 m. C.

199. E.101/28/11

200. E.403/421 m. 5.

had made an indenture, the normal clause relating to horses lost in the wars was not included, as this represents a lump sum rather than the value of whatever number of horses was actually lost. His horses were valued in 1364,²⁰¹ but since Lionel does not appear to have accounted at the English exchequer for the period of his second expedition to Ireland, no details are available relating to compensation paid to him.

It is difficult to judge the efficiency with which the preparations for Lionel's army and the provision of food, arms and horses were carried out. As far as food and arms are concerned, the scarcity of information of any kind makes it almost impossible to see the details of the operation, let alone how efficiently it worked. However, the main problem of shortage of food and high prices seems to have been overcome by 1364 and there is no sign of food in large quantities having to be imported from England. As for weapons, one must assume that those sent over from England in 1361 and 1362 together with those already available in Ireland or later manufactured there were sufficient for the duration of the expedition. The privy wardrobe had large stocks of bows, arrows and other items and more could be made if necessary, but there is no indication that any were sent to Ireland after 1362 as surely would have been done if they were needed there. The fact that compensation was payable on the spot to owners of horses lost in Ireland and the large number of horses which were shipped back to England at the end of each period of service indicate that shortage of horses was not a problem. The provision of an adequate number of ships at the right time for transporting the men to Ireland was obviously essential to the

201. Cal. Patent Rolls, 1364-7, p. 29

effectiveness of the expedition. Any delays in crossing might result not only in desertions, but also in a great waste of money, as the indentured retinues would have to be paid from the day they arrived at the sea, irrespective of the fact that they were merely waiting for their passage instead of being actively occupied in the wars in Ireland, and their period of active service would be cut short. It may have been in an attempt to get around this problem that Windsor's indenture in 1363 stated that the period of service was to be reckoned from the day of his arrival in Ireland.²⁰² As had been seen, delays and shortages in shipping occurred on several occasions during Lionel's lieutenancy. Much of the blame for this can be placed on the inefficiency of the system itself rather than of those concerned with its operation. The practice of using impressed merchant shipping and the small number of men actually employed in arresting the ships over a wide area meant that overall control of the operation was minimal. In July 1355 the Black Prince had experienced great difficulty in assembling sufficient ships at Plymouth to transport his army to Gascony, but this expedition was on a far larger scale than Lionel's and the demand for ships exceeded the number that could be provided at short notice.²⁰³ One would expect the preparations in the 1360s to have been carried out with more success but this was not the case. The number of ships needed would hardly have stretched the available resources, but the shortcomings of the system were probably the reason for the difficulty in getting adequate shipping together in time for the crossing.

202. E.368/137 Trinity Recorda m. 10.

203. H. J. Hewitt The Black Prince's Expedition of 1355-7 (Manchester, 1957) pp. 38-9.

V. THE ARMY IN IRELAND 1361-6¹

Lionel arrived at Dublin on 15 September 1361,² accompanied by Ralph Ferrers and John de Carreu and a total force of 100 men at arms and 500 mounted archers.³ Another force of 97 men at arms and 170 mounted archers under the earl of Stafford had sailed from Bristol in the middle of August⁴ and seems to have landed in the south-east of Ireland and then marched northwards to join the main army either at Dublin or in Wicklow. Lionel set out almost immediately to deal with the problem of the Leinster Irish. This was, of course, a perennial one, and since the death of Rokeby, the situation there had deteriorated to such an extent that in 1360 there was almost constant warfare with the three main Gaelic Irish chiefs of eastern Leinster, O Byrne, O Toole and MacMurrough.⁵ In 1361, however, the problem was intensified by the fact that the decision had already been taken to move the exchequer and common bench to Carlow, and consequently it was vital to keep the area around Carlow free from disturbance.

The first campaign seems to have taken place in Wicklow against O Byrne.⁶ Arrangements were made for a number of garrisons and wards

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1. See Appendix X below for an itinerary for the years 1361-6 and Appendix XI for maps showing the location of the main places and chiefs mentioned in this chapter.
 2. Chart. St. Mary's Abbey, ii, p. 395.
 3. P.R.O.L., E.101/28/20; E.101/28/21 ff. 3^v-4^v, 6^v-7^v.
 4. E.101/28/21 ff. 5-6.
 5. See above p. 15
 6. Chart. St. Mary's Abbey, ii, p. 395.

in the area. In October 1361 Wicklow castle was repaired,⁷ and at the beginning of November, Ralph Ferrers was appointed constable and remained there with a force of twenty men at arms and six archers until 18 May 1362.⁸ At the same time, Robert de Grendon had a force of unknown size at Arklow castle⁹ and 'Donaldus Gall', who may have been a gallowglass, was employed with another capitaneus and 208 foot archers from 16 October to 3 December 1361 and again with five hobelars from 4 December 1361 to 8 January 1362, apparently in the Wicklow area.¹⁰ The remainder of the army was presumably in the same area, as the chancery and council were both based in Wicklow during the month of October 1361.¹¹ O Kennedy, another capitaneus hibernicus, served with the earl of Stafford from 1 December to 21 December 1361 with 11 mounted archers and 88 foot archers, and again from 1 January until 15 May 1362 with six hobelars.¹² At the same time some forces were employed in the area around Carlow for the protection of the exchequer, presumably against the MacMurroughs. Robert Holywood, a remembrancer of the exchequer, was stationed at Carlow throughout Michaelmas term 1361 with three hobelars and three archers 'for the defence of that town and the surrounding parts',¹³ and on 22 January 1362, John Galbarry was paid for the expenses of himself, eight armed hobelars and twenty foot soldiers for the safe keeping of parts of

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7. E.101/28/21 f. 9^v
 8. P.R.O.L., E.372/212 m. 43.
 9. P.R.O.I., RC8/28 p. 89.
 10. E.101/28/21 f. 8^v.
 11. RC8/28 pp. 10-11; E.101/28/21 f. 9^v.
 12. Ibid., f. 6; E.101/28/27 m. 1.
 13. RC8/29 pp. 88-9.

Co. Carlow.¹⁴ Lionel spent Christmas at Dublin where various provisions were made for his entertainment,¹⁵ and a truce may have been in operation for the duration of the Christmas season.

The O Byrnes seem to have been brought under control by the beginning of 1362, as from then on the area of action moved further south. In January or early February there was a campaign against the MacMurroughs, resulting in their defeat and the capture of Art MacMurrough, described in the Irish annals as 'king of Leinster' and Domhnall Riabhach, his heir.¹⁶ Both were imprisoned in Trim castle from 27 February 1362, Domhnall until 12 May and Art until 27 June, on which dates they died.¹⁷ Even after the defeat of the MacMurroughs forces were stationed in the Carlow area, so there may have been a threat from the O Mores and O Nolans to the west. Hugh Swift served with 35 foot archers in the Baltinglass area from 18 March to 27 April 1362 and Richard Talbot and his force of 14 men were probably employed there at the same time.¹⁸ The earl of Ormond served with 20 men at arms, 20 armed hobelars and 20 half-armed hobelars at Tullow from 16 March to 18 May for the safeguard of the marches there,¹⁹ while in March, Maurice Lawless and Adam Beg Harold were

14. E.101/28/21 m. 1.

15. RC8/28 pp. 343-4.

16. AC, AFM, 1361. This may be the action described in Froissart as having taken place near 'the city of Leinster' although his informant was in error in stating that William of Windsor took part, as he did not arrive in Ireland until after the capture and imprisonment of the MacMurroughs. (Froissart: Chronicles, ed. and trans. G. Brereton (1968), p. 412).

17. AC, AFM, 1361; E.372/212 m. 43. An inquiry into their deaths was ordered (Cal. Patent Rolls, 1361-4, p. 368) but the findings have not been located.

18. E.101/28/21 f. 8^v.

19. Ibid., f. 6

being paid for their services as spies.²⁰ The area around Leighlinbridge was also defended. In June 1362 Jordan O Nolan received a reward for staying with his men to guard the bridge there, and at the same time payment was made to the prior of the Carmelite house there for expenses incurred in maintaining 28 foot archers, who may have been O Nolan's men.²¹ Payments were also made to John Galbarry and John fitz Roger Power and their men for service in the marches of Leinster.²² The army seems to have been operating on three fronts at this stage. By the end of January, the Leinster problem was evidently sufficiently under control to enable Lionel to proceed northwards to Trim. On 7 February he tested letters at Drogheda²³ and may have gone further north into the earldom of Ulster itself. There may have been a short campaign against Aedh Reamhar O Neill, resulting in a truce until the following 1 May,²⁴ and it is possible that a reward granted on 15 March to duobus regulis hibernicis, Thomas O Flynn, king of Turtry and Brian O Neill,²⁵ was in connection with this. Lionel had returned to Dublin by April and spent Easter there.²⁶ In the meantime, the earl of Stafford was in Kilkenny with Robert de la Freigne, the seneschal of the liberty, and probably a force of men drawn from the locality,²⁷ presumably looking after his own interests

20. Ibid., f. 9^v

21. E.101/28/27 m. 1

22. E.101/28/21 f. 9^v

23. RC8/28 p. 64.

24. T.C.D., MS 557/1 p. 297. The date of the truce is not given.

25. E.101/28/27 m. 1.

26. RC8/28 pp. 343-4.

27. Ibid., pp. 394-5.

there. He seems to have stayed there until his return to England in June 1362.

After Easter, Lionel returned to Leinster, going as far south as New Ross,²⁸ and the main campaign in Leinster came to an end by the middle of May when Ormond, O Kennedy and Ferrers all completed their period of service. For the rest of the year we hear of no military activity in eastern Leinster. It seems likely that arrangements were made for the defence of the area, particularly since the exchequer was now established at Carlow, and rewards made to O Dunn and Maurice Lawless on September 1362 were probably in connection with this.²⁹

Lionel seems to have been satisfied with the state of Leinster, as in June 1362 he turned his attention to the midlands where O Connor Faly was at war. At the end of June or beginning of July, he was joined in this campaign by Brian MacMahon, who served with his men for four days and by Melaghlin O Rourke and Niall MacMurrough MacMahon who stayed for an unspecified period.³⁰ Rory O Molloy and his son may also have been involved as on 6 July they too received rewards for good service.³¹ On 1 August the lieutenant and council were at Trim³² and on 19 August at Croghan in Offaly,³³ presumably continuing the campaign against O Connor Faly. With him he had the keepers of the peace of Co. Meath, an indication that it was a threat to Meath rather than to Leinster that was involved. He

28. Ibid., pp. 122-3.

29. E.101/28/21 f. 9^v.

30. E.101/28/27 m. 1.

31. E.101/28/21 f. 9^v.

32. Ibid., f. 10.

33. RC8/29 p. 137; E.101/28/11.

remained in Offaly for the rest of August,³⁴ but by 11 September had returned to Trim.³⁵ Since the beginning of August he and the council had been in constant communication with Rory O Molloy, who may have been retained at an annual fee of twenty marks from the previous June. This was probably connected with the activities of the O Connors around the Shannon, as at the beginning of September a messenger had come from Connacht with letters for the lieutenant and council, and around the same time, messengers were paid for bringing letters from the constable of Roscommon castle to the lieutenant and further letters back to the constable.³⁶ Cormac O Melaghlín had been paid his fee for the term of St. Peter 1362,³⁷ and on 11 September a reward was made to Dermot O Melaghlín and his men at Trim.³⁸ This may be related to the Offaly campaign in July and August, but it is also possible that Lionel was making arrangements for the security of the east bank of the Shannon in the face of a threat from the O Connors. On 30 September he was in Keneleagh in Westmeath ad hibernicos et inimicos rebelles in dictis partibus expugnandos, together with Robert de la Freigne, the seneschal of Kilkenny.³⁹ Under the year 1362 the Irish annals report

a great hosting by Cathal Og O Conchobair and by the son of Fedhlimidh O Conchobair (i.e. Aedh) king of Connacht, into Midhe where they triumphantly burned Midhe and fourteen churches and Cill Cainnigh were burned by them⁴⁰... and they afterwards returned home safely

34. E.101/28/21 f. 10

35. Ibid., f. 9^v

36. E.101/28/21 f. 9^v. In 1362 the O Connors had captured Ballintober Castle (AC).

37. E.372/212 m. 43.

38. E.101/28/21 f. 9^v

39. RC8/28 pp. 394-5.

40. AC, AFM, 1362. At this period the Irish annals are frequently a year out in their dating of events, so the the O Connor raid may have taken place in 1363.

and although there is some doubt as to the year of this occurrence, it may well represent the reason for Lionel's activity in Meath and Westmeath in 1362.

Little is known of the lieutenant's movements during the rest of the year. Between April and September 1362 there was what is described as ardua guerra in Munster,⁴¹ but Lionel's commitments elsewhere make it very unlikely that he was involved. At some time between the middle of October 1362 and the end of February 1363 he was again in Drogheda,⁴² possibly for further negotiations involving Aedh O'Neill, and in late 1362 and early 1363 there was war in Leix, but it is not known whether the lieutenant himself took part. On 4 March 1363 a reward was made to Feruo O More and O Dunn pro resistencia facta et facienda inimicis et rebellibus domini regis in partibus de Leys.⁴³ This may have been directed against a rival O More, as the receipt roll for 1365-6 records a fine from Laoiseach O More pro pace habenda, and the fine paid by Donald O More, Shan Roth O Connor and Shane O Dempsey may also be a result of this campaign.⁴⁴

For 1363 the information is extremely scanty. Lionel seems to have spent the summer in Leinster and although we do not hear of any details there may have been a campaign against the O Tooles who were a frequent source of trouble in Leinster from 1362 onwards. In 1363 Robert Holywood claimed that his lands in the marches of Leinster

41. RC8/28 pp. 401-2. The dates are established by the reference to vacancies in the bishopric of Emly and archbishopric of Cashel.

42. E.101/314/21.

43. E.101/28/27 m. 1.

44. E.101/244/9; N.L.I. MS 761 p. 203.

tam per guerram de Otothilles quam per guerras
aliorum hibernicorum parcium illarum et occisionem
tenencium per⁴⁵ guerras illas et pestilencias...
sunt vastata

and in the following year Robert of Loughborough complained that

Otothyl et complices sui hibernici ipsum ingressum
in viginti acras terre in le Talyaghton... aut
aliquod proficuum inde habere a tempore concessionis⁴⁶
(1 September 1362) non permisit.

On 13 August the lieutenant was at Kilderalbyn in Offaly⁴⁷ where his activities may have resulted in Shan Roth O Connor making the fine mentioned above. On 14 December Lionel was at Trim,⁴⁸ though we hear nothing of any activity in this area. In February and March 1364, he was again active in Leix and Slemargy, probably against the O Mores and also in Wicklow against the O Byrnes,⁴⁹ but nothing further is known of these campaigns, except the fact that the disturbances had probably been dealt with by 22 April when he returned to England, leaving the earl of Ormond as custos and the remainder of his retinue under the command of Thomas de Dale.

Between the end of April 1364 and 22 January 1365, Lionel's retinue was stationed for part of the time at Trim and for the remainder at Mullingar, for the defence of Meath and Westmeath,⁵⁰ while Ormond, and probably William of Windsor as well, concentrated his activities in the south-east and Munster. Ormond's movements can be followed from chancery letters and pleas held by him, but little

45. RC8/28 pp. 275-6.

46. Ibid., pp. 464-6.

47. P.R.O.L., E.368/140 Easter Status et visus compotorum m. 9.

48. RC8/31 pp. 79-80.

49. RC8/28 p. 379.

50. E.368/145 Hilary Recorda m. 4d.

is known of any military activity on his part. On 1 May he and Windsor were both at Castledermot, where the indenture relating to the employment of Irish kern by Windsor was sealed and Ormond seems to have spent May and June in Cos. Kildare and Wexford.⁵¹ He evidently made terms with Gerald, Dermot and Donnchad MacMurrough, as the first recorded payment to them of an annual fee of twenty marks dates from 12 June 1364.⁵² At the same time he may have made an agreement with the O Tooles, as Aedh O Toole was later employed by Lionel against the MacMurroughs.⁵³ At the beginning of July Ormond held a parliament at Kilkenny and after this proceeded south to New Ross and Waterford. He seems to have conducted a campaign against some unnamed Irish in Munster during the month of August, but all we know of this is that some Irishmen were captured in a conflict between the earl and the Irish of Munster and were later beheaded. In September Ormond was back in Carlow where he remained until the beginning of November, apart from a short period in Kildare at the end of October.⁵⁴ He was probably engaged in strengthening the defences of Carlow, where the exchequer had been moved for the second time in the summer of 1364, as in October of that year it was described as being 'on the frontier of the Irish rebels'.⁵⁵ In the meantime, Lionel's retinue had been involved in the recapture of Athlone castle, which had fallen into the hands of the Irish in the summer of 1364. Dermot O Melaghlin, who had served with Lionel in 1362, attacked the castle with some other Irishmen, and due to negligence on the part of the constable, Walter de Baa, succeeded in capturing and occupying it. It is not known for

51. P.R.O.I., M.2750 p. 64. See above p. 36; Appendix I (v) below.

52. P.R.O.L., E.364/7 m. C.

53. E.101/244/10.

54. RC8/28 pp. 452, 467-8, 532-3, 614; M.2750 p. 64.

55. Cal. Patent Rolls, 1361-7, p. 23

how long they held it, but Thomas de Dale and the remainder of Lionel's retinue recaptured it at the beginning of August and Dale held it for the king at his own expense until the following February when he was appointed constable.⁵⁶

Lionel returned to Ireland in December 1364 with a force of 60 men at arms and 100 archers, but apparently no military activity was undertaken until the following spring when there was a major campaign in Leinster against the MacMurroughs. This seems to have taken place between 12 March 1365 when the last recorded instalment of their fee of 20 marks was paid to Gerald, Dermot and Donnchad MacMurrough,⁵⁷ and 4 April when Lionel was at Cork.⁵⁸ Lionel's personal involvement is shown by the fact that Sioda MacShane MacNamara came from Thomond with a large number of hobelars to join him at Ballyloughan castle and assist him against Gerald Kavanagh and his accomplices who were then at war.⁵⁹ Most of the action seems to have taken place in the Carlow area - Michael White, the constable of Clonmore castle, kept the castle at his own expense from 17 February until 2 June, presumably against the MacMurroughs⁶⁰ - but O Connor Faly was also at war. Cairbre O Melaghlin was employed in defending the marches of O Connor's territory while Lionel was making war on the MacMurroughs, and Rory MacGeoghegan received a reward for good service in killing 'Oan Oconhir, brother of Kaire Oconhir, an Irish enemy'.⁶¹ The O Nolans may also

56. E.101/244/10.

57. Ibid.

58. RC8/28 p. 600.

59. E.101/244/10.

60. Ibid.

61. Ibid.

have been involved, as the receipt roll shows a payment from Philip Mor O Nolan pro pace habenda.⁶² Within the period 1 February 1365 - 25 September 1366, payments were made to Aedh O Toole for good service and to John O Byrne, miles, for good service in capturing an Irish enemy,⁶³ and it is possible that these refer to the employment of O Byrnes and O Tooles on the government side in this campaign. There is also a payment to John MacGrath for wounding Donald Brellagh, in a conflict between the king and the Irish enemies and rebels of Co. Carlow.⁶⁴ Nothing is known of the details of the campaign. It was obviously an important one, to judge from the participation of so many Gaelic Irish forces, and particularly from the involvement of MacNamara, but seems to have been succesful enough to allow Lionel to go on to Munster in April. It was probably during this campaign that certain lands in Offelmyth, Co. Carlow, which had been laid waste by the Irish of Leinster, were 'traversed by Lionel, duke of Clarence... with a great army and recovered by great war made by them upon the said enemies', and subsequently declared forfeited and granted to William Ilger.⁶⁵ The MacMurroughs may have submitted and made terms with Lionel, as the receipt roll records a payment of money received from the sale of cows which had belonged to Gerald and Donald (sic) Kavanagh.⁶⁶ At some time between the end of the war against the MacMurroughs and the following October, MacNamara and his men, now described as proditores et inimici

62. E.101/244/9.

63. E.101/244/10.

64. Ibid.

65. Cal. Ormond Deeds ii, no. 113. Offelmyth is the area around Tullow. Cf. ibid., no. 43.

66. E.101/244/9.

regis were killed near Kilkenny on their way back to Thomond.⁶⁷

They had evidently taken the opportunity to indulge in some warfare on their own account. Patrick de la Freigne captured 'Conghur came McYnmarre, hibernicum rebellem', presumably one of the party, who was then hanged at Kilkenny, per capcionem cuius tota patria ibidem et alibi in multo meliorata existit.⁶⁸

Up to this, Lionel had concentrated his activities almost exclusively in Leinster and the midlands. After his return to Ireland, however, he seems to have become more concerned with Munster. This may have been due to Ormond's activities there in the summer of 1364, but it may also have been thought that Leinster and the midlands had been pacified and the time had come to try to restore control over the more outlying areas. Lionel was based in Cork from April to June 1365.⁶⁹ It appears that there was a campaign against Cormac Donn MacCarthy Carbery and his son Dermot. Hostages were taken from them and they later made a fine for peace.⁷⁰ Domhnall MacCarthy Mór, head of a rival branch of the MacCarthys, may have assisted in this campaign, as on 11 May 1365 Lionel confirmed to him as capitaneus hibernicorum Desmoniae all of the lands in Muskerry which Thomas de Rokeby had granted to his father in 1353.⁷¹ Maurice fitzRichard, the sheriff

67. RC8/29 pp. 31-2, 49, 63-4, 211-12. There is some doubt as to whether Síoda himself was killed, as one reference records the death of 'quamplures homines de nacione et retinencia Shyde McShane McKenmarre' (ibid., pp. 211-12). It is possible that he is the same person as the 'Síoda, of Kilkenny, son of John MacNamara' whose death is recorded in AFM under 1370.

68. RC8/29 p. 310.

69. Ibid., pp. 14-16, 600, 686-9; Cal. Ormond Deeds ii, nos. 112, 113.

70. E.101/244/9; RC8/31 p. 419.

71. Bodleian Library MS Rawlinson B 502 f. 92^v (I owe this reference to Mr. K. Nicholls). The 1353 grant is given in N.L.I. MS 761 pp. 210-11.

of Cork, and Raymond de Caunton captured a large number of felons in the act of robbing Ballyderown castle, near Fermoy, and held them there until the arrival of the lieutenant.⁷² There may have also been some action against O Connor Kerry at this time, as ne made a fine of one hundred cows at some time before August 1365.⁷³

Lionel spent August in Co. Limerick where he held lands. Nothing is known of his activities there, but he may have received the submission of Mahon and Brian O Brien.⁷⁴ This was probably connected with the employment and subsequent defection of Sioda MacNamara earlier in the year. The MacNamaras were technically subject to the O Briens, although by this time the subjection was not very evident, and it may have been the O Briens' desire to dissociate themselves from MacNamara's treasonable activities in Kilkenny that led them to submit. Lionel's stay in Limerick seems to have achieved very little apart from this submission. At Michaelmas, the O Kennedys, O Molryans, O Dwyers and O Briens of Arra de guerra unanimiter insurrexerunt, burned the vill of Kilbelin and raided the vill of Grean and the area around it. This was so serious that the commons of the county ordered that two wards be set up in the marches, one at Grean and the other at Caherconlish, until the following Christmas.⁷⁵ These disturbances are significant, not only because they occurred so soon after Lionel's departure from that area, but because both the O Molryans and the O Dwyers were in fact his tenants.⁷⁶ There was also war in Leinster in October, when

72, E.101/244/10.

73. RC8/31 pp. 12-13.

74. There is no contemporary reference to this submission, but Brian O Brien later assured Richard II that he and his father had submitted to Lionel (E. Curtis, Richard II in Ireland, 1394-5, (Oxford, 1927) pp. 40, 136-7).

75. RC8/29 pp. 292-6.

76. 42nd Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records of Ireland, p. 71.

O Connor Faly and O Dempsey were raiding the lands of the bishopric of Kildare.⁷⁷ Lionel seems to have spent the remainder of the year in a progress through the east of the country, going from Carlow to Castledermot and Trim in October, spending November in Meath and Westmeath and going on to Drogheda at the beginning of December, although again we know nothing of his activities.

He probably spent Christmas 1365 at Dublin, and after holding a parliament at Kilkenny in February 1366 went south into Co. Tipperary. He remained there until the end of April, and may have spent the time securing his lands there and in Co. Limerick. At this point he may have paid a visit to the earldom of Ulster, but this visit, if it took place, must have been a brief one, as the chancery was at Kilmallock at the end of May.⁷⁸ In June he was in Co. Cork, conducting a campaign against the MacCarthys of Muskerry. A grant of lands in Muskerry by Lionel to Richard Og Barrett in the following September states that these lands had been wasted by the Irish et iam per Leonellum ducem Clarencie... cum grandi exercitu per guerram fortem conquistata.⁷⁹

Lionel seems to have spent the period from July to October in Leinster and Meath, spending July in the New Ross area, August, September and most of October in Co. Kilkenny and November at Trim. There may have been a campaign against the O Tooles, as he brought Nicholas O Toole back to England as a hostage at the end of the year.⁸⁰ By 26 October

77. RC8/29 pp. 376-7.

78. Ibid., p. 699-700. For the possible visit to Ulster, see below p.158

79. Ibid., pp. 717-18

80. P.R.O.L., S.C.6/1111/11 (account of Lionel's household, 1366-7). The fact that Edmund de Burgo was also taken as a hostage indicates that Lionel may have had to deal with his de Burgo relatives in Limerick in 1365 or 1366.

he had returned to Dublin to make preparations for his departure,⁸¹
 and finally left Ireland for good on or shortly after 7 November,⁸²
 in the words of one English chronicler, dicens se numquam voluntarie
illuc rediturum.⁸³

Although most of the surviving evidence relates to military activity against the Gaelic Irish, it is clear that some of the Anglo-Irish were also a problem for the Dublin government. As has been suggested, Lionel may have taken some action against the de Burgos in Limerick in 1365 or 1366, resulting in the handing over of Edmund de Burgo as a hostage, and it may have been during the same Munster campaign that Walter Somery, a member of Lionel's retinue, captured two 'rebels and felons' in Munster, Thomas son of Thomas fitzJohn, knight, and Thomas son of John fitzGeoffrey, knight, and the earl of Kildare captured John fitzDavid Russell in Co. Limerick.⁸⁴ Thomas fitzJohn himself later captured Maurice Bermingham of Carbury and other felons, and had his fine for a charter of peace reduced as a result,⁸⁵ but there is nothing to indicate that the lieutenant's force was involved in this episode. However, he did take part in rescuing Henry Ferrers who, as part of a dispute over his wife's inheritance, was besieged in his manor of Clonee by Walter Cusack, James de la Hyde and others.⁸⁶ There may well have been other action

81. RC8/32 pp. 447-8.

82. RC8/29 p. 297.

83. Eulogium Historiarum, ed. F. S. Haydon, (Rolls Series, 1858), iii, p. 241. His recall was probably due to the progress of negotiations for his marriage to Violante Visconti, niece of the ruler of Milan (Cal. Patent Rolls, 1364-7 p. 303)

84. E.101/244/10

85. RC8/29 pp. 442-3

86. Cal. Patent Rolls, 1364-7, p. 328

against rebellious Anglo-Irish, particularly where they were allied with the Gaelic Irish of the locality, but no evidence has survived. The third hostage brought back to England in 1366, whose name is given as John de India or Jenyn Blank,⁸⁷ was probably Anglo-Irish, but there is nothing to show who he was or from where he came.

The most striking feature of Irish warfare was the emphasis on raiding. As Henry Cristede informed Froissart

It is hard to find a way of making war on the Irish effectively, for, unless they choose, there is no one there⁸⁸ to fight and there are no towns to be found...

During the fourteenth century, a method of dealing with them was developed, which seems to have been used most extensively by Thomas of Rokeby in the 1350s. The basis of this was the establishment of wards, or small garrisons, at strategic points to surround the Irish and to act as both defences against them and bases from which short sharp attacks could be made. The object was to put pressure on the Irish to submit and make a formal agreement with the king, which would, in theory at least, ensure peace in that area for some time.⁸⁹ In this type of warfare, the tactics employed in France - the chevauchée, pitched battle and siege warfare - would usually be out of place, though on one occasion, Lionel's retinue was forced to besiege Athlone castle when it was captured by the O Melaghlin.

The almost immediate adoption by Lionel of the methods previously used by Rokeby can probably be put down to the advice

87. S.C. 6/1111/11.

88. Froissart: Chronicles, ed. and trans. G. Brereton, (1968), p. 410.

89. R. F. Frame, 'English Officials and Irish Chiefs in the fourteenth century', EHR, xc (1975) pp. 756-7

and influence of the Anglo-Irish members of his council in Ireland. In many cases, details of the wards are not available, but the 1361-2 campaign in Leinster and 1365 campaign against the MacMurroughs clearly show the policy in action.⁹⁰ In 1361-2 we hear of wards at Baltinglass, Tullow and Bothircolyn in the marches of Leinster, as well as on the lands of the archbishop of Dublin at Ballymore and Tallaght.⁹¹ In addition, there were garrisons in the castles of Carlow, Wicklow, Arklow and Newcastle McKinegan, and a force of 24 men was maintained by the Carmelite house at Leighlinbridge. In 1365 there were further garrisons in the castles of Clonmore, Ballymoon and Ballyloughan in Co. Carlow. The importance of the castles can be seen from the fact that Lionel brought with him to Ireland nine masons and seven assistants under Geoffrey Yengt, who worked on Wicklow castle and elsewhere until the end of October 1361, and also five carpenters, of whom two remained until the end of June 1362.⁹² The remainder of the repairs to castles carried out during Lionel's lieutenancy were probably carried out by Irish workmen, though there was some difficulty in assembling a sufficient workforce for the works at Carlow.⁹³

The writs of allocate for the clerk of the works provide a considerable amount of information as to the nature and extents of the repairs, particularly to the castles at Dublin and Carlow. At Dublin, several buildings were demolished and replaced by new ones; these and several others had new glass windows installed; the roofs

90. See Appendix XI, map (iii) below.

91. E.101/28/21, ff. 6, 8^v; RC8/29 pp. 88-9, 234-5.

92. E.101/28/21 f. 9.

93. RC8/29 pp. 132-3.

of the storehouse, bakery, goldsmith's house and the large tower were replaced and a new drawbridge made. In addition, provision was made for tournaments in the castle, gardens and arbours were laid out and a barge made for the use of Lionel's wife, a reminder of the social as well as the defensive character of the castle.⁹⁴ At Carlow it was necessary to complete the walls of the town as well as repairing the castle, in order to provide a secure administrative centre. Repairs were also carried out to the castles at Clonmore and Ballymoon in Co. Carlow,⁹⁵ Trim⁹⁶ and Athlone,⁹⁷ but few details have survived.

The number of people needed for the garrison of a castle or a ward seems to have been very small, although there are few figures available for this period. As has been seen, Ralph Ferrers had twenty men at arms and six archers in Wicklow castle and Leighlinbridge was defended by twenty-four archers. It is possible that the members of the different retinues may have been employed in this fashion. The army certainly seems to have been split up, with the earl of Stafford, the county levies which he had brought with him, and O Kennedy operating as one unit, mainly, it seems, in the Kilkenny area. Later, after Lionel's return to England in 1364, there was no attempt to have his retinue, which remained at Trim and Mullingar, join up with the forces of Ormond and Windsor. The list of constables of royal castles and castles in the king's hand is incomplete, but at least eight of those appointed in the period 1361-6

94. RC8/28 pp. 343-4; RC8/29 pp. 244-8. See Appendix XIII below.

95. RC8/29 pp. 238-9. See Appendix XIII below.

96. Ibid., p. 238.

97. E.372/212 m. 43.

were members of Lionel's own retinue.⁹⁸ In some cases the appointment is known to have included the power to appoint a deputy, but it is also possible that they were intended to hold the castles in person, with other members of the retinue forming the garrison.

However, Irish warfare was not confined exclusively to raids and warding. Although there are many references to castles having been burnt by the Irish, it is clear that the Irish were adapting themselves to Anglo-Norman methods. During the fourteenth century, several castles were captured by the Irish and occupied by them, including Athlone in 1364,⁹⁹ and during the same period some of the Gaelic Irish were building castles for their own use.¹⁰⁰ Furthermore, the pitched battle was not totally unknown. In 1346 Brian MacMahon inflicted a defeat on the English of Louth in which it was claimed that 300 esquires and 120 hobelars had been killed on the field of battle, and this is unlikely to have been an isolated instance.¹⁰¹ On two occasions during Lionel's stay in Ireland he is stated to have recovered land per guerram fortem, which may mean the type of warfare to which he was more accustomed.¹⁰²

It was evidently assumed from the outset that both Anglo-Irish and Gaelic Irish forces would participate in Lionel's campaigns in Ireland, as Dalby's appointment as clerk of the wages empowered him to pay wages to the men going to Ireland from England and to any

98. See Appendix XII below.

99. A. J. Otway-Ruthven, A History of Medieval Ireland, pp. 250, 252-3, 270.

100. E. Curtis, A History of Medieval Ireland, pp. 219-20.

101. P.R.O.L., S.C.8/208/10390; AU 1346.

102. Lands in Co. Carlow in 1365 and in Muskerry in 1366. See above pp. 144, 147. This is perhaps reflected in the statement of the continuator of Higden's Polychronicon: '... dominus Leonellus... cum forti manu transivit in Hiberniam ad domandum feritatem hibernicorum, ubi strenue, ut dicebatur, se habuit'. (Polychronicon Ranulfi Higden, ed. C. Babington and J. R. Lumby, (Rolls Series 1865-86), viii, p. 361).

Irishmen who might be retained in the king's service there.¹⁰³

However, according to the compiler of the Annales Hibernie, Lionel made the initial mistake of forbidding anyone born in Ireland to come near his army, and as a result of this one hundred of his men (stipendarii) were killed. He then changed his mind and

redegit totum populum tam de Anglia quam de
Hibernia in unum, et bene prosperatur et fecit
plura bella circumquaque cum Hibernicis cum
adiutorio Dei et populi Hibernie.¹⁰⁴

It is difficult to place much reliance on this account. First, it contradicts what we know of the plans to employ Irish forces. Secondly, there is no evidence in the administrative records to support it. An examination of the retinue rolls from 15 September, the date of Lionel's arrival in Ireland, to 16 October, when the first Irish forces were employed as part of the main army, reveals no large number of absences from the army.¹⁰⁵ The total number of absences is only twenty-six, and as these occur on different days, they cannot reflect the massacre of a large section of the army in the Wicklow mountains. The delay of a month between Lionel's arrival and the first employment of Irish troops can be explained by the normal delays involved in negotiating agreements. Finally, there is no proof that this part of the continuation of the Annales Hibernie is in fact contemporary with the events which it describes.¹⁰⁶

There were only three large Anglo-Irish forces which were paid by Walter of Dalby. The earl of Ormond served with a force of 60 men

103. Cal. Patent Rolls, 1361-4, p. 61. See Appendix I (viii) below.

104. Chart. St. Mary's Abbey, ii, pp. 395-6.

105. E.101/28/13, 15, 18.

106. See Introduction, above p. 9

from 16 March to 18 May 1362;¹⁰⁷ Hugh Swift, described as ductor quorundam soldarorum hibernicorum, served with 35 archers from 18 March to 27 April 1362 and Richard Talbot served with a force of 16 men for the same period.¹⁰⁸ In addition, several Anglo-Irish served as replacements in the retinues of Lionel and Stafford.¹⁰⁹ It is possible that many more served as part of their feudal obligation, and consequently were not paid by the clerk of the wages. By the middle of the fourteenth century, military service was usually commuted to a money payment, but the lieutenant or justiciar still had the option of demanding personal service. The fact that no revenue from scutage seems to have been received by the Irish exchequer during the years 1361-6 indicates that the Anglo-Irish may have been asked to serve in person.¹¹⁰ The statement in the Annales Hibernie that Lionel knighted eight named Anglo-Irishmen would support this. They were knighted at some time during Lionel's period of office, but at no stage are they included among the regular members of the army.¹¹¹

107. E.101/28/21 f. 6

108. Ibid., f. 8^v. There is nothing to show whether the forces which they commanded were in fact Gaelic or Anglo-Irish.

109. E.101/28/13, 18.

110. See below pp.245-7 for scutage as a source of revenue.

111. Chart. St. Mary's Abbey, ii, pp. 395-6. The earliest descriptions as knights of the men concerned which have been found are: Robert Preston, July 1363, (Cal. Gormanston Reg., p. 19); Patrick, Robert and John de la Freigne, October 1365 (RC8/29 p. 49); Robert Holywood, November 1365 (ibid., pp. 27-8); James de la Hyde, Hilary term 1366 (ibid., p. 65), Thomas Talbot, Easter term 1366 (ibid., p. 119) and Walter Cusack, August 1366, (Cal. Gormanston Reg., p. 28).

Although there obviously was Anglo-Irish participation in the main campaigns, local warfare was equally, if not more, important. The Statute of Winchester had been sent to Ireland in 1308, and the conduct of local warfare was largely in the hands of the keepers of the peace. They arrayed the county levies, acted as their leaders, and were empowered to negotiate and made truces with English and Irish enemies.¹¹² In March 1361 an attempt was made to bring them under the direct control of the council when it was ordained that 'no manner of war be undertaken or commenced by the justices without the assent and advice of the chancellor, treasurer and others of the council'.¹¹³ This was obviously an extension of the old idea of 'one war and one peace' throughout the country, but it is difficult to see how it could have been put into effect. Given the prevalence and tradition of local warfare in Ireland and the difficulty of communication, it is highly unlikely that the council could have been consulted in all cases of local disturbance. The county levies were either unpaid or served at the expense of the local community; consequently they do not appear in the records of the Irish administration and little is known of their composition and activities. They could obviously be used for repelling the raids of the Irish within the county, as in the case of the wards established by the commons of Limerick against the O Kennedys and their allies in 1365.¹¹⁴ In addition, they might be called upon to serve outside their county of origin. In the summer of 1362, the keepers of the peace in Meath were with the lieutenant at Croghan,

112. R. Frame, 'The judicial powers of the medieval Keepers of the Peace'. The Irish Jurist, new series, ii (1967), pp. 308-11.

113. Berry, Statutes, John-Henry V, p. 425.

114. See above p. 146

and it is probable that they had a force from the county with them,¹¹⁵ and the same is probably true of Robert de la Freigne who served with Lionel in Westmeath in September 1362.¹¹⁶

The administration also encouraged private individuals in the defence of their localities. John Galbarry established two wards on his lands in Co. Carlow in 1360 and continued to receive rewards for his work in local defence until 1362.¹¹⁷ In 1364 John Cornwall received twenty marks from the Irish exchequer for the repair of his castle of Kilbele in Co. Carlow in order that he could reside there permanently and defend the local populace,¹¹⁸ and earlier in the same year, John fitzRobert fitzGerald had been granted the custody of the manor of Shrule, near Carlow, on condition that he stayed there in person.¹¹⁹

Although Lionel's main territorial interests in Ireland lay in Ulster and Connacht, his activities while lieutenant do not reveal any significant attempt to recover his lands there. He does not appear to have visited Connacht at all, although when he was in Westmeath in 1362 he was in communication with the constable of Roscommon castle and possibly also with his de Burgo relations in Connacht. His failure to visit Connacht at the time of the O Connor capture of Ballintober castle in 1362 is surprising. It is true that Ballintober had fallen into decay by 1333 when it was described

115. RC8/29 p. 137.

116. RC8/28 pp. 394-5.

117. E.101/244/6; E.101/28/21 ff. 9^v-10.

118. E.364/7 m.C. Kilbele has not been identified. According to Brooks, it is probably in the parish of Agha, barony of Idrone East, Co. Carlow, near Leighlinbridge. (Knights' Fees, p. 74).

119. RC8/28 p. 423.

as

an old castle surrounded by a stone wall, which would be very useful for keeping the peace of those parts, if a sufficient ward was [...]. In the castle are ruinous buildings worth nothing because they need great repairs.¹²⁰

However, its proximity to Roscommon castle meant that it was strategically important. Connacht by this stage had passed out of the control of the Dublin government. The sheriffs did not come to account and the last occasion on which money had been paid into the exchequer from Connacht had been in 1354.¹²¹ The visit of Walter de Bermingham there in 1347 seems to have been the last occasion on which a justiciar attempted to assert his authority there.¹²²

Nothing is known of the administration of Lionel's lands in Connacht. At some time during his stay in Ireland he appointed William of Carlisle, Dalby's deputy as clerk of the wages and later a baron of the exchequer, as his receiver there,¹²³ but it is difficult to say how profitable his lands were. The inquisition taken after Lionel's death states that his Connacht lands were worth £200 while he was in Ireland, but after his departure had been overrun by Edmund de

120. H. T. Knox, 'The occupation of Connaught by the Anglo-Normans after A.D. 1237', JRSAI xxxiii (1903), p. 59.

121. E.101/243/4 (Irish receipt roll, 28-29 Edward III).

122. A. J. Otway-Ruthven, A History of Medieval Ireland, p. 266. There is some doubt as to whether Ormond visited Connacht in 1360. The theory that he did so is based on an entry in the Record Commission's Calendar of Memoranda Rolls which states that William Petyt was ordered 'ad proficiscendum in comicia versus partes Momonie'. Later it states that he 'in obsequio predicto in conacia predicti Justiciarii stetit' (RC8/27 pp. 502-3). It appears that 'comicia' and 'conacia' are both misreadings of 'comitiva' and that the entry refers to an expedition to Munster only. Cf. J. Otway-Ruthven, 'Ireland in the 1350s: Sir Thomas de Rokeby and his successors', JRSAI xcvi (1967), pp. 58-9.

123. T.C.D. MS 557/1 p. 190.

Burgo and other rebels.¹²⁴ In the 1350s the Connacht lands do not seem to have been very profitable. On some occasions it was impossible for the officers of Elizabeth de Clare to go there to collect the issues,¹²⁵ and in 1360, when her receiver did succeed in collecting 18s. 4d. there, he was robbed on his return journey.¹²⁶ Probably the mere existence of a large army in Ireland may have been sufficient to induce the de Burgos to co-operate with Lionel and enable him to receive some revenues from Connacht. There is one piece of information which might indicate that Lionel visited Ulster. This is a safe conduct granted by him to three messengers of the archbishop of Armagh and witnessed by Lionel at Down.¹²⁷ During the absence of the lord of a liberty, letters such as this would have normally been witnessed by the seneschal of the liberty,¹²⁸ so it is possible that Lionel was present at Down. However, if so, his stay can only have been a short one and he does not seem to have been involved in any military activity while he was there, a striking contrast to Ralph Ufford in the 1340s, who had also, through his wife, an interest in part of the lands of the earldom.¹²⁹ The only occasion on which Lionel

124. P.R.O.L., C.135/208/5/18. See Appendix II below.

125. S.C.6/1239/32, 33.

126. S.C.6/1239/29.

127. T.C.D. MS 557/1 pp. 44-5.

128. E.g. a letter of Roger Mortimer as lord of Trim has teste Johanne Husee milite senescallo nostro apud Trym (RC8/26 p. 545); a letter of Lionel as earl of Ulster issued in 1356 is witnessed by John de Gatisden, his chief steward of Ulster (Cal. Patent Rolls, 1385-9, p. 308), and a letter of Lionel, Stafford and Anne Despenser as lords of Kilkenny is witnessed by Robert de la Freigne, the seneschal of the liberty (Cal. Ormond Deeds ii, no. 92).

129. R. F. Frame 'The justiciarship of Ralph Ufford: warfare and politics in fourteenth-century Ireland', Studia Hibernica xiii (1973) pp. 21-6.

may have used his position as lieutenant to recover some of his lands may have been in Limerick in 1365 and 1366, and Tipperary in 1366, and on the whole his concentration on Leinster, the midlands and Munster is very similar to that of his English predecessor, Thomas of Rokeby. It may have been done on the advice of the Irish council, but Lionel's apparent lack of any desire to recover his own lands in the north and west may be seen as a reflection of how insignificant their potential value was in comparison to that of his English and Welsh estates. In contrast to this attitude, the earl of Stafford seems to have made the most of the clause in his indenture giving him virtual freedom of action by concentrating his activities in Kilkenny where most of his Irish estates lay.

In his dealings with the Gaelic Irish, Lionel followed the policy employed throughout the 1350s of making alliances with Irish chiefs, in some cases by retaining them at fixed annual fees and in others by paying them wages for their period of service with the army or rewarding them for good service by grants of money or land. With some of the chiefs, Lionel was taking over a pre-existing arrangement, as in the case of Rory O Molloy and Jordan O Nolan, both of whom had received payments in 1360-61,¹³⁰ but in many cases he had to try to revive a relationship which had broken down. Most of the evidence for Lionel's relationships with the Gaelic Irish comes from Leinster and the midlands, which were obviously the areas of most immediate concern to the Dublin government, but there may well have been more extensive arrangements also with chiefs in Munster than the surviving records suggest.

The period of Rokeby's justiciarship shows clearly the ephemeral

130. E.101/244/6.

nature of these alliances, in which self-interest played such an important part,¹³¹ and Lionel does not seem to have been much more successful than Rokeby in building up a stable system of alliances. In Leinster, O Byrne, O Toole and MacMurrough, who had all been associated with Rokeby at various times in the 1350s, were all at war in 1361-2, and although they were later in receipt of fees and rewards from Lionel, the MacMurrough revolt of 1365 shows how unreliable their co-operation was. The disturbances caused in Co. Limerick in 1365 by O Kennedy, who had served with Lionel in 1361, and the employment and subsequent defection of the MacNamaras in 1365 are further examples of this instability.

Little is known of the background to these alliances, but several considerations were involved. Obviously the presence of the army in the locality was an important one, and future military co-operation might be one of the terms imposed on a Gaelic Irish chief who submitted as a result of military pressure, but local and dynastic politics played an important part too. The participation of the Ulster chiefs in the midlands campaigns in 1362 was clearly a result of Lionel's position as earl of Ulster. Although the system known as bonnacht involved an obligation on the part of the Ulster chiefs to maintain men of the earl of Ulster billeted on their land, and not one of military service,¹³² they were also bound to join their lord, whether he was Irish or Anglo-Norman, when he went on

131. J. Otway-Ruthven 'Ireland in the 1350s; Sir Thomas de Rokeby and his successors' JRSAI xcvi (1967) pp. 47-59; R. F. Frame 'English Officials and Irish chiefs in the fourteenth century' EHR xc (1975), pp. 748-777 passim.

132. Cal. Patent Rolls, 1343-5, p. 239. Cf. E. Curtis 'The "Bonnacht" of Ulster' Hermathena xxi (1931) pp. 87-105.

campaign.¹³³ The absence of Ulster chiefs from the campaigns after 1362 is surprising, in view of Lionel's position, but there are several possible explanations. The most likely one is the fact of increased disturbances in Ulster. Aedh O'Neill and his son had broken the truce made with Lionel before it had expired,¹³⁴ and there is no mention of a further agreement of any sort, or of a submission. In addition, the death of Philip MacMahon in 1362 led to a struggle over the succession between Brian and Niall MacMahon in which both branches of the O'Neills and O'Flynn were also involved.¹³⁵ It is also possible that as they were so distant geographically from the main area of action, south Leinster and Munster, it was not thought worthwhile to summon them when allies could be found closer at hand. In general, the Irish chiefs seem to have been employed fairly close to their own areas. The Ulster chiefs are an obvious exception to this, as are O'Kennedy in 1361 and MacNamara in 1365. However the personal element seems to have been important here, as both O'Kennedy and MacNamara may have been recruited through the earl of Ormond,¹³⁶ although there was a precedent in the employment of MacMurrough by Rokeby in Munster and Thomond in 1352.¹³⁷

There is no record of Lionel having been involved in the

133. K. Nicholls, Gaelic and Gaelicised Ireland in the Middle Ages (Dublin 1972) p. 84. An early instance of Ulster chiefs joining the seneschal of Ulster in a campaign in 1273 occurs in C.D.I. 1252-84 no. 953 (I owe this reference to Dr. K. Simms).

134. T.C.D. MS 557/1 p. 297.

135. AU 1361, 1365.

136. Both had made indentures with Ormond which included a clause relating to military service (Cal. Ormond Deeds, i, no. 682; ii, no. 36).

137. RC8/26 pp. 657-60.

selection of a particular man as chief, as had happened in 1350 when the O Byrnes chose their leader in the presence of Rokeby,¹³⁸ but in several cases, succession disputes influenced the Gaelic Irish attitude. After the death of Cormac Ballach O Melaghlin in 1362, the succession seems to have been disputed by Dermot, who had previously been an ally of Lionel, and Cairbre. It is not clear whether the Dublin government was actually involved in this; possibly Dermot hoped for official support and did not receive it, but the result can be seen in the fact that in 1364 Dermot attacked and captured Athlone castle, and that in 1365, Cairbre, who eventually established himself as chief, was paid a reward for good service. Similar disputes may have been behind the employment on the government side of Jordan and David O Nolan and Feruo O More, and the subsequent fines for peace made by Philip Mor O Nolan and Laoiseach O More. The possibility of acquiring government support against each other may also have influenced Brian MacMahon and Niall MacMurrough MacMahon to join Lionel in 1362 as the previous king, Philip, died in that year and a succession dispute raged until the death of Niall in 1368. Local politics may also be seen in the attitudes of the two branches of the O Neills. The main branch, under Aedh Reamhar until 1364 and then under his son Niall, seems to have remained aloof - the only indication we have of his dealings with them is the temporary truce made with Aedh - but the leader of their traditional rivals, Brian O Neill of Clann Aedh Buidhe, took part in the midlands campaigns of 1362.

A comparison of Lionel's policy towards the Gaelic

138. N.L.I. MS 2, f. 223, printed in E. Curtis 'The Clan System among English settlers in Ireland', EHR, xxv (1910) pp, 116-17.

Irish with that of Thomas of Rokeby shows that they differ on only two points, both of which can be explained by the different circumstances of the 1360s. The participation of the Ulster chiefs in the campaign of 1362 was obviously due to their relations with Lionel as earl and we need not look further for an explanation. The second point of difference is that Lionel seems to have placed a far greater emphasis on maintaining an area of peace in the midlands, with alliances with the O Melaghlin, O Molloy and MacGeoghegan, and the stationing of his retinue in that area during his absence in England in 1364. This can be explained partly by geographical considerations, since the Meath-Westmeath area would provide a good base for expeditions not only south-eastwards into Leinster, down the Barrow, but also into Connacht and Ulster should the need or opportunity arise. In addition, the liberty of Trim had come into the king's hand on the death of Roger Mortimer in 1360 and Lionel had an interest in it through the marriage of his daughter to the Mortimer heir.

The results of Lionel's expedition to Ireland will be discussed later, but something should be said of its success or failure in purely military terms. We know that on two occasions at least, he succeeded in recovering lands from the Irish, and there are many indications that the presence of the army in the country made for increased stability, but as has been pointed out, the purpose of military activity in Ireland at this time was to induce the Gaelic Irish to come to terms. The terms on which they submitted were usually embodied in indentures made between them and the lieutenant or justiciar. None has survived from the period of Lionel's lieutenancy, but their existence can be seen from payments in the issue roll for 1365-6 to clerks for writing indentures between the

king and certain Irish of Munster and Leinster.¹³⁹ The main features usually included the payment of a large number of cattle as a fine for peace, the acknowledgment by the chief that he was the king's subject and an undertaking by him to keep the peace in future and aid the king against other Gaelic Irish. There might also be clauses relating specifically to local conditions, including his relations with the other Gaelic Irish and the Anglo-Irish of the locality, and frequently the chief undertook to give hostages as surety for his good behaviour.¹⁴⁰ An examination of the receipt roll for 1365-6 shows five instances of chiefs paying fines of cattle - Philip O Nolan, Laoiseach O More, Dermot and Cormac MacCarthy and O Coltheran¹⁴¹ - and there may have been more in the period before 1365. Furthermore, the receipt roll only records cases where the cattle were sold and the money paid into the exchequer, but we know of one occasion, that involving O Connor Kerry, where the cattle were handed over directly for the use of Lionel's household.¹⁴² Similarly, although there are only two references to hostages, those of MacCarthy in 1365 and the three taken back to England by Lionel in 1366, of whom only one, Nicholas O Toole, was Gaelic Irish, they

139. E.101/244/10.

140. R. F. Frame 'English officials and Irish chiefs in the fourteenth century' *EHR* xc (1975) pp. 759-60. The terms contained in the indenture made in 1370 with John MacNamara are probably similar to those in the indentures which Lionel made with Irish chiefs in Munster and Leinster (Lambeth Palace Library, Carew MSS vol. 605 ff. 136-7).

141. E.101/244/9. It is not clear whether the cows received from the MacMurroughs represented a fine or merely forfeited goods. O Coltheran has not been identified, but it is possibly the same name as O Codiltan, mentioned in *Cal. Ormond Deeds* ii, no. 64.

142. RC8/31 pp. 12-13.

are not a subject which would be reflected in the surviving classes of records.

So it can be said that Lionel was in general successful in procuring these submissions, the only failure being possibly in the case of the O Neills where we hear of a truce for a limited period rather than a submission, although this may have been followed by a more lasting agreement. However, these were only temporary in nature and their effectiveness seems to have depended on local political considerations and on the presence of the lieutenant's army in the locality.

VI. IRISH REVENUES 1361-6: (i) ORDINARY REVENUES

When the decision was taken to send Lionel to Ireland with what was, for a chief governor of Ireland, a sizeable force, it was clear that most of the financial cost of this undertaking would have to be borne by the English exchequer. At the same time, however, it was intended that Ireland should bear some of the cost, and that this share should be as great as Irish conditions allowed. Parliamentary grants were an obvious source of revenue and it was probably intended from the start that the lieutenant would procure one or more subsidies from the Irish parliament, but this was only one aspect of the problem of getting more money out of Ireland. It was also possible that the ordinary revenues - escheats, farms, rents, reliefs, issues of the demesne lands, profits of justice and the customs¹ - could be made more productive. These appear to have suffered a decline in the period immediately following the Black Death, and during the years 1350-1354 the annual average for customs revenue paid into the exchequer was £153 and for the other sources of ordinary revenue, £1560.² In 1354 the situation seems to have improved, and during the period 1354-1360 the annual averages were £359 and £1865 respectively.³ While it is true that these figures only represent

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1. Although royal service should technically be included in this category because of its feudal origin, the fact that it had to be proclaimed by the lieutenant or justiciar and did not form a regular source of revenue makes it more suitable for consideration elsewhere with the absentee grant and parliamentary subsidies. See below pp. 245-7
 2. P.R.O.L., E.372/196 mm. 28, 43; E.372/197 mm. 19d, 26d; (enrolled accounts of Irish treasurers).
 3. E.372/204 m. 36; E.372/201 m. 42; E.101/243/12; E/372/204 m. 41; E.372/207 m. 41; (enrolled accounts of Irish treasurers).

sums actually paid into the exchequer and no account is taken of money spent locally and allowed in accounts rendered at the exchequer, the figures quoted do at least give some indication of the fluctuations in revenue. It might also be argued that the increase in the Irish revenues was minimised by the fact that it took place during a period of increased military activity in the country while Thomas de Rokeby was justiciar when more money would have been spent locally, particularly on defence. By 1360, however, the financial situation had deteriorated, not only on account of the worsening military situation in the country, but also possibly due to a more lax attitude on the part of the exchequer. Only a tiny proportion of sheriffs and seneschals appeared to make their proffers at the exchequer at Michaelmas 1360,⁴ and the receipt roll covering the period 8 June 1360 to 10 March 1361 shows figures of £160 received from customs and £1171 from the remainder of the ordinary revenues.⁵ Furthermore, the area from which this revenue was coming had shrunk. It was to be expected that most of the revenues would come from the areas closest to Dublin - the counties of Dublin, Louth and Kildare and the liberty of Meath - but a comparison of the receipts for 1354-5⁶ and 1360-61⁷ shows that the percentage of receipts from the rest of the country declined from 33.6% in 1354-5 to 26.3% in 1360-61. In 1360-61 almost all of these receipts came from the customs and the farms of

4. Only six out of a possible twenty turned up. See below p. 191 and Appendix XIV. No details are available for Easter 1360.

5. P.R.O.L., E.101/244/5 (Receipt roll 34-35 Edward III). See Appendix XVII (i) below for a breakdown of Irish receipts in 1354-5, 1360-61 and 1365-6.

6. E.101/243/4.

7. E.101/244/5.

Cork, Waterford and Limerick, the amount coming from sheriffs and seneschals declining sharply. Furthermore, in 1354-5 payments had been made into the exchequer from the most outlying areas, Kerry, Connacht and Ulster, but in 1360-61 no money was received from these areas. The decline in revenues being paid into the exchequer in 1360-61 led to some administrative embarrassment. On 10 May 1361 Roger Euyas was commissioned to arrest shipping in Ireland for Lionel's passage, but when it came to paying wages to the masters and sailors of the arrested ships in the following July it was declared that thesaurarium scaccarii predicti de thesauro pro huiusmodi vadiis solvendis ad presens est destitutum and the wages had to be paid by assignment on the Waterford customs.⁸

Clearly the revenues would have to be restored, at least to their former level, to make as much money as possible available for the expedition, but in the case of most of the items of ordinary revenue, the lieutenant and administration had very little power to alter the maximum possible yield. Escheats and wardships varied from year to year, depending on minorities, and escheated lands were often farmed out. Lands in the king's hand were generally farmed out at their extended value, and to increase the amount of the farm might lead to a situation in which it would be difficult to find people to take the lands. It would also have been difficult to increase the annual farms paid by the cities of Dublin, Drogheda, Waterford, Cork and Limerick. Reliefs had been fixed by Magna Carta⁹ and did not form an important item of revenue. The profits of justice could be increased by a more rigorous policy on the part of the courts, but the imposition of more and larger

8. P.R.O.I., RC8/27 pp. 608-9.

9. c. 2.

amercements did not necessarily mean that more money from this source would find its way into the exchequer, as so much depended on the efficiency of the machinery of collection. The rate of customs duties which applied to England and Ireland had been fixed in 1275 and 1303¹⁰ and very little could be done to increase the yield here apart from improving the customs administration. The royal demesne manors of Newcastle Lyons, Crumlin, Saggart, Castelwarden and Oughterard¹¹ had been suffering from a shortage of tenants since the time of the Black Death and even before, and this was greatly aggravated by the second outbreak of the plague in 1361.¹² In addition, there were frequent complaints during the first half of the fourteenth century that the lands on these manors had been wasted by the Scots and the Irish, and that many of the tenants had been killed.¹³ The only practicable solution to this was to reduce the rents on the demesne manors in the hope of attracting new tenants, and this was done in July 1362, though without much evident success.¹⁴

Obviously, the increased stability which it was hoped would result

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10. N. S. B. Gras, The Early English Customs System, pp. 223-4, 259-64.
 11. Castlewarden and Oughterard were technically not demesne manors, as they had come into the king's lands through the forfeiture of Eustace le Poer in 1346, but were treated as such at this time. The other royal manors of Esker, Chapelizod and Leixlip were let out at fixed farms.
 12. A letter to Walter Somery, the seneschal of the demesne lands, in July 1362 states that '*diversa terre et tenementa maneriorum nostrorum... per mortem diversorum tenencium nostrorum ibidem in ultima pestilencia vaste jacent et inculte*' (RC8/28 p. 158).
 13. E.g. P.R.O.L., S.C.8/118/5882, 5888.
 14. The rents were reduced by a quarter (RC8/28 pp. 679-80). In Michaelmas term 1363 provision was made for the provosts and receivers to be given allowance for this reduction in their accounts (*ibid.*, pp. 309-10).

from Lionel's expedition would improve the financial situation, but it was also necessary to increase the efficiency of the administration, and particularly the control of the exchequer over its subordinate officials, to the extent that the greatest possible amount of money was being received from Irish sources. The English council recognised this fact at the time when Lionel was preparing to come to Ireland and dealt with it in two ways - firstly, by issuing a set of ordinances designed to tighten up the Irish administration and secondly, by authorising the moving of the exchequer from Dublin to Carlow. Both of these moves were based on a knowledge of the nature of the Irish financial problem, as at the end of 1360 or beginning of the following year, two barons of the Irish exchequer, John de Burnham and Thomas Mynot and the chancellor of the exchequer, James de Wattenhull, were sent to England by the Irish council 'for furtherance of certain business affecting the estate of Ireland'.¹⁵ They were followed in February 1361 by the treasurer, Thomas de Baddeby,¹⁶ and some discussion on the question of Irish revenues must have taken place between these officials and members of the English council.

(i) The financial ordinances

The ordinances issued in March 1361¹⁷ can be clearly divided into two sections, the first attempting to regulate the amount of money spent in Ireland, whether it came originally from Irish sources or from England, and the second attempting to increase the revenues of Ireland

15. Cal. Close Rolls, 1360-64, p. 157.

16. Cal. Patent Rolls, 1358-61, p. 554.

17. Rymer, Foedera, iii pt. 2 p. 606; Berry, Statutes, John - Henry V pp. 422-9. The date of 1360 given by Berry is incorrect.

by increasing the control of the Irish exchequer over its subordinate officials. As these two sections had completely different, though complementary, objects, they are best considered separately.

It appears that the English council was well aware of the danger of sending a young and comparatively inexperienced man to Ireland with the powers of a lieutenant. If something were not done to control his actions, his period of office might well prove to have been a waste of money, and the first part of the ordinances can be seen as the council's attempt to prevent this from happening. Among the retinue which Lionel brought with him was a large number of men of his own household, and to prevent the unnecessary alienation of Irish revenues to them and to others, it was ordained that no rewards were to be made without the consent of the chancellor and treasurer and that no lands in the king's hands were to be granted or leased without the treasurer's consent.¹⁸ It is difficult to say how far this was put into effect, as there is no surviving record of the deliberations of the Irish council. It may have helped to curb Lionel's generosity to his followers, although again the deficiencies in the records make it impossible to judge the effect. Very few grants of land under the great seal survive, most lands in the king's hands being farmed out at specific rents by the treasurer under the exchequer seal, in accordance with the ordinance, but in those grants which do survive, to William Ilger, John Bristowe and the earl of Ormond,¹⁹ there is no indication as to whether the lieutenant had obtained the approval of the council or not. Furthermore, there were two eventualities which were not covered by the ordinance. There was nothing to prevent the lieutenant

18. Rymer, Foedera iii part 2, p. 606 See above pp. 26-7

19. RC8/29 pp. 141-2; Cal. Ormond Deeds ii, nos. 87, 89, 113.

from prevailing on the treasurer to grant lands out to his followers under the exchequer seal. An examination of such grants enrolled or mentioned on the memoranda rolls shows that out of a total of 116 grants,²⁰ 32 were made to men who can be identified as members of Lionel's retinue, which indicates that Lionel was not taking advantage of this device as much as he might have done. However, the fact that such grants could be and were made by the treasurer meant that the council in Ireland had not complete control over the granting of lands. The English council appears to have become concerned on several occasions about the disposal of lands which had come into the king's hands by escheat or otherwise. On 28 June 1363 it was ordered that all such lands were to be leased by advice and consent of the chancellor, treasurer and escheator and the commitments made under the escheator's seal.²¹ This order occurs shortly after the appointment of Richard Stury as escheator²² and appears to be in the nature of a warning to him not to go against the established practice, as it is stated that these things were done in the time of Nicholas Bekenesfeld, the previous escheator. However, most of the surviving grants of such lands in the king's hands continued to be made under the exchequer seal and not under that of the escheator.²³ In October 1364, Lionel was ordered to take into the king's hand all lands now in his hand which were let at a smaller farm than they were worth,²⁴ and this was repeated in December 1365.²⁵ The 1364 order is clearly part of the large-scale

20. RC8/28-30, passim.

21. Cal. Fine Rolls, 1356-68 p. 262

22. Ibid., p. 261.

23. RC8/28-30, passim.

24. Cal. Fine Rolls, 1356-68, p. 294.

25. Ibid., p. 319.

inquiry into the financial administration which was ordered in September and October of that year. The 1365 one is more difficult to explain. Possibly it may be due to the fact that no measures were taken in 1364. Nothing is known of the results of these inquiries if they ever took place and there was certainly no large-scale regranteeing of lands in 1365 or 1366 which can be attributed to the effect of the orders. The consent of the Irish council was not necessary for grants of lands in Ireland made under the English great seal and these grants continued to be made, as in the case of the king's daughter Isabel, who was granted the custody of the lands of John de Haryngton in Ireland in 1363.²⁶ In the case of offices, there are ten known appointments of followers of Lionel to offices under the Irish great seal,²⁷ but it is not possible to state whether these had council approval or not. They are mostly to minor offices, such as usher and marshal of the exchequer, serjeanties, receiver of the queen's gold and seneschal of the demesne lands, and only two are to what could be termed higher offices - those of Thomas Hervy as customer in 1366²⁸ and Nicholas Bekenefeld as escheator in 1361.²⁹ The council may also have been influential in reducing the incidence of other actions taken under the great seal, particularly in the granting of charters of pardon, an item which had aroused much controversy in 1360,³⁰ but again it is impossible to judge the extent of this. It is clear that the council

26. Cal. Patent Rolls, 1361-4 p. 400.

27. RC8/28 pp. 21, 43, 47-8, 54-5, 64-5, 357-9; RC8/29 pp. 20-21.

28. RC8/29 pp. 20-21.

29. RC8/28 p. 21.

30. Richardson and Sayles, Parliaments and Councils p. 21. See above p. 16

was consulted in the matter of rewards and gifts in connection with military activity and a list of such payments covering the years 1361-3 states that they were made per advisamentum et ordinacionem consilii domini nostri regis in partibus hibernie.³¹ The general idea of the ordinance may have been to give the council overall control of the various grants which might be made by the lieutenant, but whatever its success in this field, it was of necessity limited in its scope of action by the independence of the treasurer and by the possibility of grants under the English great seal.

The clause relating to the control of war by the council has been discussed above,³² but its financial implications are also important. In a large military enterprise such as that of 1361, central control of military activity was essential in order to make the best possible use of the available resources. A further ordinance attempted to centralise control over military accounts, ordering

qe nulles accomptes de gages de guerre ne
soient receuz ne oiez par bref dacompter
dicelles forsque tantseulement par le clerk
de gages a ce iurre

This made Walter of Dalby, the clerk of the wages, the effective financial head of the expedition, bypassing the Irish treasurer. All persons serving with the army were to be paid by Dalby and the details of their contingents and pay were included in his book of particulars, thereby reducing the financial dealings to one account. The only exception to this arrangement was Ralph Ferrers who accounted separately for his contingent at the English exchequer.³³ In addition to lessening

31. E.101/28/27 m.1.

32. See above pp. 155-6

33. Rymer, Foedera iii part 2, p. 606. E.101/28/20. See above pp. 78-80

confusion, the ordinance also gave the clerk of the wages greater control over the money paid out. This in turn increased the control of the English exchequer over the financial side of the expedition. Previous clerks of the wages had accounted at the Irish exchequer,³⁴ but in 1361, due to the amount of money coming from England, this was changed and Dalby was ordered to account at the English exchequer.³⁵ This ordinance appears to have been put into effect immediately, and the new machinery worked quite smoothly. There is no evidence that other accounts of military payments were rendered at the Irish exchequer, but if the pipe rolls for the period had survived, they might well have shown payments made by sheriffs and other accountants for local defence. This kind of payment, however, was not the subject of the ordinance. Dalby's book of particulars for the period 1361-4 is fairly comprehensive, including not only payments to leaders of contingents such as the earl of Ormond, but also payments to Gaelic Irish who took part in the campaigns, to people responsible for wards in various parts of the country and to workmen for the repair of castles.³⁶ In 1364 the system changed, though there is no apparent reason for this. The change had begun in January 1364 when William of Windsor came to Ireland. He received money from the English exchequer and accounted directly there,³⁷ and the fact that this was while Dalby was still in the king's favour means that the change cannot be linked with the events of September and October 1364. After Dalby's dismissal in September 1364 he was replaced as clerk of the wages

34. E.g., 53rd Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records of Ireland, pp. 44-5.

35. E.101/28/21 f.1

36. E.101/28/21.

37. E.101/29/11

by John Scrope who seems to have been responsible only for money received in Ireland.³⁸ Lionel's second army which arrived at the end of 1364 was paid largely from England through the treasurer of his household, and Lionel himself was the person accountable at the English exchequer.³⁹

From what information is available, it seems fair to assume that the ordinances succeeded in controlling expenditure in Ireland to some degree, thereby making the money available for the main military business of the expedition.

The second group of ordinances aimed at tightening up exchequer control over various subordinate officials: sheriffs were to be elected locally each year by twelve or twenty-four men of the county who would answer to the king for the sheriff's actions and receipts; the escheator was to be dismissed, sheriffs were to take over his functions in the localities and the treasurer was to supervise all inquisitions taken by them; customers were to be appointed and removed only by the treasurer and barons; seneschals and receivers of demesne lands were to be appointed by the treasurer, chancellor and others of the council; persons appointed to hasten the levying of debts were to account for what they received, even if their commissions made no mention of receipt; holders of great serjeanties were to be distrained to make returns, because their failure to do so had led to the sheriffs' excusing themselves from having their accounts audited.⁴⁰ In most cases very little information as to their implementation has survived, but the surviving evidence does give a general indication as to how

38. E.101/244/10

39. P.R.O.L., E.403/422, mm. 26, 30, 31; E.403/425 mm. 10, 17-18; E.403/427 mm. 5, 20, 21.

40. Rymer, Foedera iii part 2, p. 606.

far the ordinances were put into effect.

The method of appointing customers had varied during the previous twenty years. In 1342 it was laid down that they were to be chosen before the justiciar or his deputy, the chancellor, treasurer and others of the council.⁴¹ This may have implied election, but the method laid down in 1355 clearly stated that a fit person was to be elected by the men and merchants of each town.⁴² In 1361, however, it was decided to revert to the practice of central appointment and an examination of the Irish memoranda rolls shows that all appointments of customers during the period 1361-6 were made under the exchequer seal and nowhere is there any mention of election.⁴³ The receivers of the different demesne manors had been elected in 1355⁴⁴ but there is no indication as to whether this was a regular practice. No record of any appointment has survived for the period 1361-6, so it is impossible to say whether or not they were elected. In November 1361, Walter Somery, one of Lionel's retainers, was made seneschal of the demesne lands in Cos. Dublin and Kildare for life,⁴⁵ but it is not known whether or not this appointment was made with the consent of the council. It seems unlikely that it could have been made without the consent of the chancellor at least. In the case of the commissions to hasten the levying of debts, there is no evidence that anyone who received such a commission refused to account, although in the two surviving commissions enrolled in full on the memoranda rolls - those to James

41. Berry, Statutes, John-Henry V, p. 361.

42. Cal. Close Rolls, 1354-60, p. 145.

43. RC8/28 pp. 63, 132, 193-4, 539-40, 559, 562-3; RC8/29 pp. 80-81, 178.

44. RC8/27 pp. 19-20.

45. RC8/28 p. 43

de Wattenhull and William Holywood in March 1365⁴⁶ and Robert Holywood and John Scrope in November 1365⁴⁷ - no mention is made of their liability to account. There is a large body of evidence relating to the question of the appointments of sheriffs and escheators, and consequently a more detailed examination of the implementation of the ordinances on these points is possible.

As he was the most important local representative of the Dublin government, particularly in the financial sphere, it was obviously necessary for the exchequer to keep as close a check on the sheriff as possible, not only by securing the appointment of a suitable person, but also by ensuring that his financial backing would be sufficient in case he defaulted. Before 1361, the administration seems to have vacillated between two methods of securing such a guarantee. The first was to appoint someone who had sufficient lands in the county concerned which could be distrained if necessary; the other was to throw the burden of responsibility on to the local community and more specifically on to the leading members of it who chose the sheriff and were financially responsible for him. In 1342 it had been laid down that the sheriff was to be elected each year by the people of the county before the chancellor, treasurer and other members of the council in the exchequer and that he was to hold office for one year.⁴⁸ In 1355 it was further ordered that this election was to take place yearly in the county court.⁴⁹ This measure, however, appears to have been short-lived. There are details of elections for most counties in the autumn of 1355⁵⁰ but the

46. Ibid., pp. 541-2

47. RC8/29 pp. 27-8

48. Berry, Statutes, John-Henry V, p. 357

49. Cal. Close Rolls, 1354-60, pp. 144-5

50. RC8/27 pp. 24-5, 27; Rot. Canc. Hib., pp. 57-8, 64-5

next appointments of sheriffs which occur in the records cover the years 1358-9 and make it clear that the practice of election had been abandoned and that commissions were now being made by either the chancellor or the treasurer during pleasure.⁵¹

Since the 1361 ordinances had as their object the tightening up of the government's control over its officials, particularly those concerned with the collection of revenue, it was clear that the problem of sheriffs' appointments would have to be dealt with. Here the ordinances reverted to the practice already laid down in 1355 of election

des mieutz vallez de chescun countee, cest
assavoir par dusze ou vint et quatre, les
queux doivent respondre au roi pur eux et
pur leur₅₂ faitz et pur la receite de leur
temps...

The ordinance does not state where the election is to be held, nor does it lay down the length of the sheriff's term of office, but a writ for the election of a sheriff in 1364, referring to this ordinance, states that the sheriff is to be elected yearly and to hold office for one year.⁵³

It is significant that a departure was now being made from the current English practice. An attempt had been made in the Walton ordinances of 1338 to establish the practice of local elections of sheriffs,⁵⁴ but this was never really put into effect and in 1361 it was still the practice in England for sheriffs to be appointed annually under the great seal during pleasure.⁵⁵ The purpose of the Walton

51. RC8/27 pp. 288, 327-8, 442, 497-8; Rot. Canc. Hib., p. 73. In 1360 or 1361 Richard Botiller gave the treasurer a horse, in order that he might be retained in office as sheriff for a further year (Cambridge University Library, Add. MS. 3104 f. 89).

52. Rymer, Foedera iii part 2, p. 606.

53. RC8/28 pp. 361-2.

54. Tout, Chapters, iii, pp. 146-7

55. Cal. Fine Rolls, 1356-68, pp. 153-4.

ordinances had been to deprive the magnates and chief officers of the administration of some of their power and to concentrate this power instead in the household. In fact, Tout saw the ordinance relating to the sheriffs as part of a plan on the part of the king to play the magnates off against the landed gentry and commercial classes.⁵⁶ In Ireland in 1361 this explanation hardly holds good. It was clearly not a measure to take power away from the treasurer and barons as the rest of the 1361 ordinances are concerned with the tightening up of exchequer control, and neither can it be seen as an attempt to impose 'household government' on Ireland. There were probably two reasons behind the proposed change. The first was, as has been stated, a desire to procure greater security for the adequate performance of their duties by sheriffs. The second was a desire to get as much local co-operation as possible. Not only military activity, but also the efficient collection of revenues due to the crown, depended on local good will, and the delegation to local communities of the power to elect their own sheriffs would have a beneficial effect in this. This emphasis on local feeling was very much a part of the Irish colonial situation and was the main reason why some administrative practices in operation in England were not copied exactly in Ireland.

The deficiencies in the source material make it difficult to determine how far the order was implemented in all cases. It appears that the ordinance was put into effect fairly quickly, with the election of William Comyn as sheriff of Dublin in the exchequer in April 1361⁵⁷ and the similar election of William Dowdall as sheriff of Louth in May.⁵⁸

56. Tout, Chapters iii, p. 75

57. RC8/27 p. 590

58. Ibid., pp. 590-91

In both cases the sheriff was elected by eighteen men. However, of the remaining nine known appointments made between June 1361 and the end of 1363, none are stated to have been by election.⁵⁹ The majority, six, are commissions under the Irish exchequer seal during pleasure, which appears to be a reversion to the pre-1361 practice and it is unlikely that this implied an election. Of the other three appointments, John Lumbard was appointed sheriff of Cork during pleasure under the English great seal on 1 March 1361,⁶⁰ but this evidently led to some confusion. He was removed from office because of the lieutenant's ignorance of his appointment and had to be confirmed in office in the following January.⁶¹ Patrick Fox was appointed sheriff of Limerick during good behaviour in November 1361,⁶² while Maurice Mandeville's appointment as sheriff of Waterford for life in January 1362 was probably due to his position as a retainer of the earl of Desmond.⁶³ Both of these appointments were made under the Irish great seal.

On the whole, the exchequer officials seem to have been reluctant to continue the practice of election after the first few months. No attempt had been made to make radical changes in the personnel of the exchequer and the existing officials might be expected to be conservative in their outlook. Clearly, the initiative in the procedure of electing sheriffs would have to come from the senior exchequer officials. For this reason, the sudden appearance of elected sheriffs at the beginning of 1364 may be connected with a largescale financial reorganisation

59. See Appendix XVI below for details.

60. Cal. Fine Rolls, 1356-68, p. 155

61. RC8/28 pp. 85-6

62. Ibid., p. 54

63. Ibid., pp. 53, 218-20

in Ireland at the same time, involving the appointment of Walter of Dalby as treasurer of Ireland as well as clerk of the wages, and changes in the chief offices of the exchequer in February and March 1364.⁶⁴

In the period January - March 1364, the elections of five sheriffs are recorded, those of Dublin, Kildare, Wexford, Meath and Louth,⁶⁵ and there may have been more. However, it is clear that the system had changed. Of the fifteen known appointments during the years 1364-6, only one is not the result of an election and even this exception differs from previous appointments. In February 1364 William de Caunton was appointed sheriff of Cork during pleasure under the English great seal,⁶⁶ but it is notable that he had to give security of £100 to the Irish chancellor and treasurer, ista securitas facta est pro eo quod idem Willelmus bene deserviet regi in officio vicecomitis in comitatu Cork.⁶⁷ The only extant evidence of regular elections is for Co. Kildare, where elections were held in February 1364, February 1365 and April 1366.⁶⁸ Information for other counties is far more scattered, but it seems likely that Cos. Dublin, Wexford, Limerick, Meath and Louth had yearly elections while other counties may well have done so too, although distance from the exchequer, whether at Carlow or Dublin, may have decreased the amount of exchequer control. An examination of the names of sheriffs for this period proves nothing definitely as to the frequency of elections. Where sheriffs changed at approximately yearly intervals, it may have been the result of

64. See below pp. 215-17

65. See Appendix XVI below for sheriffs' appointments.

66. Cal. Fine Rolls, 1356-68, p. 281

67. RC8/28, p. 383

68. Ibid., pp. 353, 548-9; RC8/29 p. 182.

election, but there was nothing to prevent the existing sheriff from getting himself re-elected, as happened in the case of Simon Cruys who was elected sheriff of Dublin in January 1364 and again in June 1365.⁶⁹

Purely practical considerations determined where an election took place. If the lieutenant were in the locality, the sheriff could be chosen before him, and if access to the exchequer were easy, it might be held there. Otherwise the sheriffs were chosen locally before the keepers of the peace or exchequer officials.⁷⁰ Little is known of the conduct of the elections, though it is clear that local animosities and factions would play a part. This seems to have been the case in Co. Limerick in June 1364. The electors refused to elect James de Lees, the previous sheriff, because of his extortions and corruption and the fact that he owed diversa debita et arreragia immensa, but instead elected Patrick Fox, pro quo respondere volunt.⁷¹

Given that the election system was in fairly regular operation from early 1364 onwards, as had been planned, there is the question of the effect it had on the behaviour of sheriffs. This is difficult, if not impossible to assess, for lack of record material. The table showing proffers made by sheriffs for the period 1360-66 shows a remarkable increase in the numbers of people making proffers at Easter 1364 to a level which remained fairly steady for the remainder of

69. RC8/28 pp. 361-2; RC8/29 pp. 37-8. See Appendix XVI below.

70. RC8/28 pp. 84, 173-4, 182, 351-3, 361-2, 548-9, 600-601.

71. This led to a dispute between James and Patrick, in which James refused to deliver the seal of office, rolls and other items belonging to the office to Patrick, and continued to exercise the office in defiance of the exchequer from November 1364 until the following March (RC8/28 p. 501; RC8/29 p. 136).

Lionel's term of office.⁷² This improvement cannot be put down to the moving of the exchequer to Carlow as this did not take place until the summer. However, neither can it be said to be the result of the elections in early 1364. Out of thirteen counties, only in one case, Kildare, was the sheriff who made the proffer at Easter 1364 a different person from the one who made the Michaelmas 1363 proffer. In the other twelve counties, where elections had taken place in the first three months of 1364, they did not take effect until after the Easter proffers had been made.⁷³ Thus it was the former sheriffs, who had not had a very good record as far as proffers were concerned, who were suddenly more enthusiastic about their duties at Easter 1364. The answer may lie in a general tightening up of the financial administration in early 1364 and in the increased perambulations of exchequer officials.⁷⁴

As for the character of the sheriffs, there does not seem to have been much to choose between those elected and those appointed. It is clear that James de Lees, the would-be sheriff of Limerick in 1364 was regarded as totally undesirable by the electors, but he had previously acted as sheriff under appointment by the treasurer⁷⁵ when he had run up the large debts and committed the oppressions of which they complained. Two other sheriffs, Roland Shaldeford of Meath and John Lumbard of Cork were found guilty of bribing the clerk of the estreats to omit from the estreats various debts owed by them.⁷⁶

72. See Appendix XIV below.

73. See Appendix XVI below.

74. See below pp. 209-10

75. RC8/28 pp. 391-3.

76. Ibid., pp. 433-5, 676-8

After the investigation, Shaldeford was removed from office.⁷⁷

However, at the Easter proffer of 1365 he was again acting as sheriff⁷⁸ and one may assume that he had been elected, as in January 1366 he was re-elected sheriff.⁷⁹ This is a good example of the problem which faced the exchequer officials. They recognised their dependence on the good will of the local community and tried to make it financially responsible for the sheriff, while being forced to accept whomever the influential people of the county wanted. Theoretically a more satisfactory solution would have been that adopted in the single case of William Caunton in 1364, that of appointment during pleasure and the taking of a sizeable security from the sheriff for the good performance of his duties.⁸⁰ However, this rather arbitrary procedure would not only have dissuaded men from becoming sheriffs, but would also have alienated the would-be electors. So the method adopted was a compromise between strict control and appeasement of local feeling, and on the whole it proved no better and no worse than the previous method. Any increase in exchequer control during this period was due to factors other than the change in the method of appointing sheriffs.

It is possible also to see how far the ordinance laying down that sheriffs were to act as escheators in their counties was implemented. During the thirteenth century, the escheator had been one of the most important men in the Irish administration, but in the fourteenth century the office was in decline, mainly because the revenues received

77. *Ibid.*, p. 422; Lumbard had been replaced in the previous January (*Cal. Fine Rolls 1356-68*, p. 281).

78. RC8/28, p. 578

79. RC8/29 p. 84.

80. Above, p. 182

by it were also in decline.⁸¹ This was due partly to the shrinking of the area under the effective control of the Dublin government, and the prevalence of local war which made it difficult for the escheator to perform his work, but also to the increasing importance of other sources of revenue, particularly parliamentary grants.

In 1344, it had been decided by the English council that sheriffs in Ireland were to take over the functions of the escheator and account at the Dublin exchequer for revenues coming from this source within their counties

as the king is informed that the escheator and collector of customs cannot exercise their offices by reason of the wars, although they receive great and divers fees from the king yearly for the execution of these offices, and that the said offices might be executed for a less sum and with greater utility by the sheriffs and others...⁸²

For the next fifteen years, policy alternated between appointing a single escheator for the whole of the country and using sheriffs. Whichever method was chosen, problems arose. The use of a single escheator was expensive, but it was easier for the exchequer to compel one man to account than to try to exercise control over the sheriffs who were scattered throughout the country and whose goods were not always available to be distrained. In January 1358 Thomas Mynot was appointed escheator for the whole of Ireland during pleasure and the reason given for the change was

quia ex examinatione coram justiciario Hibernie est compertum quod propter diversas negligencias vicecomitum Hibernie officium escaetrie in suis comitatibus singulariter exerciciendum nobis minime respondetur de exitibus escaetrie predictae⁸³

81. A. J. Otway-Ruthven, A History of Medieval Ireland, pp. 161-2

82. Cal. Close Rolls, 1343-6, p. 455

83. RC8/27 p. 283

but as Mynot's fee amounted to £40 a year,⁸⁴ his appointment may not have made much difference to the net receipts from the office.

Two solutions were available to the problem of the excheqtorship. The first was to make conditions in Ireland more stable so that the escheator could exercise his office properly and increase the revenues received by him; the second, to ensure that responsible men were chosen as sheriffs and to let them act as local escheators. The second of these solutions was the one decided on by the English council, probably influenced by contemporary English practice,⁸⁵ while there are some grounds for believing that after Lionel's arrival, the council in Ireland favoured the first solution. In the financial ordinances of March 1361, arrangements were made for the yearly election of sheriffs locally and at the same time it was ordained

par cause des diverses damages et perdes
que le roi ad encor u par fauses enquestes
prises par leschetour de la dite terre,
ordeine est que leschetour qore est illoeges
soit ouste et qe chescun viscont dedeinz sa
baillie soit charge del office del eschetrie
a respondre au roi des issues de mesme
leschetrie,⁸⁶ come ait este fait avant ces
heures...

In addition, the treasurer was empowered to see that inquisitions were properly made, and if he found otherwise, then he was to make a fresh inquisition according to what he thought best for the king's profit. It is not known whether the treasurer did in fact exercise this power, but it is possible to come to some conclusion as to the appointment of local escheators.

Like the ordinance relating to the election of sheriffs, this

84. Ibid.

85. Cal. Fine Rolls, 1356-68, p. 155.

86. Rymer, Foedera iii part 2, p. 606.

one appears to have been put into effect immediately. On 1 March 1361, John Lumbard was appointed sheriff and escheator of Cork during pleasure.⁸⁷ The former escheator of Ireland, John de Pembroke, made the proffer at Easter 1361,⁸⁸ but at the Michaelmas 1361 proffer the sheriffs were acting as local escheators and the nature of the problem was made clear by the fact that several did not make proffers either as sheriff or as escheator.⁸⁹ However, the new arrangement did not last for long. One of Lionel's first actions in Ireland was to appoint Nicholas de Bekenefeld, a member of his retinue, as escheator for life in September 1361.⁹⁰ This could be seen as just another example of favouritism without any reference to the needs of the Irish situation, but it may also represent a feeling on the part of Lionel and his council that local escheators were both troublesome and unnecessary and that Lionel's army would be sufficient to restore Ireland to such a state that the escheator would have no problems in collecting his revenues. The idea of local escheators was abandoned before it was possible to see whether sheriffs elected under the new system would prove more efficient and amenable to control.

It is not known what happened to Bekenefeld, who accounted for the period 30 September 1361 - 24 April 1363,⁹¹ but by 1363 the office of escheator was regarded as something of a sinecure, when Richard Stury was appointed escheator on 15 June with power to appoint a deputy.⁹² He had previously been assayer of weights and measures and now combined the two offices. He was granted 'the accustomed

87. Cal. Fine Rolls, 1356-67, p. 155

88. RC8/27 p. 573

89. RC8/28 pp. 1-3

90. Ibid., p. 21

91. P.R.O.I., M. 2675 p. 290

92. Cal. Fine Rolls, 1356-67, p. 258.

93. Cal. Patent Rolls 1361-4, p. 23

wages' and both he and Bekenesfeld may have received the £40 a year as Thomas Mynot did in 1358. If so, the net profit of the escheatry cannot have amounted to very much.⁹⁴

It appears that the practice of using sheriffs as escheators in their own counties and having them account directly to the exchequer was reverted to for a short period in the summer of 1365. This seems to have been a temporary measure for the interim period between the retirement from office of Roger Flete, Stury's deputy, at some time in late May or June, and the appointment of William Ilger to take his place on 28 September.⁹⁵ The same practice seems to have been returned to in late 1366 although there is no apparent reason for this.⁹⁶

It is clear, then, that this attempt to revitalise the office of escheator was a relative failure, though it might be said that it was never really given a chance to work. If the ordinances relating to the election of sheriffs and their function as escheators had been put into effect strictly and at the same time, it might have increased the revenues. As it was, the ordinance relating to escheators was abandoned before that relating to elections was put into effect, whether due to over-confidence on the part of Lionel's council or to their low estimate of the importance and potential value of the office. Perhaps the office really had deteriorated beyond remedy and in this connection it is significant that in the upsurge of exchequer activity following the appointment of Dalby as treasurer in February 1364, no attempt was made to implement the ordinance relating to the

94. They were not paid by the exchequer but probably received allowance for their annual fees in their accounts.

95. E.101/244/9

96. Cal. Patent Rolls, 1381-5, p. 543; RC8/29 p. 412

escheator as was done in the case of the election of sheriffs.

Apart from issuing the ordinances in 1361 and ordering an inquiry into the behaviour of ministers in 1363,⁹⁷ the results of which have not survived, the English council seems to have been totally unconcerned about the progress of financial reform in Ireland. In some cases the ordinances had been put into effect, either partially or completely, in others they had been abandoned before the results of the new policy could be seen. The council's only move in the direction of supervision appears to have been the appointment of Walter of Dalby as treasurer as well as clerk of the wages in 1364, but it is clear that having issued the ordinances, the council was content to leave their implementation to the Irish administration.

(ii) The exchequer at Carlow

In any attempt to make the Irish financial administration more efficient, it was essential for the exchequer to be easily accessible from all parts of the colony. The Irish exchequer had been situated at Dublin since the introduction of Anglo-Norman administrative methods into the country, but however convenient this may have been at the beginning, the contraction of the area under the effective control of the government and the increased disorder caused by the Gaelic Irish meant that by the middle of the fourteenth century Dublin was no longer easily accessible from the south and south-east of Ireland. The position had been recognised at the end of 1345 when the justiciar was ordered to move the exchequer and common bench to a safe place

as Dublin is situated in a more remote part of that land, whereby the lords of liberties and their ministers often render themselves tardy in the execution of the king's orders

97. Cal. Patent Rolls, 1361-4, p. 369

and rarely answer for money and debts levied in those liberties, and on account of the long distances are fatigued by travail⁹⁸ and expense in pursuing affairs and pleas.

However, nothing seems to have been done on this occasion and the exchequer remained at Dublin. In March 1361, John Lumbard, the sheriff of Cork, was given permission to account by deputy on the grounds that

the county is distant from the city of Dublin where the king's exchequer is more than 100 leagues and many of the towns and places through which the road from the county to Dublin passes have been conquered and are held by the king's Irish enemies so that none of his subjects can pass without very great peril unless with a very great company and force of armed men,⁹⁹

and it is clear that he was not the only one to experience such difficulties. An examination of the proffers made by sheriffs and sensechals at Michaelmas 1360 and Easter 1361 presents an appalling picture.¹⁰⁰ At Michaelmas the only officials who made proffers were the sheriffs of Dublin, Louth, Meath and the cross of Tipperary and the seneschals of Meath and Tipperary. The sheriff of Wexford had a valid excuse for not coming and the sheriff of Limerick may have come, but the remainder certainly did not.¹⁰¹ At the following Easter, the situation was even worse, with only the sheriffs of Dublin, Wexford and Limerick and the seneschal of Kilkenny making proffers.¹⁰² Unfortunately, no transcript of the memoranda roll for 1359-60 survives, but it appears that it was during the years 1359-61 that the situation became really desperate, as at Easter 1359 a far

98. Cal. Close Rolls, 1343-6, p. 672

99. Cal. Patent Rolls, 1357-61, p. 573

100. See Appendix XIV below

101. RC8/27, pp. 483-5

102. Ibid. pp. 567-71

greater number, including the sheriffs of Cork and Waterford and the seneschal of Ulster had made proffers.¹⁰³ How far the decline was due to negligence on the part of the sheriffs or to a decline of exchequer control over accountants is open to question, but clearly the inaccessibility of the exchequer, combined with the unsettled condition of the country, played an important part, especially in the case of sheriffs and other officials from the outlying areas.

The decision to move the exchequer to Carlow was probably taken in England before Lionel's departure for Ireland, possibly in March 1361 at the same time as the ordinances for the more efficient running of the exchequer were issued. This decision may have been a direct result of John Lumbard's petition, and the visits to England by Thomas Badby, the former treasurer,¹⁰⁴ and by two barons and the chancellor of the exchequer.¹⁰⁵ in early 1361 would have provided the English council with an opportunity of getting some first-hand information on the subject. The fact that the move to Carlow took place so soon after Lionel's arrival in Ireland also supports this view. The exchequer appears to have been settled in Carlow for the business of Michaelmas term 1361, and there was not enough time after Lionel's arrival on 15 September for the needs of the Irish situation to be examined, and the move decided on and put into effect. The English exchequer had been moved from Westminster to York on five occasions since 1298, the most recent being in May

103. Ibid., pp. 438-9.

104. Cal. Patent Rolls, 1358-61, p. 554

105. Cal. Close Rolls, 1360-64, p. 157

1333 when it remained there for over five years.¹⁰⁶ The main reason behind the English migrations was the need to have a ready supply of money conveniently available for the army during the Scottish campaigns. In Ireland the situation was slightly different. No doubt it was envisaged that Irish revenues paid into the exchequer would be applied to the payment of the army, but it was clear that most of the money for paying the army would come from England and be paid directly to the clerk of the wages and not pass through the Irish exchequer. The initial objective was to increase the amount of revenue at the disposal of the Irish exchequer. It was hoped that Carlow would be easier of access than Dublin and that accountants would come there more promptly and more regularly than had been the case in the past, thereby increasing the amount of money available as a contribution towards the payment of the army. Furthermore, if such money were made available for the payment of wages, Carlow would be a more convenient place for storing it, especially since, because of the nature of the Irish problem, most of the military activity would be in Leinster and Munster. At first sight Kilkenny might appear to have been more suitable as a centre, as parliaments had been held there on several occasions but the geographical position of Carlow on the river Barrow and the fact that it was in the King's hand probably influenced the decision.

Unfortunately, no mandate for the removal of the exchequer to Carlow survives, and so it is impossible to state precisely when the move took place. On 19 October 1361 an order was issued for the transport of boards and other items to Carlow for repairing

106. D. M. Broome, 'Exchequer migrations to York in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries', A. G. Little and F. M. Powicke (ed.), Essays in Medieval History presented to Thomas Frederick Tout, (Manchester, 1925) p. 291.

and reconstructing the castle of Carlow and the exchequer of the king there,¹⁰⁷ which implies that the exchequer was already established at Carlow by that date. It is unlikely that the exchequer would be moved during the busy weeks following Michaelmas, so it is probable that the move took place before Michaelmas and that the Michaelmas business was conducted at Carlow. This view is supported by the fact that Robert Holywood, a remembrancer of the exchequer, was stationed at Carlow throughout Michaelmas term 1361 with three hobelars and three archers for the defence of the town.¹⁰⁸ The transfer of the common bench to Carlow apparently did not take place until after that of the exchequer, as there is a reference to pleas being held at Dublin before Robert Preston and other justices de banco Dublinie on 3 November 1361.¹⁰⁹ The exchequer continued to pay the £4 yearly rent for the buildings in Dublin which had housed the exchequer and common bench, until Easter 1363.¹¹⁰ This was possibly due to the terms of the original agreement with John Taillour, who owned the houses, but it may have been felt that the move to Carlow was an experiment which might not work. On 28 October 1363, the justices of the common bench were ordered to hold pleas at Dublin because of the conditions in Carlow

pro eo tamen quod dicta villa et castrum
ibidem pro tuta custodia dictorum rotulorum,
brevium et memorandorum non sufficiunt eo
quod eadem villa quasi totaliter destructa
per Hibernicos hostes nostros pluries
combusta existit, ita quod pro residencia

107. RC8/28 pp. 16-17

108. RC8/29 pp. 88-9

109. RC8/31 p. 283. It is interesting that the English precedent of moving the common bench with the exchequer was now being followed in Ireland (D. M. Broome, 'Exchequer migrations to York in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries', p. 293).

110. P.R.O.L., E.364/7 m.C.

ministrorum nostrorum ibidem et aliorum
 fidelium nostrorum qui ibidem pro
 prosecutione negotium suorum venire -
 deberent ¹¹¹ inepta est et quasi de habitacionibus
 desolata.

and the exchequer had moved back before this, as it is described as being in Dublin in Trinity term 1363. The move back to Dublin may have been intended as a temporary measure. A charter granted to the city of Dublin in November 1363 authorised the mayor and bailiffs to render their account by deputy when the exchequer was located outside Dublin.¹¹² The exchequer was still at Dublin at Easter 1364 when the sheriff of Carlow made no proffer quia totus comitatus vastus est et destructus,¹¹³ but shortly afterwards the decision was taken to move back to Carlow, probably as a result of the agreement with the MacMurroughs.¹¹⁴ The move seems to have taken place at some time between 26 April and 1 June 1364. The issue roll for 1365-6 states that the decision was made per dominum regem et consilium suum in Anglia ac de communi assensu et voluntate prelatorum, magnatum et procerum ac totius communitatis terre hibernie.¹¹⁵ It is not clear from this whether the idea came originally from Ireland or from England, but it may have been put before the English council by Walter of Dalby, the clerk of the wages, who was in England during the winter and spring of 1363-4.¹¹⁶ It seems to have been intended

111. Genealogical Office, MS. 192, p. 131; N.L.I. MS. 3, f. 67

112. C.A.R.D., i, p. 22. The move evidently created some confusion. Robert de la Freigne, the seneschal of Kilkenny, was ordered to cause everyone having business at the exchequer to be at Carlow on the morrow of Michaelmas 1363. He did so, only to find that the exchequer was now at Dublin and that he had been amerced for non-attendance there (RC8/29 pp. 240-41).

113. RC8/28 p. 376.

114. Above, p. 142

115. E.101/244/10

116. See below p. 215

to make the move permanent this time, as the former site of the exchequer in Dublin was given up and on 1 June 1364 John Scrope, the keeper of the king's works in Dublin was ordered to remove from the house where the exchequer used to be held all things touching his office and deliver the house and keys to John Taillour.¹¹⁷ By Trinity term 1364 the exchequer was settled at Carlow¹¹⁸ where it remained until the time of Richard II, and the bench apparently moved back in late June or July as a case was adjourned from 25 June to 21 July to be heard at Carlow.¹¹⁹ On 24 October 1364 the treasurer was permitted to keep a small force with him for his protection when travelling around to collect debts 'because the place of the exchequer of Ireland at Karlak, being as it were on the frontier of Irish rebels, there is no safe access to it by the king's lieges'.¹²⁰ This is probably an exaggeration, however, as sheriffs making their proffers at Michaelmas 1364 do not appear to have been deterred by conditions in the neighbourhood of Carlow,¹²¹ but it is clear that the surrounding area was far from settled. In March 1365 Gerald Kavanagh and his accomplices were again at war in the neighbourhood of Ballyloughan castle, and although they were subdued fairly quickly, they did not resume their former relationship with the government.¹²² It seems that after this Carlow itself was in danger of attack from

117. RC8/28 pp. 418-19. After the move to Carlow, the house was used by the clerk of the works as a store and workshop (*ibid.*, p. 245).

118. RC8/29 p. 433.

119. P.R.O.I., M. 2675, f. 195. Pleas were being held at Carlow in 1365 and 1366 (*Rotulus Pipae Clonensis*, ed R. Caulfield, (Cork, 1859 p. 24).

120. *Cal. Patent Rolls, 1364-7*, p. 23

121. RC8/28 pp. 447-9. See Appendix XIV

122. See above, p. 143

the Irish for most of the time. In the years 1365-6 various measures were taken for the defence of the town; the castle was repaired and the unwallled part of the town was enclosed by a wooden fence,¹²³ and in May 1366, workmen were recruited for the building of a stone wall around the town pro defensione et municione ville de Cath' contra Hibernicorum felonum et inimicorum nostrorum dictam villam indies cremare et destruere.¹²⁴ However, despite the unsettled conditions around Carlow, the idea of moving the exchequer back to Dublin does not seem to have been considered, even when, with the departure of Lionel and his army in 1366, the original reason for the situation of the exchequer at Carlow was no longer important.

Because of the defects in the financial records, it is impossible to arrive at any accurate statement of how much the move to Carlow cost, but some idea of the expenses involved can be got. Firstly, there is the physical moving of exchequer records and equipment from Dublin to Carlow in 1361, back to Dublin in 1363 and finally back again to Carlow in 1364. The accounts of the clerk of the works do not survive, but three writs of allocate for expenses in this connection provide some information about the amount of work involved. In the period 10 March 1361 - 10 March 1364 he was responsible for paying out a total of £9/3/7 for the following items: wages of carpenters and other workers in the exchequers of Dublin and Carlow; purchase of timber, boards, nails and other items for these works; purchase of empty casks and a pipe to contain books being brought from Dublin to Carlow and from Carlow to Dublin; wages of a cooper for hooping the casks and pipe; wages of carters bringing the books and other necessities to Carlow: payment for the safe

123. RC8/29 pp. 235-7.

124. Ibid., pp. 132-3

conduct of the carriage with the books from Castledermot to Carlow and various unspecified expenses relating to the exchequer.¹²⁵ While the exchequer was at Dublin, it apparently returned to its old site in the houses leased from John Taillour, but probably when the lease was given up in 1364, the exchequer books were transferred temporarily to the chapel in Dublin castle.¹²⁶ There are few details of the return to Carlow in 1364, but clearly the same sort of payments for carriage of books and other necessities must have been made, as in Scrope's writ of allocate for the period 26 April 1364 - 26 July 1366 there is mention of an unspecified sum spent on the hire of various men with horses, carts, truckles and cars for bringing books, boards, nails, iron and other necessities of the exchequer from Dublin and for bringing timber from various parts of Carlow, and of another sum spent on empty casks for containing books, a cart and two truckles with iron chains, and three horses.¹²⁷

A larger item of expenditure was the repair and the defence of the castle and town of Carlow. In Scrope's writ for the years 1364-6, a sum of £182/10/3 was allowed to him for various expenses in relation to this, which included wages of masons and carpenters for repairing, making and covering various works of the exchequer, walls, towers and the hall in Carlow castle, and for constructing a house inside the ring-wall of the castle and another beside the castle for the common bench; timber for building a wooden fence around the unwallled part of the town and for building a mill; repair of a tower on the bridge of Carlow; making a stone wall in the cellar of

125. RC8/28, pp. 346-50. See Appendix XIII below

126. RC8/29 p. 246

127. Ibid.

the castle; wages for cleaning the castle, and for mowing fassagh for roofing various houses and towers. During the same period a further sum of £31/12/- was spent in buying timber, tin, boards, nails, hinges, locks and other items for the mill and for various lodgings in the castle and gates of the town, lime for repairs to the castle, mill and town walls, and in paying wages to a smith and his assistant to smelt the tin.¹²⁸

Whatever truth there may be in the statement of the compiler of the Annals of Ireland that Lionel gave £500 for the walling of the town,¹²⁹ a statement that cannot be verified for lack of evidence, it is clear that a decision was taken to provide a stone wall for Carlow. The earliest mention of this occurs in a writ of allocate for John Scrope covering the period 1364-6. In this he was to be allowed for money spent pro maeremio tam pro quodam palo ligneo circa partem ville predictae non muratam quam pro quodam molendino de novo faciendo et construendo,¹³⁰ and it is possible that the decision was taken, not at the time of the original move to Carlow, but at some time during the summer of 1364. The work of walling the town was still in progress in the middle of 1366, probably being held up from time to time by the attacks of the Irish, particularly by the war against the MacMurroughs in early 1365, as well as by a shortage of labour. On 12 May 1366, James de la Hyde was ordered to inquire into the number of masons in counties Meath, Kildare and Louth and to attach them and bring them before the barons of the exchequer at Carlow on 28 May following to be handed over to John Scrope quia in

128. Ibid., p. 236. See Appendix XIII below.

129. Chart. St. Mary's Abbey, ii, pp. 395-6

130. RC8/29 pp. 235-6

dicta villa de Cathirlagh nec in partibus adiacentibus nulli vel pauci operarii pro hiis operibus faciendis possunt reperiri.¹³¹

An additional item of expenditure resulting from moving the exchequer to a border area was the payment of an allowance to exchequer officials to provide for the increased cost of provisions in Carlow. The Irish issue roll for 1365-6 sets out the details of this allowance

Cum per dominum regem et consilium suum in Anglia ac de communi assensu et voluntate prelatorum magnatum et procerum ac totius communitatis terre Hibernie concordatum fuisset etc. quod scaccarium predictum apud villam de Cathirlagh... sederet et ea occasione sit assessum ac ministri eiusdem domini regis de scaccario qui a locis et habitationibus suis propriis in obsequio domini regis predicti venire et sedere sint coacti, non valeant secum pro sustentacione sua propter tam longam dicte ville habitationum suarum distanciam de propriis suis victualibus provideri perquem cum feodis officiis suis incumbentibus tempore quo dictum scaccarium apud Dubliniam extiterat sustentari solebant iam propter paucitatem et carenciam huiusmodi victualium per plures fideles eiusdem domini regis de diversis partibus eiusdem terre ad idem scaccarium confluentes et ibidem aliquamdiu morantes de feodis suis antiquis que de dicto domino rege percipiunt et ante hec tempora dum idem scaccarium apud Dubliniam extiterat perceperunt comode unde nec status suis iuxta eorum uniuscuiusque decenciam continere non possunt et deberent in ipsorum ministrorum adnullacionem et depauperacionem manifestas...¹³²

These payments came to an annual total of £87/13/4 and ranged from £20 for the chief baron and £10 each for the chief chamberlain and chief engrosser down to £2/10/- each for the second chamberlain and second remembrancer. The payments first appear in 1364¹³³ and it would seem from them that there was a certain amount of resistance on the

131. Ibid., pp. 132-3

132. E.101/244/10

133. E.364/7 m.C.

part of the exchequer officials to the idea of going back to Carlow in that year.

On the financial side, the result of moving the exchequer to Carlow can probably best be judged by an examination of the regularity of the twice-yearly proffers made by sheriffs and seneschals at the exchequer. These proffers theoretically cover the whole country and occur at regular intervals, so they provide a fuller picture than do summonses to account, and it is easier to spot omissions, mistakes in calendaring and fluctuations in the lists of proffers than in any other type of entry on the memoranda rolls. Unfortunately, one is dependent on the calendars of memoranda rolls produced by the Irish Record Commission as the originals no longer survive for this period. The quality and completeness of these calendars vary considerably from one roll to the next and before beginning any analysis of the lists of proffers which they contain, their deficiencies should be noted.

1361-2	complete
1362-3	no proffers noted for Easter 1363
1363-4	complete
1364-5	complete
1365-6	the entry for Easter 1366 is highly abbreviated and worthless for the present purpose.

One further item which should be noted is that the sheriff of Connacht is not mentioned in any of the lists and so has been omitted from the calculations.¹³⁴

As has been mentioned, at the Easter 1361 proffer, only three sheriffs appeared at the exchequer and a further two had excuses for not doing so, out of a total of seventeen.¹³⁵ The exchequer evidently

134. The proffers are set out in tabular form in Appendix XIV below.

135. RC8/27 pp. 567-71

moved to Carlow for the business of Michaelmas term 1361 and the situation immediately improved to nine appearances out of seventeen.¹³⁶ At the following Easter this had further risen to twelve, with two accountants having excuses, leaving only the sheriffs of Carlow and the crosses of Kerry and Ulster absent.¹³⁷ This improvement was perhaps due to more stable conditions in Leinster after Lionel's campaign of 1361-2, but Michaelmas 1362 saw a decline in the figures to nine persons who came, one who was excused because his account was being audited and seven who did not appear.¹³⁸ There are no figures available for Easter 1363 and by the following Michaelmas the exchequer was back in Dublin. The first two years of the exchequer's existence at Carlow had seen a considerable initial improvement in the number of sheriffs and seneschals making proffers. Naturally, those from the nearby counties of Dublin, Kildare, Meath, Louth, Wexford and Waterford and the cross and liberty of Kilkenny were the most regular, being those who had the least trouble in reaching the site of the exchequer, but the seneschal of Kerry and the sheriff of Limerick also appeared at the three proffers while the sheriffs of Cork and the cross of Tipperary appeared at two of them. The only notable absentees were the sheriff and seneschal of Ulster, which is understandable on account of the distance, the sheriff of Kerry and the sheriff of Carlow. This last failure is obviously a surprise, but may have been due to the unprofitable state of the county as at Michaelmas 1363 and Easter 1364 he made no proffer because the county was wasted.¹³⁹ Clearly, Carlow was convenient for the

136. RC8/28 pp. 1-3

137. Ibid., pp. 100-101

138. Ibid., pp. 171-2

139. Ibid., pp. 303, 375

accountants from the south and south-east, and the only people who really lost by the move were the seneschal and sheriff of Ulster. However it is difficult to assess how far the increase in the number of those making proffers was due to the actual move to Carlow and how far to better conditions and increased stability in the country as a whole, resulting from the presence of a large army in Leinster. This point is illustrated by an examination of the figures for the proffers made at Michaelmas 1363 and Easter 1364. One might expect the figure to fall again on account of the greater distance of Dublin from the south, but at the Michaelmas 1363 proffer they were almost the same as at Michaelmas in the previous year - nine appearances, six non-appearances and two excuses¹⁴⁰ - while at Easter 1364 they rose dramatically to fourteen appearances and two excuses, with only the sheriff of the cross of Kerry outstanding.¹⁴¹ This large increase may be a result of the tightening-up of the Irish financial administration in early 1364 following the appointment of Walter of Dalby, the clerk of the wages as treasurer of Ireland. However well the exchequer was functioning at Dublin, it was evidently thought that Carlow was a more suitable place for it, when it was moved back there in 1364. There were probably two reasons for this. Carlow was a more convenient financial centre from the army's point of view, and it was at this time that Lionel was in England for the recruiting of a second army to come back to Ireland later in the year. Secondly, Carlow was a more convenient centre for exchequer officials who were travelling around the south and south-east of Ireland on financial business, especially with the increased use of this procedure in 1364 and the following years. When the exchequer moved back to Carlow,

140. *Ibid.*, pp. 303-4

141. *Ibid.*, pp. 375-6

the proffers continued at the improved level. At Michaelmas 1364 the number fell slightly to eleven appearances and four non-appearances,¹⁴² but at the following Easter, probably due to the successful campaign by Lionel against the Mac Murroughs and O Connor Faly, which had taken place before Easter, only one person, the seneschal of Ulster, did not appear or have an excuse, and another, the sheriff of Wexford, was excused because he was in the middle of his account.¹⁴³ At Michaelmas 1365 only the sheriff and seneschal of Kerry did not come,¹⁴⁴ and although no list is available for Easter 1366, it is probable that the figures were similar to those of the previous three proffers.

Clearly the control of the exchequer over its accountants increased considerably in the years 1361-6 with a larger number of them, particularly from the south and south-east, making proffers regularly at the exchequer. This was especially true of those from the outlying areas such as Cork, Kerry and even Ulster, and is reflected in the increase in money paid into the exchequer from these areas. The sheriff of Cork appeared regularly throughout the period, while the others, although more intermittent in their appearances, did come more frequently, especially from 1364 onwards. As the increase in exchequer control was one of the original reasons for moving to Carlow, it can be said that in this field, at least, the move was a success. However, it is possible that similar results might have been achieved while the exchequer remained at Dublin, as is seen in the figures for 1363-4. The increased exchequer activity from early 1364 onwards, resulting from the appointment of Dalby as treasurer,

142. *Ibid.*, pp. 447-9

143. *Ibid.*, pp. 378-9

144. RC8/29 pp. 5-7

and the presence of a fairly large army in the country, which made for increased stability, seem to have been more important factors than the site of the exchequer, though obviously the move was of benefit to the more distant sheriffs and seneschals.

On the military side, the army was occupied almost exclusively in Leinster and Munster as had seemed probable from the start, and so Carlow was a convenient financial centre. Unfortunately, no dates are available for the payment of various sums out of the Irish exchequer to the clerk of the wages, and so it is not possible to work out where the army was on each occasion. Similarly, the incidence of assignments made on various sources of revenue for the payment of army wages and expenses is unknown, but if it were large, then the importance of the actual location of the exchequer would be less. However, the amount of money which the Irish exchequer contributed to the cost of the army was tiny when compared to that coming from England, which meant that the situation of the exchequer was less important from the army's point of view than might have been expected.

The moving of the exchequer to Carlow cannot be seen as a great success in itself. Of the two aims behind the move, one, the convenience of Carlow for the army turned out to be relatively unimportant and although the control of the exchequer over sheriffs and other accountants was increased, this seems to have been due more to other factors, particularly to the presence of Lionel's army and the activities of Walter of Dalby as treasurer, than to the location of the exchequer at Carlow rather than at Dublin.

(iv) Itinerant exchequer officials

A major problem which confronted the Irish exchequer was how to ensure that whatever money had been collected locally was readily

at the disposal of the exchequer officials. The money might have been collected by the sheriff or other accountant but not yet paid into the exchequer and if the chamberlains had to wait for it to be paid in, it was more than likely that the money would not be available just when it was needed. There were several ways of getting around this problem. Firstly, there was the practice of assignment, whereby the person due money from the exchequer was given a tally and told to collect the sum due from the local sheriff or collector of customs or other official accountable at the exchequer instead. Unfortunately there is no way of distinguishing between assignments and actual money received at the exchequer as the Irish receipt rolls do not contain marginalia of the sort seen on the English receipt rolls and the Irish issue rolls do not show the date of the payment. Only a small number of assignments were enrolled on the memoranda rolls of the Irish exchequer, most of these being for wages and fees due to minor exchequer officials, but the total volume of assignment and money spent locally, although unknown, must have been large, particularly in the 1360s when so much money was needed locally for military purposes. Another solution was that adopted in the north of England, that of using local exchequers, usually under the sheriff of the county concerned, to receive small rents and dues and various local services. These had come into existence around 1320 and one at least, 'the exchequer of Newcastle-upon-Tyne' was still functioning in 1362, so the precedent was there.¹⁴⁵ However, this device does not seem to have been considered in Ireland, probably because of the unsettled state of the country and also because of the tendency towards centralisation evident in the 1361 ordinances. In Ireland the idea

145. Tout, Chapters, iii p. 48

was that all revenues not assigned were to be paid into the exchequer at Dublin or Carlow, but to ensure that this was done and that the exchequer had a fairly steady supply of money, recourse was had to the practice of appointing exchequer officials to see to the levying of debts due to the crown in specific areas.

The practice of appointing exchequer officials to perform this function had been in operation since the reign of Edward II.¹⁴⁶ Their main function was to supervise the levying of debts and arrest sheriffs and other persons owing money to the crown and amerce them if necessary. It was also convenient to empower them to do other things affecting the business of the exchequer in the locality, such as inquiring into various items of revenue, taking inquisitions and making extents of lands which had come into the king's hands, as can be seen from a commission dated 26 October 1350 which authorised William de Bromley, the treasurer and John of Evesham, the second chamberlain

ad supervidendam levacionem debitorum regis
aretro existencium in comitatibus Waterford'
Cork'... et ad inquirendum de quibusdam
exitibus escaetrie Hibernie in partibus
predictis, et ad quasdam inquisitiones coram
baronibus de scaccario inter regem et
diversas personas... capiendas et eas coram
baronibus retornandas et ad terras et tenementa
in manu domini regis existentes extendendas
et ad arrestandos omnes tam vicecomites quam
alios qui regi in aliquibus arreragiis
compoti tenentur ad scaccarium et eos
amerciandos quos in premissis negligentes
invenerunt.¹⁴⁷

Various other duties could be added to these according as the need for them arose. In 1366 John Hirst, the chancellor of the exchequer who

146. J. F. Lydon, 'Edward II and the revenues of Ireland in 1311-12', IHS xiv (1964-5) pp. 39-57.

147. RC8/25 p. 303

was hastening the levying of debts in Co. Limerick supervised the election of a new sheriff there,¹⁴⁸ and in the previous year James de Wattenhull and William Holywood were ordered to audit the accounts of the collectors of the biennial tenth in accordance with the agreement made with the clergy in parliament in 1362.¹⁴⁹

Although the commissions made no mention of the actual collection of money it is clear that the exchequer officials were in fact engaged in this task also. This led to some confusion in 1360 when some officials refused to account for the money they had received on the grounds that their commissions made no mention of receipt and that therefore they should not be compelled to account. It was to try to resolve this question that one of the March 1361 ordinances stated that persons appointed to hasten the levying of debts were to account for whatever money they received, even if their commissions made no mention of receipt.¹⁵⁰ The commissions continued to omit this but there is no evidence of any exchequer officials refusing to account in the years after 1361. Usually two sets of officials were appointed at the same time, each having responsibility for a specific area of the country, as happened in March 1365 when John de Troye and John Scrope were to go to Munster and Wexford and James de Wattenhull and William Holywood to Dublin, Meath and Louth.¹⁵¹ The positions of the officials appointed varied from one commission to the next and seems to have depended on who was free at any given time. They might

148. RC8/29 pp. 256-9

149. RC8/28 pp. 541-2. See below pp. 233-4

150. See above p. 176

151. RC8/28 pp. 541-4

include the treasurer,¹⁵² but barons, chamberlains, remembrancers, and engrossers were also employed from time to time.¹⁵³

These commissions do not seem to have been issued with any regularity in the 1350s and for the period 1350-1360 there are only seven enrolled on the memoranda rolls.¹⁵⁴ The same appears to be true for the first three years of Lionel's lieutenancy, as only two such commissions have survived, those to John de Troye and Peter of Wakefield in 1362¹⁵⁵ and Thomas Scurlag and Peter of Okebourn in November 1363.¹⁵⁶ The appointment of Dalby as treasurer in 1364 seems to have been the beginning of increased activity on the part of the exchequer in various fields, including that of the commissions, which become more regular and also more frequent. Commissions were issued in May 1364 (Meath),¹⁵⁷ June 1364 (Wexford and Munster),¹⁵⁸ July 1364 (Meath and Louth)¹⁵⁹ and October 1364 (Dublin, Kildare, Meath and Louth).¹⁶⁰ In 1365 commissions were issued for Dublin, Meath and Louth and Munster and Wexford in March,¹⁶¹ and Dublin, Meath and Louth in November,¹⁶² while in March 1366 three commissions were issued

152. *Ibid.*, pp. 310-11, 415, 543-4.

153. *Ibid.*, pp. 259-60, 310-11, 487; RC8/29 p. 229

154. RC8/25 pp. 303, 673; RC8/26 pp. 41-2, 528-9; RC8/27 pp. 75-7

155. RC8/28 pp. 259-60

156. *Ibid.*, pp. 310-11

157. *Ibid.*, pp. 407-408

158. *Ibid.*, p. 415

159. *Ibid.*, p. 427

160. *Ibid.*, p. 487

161. *Ibid.*, pp. 541-2

162. RC8/29 pp. 27-8.

covering Meath and Louth, Dublin and Kildare, and Munster respectively.¹⁶³

The effect of the increase in the number and frequency of these commissions on the revenue must have been considerable. An examination of the receipt roll for 1365-6 shows not only that the exchequer officials were continuing to receive money while travelling around the country, but that the sums involved were large. Probably the most spectacular example of such money being paid in to the exchequer occurred on 28 July 1365 when John Scrope paid in a total of £1016/4/3½ which he had collected in Munster,¹⁶⁴ but while other sums might not reach this amount, the fact remained that they were being paid in and that the exchequer was receiving a fairly constant supply of money. Another way in which the effect of these commissions must have been felt was in the increased control over sheriffs. The extent of this must remain unknown, but it seems likely that the almost constant perambulations of exchequer officials from early 1364 onwards did have an effect on the efficiency and honesty with which the sheriffs discharged their duties, especially relating to the collection of debts, by providing a check on their actions.

(v) The personnel of the exchequer, 1361-66

The exchequer ordinances of March 1361 envisaged a tighter control by the exchequer over its accountants and subordinates, but no attempt was made at the time to change the personnel of the exchequer in order to make it more efficient. William Charnels, bishop of Ferns, was appointed treasurer on 23 February 1361.¹⁶⁵ He

163. Ibid., pp. 76-9; E.101/244/10

164. E.101/244/9

165. Cal. Patent Rolls, 1358-61, p. 551

had previously acted in this position for a few months in 1360,¹⁶⁶ but apart from this, he does not seem to have had much administrative experience, so his appointment can hardly be seen as part of an attempt to revolutionise the exchequer. The previous treasurer, Thomas Badby, had evidently come under some suspicion, as various indictments of 'extortions, falsities, deceptions and other misdeeds' had been laid against him.¹⁶⁷ There was some doubt as to the truth of these, though in a couple of cases involving his accounts for the liberty of Meath they were later proved to be well founded,¹⁶⁸ but it was felt better to replace him, and although he returned to Ireland as a member of Lionel's retinue¹⁶⁹ and treasurer of his household,¹⁷⁰ he never held any official position in Ireland again. It is difficult to say what happened in the case of the other exchequer officials. If any new appointments were made they must have been made in Ireland as there is no trace of them on the English patent rolls, and the fact that no such appointments were made in England is itself an indication of the small amount of importance which the English council attached to this aspect of reforming the Irish financial situation. The absence of Irish issue rolls and any account by Charnels makes it impossible to discover what officials were receiving fees during this time. We know of two new appointments, both under the Irish great seal, those of Thomas Dene as chamberlain

166. Richardson and Sayles, Administration, p. 103

167. Cal. Patent Rolls, 1358-61, p. 581

168. RC8/28, pp. 237-9, 241-2, 294-6. He was found guilty of forging receipts and not being sufficiently diligent in collecting money due to the crown.

169. E.101/28/18

170. E.101/28/27 m. 10

in March 1361¹⁷¹ and John Newman as remembrancer in June 1361,¹⁷² but it is not certain whether they took up office or not. It is possible that either or both of them did in fact take up office but relinquished it before the end of the year, as a comparison of the exchequer officials in Easter term 1361¹⁷³ with those acting in Easter term 1362¹⁷⁴ shows that in 1362 there was a new chamberlain, Peter of Okebourn, and a new remembrancer, William Holywood.¹⁷⁵ However it seems likely that most of the exchequer staff remained the same, as these two, together with Thomas Burley, are the only new names appearing in 1362. Thomas Mynot, the third baron was confirmed in office on 10 March 1361,¹⁷⁶ and it is possible that other confirmations were made which have not survived.

A couple of appointments were made later in 1361, after Lionel's arrival in Ireland. Thomas Burley, the prior of the Hospital, who already held the offices of chancellor and chief justice of the justiciar's bench,¹⁷⁷ had evidently established himself well in Lionel's favour, as on 3 November 1361 he was appointed chief baron and chancellor of the exchequer for life, under the Irish great seal, with power to exercise the offices by deputy.¹⁷⁸ However he does not seem ever to have acted as chief baron, although he was paid as

171. RC8/27 p. 578.

172. Ibid., p. 624

173. E.101/244/6

174. E.372/212 m. 43; RC8/28 pp. 153, 193

175. E.372/212 m. 43.

176. Cal. Patent Rolls, 1358-61, p. 571

177. E.101/244/6; E.372/212 m. 43

178. RC8/28 p. 41

chancellor of the exchequer until Easter 1364.¹⁷⁹ The only other appointment in 1361 was that of Peter of Okebourn, a former clerk of the wages, collector of customs in Dublin and constable of Limerick, as chamberlain in December.¹⁸⁰ In this case, his experience may have been the main reason for his appointment, although the grant to him of various lands at the same time¹⁸¹ may indicate that the personal favour of the lieutenant was also involved.

On 14 January 1362 Charnels was replaced as treasurer under the Irish great seal by Thomas Mynot,¹⁸² an experienced exchequer official who had been a baron since 1356¹⁸³ and had also acted as escheator.¹⁸⁴ This may have been due to old age or illness on the part of Charnels,¹⁸⁵ but it might also be put down to a desire on the part of the Irish council for a more efficient treasurer in order to make more money available for the war effort. Whatever the reason behind it, Mynot's elevation led to a re-shuffling of some of the other exchequer offices. This was largely a redistribution of offices among serving officials, with no attempt being made to bring in new men, particularly Englishmen, as might perhaps have expected. Of the chief exchequer officials serving in June 1362,¹⁸⁷ when the appointments were completed - the treasurer, chancellor, two barons, two chamberlains, two remembrancers

179. E.372/212 m. 43

180. RC8/28 pp. 62-3

181. Ibid.

182. Ibid., p. 53

183. Richardson and Sayles, Administration, p. 113

184. Ibid., p. 128

185. He died in July 1362 (Handbook of British Chronology, p. 337)

186. RC8/28 p. 129, 160; E.372/212 m. 43

187. RC8/28 pp. 153, 193; E.372/212 m. 43.

and two engrossers - six had been serving in some senior capacity in the exchequer in 1360,¹⁸⁸ and another, William Holywood, had previously been an exchequer clerk.¹⁸⁹

If the reason behind Mynot's appointment as treasurer had been to provide a more dynamic head for the Irish financial administration, then the plan seems to have misfired completely. Although Mynot accounted as treasurer for the period 14 January 1362 - 9 April 1364,¹⁹⁰ he was effectively treasurer for less than half of this time. Thomas Scurlag, the abbot of St Thomas', Dublin, was paid as his deputy from 20 October 1362 to 1 April 1364, ipso thesaurario in partibus remociis agente.¹⁹¹ It is not known where Mynot was during this period. He may have been with Lionel's army, or in England, but it is also possible that, after his provision to the archbishopric of Dublin on 21 September 1362,¹⁹² he paid a visit to the papal court at Avignon. Wherever he was, he was clearly not implementing financial reforms in Ireland, and it is surprising that he was permitted to be absent for such a long period. However, finally, on 10 February 1364, Walter of Dalby, the clerk of the wages, was appointed treasurer to succeed him,¹⁹³ the appointment being made from England. The reasons behind this appointment are complex. Firstly, as has been suggested, the English council may have finally come to the conclusion

188. Mynot, treasurer (baron in 1360); Robert Holywood, chief baron (chief remembrancer); John de Troyes, second baron (same); William Lawless, chief chamberlain (same); Thomas Quixhull and Peter de Wakefield, engrossers (same).

189. RC8/27 p. 116

190. E.372/212 m. 43

191. Ibid.

192. RC8/29 p. 290

193. Cal. Fine Rolls, 1356-68, p. 280

that an absentee treasurer was not what was needed in Ireland. Although the idea of having the offices of clerk of the wages and treasurer held by the same man was a new one, it had its advantages, particularly in facilitating access to the revenues for the purpose of paying the army. The decision had probably been taken at this stage to recall Lionel from Ireland and send him back with a new force later in the year. Obviously, it would be to everyone's advantage if the financial administration could be made more efficient in the intervening months, so as to put as much Irish revenue as possible at the disposal of the clerk of the wages. Dalby had handled large sums of money during the three years that he had been clerk of the wages and there is no evidence of any doubts as to his honesty or efficiency. It is possible, however, that Dalby's appointment may have been partly due to representations made by him on his own behalf, as both he and Thomas Burley, the chancellor, were in England during the months immediately preceding the appointment.¹⁹⁴

Dalby's appointment was followed on 13 February by a series of further appointments under the English great seal, most of them being to offices in the exchequer.¹⁹⁵ The fact that they were made under the English great seal is a further indication of the English council's sudden concern with the administration of Ireland, something which had been conspicuously lacking during the first two and a half years of Lionel's lieutenancy. Both barons, Robert Holywood and John de Troyes, were dismissed and three barons appointed in their place. Of these, two, John Keppok and Thomas Quixhull, were already employed

194. E.403/415 m. 28; E.403/417 mm. 31, 35.

195. Cal. Patent Rolls, 1361-4, p. 468; Cal. Fine Rolls, 1356-68, p. 280

in the Irish administration.¹⁹⁶ The third, John of Uppingham, appears to have had no connection with Ireland before this. However, of the three, only Quixhull took up the office, which he exercised together with his existing office of engrosser, for the following year.¹⁹⁷ It is not known whether Keppok and Uppingham refused their appointments or not, but on 20 February 1364, James de Wattenhull, a former chancellor of the exchequer, was appointed baron,¹⁹⁸ presumably to replace one of them, and on 24 April following, William of Carlisle, who had been Dalby's deputy as clerk of the wages, was appointed third baron.¹⁹⁹ Both of them served with Quixhull until Easter 1365.²⁰⁰ The chief chamberlain, Thomas Lawless, was dismissed and replaced by John Scrope, a former exchequer clerk, who acted with Peter of Okebourn, the existing second chamberlain.²⁰¹ Robert of Loughborough was appointed remembrancer and exercised this office throughout 1364.²⁰² It is not clear whether Thomas French continued to act as a remembrancer, but William Holywood was certainly out of office in 1364.²⁰³ In the case of the engrossers, it was envisaged that Quixhull, the chief engrosser, should become third baron, the second engrosser, Peter of Wakefield, was to be dismissed and the two replaced by William of

196. Keppok was a pleader and Thomas Quixhull chief engrosser (E.372/212 m. 43).

197. E.364/7 m.C

198. RC8/28 pp. 385-6; Richardson and Sayles, Administration, p. 117

199. RC8/28 p. 397. He had served as Dalby's deputy while Dalby was in England, from September 1363 to March 1364. (E.101/28/27 m. 6; E.372/212 m. 43).

200. E.364/7 m.C

201. Ibid.

202. Ibid; RC8/28 p. 477

203. This is shown by his reappointment in 1365 (RC8/28 p. 600).

Boltham, of whose previous career nothing is known, and Reginald Esker, a former clerk. However, this plan was not put into operation. Quixhull continued to exercise his office as chief engrosser together with that of third baron, Boltham became second engrosser and Reginald Esker remained an exchequer clerk.²⁰⁴ The chancellor of the exchequer, Thomas Burley, remained in office.²⁰⁵ At the same time as these appointments, Thomas Hervy, a member of Lionel's household, was made customer.²⁰⁶ This may have been done with the intention of improving the customs administration, but it may also have been a case of personal favour, as Hervy had acted as Dalby's attorney in England in 1363²⁰⁷ and was later identified with the Dalby-Burley faction. As in 1362, many of the new appointments involved a reshuffling of existing office-holders. Only four, Uppingham, Boltham, Carlisle and Loughborough, did not already hold some position in the Irish exchequer. The most noticeable fact about the rearrangement, however, is the ousting from office of Robert and William Holywood and John de Troyes. This may have been due to some animosity between Robert and Thomas Burley over the former's acquisition of lands in Leinster while a minister of the crown,²⁰⁸ although there is no concrete evidence of this hostility.

Whatever the reason, the appointment of Dalby and the other exchequer officials and the dismissal of the Holywoods and John de Troyes and the others gave rise almost immediately to a wave of protest

204. E.364/7 m.C

205. Ibid.

206. Cal. Fine Rolls, 1356-68, p. 468; E.101/28/18

207. E.101/28/27 m. 9

208. RC8/28, pp. 275-6; RC8/29 p. 92

on the part of some of the Anglo-Irish. Perhaps they thought that Dalby and Burley, who were both Englishmen,²⁰⁹ and their followers, including Carlisle and Hervy, were monopolising the important financial offices to the detriment of the Anglo-Irish. On the other hand, they may have been afraid of what the new financial administration might do, as the changes in personnel were obviously the prelude to some increase in administrative activity. Probably both elements contributed to their hostility and in late April 1364,²¹⁰ the earl of Kildare, John Hussee, Richard White, the chief justice of the justiciar's bench, and Richard Plunket, one of the king's pleaders, were chosen per quosdam de communitate terre predicte to go to England on business affecting the state of Ireland.²¹¹ This may have been the outcome of a great council or some less formal meeting held in March or early April 1364 before Dalby and Burley returned, but no details of the deliberations of this meeting survive. The Anglo-Irish delegation seems to have run into opposition from certain members of the Irish council, presumably Dalby and Burley when they returned, who at first gave them licence to go to England and then, realising the danger of the situation, revoked the licence, so that by going they laid themselves open to legal action.²¹² They remained in England until the end of July 1364,²¹³ giving evidence before the king's council,

209. Dalby appears to have come from Great Dalby, Leicestershire, and was parson of the Church of Our Lady, North Berkhamstead (Black Prince's Register, iv, p. 353). Burley, like several other priors of the Hospital, was also an Englishman, although his place of origin and career before he came to Ireland are not known (C. L. Tipton, 'The Irish Hospitallers during the Great Schism', RIA Proc., lxix (1970) C, p. 34).

210. E.364/7 m.C. shows the date of departure as 25 April

211. P.R.O.L., C.54/202 m. 22d; Cal Close Rolls 1364-8, p. 58

212. Ibid.

213. E.364/7 m.C.

not only concerning Dalby and his associates, but also on other matters affecting Ireland. On 6 June, Ormond, the justiciar, was ordered not to hold sessions or pleas in Munster or allow them to be held by others until the arrival of Lionel, the order being made for 'particular causes set forth before the king and council'.²¹⁴ It is difficult to see the reason for this, as there is no obvious reason why the pleas in Munster should assume an importance at this time. On 14 June, Ormond and Burley were ordered to appease all dissensions and debates which have arisen between the king's subjects in Ireland and to forbid 'any of the English the king's subjects born in England or in Ireland henceforth to make or procure dissensions, disturbances or debates between them under pain of two years' imprisonment and payment of ransom at the king's will'.²¹⁵ Again, the information on this subject appears to have come from the earl of Kildare and his companions, as the order goes on to state that

the king has learned by the report of many that there are divers dissensions and debates arisen between the English born in England and the English born in Ireland his subjects, whereby in times past, hurt and peril has happened in Ireland and worse is feared unless the same be speedily appeased.²¹⁶

There is no evidence as to what exactly was going on in Ireland in the summer of 1364, but it is clear that the hostility of the Anglo-Irish to Englishmen, particularly to English officials, which had erupted from time to time during the first half of the fourteenth century, had come to a head once more. The exact cause of it this time is not clear. The Anglo-Irish had asked in 1360 for a large

214. Cal. Close Rolls, 1364-8, p. 63

215. Ibid., pp. 63-4.

216. Ibid.

army to be sent over,²¹⁷ but they may well have felt that they were not being consulted as to what this army was doing while it was in Ireland. However it is also possible that this was a conflict over the control of the administration and that the near-monopoly of Dalby, Burley and their followers had aroused considerable resentment.

Whatever the reasons behind them, the representations of the Anglo-Irish in the summer of 1364 clearly had the desired effect. On 24 September, Dalby was replaced as treasurer by John de Troye,²¹⁸ an experienced exchequer official who had lost his position as baron of the exchequer in February 1364. He may also have been replaced at the same time as clerk of the wages by John Scrope, although Dalby continued to perform the duties of both offices until the beginning of February 1365.²¹⁹ Burley was replaced as chancellor on 24 September by Robert of Ashton,²²⁰ who had served in Ireland with Lionel's army for six months in 1363.²²¹ It is significant that in Lionel's second patent of appointment, dated 25 September 1364,²²² he was specifically forbidden to remove the chancellor and treasurer from office for any reason, a clause which was not contained in the terms of his 1361 appointment. Clearly the king saw the appointment as chancellor of Ashton, an Englishman, but one who was not apparently identified with any faction already existing in Ireland, and that as treasurer of John de Troye, an Irish exchequer official of long

217. Richardson and Sayles, Parliaments and Councils, p. 21

218. Cal. Fine Rolls, 1356-68, p. 294

219. E.364/7 m.C; T.C.D. MS. 1207 no. 80 (dated).

220. Cal. Patent Rolls, 1364-7, p. 25. This erroneously gives the date of the appointment as 24 October. (cf. ibid., pp. 68-9).

221. E.101/28/21, f. 10^v

222. Rymer, Foedera iii, part 2, p. 747

standing, as a compromise designed to placate the Anglo-Irish, and was unwilling to run the risk of this arrangement being upset by any action on Lionel's part. Also on 25 September, the appointment of Thomas Hervy as customer, the grant to Richard Vynegre, another of Lionel's retainers, of the constablenesship of Drogheda castle, the pardon to Burley of £40 of the yearly farm which he owed for Leixlip and Chapelizod, which he had obtained while in England with Dalby in November 1363, and the grant to Dalby of the extra £60 a year as treasurer on top of the normal fee of £40 were all revoked. The reason given for this points clearly to the Anglo-Irish delegation as the instigators

... it has been testified before the king and his council by magnates and men worthy of credence that the king was deceived by the informations of the said prior and ²²³Walter de Dalby when he made the said grants.

The English council was obviously extremely uneasy as to what had been going on in Ireland since Lionel left in April 1364, and the dismissals and revocations mentioned were accompanied by orders for an inquiry into various aspects of the Irish situation. All charters and letters of pardon granted in Ireland since Lionel's departure, especially to any of the king's ministers, were to be revoked if Lionel should 'think them of no use for the king's service',²²⁴ and Lionel was also ordered to take into the king's hand all lands which had been let out at a smaller farm than they were really worth.²²⁵ Also on 24 September, Lionel, Ashton, Thomas Dale, a member of Lionel's retinue and former chief justice of the justiciar's bench, and a number of Anglo-Irish notables - Kildare, John Husses, Richard White

223. Cal. Fine Rolls, 1356-68, p. 293

224. Ibid.

225. Ibid., p. 294

and Robert Preston - were ordered to survey and determine indictments of trespasses and misdeeds in Ireland which had been sent to the king at his command.²²⁶ This might have been done in connection with the episode of the Munster pleas in June 1364, but it is also possible that these are the same indictments as those previously sent back from England in April 1364 for the examination of Ormond, Burley, Simon Fleming, Richard Plunket and others.²²⁷ If so, the king evidently distrusted the judgment of Burley and Ormond and wanted a second inquiry. It was probably as part of the same operation that Dalby's account as clerk of the wages for the period 1361-4 which he had rendered at the English exchequer was sent back to Ireland to be examined by Thomas Mynot, the former treasurer, John de Troye, Ashton, Thomas Dale and Robert Holywood, the former chief baron.²²⁸ No charges were ever brought against Dalby as clerk of the wages and there is nothing to suggest that he did not perform the duties of the office efficiently and honestly, but in view of the representations of Kildare and his companions, the English exchequer may have become suspicious, especially since no counter-rolls relating to Dalby's account had been produced.²²⁹ On 24 October, Lionel, Ashton and Thomas Dale were ordered to examine all the king's charters of liberties to cities and towns in Ireland to see if they were in any way prejudicial to the king.²³⁰ Unfortunately, nothing is known of the findings of any of these commissions of inquiry, or of any action

226. Cal. Patent Rolls, 1364-7, p. 68

227. Cal. Patent Rolls, 1361-4, p. 537

228. Cal. Patent Rolls, 1364-7, pp. 68-9

229. See above p. 76

230. Cal. Patent Rolls, 1364-7, p. 29

resulting from them, but they do show the extent to which the problem had grown in the eyes of the English administration.

Lionel returned to Ireland in December 1364 and in the following February there were further changes in the exchequer personnel. Dalby was effectively replaced as treasurer by John de Troye on 1 February 1365,²³¹ and on 8 February new appointments of exchequer officials were made.²³² Burley was, predictably, dismissed as chancellor of the exchequer and was replaced by John Hirst who may have been a retainer of Lionel. James de Wattenhull remained as second baron while Thomas Quixhull reverted to being chief engrosser and William of Carlisle, Dalby's former colleague, who had been third baron, disappears from the Irish administration completely. Robert Holywood was not reinstated as chief baron until 4 April.²³³ The chief chamberlain, John Scrope, who had been appointed in the previous February, remained in office and the second chamberlain, Peter of Okebourn, was replaced by John of Evesham who had acted as chamberlain in 1350-52.²³⁴ William Holywood was reinstated as chief remembrancer, while the second remembrancer, Thomas French, who appears to have held office since the middle of 1362, continued in that position. In the case of the engrossers, Thomas Quixhull remained as chief engrosser and ^{William of Boltham} reverted to being an exchequer clerk. His successor was Reginald Esker who had been appointed in February but failed to get possession of the office then. It is interesting that all of the new appointments were made under the Irish great seal, the king having apparently

231. E.364/7 m.C

232. RC8/28 pp. 561-2

233. Ibid., p. 600

234. Richardson and Sayles, Administration, p. 123.

delegated to Lionel the problem of sorting out the personnel of the Irish exchequer. An examination of the appointments makes it clear that in most cases it was just a reversion to the pre-1364 position. Most of the appointments were the result of reinstating those officials who had lost their positions at the beginning of 1364. The only new names are Esker and Evesham, both of whom had previous exchequer experience, and John Hirst. The most notable fact about the 1365 appointments, apart from the dismissal of Dalby, Burley and Carlisle, is the reappearance of Robert and William Holywood who were both dismissed in 1364. This gives rise to the suspicion that there may well have been some personal antagonism involved in 1364, possibly between Burley and Robert Holywood. All of those appointed in 1365 remained in office for the remainder of Lionel's lieutenancy,²³⁵ the only addition being that of Robert Randolph as third baron of the exchequer in February 1366,²³⁶ to bring the complement of barons up to the usual three and to ease the pressure on Holywood and Wattenhull. Of those who were dismissed in 1365, Burley and Carlisle were both reappointed to office after Lionel's departure, Burley as chancellor in May 1368²³⁷ and Carlisle as a baron in October 1367.²³⁸ Dalby, who died in 1368, received some consolation for his dismissal in the fact that he was allowed the extra £60 fee previously granted to him which had been revoked in September 1365. The reason for this concession was given as

pro eo quod coram ipso Rege testificandum
est ipsum Walterum tam in dicto officio

235. E.101/244/10

236. RC8/29 p. 66

237. Cal. Patent Rolls, 1367-70, p. 119

238. Ibid., p. 14

thesaurarie quam in solucione vadiorum
 predictorum bene et fideliter se gessisse
 in plurima ac maiora onera racione
 dictorum duorum officiorum per idem tempus
 quam aliquis alius thesaurarius²³⁹ regis
 ibidem antea habuit supportasse

which may imply that Dalby's dismissal was as much a concession to Anglo-Irish feeling as anything else.

On the whole the conduct of the exchequer officials during this period seems to have been no worse than usual. The one big scandal affecting the operation of the exchequer broke in 1364 when it was discovered that Eustace Burnell, the clerk of the writer of estreats, had been involved in a conspiracy with the seneschal of Tipperary, the sheriff of Cork and the sheriff of Meath to defraud the exchequer of a total of £90/7/8 by omitting various sums from the estreats. There was some suspicion at the time that John Scrope, the writer of estreats, had himself been involved in the conspiracy, but he was cleared, and Burnell was barred from holding any office of the king in future.²⁴⁰ The main problem in the exchequer was not speculation, however, but the frequent changes of personnel as a result of the existence of what can best be described as factions. The English council does not seem to have realised that stability and efficiency in the exchequer were prerequisites for the effective exploitation of Irish financial resources, and does not seem to have been too concerned about the personnel of the exchequer, except in 1364, when at first one faction succeeded in getting themselves appointed and then the other group complained so strongly that the council was forced to intervene.

Whether Dalby owed his appointment as treasurer to personal

239. E.364/7 m.C.

240. RC8/28 pp. 433-6, 676-8.

machinations or to a fairly late realisation on the part of the English council of the advantages of having an efficient treasurer, is an open question. Probably both elements were involved, and his appointment, apart from the hostility it aroused among the Anglo-Irish, seems to have been a success, although he held office for less than a year. His period of office coincides with a period of increased activity on the part of the exchequer. The exchequer was moved, successfully, back to Carlow in the summer of 1364, apparently at the urging of the English council, but possibly also at the instigation of Dalby; the number of sheriffs making proffers at the exchequer increased at Easter 1364, before the move to Carlow, and remained at a fairly high level for the rest of Lionel's lieutenancy; the number of commissions to exchequer officials to hasten the levying of debts around the country seems to have gone up suddenly in 1364 and remained at this high level, and the local election of sheriffs, which had been laid down in 1361 but never seriously put into effect was revived in early 1364 and continued for the remaining two and a half years of Lionel's stay in Ireland. While it is difficult to assign credit for any administrative action to any one person at this time, it is likely that much of this increased activity was due to Dalby as treasurer, who provided the initial impetus, so that even after he was removed the exchequer continued to operate on a much more efficient level.

VII. IRISH REVENUES, 1361-6: (ii) EXTRAORDINARY REVENUES

It has been seen that the ordinances of March 1361 represent the beginning of an attempt to increase the amount of Irish revenue at the disposal of the lieutenant, an attempt which was based on the idea that the ordinary revenues could best be increased by improving the financial administration. However there were two other sources of revenue which were available to the lieutenant which were not part of the normal receipts of the Irish exchequer, but depended instead on an action on the part of the lieutenant or justiciar - parliamentary subsidies and royal service. In addition, Lionel's lieutenancy saw the beginning of a new form of extraordinary revenue with the grant in 1362 of two years' revenues from their Irish lands by a large number of absentees who wished to remain in England.

(i) Parliamentary subsidies

The parliament which met in Dublin on 7 January 1362¹ must have been summoned towards the end of November, only two months after Lionel's arrival, which indicated the importance which he or his council placed on this source of revenue. At this parliament the prelates and proctors of absent prelates granted a subsidy of a biennial tenth from ecclesiastical benefices and temporalities annexed to spiritualities, except those damaged by war or any other

1. P.R.O.I., RC8/29 p. 227. The date of this parliament, which is usually merely described as having been held in a.r. 35, is incorrectly given by Richardson and Sayles as 1361 (Irish Parliament, p. 340). As a result of this, they saw a connection between the clerical subsidy granted at this parliament, and the carucage granted in 1360, a connection which does not in fact exist. (Ibid., p. 113).

reason, the purpose of the grant being described as

ad defensionem sancte ecclesie et terre predicte
in subsidium guerre nostre per hibernicos
dicte terre hostes nostros iam mote vel²
movende, deo duce, pacificande...

At the same time, representatives of counties and towns made a grant of four shillings on every ploughland of cultivated land³ and an unspecified rate, probably between fourpence and a shilling, on chattels.⁴ In both cases the grant was considerably larger than was normal. Before this, the highest carucage rate had been forty pence, granted by some counties in 1359, while the most that the clergy had previously granted had been a tenth for one year, as in 1353.⁵ Nothing is known of the circumstances surrounding the lay grant, except that the size of the subsidy must have been the subject of much discussion, especially in the light of the desire expressed in the 1360 council message for un bone chiefteyn suffisant, estoffes et efforcez de gentz et tresore.⁶ Lionel had come with an unusually large army, well supplied with money from England, and now the Anglo-Irish in parliament were being asked to contribute towards the cost of the wars in Ireland on a larger scale than before, in spite of the heavy subsidisation from England. The clerical subsidy certainly appears to have been the result of a certain amount of bargaining on the part of the prelates in parliament. The Hospital of St John of Jerusalem in

2. RC8/28 p. 154.

3. Ibid., p. 284

4. Fourpence on chattels had been granted together with two shillings on each ploughland in 1346, while in 1360 the rate was a shilling on chattels and two shillings on each ploughland. Later, in 1371, the corresponding rates were sixpence and half a mark (Richardson and Sayles, Irish Parliament, pp. 112-114).

5. Ibid., p. 113

6. Richardson and Sayles, Parliaments and Councils, p. 21.

Ireland had traditionally been exempt from taxation, but on this occasion there was an attempt to reverse this position, as it is recorded that

clerus predictus in sua concessione dicte
decime asseruit quod ecclesie Hospitalorum
in Hibernia in proprios usus optente in
solucione dicte decime concurrere deberent.⁷

This may have been due to a certain amount of hostility towards Thomas Burley, the prior of the Hospital, who was chancellor, but there is no clear evidence of any antagonism before 1364. In addition, the prelates insisted that the collectors of the biennial tenth should not account at the exchequer but before specially appointed auditors in the different provinces.⁸ We have no information about local negotiations preceding these grants, but it is probable that the question was discussed locally beforehand. A uniform rate applied to the areas covered by each grant. The dioceses named as having been included are Dublin, Meath, Kildare, Ferns, Ossory, Waterford, Cashel, Limerick, Emly, Killaloe, Cork, Cloyne, Ross and Ardfert.¹⁰⁹ The diocese of Leighlin is not mentioned, but there is no reason to suspect that it was excluded from the collection of the subsidy. The see was vacant from 1360 to 1363,¹⁰ but in these circumstances the keeper of the spiritualities would have been summoned to parliament in place of the bishop, as happened in the case of the bishopric of Down in 1366.¹¹ There is no mention of any of the dioceses of the province of Tuam having been concerned in the grant, which is not surprising, but the commission in

7. RC8/28 p. 619.

8. Ibid., pp. 473-4.

9. RC8/28 pp. 154, 208, 318, 584.

10. Handbook of British Chronology, p. 340.

11. Richardson and Sayles, Parliaments and Councils p. 23.

October 1362 to Nicholas de Castro

ad recipiendos quoscunque denarios regis in
comitatu Ultonie /tām/ de summonicionibus
regis... quam de cūstuma regis et subsidio
regis per clerum ibidem concessio... per
indenturam inter ipsum et Thomam de Dale
vicecomitem crociarum ibidem ac collectorem
dicti subsidii....¹²

indicates that some dioceses at least of the province of Armagh had been involved in the granting of the subsidy, though it is not known which ones. The counties of Kilkenny, Wexford, Waterford, Tipperary, Limerick, Cork, Kerry and Kildare and the cities of Waterford, Limerick and Cork are mentioned as having granted the subsidy,¹³ but the presence of Kildare in this list leads one to believe that the grant applied to the part of the country which was effectively under the control of the Dublin government, the same area as that covered by the clerical subsidy, and was not confined to the south of the country. This is supported by the fact that the list of counties and cities occurs in a commission to an exchequer official to hasten the levying of debts, something which was usually done on a regional basis, and there may well have been a second commission to another exchequer official, which has not survived, which covered the remainder of the country.

Some details of the administrative procedure for collecting the subsidy have survived. In the case of the clerical subsidy, the bishop summoned his clergy and got their assent to the method in

12. RC8/28 p. 194.

13. Ibid., p. 154.

which it was to be levied.¹⁴ Two collectors were then appointed to levy the tax within the diocese, and the bishop of Limerick informed the treasurer and barons of the exchequer that the collectors were chosen by himself and the clergy of his diocese de eorum unanimi assensu.¹⁵ The two collectors in each diocese were usually abbots or priors of religious houses, or rectors of important churches within the diocese, for example, the abbot of St Mary's and the prior of All Saints' in the diocese of Dublin,¹⁶ and Patrick Martell, rector of St Mary's church, Wexford, in the diocese of Ferns.¹⁷ The payments were to be made on 17 March 1362, Pentecost 1362, Martinmas 1362 and 17 March 1363.¹⁸ In other words, two years' tax was to be collected in little over a year, presumably on the grounds of emergency. It may have been the arrangements for the speedy collection of the subsidy as well as the actual size of the subsidy that was the reason behind the prelates' bargaining in parliament. There is a clear parallel here with the opposition of the convocation of Canterbury in 1356 to a demand for a sexennial tenth to be paid in three years to finance the Black Prince's Poitiers campaign.¹⁹ Virtually nothing is

14. The bishop of Limerick was ordered to appoint collectors 'convocato coram ipso clero sue diocesis et imposita eis de eorum assensu dicta decima biennale solvenda in forma predicta' (RC8/28 p. 474). This could also be taken to imply that the clergy had not previously been consulted about the grant and were only consenting at this stage, but it seems more likely that the consent referred to the method of levying the subsidy, as this certainly became the practice later on (J. F. Lydon 'The Irish Church and Taxation in the fourteenth century.' IER, 5th ser., ciii (1965) p. 159).

15. RC8/28 p. 474

16. Ibid., p. 584

17. Ibid., p. 90

18. Ibid., pp. 473-4

19. M. V. Clarke, Medieval Representation and Consent, (1936), p. 24

known of the actual process of collecting the subsidy by the collectors but it appears that in case of difficulty the bishop could be ordered by the exchequer to seize whatever money was outstanding from persons holding benefices in his diocese, as happened in the diocese of Dublin in 1366.²⁰

The information concerning the lay subsidy is very scanty. It seems that two collectors were appointed for each county, and although in Kildare we hear of two collectors and two receivers, nothing is known of the distinction, if any, between their functions.²¹ In the case of both subsidies, the money was theoretically payable by the collectors into the exchequer, but for convenience, it was frequently paid locally to exchequer officials who had been sent out to hasten the levying of debts due to the king in specific localities. The collectors paid the money to the official who gave them a receipt which they later produced at the exchequer and received a tally for the amount concerned.²² In July 1362 John de Troyes, one of the barons of the exchequer, was sent to supervise the levying of debts in Co. Wexford and in the counties of Munster, and his instructions included distraining the prelates and collectors of both subsidies to hand over the collected money to him to be delivered into the exchequer. The only exceptions to this were the collectors in the dioceses of

20. RC8/29 pp. 227-8.

21. RC8/28 pp. 318, 672-3. The normal function of the receivers was to receive the money from the collectors and pay it into the exchequer, but in 1362, the collectors themselves were responsible for paying the money to exchequer officials. The problem is further complicated by the fact that the prior of Oughterard, described as a receiver in the diocese of Kildare, was paid for his expenses 'circa collectionem subsidii', while he also appears to have accounted for the issues of the subsidy as collectors did in other dioceses (*Ibid.*, pp. 318, 468-9).

22. *Ibid.*, pp. 189-90, 468-9

Ossory and Ferns and the counties of Wexford and Kilkenny, who were ordered to pay the money which they had collected directly to the exchequer on 27 June, presumably on account of their proximity to Carlow.²³ It was probably the fact of distance from the exchequer that was behind the commission to Nicholas de Castro, collector of the customs in Ulster, to receive the money from the collectors of the clerical subsidy there in October 1362.²⁴

The collectors of the lay subsidy appear to have accounted in the normal way at the exchequer, but one of the terms on which the clerical subsidy was granted was that the collectors should not be held to account /nisi/ coram auditoribus per curiam nostram in singulis provinciis deputandis.²⁵ It seems that the preliminary stages of the audit were conducted locally and the final stages in the exchequer, but it is not clear whether this was the original intention of the clergy. In October 1364, Walter Lenfaunt, the seneschal of Kerry, and Patrick Fox, the sheriff of Limerick, were appointed auditors for the diocese of Limerick, because the collectors had not satisfied the king fully for the subsidy or accounted for their receipts. The auditors were ordered to summon them to account and to make them find sufficient surety for the payment of any arrears due. The collectors concerned undertook to appear before the auditors, but this is the last we hear of this case.²⁶ In March 1365, James de Wattenhull, a baron of the exchequer and William Holywood, a remembrancer, were appointed to audit the accounts of all collectors of the clerical subsidy in

23. Ibid., p. 154

24. Ibid., p. 194.

25. Ibid., p. 474

26. Ibid., pp. 473-5

the counties of Dublin, Louth and Meath.²⁷ Although the initiative in this system of accounting seems to have come from the clergy, it fitted in very well with the more frequent delegation of duties by the treasurer to travelling exchequer officials, particularly from early 1364 onwards.

The collection itself seems to have been fairly uneventful; certainly we hear of no resistance to it. The prior of the Hospital successfully challenged the attempt of the prelates in parliament to include the churches of his order in the subsidy, but no attempt had in fact been made to levy the subsidy from these lands before the question was finally settled in his favour in 1365.²⁸ This was partly due to the fact that as they had not been taxed before they were not included in the valuation, but also due to Burley's influence as chancellor. The death of the bishop of Ferns in 1362 caused some confusion, as the collectors in that diocese were being charged with four pounds from the temporalities of the bishopric at a time when the escheator was receiving the entire revenues of the bishopric on the king's behalf.²⁹ In Kildare, there was some confusion over two carucates belonging to the priory of Connell, as the collectors of the lay subsidy were distraining these lands for non-payment of the money due to them while the collectors of the clerical subsidy had already collected the amount due.³⁰ However, in both of these cases the problem was quickly resolved and does not seem to have upset the regular machinery of collection and account.

27. *Ibid.*, pp. 541-2

28. *Ibid.*, pp. 615-619

29. *Ibid.*, pp. 659-60

30. *Ibid.*, pp. 672-3

In any discussion of a subsidy the crucial questions concern the amount collected and the speed of collection. In dealing with the grant of 1362, one immediately runs into the problem of deficiencies in the source material. Normally any payment made by collectors, whether made locally to an exchequer official or directly to the exchequer, would be enrolled on the receipt roll, and the accounts of the collectors on the pipe roll. Unfortunately, the pipe rolls for this period are no longer extant, and the only surviving receipt roll for the period of Lionel's lieutenancy covers the period February 1365 - September 1366³¹ which is after the time when the subsidy was due to be paid. For the years 1362-4 there are two treasurers' enrolled accounts.³² In both, information about receipts is recorded in an extremely summarised form. Thus, in Mynot's account, we get the sum of £1306/10/6½ de subsidione regi super expeditionem guerre in eadem terra concessa,³³ and in Dalby's account the sum of £502/5/7½ is recorded de subsidione regi pro expeditione guerre sue in eadem terra concessa.³⁴ The word subsidio is ambiguous here, but as there are no other references to subsidies in either of these accounts, these entries must include not only the clerical and lay subsidies granted in January 1362, but also the grant of the profits of lands and benefices of absentees made for two years from June 1362, which is referred to in the receipt roll as a subsidium,³⁵ and also money received from a grant made by various counties in 1360 which was still being collected as late as 1366.³⁶ Consequently it is impossible to state how much money came

31. P.R.O.L., E.101/244/9

32. P.R.O.L., E.372/212 m. 43 (account of Thomas Mynot, January 1362-April 1364); E.364/7 m.C. (account of Walter of Dalby, April 1364-February 1365).

33. E.372/212 m. 43.

34. E.364/7 m.C

35. Ibid.

36. Ibid.

from each of these sources. The money from the lay subsidy appears to have been paid before the end of 1364 as there are no payments from this source recorded on the receipt roll for 1365-6. In the case of the clerical subsidy, payments were still being made as late as July 1366, but the payments on the receipt roll amounting to £53³⁷ cannot represent more than a fraction of the total amount collected. The fact that many of the collectors were closing their accounts before 1366,³⁸ together with the fact that the commission to James de Wattenhull and William Holywood in 1365 makes no mention of collecting the money due from the subsidy, although it does empower them to audit accounts of collectors,³⁹ indicates that most of the money had been received before the end of 1364.

Some indication of the expected yield from the subsidy can be obtained from a grant of a shilling on each ploughland and a tenth from ecclesiastical benefices in 1353. This brought £467 into the exchequer, exclusive of assignment, and in normal circumstances it might have been expected that the 1362 grant of four shillings per ploughland and a biennial tenth would bring in over twice this amount.⁴⁰ However, after the absentees had granted the king two years' issues of their Irish lands in 1362, these lands were not liable for parliamentary

37. Ibid.

38. RC8/28 pp. 284, 306, 318, 398-9, 454-5, 584, 601-602, 641, 651, 655, 659-60, 663; RC8/29 pp. 10-11.

39. RC8/28 pp. 541-2

40. E.101/243/4, 11. (Irish receipt rolls, 28-9, 29-30 Edward III); E.372/204 m. 41 (account of the Irish treasurer, 1358-9). The subsidy of 13/4 per ploughland and a biennial tenth granted in 1370 brought in £1493/9/6½, although William of Windsor had estimated it would amount to £4000. (Richardson and Sayles, Parliaments and Councils, p. 42)

taxation.⁴¹ This must have greatly reduced the potential yield of the subsidy, but it is impossible to estimate how much the remaining lands would bring in.⁴²

Furthermore, not all the money received by the collectors went into the exchequer. Firstly, there is the question of assignments made on this source of revenue. Only four such assignments are known, but there may well have been more. Three of these were made for the maintenance of men in Arklow castle in 1362, - five marks from the diocese of Ferns,⁴³ £50 from the subsidy in Co. Wexford and twenty marks from Waterford.⁴⁴ However efficient exchequer officials were, it was obviously quicker to make payments of this kind by assignment rather than wait for the money to be paid into the exchequer and paid out again, especially where military payments were concerned, and this leads one to suspect that there may have been other assignments made for the same purpose. The other assignment which we know of was made in the summer of 1366, when the archbishop of Dublin was ordered to pay £3/10/- out of some subsidy money remaining in his hands to Thomas Quixhull, the chief engrosser of the exchequer, in part payment

41. They appear to have been treated in the same way as lands which had come into the king's hand by reason of escheat or wardship; these were not liable for parliamentary taxation (RC8/28 pp. 659-60; 45th Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records of Ireland, p. 52).

42. No basis for the assessment of lay taxation at this time has survived, and some doubt has been cast on the assumption that the early fourteenth century papal valuations were the basis for clerical taxation during most of the fourteenth century (J. F. Lydon, 'The Irish Church and taxation in the fourteenth century', p. 165). The exemption of all lands destroyed by war or any other cause is a further complication.

43. RC8/28 p. 90

44. Ibid., pp. 89-90. It is not clear whether the city or county is meant in the case of Waterford.

of his annual maintenance fee of £7.⁴⁵ This was the sort of payment which was usually made by assignment on the revenues of the demesne lands, but may have been made in this way for convenience. It was probably an isolated instance, as, despite the reduction of demesne rents in 1362, there is nothing to show that assignments on this source of revenue decreased. Collectors of the subsidies were usually allowed expenses incurred by them in the course of their duties. Again, we may assume that the examples known to us do not represent the full picture as only five dioceses are mentioned, but the sums involved are not very large,⁴⁶ and the total of such payments probably did not greatly affect the total revenue derived from the subsidy.

Despite the lack of detailed information about the amount actually collected, the 1362 subsidy is notable for several reasons. The available documentation gives some insight into the mechanics of granting and collecting a subsidy, particularly in the case of the clerical grant. Secondly, the nature and size of the subsidy are important in the context of the increased military activity of the 1360s and of Lionel's relations with the Anglo-Irish. The fact that it was a large grant made in a central assembly, without any sign of local resistance, is perhaps an indication of how seriously the representatives in parliament regarded the military situation, while the apparent ease and speed of its collection show that it was possible for the government to apply the money thus collected to the purpose for which it had been granted. However the stipulations of the prelates concerning the Hospital and the appointment of special auditors show

45. RC8/29 p. 228.

46. The dioceses and sums involved were: Meath - £2 (RC8/28 p. 306); Kildare - 13/4 (*ibid.*, p. 318); Ossory - £1/5/8 (*ibid.* pp. 601-602); Ferns - £1 (*ibid.*, pp. 659-60); Dublin - £5 (*ibid.*, p. 663).

the other side of the story. It appears from these that the grant was not made as readily as might have been hoped and this fact may have influenced Lionel's subsequent dealings with the Irish parliament.

There is no record of any further subsidy being granted to Lionel during his term of office, although there were at least three more parliaments or great councils held during this time. At one, held at some time towards the end of 1363 it was later claimed that the clergy and commons of Ireland had granted a subsidy towards the expenses of the prior of the Hospital and of certain others who went with him to England to inform the king concerning the state of Ireland. In February 1364, the chancellor and treasurer of Ireland were ordered 'if assured that the clergy and commons of Ireland have granted a subsidy as the king has learned' for this purpose, to have the subsidy levied without delay and delivered to the prior and his companions.⁴⁷ There is no trace of this subsidy in any of the surviving records and on the face of it, it seems unlikely that the Irish parliament would have made such a grant. Payment for the expenses of sending messengers to England was usually made out of the Irish exchequer, and even if there were some reason why this could not be done, such as an actual shortage of ready cash in the treasury, or hostility between Burley and Thomas Scurlag, the acting treasurer, the logical step would be for them to try to recoup their expenses in England. The grant of a subsidy in Ireland to pay their expenses would have been extremely unusual.⁴⁸

47. Cal. Close Rolls, 1364-8, p. 4.

48. There was a precedent in the grant by representatives of the counties and liberties of Munster in the parliament held at Kilkenny in January 1359 of money for the expenses of sending the chancellor and other messengers to England (Rot. Canc. Hib., pp. 77b-78), but this was an exceptional case, occurring at a time when the Irish revenues were in a far worse state than they were in 1364.

It is not clear what was behind the story of the subsidy or how it originated, but it was possibly invented by Burley to give more credibility to whatever information he was presenting to the English council. At any rate, there is no record of any money being paid to him for this purpose in Ireland. However, on 1 February 1364, two weeks before the letter to the chancellor and treasurer was issued, Burley received two hundred marks from the English exchequer

quas dominus rex sibi liberari mandavit de
 dono suo pro expensis suis veniendo in Angliam
 ad proseguendum versus dominum regem et
 consilium⁴⁹ suum pro negociis tangentibus partes
 Hibernie.

The order sent to Ireland may have been an attempt to recover this sum if it had been decided to pay it out of the Irish revenue, but the vague terms in which it refers to the subsidy implies that no-one in England was certain whether it had been granted or not.

There are references to two assemblies having been held in 1364. The first of these probably took place in March or April 1364. The only reference to this assembly states that Maurice, earl of Kildare, John Hussee, Richard White and Richard Plunket were chosen per quosdam de communitate terre predicte to go to England on business affecting the state of Ireland.⁵⁰ Judging by the actions of this delegation in England, it seems to have been a reaction to the appointment of Walter of Dalby as treasurer in February 1364 and the changes in the personnel of the Irish exchequer which took place shortly afterwards.⁵¹ The description of the assembly is ambiguous. It could

49. P.R.O.L., E.403/417 m. 31.

50. P.R.O.L., C.54 /202 m. 22d. The calendared version (Cal. Close Rolls 1364-8, p. 58) translates communitas as 'commons'.

51. See above pp. 217-22

represent an informal assembly of persons opposed to the Dalby-Burley party; On the other hand, it might refer to a council whose representation was drawn from a limited area. Whatever the composition of this meeting, it is unlikely to have been asked for a subsidy, as at this time Lionel was preparing to go back to England, if he had not already departed. On 1 July 1364 Ormond, the justiciar, held a parliament at Kilkenny.⁵² All we know of its proceedings is a petition presented to the council in parliament by the bishop of Ossory, and the decision to allow John Lumbard, a former sheriff of Cork, to make a fine with the king for his part in a conspiracy to defraud the exchequer.⁵³ There is no mention of any subsidy having been granted in this parliament.

No parliament appears to have been held during the remainder of 1364 or 1365. One was held at Kilkenny in February 1366, but no subsidy seems to have been demanded on this occasion. The idea of a marriage between Lionel and Violante Visconti may have been under consideration at this time,⁵⁴ and Lionel may have seen his departure from Ireland as imminent. However, it is surprising that no subsidy was granted after his return to Ireland at the end of 1364. It is true that his second army was much smaller, but there seems to have been no change in the policy of exploiting Irish revenues to the full, particularly in view of the state of English finances. On the contrary, the increased exchequer activity which dated from Dalby's appointment as treasurer in February 1364 continued right up to Lionel's departure from Ireland. We are left then with two possibilities:

52. RC8/28 p. 435.

53. See above pp. 184-5

54. An emissary was sent to Milan to negotiate in July 1366 (Cal. Patent Rolls, 1364-7, p. 303).

firstly, that he asked for a grant and was refused; secondly, that for one reason or another, he did not look for a subsidy. Given the Anglo-Irish feelings aroused by the events of 1364, leading up to the ousting of Dalby and Burley, it is just possible that a parliament composed of Anglo-Irish dissidents might have refused to make such a grant, but if so it is strange that we hear nothing of it, in sharp contrast to the trouble surrounding the dealings of William of Windsor with the Irish parliament a few years later.⁵⁵ There are two reasons why Lionel might not have looked for a subsidy. The first is that it was felt that the subsidy, even on the scale of the 1362 one, was not worth the trouble and expense of collection. This seems most unlikely. As had been seen, the 1362 subsidy was collected fairly quickly and without too much bother. Furthermore, the exchequer appears to have been functioning on a much more efficient level in 1365 than it had done in 1362 or 1363. It is true that a lot of the revenues from absentee lands were still in the king's hands in 1364-5 and that we do not know how much money had actually come from the parliamentary subsidy and how much from the absentee grant in the period 1362-4. It may have been the fact of the low potential yield from a subsidy, together with the possibility of problems arising in connection with the making of the grant that deterred Lionel from seeking such a grant. The 1362 subsidy had been an exceptionally large one, and, in the case of the clerical grant at least, appears to have been the result of a certain amount of bargaining concerning the Hospital and the local auditing of accounts. Since then, there had been the events of 1364 when Anglo-Irish hostility to an English near-monopoly of the

55. J. F. Lydon, 'William of Windsor and the Irish Parliament' *EHR*, lxxx (1965) pp. 252-67.

administration had come to a head, resulting in the dismissal of Dalby, Burley and several of their companions and the reinstatement in 1365 of a number of exchequer officials dismissed in 1364. The appointment of Ashton, a fairly neutral Englishman, as chancellor, and John de Troye, an experienced Irish exchequer official as treasurer, represents an attempt to alleviate the hostility, and the deliberate inclusion in Lionel's second patent of appointment of a clause forbidding him to remove these officials, shows a desire on the part of the English council not to let anything disturb the delicate balance of interests now achieved in Ireland. For this reason, therefore, Lionel may have been instructed before he returned to Ireland not to antagonise the Anglo-Irish by demanding money from them, as such a demand would only arouse their hostility. Effective military intervention in Ireland depended considerably on the co-operation of the Anglo-Irish and it was probably felt desirable above all else to ensure that they did co-operate. Any demand for a subsidy from the Irish parliament might well lead to trouble with them and the English council may have thought that this would be too great a price to pay for whatever money might come in from a subsidy. It was probably for this reason, therefore, and not because of administrative expense or inconvenience, that Lionel did not try to procure another grant from the Irish parliament after his return here in 1364.

There was also the possibility of local taxation. Richardson and Sayles have pointed out that taxes levied upon a restricted area of the country were becoming more frequent in the second half of the fourteenth century, and there are several examples of these local subsidies for the year 1358.⁵⁶ There is no evidence for any such

56. Richardson and Sayles, Irish Parliament, p. 115.

taxation during the period of Lionel's lieutenancy, but it is quite possible that it was levied on one or more occasions and that we hear nothing of it because of the nature of the surviving source material. The only evidence for the grants of 1358 comes from the Irish patent rolls⁵⁷ and there are no patent rolls extant for the period 1361-6. The money granted in 1358 was expended locally, sometimes in the maintenance of a specific number of men for the defence of the county,⁵⁸ and does not show up at all on the receipt rolls of the Irish exchequer in 1358 or the following years. This local taxation was not an alternative to parliamentary taxation but complementary to it, in that it was granted for a specific purpose affecting a particular locality, and not for a general purpose such as the furtherance of the war in Ireland. In a time of great military activity, such as the years 1361-6, one would expect several examples of both kinds of taxation, and the likelihood of a number of local subsidies having been granted cannot be seen as the reason for Lionel's failure to seek further grants from the Irish parliament after 1362. It may be that increased local taxation was the logical outcome of the absence of parliamentary subsidies, in so far as it was easier to negotiate with a local assembly on local matters than it was to try to convince the magnates, prelates and commons in parliament of the necessity of another grant on the scale of the 1362 one, especially in the light of the events of 1364 and the uneasy nature of the relations between the English and Anglo-Irish elements in Ireland.

57. Rot. Canc. Hib., pp. 71-2, 75

58. Richardson and Sayles, Irish Parliament, p. 115.

(ii) Royal service

Although scutage, or royal service as it was known in Ireland, was not, technically speaking, extraordinary revenue, but a commutation of military service, it has been thought best to consider it in conjunction with parliamentary taxation, for the practical reason that like taxation it was not a constant source of revenue coming into the exchequer but had to be specially proclaimed by the justiciar or lieutenant for a specific occasion. It has been estimated that during the second half of the thirteenth century it was worth £850 at least, but the frequency of the instances of royal service and the actual amount of money received from this source declined during the fourteenth century, partly because of reductions in the quotas of service owed for certain areas, and partly because of the progressive decline in the area controlled by the Dublin government.⁵⁹ During the 1350s there are only three known instances of royal service, relating to the army of Wicklow in 1350, the army of Newcastle McKinegan in 1355 and the army of Carlow in 1359.⁶⁰ The receipt rolls show that £178/9/7 was paid into the exchequer in 1355-6⁶¹ for the army of Newcastle McKinegan, and £16/13/4 in 1360-61⁶² together with an unknown proportion of a sum of £257/-/9½ received from royal service and a subsidy in 1359-60,⁶³ in respect of the army of Carlow. Not only were the payments small, but the money was generally slow to come in. There are no pipe rolls surviving for the 1350s, but those for the first half of the century

59. A. J. Otway-Ruthven, 'Royal Service in Ireland', JRSAI, xcvi, (1968) pp. 39-40.

60. Ibid., p. 44

61. E.101/243/11

62. E.101/244/5

63. E.372/207 m. 41 (account of the Irish treasurer, 1359-60).

show tenants in chief accounting for arrears of royal service spread over a long period.⁶⁴

Since the English council was so aware of the need to make Ireland contribute towards her own defence, one would expect to find at least one instance of royal service during Lionel's term of office in Ireland. However, this is not the case, as there is no sign of any proclamation of royal service between the years 1359 and 1368.⁶⁵ There are two possible reasons for this lack of information: firstly, that a royal service was proclaimed but that no record of it has survived; secondly, that for some reason, Lionel and his council decided to do without it.

It is possible that there was such a proclamation but that no record of it has survived. During the 1350s, the receipts from this source of revenue were included on the receipt rolls of the Irish exchequer, and later in the Irish treasurers' enrolled accounts, although the latter do not record it as a separate category of revenue. The one surviving receipt roll for Lionel's time in Ireland, which covers the period February 1365 - July 1366,⁶⁶ does not contain any mention of royal service. It is possible that it was paid in before or after this period, but if so, the amount must have been very small, judging by the normal delays in collecting this type of revenue.

The second possibility is that Lionel did not see royal service as a source of revenue at all, but was more interested in obtaining personal service from the Anglo-Irish. This is especially likely in

64. A. J. Otway-Ruthven, 'Royal Service in Ireland', p. 40. See 54th Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records of Ireland, p. 54 for an account rendered in 1348 covering royal service for the period 1323-45.

65. A. J. Otway-Ruthven, 'Royal Service in Ireland', p. 44.

66. E.101/244/9.

view of the failure of the absentee landholders to join him in Ireland and the need to augment his army by other means. Some of the Anglo-Irish served as paid members of Lionel's army, but these were few in number. It is tempting to see a connection between the knighting of Robert Holywood and seven other Anglo-Irish who did not serve as part of the main army,⁶⁷ and a desire on Lionel's part for personal service rather than money payments. It is true that one might expect payments to be made in respect of men who were too old or too ill to come in person, and that there is no record of such payments, but it is possible that the number of these instances was very small and that the payments are included in the general receipts in the treasurers' accounts or, allowing for delays in payment, were made after 1366.

A further possibility is that no royal service at all was proclaimed because the revenue from it was so small and so slow to come in that it was not thought worth while. As in the case of the parliamentary subsidy, this is unlikely. As has been seen, Lionel and his council as well as the English council were anxious to get as much money as possible out of Ireland for the financing of the expedition. The only reason for them to ignore a potential source of revenue was that it would be of greater benefit to the military effort in the long run if they did so, and this appears to have been the case with royal service, where personal service was really more important to Lionel and his army than the amount of money which might come in in place of it.

(iii) the absentee subsidy of 1362

On 15 March 1361 an order was issued to sixty-five absentees,

67. See above pp. 152-6 for the participation of the Anglo-Irish in Lionel's campaigns in Ireland.

ordering them to be ready to go to Ireland with Lionel.⁶⁸ All the main absentee landholders were included in this order, together with some lesser men and a small number of clerics. The emphasis at first was on personal service by the absentees, which would have greatly increased the size of Lionel's army, but the possibility of some other arrangements having to be made was apparently envisaged from the beginning, as the mandate also ordered the absentees

to be in person at Westminster on the quinzaine of Easter next... to speak with the king and council touching the defence of Ireland and to do and consent to what order shall there be taken on this business...

Nothing is known of the deliberations at this meeting, but on 2 July the order to go to Ireland was extended to 'all Englishmen who have lands in Ireland which are occupied by the king's Irish enemies'.⁷⁰ This time, however, as an alternative to going in person, they were given the option of sending sufficient persons in their place for the defence of these lands. There was at this stage no mention of forfeiture of all his Irish lands if an absentee did not obey. The July order stated that in such cases Lionel would 'give to other lieges willing to receive, dwell in and defend the same, the lands of those who come not at his coming occupied by the said enemies',⁷¹ and Lionel's appointment as lieutenant made at the same time included the usual clause empowering him to make such grants,⁷² but the forfeiture envisaged was apparently limited to lands already in the hands of the Irish,

68. Cal. Close Rolls, 1360-64, p. 254; Rymer, Foedera iii, part 2, pp. 609-10.

69. Cal. Close Rolls, 1360-64 p. 254

70. Ibid., p. 278

71. Ibid.

72. Rymer, Foedera iii part 2, pp. 611-12

whose loss would not be any great blow to their legal owners.

The immediate effect of the 1361 orders appears to have been negligible. It is difficult to judge how many absentees made provision for their lands in Ireland, but the number who did so cannot have been large. In February 1362, a letter from the king to Thomas Furnival and most of the other major absentees stated that

though the king by divers writs ordered the said Thomas as other lieges in England who have lands in Ireland to make ready with all their power of men at arms and archers and cross with his said son, he has not cared hitherto to repair thither, nor to send any men, in contempt⁷³ of the king, to the peril of his said son...

Very few agreed to come in person. Of those who did, the most important was the earl of Stafford, but it is clear from the terms of his indenture that he did so reluctantly.⁷⁴

By February 1362 it was apparent that the absentees were not co-operating and on 10 February they were ordered under pain of forfeiture to be ready to go to Ireland and also to come before the king's council in the second week of Lent 'to treat concerning the expedition to Ireland and to do what shall then be commanded on the king's behalf'.⁷⁵ It is clear that the king was now prepared to take a tougher line with the magnates, and this may have involved the possibility of either complete forfeiture or the confiscation of the

73. Cal. Close Rolls, 1360-64, p. 384

74. See above pp.32-3. The other absentees who came to Ireland in 1361 were Almeric de St Amand and John de Cornwall (E.101/28/18), John de Carreu (E.101/28/21), Thomas de Roos (E.101/28/15), David Barry (Cal. Patent Rolls, 1358-61, p. 567), John Wogan (Ibid., p. 573), and the prior of Fore (Cal. Patent Rolls, 1361-4, p. 23). Edmund Laurence and John de Bromwich came in 1362 and the prior of Llanthony Prima and John Comyn in 1363 (E.403/410 m. 1; E.101/28/15; Cal. Patent Rolls, 1361-4, p. 307; Cal. Close Rolls, 1360-64, p. 480). Apart from Lionel himself, the only absentees who stayed for more than a year were John de Cornwall, John Wogan and David Barry.

75. Cal. Close Rolls, 1360-64, p. 384.

issues of property in the land of peace to pay for the defence of lands in the marches. Nothing is known of the meeting in Lent, but it appears that a period of negotiations followed, leading up to the grant on 20 June 1362 by the lay absentees of the next two years' issues of their lands in Ireland and by the clerical absentees of a biennial tenth over and above the biennial tenth granted by the Irish prelates in parliament in the previous January.⁷⁶ This grant by the absentees was an innovation and an indication of how seriously the king regarded the Irish problem, particularly the question of making Ireland pay for her own defence.⁷⁷ It may have represented a compromise between the king's desire to make the absentees defend their Irish lands, preferably in person, but if necessary by paying for this defence, and the absentees' desire not to forfeit their profitable lands in Ireland. There was no exact constitutional precedent for such a grant and consequently it is not clear whether their consent was necessary or not. Although the grant is usually referred to as a subsidio, thereby stressing the similarity to a parliamentary grant, it seems to have been more akin to temporary forfeiture than to taxation and consequently no assent was necessary. The gathering together of the absentees in 1362 probably represents an attempt on the part of the king to put pressure on them to go in person, while the actual granting of the revenues may have been nothing more than an attempt to save face on the part of the absentees.

It has been claimed that this grant was 'an empty token for most absentees who had long since ceased to enjoy a profit from their Irish

76. Cal. Fine Rolls, 1356-68, p. 244.

77. Possibly as a result of information on the state of Ireland given to the council by Lionel's seneschal Philip de Popham in June (E.403/410 m. 26).

lands',⁷⁸ but this appears to be an over-pessimistic view of the situation. Certainly parts of their lands were overrun by the Irish, and the profit which they received from the remainder was small in comparison with their English revenues, but it was not so small as to be disregarded completely.⁷⁹

Although the original grant was made for two years from June 1362, it appears that the grant was extended in the summer of 1364. On 15 July 1364 a writ of the Irish exchequer directed to the escheator stated:

attendentes quod terra Hibernie per inopiam
et debilitatem populi eiusdem per
destrucciones et hostiles aggressus
Hibernicorum inimicorum nostrorum in eadem
terra sepius ante hec tempora immentes
maxime depressioni miserabiliter est
subjecta per quod magnum profli [...]
expensarum pro necessaria resistencia
huiusmodi inimicorum oportet effundi, de
assensu consilii nostri ordinavimus quod
omnia redditus et proficua terrarum et
tenementarum tam in manu nostra in dicta
terra existencium quam dominorum et
dominarum et officiariorum regni nostri
huiusmodi terras et tenementas et officia
ibidem habencium qui in eadem terra super
terris tenementis redditibus et officiis
suis non resident pro defensione terre
illius per unum⁸⁰ annum iam proxime futurum
reserventur...

and it is possible that this extension was made after Lionel's return to England and report on Irish conditions, although no details are known of the circumstances surrounding it, and it is unclear whether the absentees were summoned to assent to it or not. They may have done so, but it would seem that their assent was not, in fact, necessary. The wording of the above writ is repeated almost exactly in an English

78. J. F. Lydon, The Lordship of Ireland in the Middle Ages, p. 216

79. See above p. 12

80. RC8/28 pp. 429-31.

chancery letter dated 13 February 1365 ordering the Irish chancellor and treasurer to reserve all the rents and profits arising from the grant and apply them 'in aid of the charges and expenses of the defence of Ireland and for no other purpose'.⁸¹ It is not clear whether this refers to 1364 or represents another extension of the grant, and there is no direct evidence of any more renewals during the period of Lionel's lieutenancy, but as some lands, those of Thomas de Roos, Roger de Clifford and William de la Zouche, were still in the king's hand 'by reason of the subsidy for the defence of Ireland during a set time' in May 1367,⁸² it seems likely that the period of the grant was extended further.

The reaction of the absentees to the grant varied. Most of them did not come in person, but continued their practice of appointing attorneys in Ireland to carry on their business there. The majority appear to have stayed in England, but several went abroad in preference to going to Ireland.⁸³ It is clear that military service in Ireland, even when one had interests there, was not an attractive proposition. It is interesting to note that two of the four absentees who sold their lands in Ireland during the period 1361-6 - St Amand in 1363 and Thomas de Roos in 1366⁸⁴ - had been in Ireland themselves during this period. Their decision to get rid of their Irish lands was therefore based on first-hand experience of Irish conditions, and may have

81. Cal. Fine Rolls, 1356-68, p. 308

82. Cal. Close Rolls, 1364-8, p. 326.

83. Walter Manny on pilgrimage to Santiago and Richard Stafford to Gascony in 1361, Robert Howard to Prussia and William de la Zouche on pilgrimage to the Holy Land in 1362 (Cal. Patent Rolls, 1361-4, pp. 51, 76, 250, 252).

84. Cal. Close Rolls, 1360-64, p. 548; Cal. Ormond Deeds ii, no. 120. The others were Thomas Furnival and William Ferrers (A. J. Otway-Ruthven, 'The Partition of the de Verdon lands in Ireland in 1332', RIA Proc., lxvi C (1968) p. 417).

indicated a lack of confidence in the ability of Lionel's army to improve the situation. The fact that the issues of their profitable lands were being confiscated, even temporarily, may have convinced them that the lands were not worth retaining. The alienation of these lands does not, however, mean that their owners considered them worthless, but merely that they were not getting any profit from them at the time, on account of the absentee grant. In the case of the earl of Stafford, the situation was reversed. Although the issues of his Irish lands were liable to temporary forfeiture when he returned to England, he acquired additional lands in Ireland, during his stay.⁸⁵ It might be argued further that the four men who sold out did so because their Irish revenues formed a larger part of their total revenue and that they could not afford to have them confiscated, even temporarily, while men like Stafford, whose English interests were much larger, could afford to hold on to their Irish lands and even to acquire additional lands in Ireland, in the hope that Lionel's military activities would have some effect in pacifying the Irish.

The application of the absentee subsidy was not limited to those magnates who were summoned by name to discuss the question with the king and council in 1362. There is at least one instance of a landowner not included in the list whose lands were treated in exactly the same way as the lands of those who were - John de Haryngton who held lands in Co. Limerick⁸⁶ - although it is not known whether he consented to the grant in 1362 or not. In addition, persons in England

85. At some time before 13 April 1362 he acquired the manors of Taghmolyng, Rathventry, Balycroynegan, Rathnegeragh and Ballymackell in Co. Carlow (RC8/28 pp. 139-42).

86. E.101/244/9.

who had the custody of lands in Ireland during a minority were also affected. Thus, Queen Philippa, who had the custody of the lands of John de Carreu, John Darcy and John FitzWalter, and the king's daughter Isabel, who had the custody of John de Haryngton's lands after his death, both had the revenues of these lands paid into the Irish exchequer.⁸⁷

There is some doubt as to the method originally envisaged for collecting the issues of the absentee lands. It is possible that the intention was to have the money paid directly to the clerk of the wages, by-passing the exchequer, as the order of 20 June 1362 directed to the justiciar /sic, chancellor and treasurer of Ireland ordered them to cause the said profit and tenth to be levied... and to have the proceeds thereof delivered from time to time to the king's clerk Walter de Dalby, receiver of moneys ordained for the expenses of the said war.⁸⁸

This procedure would have been extremely unusual, and the order quoted above may have meant nothing more than that the proceeds were to be handed over to Dalby after having been paid into the exchequer. Whatever the intention, it was clear from the beginning that the collection of the subsidy was an exchequer operation, using procedures which were customary in the exchequer for lands which had come into the king's hands by escheat or otherwise. Once the revenue had been paid into the exchequer it was amalgamated with the rest of the receipts and sums were paid out from time to time to the clerk of the wages, although not apparently on any regular basis.⁸⁹ The impression in England

87. Cal. Patent Rolls, 1361-4 p. 400; Cal Close Rolls, 1364-8 pp. 15, 42.

88. Cal. Fine Rolls, 1356-68, p. 224.

89. E.101/28/21 f. 3; E.372/212 m. 43; E.364/7 m.C; E.101/244/10.

seems to have been that Dalby was receiving all of the money from the subsidy, a fact which led to some confusion in 1362 when he was ordered to restore £45/12/4 to the countess of Ormond, when in fact he had not actually received the money.⁹⁰ Although the wording of the grant had implied that the revenue coming from it was to be applied to the defence of Ireland, this was not interpreted in a very strict form.

On 26 June 1362 Walter of Dalby was ordered

des subsidies... facez paier a notre dit
filz mill' marcz de notre doun pur regard
et en eide daquiter ses dettes es queux il
est tenuz a diverses persones a ce qest du
pur les despenses de son hostiel pur le
temps passe outre les gages et regard de
lui et ses gentz pur le temps avandit et du
remenaunt des ditz subsidies et revenues et
profitz facez paiement des gages et regard
pur notre dit filz et ses gentz et pur toutz
autres gentz darmes et arches demorantz en
notre service as dites parties...⁹¹

On 21 March 1363, Thomas de Baddeby, the treasurer of Lionel's household, acknowledged the receipt of 1000 marks from Dalby,⁹² but there is nothing, beyond the delay in payment, to show that all or part of the money had in fact come from the subsidy.

Once the grant had been made, the Irish exchequer was faced with the problem of collecting the revenues of the absentee lands. Such a grant had never been made before, so there was no exact precedent to be followed, but the obvious answer was to treat the lands in the same way as lands which had come into the king's hand by escheat of forfeiture. This involved the making of an extent and rental, and the commission of the lands to a reliable person who would hand over

90. P.R.O.L., E.368/144 Trinity Recorda, m.5.

91. E.101/28/27, m. 10.

92. Ibid.

the issues regularly and account at the Irish exchequer. At some time in October 1362, Peter de Okebourn, one of the chamberlains of the Irish exchequer was commissioned

ad omnia dominia terras reddita et tenementa
quorumcumque dominorum seu dominarum in Anglia
commorantium dominia, terras, reddita et
tenementa in comitatibus Dublinie, Cathirlaghie,
Kildarie, Midie et Urielis habencium et in
manu domini regis virtute concessionis⁹³ infrascripte
existencium fideliter extendenda...

He was active in this field in October and November 1362,⁹⁴ during which time he made a rental of the countess of Ormond's manor of Turvy,⁹⁵ and again in February and April 1363.⁹⁶ Although no other appointments have survived, it is probable that some other exchequer officials performed a similar function in Wexford and Munster. At about the same time as the extents were being made, collectors were appointed, the earliest known instance of this being the appointment of collectors for the countess of Ormond's manors of Turvy, Rush and Balyscadan on 14 November 1362.⁹⁷ The appointments were made by the treasurer or his deputy and can be seen to fall into four categories. Firstly, there were local men who may have also been manorial officials, as in the case of the countess of Ormond's lands where the collectors were John Clerk of Portrane, William Lawless of Rush and William Lacy.⁹⁸ Probably one man was intended to deal with each manor, but the appointment of more than one man is unusual. Generally, the practice

93. E.368/144, Trinity Recorda, m.5.

94. RC8/28 pp. 260-1

95. E.368/144, Trinity Recorda, m.5.

96. RC8/28 pp. 260-1

97. Ibid., p. 182

98. Ibid.

was for one person to be financially responsible for the issues of the lands of one or more absentees. Secondly, persons already acting as attorneys in Ireland for the absentees concerned could be appointed collectors. The most notable example of this is Ralph Ferrers who acted as attorney for all of the de Verdon heirs, Thomas de Furnival, William Ferrers, John de Crophull and Bartholomew de Burghersh.⁹⁹ When he ceased to act as attorney in 1364, each of the absentees appointed a separate attorney and these new attorneys became responsible for paying the issues of the lands into the exchequer.¹⁰⁰ The third method, and one which was extremely convenient from the administration's point of view, was to appoint someone who was already financially responsible for lands in the same area. When Thomas Asteley was made collector of the revenues of the lands of the two dowager countesses of Pembroke, Mary de St Paul and Agnes, in Co. Wexford, which amounted to five-ninths of the Pembroke property, he already had the custody of the remaining Pembroke lands in Ireland and the chief serjeanty of Co. Wexford during the minority of the heir.¹⁰¹ Fourthly, the appointees might be persons who were responsible to the exchequer already in another capacity, such as John Lumbard, sheriff of Cork, who was put in charge of the issues of the lands of several absentees - John Haryngton, Thomas de Lucy and Joan FitzWalter in Co. Limerick and the earl of Stafford in Kilkenny.¹⁰² Nothing definite is known about the terms on which collectors were appointed or for how long they were to function, but in 1364 John Meyler of Ross was appointed

99. Cal. Patent Rolls 1361-4, pp. 189, 233; Dowdall Deeds ed. C. McNeill and J. Otway-Ruthven, (I.M.C. 1960), nos. 227, 231-2, 235.

100. Cal. Patent Rolls 1361-4, p. 512; Cal. Patent Rolls 1364-7, pp. 80, 116; E.101/244/9.

101. Cal. Patent Rolls 1361-4, p. 419.

102. RC8/29 pp. 213-4; E.101/244/9.

collector of the lands of Walter de Manny in Ross and the surrounding area during pleasure,¹⁰³ and this may well have been the normal procedure.

The persons thus appointed had a variety of titles - receiver, provost and keeper - but it is impossible to see any distinction between them in their functions. Usually the receiver delegated the actual business of collecting the revenues to a number of subordinates. The most obvious example of this is that of John Dowdall, who collected the revenues of the de Verdon lands in Louth and handed them over to Ralph Ferrers who accounted for them at the Irish exchequer.¹⁰⁴ In the case of the church lands where an additional biennial tenth had been granted in place of the two years' profits, it appears that the same machinery was employed in collecting it as in collecting the biennial tenth granted in parliament.¹⁰⁵ The issues from the absentee lands were paid by the receiver into the Irish exchequer, either directly or to one of the travelling exchequer officials charged with the levying of debts in specific areas. There is also the possibility of assignments having been made on this source of revenue. No trace of any such assignments survives, but it is quite probable that some were made, as they were in the case of the other main source

103. RC8/28 pp. 424-5

104. Dowdall Deeds, nos. 227, 231-2, 235.

105. In one case at least, this gave rise to a certain amount of confusion. The bishop of Ossory had paid what was due from him for both subsidies, but the collectors then levied a further £9, and, according to the bishop's petition to the Irish council, they intended to levy the entire issues of his temporalities, although the clerical grant only involved a biennial tenth. The £9 was restored to him, but this case illustrates the confusion that could occur in the case of an unprecedented type of grant, such as the absentee subsidy (E.368/140, Easter Record, m.4d).

of extraordinary revenue, the parliamentary grant of 1362.¹⁰⁶ The most likely form for this to take would be the application of some of the profits to local defence and castle repairs. This certainly happened in 1364 in the case of the manor of Trim, when the receivers were ordered to provide planks for the repair of the castle out of the issues of the manor.¹⁰⁷ While it is true that Trim did not technically come under the heading of the absentee subsidy as it was in the king's hand during the minority of the heir, to all intents and purposes it was treated in the same way and in June 1362 it had been ordered that the following two years' revenues from the lordship of Trim together with the money from the absentee lands were to be paid to Walter of Dalby.¹⁰⁸

In addition to the normal control exercised by the exchequer over persons who were financially responsible to it, some attempt was made to exercise a special supervision over absentee lands by means of commissions to various people to inquire into the revenues of these lands. The initiative in this seems to have come from England, as on 16 November 1363 the Irish treasurer and chancellor were ordered

to inform themselves by inquisition or otherwise, of all lands, rents and offices in Ireland now held by lords and ladies of England, which of them make defence thereof and which do not, in what places the same are and their yearly value and to certify in the chancery of England under the seal used in Ireland what they shall so find.¹⁰⁹

The return to this writ has not been located, so it is not possible to find out how quickly the inquiry was made. Possibly the appointment

106. See above, pp. 237-8

107. RC8/28 p. 495

108. Cal. Fine Rolls, 1356-68, p. 224.

109. Cal. Close Rolls, 1360-64, p. 554

in April 1364 of Nicholas Lombard, the second justice of the justiciar's bench

ad inquirendum per sacramentum proborum et legalium ac tenencium dominorum terrarum et tenementarum Bartholomei de Burghersshe, Johannis de Erley et Anne la Despenser in Anglia commorancium ac eciam terrarum et tenementarum castri de Dogh in comitatibus Kylkennie, Weysfordie et... quantum eadem dominia terre et tenementa valeant per annum in omnibus exitibus suis quibus proficuis valor eorundem consistit et ad ¹¹⁰rentalia de eisdem terris et tenementis...

represents the administrative reaction to this order. In addition to the general check on how the subsidy was being collected, the English administration's interest in the value of the absentee lands may have been connected with the possibility of renewing the subsidy in 1364 when the initial two year term would run out. The sheriff of Limerick and master Richard Piers were ordered in May 1366

ad inquirendum... quantum terre et tenementa predicta per tempus concessionis supra dicte valuerunt et in quibus proficuis valor eorundem ad tunc consistebat et quantum prefatus Johannes Lombard pro tempore quo ipse terras et tenementa illa occupavit de eisdem terris et tenementis levavit et recepit et inde levasse seu recepissee potuit et si parcella in rotulo presentibus annexo contenta in omnibus exitibus suis pro tempore quo prefatus Johannes Lombard ea occupavit ¹¹¹necne...

This was probably due to Lombard's previous involvement in a case of corruption, as he was accounting at the exchequer at this time.¹¹²

Possibly John Lombard was a special case, but given the increased activity of the exchequer and the tightening up of control over its accountants, it seems likely that it was not unique. Although there

110. RC8/28 pp. 402-3.

111. RC8/29 pp. 213-14.

112. See above, p. 184-5

are no records of similar inquiries being ordered for other receivers, such checks may well have been provided by the exchequer officials who were being sent with increasing frequency to collect money due to the king in specific localities.

Most of the absentee lands remained subject to the subsidy for its duration. If the landholder died within this period, leaving an heir who was a minor, the lands were only included in the subsidy if their custody was granted to someone living outside Ireland, as in the case of the Haryngton lands in Limerick whose custody was granted to the king's daughter Isabel in 1363.¹¹³ A number of ladies received exemptions from the subsidy - the countess of Ormond in January 1363,¹¹⁴ the queen in April 1364,¹¹⁵ Isabel¹¹⁶ and the countess of March¹¹⁷ later in 1364, Mary, countess of Pembroke in 1365¹¹⁸ and Agnes, the other dowager countess of Pembroke, in 1366.¹¹⁹ With the exception of the first of these, all the exemptions were made when the initial two year period of the grant had expired or was about to expire, and it is clear that the great majority of the absentees were expected to pay the subsidy. The exemption took different forms in different cases. In the case of Agnes, countess of Pembroke, it is merely ordered that the lands be restored to her, and there is no mention of a refund of the money already paid.¹²⁰ In February 1365 Lionel was ordered to restore Mary de St Paul's lands to her, on her paying the same farm as

113. Cal. Patent Rolls, 1361-4 p. 400

114. Cal. Close Rolls, 1360-64 p. 451

115. Cal. Close Rolls, 1364-8 p. 15

116. Ibid., p. 42

117. Cal. Patent Rolls, 1364-7 p. 35

118. Cal. Fine Rolls, 1356-68 p. 303

119. Cal. Close Rolls, 1364-8 p. 213

120. Ibid.

others were paying,¹²¹ a measure which effectively gave her control over her lands but did not exempt her from paying the subsidy. In the following August, however, a further order was issued for the restoration of her lands and issues since the octave of Easter 1365 'to hold in the same manner as before they were taken into the king's hand'.¹²² Something similar happened in the case of the countess of March. In November 1364 her lands were ordered to be restored to her 'on condition that she find security... to make such subsidy or such defence for the said lands as others of her condition are bound to make',¹²³ but in the following May it was stated that the king 'has granted her all her said lands without paying any further aid for the same'.¹²⁴ In three cases, those of the queen, Isabel and the countess of Ormond, it was ordered that the lands were to be exempt in future and that all issues of the lands already levied because of the subsidy were to be restored.¹²⁵ Very little is known of the administrative side of these exemptions, but as has been mentioned, a certain amount of administrative confusion resulted in the case of the countess of Ormond. The restoration of money to the queen and Isabel was not done through the exchequer as no mention of them occurs in the treasurers' accounts. Possibly it was done either through assignments or allowances in other accounts, or through the clerk of the wages, John Scrope, whose accounts do not survive.

It is difficult to estimate how much the subsidy brought in,

121. Cal. Fine Rolls, 1356-68, p. 303

122. Cal. Close Rolls, 1364-8, p. 135

123. Cal. Patent Rolls, 1364-7, p. 35

124. Cal. Close Rolls, 1364-8, p. 110

125. Ibid., pp. 15, 42; Cal. Close Rolls, 1360-64, p. 451

especially since it has not yet been worked out how much the lands of absentees in Ireland were worth, even in theory. In attempting to work out the value of the subsidy, one immediately comes up against the problem of the deficiencies in the surviving exchequer records. As has been noted, the treasurers' accounts for 1362-5 do not differentiate between money received from the parliamentary grant and that received from the absentee subsidy.¹²⁶ The receipt roll for 1365-6 contains a sum of £140 received from absentee lands, but this was at a time when many of the absentee lands had been restored to their owners.¹²⁷ Furthermore, the absence of any surviving pipe rolls makes it impossible to say how much of the money collected was spent locally. Although all of the issues were supposed to be paid into the exchequer and then handed over to Walter of Dalby for military expenses, the inevitability of local war in Ireland and the necessity for local defence made it impossible for the entire revenues to be paid in. Indeed it is probable that most of the revenue collected never got near the exchequer but was expended locally. Ralph Ferrers' arrears of £567/11/4 $\frac{3}{4}$ from the de Verdon lands and £40/13/- $\frac{3}{4}$ from the lands of Anne Despenser were both used in paying the wages of Ferrers' retinue,¹²⁸ and while it is true that his force was not used primarily for local defence, this is an indication of how large sums of money might never reach the exchequer. No instances of allowances given to other receivers survive, but an example of the kind of expenses that might be incurred can be seen in the allowances claimed by Thomas de Badby in his account of the issues of the liberty of Meath in 1361. These amounted on one

126. Above, p. 235

127. E.101/244/9

128. E.101/28/20

occasion to £77/7/9½, of which £44/15/10½ was spent on defence and £21/4/9 on the administration of the liberty.¹²⁹

Whatever the case, the English council evidently thought that the grant was worth renewing in 1364 and probably on another occasion also during Lionel's lieutenancy. Given a choice between depending on absentee landowners and their officials for local defence of the lands in question and entrusting this to persons under the control of the exchequer with the possibility of some of the issues being paid directly into the exchequer, thereby placing an additional source of revenue at the disposal of the treasurer, the latter was clearly the better plan from the administration's point of view. Thus, the 1362 grant, which was an innovation at the time it was made, became the basis for future English policy towards the absentee problem in Ireland.

The one fact which emerges very clearly from an examination of these three sources of revenue, parliamentary taxation, royal service and the absentee grant of 1362, is how closely they were tied up with the fact that Lionel's intervention in Ireland was first and foremost a military one. The absentee grant was not originally thought of as a way of getting revenue in the same way as a parliamentary subsidy, but as a device for ensuring that certain lands in Ireland were properly defended, which had not been the case in the past. The fact that it did bring additional money into the exchequer was purely incidental as far as the original purpose of the grant was concerned. In the case of royal service and parliamentary taxation it might

129. RC8/28 pp. 495-9.

seem surprising at first glance that Lionel did not utilise these sources of revenue as much as he might have done, but here again the military situation provides an answer to the problem. It has been suggested above that no significant sums of money were received from royal service because Lionel, for military reasons, preferred personal service by the Anglo-Irish. The same military motive can be seen behind his failure to ask the Irish parliament for any subsidies after 1362. For military success the co-operation of the Anglo-Irish was essential, and after the dissensions of 1364 it was quite possible that any demand for a subsidy would revive the anti-English feeling in Ireland and destroy any hope of co-operation by the Anglo-Irish. By not asking for any further grants, Lionel managed to avoid a fresh outbreak of trouble, but he was really ignoring the whole problem of the Anglo-Irish and the question of their contribution towards the financing of military expeditions to Ireland, a problem which was to cause considerable upheaval in Ireland a few years later when William of Windsor tried to impose his solution on it.

VIII. THE RESULTS OF THE EXPEDITION

As the object of Lionel's expedition was to try to make Ireland once more profitable to the English crown, any money spent on it could be regarded as an investment. Between May 1361 and February 1367 the total amount paid out of the English and Irish exchequers for this purpose was £52,149/10/4, of which £43,359/15/5 or 83% came from England and the remaining £8,789/14/11 or 17% from Ireland.¹ As might be expected, the money from the English exchequer was spent on wages and regards, shipping to and from Ireland and compensation for lost horses, as well as on a number of miscellaneous items. In addition to money paid to the clerk of the wages from time to time, the Irish exchequer also paid fees to the constables of castles and to several Gaelic Irish chiefs, and rewards to various individuals, both Gaelic and Anglo-Irish, for good service. The wages of the small retinues maintained for their own protection by the Irish treasurer and chancellor from the autumn of 1364 onwards also came out of the Irish revenues as did the cost of repairing castles and fortalices. However the money spent by the Irish exchequer on items connected with defence represents only part of the total Irish contribution to military

1. These figures are derived from the English issue rolls, the Irish treasurers' accounts, the Irish issue roll for 1365-6, and the accounts of Walter of Dalby and other people involved in the organisation of the expedition. Although Lionel left Ireland in November 1366, he was being paid sums of money for the payment of his men in Ireland as late as February 1367. The figure of 17 % is probably an underestimate as no figures for payments out of the Irish exchequer are available for the period April 1361 - February 1362.

expenditure during this period. Large sums of money must have been spent on local defence and on purveyance for the army, but in the absence of pipe rolls and household accounts it is impossible to calculate the extent of such expenditure.

During the period 1361-7, expenditure on Ireland accounted for 6.1% of the total issues of the English exchequer.² However, this figure is misleading, as most of the money was paid out before Easter 1364, the highest point being in Michaelmas term 1363-4 when 17.9% of the total revenues was spent on Ireland. After Easter 1364 the proportion is much smaller, reflecting a reduction in the size of the army. It is clear that the war in Ireland was a strain on the peace-time revenues of the English exchequer and the number of balance sheets and estimates of expenditure produced by the exchequer in the 1360s show the degree of concern which this problem produced.³ The establishment of John IV as duke of Brittany in 1364 meant that England was no longer responsible for the defence and administration of the duchy, while the grant of Aquitaine to the Black Prince removed another drain on English resources. However it was clear that Ireland would not, at this stage, be in a position to pay for her own wars, particularly on the scale involved in Lionel's expeditions, and there was no question of raising money by taxation in England to cover the cost of the wars. Subsidies had previously been granted by parliament for a 'common necessity'- a war waged for the defence of the realm and the vindication of Edward's claim to the French throne⁴- and the defence of Ireland had never come into this category.

2. See Appendix XVII (iii) below.

3. D. Broome and T. F. Tout, 'A national balance sheet for 1362-3', *EHR* xxxix (1924), pp. 413-16; G. L. Harriss, *King, Parliament and Public Finance in Medieval England to 1369*, (Oxford, 1975), pp. 466-508, 527-30.

4. Harriss, *op.cit.*, p. 467.

The only answer to the financial problem was to cut down on the extent of English military involvement in Ireland, and there is some evidence to show that this was envisaged at the end of 1364. An estimate drawn up at that time, setting out the expenses of the English exchequer during peacetime includes £4,000 a year for wages of war in Ireland.⁵ According to Harriss, this was 'based on the largely misplaced optimism for a quick military victory which would enable the reduction of forces to a near peace-time level'.⁶ However it is more likely to represent a conscious decision, on financial rather than military grounds, to cut down the size of the force employed in Ireland, particularly if the suggested date of late 1364 is correct. Windsor's period of service was due to expire in February 1365, and this would leave only Lionel's own retinue 60 men at arms and 100 archers, together with whatever Gaelic and Anglo-Irish forces he managed to recruit in Ireland. In fact over £12,000 was paid out by the English exchequer for this retinue, which served in Ireland from December 1364 to November 1366, but it is significant that of the £12,366/13/4 which Lionel received at the English exchequer, £6,395/16/8 was in the form of assignments on various sources of revenue in England,⁷ whereas in the early years of his lieutenancy, almost all payments had been made in cash. On one occasion in 1364, the need for ready money was so great that the king had to borrow £500 from the collectors of the customs at London to pay Lionel,

5. Broome and Tout, 'A national balance sheet for 1362-3', p. 417. The date of late 1364 is suggested by Harriss, op.cit., p. 473.

6. Harriss, op.cit., p. 478.

7. These included fines, farms and the customs of Boston, Chichester, Hull, Ipswich, London and Yarmouth.

rather than issue him with a tally which might have taken too long to cash.⁸

The £8,789/14/11 paid out of the Irish exchequer amounted to 70.7% of the total expenditure of the Irish exchequer for the period February 1362 - September 1366.⁹ The receipts of the exchequer during this period included revenues from the parliamentary subsidy of January 1362 and the absentee grant made in the following June. In both of these cases it was stated that the money was for the war in Ireland, but this does not seem to have been interpreted strictly. In June 1362 Dalby was ordered to pay Lionel 1000 marks as a gift in aid of his household debts, and to use the remainder of the subsidy for the payment of army wages.¹⁰ It is difficult to estimate how much each of these subsidies brought in, but the total received by the exchequer from both sources between February 1362 and September 1366 amounted to £2001/16/1 $\frac{1}{4}$. This figure takes no account of possible assignments, but it is significant that it represents only 22.8% of the amount which the Irish exchequer contributed towards Lionel's expedition and that the bulk of this expenditure was made out of ordinary revenue. In November 1363 it was ordered that all of the revenues of the Irish exchequer should be applied to the payment of army wages,¹¹ but this appears to have had no effect. An examination of the accounts of Mynot and Dalby and of the issue roll for 1365-6

8. E.403/421 m. 18; E.401/479 (31 December 1364); A. Steel, 'The distribution of assignment in the Treasurer's receipt roll, Michaelmas 1364-5', Cambridge Historical Journal, ii (1927) p. 182.

9. See Appendix XVII (ii) below for an analysis of the expenditure of the Irish exchequer in this period.

10. E.101/28/27 m. 10.

11. Cal. Close Rolls, 1360-64, pp. 488-9.

shows that fees of officials and other usual payments continued to be made after November 1363.¹² Ireland's contribution to the cost of the expedition might have been increased by further recourse to the Irish parliament, but this would have been only at the risk of antagonising the Anglo-Irish on whom the administration depended for local defence.

Despite this unprecedented expenditure of English revenues on the wars in Ireland, it appears that Lionel's expedition achieved very little of a lasting nature. As has been seen, he was successful in procuring submissions from a number of Gaelic Irish chiefs but these usually had no lasting effect and the presence of the army in the locality was necessary to ensure peace there. His intervention in Ireland cannot be said to have been a military success, in that it did not provide a long term solution to the Irish problem, and conditions deteriorated after his departure in 1366. The inquisition into Lionel's lands in 1369 states that his Connacht lands had been worth £200 a year while he was in Ireland but now were worth nothing because they had been overrun by Edmund de Burgo and other rebels,¹³ and in 1375 it was found that the mayor and bailiffs of Cork could not come to the exchequer at Carlow after Lionel's departure without a great force of armed men 'on account of divers tribulations and the risks of the roads'.¹⁴ Little is known of the events of 1367 and 1368,

12. Mynot, when he accounted, was found to owe £248/1/10³/₄ (E.372/212 m. 43) and this might indicate that not all the available revenues were being spent on the army. However this money was later used for the payment of military wages and officials' fees owing from the period of his treasurership, and it is possible that it had been intended for this purpose from the outset.

13. See Appendix II below

14. Cal. Patent Rolls, 1374-7, p. 207

but there seems to have been widespread disturbance. In 1367 war broke out between the Berminghams of Carbury and the men of Meath, and in the following year the chancellor, the sheriff of Meath and several others were captured by the Berminghams and held to ransom.¹⁵ The sheriff of Waterford was killed by the Poers in 1368¹⁶ and the O Tooles were evidently also at war.¹⁷ There were disturbances in Limerick also as in Michaelmas term 1368 the sheriff claimed that he could not come to account at the exchequer propter viarum discrimina.¹⁸ The statement of the Irish council in 1368 that

the Irish and others, our enemies, ride in hostile array through every part of the said land, committing robberies, homicides and arsons, pillaging, spoiling and destroying monasteries, churches, castles, towns and fortresses, without showing reverence or respect to God, or to Holy Church or to any person, to the great shame and disherison of the king and of his loyal subjects so that the land was at point to be lost,¹⁹ if remedy and help were not immediately supplied

may be an exaggeration, but it is clear that conditions in Ireland has deteriorated considerably since 1366.

The reason for Lionel's failure in this field lay not in the traditional methods adopted by him, which were probably the only realistic ones in the circumstances, but in the nature of the Irish problem itself. The submissions of the Gaelic Irish and their cooperation with the lieutenant were only temporary, depending on the local political situation and the presence or absence of the

15. Chart, St. Mary's Abbey, ii, pp. 396-7.

16. RC8/30 p. 7

17. Rot. Canc. Hib., p. 80b, no. 5

18. RC8/30 p. 7

19. Berry, Statutes, John-Henry V, p. 470

lieutenant's army. The employment of ecclesiastical sanctions against breaking the terms of an agreement was obviously less effective than a strong military presence in the area. The nature of Irish warfare which made it virtually impossible to inflict a crushing defeat on any of the Gaelic Irish meant that the only way of keeping an area under control was the maintenance of a fairly large force in that neighbourhood. This was done on a temporary basis by the use of wards, but this was not enough and a military force on the scale which was needed was impossible in terms of the money and manpower which would have to be supplied from England. The English council misread the Irish situation if it expected Lionel's army to deal with the problem there in a few years. The presence of his army in the country seems to have had a pacifying effect, but when it was removed in 1366 it could be seen that in military terms the expedition had achieved little beyond this temporary pacification.

It has been seen that there was a real attempt to improve the efficiency of the Irish financial administration in the 1360s, although this occurred in a fairly haphazard way from the first three years of Lionel's lieutenancy, when the English council seemed unconcerned about the implementation of the ordinances of March 1361 and about the need for changes in the personnel of the Irish exchequer. It was only after Dalby's appointment as treasurer in 1364 that any systematic overhaul of the administration was attempted, with the regular election of sheriffs, the moving of the exchequer back to Carlow and the increase in the number of commissions to exchequer officials to levy debts, as well as various changes in the personnel of the exchequer. However, the presence of a large army such as Lionel's in the early years of his lieutenancy must have increased the general security of the country and this would have had an effect on the revenues. It has been pointed

out that the figures for receipts contained in the treasurers' accounts and receipt rolls do not give a full picture of the amount of revenue actually collected, but a comparison of the figures for the period 1362-6 with those for 1360-61 will at least give a general indication of the fluctuation in Irish revenues.

The figures quoted by Richardson and Sayles in their table of Irish exchequer receipts²⁰ are misleading because in them no distinction is drawn between ordinary revenue and that derived from parliamentary grants, papal tenths or the 1362 absentee subsidy. Furthermore it should be remembered that although a large amount of money was disbursed by the English exchequer for the military effort in Ireland, none of this found its way into the Irish exchequer and consequently does not figure among the receipts. The figures for ordinary receipts for the period 1362-6 are given below. The division of these into customs and all other sources of ordinary revenue is one which is made in the treasurers' accounts and no further breakdown of these revenues for 1362-5 is possible, because of the lack of receipt rolls.

			<u>customs</u>	<u>other sources</u>	<u>total</u>
January	1362 - April	1364 ²¹	£689	£4196	£4885
April	1364 - February	1365 ²²	£349	£1849	£2198
February	1365 - July	1366 ²³	£568	£3467	£4053

It is tempting to see the rise in 1364 as a direct result of the increased exchequer activity in that year, and there may well have been

20. H. G. Richardson and G. O. Sayles, 'Irish Revenue, 1278-1384', R.I.A. Proc., lxii C (1962), pp. 99-100.

21. E.372/212 m. 43

22. E.364/7 m. C

23. E.101/244/9. For a full breakdown of the receipts for 1365-6 see Appendix XVII (i) below.

a real rise in receipts in 1364 but from the limitations of these figures and the comparatively small difference between the figures for 1362-4 and 1364-5, this must remain merely a possibility. Furthermore, there is no indication of the volume of assignment and local expenditure during this period. A comparison of the receipts for 1365-6 with those for 1354-5 and 1360-61 shows that in 1365-6 there was a significant recovery in the amount of ordinary revenue coming into the exchequer.²⁴ There is no evidence of a dramatic improvement in the revenues, but it seems that the downward trend shown in 1360-61 had been halted, at least temporarily, and that some money, though obviously not a great deal, was available for the payment of the army.

A further indication of the improvement in the revenues in the 1360s can be obtained from an examination of the areas of the country from which this money came. Unfortunately, such details are only available for 1356-6, but the figures for these years do show a significant recovery from the situation in 1360-61. As has been shown the percentage of all revenues paid into the exchequer which came from the area outside Cos. Dublin, Kildare, Meath and Louth, had declined from 33.6% in 1354-5 to 26.3% in 1360-61.²⁵ In 1365, however, the figure rose to 49.5% of the total, most of which came from Munster and particularly from the city and county of Cork.²⁶ This improvement was probably partly due to Lionel's presence in Munster in 1365 and 1366, but if the comparable details for 1361-4 were available, they might well show that this improvement was one which occurred gradually during the years 1361-6. The general increase in security and the tightening up of exchequer control particularly in

24. See Appendix XVII (i) below.

25. See above p. 167

26. E.101/244/9

1364 and afterwards, as well as the more convenient position of the exchequer at Carlow must also have contributed to it.

In 1360-61 no money had been received from Ulster, Kerry or Connacht, the most outlying areas, but the receipt roll for 1365-6 shows several sums coming from Ulster and Kerry, and this improvement is confirmed by the list of proffers which shows an increase in the attendance of the sheriffs and seneschals of Ulster and Kerry at the exchequer.²⁷ Connacht remained a problem. No money was received from Connacht during 1365 and 1366 and it is highly unlikely that any was received during the previous four years. No sheriff of Connacht appeared to make his proffer at the exchequer, whether at Dublin or at Carlow, and although it was later claimed that sheriffs of Connacht had been appointed, there is no record of their appointment or of any dealings with them on the memoranda rolls. By April 1366 the loss of exchequer control in this area had clearly gone too far, and Roger de St. Brigid was ordered to conduct a large scale inquiry into the revenues of Connacht.²⁸ The results of his mission have not survived, but it is not surprising that in 1367-8 there is no mention of a sheriff of Connacht making a proffer or coming to account.

Apart from the problem of Connacht and the shortage of tenants on the demesne manors,²⁹ the financial situation in Ireland had improved in the 1360s and this may be a reflection of increased prosperity throughout the country. One indication of this is the fact that the English council was seriously contemplating reopening the mint at

27. See Appendix XIV below.

28. See Appendix I (xiv) below.

29. See above p. 169

Dublin which had been effectively closed since 1302.³⁰ In October 1364, when preparations for Lionel's second expedition were under way, he was ordered

to appoint as many moneyers as are needed for making moneys in the said land, to make search for mines of gold and silver there at his discretion, as shall seem most advantageous for the king and his people...³¹

Nothing seems to have been done about this until December 1364 when Henry de Brusle, the master of the king's moneys at Calais, was sent to Ireland.³² Between February 1365 and July 1366 he and five assistants were engaged pro scrutinio et assaia minarum in Cos. Wexford, Waterford and Limerick and elsewhere in Ireland.³³ There are no surviving coins from this period, nor evidence that any were ever minted or moneyers appointed. The searches for gold and silver may have revealed that mining for them would be an unprofitable enterprise, and the fact that Lionel's army was still being paid largely from England meant that there was an automatic increase in the amount of money in circulation in the country³⁴ and this reduced the need for re-opening the Dublin mint.

While the increase in revenues may not have been as great as the English council had hoped in 1361, it is clear that there was a recovery in the financial position, both in terms of money actually received and of the area from which this revenue came. Although

30. R. H. M. Dolley, 'Anglo-Irish monetary policies, 1172-1637', Historical Studies VII, (1969), p. 51. There had been a small issue of halfpence in 1339.

31. Cal. Fine Rolls, 1356-7, p. 294;

32. Cal. Patent Rolls, 1364-7, p. 192; Cal. Close Rolls, 1360-64, p. 450. Brusle had also leased and operated the royal mines in Devon since 1360 (Cal. Patent Rolls, 1358-61, pp. 336, 371).

33. E.101/244/10

34. Money was brought to Ireland on several occasions for the payment of the army (E.101/28/21 f. 13; E.101/28/25).

Edward III may have envisaged Ireland as a future source of profit to England, any additional revenues received by the Irish exchequer in the 1360s were intended to be applied to the wars in Ireland and not paid into the English exchequer. Richardson and Sayles have claimed that 'up to the 1360s Ireland was still a modest source of revenue to the English king' and that this continued until the treasurership of Walter of Dalby when the last payments into the English exchequer were made.³⁵ Although a few cash payments were made during the 1340s and 1350s,³⁶ this practice was not continued in the 1360s, apart from a payment of £1/13/4 by Thomas Mynot to close his account.³⁷ It is true that both Mynot and Dalby and probably also John de Troye produced several tallies at the English exchequer when their accounts were being audited, but these do not represent either earlier cash payments into the exchequer or the operation of a system of discounting tallies as suggested by Richardson and Sayles. An examination of the English receipt and issue rolls shows that these tallies were, in fact, assignments on the Irish revenues in favour of men to whom money was owed for army wages in Ireland, and as such were merely a convenient way of making these payments. Far from ending with Walter of Dalby, this practice continued at least until 1376.³⁸

Although the financial situation deteriorated after Lionel's

35. Richardson and Sayles, Administration, p. 57

36. John Burnham (treasurer 1344-9) and William Bromley (treasurer 1350-55) each paid 200 marks into the English exchequer, and Nicholas Allen (treasurer 1350) paid 200 marks into the chamber and 8 marks into the exchequer. (Richardson and Sayles, 'Irish Revenue', p. 90). The reason for these payments is not apparent.

37. E.401/508 (2 June 1372).

38. There were two such payments by John de Troyes in 1364 and 1365, amounting to £670/19/11 and one by Thomas Scurlag, the Irish treasurer, in 1376 (E.401/479, 483, 521).

departure, the decline was a gradual one. As has been seen, sheriffs found it difficult to come to the exchequer and the number of sheriffs and seneschals making proffers dropped to eleven at Easter 1367 and to nine at Michaelmas 1368.³⁹ No figures for the receipts of the Irish exchequer for the period 29 July 1366 - 17 July 1368 are available, but the fact that £15,809 was received from the ordinary revenues between July 1368 and September 1372, and the sharp drop in receipts after 1372⁴⁰ makes it clear that the effects of the financial recovery continued for several years after Lionel had left, probably assisted to some extent by the presence of William of Windsor's army from 1369 onwards. There does, however, seem to have been a shortage of cash, reminiscent of conditions in 1361. In 1368 Thomas Burley, the chancellor, was paid for expenses incurred by him in a war against the O Tooles tempore quo thesaurus moneta vacuus extiterat,⁴¹ and in June of the same year Reginald Lovell was unable to collect the sum of £9/2/10 paid to him by assignment on the Irish revenues.⁴²

Lionel's intervention in Ireland seems to have produced few tangible results in other fields. Although he was charged with the resolution of the dispute over the primacy of Ireland between the archbishops of Armagh and Dublin, his attempts to do so did not achieve very much,⁴³ though this was probably due to the intransigent attitude of both prelates. The problem of dissension between the English by birth and the Anglo-Irish, which was of long standing,

39. See Appendix XIV below.

40. Richardson and Sayles, 'Irish Revenue', p. 100.

41. Rot. Canc. Hib. p. 80b, no. 5

42. E.401/493 (30 June).

43. 'A calendar of the register of Archbishop Sweteman', ed. H. J. Lawlor, R.I.A. Proc., xxix C (1911), pp. 224-5, 226, 250

continued, and in 1366 it was found necessary to legislate against those who caused such dissension.⁴⁴ This problem was probably incapable of solution. The hostility of the Anglo-Irish had been allayed temporarily in 1364, but only at the cost of foregoing further parliamentary taxation, and the credit for this probably belongs to the English council rather than to Lionel.

The enactments of the parliament held at Kilkenny in February 1366 have been seen as Lionel's main achievement in Ireland,⁴⁵ partly because of the novel nature of some of the enactments, and partly because, as a codification of accepted measures to deal with the long-standing problems of the colony, they were confirmed on several occasions during the fifteenth century. Taken as a whole, the Statutes can be seen as dealing with five different types of problems: the preservation of public order and reform of the administration, the separate identity of the Anglo-Irish, the relations between the secular and ecclesiastical jurisdictions, economic matters, and the enforcement of the Statutes. Before examining the clauses, something should be said of the background to this legislation.

Although the preamble states that the enactments are a result of 'the grievous complaints of the commons of the said land',⁴⁶ it seems likely that the initiative came, not from the commons, but from Lionel and his council, and possibly from the English council. By the middle of the fourteenth century the commons petition had become, in Ireland as in England, the normal way of introducing legislation and does not necessarily represent a spontaneous act on the part of the commons.⁴⁷

44. See below p. 285

45. Chiefly by Curtis, 'The Viceroyalty of Lionel, Duke of Clarence, in Ireland 1361-1367', JRSAI xlviii (1918) pp. 69-71.

46. Berry, Statutes, John-Henry V, p. 431.

47. Richardson and Sayles, Irish Parliament, p. 98

In September 1365, the Irish chancellor and treasurer had been sent to England to discuss matters touching the state of Ireland with the king and the English council.⁴⁸ They remained there until the middle of December 1365,⁴⁹ and it is significant that the writs of summons to the Kilkenny parliament were issued on 1 January 1366, shortly after their return to Ireland.⁵⁰ It is possible that the English council was at this time considering a marriage between Lionel and Violante Visconti, and that the Kilkenny parliament was intended to be Lionel's final attempt, before he left, to solve some of the problems which he had encountered in Ireland, but as the marriage negotiations did not begin until the following July,⁵¹ this must remain speculation.

The Statutes of Kilkenny have been examined from different aspects,⁵² and it is not intended to analyse them in detail here. In the context of Lionel's expedition to Ireland, they are probably best divided into two categories - clauses based on earlier legislation and new enactments. Nineteen of the thirty-six clauses represent re-enactments of the ordinances made by an Irish great council in 1351.⁵³ This re-enactment may have been due to a lack of observance of the ordinances, but it is more likely to have been for the purpose of giving them statutory force. In 1353 it had been stated in the

48. E.101/244/10

49. Cal. Patent Rolls, 1364-7, pp. 182, 187; E.101/244/10

50. Richardson and Sayles, Parliaments and Councils, p. 22

51. Cal. Patent Rolls, 1364-7, p. 303

52. E. Curtis, 'The viceroyalty of Lionel, Duke of Clarence, in Ireland, 1361-1367', JRSAI xlviii (1918) pp. 69-71; G. J. Hand, 'The forgotten Statutes of Kilkenny', The Irish Jurist, new series, i (1966), pp. 299-312; J. F. Lydon, The Lordship of Ireland in the Middle Ages (Dublin, 1972) pp. 220-22; A. J. Otway-Ruthven, A History of Medieval Ireland, (1968) pp. 291-4; J. A. Watt, The Church and the two Nations in Medieval Ireland, (Cambridge, 1970) pp. 198-216.

53. Berry, Statutes, John-Henry V, pp. 374-97. A concordance is given on p. 374.

English parliament that 'ordinances and agreements made in councils are not of record, as if they had been made in common parliament',⁵⁴ and the re-enactment of the 1351 ordinances may have been done at the suggestion of the English council. The ordinances had covered a wide range of topics - local defence, the duties of officials, particularly sheriffs and sergeants, alliances with the Irish, the keeping of kern and idlemen, fraudulent feoffments and the use of the common law rather than march or Brehon law. Six of the ordinances were not re-enacted. In the case of two of these, dealings with the liberties of the church and the enforcement of the Statute of Labourers, other arrangements were made in 1366; two clauses relating to the defence of their lands by absentees were not repeated, as provision for this had been made by the absentee grant of 1362; two further clauses, one dealing with the imprisonment of receivers of felons, and the other forbidding the holding of pleas of withernam by the sheriff, were not re-enacted, but there is no apparent reason for this. Changes were made in the wording of some of the ordinances in 1366, but their effect was usually either to make them more specific or to increase the penalties for infringement. An example of this is clause 2 of the Statutes,⁵⁵ which is based on clause 11 of the 1351 ordinances. The latter had forbidden the provision of victuals, arms and other items to the Irish who were at war. In 1366 this was extended to cover the supplying of horses or armour 'to any Irish in time of peace or war' and victuals in time of war. Clause 32 of the Statutes refers to the presence of sergeants of counties at the audit of the sheriffs' accounts.⁵⁶

54. Rot. Parl. ii, pp. 253, 257.

55. Berry, Statutes, John-Henry V, p. 433.

56. Ibid., pp. 461-3

The corresponding 1351 ordinance (clause 23) had listed the counties of which sergeants were to appear at the exchequer and those where they were to appear locally. The 1366 list is slightly different, as the sergeants from Waterford and Tipperary were now to appear at the exchequer, probably as a result of the moving of the exchequer to Carlow. In addition to the re-enactment of the 1351 ordinances, four other clauses of the Statutes were based on previous enactments. Clause 7, forbidding champerty, is based on a similar ordinance issued by the English council in 1357.⁵⁷ Clause 16, relating to the judging of escapes against people, is a modernisation of the Statute of Westminster I, c.3, which had referred to the jurisdiction of the now extinct justices in eyre,⁵⁸ and clauses 5 and 34, relating to price and wage fixing and the abolition of the justices of labourers, reflect English practice.⁵⁹

Of the remaining clauses, three (clauses 1, 8 and 9) deal with the rights and privileges of the church and two (clauses 35 and 36) with the enforcement of the Statutes.⁶⁰ These two groups of clauses are related. Commissions of inquiry into infringements of the Statutes were to be issued, and those persons found guilty were to be excommunicated. The employment of ecclesiastical sanctions was probably the result of an agreement between the administration and the clergy. In return for the co-operation of the church in this field, added force was given

57. Ibid., pp. 413, 439

58. Ibid., p. 447; Hand 'The forgotten Statutes of Kilkenny', p. 308

59. Berry, Statutes, John-Henry V, pp. 437-8; 465-7; Hand, 'The forgotten Statutes of Kilkenny', p. 308.

60. Berry, Statutes, John-Henry V, pp. 433, 441-3, 467.

to the process of excommunication in general, by ordering the issue of writs of de excommunicato habendo after a month rather than the usual forty days, and forbidding excommunicates to be received into the king's grace or to be maintained by any of the liege people. A further concession to the church occurs in clause 8, which forbids lay persons to take tithes or compel their sale by extortion or menace or at a low price. It is interesting that the constitutions of a provincial council held by archbishop Mynot in Kilkenny later in the year reinforce the Statutes on several points, emphasising the sacred nature of truces between the English and Irish, and requiring that Irish candidates for ordination should prove their past loyalty and guarantee it for the future.⁶¹

Clauses 3, 6, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14 and 15 deal broadly with the security and defence of the colony.⁶² Several of this group have attracted attention as being concerned with a policy of racial exclusiveness on the part of the English in Ireland, by forbidding the presentation of Irishmen to benefices and their reception into religious houses among the English, the use of the Irish language, mode of riding and dress, and the reception of Irish minstrels by the English.⁶³ These, taken with the 1351 ordinances repeated in 1366 forbidding alliances by fosterage, concubinage, marriage or otherwise between the English and Irish, do show an attempt to maintain a distinction between the two societies in Ireland, but for security rather than

61. A. Gwynn, 'Provincial and diocesan decrees of the diocese of Dublin during the Anglo-Norman period', Archivium Hibernicum, xi (1944) pp. 99, 101. These constitutions are discussed by Watt, The Church and the Two Nations in Medieval Ireland, pp. 204-8.

62. Berry, Statutes, John-Henry V, pp. 435, 439, 443-7.

63. G. J. Hand, 'The forgotten Statutes of Kilkenny', p. 299. The use of the Irish language, fostering of children among the Irish and the use of March law had been forbidden by a writ issued by Ormond as justiciar in 1360 (Analecta Hibernica ii (1931) pp. 266-8).

for cultural reasons. An 1357 ordinance relating to alliances sets this out very clearly in the preamble which states

whereas by marriages and divers other ties and the fostering of infant children among the English dwelling in the marches and the Irish, by forewarnings and espials made on both sides by the occasions aforesaid, infinite destructions and other evils have happened hitherto, and the expeditions of us and of our justiciars there in our name, as well in acts of war as in other useful progresses, have been impeded.⁶⁴

and the 1366 clause dealing with Irish minstrels states specifically that they spy out the secrets, customs and policies of the English.⁶⁵

The main purpose was to ensure that the English in Ireland and those Irish normally living among them were identifiable by their use of English language and customs, that any Irish intruders could be easily recognised and that potentially dangerous contacts with the Irish enemies were under the control of the Dublin government. The Statutes were not racially exclusive as it was envisaged that there would be Irishmen living among the English, and that these would have to be easily distinguished from the Irish enemies. Furthermore, it was always possible for grants of English law to be made to Irishmen and for people to receive exemption from the application of any of the clauses. The emphasis on central control and the military nature of the Statutes can also be seen in several of the remaining clauses. Archery and the use of lances were to be practised in place of hurlings and other games, because it was necessary in a land at war for every man to be able to defend himself.⁶⁶ War was to be undertaken only by the council with the advice of local magnates and others and to be

64. Berry, Statutes, John-Henry V, p. 412

65. Ibid., p. 447

66. Ibid., p. 439

brought to a satisfactory conclusion 'so that the Irish enemies be not admitted to peace until they be finally destroyed or make restitution fully of the costs and charges expended upon that war by their default and rebellion'.⁶⁷ The idea of central control of war had been previously stated in the 1361 ordinances issued just before Lionel's departure for Ireland, but the provision relating to the conclusion of wars is obviously a reflection of Lionel's own experiences in Ireland, when the submissions of several of the Irish proved to be of very short duration. Two other clauses attempted to remove causes of local disturbances. Clause 11 stated that for the better maintaining of the peace and doing right as well to the Irish enemies being at peace as to the English', the remedy for a debt incurred by an Irishman was to be against the principal debtor and not against any Irish belonging to him, and clause 12 provided that no Irish were to pasture on or occupy lands belonging to the English or to the Irish at peace, against the wishes of the lords of those lands, and that a clause to this effect was to be included in every peace henceforth made with the Irish.⁶⁸ Attempts to recover goods or cattle by force could obviously escalate into open war, and the Irish administration was here trying to prevent this by providing legal means of redress. The clause forbidding dissension between the English born in England and those born in Ireland,⁶⁹ while reflecting Lionel's experience of such hostility in 1364, can also be seen as an attempt to remove another possible cause of local disturbance. It has been claimed that the Statutes of Kilkenny were defensive in nature,

67. Ibid., p. 443.

68. Ibid., pp. 443-5

69. Ibid., p. 437

but it should be emphasised that they were defensive in a military sense rather than in a cultural or racial one.⁷⁰ Curtis' theory that in the Statutes of Kilkenny the English government was cutting its losses in Ireland and concentrating on the land then under the effective control of the Dublin government is difficult to accept.⁷¹ Not only was it unthinkable for Edward III to regard part of his dominions in this way, but this view is contradicted by the activities of Lionel himself and later Windsor in Ireland. It is true that in the Statutes the emphasis was on the land under the control of the Dublin government, but the whole purpose of English intervention in Ireland in the 1360s was to increase this area as much as possible. The Statutes show an attempt to make provision for the security of the colony, which is interesting in the context of Lionel's military activity in Ireland, but they cannot, in themselves, be seen as a concrete achievement.

1361 has been seen as a turning point in medieval Irish history, in that it began a period of military intervention in Ireland, financed largely by the English exchequer.⁷² However, it is also important in marking the beginning of a systematic attempt to reform the Irish financial administration and make the Irish revenues more productive, and to provide a solution to the problem of absenteeism. Lionel's expedition to Ireland had only a temporary military success and although there was a financial recovery during his lieutenancy, this was also short-lived. The main reason for this failure was that the

70. G.J. Hand, 'The forgotten statutes of Kilkenny', p. 299; J. F. Lydon, The Lordship of Ireland in the Middle Ages, p. 221.

71. E. Curtis, A History of Medieval Ireland, (2nd ed., 1938) p. 233.

72. Richardson and Sayles, 'Irish Revenue', p. 91.

English revenues during peacetime were not sufficient to maintain a large force in Ireland for several years, and it was evidently felt undesirable to risk arousing Anglo-Irish hostility by recourse to parliamentary taxation in Ireland, as William of Windsor was to do later. The idea of creating an appanage for Lionel in Ireland was abandoned, possibly due to Lionel's unwillingness to remain there, but also to Edward III's pressing need for money and the opportunity of acquiring a large dowry from Lionel's marriage with Violante Visconti. Edward's plans for making provision for his other younger sons also came to nothing, and it is ironic that the most tangible result of Lionel's intervention in Ireland may have been the destruction of Edward's hopes of securing the succession in Scotland for himself or one of his sons. According to an account of the debate on Edward's proposals in the Scottish council-general in 1364, one of the arguments against acceptance was that if the proposals were rejected, there was no danger of an invasion by Edward, because of his military involvement in Brittany and Ireland.⁷³

The expedition of William of Windsor to Ireland can be seen as the logical continuation of the attempt at recovery made by Lionel, and apart from Windsor's dealings with the Irish parliament, his activities followed the same pattern. However the most that either could expect to achieve was a temporary success, because of the nature of the Irish problem. The only solution would have been a permanent military presence there, and this was out of the question, partly because of the state of English finances, but especially because Edward III and his council saw France and Scotland as more important priorities.

73. E. W. M. Balfour-Melville, 'Papers relating to the capture and ransom of David II', S.H.S. Miscellany. IX, (1958) p. 46.

A P P E N D I C E S

APPENDIX I: ILLUSTRATIVE DOCUMENTS

(i) Message from the Irish council, Jan/Feb 1361.

[...] le Roi et son sage conseil monstrent vos lieges communes de la terre Dirlaund' et votre conseil illeques qe come vostre dite terre soit en peril de perd' et plusurs meschiefs y sount lez queux a vostre haute seignurye et vostre dit conseil par vostre liege cousyn counte Dormond vostre Justices celles parties, Geffrei fitz Eustace et Johan Lumbard messagez depart vos ditz communes et Thomas Mynot Baroun de vostre eschequer illeques message depart vostre conseil de la dite terre mandez pleinement sount en escript monstrez et a honorable homme vostre chauncellier baillez, qe plese a vostre haute et gracieuse seignurie de commander a vostre dite conseil et as seignours en cest present parlement pur les bosoyngnes Dirlaund' assignez les avaunt ditz meschiefs tendrement au geor prendre et hastifs et covenables remediez ordeiner come terre en si graunt peril demande, eiaunt regard seignurs a la longe demore vostre dit cosyn des aultres seignurs celles parties et aultres vos ministris attendentz vos commandementz sur les choses avaunt ditz a lour grantz coustages queux ne suffrent en lours terres par lour absence par les enemys et le graunt lieu qe ils vous purrioint tenir si ils fuessent en loure marches. Et si plese a vostre [...] des avant ditz seignurs communes et ministris sur la governaunce de la dite terre et relevacion des ditz meschiefs demander [...] a vos commandementz demonstrer ceo qe lour semble a meoz gils saverount a lonour et profit nostre seignur le Roi et de la dite terre.

(S.C.8/171/8545)

(ii) Indenture of retinue of Ralph, earl of Stafford, 1361

Ceste endenture faite entre le noble Roi Dengleterre dune part et Rauf counte de Stafford dautre part tesmoigne qe le dit counte ad empris daler en Irland en la compaignie de monsire Leonell' counte dulvester fesant le bien qil purra ove cent homes darmes et cent archers a chival de sa retenue propre ove les additions qe sensuent a demorer illeques pur trois quarters del an et destre paie pur le primer quarter devant son aler et pur le seconde quarter destre paie devant la main et en mesme la manere de le tiers quarter et si le dit conte faille de son paiement des nulles des ditz quarters del an come desus est dit qe bien lise a lui departir ou meltz lui plerra sanz estre empesche de Roi ne de ses heirs, comenceant sur ses ditz gages au temps et iour qe lui serra assigne de son remuement, et le Roi lui paiera gages acoustumes de guerre et le regard acustume. Et qe le Roi lui trouvera navie convenable et suffisant pur lui toutz ses gentz et chivalx en alant et retournant.

as coustages de Roi es toutz pointz. Et que le Roi trove bordes claves et toutz autres necessaires que appartiennent pur leskipeson du dit conte ses gentz et toutz ses chivalx aussibien en alant come en retournant. Et que le Roi assigne un clerc de priser ses chivalx depar decea et outre ceo mander garant par brief de Roi au tresorer Dirland pur priser les chivalx que seront achatez par dela en cas que nuls ensement achatez pur le dit conte ou ses gentz. Et que le Roi lui face restitution des toutz chivalx de pris' issint prisez et perdeuz en son service sur le guerre et avera le dit conte en cas qil soit a la mounture de Roi que un chival prisez et sil neit nulle monture du Roi adonques avera meisme le conte deux chivalx priz pur son corps, purveu toutefoitz qil neit que un chival prisez pur chescun home darmes de sa retenue pur tout le dit viage. Et aussi si nul heritage dessent au dit conte en le mesne temps qil soit maintenant delivere et que les services duez au Roi soient respites tantqe a son retournir. Et aussi qige aviegne du dit monsire Leonel par enemys ou par nulle autre purpos pris de sa teste demesne ou par nul autre peril de guerre que le dit Rauf soit tenuz quites lui et ses heirs pur toutz iours. Et que le dit conte eit proteccions pur lui et toutz ses genz pur le temps de sa demoere illoeqes et lettres de generales attornies. Et si soit que apres les ditz trois quartiers del an encurriz que bien lise au dit conte repeirer en Engleterre ou aillours dont mielx lui plerra sanz estre empesche de Roi ne de ses heirs. Et si ensi soit que le dit conte faille deskippison par dela pur lui ses gentz et chivaux au temps de son retournir en Engleterre que le Roi soit tenuz de lui restorer sibien de perde des chivaux come des coustages deskippeson. Et en cas que le dit conte faille deskippeson pur les chivalx de nul de ses gentz a son aler que le Roi soit tenuz de lui paier pur les ditz chivalx. Et si soit que le Roi preigne nul voiage hors Dengleterre pur la guerre que le dit conte soit descharge de cestes convenantes dirlande et de traire au Roi et daler en sa compaignie propre sanz plus longement demorer en la compaignie du dit monsire Leonell' celles parties dirlande ne de nul autre. Et si le dit conte face aucun empris de guerre selonc ce que lui semblera a faire pur le mielx qil ne soit de cella empesche du Roi ses heirs ne de nul autre covient que autre que bien en aviegne que dieu defende. Et a toutz les foiz que les attournes du dit conte averont affaire es parties dengleterre ou nul autre partie pur ses busoignes qils eient garrantz des prive et grant sealx le Roi tantz et tieux come busoignables serront. Et en cas que nuls prisoners du dite partie dirlande soient pris par le dit conte ou nul de ses gentz qil puisse faire de eux sa volente et qil puisse avoir toutz autres avantages de guerre forspris villes chasteux terres rentes et homages. Et en cas que ceste viage soit pur aucun cause change ou destourbe que le dit conte avera regarde de les coustages queux il covient faire par ceste cause come en retinance, acat des chivalx et purveance qil se agriera. Et aussint que les attournes du dit conte eient garant souz le grant seal et briefs deskipper toute manere des vitailles pur lui et ses gentz et de les amesner hors dengleterre en Irlande et le Roi a ce trovera eskippeson a coustages propres du dit Rauf. Et que le dit conte eit convenable monture de Roi pur son corps. Et que le Roi grante et asseure au dit Rauf que si ces covenantes comprises deinz cestes soient enfreintes en nul des pointz que le dit Rauf puisse departir de la dite terre dirlande en quel part que lui plerra sanz estre empesche du Roi ses heirs son conseil ne de nul autre. En tesmoignance de quele chose a la partie de ceste endenture demorante devers le dit conte de Stafford notre dit seignur le Roi ad fait mettre son prive seal. Done a Westmonster le xii iour de May lan du regne notre dit seignur le Roi trente quinte /12 May 1361/.

(iii) Indenture of retinue of William of Windsor 1362

Ceste endenture faite parentre notre seignur le Roi dun part et William de Wyndesore chivaler dautrepart tesmoigne qe le dit William est demorez devers notre dit seignur le Roi pur aler en son service es parties dirlande et y demorer ove sessant homes darmes et sessant archers pur un an comenceant meisme lan a ceste procheine feste de la Nativite seint Johan Baptistre a la quele feste il et les ditz gentz seront a la meer par cause de leur passage. Et prendra le dit William gages de guerre et regard acoustumez pur lui et ses ditz gentz des queux gages et regard il serra toutes voiez paieez pur chescun quarter du dit an deinz le demy quarter a plustard. Et trovera notre dit seignur le Roi au dit William et ses gentz et leur chivalx suffisant eskipeson pur leur passage de la meer et repassage, et serront les chivaux du dit William et des ses gentz darmes prisez a leur arrivail' en Irlande par ceux qi le Roi ferra a ce assigner. Et serra le dit William ovesqe toutes ses dites gentz entendant au conte Duluestre filz de notre dit seignur et son lieutenant es dites parties selonc ce qil lui ferra charger durant lan avantdit et apres mesme lan acompliz ou si par cas meisme celui William ne soit paieez des ditz gages et regard pur chescun quarter du dit an deinz le demy quarter aplustard, par manere come dit est, le dit William purra departir de la dite terre dirlande et retourner en Engleterre sanz empeschement du Roi et de ses heirs ou de son lieutenant ou dautres qiconques. En tesmoignance de quele chose a la partie de ceste endenture demorante devers le dit William notre dit seignur le Roi ad fait mettre son prive seal. Done a Loundres le disme iour de Juyn lan du regne notre dit seignur le Roi trente sisme /10 June 1362/

(E.101/28/27 m.2).

(iv) Indenture of retinue of William of Windsor, 1363

Ceste endenture faite parentre nostre seignur le Roi dune part et William de Wyndesore chivaler dautre part tesmoigne que lavantdit William est demore devers notre dit seignur le Roi pur aler en son service as parties Dirlande et y demorer ove cent et vint hommes darmes et deux centz archers pur un an commensant meisme lan le jour qe le dit William arrivera en Irlande. Et prendra le dit William pur lan pur lui et ses ditz gentz darmes et archers sis mill' sept centz et vint livres ensemblement ove mill' marcs les queux il avera pur ses custages en fesant sa retenue et en alant vers la meer et illoeqes demorant et attendant son passage et tanqe il arivera en Irlande des queux sis mill' sept centz et vint livres ensemblement et de les mill' marcs avantditz le dit William serra paie en main devant son aler es dites parties dirlande. Et trovera notre dit seignur le Roi au dit William et ses ditz gentz darmes et archers et leur chivaux suffisant eskipeson pur leur passage et les niefs araies et ordeines pur amesner chivaux outre la meer et serront les chivaux de dit William et de ses gentz darmes resonablement prisez a leure venue a la meer par ceux qe le Roi ferra a ce assigner par manere acustumee en tieu cas. Et apres le dit an accomplie le dit William purra departir de la dite terre Dirlande

franchement en Engleterre et non pas aillours sanz arest ovesque ses ditz gentz darmes et archers et sanz estre empeschez pur celle causes par nostre dit seignur le Roi ou son conseil ou par son lieutenant es dites parties dirlande ou par nul autre. Et si le dit William son dit an acompli en Irlande retourne ovesque ses ditz gentz darmes en Engleterre nostre dit seignur le Roi lui trouvera suffisant repassage pur lui et eux et pur leur chivaux ou autrement lui ferra avoir resonable allouance a sa venue en Engleterre pur meisme le repassage. Et apres les dites covenantes faites devant le conseil le Roi le dit William quant prist son congie du Roi a Wyndesore pur aler vers les dites parties lui supplie en cas qil eust ovesque lui dis hommes darmes et dis archers englois outre le dit nombre qil purroit prendre et avoir pur eux leur gages et regard quele chose nostre dit seignur le roi lui ottroia en cas qe son filz le duc de Clarence son lieutenant en dites parties verroit tesmoigner desouz son seal qe le dit William les eust sur la guerre pur lan entier outre le nombre susdit. En tesmoignance de quele chose a la partie de ceste endenture demorante devers le dit William nostre dit seignur le Roi ad fait mettre son prive seal. Done a Westmonster le viii iour de Novembre lan de regne nostre dit seignur le Roi trente septisme / 8 November 1363/.

(E.368/137 Trinity Recorda m.10)

(v) Agreement between Windsor and the Irish council, 1364

Ceste endenture faite a Steldermot le primer iour de maii lan nostre seignur le Roi trente oetisme parentre monsire James Botiler counte Urmounde et gardein Dirlande de par nostre dit seignur le Roi, lercevesque de Dyvelin, monsire Thomas Burlee chaunceller Dirlande, monsire Thomas Dale et sire Waulter Dalby tresorer Dirlande dune part et monsire William de Windesore dautre part tesmoigne qe comme lavantdit monsire William soit tenuz devers nostre dit seignur le Roi a demorer en ces guerres en Irlaunde pur un an entier ove un certeine noubre des gentes darmes et archers Dengleterre, nient pur taunt acorde est parentre les avaunt ditz counte de Urmounde et gardein Dirlande, monsire Thomas Burle chaunceller dirlande, monsire Thomas Dale, Sire Wauter Dalby tresorer Dirlande et monsire William de Wyndesore qe lavantdit monsire William retendra certeine noubre des kernes en liu de cessaunte et dis archers avaunt ditz Dengleterre a cheysir hors del noubre de deux centz archers quele noubre le dit monsire William est tenuz devers le Roi a sustenir en ses dites guerres es dites parties durant le temps avaunt dit retenaunt autaunt des dites kernes comme il purra avoir pur largent qe les avaunt ditz lx et x archers dussent ressevir pur le mesne temps. Et en cas qe nostre seignur le Roi et son conseil ne vuellent alouwer a dit monsire William ce qe acorde est par les avaunt ditz conte de Urmounde et gardein Dirlande, monsire Thomas de Burlee chaunceller Dirlande, monsire Thomas Dale et sire Waulter Dalbi tresorer Dirlande par icestes soyent tenuz et chescun par soi en lentier a disdammager lavaundit monsire William de la somme qil ferra payer as avaunt ditz kernes auxi qe les avaunt nommes deschargerount le dit monsire William devers le Roi et son conseil de ceo qil ad retenu des kernes en liu des archers Dengleterre. En tesmoignance de ceo a iceste partie demoraunte devers le dit monsire William les avaunt ditz counte de Urmounde et gardein Dirlande, monsire Thomas de Burlee chaunceller Dirlande, monsire

Thomas Dale et sire Waulter Dalby ount fait metter lour seals le iour et lan avantdit.

(E.159/142 Michaelmas Recorda m.10d.)

(vi) Commission of array, 1362

Edwardus dei gracia rex Anglie dominus Hibernie et Aquitanie vicecomiti Notyngham' et Derb' salutem. Quia pro salvacione et defensione terre nostre Hibernie contra hibernicos inimicos nostros qui guerram contra nos et fideles nostros moverunt et indies de guerra equitant, castra, villas et fortalicia capiendo et homicidia, incendia et alia dampna quamplurima perpetrando, non modicum numerum armatorum et sagittariorum ad partes terre predicte cum omne festinacione nos oportet, tibi sub forisfactura omnium que nobis forisfacere poteris precepimus firmiter iniungentes quod statim visis presentibus omnibus aliis pretermisissis viginti sagittarios pedites de melioribus fortibus et validioribus sagittariis peditibus in dicto comitatu Derb' in locis ubi expedire videris in eodem comitatu Derb' tam infra libertates quam extra per supervisum et consilium dilecti et fidelis nostri Nicholai de Goushull vel deputatorum suorum in hac parte eligi trari et arraiari et eos arcubus et sagittis ac aliis armis competentibus sufficienter muniri ipsosque sic electos tratos et arraiatos ac sufficienter munitos necnon viginti sagittarios equites quos in dicto comitatu Notyngham' alias per te et Johannem de Ellerton servientem nostrum ad arma ex hac causa eligi et arraiari mandavimus usque portum ville de Lyverpol in comitatu Lancastrie duci facias ita quod dicti viginti sagittarii pedites et quadraginta sagittarii equites sunt in eodem portu in octabis Nativitatis sancti Johannis Baptiste proxime futuris vel infra tres dies tunc proxime sequentes ad ultimum prompti et parati ad transfretandum ad vadia nostra una cum aliis fidelibus nostris qui tunc ad portum predictum ex hac causa sunt venturi et eisdem sagittariis vadia sua videlicet cuilibet eorundem peditum tres denarios et equitum sex denarios per diem pro decem diebus a tempore quo de dictis comitatibus Notyngham' et Derb' recesserint de exitibus ballive tue solvas et nos tibi inde in compoto tuo ad scaccarium nostrum debitam allocationem habere faciemus. Volumus autem quod residui viginti sagittarii equites in dicto comitatu Derb' sic de dictis quadraginta sagittariis equitibus electi et arraiati in arraiacione huiusmodi teneantur quousque aliud de eis duxerimus demandandum. Teste me ipso apud Westmonasterium xv die Junii anno regni nostri tricesimo sexto /15 June 1362/. Per ipsum regem et consilium.

(E.101/584/16)

(vii) Indenture of delivery of men at port, 1362

Hec est indentura facta inter Thomam de Lehenese ex parte una et Thomam de Pipe in loco vicecomitis Staffordie ex altera de sagittariis missis per dominum regem Anglie pugnaturis cum Hibernicos in Hibernia videlicet Johanne Wytynton, Willelmo Fabro de Chyllynton, Johanne Stordy de Wellesley, Henrico Mons, Johanne de London, Willelmo de

Wyrhale, Ricardo Haylewyn, Henrico Trafford, Johanne de Stokkton, Willelmo Cut, Willelmo atte Cros, Willelmo Schynner, Hugone textore de Burton, Symone Rownhale, Johanne Reynald, Ricardo Wolf, Johanne Vigowrs, Willelmo Wolley. Datum apud Liverpool die veneris proximo post festum Translationis sancti Benedicti abbatis anno regni regis Edwardi tercii post conquestum xxxvi /15 July 1362/. In cuius rei testimonium sigilla predictorum Thome de Lehenese et Thome de Pipe presentibus sunt apposita. Datum supra et /.../ Thoma de Lehenese et Willelmo de Kerlel quod predictus Thomas de Pipe soluit sagittariis vi s. viii d. pro capuciis emendis sagittariis predictis.

(E.101/587/3)

(viii) Appointment of clerk of the wages, 1361

Edwardus dei gracia rex Anglie dominus Hibernie et Aquitanie dilecto clerico suo Waltero de Dalby salutem. Sciatis quod cum carissimus filius noster Leonellus comes Ultonie ac dilecti et fideles nostri Radulphus comes Staffordie, Radulfus de Ferrariis, Johannes de Carreu et quidam alii fideles nostri in obsequium nostrum ad partes Hibernie pro salvacione parcium predictarum cum magno numero hominum ad arma et sagittariorum sint profecturi, nos de fidelitate et circumspeccione vestris plenius confidentes assignavimus vos tam ad vadia marinariorum navium pro passagio dictorum fidelium nostrorum ac hominum et equorum suorum ordinatorum et pro repassagio navium earundem ac misis et expensis pro eskippamento equorum predictorum quam ad vadia octingenta sagittariorum qui in obsequium nostrum predictum cum prefatis fidelibus nostris sunt profecturi videlicet cuilibet sagittariorum predictorum sex denarios per diem ac eciam ad vadia latomorum et carpentariorum in dictis partibus in obsequio nostro pro castris in dicta terra Hibernie iuxta avisamentum consilii nostri reparandis per visum et testimonium predicti Radulfi de Ferrariis et dilecti et fidelis nostri Thome de la Dale vel eorum alterius solvenda necnon ad computandum cum prefato filio nostro ac aliis fidelibus nostris predictis post primum quarterium anni elapsum de tempore in tempus et eis vadia sua pro se et hominibus suis necnon pro hibernicis si qui nobiscum pro obsequio nostro iuxta avisamentum consilii nostri terre predictae retenti fuerint per indenturas inde modo debito conficiendas, quatenus thesaurus noster ibidem sufficere poterit, per visum et testimonium predictorum Radulfi de Ferrariis et Thome seu eorum alterius similiter solvendum necnon ad omnes equos dictorum fidelium nostrorum et hominum suorum predictorum de guerra appreciari solitos per visum et testimonium Radulfi de Ferrariis et Thome seu unius eorum supervidendum et apreciandum et ad nos in cancellaria nostra Anglie de preciis et colore equorum predictorum et quorum fuerunt distincte et aperte testificandum. Et ideo vobis mandamus quod circa premissa intendatis et ea faciatis /.../ predicta. In cuius rei testimonium has litteras nostras fieri fecimus patentes. Teste me ipso apud Westmonasterium tercio die Julii anno regni nostri tricesimo quinto /3 July 1361/.

(E.101/28/27 m.9)

(ix) Writ of computate to the clerk of the wages

Edward par la grace de dieux Roi Dengleterre, seignur Dirland' a notre ame clerc Wauter de Dalby assignez par notre commission de paier gages de guerre as gentz darmes et archers qi ont demorez en notre service es parties Dirlande salutz. Nous vous mandons qe vous acontez ove notre cher et foial Thomas de Hoggeshawe des gages de guerre et repassage de lui et de ses gentz darmes et archers alantz nadgairs en notre service es parties Dirland fesant a lui due allouance selonc leffect de lendenture faite parentre nous et lui en celle parties, et de ce qe vous lui trovez resonablement par nous duz par meisme laconte faire paiement ou bille desouz votre seal. Et volons qe par cestes vous evez due allouance en votre aconté. Done souz notre prive seal a Westmonster le xvii^e iour Daverill lan de regne notre seignur le Roi Dengleterre trente septisme /17 April 1363/.

(E.101/28/27 m.3)

(x) Indenture of receipt for wages paid

Ceste endenture fait parentre sire Walter de Dalby tresorer nostre seignur le Roi et assigne pur paier gages et regard de guerre es parties dirland dunpart et sire Thomas del Bache tresorer del hostiel monseignur le Duc de Clarence es dites parties dautrepart tesmoigne moi lavantdit Thomas avoir receu du dit sire Walter pur les gages et regard mon dit seignur le duc, chivalers, gentz des armes et archers dune quart comenceant le xxv^{te} iour Daverill lan trente et setisme et fineceant le xxiv iour de Juyl prochein enseuant lun et lautre iour acomptez dont la somme total amont a qatre centz cinquante et sept livres sys soldz set deniers et maille. En tesmoignance de quele chose as les parties dez cestes endentures les avantditz Walter et Thomas entrechangement ont mys lour seals. Escrip a Dyvelyn le xxvi iour de Juyl lan du regne notre dit seignur le Roi puis le conquest dengleterre trent et oetisme /26 July 1364/.

(E.368/145 Hilary Recorda m.4)

(xi) Letter of William of Windsor to the English treasurer, 1362

Treshonoure seignur et reverent pier en dieu. Plese assavoir que ieo vinz a Lyverpoll bien tost a pre /.../ Thomas de Hoggeshawe de illesques et trovay ma part des nefs que firent ordines et assignes /.../ quel /.../ nefs ieo fitz freite touz pleinz de mes gentz et demorray illesques ove une partie de /.../ par defaute de navye. Et pur la plus graunde suertee de les demorraunts que si mesmes eusse alee vrayement ieo sui en certeyn que le Roy ne eusse estee survi de nul de eux qe eust demorre issi sire quoi par defaute de navye et de vent /.../ si ay tut diz illesques demoure tantqe oucea a graunt damage et as grosses coustages de moy tant de mes gens en Irlande comme en Engleterre. Sur quoi sire ieo ay apprompte de Wenlok votre clerk cent livres des deniers le Roi

la quele somme sire vus vorrai requeis chèrement du cuer a mettre sur moi en partie de payement de ceste prochein quartier que se aproche bien tost, eyant sire si pleisir vus soit consideracion a graunt damage et coustages que iay eu /.../ longe demeure et mye en ma defaute. Et qil vus plese alouer meisme la somme a votre dit clerk et lui avoir entierement excusee de ceo qil me aprompta la dite somme saunz ceo qil avoit comaundement ou garrant de par vus, car certes seignur ieo lui promys de lui entsauver de perde et de blame devers vus sur la bone esperance et assurance que ieo avoy de vus. Treshonure seignur et reverent piere en dieu le seint espirit vus eit toutdiz en garde. Escrip^t a Lyverpool le xviii^e iour de Augst sur ma passage /18 August 1362/.

William de Wyndesore

(E.101/28/23)

(xii) Letter of Thomas de la Dale to Dalby, 1363

Trescher et fiable amy. Nous vous fasons assavoir qe nous ensemblement ovesqe votre clerc sire William de Karlell votre lieutenant avons surveue la retenue monsieur Eustace Dabrichecourt dont nous vous envoions les noms de sa retenue en une papire enclosez deinz cestes les queles nous vous tesmoignes veritables et sur ceo par cause qe nous vous avons certifiez einz cestes heures les chivaux le dit monsieur Eustace pur lui et ses gentz darmes preises en manere come append nous vous signefions qun coursier noir gestoit au dit monsieur Eustace et un chival rouge sorell' au Richard Esmond sont tuez sur les guerres notre seignur le Roi, sur quei vous pleise faire ensorchier les prises des ses dites chivaux si que parmy votre bone eide ils purront estre duement restorez de la prise des chivaux par le manere susdite. Et lui seint espirit vous veulle toutz iours garder en honur et saunte a longe durre. Escrip^t a Develyn le xv iour de Septembre par Thomas de Dale /15 September 1363/.

(E.101/28/27 m.6)

(xiii) Letter of Robert of Ashton to the English treasurer, 1373

Treshonorez seignur veuillez savoir qe touchant execucioun du brief notre seignur le Roi a moi direct pur enquerrer de la retenue monseignur le duc de Clarence qe dieu assoille, iay pris diverses enquerres en la countee de Mith' la ou la dite retenue estoit demorant continuelment en la compaignie monseignur Thomas de la Dale pur toute le temps qe mon dit seignur le duc estoit en Engleterre tanqa sa revenue en Irlande, les queux enquerres conusent bien qe la dite retinue estoit demorant en le dit countee pur toute le temps susdit, mais de les nouns ils nount pleine conissance, car il seroit grant merveill qe tieux gentz deussent conustre toutz les nouns de dite retenue mais iay pris le serment de sire Thomas Bache clerc adonques tresorer del hostiel mon dit seignur lui quel reconust bien qil receust de sire Walter de Dalby adonques clerc des gages de la dit retenue et lealment ad paie

la dite somme as gentz de meisme la retenue, et outre il dit par son serment qe les nouns queux sont compris deinz le transcript de la dite retenue estoient vraiment de meisme la retenue et demorerent continuellement illoeges pur toute le temps susdit forspris certains temps es queux ils voiderent come le dit transcript fait mencioun, et nientmains Robert Fox une des executours du dit sire Wauter me bailla une autre transcript de meisme la retenue enseallez des sealles des ditz monsire Thomas de la Dale et sire Thomas Bache tesmoignancz qe la dite retenue est loial et veritable lequel iay fait examiner devant le conseil nostre seignur le Roi cestes parties ove lautre transcript et acordent en tout, et si ne savons autre, mais qe le dite acounte est loial et veritable car le dite sire Walter de Dalby estoit troeve toutditz loial clerc a nostre seignur au temps qil vesquist et pur tant reenvoyons pardevers vous seignurs les ditz transcripts ensemblement ove le dit brief et lendorsement enseallez de mon seal. Treshonorez seignur le seint espirit vous eit toutdis en sa garde. Escript a Divilin le xxiii iour de Maii /23 May 1373/.

(E.368/145 Hilary Recorda m.4d.)

(xiv) Inquiry into Connacht revenues, 1366

Rex omnibus ad quos etc. Licet diversos vicecomites ad debita nostra in partibus Connacie levanda ac alia quecunque officium vicecomitis ibidem tangencia facienda constituerimus, iidem tamen vicecomites de debitis nostris ibidem a iamdiu quicquam nobis solvere nec de receiptis suis de exitibus vicecomitis ibidem quoquo modo computare non curarunt, igitur assignavimus Rogerum de Sancta Brigida ad debita nostra quecunque in dictis partibus tam infra libertates quam extra levanda et recipienda, dantes eidem Rogero plenam tenore presencium potestatem ad maneria terras et tenementa quecunque in manu nostra ibidem existencia per sacramentum etc. extendenda et ad eadem maneria terras et tenementa assidenda et ea prout potius pro comodo nostro expedire viderit ad firmam dimittenda et ad exita et proficua eorundem simul cum omnibus pecuniarum summis per ipsos ministros nostros levatis seu in manibus dictorum ministrorum aut debitorum nostrorum quorumcunque inventis vel que per ipsos ministros ex iniuncione regis aut alio modo quocunque levare poterunt ab eisdem debitoribus nostris per indenturas inter ipsum Rogerum et hos ministros et debitores nostros inde debite conficiendas ad opus nostrum recipienda, per quas indenturas de hiis receiptis in exoneracionem ministrorum et debitorum nostrorum predictorum tallias levare faciemus. Insuperque assignavimus ipsum Rogerum ad inquirendum per sacramentum etc. que et cuiusmodi persone cum lanis coriis et aliis mercimoniis stapulam nostram concernentibus extra portum de Galuy et alios portus vicinos versus partes externas transfretarunt et huiusmodi lanas coria et alia mercimonia ad stapulam nostram de Cork prout ordinatum est non adduxerunt nec de custuma eorundem mercimonium ad stapulam nostram predictam iuxta ordinacionem eiusdem nobis non soluerunt et quantum eadem custuma annuatim in dictis partibus temporibus retroactis valere consuevit et ad corpora eorundem qui nobis in hac parte deliquerunt seu in execucione premissorum contrariantes fuerunt arrestanda et prisonis committenda ibidem moraturi quousque aliud de eis duxerimus ordinandum, et ideo vobis mandamus quod prefato Rogero in omnibus premissis pareatis et intendatis. **Teste** Johanne de Troye thesaurario nostro Hibernie xxviii die Aprilis anno regni regis Edwardi tercii xl^{to} /28 April 1366/.

APPENDIX II: LIONEL'S ESTATES IN ENGLAND, WALES AND IRELAND

The following list of Lionel's lands in England and Wales is taken from the inquisitions post mortem taken in 1369 (C.135/208/5, E.149/30/15 and E.152/147/1). The figures represent annual values and the place-names are given in their modern form where possible.

		£	s	d
<u>Kent</u>	West Peckham	7	6	8
	Swanton (Mereworth par.)		17	4
	Suthfrithe (Tonbridge par.)	11	19	11
<u>Somerset</u>	Easton	20	0	0
<u>Dorset</u>	Marshwood	51	5	0
	Cranborne	90	3	0
	Tarrant Gunville	20	3	1
	Pimperne	30	2	3
	Steeple	20	2	0
	Wareham	18	1	4
	Wyke Regis	35	7	0
	Portland	36	15	7
	Weymouth	15	3	8
<u>Bucks</u>	Whaddon	40	0	0
	Steepleclaydon	13	6	8
<u>Hunts</u>	Gransden	2	8	0
	Woolley	1	0	0
<u>Cambs</u>	Bottisham	14	17	6½
	Royston	11	0	0
	Arrington	2	13	4
	Bodesham	7	12	0
	Tatlow		18	1
	Abington	1	17	9
	Harlton	2	4	8
	Toft		13	7
	Littlington	2	11	0
	Guilden Morden	1	4	1
	Meldreth	1	4	1

		£	s	d
<u>Essex</u>	Claret	18	9	6
	Bardfield	29	16	6½
<u>Herts</u>	Standon	36	17	5
	Pope's Hall (Buckland par.)	2	0	0
<u>Suffolk</u>	Hundon	52	8	2½
	Woodhall	34	6	2
	Clare	25	15	4
	Erbury	34	11	6
<u>Norfolk</u>	Walsingham	43	17	5½
	Bircham	5	15	8
	Stokesby	(illegible)		
<u>Glos,</u>	Brimpsfield	20	0	0
<u>Hereford</u>	Usk	221	6	8
<u>and Wales</u>	Newgrange	40	16	11
	Caerleon	89	0	0
	Panteg	11	0	0
	Edlegan	35	0	0
	Llefnydd and Liswerry	62	0	0
	Llantrissant	20	0	0
	Gregwyk	73	11	8½
	Llangwm	5	0	0
	Undy	10	0	0
	Trelleck	54	19	11
	Troy, Cwmcarvan and Lydarth	58	19	4½
	Tintern Parva	7	4	0
Total value of English and Welsh lands		1434	0	4
Irish lands (see below)		412	13	4
Total		1846	13	8

Inquisition into Lionel's Irish lands, 17 August 1369

Inquisicio capta coram Johanne Cruys escaetore Hibernie apud Dubliniam die veneris proximo post festum Assumpcionis beate Marie anno regni Edwardi tercii post conquestum Anglie quadragesimo tercio regni vero sui Francie tricesimo per subscriptos videlicet: Hugonem Petyt, Johannem filium Johannis, Johannem Bedelewe, Petrum Baret, Ricardum White, Henricum (?) Freigne, Patricium Gowys, Patricium Fox, Ricardum Badelond, Thomam filium Roberti, Nicholaum Cotiler, Willelmum Breton, et Henricum

/.../. Qui jurati dicunt super sacramentum suum quod Leonellus nuper Dux Clarencie tenuit de domino rege in capite die quo obiit per legem Anglie ut de jure Elizabethhe nuper uxoris sue filie et heredis Willelmi de Burgo nuper comitis Ultonie comitatum Ultonie per servicium trium feodorum militum quando scutagium currit et quod indicto comitatu idem dux habuit diversa maneria videlicet maneria de Coulrath, Dromtarsy, Athirmoy, Creggh et Maghrys de Logh [? kell] cum pertinenciis que valent per annum in omnibus exitibus suis centum libras, manerium de Andrum cum pertinenciis quod valet per annum quadraginta libras in omnibus exitibus; maneria de Cragfergus, Ford, Magylmourne, Lesleynan, Latheryn, Drumal et Invyr cum suis pertinenciis que valent per annum in omnibus exitibus sexaginta libras; maneria de Neweton', Drumnour, Halywod, Dundonald' cum suis pertinenciis que valent per annum quadraginta libras; manerium de Balydogan quod una cum redditibus burgagerie ville burgi de Duno et omnibus aliis proficuis eiusdem ville valent per annum sex libras; et maneria de Grenecastell et le Rath que totaliter devastantur per hibernicos inimicos domini regis et per eosdem occupantur sed que non fuissent extenta eo quod ad presens nullum sunt valoris propter defectum dominii; item jurati dicunt quod exita et proficua libertatis regalis Ultonie quam libertatem idem nuper dux tenuit de domino rege in capite die quo obiit per legem Anglie ut de jure predictae Elizabethhe nuper uxoris sue ut prefertur valuit per annum viginti libras ultra reprise /.../. Item dicunt quod idem nuper dux tenuit de domino rege in capite die quo obiit per legem Anglie ut de jure predictae Elizabethhe nuper uxoris sue ut prefertur terciam partem dominii de Kilkenny tam in dominiis quam in dominicis una cum tercia parte libertatis regalis ibidem per servicium sexte partis centum feodorum militum quando scutagium currit, quequidem dominium et predicta tercia pars libertatis predictae valent per annum in omnibus exitibus centum marcas. Item dicunt quod nuper dux tenuit de domino rege in capite die quo obiit per legem Anglie ut de jure predictae nuper uxoris sue ut prefertur maneria de Lysrothernach, Tyraghglasse, Typeraght et Muscricurk in comitatu Typerarie per servicium decem et septem feodorum et dimidium militum et terciam partem unius feodi quando scutagium currit et valent per annum xl libras in omnibus exitibus. Item dicunt quod idem nuper dux tenuit de domino rege in capite die quo obiit per legem Anglie ut de jure predictae nuper uxoris sue ut prefertur maneria de Dyserlauran et Esclon in comitatu Lymeric' per servicium duorum feodorum militum et solebant valere per annum xx marcas et modo nichil quia devastantur et occupantur per Ricardum de Burgo et alios rebelles inimicos domini regis. Item dicunt quod idem nuper dux tenuit de domino rege in capite per legem Anglie ut de jure predictae nuper uxoris sue ut prefertur die quo obiit maneria de Loghreggh, Tobbryd, Tyloghoban, Loghmesk, Slygagh, Galuy et Portdempne cum pertinenciis in Connacia per servicium xx feodorum militum quando scutagium currit et valuerunt tempore eiusdem ducis Clarencie dum in Hibernia fuit cc libras et modo nichil quia occupantur per Edmundum de Burgo militem et plures alios rebelles domini regis tam Anglicos quam Hibernicos nec est ausus aliquis minister domini regis ibidem accedere vel officium suum ibidem excercere. Item dicunt quod idem nuper dux die quo obiit tenuit de Edmundo de Mortuo Mari comite Marchie per legem Anglie ut de jure predictae uxoris sue ut prefertur manerium de Rathouth /.../ per servicium iiii feodorum militum quando scutagium currit quod valet per annum xx libras in omnibus exitibus. Item dicunt quod idem nuper dux tenuit de domino rege in capite ut de jure predictae nuper uxoris sue die quo obiit

manerium de Carlyngford per servicium unius feodi militum quod valet per annum xx libras in omnibus exitibus. Item dicunt quod idem nuper dux obiit sexto decimo die Octobris anno regni regis Edwardi tercii post conquestum quadragesimo secundo et dicunt quod Philippa uxor Edmundi de Mortuo Mari filia predicti ducis et Elizabethe est propinquior heres eorundem et fuit de etate quatuordecem annorum ad festum Assumpcionis beate Marie proximo preteritum.

(C.135/208/5 no. 18)

APPENDIX III: INDENTURED RETINUES 1361-6

<u>Leader</u>	<u>Indenture</u>	<u>Period of Service</u>	<u>Intended force*</u>	<u>Actual force*</u>
Lionel	? 1361	?	(70 + 70)	70 + 70
Stafford	12 May 1361	$\frac{3}{4}$ year	100 + 100	97 + 100
Carreu	-	-	-	10 + 10
Ferrers	? 1361	?	(20 + 20)	20 + 20
Windsor	10 June 1362	1 year	60 + 60	52 + 60
Hoggeshaw	10 June 1362	1 year	40 + 40	32 + 38
Dabrichecourt	20 Feb 1363	$\frac{1}{2}$ year	32 + 60	42 + 80
St. Laud	20 Feb 1363	$\frac{1}{2}$ year	6 + 20	6 + 20
Ashton	20 Feb 1363	$\frac{1}{2}$ year	6 + 20	6 + 20
Windsor	8 Nov 1363	1 year	120 + 200	120 + 200
Lionel	? 1364	?	60 + 100	?

* The numbers refer to men at arms and mounted archers respectively.

APPENDIX IV: COUNTY LEVIES IN 1361 and 1362

The following tables are based on Walter of Dalby's book of particulars (E.101/28/21) and on the three retinue rolls which cover this period (E.101/28/12, 15, 18).

(a) 1361

All archers were to be mounted.

<u>County</u>	<u>Specified Number</u>	<u>Actual Number</u>
Lancashire and Cheshire	380	360
Leicestershire	40	40
Worcestershire	40	40
Staffordshire	60	24
Shropshire	60	6
Derbyshire	40	-
Warwickshire	30	-
Gloucestershire	60	-
Herefordshire	<u>60</u>	<u>-</u>
	<u>770</u>	<u>470</u>

(b) Summer 1362

Both mounted and foot archers were involved.

<u>County or lordship</u>	<u>Specified number</u>	<u>Actual number</u>
Shropshire	20 m. + 20 f.	14 m.
Derbyshire	20 m. + 20 f.	18 m. + 13 f.
Leicestershire	20 m. + 20 f.	? ¹
Warwickshire	20 m. + 20 f.	? ¹
Lancashire	60 f.	- ²
Gloucestershire	60 f.	46 f.
Nottinghamshire	20 m.	15 m.
Staffordshire	20 f.	17 f.
Usk and Caerleon	60 f.	20 f.
Newport	30 f.	26 f.
Glamorgan	80 f.	22 f.
Gower	40 f.	23 f.
Brecknock	80 f.	50 f.
Strigoil	30 f.	-
Abergavenny	80 f.	-
	<u>100 m. + 620 f.</u>	<u>47 m. + 217 f.</u>

¹The Leicestershire and Warwickshire archers do not seem to have come to Ireland, although they were arrayed and got as far as Liverpool where they reached the specified numbers (E.101/590/21).

²55 mounted archers arrived on 21 October; it is not clear whether this was as a result of the commission of array issued during the summer.

APPENDIX V: THE SIZE OF THE ARMY, 1361-4

This table shows the maximum number of men serving in the army in each month, and is based on the particulars of the accounts of Walter of Dalby (E.101/28/21) and Ralph Ferrers (E.101/28/20) and on the three retinue rolls covering this period (E.101/28/13, 15, 18). Gaelic and Anglo-Irish forces have been omitted. The figures for the period after January 1364 are not available, due to a lack of detailed information of this kind for the retinues of Windsor (January 1364 - February 1365) and Lionel himself (December 1364 - November 1366). Of the men who were serving in Ireland in January 1364, 30 Lancashire archers left with Lionel at the end of April 1364, and the retinue which he left behind on his departure declined in number from 45 men at arms and 69 archers to 36 men at arms and 54 archers by July. It remained around this level until the end of January 1365 when it seems to have been disbanded and possibly incorporated into the force which Lionel brought back with him at the end of 1364. Ralph Ferrers and his retinue of 20 men at arms and 20 archers left Ireland on 14 May 1364.

<u>1361</u>	<u>men at arms</u>	<u>mounted archers</u>
August	197	310
September	194	657
October	191	648
November	187	585
December	184	568
 <u>1362</u>		
January	183	515
February	163	446
March	152	442
April	147	423
May	141	438
June	201	454
July	174	397
August	175	261 + 217 foot
September	182	190
October	181	266
November	147	226
December	146	226

1363

January	149	230
February	149	226
March	190	282
April	202	319
May	202	296
June	203	297
July	201	297
August	143	236
September	140	237
October	102	160
November	90	120
December	90	120

1364

January	210	320
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APPENDIX VI: THE HOUSEHOLD ELEMENT IN LIONEL'S RETINUE, 1361-4

The list which follows includes both regular members of Lionel's household and men who seem to have been his permanent retainers. It has been compiled from a number of sources:

- (1) the two surviving accounts of Lionel's household which cover the periods March - August 1361 (E.101/94/4) and September 1366 - September 1367 (S.C.6/1111/11). There are no surviving household accounts for the period of his stay in Ireland.
- (2) Lionel's will, made in 1368, which names twelve legatees (Nichols Royal Wills pp. 88-90).
- (3) the lists of men who accompanied him to Lombardy in 1368 (Rymer, Foedera iii pt. 2 p. 842; Cal. Patent Rolls 1367-70, pp. 41, 45).
- (4) references scattered throughout the records of the English chancery and Irish and English exchequers.
- (5) English chancery enrolments of protections granted to persons accompanying Lionel to Ireland in 1364. (Cal. Patent Rolls, 1361-4, 1364-7, passim).
- (6) references to persons known to have been members of the household of Elizabeth de Clare, Lionel's wife's grandmother (C. Musgrave, 'Household administration in the fourteenth century with special reference to the household of Elizabeth de Burgh, lady of Clare' (London University M.A. thesis, 1923)).
- (7) Lionel's retinue roll for the years 1361-4 (E.101/28/18).
- (8) references to persons appointed to benefices in Lionel's gift (Registrum Simonis Langham Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi ed. A. C. Wood, 1956).

In some cases, the precise function of the person in Lionel's household is known. For the others, it has been assumed that when a man's name occurs on the 1361-4 retinue roll and in one of the other sources, he was either a member of the household or a retainer. In all but three of the cases, (John Bray, John Dauntseye and John Wynkelot), the persons listed served as men at arms. Where dates are given, they refer to times when the official is known to have acted in that capacity; they do not represent the limits of his term of office.

Richard Archibald	
Thomas Asteley	
Walter de Baa	
Thomas de Baddeby	treasurer of household (1 August 1361 - 21 March 1363).
Robert Bardolf	
Thomas Bache	treasurer of household (26 July 1364 - 23 January 1365).
Ralph Beltisford	treasurer of household
Roger Berde	
Thomas de Blackburn	
John de Bolton	valet (18 May 1362)
John Bray	
John Bristowe	cook
Simon Brokebury	
John de Bury	
John de Capella	chaplain
Thomas Charman	
John Comyn	
John de Cornwall	wardrober (August 1361)
Thomas de la Dale	supervisor of household (14 August 1361 - 11 November 1362); chamberlain (15 September 1363)
Nicholas Dammory	
John Dauntsey	
Henry Engleys	receiver of the manor of Clare
Henry Ferrour	
Simon Ferrour	
Thomas Fote	
Thomas Greyndor	
Roger Hakenshawe	
William Halghton	valet of chamber
John Haukyn	
John de Hynton	
Henry King	valet of chamber (18 May 1362)
John Lardener	
Roger Marshal	
John Masshoc	minstrel
Edmund Moene	
Thomas Mountjoye	
John Neuburne	
Richard de Newenham	
Giles de Pagham	esquire
John de Pembroke	treasurer of household (21 March 1363 - 24 April 1364)
Philip de Popham	seneschal of household (30 June 1363)
John Power	treasurer of household
John Pullesdon	
Bartholomew Pygot	
John Pytman	armourer
Andrew del Saucerie	
William Sharesull	
Walter Somery	valet of chamber (November 1361)
Gilbert Thornton	
Richard Vynegre	
John Vyrly	valet of chamber
John atte Vyse	valet of chamber
Thomas Waleys	
John Wynkelot	messenger

APPENDIX VII: WILLIAM OF WINDSOR'S ACCOUNT

AT THE ENGLISH EXCHEQUER

On 26 April 1365 the treasurer and barons of the English exchequer were ordered to account with William of Windsor for all things mentioned in his indenture of retinue and give him due allowance, and another writ dated 26 May ordered them to make deductions for absences at the usual rate of payment, three kerns being reckoned as equivalent to one mounted archer.¹ This was evidently due to some confusion in the exchequer concerning the payment of these kerns, whom Windsor had retained in place of some of his mounted archers. On 13 June the valuation of Windsor's horses was sent to the exchequer,² and on 25 June he appeared there in person and took the oath. John of Appleton was appointed to audit his account and Windsor delivered his copy of the original indenture and the particulars of his receipts and expenses.³ The latter included expenses incurred before his arrival in Ireland, payment of wages and regards to his men, compensation for horses, repassage for the seventy archers sent back to England at the end of the first quarter and for the remainder of the retinue in February and March 1365, repairs to the ships and wages for the retinue for the thirty days spent waiting for their repassage, amounting in all to £7983/7/6. In addition he furnished details of the repassage costs and a list of horses for which he was claiming compensation.⁴ There is

1. Cal. Close Rolls 1364-8, pp. 108-11.

2. P.R.O.L., E.159/141, Trinity Brevia directa baronibus m. 9d.

3. P.R.O.L., E.368/137, Trinity Recorda m. 10.

4. P.R.O.L., E.101/29/11 (particulars of the account of William of Windsor 1364-5).

no mention at this stage of retinue rolls which seem to have been sent over the following year by Lionel. A view was taken and he was found to have a surplus of £650/-/10.⁵ The normal procedure at this point would have been for the writs and supporting documentation to be examined and the various sums claimed by Windsor allowed or disallowed. However this was not done. The account was referred to the council which came to the conclusion that it would be to the king's disadvantage if Windsor's account were audited as it might result in the king being obliged to pay him a large sum in addition to the sums he had already received. The council therefore asked Windsor if he would agree to accept 500 marks, be excused from accounting any further and not claim any more money. Windsor agreed to this arrangement, giving as his reason

ne compotus predictus dirogetur propter
discussionem diversarum difficultatum in
particulis pro quibus discussionibus ipsum
trahere moram oportebat, circa quam moram
et discussionem particularum apponere deberet
diversas misas et expensas quod evitare voluit
in quantum potuit...

The council consulted the treasurer and barons who also agreed to the settlement because it involved the payment of a smaller sum,⁶ and on 12 November 1365 Windsor received the 500 marks in the form of assignments on nine different sources of revenue in seven different counties.⁷ The account was enrolled on the pipe roll where Windsor was described as quit,⁸ and to all appearances that was the end of Windsor's account.

5. E.368/137 Trinity Recorda m. 10.

6. Ibid.

7. P.R.O.L., E.403/425 m. 15; E.401/483.

8. P.R.O.L., E.372/209 m. 36.

It is difficult to see the reason behind this departure from normal exchequer practice. The surplus found by the view was not enormous, and at any rate it was predictable that it would be reduced as a result of the examination of the particulars. Although Windsor was technically the loser by this arrangement, he may have welcomed the offer of 500 marks if he suspected that the examination of his particulars would whittle away the surplus. Reference was made to certain difficulties relating to the particulars; these may have been in connection with the employment of the kerns, but the scrutinising of the particulars later on does not seem to have presented any insuperable difficulties. The initiative in arriving at the compromise with Windsor clearly came from the council, not the exchequer, and it is possible that it had its roots in the internal politics of the council, about which very little is known for this period. An alternative explanation is the general concern, as shown in the parliament of January 1365, about the fact that the revenues of England in peacetime were not sufficient to cover even the normal expenses of the administration, which may have caused the council to panic at the thought of vast sums of money having to be paid to Windsor.⁹

However this was not the end of Windsor's account. Shortly after the compromise had been arrived at, the council was informed by certain nameless exchequer officials that if Windsor were compelled to account it would be found that the king owed him nothing but that he was in arrears. The council decided that notwithstanding the agreement, Windsor was to account, ad videndum si predictus rumor contineat veritatem et ad auserendum ambiguitatem in hac parte. Windsor's

9. Rot. Parl. ii, p. 285. The general financial problem is discussed by G. L. Harriss, King, Parliament and Public Finance in Medieval England to 1369, pp. 466-508.

attorneys appeared and took the oath and new auditors were appointed.¹⁰ The importance which the whole affair had acquired is shown by the fact that these auditors were the three barons of the exchequer and two foreign auditors. All the particulars and evidence were handed over to them, a writ was issued ordering them to account with Windsor for the wages of kerns retained in Ireland¹¹ and Windsor's indenture with the Irish council relating to the employment of these kerns, was produced and enrolled.¹² The auditors then proceeded to examine Windsor's particulars and ended by finding that Windsor owed the £194/1/-½, not taking into account the 500 marks which he had received in November 1365. The total of sums disallowed was £844/1/10½ and in many cases they were disallowed correctly. Any horses not included in the original roll could not be paid for; the repassage costs were limited to 4/- and 3/4 per horse, whereas Windsor had claimed 5/-, and items like repairs to ships were included in this fixed rate; any expenses incurred while waiting for repassage at the end of the period of service were not allowed; instead of the £6720 which he claimed for wages, he was allowed only £6236/1/7½ because of absences and because the retinue served for fourteen days less than the full year.¹³ Windsor petitioned the king about the disallowing of these items and the matter was again referred to the council, which was ordered to examine the particulars and hear the reasons for not allowing the sums in question, et sur ce faire au dit William en ce cas par voie de trettee ou autrement ce qe reson et bon foy demandent.¹⁴

11. E.159/142 Michaelmas Brevia directa baronibus, m. 20d.

12. Ibid., Michaelmas Recorda m. 10d.

13. E.101/29/11

14. E.159/142 Hilary Brevia directa baronibus m. 2d.

The council then agreed with Windsor that he should be allowed the 500 marks which he had already received parensi qil nous release autrement tout ce qil nous purra autrement demander outre les dites cynk centz marcs a cause du viage susdit.¹⁵ This evidently led to a further examination of the particulars in the exchequer, in the course of which Windsor was allowed £234 for the expenses of his retinue in waiting for their repassage and £40 compensation for two horses which had not been valued at Liverpool because their owners were occupied elsewhere in assembling Windsor's retinue, sums which had previously been disallowed.¹⁶ In addition, the whole question of wages and regards for the retinue was reopened. One side of the problem was solved by the issue of a writ of allocate on 16 June 1366 stating that it had been decided by the council that Windsor was to be paid for the whole year, notwithstanding the fact that he had in fact been ordered to terminate his service fourteen days before the year was up.¹⁷ It also ordered that he was to be allowed for whatever kerns he had retained in accordance with the indenture made with the Irish council, a previous writ to this effect having been set aside as, in the opinion of the chancellor and William of Wykeham, male concipitur et contra regem expresse.¹⁸ However another problem arose in the matter of interpreting the retinue rolls which Lionel had sent from Ireland. One membrane headed 'kernes' had in the margin adhuc vacarunt omnes infrascripti, then followed several untitled membranes. The auditors took this to mean that all the men named on these membranes were absent

15. Ibid.

16. E.101/29/11

17. E.159/142 Trinity Brevia directa baronibus m. 3.

18. E.101/29/11

too, and decided to disallow their wages. Windsor protested to the council that the marginal note only referred to one membrane. Windsor's copy of the retinue roll does not appear to have been produced for comparison, possibly because it was lost, but instead, Walter of Dalby, who had been present at the muster, was summoned to the exchequer and examined as the meaning of the heading. He said that it referred only to one membrane and that all the men listed on the other membranes had been present.¹⁹ This resulted in Windsor's being allowed £6562/5/2 of the £6720 for wages and regards.²⁰ At the end of the audit it was revealed that Windsor had a surplus of £72/15/10, and the council decided that he should not receive this because of the agreement he had previously made with the council.²¹

19. E.159/142 Trinity Recorda m. 25

20. E.372/212 m. 36d.

21. E.368/137 Trinity Recorda m. 10d.

APPENDIX VIII: SHIPPING AT LIVERPOOL FOR LIONEL'S ARMY, 1361

Details are from Dalby's book of particulars (E.101/28/21 ff. 11-12). The two sets of figures under the heading 'crew' are for men and boys respectively.

<u>ship</u>	<u>port of origin</u>	<u>master</u>	<u>crew</u>
<u>1 AUGUST - 19 SEPTEMBER</u>			
Petre	Liverpool	Stephen Warde	10 + 1
Gracedieu	"	John Avant	9 + 1
Nicholas	"	Adam Baroun	9 + 1
La Cogge	"	Wm. Rogerson	8 + 1
Magdeleine	"	Robert Tyr'	8 + 1
Michell	"	Stephen Hert'	8 + 1
Nicholas	"	Adam Edeson	8 + 1
Isabelle	"	Thomas Belle	5 + 1
Mariole	Chester	John de Hull	8 + 1
Seintemaribote	"	Henry Cartere	8 + 1
Katerine	"	John Bonyfant	7 + 1
Mariole	"	Richard Wylaston	7 + 1
Margarete	"	William Bullock	6 + 1
Trinite	Dublin	Richard Stroke	8 + 1
Trinite	"	William Fox	5 + 1
Seintemaribote	Aldeker	John Horneby	8 + 1
La Bote	Caernarvon	Wm. de Walley	4 + 1
Mariole	Conway	John Horneby	8 + 1
Seintemaribote	New Ross	John Whyte	10 + 1
Blithe	Seacombe	Wm. Robynson	5 + 1

10 AUGUST - 19 SEPTEMBER

Agneis	Liverpool	Thomas de Secombe	8 + 1
Katerine	"	William Petot	7 + 1
Blythe	"	Wm. de Sheston	6 + 1
Lethenard	"	Adam Bykeford	5 + 1
Trinite	Chester	Henry Dandeson	9 + 1
Cathell	"	Henry Maionson	7 + 1
Coggenustard	"	Wm. de Lythe	3 + 1
Katerine	Drogheda	John Donne	9 + 1
Trinite	"	John Coupland	6 + 1
Trinite	"	John Frenssh	6 + 1
Laurence	Lancaster	Roger de Shyngleton	4 + 1
Gracedieux	Poole	William Pull	7 + 1
Coggejohn	Tenby	Wm. Rouland	12 + 2
Nicholas	-	William King	6 + 1
Kygelpaigner	-	Adam Mayenson	6 + 1

6 - 19 SEPTEMBER

Seintemaribote	Howth	John Broun	9 + 1
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APPENDIX IX: VALUATION OF HORSES FOR WINDSOR'S RETINUE, 1364

Appreciatio equorum domini Willelmi de Wyndesore militis missi per dominum Regem et eius consilium versus partes Hibernie et aliorum hominum ad arma in comitiva eiusdem Willelmi existencium facta apud Lytherpoll per Walterum de Dalby clericum ad huiusmodi apreciacionem faciendam per ordinacionem eiusdem consilii domini Regis supradicti specialiter deputatum videlicet primo die Februarii anno regni Regis Edwardi tercii tricesimo octavo /1 February 1364/.

- In primis pro domino Willelmo de Wyndesore milite unus cursarius niger cum albo pede posteriori sinistro stellatus in fronte - precii xx marc'
- Item pro Johanne de York scutifero unus equus niger crematus super humero dextro anteriori - precii xii li.
- Item pro Willelmo de Preston unus equus vocatus Bayardus de Navern' - precii ix marc'
- Item pro Roberto de Thorp unus cursarius niger cum auribus et naribus cisis - precii xii li.
- Item pro Johanne Haket unus equus sorus bausan cum naribus cisis - precii xiii li.
- Item pro Johanne Fytton unus curarius griseus niger pomellatus cum naribus cisis - precii x li.
- Item pro Johanne Hugh' unus equus bayardus niger cum auribus cisis - precii viii marc'
- Item pro Thome Aughtenthweit unus equus griseus bayardus - precii viii marc'
- Item pro domino Johanne de Lamplogh milite unus equus griseus non appreciatus
- Item pro Willelmo de Warthole unus equus niger - precii c s.
- Item pro Willelmo de Lamplogh unus equus bayardus - precii c s.
- Item pro Thoma de Irby unus equus griseus albus pomellatus - precii viii li.
- Item pro Henrico de Thorp unus cursarius griseus albus pomellatus et crematus super humero dextro anterior' cum signo prioris de Gisburgh - precii viii li.
- Item pro domino Rogero Darcy unus cursarius baiardus stellatus in fronte et crematus una cruce super humero dextro anteriori - precii vi li.
- Item pro Johanne de Everingham unus equus griseus albus in facie - precii viii marc'

Item pro Johanne de Hastings unus equus bayardus crematus una cruce
super humero dextro anteriori - precii c s.

Item pro domino Nicholao de Goushull milite unus equus ferraunt cum
cauda nigra - precii x marc'

Item pro Ricardo Laundemot unus equus bayardus niger - precii c s.

Item pro Willelmo de Stokes unus equus grisius pomellatus cum albo
[...]/ capite - precii c s.

Item pro Edmundo del Lyt unus equus bayardus - precii viii marc'

Item pro domino Johanne de Scures unus cursarius grisius - precii viii
li. xiii s. iiii d.

Item pro Henrico de Popham unus cursarius bayardus niger - precii x
marc'

Item pro Simone atte Mede unus cursarius grisius crematus super humero
anteriori dextro - precii vi li.

Item pro Willelmo de Karnaby unus equus niger - precii c s.

Item pro Egidio de Browes unus cursarius bayardus - [precii] viii marc'

Item pro Nicholao de Londham unus equus grisius crematus super humero
anteriori dextro - precii c s.

Item pro Willelmo Sparowe unus equus grisius pomellatus vocatus Waldeneye -
precii c s.

Item pro Johanne de Bodynton unus equus albus grisius pomellatus - precii
c s.

Item pro Nicholao Drewery unus equus niger crematus una croce super
humero anteriori dextro - precii viii li.

Item pro Willelmo del Broke unus equus grisius albus pomellatus - precii
c s.

Item pro Willelmo Peytevyn unus equus sorus - precii c s.

Item pro Ricardo de Egbaston unus equus sorus crematus super humero
anteriori sinistro - precii viii li.

Item pro Johanne Corpson unus equus niger - precii nichil

Item pro Nicholao Lomer unus equus bayardus - precii c s.

Item pro domino Johanne de Sufford milite [?] unus equus [?] cum longa et
nigra mana et cum cauda nigra - precii c s.

Item pro Roberto de Thisteldon unus equus grisius pomellatus - precii c s.

Item pro Willelmo de Netton unus equus grisius albus pomellatus - precii c s.

Item pro Johanne Folevyll unus equus niger bausan - precii c s.

Item pro Radulpho de Poleye milite unus equus grisius pomellatus -
precii x marc'

Item pro Thoma de Glemmesford unus cursarius grisius pomellatus -
precii ix li.

Item pro Willelmo de Neuton unus equus grisius - precii c s.

Item pro Johanne Fymyn unus equus rubeus - precii c s.

Item pro Hamone Vernoun unus equus albus grisius crematus super humero
dextro anteriori - precii c s.

Item pro Ricardo Cavendyssch cursarius bayardus rubeus crematus super
humero sinistro anteriori - precii xviii marc'

Item pro Willelmo Phynephete unus cursarius grisius niger pomellatus
crematus super humero sinistro anteriori cum armis domini
Radulphi Nevyl - precii xvi marc'

Item pro Willelmo Farwell unus equus sorellus rubeus calvus in facie cum
duobus pedibus posterioribus albis - precii x marc'

Item pro Galfrido de Denham unus equus grisius albus - precii c s.

(E.101/29/5)

APPENDIX X: ITINERARY OF LIONEL OF CLARENCE AND JAMES,

EARL OF ORMOND, 1361-6

The following is intended to give a rough guide to Lionel's movements in Ireland and those of his deputy, the earl of Ormond. As much of the evidence comes from the testing clauses of letters under the Irish great seal, it does not give a precise indication of the lieutenant's whereabouts, but only of the location of the chancery. It can be assumed that when the chancery was stationed outside Dublin, the lieutenant was somewhere in that locality; however, the testing of a letter at Dublin cannot be taken as proof of the lieutenant's presence in the city, as the chancery might remain there during a campaign in Leinster. An asterisk denotes more reliable evidence of the lieutenant's movements derived from other sources - letters under Lionel's privy seal and signet, records of pleas held before the lieutenant or his deputy, evidence of parliaments held by them, and incidental mentions of their military activities.

1361

(Lionel of Clarence)

*15	September	Dublin (arrival)	<u>Chart. St Mary's</u> , ii, pp. 395-6
22	September	Dublin	RC 8/28 p. 21
28	September	Wicklow	<u>Ibid.</u> , p. 22
30	September	Dublin	<u>Ibid.</u> , pp. 20-21
13	October	Wicklow	<u>Ibid.</u> , pp. 10-11
*21	October	Wicklow	E.101/28/21 f. 9
30	October	Dublin	RC 8/28 p. 54
3	November	Dublin	<u>Ibid.</u> , p. 41
4	November	Dublin	RC 8/32 p. 540
28	November	Dublin	RC 8/28 p. 54
30	November	Dublin	<u>Ibid.</u> , p. 43
1	December	Dublin	<u>Cal. Patent Rolls</u> , 1364-7 p. 250
18	December	Swords	RC 8/28 pp. 62-3
22	December	Dublin	<u>Ibid.</u> , pp. 47-8
*25	December	Dublin	<u>Ibid.</u> , pp. 343-4

1362

3	January	Dublin	RC 8/28 p. 53
* 7	January	Dublin	<u>Ibid.</u> , p. 473
*15	January	Dublin	E.368/140, Easter Status et visus, m. 9
16	January	Dublin	RC 8/28 pp. 57-8
17	January	Dublin	<u>Ibid.</u> , pp. 55-6
*20	January	Trim	M.2750 p. 66
7	February	Drogheda	RC 8/28 p. 64
* 9	February	Trim	M.2750 p. 66
*11	February	Trim	<u>Ibid.</u>
20	February	Dublin	RC 8/28 p. 65
22	February	Dublin	<u>Ibid.</u> , p. 89
8	March	Dublin	<u>Ibid.</u> , p. 129
13	April	Dublin	<u>Ibid.</u> , p. 139-42
*17	April	Dublin	<u>Ibid.</u> , pp. 343-4
6	May	New Ross	<u>Ibid.</u> , p. 122-3
16	May	Dublin	E.101/28/27 m. 1
10	June	Dublin	<u>23rd DKR</u> , p. 116
1	July	Dublin	RC 8/28 pp. 341-2
9	July	Dublin	<u>Ibid.</u> , p. 160
15	July	Dublin	<u>Ibid.</u> , pp. 148-50
* 1	August	Trim	E.101/28/21 f. 10
*19	August	Croghan	RC 8/29 p. 137
*27	August	parts of Offaly	E.101/28/21 f. 10
*11	September	Trim	E.101/28/21 f. 9 ^v
*30	September	Kineleagh ¹	RC 8/28 pp. 394-5
3	October	Dublin	<u>Cal. Ormond Deeds</u> , ii p. 76
4	October	Dublin	RC 8/28 pp. 178-9
17	October	Dublin	<u>Ibid.</u> , pp. 210-11
29	October	Dublin	<u>Ibid.</u> , pp. 196-7
3	November	Dublin	<u>Ibid.</u> , p. 353-5

1. The territory of the MacGeoghegans, barony of Moycashel, Co. Westmeath.

1363

25	January	Dublin	RC 8/28 pp. 350-51
22	February	Dublin	<u>Ibid.</u> , pp. 229-30
4	March	Dublin	E.101/28/27 m. 1
14	March	Dublin	RC 8/28 pp. 261-3
28	March	Dublin	<u>Ibid.</u> , pp. 259-60
12	April	Dublin	<u>Ibid.</u> , pp. 263-4
*10	May	Dublin	<u>Ibid.</u> , p. 285
6	June	Dublin	<u>Ibid.</u> , p. 276
8	June	Dublin	<u>Ibid.</u> , pp. 275-6
15	June	Dublin	<u>Cal. Gormanston Reg.</u> , p. 123
11	July	Dublin	RC 8/28 pp. 396-7
16	July	Dublin	<u>Ibid.</u> , pp. 279-81
23	July	Dublin	<u>Ibid.</u> , pp. 615-19
20	August	Kilderalbyn ² in Offaly	E.368/140, Easter Status et Visus, m. 9.
*13	October	Dublin	M.2750 p. 66
16	October	Dublin	RC 8/28 pp. 329-32
28	October	Dublin	N.L.I., MS 192 p. 131
29	October	Dublin	<u>Cal. Gormanston Reg.</u> , p. 21
20	November	Dublin	RC 8/28 pp. 325-7
1	December	Dublin	<u>Ibid.</u> , pp. 313-14
*14	December	Trim	RC8/31 pp. 79-80
16	December	Dublin	RC 8/28 pp. 360-61

1364

16	January	Dublin	RC 8/28 pp. 357-9
24	January	Dublin	<u>Ibid.</u> , pp. 366-71

3	February	Dublin	<u>Ibid.</u> , p. 334
4	February	Dublin	<u>Cal. Gormanston Reg.</u> , p. 24
12	February	Dublin	RC 8/28 pp. 321-3
20	February	Dublin	<u>Ibid.</u> , pp. 385-6
* 6	March	Dublin	<u>Ibid.</u> , pp. 343-4
9	March	Dublin	<u>Ibid.</u> , pp. 346-50
24	March	Dublin	<u>Ibid.</u> , pp. 397-8
8	April	Dublin	<u>Ibid.</u> , pp. 394-5
12	April	Dublin	<u>Cal. Gormanston Reg.</u> , pp. 124-5
19	April	Dublin	RC 8/28 pp. 377-9
20	April	Dublin	<u>Ibid.</u> , p. 425
22	April	Dublin	<u>Ibid.</u> , pp. 401-2
*23	April	departure	E.101/28/18

(James Butler, earl of Ormond, custos)

24	April	Dublin	RC 8/28 p. 397
*26	April	Dublin	M.2750 p. 66
* 1	May	Castledermot	E.159/142 Mich.Recorda m.10d.
23	May	Dublin	RC 8/28 p. 415
24	May	Dublin	<u>Ibid.</u> , p. 423
*31	May	Castledermot	M.2750 p. 66
* 3	June	Castledermot	<u>Ibid.</u>
*12	June	Castledermot	<u>Ibid.</u>
*25	June	Ross	<u>Ibid.</u>
* 1	July	Kilkenny	RC 8/28 p. 435
* 3	July	Kilkenny	M.2750 p. 66
* 6	July	Kilkenny	E.368/140 Easter Recorda m. 4d.
* 9	July	Ross	M.2750 p. 66
12	July	Ross	<u>Chartae</u> , p. 64
20	July	Waterford	RC 8/28 p. 613
*23	July	Waterford	M. 2750 p. 66
*24	July	Waterford	<u>Ibid.</u>
*25	July	Waterford	<u>Ibid.</u>
*27	July	Waterford	<u>Ibid.</u>
10	September	Tullow	RC 8/28 p. 452
18	September	Tullow	<u>Ibid.</u> , p. 614
5	October	Tullow	<u>Ibid.</u> , pp. 467-8, 500
6	October	Carlow	<u>Ibid.</u> , p. 487
*21	October	Castledermot	M.2750 p. 66
23	October	Gortry	RC 8/28 p. 494

3. This appears from the geographical context to be Gortroe, in the manor of Oughterard, Co. Kildare. (I am grateful to Dr. C. A. Empey for help in identifying this placename).

* 4	November	Castledermot	M.2570 p.66
8	November	Carlow	RC 8/28 pp. 532-5
*25	November	Naas	M.2750 p. 67
*26	November	Naas	<u>Ibid.</u>
* 5	December	Trim	<u>Ibid.</u> , p. 66
* 9	December	Trim	<u>Ibid.</u>

1365

*20	January	Naas	<u>Ibid.</u>
*24	January	Naas	<u>Ibid.</u> , p. 67
*28	January	Naas	<u>Ibid.</u>

(Lionel of Clarence)

8	February	Dublin	RC 8/28 pp. 561-2
4	April	Cork	<u>Ibid.</u> , p. 600
24	April	Cork	<u>Cal. Ormond Deeds</u> , ii, p. 90
10	May	Cork	<u>Ibid.</u> , p. 91
11	May	Cork	Rawlinson B.502 f. 92 ^v
12	May	Cork	<u>Ibid.</u>
*23	May	Cork	RC 8/28 pp. 686-9
20	June	Cork	RC 8/29 pp. 14-16
13	August	Dublin	<u>Ibid.</u> , pp. 40-41
20	August	Kilmallock	<u>Ibid.</u> , p. 282
26	August	Dublin	<u>Ibid.</u> , pp. 42-3
12	September	Dublin	<u>Ibid.</u> , pp. 229-30
16	September	Dublin	<u>Ibid.</u> , pp. 222-3
4	October	Carlow	<u>Ibid.</u> , pp. 19-20
10	October	Castledermot	<u>Ibid.</u> , pp. 101-2
28	October	Trim	<u>Ibid.</u> , pp. 241-3
* 3	November	Trim	M.2750 p. 67
26	November	Mullingar	RC 8/29 pp. 72-3
* 1	December	Drogheda	RC 8/30 p. 88
8	December	Drogheda	RC 8/29 pp. 33-6

1366

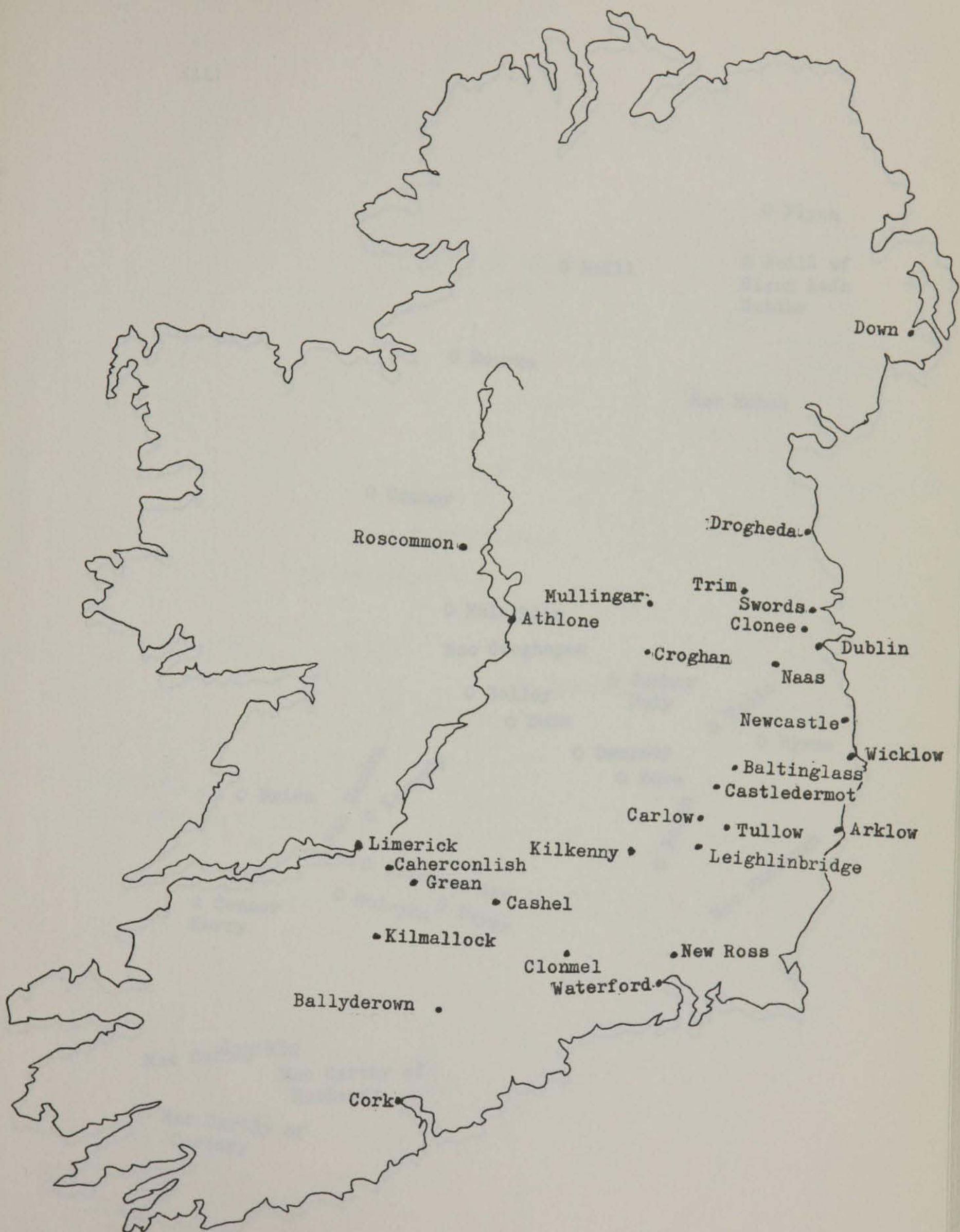
1	January	Dublin	<u>Parliaments and Councils</u> , p. 22
8	January	Dublin	RC 8/29 pp. 82-4

10	January	Dublin	<u>Ibid.</u> , p. 84
12	January	Dublin	<u>Ibid.</u> , p. 66
13	January	Dublin	<u>Ibid.</u> , pp. 67-8
15	January	Dublin	<u>Ibid.</u> , p. 177
*12	February	Naas	C.47/10/22/17
*19	February	Kilkenny	<u>Parliaments and Councils</u> , p. 22
26	February	Kilkenny	RC 8/29 p. 74
1	March	Kilkenny	<u>Ibid.</u> , pp. 68-9
2	March	Kilkenny	<u>Ibid.</u> , pp. 70-71
3	March	Kilkenny	<u>Ibid.</u> , pp. 141-2
16	April	Clonmel	<u>Ibid.</u> , pp. 202-3
20	April	Clonmel	<u>Ibid.</u> , pp. 173-4
22	April	Clonmel	<u>Ibid.</u> , pp. 694-5
*13	May	Down	T.C.D. MS 557/1 pp. 44-5
20	May	Kilmallock	RC 8/29 pp. 699-700
* 7	June	Kilmallock	M.2750 p. 71
3	July	New Ross	RC 8/29 pp. 297-8
10	July	New Ross	<u>Ibid.</u> , pp. 240-41
*23	July	Trim	M.2750 p. 67
6	August	Kilkenny	<u>Cal. Gormanston Reg.</u> , p. 58
*19	September	Kilkenny	C.47/10/22/18
20	September	Kilkenny	RC 8/29 pp. 709, 718
22	September	Kilkenny	T.C.D., MS 557/1 pp. 35-6
3	October	Kilkenny	<u>Cal. Alen's Reg.</u> , p. 216
20	October	Castledermot	<u>Ibid.</u>
*26	October	Dublin	M.2750 p. 67
28	October	Dublin	<u>Cal. Patent Rolls, 1371-4</u> , pp. 151-2.
* 4	November	Trim	M.2750 p. 67
* 5	November	Trim	<u>Ibid.</u>
* 7	November	Dublin (departure)	RC 8/29 p. 297

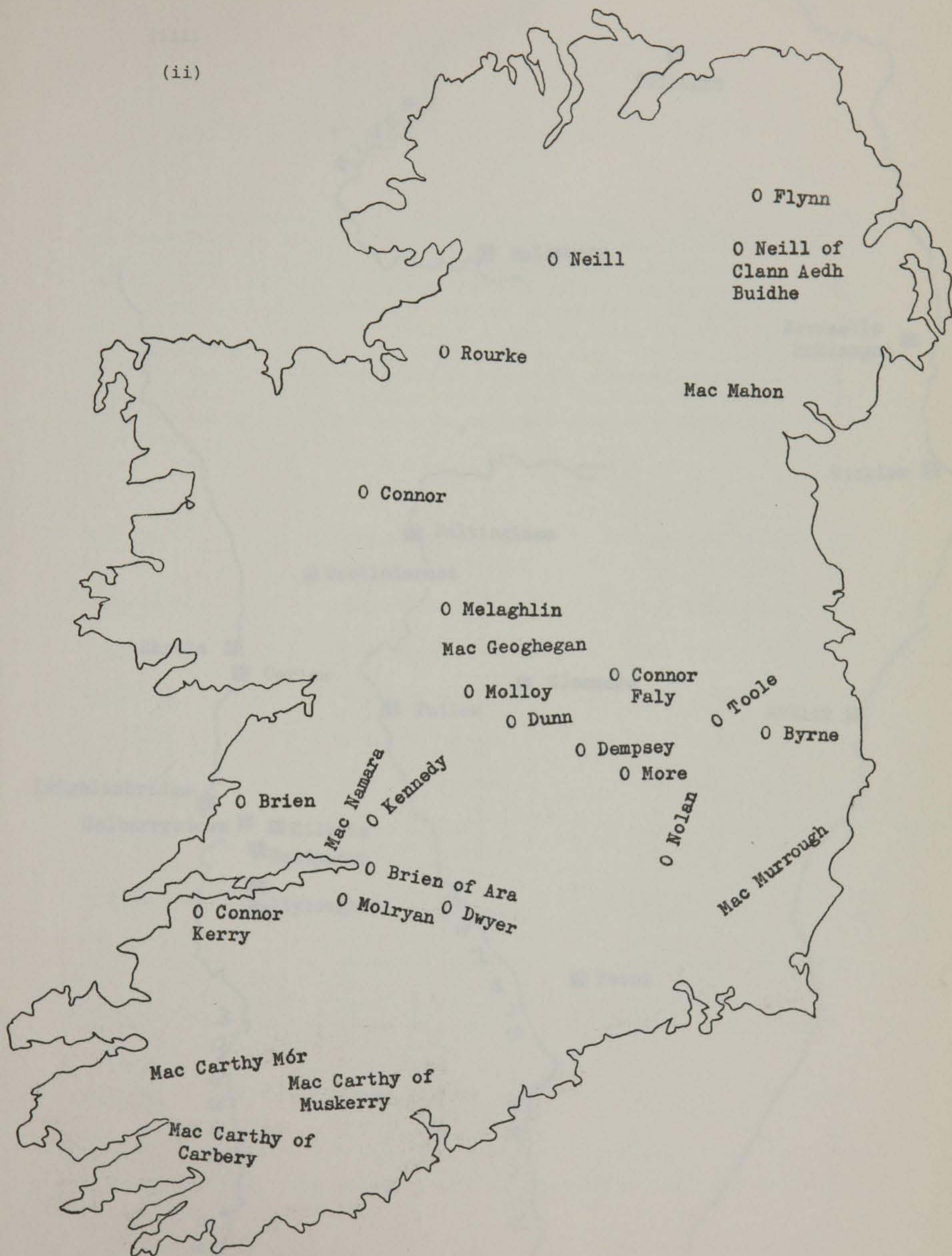
APPENDIX XI: MAPS

- (i) Places mentioned in the text
- (ii) Location of Gaelic Irish chiefs
- (iii) Castles and Wards in Leinster 1361-6

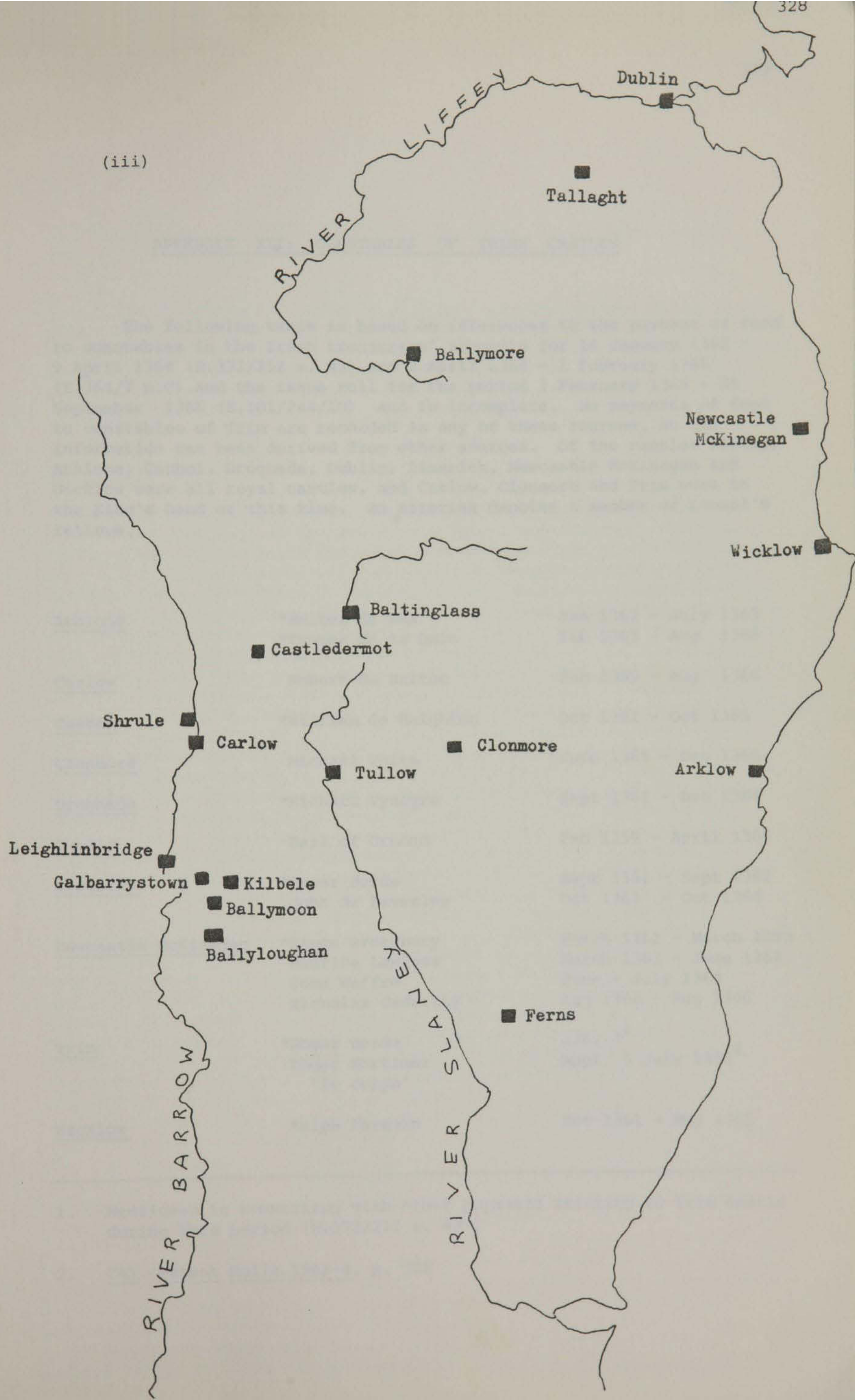
(i)



(ii)



(iii)



APPENDIX XII: CONSTABLES OF IRISH CASTLES

The following table is based on references to the payment of fees to constables in the Irish treasurers' accounts for 14 January 1362 - 9 April 1364 (E.372/212 m. 43) and 9 April 1364 - 1 February 1365 (E.364/7 m.C) and the issue roll for the period 1 February 1365 - 25 September 1366 (E.101/244/10) and is incomplete. No payments of fees to constables of Trim are recorded in any of these sources, so the information has been derived from other sources. Of the castles listed, Athlone, Cashel, Drogheda, Dublin, Limerick, Newcastle McKinegan and Wicklow were all royal castles, and Carlow, Clonmore and Trim were in the King's hand at this time. An asterisk denotes a member of Lionel's retinue.

<u>Athlone</u>	*Walter de Baa *Thomas de la Dale	Jan 1362 - July 1363 Feb 1365 - Aug 1366
<u>Carlow</u>	Robert de Halton	Feb 1365 - Aug 1366
<u>Cashel</u>	*William de Halghton	Oct 1361 - Oct 1365
<u>Clonmore</u>	Michael White	June 1365 - Dec 1366
<u>Drogheda</u>	*Richard Vynegre	Sept 1361 - Dec 1364
<u>Dublin</u>	Earl of Ormond	Feb 1359 - April 1365
<u>Limerick</u>	*Roger Berde John de Beverley	Sept 1361 - Sept 1362 Oct 1363 - Oct 1364
<u>Newcastle McKinegan</u>	*Simon Brokebury Maurice Lawless John Waffre Nicholas Cadwelly	March 1362 - March 1363 March 1363 - June 1364 June - July 1364 Aug 1364 - Aug 1366
<u>Trim</u>	*Roger Berde Roger Mortimer 'le cosyn'	1361-3 ¹ Appt. 5 July 1363 ²
<u>Wicklow</u>	Ralph Ferrers	Nov 1361 - May 1362

1. Mentioned in connection with other payments relating to Trim castle during this period (E.372/212 m. 43).

2. Cal. Patent Rolls 1361-4, p. 382

APPENDIX XIII: DOCUMENTS RELATING TO WORK ON CASTLES, 1361-6

The following two writs of allocate for John Scrope, clerk of the king's works in Ireland, give details of work carried out on the castles of Dublin (1361-4), Carlow, Clonmore, Athlone, Trim and Ballymoon (1364-6). A third writ, relating to similar expenditure on the castles of Dublin and Newcastle McKinegan during the years 1364-6, is printed by Gilbert (Viceroys, pp. 546-8)

(i) Dublin, 1361-4

Allocate Johanni Scrope clerico custodi operum et garnesture castri Dublinie et scaccarii ibidem ac aliorum operum nostrorum quorumcunque in partibus Dublinie super compotum suum ad scaccarium predictum redditum £118 8s 8d quos predictus clericus posuit in stipendiis cementariorum, carpentariorum, pannatorum et tegulatorum ad diversa opera tam magne aule quam parve ac magne camere, parve capelle, coquine, scutillarii, pistrine ac diversarum turrium domorum infra dictum castrum reparanda et pro quadam nova camera et closetta dicte camere annexa et celario sub eisdem et pro quadam domo iuxta pistrinam de novo edificata necnon pro quadam closetta parve capelle annexa de mandato Leonelli comitis Ultonie locum tenentis nostrum in Hibernia et aliorum operariorum tam eisdem deservientium quam pro eodem castro de /.../ et pro diversis domibus eiusdem castri unacum communi latrina dicti castri /.../ ad 10 diem Marcii anno 38 /1364/ sicut continetur in rotulis de particulis quos predictus clericus liberavit ad scaccarium predictum super compotum suum; et £133 12s 3½d quos idem clericus posuit in maeremio, bordis, clavis, cordis et una cabla emptis et provisis pro operibus supradictis et in cariagio eorundem et in ferro pro diversis barris, tuystis, hokis, magnis spikynggis, gemellis, haspis et stapulis emptis et provisis pro diversis operibus in dicto castro faciendis et reparandis et in stipendiis fabri pro eisdem faciendis et fabricandis et in portagio eorundem, necnon in magnis seruris novis emptis ac pro diversis aliis seruris pro diversis hostiis in dicto castro reparandis et in lapidibus, calce, zabulo, sclatis, sclatpinnis et stagno emptis et provisis pro diversis operibus ibidem faciendis et in caragio zabuli et argilli pro eisdem operibus et in combustione cuiusdam toralis calcis pro eisdem operibus et pro aliis minutis necessariis emptis et provisis ad diversa opera ibidem facienda; et 118s 9d quos idem clericus posuit in stipendiis vitriatorum et aliorum operariorum eisdem deservientium et in aliis necessariis emptis et provisis ad opera vitri gabule magne aule et pro fenestris parve aule, magne camere et parve capelle dicti castri reparandis et faciendis necnon pro fenestris in nova camera et closetta de vitro stauri castri predicti de novo faciendis per idem tempus; et £9 3s 7d quos idem clericus posuit in stipendiis carpentariorum et aliorum operariorum eisdem deservientium circa diversa opera tam in scaccario Dublinie quam in scaccario apud Catherlagh facienda et reparanda et in maeremio, bordis, clavis et aliis necessariis emptis et provisis ad opera dicti castri facienda et emendanda et in doleis vacuis et una pipa emptis pro libris nostris imponendis et custodiendis de Dublinia usque Catherlagh et de Catherlagh usque Dubliniam et in stipendiis circulatoris pro eisdem doleis et pipa circulandis et in expensis diversorum carectariorum cariancium dictos libros nostros unacum bordis et aliis necessariis usque Cathirlagh pro reparacione

castri ibidem et de Catherlagh usque Dubliniam et pro salvo conductu dicti cariagii cum dictis libris de Tristeldermot usque Cathirlagh et pro aliis variis expensis factis circa reparacionem castri predicti pro scaccario predicto ibidem ordinando; et £6 15s quos per preceptum nostrum posuit in maeremio, bordis, clavis, sclatis et sclatpinnis emptis et provisis pro reparacione cuiusdam hospicii quod fuit comitis Marchie prope castrum Dublinie iuxta portam del Dam et in stipendiis carpentariorum, cementariorum, tegulatorum et aliorum operariorum ibidem operancium circa diversa ibidem facienda et reparanda et in aliis minutis necessariis emptis et provisis pro operibus eiusdem hospicii infra idem tempus; et 5s 10d quos idem clericus posuit in 11 fraxinis emptis de Nicholao de Bekenefeld escaetore Hibernie de quodam gardino in suburbio Dublinie iuxta ecclesiam sancti Michaelis del Polle quod quondam fuit Willelmi Alisaundre pro hewyngstockes pro diversis operibus tam in castro Dublinie quam in scaccario ibidem per tempus compoti; et £30 14s ½d quos predictus clericus posuit in stipendiis carpentariorum et aliorum operariorum pro quodam castro ligneo et quodam pale ligneo et pro quadam bargia per preceptum dicti locum tenentis nostrum de novo faciendis et in maeremio, bordis, clavis, spikynggis, rofnaillis, hachnaillis et in ferro pro tuystis, hokys pro le rothr' dicte bargie et pro aliis necessariis emptis et provisis ad opera predicta necnon in ferro et calibe pro securibus et billis faciendis ad opus predicti locum tenentis nostrum et pro opere eorundem et eciam in stipendiis aliorum diversorum operariorum pro quadam domo in medio castri Dublinie que vocabatur le Ledenhuche prostrinenda de mandato eiusdem locum tenentis et pro aliis diversis necessariis in gardino eiusdem castri et diversis herbariis ibidem faciendis et reparandis; et £15 in feodo predicti Johannis clerici custodis operum et garnesture castri et scaccarii predictorum per tempus supradictum capiente per annum 100s prout alii clerici in eodem officio percipere consueverunt. Teste Leonello etc. apud Dubliniam 9 die Marcii anno 38 /1364/.

(RC 8/28 pp. 346-50)

(ii) Carlow and other castles, 1364-6

Allocate Johanni Scrop clerico per commissionem nostram assignato ad denarios nostros pro reparacione castri et ville de Cathirlagh ceterorumque castrorum fortaliciorum et wardarum nostrorum quorumcunque in quibuscunque partibus Lagenie et Midie ac pro quibuscunque aliis necessariis pro municione defensione et secura custodia castrorum fortaliciorum et wardarum predictorum solvendo £182 10s 3d quos idem clericus expendidit in vadiis et stipendiis cementariorum et carpentariorum pro diversis operibus scaccarii et recepte, murorum, turrium et aule in castro Cathirlagh reparandis, construendis et cooperiendis et cuiusdam domus infra mantelletum dicti castri ac cuiusdam alterius domus pro communi banco iuxta idem castrum de novo construendis, necnon pro maeremio tam pro quodam palo ligneo circa partem ville predictae non muratam quam pro quodam molendino de novo faciendo et construendo, in diversis passibus de Slemargy et alibi in diversis partibus circa Cathirlagh scindendo cuiusdamque turris supra pontem ville predictae reparandi et emendandi et cuiusdam muri lapidei in selario castri predicti de novo faciendi, et eciam in stipendiis diversorum operariorum eisdem cementariis et carpentariis desserviencium et dictum castrum de f/.../ mundancium diversorumque falcatorum fassagh' pro diversis domibus et turribus cooperiendis falcancium necnon in

locacione diversorum hominum cum equis carrettis trokelys et carris tam pro libris nostris bordis clavis ferro ac aliis diversis necessariis dictorum scaccarii et recepte de Dublinia quam pro maeremio predicto de diversis partibus usque Cathirlagh ducendo et cariendo et pro aliis diversis operibus tam in castro quam villa supradictis aliisque variis necessariis in eodem castro et villa faciendis reparandis et emendandis a 26 die Aprilis anno regni nostri 38 /1364/ usque 26 Julii anno regni nostri 40 /1366/ sicut continetur in rotulis de particulariis quos predictus clericus liberavit ad scaccarium super compotum suum; et £31 12s quos idem clericus posuit in maeremio, bordis, clavis, spykynggys, gemellis, clavis, haspis, 1 enk, 1 fusillo, 3 billis, hopis ferreis, wyndyngbondys, clavis, golonis pro molendino predicto et in stipendio fabri pro eisdem faciendis et in ere empto et staugno pro le brasse eiusdem molendini et in fundacione eorundem eris et stagni, in astere empto pro billis dicti molendini asteratis, necnon pro dyngforkes et spadis cum ferris reparatis et in doleis vacuis pro libris nostris imponendis, 1 carreta, 2 trokelys ferro ligatis cum 3 equis emptis pro eisdem, stoklokkys, platelokkys pro diversis hostiis in castro predicto et portis dicte ville et similiter in calce emptas pro diversis defectibus dicti castri et pro molendino et muris ville predictae reparandis et construendis et in aliis diversis necessariis emptis et provisitis pro operibus supradictis per idem tempus sicut continetur ibidem; et 28s quos idem clericus expendidit in 4 balistis cum totidem baudricis, 3 garbis de quarelshaftes pro garnestura castri predicti sicut ibidem; et £16 12s 4d quos idem clericus posuit in stipendiis diversorum carpentariorum et aliorum operariorum eisdem deserviencium quam maeremio, bordis, clavis et aliis diversis necessariis pro diversis operibus castri de Clonmore faciendis et reparandis a 26 die Septembris anno regno nostri 38 /1364/ usque 19 Octobris proxime sequentem sicut ibidem, et 9s 4d quos idem clericus expendidit in 1 cera cum clavi, 1 haspe emptis et provisitis pro quadam posterna in castro de Adlone quam in 4 petris ferri emptis pro 2 tuystes et clavis pro quodam hostio ibidem, et in stipendio fabri pro eisdem faciendis sicut continetur ibidem; et 79s 3d quos predictus clericus expendidit tam in stipendiis carpentariorum et cuiusdam tegulatoris pro coquina castri de Trym ne maeremium et sclatte eiusdem per ruynam perderentur discooperienda quam in bordis et ferro pro 1 sawe et 1 filo pro plankes pro ponte dicti castri et aliis necessariis ibidem saweandis et pro spykynggys et magnis clavis pro dictis operibus faciendis et reparandis et eciam in stipendio fabri pro eisdem faciendis a 25 die Novembris anno regni nostri supradicti 38 /1364/ usque 26 Januarii proxime sequentem sicut continetur ibidem; et £11 13s 7d quos predictus clericus posuit in stipendiis carpentariorum pro maeremio ad passum de Gargwyll' pro reparacione castri de Balymohan succidendo et 2 carpentariorum et 1 operarii eisdem deserviencium pro diversis operibus ibidem faciendis et reparandis et eciam in stipendio 1 hominis cum 1 trokele et 2 equis locatis tam pro diversis instrumentis ac victualibus carpentariorum predictorum de Dublinia usque castrum predictum quam pro maeremio a dicto passu usque dictum castrum de Baly-mohan cariendo, in stipendio Johannis le Lymberner ibidem existentis per 7 dies pro quodam torale calcis comburendo a 17 Maii anno regni nostri 40 /1366/ usque 14 diem Julii proxime sequentem sicut continetur in rotulis de particulis. Teste Leonello etc. apud Rosse 27 die Julii anno 40.

APPENDIX XIV: PROFFERS MADE AT THE IRISH EXCHEQUER 1359-68

No details are available for the following terms: Michaelmas 1359, Easter 1360, Easter 1363, Easter 1366, Michaelmas 1367 and Easter 1368. The use of brackets indicates that the sheriff or seneschal had an excuse for not making his proffer.

<u>sheriffs</u>		<u>seneschals</u>
<u>Easter 1359</u> ¹ (11)		
Dublin	Waterford	Ulster
Kildare	Cork	Kilkenny
Louth	Limerick	Tipperary
Meath	Cr. Kilkenny	
<u>Michaelmas 1360</u> ² (6)		
Dublin	(Wexford)	Tipperary
Louth	Cr. Tipperary	
Meath		
<u>Easter 1361</u> ³ (6)		
Dublin	Wexford	Kilkenny
(Louth)	Limerick	
(Meath)		
<u>Michaelmas 1361</u> ⁴ (9)		
Dublin	Waterford	Kilkenny
Kildare	Limerick	Kerry
Louth	Cr. Kilkenny	
Wexford		
<u>Easter 1362</u> ⁵ (14)		
Dublin	(Waterford)	(Ulster)
Kildare	Cork	Kilkenny
Louth	Limerick	Tipperary
Meath	Cr. Kilkenny	Kerry
(Wexford)	Cr. Tipperary	

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1. RC 8/27 pp. 436-9
 2. Ibid., pp. 483-5
 3. Ibid., pp. 567-571
 4. RC 8/28 pp. 1-4
 5. Ibid., pp. 100-102

sheriffsseneschalsMichaelmas 1362⁶ (10)

Dublin
Kildare
Louth
Meath
Wexford

(Waterford)
Cork
Limerick
Cr. Tipperary

Kerry

Michaelmas 1363⁷ (11)

Dublin
Kildare
Louth
Meath
(Carlow)

Waterford
Cork
(Cr. Ulster)
Cr. Kilkenny

Ulster
Tipperary

Easter 1364⁸ (16)

Dublin
Kildare
Louth
Meath
(Carlow)
(Wexford)

Waterford
Cork
Limerick
Cr. Ulster
Cr. Kilkenny
Cr. Tipperary

Ulster
Kilkenny
Tipperary
Kerry

Michaelmas 1364⁹ (13)

Dublin
Kildare
(Louth)
Meath
(Carlow)

Wexford
Waterford
Cork
Cr. Kilkenny
Cr. Tipperary

Kilkenny
Tipperary
Kerry

Easter 1365¹⁰ (16)

Dublin
Kildare
Louth
Meath
Carlow
(Wexford)
Waterford

Cork
Limerick
Cr. Ulster
Cr. Kilkenny
Cr. Tipperary
Cr. Kerry

Kilkenny
Tipperary
Kerry

Michaelmas 1365¹¹ (15)

Dublin
Kildare

Waterford
Cork

Ulster
Kilkenny

6. Ibid., pp. 171-2

7. Ibid., pp. 303-4

8. Ibid., pp. 375-6

9. Ibid., pp. 447-9

10. Ibid., pp. 577-9

11. RC 8/29 pp. 5-6

(Louth)	Limerick	Tipperary
(Meath)	Cr. Ulster	
(Carlow)	Cr. Kilkenny	
Wexford	Cr. Tipperary	

Michaelmas 1366¹² (12)

Dublin	Wexford	Kilkenny
Kildare	Waterford	Tipperary
Louth	Cork	
Meath	Limerick	
Carlow	Cr. Kilkenny	

Easter 1367¹³ (11)

Dublin	Wexford	Ulster
Kildare	Waterford	Kilkenny
Louth	Cr. Ulster	Tipperary
Meath		Kerry

Michaelmas 1368¹⁴ (9)

Dublin	Cork	Kilkenny
Kildare	Limerick	Tipperary
(Meath)	Cr. Kilkenny	
Wexford		

12. Ibid., pp. 267-9

13. Ibid., pp. 403-405

14. RC 8/30 pp. 1-3

APPENDIX XV: NAMES OF SHERIFFS MAKING PROFFERS, 1361-6¹

Dublin

Easter 1361	Richard Botiller
Michaelmas 1361	William Comyn
Easter 1362 - Mich. 1363	John Cruys
Easter 1364 - Mich. 1366	Simon Cruys

Kildare

Easter 1361	John Lenfaunt
Mich. 1361 - Mich. 1362	Richard fitz Eustace
Michaelmas 1363	John Wogan
Easter 1364 - Mich. 1364	Geoffrey fitz Eustace
Easter 1365 - Easter 1366	Adam du Lyt
Michaelmas 1366	John de Rochford

Carlow

Easter 1361 - Easter 1362	William de Valle
Mich. 1362 - Mich. 1366	Geoffrey de Valle

Wexford

Easter 1361 - Mich. 1361	Richard Whitty
Easter 1362 - Easter 1364	Denis Stafford
Easter 1364 - Easter 1365	Matthew fitz Henry
Mich. 1365 - Easter 1366	David Roche
Michaelmas 1366	Philip Haye

Waterford

Easter 1361	John le Poer
Michaelmas 1361	William Saundhull
Easter 1362 - Mich. 1362	Maurice Mandeville
Mich. 1363 - Mich. 1364	John fitz Geoffrey le Poer
Easter 1365 - Easter 1366	Nicholas Poer of Kilmedan
Michaelmas 1366	Richard Butler

Cork

Easter 1361	Nicholas de Courcy
Mich. 1361 - Easter 1364	John Lumbard
Michaelmas 1364	William Caunton
Easter 1365 - Mich. 1366	Maurice fitz Richard

1. For references see Appendix XIV. There are no proffers enrolled for Easter term 1363. The entry for the Easter 1366 proffers merely states that the names are the same as for Michaelmas 1365 (RC 8/29, p. 115).

Limerick

Easter 1361	James de Lees
Michaelmas 1362	Odo de Valle
Easter 1362 - Easter 1364	Patrick Fox
Michaelmas 1364	James de Lees
Easter 1365 - Easter 1366	Patrick Fox
Michaelmas 1366	Patrick Cowlys

Meath

Easter 1361 - Mich. 1361	Nicholas Castlemartin
Easter 1362 - Easter 1364	Roland Shaldeford
Michaelmas 1364	James de la Hyde
Easter 1365 - Mich. 1366	Roland Shaldeford

Louth

Easter 1361 - Easter 1364	William Dowdall
Mich. 1364 - Easter 1365	Richard Taaf of Balybragan
Mich. 1365 - Mich. 1366	Peter de Repenten

APPENDIX XVI: APPOINTMENTS OF SHERIFFS, 1361-6

<u>date</u>	<u>name</u>	<u>county</u>	<u>how appointed</u>
March 1361	John Lumbard ¹	Cork	English g.s.
April 1361	William Comyn ²	Dublin	elected
May 1361	William Dowdall ³	Louth	elected
November 1361	Philip Furlong ⁴	Wexford	Irish exch. seal
November 1361	Patrick Fox ⁵	Limerick	Irish g.s.
January 1362	Maurice Mandeville ⁶	Waterford	Irish g.s.
March 1362	Michael Bruis ⁷	Wexford	Irish exch. seal
March 1362	John Meiller ⁸	Wexford	"
April 1362	Denis Stafford ⁹	Wexford	"
December 1362	John Wogan ¹⁰	Kildare	"
June 1363	John le Poer ¹¹	Waterford	Irish exch. seal
January 1364	Simon Cruys ¹²	Dublin	elected
February 1364	Geoffrey fitzEustace ¹³	Kildare	"
February 1364	Roland Shaldeford ¹⁴	Meath	"
February 1364	Richard Taaf ¹⁵	Louth	"
February 1364	William Caunton ¹⁶	Cork	English g.s.
March 1364	Matthew fitz Henry ¹⁷	Wexford	elected
June 1364	Patrick Fox ¹⁸	Limerick	"
June 1364	James de la Hyde ¹⁹	Meath	"

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| 1. <u>Cal. Fine Rolls</u> , 1356-68, p. 155 | 11. <u>Ibid.</u> , p. 285 |
| 2. RC 8/27 p. 590 | 12. <u>Ibid.</u> , pp. 361-2 |
| 3. <u>Ibid.</u> , pp. 590-91 | 13. <u>Ibid.</u> , p. 353 |
| 4. RC 8/28 p. 26 | 14. <u>Ibid.</u> , pp. 351-2 |
| 5. <u>Ibid.</u> , p. 54 | 15. <u>Ibid.</u> , p. 385 |
| 6. <u>Ibid.</u> , p. 53 | 16. <u>Cal. Fine Rolls</u> , 1356-68, p. 281 |
| 7. <u>Ibid.</u> , p. 67 | 17. RC 8/28 pp. 363-5 |
| 8. <u>Ibid.</u> , p. 91 | 18. <u>Ibid.</u> , pp. 391-3 |
| 9. <u>Ibid.</u> , p. 117 | 19. <u>Ibid.</u> , p. 422 |
| 10. <u>Ibid.</u> , p. 183 | |

February 1365	Adam du Lyt ²⁰	Kildare	elected
April 1365	David Roche ²¹	Wexford	"
June 1365	Peter Repenteny ²²	Louth	"
July 1365	Simon Cruys ²³	Dublin	"
January 1366	Roland Shaldeford ²⁴	Meath	elected
April 1366	John Rochford ²⁵	Kildare	"
April 1366	John Poer ²⁶	Waterford	"
April 1366	Maurice fitzRichard ²⁷	Cork	"
June 1366	Thomas Stokes ²⁸	Cr. Ulster	"
August 1366	Patrick Cowlys ²⁹	Limerick	"
October 1366	Robert Talbot ³⁰	Cr. Kilkenny	"

20. Ibid., pp. 548-9

21. Ibid., pp. 600-601

22. Ibid., pp. 664-7

23. RC 8/29 pp. 37-8

24. Ibid., p. 84

25. Ibid., p. 182

26. Ibid., pp. 173-4

27. Ibid.

28. Ibid., pp. 285-6

29. Ibid., pp. 256-9

30. Ibid., pp. 287-8

APPENDIX XVII: (i) RECEIPTS OF THE IRISH EXCHEQUER, 1354-66

	13 April 1354 ¹ - 20 April 1355 ¹	8 June 1360 ² - 10 March 1361 ²	1 February 1365 ³ - 28 July 1366 ³
Profits of Justice and debts	£ s d 884 6 5½	£ s d 422 2 0½	£ s d 1880 15 10¾
lands in King's hand	170 6 5	290 10 9	623 2 9¾
Escheatry	185 3 0	66 8 10¾	51 10 0
Farms of cities	258 19 10¾	208 13 8	385 1 0
Customs	314 11 7	156 2 1	738 0 2
Demesne manors	338 12 9¾	184 19 4	368 8 5¾
Royal service	-	17 3 4	-
Taxation	370 19 1½	15 13 4	53 3 5
Absentee subsidy	-	-	140 0 0
TOTAL	2522 19 3¾	1361 13 4¾	4250 1 9¾

1. E.101/243/4

2. E.101/244/5

3. E.101/244/9

APPENDIX XVII (ii) EXPENDITURE OF THE IRISH EXCHEQUER, 1360-66

	8 June 1360 - 1 April 1361 ¹	14 Jan 1362 - 9 April 1364 ²	9 April 1364 ³ - 1 Feb 1365	1 Feb 1365 - 25 Sept 1366 ⁴
	£ s d	£ s d	£ s d	£ s d
Fees to officials	525 13 4½	1202 16 9½	669 19 8	1079 6 11½
Exchequer expenses	25 4 10½	98 9 0½	42 14 10½	66 6 7
Castles (fees)	49 13 4	445 14 2	85 3 10½	146 15 7½
Works	18 19 6	272 9 11½	203 11 9½	167 4 5
Army wages	512 3 8	3394 12 4	842 0 0½	1615 17 9½
Gifts and rewards	179 18 4	378 0 8½	914 11 9½	341 0 10
Religious houses	-	233 17 10½	30 0 0	130 13 4
Miscellaneous	-	8 14 8	91 10 0½	48 15 10
TOTAL	1311 13 0½	6034 15 6½	2879 12 0½	3596 1 4½

1. E.101/244/6
2. E.372/212 m. 43
3. E.364/9 m. C
4. E.101/244/10

APPENDIX XVII (iii) ENGLISH EXPENDITURE ON IRELAND 1361-66

This table shows the expenditure of the English exchequer on military involvement in Ireland during the period 1361-6 and the relation of this figure to the total expenditure of the English exchequer during the same period. Figures are derived from the English issue rolls and do not take account of any fictitious entries included in the total expenditure.

roll	term	total	Ireland	%
E.403/408	E. 1361	£57,801/16/4½	£5,712/12/1	9.9
/409	M. 1361-2	£71,231/4/8½	£2,338/6/8	3.3
/410	E. 1362	£88,958/14/10½	£3,127/14/6	3.5
/412	M. 1362-3	£40,637/8/11½	£5,312/2/2½	13.6
/415	E. 1363	£53,132/-/8	£2,509/5/4	4.7
/417	M. 1363-4	£50,161/6/9½	£8,953/10/3½	17.9
/418	E. 1364	£85,261/4/4½	£4,386/9/1	5.1
/421	M. 1364-5	£37,462/4/6½	£1,021/8/2	2.7
/422	E. 1365	£41,748/14/10	£1,333/6/8	3.2
/425	M. 1365-6	£71,572/5/2	£3,661/17/1	5.1
/427	E. 1366	£54,752/13/-½	£2,000/-/-	3.7
/429	M. 1366-7	£62,044/6/8½	£3,003/3/4	4.8
Total		£714,764/1/-½	£43,359/15/5	6.1

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E. 159	Exchequer, K.R., Memoranda Rolls
E. 364	Exchequer, K.R., Foreign Rolls
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E. 372	Exchequer, L.T.R., Pipe Rolls
E. 401	Exchequer of Receipt, Receipt Rolls
E. 403	Exchequer of Receipt, Issue Rolls
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