

















THE ADMINISTRATION OF IRELAND 1172 — 1377







COIMISIÚN LÁIMHSCRÍBHINNÍ NA hÉIREANN

THE  
ADMINISTRATION OF IRELAND  
1172-1377

BY

H. G. RICHARDSON

AND

G. O. SAYLES



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COMMISSION LAIMHSCRIBHINN NA BÉIRÉANN  
THE  
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## FOREWORD

IN taking leave of a task that has occupied our leisure—if such it may be called—for more than thirty years, we cannot express adequately our gratitude to those who have helped us on our way. First and foremost our thanks must go to our friends of an earlier generation at the Public Record Office in London, not least to those who brought to us the undisturbed boxes packed with the neglected rolls of the Irish exchequer. The acrid scent of long-enclosed archival dust and ancient parchment comes back to us with the recollection. And we must thank especially those friends of ours, in particular Mr H. C. Johnson, Mr Noel Blakiston and Dr N. J. Williams, who, in the last stages of our work, facilitated the laborious checking of references in what must have seemed an unending stream of bulky documents.

Of our friends in Ireland let us name Professor Jocelyn Otway-Ruthven, who saw our lists at an early stage and has given us valuable suggestions and information, and the Reverend Professor Aubrey Gwynn, S.J., who has watched and encouraged our slow progress. We owe an especial debt to Dr Geoffrey Hand and Dr F. J. Lydon, who have read our proofs and guarded us from error, and another to Miss Margaret C. Griffith, the Deputy Keeper of the Public Record Office in Dublin, for checking our references to manuscripts in her care.

That our book appears in a format which will be, we trust, as convenient to our readers as it is pleasant to ourselves, is due in the first place to Dr Edward MacLysaght and Miss Eileen Brereton, the Chairman and the Secretary of the Irish Manuscripts Commission, and secondly to the printers, who have admirably carried out our instructions.

For the index we are indebted to Dr. G. MacNiocaill of the National Library, Dublin, who has not only saved us much labour but has given us the benefit of his own knowledge of the period.

Nor should we fail to remember with gratitude the Rockefeller Foundation of New York, whose munificence made it possible for this book to go through the final stages of production with far greater expedition than would otherwise have been possible.

The multitude of details and references means, we fear, that some errors have crept into the printed book, despite all our care. We can plead in excuse the magnitude of the task. May those who discover us at fault correct any copies to which they have access and then, of their charity, forgive us

GOUDHURST,  
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## ERRATA

- P. v. line 16: *read J. F. Lydon for F. J. Lydon*
- P. 11, line 32 } *read Richard for William*  
P. 12, line 6 }
- P. 84, n. 9: for this note *see* foot of p. 85.
- P. 171: in the page-heading *read* Justices of Justiciar's Bench *for* Justices of the Common Bench.
- P. 233, line 8: *read* Wexford *for* Waterford.
- P. 237: in the page-heading *read* Illustrative Documents *for* Illustrated Documents.
- P. 282, line 2: *add* 11, 12 *before* 34.  
line 6: *delete* 11, 12 *before* 85.
- P. 295b, line 10: *add* p. 189, n. 6 *before* 190.
- P. 296b, line 14: *read* Wexford *for* Waterford.

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Royal MS.	.. British Museum Royal MS.
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## INTRODUCTION

### THE SOURCES AND THEIR INTERPRETATION

The basis of the lists of ministers and judges contained in this volume is provided by the Issue Rolls of the Irish Exchequer for the reigns of Edward I, Edward II and Edward III, now preserved in the Public Record Office, London. For reasons to be explained presently the character of these rolls changes thereafter, and the broken series of later rolls that survive does not provide the detailed information which makes the earlier rolls of singular value for Irish mediæval history. Of the financial records relating to Ireland before 1272, which were once to be found among the English archives, there are few survivors. These losses, as well as the gaps in the Edwardian series, can be supplied, more or less satisfactorily for the present purpose, from other contemporary sources, and the lists therefore are continuous from the early thirteenth century to 1377: in the case of the Chief Governors details are supplied back to 1172. It is well, however, that the reader should be warned that, prior to the reign of Edward I, precise dates can, in our present state of knowledge, rarely be provided for the assumption of office of any minister or judge, nor can the date of removal from office always be certain. Greater precision might perhaps be possible in some instances, for it is more than likely that the student who is interested in some limited period or particular person may come across documents which will correct or amplify the details given here. The probability that others may improve upon their work the compilers accept as inevitable, for, if the lists were ever to be printed, a term had to be set to their researches, begun more than thirty years ago. For any faults of imperfection or oversight they may perhaps add this excuse that they have found, as any like investigator must find, that there comes at last a time when every fresh day's work brings ever diminishing reward. *Requiescant a laboribus suis.*

In the lists precise references have been given to the sources, whether printed or in manuscript, upon which reliance is placed. These references have had, however, to be restricted in number and in form. As a rule we—let us drop the trammels of the third person—have been content to give references which establish, as nearly as possible, the beginning and end of a man's tenure of office. It not infrequently happened that an appointment made in England was not taken up immediately and, in any event, unless the appointment was in the nature of a confirmation, there was bound to be an interval before the appointee arrived in Ireland. In such cases a reference



## INTRODUCTION

is given to the instrument of appointment, where this is known, as well as a reference to the document which establishes the date of assumption of office.<sup>1</sup> Appointments were sometimes abortive, and this fact has been indicated by placing the name of the office-holder within crochets. References are given in shortened form, and for the full titles of books or descriptions of manuscripts reference should be made to the table of *sigla*. Whatever defects the lists may have in the form in which they now appear, especially where the Issue Rolls do not provide safe guidance, we trust that they will afford better assistance than has yet been available for the dating of documents which mention the names of ministers or judges but do not carry any other indication of date.

The correct dating of documents is a necessary basis of their interpretation, and this is an obvious service, and no inconsiderable one, that can be rendered by the lists. But they have, we hope, a wider utility than this. They afford, in a sense, a key to the history of Irish administration in the Middle Ages. If, for example, we compare the names of the judges and ministers with the *fasti* of Saint Patrick's, Dublin,<sup>2</sup> we cannot fail to observe how much they have in common. The chapter of Saint Patrick's provided a most important element in the administration, just as the chapters of Saint Paul's and Saint Martin's-le-Grand in London provided a most important element in English administration in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The reason for this is plain enough. The benefices of secular canons largely maintained them while they were in the king's service, and the prospect of further advancement in the Church kept them diligent in promoting the king's affairs. To go no farther than the reign of Henry III, we find among the canons of Saint Patrick's eight ministers or judges who figure in our lists : Geoffrey de Tourville, who was archdeacon of Dublin from 1227 to 1244, Hugh of Mappleton and Warin of Fisacre, who appear to have served successively as archdeacons of Glendalough, Robert Luterel, who was treasurer of the cathedral from 1228 to 1249, William de Bacquepuis and Michael de Renneville who do not seem to have received promotion beyond their canonries, Thomas of Chedworth, who was chancellor of the cathedral from about 1266, and John of Sandford, who became dean in 1275. Tourville and Mappleton, it may be noted, became successively bishops of Ossory. Tourville appears to have begun his official career as chamberlain of the exchequer in 1226 : he acted as the chancellor's deputy and was promoted to be treasurer in 1234.

<sup>1</sup> Ministers were sometimes appointed by patent under the Irish seal : such patents appear to have been of the same date as the assumption of office. While an extended search might establish the text of a number of these instruments, to insert haphazard references to a few documents did not appear to us a desirable course.

<sup>2</sup> See H. J. Lawlor, *The Fasti of St. Patrick's, Dublin*, from which we have drawn the facts we use.



Mappleton succeeded Tourville as treasurer in 1251; his earlier career is obscure. Fisacre was chamberlain from 1234 onwards and served also as an itinerant justice. Luterel, after acting as a deputy of the treasurer, became chancellor in 1235. Bacquepuis was the king's escheator in 1254-1256 and again from 1257 to 1271: he served also as an itinerant justice. Renneville functioned as an itinerant justice, but does not appear to have held any other appointment. Chedworth is the first known chancellor of the exchequer and became a justice: he was dean of Dublin in 1284 and was elected archbishop in 1295 but did not find favour with the pope. John of Sandford succeeded Bacquepuis as escheator and, while serving that office, was elected archbishop of Dublin. Common membership of a cathedral chapter doubtless fostered the *esprit de corps* of the king's ministers and might ease access to those in authority. One document we print illustrates this aspect of the system admirably.<sup>1</sup> The chancellor of St. Patrick's, Thomas of Chedworth, wished a faulty instrument in his favour to be rectified. He addressed his request to the English chancellor, Robert Burnell, who had lately been promoted to the see of Bath and Wells; but, on promotion, Burnell had vacated a prebend in St. Patrick's.<sup>2</sup> Chedworth's messenger was master Simon of Hereford who, within a year, was himself presented to a prebend.<sup>3</sup> We cannot doubt that these three men were well known to one another and that Burnell would be disposed to accommodate a member of the chapter to which he had so recently belonged. There was, of course, nothing improper in Chedworth's approach to Burnell; but a less amiable aspect of the sodality of fellow canons is the association of Alexander of Bicknor and Walter of Islip in peculations from the treasury.<sup>4</sup> They had been fellow canons for some years before Bicknor's elevation to the see of Dublin in 1317,<sup>5</sup> and Bicknor collated Islip to the prebend of Swords in 1324.<sup>6</sup> When their frauds were discovered, naturally enough they suffered together: the king seized in his hands the temporalities of the see<sup>7</sup> and (surely uncanonically) deprived

<sup>1</sup> Document 6A: below, pp. 228-9.

<sup>2</sup> Lawlor, *Fasti*, p. 162. There are indications that Burnell visited Dublin (*C.P.R.*, 1258-1266, p. 422; *ibid.*, 1266-1272, p. 651).

<sup>3</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1272-1281, p. 139 (7 May 1276); Lawlor, *Fasti*, p. 105.

<sup>4</sup> Below, p. 47.

<sup>5</sup> Lawlor, *Fasti*, p. 128: it is not clear that Bicknor vacated his prebend on consecration. For Islip's canonry before 1324 see *ibid.*, p. 192.

<sup>6</sup> *C.P.L.*, 1305-1342, p. 241.

<sup>7</sup> The see was treated as void in October 1325 (*C.P.R.*, 1324-1327, p. 185) and probably in May, when the king asked the pope to deprive Bicknor (*Foedera*, ii. 600-1). The king had other grievances against him, apart from his peculations.



Islip of his prebend.<sup>1</sup> Of course, the system which the careers of these men illustrate was not confined to England and Ireland nor to the canons of particular churches. But to grasp its implications for both Church and State we need detailed studies, the basis of which must be reliable lists of ministers and of members of cathedral chapters.

We have been at some pains to supply the modern equivalents for mediaeval surnames, especially those representing place-names.<sup>2</sup> These identifications throw welcome light upon the origin and character of the king's servants. We would stress, in particular, the significance of those names that have a Norman origin. The man whose name is given as Bagepuz, and in half a dozen other forms in contemporary documents, derived it from the little Norman village of Bacquepuis. Of his career in the service of king and Church we have just said something. Two predecessors of his as itinerant justices were Robert de Belvoir and Michael de Renneville. Renneville also is a little village in Normandy and, like Bacquepuis, a few miles from Les Andelys. Of Beauvoir, which is the usual modern form of Belvoir, we have many examples: perhaps Robert drew his name from a village near Avranches. The modern form of the surname of a justice who appears a little later, Peter 'de Repenteney', is Repentigny,<sup>3</sup> a scattered commune of no more than sixty inhabitants near Lisieux. Then we should notice Geoffrey de Tourville, who, as we have noted, became treasurer in 1234 and bishop of Ossory in 1244. Tourville, like Beauvoir, is a not uncommon place-name: there are two in the modern department of Eure, where Bacquepuis and Renneville lie, Tourville la Campagne and Tourville sur Pont-Audemer. We cannot be certain whether Geoffrey came from either place, but that he, like the others we have mentioned, was of Norman descent and that the fathers of all of them, if not themselves, were Normans by birth is hardly open to

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<sup>1</sup> For his offences Islip was fined 500 marks (*C.P.R.*, 1324-1327, p. 250): nothing is said in the surviving documents of his deprivation, but the king had already, on 3 March 1326, filled the prebend of Swords by presenting Robert Baldock, assuming his right to do so on the ground that the temporalities of the see were in his hands (*ibid.*, p. 247). Since Dean Lawlor (*Fasti*, p. 156) has treated seriously the story told about Islip by Otho Sapiti at Avignon in order to get the prebend for himself (*C.P.L.*, ii. 326), it may be noted that this story is a manifest fabrication and that the mandate issued in consequence of his petition was *ipso facto* invalid and was certainly inoperative.

<sup>2</sup> Identification is not always possible. Sometimes the name may represent a place that has disappeared or that has always been quite obscure. Other names are uninformative patronymics. Others again may be blundered, as Robert *de* Randulf, where the preposition seems clearly a mistake. Not all names can be modernised; for example, names representing nicknames like Hakelut (i.e. hack little) or Keppok (a diminutive of Keppe, which has given the modern Kipps). The former name is preserved in the form Hakluyt by the fame of the illustrious geographer, but the latter seems to have fallen out of use.

<sup>3</sup> Peter was Edward's steward in Ulster (*C.D.I.*, ii. 411, 412). He appears to have been a member of an extensive family settled in Ireland: the surname is later variously rendered as Rapenteney, Rapentyn, Repenteney (*C.D.I.*, iii. 635).



question. Some surnames which even in contemporary documents have an English look may, in fact, be French, like Gray (or Grai) borne by John, bishop of Norwich, who came to Ireland as justiciar in 1208. This name appears to represent the modern Graye-sur-Mer in Calvados, though there are other places in France called Gray or Graye outside Normandy. In any case, ministers and judges who derived their surnames from places in England may have been no more remote from Normandy than men with French surnames: it is quite certain that in the thirteenth century they were French in speech and outlook. And it is well to remember that the man who is commonly known as Geoffrey de Geneville, and who cut a great figure in Ireland, was the brother of Jean, sire de Joinville, the familiar of Saint Louis. There are a good many other names which associate French parentage or descent with Irish government, and men whose names have nothing obviously French about them are found serving the king at one time in France, at another in Ireland.<sup>1</sup> For all these men linguistic boundaries did not exist: everyone of importance spoke the same tongue as his fellows, wherever duty and his career might call him. If we do not appreciate that Ireland and South Wales, the Lowlands of Scotland, Flanders, Brittany and many other lands, not excluding England, were in like case, we shall not understand Irish mediaeval history. All these lands were part of a great congeries ruled by French knights and French clergy who, though living under different lords, were linked together by innumerable ties of blood and marriage, education, ecclesiastical office, homage and fealty. We may, for want of better words, speak of their world as that of French feudalism, though the element that can be termed feudal in any precise sense was small. Their world was, in any case, that of French culture, of the French way of life, which dominated and transformed native institutions and customs.

To speak of 'the English occupation' of Ireland is, then, historically meaningless, if we apply the term to the twelfth or thirteenth century or even a later period. The kings of England who became lords of Ireland were not even Normans: they were as French as Frenchmen could be. It was their preoccupation with France and French affairs that left them so little time for any thought or care for Ireland, except as a source of profit. We might, therefore, with propriety, have chosen for this volume some such title as *The French Administration of Ireland*. Unfortunately such a title might have been misunderstood, even by professed historians. We can, however, describe the volume well enough by the title we have finally chosen, *The*

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<sup>1</sup> For example, John fitz Geoffrey, justiciar 1245-1256, regarding whose service outside Ireland some references are given in the list below (p. 78).



*Administration of Ireland, 1172-1377*, using the word 'administration' in its narrower sense of the personnel of the departments of state and the judiciary. The year 1377 marks fairly accurately a vital change in the attitude of the king's government towards Ireland, ultimately determined by the financial strain of the Hundred Years' War but furthered by the want of governance induced by the dynastic wars of the fifteenth century.<sup>1</sup> The king, so far as he could, contracted out of the burden of governing Ireland. This phase, which lasted until the Tudor reconquest, is a well-marked epoch in Irish history. When the time comes for the administration of the period to be investigated in detail, the guidance of the Issue Rolls will, for the most part, be lacking. There is therefore more than one good reason for terminating the present volume at 1377. Yet, though we must renounce the task of continuing our researches and extending our lists into the sixteenth century, when Lodge's lists, whatever their defects, supply what is wanting for mediaeval Ireland,<sup>2</sup> we trust that some younger historians will think it worth while to take over at the point where we have been forced to make an end. Though the sources available for the history of Irish administration after 1377 may lack the precision of the Edwardian Issue Rolls, they are very considerable in bulk and should answer most questions that need to be asked. As for other periods of Irish history, there is no lack of material: what has hitherto been lacking is trained investigators, with the patience to explore the many repositories where documents, now existing too often only in transcript, must be sought.

Although the lists of ministers and justices are, in the main, self-explanatory, yet it may be well to recall something of the history of these offices and of the records from which we derive our knowledge. Before we do so, however, let some words be said of the lordship of Ireland. In 1172 the lord of Ireland was Henry II, from 1177 onwards his youngest son, John. But it is commonly overlooked that John suffered forfeiture in 1194 and that Richard I became the direct lord of Ireland. When John was restored in 1195, his authority

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<sup>1</sup> The change is signified by the form of indenture entered into by successive lieutenants, beginning with the earl of March in 1379: all the profits and issues from Ireland were to accrue to the lieutenant, who was not required to account for his receipts and expenditure (*Irish Parliament in Middle Ages*, p. 155). For further discussion see our paper on 'Irish Revenue 1278-1384' in *Procs. Royal Irish Academy*, vol. 62, Section C, pp. 87-100.

<sup>2</sup> John Lodge's lists of 'Patentee Officers' from 1541 onwards are printed in Lascelles' *Liber Munerum*, part II, pp. 1-195. Lodge died in 1774 and, in the circumstances in which he worked, his lists 'for the times preceding the Reformation' (printed at pp. 197-228) were bound to be inadequate; but they contain references to, and occasional extracts from, records now destroyed, which may still be useful. Lascelles' own attempts at supplementing Lodge by borrowings from printed calendars and catalogues were to very little purpose. The list of *Patentee Officers in Ireland, 1173-1826*, ed. James R. J. Hughes, is based on the Lodge MSS. and the *Liber Munerum*.



revived and he was again able to appoint a justiciar to represent him. His accession to the throne merged the lordship of Ireland in the Crown of England and there it remained until Henry III transferred the lordship to his first-born, Edward, in 1254, though the transfer did not become fully effective until 1256.<sup>1</sup> Again, in 1272, on Edward's accession to the throne, the lordship became merged in the Crown and so continued until 1377 and beyond. However, the point to be remarked is that, for forty years of the century between 1172 and 1272, the direct lord of Ireland was not the king of England. For our present purpose it is important to realize that, during those forty years, the royal records of England contain relatively few references to Ireland. John's charters before his accession to the throne are numerous, and when they are collected and edited, they should tell us something at least of the administration conducted in his name; but we are never likely to know anything of the records that were kept on his behalf before he became king. Of the general character of the records of Edward's administration between 1254 and 1272 we have, it is true, a good idea; but unfortunately only four rolls of his official correspondence for this period have survived<sup>2</sup>, perhaps a tenth of what once existed. Transcripts of instruments issued in his name are scattered here and there; but that we are informed as well as we are—and that is not to say very well—is due mainly to the king's decision to reserve his rights over the Irish church and so to retain a substantial financial interest in Ireland. Unfortunately, too, the records maintained by the ministers and justices in Ireland have been dissipated over the centuries. There were many gaps in the seventeenth century, but still more when the Irish Record Commission came to take stock early in the nineteenth century. To-day we are almost wholly dependent upon sparse transcripts and extracts and a few not-very-adequate calendars for our knowledge of Irish records before 1272. Thereafter, though there had been many regrettable losses, it cannot be said that, until their destruction in 1922, Irish records compared unfavourably in extent with those of many other countries of Europe, although now we have to rely for the most part upon transcripts and calendars, the only originals available being chance survivals and the financial records transmitted to London and still preserved in the Public Record Office there. Fortunately the relations between the Irish administration and the king's ministers, and the access to the king's council and parliament, the king's bench and the English exchequer, afforded to Irish parties, meant that much Irish business was transacted in England and recorded there. In consequence,

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<sup>1</sup> *Irish Parliament in Middle Ages*, pp. 57–58.

<sup>2</sup> P.R.O. London, Gascon Rolls 1–4: see note in *Irish Parliament in Middle Ages*, p. 57.



there are great stores of information about Irish administration, and therefore much material for Irish history, still available from 1272 onwards, especially up to 1377, though thereafter, as we have said, policy and financial practice changed, and with this change less business came to the exchequer and king's bench. That we can be certain of so many details concerning the principal Irish ministers and judges between 1172 and 1272 may perhaps seem inconsistent with the poverty of sources, as we have described them ; but no one who studies our lists can fail to perceive their lack of precision at many points. From 1272 to 1377, the gaps in our information are few, the uncertainties little greater than we find in comparable lists for England.<sup>1</sup>

#### THE CHIEF GOVERNOR

We turn now to some detailed comments upon particular offices and, in the first place, that of chief governor. This is, of course, not a title but a convenient description, adopted by Walter Harris and John Lodge in the eighteenth century, to cover the representatives of lord or king, with varying status and with different titles, who were placed at the head of the administration. The earlier names in our list refer to a period when the English king had little better than a foothold in Dublin and was overlord of Leinster and Meath, while his authority elsewhere was dependent upon successful conquests achieved by vassals not greatly amenable to control<sup>2</sup>. Consequently the authority of representatives of the king or the nominal lord of Ireland was limited : it is significant that early justiciars are found presiding over the Dublin county court,<sup>3</sup> as though their immediate authority was limited to the ambit of that court's jurisdiction. Nor is it certain who first bore the title of 'justiciar' and was, in principle, vested with the authority that title implied to contemporaries who were acquainted with the great justiciars of England and Normandy : the evidence does not go back beyond John de Courcy. Gerald the Welshman, who had direct knowledge, uses the vague description of *procurator*, and though, when Roger of Howden was revising his chronicle, he used the title 'justiciar' freely, there is good reason to suppose that he was reading history backwards.<sup>4</sup> The first instrument of

<sup>1</sup> See the lists in Tout, *Chapters in Mediaeval Administrative History*, vi. 6-58.

<sup>2</sup> It is to be noted that up to the end of 1245, when the last Earl Marshal died, the king's writ did not run in Leinster, and that thereafter the steward of Leinster continued to issue and seal writs of course until prohibited in June 1246 (*Cl. Rolls*, 1242-1247, pp. 405, 416, 432). There may, however, have been exceptional occasions when the king's or justiciar's writs ran in Leinster, as in 1212: see Richardson, '*Norman Ireland in 1212*', pp. 149-50.

<sup>3</sup> Below, p. 29.

<sup>4</sup> We give full references in the list of Chief Governors.



appointment of which we have knowledge is that of Meiler fitz Henry in 1200, and thereafter the series is almost complete until Henry III transferred the lordship of Ireland to Edward. The series then ceases, for reasons we have already given, until the lordship was once more merged in the Crown. We have, moreover, to consider not only appointments made formally by the lord of Ireland but also appointments made locally. This matter requires explanation.

We have to remember that king or lord was far off and that, while no one else could make a formal appointment, there were emergencies when it was necessary to invest someone on the spot with temporary authority to carry on the administration. The administration was, in fact, not infrequently in the hands of an Irish prelate or magnate who had not been formally appointed by the king and, though our information is less positive, the same is evidently true of the period when Edward was lord. The details we give in the list of chief governors are sufficient to show that some justiciars were slow in taking up office: in other cases the formal appointment seems to have been in the nature of a confirmation of a man already in office. We must suppose that, at least in our period,<sup>1</sup> no chief governor was so irresponsible as to quit Ireland or to defer landing there unless he were assured that the government would be carried on in his absence. Again, if the chief governor were removed by death or was detained in captivity (as sometimes happened<sup>2</sup>), some machinery was necessary to provide a substitute. To take a very obscure incident as an example. When Meiler fitz Henry was recalled by John—as it turned out, only temporarily—it is inconceivable that either contemplated that the administration would be left without a head: and in those days there were no chancellor, no treasurer, no regular justices, no group of ministers to form a permanent council. Later, when the council is regularly constituted, there is a body that can carry on the government and elect a magnate or minister to act as justiciar or keeper (*custos*) until the king or lord makes a formal appointment.<sup>3</sup> In the thirteenth-century annals incorporated by Henry of Marlborough in his *Chronicle*,<sup>4</sup> the recurring formula ‘factus fuit iusticiarius’ appears to indicate this kind of election. We find the formula under the year 1259 where there is the entry: ‘Hoc anno

<sup>1</sup> The strange case of Stephen Lescrope, who departed abruptly in 1404, is exceptional. The circumstances in which he did so are obscure.

<sup>2</sup> For example, when Richard de la Rochelle was taken prisoner in 1264 (*Irish Parliament in Middle Ages*, pp. 58–59).

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 32–33.

<sup>4</sup> These annals were used in other compilations, but as incorporated by Marlborough they appear to be nearer their original form. A critical edition of the Irish material in Marlborough's *Chronicle* is greatly to be desired.



Stephanus de Longespey venit iusticiarius Hybernie . . . et obiit iusticiarius et Willelmus Dene factus est iusticiarius'.<sup>1</sup> In the annal two years later there is the entry : ' Anno gracie 1261 obiit dominus Willelmus Dene et dominus Ricardus Rochel factus fuit iusticiarius '. Then let us notice two entries under 1268 and 1269 : the first is ' . . . Robertus de Ufforde venit iusticiarius Hybernie ', the second ' Ricardus de Exeter factus fuit iusticiarius Hybernie '. There are other similar entries under other years, but these examples will suffice. Let us look at the last. There is no reason to suppose that Richard of Exeter, who acted as deputy to successive justiciars for nearly seven years, was appointed to such an office by Edward either as lord of Ireland or as king. The appointment was a local one and Richard accounted, not at the English, but at the Irish, exchequer.<sup>2</sup> It follows that the annalist is telling us in his way that William Dean and Richard de la Rochelle were appointed by some local authority ; and while both of these appointments were ratified by Edward as lord of Ireland, the anomalous appointment of Richard of Exeter apparently was not.<sup>3</sup> We may notice a later annal which illustrates another point. Under 1279 it is said : ' Robertus de Offord ivit in Angliam et reliquit iusticiarium Hibernie episcopum de Waterford '.<sup>4</sup> The bishop, Stephen of Fulbourn, was, in fact, no more than a deputy, appointed presumably by the council before Ufford departed, to ensure the continuity of the administration.

Before leaving the period of Edward's lordship, it may be well to remark that the justiciar represented both the king and the lord. Thus when, on the death of James of Audley, Maurice fitz Maurice was appointed locally to act as justiciar, his appointment was first of all confirmed by Edward's lieutenants in England—be it remarked, only as deputy justiciar—and secondly by the king, who sent a writ of aid, directed to the bishops of Ireland, instructing them to treat Maurice as if he were ' our ' justiciar of Ireland.<sup>5</sup> There was therefore something of a condominium, arising not only from the position of the king as Edward's overlord, but also because he had reserved his rights over the Irish church and was the direct temporal lord of the Irish prelates. Edward's lieutenants could not give orders to the Irish bishops,

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<sup>1</sup> The year dates of the annals, as incorporated by Marlborough, are not entirely reliable. Here he seems to have run together the entry for 1258, when Longespee, in fact, arrived, and the entry for 1259. Since the annalist appears to have reckoned his years from Lady Day, his 1259 extended to 24 March 1260 (N.S.), by which date Longespee seems to have been dead.

<sup>2</sup> Pipe Roll, 9 Edward I, in 36 *D.K. Rep. Ire.*, 54.

<sup>3</sup> Below, p. 36.

<sup>4</sup> Ufford appears to have left early in 1280 and, if the annalist is reliable, before 24 March. That Fulbourn was acting in his place was known in England as early as 15 April (*C.C.R.*, 1279-1288, p. 11).

<sup>5</sup> Doct. 5 : below, pp. 227-8.



but, as the terms of the writ show, the king deemed it incumbent upon himself to instruct them to aid and counsel the deputy justiciar as well as to respect his commands. Every bishop, of course, since he owed fealty to the king, had a duty to give his counsel if required to do so, while two bishops were treasurers during Edward's lordship, and the treasurer was the senior minister and the justiciar's principal counsellor. In the light of the king's writ we can therefore understand how Roger Owen (the first known Irish serjeant-at-law), in the petition he addressed to Edward after his accession, could refer to Richard de la Rochelle, who had been justiciar between 1263 and 1266, the chancellor of those years and other ministers as members of the king's council in Ireland.<sup>1</sup> The council was also the council of the lord of Ireland; but the escheator, who represented the king's financial interests, was a prominent member of it.<sup>2</sup> His position is strikingly illustrated by a document of 1258. Master William de Bacquepuis, the king's escheator, had been instructed to pay a hundred marks to Humfrey de Bohun's representative in Ireland. This he did in the presence of the justiciar, the archbishop of Dublin, the treasurer, the chancellor, and two justices itinerant. Though we are not told specifically why these dignitaries were gathered together, it is plain that the occasion was a meeting of the council of the lord of Ireland.<sup>3</sup> The situation thus created by the condominium of the king and his first-born son might seem to the modern administrator bewilderingly tangled and anomalous. But since the king's interests and Edward's interests in Ireland, which were mainly financial, were well defined, there were no divided loyalties, and the system appears to have worked without difficulty, except, perhaps, during Simon de Montfort's ascendancy in England, when an attempt was made to oust Edward.<sup>4</sup> This attempt did not, of course, arise from any real conflict between the king and his first-born and any disorder thereby caused was transitory.

Of the chief governors in the reigns of the three Edwards we need say little here, for the notes to our list contain nearly all the information that seems relevant. The changes in style should, however, be remarked. We meet with the title of king's lieutenant when first William de Burgh and then Piers Gavaston were appointed in 1308. It is again applied to Roger Mortimer in 1317, to the earl of Ulster in 1331 and to Lionel, the king's son, in 1361 and 1365. William of Windsor is styled lieutenant on his appointment as chief governor in 1369, but on his re-appointment in 1374 'governor'.

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<sup>1</sup> Doct. 7 : below, p. 230.

<sup>2</sup> Below, pp. 27-8.

<sup>3</sup> Doct. no. 3 : below, pp. 226-7.

<sup>4</sup> See especially the letters of 10 June 1265 (*C.P.R.*, 1258-1266, p. 432 ; *C.D.I.*, ii. no. 776).



Subsequently 'lieutenant' is the more usual title given to the chief governor,<sup>1</sup> who was not infrequently a distinguished absentee, and the resident deputy lieutenant then became the ruler of Ireland. However, when the title was bestowed by Edward II and Edward III, it seems to have been honorific and accorded in recognition of the dignity of the occupant of the office. The title was in the first place intended for William de Burgh, earl of Ulster, who was at the time the greatest noble in Ireland. When, for reasons of English domestic policy, Piers Gavaston was immediately substituted for de Burgh, it was hardly possible to accord him any inferior title. For though to those who regard Gavaston through the eyes of modern historians it may seem paradoxical to speak of the dignity of a Gascon upstart, the unworthy favourite of an unworthy king, we must be careful to avoid reading our history backward and viewing Gavaston and his master in the light of their personal tragedies. No man was so wise in 1308 as to read their future. We must remember that Gavaston had been created earl of Cornwall and that the king had accorded him the precedence of senior earl at his coronation.<sup>2</sup> In the eyes of contemporaries, apart from his personal enemies, he was a very distinguished noble. Gavaston seems to have taken his part in the government of Ireland seriously, and it was perhaps as a tribute to his dignity, rather than of necessity, that he was given the assistance of a deputy justiciar. Such an arrangement, it is true, was no novelty, for, as we have seen, Richard of Exeter had assisted successive justiciars in this capacity. Some such arrangement was repeated in the case of Roger Mortimer in 1317 and of the earl of Ulster in 1331. Curiously enough, Lionel, the king's son, does not seem to have had the services of a justiciar, though this may have been because there was now a regularly constituted justiciar's bench. However, at present we know little of Lionel's administration except on the military side, which is fairly well documented.<sup>3</sup> Of William of Windsor's administration we know a good deal, and we may note that he appointed as justiciar James of Pickering, an English knight in his retinue, to act, together with the other justices, as his deputy in his absence, presumably at the seat of war.<sup>4</sup> If Windsor had been himself justiciar, he could not very well have made the appointment, and it became possible because he had the dignity

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<sup>1</sup> Wood, *Office of Chief Governor*, pp. 229-238.

<sup>2</sup> *B.I.H.R.*, xvi., 8.

<sup>3</sup> See especially the accounts in E. 101/28 from no. 11 onwards.

<sup>4</sup> *Parliaments and Councils*, pp. 41, 46. Pickering does not seem to have had any legal qualifications. He is frequently mentioned in the English patent and close rolls: before accompanying William of Windsor to Ireland, he had been under-sheriff of Westmorland (*C.P.R.*, 1367-1370, pp. 237-8, 384-5; *C.C.R.*, 1369-1374, p. 178). On him, see also Nicolson and Burn, *History of Westmorland and Cumberland*, i. 262.



of lieutenant. There seems no doubt, however, that he owed this title to his personal relations with the king,<sup>1</sup> though he was an experienced and able soldier and was sent to rule Ireland on his merits. His selection was then no idle compliment to please the king's mistress, even if the title appears to have been. Indeed, he was given a hard and ungrateful task and he was treated with very little consideration by the government in England.<sup>2</sup> On his reappointment the honorific title was dropped, though his authority was undiminished. Summing up all we know of the early lieutenants, the only conclusion we can draw is that the title was one given to flatter the chief governor of the day, bestowed for a variety of reasons, but that it does not, in contrast with the usual title of justiciar, imply any difference in function or authority. There is nothing, in any document with which we are acquainted, to suggest that up to the end of Edward III's reign a lieutenant, however dignified he might be, occupied a position in the administration different from that of a justiciar.

The appointment of Edmund Mortimer, earl of March, as lieutenant on 28 June 1379, in succession to James Butler, earl of Ormond, who had been styled justiciar, marks a radical departure. Mortimer and his successors were to have all the normal revenues of Ireland, as well as taxes, and were not required to account to the English exchequer.<sup>3</sup> There were some later modifications of this arrangement, but the broad distinction between Edwardian and later lieutenants was maintained. The later lieutenants were, in fact, viceroys rather than ministers. This distinction it is important to bear in mind, for the terminology may mislead. Henceforward, moreover, instead of terming a temporary occupant of the office of chief governor 'keeper' (*custos*), as had been usual, he was now termed 'justiciar'.<sup>4</sup> But we must not leave the impression that strict uniformity was maintained before or after 1377. As we have noticed, William of Windsor was styled 'governor', while his deputy was styled 'governor' or 'keeper'. The earl of Ormond, who was elected justiciar by the council in 1404 on the departure of the deputy lieutenant, was termed as well 'soldier and governor of the

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<sup>1</sup> The distinction accorded to him is difficult to explain unless he was already the husband of the king's mistress, Alice Perrers. This must have been so if, as Windsor himself stated, they had long been married in 1377 (*Rot. Parl.*, iii. 406). Nor is this statement inconsistent, as has been supposed, with Windsor's later statement that the manor of Wendover was granted (in 1371) to Alice, his wife, 'tan q'ele fuist sole', that is, as though she were a single woman (*ibid.*, p. 130a), for such, in fact, is the form of the grant (*C.P.R.*, 1370-1374, p. 161). The king, of course, affected not to know that she was a married woman, and he had the best of reasons for keeping her husband out of England.

<sup>2</sup> *Irish Parliament in Middle Ages*, pp. 80-85.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 151-155.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 156 n.; Wood, *Office of Chief Governor*, pp. 231-237.



wars', but this was apparently a device to avoid a constitutional difficulty.<sup>1</sup>

So far as our period is concerned, the varying and sometimes inexplicably inconsistent styles are duly noted in the list. The variants do not seem to have any deep significance: what is of significance is the difference in status between a chief governor appointed by the Crown and one elected locally. The terminology can, however, be bewildering. Let us take as an example the case of John of Sandford, archbishop of Dublin, who was in office from July 1288 to November 1290. On the death of the archbishop of Tuam, a regularly appointed justiciar, Sandford and Geoffrey de Joinville were made, or constituted themselves, 'gardeyns de la tere'.<sup>2</sup> Of this fact there can be no doubt, for in that capacity they placed their seals on a coffer that had belonged to the dead archbishop. Joinville seems soon to have retired or, at least, to have taken no active part in the administration,<sup>3</sup> and Sandford alone figures in the records. Fortunately the texts of a good many of these records are in print so that we have not to concern ourselves with the possible distortions of calendars. Now, though Sandford may at first have called himself 'keeper',<sup>4</sup> later he seems undoubtedly to have called his office that of *tenens locum capitalis iusticiarii Hibernie*, sometimes, however, omitting the adjective *capitalis*.<sup>5</sup> This is his own style up to 25 May 1290 and there is no reason to suppose that he changed it. The English chancery had so addressed him until about the end of 1288,<sup>6</sup> but in 1289 and 1290 he is regularly addressed as justiciar.<sup>7</sup> No formal appointment as justiciar is recorded and, had such an appointment been made, it seems obvious that Sandford would not have persisted in styling himself 'deputy'. But it also seems obvious that these various styles of keeper, deputy justiciar, justiciar, chief justiciar, as applied to Sandford, all mean the same thing.

#### CHANCELLOR

When we turn to the ministers, some explanation may be expected of the reasons why the lists begin at the years they do. In the case of the chancellor and of the treasurer we know who was the first to bear the title, though this

<sup>1</sup> *Irish Parliament in Middle Ages*, p. 156.

<sup>2</sup> Cole, *Documents*, p. xx.

<sup>3</sup> The archbishop of Tuam died on 3 July. Sandford was elected 'keeper' by the council on 7 July (*C.D.I.*, iii. 265). Joinville may have acted only between these dates.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 370 (27 Nov. 1288).

<sup>5</sup> Cole, *Documents*, pp. 70, 104, 105; *C.D.I.*, iii. 370.

<sup>6</sup> Cole, *Documents*, p. 111; *C.D.I.*, iii. 422, 443, 454.

<sup>7</sup> Cole, *Documents*, pp. 83, 89, 100, 120, 124; *C.D.I.*, iii. 470, 538, 582.



is not necessarily the same as to know who was the first occupant of the office. The creation of the office of Irish chancellor is a matter of some note. The chancellors of the Norman and Angevin kings had been members of the royal household. There was no English chancellor or Norman chancellor or chancellor for Aquitaine (as has sometimes been imagined): there was a king's chancellor, and he or his representative sealed all royal charters, no matter what dominion was affected. For convenience of administration, a duplicate (lesser) seal was available in the English exchequer, and this exchequer seal was confined to instruments affecting England or at any rate to matters falling within the jurisdiction of the English exchequer.<sup>1</sup> Presumably a similar seal was kept in the Norman exchequer, but of this there seems to be no direct evidence. Since the primary purpose of the exchequer seal was to authenticate instruments issued by the justiciar in the king's name when he was in England,<sup>2</sup> there would seem to be no motive for devising such a seal for use in Ireland. In England, when the king was absent, the justiciar issued writs in his own name, and a similar practice prevailed in Ireland.<sup>3</sup> The procedure changed in the thirteenth century, and when in 1232 Henry III granted the Irish chancery to Ralf Neville, the English chancellor, there had necessarily to be, if there was not already, a separate royal seal for Ireland. The instrument conferring the Irish chancery on Neville speaks of the 'sigillum per quod negotia regis et terre sue Hibernie expedientur.' The use of the future tense suggests that the seal, if already engraved, had not been put into use, and this inference is strengthened by the instructions that the chancellor was to have a clerk at the exchequer to keep a *rotulus testimonialis* (or counter roll) as well as another clerk at the assizes before the justices.<sup>4</sup> This means, as we shall see, that the seal was duplicated for the exchequer, but not apparently for the bench, though, if one of the chancellor's clerks were in a position of authority there, he would have a rather necessary check upon the use of the seal and therefore upon the fees.<sup>5</sup> Neville, of course, could serve the office of chancellor only by deputy, and on his death in 1244, Robert Luterel, who was then acting, became the independent chancellor of Ireland. Luterel doubtless continued to use the same

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<sup>1</sup> *Memoranda Roll, 1 John* (Pipe Roll Soc.), pp. lxiv-lxv.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. lxvi, lxxii-lxxiv.

<sup>3</sup> Clear evidence is provided by the agreement between the then justiciar, Geoffrey Marsh, and the king's council on 11 August 1220. Geoffrey could not affix his own seal to the instrument 'quoniam idem iusticiarius sigillum suum secum non habuit in Anglia, eo quod illud dimiserat in Hyberniam in recessu suo a partibus illis pro iusticia facienda' (*Foedera*, i. 162; *Pat. Rolls, 1216-1225*, pp. 265-266). This indicates also that, in the justiciar's temporary absence from Ireland, writs continued to run in his name.

<sup>4</sup> *Cl. Rolls, 1231-1234*, pp. 112-113.

<sup>5</sup> Of this clerk, as well as of the clerk in the exchequer, we have more to say below, pp. 38-9.



seal as the previous deputy, Geoffrey de Tourville, until a new seal was provided, as it seems to have been, in 1246<sup>1</sup>. It was presumably this seal that was handed to Luterall's successors, Geoffrey of Wulford and Ralf of Norwich, the last of whom was ordered to surrender it in 1256, when the seal of Edward, as lord of Ireland, was put into use<sup>2</sup> with a new chancellor, John of Bruningfeld. It is the record of the delivery of the Irish seal to the king which tells us that it was duplicated for use in the exchequer.<sup>3</sup> We must presume that from 1232, with the institution of an Irish great seal, letters patent and letters close (consisting largely of writs of *liberate*)<sup>4</sup> were issued in the king's name,<sup>5</sup> just as from 1256 they were issued in Edward's name.<sup>6</sup> It was doubtless the intention that original writs (which initiated judicial proceedings) should also pass under the great seal, but it is very dubious whether there was in this respect any great change of procedure for many years.<sup>7</sup> However, the important point is that, until a great seal had been instituted for Ireland, distinct from the great seal used in England, there could be no need for an Irish chancellor.

#### KEEPER OF THE ROLLS

Since letters patent and close were henceforth to be issued on the chancellor's authority in the name of the king and not, as heretofore, in the justiciar's name and under his seal, written, it is to be presumed, by exchequer clerks, there inevitably followed some redistribution of duties among the royal clerks. A simple transfer of one or two from the exchequer to the service of the chancellor would supply, at first, whatever clerical aid he needed. Very soon, we must suppose, the Irish chancery was making enrolments, although in modern times no patent or close rolls had survived from a date earlier than the fourteenth century. This implies, in turn, the existence of the office of the keeper of the rolls, the precursor of the later master of the

<sup>1</sup> *Foedera*, i. 266. This is a direction, dated 9 September 1246, that all writs of course (*de communi iure*) that ran in England should run in Ireland under the king's new seal.

<sup>2</sup> *Foedera*, i. 341.

<sup>3</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1247-1258, p. 490.

<sup>4</sup> The Irish close rolls of the fourteenth century had very much the character of the English *liberate* rolls, which were in fact an offshoot from the close rolls. Some Irish close rolls could be largely reconstructed from the vouchers produced at the audit of the treasurer's account, the vouchers being normally a writ of *liberate* with the receipt of the payee (see below, p. 59).

<sup>5</sup> This was certainly the intention from June 1246 (*Cl. Rolls*, 1242-1247, p. 432); original writs are covered by instructions issued later in the year (*Foedera*, i. 266).

<sup>6</sup> For an example see *Irish Parliament in Middle Ages*, p. 289.

<sup>7</sup> A report on the administration of Ireland c. 1285 suggests that few original writs were issued by the chancery. Since there was only one chancery clerk, there could have been no cursitor charged with the duty of preparing writs of course in large numbers for a nominal fee. This fact, coupled with the allegation that the justiciar's clerks, as well as chancery clerks, charge excessive fees for writs, indicates that writs were still issued in the justiciar's name and were presumably sealed with his seal (*C.D.I.*, iii. 10).



rolls. The earliest keeper known to us is, however, Walter of Kinver, who, during Edward Bruce's invasion of Ireland, had placed the chancery records for safety in the Dublin treasury, where they seem to have remained for seven or eight years.<sup>1</sup> Thereafter there is a gap in our information until 1333 when we find William of Barlby in office, and from then onwards the list of keepers is fairly continuous until the end of Edward III's reign.

#### CHANCERY CLERKS

Of the subordinates of the keeper of the rolls we know little. In the sixteenth century the Irish chancery was evidently modelled upon that of England, with Masters in Chancery, Six Clerks, cursitors and so on; but much, at least, of this was innovation.<sup>2</sup> No very elaborate organisation was required in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and at one time in Edward I's reign, about 1285, there seems to have been only one chancery clerk.<sup>3</sup> Such a situation was, however, clearly exceptional and had probably been largely induced by the conditions under Edward's lordship before his accession, when the administration was divided between him and the king and the work of the Irish chancery must have dwindled. It is significant that at this period the chancellor was inferior in status to the treasurer; but, apparently with the appointment of Master Thomas Quantock in 1291, the situation mended and the chancellor established his precedence over other ministers.<sup>4</sup> Nevertheless there was evidently difficulty in maintaining adequate staff in the chancery or a reasonable standard of efficiency, and in the 1340's the position was very little different from that in the 1280's. The establishment was now reduced to one clerk and a clerkling.<sup>5</sup> Moreover, for some years before 1356 it had been found necessary to employ a temporary clerk, Walter Wigan by name, 'because of the fewness of the clerks in the king's chancery in Ireland'.<sup>6</sup> It is no wonder that keepers were frequently brought from England to serve short terms in Ireland, reluctant exiles from

<sup>1</sup> C.C.R., 1323-1327, p. 11.

<sup>2</sup> This is sufficiently clear from the facts adduced by Lodge (*Liber Munerum*, pt. II, pp. 21, 23, 26). Henry VII, however, seems to have set himself to improve the status of the chancery, as witness his appointment of the dean of St. Patrick's as a master in chancery (*Irish Parliament in Middle Ages*, p. 166 and n.).

<sup>3</sup> C.D.I., iii. 10.

<sup>4</sup> *Irish Parliament in Middle Ages*, p. 28.

<sup>5</sup> *Council Roll*, p. 320: 'un clerc et un clerionnet.' This statement is a little difficult to reconcile with what we learn elsewhere of the number of clerks at the period (below p. 18, n. 4), but some of these may have been temporarily withdrawn for other duties.

<sup>6</sup> E. 101/243/8: propter clericorum cancellarie domini regis Hibernie paucitatem. For Wigan see below, p. 19.



the English chancery. So desperate was the situation in 1364 that Henry of Leicester was released from prison especially to serve the office.<sup>1</sup> One conclusion from these facts, which we have already stated, it is safe to draw : there could have been no question of an elaborate organisation such as was found necessary in the well-staffed English chancery.

For the period with which we are concerned the history of the Irish chancery must be largely surmise. But if, in our present state of knowledge, the firmest outline we can draw is an imperfect list of keepers of the rolls under Edward III, nevertheless it may be helpful to summarise, with whatever hesitations, the rather meagre details of the subordinate staff that have come to our notice. Further research may well enable some future investigator to explain the organisation of the chancery, to add to our list of clerks, to allot appropriate duties to each of them, to attain certainty where we can only conjecture. To begin with, it should be noted that such scattered information as we have from the reign of Edward III usually gives the names of chancery clerks in groups of two or three.<sup>2</sup> We are rarely given a more precise designation,<sup>3</sup> but these groups seem to consist of senior clerks. Perhaps the numbers in which they occur may mislead, for in two successive years we have the names of two different groups of three. If, however, in 1333-1334 there were six senior clerks, this number must, it would seem, have been exceptional.<sup>4</sup> In 1356 two only are named as accompanying the justiciar and chancellor to write commissions and writs and to transact other chancery business.<sup>5</sup> In this context writing presumably implies drafting ; but though the clerks received additional remuneration for these services, their tasks do

<sup>1</sup> *Foedera*, III. ii. 722. There was a general reorganisation in the exchequer and judiciary at the same time (*ibid.*, p. 721) : evidently no candidate for the post of keeper of the rolls was forthcoming.

<sup>2</sup> William of Kelsey, Henry of Gilling, John of Thorp (E. 101/239/29 : 1332-1333) ; Hugh of Nassington, William Motoun, Thomas of Quixhill (E. 101/240/1 : 1333-1334) ; William of Drayton and William of Barton (E. 372/184, m. 49 : 1337-1338) ; Thomas of Quixhill, William of Drayton, Thomas Dyer (E. 101/240/17 : 1339-1340) ; Thomas of Quixhill, William of Drayton (E. 372/191, m. 42d ; E. 101/242/3 : 1344-1350) ; William of Drayton, Thomas of Drayton, Thomas Dyer (E. 101/242/14 : 1352) ; William of Drayton, Thomas of Drayton (E. 101/243/6, 8 ; *C. Chanc. R. Ire.*, p. 58b : 1354-1356) ; Richard Walsh, David Kilross (E. 101/244/10 : 1365-1366).

<sup>3</sup> An exception is Robert of Lytham, clerk of the hanaper, in 1365-1366 (E. 101/244/10).

<sup>4</sup> We give the names of the clerks whose names appear more than once as such, with the periods covered : these periods presumably understate the length of service, but they suggest that the number of senior clerks in office together at any one time might be four.

Dyer, 1327-1356 ; Motoun, 1333-1335 ; Quixhill, 1333-1340 ; W. Drayton, 1337-1359 ; Barton, 1337-1345 ; T. Drayton, 1352-1356.

Barton and Quixhill had transferred to the exchequer by the middle of September 1350, when they are named as the chief engrossers there (E. 101/242/10). Barton had become chamberlain of the exchequer by Michaelmas 1354 ; but Quixhill seems to have returned to the chancery, for he is writing estreats there in 1354 (*C. Chanc. R. Ire.*, p. 45). Walsh, who is mentioned as a chancery clerk in 1365-1366, may have remained there until Michaelmas 1370, when he became chamberlain of the exchequer.

<sup>5</sup> These are the two Draytons (*C. Chanc. R. Ire.*, p. 58b.)



not seem to have been of a high order. A common employment among senior clerks appears to have been the making of estreats to send to the exchequer,<sup>1</sup> work that cannot be described otherwise than as routine. They received special payment for doing this, perhaps in recognition of the fact that they did the work only by reason of the lack of junior clerks, for even William of Barlby, the keeper of the rolls, was so employed.<sup>2</sup> But they were also paid specially for writing writs rather out of the ordinary run, those concerning the keeping of the peace,<sup>3</sup> summonses to parliaments and councils,<sup>4</sup> commissions.<sup>5</sup> It is perhaps more understandable why special payments were made for copying English statutes to send to the courts or, in the case of the Statute of the Staple,<sup>6</sup> to send to maritime cities and counties, as well as ordinances of Irish parliaments and great councils,<sup>7</sup> for such work was out of the ordinary, as was the writing of reports on the state of Ireland for the information of the English council.<sup>8</sup> That these activities were not regarded as falling within the normal duties of the senior clerks is shown by the employment in 1354-1356 of a clerk, Walter Wigan, whom we have already named, especially for this work. In 1354-1355 he was engaged in writing the letters and petitions sent by the Irish council to the English council, and in 1355-1356 he wrote nearly all the commissions and writs and writings concerning important public business in Ireland. He was employed apparently not because he had special qualifications, but because of the shortage of staff in the chancery.<sup>9</sup>

Explain these special payments how we may, we can find no suggestion anywhere in the records that the senior clerks in the Irish chancery had, as a rule, qualifications that fitted them for anything but routine work. One

<sup>1</sup> E. 101/240/10 (Walsh and Kilross); 240/17 (Quixhill, W. Drayton and Dyer); *C. Chanc. R. Ire.*, p. 38 (Motoun), p. 45 (Quixhill, W. Drayton).

<sup>2</sup> E. 101/240/10.

<sup>3</sup> E. 101/240/1.

<sup>4</sup> E. 101/242/14; 244/10.

<sup>5</sup> E. 101/242/10; 242/12; 244/10; *C. Chanc. R. Ire.*, p. 45.

<sup>6</sup> See following note: the *statutum de stapulo* seems to be no more than chapter 9 of the Statute of Northampton (*Statutes of the Realm*, i. 259). No other known enactment prior to 1333 would appear to fit this title.

<sup>7</sup> E. 101/240/1: *tria statuta regis ad omnes placeas curie regis ibidem et ordinaciones parlamenti sui tenti apud Dubliniam . . . necnon statutum regis de stapulo ad omnes ciuitates et comitatus iuxta maritima predictae terre existentes . . .* The English statutes are presumably those sent to Ireland on 11 April 1332 (*Statutes of the Realm*, i. 269). The ordinances made at the Dublin parliament (of 1333) have not been preserved. In 1352-1353 sixty shillings were paid to the two Draytons and Dyer for writing 'diuersa breuia; summoniciones tractatum siue consiliorum pro regimine terre domini regis Hibernie apud Dubliniam et Kilkenniam ultimo tentorum tangencia necnon ordinaciones in eisdem consiliis editas et statutas' (E. 101/242/14): these ordinances are in *Early Statutes of Ireland*, pp. 374-396.

<sup>8</sup> E. 101/239/29: 'noua de statu dicte terre versus regem in Anglia per vices quamplurimas scribendo'.

<sup>9</sup> E. 101/243/6; 243/8.



of these clerks, William Drayton, was, it is true, of sufficient attainments to be appointed keeper of the rolls apparently towards the end of 1357 and deputy chancellor in 1359 ; but so little trust did the chancellor repose in him that in this latter office he was given a colleague in the person of a Hospitaller, who can have had no professional qualifications.<sup>1</sup> The explanation of this choice is that the chancellor, John of Frowick, was himself a Hospitaller, being prior of Kilmainham, and he evidently had more confidence in a member of his own order. The inevitable conclusion seems to be that service in the Irish chancery did not attract men of high qualifications and offered little prospect of advancement. Presumably, as in England at the same period, the chancery clerks were in orders and usually unmarried.<sup>2</sup> It is likely, therefore, that they supplemented their incomes by ecclesiastical appointments, though at present we have no idea how many of them held benefices. One, but apparently only one of them, became a member of the chapter of St. Patrick's, namely William Kelsey, who held a prebend between 1354 and 1357,<sup>3</sup> long after he had disappeared from the Irish chancery. Kelsey was, in fact, a diversely employed royal clerk and ecclesiastical pluralist, whose stay in Ireland was brief and whose prebend was the reward for services elsewhere.<sup>4</sup> Most of the clerks bore English names and, though this fact is not conclusive, it suggests that many of them, like the keepers of the rolls, came from England.<sup>5</sup> Some chancery clerks passed elsewhere : two became chamberlains of the exchequer<sup>6</sup> and one a baron.<sup>7</sup> Others were given special appointments, as clerk (*custos*) of works at Dublin Castle<sup>8</sup> or clerk of wages for some military expedition<sup>9</sup> or clerk to the justices of assize at a prolonged session in Wexford.<sup>10</sup> Such miscellaneous duties may be explained by the scarcity of trained clerks in Ireland,<sup>11</sup> as well as by the unattractiveness of service in the chancery ; but the weakening of the staff remaining there

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<sup>1</sup> *Parliaments and Councils*, pp. 18-19.

<sup>2</sup> For the contemporary English chancery see T. F. Tout, 'The Household of the Chancery' in *Essays in History presented to R. L. Poole*, pp. 46-85 (reprinted in Tout, *Collected Papers*, ii. 143-71) and Wilkinson, *The Chancery under Edward III*, pp. 87-94.

<sup>3</sup> Lawlor, *Fashi*, p. 114.

<sup>4</sup> His career can be largely reconstructed from the English patent rolls and the papal registers. The link connecting his earlier and later career is a grant to him in 1338 of £16 a year from the English exchequer in consideration of his services in Gascony and Ireland (*C.P.R.*, 1338-1340, p. 63).

<sup>5</sup> Kelsey and Barton had namesakes in the English chancery (Wilkinson, *op. cit.*, pp. 205-6).

<sup>6</sup> Barton in 1354 and Walsh in 1370 ; see above, p. 18, n. 4.

<sup>7</sup> Quixhill in 1364, but only for a year or less : see below, p. 113.

<sup>8</sup> *C. Chanc. R. Ire.*, p. 36 (Dyer), 56 (T. Drayton).

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 56 (Barton).

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 41b ; E. 101/240/10 (Motoun).

<sup>11</sup> T. Drayton had to accompany the justiciar on his eyre in 1354-1355 'cum sit in partibus Hibernie raritas clericorum' (E. 101/243/6).



must have been deplorable. If the depressing picture we form of the Irish chancery in the fourteenth century is based on scanty material, there is nothing in our sources to encourage the hope that it may be shown, when fuller information comes to hand, to be overdrawn. And it seems to explain why in the fifteenth century the Irish chancery did not evolve as a court of equity,<sup>1</sup> the aspect of the English chancery which is best known and which, in the light of the future, is its most important characteristic.

## TREASURER

The history of the office of the treasurer presents a great contrast to that of the chancellor. From the day upon which John was made lord of Ireland, it must be supposed that arrangements were put in hand for the collection of such revenue as arose from his demesne lands and feudal rights, including any aids that he might demand of his feudatories. Doubtless as the infeudation of the country progressed and an administrative machine was organised, the revenue increased and, as it did so, a more elaborate financial system became necessary. The centre of the financial organisation is known in 1200 as the exchequer,<sup>2</sup> and the name cannot be a new introduction, for there is nothing to suggest that John's accession to the throne brought any immediate change in the character of the administration. But, although there is an exchequer at Dublin, there is as yet no trace of a treasurer *eo nomine*. The justiciar was apparently directly responsible for the revenue as for other branches of the administration, and since Hamon de Valognes was called upon to account for his term of office,<sup>3</sup> it is safe to infer that previous justiciars before John's accession had also been required to account. As we should expect, the Irish exchequer was administered on the model of the English exchequer, with pipe rolls and memoranda rolls<sup>4</sup> and all that these enrolments imply, including the issue of writs, which presumably ran in the justiciar's name. But in such matters we can only argue on the analogy of English practice and the later history of the Irish exchequer. There must, of course, have been an effective head of this organisation, but he seems to have been known merely as the clerk in charge of the Irish exchequer.<sup>5</sup> It was a clerk

<sup>1</sup> *Irish Parliament in Middle Ages*, p. 219.

<sup>2</sup> *R. Chart.*, p. 61b.

<sup>3</sup> *R. de Obl.*, p. 26; *Pipe Roll, 2 John*, p. 215. The agreement with Geoffrey Marsh in 1220 doubtless represents past practice generally, if not in detail: see below, p. 45.

<sup>4</sup> *Irish Historical Studies*, iii. 147.

<sup>5</sup> *R.L.C.*, i. 132b: clericum nostrum Anglie, scilicet Iohannem de sancto Iohanne, ad curam capiendam . . . de scaccario nostro Hybernie'.



sent from England to undertake this duty, John of St. John, who, after some years of service, was accorded the title of treasurer by 1217.<sup>1</sup> It is for this reason that the list of treasurers begins with his name. This does not, however, imply that he had no predecessors in office : plainly he took over a running concern. But the names of his predecessors are unknown, and there seems no reason to suppose that any of them bore the title of treasurer.

#### THE REORGANISATION OF 1232

Before we proceed to discuss other ministers, it will be well, in order to get events into perspective, to explain why the reorganisation of 1232 came when it did. There is no doubt that it reflects the processes by which the position of the justiciar in England was undermined. Whatever Hubert de Burgh's personal merits, his office had become an anachronism ; and the concentration of authority and patronage in this one man's hands, an authority that had recently been extended to Ireland, was an anomaly that could not long be tolerated. The instigator of the movement which was to drive Hubert from power was, it is believed, the bishop of Winchester, Peter des Roches ; but his son, Peter de Rievaulx, was the principal instrument and Ralf Neville was evidently a party to it.<sup>2</sup> That their names should appear in our lists as treasurer and chancellor of Ireland is thus the accidental consequence of a palace revolution in England. The first overt steps, taken in June and July 1232, were the successive appointments of Peter de Rievaulx to control the royal household, the small (privy) seal, the Jewry, customs, the mint, escheats and wardships—the prelude to further advancement and wider powers. Ralf Neville, for his part, was confirmed for life in his appointment as chancellor and keeper of the great seal. On the other hand, Hubert de Burgh, who had been granted permission to serve the office of justiciar of England by deputy, was now granted the justiciarship of Ireland, which also he could serve by deputy. These were but preliminaries. Hubert's position, it will be seen, was not directly attacked : indeed, he received further favours to lull him into a sense of security.<sup>3</sup> When, shortly afterwards, the attack came, it was, to begin with, directed at his position in Ireland.

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 305 b.

<sup>2</sup> In its English aspect this episode has been described by T. F. Tout, *Chapters*, i. 214-19, and by F. M. Powicke, *King Henry III and the Lord Edward*, i. 76-81, 122-5, repeated in substance in *The Thirteenth Century* (Oxford History of England), pp. 48-51.

<sup>3</sup> For all the grants to Peter de Rievaulx, Ralf Neville and Hubert de Burgh see *C. Ch. R.*, i. 156-7, 163-7 and *Pat. Rolls, 1225-1232*, p. 491.



The first intimation to reach Ireland was a letter of 28 July 1232, addressed to the barons of the Irish exchequer, telling them to take their instructions in future from Peter de Rievaulx, who had been granted for life the offices of treasurer and chamberlain, offices which he was to serve by deputy : all the subordinates (*servientes et ministri*) of the treasurer and chamberlain were likewise to take their instructions from Peter. He was to have a clerk to keep a receipt roll in the lower exchequer and another roll, a fine roll, in the upper exchequer.<sup>1</sup> Hubert de Burgh received a letter in similar terms, which told him that Peter de Rievaulx was now interposed between him and the ministers and clerks of the Irish exchequer.<sup>2</sup> The letter was superfluous, for within a fortnight or so Hubert was deprived of all his offices.<sup>3</sup> We must suppose that the anomalous situation thus created continued for some weeks, but on 28 September further instructions were issued. The new justiciar, Maurice fitz Gerald, was informed that the king had granted the chancery of Ireland to Ralf, bishop of Chichester, the English chancellor, and that his deputy was to be Geoffrey de Tourville.<sup>4</sup> As we have seen, this meant, in fact, if not in precise words, the creation of an Irish chancery, with the consequences we have described. How the two sets of instructions were reconciled it is somewhat difficult to conceive, but some diminution in Peter de Rievaulx' authority must have been intended ; and though his grant was renewed in March 1233,<sup>5</sup> Ralf Neville's grant was also renewed in the following May.<sup>6</sup> This sequence of grants and renewals suggests rivalry between the two men, but any prospect of administrative conflicts in Ireland was removed by Peter's dismissal in April 1234.<sup>7</sup> The chancellor's grant was again confirmed in May following<sup>8</sup> and, so far as we know, remained in effect in Ireland until his death in 1244.<sup>9</sup> Thereupon his deputy, Robert Luterel, was recognised as

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<sup>1</sup> Hubert de Burgh, as justiciar of England, had a clerk or clerks in the upper and lower exchequers in England (*Cl. Rolls, 1231-1234*, p. 152), and it was doubtless supposed that there would be a similar arrangement in Ireland. Peter had already been authorised to have a clerk in the lower exchequer in England (*C. Ch. R.*, i. 157).

<sup>2</sup> *Pat. Rolls, 1225-1232*, pp. 493-4 : the charter to Peter is of the same date (*C. Ch. R.*, i. 166-7).

<sup>3</sup> The date ascribed by Roger of Wendover (iv. 245) to Hubert's removal from office, 29 July, rests upon no authority. He was still addressed as justiciar of England and Ireland on 8 August (*Pat. Rolls, 1225-1232*, p. 496). His clerks were not removed from the English exchequer and the bench until 11 September (*Cl. Rolls, 1231-1234*, p. 152), though he was certainly dismissed before the end of August, apparently by the 25th (*Pat. Rolls, 1225-1232*, p. 498 ; cf. Powicke, *King Henry III and the Lord Edward*, i. 81).

<sup>4</sup> *Cl. Rolls, 1231-1234*, pp. 112-3. The charter to the bishop is not enrolled on the charter roll.

<sup>5</sup> *C. Ch. R.*, i. 176.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, i. 179. A separate charter confirmed the grant of the chancery of England for life (*ibid.*, p. 177).

<sup>7</sup> *Cl. Rolls, 1231-1234*, p. 412.

<sup>8</sup> *Foedera*, i. 212.

<sup>9</sup> Despite his surrender of the English seal on 28 August 1238 (*C. Ch. R.*, i. 235) : he continued in office, however (Tout, *Chapters*, vi. 4).



chancellor,<sup>1</sup> and in 1246 the king appointed Geoffrey of Walford to the office.<sup>2</sup>

Though the separation of the chancery from the exchequer was a reform desirable in itself, it does not follow that the reorganisation of the Irish administration was based upon a considered plan. The miscellaneous list of Irish offices granted to Peter de Rievaulx,<sup>3</sup> which is almost identical with the list of offices granted to him in England, suggests rather that the main idea was to deprive Hubert de Burgh of any chance of profiting from the grant to him of the justiciarship of Ireland. The subsequent grant to Ralf Neville seems to have had no higher aim than to give him a share in the profits that would accrue to Peter. This interpretation may seem to be confirmed when we come to consider the effect of the grants upon the justices' court.<sup>4</sup> The resulting administrative changes would doubtless have come sooner or later because of the persistent influence of English institutions, at all times and in all their modifications, upon the forms of administration in Ireland. But that the changes took place when they did in 1232 was an accident determined by events unconnected with the necessities of Irish administration, of which the principal actors seem to have had little knowledge.

#### CHAMBERLAINS OF THE EXCHEQUER

As the English exchequer evolved in the course of the twelfth century, the chamberlains became jointly responsible with the treasurer for all issues of money, and writs authorising payments were addressed to the treasurer and chamberlains jointly. This association was, in the view of contemporary administrators, essential, though in Ireland for most of the thirteenth century there was need for only one chamberlain. Just, therefore, as we have to infer the existence of a minister discharging, in effect, the duties of treasurer, so we have to infer the existence, from the creation of the Irish exchequer, of a minister discharging the duties of a chamberlain. The title is first found in 1215<sup>5</sup> and it is first known to have been borne by Owen Brun,<sup>6</sup> who may have received it at much the same time as John of St. John received the title

<sup>1</sup> This is evident from the instruction to him to deliver the seal to his successor, Geoffrey of Walford (see following note).

<sup>2</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1232-1247, pp. 477-8.

<sup>3</sup> It includes customs, purveyance, Jewry, escheats, wardships, mints and a good deal more (*C. Ch. R.*, i. 166-7; *Pat. Rolls*, 1225-1232, pp. 493-4).

<sup>4</sup> Below, pp. 38-9.

<sup>5</sup> *R.L.C.*, i. 219b. It may be noted that the 'treasurer and bailiffs' of *C.D.I.*, i. 1411 is a mistaken rendering of 'thesaurario et camerario scaccarii Dublinie' (*R.L.C.*, ii. 125b).

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, i. 526, 576.



of treasurer. We assign as his immediate predecessor Bartholomew of the Chamber, but this is a conjecture, though it cannot be doubted that Owen Brun had other predecessors and that the functions of chamberlain had been discharged by unknown ministers of the lord of Ireland in the last decades of the twelfth century.

#### BARONS OF THE EXCHEQUER

The list of barons of the exchequer presents a rather different problem. The barons are addressed as early as 1207,<sup>1</sup> and it is plain that an exchequer of the English model could not operate unless there were a court, over which the justiciar presided, composed of ministers who, when they sat in session, were termed barons. But the barons of 1207 and for many years later held no appointment as such: they acted as barons incidentally. In 1228, before the creation of the office of chancellor, the barons sitting at the exchequer appear to have been the treasurer (John of St. John, bishop of Ferns), the chamberlain (Geoffrey de Tourville), the marshal (John Marshal) and two justices (Simon of Hale and Richard Ducket).<sup>2</sup> The court had, of course, no fixed constitution and on occasion it might be specially afforded. Thus Master William le Brun, a king's clerk who paid several visits to Ireland in order to stimulate the administration, is addressed in 1251 as senior baron of the exchequer and appears to be in temporary charge of the Dublin treasury.<sup>3</sup> His could not have been a permanent appointment. Again, in 1253 John of Bruningfald was appointed to reside at the exchequer *loco baronis*,<sup>4</sup> but this was apparently in anticipation of an appointment that would entitle him to a seat. In the following year Robert Anketil, who was to become escheator in May 1256, was given a seat at the exchequer.<sup>5</sup> It would seem that, when a minister was sent from England, designated eventually for an office that would constitute him a baron, as a preliminary he would be given a seat at the exchequer, presumably to familiarise him with Irish conditions. Nevertheless such appointments were exceptional, and the barons of the exchequer were, if not exclusively, still predominantly the highest ministers of state and the leading members of the council. Thus in 1256

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 96b.

<sup>2</sup> *Cl. Rolls, 1227-1231*, p. 44.

<sup>3</sup> *Cl. Rolls, 1247-1251*, p. 437. For Master William's multifarious duties see especially *C. Lib. R., 1240-1245*, index, pp. 337-8. His first visit to Ireland appears to have been in 1241, when he accompanied Henry of Bath, a judge of the English bench (*C.P.R., 1232-1247*, p. 263). He paid another visit in 1245 (*ibid.*, 455) and yet another in 1248 (*C.P.R., 1247-1258*, p. 29). His visit in 1251 seems to have been the last.

<sup>4</sup> *Cl. Rolls, 1251-1253*, p. 393: he was already a clerk in the treasury (*ibid.*, p. 379).

<sup>5</sup> *Cl. Rolls, 1253-1254*, pp. 73, 215.



four barons are named as those who set their seals to the bag containing the Irish seals which were being returned to the king.<sup>1</sup> Their names are : Hugh bishop of Ossory, Ralf of Norwich, John of Bruningfald and Warin of Fisacre, or, if we describe them by their offices, the treasurer, the out-going chancellor, the chancellor designate (Edward's receiver in Ireland<sup>2</sup>) and the chamberlain. It is a later development which constitutes certain ministers, with judicial functions and not necessarily holding any other office, barons of the exchequer. This development had taken place in England in or shortly after 1234<sup>3</sup> : there is no sign of it in Ireland until 1277, when our list begins with Rory (Ryrith) MacKavan, who, three years later, was given a companion in John of Kent. These appointments were presumably made to enable the exchequer to deal more expeditiously with the volume of common-law actions coming before it. Apparently the treasurer sat with the barons to try these actions, and Nicholas of Clere, when treasurer, appears to have resorted to dubious practices in order to extend the jurisdiction of the 'exchequer of the pleas', as its counterpart became known in England.<sup>4</sup> Others, however, beside the salaried barons might act in that capacity, and in 1300 the place of the second baron was taken by William le Deveneis,<sup>5</sup> who was at that time the engrosser of the exchequer.<sup>6</sup> Since Deveneis was shortly afterwards appointed a justice itinerant and a little later a judge of the common bench, he had presumably some legal training. The point of interest in the present connexion is that the list of barons does not necessarily represent the constitution of the court at any particular time. The evolution of the exchequer of the pleas necessarily involved the appointment of officers of the court with duties similar to those of the officers of the other courts of common law. Our knowledge of them is very scanty, but we have the names of four clerks who served as clerks of the common pleas of the exchequer between 1337 and 1377.

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<sup>1</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1247-1258, p. 490.

<sup>2</sup> He became Edward's receiver in 1254 (below, p. 50).

<sup>3</sup> Little has been learned of the early history of the exchequer of the pleas since Madox collected a few facts (*History of the Exchequer* (1769), ii. 54-55). Tout added some references (*Place of Edward II in English History* (1936), pp. 299-300). Foss's list of barons begins in Edward I and is antiquated (*Tabulae Curiales*, p. 15). The first indication of a new departure is the special appointment on 6 July 1234 of three barons (or justices) to be resident at the exchequer (*Cl. Rolls, 1231-1234*, pp. 467-8, 569-70). The plea rolls now surviving begin in the Michaelmas term 1236 (Jenkinson and Formoy, *Select Cases in the Exchequer of Pleas*, pp. xxxix-xl). The first roll has been described by its editors as 'amateurish and experimental'.

<sup>4</sup> *C.D.I.*, iii. p. 2 ; Cole, *Documents*, p. 84.

<sup>5</sup> Doct. II : below, p. 233.

<sup>6</sup> *C.C.R.*, 1298-1302, p. 245. Deveneis had previously been remembrancer and then protonotary, marshal and keeper of the originalia (*C.D.I.*, iii. 4). These comparatively minor posts give no indication of his standing : he seems to have been an extensive landowner.



## CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER

There is only one other minister of the exchequer we need notice, the chancellor of the exchequer : at no time, however, in the mediaeval period does he seem to be of great prominence.<sup>1</sup> He did not, as did the keeper of the rolls of the chancery, become a permanent member of the privy council.<sup>2</sup> We can trace the office back to 1232 when, as we have seen, Ralf Neville was authorised to place a clerk in the exchequer to represent the chancellor there. We cannot, however, name any one who held the office before Thomas of Chedworth, who preceded John of Kenley at some unknown date before Easter 1270.<sup>3</sup> The clerk who served in the early days of the office was doubtless obscure enough and, although his status evidently improved, he was not of sufficient importance to be specially noticed in the scanty records of Edward's lordship. It is with Chedworth then that our list begins, but we must remember that nearly forty years of the history of the office are lost.

## ESCHEATOR

It may be desirable to add some sentences on the office of escheator and to explain why a list of escheators comes to be included in the present volume, when it is hardly possible that English escheators would be regarded as of sufficient importance to be included in a like volume devoted to English ministers. The Irish escheator was, in fact, among the most prominent of Irish ministers and a leading member of the council. The reason appears to lie in the importance to the king of the feudal revenues of Ireland and, in particular, those arising from vacant bishoprics and religious houses. Since the revenues arising from this latter source were reserved to the king when he transferred the lordship of Ireland to Edward in 1254, the escheator came, in a special sense, to represent the king. To the prelates of the Irish church, he was the immediate representative of the king : on a vacancy he took charge of the temporalities ; on the confirmation of a newly elected prelate he restored the temporalities<sup>4</sup> ; he was frequently empowered to assent, on behalf of the king, to an election.<sup>5</sup> He had large funds in his keeping, which

<sup>1</sup> The ' clericus gerens vices venerabilis patris R. Cycestrensis episcopi, cancellarii nostri in Hibernia, takes rank in the exchequer in 1234 after the treasurer and chamberlain (*Cl. Rolls, 1231-1234*, p. 535).

<sup>2</sup> He was, at least occasionally, a member under Edward III, but he dropped out by the fifteenth century, when the keeper of the rolls has an established position in the council (*Irish Parliament in Middle Ages*, pp. 32-33, 164-5).

<sup>3</sup> Kenley is paid as chancellor and chamberlain : the Easter-Michaelmas term 1270 (*C.D.I.*, ii. 150). For the blunder in the English chancery which makes it seem as though Chedworth was still in office in May 1271, see below, pp. 67-8.

<sup>4</sup> *E.g. C.P.R., 1247-1258*, pp. 551, 577, 615, 620, 627.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 641 ; *C.P.R., 1258-1266*, p. 306 ; *ibid.*, 1266-1272, pp. 35, 456, 501, 525, 533.



rivalled, if they did not sometimes exceed, those in the treasury of the lord of Ireland.<sup>1</sup> He could not fail to stand on the level of Edward's principal ministers. Since, however, the escheator's province was well defined, there was no clash of interests and he seems to have worked well with Edward's administration. His accounts were audited on the king's behalf at the Dublin exchequer,<sup>2</sup> and William de Bacquepuis, who was escheator for the greater part of Edward's lordship, not only served the king in that capacity but served Edward as justice itinerant. The escheator's position was so well established by 1272 that Edward's accession to the throne made no difference to his status, though in the fourteenth century, with the decline of the revenues for which he was responsible, his own importance declined and he ceased to be a member of the council.<sup>3</sup>

The origin of the office is, of course, lost in the obscurity of the early history of the lordship of Ireland, but since the justiciar was accountable to John for the revenues of the land, he was doubtless responsible for escheats. We possess the text of the agreement between Henry III (in reality his council) and Geoffrey Marsh when he was in office in 1220: he undertook to be accountable henceforth at the Dublin exchequer for escheats, wardships, fines, taxes (*dona*), tallages, reliefs and aids. The agreement, which runs to considerable length, doubtless was devised to control the justiciar more closely than hitherto, but it embodied no new principle.<sup>4</sup> The agreement appears to mark the end of the experiment of appointing a special officer to take charge of escheats: this officer was Thomas fitz Adam, who was already in charge of the royal forests and was besides undertaking judicial work.<sup>5</sup> He did not bear the title of escheator, but it seems right to place him at the head of our list. What happened after 1221, when Geoffrey Marsh was removed from the office of justiciar, is unknown: presumably the succeeding justiciars continued to be responsible for escheats. In 1232, however, the absentee Peter de Rievaulx was given charge of the escheats, as he had been given the offices of treasurer and chamberlain,<sup>6</sup> but he could, of course, act only by deputy, and what arrangements he made for the actual work arising out of escheats in Ireland have not been recorded. Evidently the justiciar ceased to be responsible and Peter's deputy must have been escheator in all but

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<sup>1</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1247-1258, p. 568 (payment of 2,200 marks); *ibid.*, 1266-1272, p. 92 (payment of 7,000 marks).

<sup>2</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1247-1258, p. 551; *Cl. Rolls*, 1259-1261, pp. 86-87; *C.P.R.*, 1258-1266, pp. 422-3; *Cl. Rolls*, 1264-1268, p. 283.

<sup>3</sup> *Irish Parliament in Middle Ages*, pp. 26-33.

<sup>4</sup> Text in *Foedera*, i. 162 and *Pat. Rolls*, 1216-1225, p. 263-5.

<sup>5</sup> Below, p. 30.

<sup>6</sup> *C. Ch. R.*, i. 166-7; *Pat. Rolls*, 1225-1232, pp. 493-4.



name. When, however, this episode closed less than two years later, the responsibility for escheats presumably reverted to the justiciar, until in 1250 we come to the first known regularly appointed escheator, Geoffrey of St. John. From that year the history of the office becomes clear.

### THE JUDICIARY

The organisation of a judiciary in Norman Ireland was delayed by two factors : soon after the Conquest the land became an appanage of the king's youngest son, John, and the administration was in the charge of a justiciar with powers analogous to those of a royal justiciar, but greatly restricted. No one of John's justiciars could be called the lord's *alter ego*, as we can describe the justiciars who represented the king in England or Normandy during his prolonged absences. The despatch of Richard of the Peak to Ireland in 1181, as the associate of John de Lacy in the office of chief governor, suggests that steps were then being taken to set up some sort of local judicial system, for Richard was a trusted royal justice.<sup>1</sup> He did not stay long,<sup>2</sup> and we know nothing of what he did. But in these early days the conditions hardly permitted of any elaborate or precise organisation. It would seem that litigants resorted at their will either to local courts in Ireland or to the court of the lord of Ireland, which for the most part was in England. Whilst our information is fragmentary, it is plain, however, that the procedure of the English county court had been introduced by the invaders at a very early date, and we may presume that there were corresponding courts in the great franchises. It seems evident that in the 1190's, and possibly before then, John's justiciar presided on occasion in the Dublin county court, very much as we may suppose the stewards represented their lords in the franchises. When John became king of England there was no immediate change. Local administration continued undisturbed, and both civil and criminal actions might come before the king's court in England. But in 1204 the justiciar was empowered to issue writs concurrently with the king's chancery in England, and in 1207 he was empowered to try criminal actions. Thereafter there was a gradual increase in his powers until the judicial administration of Ireland was assimilated to that of England. By 1207 justices of some sort, appointed either by the king or the justiciar, were beginning their activities in Ireland, though their only employment of which we can be certain is the assessment of taxes. We must not think of these justices as professional

<sup>1</sup> He comes under notice in 1179 (*Gesta*, i. 239) and was on eyre in England in 1180 (*Pipe Roll*, 26 Henry II, pp. 4, 20, 31, 45, 127, 145, 152).

<sup>2</sup> He was again on eyre in England in 1185 (*Pipe Roll*, 31 Henry II, pp. 57, 86, 112, 135, 221, 237). Of his employment between 1181 and 1185 nothing has come to light.



lawyers nor as in any way confined to the administration of the law. Their names are largely unknown to us, and we cannot identify them among the king's servants. Whoever they were, we can be sure that they were acting under conditions not very different from those we find early in Henry III's reign.<sup>1</sup>

In 1221 exception was taken to the practice in Ireland of permitting a justice to sit alone in court, with the result that pleas were recorded in a single, uncontrolled roll, while in England the practice was to provide every justice with companions.<sup>2</sup> In other words, it was normal to have a bench of three justices and three theoretically independent rolls. The document which tells us this seems to imply that one particular man had hitherto been employed as justice itinerant in Ireland, but such an impression is almost certainly at fault. We are not told the name of the single justice, but we are told the names of the two additional justices appointed by the king to accompany him. These are Thomas fitz Adam and Bartholomew of the Chamber. It seems evident that Bartholomew, who was a clerk, derived his soubriquet from his early service in the king's chamber, but it is likely that he performed the functions of chamberlain of the Dublin exchequer; however, though we know something of his career in England,<sup>3</sup> we know very little of what he did in Ireland. On the other hand we know something of significance about Thomas fitz Adam. He was, it may be noted, a knight, and obviously a literate knight.<sup>4</sup> He had been appointed keeper of the king's forests in Ireland in August 1219<sup>5</sup>, and in September, in association with the treasurer, John of St. John, he was made responsible for all escheats and was to see that fines and debts were duly enrolled in the exchequer.<sup>6</sup> But he was required also to do judicial work, and we learn that he was about to hold assizes in the Hilary term 1220 when he was excommunicated by the archbishop of Dublin and thus incapacitated from sitting on the bench.<sup>7</sup> Quite plainly the instruction in the following year that he was to be one of three itinerant justices did not mean an addition to the judiciary. The instruction merely regulated the procedure of the courts held by the justices in Ireland.

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<sup>1</sup> For the evidence upon which this paragraph is based, see *Irish Parliament in Middle Ages*, pp. 22-23. For Peter Pipard in the Dublin county court see *R.C.R.*, ii. 172-173, and for Meiler fitz Henry there, see *Chart. St. Mary's*, i. 30. For the trial of an action of mort d'ancestor in 1218 before justices itinerant, see *Excerpta*, i. 11.

<sup>2</sup> *R.L.C.*, i. 451.

<sup>3</sup> Tout, *Chapters*, i. 161, n. 2.

<sup>4</sup> *R.L.C.*, i. 451.

<sup>5</sup> *Pat. Rolls, 1216-1225*, p. 201.

<sup>6</sup> *R.L.C.*, i. 400.

<sup>7</sup> *Letters of Henry III*, i. 85.



Our list of justices begins therefore in 1221, not because there was any real departure in that year, but because of our virtual ignorance of the personnel of the judiciary at an earlier date. When next we obtain information regarding the justices in eyre, seven years or so later, we get the names, as we might expect, of three men : Richard Ducket, Simon of Hale and John Marshal.<sup>1</sup> The two first may have been lawyers by profession,<sup>2</sup> but John Marshal was a baron, the titular holder of the marshalcy of Ireland,<sup>3</sup> and, as such, entitled to a seat at the exchequer.<sup>4</sup> He can hardly have been appointed to judicial office, however, for any better reason than to make up the complement of three. In 1230 Ducket has as his companions in the king's court at Dublin the treasurer and the chamberlain of the exchequer, who take precedence of him.<sup>5</sup> This was inevitable in the case of the treasurer, who was now bishop of Ferns, but the precedence of the chamberlain suggests that Ducket did not rank high in the official hierarchy. However, it seems certain that at this period Richard Ducket and Simon of Hale were the effective justices,<sup>6</sup> though we must suppose that, when only these two are mentioned or sometimes Richard alone, they had companions to complete the required number of three. From the year 1236 there is satisfactory evidence of the succession of three justices at least.

These justices were entitled justices itinerant.<sup>7</sup> It is significant that in 1245, when error was alleged in the proceedings upon an appeal of felony and the office of justiciar was temporarily vacant, there was no higher authority whom the king could address than the 'justiciarii itinerantes in Hibernia', directing that there should be a stay until the newly appointed justiciar should arrive. There is no suggestion that there is any superior court with the power of review, though manifestly the justiciar had this

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<sup>1</sup> *Cl. Rolls, 1237-1242*, p. 198. They were evidently taking pleas of the crown : the date of the eyre is uncertain.

<sup>2</sup> Ducket received the large stipend of 3 shillings a day (*Cl. Rolls, 1231-1234*, p. 186). He appears to have acted as coadjutor to the treasurer in 1229 (*Cl. Rolls, 1227-1231*, p. 194).

<sup>3</sup> For some account of John Marshal and the marshalcy, see W. Lynch, *A View of the Legal Institutions' Honorary Hereditary Offices and Feudal Baronies in Ireland*, pp. 71-75.

<sup>4</sup> He appears actually to have sat there in 1228 (above, p. 25), but normally the office of marshal in the Irish exchequer seems to have been performed by deputy, as in England (Madox, *History of the Exchequer*, ii. 284-290).

<sup>5</sup> *Dublin Records*, i. 168.

<sup>6</sup> *Cl. Rolls, 1227-1231*, pp. 60-61 ; *Early Statutes of Ireland*, p. 34.

<sup>7</sup> We should perhaps make it clear that special commissions might be issued to justices who were not judges by profession. A good example in 1245 shows such justices trying both criminal and civil actions (*Cl. Rolls, 1242-1247*, pp. 359-60).



power.<sup>1</sup> If there was a senior justice he was not distinguished from the general body of justices itinerant. The justices continued for many years to bear this title ; but while they did visit other parts of the country, their jurisdiction appears to have been mainly exercised in Dublin, and in 1248 and frequently thereafter we hear of the king's justices in the bench at Dublin.<sup>2</sup> This may suggest that there was a separate and distinct body of justices sitting there, but all the evidence we have is to the contrary. The most convincing single piece of evidence is provided by the order given to Richard of Exeter in 1276 to deposit in the treasury at Dublin his own rolls and those of Walrand of Wellesley for the whole time that they were justices of the bench in Ireland during the reigns of Henry III and the present king.<sup>3</sup> Now Wellesley had been the senior justice itinerant for most of the period between 1242 and 1264, while Richard of Exeter had acted as justice itinerant from 1261 onwards. The implication is obvious, that they were also justices of the bench. It may be that the bench at Dublin was frequently an afforced court. We have seen how the treasurer and chamberlain sat with Richard Ducket in the king's court at Dublin in 1230. Early in 1255 the justices itinerant at Dublin are headed by the bishop of Ferns, that is Geoffrey of St. John, recently escheator.<sup>4</sup> In 1262 the justices of the bench appear to have been Hugh of Taghmon, bishop of Meath and also treasurer, the bishops of Ossory and Waterford and Walrand of Wellesley.<sup>5</sup> Nor is this the only occasion when the same treasurer presided over the court at Dublin, for in 1260 he is found there with two justices itinerant, Walrand of Wellesley and Alexander of Nottingham, and a fourth, otherwise unknown and certainly unprofessional, justice, Arnold of Berkeley.<sup>6</sup> But whether afforced or not, it is difficult, in the light of such documents as have come down to us, to draw a distinction between the bench at Dublin and the court of the justices itinerant in Dublin. And when we read of an assize of mort d'ancestor summoned before the justices in the king's court at Dublin in 1236,<sup>7</sup> and again of the assizes at Dublin in 1237,<sup>8</sup> and when it is evident from the context

<sup>1</sup> *Cl. Rolls, 1242-1247*, p. 471. The justiciar, John fitz Geoffrey, was instructed 'quod si in processu eiusdem appelli spreto iuris ordine aliquid errati (*sic*), illud revocari et sine dilacione faciant [iusticiarii] emendari'. How the justiciar is to decide whether there has been an error does not appear. For earlier references indicating that there were no other justices, see *Cl. Rolls, 1234-1237*, p. 375 and *ibid., 1237-1242*, p. 140.

<sup>2</sup> *Cl. Rolls, 1247-1251*, pp. 116-117 ; *ibid., 1251-1253*, p. 179 ; *Rôle Gascon, 1254-1255*, no. 13.

<sup>3</sup> *C.P.R., 1272-1281*, p. 161.

<sup>4</sup> *Cl. Rolls, 1254-1256*, p. 189.

<sup>5</sup> *Alen's Reg.*, p. 96.

<sup>6</sup> 20 *D.K.R. Ire.*, 51, no. 91.

<sup>7</sup> *Cl. Rolls, 1234-1237*, p. 393 ; cf. *ibid.*, pp. 354-355.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid., 1237-1242*, p. 11.



that the court there is observing the regular legal terms, we seem bound to infer that, whether or not it is yet so styled, the bench at Dublin is already established.<sup>1</sup> Nor can there be any doubt that this court is enrolling pleas, for in the seventeenth century there still survived plea rolls of the bench dating from 44 Henry III,<sup>2</sup> while rolls of amercements before the justices of the bench are recorded from 46 Henry III onwards.<sup>3</sup> But the only professional justices of whom we have any knowledge and who could have staffed this court are the justices itinerant. There appears to be but a single corps of judges and we may guess that, following English precedents,<sup>4</sup> the sessions of the central courts were suspended when an eyre was in progress. Whether the justices ever went on eyre in the county of Dublin is a question we must leave unanswered. It is possible, perhaps probable, that they never did and that litigants from the county resorted to the city.

While the justices were sitting in Dublin or itinerating elsewhere, the justiciar himself was constantly on eyre. This is evident from the statement of Thomas fitz Adam that he would not set free a man accused of forest offences unless security was given for his appearance either in the king's court in England or at least before the justiciar *in adventu suo in partes illas*.<sup>5</sup> The justiciar took assizes<sup>6</sup> and he heard appeals of felony and complaints.<sup>7</sup> It is scarcely possible that he held a court without the assistance of justices with some expertness in the law. In December 1222, the king's council sent an experienced judge of the English bench, Roger Huscarl, to assist the then justiciar, Henry of London, archbishop of Dublin.<sup>8</sup> Little is known of Roger's activities, which were not intended to be merely judicial,<sup>9</sup> except that, not long after his arrival in Ireland, sitting with the justiciar in the court at Dublin, he decided an important action that resulted in the loss by Walter de Lacy of his right to try pleas of the crown in Meath.<sup>10</sup> With an occasional

<sup>1</sup> For a reference in 1232 to a 'rotulus de banco' see *Cl. Rolls, 1231-1234*, p. 113. The meaning is obscure (above, pp. 31-2).

<sup>2</sup> 26 *D.K.R. Ire.*, 55.

<sup>3</sup> 35 *D.K.R. Ire.*, 43, 46, 47.

<sup>4</sup> Until 1249 the common bench in England was in the habit of suspending its sessions when an eyre had been proclaimed.

<sup>5</sup> *Letters of Henry III*, i. 84.

<sup>6</sup> *Cl. Rolls, 1231-1234*, p. 293; *ibid.*, 1234-1237, pp. 157, 535; *ibid.*, 1242-1245, p. 353.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 1234-1237, pp. 371, 523.

<sup>8</sup> *R.L.C.*, i. 526. For Roger Huscarl see *Feet of Fines, Lincoln* (Pipe Roll Soc.), p. xxxvi. He does not seem to have sat at the bench at Westminster under Henry III.

<sup>9</sup> He was appointed 'ad intendendum una vobis cum agendis et placitis nostris' and was to be called 'ad consilia vestra et ad nostra agenda' (*R.L.C.*, i. 526).

<sup>10</sup> *C.C.R., 1279-1288*, p. 55. This is not a contemporary record and the reference to the bench at Dublin must not be taken as technically correct. The year of the trial is almost certainly 1223, and it may be that this was in view when Roger was appointed.



visit to England,<sup>1</sup> Roger remained in the king's service in Ireland until 1227.<sup>2</sup> There is nothing to suggest that the place he left vacant was supplied by a similar appointment from England. We know that in 1228 Richard Ducket and Simon of Hale were associated with Richard de Burgh in his eyre in Waterford<sup>3</sup> and that Robert of Shardlow and his companions were with John fitz Geoffrey in his eyre in Tipperary in 1252 or 1253.<sup>4</sup> Our information is, however, scanty. The main source upon which we rely for particulars of the Irish judiciary for most of the thirteenth century is provided by the fairly numerous fines which have survived in transcript. Of these fines only one appears to have been levied in the justiciar's court, probably because fines were rarely levied there, as indeed is true of the king's bench in England at the same period.<sup>5</sup> The fine in question was levied at Dublin on the morrow of the Close of Easter 1242 before the justiciar, Maurice fitz Gerald, and the three justices itinerant, Walrand of Wellesley, Robert de Belvoir and Michael de Renneville.<sup>6</sup> It is difficult to guess why the justiciar presided when what seems to be quite a routine matter came before the court, but in any case the fine adds to the evidence that the justiciar associated the itinerant justices with himself when actions came before him. From what we have said, it will be evident that, while there was a court at Dublin which became known as the bench and while the justiciar heard pleas either at Dublin or on his travels throughout the country, the justices who provided the professional element in every tribunal were the itinerant justices.

In the natural order of things, this state of affairs would lead to the regular association of particular justices with a particular court and, soon after Edward became king of England as well as lord of Ireland, some differentiation between the justices in the king's service is explicitly recognised. It is true that justices might still be required to serve, now in one court, now in another, and that the records do not suggest any restriction in the range of their duties: thus we are sometimes informed that salaries were paid to maintain this man or that 'in the office of justice',<sup>7</sup> and at other times we

<sup>1</sup> He was at Bristol on 22 March 1224 (*R.L.C.*, i. 588).

<sup>2</sup> He was in office in June 1226, when he was in receipt of emoluments of £25 a year, partly in land and partly in money (*R.L.C.*, ii. 125). These emoluments appear to have ceased before June 1227 (*ibid.*, p. 188b; *Cl. Rolls*, 1227-1231, p. 11).

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 1227-1231, pp. 60-61: the court was taking assizes.

<sup>4</sup> *Analecta Hibernica*, ii. 252, from Pipe Roll 38-39 Henry III: see below, pp. 134-5.

<sup>5</sup> About 100 are known for the period 1234-1272: the scale of judicial activity in Ireland was, of course, very much less.

<sup>6</sup> *Crede Mihi*, p. 73. The transcript does not seem to render the original very faithfully, but there seems no doubt of the meaning.

<sup>7</sup> *C.D.I.*, ii. 1496, 1587, 1815, 1907.



have the bare mention of an annual fee.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, Robert Bagod had been formally appointed chief justice of the common bench at Dublin on 18 October 1274,<sup>2</sup> and shortly afterwards other justices were being paid with him as justices of that court and were set apart in this respect from the justices itinerant.<sup>3</sup> So out of the common pool of justices the common bench had been assigned its own distinctive personnel. There was, however, no sharp break with past practice: when the regular justices of the common bench have finished their sessions at Dublin they must go on eyre<sup>4</sup> and are then described as justices itinerant.<sup>5</sup> Indeed, four of the five justices ascribed to the common bench are found sitting at Dublin in 1278 as justices itinerant.<sup>6</sup> This ease of movement and fluidity is well exhibited in the appointment of Robert of Littlebury on 16 March 1300 to act as a justice of the common bench or to go on eyre: it was left to the justiciar to decide which it should be and in the event Littlebury was sent to the common bench because there was no eyre in progress at the time.<sup>7</sup> Still, it is plain that the court at Dublin has at the beginning of Edward I's reign acquired an identity of its own and has assigned to it justices whose first duty lies there. But the curious case of Richard of Exeter suggests how diffident we must be in making definite statements. In September 1282 Richard was addressed as one of the justices itinerant in Ireland and ordered to apply himself to hearing pleas in the bench at Dublin and to put aside the 'pleas of his eyre' until opportunity arose to deal with them. From the terms of the writ it would seem evident that he had had this dual function for some years and that the business of the eyres resulted in his neglecting the bench.<sup>8</sup> Yet he appears to have been regarded at one time as primarily a justice of the bench, for a petitioner in 1290 declared that he had served the king in his bench at Dublin for eight years with Richard of Exeter and Nicholas Taff as justices of that court,<sup>9</sup> and we must suppose that he did on occasion sit on the common bench when he was not acting as justice in eyre or attending the justiciar.<sup>10</sup>

When we turn to the justiciar's bench we find ourselves in greater obscurity. As we have said, when he was on his travels we must assume that

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, ii. 1497, 1650, 1860, 1907.

<sup>2</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1272-81, p. 61. He held that office until 1297.

<sup>3</sup> *C.D.I.*, ii. 1389 (1276).

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, ii. 1054.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, ii. 1389; Christ Church Deeds, nos. 116, 117, 122 (20 *D.K. Rep. Ire.*, 56-57).

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, i. 434; *Llanthony Cartulary*, p. 229.

<sup>7</sup> *C.J.R.*, i. 306.

<sup>8</sup> For the text see Doct. 9: below, p. 232. This has been calendared in *C.D.I.*, ii. 1973 and *C.P.R.*, 1281-98, p. 36: these different and inadequate versions illustrate the untrustworthiness of printed calendars as sources for the history of the Irish courts.

<sup>9</sup> Cole, *Documents*, p. 72 (*C.D.I.*, iii. 308).

<sup>10</sup> It is impossible to tabulate these changes, the dates of which are, in any case, uncertain, and we have ignored them in our lists.



the justiciar had by his side someone expert in law to give him technical assistance, but whoever this might be bears the general title of justice itinerant (which undoubtedly he was), and it is not until 1286 that we learn that an appointment to the justiciar's bench, as such, had been definitely made. Earlier than that we know that Richard of Exeter had been closely associated with the justiciar from 1270 onwards. He is officially described as the justiciar's deputy,<sup>1</sup> and one annalist goes so far as to say that he was created justiciar.<sup>2</sup> Yet he is described as a justice of the common bench at Dublin in January 1273<sup>3</sup> and thereafter as a justice itinerant,<sup>4</sup> and we have just seen how he discharged his dual functions and how at last he was ordered to concentrate on the business of the bench. It is to be deduced, however, that he was prevented from obeying that order, for there seem good grounds for supposing that, before he died, Richard had been associated with the justiciar's bench<sup>5</sup> and was the first justice to be assigned definitely to that court, since Walter Lenfant, who was specifically named and paid from Michaelmas 1286 as the justice who heard pleas before the justiciar wherever he was in Ireland, claimed to have succeeded Richard of Exeter in that office.<sup>6</sup> Thereafter there is no difficulty in tracing an unbroken line of succession and establishing the separate identity of the court which will become the justiciar's bench. Embarrassment and confusion seem to have arisen because the king's approval had not been obtained to the arrangement, and consequently the Dublin exchequer had refused to pay either Exeter or Lenfant. Exeter's son and Lenfant both appealed to the king and the post thus occupied was formally recognised in 1290,<sup>7</sup> but the circumstances of Exeter's appointment leave its date in some doubt. We think, however, that it may be inferred that the date was about the end of 1282. For some years after 1282 eyres appear to have been suspended in Ireland,<sup>8</sup> while the business of the bench was so congested that merchants and others had recourse to the exchequer, where they could obtain more speedy justice.<sup>9</sup> It is reasonable to deduce that

<sup>1</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1272-81, p. 451; 36 *D.K. Rep. Ire.*, 54.

<sup>2</sup> Marlborough's Chronicle, s.a. 1270: this incorporates thirteenth-century annals. Cf. the writ printed in *Irish Parliament in Middle Ages*, pp. 288-9, where Richard of Exeter is found attesting in the same way as justiciars did.

<sup>3</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1272-81, pp. 3, 161 (above, p. 32).

<sup>4</sup> *C.D.I.*, ii. 1294, 1496, 1497; iii. 169; cf. Christ Church Deeds, no. 118 (20 *D.K. Rep. Ire.*, 118).

<sup>5</sup> *C.D.I.*, ii. 2108: pleas of the crown before William fitz Roger, who was deputy justiciar between Easter 1284 and July 1285, and Richard of Exeter.

<sup>6</sup> Cole, *Documents*, p. 56 (*C.D.I.*, iii. p. 249); *C.P.R.*, 1281-92, p. 341; *C.D.I.*, iii. 636, 637, 964.

<sup>7</sup> Cole, *Documents*, pp. 56, 58 (*C.D.I.*, iii. pp. 249, 252); *C.P.R.*, 1281-92, p. 341 (*C.D.I.*, iii. 584).

<sup>8</sup> Cole, *Documents*, p. 84 (*C.D.I.*, iii. 296): 'cum itinera iusticiariorum in partibus Hibernie ob certas causas in presenti se non habeant ut solebant . . .' See also the list below, p. 142.

<sup>9</sup> Cole, *Documents*, p. 84. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 70, for an action of debt in the exchequer where the plaintiff, John of Cogan, succeeded, but for four years had been unable to get a writ of judgement, owing, it was alleged, to the favour shown to the defendant.



Exeter had not relieved the pressure on the bench and was neither available himself nor had set free others to itinerate in the country. Again, his son complained that on his death (before Michaelmas 1286) he had not received his salary of £40 a year for three and a half years,<sup>1</sup> that is, we conjecture, after he had taken up the duties later assumed by Lenfant.

The allocation of a particular justice to the justiciar's court presumably facilitated the everyday business transacted there, but the justiciar was free to call upon any of the judiciary to assist him, as he had done in the past. And the justices of the justiciar's court were not tied down to it: Walter Lenfant junior, for example, who, after an interval, succeeded his father there in 1298, was employed on eyre in 1301.<sup>2</sup> The new arrangement was, in fact, no more than a matter of convenience, a minor administrative contrivance. With the first surviving roll of the justiciar's court, that of 1295, we have at our command much detailed information regarding the business of the court and its personnel. The editor deduced that, if the justices itinerant were available, they accompanied the justiciar and that in Dublin the justices of the bench might sit in his court.<sup>3</sup> We have already noticed that an arrangement of this sort dates back to 1228 and presumably yet earlier, and we may note yet other examples before 1295. In October 1282 Richard of Exeter and Nicholas Taff accompanied the justiciar in Drogheda<sup>4</sup> and in 1284 Taff went with him to Connacht.<sup>5</sup> In 1290 the justiciar is instructed to get the assistance of the justices of the bench when enquiring into a disputed presentation to a benefice.<sup>6</sup> But there was brought before the justiciar's court much business that we should not regard as strictly matters of law, and it is sometimes difficult to differentiate the work of the court from that of the king's council in Ireland.<sup>7</sup> So closely are they connected that the business of parliament is recorded upon the rolls of the court, and parliament, we must remember, in Ireland as in England, is an afforded meeting of the council. Ultimately the justiciar's bench will stand out as a tribunal distinct from the council and will resemble the king's bench in England and will be known by the same name. It will then require to be adequately staffed. The stages in this evolution have yet to be determined. Though the single justice received the occasional assistance of another justice,

<sup>1</sup> Cole, *Documents*, p. 58.

<sup>2</sup> Below, p. 142.

<sup>3</sup> *C.J.R.*, 23-31 *Edward I*, p. iv. The original roll was destroyed in 1922.

<sup>4</sup> *C.D.I.*, iii. 28.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, ii. 2310. In January 1289 the keeper (John of Sandford, archbishop of Dublin) came on the first day of the eyre in Tipperary to instruct the justices (*C.D.I.*, iii. 268).

<sup>6</sup> Cole, *Documents*, p. 62 (*C.D.I.*, iii. p. 258).

<sup>7</sup> See the editor's remarks in *C.J.R.*, 23-31 *Edward I*, pp. vii-viii.



as shown in our list, it was not until 1324 that a second justice became a regular paid member of the justiciar's court.<sup>1</sup>

#### OFFICERS OF THE COURTS

Now that we have delineated, so far as our present knowledge permits, the evolution of the courts of common law in Ireland, we must say something of the officers of those courts. We begin with the court of the justices itinerant, from which, as we have seen, the bench at Dublin (or the common bench) gradually emerges. The office which became ultimately that of keeper of rolls and writs in the common bench seems to have originated in 1232. Obviously the justices itinerant needed clerks from the day upon which they began to sit in Ireland to enrol their pleas. We should, however, expect some time to elapse before the duties of the clerks were systematised and an established post created for the chief clerk. Whether this had happened before 1232 we do not know. The direction that a clerk of Peter de Rievaulx is to be present at all assizes taken at Dublin or elsewhere, who is to keep a counter-roll as a check on the justices' rolls,<sup>2</sup> does not necessarily mean that there was already a clerk with those duties. The direction arises from a desire to deprive the justiciar, Hubert de Burgh, of some of his authority and emoluments and is based upon the analogy of the organisation in England. There the justiciar had his clerks in the upper and lower exchequer and also in the bench, for the very good reason that the exchequer and the bench were his direct responsibility and that he presided over both, as his predecessors had done for a century and more.<sup>3</sup> But nothing like the complex organisation in England could have existed in Ireland, where, moreover, one essential element, the chancery, had not been introduced.

After his fall, Hubert de Burgh's clerks remained in office for two or three weeks, but on 11 September they were removed,<sup>4</sup> the clerk in the bench being replaced, apparently, by a clerk of the chancellor's. This we must deduce from the instructions sent to Ireland on 28 September which direct that the chancellor (in reality his deputy, Geoffrey de Tourville) was to appoint a clerk to be present at the assizes, to keep a bench roll (*rotulus de banco*) and to have custody of the original writs (*brevia placitorum*), 'sicut prefatus cancellarius habet in regno Anglie'.<sup>5</sup> The only possible interpretation of these instructions is that Ralf Neville had ousted Peter de Rievaulx

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Irish Parliament in Middle Ages*, pp. 36-37.

<sup>2</sup> *Pat. Rolls, 1225-1232*, p. 493.

<sup>3</sup> *Memoranda Roll, I John*, pp. xi-xv; Richardson and Sayles, *Governance of Mediaeval England*, pp. 156-72.

<sup>4</sup> *Cl. Rolls, 1231-1234*, p. 152.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 113.



from some part of the extensive patronage that had recently been bestowed upon him. The chancellor's clerks could not have been intended to sit by the side of the treasurer's clerks, but to replace them. So far as the Irish exchequer was concerned, the effect was to place a chancellor's clerk there on the English model. So far as the justices' court was concerned, the effect may have been no more than to change the designation of the clerk who, under the earlier instructions, was to keep a counter-roll at the assizes. In modern terms, he was transferred from his old department to a newly created department. In any case, it seems clear that the clerk's duties were the same under either instruction, though in the later one they are more precisely defined. Clearly, too, he is chief clerk and keeper of the rolls and writs.

Of the immediate practical issue of these instructions we know nothing. The name of no keeper of rolls and writs appears to have been preserved before 1279 when our list begins. The clerk, John of Hatch, then holding office in the common bench, is not at that date regarded as a chancery clerk. He is obviously a common lawyer and in 1283 he is elevated to the bench. This was an inevitable development. Just as the clerk appointed by the chancellor to reside in the exchequer became the chancellor of the exchequer, so the clerk appointed by the chancellor to be present in the justices' court became an officer of that court, a court which gradually emerged as the bench at Dublin, in the way we have described. The long gap in our information between 1232 and 1279 prevents us from forming even a conjecture as to the date when this change occurred, though we cannot doubt its inevitability. A similar change must have taken place in England, if the statement is true—and we have no reason to doubt it—that the clerk holding the corresponding English office in 1232 was a chancery clerk. But his connexion with the chancery must soon have ceased, perhaps when the English courts were re-organised in 1234.<sup>1</sup>

We need say little of the other officers of the courts. A chirographer was needed to draft the final concords which concluded many of the actions before the early justices itinerant and the bench at Dublin. The formulas adopted for this purpose were those in use in England, and the chirographer was doubtless guided by the *Modus Chirographandi* which had been compiled at Westminster.<sup>2</sup> Early in the fourteenth century the office of chirographer tended to be doubled with that of keeper of rolls and writs, and from 1340

<sup>1</sup> The court of king's bench was then separated from the single undifferentiated bench, leaving what now can be properly termed the common bench. About the same time the exchequer of pleas emerges as a third court of common law (below, p. 43).

<sup>2</sup> Apparently early in Henry III's reign. The text, somewhat overlaid by late additions, is to be found in Cambridge University Library MS., Ll. iv. 18, fo. 182b-187.



onwards the two offices appear to have been combined. When the Irish courts became definitely divided and the justiciar's court kept its own separate rolls, then clearly there was need for a keeper of rolls and writs in that court : the first holder of the office known to us appears in 1305. The justices itinerant, who were appointed after the bench at Dublin had established itself as a distinct court, also needed an officer of this kind, presumably appointed *ad hoc* for each eyre : we give a list of such officers beginning in 1289. We need perhaps hardly repeat the warning that such dates are not to be regarded as the date of the creation of an office : for example, we know the name of no chirographer of the common bench before 1280, but the many surviving fines of earlier date show that he had had a good many predecessors.

#### THE KING'S LEGAL REPRESENTATIVES

How soon it was before someone was appointed to prosecute and defend the king's interests in the Irish courts of law we do not know. There was presumably no immediate need for such an appointment to be made, for the king's ministers and, indeed, the king's judges would see that his rights were not diminished or his interests impaired. But the increasing burden and complexity of business eventually demanded that, as in England, the king should have a specific legal representative. The first known to us is Roger Owen, who asserted in a petition to Edward I that he had been appointed by the council in Ireland as " king's serjeant " to sue for him in pleas in which the king was concerned.<sup>1</sup> Though he had been promised a fee and had carried out the duties of his office for a long time, he had received nothing for services which, he pointed out, would have earned him a large salary if he had acted for Irish magnates instead. Since Owen had served whilst Richard de la Rochelle was justiciar and Fromund le Brun was chancellor, we can fix the date of his appointment as somewhere between 1261 and 1266.<sup>2</sup> His period of service appears to have overlapped that of Robert of St. Edmund. Robert asserted in a petition to the English chancellor that he had been taken over to Ireland by James of Audley, justiciar from Michaelmas 1270 to 11 June 1272, and that he had been in the king's service for sixteen years at a fee of £5 and two robes a year. This petition appears to have been sent early in 1285,<sup>3</sup> but since Audley cannot very well have engaged him before Michaelmas

<sup>1</sup> Doct., 7 : below, p. 230.

<sup>2</sup> Above, pp. 79, 92.

<sup>3</sup> *C.D.I.*, ii. 1416, where it is wrongly ascribed to 1278. Since the bishop of Waterford (i.e. Stephen of Fulbourn) is mentioned as justiciar, the date must lie between 1282, when he was appointed, and 1286, when he was translated to Tuam. A mandate of 20 June 1285 is manifestly the outcome of the petition (*C.F.R.*, 1272-1307, p. 215).



1270, the sixteen years he claimed must, it would seem, be an exaggeration, though he may have served for over fourteen years. Thereafter we have a fairly continuous list of those who held such office, either alone or in conjunction with a colleague. These "narrators" not only pleaded for the king in the courts but were presumably responsible for the complete process connected with the actions. A change occurred at the Michaelmas term of 1313. We then find a new office in existence, that of king's attorney. It is true that Richard Manning will be styled "attorney" or "serjeant" indifferently,<sup>1</sup> as will his immediate successors, William of Woodworth and Thomas of Westham, but they are always clearly marked off in the records from the "king's pleaders", the term used without exception to describe what in England at the time were termed "king's serjeants" or in modern parlance "king's counsel", and though the king's "attorneys" and the king's "pleaders" were paid the same fee of five marks a year until 1327, sometime after that year and certainly by 1331 the "pleaders", though not the "attorneys", had seen their fee raised to five pounds a year.<sup>2</sup> The king's "pleaders" acted wherever their services were required, whether it was in the exchequer or the common bench or the justiciar's bench, and they were not associated with any particular court. To begin with, the position of the king's attorney was similar: thus Thomas of Westham was appointed in 1334 "to prosecute and defend the king's affairs before the justices of the bench in Ireland and the king's other places there."<sup>3</sup> But it was clearly impossible for one man to act at one and the same time in the common bench in Dublin and the justiciar's bench away from Dublin, and by 1342 the king's attorney was more particularly associated with the exchequer and the common bench.<sup>4</sup> The presumption is that the prosecution of the king's actions before the justiciar when he was on eyre entailed separate appointments, as it had done in similar circumstances in England even before the fourteenth century began.<sup>5</sup> Of such appointments our information is sparse. On 9 October 1358 John of Exeter was stated to have served as attorney in the justiciar's bench (*in placea regis*) for more than ten years and to have been paid only sixty

<sup>1</sup> In 1318-19 the 'king's attorney' is named as 'Richard Manning, the king's serjeant' (E. 101/237/12).

<sup>2</sup> In England the king's attorney was paid £10 a year and the king's serjeants £20 a year. William Lynnore in Ireland tried in 1360-61 to get his fee as king's attorney raised from 5 marks to £5 a year on the ground that his predecessors used to obtain the higher rate (E. 101/244/6). This was patently untrue, but he was given an extra payment to make his fee up to £5 (E. 372/207, m. 46).

<sup>3</sup> C.P.R., 1334-38, p. 28.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. C.P.R., 1340-43, p. 429. For such ascription of Thomas of Crowland in 1350, Thomas Keppok in 1351-52, John of Leicester in 1352-53, William Lynnore in 1361 and Henry Michel in 1364, see E. 101/242/10, 14, 243/3; E. 372/212, m. 43; E. 364/7, m. C.

<sup>5</sup> Sayles, *King's Bench*, v. pp. cii-cvi.



shillings.<sup>1</sup> But of him or any predecessors or successors of his our records tell us no more.

One further point is worth noting. Of the seven legal representatives of the king who were in office before 1313, two rose to be justices of the common bench in Ireland. Thereafter, though none of the king's attorneys reached the bench,<sup>2</sup> out of the fourteen men who pleaded the king's causes six were made justices of the common bench<sup>3</sup> and four of these six became chief justices there,<sup>4</sup> whilst two were appointed chief justices of the justiciar's bench.<sup>5</sup>

#### THE DUBLIN EXCHEQUER

Having described in outline the general plan of Irish administration and having said what is necessary of the history of the several offices, we turn to describe the system of audit which resulted in the preservation of the documents from which we have drawn most of our material. In the first place, however, it will be well to give an account of the exchequer at Dublin. We have already explained that it was in existence before John's accession to the throne of England; that, at that period and for some time afterwards, Irish administration was concentrated in the justiciar; and that the sole organ of administration was the exchequer. This form of administration reproduced, on a small scale, the form of administration functioning in England and in Normandy in the twelfth century whenever the king was absent. At such times, and they were prolonged, these countries were ruled by a justiciar, who presided over the court of the exchequer, which, though it was the king's court, was in a special sense the court of the justiciar. The exchequer had a dual function: to audit the accounts of Crown debtors and to adjudicate upon actions between subjects. Pleas of the Crown, that is actions to enforce the king's peace or to assert the king's rights, were tried locally, though they might on occasion find their way to the court of the exchequer. The exchequer originally was an occasion, the session of a court, and not a department: the treasury was therefore distinct from the exchequer, and the treasurer, like the chamberlains, was a member of the king's household. But by the time the Conquest of Ireland had begun, the exchequer in England was beginning to be conceived as a department of state, with a continuous existence, a

<sup>1</sup> *C. Chanc. R. Ire.*, p. 66 (11).

<sup>2</sup> The king's attorney in England did not attain to judgeship in either king's bench or common bench.

<sup>3</sup> Blond, Fitz Richard, Gernoun, Dent, Preston and Keppok.

<sup>4</sup> Fitz Richard, Gernoun, Dent and Preston.

<sup>5</sup> Petit and Keppok.



department that absorbed the treasury, which thus became divorced from the household. This development is typified by a curious change in nomenclature: the chamberlains of the treasury became the chamberlains of the exchequer, a style that would have seemed nonsensical in the earlier years of the twelfth century when a chamberlain was an officer of the king's chamber. In the later years of the century the chamber was regarded as a department quite distinct from the treasury and therefore quite distinct from the exchequer in its new guise. In England—though not in Normandy—the growing volume of judicial work coming before the exchequer had gradually led to a division of the court, one division dealing mainly with financial business and the other division mainly with actions at common law. The latter division became known as the bench. But we must not think of these divisions as rigidly separate: they constituted one court, and just as financial business might still on occasion be dealt with in the bench, so judicial business might be dealt with in the exchequer. Some decades passed before the separation became complete.

We have said little of the king because, except for the fleeting visits of John and Richard II, he was remote from Ireland; but we must say a few words about the king's bench. How a separate court of king's bench emerged in England is a tangled story: suffice it to say here that not until 1234 were the English courts of common law organised, finally and definitely, into king's bench, common bench and exchequer, in a way that was to endure for six hundred years. This division, which was unparalleled in Europe, had in due course its influence upon the organisation of the judiciary in Ireland.<sup>1</sup> But in 1234 an Irish king's bench or, as it was first called, the justiciar's bench, still lay in the distant future, nor is there evidence that actions at common law were heard in the Dublin exchequer. It is doubtful, indeed, whether in the later twelfth century and the early years of the thirteenth there were any courts of law other than local courts even within those parts of Ireland John directly controlled. It is hard to explain otherwise why the justiciar presided on occasion over the Dublin county court. But within a few years, perhaps after John's visit to Ireland in 1210, royal justice was dispensed by justices itinerant who, before very long, constituted also the bench at Dublin. This evolution we have already described, so far as the evidence permits.<sup>2</sup> Here, let us remark, to anticipate a possible difficulty, that, though the exchequer was distinct from the judiciary, there might still be an interchange of personnel; but the exchequer had its particular records and the judiciary

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<sup>1</sup> For all that precedes see *Memoranda Roll, I John*, pp. xi-xv; Sayles, *King's Bench in Law and History*.

<sup>2</sup> Above, pp. 31-3.



had theirs, and the individuality thus expressed was preserved, even though we may find ministers or judges acting in capacities which are not those associated with the primary duties of their office.

The exchequer, when it was introduced into Ireland, naturally had the characteristics of the English exchequer as it is found in the closing years of the reign of Henry II and as it is described in the *Dialogus de Scaccario* of Richard of Ely. It did not, however, have those other attributes proper to a court of law, which are described in an equally famous and contemporary treatise on the exchequer, the law-book that goes under the name of *Glanville*. At the beginning of the thirteenth century the Irish exchequer was a department of finance and, so far as we can tell, nothing else: this is true even though it supplied clerks, as we may conjecture, to serve the justiciar in other ways, for example, to write charters or writs,<sup>1</sup> which were required in ever increasing numbers. By that time the characteristic record of the exchequer, be it English, Norman or Irish, and the culmination of its activities, the great roll (or pipe roll, as we know it familiarly) had established itself. We have a number of references to Irish pipe rolls of the reign of John, and we possess the text of that for his fourteenth year, made up at Michaelmas 1212.<sup>2</sup> There is nothing tentative or experimental about this roll: from its language and arrangement it is evident that the clerks responsible were trained in the methods of the English exchequer, and we must infer that the organisation of the exchequer at Dublin resembled that of the exchequer at Westminster. When also we get more precise details in the early years of Henry III, this inference is confirmed.<sup>3</sup> There was then a great (or upper) exchequer and a receipt (or lower exchequer). The upper exchequer is in the nature of a court at which Crown debtors are required to account; the receipt, which is controlled by the treasurer and chamberlain (there is only a single chamberlain at this period), is appointed for the payment of debts due to the Crown. But we must recall that we have no certainty that the clerk in charge of the exchequer bore the title of treasurer before 1217, and it seems plain that his authority was, for the time being, very limited. By the side of the justiciar he was a humble functionary.

We are justified in this conclusion by the instructive story of Geoffrey Marsh and his accounts. Geoffrey had been appointed justiciar by King John

<sup>1</sup> A complaint is made in 1285 that the justiciar removes clerks from the exchequer (*C.D.I.*, iii. p. 3), and he had his own clerks there also (*ibid.*, pp. 3-6). Henry Dupont, who was receiver (and later clerk to the chamberlain), is nevertheless called the justiciar's clerk (*C.D.I.*, ii. 536, 538; iii. pp. 3-4).

<sup>2</sup> Text printed and edited by D. B. Quinn in *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, 3rd series, vol. iv, Supplement: index and corrigenda in general index to vols. i-vi, pp. 27-36. For commentary see *Irish Historical Studies*, iii. 144-158.

<sup>3</sup> *Pat. Rolls, 1225-1232*, p. 491.



in 1215, and he had been continued in office by the council which acted in the name of the child-king Henry III. The anarchic condition of England during the *tempus guerrae*, which lasted from Easter 1215 to Michaelmas 1217, permitted of no control over the justiciar of Ireland. It was only slowly thereafter that the king's council established their authority in England and set the machinery of government running again at all satisfactorily. At last, in 1220, the council turned their attention to Ireland and summoned Geoffrey to meet them. It is evident that they found much that was not to their liking and they decided that the powers the justiciar had assumed must be restricted.<sup>1</sup> Their two main anxieties were the king's revenue and the custody of the royal castles. Finally, on 11 August, a formal agreement was made with Geoffrey. The financial provisions alone concern us here. He agreed to account at the Dublin exchequer for escheats, wardships, fines, taxes (*dona*), tallages, reliefs and aids: these revenues were to be at the disposal of the king. The regular revenues (described as rent of assize) and reasonable perquisites the justiciar was to apply to the expenses of administration (*custodia terre*) and the maintenance of royal castles, the cost of which was to be assessed by the archbishop of Dublin, Thomas fitz Adam and Richard de Burgh. For his receipts and expenditure Geoffrey was to account at the Dublin exchequer and, as a further precaution, the king was to be represented independently there by a clerk who was to keep a counter-roll of receipts and issues.<sup>2</sup> If we compare this agreement with the pipe roll of 1212, we shall have a measure of the departure in a few years from orthodox practice. In 1212 all sources of revenue, regular and extraordinary, had been brought to account; and though we cannot say that the justiciar did not profit from his office, there can have been little chance that any revenue lawfully demanded escaped the scrutiny of the barons of the exchequer.<sup>3</sup> It is evident that the Dublin exchequer, like the Westminster exchequer, had fallen into disarray under the stress of civil war, and that in Ireland recovery was slower and more difficult, not least because the justiciar found the situation to his advantage. For after nearly a year had passed, it was discovered that Geoffrey had taken no steps to honour his agreement. Revenues of every kind had been paid into his chamber (as doubtless they had been in past years) and he had disposed of them as he liked. In face of this defiance, the king's council nerved themselves to dismiss him and to replace him by the

<sup>1</sup> Some attempt had been made earlier by associating with the justiciar the archbishop of Dublin, Henry of London, and appointing John of St. John and Thomas fitz Adam as councillors (*Irish Parliament in Middle Ages*, pp. 24-25).

<sup>2</sup> *Pat. Rolls, 1216-1225*, pp. 263-5.

<sup>3</sup> *Irish Historical Studies*, iii. 148.



archbishop of Dublin ; but they did not feel themselves strong enough to do more. Once Geoffrey had made his submission some months later and restored the royal castles to the king, he was excused from rendering any account and a veil was drawn over any irregularities during his justiciarship.<sup>1</sup>

Now the moral for us is not so much the feebleness of the king's council and their inability to control a powerful Irish magnate—indeed, they had no choice but to govern Ireland through such as Geoffrey Marsh, and he himself was again justiciar in 1226—as the insignificance of the Irish treasurer and his inability to assert his authority, even though, like John of St. John, he had been sent from England especially to take charge of the Dublin exchequer and though he had the express commands of the king's council behind him. The situation in 1221 was exactly as it had been in 1198, when Hamon de Valognes was removed from the justiciarship. He had been excused from rendering an account in consideration of a fine of 1,000 marks,<sup>2</sup> which he had not paid when death overtook him five years later.<sup>3</sup> Geoffrey Marsh had agreed in 1220 likewise to pay a fine of 1800 marks ; but, on surrendering his office after a year of defiance, he had not paid it and the debt was forgiven him.

Even though King John, with an army behind him, had established his authority in Ireland, the minority of Henry III was to show how unstable were the foundations of central administration in Ireland. Gradually it acquired strength, as the authority of the king in England became greater and as the position of the great Irish feudatories became weaker, notably by the reversion to the Crown of the earldom of Ulster in 1243 on the death of Hugh de Lacy, followed in 1245 by the death of the last Earl Marshal and the division of his inheritance among co-heiresses. The cession of Ireland to Edward, the king's first-born, in 1254, with the reservation to the king of what appears to have been the most important item of revenue, the temporalities, during voidance, of Irish bishoprics and monastic houses, inevitably weakened the exchequer. Though we know little of its history for the next eighteen years, such documents as have survived show that the machine continued to function, if to less purpose.<sup>4</sup> The barons and their clerks pursued their course with great regularity and the annual pipe rolls appear to have been compiled with unbroken continuity, for, despite every hazard, at the end of the seventeenth century two-thirds of those for the reign of Henry III

<sup>1</sup> *R.L.C.*, i. 476-7 ; *Pat. Rolls, 1216-1225*, pp. 316-7.

<sup>2</sup> *R. de Obl.*, p. 25 ; *Pipe Roll, 2 John*, p. 215.

<sup>3</sup> On Hamon's death, Hugh Neville, who had the wardship of his heir, paid 700 marks in respect of Hamon's debt (*Pipe Roll, 5 John*, pp. 132, 161-2 ; *6 John*, p. 185).

<sup>4</sup> See, for example, Documents 1 and 28 : printed below, pp. 225-6.



were still in their proper place.<sup>1</sup> Well before the end of the thirteenth century the Dublin exchequer had, by successive stages, been brought into line with that at Westminster.<sup>2</sup> The office of chancellor of the exchequer dates, as we have seen, from 1232: the inference is that from this year or soon after a chancellor's roll, duplicating and controlling the pipe roll, was compiled annually. A second chamberlain of the exchequer was added in 1291. Not long after the accession of Edward I the exchequer had developed a court of common law, to which merchants in particular resorted. This development was fostered by the treasurer, Nicholas of Clere, who held office between 1285 and 1291: it originated doubtless as a departmental court before which the officers of the exchequer could sue for their debts,<sup>3</sup> but it obviously supplied, perhaps unintentionally, what the bench failed to give, speedy relief to other litigants.<sup>4</sup>

The Irish exchequer had thus been assimilated to the English exchequer, and, in principle, the structure provided a complete system of checks against irregularities and malversation. In the upper exchequer the chancellor's roll provided a check upon the treasurer's roll, the pipe roll itself. In the lower exchequer the chamberlains' issue and receipt rolls provided a check upon the treasurer's issue and receipt rolls, and one chamberlain was a check upon the other. In this way the expenditure of the justiciar, who represented what are now the 'spending' departments, came under review, because no issue should have been made without a writ of liberate.<sup>5</sup> Yet there were recurrent scandals: those connected with the justiciar, Stephen of Fulbourn, bishop of Waterford, in 1284<sup>6</sup>; with the treasurer, Nicholas of Clere, in 1290<sup>7</sup>; with Henry of Walton, one of the chamberlains, in 1306<sup>8</sup>; with Alexander of Bicknor, archbishop of Dublin and former justiciar, in association with the treasurer, Walter of Islip, and one of the chamberlains, Robert of Cotgrave,

<sup>1</sup> *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, 3rd series, vol. iv, Supplement, p. 75.

<sup>2</sup> We have said little of subordinate officers, but it is evident from the report on the state of Ireland in 1285 that these included the marshal, prothonotary, remembrancer, usher, keepers of the pipe and chancellor's rolls, keeper of the originalia, clerk of the summonses, clerk of the treasury, two engrossers: more than one office might, however, be held by one man (*C.D.I.*, iii. 2-4). The establishment laid down in 1292 differed a little from this (*R.B.E.*, iii. 975; *E.H.R.*, xviii. 512-3). For the English establishment, to which the Irish establishment corresponds, see Madox, *History of the Exchequer*, chapter 24.

<sup>3</sup> *C.D.I.*, iii. 2; above, p. 26.

<sup>4</sup> Cole, *Documents*, p. 84.

<sup>5</sup> With the exception of some customary payments. See the report of 1285, where departures from this rule are condemned (*C.D.I.*, iii. 3).

<sup>6</sup> E. 101/230/13 and 234/19; *C.D.I.*, ii. pp. 551-61; iii. pp. 1-15.

<sup>7</sup> E. 101/231/24 and 232/1; Cole, *Documents*, pp. xiii-xxxi, 82-128.

<sup>8</sup> Doct. no. 13: below, pp. 238-42. See also, p. 120, n. 1.



in 1326<sup>1</sup>; with the treasurer, John of Burnham, in 1350.<sup>2</sup> The king's council in England was therefore continually reminded of the need for more effective supervision. Nor can it be said that the justiciar himself, however high-principled he might be, was in less need of supervision when he had the almost unchecked disposal of large sums of money, as he had in much of the thirteenth century and in the latter years of the reign of Edward III.<sup>3</sup>

#### THE JUSTICIAR'S ACCOUNT

This description of the Dublin exchequer, bare as it is, will enable us to understand the reasons for the system, or rather successive systems, of audit established by the king and, between 1254 and 1272, by Edward as lord of Ireland. We have seen how two early justiciars, Hamon de Valognes and Geoffrey Marsh, were called upon to account and failed to do so. The king was prepared to compromise the matter by accepting a substantial fine, and though both Hamon and Geoffrey were forced to make a show of compliance, it is sufficiently evident that they had no intention of paying. They may well have acted in good faith—though hardly any mediaeval office-holder could refrain from enriching himself by using the dubious opportunities his position offered—and it is highly improbable that either could give an exact account of his receipts and expenditure. Doubtless each had a clerk in his chamber, who kept some kind of account, but he could scarcely be expected to distinguish between his lord's private expenditure and the moneys he expended on the king's behalf. In much the same way it would have been difficult for the clerks of the king's chamber to distinguish, even if the concept was possible, between what we should call the king's personal expenses and governmental expenditure.<sup>4</sup> The parallel is not a perfect one, because a justiciar, however wide his powers, was an agent and, in principle, was called upon to account; but in the troubled conditions in Ireland, at the close of the twelfth century and in the years following Magna Carta, rigid accounting was out of the question.<sup>5</sup>

With the gradual assertion of the king's authority, his council was able, with some prospect of success, to insist upon an audit of the justiciar's account. Of any account rendered by Henry of London, archbishop of Dublin, who

<sup>1</sup> E. 101/238/23, 25, 29 and 239/1, 11–13. There are corresponding entries on the memoranda rolls.

<sup>2</sup> E. 101/242/5, 6, 8, 9.

<sup>3</sup> Below, pp. 49–52, 61.

<sup>4</sup> The *Misae Roll* of 14 John affords an excellent example of the daily account that a chamber clerk would keep (Cole, *Documents*, pp. 231–69).

<sup>5</sup> The English exchequer had to abandon any attempt at auditing the accounts of the *tempus guerra*: (see M. Mills in *Trans. R. Hist. Soc.*, 4th series, viii (1925), pp. 161–65).

succeeded Geoffrey Marsh, there seems, however, to be no indication : the king was, in fact, in his debt and it would seem that the expenses of government fell largely upon the archbishop.<sup>1</sup> But his successor, William Marshal, was required to render an account to the archbishop, the bishop of Ferns, then treasurer, and, ironically enough, the newly appointed justiciar, Geoffrey Marsh. This account was to be sent to England, but nothing more is known of it.<sup>2</sup> The fresh appointment of Geoffrey Marsh can hardly have been agreeable either to the king's council or to himself. He evidently demanded an assurance that no attempt should be made to re-open the account for his first period of office,<sup>3</sup> while to avoid like trouble in the future he was granted a stipend of £580 annually from the Dublin exchequer to cover the expenses of his office.<sup>4</sup> Although directions were given for the audit of the account of the next justiciar, Richard de Burgh, by his successor (Maurice fitz Gerald), the deputy chancellor, one of the justices (Richard Duckett) and the treasurer,<sup>5</sup> evidently no account was rendered. Richard had been involved in Hubert de Burgh's fall from office, and the king pursued both with the same irrational anger. Richard purchased the king's grace with a fine of 3,000 marks, which excused him from any liability in respect of his justiciarship.<sup>6</sup> Upon the appointment of Maurice fitz Gerald, the king's council reverted to the principle of paying a stipend, which they fixed at the meagre figure of 500 marks.<sup>7</sup> This sum was obviously inadequate and was rather grudgingly increased until at length the treasurer and chamberlain were authorised to pay the justiciar whatever was necessary to maintain peace and prosecute war.<sup>8</sup> Similar terms, it may be noted in passing, were given to the next justiciar, John fitz Geoffrey, but in his case the stipend was fixed at the rather more generous figure of £500.<sup>9</sup> With Maurice fitz Gerald we at last learn of an actual account, not, however, for the early years of his justiciarship, but for the period from Michaelmas 1238 to 19 May 1242. The account included, it is important to observe, all receipts and issues during this time and not merely his expenditure over and above his annual stipend. This account was audited by the archbishop of Dublin, the master of the Templars, the treasurer, and the senior justice (Walrand of Wellesley) : it was remitted to the king, who duly

<sup>1</sup> *Pat. Rolls, 1216-1225*, p. 544 ; *ibid.*, 1225-1232, pp. 19-20 ; *Cl. Rolls, 1227-1231*, pp. 44, 48.

<sup>2</sup> *Pat. Rolls, 1225-1232*, p. 47.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 52.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 51-52.

<sup>5</sup> *C.P.R., 1232-1247*, pp. 10-11.

<sup>6</sup> *Foedera*, i. 213 ; *Cl. Rolls, 1231-1234*, pp. 534-5.

<sup>7</sup> *Pat. Rolls, 1225-1232*, p. 499.

<sup>8</sup> *Cl. Rolls, 1231-1234*, p. 315 ; *C.P.R., 1232-1247*, p. 40.

<sup>9</sup> *Cl. Rolls, 1231-1234*, p. 466.



exonerated Maurice.<sup>1</sup> He remained in office for over three years more, but rendered no further account and was finally excused from submitting one.<sup>2</sup> John fitz Geoffrey was, in turn, excused from submitting an account for his period of office up to Easter 1254.<sup>3</sup> Since the king had granted the lordship of Ireland to Edward two months before that date arrived,<sup>4</sup> it follows that no account was rendered. While, therefore, we must regret that we have lost such audited accounts as did reach the king, it is evident that we have not lost very much, at least numerically.

For the remainder of Henry III's reign the justiciar accounted to Edward, at any rate in principle, but any accounts rendered before his accession to the throne have disappeared with the bulk of his muniments of that period. The escheator, of course, now accounted to the king,<sup>5</sup> and the survival of an imperfect file of vouchers shows that the account was, on occasion, audited in England.<sup>6</sup> But, in one way or another, we have lost practically all the scanty Irish financial records that came to Westminster under John and Henry III. As regards those that should have been preserved locally it will be clear from what follows that, while the major series, the pipe rolls and memoranda rolls, were treated with respect, the subsidiary records, the particulars of the accounts, as they were called, were little regarded once they had served the purpose of audit. It is the loss of these that is to be most regretted, for they would have told us in detail of the everyday incidents of administration which we now seek in vain to recover.

We have said that all the accounts rendered to Edward before his accession have disappeared ; but it so happens that the account of the last justiciar he then appointed, James of Audley, was not rendered until many years after his death and so has been preserved for us.<sup>7</sup> This account is the earliest account of its kind to have survived and there is no reason to doubt that it is typical of the account rendered by—or expected from—previous justiciars, although the circumstances in which it was presented were unusual. Audley, it will be recalled, was accidentally killed while in office, and his account was prepared long afterwards by his former clerk, William de La Bruyère. This came about in this way. James's eldest son, Henry of Audley,

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 379. There appears to have been a 'view' of his account in 1238 by the archbishop of Dublin and a special envoy from the king and possibly some others (*Cl. Rolls, 1234-1237*, pp. 571-3). For the nature of a *visus*, see below, p. 53.

<sup>2</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1247-1258, p. 24.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 360. It is to be inferred that an audit, ordered in October 1248 (*ibid.*, p. 29), did not take place.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 270.

<sup>5</sup> *Cl. Rolls, 1259-1261*, pp. 86-87 ; *ibid.*, 1264-1268, p. 283.

<sup>6</sup> *C.* 47/35/14.

<sup>7</sup> *E.* 101/230/2 ; *C.D.I.*, ii. 889, 890.



was called upon as his heir, and therefore his personal representative, to account at the Dublin exchequer.<sup>1</sup> Henry, who was resident in England, obviously had no personal knowledge of his father's affairs in Ireland: moreover, he was a sick man and died before he could take any effective steps in the matter.<sup>2</sup> The next son, William, succeeded to the responsibility. He appears to have believed that his father's account had been audited in Dublin and procured a writ requiring the treasurer and barons to certify the amount outstanding.<sup>3</sup> It seems to have taken some time to discover that no account had been rendered, and it was not until June 1280 that a commission was established to audit the account at the Dublin exchequer.<sup>4</sup> The auditors now appointed were of the same kind as had been appointed under Henry III to audit justiciars' accounts: the treasurer, a senior justice (Richard of Exeter), the escheator, and the master of the Templars. The audit was to take place on the octave of Michaelmas and the result reported to the king. At the audit William of Audley presented the account and this was supported by his father's rolls of receipts and issues, which meantime had been in the keeping of the prior of Kilmainham. The audited account of the treasurer (Hugh of Taghmon, bishop of Meath) from Michaelmas 1270 to Michaelmas 1272 was also produced. William disputed the figure of payments alleged to have been made to his father, which he declared exceeded the actual payments by £642 18s., and he asked for particulars. These could not be found—'lost perchance', as Hugh said, 'by carelessness or accident'—and the auditors proposed rather arbitrarily to charge the bishop with this amount. The bishop, who had long since left office, naturally objected to any challenge to his audited account, now eight years old, and protested to the king.<sup>5</sup> Since James of Audley had a handsome balance in his favour, considerably greater than the alleged overcharge on the bishop's account, the king formally waived any claim in respect of it; but the balance of account, that is the sum due to be paid by the king to James's personal representatives, was nevertheless reduced by the amount in dispute.<sup>6</sup>

The only other accounts rendered by justiciars which now survive appear to be one by Robert of Ufford, covering a year and a half of his period of office,<sup>7</sup> and another by John of Sandford, archbishop of Dublin, when keeper

<sup>1</sup> *C.C.R.*, 1272-1279, pp. 193-4.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 277-8; *Complete Peerage* (1910), i. 338.

<sup>3</sup> *C.C.R.*, 1272-1279, p. 462.

<sup>4</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1272-1281, p. 379.

<sup>5</sup> *Doct.* 8: below, pp. 230-1.

<sup>6</sup> *C.C.R.*, 1279-1288, pp. 141-2.

<sup>7</sup> *E.* 101/230/6; *C.D.I.*, ii. 1412.



of Ireland from July 1288 to August 1290.<sup>1</sup> The former is a summary and the latter a detailed account in journal form : neither is an audited account, but they are both apparently supporting statements produced in the English exchequer. It is at this point of time that the system of accounting changed, but before explaining how that came about, it will be well to say something of the treasurers' accounts which were rendered *pari passu* with the justiciars' accounts.

#### THE TREASURER'S ACCOUNT

It will have been observed that the principal accountant under John and Henry III and in the early years of Edward I was the justiciar. The treasurer was regarded as subordinate. His task was to collect revenue, to make some customary payments and to keep the balance available, primarily for despatch to the king or to be expended at his behest, and secondarily for the expenses of the justiciar in peace and in war. The expenses of the justiciar in time of peace could be calculated in advance and could be met by a stipend : his expenses in time of war were incalculable but seem rarely to have absorbed more than a fraction of the funds lying in the treasury at Dublin. From the occasional figures given in the records, it is evident that Ireland was a source of very considerable revenue to the king<sup>2</sup> and, even though he retained the largest single item of revenue when he transferred the lordship to Edward, yet the latter might expect a substantial income.<sup>3</sup> How much he received in fact we have no means of knowing, and it seems clear that the last years of his lordship were not very profitable.<sup>4</sup> So far as the treasurer was concerned, it was a matter of indifference whether the treasury was emptied to satisfy the justiciar's demands in opposing the lord's enemies or to meet the lord's debts : when the treasury was empty, his responsibilities were ended until fresh revenues came to hand. It was the justiciar who had to raise money or to find it from his own resources when the treasurer could not supply him, and he might leave office with large claims against the lord, which, as James of Audley's heirs were to discover, were not easy to recover. So much it is necessary to say in explanation of the treasurer's position until near the end of the thirteenth century.

<sup>1</sup> E. 101/231/9 ; *C.D.I.*, iii. 559. The audited account, briefly summarised, is on E. 372/136, m. 33.

<sup>2</sup> No estimate is possible : most of the money was paid into the wardrobe. The following references give some idea of the constant flow of treasure from Ireland to England : *C. Lib. R.*, 1226-1240, pp. 167, 181, 358, 402, 424 ; *Cl. Rolls*, 1247-1251, p. 437 ; 1251-1253, pp. 30-31, 159, 370, 392, 410-11 ; 1253-1254, p. 20. In the account of the executors of Geoffrey de Tourville, to which a reference is given on the next page, 2,700 marks are shown as having been paid to the king at Chester, and 1,000 marks to the mayor and citizens of Bordeaux, evidently in repayment of a debt incurred by the king. The period covered by the account is 3 May 1250 to 29 September 1251.

<sup>3</sup> *C.D.I.*, ii. 442, 446, 455 ; *Doct.* 1 : below, p. 225.

<sup>4</sup> We may take Hugh of Taghmon's account as evidence of this (*C.D.I.*, ii. 391). The money appears to begin to flow again in the 1280's (*C.D.I.*, ii. 2040 ; iii. 169 (p. 65), 218 ; iv. pp. 184, 199 : see also below, p. 56).



The dismissal of Peter de Rievaulx in April 1234 must have occasioned some enquiry into the administration of Irish finances. The outcome was the appointment of Geoffrey de Tourville as treasurer on 25 August and the inauguration of a new system of accounting. Hitherto there appears to have been some examination of the treasurer's account at the end of the financial year by the barons of the exchequer. Henceforth the treasurer's receipts and issues and the balance in hand were to be verified by the archbishop of Dublin, the justiciar and the master of the Templars: the outcome was to be recorded in a chirograph, one part of which was to be sent to the king.<sup>1</sup> This verification was not, strictly speaking, an audit, but was what was known as a view, *visus*. *Visus* is a technical term of the English exchequer. The accountant made a declaration (*verum dictum*), presumably on oath, but his vouchers were not produced or examined.<sup>2</sup> The money in the Dublin treasury was there to be checked and the chamberlain's counter-rolls were available to test the accuracy of any entry on the treasurer's rolls. Short of fraud, a view in these circumstances was a sufficient measure of control. In practice there does not seem to have been an annual view of Geoffrey de Tourville's accounts, but a special audit was ordered in 1241<sup>3</sup> and a view was taken on at least three occasions, in 1244, 1250 and (after his death) in 1253.<sup>4</sup> On this last occasion the terminology differed and the account which his executors rendered was to be 'audited'.<sup>5</sup> The account rendered by the executors has survived.<sup>6</sup> At the same time directions were given for the auditing of the account<sup>7</sup> of the treasurer then in office, Hugh of Mappleton, bishop of Ossory, by the same commission of four, consisting of the justiciar, Maurice fitz Gerald, the prior of Kilmainham and the master of the Templars, who were to send the account, when audited, under their seals to the king. Whether the change in language indicates some change of procedure does not appear: none of the accounts of Geoffrey de Tourville or of Hugh of Mappleton has survived. After the transfer of the lordship of Ireland to Edward in 1254, Hugh of Mappleton continued to act as treasurer, and it must be presumed that he or his executors rendered an account, though we know nothing of it. On Mappleton's death in 1260, Hugh of Taghmon became treasurer and continued in office until Michaelmas 1274. His account from Michaelmas 1270 to Michaelmas 1272 has come down to us: by direction of Edward's representatives it was audited by the

<sup>1</sup> C.P.R., 1232-1247, p. 67.

<sup>2</sup> Madox, *History of the Exchequer*, ii. 157-160.

<sup>3</sup> C.P.R., 1232-1247, p. 263. In the enrolment Geoffrey's surname is mistakenly given as 'de Trubeville'.

<sup>4</sup> C.P.R., 1232-1247, p. 429; *ibid.*, 1247-1258, pp. 68, 212.

<sup>5</sup> The entry reads 'de compoto audiendo' (C. 66/64, m. 4).

<sup>6</sup> In transcript in Royal MS. 18 C. xiv, fo. 233b-234b. We owe this reference to Dr. F. J. Lydon,

<sup>7</sup> 'ad audiendum compotum' (C. 66/64, m. 4.).



justiciar, a representative of the chancellor, two justices and John of Kenley, who combined the offices of chancellor and chamberlain of the exchequer.<sup>1</sup> The account is of the simplest kind and the audit cannot have presented any difficulty. The major payments, amounting to nearly three-quarters of the total, were to the late justiciar, James of Audley: the rest consisted of stipends, alms and payments by writ, largely on behalf of Edward. As was objected later,<sup>2</sup> no representative of James of Audley was present, though all payments to him were recorded in the issue rolls and doubtless in the counter-rolls kept by the chamberlain, who was himself one of the auditors. There are certainly no grounds for questioning the accuracy of the account or the integrity of the auditors; but it is evident that the account was not subjected to rigorous scrutiny nor was it of such importance as to warrant much more than a cursory examination. Quite obviously any serious examination of Irish finances would take place, if at all, upon the audit of the justiciar's account.

Hugh of Taghmon was succeeded by Stephen of Fulbourn, bishop of Waterford, who remained in control of the treasury until 1285, even after he had been appointed justiciar. A fair number of his rolls have survived:<sup>3</sup> they continued to be kept in his name, it may be remarked, though his brother, Walter of Fulbourn, bishop of Meath, was acting as deputy treasurer. The rolls of this period show some departure from the accounts of preceding treasurers. While the justiciar still receives substantial sums to be expended at his discretion, a good many items, which hitherto might have been paid direct by him, now appear upon the treasurer's issue roll.<sup>4</sup> There has been some shifting of responsibility, although the justiciar still remains the principal accountant. Apparently the change was not due to any instruction from the king but was decided by Stephen of Fulbourn, who exercised exceptional authority and, as subsequent events showed, conducted the financial affairs of Ireland pretty well as he chose, without supervision or interference from England.

So affairs drifted on for ten years or so and the Dublin exchequer lapsed further and further into disorder. By 1284 anxiety was being felt in England about the position: no accounts had been rendered for a long time, and it is probable that rumours were afoot that all was not well. A commission was therefore despatched in July to make a view of the accounts of Stephen of Fulbourn and of other treasurers and deputy treasurers who had not

<sup>1</sup> E. 101/230/2; *C.D.I.*, ii. pp. 149-52.

<sup>2</sup> Doct. 8: below, pp. 230-1.

<sup>3</sup> E. 101/230/4, 8, 13-16, 19, 24, 25, 28.

<sup>4</sup> *C.D.I.*, ii. 1389; iii. 169.



rendered their final accounts.<sup>1</sup> The commission of four members was headed by Richard Barton, abbot of Rewley, and included Nicholas of Clere, of whom more is said anon. Their enquiries led to a comprehensive and damning report on the Irish administration :<sup>2</sup> it questioned the integrity of Stephen of Fulbourn, who was alleged to have used his offices (he had become justiciar) for his personal enrichment. The report cannot, however, have been fully credited in England, for though Walter of Fulbourn was removed from office, Stephen remained justiciar until his death in July 1288.

The new treasurer, Nicholas of Clere, was to prove an unfortunate choice. He was as authoritarian and free from control as his predecessor and no less questionable in his dealings. In the Westminster parliament of Hilary 1290 many charges were brought against him by private complainants. These were for the most part remitted to the justiciar for a report in the Easter parliament, when the opportunity was taken by other complainants to prefer a further series of charges.<sup>3</sup> The continued uneasiness felt at Westminster over Irish financial affairs is evident in the instructions to the justiciar to examine, in conjunction with Robert Bagot (chief justice of the Bench), the accounts of Stephen of Fulbourn and to report the result in the same Easter parliament. The treasurer and the barons of the Dublin exchequer were, for their part, ordered to produce the relevant rolls and records before the auditors of the exchequer at Westminster.<sup>4</sup> Since Stephen had been formally exonerated on surrendering the office of treasurer in 1285,<sup>5</sup> the atmosphere of suspicion is evident: the precise outcome of the enquiries of 1290 is unknown, but the chattels remaining in the hands of his executors were seized and sold.<sup>6</sup> Nicholas of Clere was in a different case. The charges against him did not, in general, directly touch the king's interests, and they might not have proved fatal to him : he was ready enough with his answers. The evident necessity to investigate his conduct in office led, however, to a rigorous examination of his accounts. In 1291 he was ordered to account at the Westminster exchequer and, after several adjournments, the audit began late in December

<sup>1</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1281-1292, p. 127.

<sup>2</sup> E. 101/234/19. The version in *C.D.I.*, iii. 1-15 is unsatisfactory and in places unintelligible. For some account of the report of the commission, dealing with another aspect of the enquiry, see J. A. Watt, 'English Law and the Irish Church' in *Medieval Studies presented to Aubrey Gwynn*, pp. 149-152.

<sup>3</sup> Cole, *Documents*, pp. xiv-xxxi, 58-65, 76-78, 83, 89, 98, 100.

<sup>4</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1281-1292, p. 345 : a better summary, except for an error of 'Dublin' for 'Tuam', will be found in *C.D.I.*, iii. 589.

<sup>5</sup> He had, however, to pay the king £4,000 in half-yearly instalments of 500 marks. The king, moreover, reserved the right to re-open the account (*C.P.R.*, 1281-1292, pp. 188-9 ; *C.D.I.*, iii. 121, 129).

<sup>6</sup> His ecclesiastical ornaments, which had been seized on his death, did not pass to his executors (*C.C.R.*, 1288-1296, p. 19 ; *C.D.I.*, iv. 93). For receipts from his other chattels see *C.D.I.*, iv., pp. 70, 81, 155, 170, 178, 188, 208, 266.



or early in the New Year and ended at some time before 30 April.<sup>1</sup> Serious irregularities were discovered and Nicholas was not only dismissed from office but suffered forfeiture.<sup>2</sup> The more permanent result of the investigation of the accounts of the last two treasurers was a modest measure of reform. So far as the Dublin exchequer was concerned, some re-organisation was effected to bring it into line with the exchequer at Westminster,<sup>3</sup> and it was ordered that henceforth the accounts of Ireland should be rendered annually to the English exchequer and there audited by the treasurer and barons. For some reason not easy to understand, the decision to require annual audits was not announced until the Westminster parliament of Easter 1293.<sup>4</sup> In consequence the first audit under the new rule did not take place until July 1294.<sup>5</sup> However, again for some reason not easy to understand, annual audits were abandoned, and the next audit was deferred until after Michaelmas 1299.

In the audited accounts for 1294-1299 we have a good picture of Irish finances as reformed.<sup>6</sup> Upon the revenue side the notable feature is the amount of 'foreign' or extraordinary receipts, consisting chiefly of direct taxes and customs, compared with the 'great' or ordinary receipts. Out of a total of something over £26,300 received in these years, more than £12,000 is derived from foreign receipts.<sup>7</sup> Of this substantial revenue a large part went in military expenditure on the Scottish war and elsewhere, while over £4,400 was paid direct into the king's wardrobe:<sup>8</sup> the amount spent for military purposes in Ireland was inconsiderable. No account, it is to be noted, is called for from the justiciar. When in a single year over £5,000 is spent on the Irish contingent to the king's army in Scotland, this is paid to Thomas of Snitterby, chief justice of the bench, who is acting as paymaster on the justiciar's instructions; but it is Snitterby, and not the justiciar, who will be called upon to account.<sup>9</sup> Snitterby, in modern parlance, is acting as sub-accountant to the treasurer. The point to emphasise is that the treasurer

<sup>1</sup> *C.D.I.*, iii. 422, 425-30.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 1098. Receipts from his benefices, which were sequestered, appear in the receipt rolls from 1294 onwards (*C.D.I.*, iv. 120, 161, 214, 266, 317, 323, 331, 350). There are also several rolls of receipts of his chattels which were apparently being realised long after his death (E. 101/233/13; 234/5, 6, 11, 15). With some intervals, he suffered imprisonment until 1300, when he appears to have been released (*C.R.*, 1296-1302, p. 350), and he was dead by 1303 (*C.D.I.*, v. 84). Throughout he retained his ecclesiastical offices, though their income was forfeited, and he died archdeacon of Dublin (cf. Lawlor, *Fasti of St. Patrick's*, p. 77).

<sup>3</sup> Above, p. 47, n. 2.

<sup>4</sup> *Rot. Parl.*, i. 98, no. 11. The accounts of Gascony were to be rendered and audited in the same way.

<sup>5</sup> *R.B.E.*, iii. 976. The audited account does not seem to have survived.

<sup>6</sup> *C.D.I.*, iv. 183, 273, 346, 456, 565, 682.

<sup>7</sup> The figures given in the *Calendar* are sometimes erroneous and we have corrected them in arriving at these totals.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 327-8.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 165. His account is enrolled on the Pipe and Chancellor's Rolls of 1 Edward II.



is now regarded as the Irish minister of finance and not, in this matter, as the subordinate of the justiciar. The general financial position was destined to change during the course of the fourteenth century. Up to the 1360's Ireland was still a modest source of revenue to the English king,<sup>1</sup> and Lionel's expedition seems for the first time to have placed some burden on the English treasury. This burden became increasingly serious until, in the fifteenth century, the incapacity of the English government to find ready money reduced any subvention from this source to vanishing point. We have told the story in outline elsewhere :<sup>2</sup> the immediate point it is desirable to make is that the change in financing the king's wars in Ireland led to the separation of the treasurer's account, which bore the civil expenditure, from the special account for military expenditure.<sup>3</sup>

### THE AUDIT

We have seen how the disarray of Irish finances under Edward I led to their control by the English exchequer, a control finally systematised in 1293. It was a consequence of this system that duplicates of the Irish receipt and issue rolls, with which we are primarily concerned, were deposited for nearly a century in the treasury at Westminster, that the audited accounts appear on the pipe and chancellor's rolls,<sup>4</sup> that there is much discussion of Irish accounts in the memoranda rolls of the English exchequer, and that a considerable body of subsidiary financial documents is to be found in the Public Record Office in London. There was no sudden departure. Since Edward's accession the king's council had been learning much of Irish finances and their mismanagement, and the betrayal of the trust reposed in Nicholas of Clere, who had obviously been sent to Ireland as a reformer, was the decisive argument for close supervision. There must have been a strong feeling in court circles that every minister in Dublin required to be watched, a feeling which successive scandals must have strengthened and which seems to have persisted even after the financial system which afforded opportunities for abuse had disappeared.

Let us now describe the stages of the audit. The first step was to summon the Irish treasurer to account at Westminster and to require the barons of

<sup>1</sup> The last payments into the treasury at Westminster appear to have been made by Walter of Dalby, who relinquished office on 1 February 1365 (E. 364/7, m. C.).

<sup>2</sup> *Irish Parliament in Middle Ages*, pp. 80-85, 150-4, 227-31, and 'Irish Revenue, 1278-1384' in *Procs. Royal Irish Academy*, vol. 62, Section C, pp. 87-100.

<sup>3</sup> See below, p. 61.

<sup>4</sup> See P.R.O., *List of Foreign Accounts*, p. 51. That the accounts of Stephen of Fulbourn and Nicholas of Clere head the list is due to the circumstances explained above, pp. 54-6.



the exchequer at Dublin to send, at first, both sets of the receipt and issue rolls (the counter-rolls) that had been kept by the chamberlains during the period of account,<sup>1</sup> and, later, one set of counter-rolls.<sup>2</sup> One of the chamberlains was required to be present in order to charge (*ad onerandum*) the treasurer.<sup>3</sup> The counter-rolls were placed in a bag, closed with the seal of the Dublin exchequer, and this bag the chamberlain took with him.<sup>4</sup> The treasurer was, in principle, responsible for producing his own rolls,<sup>5</sup> which he might do by an attorney, although on occasion, as a matter of convenience, both treasurer's rolls and chamberlain's rolls might be sent together<sup>6</sup> and the chamberlain might even act as the treasurer's attorney.<sup>7</sup> The procedure adopted doubtless depended upon the repute of the treasurer. Delays were inevitable. The treasurer might profess himself unable to account except in the presence of a deputy treasurer<sup>8</sup> or a former treasurer,<sup>9</sup> and when the treasurer was ready to account the chamberlain might fail to put in an appearance.<sup>10</sup> When at last both treasurer and chamberlain were present or represented, they or their representatives would be sworn and an auditor nominated.<sup>11</sup> He, however, might be too busy to proceed immediately and the audit would then be put off from term to term.<sup>12</sup> In one case, that of Walter Dalby, after adjournments from the morrow of the Ascension to a month after Michaelmas and thence to the octave of Candlemas 1368, the treasurer was so inconsiderate as to die before the quinzaine of Easter, to which date the audit had last been adjourned. Death did not, of course, end the matter, for the barons of the Exchequer called upon the executors to account<sup>13</sup> and the audit might not then be closed for many years.<sup>14</sup>

When they got to work the auditors were meticulous to a degree. They did, from time to time, encounter grave malversation which needed to be investigated exhaustively,<sup>15</sup> and they would on occasion go behind the evidence

<sup>1</sup> E. 372/139, m. 9; E. 372/145, m. 26d.

<sup>2</sup> Docts. 12, 16, 18-21: below, pp. 236, 247-50, 258-9, 261-3, 270.

<sup>3</sup> Docts. 16, 18, 19: below, pp. 247-50, 257-62. In exceptional circumstances the rolls might be those of another chamberlain: below, p. 263.

<sup>4</sup> Docts. 19, 20: below, pp. 260-70.

<sup>5</sup> C.D.I., iii. p. 425; docts. 16, 20, 21: below, pp. 247-50, 262-71.

<sup>6</sup> Doct. 12: below, p. 237.

<sup>7</sup> Doct. 20: below, p. 263.

<sup>8</sup> Doct. 12: below, pp. 236-7.

<sup>9</sup> Doct. 16: below, pp. 248-50.

<sup>10</sup> Docts. 12, 18, 19: below, pp. 236-8, 257-62.

<sup>11</sup> Docts. 20, 21: below, pp. 264, 271.

<sup>12</sup> Docts. 20, 21: below, pp. 262-71.

<sup>13</sup> Doct. 21: below, pp. 270-1.

<sup>14</sup> Doct. 23: below, pp. 276-8.

<sup>15</sup> Above, pp. 47-8.

of the counter-rolls and call for all warrants for payment and all receipts.<sup>1</sup> And although the treasurer might bring with him writs authorising expenditure, failure to record the items on the issue roll necessitated reference back to Dublin.<sup>2</sup> The need for strict accountability was pressed to extremes. A debit balance of a shilling<sup>3</sup> or even of three farthings<sup>4</sup> would be pursued.<sup>5</sup> A lack of all sense of proportion is shown in the examination of Richard Mitford, bishop of Salisbury, in 1398.<sup>6</sup> This year lies beyond our period, but we have chosen the account to illustrate the position under Richard II when the king's council had adopted the policy of limiting the king's commitments in Ireland and of striking bargains with the lieutenant or the treasurer, as the case might be, so that the English exchequer would be freed from close scrutiny of Irish accounts. In pursuance of this policy Mitford, who was then bishop of Chichester, had been appointed treasurer on the basis that he should have the accustomed fee but should discharge all liabilities of the office from current receipts, without being required to account. An account would be called for only if he received a subvention from England for the defence of Ireland or other reasons. The latter contingency did not arise, but it so happened that the appointment was made by two instruments: the first, dated 4 October 1395, was the formal appointment, the second, dated the following day, contained the stipulations relating to accounting, upon which the bishop had presumably insisted as a condition of taking office.<sup>7</sup> Nevertheless Mitford was called upon to account, and he took the precaution of obtaining a formal letter from the king requiring the treasurer and barons of the exchequer to observe the terms of the appointment.<sup>8</sup> They, however, took the view that he was required to account for the one day between his appointment on 4 October and the notification of the conditions of the appointment on the 5th. The bishop made the obvious reply that he had received nothing to the king's use in that interval. The barons, however, refused to be satisfied without a certificate to that effect from the Irish exchequer, a certificate they seem never to have obtained. They exonerated the bishop from rendering an account from 5 October 1395 onwards, but

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<sup>1</sup> Doct. 16: below, p. 250. Several files of warrants and receipts survive (E. 101/233/22, 23; 241/13; 244/8; C. 47/35/12, 13; C. 148/131-137).

<sup>2</sup> Doct. 20: below, p. 267.

<sup>3</sup> Doct. 16: below, p. 248.

<sup>4</sup> Doct. 18: below, p. 260.

<sup>5</sup> The treasurers themselves were expected to remit small balances in their favour. Nicholas Allen formally remitted a half-penny (E. 372/196, m. 28) and Thomas Badby a farthing (E. 372/207, m. 46).

<sup>6</sup> Doct. 23: below, pp. 276-8.

<sup>7</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1391-1396, p. 584: the date of the second instrument is not given here.

<sup>8</sup> Perhaps because he had been re-appointed on 28 October 1397 (*C.P.R.*, 1396-1399, p. 248).



nevertheless he asked that an account should be rendered by the under-treasurers who had acted for him during the whole period he had held office. His purpose was perhaps to ascertain whether any balance remained from which he had not profited. The two under-treasurers had been John Melton<sup>1</sup> and the abbot of St. Mary's, Dublin.<sup>2</sup> The former was dead, so proceedings were taken against his executors. The abbot seems never to have put in an appearance, but proceedings dragged on against the executors until 1415, when the survivor was pardoned.

These futilities must not be taken as a fair representation of an audit at Westminster. Such proceedings did afford an opportunity for raising serious issues. Let us take as an example the examination in 1372 of the attorney of Stephen Vale, bishop of Limerick,<sup>3</sup> who was treasurer in 1368-1372.<sup>4</sup> The proceedings seem to have just begun when Thomas le Reve, bishop of Lismore,<sup>5</sup> intervened on behalf of the king and objected that the receipt rolls did not include the proceeds of parliamentary subsidies and other items. The treasurer's attorney knew nothing of these matters, but the chamberlain who was present explained that the subsidies had been paid, not to the exchequer, but to the lieutenant, William of Windsor. Windsor was therefore summoned and examined. He gave a full explanation of his actions and, although this was not challenged in court, his statement was sent to the newly appointed justiciar, Robert of Ashton, for enquiry and report. The proceedings were then adjourned until June in the following year when William of Windsor and Stephen Vale both appeared in person. After some explanations on disputed items had been given by the latter, a further adjournment until October was ordered, and then, in the absence of any report from Ireland and in view of Windsor's imminent departure for that country as governor, the proceedings were adjourned indefinitely. We give a brief account of this audit to illustrate the one point that the proceedings on these occasions gave an opportunity to interested parties to challenge the accountant and to raise important issues. The hearing was in open court and anyone who professed to appear on the king's behalf would be heard: on this occasion two quite

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<sup>1</sup> Melton was parson of Old Shoreham, Sussex, and clerk of one of the chamberlains of the English exchequer: he was still alive and in Ireland late in 1397 (*C.C.R.*, 1392-1396, pp. 4, 5; *C.P.R.*, 1391-1396, pp. 493, 633; *ibid.*, 1396-1399, pp. 248, 270, 307).

<sup>2</sup> Stephen Roche: he is said by Ware to have held office in 19 Richard II (1395-1396), but this year seems impossible (*Chart. St. Mary's*, i. 378).

<sup>3</sup> He was translated to Meath in 1369, but, in accordance with what seems to have been the exchequer practice, he is given the title he bore on appointment. Similarly, Richard Mitford is called bishop of Chichester, not bishop of Salisbury (below, p. 276).

<sup>4</sup> For the proceedings see *Parliaments and Councils*, pp. 39-48.

<sup>5</sup> He is so entitled, though this see had been united with Waterford in 1363.



unimportant persons,<sup>1</sup> beside the bishop of Lismore, came forward. We should perhaps add that behind the formal proceedings there was a background of acute political controversy but for which Stephen Vale's account would probably have passed without challenge. The object of the attack was not the treasurer, but the lieutenant, William of Windsor: of these things we have written elsewhere<sup>2</sup> and we recall them as a reminder that the full meaning of an audit may not appear on the surface.

The mention of William of Windsor at the English exchequer invites a brief statement regarding the accounts rendered by lieutenants and other chief governors in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. As we have seen, the responsibility for accounting for the revenues of Ireland was transferred from the justiciar to the treasurer in the reign of Edward I. But when the king undertook the financing of military expeditions in Ireland, the corollary was an account rendered at Westminster.<sup>3</sup> The earliest occasion of this kind appears to have been the expedition of Edward III's son Lionel, lieutenant in 1361-1364, which was financed principally from England. One consequence is a still surviving body of accounts that merits detailed study.<sup>4</sup> Lionel did not himself account. The principal account was rendered by Walter Dalby, who had been appointed clerk of wages.<sup>5</sup> His account interlocked with that of the treasurer, Thomas Mynot, because the subsidy levied on absentee Irish landlords was appropriated to meet part of the cost of Lionel's expedition. The position became complicated when the king remitted to the countess of Ormond her share of the subsidy, which Dalby had to re-imburse and then reclaim from the treasurer and which, by some oddity of reasoning, the barons of the English exchequer sought to recover from Mynot. The subsequent proceedings, with a reference back to Dublin, furnish an instructive example of obtuse pedantry.<sup>6</sup> William of Windsor's periods of office as lieutenant and governor have similarly left a legacy of special accounts of great interest,<sup>7</sup> but on these we need not comment. For the most part such accounts of military expenditure relate to a later period than that covered by this volume.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Richard of Winchendon, of co. Cork, and William of Sandhill, of Waterford (*ibid.*, pp. 42, 46).

<sup>2</sup> *Irish Parliament in Middle Ages*, pp. 80-85.

<sup>3</sup> For the enrolled accounts see P.R.O., *List of Foreign Accounts*, p. 52.

<sup>4</sup> E. 101/28/11-28 (with some exceptions); E. 101/29/5-7, 11.

<sup>5</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1361-1364, p. 61. For his account see *Foreign Accounts* (E. 364), 7.

<sup>6</sup> *Doct.* 22: below, pp. 271-5.

<sup>7</sup> E. 101/30/1, 2; 31/25; 33/3, 34-38; 245/6, 10. For some of these see *Irish Parliament in Middle Ages*, p. 80.

<sup>8</sup> Ashton's account, E. 101/32/25 (see *ibid.* 82), and the earl of Ormond's account, E. 101/34/18, fall within Edward III's reign.



The English exchequer was concerned with Irish accountants for another reason. Many ministers in Ireland were birds of passage whose permanent home was in England or Wales, and if they left office without settling their accounts with the Crown, only the English exchequer could pursue the debtor and bring him to book. An early instance is that of Thomas Roche who had been sheriff of Cork until Michaelmas 1291.<sup>1</sup> The justice of West Wales had been instructed to distrain him to appear at the Dublin exchequer in the Michaelmas term 1293. He failed to do so, but appeared later at Westminster, where he found mainpernors for his appearance at Dublin in the following Easter term. Ultimately he accounted there, but was left with a large deficit which the officers of the Dublin exchequer could not recover. They therefore made a fresh request to the English exchequer to pursue Thomas, who, in the end, was able to get his debt remitted by the king.<sup>2</sup> This is a very simple case, but it illustrates the two stages at which the English exchequer could intervene, first to compel an Irish minister to account, and secondly to levy execution for a proved debt. In the reign of Edward III the numbers of ministers who defaulted or failed to account become formidable. In February 1346 the English exchequer called for a return of former ministers whose debts could not be recovered in Ireland and of those who had failed to account and had left Ireland. The return, which was received in October 1348, contained nine names, five in the first category and four in the second.<sup>3</sup> It included three escheators, two sheriffs, a clerk of wages, a keeper of the great customs, a keeper of temporalities and a keeper of a wardship. One escheator, John Dufford, owed the large sum of £712 and another, Edmund Hakluyt, £319; a former sheriff of Cork, David Caunton, owed £219. A return made four years later contained fifteen names: it included all but one of those appearing in the earlier return.<sup>4</sup> The debt of Edmund Hakluyt had risen to £398, but there were no other changes. The names now added included John of Sandford, the former archbishop of Dublin and justiciar (or rather keeper), who had died in 1294, and William Montagu, earl of Salisbury and lord of Carlow, who had died in January 1344 and was charged with a debt of £1,054. The only other new name we need mention is that of master William of Epworth, who had failed to account under three heads.

It will be evident from a bare comparison of the two returns that the English exchequer had had little more success than the Irish in running down the defaulters, who seem to have been, on the whole, difficult to trace. A

<sup>1</sup> Doct. 10: below, pp. 232-3; see 37 *D.K. Rep. Ire.*, 53, 54.

<sup>2</sup> *C.D.I.*, iv. 387; *C.C.R.*, 1296-1302, p. 147; *C.P.R.*, 1292-1301, p. 334.

<sup>3</sup> Doct. 15: below, p. 244.

<sup>4</sup> Doct. 17: below, pp. 252-4.



certain John ' of Ufford ' was, it is true, discovered in Suffolk and instructions were issued to levy execution on his lands and chattels, but he was not the errant escheator and the king intervened to stay proceedings.<sup>1</sup> In another case, where master John Rees had had the custody of lands in wardship, it was found that his responsibility had lasted for a few weeks only before the wardship had been granted to another : this grant was recorded both in Dublin and Westminster, though it took three-and-a-half years to establish the fact.<sup>2</sup> But let us follow William of Epworth.<sup>3</sup> He at last put in an appearance on 13 July 1356<sup>4</sup> and was committed to the Fleet for his contempt. This was a formality, for he was ordered to proceed to Dublin for the audit of his accounts, while the treasurer and barons there were instructed to report the outcome on the morrow of Trinity 1357. The return to this writ came finally to hand in the Easter term 1359 and may be summarised thus. Under one head Epworth had accounted and had a deficit of just under £14. Under another head he had failed to account and was therefore put under arrest. Under the third, and most important head, that of a subsidy granted in 1346, he had produced a statement, compiled from memory because all his records had been destroyed by fire and water : the Dublin exchequer was seeking further information and in the meantime Epworth was being detained. There was nothing the English exchequer could do but to direct the Dublin exchequer to hasten the audit of the outstanding accounts and to report again. The morrow of Michaelmas was fixed for the return to this writ and for the production of Epworth ; but the English exchequer seems to have heard nothing further and after a reminder to Dublin and a series of adjournments the record peters out.<sup>5</sup>

The melancholy story of ineffective financial control would seem even darker if we were to recount the series of frauds upon the exchequer perpetrated in the fourteenth century. But we must retain a sense of perspective. Despite the failings of too many ministers and the opportunities offered to dishonesty, in some fashion the machine worked. Losses were but a small fraction of the whole revenue. Nor need we suppose that conditions in Ireland were worse, or the standard of probity lower, than elsewhere in Western Europe. The very system of control from Westminster gives us ready knowledge of disorders which elsewhere may not be apparent, either

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<sup>1</sup> Below, pp. 244-5.

<sup>2</sup> Below, pp. 244-7, 253.

<sup>3</sup> Below, pp. 253-7.

<sup>4</sup> He was at Westminster earlier, for in the previous year he had been one of the mainpernors of Robert of Embleton (below, p. 259).

<sup>5</sup> Below, p. 257.



because the records have perished or because the facts lie hidden in multitudinous documents tediously difficult to sift. No one has attempted the formidable task of writing the history of English finances in the later Middle Ages,<sup>1</sup> but when it is written the story may be as melancholy as the Irish story and on a larger scale. Not that we make any claim to have written a history of Irish finances. We offer but an outline for a period that stops short at 1377, although we would fain believe that this does not misrepresent the findings which a fuller study will one day establish. And imperfect though our outline may be, it is important that the facts disclosed should be appreciated for their bearing upon the wider problems of Irish administration in the Middle Ages. With what imperfect tools the government of the day had to labour!

## ENVOI

There are some matters upon which we would say a little by way of conclusion. We have already explained that the issue rolls provided the initial basis for our lists, but that the information they supply has been supplemented from other sources. Some details have been recovered from the enrolled accounts, but the principal source is the English chancery rolls, which, for the most part, are readily accessible only through calendars. In the first place, let something be said of calendars. Administrative history cannot be written satisfactorily from calendars,<sup>2</sup> even from calendars which present an English translation of the Latin text: *traduttori, traditori*! We have, of course, used calendars—though not without a measure of verification—to fix dates of appointment and so forth and have preferred to cite those of the London Public Record Office rather than the *Calendar of Documents relating to Ireland* by H. S. Sweetman, which appeared in five volumes between 1875 and 1886, the last volume posthumously. Sweetman was frequently unhappy in his renderings (which it is always desirable to check) and more than occasionally he slipped in dating documents. His work compares, perhaps not altogether unfavourably, with that of the earlier editors who calendared the English chancery rolls, from which most of his entries are drawn; but the classification of the rolls has since been changed and a good many of his references are obsolete. For those, therefore, who wish

<sup>1</sup> The literature is copious, if uneven in quality, extending from Madox's *History and Antiquities of the Exchequer* to Mr. A. B. Steel's recent *The Receipt of the Exchequer, 1377-1485*. There are, however, many gaps and uncertainties. A knowledge of the practice and some aspects of the history of the English exchequer is essential to the student of Irish history. A résumé of published work by one familiar with the records themselves would be of great value.

<sup>2</sup> Five of the documents we print below, nos. 1, 2, 5, 7 and 9, have been calendared.



to consult the original texts, the Public Record Office calendars are a better guide. Moreover, valuable as Sweetman's calendars are as an index to the material available in his lifetime, they have the grave defect of omitting all references to printed texts, though he must have known, and presumably used, the volumes of the English Record Commission which contain many of the documents *in extenso*. Since his time, moreover, the publication in full of the English patent rolls has been continued to 1232 and of the close rolls to the end of the reign of Henry III. We have, of course, given references to the printed texts, even though we have often been guided to them by Sweetman. We may perhaps add that he was ill-advised to attempt to calendar the financial accounts and rolls which occupy much of the third, fourth and fifth volumes of his calendar: such documents are not in this way rendered easier to comprehend. One of the great needs of the student of Irish mediaeval history is a critical edition of the receipt and issue rolls and allied accounts, which will not only supersede and complement Sweetman's English renderings, but will provide a continuation covering seventy years beyond the date when his calendar ends. There is no set of Irish mediaeval records comparable to these which, with relatively few gaps, present a continuous picture of a century and more of administration.

Having said so much, it may not be deemed impertinent on our part if, in the light of more than thirty years' experience, we say a little of the value and, indeed, the necessity of administrative history as the basis of any objective account of life in mediaeval Ireland or, for that matter, anywhere else in Western Europe in the Middle Ages. Records, which provide the raw material for the study of nearly every aspect of mediaeval history, are the product of an administrative process and cannot be fully understood unless that process is understood. This is true, whether we are concerned with Church or State, central or local government. Much nonsense has passed as history, churchmen and statesmen have been foolishly praised or blamed, out of sheer ignorance of the determining circumstances, as though administrators can act outside the trammels of office and the institutions of which they are the servants. Men are bound as ineluctably to the systems of their own age as they are to the thoughts of their own age. To depict the past faithfully we must have the patience to appreciate the past, to understand past practices nearly as well as the men who followed them, to realise why, out of several apparent alternatives, one course was taken by preference, why documents were drafted according to one formula rather than another. We cannot view great events truly except in the light of seeming trifles. Is it not written *Qui fidelis est in minimo et in maiori fidelis est*?



But when we have come to discern the mediaeval background, the figures thrown up against it, bound though they may be by the conditions of their own time and conforming to its spirit, have yet their independent and individual motions. Without their divagations and diversions the story of the past would, for most of us, be repellently dull. With these to beguile us, the past lives. Our interest is quickened by the embarrassments and errancies of others, dead though they may be six or seven centuries ago. Irish historians, it must be confessed, have been too incurious in these matters. The dossier of Nicholas of Clere, of whom we have said a little, has been in print well over a hundred years. It illustrates vividly contemporary manners and the abuses of authority; but no one has had the enterprise to tell the story. There are other episodes that merit the telling. The misrule of Stephen of Fulbourn, bishop of Waterford and archbishop of Tuam, treasurer and justiciar, has yet to be made intelligible to us.<sup>1</sup> 'Alexander Bicknor, archbishop and peculator' would be an arresting title for another essay, which would reveal the seamy side of official life in Dublin a generation or so later.<sup>2</sup> And it is time that the caricature which still passes for the story of William of Windsor in Ireland was replaced by a less scandalous attempt to describe the career of an outstanding soldier, for which the sources are unusually copious.<sup>3</sup> 'The husband of Alice Perrers', if that were the title, might promise something different from the serious monograph that, one hopes, would emerge; but Alice cannot be kept out of the story, for the impact of court intrigues and rivalries upon civil and military administration is a factor essential to our understanding of the last inglorious years of Edward III.

We have included in an appendix a series of documents, intended primarily to illustrate the processes of the Irish and the English exchequers. So far as they do this, reference has been made to them in the preceding sections. Inevitably, however, they cast side-lights upon matters other than accountancy. We may remark one curious fact disclosed, for it is suggestive of the wide and profitable field offered by the study of the diplomatic of Irish official documents, a subject hitherto neglected.<sup>4</sup> The audit of the account

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<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 55, n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> The documents (above p. 48, n. 1) were unknown to the biographers of Bicknor: the calendars of the English chancery rolls also supply some relevant information.

<sup>3</sup> In the latest volume of the Oxford History of England Miss May McKisack (*The Fourteenth Century*, pp. 386-7) follows Miss M. V. Clarke unquestioningly, despite our refutation in *Irish Parliament in Middle Ages*, 80-85, where there will be found an indication of the actual facts and references to some of the sources: for other references see above p. 61, n. 7. For accounts relating to his employment elsewhere (Carlisle, Brittany, Cherbourg), see E. 101/29/22; 39/7; 40/10; and Foreign Accounts (E. 364), 8 and 29.

<sup>4</sup> A notable example of the consequences of this neglect is the misinterpretation of the exemplification in 1419 of the Irish *Modus tenendi parliamentum*: see *Irish Historical Studies*, iii. 187-92.



of the treasurer, Thomas Mynot, involved the production of a series of instruments issuing from the Irish chancery during the lieutenancy of Lionel, duke of Clarence. As had long been the practice, these instruments are couched in the name of the king, Edward III, and are dated by his regnal years.<sup>1</sup> If we can rely upon the texts as copied on to the English memoranda roll—and there is no reason to doubt their substantial accuracy—up to 16 January 1362 the Irish chancery was dating by both the year of the king's reign in England and the year of his assumed reign in France, whereas this double form of dating had been relinquished in the English chancery more than a year earlier. The significance of this discovery (for the fact does not seem to have been observed hitherto) is that it removes suspicion from any similar document so dated, which might reasonably have been regarded as corrupt or falsified.

Besides financial documents, we have included in the appendix a few documents which have been used to illustrate other points of Irish administrative history. Some of these have a wider interest, of which we may say a little. Our own distrust of mediaeval enrolments<sup>2</sup> and our disbelief in the accuracy of the mediaeval clerk border perhaps upon the heretical: we cannot credit the mediaeval civil service with higher virtues than their counterparts to-day possess. Nearly every penstroke of the *Halbgelehrten*, then as now, is a legitimate object of suspicion. The sixth series of documents we print<sup>3</sup> will explain why suspicion is legitimate. The underlying facts are these. On the death of Fulk of Sandford, archbishop of Dublin, on 5 May 1271, Edward's lieutenants in England had appointed Thomas of Chedworth to be keeper of the temporalities of the see on 4 August following. Their letter, however, dated the commencement of his duties 24 June 1270. Chedworth seems not to have noticed the error for some years, but in 1275 he sent master Simon of Hereford to the English chancellor, Robert Burnell, asking that the lieutenant's letter might be innovated and corrected: that is, he wanted a fresh letter in the same terms under Edward's new royal seal, but with 1270 altered to 1271. He also sent a writ of 9 April 1274 to be similarly innovated. Both of his requests were granted and the two instruments appear on the close roll under the date 21 June 1275.<sup>4</sup> But the curious feature of the innovated

<sup>1</sup> Below, pp. 266, 267. It has not been uncommon for such instruments to be mistaken for diplomata of the English chancery, emanating from the king. Thus A. F. Pollard took the exemplification of 1419 as his authority for the statement that 'a revised version of [the English *Modus*] was sent over to Ireland in 1418' (*Evolution of Parliament*, p. 68).

<sup>2</sup> We have noted below (p. 76) some errors in the chancery enrolments of John's reign which, if accepted, would throw the succession of justiciars into confusion.

<sup>3</sup> Below, pp. 228–30.

<sup>4</sup> *C.C.R.*, 1272–1279, p. 192; *C.D.I.*, ii. 1136, 1137.



form of the letter of 4 August 1271 is that, whereas in the original Chedworth is described correctly as chancellor of Dublin (that is of St. Patrick's), he is now described as chancellor of the exchequer of Dublin, an office he had indeed held but which he had vacated certainly before 24 June 1271.<sup>1</sup> The petitions of Adam de la Roche to the countess of Pembroke<sup>2</sup> not only throw welcome light upon the administration of Wexford under Edward I, but are immediately relevant to our subject by their references to the gifts which were necessary to obtain favours at Dublin. The treasurer and his clerks have their *épices* (bribes would be too harsh a word) for granting a delay in accounting at the exchequer. The treasurer also accepts thirty shillings for giving time to the countess to pay an instalment of debt. The barons of the exchequer and the three ushers have likewise their *épices* for a respite in the payment of 'service' (the equivalent of scutage).<sup>3</sup> A clerk of the bench has a fee for certifying the date of a writ, and a judge of the court accepts the present of a carcase of beef to induce him to be lenient to an offender. Such payments explain how men in public offices became well-to-do: unless extortionate, customary gifts were not regarded as wrong. The king could not expect his servants to live upon what they received from him. The puzzle is why these payments had been disallowed when the steward's accounts had been audited and why it was necessary for him to appeal to the countess. Finally, we may make a brief comment upon the letter of a member of the council (for such the writer must be), asking the English chancellor for letters of protection for Hugh Canon, who was threatened with legal proceedings over his estate in England.<sup>4</sup> Hugh was a justice of the bench, but, as the writer says, he was often assigned to other duties. At the moment he was acting escheator and in less than two months was due to go on eyre. The council had therefore prevailed upon him to defer his departure for England to defend the action until he could be better spared. Here is another illustration of the perennial dearth of able men in Ireland to carry on the king's government.

This is the lesson we would stress in bringing to an end our outline of Irish administrative history in the first two hundred years of the Conquest. It is the key to the want of governance that afflicted Ireland for many centuries. Regarded by English kings first as a source of profit and then as an embarrassment which could neither be surmounted nor relinquished, the country was denied the resources which alone could ensure effective and stable government. The overweening ambition of Edward I was the primary

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<sup>1</sup> Above, p. 27.

<sup>2</sup> Doct. 11: below, pp. 233-5.

<sup>3</sup> *Irish Parliament in Middle Ages*, p. 233.

<sup>4</sup> Doct. 14: below, p. 242.

cause of the decline from the promise of the thirteenth century ; and Edward I had for successors like-minded kings in Edward III and Henry V. The cadre of administration was there nor were good intentions wanting ; but men and money were lacking, wasted in the follies of the Scottish and French wars. The lord of Ireland failed to discharge the responsibilities of lordship.

## LISTS OF MINISTERS











Period	Name	Appointment	Title	References
1172—1173	Hugh de Lacy			Gesta, i. 30 ; Giraldus, v. 286. Though Hugh is entitled justiciar by Howden when he revised his 'chronicle' (Howden, ii. 34), it is doubtful whether this has any contemporary authority. It is equally dubious whether Hugh's jurisdiction extended beyond Meath and Dublin.
1173—1176	Richard de Clare, earl of Pembroke			The only description the earl applied to himself was 'vices regis Angliae in Hibernia agens' (C. Chanc. R. Ire., 4, no. 52). Giraldus, v. 298, says that he had custody of the land, as does also Howden in Gesta, i. 125, though in his revised chronicle he terms him justiciar (Howden, ii. 100). It is clear that Raymond was his deputy. Giraldus, v. 334, calls Raymond procurator. He continued to act after the earl's death on 20 April 1176: for this date see Complete Peerage, x. 356, n.e.
	Raymond le Gros			
1176	William fitz Audelin			Gesta, i. 125. Giraldus, v. 334, calls Fitz Audelin procurator and Howden, on revision, justiciar (Howden, ii. 100).
1177—1181	Hugh de Lacy			Hugh's authority was apparently limited to S.E. Ireland. Howden speaks of his custody (Gesta, i. 164). Giraldus, v. 347, calls him general procurator. Recalled to England in 1181.
1181	John de Lacy, Constable of Chester Richard of the Peak			Given custody in Hugh de Lacy's place: Gesta, i. 270 ; Giraldus, v. 255.



Period	Name	Appointment	Title	References
1181/2— 1184	Hugh de Lacy			He was restored in the winter of 1181-1182: Giraldus, v. 356. Superseded September 1184.
1184	Philip of Worcester			Called procurator by Giraldus, v. 359. His authority lapsed with the arrival of John, lord of Ireland.
1185	John, lord of Ireland			He arrived in Ireland, 25 April, and left mid-December, arriving in England on 17th (Giraldus, v. 380; R. de Diceto, ii. 39).
1185—1192?	John de Courcy		Justiciar ....	He is given no title by Giraldus, v. 392, but charter evidence shows that he was styled justiciar; he was holding office after 1189 when John was created count of Mortain (63 Jnl. R. Soc. Antiq. Ire., 39; Reg. St. Thomas, 383).
1192?—1194	Peter Pipard William le Petit (Parvus)		Justiciars ....	Chart. St. Mary's, i. 114; R.C.R., ii. 172. Their authority ceased on John's forfeiture in April 1194.
1194—1195	Walter de Lacy John de Courcy			On John's forfeiture the lordship of Ireland escheated to the king, who appears to have appointed as his representatives Walter de Lacy and John de Courcy. They were resisted by Peter Pipard, who was defeated and taken prisoner (Annals of Loch Cé and other Irish annals from common source, s.a. 1195; Marlborough's Chronicle, s.a. 1194; cf. Hist. de Guillaume le Maréchal, ll. 10297-304).
1195—1198	Hamon de Valognes		Justiciar ....	John appears to have been restored in the course of 1195 and presumably thereupon appointed Hamon, who came into prominence in 1197-1198 in consequence of

Period	Name	Appointment	Title	References
				his quarrel with the archbishop of Dublin (Howden, iv. 29-30; Letters of Innocent III, i. 366-367). He seems to have been still in office when the pope was condemning his conduct in September 1198 but must have retired within a year, for in September 1199 he is mentioned as lately justiciar (R. Chart., 19b-20b). A little earlier he had been excused from rendering an account in respect of his Irish office (R. de Obl., 26; Pipe Roll, 2 John, 215).
?1198—1200	Meiler fitz Henry		Justiciar ....	In office at beginning of John's reign (R. de Obl., 36, 38). Recalled early in 1200 and accompanied king in Normandy and England (R. Chart., 71b, 78-78b).
1200	—			The arrangements for the administration of Ireland after Meiler's recall are unknown.
1200—1208	Meiler fitz Henry	Late Oct. 1200 (R.Chart. 98b)	Justiciar ....	On reappointment Meiler continued in office until after 19 June 1208 (R.L.P. 84). For his presence in Ireland in 1201, see Black Book of Limerick, 25.
1208—1213	John de Gray, bishop of Norwich		Justiciar ....	The earliest notice of the bishop's presence in Ireland is on 2 Jan. 1209 (R. de Lib., 144). He was absent for a time in 1211 and he returned finally to England by June 1213 (Wendover, iii. 245; R.Chart. 193).
1211	William le Petit		Justiciar ....	During John de Gray's absence, William le Petit acted. He is styled justiciar (Irish Pipe Roll, 14 John, 66).



Period	Name	Appointment	Title	References
1213—1215	Henry of London, archbishop of Dublin	23 July 1213 (R.L.P. 102)	Justiciar ....	After his appointment the archbishop remained in England with the king until at least 28 July 1213 (R. Chart. 194 <i>b</i> ). Addressed as justiciar as late as 26 June 1215 (R.L.C. i. 217 <i>b</i> ) he was nevertheless back in England with the king early in that month since he was present at Runnymede on the 15th (Magna Carta).
1215—1221	Geoffrey Marsh (de Mariscis)	6 July 1215 (R.L.P. 148)	Justiciar ....	Already styled justiciar 3 July 1215, but both he and archbishop of Dublin still with king on 7 July (R.L.P. 146 <i>b</i> , 148; R. Chart. 220). The mandate purporting to be addressed to Geoffrey on 13 February 1215 is entered among instruments of August (R.L.P. 152), and the address is almost certainly erroneous. Likewise the date of a letter so addressed is 30 July and not 30 June 1215 (R.L.C. i. 223). Though his presence was required in England in 1219, he does not seem to have left Ireland (Pat. Rolls, 129; R. L. C. i. 390 <i>b</i> , 400-1; Letters Henry III, i. 98-100). Custody of Ireland committed to archbishop of Dublin on 3 July 1221 (Pat. Rolls, 295). Geoffrey surrendered office 4 Oct. 1221 (Pat. Rolls, 316).
1221—1224	Henry of London, archbishop of Dublin	3 July 1221 (Pat. R. 295)	Justiciar ....	It seems clear that patent was taken to Ireland by messengers whose impending departure was notified on 15 July (Pat. Rolls, 297). Did not assume office until 4 Oct. (Pat. Rolls, 316) and handed over office to successor c. 24 June 1224 (Letters Henry III, i. 500).

Period	Name	Appointment	Title	References
1224—1226	William Marshal, earl of Pembroke	2 May 1224 (Pat. R. 437)	Justiciar ....	Admitted to office at Dublin c. 24 June 1224, (as above) and surrendered at Winchester 22 June 1226 (Pat. Rolls, 47).
1226—1228	Geoffrey Marsh	25 June 1226 (Pat. R. 47)	Justiciar ....	He is addressed as justiciar by king on 23 June and was presumably such <i>de facto</i> (Pat. Rolls, 47). He was at Bristol awaiting a favourable wind early in July (R.L.C. .ii. 126b). His resignation was accepted 13 Feb. 1228 (Pat. Rolls, 178).
1228—1232	Richard de Burgh	13 Feb. 1228 (Pat. R. 178)	Justiciar ....	Presumably he assumed office in March 1228, and he was still in office on 1 July 1232 when it was proposed that he should act as deputy for Hubert de Burgh who had been granted the justiciarship (Pat. Rolls, 487). Richard's office was evidently regarded as lapsed when Hubert was deprived (ib., 496).
1232	[Hubert de Burgh]	16 June 1232 (Pat. R. 484)	Justiciar ....	Early in June Hubert was appointed justiciar of Ireland and he is so addressed on 8 June (Cl. Rolls, 144), although no formal appointment was made until 16 June. He was still addressed as justiciar of Ireland on 8 August (Pat. Rolls, 496), but shortly afterwards he was deprived of all his offices. Hubert's office was a sinecure intended to be discharged by deputy and Richard de Burgh was not disturbed (see above).
1232—1245	Maurice fitz Gerald	3 Sept. 1232 (Pat. R. 499)	Justiciar ....	On 4 Sept. 1232 the king prescribed the form of oath to be administered to Maurice fitz Gerald (Cl. Rolls 103). In office 7 Oct. 1245 (Cl. Rolls, 343), but surrendered later in same



Period	Name	Appointment	Title	References
1245—1256	John fitz Geoffrey	4 Nov. 1245 (C.P.R. 465)	Justiciar ....	month, apparently in England (C.P.R. 465).  He was informally appointed justiciar in October 1245 and the itinerant justices in Ireland were so notified on 1 Nov. (Cl. Rolls, 471). His departure was delayed and he appears to have been on his way to Ireland early in Aug. 1246 (Cl. Rolls, 450). In the meantime the treasurer, Geoffrey de Tourville, acted as his deputy (C.P.R. 467). He was last addressed as justiciar on 25 Feb. 1256 (Cl. Rolls, 1254-56, 281). He appears, however, to have visited England in 1250-51 (Royal MS., 18 c. xiv) and to have been absent from Ireland from June 1253 (Cl. Rolls, 1251-1253, 379) except for a brief visit early in 1254 (C.P.R. 238, 361-364): he attested a writ at Dublin on 9 May 1254 (Chart. St. Mary's, i. 194), but later in the year he was with the king in France and was subsequently employed in England (C.P.R., Cl. Rolls <i>passim</i> ).
	Geoffrey de Tourville, bishop of Ossory	Nov. 1245 (C.P.R. 467)	Deputy Justiciar	
	Richard de la Rochelle			In his absence Richard de la Rochelle acted as his deputy (C.P.R. 291, 323, 405; Cl. Rolls, 1253-54, 213, 225, 279; Cl. Rolls, 1254-56, 225). A jury of 1288 said that William of Dean was associated with him (Cole, Documents, 93).
1256	Richard de la Rochelle		Justiciar ....	Richard was Prince Edward's bailiff and on Fitz Geoffrey's retirement he was styled justiciar, though no formal appointment is recorded. He was acting on 18 May 1256 (C. 47/35/14, no. 10). For his recognition as justiciar see also C.P.R. 561.

Period	Name	Appointment	Title	References
1256—1258	Alan la Zouche		Justiciar ....	No formal appointment is recorded. He apparently left for Ireland in April 1256 (C.P.R. 512) and is addressed as justiciar on 27 June (Cl. Rolls, 424). He was acting on 23 Oct. 1258 (C. 47/35/14, no. 12).
1258—1260	Stephen Longespee		Justiciar ....	Addressed as justiciar 21 Oct. 1258 (C.P.R. 653). He was still in England at Whitsuntide, 1 June 1259 (Cl. Rolls, 387), but was acting on 10 Nov. 1259 (C. 47/35/14, no. 11) and is addressed as justiciar 4 Mar. 1260 (Cl. Rolls, 155). He died shortly thereafter (ib., 61, 79).
1260—1261	William of Dean		Justiciar ....	Appointed justiciar on death of Longespee (Marlborough's Chronicle, s.a. 1259). Addressed as justiciar 1 Oct. 1260 (Cl. Rolls, 211) and 14 June 1261 (C.P.R. 159). He appears to have died not long thereafter (Marlborough's Chronicle, s.a. 1261).
1261—1266	Richard de la Rochelle  Geoffrey de Joinville		Justiciar ....	Appointed justiciar on death of William of Dean (Marlborough's Chronicle, ut supra). So entitled 28 Oct. 1261 (C.P.R. 180). On Rochelle's capture by the Geraldines on 6 Dec. 1264, Joinville took his place until peace was restored on 19 April 1265 (Irish Parliament in Middle Ages, 58-59). Instructions were given for his supersession on 16 Feb. and again on 6 May 1265 (C.P.R. 406-7, 422), but these were disregarded. He was acting on 7 Dec. 1265 (Cal. Liber Niger, 117) and he was addressed as justiciar as late as 23 April 1266 (C.P.R. 584).



Period	Name	Appointment	Title	References
1265	[Fulk of Sandford, archbishop of Dublin]	C.P.R. 406-7 (16 Feb. 1265)	Chief Justiciar	Appointed 16 Feb. 1265, presumably in view of Rochelle's captivity (C.P.R. 406-7). It is evident that the appointment was ineffective.
1265	[Roger Waspail]	C.P.R. 422 (6 May 1265)	Keeper ....	Appointment ineffective.
1265	[Hugh of Taghmon, bishop of Meath]	C.P.R. 432 (10 June 1265)	Justiciar ....	Nominally appointed by king 10 June 1265 before the fall of Simon de Montfort (C.P.R. 432): the appointment was voided by subsequent events.
1266—1268	David de Barry		Justiciar ....	In office before Michaelmas 1266 (35 D. K. Rep. Ire. 48). He is addressed as justiciar on 8 Jan. 1268 (Irish Parl. in Middle Ages, 298-9).
1268—1270	Robert of Ufford		Justiciar ....	A document dated Friday before St. Catherine's day, 52 Henry III, may suggest that he was in office on 18 Nov. 1267 (Gilbert, Hist. Docts. 182; Cal. Liber Albus, no. 64), but the regnal year should be 53 Henry III and the date is 23 Nov. 1268. In the annals the year of his appointment is given as 1268, that is not earlier than 24 Mar. (Chart. St. Mary's, ii. 290, 316; Marlborough's Chronicle, s.a.).
	Richard of Exeter		Deputy Justiciar	Served as deputy from 6 March 1270 to 6 November 1276 (36 D. K. Rep. Ire. 54.)
1270—1272	James of Audley		Justiciar ....	In office at Michaelmas 1270 (C.D.I. ii. no. 889) and until 11 June 1272 (ib., no. 891), when he appears to have been killed by a fall from his horse (Chart. St. Mary's, ii. 317).

Period	Name	Appointment	Title	References
	Richard of Exeter		Deputy Justiciar	See preceding entry. Attested a writ on 22 Oct. 1270 (Irish Parliament in Middle Ages, 289).
1272— Mid-April 1273	Maurice fitz Maurice		Justiciar ....	On Audley's death Maurice fitz Maurice was made justiciar (Marlborough's Chronicle, s.a. 1272). Writ of aid in his favour (Doct. 5, below) 8 Aug. 1272 (C.P.R. 674). He is last mentioned in mid-April 1273 (C.D.I. ii. 950).
	Richard of Exeter		Deputy Justiciar	See above.
Mich. 1273— Mich. 1276	Geoffrey de Joinville		Justiciar <sup>1</sup> ....	E. 101/230/4. C.D.I. ii. 1239.
	Richard of Exeter		Deputy Justiciar	See above.
Mich. 1276— Mich. 1281	Robert of Ufford	17 June 1276 (C.P.R. 149)	Justiciar <sup>2</sup> ....	E. 101/230/4, 6, 8, 14, 15, 19.
Mid-1280	Stephen of Fulbourn, bishop of Waterford		Deputy Justiciar	C.D.I. ii. 1646 (15 Apr. 1280), 1596 (18 May 1280), 2310 (p. 541), and cf. 1681, 1713 <sup>3</sup> .
21 Nov. 1281 —3 July 1288	Stephen of Fulbourn	21 Nov. 1281 (C.P.R. 1)	Justiciar <sup>4</sup> ....	E. 101/230/19, 25; 231/1, 3.

<sup>1</sup> He is mentioned as justiciar c. 23 August 1273 (C.D.I. ii. 970). Cf. *Annales de Monte Fernandi*, p. 16: Anno MCCLXXXIII . . . Dominus Galfridus de Geneville venit usque Hiberniam de terra sancta parum ante festum beati Francisci (4 October) et factus est justiciarius Hibernie post octavas beati Francisci. Though Joinville was ordered to hand over authority to his successor on 17 June 1276, he was still attesting charters as Justiciar on 22 August 1276 (C.D.I. ii. 1401) and was paid for the Trinity term 1276 (ibid. ii. 1294).

<sup>2</sup> Though the payment of his fee of £500 a year was authorised on 16 June 1276 (C.D.I. ii. 1237), he accounted from 25 July following (E. 101/230/6: C.D.I. ii. 1412).

<sup>3</sup> Ufford was still in England in August 1280 (C.D.I. ii. 1726).

<sup>4</sup> He continued to serve as Treasurer as well as Justiciar until 1285. He is curiously termed Deputy Justiciar in February 1282 (C.D.I. ii. 1896, 1898, 1918) and Justiciar from April to September 1282 (ibid., 1912, 1922, 1927, 1950, 1967). On 27 September 1282 the custody of Ireland was committed to him as 'Keeper and Justiciar' (ibid. 1972), but he continued to be styled simply 'Justiciar' from 2 October 1282 (ibid. 1979) until 16 June 1288 (ibid., iii. 591). On his death on 3 July 1288, John of Sandford, archbishop of Dublin, and Geoffrey de Joinville temporarily assumed his responsibilities (ibid. iii. 408). Payment of fees begins with Easter 1282. Evidence for payment is lacking for Mich. 1283—Trin. 1284 and Hil. 1285—July 1288.



Period	Name	Appointment	Title	References
Easter 1284 —29 July 1285	William fitz Roger, prior of Kilmain- ham		Deputy Justiciar	C.D.I. ii. 2189; iii. 2 (pp. 7, 11, 14), 622 (p. 317), 814; cf. 115.
7 July 1288— 10 Nov. 1290	John of Sandford, archbishop of Dublin		Keeper, justiciar, deputy justiciar <sup>1</sup>	E. 101/231/5, 9. C.D.I. iii. 559, 814, 964 (p. 428).
11 Nov. 1290 —5 March 1294	William de Vescy	12 Sept. 1290 (C.P.R. 387)	Justiciar <sup>2</sup> ....	E. 101/231/29. C.D.I. iii. 559 (p. 277), 964 (p. 428); iv. 273 (p. 120).
5 March 1294	Walter de la Haye		Keeper and Acting Justiciar	C.D.I. iv. 147, cf. 104. C.J.R. i. 231. E. 372/139, m. 9.
4 June 1294 —19 Oct. 1294	William fitz Roger		Keeper and Acting Justiciar <sup>3</sup>	C.D.I. iv. no. 273 (p. 120).
19 Oct. 1294 —19 April 1295	William Dodingeseles	18 Oct. 1294 (C.P.R. 99)	Justiciar <sup>4</sup> ....	C.D.I. iv. 273.
19 April 1295 —2 Dec. 1295	Thomas fitz Maurice fitz Gerald		Keeper and Deputy Justiciar <sup>5</sup>	C.D.I. iv. 273, 346.
13 Nov. 1295	Walter de la Haye		Deputy Justiciar	C.J.R. i. 73 and cf. p. 127.
3 Dec. 1295— 30 Sept. 1308	John Wogan	18 Oct. 1295 (C.P.R. 155)	Justiciar <sup>6</sup> ....	E. 101/232/25; 233/2, 9, 12, 17, 20, 24; 234/7, 17; 235/9, 13. C.D.I. v. 433, 502, 568, 628. E. 372/150, m. 4.

<sup>1</sup> For 7 July 1288, see C.D.I. iii. 559 (p. 265): cf. p. 276 for the statement that he acted from 30 June 1288. This was earlier than Stephen of Fulbourn's death and presumably the clerk has by error spoken of the Feast of SS. Peter and Paul instead of the Octave of that Feast. The terms 'Keeper', 'Justiciar' and 'Deputy Justiciar' seem to be applied to him over the whole period without any consistency (e.g. C.D.I. iii. 559, 801).

<sup>2</sup> He landed in Ireland on 11 November 1290 (C.D.I. iii. p. 428; cf. p. 277) and was paid from that date.

<sup>3</sup> He was appointed by the council in Ireland on William de Vescy's dismissal from office on 4 June 1294.

<sup>4</sup> Payment was made for a full half year but he had died some time before 19 April 1295 (*ibid.*, iv. 243). Thomas fitz Maurice fitz Gerald may have been deputising for him before his death (C.J.R. i. 1 ff.).

<sup>5</sup> He was appointed by the council in Ireland.

<sup>6</sup> It was from the executors of Dodingeseles that he was to receive the various documents relating to his office.

Period	Name	Appointment	Title	References
Mich. 1299— Hil. 1300	Richard de Burgh, earl of Ulster		Deputy Justiciar	C.J.R. i. 287, 295, 298, 310.
23 Aug. 1301 —31 March 1302	William of Ross, prior of Kilmainham		Deputy Justiciar	C.D.I. iv. 801. E. 101/233/17. C. 47/35/13.
30 June 1302 —29 Sept. 1302	Maurice de Rochfort		Deputy Justiciar	E. 101/233/17. C.D.I. iv. 819. C.J.R. i. 410.
4 Nov. 1304 —23 May 1305	Edmund Butler		Keeper and Deputy Justiciar <sup>1</sup>	C.D.I. v. 365, 418. E. 101/233/24. C.J.R. ii. 1 ff.
16 June 1308 —15 May 1309	Piers Gaveston	16 June 1308 (C.P.R. 83)	King's Lieutenant <sup>2</sup>	E. 101/235/11.
1 Oct. 1308— 15 May 1309	William de Burgh		Deputy Justiciar <sup>3</sup>	E. 101/235/20. C. Chanc. R. Ire. 8, no. 40. C.J.R. iii. 7, 54, 84.
16 May 1309 —6 Aug. 1312	John Wogan		Justiciar <sup>4</sup> ....	E. 101/235/20, 24; 236/3. E. 372/171, m. 31.
7 Aug. 1312 —18 June 1314	Edmund Butler		Keeper and Acting Justiciar	E. 101/236/6, 7, 11.
19 June 1314 —27 Feb. 1315	Theobald de Verdun	30 Apr. 1313 (C.P.R. 568)	Justiciar ....	E. 110/236/11; 237/2.

<sup>1</sup> On 4 April 1305 a special grace regarding payments was given to Thomas Quantock, the chancellor, who had previously incurred great expense in ruling Ireland in troubled times when the king had no Justiciar there (C.D.I. v. 382).

<sup>2</sup> Richard de Burgh, earl of Ulster, had been appointed King's Lieutenant on 15 June 1308 (C.P.R. 83), the day before Gaveston's appointment. Gaveston returned to England on 23 June 1309 (Chart. St. Mary's, ii. 338).

<sup>3</sup> He was paid his fee until 1 July 1309, though a note was added to the Issue Roll: 'et non plus quia Iohannes Wogan reassumpsit officium xvi. die Maii'. Wogan was paid as from that date.

<sup>4</sup> He was paid up to 30 September 1312, 'et non plus quia non stetit in officio illo nisi vsque vii. diem Augusti anno regni regis supradicto sexto, quo die Edmundus le Botiller suscepit custodiam officii supradicti'. Butler was paid as from 7 August 1312 until 18 June 1314, 'et non plus per breue quia Theobaldus de Verdun venit iusticiarius Hibernie xix. die Iunii proximo sequenti'. It was Wogan as Justiciar who relinquished office to Verdun (C.P.R. 568).



Period	Name	Appointment	Title	References
28 Feb. 1315 —30 Nov. 1317	Edmund Butler	4 Jan. 1315 <sup>1</sup> (C.P.R. 207)	Justiciar <sup>2</sup> ....	E. 101/237/2, 4, 5, 9.
7 April 1317 —5 May 1318	Roger Mortimer	23 Nov. 1316 (C.P.R. 563)	King's Lieutenant <sup>3</sup>	E. 101/237/5, 8.
27 Jan. 1318 —4 Apr. 1318	Edmund Butler		Justiciar	P.R.O. Ire., Rec. Comm., Cal. Plea Rolls, 12, pp. 63, 86 (roll 117, ms. 61 (62), 9d).
6 May 1318 —3 Nov. 1318	William fitz John, archbishop of Cashel	6 May 1318 <sup>4</sup>	Keeper <sup>5</sup> ....	E. 101/237/8. Grace, Annals, 92. Reg. St. John, 343.
23 Sept. 1318 —23 June 1319	Alexander of Bicknor, archbishop of Dublin	11 Aug. 1318 (C.P.R. 196)	Keeper and Justiciar <sup>6</sup>	E. 101/237/9, 14.
12 June 1319 —12 Dec. 1320	Roger Mortimer	15 Mar. 1319 (C.P.R. 317)	Justiciar ....	E. 101/237/9, 12.
30 Sept 1320 —30 June 1321	Thomas fitz John, earl of Kildare		Deputy Justiciar <sup>7</sup>	E. 101/237/14; 238/6. Cf. C. Chanc. R. Ire. 28, no. 31.
30 June 1321 —1 Oct. 1321	Thomas fitz John, earl of Kildare	23 April 1321 (C.P.R. 578)	Justiciar ....	E. 101/237/16.
28 Aug. 1321 —25 Aug. 1323	John de Bermingham, earl of Louth	21 May 1321 (C.P.R. 588)	Justiciar <sup>8</sup> ....	E. 101/237/19; 238/1, 6; 540/11.
1 Feb. 1324 —1 May 1327	John Darcy	18 Nov. 1323 (C.P.R. 348)	Justiciar <sup>9</sup> ...	E. 101/238/12, 17; 238/19, 26; 239/5.

<sup>1</sup> A letter was sent to him the same day, requesting him to accept office (C.C.R. 207).

<sup>2</sup> E. 101/237/2: Edmundus le Botiller venit iusticiarius Hibernie xxviii. die eiusdem mensis Februarii. Though he was paid for 1 June–31 August 1317 as Justiciar (E. 101/237/5), he was paid arrears for the same period at Michaelmas 1318 as 'Keeper and Justiciar' (E. 101/237/9).

<sup>3</sup> He received payment by virtue of a writ of 8 April 1317 (E. 101/237/5).

<sup>4</sup> According to Wood, op. cit., 224, citing Justiciary Roll, 11 Edward II, m. 2. Cf. P.R.O. Ire., Rec. Comm., Cal. Plea Rolls, 12, p. 186 (roll 118, m. 79).

<sup>5</sup> He received his appointment from Mortimer and the council in Ireland.

<sup>6</sup> He was paid as 'Keeper and Justiciar' from 23 September 1318 to 23 March 1319 (E. 101/237/9) and as 'Justiciar' from 23 March 1319 to 23 June 1319 (E. 101/237/14). Cf. Clyn, Annals, p. 14.

<sup>7</sup> Sir Ralph de Gorges, appointed Justiciar on 1 February 1321 (C.P.R. 558), never reached Ireland (ibid., 596). Thomas fitz John was appointed Justiciar on 23 April 1321 (ibid., 578), and there is evidence that he acted as such before the appointment a month later of John de Bermingham as Justiciar. He was paid as Deputy Justiciar (locum tenens iusticiarii) from 30 September 1320 to 30 June 1321 and as Justiciar from 30 June 1321 to 1 October 1321.

<sup>8</sup> He presumably acted until 1 February 1324, though there is no record of payment to him after 25 August, 1323. The payment to John de Bermingham for 28 May–28 August 1322 was noted: 'et non plus per breue quia dictus comes Iusticiarius etc. recessit de Hibernia ad partes Anglie vsque ad regem xvii. die Augusti infra limitacionem predicti breuis' (E. 101/238/1).

Period	Name	Appointment	Title	References
c. July—Oct. 1324	Roger Outlaw		Deputy Justiciar <sup>1</sup>	C. Chanc. R. Ire. 30, nos. 2, 10, 19.
1 May 1327 —12 May 1327	Roger Outlaw		Deputy Justiciar <sup>2</sup>	E. 101/239/5.
12 May 1327 —5 April 1328	Thomas fitz John, earl of Kildare	12 Mar. 1327 <sup>3</sup> (C.P.R. 29; cf. C.C.R. 106-7)	Justiciar <sup>4</sup> ....	E. 101/239/5, 7. E. 372/176, m. 46.
6 April 1328	Roger Outlaw		Acting Justiciar <sup>5</sup>	E. 372/176, m. 46.
c. May 1329 —12 Feb. 1331	John Darcy	19 Feb. 1329 (C.P.R. 373)	Justiciar ....	E. 372/176, m. 46.
17 July 1330 —2 June 1331	Roger Outlaw	31 May 1330 (C.P.R. 529)	Deputy Justiciar	E. 101/239/29; 240/1. B.M., Add. Ch. 13599, mm. 2-7.
[3 June 1331] —5 Nov. 1331	William de Burgh, earl of Ulster	3 Mar. 1331 (C.P.R. 83)	King's Lieutenant <sup>6</sup>	
3 June 1331 —3 Dec. 1332	Anthony de Lucy	27 Feb. 1331 (C.P.R. 83)	Justiciar ....	E. 101/239/22, 24.
3 Dec. 1332 —12 Feb. 1333	Thomas de Burgh		Deputy Justiciar	E. 101/239/29; 240/1.
13 Feb. 1333 —29 Sept. 1333	John Darcy	30 Sept. 1332 (C.P.R. 340)	Justiciar ....	E. 101/239/29. E. 372/179, m. 46.

<sup>1</sup> Roger Outlaw attested for the Justiciar between July and October 1324, but he received no fee as he would have done if the Justiciar had been out of the country, and his duties were apparently nominal.

<sup>2</sup> He was attesting as such on 1 March 1327 (C. Chanc. R. Ire. 37, no. 158).

<sup>3</sup> Though his patent is dated 12 March 1327, his appointment had been announced in Ireland by letters close, dated 14 February 1327.

<sup>4</sup> He died on 5 April 1328.

<sup>5</sup> He was probably appointed by the council in Ireland on Thomas fitz John's death. He continued to act as chancellor. John Darcy was first appointed Justiciar on 21 August 1328 (C.P.R. 316), but it seems that he did not assume office at once and Roger Outlaw may have acted until his eventual arrival. The periods of payment to Outlaw and Darcy, recorded on the pipe roll, are not distinguished from each other.

<sup>6</sup> He was summoned to England on 5 November 1331 (C.P.R. 220).

<sup>9</sup> *ex. p.84*—Darcy was paid from 1 February 1324, 'quo die applicuit terre Hibernie' (E. 101/238/12).



Period	Name	Appointment	Title	References
29 June 1333 —18 Jan. 1334	Thomas de Burgh		Deputy Justiciar <sup>1</sup>	E. 101/240/1.
19 Jan. 1334 —19 Oct. 1334	John Darcy		Justiciar ....	E. 101/240/1, 5.
19 Oct. 1334 —19 Jan. 1335	[Thomas de Burgh] <sup>2</sup>	16 July 1334 (C.P.R. 568)	Deputy Justiciar	
19 Jan. 1335 —19 April 1335	John Darcy		Justiciar ....	E. 101/240/8.
19 April 1335 —26 June 1335	Roger Outlaw	15 Mar. 1335 <sup>3</sup>	Deputy Justiciar	E. 101/240/10.
27 June 1335 —27 Aug. 1335	John Darcy		Justiciar ....	E. 101/240/10.
28 Aug. 1335 —18 Sept. 1335	Roger Outlaw		Deputy Justiciar	E. 101/240/10.
18 Sept. 1335 —14 Nov. 1336	John Darcy		Justiciar ....	E. 101/240/10, 13.
15 Nov. 1336 —15 Oct. 1337	Roger Outlaw		Deputy Justiciar	E. 101/240/13. E. 372/182, m. 48.
15 Oct. 1337 —16 June 1338	John of Charlton	28 July 1337 (C.P.R. 476)	Justiciar <sup>4</sup> ....	E. 372/184, m. 49.
19 June 1338 —7 April 1340	Thomas of Charlton, bishop of Hereford	15 May 1338 (C.P.R. 80)	Keeper and Acting Justiciar <sup>5</sup>	E. 372/184, m. 49. E. 101/240/17.

<sup>1</sup> He was appointed to deputise for the justiciar when absent from Ireland and received the full fee. Darcy left Ireland with an army to join the king in Scotland (Clyn, *Annals*, 26).

<sup>2</sup> There is a gap in the recorded payments for these three months. Perhaps the appointment on 16 July 1334 refers to this period.

<sup>3</sup> According to Wood, *op. cit.*, p. 225, citing *Justiciary Roll*, 9 Edward III, m. 22.

<sup>4</sup> Clyn notes (*Annals*, p. 28) that he reached Dublin 'die martis in festo Kalixti pape', i.e. 14 October 1337.

<sup>5</sup> 'Custos terre Hibernie, officium Iusticiarii in eadem terra exercens'. The Issue Rolls cover the period to 19 December 1339, but Wood, *op. cit.*, p. 226, without citing references, states that he was paid until 7 April 1340. He is said to have left Ireland three days later (*Chart. St. Mary's*, ii. 382).

Period	Name	Appointment	Title	References
8 April 1340 —14 July 1344	John Darcy	3 Mar. 1340 (C.P.R. 432)	Justiciar <sup>1</sup> ....	E. 101/240/17. E. 372/197, m. 46..
8 April 1340 —8 Jan. 1341	Roger Outlaw		Deputy Justiciar	E. 101/240/17.
22 Feb. 1341 —16 May 1341	Alexander of Bicknor, archbishop of Dublin		Keeper and Acting Justiciar <sup>2</sup>	E. 101/240/17; 241/5. E. 372/186, m. 49.
16 May 1341 —14 July 1344	John Morice	16 Mar. 1341 <sup>3</sup> (C.P.R. 144)	Deputy Justiciar	E. 101/240/17; 241/5, 13. E. 372/191, m. 42 d. E. 372/197, m. 46.
14 July 1344 —9 April 1346	Ralph de Ufford	10 Feb. 1344 (C.P.R. 197)	Justiciar <sup>4</sup> ....	E. 372/191, m. 42 d.
10 April 1346 —15 May 1346	Roger Darcy		Justiciar <sup>5</sup> ....	E. 372/191, m. 42 d; 197, m. 46.
16 May 1346 —28 June 1346	John Morice	7 April 1346 <sup>6</sup>	Justiciar ....	E. 372/191, m. 42 d. E. 101/241/13.

<sup>1</sup> He was appointed Justiciar for life (ibid. 382) but surrendered the office at the king's request on 9 February 1344 (C.P.R. 208).

<sup>2</sup> When Roger Outlaw died on 13 February (Chart. St. Mary's, ii. 382), the Justiciar was out of the country. Therefore the council in Ireland appointed the archbishop of Dublin as 'custos et officium Iusticiarii exercens' (Wood, op. cit., 226).

<sup>3</sup> His appointment was repeated on 16 March 1342 (C.P.R. 391, 408).

<sup>4</sup> The Enrolled Account covers the period from 15 October 1344 only, but there seems little doubt that Ufford served from 14 July, for according to Clyn (Annals, p. 30) he arrived in Dublin on 13 July 1344 and died on Palm Sunday (9 April) 1346 (ibid., p. 32).

<sup>5</sup> He was appointed by the council in Ireland on 10 April 1346 (C. Chanc. R. Ire. 49, no. 44).

<sup>6</sup> Wood, op. cit., 226, citing an Exchequer Plea Roll. A writ of privy seal, dated 10 April 1346, had ordered Morice to return to Ireland immediately, for the king had been informed that the Justiciar, Ufford, was gravely ill. Should he die, then Morice was to show his commission and execute it (C. Chanc. R. Ire. 49, no. 62).



Period	Name	Appointment	Title	References
29 June 1346 —27 Nov. 1347	Walter de Bermingham	10 May 1346 (C.P.R. 82)	Justiciar <sup>1</sup> ....	E. 372/197, m. 46. E. 101/241/13.
28 Nov. 1347 —26 April 1348	John Larcher, prior of Kilmainham		Deputy Justiciar <sup>2</sup>	E. 101/241/13, 15. E. 372/197, m. 46.
27 April 1348 —27 Oct. 1349	Walter de Bermingham		Justiciar <sup>3</sup> ....	E. 101/241/15. E. 364/17, m. G.
3 Oct. 1349 —19 Dec. 1349	John de Carew		Deputy Justiciar	E. 101/242/3.
20 Dec. 1349 —4 Mar. 1352	Thomas of Rokeby	17 July 1349 (C.P.R. 348)	Justiciar <sup>4</sup> ....	E. 101/242/3, 10 <sup>5</sup> .
5 Mar. 1352 —14 June 1352	Maurice de Rochfort, bishop of Limerick		Deputy Justiciar	E. 101/242/14; 243/3.
15 June 1352 —9 Aug. 1355	Thomas of Rokeby		Justiciar ....	E. 101/242/14; 243/3, 6, 8. C. Chanc. R. Ire., 61, no. 63.
10 Aug. 1355 —16 Aug. 1355	Maurice fitz Thomas, earl of Kildare		Deputy Justiciar <sup>6</sup>	E. 101/243/8.
17 Aug. 1355 —25 Jan. 1356	Maurice fitz Thomas, earl of Desmond	8 July 1355 (C.P.R. 266)	Justiciar ....	E. 101/243/8 <sup>7</sup> .

<sup>1</sup> His letters patent were enrolled on the Irish patent roll on 29 June 1346, the day he assumed office (C. Chanc. R. Ire., 50, no. 5).

<sup>2</sup> Bermingham was summoned by writ, dated 13 November 1347, to a parliament at Westminster at Hilary 1348 (C.C.R. 413).

<sup>3</sup> The payment was for six months, ending 27 October, 1349, though by that time Carew was acting and receiving payment.

<sup>4</sup> He arrived in Ireland on 20 December 1349 (Cox, *Hibernia Anglicana*, i. 123 : but with no indication of the source for the statement).

<sup>5</sup> The surviving records of payments cover the period 20 March 1350–4 March 1352.

<sup>6</sup> He was appointed by the council in Ireland to act for Rokeby who was going to England (C. Chanc. R. Ire. 61, no. 60). His letters patent are dated 8 August 1355 (*ibid.*, p. 58, no. 154).

<sup>7</sup> The recorded payment covered the six months 17 August 1355–17 February 1356, but the Justiciar died on 25 January 1356 (Chart. St. Mary's, ii. 392).

Period	Name	Appointment	Title	References
26 Jan. 1356 —7 Oct. 1356	Maurice fitz Thomas, earl of Kildare	30 Mar. 1356 (C.P.R. 356)	Justiciar <sup>1</sup> ....	E. 101/243/8 ; 244/1.
31 Dec. 1356 —23 April 1357	Thomas of Rokeby	24 July 1356 (C.P.R. 427)	Justiciar ....	E. 101/244/1 <sup>2</sup>
24 April 1357 —5 Sept. 1357	John of Bolton		Justiciar <sup>3</sup> ....	E. 101/244/1.
5 Sept. 1357 —26 Nov. 1357	Maurice fitz Thomas, earl of Kildare	30 Aug. 1357 (C.P.R. 602)	Deputy Justiciar <sup>4</sup>	E. 101/244/1. C. Chanc. R. Ire. 67, no. 6.
27 Nov. 1357 —17 Mar. 1359	Amaury de St. Amand	14 July 1357 (C.P.R. 584)	Justiciar <sup>5</sup> ....	E. 101/244/1. C. Chanc. R. Ire., 67, no. 9.
18 Mar. 1359 —18 Sept. 1360	James Butler, earl of Ormond	16 Feb. 1359 (C.P.R. 176)	Justiciar ....	E. 101/244/2, 6. E. 372/212, m. 43.
9 Oct. 1360 —31 Mar. 1361	Maurice fitz Thomas earl of Kildare		Deputy Justiciar	E. 101/244/6. Chart. St. Mary's, i. 316, 317, 320. Grace, Annals, 150.
1 April 1361 —15 Sept. 1361	Maurice fitz Thomas, earl of Kildare	16 Mar. 1361 (C.P.R. 572)	Justiciar ....	E. 372/212, m. 43.
15 Sept. 1361 —22 April 1364	Lionel, earl of Ulster	1 July 1361 (C.P.R. 44)	Lieutenant <sup>6</sup>	

<sup>1</sup> He was appointed by the council in Ireland on 26 January 1356 (Wood, op. cit., 227). The king ratified the appointment on 30 March 1356 (C.P.R. 356).

<sup>2</sup> Rokeby was acting apparently from October (Wood, op. cit., 227), though the Issue Roll ignores the period 7 October–30 December 1356.

<sup>3</sup> He was appointed by the council in Ireland with the assent of the community of Ireland (C.C.R. 375). He was subsequently arrested by the earl of Ormond, acting on his own authority (loc. cit.).

<sup>4</sup> He is described as deputising for Bolton (E. 101/244/1) and was appointed until the Justiciar reached Ireland or the king made other arrangements.

<sup>5</sup> Wood states (op. cit., p. 227) that he took office in September but it is plainly asserted that he did not reach Dublin until 27 November (E. 101/244/1). The Issue Roll covers the period 27 November 1357–17 March 1358. Writs for payment, entered on the Irish close rolls, cover a year and a quarter (C. Chanc. R. Ire., 69, nos. 61, 69 ; 70, no. 86 ; 77, no. 9). He was testing writs on 15 March 1359 (Wood, op. cit., 227).

<sup>6</sup> He arrived in Dublin on 15 September 1361 and crossed to England on 22 April 1364 (Chart. St. Mary's, 395, 396).



Period	Name	Appointment	Title	References
25 April 1364 —25 Jan. 1365	James Butler, earl of Ormond		Keeper ....	E. 101/244/10. E. 364/7, m. C.
Mid.-Dec. 1365—7 Nov. 1366	Lionel, duke of Clarence	25 Sept. 1364 (C.P.R. 20)	Lieutenant <sup>1</sup>	
7 Nov. 1366 —22 April 1367	Thomas de la Dale		Keeper <sup>2</sup> ....	
c. 23 April 1367—20 June 1369	Gerald fitz Maurice, earl of Desmond	20 Feb. 1367 (C.P.R. 384)	Justiciar <sup>3</sup> ....	E. 364/17, m. G.
20 June 1369 —9 April 1372	William of Windsor	3 March 1369 (C.P.R. 221)	Lieutenant <sup>4</sup>	E. 101/30/1. <sup>5</sup>
29 April 1370	James Pickering		Justiciar ....	E. 101/245/3. <sup>6</sup>
9 April 1372 —20 June 1372	Maurice fitz Thomas earl of Kildare		Keeper <sup>7</sup> ....	E. 364/17, m. G. E. 101/30/1.
20 June 1372 —2 Dec. 1373	Robert of Ashton		Justiciar <sup>8</sup> ....	E. 101/32/25.
	Ralph Cheyne		Deputy Justiciar	C. Chanc. R. Ire., 86, no. 41.
3 Dec. 1373 —18 April 1374	William Tany, prior of Kilmainham		Justiciar <sup>9</sup> ....	E. 364/17, m. G. E. 101/245/17.

<sup>1</sup> He returned to Ireland on 8 December 1364 (*ibid.* ii. 396) or 18 December 1364 (Grace, *Annals*, 153) and left on 7 November 1366.

<sup>2</sup> He was appointed by the council in Ireland (Wood, *op. cit.*, 228) and acted until 22 April 1367 (Wood, *loc. cit.*). The document printed in Ormond Deeds, ii. no. 138 (p. 104) is clearly misdated by a year.

<sup>3</sup> On 27 April 1367 he issued writs of summons for parliament (Parliaments and Councils of Mediaeval Ireland, 24).

<sup>4</sup> Windsor left Ireland on 9 April 1372 in obedience to a royal writ in order to consult with the council (E. 101/30/1).

<sup>5</sup> This writ of liberate covers the period 2 December 1369—9 April 1372.

<sup>6</sup> See Parliaments and Councils of Mediaeval Ireland, 41, 46.

<sup>7</sup> He took his oath as Keeper of Ireland on 22 March 1372 (C. Chanc. R. Ire., 82, no. 53). Richard of Pembroke had been appointed as Lieutenant in Windsor's place but he refused to take office (C.C.R. 420).

<sup>8</sup> His indenture as justiciar with the king is dated 8 March 1372 (E. 101/32/25) and he accounted for the whole period 20 June 1372—2 December 1373, though for several weeks towards the end (after 10 October) Ralph Cheyne seems to have been deputising for him and testing writs in his name.

<sup>9</sup> He was appointed by the council in Ireland (C. Chanc. R. Ire., 86, no. 41: he claimed on 4 June 1374 that he had served for a year and a half).

Period	Name	Appointment	Title	References
19 April 1374 —20 June 1376	William of Windsor	20 Sept. 1373 (C.P.R. 340)	Governor and Keeper <sup>1</sup>	
15 Nov. 1373 —31 Oct. 1375	John Keppok		Governor and Keeper <sup>2</sup>	E. 101/245/8.
21 June 1376 —21 Sept. 1376	Maurice fitz Thomas earl of Kildare	16 Feb. 1376 (C.P.R. 244)	Justiciar <sup>3</sup> ....	E. 101/245/8.
Mich. 1376— Mich. 1379	James Butler earl of Ormond	24 July 1376 (C.P.R. 304)	Justiciar <sup>4</sup> ....	

<sup>1</sup> He landed at Waterford on 18 April 1374 (C. Chanc. R. Ire., 86, no. 19). According to Wood, *op. cit.*, 229, pleas were held before him until 20 June 1376.

<sup>2</sup> John Keppok, Chief Justice of the Justice's Bench, is twice termed 'Gubernator' in E. 101/245/8.

<sup>3</sup> The patent provided that he should look after the affairs of Leinster, whilst Munster was entrusted to Stephen, bishop of Meath. The appointment was to last until the return of William of Windsor and other officers or until further order.

<sup>4</sup> He was re-appointed by Richard II on 21 July 1377 and again on 20 August 1378 (C.P.R. 14, 269) and was permitted on 24 August 1379 to resign his office (*ibid.*, 385).



Period	Name	Appointment	Title	References
1232—1244	Ralf Neville, bishop of Chichester	4 May 1233 (C. Ch. R. i. 178)		Justiciar notified of grant for life on 28 Sept. 1232 : Neville died 1 Feb. 1244.
1232—1234	Geoffrey de Tourville			Appointment of deputy noti- fied simultaneously (Cl. Rolls, 1231—1234, 112—13). Further notification to same effect 21 May 1234 (Foedera, i. 212). Tourville became treasurer 18 Oct. 1234.
1235—1246	Robert Luterel	23 Feb. 1235 (Cl. Rolls, 166)		Luterel continued in office after Neville's death. Ordered to surrender seal 20 April 1246 (C.P.R. 478).
1246— 1249 (?)	Geoffrey of Wolford (Wuleward)	20 April 1246 (C.P.R. 478)	Chancellor ....	He appears to have vacated office before appointment of successor.
1249—1256	Ralf of Norwich	9 July 1249 (C.P.R. 44)	Chancellor ....	Ordered to surrender seal 16 May 1256 (C.P.R. 475) : this was received at Glou- cester 25 July ( <i>ib.</i> 490).
1256— 1259 (?)	John of Bruningfald		Chancellor ....	Presumably became chancellor when Edward's seal put in use June/July 1256. Con- tinued in office till 23 Oct. 1258 and presumably there- after (C.P.R. 561, 574 ; C. 47/35/14, nos. 12, 27).
1260 (?)— Trinity 1283	Fromund le Brun <sup>1</sup>		Chancellor ....	He appears to have been chancellor by 1260 (Reg. St. John, p. 168) and there are continuous notices thereafter e.g. Alen's Reg. 98 ; Hist. and Mun. Docts. 141 ; Chart. St. Mary's, i. 257, ii. 24. Payments of his fee are recorded from Easter 1270 onwards. E. 101/230/2, 4, 8, 14, 15, 19, 25. E. 101/230/12. C.D.I. iii. 169.

<sup>1</sup> He died on 6 June 1283 (C.D.I., ii. 2336 ; iii. 169).

Period	Name	Appointment	Title	References
6 June 1283 —Mich. 1283	Adam of Fulbourn		Acting Chancellor <sup>1</sup>	C.D.I. ii. 2336, iii. 2 (p. 10).
Mich. 1283— Easter 1286	Walter of Fulbourn	13 Aug. 1283 (C.P.R. 72 ; Cf. C.Ch.W. 13)	Chancellor <sup>2</sup> ....	E. 101/231/3, 5. C.D.I. iii. 169 (p. 77), 814.
[Easter 1286] —8 April, 1289	William of Beverley		Chancellor <sup>3</sup> ....	E. 372/139, m. 9 d.
8 April 1289 —9 Mar. 1291	John of Sandford, archbishop of Dublin		Keeper of Seal	C.D.I. iii. 642, 946. E. 372/139, m. 9 d.
9 Mar. 1291 —Mich. 1291	William de Vescy		Keeper of Seal <sup>4</sup>	C.D.I. iii. 946, 1037.
Mich. 1291— Christmas 1308	Thomas Quantock	28 Oct. 1291 (C.P.R. 448) 5 June 1308 (C.P.R. 76)	Chancellor ....	E. 101/231/29; 232/8, 25; 233/2, 9, 12, 17, 20, 24; 234/7, 17; 235/9, 13, 20. E. 372/171, m. 31. C.D.I. iv. 183, 273, 328, 346, 491; v. 374, 412, 458, 473, 512, 585, 630. C.J.R. iii. p. 12.
Mich. 1300— Easter 1301	John Quantock		Deputy Chancellor	C. 47/35/13, no. 12.
22 Sept. 1302	John Quantock <sup>5</sup>		Deputy Chancellor	C.D.I. iv. 819.
Mich. 1305— Easter 1306	John Quantock <sup>6</sup>		Deputy Chancellor	E. 101/234/7.

<sup>1</sup> He seems to have continued to exercise the duties of the office of chancellor until Lent 1284 (C.D.I. ii. 2336), though Walter of Fulbourn received the salary (C.D.I. ii. 2189).

<sup>2</sup> He is specifically mentioned as succeeding Fromund le Brun (C.D.I. iii. 169).

<sup>3</sup> He died on 8 April 1289 (C.D.I. iii. 642) and thereafter the use of the seal was suspended for four days (C.D.I. iii. 821).

<sup>4</sup> On 28 January 1292 William de Vescy was still being ordered to deliver the rolls and memoranda of chancery to Thomas Quantock. The seal seems to have been handed over on 10 December 1291 (Add. MS. 4787, f. 69 d).

<sup>5</sup> Thomas Quantock was with the king at York on 13 August 1302 (C. Ch. R. 27).

<sup>6</sup> On 10 April 1305 Thomas Quantock was summoned to parliament and was intending to return to Ireland on 7 November 1305 (C.D.I. v. 447, 473).



Period	Name	Appointment	Title	References
Easter 1308 —Mich. 1308	John Quantock		Deputy Chancellor	E. 101/235/13.
Christmas 1308— Jan. 1314	Walter of Thorn- bury	4 Mar. 1309 (C.P.R. 106)	Chancellor <sup>1</sup> ....	E. 101/235/20, 24; 236/3, 6, 7. E. 372/171, m. 31.
3 Mar. 1309	Alexander of Bicknor		Deputy Chancellor <sup>2</sup>	Ormond Deeds, i. no. 434.
8 Feb. 1314 —10 May 1314	William fitz John, bishop of Ossory		Chancellor ....	E. 101/236/11.
11 May 1314 —23 Feb. 1316	Richard of Barford	1 April 1314 (C.P.R. 102)	Chancellor ....	E. 101/236/11; 237/2, 4.
24 Feb. 1316 —16 April 1322	William fitz John	8 Aug. 1316 (C.P.R. 524) 4 Aug. 1317 (C.P.R. 10)	Chancellor <sup>3</sup> ....	E. 101/237/4, 5, 8, 9, 14, 16, 19. E. 101/540/11.
16 April 1322 —13 May 1331	Roger Outlaw	4 Jan. 1322 (C.P.R. 46) 6 April 1327 (C.P.R. 62)	Chancellor <sup>4</sup> ....	E. 101/238/6, 12, 17, 19, 26; 239/5, 7, 19; 240/1. E. 372/176, m. 46.
14 May 1331 —14 Nov. 1332	Adam of Limber	26 Feb. 1331 (C.P.R. 82)	Chancellor ....	E. 101/239/22, 24, 29.
14 Nov. 1332 —14 Aug. 1337	Roger Outlaw	30 Sept. 1332 (C.P.R. 340)	Chancellor <sup>5</sup> ....	E. 101/239/29; 240/1, 5, 10, 13. E. 372/182, m. 48; 184, m. 49.

<sup>1</sup> When Thomas Quantock died on 4 February 1309, the seal had been in his charge and that of Henry of Ragley at Dublin; the latter delivered it to the treasurer and barons of the exchequer. They retained it until Gaveston as Lieutenant handed it over to Thornbury (C. Chanc. R. Ire. 11, no. 273). Thornbury was drowned at sea before 28 January 1314 whilst on his way to the king in England with a great sum of money (C.F.R. pp. 188, 192; C. Misc. Inq. ii. no. 184).

<sup>2</sup> So described on 3 March 1309: he was treasurer at the time.

<sup>3</sup> He was translated from the see of Ossory to the archbishopric of Cashel in 1317 and Nicholas of Balscott was to have become chancellor (C.P.R. 658: 2 June 1317). But he does not seem to have acted and William fitz John was re-appointed on 4 August 1317.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Ancient Correspondence, xxxv. no. 24: Sire, le priour de Kylmaignan, vostre chauncellor, q'est le secunde de vostre conseil es dites parties del jour qe vostre seal lui fust live rez, nous ne avioms eide ne conseil de lui, car il est occupie es bosoignes del Hospital q'il ne poet attendre a les voz (c. 1328-29).

<sup>5</sup> Adam of Limber was appointed chancellor on 16 July 1334 (C.P.R. 568) and ordered to be at Dublin at Michaelmas to fulfil the duties of that office (C.C.R. 326). But, though there is a gap in the recorded payments, Roger Outlaw was paid up to 14 August 1334 and from 14 November 1334 and Adam of Limber may not have assumed office.

Period	Name	Appointment	Title	References
15 Oct. 1337 —1 Sept. 1338	Thomas of Charlton, bishop of Hereford	28 July 1337 (C.P.R. 477)	Chancellor ....	E. 372/184, m. 49.
2 Sept. 1338 —2 Sept. 1340	Roger Outlaw	15 May 1338 (C.P.R. 81)	Chancellor and Keeper of Seal ....	E. 101/240/17.
23 Feb. 1341 —23 May 1341	Hugh de Burgh		Keeper of Seal <sup>1</sup>	E. 101/240/17.
19 May 1341 —19 Nov. 1341	Robert of Ashby	14 Mar. 1341 (C.P.R. 151)	Chancellor <sup>2</sup> ....	E. 101/241/5.
	Thomas of Newnham		Deputy Chancellor <sup>3</sup>	45 D.K. Rep. Ire., 54. 53 D.K. Rep. Ire., 20.
15 May 1342 —15 Aug. 1342	John Larcher	10 Mar. 1342 (C.P.R. 395)	Chancellor ....	E. 101/241/5. E. 372/191, m. 42 d; 197, m. 46.
15 Aug. 1342 —15 Nov. 1342	John de la Bataille		Keeper of Seal	E. 101/241/5.
15 Nov. 1343 —17 Aug. 1346	John Larcher		Chancellor <sup>4</sup> ....	E. 101/241/13, 15. E. 372/191, m. 42 d.
18 Aug. 1346 —8 Dec. 1346	John Morice	20 May 1346 <sup>5</sup> (C.C.R. 29)	Chancellor ....	C. Chanc. R. Ire. 51, no. 30.
8 Dec. 1346 —24 Mar. 1347	John Darcy	8 Dec. 1346 (C. Chanc. R. Ire. 53, no. 78)	Keeper of Seal <sup>6</sup>	E. 101/241/13.

<sup>1</sup> There is a gap in the evidence for payments between 2 September 1340 and 23 February 1341, a gap left in the Issue Roll itself.

<sup>2</sup> Hugh de Burgh was paid up to 23 May 1341 and Robert of Ashby from 19 May 1341.

<sup>3</sup> He deputised for Ashby, absent in England, for a quarter of a year. There is a gap in recorded payments between 19 November 1341 and 15 May 1342.

<sup>4</sup> There is a gap in recorded payments from 15 November 1342 to 15 November 1343.

<sup>5</sup> His commission was read before the justiciar and council on 18 August 1346 (C. Chanc. R. Ire. 51, no. 30), though John Larcher had been re-appointed chancellor on 26 July 1346 (C.P.R. 154).

<sup>6</sup> Darcy was appointed by the justiciar and council in Morice's place because he was crossing over to the king (C. Chanc. R. Ire. 53, no. 78).



Period	Name	Appointment	Title	References
26 Mar. 1347 —26 Mar. 1348	John Larcher	16 Nov. 1346 (C.P.R. 211)	Chancellor ....	E. 101/241/15. E. 372/197, m. 46.
20 April 1349 —20 Jan. 1350	John Darcy		Keeper of Seal	E. 101/242/3.
20 Jan. 1350 —21 July 1350	William of Bromley		Keeper of Seal	E. 101/242/3.
8 June 1350 —12 Sept. 1350	Thomas of Bowes		Keeper of Seal <sup>1</sup>	E. 101/242/3, 10.
13 Sept. 1350 —13 Sept. 1356	John of St. Paul, archbishop of Dublin	20 July 1350 (C.P.R. 555)	Chancellor ....	E. 101/242/10, 14; 243/3, 6, 8.
24 Sept. 1356 —24 Sept. 1357	John of Frowick	24 July 1356 (C.P.R. 426)	Chancellor ....	E. 101/244/1.
24 Mar. 1359 —24 June 1359	John of Frowick		Chancellor ....	E. 101/241/2.
24 June 1359 —4 Aug. 1359	John of the Moor William of Drayton		Deputy Chancellors <sup>2</sup>	E. 101/244/2.
5 Aug. 1359 —5 Nov. 1360	Thomas of Burley		Chancellor ....	E. 101/244/6.
5 Nov. 1361 24 Oct. 1364	Thomas of Burley		Chancellor <sup>3</sup> ....	E. 372/212, m. 43. E. 364/7, m. C.
24 Oct. 1364 —24 July 1366	Robert of Ashton	24 Oct. 1364 (C.P.R. 25)	Chancellor ....	E. 101/244/10.

<sup>1</sup> Bromley was paid up to 21 July 1350 and Bowes from 8 June 1350 according to consecutive entries on the Issue Roll.

<sup>2</sup> Frowick was chosen as one of the messengers to go to the king and council in England and on 18 April 1359 the mayor and bailiffs and the sheriff of Dublin were instructed to find transport for him (C. Chanc. R. Ire. 79, no. 102). For the appointment of Moor and Drayton see Parliaments and Councils of Medieval Ireland, i. 18).

<sup>3</sup> He seems to have been removed for fraud (C.F.R. 293).

Period	Name	Appointment	Title	References
2 Sept. 1372 —3 June 1376	Thomas le Reve, bishop of Waterford	20 Feb. 1367 (C.P.R. 383)	Chancellor <sup>1</sup> ....	
	John of Boothby	5 July 1370 (C.P.R. 452)	Chancellor <sup>2</sup> ....	E. 364/12, m. A.
	William Tany <sup>3</sup>		Chancellor ....	E. 101/245/7, 8. E. 364/17, m. G.
	John Keppok	13 April 1375 <sup>4</sup>	Deputy Chancellor	

<sup>1</sup> The appointment of Thomas of Burley as Chancellor on 25 May 1368 (C.P.R. 119) was revoked on 20 June 1368, as the king wished Thomas le Reve, Bishop of Lismore and Waterford, to continue in office (C.P.R. 123). See Grace, *Annals*, p. 154; Burley, prior of Kilmainham, was taken prisoner by the Berminghams in 1368; cf. C. Chanc. R. Ire. 85, no. 6.

<sup>2</sup> From 1 August 1371 to 16 March 1372 Boothby retained men-at-arms for the security of himself and the great seal (C. Chanc. R. Ire. 81, no. 32). In March 1372 he was about to go to England to declare the state of Ireland to the king (*ibid.* no. 35). On 6 March 1374 he was ordered not to seal letters in accordance with any instructions from William of Windsor, the Governor; in what capacity Boothby was acting is not stated (*ibid.* 85, no. 149).

<sup>3</sup> Tany was still chancellor on the death of Edward III on 21 June 1377 (Ormond Deeds, ii. no. 217; C.P.R. 1377-81, pp. 18, 27; C. Chanc. R. Ire. 100, no. 17; 102, no. 75). Robert of Wickford, archbishop of Dublin (1376-90), had been appointed chancellor on 18 July 1376 (C.P.R. 300), but presumably without effect.

<sup>4</sup> C. Chanc. R. Ire. 92, no. 83; cf. 94, no. 154.



Period	Name	Appointment	Title	References
1212/1213— 1232 (?)	John of St. John, bishop of Ferns	Oct. 1212 (R.L.C. i. 132 b)	Treasurer ....	Had not set out on 25 Oct. 1212 (R.L.C. i. 125 b). Styled treasurer 6 April 1217 (ib. 305).
1232	Peter de Rievaulx			Grant of office of treasurer and chamberlain 28 July 1232, renewed 5 March 1233 (C. Ch. R., i. 166, 176). Grant cancelled 28 April 1234 (Cl. Rolls, 412). See above, pp. 22-3.
Before 27 Jan. 1233	Eustace of Leaveland		Deputy Treasurer	Deputy (C.P.R. 9) but styled treasurer (ib. 186, 204, 241, 315, 368).
1234	Eustace of Leaveland	28 April 1234 (Cl. Rolls 412)	Treasurer ....	On removal of Peter de Rievaulx Leaveland held appointment directly of Crown, but was detained in England.
	Geoffrey de Tourville Robert Luterel	27 May 1234 (Cl. Rolls 563)		These have custody jointly. Duplicate entry of appointment (Cl. Rolls., 432,) where date is apparently 26 May.
Oct. 1234— Oct. 1250	Geoffrey de Tourville, bishop of Ossory	25 Aug. 1234 (C.P.R. 66)	Treasurer ....	Assumed office 18 Oct. 1234 (C.P.R. 429) and accounted up to Easter 1250 (C.P.R. 68). Died October 1250. His executors accounted, however, for the period 3 May 1250 to 29 September 1251. They transferred the money remaining in the treasury to Hugh of Mappleton on 16 Oct. 1251 (Royal MS. 18. C. xvi, fos. 233 b—234 b).
16 Oct. 1251 —1260	Hugh of Mappleton, bishop of Ossory	22 June 1251 (C.P.R. 99)	Treasurer ....	He was in office in Hilary term 1260 (35 D.K.R. Ire. 41) but died shortly afterwards, since his successor in the bishopric was elected early in the same year (C.P.R. 80).
1260 (?)— Trinity 1274	Hugh of Taghmon, bishop of Meath		Treasurer ....	The earliest direct evidence of his acting as treasurer appears to be in 1265 (Cl. Rolls, 107; C.P.R. 422-423). E. 101/230/2, m. 3.

Period	Name	Appointment	Title	References
				C.D.I. ii. 959, 965, 1034. Payments of his fee are recorded from Michaelmas 1270 onwards. He was discharged by writ of 24 September 1274 (C.F.R. 28).
Mich. 1274— Mich. 1285	Stephen of Fulbourn, bishop of Waterford	25 Sept. 1274 (C.F.R. 28)	Treasurer ....	E. 101/230/4, 8, 14, 15, 19. C.D.I. iii. 169 (p. 80). E. 372/139, m. 9 d.
1281—83	Walter of Fulbourn		Deputy Treasurer <sup>1</sup>	E. 101/230/19, 25; 231/3. C.D.I. iii. 42 (p. 23), 169 (p. 77). 36 D.K. Rep. Ire. 57.
Easter 1284	William of Hampton		Deputy Treasurer <sup>2</sup>	E. 101/231/3.
1 May 1285— Mich. 1285	Robert Bagod		Deputy Treasurer	E. 101/232/5. C.D.I. iii. 144, 149 (p. 62), 632; iv. 203. E. 372/139, m. 9 d.
5 Aug. 1285 —28 July 1291	Nicholas of Clere	5 Aug. 1285 (C.P.R. 187)	Treasurer ....	E. 101/231/6, rolls 1-5. C.D.I. iii. 171 <i>et passim</i> , 958. E. 372/139, m. 9 d. See above, pp. 55-6.
Mich. 1289— Hil. 1290	William of Clere		Deputy Treasurer	C.D.I. iii. 595 (p. 296), 598, 829, 830 (p. 377).
Trin. 1291— 23 May 1292	Ellis of Winchester		Deputy Treasurer	E. 101/231/28, 29. C.D.I. iii. 1100, 1112.
9 June 1292 —Mich. 1300	William of East Dean <sup>3</sup>	17 April 1292 (C.P.R. 485)	Treasurer ....	E. 101/232/4, 5, 8, 12, 16, 18, 24, 25; 233/2, 7, 9, 11, 12. C.D.I. iv. 273, 346, 456, 565, 682. E. 372/139, m. 9.
Mich. 1299— 7 July 1300	Robert, bishop of Clonfert		Deputy Treasurer	E. 101/233/11, 12. E. 372/145, m. 26 d.
7 July 1300 —24 Jan. 1308	Richard of Barford	8 June 1300 <sup>4</sup> (C.F.R. 429)	Treasurer ....	E. 101/233/17, 20, 24; 234/7, 17; 235/9.

<sup>1</sup> He is occasionally styled 'treasurer': e.g. C.D.I. iii. 90. There is a reference to 'substitutes in the office of the exchequer' in 1278 (C.D.I. iii. 169 (p. 76)).

<sup>2</sup> He is also referred to as 'treasurer' (C.D.I. ii. 2189).

<sup>3</sup> He arrived in Ireland apparently on 5 June 1292 (E. 372/139, m. 9).

<sup>4</sup> Barford took up his duties on 7 July 1300 (C.D.I. iv. 749). He was termed 'late treasurer' in a royal writ, dated 16 December 1307 (C.J.R. iii. 44).



## TREASURERS

Period	Name	Appointment	Title	References
Easter 1305 —Mich. 1305	Thomas of Chedworth		Deputy Treasurer <sup>1</sup>	E. 101/233/24.
24 Jan. 1308 —15 April 1314	Alexander of Bicknor	28 Oct. 1307 <sup>2</sup> (C.P.R. 13)	Treasurer ....	E. 101/235/13, 20, 24 ; 236/3, 6, 7.
Between Mich. 1309 and Trin. 1310	John of Holtham		Deputy Treasurer	E. 101/235/22.
	Walter of Thornbury	2 June 1311 (C.P.R. 351)	Deputy Treasurer	
Trin. 1313— Christmas 1313	Walter of Thornbury		Deputy Treasurer <sup>3</sup>	E. 101/236/7. E. 372/171, m. 31.
Christmas 1313— Easter 1314	William of Holtham Nicholas of Balscott		Keepers <sup>4</sup>	E. 101/236/7. E. 372/171, m. 31.
15 April 1314 —9 Sept. 1321	Walter of Islip	2 Feb. 1314 <sup>5</sup> (C.P.R. 82)	Treasurer ....	E. 101/236/11, 237/2, 4, 5, 8, 9, 12, 14. E. 376/166, mm. 25, 26 ; 171, m. 33.
Hilary 1318	Roger Outlaw	16 Nov. 1317 (C. Chanc. R. Ire. 22, no. 66).	Keeper <sup>6</sup>	E. 101/237/8.

<sup>1</sup> Barford was in England rendering his accounts (cf. C.D.I. iv. 358, 385, 439). Richard of Saham heard an inquisition in Barford's place on 7 March 1305 while the treasurer was waiting for transport to England (C.D.I. v. 367 ; C.J.R. ii. 40).

<sup>2</sup> It was not until 24 January 1308 that Bicknor took over from Barford (E. 101/235/5). For Bicknor's responsibility up to 15 April 1314, see E. 372/171, m. 31. There is a gap in the evidence of the Issue Rolls between Michaelmas 1310 and Michaelmas 1311.

<sup>3</sup> On 20 May 1313 John de Leche, archbishop of Dublin (1311–1313), was appointed treasurer in place of Bicknor (C.P.R. 585), but Bicknor evidently continued in office. Thornbury was also chancellor at this time.

<sup>4</sup> So described in E. 101/236/7 ('custodes officii thesaurarii Hibernie') but styled 'deputies' in E. 372/171, m. 21, where they are said to have acted for the single Hilary term.

<sup>5</sup> He did not assume office until 15 April 1314 (E. 101/236/10).

<sup>6</sup> Styled 'custos'. He acted whilst the treasurer was in England (cf. C.C.R., 561: already by 4 August 1317 the king's lieutenant had been ordered to appoint Nicholas of Balscott to take the place of the absent Islip).

## TREASURERS

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Period	Name	Appointment	Title	References
1 Aug. 1321 —9 Sept. 1321	Richard of Woodhouse		Deputy Treasurer	E. 101/237/16.
9 Sept. 1321 —29 April 1322	John de Cogan	1 Feb. 1321 <sup>1</sup> (C.F.R. 46)	Treasurer ....	E. 101/237/19.
29 April 1322 —20 Jan. 1326	Walter of Islip	15 Mar. 1322 (C.F.R. 109)	Treasurer <sup>2</sup> ....	E. 101/238/1, 3, 6, 12, 17, 19.
Mich. 1325— 20 Jan. 1326	Roger Outlaw		Deputy Treasurer	E. 101/238/19, 21.
20 Jan. 1326 —4 Oct. 1326	Adam de Herwinton	7 Dec. 1325 (C.P.R. 197)	Keeper <sup>3</sup>	E. 101/238/26.
4 Oct. 1326 —19 Dec. 1327	John de Cogan	23 July 1326 (C.F.R. 402) 24 Mar. 1327 (C.P.R. 58)	Treasurer ....	E. 101/239/5, 7.
19 Dec. 1327 —Trin. 1331	Robert Power	30 Oct. 1327 <sup>4</sup> (C.P.R. 183)	Treasurer ....	E. 372/176, m. 46. E. 101/239/19. <sup>5</sup>
13 Mar. 1331 —3 June 1331	William of Rudyard		Deputy Treasurer	E. 101/239/18, 19. E. 372/179, m. 46.
3 June 1331 —8 June 1335	Thomas de Burgh	26 Feb. 1331 (C.F.R. 239)	Treasurer ....	E. 101/239/22, 24, 29; 240/1, 5, 8. E. 372/179, m. 46; 182, m. 48.
Easter 1334 —Easter 1335	Robert Power		Deputy Treasurer	E. 101/240/5, 7, 8.

<sup>1</sup> These letters were later cancelled and then renewed (C.F.R. 66: 8 August 1321).

<sup>2</sup> The payment of his fee of £20 for the Easter and Trinity terms of 1322 has been struck through: instead he was paid £16 18s. 3d. to cover 154 days, for 'deallocationem lxi. s. ix. d. quia non habet allocationem nisi pro rata temporis compoti'. Reckoning 154 days back from 29 September brings us to 29 April, the opening day of the account (E. 101/238/1).

<sup>3</sup> 'Custos officii thesaurarii'; cf. C.C.R. 438, where he is said to be acting as such on 3 January 1326 (below, p. 116, n. 2).

<sup>4</sup> Cogan did not hand over authority until 19 December 1327 (E. 372/176, m. 46).

<sup>5</sup> See Cal. Carew MSS. v. (Book of Howth), 484, for a copy, presumably from the chamberlain's duplicate roll retained at Dublin.



Period	Name	Appointment	Title	References
8 June 1335 —15 Oct. 1337	John of Ellerker, junior.	4 April 1335 (C.F.R. 439, 441).	Treasurer ....	E. 372/182, m. 48. E. 101/240/10, 13.
Hil.—Trin. 1336	Robert Power		Deputy Treasurer <sup>1</sup>	E. 372/182, m. 48. E. 101/240/12.
15 Oct. 1337 —12 Aug. 1339	John Rees	28 July 1337 (C.F.R. 26) 23 Oct. 1338 (C.F.R. 99)	Treasurer ....	E. 372/184, m. 49.
12 Aug. 1339 —5 May 1343	Hugh de Burgh	29 June 1339 <sup>2</sup> (C.F.R. 137)	Treasurer ....	E. 101/240/17; 241/5. E. 372/188, m. 54.
5 Nov. 1341 —Hilary 1342	John of Balscott		Deputy Treasurer	E. 101/241/2, 5. Cf. 47 D.K. Rep. Ire. 64 (August–October 1341).
5 May 1343 —30 Sept. 1349	John of Burnham	28 Jan. 1343 (C.P.R. 3; C.F.R. 319)	Treasurer ....	E. 372/189, m. 47; 191, m. 42 d; 197, m. 46.
	Robert Power <sup>3</sup>		Deputy Treasurer	E. 372/191, m. 42 d.
Hilary 1348	Nicholas Allen		Deputy Treasurer	E. 101/241/16.
Trin. 1348— Mich. 1349	Robert of Embleton	17 Mar. 1349 <sup>4</sup> (C.P.R. 261)	Deputy Treasurer	E. 101/241/16, 17. E. 372/197, m. 46.
30 Sept. 1349 —19 Jan. 1350	Robert of Embleton		Treasurer <sup>5</sup> ....	E. 372/197, m. 46; 198, m. 31.
20 Jan. 1350 —15 Sept. 1350	Nicholas Allen		Treasurer ....	E. 101/241/20; 242/3.

<sup>1</sup> Ellerker received a grant of £40 at the close of 1335 when he was on the point of crossing to the king in Scotland and travelling to England on Irish business (E. 101/240/10). Power was steward of Wexford (loc cit.). Roger Glanville deputised for Ellerker in negotiations with Irish felons in Leinster (45 D. K. Rep. Ire. 32).

<sup>2</sup> On 2 March 1340 the request of certain magnates was granted that he should hold office during good behaviour (C.F.R. 164, C.P.R. 436).

<sup>3</sup> Power deputised while Burnham was in England at some period between Michaelmas 1344 and Michaelmas 1346: no precise time is given.

<sup>4</sup> The writ styles him 'Keeper', though the accounts continue to refer to him as 'Deputy Treasurer'.

<sup>5</sup> In February 1350 he was arrested and sent to England in custody (C.C.R. 205).

Period	Name	Appointment	Title	References
15 Sept. 1350 —20 April 1355	William of Bromley	13 July 1350 (C.F.R. 248)	Treasurer ....	E. 101/242/3, 10, 14; 243/3, 4, 6.
Easter 1352	John of Pembroke		Deputy Treasurer	E. 101/242/14.
24 May 1354 —Easter 1355	John of Balscott		Deputy Treasurer <sup>1</sup>	E. 101/243/4.
20 April 1355 —3 Nov. 1356	Nicholas Allen	20 April 1355 (C.P.R. 263, 264; C. Chanc. R. Ire. 55)	Treasurer ....	E. 101/243/4, 8.
3 Nov. 1356 —5 Sept. 1357	John of Bolton	6 Aug. 1356 (C.P.R. 435)	Treasurer <sup>2</sup> ....	E. 101/244/1.
5 Sept. 1357 —10 Mar. 1358	John de Troyes		Deputy Treasurer	E. 101/243/12; 244/1.
10 Mar. 1358 —11 Feb. 1360	Nicholas Allen	9 Jan. 1358 (C.P.R. 657)	Treasurer ....	E. 101/244/2, 6. E. 372/204, m. 41; 212, m. 43.
Feb. 1360— June 1360	William Charles, bishop of Ferns		Treasurer ...	E. 372/207, m. 42; 212, m. 43.
8 June 1360 —1 April 1361	Thomas of Badby	3 April 1360 (C.P.R. 349)	Treasurer ....	E. 101/244/6.
22 Feb. 1361 —1 April 1361	John of Pembroke		Deputy Treasurer <sup>3</sup>	E. 101/244/6.
1 April 1361 —14 Jan. 1362	William Charnels, bishop of Ferns	23 Feb. 1361 (C.P.R. 551)	Treasurer <sup>4</sup> ....	E. 372/207, m. 46; 212, m. 43.
14 Jan. 1362 —9 April 1364	Thomas Mynot	14 Jan. 1362 <sup>5</sup>	Treasurer ....	E. 372/212, m. 43.

<sup>1</sup> Bromley was ordered to be in England by the octave of Easter 1354 (C.C.R. 61).

<sup>2</sup> He was removed from office as treasurer on account of complaints against him (C.P.R. 657).

<sup>3</sup> The treasurer was in England.

<sup>4</sup> He was the immediate predecessor of Mynot. The accounts are missing for the period 1 April 1361—14 Jan. 1362.

<sup>5</sup> He was appointed under seal of the chancellor of Ireland with the consent of Lieutenant and council (E. 372/212, m. 43).



## TREASURERS

Period	Name	Appointment	Title	References
20 Oct. 1362 —1 April 1364	Thomas Scurlag		Deputy Treasurer	E. 372/212, m. 43.
9 April 1364 —1 Feb. 1365	Walter of Dalby	10 Feb. 1364 (C.F.R. 280)	Treasurer <sup>1</sup> ....	E. 364/7, m. C.
1 Feb. 1365 —25 Sept. 1366	John de Troyes	24 Sept. 1364 (C.F.R. 294)	Treasurer ....	E. 364/7, m. C. E. 101/244/10.
1 Sept. 1365 —24 Dec. 1365	John of Hurst		Deputy Treasurer	E. 101/244/10.
[Feb. 1367] —18 July 1368	John de Troyes	20 Feb. 1367 (C.F.R. 348)	Treasurer ....	E. 364/12, m. A.
18 July 1368 —2 Sept. 1372	Stephen Vale, bishop of Limerick	25 May 1368 <sup>2</sup> (C.P.R. 119)	Treasurer ....	E. 364/12, m.A.
2 Sept. 1372 —30 Sept. 1375	John Colton	6 May 1372 <sup>3</sup>	Treasurer ....	E. 364/17, m. G. E. 101/245/7.
Easter 1375 —Mich. 1375	Thomas Scurlag		Deputy Treasurer	E. 364/17, m. G. E. 101/245/7.
1 Oct. 1375 —30 Sept. 1376	Thomas Scurlag	1 July 1375 (C.P.R. 120)	Treasurer ....	E. 364/24, m. B. E. 101/245/7, 8.
30 Sept. 1376 —29 Sept. 1384	Alexander of Balscott, bishop of Ossory	18 July 1376 (C.F.R. 359)	Treasurer ....	E. 364/18, m. F.; 24, m. B. <sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> He is described as 'treasurer and clerk of the king's wages' and was apparently paid as from 24 April 1364.

<sup>2</sup> The letters of appointment were revoked on 20 June 1368 because the king wished John de Troyes to retain office (C.P.R. 123). Other letters must have been made shortly afterwards.

<sup>3</sup> For this, see E. 364/17, m. G.

<sup>4</sup> The accounts provide no evidence for the period 30 September 1376—21 June 1377.

Period	Names				References
Mich. 1277— Mich. 1280	Rory MacKavan	..			E. 101/230/4, 8, 14.
Mich. 1280 <sup>1</sup> — Easter 1282	MacKavan <sup>2</sup>	..	John of Kent <sup>3</sup>	..	E. 101/230/15, 19. C.D.I. iii. 169 (p. 78).
Easter 1282— Mich. 1282	Prior of Waterford	..	Kent	.. ..	E. 101/230/25. C.D.I. iii. 169 (p. 78).
Mich. 1282— Easter 1294	Ellis of Winchester	..	Kent <sup>4</sup>	.. ..	E. 101/230/13, 25 ; 231/3, 29. C.D.I. iii. 2, 169, 964 (p. 429). E. 372/139, m. 9 and 9 d.
Easter 1294— Easter 1295	Winchester	..	David of Uffington <sup>5</sup>	..	E. 101/232/8. (C.P.R. 100 : 23 Oct. 1294) C.D.I. iv. 183, 273.
Easter 1295— Mich. 1295			Uffington	.. ..	C.D.I. iv. 273
Mich. 1295— Mich. 1297	Richard of Saham <sup>6</sup>	..	Uffington	.. ..	C.D.I. iv. 346, 456. E. 101/232/25.
	(C.P.R. 144, 145 : 28 Aug. 1295)				
Mich. 1297— Mich. 1298	Saham	.. ..			C.D.I. iv. 474, 565. E. 101/233/2, 9.

<sup>1</sup> The practice of having not a single but two barons of the exchequer began with Stephen Fulbourn, who was Deputy Justiciar in 1280 (C.D.I. iii. 2 (p. 2)).

<sup>2</sup> MacKavan was paid as 'deputy baron' for the Easter and Trinity terms of 1281 (C.D.I. ii. 1835).

<sup>3</sup> Kent was paid as 'deputy baron' for the Easter, Trinity and Michaelmas terms of 1281 (C.D.I. ii. 1815, 1835, 1860) and as 'baron' at Hilary 1282 (ibid. 1892).

<sup>4</sup> William of Cheriton was appointed on 11 July 1293 to take the place of Kent (C.P.R. 31), who was dead by Midsummer 1293 (C.D.I. iv. 41 (p. 27)), but he seems not to have taken up office (see n. 5 below).

<sup>5</sup> He was appointed to take the place of Kent, deceased.

<sup>6</sup> He was appointed to take the place of Winchester, deceased, and swore his oath in the English chancery on 29 August 1295 (C.D.I. iv. 223).



Period	Names					References
Easter 1299— Mich. 1300	Saham	..	..	William de Moenes <sup>1</sup> (C.D.I. iv. 589 : 14 Nov. 1298).		C.D.I. iv. 682. E. 101/233/9, 12.
Mich. 1301— Mich. 1302	Saham	..	..	Moenes	.. ..	E. 101/233/17.
Mich. 1303— Mich. 1304	Saham	..	..	Moenes	.. ..	E. 101/233/20.
Easter 1305— Mich. 1305	Saham	..	..	Moenes	.. ..	E. 101/233/24.
Mich. 1305— Easter 1307	John of Holtham	..	..	Moenes	.. ..	E. 101/234/7, 17.
Easter 1307— Mich. 1307	Holtham <sup>2</sup>	..	..	Moenes	.. ..	E. 101/234/17.
Mich. 1307— Mich. 1308	Holtham	..	..	Moenes	.. ..	E. 101/235/9.
Mich. 1308— Hil. 1309	Holtham	..	..	Walter of Islip <sup>3</sup> (C.P.R. 65 : 21 April 1308)	..	E. 101/235/20.
Hil. 1309— Hil. 1311	Islip <sup>4</sup> (C.P.R. 189 : 17 Sept. 1309)	..	..	Moenes (C.P.R. 189 : 17 Sept. 1309)	.. ..	E. 101/235/20, 24. E. 372/171, m. 31.
Easter 1311— Mich. 1313	Moenes <sup>5</sup> (C.P.R. 354 : 1 June 1311)	..	..	Adam of Stratton <sup>6</sup> (C.P.R. 354 : 1 June 1311)	..	E. 372/171, m. 31. E. 101/236/3, 6.
Mich. 1313— Mich. 1316	Nicholas of Balscott <sup>7</sup> (C.P.R. 572 : 7 May 1313)	..	..	Moenes (C.P.R. 572 : 7 May 1313)	.. ..	E. 101/236/7, 11 ; 237/2, 4.

<sup>1</sup> He was appointed in place of Uffington (C.D.I. iv. p. 324) and remained acting as chamberlain of the exchequer until 26 March 1299 (C.D.I. iv. 183 ; E. 372/144, m. 28) when he took up his duties as baron. It may be observed that William le Deveneis is referred to as a baron of the exchequer with Saham as his colleague (below, p. 233): this may be simply an occasional and temporary appointment, perhaps 1300 (above, p. 26).

<sup>2</sup> Holtham was not paid for these two terms while he was in England (E. 372/153, m. 35).

<sup>3</sup> He was appointed in place of Moenes.

<sup>4</sup> He was appointed chief baron.

<sup>5</sup> He was appointed chief baron in place of Islip.

<sup>6</sup> He took the place of Moenes.

<sup>7</sup> He was appointed chief baron.

Period	Names					References
Mich. 1316— Trin. 1317			Moenes <sup>1</sup>	..	..	E. 101/237/5.
Trin. 1317— Mich. 1318	Balscott	..	..	Moenes	..	E. 101/237/5, 8.
Mich. 1318— Easter 1319			Moenes	..	..	E. 101/237/9.
Easter 1319— Trin. 1322	Richard Brown <sup>2</sup> (C.P.R. 316 : 8 March 1319)	..	Moenes	..	..	E. 101/237/9, 12, 14, 16, 19; 238/1; 540/1.
Trin. 1322 and Mich. 1322			Moenes <sup>3</sup>	..	..	E. 101/238/1, 6.
Hil. 1323— Mich. 1323	Brown	..	..	Moenes	..	E. 101/238/6.
Mich. 1323— Mich. 1324	Brown <sup>4</sup>	..	..	Moenes	..	E. 101/238/12.
Mich. 1324— Easter 1326	Adam de Herwinton <sup>5</sup>	..	Moenes <sup>6</sup>	..	..	E. 101/238/17, 19; 238/26.
Easter 1326— Easter 1327	Herwinton	..	..	John of Grantchester (C.P.R. 295 : 8 July 1326)	..	E. 101/238/26 ; 239/5.
Easter 1327— Mich. 1327	Thomas de Montpellier <sup>7</sup> (C.P.R. 64 : 27 March 1327)		Grantchester	..	..	E. 101/239/5.

<sup>1</sup> Balscott had been sent as a special messenger to England and received a writ for expenses, dated 10 September 1316 (P.R.O. Ire., Cal. Plea Rolls, 12, p. 1: roll 116, m. 38).

<sup>2</sup> He succeeded Balscott.

<sup>3</sup> Brown was not paid for these two terms because he was a justice in eyre in co. Meath (E. 101/238/1, 6).

<sup>4</sup> Brown was paid up to 14 July 1324.

<sup>5</sup> Herwinton succeeded Brown as chief baron and was paid from 14 July 1324. He had been appointed on 23 August 1323 (C.P.R. 331) and the appointment was later cancelled (C. Ch. W. i. 543). He was appointed again some time before 26 May 1324 (C.P.R. 415). William of Fulbourn's letters of appointment as chief baron, dated 3 May 1324, were surrendered and cancelled (C.P.R. 412).

<sup>6</sup> William of Fulbourn was appointed on 30 August 1325 to succeed Moenes (C.P.R. 164) but this was not put into effect.

<sup>7</sup> He was paid from 12 May 1327 as chief baron.



Period	Names	References
Mich. 1327	Roger of Birthorpe .. John Knay .. (C.P.R. 188 : 10 Nov. 1327) (C.P.R. 139 : 12 July 1327)	E. 101/239/7.
Hil. 1328— Trin. 1328	Birthorpe .. .. Knay .. ..	E. 372/176, m. 46 <sup>1</sup> .
Mich. 1328— Mich. 1329	Birthorpe .. .. Henry Thrapston .. (C.P.R. 319 : 16 Sept. 1328) (C.P.R. 316 : 21 Aug. 1328)	
Mich. 1329— Mich. 1330	John of Bradstone .. Thrapston .. .. (C.P.R. 473 : 16 Sept. 1329)	
Mich. 1330— Easter 1331	Bradstone .. .. Thomas Bagod .. (C.P.R. 537 : 12 July 1330)	
East. 1331— Mich. 1331	Bradstone <sup>2</sup> .. .. Bagod .. ..	E. 101/239/19, 22.
Mich. 1331	Thomas de Montpellier Bagod .. ..	E. 101/239/24.
Hil. 1332— Mich. 1334	Robert Power <sup>3</sup> .. Bagod <sup>4</sup> .. .. (C.P.R. 182 : 14 Oct. 1331 ; C.P.R. 470 : 2 Oct. 1333)	E. 101/239/24, 29 ; 240/5.
Mich. 1334	Power .. .. Thomas Cross .. (C.P.R. 22 : 24 Sept. 1334)	
Easter 1335	Power .. .. Cross .. ..	E. 101/240/8.

<sup>1</sup> The Pipe Roll shows that Birthorpe and Knay were succeeded by Bradstone and Thrapston but does not give the point of time. The details in the list from 1327 to 1331 are conjectural, based upon the letters patent issued.

<sup>2</sup> William of Tickhill was appointed chief baron on 24 February 1331 (C.P.R. 82), but this was not effective.

<sup>3</sup> Robert of Scarborough was appointed chief baron on 16 July 1334 (C.P.R. 568), but he did not act and Power was re-appointed on 24 September 1334 (C.P.R. 22).

<sup>4</sup> Thomas of Blaston was appointed on 17 December 1332 (C.P.R. 378) and again on 2 October 1333 (C.P.R. 470), but in neither case with effect. Thomas of Brailes was appointed second baron on 21 November 1333 (C.P.R. 470) but did not act. Nor did Hugh of Colwick's appointment on 16 July 1334 (C.P.R. 568) meet with greater success or Walter of Islip's appointment on 6 April 1335 (C.P.R. 95) or that of William of Hoo on 10 May 1335 (C.P.R. 101).

Period	Names				References
Trin. 1335— Hil. 1336	Power <sup>1</sup>	..	Cross	Henry Motoun <sup>2</sup> (C.P.R. 101: 10 May 1335)	E. 101/240/10. E. 372/182, m. 48.
Hil. 1336	Power	..	Hugh de Burgh <sup>3</sup> (C.P.R. 183: 8 Dec. 1335)	Motoun ..	E. 101/240/10.
Easter 1336	Power	...	Burgh	.. Motoun ..	E. 101/240/13.
Trin. 1336	Power	..	Burgh		E. 101/240/13.
Mich. 1336	Power	..	Burgh	.. Cross ..	E. 101/240/13.
Hil. 1337			Burgh <sup>4</sup>	.. Harvey Bagod <sup>5</sup> (C.P.R. 325: 20 Oct. 1336)	E. 101/240/13.
Easter 1337— Mich. 1337			Burgh <sup>6</sup>	.. Bagod ..	E. 372/182, m. 48.
Mich. 1337— Easter 1338			Burgh	.. Nicholas of Snitterby <sup>7</sup> (C.P.R. 463: 22 June 1337; C.P.R. 502: 30 Aug. 1337)	E. 372/184, m. 49.

<sup>1</sup> Cross was appointed chief baron on 6 June 1335 (C.P.R. 122) and again on 20 October 1335 (C.P.R. 175), but he did not displace Power (cf. C. Chanc. R. Ire. 42, no. 49) and, indeed, was not paid after Michaelmas 1335. Power served also as chancellor of the exchequer, 1335–1340.

<sup>2</sup> Motoun was appointed in Cross's place and termed second baron.

<sup>3</sup> Burgh was termed third baron. On 16 January 1336 payment was authorised to him 'quamdiu cum rege steterit in dicto officio' (C. Chanc. R. Ire. 42, no. 50).

<sup>4</sup> Burgh was designated third baron.

<sup>5</sup> Bagod was designated second baron, taking the place of Motoun. John of Carlton was appointed second baron in February 1337 (C. Chanc. R. Ire. 42, no. 1) but this seems not to have been effective.

<sup>6</sup> On 13 June 1337 Burgh was granted the office of third baron for four years (C.P.R. 462). But on 3 September 1337 he was appointed chief baron during pleasure (C.P.R. 520) and on 17 October 1337 during good behaviour (C.P.R. 539). For his expenses 'tam temporibus quo fuit capitalis baro scaccarii regis Dublinie quam subescaetor domini regis in partibus Hibernie', see E. 101/240/17 and cf. 47 D.K. Rep. Ire. 34. There was evidently more than the normal intrigue and wire-pulling for office at this time, for on 10 August 1337 Power, Montpellier, Snitterby and Bagod were ordered not to intermeddle further with the office of one of the barons of the exchequer (C.C.R. 168).

<sup>7</sup> Snitterby was appointed second baron in place of Bagod and confirmed in that office on 1 May 1338 (C.P.R. 50).



Period	Names			References
Easter 1338— Mich. 1339	Burgh ..	Bagod .. (C.P.R. 26: 5 March 1338)	Snitterby (C.P.R. 50: 1 May 1338)	E. 372/184, m. 49. E. 101/241/5.
Mich. 1339		Bagod ..	Snitterby	E. 101/240/17.
Hil. 1340 & Easter 1340	Robert Power <sup>1</sup> (C.P.R. 316: 11 July 1339)	Bagod <sup>2</sup> ..	Snitterby	E. 101/240/17 ; 241/5.
Trin. 1340 & Mich. 1340	Power ..		Snitterby <sup>3</sup>	E. 101/240/17.
Hilary 1341	Power ..		Snitterby <sup>4</sup>	E. 101/241/5.
Easter 1341 & Trin. 1341	Power ..	William of Epworth <sup>5</sup> (C.P.R. 127: 8 Feb. 1341)		E. 101/241/5.
Mich. 1341	Power ..	Epworth ..	Snitterby	E. 101/241/5.
Hil. 1342— Mich. 1342	Power ..		Snitterby	E. 101/241/5.

<sup>1</sup> Power, who had previously held double office as chancellor of the exchequer (and was paid in this capacity: below, p. 116) and baron of the exchequer, was now authorised to act as chief baron for the unexpired part of the term which he was granted in the chancellorship and thereafter during pleasure (C.P.R. 316). He obtained fresh letters patent of appointment on 18 June 1340, which were exemplified on 5 July 1340 (C.P.R. 6).

<sup>2</sup> Payment to Bagod was challenged on the ground that there should be only two barons (E. 372/186, m. 49) and on 20 July 1340 Bagod was ordered to be removed (C.C.R. 433).

<sup>3</sup> On 2 September 1340 Snitterby was confirmed as second baron (C.P.R. 28).

<sup>4</sup> On 8 February 1341 Snitterby's appointment of 2 September 1340 was revoked on the ground that William of Epworth had been appointed before him (C.P.R. 127). See the next note.

<sup>5</sup> Epworth had been appointed as second baron on 5 July 1340 (C.P.R. 20) but this was revoked on 2 September 1340 (C.P.R. 28). He was re-appointed on 8 February 1341 (C.P.R. 127) and removed from office on 16 May 1342 (C.P.R. 432). But he had already been arrested and imprisoned in Dublin Castle by 6 January 1342, and the Justiciar was ordered to send him to England (C.C.R. 367).

Period	Names		References
Mich. 1342 & Hil. 1343	Power ..	Epworth <sup>1</sup> .. Snitterby (C.P.R. 511 : 18 Aug. 1342)	E. 101/241/5. C. Chanc. R. Ire. 43, no. 10. <sup>2</sup>
Trinity 1344	Power ..		E. 372/191, m. 42 d.
Mich. 1344— Trin. 1347	Hugh de Burgh <sup>3</sup> .. (C.P.R. 205 : 26 Feb. 1344)	Epworth <sup>4</sup>	E. 372/191, m. 42d ; 197, m. 46.
Trin. 1347— Mich. 1348	Burgh <sup>5</sup> ..	John de Troyes <sup>6</sup> .. (C.P.R. 262 : 22 Feb. 1347)	E. 372/197, m. 46. E. 101/241/15.
Mich. 1348— Trin. 1349	Burgh ..	Troyes <sup>7</sup> .. John of Pembroke <sup>8</sup> .. (C.P.R. 127 : 23 July 1348)	E. 101/241/15. E. 372/197, m. 46.

<sup>1</sup> On 17 July 1342 William of Bromley was appointed second baron (C.P.R. 488). But on 18 August 1342 the letters patent appointing both Snitterby and Bromley as second baron were revoked and Epworth was restored to that position (C.P.R. 511).

<sup>2</sup> On 10 February 1343 Snitterby was to be paid £20 towards his fee, which was six terms overdue in payment.

<sup>3</sup> He was paid as chief baron in succession to Power.

<sup>4</sup> On 12 February 1344 Geoffrey Folejambe was appointed second baron (C.P.R. 206). There is no evidence that he took up office and certainly at Michaelmas 1344 Epworth was still being paid as second baron (E. 372/191, m. 42d). On 4 August 1346 John of Burnham was appointed a baron (C. Chanc. R. Ire. 51, no. 18) and this may well have had temporary effect. On 28 October 1346 Nicholas of Snitterby was appointed a baron (C.P.R. 196), but there is no evidence of payment to him as such.

<sup>5</sup> On 10 February 1348 Burgh was ordered to be restored to office, from which he had been removed without reasonable cause (C.C.R. 435).

<sup>6</sup> Troyes was appointed as second baron. He had previously been a remembrancer of the exchequer (E. 372/212, m. 43).

<sup>7</sup> William of Epworth was appointed as second baron in place of Troyes, whose commission was revoked, on 2 September 1348 (C.P.R. 144), but Troyes, not Epworth, continued to act.

<sup>8</sup> Pembroke was appointed as third baron.



Period	Names				References
Trin. 1349		Robert Power <sup>1</sup> ..	Nicholas of Snitterby <sup>2</sup>		E. 372/197, m. 46. E. 101/241/16 ; 242/3.
Hil. 1350— Mich. 1350	Burgh ..	John de Troyes ..	John of Pembroke ..		E. 101/242/3.
Mich. 1350— Trin. 1351	Burgh ..	Troyes ..			E. 101/242/10.
Mich. 1351	Burgh ..	Troyes ..	Nicholas of Snitterby ..		E. 101/242/14.
Hil. 1352— Hil. 1355		Robert of Embleton <sup>3</sup> (C.P.R. 168 : 18 Oct. 1351)	Troyes .. Snitterby <sup>4</sup> ..		E. 101/242/14 ; 243/3, 6.
Hil. 1355— Mich. 1355	Embleton	Troyes ..	Thomas of Bowes <sup>5</sup> (C.P.R. 132 : 31 Oct. 1354)		E. 101/243/6, 8.
Mich. 1355	Embleton <sup>6</sup> John of Burnham <sup>7</sup> (C.P.R. 261 : 10 July 1355)	Troyes ..	Bowes <sup>8</sup> ..		E. 101/243/8.
Hilary 1356	Burnham	Troyes ..	Bowes ..		E. 101/243/8.
East. 1356 & Trin. 1356	Burnham <sup>9</sup>	Troyes ..			E. 101/243/8.

<sup>1</sup> At some unspecified time, which is evidently 1349, Power was appointed by letters patent of the Justiciar, Walter de Bermingham, to be a baron 'ad placita dicti domini regis ibidem tenenda' and was paid 10 marks for his half year's service.

<sup>2</sup> Snitterby was appointed to deputise as a baron.

<sup>3</sup> He was appointed chief baron.

<sup>4</sup> He was paid as third baron. He was given letters of appointment on 4 July 1354 (C.P.R. 82).

<sup>5</sup> Bowes succeeded Snitterby (E. 372/204, m. 36).

<sup>6</sup> Embleton was paid for part of the Michaelmas term 1355.

<sup>7</sup> Burnham was paid for the remaining part of the Michaelmas term 1355.

<sup>8</sup> On 12 July 1355 John of Pembroke, chancellor of the exchequer, was instructed to act also as third baron of the exchequer and there were not to be more than three barons in all (C.P.R. 267). This order made no apparent difference: Troyes and Bowes continued to act.

<sup>9</sup> On 28 January 1356 the number of barons was ordered to be reduced to two (C.C.R. 251).

Period	Names	References
Mich. 1356— Hil. 1358	Burnham .. Troyes <sup>1</sup> .. Thomas Mynot .. (C.P.R. 426 : 24 July 1356)	E. 101/243/8 ; 244/1.
Hil. 1358	Burnham <sup>2</sup> .. Troyes ..	E. 101/244/1.
East. 1359— Hil. 1360	Burnham .. Troyes .. Mynot .. ..	E. 101/244/2.
Hil. 1360	Mynot ..	E. 101/244/2.
Easter 1360	Burnham .. Troyes ..	E. 101/244/6.
Trin. 1360	Burnham .. Troyes .. Mynot ..	E. 101/244/6.
Mich. 1360 & Hil. 1361	Burnham <sup>3</sup> .. Troyes .. Mynot <sup>3</sup> (C.P.R. 571 : 10 March 1361)	E. 101/244/6. E. 372/212, m. 43.
Hil. 1362	Troyes ..	E. 372/212, m. 43.
East. 1362— East. 1364	Robert of Troyes .. Holywood <sup>4</sup>	E. 372/212, m. 43.
East. 1364— East. 1365	James de Thomas of William of Watten- Quixhill <sup>5</sup> Carlisle <sup>6</sup> hulle (C.P.R. 468 : 13 Feb. 1364)	E. 364/7, m. C. E. 101/244/10.
East. 1365— Hil. 1366	Holywood.. Watten- hulle	E. 101/244/10. E. 364/7, m. C.

<sup>1</sup> Nicholas Lombard was appointed second baron on 24 July 1356 (C.P.R. 426), but this was revoked on 12 November 1356 since the office had already been given to Troyes (C.P.R. 472).

<sup>2</sup> At some time before, and apparently shortly before, 10 March 1358 Burnham was granted £10 'cum ipse solus placeam eiusdem scaccarii fere per duos annos pro maiori parte propter absenciam sociorum suorum, baronum de dicto scaccario, tenuisset' (E. 101/244/1).

<sup>3</sup> On 26 February 1361 a writ was issued, ordering the payment of the fee of Burnham and Mynot during the time they were in England at the council's behest (C.C.R. 157).

<sup>4</sup> Holywood was appointed chief baron. He had been previously a remembrancer of the exchequer and he was succeeded in that office by Thomas French in the Trinity term 1362 (E. 372/212, m. 43).

<sup>5</sup> On the same day as Quixhill was appointed John Keppok was made chief baron and John of Uppingham second baron (C.P.R. 468), but these last two appointments were not effective.

<sup>6</sup> At Hilary 1365 Carlisle was third baron and Quixhill second baron.



Period	Names			References
Hil. 1366— Mich. 1366	Hollywood	Watten- hulle	Robert Randulf <sup>1</sup>	E. 101/244/10.
Mich. 1368— Mich. 1369	Hollywood	Watten- hulle	Carlisle (C.P.R. 14 : 26 Oct. 1367)	E. 101/245/3.
Mich. 1369— Mich. 1370	Hollywood		Carlisle John Bretton <sup>2</sup>	E. 101/245/3.
Mich. 1370— Mich. 1371	Hollywood <sup>3</sup>		Carlisle <sup>3</sup> Bretton ..	E. 101/245/3.
East. 1373— Hil. 1374	Hollywood		Bretton ..	E. 101/245/7.
East. 1374	Hollywood		Carlisle Bretton ..	E. 101/245/7.
Trin. 1374— Trin. 1376	Hollywood		Carlisle Bretton	E. 101/245/7, 8.
Trinity 1376		Henry Michel <sup>4</sup>	Bretton	E. 101/245/8.

<sup>1</sup> He was third baron.

<sup>2</sup> John Bretton, remembrancer of the exchequer, was made by letters patent of 2 October 1369 a baron of the exchequer but without fee and apparently held office until the end of the reign (C. Chanc. R. Ire. 99, no. 9).

<sup>3</sup> Hollywood was referred to as chief baron on 10 April 1372 (op. cit., 85, no. 149) and Carlisle as second baron on 11 February 1372 (op. cit., 81, no. 4).

<sup>4</sup> Hollywood and Carlisle were summoned on 16 February 1376 to be before the king and council (C.C.R. 295). Hollywood remained in England and Michel was appointed in his place on 23 November 1376, Hollywood being paid up to this date (C. Chanc. R. Ire., 100, no. 14). Stephen Bray was appointed chief baron on 12 August 1376 (C.P.R. 335) and re-appointed on 5 October 1377 (C.P.R. 27) and John of Pembroke was appointed second baron on 12 August 1376 (C.P.R. 335; cf. C. Chanc. R. Ire. 101, no. 63).

Period	Name	Appointment	References
Before Easter 1270—	Thomas of Chedworth		C. 54/92, m. 10 (see below, pp. 229-30). C.D.I. ii. 1137.
Easter 1270— Easter 1289	John of Kenley <sup>1</sup>		E. 101/230/2 (m. 3), 4, 8, 14, 15, 19, 25 ; 231/1, 3. C.D.I. iii. 2, 111, 169, 595 (p. 296). E. 372/139, m. 9 d.
Easter 1289 Mich. 1293	Walter of Kenley	.. 27 Dec. 1290 <sup>2</sup> (C.P.R. 412)	C.D.I. iii. 634, 803, 814. E. 101/231/29. E. 372/139, m. 9 d.
Mich. 1293— Mich. 1302	Adam of Boddington	.. 11 July 1293 (C.P.R. 31)	E. 101/232/8, 25 ; 233/2, 9, 12, 17. C.D.I. iv. 273, 346, 565, 682.
Mich. 1302— Mich. 1307	Gilbert of Arderne	.. 28 Oct. 1302 (C.P.R. 67)	C.D.I. v. 245. E. 101/233/20, 24 ; 234/7, 17.
Hilary 1308— Hilary 1309	Walter of Thornbury	18 Nov. 1307 (C.P.R. 16)	E. 101/235/13, 20 <sup>3</sup> E. 372/171, m. 31.
Hilary 1309— Mich. 1310	John of Holtham <sup>4</sup>	.. 19 May 1309 (C.P.R. 14)	E. 101/235/20, 24. E. 372/171, m. 31.
Mich. 1310— Mich. 1313	Nicholas of Balscott	.. 29 Jan. 1310 (C.P.R. 206)	E. 372/171, m. 31. E. 101/236/3, 6.
Mich. 1313— Trin. 1317	William of Holtham	.. 6 April 1312 (C.P.R. 451)	E. 101/236/7, 11 ; 237/2, 4, 5. E. 372/171, m. 31.
Trin. 1317	Richard of Woodhouse <sup>5</sup>		E. 101/237/8.

<sup>1</sup> Kenley acted as both chancellor and chamberlain of the exchequer from at least Easter 1270 (C.D.I. ii. 891, 1389), but his absence in England in the winter of 1279-80 (*ibid.*, ii. 1642, 1688) made necessary the appointment of Thomas of Shrewsbury as chamberlain (*ibid.*, ii. 1593 : 17 October 1279).

<sup>2</sup> Walter of Kenley was styled 'chancellor' and paid as such for his services from Easter 1289: John of Kenley was in England by August of that year (*ibid.*, iii. 513). There is a gap in the evidence from Michaelmas 1290 to Michaelmas 1291.

<sup>3</sup> He was paid up to Christmas Day 1308.

<sup>4</sup> William of Clere was appointed on 13 March 1309 (C.P.R. 107) but evidently did not assume office.

<sup>5</sup> *Custos officii cancellarie scaccarii*: he acted while Holtham was in England. In 1314-15 he acted as engrosser of the exchequer (P.R.O. Ire., Rec. Comm., Cal. Mem. Rolls, 9, p. 313 : roll 24 (7 Edw. II.) m. 40 d).



Period	Name	Appointment	References
Mich. 1317— Hilary 1323	Richard of Woodhouse <sup>1</sup>	26 April 1318 (C.P.R. 135)	E. 101/237/8, 9, 12, 14, 16, 19; 238/1, 6.
Hilary 1323	Walter Richard ..		E. 101/238/6.
Easter 1323— Mich. 1323	Thomas de Montpellier		E. 101/238/6.
Mich. 1323— Mich. 1326	Jocelin of Branscombe ..	10 July 1323 (C.P.R. 323)	E. 101/238/12, 17, 26.
Mich. 1326— Easter 1327	Adam of Herwinton <sup>2</sup> ..	8 July 1326 (C.P.R. 295)	E. 101/239/5.
Easter 1327— Trin. 1335	Thomas de Montpellier <sup>3</sup>	2 May 1328 (C.P.R. 262)	E. 101/239/5, 7, 19, 22, 24, 29; 240/1, 5, 8. E. 372/176, m. 46.
Trin. 1335— Hilary 1340	Robert Power ..	6 June 1335 <sup>4</sup> (C.P.R. 122)	E. 101/240/10, 13, 17. E. 372/182, m. 48; 184, m. 49.
Hilary 1340	Robert Pinchbeck ..	11 July 1339 (C.P.R. 317)	E. 101/240/17.
Trin. 1340— Mich. 1341	Robert of Embleton <sup>5</sup> ..	20 March 1340 (C.P.R. 441)	E. 101/240/17; 241/5.
Mich. 1341— Trin. 1342	William Power ..	30 Sept. 1341 (C.P.R. 285)	E. 101/241/5.

<sup>1</sup> He was dead before 11 June 1323 (C.P.R. 294).

<sup>2</sup> Herwinton combined this office with that of chief baron of the exchequer. On 3 January 1326, as deputy treasurer, he had been ordered to obtain the advice of the justiciar and council in appointing a suitable clerk to take the place of the then chancellor of the exchequer who was considered incompetent (C.C.R. 438).

<sup>3</sup> William of Broadwood was appointed on 18 March 1327 (C.P.R. 39) and again on 5 November 1328 (C.P.R. 332) and on 26 September 1329 (C.P.R. 451); Henry of Thrapston on 15 October 1330 (C.P.R. 10); Thomas de Brailles on 2 October 1333 (C.P.R. 470); Robert Power on 16 July 1334 (C.P.R. 568) and Thomas de Montpellier on 24 September 1334 (C.P.R. 22). Only the last appointment may have been effective: there is a gap in the evidence from Michaelmas 1334 to Hilary 1335, but Montpellier was certainly paid for Easter 1335.

<sup>4</sup> He was appointed during the king's pleasure. He was re-appointed during good behaviour on 25 September 1336 (C.P.R. 309) and on 24 March 1337 he was granted tenure of office for seven years after the Easter following (C.P.R. 405; the grant was repeated in 1339: C.P.R. 205). Thomas de Montpellier was appointed on 14 July 1336 (C.P.R. 301) but without effect.

<sup>5</sup> Pinchbeck, who was archdeacon of Ulster, was removed on the ground of complete unsuitability, whereas Embleton had acquired long experience in the chancery of England (C.P.R. 532). No payment was made for Easter 1340 (E. 101/240/17).

Period	Name	Appointment	References
Trin. 1342— Hilary 1343	Robert of Salkeld ..	18 April 1342 (C.P.R. 421)	E. 101/241/5.
Hilary 1343	William of Bromley ..	16 Oct. 1342 <sup>1</sup> (C.P.R. 535)	E. 101/241/5.
Mich. 1344— Mich. 1349	Robert of Embleton ..	26 April 1344 (C.P.R. 254)	E. 372/191, m. 42 d ; 197, m. 46. E. 101/241/15.
Hilary 1350— Mich. 1350	William of Bromley ..	22 June 1349 (C.P.R. 329)	E. 101/242/3.
Mich. 1350— 20 April 1357	John of Pembroke ..	14 July 1350 (C.P.R. 552) 3 May 1353 (C.P.R. 434)	E. 101/242/10, 14 ; 243/3, 6, 8 ; 244/1. E. 372/204, m. 36.
Easter 1359— Easter 1360	James of Wattenhulle <sup>2</sup>	17 Nov. 1357 (C.P.R. 631)	E. 101/244/2.
Hilary 1362— Easter 1364	Thomas of Burley ..		E. 372/212, m. 43.
Hil. 1365— Mich. 1366	John of Hurst <sup>3</sup> ..		E. 101/244/10.
Mich. 1368— Mich. 1371	John de Troyes ..	26 May 1368 (C.P.R. 119)	E. 101/245/3.
Mich. 1374— Mich. 1376	John of Carlisle <sup>4</sup> ..		E. 101/245/7, 8.

<sup>1</sup> There is a gap in accounts between Easter 1343 and Michaelmas 1344.

<sup>2</sup> A writ, dated 26 February 1361, authorised the payment of Wattenhulle's fee during the time he was in England by order of the council in Ireland (C.C.R. 157).

<sup>3</sup> He was confirmed in office during good behaviour on 18 May 1367 (C.P.R. 399).

<sup>4</sup> Thomas Bache was appointed on 12 August 1376 (C.P.R. 335).



Period	Names	References
1207	[Bartholomew de Camera] ..	May have been performing functions of chamberlain: he is associated with Owen Brun (R.L.C. i. 96 b).
Before Dec. 1222	Owen (Audoenus) Brun .. ..	R.L.C. i. 526, 576. May have been in office as early as 1215 (ib. 228 b).
1226—1232	Geoffrey de Tourville (R.L.C. ii. 125 b, 126: 3 July 1226)	Ordered to vacate office 6 Sept. 1232 (Pat. Rolls, 500).
28 July 1232— 28 April 1234	[Peter de Rievaulx] .. ..	Grant (C. Ch. Rolls i. 166). Deprived (Cl. Rolls, 1231—1234, 412: see under 'Treasurer').
1232—1234	Benedict fitz Ambrose .. ..	He was Peter de Rievaulx' deputy (C.P.R. 1232—1247, 9) but was continued for a time in office (Cl. Rolls, 1231—1234, 412). Ordered to vacate office 28 Aug. 1234 (C.P.R. 67).
1234	Warin of Fisacre (C.P.R. 67: 28 Aug. 1234).	See also Cl. Rolls, 1231—1234, 507. Still in office 25 July 1256 (C.P.R. 490).
Aug. 1240— March 1241	Isaac of Fisacre .. ..	During Warin's stay in England Isaac was to be admitted deputy until Easter (31 March) 1241 (Cl. Rolls, 1237—1242, 215—6).
1256—1270		No evidence available.
East. 1270— Mich. 1279	John of Kenley <sup>1</sup> .. ..	E. 101/230/2 (m. 3), 4, 8, 14. E. 372/136, m. 33.
Mich. 1279— 30 Oct. 1282	Thomas of Shrewsbury (C.P.R. 327: 17 Oct. 1279)	E. 101/230/14, 15, 19. C.D.I. iii. 2 (p. 6). E. 372/136, m. 33.

<sup>1</sup> Kenley had acted both as chancellor of the exchequer and chamberlain of the exchequer from at least Easter 1270 (C.D.I. ii. 891) and was confirmed in the double office on 25 April 1277 (C.D.I. ii. 1339). For references to a single chamberlain, see C.D.I. ii. 1341, 1384, 1427, 1887; cf. ii. 2 (p. 5).

Period	Names	References
Mich. 1282— 29 April 1285	Peter of Ballymore <sup>1</sup> .. ..	E. 101/230/24, 25 ; 231/1, 3. C.D.I. ii. 2338 ; iii. 2 (p. 5), 169 (p. 73). E. 372/136, m. 33.
Mich. 1285— 11 June 1290	Ballymore <sup>2</sup> .. ..	C.D.I. iii. 533, 624, 964. E. 372/136, m. 33.
11 June 1290— 29 Sept. 1290	Henry de Ponz .. ..	C.D.I. iii. 964. E. 372/136, m. 33.
29 Sept. 1290— 28 July 1291	Geoffrey le Brun (C.P.R. 380 : 1 Aug. 1290)	C.D.I. iii. 781, 803, 964. E. 372/136, m. 33.
30 July 1291— East. 1293	Brun .. .. Henry de Ponz <sup>3</sup> (C.P.R. 485 : 14 April 1292)	C.D.I. iii. 1112. E. 101/231/29. E. 372/139, m. 9.
East. 1293— East. 1294	Brun .. .. William de Moenes <sup>4</sup>	E. 101/232/5, 8. E. 372/139, m. 9.
East. 1294— East. 1297	Moenes .. Ralph of Staines <sup>5</sup>	C.D.I. iv. 183, 273, 346, 456. E. 101/232/25.
East. 1297— East. 1299	Moenes <sup>6</sup> .. Henry of Walton <sup>7</sup>	E. 101/232/25 ; 233/2, 9. C.D.I. iv. 565, 682.
East. 1299— Mich. 1300	Gilbert of Walton .. Arderne <sup>8</sup>	E. 101/233/9, 12. C.D.I. iv. 682 (p. 324), 781.
Mich. 1301— Mich. 1302	Arderne .. Walton ..	E. 101/233/17.

<sup>1</sup> Ballymore was appointed on 29 October 1282 by the Justiciar (E. 101/230/24). Note the statement in C.D.I. iii. 2 (p. 5) that there was only one chamberlain in the upper and the lower exchequer.

<sup>2</sup> Ballymore died in 1290 (B.M. Add. MS. 4787, fo. 69), not long after 11 June (E. 372/136, m. 33).

<sup>3</sup> Ponz was appointed to hold the office of 'one of the chamberlains of the exchequer'. Cf. Red Book of the Exchequer, iii. p. 975 : an ordinance at this time decreed that henceforward there should be two chamberlains where there had previously been only one chamberlain and one receiver. For the date of the ordinance as 1292, see C.D.I. iv. 183 (p. 81 f.).

<sup>4</sup> On 30 April 1293 Moenes succeeded Henry de Ponz (C.D.I. iv. 21 (p. 12)), who was removed from office for trespasses (E. 372/139, m. 9). Moenes was appointed by the justiciar and council.

<sup>5</sup> Brun was removed on the ground of ill health on 25 April 1294 and Staines was appointed by the barons of the exchequer. Staines was removed from office on 10 May 1297 (C.D.I. iv. 183).

<sup>6</sup> Moenes acted until 26 March 1299 (C.D.I. iv. 183 ; E. 372/144, m. 28).

<sup>7</sup> Walton, who had previously been one of the remembrancers of the exchequer (C.D.I. iv. 328, 333, 360), succeeded Staines on 10 May 1297 (C.D.I. iv. 183, 456 ; E. 372/144, m. 28 ; 22 April, according to C.D.I. iv. 391, must be wrong).

<sup>8</sup> Arderne succeeded Moenes on 27 April 1299 (C.D.I. iv. 183, 613) but had acted from 26 March previously (E. 372/144, m. 28).



Period	Names			References
Mich. 1303— Mich. 1304	John of Dover (C.P.R. 97 : 15 Nov. 1302)	Walton	..	E. 101/233/20.
East. 1305— Mich. 1305	Dover ..	.. Walton <sup>1</sup>	..	E. 101/233/24.
Mich. 1305	Dover ..	..		E. 101/234/7.
Hilary 1306	Dover ..	.. John of Cirencester <sup>2</sup>		E. 101/234/7.
East. 1306— Mich. 1308	Dover ..	.. Richard of Oving <sup>3</sup> (C.P.R. 433 : 16 May 1306)		E. 101/234/7, 17 ; 235/9, 13.
Mich. 1308— Mich. 1310	Dover ..	.. Robert of Whatton (C.P.R. 76 : 7 June 1308)		E. 101/235/19, 20, 23, 24 ; 236/2, 5.
Mich. 1311— Mich. 1313	William de la March <sup>4</sup> (C.P.R. 354 : 3 June 1311)	Robert of Whatton <sup>5</sup>		E. 101/236/3, 6.
Mich. 1313— East. 1314	March <sup>6</sup>	.. Robert of Cotgrave <sup>7</sup> (C.P.R. 590 : 31 May 1313)		E. 101/236/7.
East. 1314— Trin. 1317	Ellis Lawless <sup>8</sup> (C.P.R. 96 : 27 March 1314)	Cotgrave	..	E. 101/236/11 ; 237/2, 4, 5.

<sup>1</sup> For his removal from office and the charges of embezzlement brought against him, see C.J.R. ii. 225, iii. 44 ; P.R.O. Ire., Cal. Mem. Rolls, 4, p. 498 : roll 15 (3 Edw. II), m. 13 d ; 39 D.K. Rep. Ire., 33 ; above, p. 47. Geoffrey of Morton seems to have been acting at some time as his colleague (document 13 : below, pp. 238-42).

<sup>2</sup> He was a remembrancer of the exchequer and deputising for the 'other chamberlain', presumably Walton.

<sup>3</sup> Oving was appointed to succeed Walton.

<sup>4</sup> Martin of Fisacre was appointed to succeed Dover on 15 July 1310 (C.P.R. 268). There is a gap in the accounts between Michaelmas 1310 and Michaelmas 1311, for the otherwise detailed entry on the Pipe Roll omits all reference to the chamberlains, but this appointment was not effective, for William de la Marche took the place of John de la 'Dene', presumably Dover.

<sup>5</sup> Whatton was described as chief chamberlain in 1312 (E. 101/236/6 : endorsement).

<sup>6</sup> March was described as chief chamberlain in 1313 (E. 101/236/7).

<sup>7</sup> Cotgrave took the place of Whatton who had died. On 19 June 1313 John of Mowille had been nominated to succeed Whatton by Anthony Pessaigne of Genoa and he was to hold office as long as the Irish revenues were assigned to Pessaigne (C.P.R. 595 ; cf. C.C.R. 22). Mowille's appointment was not effective.

<sup>8</sup> He succeeded March, who had died, as chief chamberlain.

Period	Names			References
Trin. 1317— Nativity 1320	Thomas of Hereford <sup>1</sup>	Cotgrave	..	E. 101/237/5, 8, 9, 12, 14.
Nativity 1320— Easter 1321	Henry of Shadwell <sup>2</sup>	Cotgrave	..	E. 101/237/14.
Easter 1321— Mich. 1321	William of Hatfield	Cotgrave	..	E. 101/237/14.
Mich. 1321— Easter 1322				E. 101/237/19 <sup>3</sup>
Easter 1322	John Ball <sup>4</sup>	..	William Chaylowe	E. 101/238/1.
Trin. 1322	Ball ..	..	Cotgrave <sup>5</sup> (C.P.R. 113 : 18 May 1322)	E. 101/238/1.
Mich. 1322— Easter 1323	William of Hatfield	Cotgrave	..	E. 101/238/6.
Easter 1323— Mich. 1325	John of Balscott <sup>6</sup>	Cotgrave	..	E. 101/238/6, 12, 17.
Mich. 1325— 16 Jan. 1326	Balscott <sup>7</sup>	..		E. 101/238/20, 22.
Hilary 1326— Easter 1331	Balscott <sup>8</sup> (C.P.R. 58 : 24 March 1327)	Robert of Wight <sup>9</sup> (C.P.R. 58 : 24 March 1327)		E. 101/238/26 ; 239/5, 7. E. 372/176, m. 46.
Easter 1331— 3 June 1331	Balscott <sup>10</sup>	..	Wight ..	E. 101/239/19. E. 372/179, m. 46.

<sup>1</sup> Occasionally written 'Hertford'.

<sup>2</sup> Shadwell was deputising for Hereford.

<sup>3</sup> The Issue Roll does not name the chamberlains whose payments are recorded.

<sup>4</sup> Ball deputised for Cotgrave (E. 101/238/4).

<sup>5</sup> Cotgrave was chief chamberlain (E. 101/238/2).

<sup>6</sup> Balscott had been appointed to succeed Ball (so the record says) on 8 December 1322 (C.P.R. 222).

<sup>7</sup> The Issue Roll (E. 101/238/19) gives the fees to the chamberlains without naming them.

<sup>8</sup> He was chief chamberlain.

<sup>9</sup> He was second chamberlain. William of Hatfield was appointed in Wight's place on 10 October 1327 (C.P.R. 180) but this was not effective.

<sup>10</sup> John of Langton was appointed chief chamberlain on 27 February 1331 (C.P.R. 83) and Balscott reduced to second chamberlain the following day (C.P.R. 83), but this was clearly not effective.



Period	Names		References
Trin. 1331— Trin. 1332	Balscott <sup>1</sup> (C.P.R. 107 : 1 May 1331)	John de la Bataille <sup>2</sup> (C.P.R. 106 : 1 May 1331)	E. 101/239/22, 24.
Trin. 1332— Mich. 1334	Walter of Combe <sup>3</sup> (C.P.R. 317 : 24 July 1332)	Bataille ..	E. 101/239/29 ; 240/1, 5.
Hilary 1335		John of Carlton	E. 101/240/6, 10.
Easter 1335— Hilary 1336	Combe (C.P.R. 118 : 6 June 1335)	Robert of Salkeld <sup>4</sup> (C.P.R. 57 : 21 Jan. 1335)	E. 101/240/8, 10.
Hilary 1336	Combe ..	John of Carlton	E. 101/240/10.
Easter 1336— Mich. 1342	Combe <sup>5</sup> ..	Robert of Salkeld <sup>6</sup>	E. 101/240/13, 17 ; 241/5. E. 372/182, m. 48 ; 184, m. 49.
Mich. 1342— Easter 1343	Combe ..	William of Puriton (C.P.R. 492 : 4 Aug. 1342)	E. 101/241/5. Cf. E. 372/188, m. 54.
Trin. 1344	Combe ..	Robert of Salkeld <sup>7</sup>	E. 372/191, m. 42 d.
Mich. 1344— Easter 1345	Combe ..	William of Puriton (C.P.R. 257 : 11 May 1344)	E. 372/191, m. 42 d ; 197, m. 46.

<sup>1</sup> He was chief chamberlain.

<sup>2</sup> He was second chamberlain. Cf. C.P.R. 123.

<sup>3</sup> He was chief chamberlain.

<sup>4</sup> Carlton was appointed as second chamberlain on 15 May 1335 (C.P.R. 107), but this was revoked on 11 October 1335 on the ground that it had been made in forgetfulness of the grant to Salkeld (C.P.R. 170). Salkeld was second chamberlain.

<sup>5</sup> On 8 August 1339 William of Gloucester was appointed first chamberlain (C.P.R. 314). This was not effective.

<sup>6</sup> On 24 October 1338 the Keeper of Ireland ordered the office of second chamberlain, held by Salkeld, to be given to Walter of Gnosall if he were competent, and on 13 November 1338 it was granted to him (C.P.R. 161 ; C.C.R. 544). Yet the grant was not effective. Nor was the appointment of Nicholas de Chastel on 7 October 1340 (C.P.R. 63) effective. Salkeld had been confirmed in office on 25 March 1340 (C.P.R. 436).

<sup>7</sup> On 17 May 1343 Salkeld was paid as chamberlain and as a colleague of Combe (C. Chanc. R. Ire. 44, no. 50), and, though Puriton appears on the Issue Roll as paid for Michaelmas 1342 and Hilary 1343, it is evident that Salkeld was still thought to be in office at this time (E. 372/188, m. 54). On 10 July 1343, after it had been noted that Salkeld's appointment was conditional on good behaviour, the office of second chamberlain was granted to him for ten years (C.P.R. 55). Nevertheless, he was removed on 11 May 1344 (C.P.R. 257) and his grant revoked on 11 June 1344 on the ground that it had been made in forgetfulness of the previous grant to Puriton (C.P.R. 300).

Period	Names		References
Trin. 1345— Mich. 1349	Combe <sup>1</sup>	.. Robert of Salkeld <sup>2</sup>	E. 372/191, m. 42 d ; 197, m. 46. E. 101/241/15.
Hilary 1350— Mich. 1351	Combe <sup>3</sup>	.. John of Evesham <sup>4</sup> (C.P.R. 431 : 2 Dec. 1349)	E. 101/242/3, 10.
Mich. 1351— Trin. 1352	William fitz Thomas Lawless (C.P.R. 126 : 1 Aug. 1351)	Evesham <sup>5</sup> ..	E. 101/242/10.
Trin. 1352— Mich. 1354	Lawless <sup>6</sup>	.. Thomas of Bowes	E. 101/242/10, 14 ; 243/3, 6.
Mich. 1354— Hilary 1361	Lawless <sup>7</sup>	.. William of Barton <sup>8</sup>	E. 101/243/6, 8 ; 244/1, 2, 6.
Hilary 1361	Lawless	.. Stephen Rath ..	E. 101/244/6.
Hilary 1362— Hilary 1364	Lawless	.. Peter of Ogbourne <sup>9</sup>	E. 372/212, m. 43.

<sup>1</sup> On 6 June 1346 Thomas of Woodweston was appointed chief chamberlain (C.P.R. 95). This was not effective.

<sup>2</sup> On 18 May 1345 the appointment of Puriton was revoked and Salkeld was restored to office, to be held until the end of the term of ten years granted to him on 10 July 1343 (C.P.R. 471).

<sup>3</sup> Combe was completely incapacitated before Lawless's appointment (C.P.R. 126).

<sup>4</sup> The grant on 2 December 1349 was during pleasure. It was altered to during good behaviour on 18 December 1349 (C.P.R. 433). Evesham was second chamberlain.

<sup>5</sup> On 27 February 1352 Robert of Leicester was appointed second chamberlain (C.P.R. 234) and Evesham was removed from office early in the Trinity term of 1352. Yet not only was the grant to Leicester revoked on 8 September 1352 because the Justiciar testified that Evesham had performed his duties well (C.P.R. 320), but Thomas of Bowes, who had been put in Evesham's place before Trinity term was a quarter through, retained office thereafter.

<sup>6</sup> On 6 June 1352 Lawless was confirmed in office during good behaviour (C.P.R. 293).

<sup>7</sup> On 24 July 1356 Roger del Wych was appointed chief chamberlain (C.P.R. 426), but on 24 August following the appointment was revoked because of the grant made to Lawless on 6 June 1352 (C.P.R. 435). On 15 March 1358 Lawless was rewarded for having performed the duties of both chamberlains for three terms while Barton was occupied elsewhere in Ireland on exchequer business (C. Chanc. R. Ire. 66, no. 21). There is a gap in the accounts between Easter 1358 and Easter 1359 as well as for Easter 1360, but apparently only Lawless was paid for the Hilary term of 1360.

<sup>8</sup> His appointment was made on 12 July 1354 (C.P.R. 88). On 10 July 1355 it was revoked in favour of John of Evesham (C.P.R. 261), but Evesham's appointment was revoked on 6 October 1355 and Barton was restored to office on the ground of his greater competence (C.P.R. 286). On 28 January 1356 the Justiciar and council were instructed to settle the dispute between Evesham and Barton, for the king had been informed that the frequent changes in such officials were prejudicial to the king's interests (C.C.R. 251).

<sup>9</sup> On 4 March 1361 Thomas Dene was appointed (C.P.R. 557) : since there is a gap in the accounts between Easter 1361 and Hilary 1362, it is impossible to check whether Dene's appointment was effective. Ogbourne was confirmed in office during good behaviour on 13 February 1364 (C.P.R. 468). Lawless and Ogbourne certainly acted until 9 April 1364 (below pp. 262-70 : document no. 20).



Period	Names				References
Hilary 1365	John Scrope <sup>1</sup> (C.P.R. 468 : 13 Feb. 1364).	..	Peter of Ogbourne <sup>2</sup> John of Evesham		E. 101/244/10.
Easter 1365— Trin. 1366	Scrope	..	Evesham	..	E. 101/244/10.
Mich. 1368— Mich. 1369	Scrope	..	Evesham	..	E. 101/245/3.
Mich. 1369			Henry of Leicester		E. 101/245/3.
Hil. 1370— Trin. 1370	Robert of Iver	..	Leicester	..	E. 101/245/3.
Trin. 1370	Iver	..	John Finch	..	E. 101/245/3.
Mich. 1370— Trin. 1371	Iver <sup>3</sup>	..	Richard Walsh <sup>4</sup>		E. 101/245/3.
Hilary 1374	Richard Cadell <sup>5</sup>				E. 101/245/7.
Easter 1374— Mich. 1376	Cadell <sup>6</sup>	..	Walsh <sup>7</sup>	..	E. 101/245/7, 8.

<sup>1</sup> Scrope was chief chamberlain.

<sup>2</sup> Both Ogbourne and Evesham were paid as second chamberlains without any indication when one succeeded the other.

<sup>3</sup> Iver was named on 19 March 1372 as one of the chamberlains (C. Chanc. R. Ire. 81, no. 36).

<sup>4</sup> Evidence is lacking for the payment of Walsh, the second chamberlain, at Easter 1371. He was named on 11 February 1371 as a chamberlain (ibid. 81, no. 4).

<sup>5</sup> He was chief chamberlain.

<sup>6</sup> James du Bois was appointed chamberlain on 6 August 1376 (C.P.R. 303). Cf. C. Chanc. R. Ire. 101, no. 40, where Bois is described as chief chamberlain.

<sup>7</sup> Walsh was re-appointed on 12 August 1376 (C.P.R. 335).

Period	Name	Appointment	References
1218	[Thomas fitz Adam]		R.L.C. i. 365, 400 b. Though acting as escheator he does not seem to have been so entitled.
1220 (11 August)	—		Escheats became the responsibility of the justiciar (Pat. Rolls, 1216-1225, 263-65; R.L.C. i. 476 b).
28 July 1232— 28 April 1234	[Peter de Rievaulx] ..		Custody of escheats granted: C. Ch. R. i. 167. Deprived: Cl. Rolls, 1231-1234, 412 (see under 'Treasurer').
1234—1250	—		After Peter de Rievaulx was deprived of his offices, the justiciar appears again to have exercised the functions of escheator.
1250—1253/4	Geoffrey of St. John	26 Aug. 1250 (C.P.R. 73)	Appointment notified in advance of patent (C.D.I. 3077). This appears to be the first regular appointment of an escheator. Acting in 1253 (C.D.I. ii. 179). Elected bishop of Ferns early in 1254 (C.P.R. 278).
1254—1256	William de Bacquepuis		In office presumably early in 1254. Paid from Michaelmas term 1254 to Easter term 1256 (C. 47/35/14, no. 17).
1256	Robert Anketil ..	20 Feb. 1256 (C.P.R. 463)	He is assumed to have taken up office in May (Cl. Rolls, 1254-1259, 417). He died about Michaelmas 1256 (ib. 367, 369).
1257—1271	William de Bacquepuis	23 April 1257 (C.P.R. 551)	Already acting Jan. 1257 (C. 47/35/14, no. 19). Paid from Michaelmas 1257 (ib. no. 5; E. 101/230/2, m. 3). Ordered to surrender office 16 Sept. 1271 to Sandford (C.D.I. ii. 908).



Period	Name	Appointment	References
16 Sept. 1271— 6 Aug. 1285	John of Sandford ..	7 Dec. 1272 (C.F.R. 2)	C.D.I. ii. 908 <i>et passim</i> . 36 D.K. Rep. Ire. 22, 30, 60, 62.
6 Aug. 1285— 23 Jan. 1308	Walter de la Haye ..	6 Aug. 1285 (C.P.R. 188)	C.D.I. iii. 119 <i>et passim</i> . 37 D.K. Rep. Ire. 33, 40. 38 D.K. Rep. Ire. 37, 58, 77, 83. 39 D.K. Rep. Ire. 22.
23 Jan. 1308— [12 Sept. 1310]	Neil le Brun <sup>1</sup> ..	8 Nov. 1307 (C.F.R. 6)	39 D.K. Rep. Ire. 28. (23 Jan. 1308—14 Jan. 1310).
12 Sept. 1310— 7 Dec. 1310	Hugh Canon <sup>2</sup> ..	19 Sept. 1310 (C. Chanc. R. Ire. 16, no. 31)	39 D.K. Rep. Ire. 57. (12 Sept. 1310—7 Dec. 1310).
8 Dec. 1310— 1 Sept. 1313	Walter of Islip ..	27 Oct. 1310 (C.F.R. 74) 4 Feb. 1313 (C.F.R. 162)	39 D.K. Rep. Ire. 39, 60. (8 Dec. 1310—8 Dec. 1312; 8 Dec. 1312—1 Sept. 1313).
1 Sept. 1313— [28 June 1316]	John of Dufford ..	8 May 1313 (C.F.R. 171)	39 D.K. Rep. Ire. 62 (1 Sept. 1313—20 April 1315).
28 June 1316— 14 May 1317	Richard of Woodhouse	25 May 1316 (C.F.R. 280)	42 D.K. Rep. Ire. 21 (28 June 1316—14 May 1317).
14 May 1317— 11 Feb. 1321	Edmund Hakluyt ..	8 April 1318 (C.F.R. 358)	42 D.K. Rep. Ire. 13 (14 May 1317—13 Aug. 1319). C. Chanc. R. Ire. 20, no. 82.
20 Feb. 1321— 1 Aug. 1322	John of Dufford ..	20 Nov. 1320 (C.F.R. 40)	42 D.K. Rep. Ire. 34 (20 Feb. 1321—1 Aug. 1322).
1 Aug. 1322— 3 Jan. 1323	John of Tunstall ..		42 D.K. Rep. Ire. 44 (1 Aug. 1322—3 Jan. 1323). Cf. C.F.R. 184.
4 Jan. 1323— [3 Sept. 1326]	Walter de la Pulle ..	4 Nov. 1322 (C.F.R. 184)	42 D.K. Rep. Ire. 55 (4 Jan. 1323—16 Feb. 1325). C. Chanc. R. Ire. 36, no. 123 (3 Sept. 1326).

<sup>1</sup> Because Walter de la Haye was becoming blind, Alexander of Bicknor was appointed on 4 June 1307 to succeed him (C.F.R. 556). But this appointment was not effective, for on 28 June John of Holtham, a baron of the exchequer, who was recommended by de la Haye, and Neil le Brun, who was supported by others, were still candidates between whom a decision was to be taken (C.D.I. v. 675). De la Haye's last account ran to 23 January 1308 (39 D.K. Rep. Ire. 22). Brun was addressed as escheator on 28 July 1308 (C. Chanc. R. Ire. 7, no. 7).

<sup>2</sup> Brun died on 29 September 1310 (B.M. Add. MS. 4787, fo. 69 d). Canon is described as 'keeper' of the office of escheator.

Period	Name	Appointment	References
26 Nov. 1326— 1 March 1327	Herbert of Sutton ..		C. Chanc. R. Ire. 37, nos. 138, 139, 158.
17 May 1327— 21 Dec. 1328	Walter Wogan ..	16 Feb. 1327 (C.F.R. 14)	43 D.K. Rep. Ire. 18 (17 May 1327—21 Dec. 1328).
	Walter of Islip ..	15 July 1328 (C.F.R. 98)	
2 March 1329— 10 Aug. 1336	John Morice <sup>1</sup> ..	2 March 1329 (C.F.R. 125)	44 D.K. Rep. Ire. 27 (2 Dec. 1331—5 March 1335). 53 (5 March 1335—10 Aug. 1336). E. 101/239/29 ; 240/10.
	John of Ellerker ..	12 May 1336 (C.F.R. 484)	
15 May 1337— 3 Oct. 1337	Edmund Mortain ..	15 Jan. 1337 (C.F.R. 506)	45 D.K. Rep. Ire. 45 (15 May 1337—3 Oct. 1337).
4 Oct. 1337 ..	Thomas Wogan <sup>2</sup> ..	18 April 1337 (C.F.R. 13)	53 D.K. Rep. Ire. 33 (4 Oct. 1337—16 Oct. 1338).
4 March 1340— 18 May 1341	Thomas of Eton ..	3 March 1340 (C.F.R. 162)	E. 368/125, m. 44 (below, p. 253).
	Roger Darcy ..	28 April 1341 (C.F.R. 221)	
	Peter of Wakefield } William of Boulton }	21 Aug. 1342 <sup>3</sup> (C.P.R. 502) 16 Oct. 1344 <sup>4</sup> (C.P.R. 350)	

<sup>1</sup> On 6 May 1331 Robert Power was appointed but the grant was cancelled (C.F.R. 253).

<sup>2</sup> Hugh de Burgh took inquisitions as escheator on 21 February 1340 (Chart. St. Mary's, i. 291, 525), but he presumably acted as Wogan's deputy : cf. E. 101/240/17, where Hugh de Burgh was given a grant in aid of expenses 'tam temporibus quo fuit capitalis baro scaccarii regis Dublinie quam subescaetor domini regis in partibus Hibernie'.

<sup>3</sup> Grant that Darcy, who was going overseas on the king's service in company with John Darcy le cosin, might perform the duties of the office of escheator through Wakefield and Boulton until his return. Darcy constituted Wakefield his deputy in the presence of the justiciar, chancellor and treasurer (C. Chanc. R. Ire. 47, no. 133). On 27 September 1343 Richard of Chester acted as sub-escheator (London P.R.O., Coram Rege Roll, no. 364 (Trinity 1351), m. 22 d).

<sup>4</sup> Darcy's appointment, which had previously been made during pleasure, was now held during good behaviour. The patent of 21 August 1342 stated that the office of escheator had been given to him for life. He was acting on 24 June 1346 (C. Chanc. R. Ire. 53, no. 83).



Period	Name	Appointment	References
	Thomas of Exeter <sup>1</sup> ..		C. Chanc. R. Ire. 55, no. 153.
	Simon fitz Richard <sup>2</sup>		C. Chanc. R. Ire. 55, no. 153.
	John of Carrow ..	28 Aug. 1349 (C.F.R. 151)	C.C.R. 431 (16 June 1352). C.C.R. 51 (March 1354). Pipe Roll of Cloyne, 33 (22 March 1355). C. Chanc. R. Ire. 64, no. 142 (28 July 1356).
	William Brown <sup>3</sup> ..		C. Chanc. R. Ire. 66, nos. 72, 8; 68, no. 23.
	Thomas Mynot <sup>4</sup> ..	23 April 1358	C. Chanc. R. Ire. 66, no. 8 ; 68, no. 23 ; 75, nos. 96, 97.
	John of Pembroke ..	26 June 1358 (C.F.R. 71)	C. Chanc. R. Ire. 75, no. 104. <sup>5</sup>
	Nicholas of Beaconsfield		C.F.R. 258 <sup>6</sup> ; cf. C.P.R. 1367-70, 59.
	Richard Stury ..	15 June 1363 (C.F.R. 261)	C.F.R. 262 <sup>7</sup> . E. 101/245/3.
	Roger Fleet ..		C.F.R. 258 <sup>8</sup> .
	William Ilger ..		C.P.R. 179 <sup>9</sup> . C. Inq. P.M. xii. no. 113 (24 Aug. 1367).

<sup>1</sup> He was described on 3 December 1346 as late escheator.

<sup>2</sup> He had been appointed keeper of the office and deputy to Thomas of Exeter when he went overseas.

<sup>3</sup> On 16 June 1352 the Justiciar was ordered to accept the deputy appointed by Carrow to exercise his office until the following Martinmas, for the king had kept Carrow with him so that he could accompany him overseas (C.C.R. 431). William Brown, clerk, was probably that deputy rather than Carrow's successor.

<sup>4</sup> Brown had later been associated also with Mynot in the execution of the duties (C. Chanc. R. Ire. 66, no. 8 ; 67, no. 15 ; 68, no. 23).

<sup>5</sup> His commission was read on 6 September 1358 at Dublin and he then gave security before the justiciar and chancellor. Mynot was acting until that date.

<sup>6</sup> Beaconsfield was referred to as the last escheator in the appointment of Stury.

<sup>7</sup> His grant for life was accompanied by a further grant on 16 June 1363 that he might fulfil the duties of his office by deputies (C.F.R. 262).

<sup>8</sup> On 28 June 1363 he was appointed by Stury as his deputy. He acted as such in January 1365 (Ormond Deeds, ii. no. 110 : 'de Plesset' is possibly a misreading for 'de Flete').

<sup>9</sup> On 28 September 1365 he was appointed by Stury as his deputy.

Period	Name	Appointment	References
	Roger of St. Bridgit		C.P.R. 7 <sup>1</sup> .
	Henry de Ferrers John Cruys of Merrion }		C.P.R. 186 <sup>2</sup> . C. Chanc. R. Ire. 83, no. 96.
	Roger of Hakenshaw <sup>3</sup>		E. 101/245/2. Ormond Deeds, iii. no. 342 (p. 359: 8 August 1370). C.C.R. 1369-74, p. 395 (end of February 1371—Monday after St. Matthew=? St. Mathias).
	William Ilger ..		C.C.R. 1377-81, p. 144 (26 March 1371).
	Richard Stury <sup>4</sup> ..	26 May 1372 (C.F.R. 171)	C.P.R. 366.
	Roger of Hakenshaw <sup>5</sup>		E. 364/17, m. G (17 Sept. 1372). Gormanston Register, 138 (14 July 1373). C. Chanc. R. Ire. 81, no. 14 (3 March 1372), 83, no. 93 (1372), 85, no. 2 (3 March 1374).
	James de la Hyde ..	12 Mar. 1374 <sup>6</sup> (C.F.R. 245)	
	Edmund Lorence <sup>7</sup> ..		C. Chanc. R. Ire. 88, no. 87 (20 Nov. 1374). C.F.R. 283.

<sup>1</sup> On 4 October 1367 he was appointed by Stury as his deputy (C.P.R. 7) and was possibly associated in his duties with Ilger.

<sup>2</sup> They were appointed on 13 January 1369 as his deputies by Stury, both as escheator and as assessor of weights and measures.

<sup>3</sup> Stury had surrendered his grant on 20 February 1369.

<sup>4</sup> Stury had been appointed during pleasure, with leave to exercise the office either in person or by a competent deputy for whom he would hold himself responsible. He surrendered the grant on 14 November 1373 (C.P.R. 366).

<sup>5</sup> He was dead by 12 August 1374 (C. Chanc. R. Ire. 87, no. 54).

<sup>6</sup> The grant includes the office of keeper of the market and of weights and measures.

<sup>7</sup> He held both the escheatry and the office of keeper of the market. He was subsequently escheator in Lancashire (C.P.R. 1374-77, p. 251).



Period	Name	Appointment	References
	William Ilger ..	12 Feb. 1375 <sup>1</sup> (C.F.R. 283)	C. Chanc. R. Ire. 91, no. 80 ; 100, no. 21. C.C.R. 1377-81, p. 144 f. <sup>2</sup>
	Robert of Lightburgh <sup>3</sup>	6 Oct. 1377 (C.F.R. 15)	

<sup>1</sup> The grant includes the office of keeper of the market.

<sup>2</sup> He was dead before 20 July 1378.

<sup>3</sup> On 30 March 1375 Ilger had made him his deputy in the office in Ulster, Louth, Meath, Dublin, Kildare and Carlow (C. Chanc. R. Ire. 96, no. 211).





Period	Place	Names	
8 Mar. 1221 ..		Thomas fitz Adam ..	Bartholomew of the Chamber
Mar.—April 1228		Richard Ducket ..	Simon of Hale
East. 1228 ..	Waterford ..	Richard Ducket ..	Simon of Hale
Mich. 1230 ..	Dublin ..	John of St. John, bishop of Ferns	Geoffrey de Tourville
After 10 April 1233		Richard Ducket ..	
East. 1236 ..	Dublin ..	Hugh of Leigh ..	Peter of Bermingham ..
1236—1237 ..	Dublin ..	Hugh of Leigh ..	Peter of Bermingham ..
[1237—1242] ..		Hugh of Leigh ..	Walrand of Wellesley ..

Names	References
John Marshal ..	<p>R.L.C. i. 451.</p> <p>Pat. Rolls, 1225-1232, 181, 183. For John Marshal see Cl. Rolls, 1237-1242, 198: the date of his appointment is not indicated, and he is not mentioned in later years.</p> <p>Cl. Rolls, 1227-1231, 61.</p>
Richard Ducket	<p>Dublin Records, i. 168: concord in the king's court at Dublin. The bishop of Ferns was treasurer and Tourville chamberlain.</p> <p>Cl. Rolls, 1231-1234, 186. See also Llanthony Charters, 104, where Ducket only is mentioned c. 1230: it is unlikely that he was sitting alone.</p>
Robert of Belvoir	Chart St. Mary's, 164.
Robert of Belvoir	Chart St. Mary's, 103.
Robert of Belvoir	<p>Cl. Rolls, 1247-1251, 79-80.</p> <p>C.D.I. ii. 2894. Neither the king's writ of 6 Aug. 1247 (C. Inq. P.M. i. 29, no. 117) nor the inquisition gives any indication of date, which, however, must be within the limits indicated.</p>



Period	Place	Names	
East. 1242 ..	Dublin ..	Walrand of Wellesley ..	Robert of Belvoir ..
4 June 1242 ..	Drogheda ..	Walrand of Wellesley ..	Robert of Belvoir ..
Before March 1243	Cork ..	Walrand of Wellesley ..	and companions ..
Mich. 1243 ..	Dublin ..	Walrand of Wellesley ..	Robert of Belvoir ..
1246 ..		Robert of Shardlow ..	
3 Nov. 1247 ..		Robert of Shardlow ..	Walrand of Wellesley ..
Hil. 1248 ..	Dublin ..	Robert of Shardlow ..	Walrand of Wellesley ..
Trin. 1251 ..	Limerick ..	Robert of Shardlow ..	Walrand of Wellesley ..
East. 1252 ..	Dublin ..	Robert of Shardlow ..	Walrand of Wellesley ..
Trin. 1252 ..	Limerick ..	Robert of Shardlow ..	
[1252—1253] ..	Limerick Connacht ..	Robert of Shardlow ..	and companions ..
24 June 1252 ..	Waterford ..	Robert of Shardlow ..	
[1252—1253] ..	Dublin Tipperary ..	Robert of Shardlow ..	and companions ..

Names			References
	Michael de Renneville		Crede Mihi, 73 ; Alen's Reg. 67. The justiciar, Maurice fitz Gerald, presides.
	Michael de Renneville		Fleming's Reg. no. 237.  Cl. Rolls, 1242-1247, 18.
	Michael de Renneville		Reg. Tristernagh, 34.  Justiciar notified of appointment 25 Jan. 1246 (C.P.R. 472).
	Robert of Belvoir	Walter Foliot ..	20 D.K. Rep. Ire. 45, no. 56.
	Robert of Belvoir		Reg. Tristernagh, 33.
	Geoffrey of St. John		Reg. St. John, 323-4.
	Geoffrey of St. John		Cl. Rolls, 1251-53, 460. Llanthony Charters, 125.
	Geoffrey of St. John	Peter de Repentigny	Irish Rec. Comm. Rep., 1816-20, 79. Black Book Limerick, 13, 19, 22.  Cl. Rolls, 1251-1253, 501.
	Geoffrey of St. John	Peter de Repentigny	Black Book Limerick, 19.  Magistro Roberto de Nicandell' [ <i>lege</i> Schar-delawe] et sociis suis ultimo itinerantibus apud Dubliniam [et] coram iusticiario apud Tiperariam (Pipe Roll,



Period	Place	Names	
21 Nov. 1253 ..	Limerick ..	Walrand of Wellesley ..	
[1254-1255] ..	Dublin ..	Geoffrey of St. John .. bishop of Ferns	and companions
Mich. 1255 ..	Dublin ..	Walrand of Wellesley ..	William de Bacquepuis
Hil. 1257 ..	Limerick ..	Walrand of Wellesley ..	
East. 1258 ..	Dublin ..	Walrand of Wellesley ..	William de Bacquepuis
East. 1259 ..	Dublin ..	Walrand of Wellesley ..	William de Bacquepuis
Trin. 1259 ..	Dublin ..	Walrand of Wellesley ..	William de Bacquepuis
Hil. 1260 ..	Cork ..	Robert fitz Warin ..	William de Bacquepuis
Mich. 1260 ..	Dublin ..	Walrand of Wellesley ..	William de Bacquepuis
Mich. 1260 ..	Dublin ..	Hugh of Taghmon, bishop of Meath	Walrand of Wellesley ..
East. 1261 ..	Dublin ..	Walrand of Wellesley ..	William de Bacquepuis
Trin. 1261 ..	Limerick ..	Walrand of Wellesley ..	William de Bacquepuis

Names			References
			38-39 Henry III, in Analecta Hibernica, ii. 252).
Geoffrey of St. John ..	Alexander of Nottingham		Black Book Limerick, 17, 23, 24.  Cl. Rolls, 1254-1256, 189. Geoffrey of St. John is given precedence be- cause of his elevation to the episcopate in 1254.
	Alexander of Nottingham		Black Book Limerick, 21.
Geoffrey of St. John ..	Alexander of Nottingham		Black Book Limerick, 18. Walrand is disguised, as 'William de Weyland'.
Richard of Exeter ..	Alexander of Nottingham		Alen's Reg. 89. C. 47/35/14 (36).
Richard of Exeter ..	Alexander of Nottingham		Reg. All Hallows, 136. Alen's Reg. 18.
	Alexander of Nottingham		Crede Mihi, 76-7. Alen's Reg. 88-9.
	Alexander of Nottingham	Hugh of Kingsbury	P.R.O. Ire., Cal. Plea Rolls, i: Just. Itin. Roll, 44 Hen. III.
	Alexander of Nottingham		Swayne's Reg. 2.
Arnold of Berkeley ..	Alexander of Nottingham		20 D.K. Rep. Ire. 51, no. 91. Liber Niger, no. 93. The bishop of Meath was then treasurer.
Richard of Exeter ..	Philip de Hynteberg	Alexander of Nottingham	Dublin Records, i. 162. The order is 1, 5, 2, 4, 3.
Richard of Exeter ..	Philip de Hynteberg		Black Book Limerick, 15 (40 Hen. III is a mis- reading for 45 Hen. III).



Period	Place	Names	
Mich. 1261 ..	Dublin ..	Walrand of Wellesley ..	William de Bacquepuis
15 May 1262— 25 June 1262	Dublin ..	Walrand of Wellesley ..	William de Bacquepuis
Mich. 1262 ..	Dublin ..	Walrand of Wellesley ..	William de Bacquepuis
Hil. 1264 } East. 1264 }	Dublin ..	Walrand of Wellesley ..	William de Bacquepuis
Mich. 1264 ..	Dublin ..	Alexander of Nottingham	William de Bacquepuis
Mich. 1265 ..	Dublin ..	Alexander of Nottingham	William de Bacquepuis
Hil. 1266— Hil. 1267	Dublin ..	Alexander of Nottingham	William de Bacquepuis
Hil. 1267	Limerick ..	Alexander of Nottingham	
East. 1267 ..	Dublin ..	Alexander of Nottingham	William de Bacquepuis
Mich. 1267 ..	Dublin ..	Alexander of Nottingham	William de Bacquepuis
Trin. 1268 ..	Dublin ..	Alexander of Nottingham	William de Bacquepuis
East. 1269 ..	Dublin ..		
Mich. 1269 ..	Dublin ..	Alexander of Nottingham <sup>1</sup>	William de Bacquepuis <sup>2</sup>
Mich. 1272 ..			

<sup>1</sup> Payments of his fee as justice itinerant are recorded for Easter 1270—Easter 1271 (E. 101/230/2, m. 3).

Names			References
Richard of Exeter ..	Philip de Hynteberg	Alexander of Nottingham	Reg. St. John, 159-60.
Richard of Exeter		Alexander of Nottingham	Crede Mihi, 71, 78-9. Alen's Reg. 95.
Richard of Exeter		Alexander of Nottingham	Crede Mihi, 75. Alen's Reg. 96.
Richard of Exeter		Alexander of Nottingham	Crede Mihi, 74. Alen's Reg. 100, 114.
Richard of Exeter	Hugh of St. Albans [ <i>alias</i> Kingsbury]		Crede Mihi, 75. Alen's Reg. 116. Kingsbury was a manor of St. Albans close to the town.
Richard of Exeter ..	Hugh of Kingsbury		Llanthony Charters, 127.
Richard of Exeter ..	Hugh of Kingsbury		Alen's Reg. 117. Llanthony Charters, 125, 129. Reg. St. John, 141.
Richard of Exeter ..	Hugh of Kingsbury	Griffin fitz Alan ..	Black Book Limerick, 12, 14, 18. For the eyre at Limerick and Water- ford in 51 Henry III, see 35 D.K. Rep. Ire. 47.
Richard of Exeter ..	Hugh of Kingsbury	Griffin fitz Alan ..	Llanthony Charters, 126.
Richard of Exeter ..	Hugh of Kingsbury	Griffin fitz Alan ..	Reg. St. Thomas, 100. Reg. St. John, 166.
		Griffin fitz Alan	Alen's Reg. 130.
Richard of Exeter ..	William of Caister		C.D.I. ii. 1862.
Richard of Exeter ..			Alen's Reg. 133. Reg. St. John, 153.
	William of Caister	Henry of Stratton	C.D.I. ii. no. 891 (p. 152).

\* Payments of his fee as justice itinerant are recorded for Easter 1270—Easter 1272 (E. 101/230/2, m. 3).



Period	Place	Names	
9 Feb. 1273 ..	Dublin ..	Richard of Exeter <sup>1</sup> ..	
3 Nov. 1273 ..	Dublin ..	Richard of Exeter ..	Henry of Stratton <sup>3</sup>
pre-1274 ..	Ulster ..	William of Caversham ..	and fellows
1274 ? ..	Drogheda ..		
11 May 1274 ..	Clonmel ..	Richard of Exeter ..	Henry of Stratton ..
After Mich. 1274 and before Mich. 1275	Waterford ..		
1275 ..		John of Sandford ..	and fellows ..
Hil. 1275 ..	Cork ..	Richard of Exeter ..	Henry of Stratton ..
1277 ..	Kildare ..		
East 1278 & Mich. 1278	Dublin ..	Robert Bagod ..	Thomas of Chedworth ..
East. 1278 & Trin. 1278	Cork Kerry ..	Richard of Exeter ...	John of Sandford ..
13 Oct. 1278 ..	Limerick ..	Richard of Exeter ..	and fellows ..
1279 ..		Richard of Exeter ..	
7 Jan. 1279— East. 1279	Clonmel ..	Richard of Exeter ..	John of Sandford ..
Trin. 1279 ..	Waterford ..		
13 Oct. 1279 ..	Clonmel ..	Richard of Exeter ..	and fellows ...
c. 1281 ..		Robert Bagod ..	Richard of Northampton
Hil. 1282 ..			

<sup>1</sup> Payments of his fee as justice itinerant are recorded for Easter 1275—Easter 1276 ; Easter 1277—Mich. 1282 (E. 101/230/4, 8, 19, 25 ; C.D.I. ii. 1973).

<sup>2</sup> Payments of his fee as justice itinerant are recorded for Mich. 1273—Mich. 1274 (E. 101/230/4).

Names			References
	William of Caister <sup>2</sup>		Gormanston Reg. 135. Reg. St. John, 141. C.D.I. ii. 1219. 36 D.K. Rep. 27.
	William of Caister	Griffin fitz Alan ..	Reg. St. John, 284.
		Griffin fitz Alan ..	E. 101/230/4. C.D.I. ii. 1782, 1976.
Richard of Northampton <sup>4</sup>		Walter de la Haye	C.D.I. iii. 1142. 36 D.K. Rep. 37.
Richard of Northampton		Robert of Braham	C.J.R. i. 434. Llanthony Chart. 229.
Walter de la Haye ..		Roger Andrew ..	36 D.K. Rep. 43, 50, 76. C.D.I. iii. 169. E. 101/230/4, 8. Anal. Hib. ii. 245, 260. 36 D.K. Rep. 50, 74.
Eustace le Poer ..		Roger Andrew ..	E. 101/230/8. C.D.I. ii. 1520, iii. 169. 36 D.K. Rep. 46, 50, 74. 36 D.K. Rep. 50. 36 D.K. Rep. 74.
Robert de Lestre ..	Nicholas Taff ..		20 D.K. Rep., 56, 57.
Robert de Lestre ..			E. 101/230/19.

<sup>2</sup> Payments of his fee as justice itinerant are recorded for Easter 1274—Mich. 1276 (E. 101/230/4).

<sup>4</sup> Payments of his fee as justice itinerant are recorded for Easter 1275—Mich. 1275 (E. 101/230/4).



Period	Place	Names	
Sept. 1282 <sup>1</sup> ..		Richard of Exeter ..	
Hil. 1289 ..	Clonmel ..	William Barry ..	Roger Andrew ..
2 Feb. 1289 ..	Clonmel ..	William Barry ..	Roger Andrew ..
8 April 1289 ..	Clonmel <sup>2</sup> ..	William Barry ..	Roger Andrew ..
7 Jan. 1290— 21 May 1290	Limerick ..	William Barry ..	Roger Andrew ..
24 June 1290 ..	Waterford ..	William Barry ..	Roger Andrew ..
24 June 1291— Hil. 1292	Dublin ..	William fitz Roger <sup>4</sup> ..	Walter de la Haye ..
Hil. 1301— East. 1301	Louth .. (Drogheda)	Walter Lenfant ..	John de Ponz ..
East. 1301 ..	Louth ..		
East. 1301 ..	Cork ..	Walter Lenfant ..	John de Ponz ..
Trin. 1301 ..	Cork ..		John de Ponz ..
Mich. 1301 ..	Cork ..		

<sup>1</sup> For a reference in a royal writ, dated 11 July 1288, to the cessation of eyres, see Cole, Documents, 84 (C.D.I. iii. 296).

<sup>2</sup> His name is given erroneously as 'Haking' in C.D.I. iii. 268.

Names			References
			C.D.I. ii. 1973.
John of Houghton ..	Robert of Hastings <sup>2</sup>	William of Weston	C.D.I. iii. 559 (pp. 268, 271), 814; iv. 107. E. 372/139, m. 9 d.
John of Houghton ..	Robert of Fladbury		C.D.I. iii. 469.
John of Houghton ..	Robert of Hastings	William of Weston	C.D.I. iii. 469, 622 (p. 305), 626.
Robert of Fladbury ..	William of Weston		C.D.I. iii. 814, 1028; iv. 161. Black Book Limerick, 15.
Robert of Fladbury ..	William of Weston		C.J.R. i. 90 f., 151.
Thomas Darcy ..	Eustace Power ..	John of Malton	E. 101/231/19. C.D.I. iii. 964 (p. 428), 1008, 1010, 1046, 1151, iv. 92. Llanthony Charters, 130. Chart. St. Mary's, i. 2.
William Alexander ..	Robert of Littlebury		E. 372/150, m. 4. C.D.I. v. 236, 242. C.J.R. i. 405, 416. 38 D.K. Rep. Ire. 53, 61.
	Robert of Littlebury ..		E. 372/150, m. 40.
William Alexander ..			E. 372/150, m. 40. S.C. 9/25, m. 2 b. C.D.I. v. 120, 532.
William Alexander ..	Robert of Littlebury	William le Deveneis ..	E. 372/150, m. 40. E. 101/233/17. Anal. Hib. ii. 240, 244.
	Robert of Littlebury	William le Deveneis <sup>5</sup> ..	E. 372/150, m. 40.

<sup>3</sup> In 1300 this was referred to as the last eyre at Clonmel (C.J.R. i. 353-4).

<sup>4</sup> He was chief justice.

<sup>5</sup> Deveneis remained at Cork until 19 December 1301 and then went to take part in the eyre at Meath.



Period	Place	Names	
Mich. 1301 ..	Meath ..		John de Ponz ..
Hil. 1302— Mich. 1302	Meath <sup>1</sup> ..	Walter Lenfant ..	John de Ponz ..
Mich. 1302— East. 1303	Meath <sup>2</sup> ..	Walter Lenfant ..	John de Ponz ..
Before East. 1305	Kilkenny ..	Gilbert of Sutton ..	William of Hawkwell ..
Mich. 1305— Hil. 1306	Cashel ..	Thomas St. Leger, <sup>3</sup> bishop of Meath	Walter de la Haye ..
13 Oct. 1305— 14 Jan. 1306	Cashel ..	Thomas St. Leger <sup>3</sup> ..	John of Freshingfield <sup>4</sup> ..
25 Dec. 1305— East. 1306	Cashel ..	Walter Lenfant ..	Walter de la Haye ..
East. 1306— Mich. 1306	Cashel ..	Thomas St. Leger <sup>5</sup> ..	Walter de la Haye ..
25 Dec. 1306— East. 1307	Cashel ..	Thomas St. Leger ..	John of Freshingfield <sup>6</sup> ..
Mich. 1310 ..	Dublin ..	Walter de Cusack <sup>7</sup> ..	Robert Bagod ..
April 1311 ..	Trim ..		

<sup>1</sup> The eyre at Meath was intended to continue from 15 September—13 December 1302 and Walter Lenfant was appointed, but the eyre was abandoned (E. 101/233/17).

<sup>2</sup> At Drogheda (S.C. 9/12, m. 16).

<sup>3</sup> He acted in place of Walter Lenfant. This eyre went on until Easter 1307.

<sup>4</sup> He acted in place of Walter de la Haye.

Names			References
William Alexander ..			E. 372/150, m. 40. E. 101/233/17. Anal. Hib. ii. 241, 244.
William Alexander ..	Robert Littlebury	William le Deveneis	E. 372/150, m. 40. E. 101/233/17. C. 47/35/8, 12, 13, 15, 19. S.C. 9/12, m. 16.
William Alexander ..	Robert Littlebury	William le Deveneis	E. 372/150, m. 40.  C.D.I. v. 384. Chart. Duiske, 130.
John de Ponz ..	Alexander of Bicknor	William Alexander	C.J.R. iii. 72, 108.
John de Ponz ..	Alexander of Bicknor	William Alexander	C.J.R. iii. 6. Reg. St. John, 284, 294.
John de Ponz ..	Alexander of Bicknor	William Alexander	E. 101/234/7. C.D.I. v. 380, 452, 483, 496, 499, 521, 645. E. 372/153, m. 35.
John de Ponz ..	Alexander of Bicknor	William Alexander	E. 101/234/7. C.D.I. v. 539, 540, 558, 575, 644, 645.
	Alexander of Bicknor	William Alexander	E. 101/234/17. C.D.I. v. 618, 619, 637, 641.
Hugh Canon <sup>8</sup> ..	Philip of Yardley	David le Blond	C. Chanc. R. Ire. 16, no. 40, 17, no. 85. Reg. Alen. 162. C.J.R. iii. 218.  C.C.R. 310.

<sup>5</sup> He was chief justice.

<sup>6</sup> Fressingfield took the place of Walter de la Haye, who was occupied elsewhere (C.J.R. ii. 6).

<sup>7</sup> All the justices were appointed on 19 September 1310 (C. Chanc. R. Ire. 16).

<sup>8</sup> On 1 September 1315 Canon was appointed chief justice in all eyres in the counties of Ireland (C.P.R. 345).



Period	Place	Names	
24 Mar. 1322 ..	Meath <sup>1</sup> ..	Alexander of Bicknor <sup>2</sup> ..	Arnold Power ..
1327 or 1328 ..		Roger de Werthorpe ..	
17 May 1333 ..		Thomas of Louth ..	
Jan. 1337 ..		Thomas Wogan ..	

<sup>1</sup> This eyre had been authorised on 30 November 1321 (C.C.R. 408).

Names			References
Richard le Blond of Arklow	Richard Brown	Roger of Birthorpe	E. 101/238/1, 6, 12, 17. E. 372/176, m. 46.  Cal. Carew MSS. 442.  Parls. and Cos., 15.
Ellis of Ashbourne ..			Account Roll Holy Trin. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Bicknor was paid for 24 March—18 November 1322 ; Power for 14 (*sic*) March—14 June 1322 ; Brown for 24 March—24 December 1322, though it was noted that, in fact, he did not act beyond 18 November. The eyre was then suspended (C.C.R. 610, 613). It was ordered on 26 May 1324 to be resumed under Roger Outlaw, and other justices were to be appointed (C.C.R. 108).



Period	Names		
East. 1275—East. 1276 ..	Robert Bagod (C.P.R. 61 : 21 Oct. 1274)		
East. 1276—East. 1278 ..	Bagod .. ..	Robert of Braham ..	
East. 1278—Mich. 1279 ..	Bagod .. ..	Braham .. ..	
Mich. 1279—Mich. 1280 ..	Bagod .. ..		
Mich. 1280—Hil. 1282 ..	Bagod .. ..	Robert de Lestre <sup>1</sup> ..	
Hil. 1282—East. 1282 ..	Bagod .. ..		
East. 1283—Mich. 1283 ..	Bagod .. ..	John Tryvers .. ..	
Mich. 1283 .. ..	Bagod .. ..	Tryvers .. ..	
East. 1284—Mich. 1284 ..	Bagod <sup>2</sup> .. ..	Tryvers .. ..	
East. 1285—Mich. 1287 ..	Bagod .. ..		
Mich. 1287—East. 1292 ..	Bagod .. ..		
East. 1292—Mich. 1294 ..	Bagod .. ..		

<sup>1</sup> At Hilary 1282 Robert de Lestre was paid as an itinerant justice.

<sup>2</sup> On 16 April 1284 an order was issued that Bagod was not to be troubled with other business relating to his office than that of presiding as chief justice of the common bench (C.P.R. 119). On 14 September

Names					References
					E. 101/230/4. C. 47/35/12, no. 1.
Richard of Northampton	Thomas of Chedworth ..				E. 101/230/4.
Northampton ..	Chedworth ..	Nicholas Taff ..			E. 101/230/8. C.D.I. iii. 169.
Northampton ..	Chedworth ..	Taff ..	..		C.D.I. iii. 169. E. 101/230/14, 15.
Northampton ..	Chedworth ..	Taff ..	..		C.D.I. iii. 169. E. 101/230/19.
Northampton ..	Chedworth ..	Taff ..	..		C.D.I. iii. 169.
	Chedworth ..	Taff ..	..		C.D.I. iii. 169. Black Book Limerick, 12.
John of Hatch (C.P.R. 79: 10 Oct. 1283).	Chedworth ..	Taff ..	..		E. 101/231/1, 3.
Hatch .. ..	Chedworth ..	Taff ..	..		E. 101/231/1, 3. C.J.R. ii. 419.
Hatch .. ..	Chedworth ..	Taff <sup>3</sup> ..	..		C.D.I. iii. 169, 891. Black Book Limerick, 11, 14. E. 372/139, m. 9 d.
Hatch .. ..	Chedworth ..				C.D.I. iii. 412, 524, 614, 638, 749, 781 (cf. p. 429), 782, 1005, 1007, 1029. E. 101/231/29. Reg. All Hallows, 60. Black Book Limerick, 20, 21, 22.
	Chedworth ..				C.D.I. iv. 22, 98, 176, 183. E. 101/232/8.

1284 Walker of Wimborne was appointed a justice (C.P.R. 132), but this was not effective.

<sup>3</sup> Taff was paid up to Michaelmas 1287 before he died (E. 372/139, m. 9 d).



Period			Names			
East. 1295	..	..	Bagod	..	..	Thomas of Snitterby ..
Trin. 1295	..	..	Bagod	..	..	Snitterby .. ..
Hil. 1296—Trin. 1296	..	..	Bagod	..	..	Snitterby .. ..
Mich. 1296—Mich. 1297	..	..	Bagod	..	..	Snitterby .. ..
Mich. 1297—Mich. 1298	..	..	Bagod	..	..	Snitterby .. ..
Mich. 1298	..	..	Simon of Ludgate	..	..	Snitterby .. ..
East. 1299—East. 1300	..	..	Ludgate	..	..	Snitterby .. ..
East. 1300—East. 1302	..	..	Ludgate	..	..	Snitterby .. ..
East. 1302—Mich. 1302	..	..	Ludgate <sup>2</sup>	..	..	Snitterby .. ..
Mich. 1302—25 Dec. 1302			Littlebury <sup>3</sup>	..	..	Snitterby .. ..
25 Dec. 1302—East. 1303			Richard of Exeter (C.P.R. 70 : 1 Nov. 1302)			Snitterby .. ..
East. 1303—East. 1305	..	..	Exeter	..	..	Snitterby .. ..

<sup>1</sup> On 16 March 1300 Robert of Littlebury was appointed to act as justice of the common bench or to go on his eyre for common pleas in Ireland : the justiciar was to decide. He presented his writ to the justiciar in the parliament which began on 24 April 1300 and was sent to the common bench ' because the eyre is not yet ' (C.J.R. i. 306). He seems to have been absent from Michaelmas 1300 to Michaelmas 1301 (E. 372/150, m. 40).

Names			References
	Chedworth ..		C.D.I. iv. 273.
		John de Ponz ..	Chart. St. Mary's, i. 295.
		Ponz .. ..	E. 101/232/25. Llanthony Charters, 43, 88-9, 111, 120-2.
			E. 101/232/25. C.D.I. iv. 346, 456.
	Chedworth ..		E. 101/233/2. C.D.I. iv. 565.
	Chedworth ..		E. 101/233/9, 12. C.D.I. iv. 682.
			E. 101/233/9, 12. C.D.I. iv. 682.
Robert of Littlebury <sup>1</sup>	Chedworth ..		E. 101/233/17. E. 372/150, m. 40. C. 47/35/13, no. 4. C.J.R. i. 306, 411.
			C. 47/35/13, nos. 20, 27.
			E. 372/150, m. 40. C. 47/35/13, no. 45. C.J.R. ii. 11, 119, 299.
Littlebury .. ..	Chedworth ..		E. 372/150, m. 40. C.D.I. v. 182, 213, 214. 20 D.K. Rep. Ire. 67.
John de Ponz ..	William le Deveneis <sup>4</sup>		E. 372/150, m. 40. E. 101/233/20. C. 47/35/13, nos. 10, 11, 18, 25. Dowdall Deeds, no. 37. 20 D.K. Rep. Ire. 67.

<sup>2</sup> Ludgate died in September 1302 (B.M. Add. MS. 4787, fo. 69 d ; E. 372/150, m. 40).

<sup>3</sup> He acted as chief justice.

<sup>4</sup> He was appointed in place of Chedworth (C.D.I. v. 186, 230).



Period			Names					
East. 1305	..	..	Exeter	..	..	Snitterby <sup>1</sup>	..	..
Trin. 1305—Hil. 1306	..	..	Exeter	..	..	Snitterby	..	..
Hil. 1306—Trin. 1306	..	..	Exeter	..	..	Snitterby	..	..
Mich. 1306	..	..	Exeter	..	..	Snitterby	..	..
Hil. 1307—Hil. 1308	..	..	Exeter	..	..	Snitterby	..	..
Hil. 1308	..	..	Exeter	..	..	Robert Bagod <sup>4</sup> (C.P.R. 354 : 24 June 1307)	..	..
East. 1308—Mich. 1308	..	..	Exeter	..	..	Bagod (C.P.R. 15 : 5 June 1308)	..	..
Mich. 1308—24 June 1312			Exeter	..	..	Bagod	..	..
24 June 1312—Mich. 1312			Exeter	..	..	Bagod	..	..
Mich. 1312	..	..	Exeter	..	..	Bagod	..	..
Hil. 1313	..	..	Exeter	..	..	Bagod	..	..
East. 1313	..	..				Bagod	..	..

<sup>1</sup> In 1312 the Justiciar testified that Snitterby had been a justice of the common bench during 33–35 Edward I and the first half of 1 Edward II (C.C.R. 449). Though no recorded payments to him are found for these years, fines were undoubtedly levied before him.

<sup>2</sup> A fine levied before these four justices at the quinzaine of St. John the Baptist, 1306.

<sup>3</sup> A fine levied at Dublin at Hilary 1307 before Exeter, Deveneys, Snitterby and Kenley.

<sup>4</sup> Bagod was appointed to succeed Snitterby. His appointment was repeated on 20 November 1307 (C.P.R. 19).

Names					References
Deveneis	..	..	Ponz .. ..	Walter of Kenley	E. 101/233/24. C.D.I. v. 417. Ormond Deeds, i. no. 394.
Deveneis	..	..	Ponz .. ..	Kenley ..	E. 101/234/7. C.D.I. v. 476, 498.
Deveneis	..	..		Kenley ..	E. 101/234/7. Reg. St. Thomas, 422 <sup>2</sup> .
Deveneis	..	..	Ponz .. ..	Kenley ..	E. 101/234/17. C.D.I. v. 586, 604.
Deveneis	..	..		Kenley ..	E. 101/234/17 ; 235/9. E. 372/171, m. 31. Dowdall Deeds, no. 38 <sup>3</sup> . C.D.I. v. 681, 685.
Deveneis	..	..		Kenley ..	E. 101/235/13.
Deveneis <sup>5</sup>	..	..	Snitterby ..	Kenley ..	E. 101/235/13.
Deveneis	..	..	Hugh Canon <sup>6</sup> (C.P.R. 92 : 22 Aug. 1308)	William of Bardfield <sup>7</sup> (C.P.R. 75, 77 : 5 June 1308)	E. 101/235/20, 24 ; 236/3 ; 237/5. E. 372/171, m. 3. Llanthony Charters, 128 <sup>8</sup> .
Deveneis	..	..	Canon .. ..		E. 101/236/3.
			Canon .. ..		E. 101/236/6.
Deveneis <sup>9</sup>	..	..	Canon (C.P.R. 556 : 5 March 1313)		E. 101/236/6.
Deveneis	..	..	Canon .. ..	John Benger ..	E. 101/236/3, 6. E. 372/171, m. 31.

<sup>5</sup> Deveneys was appointed chief justice on 5 April 1308 (C.P.R. 63), but this was not effective.

<sup>6</sup> Canon was appointed in place of Walter of Kenley who had died.

<sup>7</sup> Bardfield was originally intended to take the place of John de Ponz who had died.

<sup>8</sup> A fine levied at Michaelmas 1310 at Dublin before these five justices. On 2 June 1311 the justiciar, chancellor and deputy treasurer had been ordered to dismiss all but three of the justices as redundant (C.C.R. 354).

<sup>9</sup> On 21 October 1312 Deveneys was re-appointed and John Benger appointed (C.P.R. 504).



Period	Names		
Trin. 1313 .. ..			Bagod .. ..
Mich. 1313—Hil. 1315 ..	Exeter .. ..		Bagod .. ..
Hil. 1315 .. ..	Exeter .. ..		Bagod .. ..
East. 1315—Mich. 1315 ..	Exeter .. ..		Bagod .. ..
Mich. 1315 .. ..	Exeter .. ..		Bagod .. ..
Hil. 1316 .. ..	Exeter .. ..		Bagod .. ..
East. 1316—24 June 1319	Exeter .. ..		Bagod .. ..
24 June 1319—20 Aug. 1319	Exeter .. ..		Bagod .. ..
20 Aug. 1319—Mich. 1319 ..	Exeter .. ..		Bagod .. ..
Mich. 1319—East. 1320 ..	Exeter .. ..		Bagod .. ..
East. 1320—East. 1321 ..	Exeter .. ..		Bagod .. ..
East. 1321—Mich. 1321 ..	Exeter .. ..		Bagod .. ..
Mich. 1321—20 Feb. 1322	Exeter .. ..		Bagod .. ..
20 Feb. 1322—East. 1322 ..	Exeter .. ..		Bagod .. ..
East. 1322—Mich. 1322 ..	Exeter .. ..		Bagod .. ..
Mich. 1322—Mich. 1323 ..	Exeter .. ..		Bagod .. ..
Mich. 1323—25 Jan. 1324	Exeter <sup>4</sup> .. ..		Bagod .. ..
25 Jan. 1324—East. 1324 ..	Richard of Willoughby (C.P.R. 342 : 4 Sept. 1323)		Bagod .. ..

<sup>1</sup> Canon set off for England in 1315 on the king's business (E. 101/237/2).

<sup>2</sup> He was appointed on 19 August 1319 in place of William le Deveneis (C. Chanc. R. Ire. 27, no. 56).

<sup>3</sup> He was appointed on 22 July 1319 in place of William of Bardfield (C. Chanc. R. Ire. 26, no. 11).

<sup>4</sup> Fifty shillings of the fee for Hilary term 1324 were paid to Richard of Exeter (E. 101/238/12). Anc. Petition, no. 5886 : petition to king and council for the appointment of a 'covenable homme de ley Dengleterre ou Dirlande qi bien et loialment sache gouverner loffice de la chief Iusticerie du banc de Divelyn' in place of

Names				References
	Canon ..	..	Benger ..	E. 101/236/6.
	Canon ..	..	Benger ..	E. 101/236/7, 11 ; 237/2.
	Canon ..	..		E. 101/237/2, 5.
	Canon <sup>1</sup>	..	Benger ..	E. 101/237/2, 5.
				E. 101/237/4, 5.
William Deveneis	..		William of Bardfield ..	E. 101/237/4, 5.
Deveneis	..	..	Bardfield ..	E. 101/237/5, 8, 9, 12, 14.
			Bardfield ..	E. 101/237/14 ; 239/5.
William de la Hill <sup>2</sup>	..		Bardfield ..	E. 101/237/14 ; 239/5.
Hill	..	..	Rory fitz John <sup>3</sup>	E. 101/237/12, 14.
Hill	..	..	Fitz John ..	E. 101/237/14.
Hill	..	..	Fitz John ..	E. 101/237/19.
Hill	..	..		E. 101/237/19 ; 238/1.
				E. 101/237/19, 238/6.
Robert of Bristol	..			E. 101/238/6.
Bristol	..	..	Richard le Blond	E. 101/238/6, 12, 26.
Bristol	..	..	Blond ..	E. 101/238/12, 17.
			(C.P.R. 354 : 24 Nov. 1323)	
Bristol <sup>5</sup>	..	..	Blond ..	E. 101/238/12.

Richard of Exeter, who had laid himself open to suspicion through his connexion with Walter de Lacy, the king's enemy, whose daughter he had married, and with others hostile to the king.

<sup>5</sup> Richard of Bristol was dead by Michaelmas 1324 and payments of arrears were being made to his wife, Alice, and his son, Richard (E. 101/238/17). On 3 May 1324 Thomas of Louth had been appointed second justice but the grant was surrendered (C.P.R. 412). On 30 May 1324 Gilbert of Singleton was appointed second justice (C.P.R. 418) but this was without effect.



Period	Names					
East. 1324—6 Jan. 1325 ..	Willoughby	..	..	Bagod	..	..
6 Jan. 1325—1 Mar. 1325	Willoughby <sup>1</sup>	..	..	Roger of Birthorpe <sup>2</sup>	..	..
1 Mar. 1325—6 Apr. 1325				Birthorpe	..	..
6 Apr. 1325—12 May 1327	Hanbury <sup>4</sup> (C.P.R. 111 : 23 Mar. 1325 ; C.P.R. 197 : 8 Dec. 1325)			Birthorpe (C.P.R. 198 : 8 Dec. 1325)		
12 May 1327—13 June 1327	Nicholas Fastolf (C.P.R. 29 : 12 Mar. 1327)			Birthorpe	..	..
13 June 1327—13 Sept. 1327	Fastolf	..	..			
13 Sept. 1327—13 Oct. 1327	Fastolf	..	..	John of Granchester (C.P.R. 128 : 14 June 1327)		
13 Oct. 1327—12 Nov. 1327	Fastolf	..	..	Grantchester	..	..
12 Nov. 1327—13 July 1329	William of Rudyard	..	..	Grantchester	..	..
13 July 1329—10 Oct. 1329	Rudyard <sup>5</sup>	..	..	Grantchester	..	..
10 Oct. 1329—30 Sept. 1330	Rudyard <sup>6</sup>	..	..			
30 Sept. 1330—10 Oct. 1330	Rudyard	..	..	Grantchester <sup>7</sup>	..	..
10 Oct. 1330—13 Oct. 1330	Rudyard	..	..	Grantchester	..	..
13 Oct. 1330—12 April 1331	Rudyard	..	..	Grantchester <sup>8</sup>	..	..
12 Apr. 1331—3 June 1331	Rudyard	..	..	Thomas Bagod	..	..
3 June 1331—12 June 1331	Rudyard <sup>9</sup>	..	..	Simon fitz Richard		..

<sup>1</sup> Willoughby was paid as from 21 January 1325 (E. 101/238/7). On 30 August 1325 he was made chief justice (C.P.R. 164) but this was without effect.

<sup>2</sup> Birthorpe took the place of Bagod as second justice ; cf. C. Chanc. R. Ire. 31, no. 66, where he is described as 'second justice in place of a fourth justice'.

<sup>3</sup> Hanbury took the place of Blond.

<sup>4</sup> Hanbury was transferred to the Justiciar's Bench : below, p. 168. John of Shardlow was appointed chief justice some time before 26 July 1326, but he did not appear to take up his commission or swear his oath (C. Ch. W., i. 582).

<sup>5</sup> On 15 March 1329 William Favel was appointed a justice (C.P.R. 375) and on 16 September 1329 Roger Hillary was made chief justice, John Bever second justice and William Favel a justice (C.P.R. 443). Nothing came of these appointments.

Names			References
		Blond ..	E. 101/238/17, 19, 26.
Henry of Hanbury <sup>8</sup> ..			E. 101/238/17.
Hanbury .. ..			E. 101/238/17.
			E. 101/238/17, 26 ; 239/5. C. Chanc. R. Ire. 35, no. 67.
			E. 101/239/5, 7.
			E. 101/239/7.
			E. 101/239/7.
	Roger of Preston (C.P.R. 128 : 14 June 1327)		E. 372/176, m. 46. E. 101/239/7. Cal. Carew MSS. 442.
	Preston ..		E. 372/176, m. 46.
	Henry of Thrapston		E. 372/176, m. 46.
Richard Brown ..	Thrapston ..		E. 372/176, m. 46.
Brown .. ..	Thrapston ..		E. 372/176, m. 46.
	Thrapston ..		E. 372/176, m. 46.
			E. 101/239/29.
			E. 101/239/24, 29.
Brown .. ..			E. 101/239/24.

<sup>6</sup> On 22 October 1329 Richard of Foxcote was appointed chief justice (C.P.R. 452) but this was without effect.

<sup>7</sup> On 29 December 1329 Grantchester had been appointed second justice (C.P.R. 472). He had been accused of maintenance and of diminishing the royal authority in favour of ecclesiastical jurisdiction and in consequence he had been dismissed and imprisoned (C.P.R. 471). He was again dismissed in 1331 (C.C.R. 386).

<sup>8</sup> Grantchester was paid up to 30 March 1331.

<sup>9</sup> On 27 February 1331 Roger of Bakewell was appointed chief justice, Simon fitz Richard second justice and Roger of Preston a justice (C.P.R. 82). This was all without effect except that Simon fitz Richard was re-appointed on 7 May 1331 (C.P.R. 114).



Period	Names			
12 June 1331—15 Apr. 1332	Rudyard	..	..	Fitz Richard .. ..
15 Apr. 1332—19 July 1333	Robert of Scarborough	..		Fitz Richard .. ..
	(C.P.R. 227 : 2 Dec. 1331)			
19 July 1333—19 Oct. 1333				Fitz Richard <sup>1</sup> .. ..
19 Oct. 1333—3 Dec. 1333	Scarborough <sup>2</sup>			Fitz Richard .. ..
	(C.P.R. 470, 473 : 2 Oct. 1333)			
3 Dec. 1333—19 Jan. 1334	Scarborough	..	..	
19 Jan. 1334—3 June 1334				Fitz Richard .. ..
3 June 1334—19 July 1334				Fitz Richard .. ..
19 July 1334—19 Oct. 1334	Robert Power <sup>4</sup>	..	..	Fitz Richard .. ..
[19 Oct.] 1334—10 Dec. 1334	Simon fitz Richard	..		
	(C.P.R. 11 : 24 Sept. 1334)			
10 Dec. 1334—13 Jan. 1335				Thomas of Dent <sup>6</sup> ..
				(C.P.R. 569 : 16 July 1334)
13 Jan. 1335—19 Oct. 1335	Fitz Richard	..	..	Dent <sup>7</sup> .. ..
19 Oct. 1335—10 Dec. 1335	Fitz Richard	..	..	

<sup>1</sup> On 16 April 1333 he had been re-appointed second justice. At the Trinity term Scarborough accompanied John Darcy, the Justiciar, to Scotland on the king's service (E. 101/239/29; cf. C.C.R. 35).

<sup>2</sup> On 2 October 1333 Roger of Bakewell had again been appointed chief justice, John of Bray second justice and Richard de Hattecombe a justice (C.P.R. 470); Hattecombe was ordered on 7 January 1334 to go to Ireland in person with all speed (C.C.R. 188). On 30 January 1334 John of Hornby the younger was to replace Bray as second justice (C.P.R. 506). Nothing came of all these arrangements.

<sup>3</sup> Preston was paid up to 24 January 1334 (E. 101/240/5).

Names			References
Brown	..	Roger of Preston	E. 101/239/24.
Brown	..	Preston ..	E. 101/239/24, 29.
Brown	..	Preston ..	E. 101/239/29.
Brown	..	Preston ..	E. 101/240/1.
Brown	..	Preston <sup>3</sup> ..	E. 101/240/1, 5.
Brown	..		E. 101/240/1, 5. C. Chanc. R. Ire. 38, no. 22.
Brown	..		C. Chanc. R. Ire. 38, no. 51. E. 372/179, m. 46.
Brown	..		E. 101/240/5. C. Chanc. R. Ire. 37, no. 1; 38, no. 22.
Brown <sup>5</sup> (C.P.R. 22 : 24 Sept. 1334)			C. Chanc. R. Ire. 38, no. 52; 39, no. 64. E. 101/240/10.
Brown	..		E. 101/240/10.
Brown	..		E. 101/240/8, 13.
Brown	..	Thomas de Montpellier	E. 101/240/10.

<sup>4</sup> Robert of Scarborough was appointed chief justice on 16 July 1334 (C.P.R. 568), but his appointment was not effective.

<sup>5</sup> On 24 September 1334 Robert of Scarborough was appointed a justice (C.P.R. 22) but did not assume office.

<sup>6</sup> He was appointed second justice.

<sup>7</sup> Apparently about Michaelmas 1335 Dent was ordered by the Justiciar and council to join the steward of Wexford and hold pleas in Wexford (E. 101/240/10).



Period	Names		
10 Dec. 1335—19 Apr. 1336	Fitz Richard .. ..	Thomas of Dent .. ..	
19 Apr. 1336—19 Oct. 1336	Fitz Richard <sup>2</sup> .. ..	Dent .. ..	
19 Oct. 1336—19 Oct. 1337	Fitz Richard <sup>3</sup> .. ..		
19 Oct. 1337—13 Apr. 1338	Fitz Richard .. ..		
14 Apr. 1338—14 June 1338	John Rees <sup>5</sup> .. ..		
15 June 1338—15 Mar. 1339	Fitz Richard (C.P.R. 86 : 1 May 1338)	John Gernoun (C.P.R. 81 : 15 May 1338)	
15 Mar. 1339—13 Mar. 1341	Fitz Richard (C.P.R. 49 : 26 Oct. 1340)	Gernoun .. ..	
13 Mar. 1341—13 Oct. 1341		Gernoun .. ..	
13 Oct. 1341—13 Oct. 1342	Gernoun (C.P.R. 257 : 4 Aug. 1341)		
13 Oct. 1342—13 Jan. 1343	Gernoun .. ..		
13 Apr. 1343—13 Apr. 1344	Gernoun .. ..		
13 Apr. 1344—12 Oct. 1344	Gernoun .. ..		
12 Oct. 1344—13 Dec. 1346	Thomas de Dent <sup>8</sup> .. .. (C.P.R. 316 : 1 July 1344)	John of Reedness <sup>8</sup> (C.P.R. 316 : 1 July 1344)	
14 Dec. 1346—6 May 1348	Dent .. ..	Nicholas of Snitterby (C.P.R. 219 : 7 Nov. 1346)	

<sup>1</sup> He was second justice.

<sup>2</sup> On 14 July 1336 Robert Power was appointed second justice (C.P.R. 301) but this was without effect.

<sup>3</sup> On 28 July 1337 Robert of Scarborough was appointed chief justice (C.P.R. 477) but remained in England at the king's bench there (Sayles, King's Bench, iv. p. xii).

<sup>4</sup> On 10 August 1337 Brown and Montpellier were dismissed (C.C.R. 168) but Montpellier was evidently restored to office without a break in his service.

<sup>5</sup> Simon fitz Richard had crossed to England and remained there at the king's orders (C.C.R. 396). John Rees acted as chief justice.

Names			References
Brown .. ..	Montpellier <sup>1</sup> ..		E. 372/182, m. 48. E. 101/240/10, 13.
Brown .. ..	Montpellier .. (C. P. R. 309 : 15 Aug. 1336)		E. 372/182, m. 48 ; 184, m. 49.
Brown <sup>4</sup> .. ..	Montpellier <sup>4</sup> ..		E. 372/182, m. 48. E. 101/240/17.
	Montpellier ..		E. 101/240/17.
	Montpellier ..		E. 372/184, m. 49.
	Montpellier ..		E. 372/184, m. 49. E. 101/240/17 ; 241/5.
	Montpellier <sup>6</sup> ..		E. 101/241/5.
			E. 101/241/5.
Roger Preston (C.P.R. 257 : 4 Aug. 1341)			E. 101/241/5.
			E. 101/241/5.
Preston <sup>7</sup> .. ..			E. 372/191, m. 42 d.
Preston .. ..			E. 372/191, m. 42 d. E. 101/241/15.
			E. 372/191, m. 42 d.
			E. 372/197, m. 46. E. 101/241/15.

<sup>6</sup> On 20 November 1340 Harvey Bagot was appointed a justice (C.P.R. 56) and on 14 March 1341 he and Montpellier were dismissed (C.C.R. 26). On 3 February 1341 a fine was levied at Dublin before Fitz Richard, Gernoun, Montpellier and Nicholas of Snitterby, justices of the bench (Ormond Deeds, i. no. 747) : for the last named there are no recorded payments.

<sup>7</sup> On 26 April 1343 he received a writ of liberate as second justice (C. Chanc. R. Ire. 44, no. 23).

<sup>8</sup> Dent and Reedness received their commissions on 8 July 1344 in the council chamber at Westminster (C.C.R. 448).



Period	Names		
6 May 1348—14 Dec. 1348	Dent	.. ..	
14 Dec. 1348—12 Apr. 1349	Dent	.. ..	
12 Apr. 1349—12 July 1349			
12 July 1349—6 Feb. 1352	Dent <sup>2</sup>	.. ..	
6 Feb. 1352—20 Jan. 1355	Dent	.. ..	
20 Jan. 1355—27 Oct. 1356	Dent	.. ..	
27 Oct. 1356—20 Apr. 1357	Dent	.. ..	Bartholomew Dardiz <sup>3</sup> (C.P.R. 426 : 24 July 1356)
20 Apr. 1357—12 Oct. 1357	Dent	.. ..	Dardiz .. ..
12 Oct. 1357—15 Dec. 1358	Dent	.. ..	Dardiz .. ..
15 Dec. 1358—15 Sept. 1359	Robert Preston <sup>5</sup>	.. ..	Dardiz .. ..
15 Sept. 1359—15 Mar. 1360			Dardiz .. ..
15 Mar. 1360—15 Dec. 1360	Preston	.. ..	Dardiz .. ..
15 Dec. 1360—15 June 1361			Dardiz .. ..
15 June 1361—22 July 1363	Preston	.. ..	Dardiz .. ..
22 July 1363—25 Sept. 1363			Dardiz .. ..

<sup>1</sup> On 16 July 1350 Richard Brown was appointed a justice (C.P.R. 558) but was ordered to be transferred to the justiciar's bench. For a reference to him on 20 March 1351 as third justice of the Common Bench, see below, p. 171. Payments of arrears to Gernoun were made to John Sygyn and Maud, wife of John Keppok, as the executors of his will (E. 101/243/8).

<sup>2</sup> On 20 March 1351 an order was made that there were to be two justices only, for there was not enough business for three (C.C.R. 292). Dent was given special payment for his services as sole justice between

Names	References
John Gernoun .. (C.P.R. 38 : 14 Mar. 1348)	E. 101/241/15.
Gernoun .. ..	E. 101/241/15 ; 242/3.
Gernoun .. ..	E. 101/242/10.
Gernoun <sup>1</sup> .. ..	E. 101/242/3, 10, 14.
Nicholas of Snitterby (C.P.R. 132 : 31 Oct. 1354)	E. 101/242/14 ; 243/3, 6, 8.
Snitterby .. ..	E. 101/243/8 ; 244/1.
	E. 101/244/1.
	E. 101/244/1, 2.
	E. 101/244/2. Dowdall Deeds, no. 216 <sup>4</sup> .
	E. 101/244/2.
	E. 101/244/6. E. 368/140, m. 9 (below, p. 245).
	E. 101/244/6. E. 368/140, m. 9 (below, p. 265).
	E. 368/140, m. 9 (below, p. 266).
	E. 372/212, m. 43.
	E. 372/212, m. 43.
	E. 372/212, m. 43.

<sup>1</sup> May 1354 and 20 January 1355 (E. 101/243/8 ; C. Chanc. R. Ire. 60, no. 56).

<sup>2</sup> He was appointed second justice.

<sup>4</sup> On 3 November 1358 a fine was levied at Dublin before Dent and Dardiz.

<sup>5</sup> Preston was appointed by English letters patent of 14 October 1358, read before the Justiciar at Castledermot on 15 December following (C. Chanc. R. Ire. 74, no. 68).



Period	Names	
25 Sept. 1363—9 July 1366	Preston ..	Dardiz ..
9 July 1366—27 Oct. 1366 ..		Dardiz ..
Jan. and Feb. 1371 ..	Preston ..	John Keppok ..
6 July 1371 .. ..	Preston .. ..	
15 Apr. 1372 .. ..	Preston <sup>1</sup> .. ..	
9 July 1372—9 Apr. 1376 ..	Preston <sup>2</sup> .. ..	
10 April 1377 .. ..	Preston <sup>3</sup> .. ..	

<sup>1</sup> A writ of liberate was issued to him on this date. On 27 April 1372 he was given leave to absent himself (C. Chanc. R. Ire. 85, no. 146).

References	Names	References
		E. 372/212, m. 43. E. 364/7, m. C. E. 101/244/10.
		E. 364/7, m. C.
		Ormond Deeds, ii. no. 166 ; iii. p. 361.
		Sweteman Reg., no. 22.
		C. Chanc. R. Ire., 82, no. 57.
		E. 364/17, m. G. E. 101/244/8 ; 245/8.
		C. Chanc. R. Ire., 101, no. 49.

\* On 8 August 1376 Richard Plunket was appointed a justice (C.P.R. 303).

\* On 5 October 1377 Preston was re-appointed chief justice (C.P.R. 27).



Period	Names		References
1282— Mich. 1286	Richard of Exeter ..		E. 101/230/25, 231/1. E. 372/139, m. 9 d. See above, pp. 35–6.
Mich 1286— East. 1290	Walter Lenfant ..		C.D.I. iii. 558 (p. 249), 584, 636–7, 964 (p. 427). E. 372/139, m. 9 d. See above, p. 36 <sup>1</sup> .
East. 1290— East. 1291	Walter Lenfant ..	John of Houghton ..	E. 372/139, m. 9 d.
East. 1291— Mich. 1292	John of Malton ...		C.D.I. iii. p. 427. E. 372/139, m. 9 d.
Mich. 1292— Mich. 1294	Walter Lenfant ..		C.P.R. 100 [for continuance in office].
Mich. 1294— 25 Dec. 1297	Walter de la Haye (C.P.R. 100 : 19 Oct. 1294)		E. 101/232/25, 233/2. C.D.I. iv. 333, 346 (p. 162), 456 (p. 214), 508 (p. 234), 565 (p. 267).
14 June 1298— 15 Sept. 1302	Walter Lenfant, junior		E. 101/233/9, 12, 17. C.D.I. iv. 565 (p. 267), 682 (p. 323). E. 372/150, m. 40.
15 Sept. 1302— 15 March 1303	John of Fressingfield <sup>2</sup>		E. 372/150, m. 40.
15 Mar. 1303— 15 Mar. 1305	Lenfant .. ..		E. 101/233/20. E. 372/150, m. 40.
25 Mar. 1305— 25 Dec. 1305	Lenfant .. ..		E. 101/233/24 ; 234/7. C.D.I. v. 438, 525.

<sup>1</sup> The document printed by Sweetman (C. D. I. iii, 310), stating that the Earl of Kildare was hearing pleas in the king's court in the place of the Justiciar in 1287, is clearly misdated : it must be after 1316 when the Earldom of Kildare was created and it may belong to 1320–1321 (above, p. 84).

<sup>2</sup> John of Fressingfield had been appointed to take Lenfant's place from 15 September 1302 to 13 December 1302 whilst he was on eyre in co. Meath, though that eyre was not held (C.D.I. v. 71).

Period	Names		References
25 Dec. 1305— Easter 1306	John of Fressingfield <sup>1</sup>		E. 101/234/7. C.D.I. v. 524. E. 372/153, m. 35.
East. 1306— Mich. 1308	Walter Lenfant <sup>2</sup>	..	E. 101/234/7, 17 ; 235/9/13. E. 372/171, m. 31. C.D.I. v. 553, 590, 632, 683.
30 Oct. 1308— 30 Oct. 1310	David le Blund	..	E. 101/235/20, 24. C. Chanc. R. Ire. 9, no. 99; 13, no. 53.
30 Oct. 1310— 1 May 1311	Walter Lenfant	..	E. 372/171, m. 31.
6 May 1311	Reginald Brun	.. Nicholas fitz Maurice	C. Chanc. R. Ire. 17, no. 83.
Mich. 1311— 23 June 1313	William Alexander (C.P.R. 409 : 15 Dec. 1311)		E. 101/236/3, 6. E. 372/171, m. 31.
Mar., Aug. 1313	Alexander ..	.. Walter of Thornbury <sup>3</sup>	C.J.R. iii. pp. 272, 294.
23 Dec. 1313— Mich. 1315	Alexander ..	..	E. 101/236/7, 11 ; 237/2.
Mich. 1315— East. 1317	Hugh Canon <sup>4</sup> (C.P.R. 289 : 27 May 1315)		E. 101/237/4, 5, 14.
11 May 1317— 11 May 1318	Walter Wogan .. (C.P.R. 191 : 16 July 1318)		E. 101/237/5, 8, 9.
July 1317		Walter de Cusack <sup>5</sup> ..	C. Chanc. R. Ire. 24, no. 143.

<sup>1</sup> He was appointed in Lenfant's place while he was chief justice of the eyre in co. Tipperary.

<sup>2</sup> He was re-appointed on 28 June 1308 (C.P.R. 78). The sum of 100s. expenses was paid in 1308 to Neil le Brun, 'associato Iohanni Wogan, Iusticiario Hibernie, et Waltero Lenfaunt ad assisas apud Cath' (i.e. Carlow) tenendas' (E. 101/235/13).

<sup>3</sup> Walter of Thornbury, the chancellor, heard pleas with him at Cashel and Cork in March and August 1313 in the absence of the Keeper.

<sup>4</sup> On 16 April 1315 William of Bardfield was appointed (C.P.R. 274) but apparently without effect.

<sup>5</sup> Cusack was appointed to hear pleas in Meath and Louth in place of the Lieutenant, Roger Mortimer.



Period	Names		References
14 Nov. 1317— 25 Dec. 1317		Robert Bagod <sup>1</sup> ..	E. 101/237/9.
14 Nov. 1317— 2 Feb. 1318		David le Blond <sup>2</sup> ..	E. 101/237/5.
3 July 1318— 3 Sept. 1318		Richard Brown ..	E. 101/237/9.
2 Sept. 1318— 13 Oct. 1318	Roger of Birthorpe <sup>3</sup> (C.P.R. 193 : 1 Aug. 1318)		E. 101/237/19 ; 540/11.
4 Sept. 1318— 11 Sept. 1320	Walter Wogan ..		E. 101/237/9, 12 ; 239/5.
13 May 1320— 5 July 1320	Roger of Birthorpe		E. 372/176, m. 46.
12 Sept. 1320— 12 Mar. 1321	Thomas Ace ..		E. 101/237/14. C. Chanc. R. Ire. 28, no. 30.
13 May 1321— 29 Oct. 1322	Roger of Birthorpe <sup>4</sup> (C.P.R. 524 : 10 Nov. 1320 ; C.P.R. 22 : 26 Aug. 1321)		E. 101/237/19 ; 238/6, 17. C. Chanc. R. Ire. 28, no. 9.
20 Aug. 1322— 1 Mar. 1323	Robert Bagod ..		E. 101/239/7. C. Chanc. R. Ire. 35, no. 39.
1 Mar. 1323— 20 April 1323	Roger of Birthorpe ..		E. 376/176, m. 46.
20 April 1323— 2 Sept. 1324 <sup>5</sup>	Walter Wogan ..		E. 101/238/12, 17.
2 Sept. 1324— 6 Jan. 1325	Henry of Hanbury (C.P.R. 409 : 26 Apr. 1324)	Roger of Birthorpe <sup>6</sup> (C.P.R. 420 : 30 May 1324)	E. 101/238/17.

<sup>1</sup> Bagod held pleas at Cork which had been summoned before the Lieutenant, Mortimer.

<sup>2</sup> Blond accompanied the Lieutenant, Mortimer, to hear pleas at Cork, Clonmel and elsewhere in Munster.

<sup>3</sup> Walter Wogan was absent on the king's service in Wales. Wogan had been appointed to the justiciar's bench but, until he arrived in Ireland, Birthorpe was appointed by the Justiciar on 13 May 1318 to act in his place (P.R.O. Ire., Rec. Comm., Cal. Plea Rolls 12, pp. 186-7: roll 118 (Justiciary Roll, 11 Edw. II), m. 79.

<sup>4</sup> Birthorpe was appointed during Wogan's absence in Wales to act until Michaelmas next unless Wogan returned or the king gave other instructions. Wogan was re-appointed on 20 May 1322 (C.P.R. 113) and 28 Jan. 1323 (C.P.R. 235).

<sup>5</sup> On 10 February 1324 Wogan and Birthorpe acted for the Deputy Justiciar, William de Bermingham, who was in remote parts (Wood, op. cit., p. 224, citing a Justiciary Roll).

<sup>6</sup> Birthorpe, styled 'second justice', was paid for the period 3 September 1324—4 January 1325.

Period	Names		References
6 Jan. 1325— 12 Aug. 1326	Nicholas Fastolf .. (C.P.R. 26 : 27 Sept. 1324)	Walter Wogan <sup>1</sup> ..	E. 101/238/17, 19, 26.
12 Aug. 1326— 12 May 1327	Fastolf .. ..	Roger of Preston <sup>2</sup> ..	E. 101/239/5.
12 May 1327— 26 July 1327	Henry of Hanbury <sup>3</sup> (C.P.R. 39 : 18 Mar. 1327)	Ellis of Ashbourne (C.P.R. 60 : 4 April 1327 ; C.P.R. 139 : 16 July 1327)	E. 101/239/5.
26 July 1327— 29 Oct. 1327		Ashbourne ..	E. 101/239/7.
29 Oct. 1327— 17 June 1329	Nicholas Fastolf <sup>4</sup> ..		E. 372/176, m. 46.
17 June 1329— 8 June 1331	Ellis of Ashbourne (C.P.R. 372 : 2 Mar. 1329)	Roger of Preston (C.P.R. 316 : 22 Aug. 1328)	E. 101/239/19, 29. E. 372/176, m. 46.
8 June 1331— 1 May 1332	Peter Tilliol <sup>5</sup> ..	John of Skelton ..	E. 101/239/24.
Easter and Trinity 1332	Thomas of Louth (C.P.R. 226 : 2 Dec. 1331)	John of Grantchester (C.P.R. 184 : 16 Oct. 1331 ; C.P.R. 233 : 12 Jan. 1332)	E. 101/239/24.
1 Nov. 1332— 1 Feb. 1334	Louth .. ..	Grantchester ..	E. 101/239/29 ; 240/1.
1 Feb. 1334— 1 Aug. 1334	Robert of Scarborough (C.P.R. 470 : 2 Oct. 1333)	Roger of Preston <sup>6</sup> ..	E. 101/240/5.

<sup>1</sup> Wogan as 'second justice' was paid 20 ms. a year as against Fastolf's £20.

<sup>2</sup> Henry of Hanbury on 30 August 1325 (C.P.R. 164) and Gilbert of Singleton on 13 December 1325 (C.P.R. 198) had been appointed second justice but without effect.

<sup>3</sup> He was transferred from the common bench : cf. C.C.R. 136 f, 431.

<sup>4</sup> He was styled 'superior iusticiarius' : he was appointed chief justice on 22 August 1328 (C.P.R. 316). He received a gift for going with the Justiciar to Munster and Leinster and overseas to the council in England.

<sup>5</sup> Adam of Bowes as chief justice and John of Grantchester as second justice were appointed on 27 and 28 February 1331 (C.P.R. 83) but without effect.

<sup>6</sup> There is a gap in the record of payments to Preston between 1 May 1334 and 1 November 1334. Cf. C.C.R. 188 : on 7 January 1334 he was ordered to go to Ireland with all speed on pain of forfeiture.



Period	Names		References
29 Oct. 1334— 16 Oct. 1337	Thomas of Louth <sup>1</sup> ..	Preston <sup>2</sup> .. ..	E. 101/240/8, 10, 13 ; 241/5. E. 372/182, m. 48; 184, m. 49.
16 Oct. 1337— 25 May 1341	Ellis of Ashbourne <sup>3</sup> (C.P.R. 389 : 8 Mar. 1337)	John of Middleton <sup>4</sup> (C.P.R. 159 : 23 Oct. 1338)	E. 372/184, m. 49. E. 101/240/17 ; 241/5.
26 Nov. 1341— 26 Feb. 1343	Ellis of Ashbourne <sup>5</sup>		E. 101/241/5.
16 July 1344— 28 Aug. 1344		John Hunt <sup>6</sup> ..	E. 372/191, m. 42 d.
31 Aug. 1344— 20 Dec. 1344		Geoffrey Folejambe <sup>7</sup> (C.P.R. 307 : 28 June 1344)	E. 372/191, m. 42 d.
20 Dec. 1344— 20 June 1345	Robert of Scarborough <sup>8</sup> (C.P.R. 327 : 30 July 1344)	Folejambe ..	E. 372/191, m. 42 d.
20 June 1345— 12 Oct. 1345		Folejambe ..	E. 372/191, m. 42 d.

<sup>1</sup> Robert Bouser was appointed chief justice on 16 July 1334 (C.P.R. 568) ; if he went to Ireland, Louth was to be second justice ; if he did not go, then Louth was to be chief justice (C.C.R. 327).

<sup>2</sup> John of Kirkby Thore was appointed second justice on 16 July 1334 (C.P.R. 568) and Robert of Scarborough on 24 September 1334 (C.P.R. 22), but in each case without effect.

<sup>3</sup> Robert of Scarborough was appointed chief justice and Simon fitz Richard second justice on 28 July 1337 (C.P.R. 477) but without effect. Ashbourne was referred to as ' Keeper ' of the Bench (E. 101/240/17). Thomas of Louth, who had been convicted and imprisoned in Ireland (C.C.R. 1338-40, p. 80) was to be released and admitted again to office, and he was appointed chief justice on 28 July 1337 (C.P.R. 477) and again on 17 May 1338 (C.P.R. 80) but without effect. It is to be noted that Ashbourne and Preston had been dismissed on 10 August 1337 (C.C.R. 168). Ashbourne was re-appointed on 12 September 1338 (C.P.R. 127).

<sup>4</sup> Middleton was paid up to 16 July 1341. On 29 April 1340 he had been authorised to hold office for two years (C.P.R. 471). Thomas Dent, who had in late 1335 or early 1336 been appointed by the Justiciar and council to act with Robert Power, steward of Wexford, to hear the king's pleas there (E. 101/240/10 ; cf. E. 372/184, m. 49), was appointed second justice on 28 July 1337 (C.P.R. 477) and again on 12 September 1338 (C.P.R. 127) and chief justice on 26 July 1341 (C.P.R. 252), but clearly without effect.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. C. Chanc. R. Ire. 44, no. 43. On 24 June 1346, at the request of the chancellor, treasurer, escheator and chief baron of the exchequer and on account of his long imprisonment, Ashbourne received a pardon (C. Chanc. R. Ire. 53, no. 83).

<sup>6</sup> Hunt was second justice. For a reference to him as such, see C. Chanc. R. Ire. 46, no. 87.

<sup>7</sup> He was second justice.

<sup>8</sup> He was in England in the summer of 1344 (C.P.R. 334, 335). On 10 August 1344 he was given custody of the two seals, made for sealing judicial writs in each bench in Ireland, and obtained the office of sealing such writs (C.F.R. 387 ; C.C.R. 455, 461). On 8 September 1344 he was referred to as justice with an annual fee of £40 : i.e. the fee of the chief justice (C.C.R. 461).

Period	Names		References
12 Oct. 1345— 12 July 1346	John Hunt .. (C.P.R. 527 : 12 July 1345 ; C.P.R. 534 : 1 Aug. 1345)	Folejambe .. ..	E. 372/191, m. 42 d ; 197, m. 46.
12 July 1346— 14 Dec. 1346		Folejambe .. ..	E. 372/197, m. 46.
14 Dec. 1346— 3 Oct. 1349	John Reedness <sup>1</sup> .. (C.P.R. 219 : 7 Nov. 1346)	Folejambe <sup>2</sup> .. .. (C.P.R. 219 : 7 Nov. 1346)	E. 372/197, m. 46. E. 101/241/15 ; 242/3, 14.
3 Oct. 1349— 20 Dec. 1349	Reedness .. ..		E. 101/242/10, 14.
20 Dec. 1349— 20 June 1350	Reedness .. ..	Thomas de Sterkland	E. 101/242/3, 10, 14.
20 June 1350— 20 Sept. 1350	Reedness .. ..	Humphrey Sturdy ..	E. 101/242/3, 14.
20 Sept. 1350— 24 Jan. 1351	Reedness .. ..		E. 101/242/3, 14.
24 Jan. 1351— 24 April 1351	Reedness .. ..	Henry of Melton <sup>3</sup> ..	E. 101/242/10.
24 April 1351— 21 Oct. 1351	Reedness .. ..		E. 101/242/3, 14.
21 Oct. 1351— 10 Nov. 1351	Reedness .. ..	Nicholas of Snitterby	E. 101/243/6.
10 Nov. 1351— 14 June 1352	Reedness .. ..		E. 101/243/6.
15 June 1352— 3 Nov. 1354	Geoffrey Folejambe <sup>4</sup> (C.P.R. 173 : 31 Oct. 1351)	Reedness .. ..	E. 101/242/14 ; 243/3, 6, 8.

<sup>1</sup> He was chief justice. On 27 May 1346 Henry de Motlowe had been appointed chief justice (C.P.R. 94) but this was without effect.

<sup>2</sup> William Petit, the king's serjeant, was appointed by the Justiciar and council to deputise for Folejambe while he was in England between 26 November 1347 and 27 April 1348 (E. 372/197, m. 46).

<sup>3</sup> On 20 March 1351 the Justiciar, chancellor and treasurer were instructed to appoint as second justice Richard Brown, then the third justice of the common bench, for the king was given to understand that two justices were sufficient for the common bench (C.C.R. 292).

<sup>4</sup> He was appointed chief justice.



Period	Names		References
4 Nov. 1354— 8 May 1356	Reedness <sup>1</sup> .. .. (C.P.R. 88 : 12 July 1354)		E. 101/243/8 ; 244/1.
9 May 1356— 29 June 1356	Richard Wirkeley <sup>2</sup> ..		E. 101/243/8.
30 June 1356— 19 Nov. 1356	Reedness <sup>3</sup> .. .. (C.P.R. 406 : 20 June 1356)		E. 101/244/1.
19 Nov. 1356— 19 May 1357	Reedness .. ..	John of Halidon ..	E. 101/244/1.
19 May 1357— 30 June 1358	Reedness .. ..		E. 101/244/6.
20 Dec. 1358— 20 Mar. 1359		Peter Mallory <sup>4</sup> ..	E. 101/244/2.
13 April 1359— 13 July 1359	William Petit <sup>5</sup> ..		E. 101/244/2.
17 Dec. 1359— 12 Jan. 1361		Nicholas Lombard <sup>6</sup> ..	E. 364/7, m. C.
15 July 1361— 12 Oct. 1361		Richard White of Clonegall <sup>7</sup>	E. 372/212, m. 43.
12 Oct. 1361— 20 Jan. 1362	Thomas of Burley <sup>8</sup> ..	White .. ..	E. 372/212, m. 43.
20 Jan. 1362— 20 April 1363	Ralph de Ferrers ..	White .. ..	E. 372/212, m. 43.

<sup>1</sup> John of Kent was appointed second justice at the same time but no payment to him as such is recorded. For Reedness's absence in England before July 1354, see C.C.R. 28.

<sup>2</sup> He was Prior of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem in Ireland and was appointed by Irish letters patent (C.P.R. 406).

<sup>3</sup> On 24 July 1356 Nicholas Gower was appointed chief justice (C.P.R. 426), but this was without effect.

<sup>4</sup> Mallory was second justice by 4 May 1358, when he received payment of a quarter's fee (C. Chanc. R. Ire. 68, no. 30).

<sup>5</sup> He was chief justice. Reedness had been in England for a long time on Irish business (C.C.R. 586) and on 20 July 1359 he was again appointed chief justice (C.P.R. 246), but there is no record of payment to him as such.

<sup>6</sup> He was second justice.

<sup>7</sup> William of Notton was appointed chief justice on 10 July 1361 (C.P.R. 39) but the appointment does not seem to have been effective, for Richard White was paid as "assessor" to Thomas of Burley, chief justice.

<sup>8</sup> Burley was Prior of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem in Ireland.

Period	Names		References
7 June 1363— 20 April 1364	Thomas de la Dale <sup>1</sup>	White .. ..	E. 372/212, m. 43. E. 364/7, m. C.
24 Apr. 1364— 25 July 1364	Richard White (C.P.R. 433 : 16 Nov. 1363)	Nicholas Lombard <sup>2</sup> (C.P.R. 468 : 13 Feb. 1364)	E. 364/7, m. C.
25 July 1364— 25 Oct. 1364	White .. ..	Lombard ... ..	E. 364/7, m. C.
25 Oct. 1364— 8 Feb. 1365	White .. ..		E. 364/7, m. C. E. 101/244/10.
8 Feb. 1365— 24 July 1366	White .. ..	John Keppok ..	E. 101/244/10.
24 July 1366— 8 Aug. 1366		Keppok .. ..	E. 101/244/10.
16 Feb. 1368— 2 July 1369	Keppok <sup>3</sup> .. ..		E. 101/245/3.
3 July 1369— 16 Feb. 1371		James of Pickering <sup>4</sup>	E. 101/245/3.
Trin. 1371— Trin. 1372	William of Skipwith <sup>5</sup> (C.P.R. 377 : 15 Feb. 1370)	Keppok .. ..	C. Chanc. R. Ire. 81, nos. 27, 28 ; 82, no. 38 ; 83, no. 98.
Trin. 1372— 17 Feb. 1373		Keppok <sup>6</sup> .. ..	E. 364/17, m. G.
22 Mar. 1373— 22 Sept. 1375	John Keppok <sup>7</sup> ..		E. 364/17, m. G. E. 101/245/7, 8. C. Chanc. R. Ire. 86, nos. 37, 38.

<sup>1</sup> Dale succeeded Ferrers, who was removed from office.

<sup>2</sup> Lombard deputised for White during his absence in England and for that time (25 April—25 July 1364) he himself had John Keppok as his assessor (E. 364/7, m. C).

<sup>3</sup> He was chief justice. On 22 October 1367 Nicholas Lombard was appointed second justice (C.P.R. 12).

<sup>4</sup> He was appointed on 3 July 1369 (E. 101/245/3).

<sup>5</sup> On 20 March 1372 he received payment of his fee for three quarters of a year. He was described as chief justice on 22 June 1372 (C. Chanc. R. Ire. 83, no. 98. Cf. Ormond Deeds, iii. 361, for a similar description of him on 7 January 1371.

<sup>6</sup> The recorded period of payment is 17 May 1371—17 February 1373 (E. 364/17, m. G).

<sup>7</sup> On 10 December 1374 Nicholas Moenes received payment as 'nuper iusticiarius ad placita etc.' (C. Chanc. R. Ire. 88, no. 81). On 6 August 1376 John Tyrell was appointed a justice (C.P.R. 303). In the parliament meeting at Dublin on 8 January 1377 it was decided that the bishop of Ossory, the treasurer, should hear pleas in Louth and Meath 'cum iusticiario itineranti', and he received a writ of liberate for £10 in payment of his services and expenses (C. Chanc. R. Ire. 100, nos. 28, 29). On 9 October 1377 John Keppok was appointed chief justice (C.P.R. 31).



Period	Attorney	Pleaders
c. 1260—c. 1280 .. ..		Roger Owen <sup>1</sup> .. ..
1270 .. ..		Robert of St. Edmund <sup>2</sup> .. ..
Mich. 1281 .. ..		St. Edmund .. ..
1285 .. ..		St. Edmund .. ..
22 July 1292—22 July 1293		John de Ponz .. ..
1293—1294 .. ..		John de Neville .. ..
1294—1295 .. ..		Neville .. ..
24 June 1295—24 June 1296		Neville .. ..
East. 1297—Mich. 1297 ..		William of Bardfield <sup>3</sup> ..
Mich. 1297 .. ..		Bardfield .. ..
Mich. 1299—Mich. 1307 ..		Bardfield <sup>5</sup> .. ..
Mich. 1307—Mich. 1310 ..		Blond .. ..
Mich. 1310—Mich. 1311 ..		Blond .. ..
Mich. 1311—Mich. 1313 ..		Blond .. ..
Mich. 1313—Mich. 1314 ..	Richard Manning <sup>6</sup> ..	Blond .. ..

<sup>1</sup> Above, p. 40.<sup>2</sup> Above, pp. 40-41.<sup>3</sup> He took the place of John de Neville.

Pleaders		References
	John fitz William ..	<p>Doct. 7 (below, p. 230).</p> <p>C.D.I. ii. 1416.</p> <p>E. 101/230/19.</p> <p>C.D.I. iii. 169 (p. 69).</p> <p>C.C.R. 1279-1288, p. 339.</p> <p>E. 372/139, m. 9.</p> <p>E. 101/232/8.</p> <p>C.D.I. iv. 273 (p. 122).</p> <p>C.D.I. iv. 346.</p> <p>C.D.I. iv. 565.</p> <p>E. 101/233/2, 9.</p>
Richard le Blond of Arklow <sup>4</sup>		<p>E. 101/233/2, 9.</p> <p>C.D.I. iv. 565, 682.</p>
Blond .. ..		<p>E. 101/233/12, 17, 20, 24 ; 234/7, 17.</p> <p>C.D.I. v. 368, 369, 503, 513, 634, 690.</p> <p>E. 372/150, m. 40.</p> <p>E. 101/235/3, 24.</p> <p>E. 372/171, m. 31.</p>
Matthew of Hanwood ..		<p>E. 101/236/3.</p> <p>E. 372/171, m. 3.</p> <p>C. Chanc. R. Ire. 19, no. 11.</p> <p>E. 101/236/6, 7.</p> <p>E. 372/171, m. 31.</p>
Hanwood .. ..		<p>E. 101/236/11.</p>

<sup>4</sup> In 1276-78 he acted as attorney for the queen (C.D.I. ii. 1389 (p. 258), 1423).

<sup>5</sup> On 17 November 1308 Bardfield was styled 'late narrator of the king' (C. Chanc. R. Ire. 8, no. 50). He was then a justice of the common bench (above, p. 153).

<sup>6</sup> For the variation in descriptive terms applied to him, see Sayles, King's Bench, v. p. lvii.



Period	Attorney	Pleaders
Mich. 1314—21 Aug. 1319	Manning <sup>1</sup> .. ..	Blond .. ..
21 Aug. 1319—21 March 1322	Manning .. ..	Blond .. ..
21 Mar. 1322—21 Mar. 1327	Manning .. ..	Staines .. ..
21 Mar. 1327—30 Aug. 1327	Manning .. ..	Staines .. ..
30 Aug. 1327—29 Sept. 1327	Manning .. ..	Staines .. ..
29 Sept. 1327—Mich. 1330 ..	Manning .. .. William of Woodworth <sup>2</sup>	John Gernoun <sup>3</sup> .. ..
Mich. 1330—22 Nov. 1330	Woodworth .. ..	Gernoun .. ..
22 Nov. 1330—2 June 1331	Woodworth .. ..	Gernoun .. ..
3 June 1331—3 Mar. 1334 ..	Woodworth .. ..	Hugh Brown .. ..
3 Mar. 1334—24 June 1334	Woodworth .. ..	Brown <sup>6</sup> .. ..
19 Oct. 1334—2 Nov. 1334	Thomas of Westham <sup>7</sup> .. ..	Brown .. ..
2 Nov. 1334—6 June 1338	Westham .. ..	Brown .. ..
6 June 1338—17 July 1338	Westham .. ..	Brown .. ..
17 July 1338—3 June 1346	Westham <sup>8</sup> .. ..	Brown .. ..

<sup>1</sup> He was granted £7 for his services in the king's court at Cork, Clonmel and elsewhere before the Justiciar between 28 October 1317 and 16 February 1318 (E. 101/237/9).

<sup>2</sup> Woodworth succeeded Manning after Michaelmas 1328 but precisely when is not stated.

<sup>3</sup> Gernoun, Fitz Richard and Cardiff were styled 'narratores in utroque banco et alibi'.

<sup>4</sup> He was styled 'late narrator'.

<sup>5</sup> He was sent by order of the Justiciar and council to Wexford to hold pleas there with the steward, Robert Power (C. Chanc. R. Ire. 41, no. 31).

Pleaders			References
			E. 101/237/2, 4, 5, 8, 9, 12.
John of Staines .. ..			E. 101/237/14, 19 ; 238/6. C. Chanc. R. Ire. 28, no. 17; 29, no. 39.
Simon fitz Richard ..			E. 101/238/6, 17, 19, 26 ; 239/5.
			E. 101/239/5, 7.
			E. 101/239/5.
Simon fitz Richard .	John of Cardiff .. ..		E. 101/239/7. E. 372/176, m. 46. Cal. Carew MSS. 442.
Fitz Richard .. ..	Cardiff .. ..		E. 101/239/29. E. 372/176, m. 46.
Fitz Richard <sup>4</sup> .. ..			E. 101/239/29 ; 240/10.
Thomas de Dent <sup>5</sup> ..			E. 101/239/24, 29 ; 240/1, 5.
			E. 101/240/5.
			E. 101/240/8. E. 372/179, m. 46. C. Chanc. R. Ire. 38, no. 50.
John Gernoun .. ..			E. 101/240/8, 10, 13, 17. E. 372/182, m. 48.
			E. 101/240/17. E. 372/182, m. 48 ; 184, m. 49.
William Petit .. ..			E. 372/182, m. 48 ; 191, m. 42 d. E. 101/240/17 ; 241/5, 13. C. Chanc. R. Ire. 44, no. 18 ; 45, no. 70 ; 46, nos. 93, 98.

<sup>6</sup> On 26 November 1333 Thomas of Baxby was appointed serjeant in the justiciar's bench and common bench (C.C.R. 162) ; we have no proof that he assumed office.

<sup>7</sup> Westham was appointed on 28 September 1334 (C.P.R. 28).

<sup>8</sup> On 16 April 1342 William Rous was appointed by Irish letters patent (exemplified in England on 15 May 1342) as the king's attorney for all matters before the justices of the bench and the treasurer and barons of the exchequer (C.P.R. 429).



Period	Attorney	Pleaders
3 June 1346—29 Oct. 1347	Westham .. ..	
29 Oct. 1347—19 Nov. 1347		
19 Nov. 1347—21 Sept. 1348		Edmund of Barford ..
11 Dec. 1348—19 Feb. 1349	Thomas of Crowland <sup>2</sup> ..	Barford .. ..
19 Feb. 1349—19 Aug. 1349	Crowland .. ..	
19 Aug. 1349—21 Sept. 1349	Crowland .. ..	Barford .. ..
21 Sept. 1349—21 Mar. 1350	Crowland .. ..	Barford .. ..
21 Mar. 1350—11 Dec. 1350	Crowland <sup>3</sup> .. ..	Barford <sup>4</sup> .. ..
11 Dec. 1350—15 Oct. 1351		Barford .. ..
15 Oct. 1351—23 Nov. 1352	Thomas Keppok <sup>5</sup> ..	Barford .. ..
23 Nov. 1352—20 Oct. 1357	John of Leicester <sup>6</sup> ..	Barford .. ..
20 Oct. 1357—19 Nov. 1357	Leicester .. ..	Barford .. ..
Easter 1358 .. ..	Leicester .. ..	Barford .. ..
19 Aug. 1358—12 Feb. 1359	Leicester .. ..	Barford .. ..
12 Feb. 1359—19 Feb. 1360	William Lynnore ..	Barford <sup>8</sup> .. ..

<sup>1</sup> Petit took the place of Geoffrey Folejambe in the Justiciar's bench when Folejambe crossed over to England in November 1347 (see p. 171, n 2.).

<sup>2</sup> On 18 March 1348 Robert of Embleton was appointed the king's attorney in Ireland (C.P.R. 39) but without effect.

<sup>3</sup> Crowland was described as the attorney before the justices of the bench, Dublin (E. 101/242/10).

<sup>4</sup> Barford and Preston were each paid £10 in 1350 for their services in Munster (E. 101/242/3).

<sup>5</sup> Keppok was paid for his services in the common bench and the exchequer.

<sup>6</sup> Leicester acted in the common bench and the exchequer. In or around 1357 the Justiciar instructed Richard Plunket, John Keppok, Richard White and Thomas Greathead to be 'in auxilium narratorum domini regis super ventilacione quorumdam placitorum difficilium, dominum regem intime concernencium etc.' (E.101/244/1).

<sup>7</sup> Preston had been instructed by the council to accompany Thomas of Rokeby, the Justiciar, from Dublin to Cork to attend to the king's business in the judicial sessions there and he received a special payment of £5 (E. 101/243/8 ; C. Chanc. R. Ire. 63, no. 133). On 16 August 1358 he was to be paid his fee of four shillings

Pleaders					References
Petit	..	..	..		E. 101/241/13.
Petit	..	..	..		E. 101/241/13.
Petit <sup>1</sup>	..	..	..		E. 101/241/13, 15. E. 372/197, m. 46.
			Robert of Preston	..	E. 101/241/15 ; 242/3. E. 372/197, m. 46.
			Preston	.. ..	E. 101/242/3.
			Preston	.. ..	E. 101/242/3.
William Petit	..	..	Preston	.. ..	E. 101/242/3, 10.
			Preston	.. ..	E. 101/242/3, 10.
			Preston	.. ..	E. 101/242/10.
			Preston	.. ..	E. 101/242/10, 14 ; 243/3, 6.
			Preston <sup>7</sup>	.. ..	E. 101/243/3, 6, 8 ; 244/1.
			Preston	.. ..	E. 101/244/1. C. Chanc. R. Ire. 68, no. 31.
Richard Plunket	..	..	Preston	.. ..	C. Chanc. R. Ire. 66, no. 12 ; 68, no. 31 ; 71, nos. 107, 109.
Plunket	..	..	John Keppok	.. ..	E. 101/244/2. C. Chanc. R. Ire. 76, no. 8.
Plunket <sup>9</sup>	..	..	Keppok <sup>9</sup>	.. ..	E. 101/244/2.

a day in going with the Justiciar to Leinster and Munster to plead the king's pleas (C. Chanc. R. Ire. 67, no. 14 ; 71, no. 110).

<sup>8</sup> Edmund of Barford, narrator, held pleas with the steward of Trim within the liberty of Trim and received payment at 20 marks a year during the period 1 April 1360—24 March 1361 (E. 101/244/3).

<sup>9</sup> He was paid from 18 January 1359 to 18 October 1359. Richard White of Clonagall acted on behalf of Plunket, who was on the king's service in England, in the Justiciar's eyre in Leinster and Munster between 19 June 1359 and 19 July 1359. Furthermore, John Keppok was paid fifty shillings for his services between 20 May 1359 and 19 July 1359 : 'cum nuper per Iusticiarium Hibernie et alios de consilio domini regis electus fuerit et oneratus ad fidele consilium suum Willelmo Petyt, capitali iusticiario ad placita ipsum iusticiarium sequencia tenenda assignato, in omnibus iuris dubiis et difficultatibus variis in placitis tenendis, processibus faciendis et iudiciis reddendis et aliis singulis que ad officium ipsius Willelmi in dicta placea pertinere noscuntur et ad consilium eiusdem domini regis fideliter tenendum etc.' (E. 101/244/2).



Period	Attorney			Pleaders		
19 Feb. 1360—12 Nov. 1361	Lynnore <sup>1</sup>	..	..			
12 Nov. 1361—30 May 1362	[Lynnore]	..	..			
30 May 1362—10 July 1362	[Lynnore]	..	..	Keppok	..	..
10 July 1362—8 Feb. 1365 ..	Henry Michel	..	..	Keppok	..	..
8 Feb. 1365—18 Oct. 1365	Michel	..	..			
18 Oct. 1365—8 Feb. 1366	Michel	..	..			
8 Feb. 1366—10 July 1366	Michel <sup>3</sup>	..	..	John Tyrell	..	..
10 July 1366—18 April 1371				Tyrell	..	..
18 April 1371—8 Nov. 1371				Tyrell	..	..
8 Nov. 1371—10 July 1372	Michel <sup>4</sup>	..	..	Tyrell	..	..
10 July 1372—8 Nov. 1374	Michel	..	..	Tyrell	..	..
8 Nov. 1374—18 Jan. 1375	Michel	..	..	Tyrell <sup>5</sup>	..	..
18 Jan. 1375—8 May 1375	Michel	..	..	Tyrell	..	..
8 May 1375—10 April 1376	Michel	..	..			
1377 .. .. .				Tyrell	..	..

<sup>1</sup> Lynnore acted in the common bench and the exchequer. There are gaps in recorded payments to him from 12 February 1360 to 12 May 1360 and from 12 February 1361 to 12 May 1361. Lynnore obtained a grant of forty shillings in addition to the attorney's normal fee of five marks a year (E. 101/244/6). He was removed from office and Michel took his place (E. 372/212, m. 43).

<sup>2</sup> There is a gap in recorded payments to Plunket from 18 October 1363 to 18 October 1364.

<sup>3</sup> He received a payment of 33s. 4d. 'pro rewardo suo per annum etc. propter diligenciam suam quam

Pleaders		References
Plunket .. ..		E. 101/244/6.
		E. 372/212, m. 43.
Plunket .. ..		E. 372/212, m. 43.
Plunket .. ..		E. 372/212, m. 43.
Plunket <sup>2</sup> .. ..		E. 372/212, m. 43.
		E. 364/7, m. C.
		E. 101/244/10.
Plunket .. ..		E. 101/244/10.
		E. 101/244/10.
		E. 101/244/10.
		E. 364/17, m. G.
		E. 364/17, m. G.
Plunket .. ..		E. 364/17, m. G.
		E. 364/17, m. G.
Plunket .. ..		E. 364/17, m. G.
		C. Chanc. R. Ire. 82, no. 69.
Plunket .. ..		E. 364/17, m. G.
		E. 101/245/7.
		C. Chanc. R. Ire. 86, no. 18.
Plunket .. ..		E. 364/17, m. G.
		E. 364/17, m. G.
		E. 101/245/7, 8.
Plunket <sup>6</sup> .. ..		C. Chanc. R. Ire. 99, no. 7 ;
		101, no. 48.

ipse circa negocia domini regis in placeis predictis magis apposuit quam alii in eodem officio apponere consueuerunt' (E. 101/244/10).

<sup>4</sup> On 4 May 1372 he was paid his fee from 10 January to 10 April (C. Chanc. R. Ire. 82, no. 61).

<sup>5</sup> The recorded payments to Tyrell are at Trinity term 1374 and Hilary term 1375 (E. 101/245/7) ; each is for a fee of £5. He received a writ of liberate on 12 November 1374 (C. Chanc. R. Ire. 88, no. 74).

<sup>6</sup> On 12 June 1377 an order was issued for payment to Roger Lenfant, who was the king's pleader in the session at Cork (C. Chanc. R. Ire. 103, no. 90).



Name	Appointment	References
Walter of Kinver ..		C.C.R. 10 <sup>1</sup> .
William of Barlby ..		C. Chanc. R. Ire. 31, no. 50 ; 38, no. 12 <sup>2</sup> . E. 101/240/5 <sup>3</sup> .
Robert of Hemingbrough ..	28 Aug. 1337 (C.P.R. 515)	C.C.R. 245 <sup>4</sup> . Account Roll of Holy Trinity, 17. E. 101/241/5.
William of Whithurst ..	25 July 1346 (C.P.R. 157)	C.P.R. 158, 167 <sup>5</sup> .
Robert of Leicester ..	1 Dec. 1350 (C.P.R. 16)	
Thomas of Cottingham ..	12 Aug. 1351 (C.P.R. 430)	C.P.R. 432 f <sup>6</sup> .
William Drayton ..	[27 Nov. 1357— 17 March 1359]	E. 101/244/2 <sup>7</sup> .

<sup>1</sup> On 25 July 1323 it is stated that he, as the late keeper of the rolls of chancery, delivered the records to the treasurer and chamberlains when Ireland was invaded by the Scots (i.e. 1315-18). They were now to be handed over to the chancellor.

<sup>2</sup> A writ of liberate was issued on 7 August 1334 in payment of his labours for 1½ years.

<sup>3</sup> The Justiciar and council of Ireland granted a hundred shillings to Barlby, 'custodi rotulorum cancellarie domini regis Hibernie necnon eciam aliorum memorandum eiusdem cancellarie', and to William Motoun, 'clerico scribenti extractas, commissiones et alia ad extractas predictas pertinencia', for their labours for 1½ years. For references to Barlby as a chancery clerk in 1334-37, see E. 101/240/10 ; E. 372/182, m. 48. Edmund of Grimsby was appointed on 1 November 1333 (C.P.R. 470) and the justiciar, chancellor and treasurer were ordered on the same day to certify how much the usual fee was and whether it was adequate (C.C.R. 158). On 7 January 1334 Grimsby was required to go in person to Ireland with all speed (C.C.R. 189). It is doubtful whether he went to Ireland, for certainly in September 1334 he was busily occupied in England (Wilkinson, Chancery under Edward III, p. 159).

<sup>4</sup> He had rendered good service in the English chancery under Edward II and Edward III and his position there was to be kept for him until he returned from Ireland. Among the Christchurch accounts to 29 April 1339 there is a payment 'domino Roberto, capitali et [sic] supervisore brevium cancellarie', for sealing writs. In the chamberlain's accounts for Michaelmas 1341-15 May 1343 he received a grant as 'late' keeper. Cf. Roll of King's Council in Ireland, 320 : a council memorandum, ascribed to c. 1345, which states that 'en votre chauncellerie Dirlande il ny ad forsque un clerc et un clerionnet, mes nul de eux sciet riens que appent al office du roule'.

<sup>5</sup> The keeper was apparently maintained on the establishment of the chancellor. Whithurst was an English chancery clerk.

<sup>6</sup> He was a clerk of chancery in England and his position there was retained for him. He was to receive an annual fee at the Dublin exchequer.

<sup>7</sup> Drayton is not specifically styled 'Keeper of the rolls', but he received payment for his services as successor to Cottingham in the chancery.

Name	Appointment	References
Henry of Leicester ..	[1364—1369] ..	C.C.R. 4 <sup>1</sup> . E. 101/244/10 ; 245/3 <sup>2</sup> .
Thomas Telwall ..	[1370—1373] ..	Ormond Deeds, iii. 362. <sup>3</sup> C. Chanc. R. Ire. 82, no. 37; 83, nos. 82, 97 ; 84, no. 126 <sup>4</sup> . E. 364/17, m. G <sup>5</sup> .
Robert Sutton ..	[1373—74] ..	E. 364/17, m. G. E. 101/245/7 <sup>6</sup> . C. Chanc. R. Ire. 85, no. 5.
Robert Sutton .. } Thomas of Everdon }	[1374—1377] ..	C. Chanc. R. Ire. 85, no. 13 <sup>7</sup> . E. 101/245/8 <sup>8</sup> .

<sup>1</sup> On 13 February 1364 the Lieutenant of Ireland was ordered to release Henry from prison so that he could serve the king in the chancery of Ireland.

<sup>2</sup> He was to receive 20 marks a year in equal portions at Easter and Michaelmas. He received payment for the Easter and Michaelmas terms of 1368 and the Easter term of 1369.

<sup>3</sup> He is called clerk of the rolls in 1370.

<sup>4</sup> He received a writ of liberate, dated 20 March 1372, for his fee for a quarter of a year.

<sup>5</sup> He was paid from 18 June 1372 to 2 February 1373.

<sup>6</sup> He was paid from 4 February 1373 to 4 February 1374 and from 4 February 1374 to 4 August 1374.

<sup>7</sup> On 20 March 1374 the fee was ordered to be divided between Robert Sutton, the chief clerk of chancery, and Thomas of Everdon, clerk of chancery.

<sup>8</sup> Sutton was paid as 'keeper of the rolls' a fee of £10. He received £14 in part payment for the period 4 February 1375—4 August 1376. Thomas of Everdon, described as 'one of the clerks' of the Irish Chancery, also received a fee of £10 a year and was given £5 10s. in part payment of the period 20 March 1375—20 December 1375. For his description at Easter 1375 as 'one of the clerks and keepers of the rolls of chancery', see E. 101/245/7. Both Sutton and Everdon were paid at Hilary 1376. They were acting on 1 April 1377 (C. Chanc. R. Ire. 100, no. 18). Everdon was re-appointed on 5 October 1377 (C.P.R. 27).



Period	Place	Name	References
Hil. 1289 ..	Clonmel ..	Adam of Clere ..	E. 372/139, m. 9 d.
7 Jan. 1290 ..	Limerick ..	John of Hatch <sup>1</sup> ..	37 D.K. Rep. 52.
6 July 1291		John of Hatch the younger <sup>2</sup>	C.P.R. 440.
22 June 1291— Dec. 1291	Dublin ..	William of Bollington ..	C.D.I. iii. 964 (p. 428).
7 Jan. 1301— Hil. 1303	Louth .. Cork .. Meath	Richard Bacon ..	C.D.I. v. 3, 56. E. 372/150, m. 40.
25 Dec. 1305— East. 1307	Tipperary ..	Richard Bacon ..	C.D.I. v. 587, 588, 621.
Martinmas 1310	Dublin ..	Henry of Thrapston <sup>3</sup> ..	C. Chanc. R. Ire. 16, no. 43.
9 March 1311		Michael of Farrington ..	C.P.R. 333. C. Ch. W. i. 347.
24 March 1322	Meath ..	Thomas of Pinxton ..	E. 101/238/12 <sup>4</sup> .

<sup>1</sup> John of Coventry was appointed clerk of the crown (E. 372/139, m. 9 d; 37 D.K. Rep. Ire. 52).

<sup>2</sup> Confirmation of a commission, under Irish letters patent, for eyres next to be taken in Ireland.

<sup>3</sup> On 1 October 1310 Thomas of Pinxton was appointed chirographer (C. Chanc. R. Ire. 16, no. 29).

<sup>4</sup> Payment was made up to 24 September 1322.

Period	Name	Appointment	References
Mich. 1279— Mich. 1283	John of Hatch ..		C.D.I. iii. 169 (p. 78).
Mich. 1283— Mich. 1291	Nicholas of Berkeley <sup>1</sup> ..		E. 101/231/1, 3. C.D.I. iii. 169 (p. 78), 648, 795. E. 372/139, m. 9 d.
Mich. 1291— Mich. 1294	Berkeley .. ..		C.D.I. iii. 1030 ; iv. 183. E. 101/231/29 ; 232/8. E. 372/139, m. 9 d.
1295 ..	Berkeley .. ..		C.J.R. i. 5-6, 73.
Easter 1296— Mich. 1297	John of Shifnal <sup>2</sup> .. John of Fressingfield		C.D.I. iv. 346.
Mich. 1296— Mich. 1297	Fressingfield		E. 101/232/25 C.D.I. iv. 456.
Mich. 1297— Mich. 1298	{ John of Fressingfield Henry of Compton <sup>3</sup>	20 Feb. 1298 (C.P.R. 331)	E. 101/233/2. C.D.I. iv. 333, 565.
Mich. 1298— Mich. 1300	Compton .. ..		E. 101/233/9, 12. E. 372/150, m. 40. C.D.I. iv. 682.
9 Nov. 1300— 11 May 1301	Roger le Breton ..		E. 101/233/17. C. 47/10/16.
18 June 1301— 16 June 1307	Henry of Thrapston <sup>4</sup> ..		E. 101/233/17, 20, 24 ; 234/7, 17. C.D.I. v. 432, 591, 593, 594, 669. E. 372/150, m. 40. C. Ch. W. i. 273.
Trin. 1307— 14 Jan. 1308	Nicholas of Windley ..		E. 101/235/9. E. 372/153, m. 35.

<sup>1</sup> On 28 January 1290 Berkeley, having well conducted himself in this office, was confirmed in it and not to be removed from it without special order from the king (C.P.R. 338).

<sup>2</sup> John de Ideshale, i.e. Shifnal. The date of transfer of office to Fressingfield is not recorded.

<sup>3</sup> The date of effective transfer of office to Compton is not recorded.

<sup>4</sup> Thrapston assumed office on 18 June 1301 on Breton's death. In 1300 he was reported to have serve the king well in the chancery of Ireland (C.D.I. iv. 720).



Period	Name	Appointment	References
15 Jan. 1308— 14 Nov. 1312	John le Breton ..	10 Nov. 1307 (C.P.R. 17)	E. 101/235/13, 20, 24 ; 236/3, 6. E. 372/171, m. 31.
15 Nov. 1312— 14 Feb. 1314	Nicholas of Staveley ..	18 Sept. 1312 (C.P.R. 495)	E. 101/236/7. E. 372/171, m. 31.
14 Feb. 1314— 6 May 1314	Walter Curtis ..	28 Nov. 1313 (C.P.R. 48)	E. 101/236/11.
6 May 1314— 6 Aug. 1314	Curtis .. Nicholas of Staveley <sup>1</sup>		E. 101/236/11.
5 Nov. 1314— 4 Nov. 1315	Staveley .. ..		E. 101/237/2.
10 Dec. 1316— 10 Dec. 1317	Robert of Wight ..	23 July 1316 (C.P.R. 519)	E. 101/237/5, 9.
24 Dec. 1317— 24 March 1322	Walter Curtis ..		E. 101/237/9, 12, 16, 19 ; 238/6.
2 April 1322— 2 Oct. 1322	John de la Bataille ..		E. 101/238/6.
2 Oct. 1322— 13 May 1327	Walter Curtis <sup>2</sup> ..	30 June 1322 (C.P.R. 142)	E. 101/238/6, 12, 17, 19, 26 ; 239/5.
13 May 1327— 12 July 1331	John de la Bataille ..	10 Nov. 1327 <sup>3</sup> (C.P.R. 188)	E. 101/239/5, 7, 24. E. 372/176, m. 46. Cal. Carew MSS. 442.
12 July 1331— 12 Jan. 1332	Peter of Wetwang <sup>4</sup> ..	25 Feb. 1331 (C.P.R. 76)	E. 101/239/24.

<sup>1</sup> Staveley had been re-appointed on 29 May 1314. The grant of the office to Curtis had been made only because it was alleged that Staveley was incapacitated by illness, but the earl of Ulster testified that this was untrue and that Staveley's behaviour in office had been good (C.P.R. 120). Curtis was appointed chirographer of the bench on 27 March 1315 (below, p. 188).

<sup>2</sup> His right to the office, lately granted to him by the king's Lieutenant and council of Ireland, was ratified on 30 June 1322 at the request of Aymer de Valence. He was appointed keeper of writs and rolls in the Justiciar's bench on 15 March 1327 (see below, p. 189).

<sup>3</sup> This was presumably a confirmation of the appointment made on 19 February 1327 (C. 81/137/148). His appointment was repeated on 16 January 1331 (C.P.R. 44).

<sup>4</sup> Nicholas fitz Richard of Gowran had been appointed on 28 October 1331 during good behaviour at the request of the Bardi (C.P.R. 192). He may well have acted some time in 1332 and been paid by them

Period	Name	Appointment	References
2 Nov. 1332— 21 Jan. 1334	Walter of Kinver ..		E. 101/239/29 ; 240/1.
21 Jan. 1334— 4 May 1335	Thomas of Speeton ..	26 Nov. 1333 (C.P.R. 484)	E. 101/240/5, 10.
5 May 1335— 5 Feb. 1337	Walter Kinver <sup>2</sup> ..	20 Sept. 1334 (C.P.R. 7)	E. 101/240/10, 13.
6 April 1337— 6 Oct. 1337	Thomas Fleming ..		E. 372/182, m. 48.
16 Oct. 1337— 2 May 1338	William of Gloucester	28 June 1337 (C.P.R. 462)	E. 372/184, m. 49.
2 May 1338— 5 June 1338	Nicholas fitz Richard of Gowran <sup>3</sup>	5 March 1338 (C.P.R. 22)	E. 372/184, m. 49.
15 June 1338— 9 Feb. 1339	William of Gloucester <sup>4</sup>	27 April 1338 (C.P.R. 58)	E. 101/240/17.
22 Mar. 1339— 21 Nov. 1339 <sup>5</sup>	Thomas Fleming ..		E. 101/240/17 ; 241/5. E. 372/188, m. 54.
20 Nov. 1340 <sup>5</sup> — 20 May 1357	Nicholas fitz Richard of Gowran <sup>6</sup>	11 Sept. 1339 (C.P.R. 313)	E. 101/241/5 ; 242/10 ; 243/3, 6, 8 ; 244/1. E. 372/191, m. 42 d ; 197, m. 46.
	Adam Blackburn ..	28 June 1360 (C.P.R. 433)	
30 July 1372— 30 April 1376	Walter Euere <sup>7</sup> ..		E. 364/17, m. G. E. 101/245/8.

<sup>1</sup> He had been keeper of the chancery rolls under Edward II (above, p. 182) and was in 1332 chirographer of the bench also (below, p. 188). John of Ashley was appointed on 2 October 1333 to succeed him (C.P.R. 470), but on 26 November 1333 the office was granted to Thomas of Speeton, who was ordered on 7 January 1334 to go to Ireland in person with all speed (C.C.R. 188).

<sup>2</sup> He was appointed for ten years and regranted the office of chirographer.

<sup>3</sup> He was appointed for seven years. On 4 October 1337 he had been granted the office of chirographer (below, p. 188).

<sup>4</sup> He was to hold this office and that of chirographer for ten years as Walter of Kinver had held them. The grant was revoked on 29 January 1339 and again on 9 September 1339 on account of the previous grant to Nicholas fitz Richard (C.P.R. 197, 315), and it was surrendered on 11 September 1339 (C.P.R. 58).

<sup>5</sup> MSS. *sic*.

<sup>6</sup> He had been appointed second remembrancer of the exchequer in 1331 (C.P.R. 526). He was to hold this office and that of chirographer for five years as William of Gloucester had held them. On 13 October 1339, since he was overseas on the king's service, he appointed John of Puriton as his deputy (C.P.R. 318). Puriton was paid as 'second engrosser' in the exchequer in 1339 (E. 101/240/17).

<sup>7</sup> He was also chirographer (E. 101/245/8).



Period	Name	Appointment	References
	Thomas of London ..	6 Jan. 1280 ..	C.P.R. 360
	John of Hatch ..	30 April 1283 <sup>1</sup>	C.P.R. 63.
	Walter Curtis ..	27 March 1315	C.P.R. 269.
	John de la Bataille ..	10 Nov. 1327 <sup>2</sup>	C.P.R. 188.
	John of Stafford ..	24 Aug. 1330 <sup>3</sup>	C.P.R. 550.
	John de la Bataille ..	16 Jan. 1331	C.P.R. 44, 76.
	Peter of Wetwang ..	25 Feb. 1331	C.P.R. 76.
	Walter of Kinver ..	20 Sept. 1332	C.P.R. 339.
	Robert of Helpston ..	2 Oct. 1333 ..	C.P.R. 470
	Walter of Kinver ..	20 Sept. 1334	C.P.R. 7.
	Nicholas fitz Richard of Gowran	4 Oct. 1337 <sup>4</sup> ..	C.F.R. 45.
	Walter Euere ..		E. 101/245/8 <sup>5</sup> .

<sup>1</sup> Described as 'late chirographer', he was now re-appointed. Cf. 37 D.K. Rep. Ire. 52.

<sup>2</sup> John de la Bataille was also keeper of writs and rolls. A chancery warrant, dated 28 January 1327, was issued for the appointment of Richard of Hauxley as chirographer (P.R.O. London, Chancery Warrants 136/1) but it seems to have been ineffective.

<sup>3</sup> He was appointed at the request of the earl of March on John de la Bataille's removal from office.

<sup>4</sup> The office of chirographer had already tended to become combined with that of keeper of the writs and rolls, though on 31 March 1340 Nicholas fitz Richard had had his tenure as chirographer extended to the period of his life (C.P.R. 478). From 1340 until at least 1357 he was also keeper of writs and rolls.

<sup>5</sup> The period covered is 30 July 1375—30 April 1376.

Period	Name	Appointment	References
1305 ..	John of Patrickchurch <sup>1</sup>		C.J.R. ii. 95.
	Henry of Thrapston <sup>2</sup> ..	31 July 1323 (C.P.R. 335)	C.C.R. 14.
	Walter Curtis <sup>3</sup> ..	15 March 1327 (C.P.R. 42)	
	Thomas of Pinxton ..	6 Oct. 1327 (C.P.R. 177)	
	William of Bosworth <sup>4</sup>	21 Aug. 1328 (C.P.R. 316)	
25 Nov. 1330— 25 Aug. 1334	William of Bosworth <sup>5</sup>		E. 101/239/24, 29 ; 240/1, 5.
25 Feb. 1335— 15 Oct. 1337	Bosworth .. ..		E. 101/240/10, 13. E. 372/182, m. 48.
25 Nov. 1337— 25 Feb. 1343	Bosworth .. ..		E. 372/184, m. 49. E. 101/240/17 ; 241/5.
25 May 1344— 25 Nov. 1354	Bosworth .. ..		E. 372/191, m. 42 d ; 197, m. 46. E. 101/241/15 ; 242/3, 10, 14 ; 243/3, 6.
2 Jan. 1355— 2 Jan. 1359	John of Hedgerley ..	20 July 1354 (C.P.R. 89)	E. 101/243/8 ; 244/1, 2.
2 Jan. 1360— 2 Jan. 1361	Hedgerley <sup>6</sup> .. ..		E. 101/244/6.

<sup>1</sup> John of Patrickchurch appears as a clerk in the justiciar's court throughout the period covered by the printed Calendars of Justiciary Rolls, i.e. 1295–1314.

<sup>2</sup> The king and council in England had decided that the appointment should be made in England. Thrapston was to receive the customary fee and could exercise his office by deputies, for whose actions he would be responsible.

<sup>3</sup> He had previously been keeper of writs and rolls in the common bench (above, p. 186).

<sup>4</sup> His appointment was confirmed on 20 August 1329 during good behaviour (C.P.R. 419) and on 16 August 1330 for life (C.P.R. 546).

<sup>5</sup> His appointment was revoked on 13 June 1332 (C.P.R. 314). Robert de Nicole was appointed on 2 October 1333 on condition that he exercised the office in person (C.P.R. 470), and on 7 January 1334 he was ordered to go to Ireland in person with all speed (C.C.R. 188). But on 16 July 1334 Bosworth had a fresh grant of the office for life (C.P.R. 564).

<sup>6</sup> In 1360–61 James of Pinxton, senior, received 50s. expenses 'que idem Iacobus in placea Iusticiarii Hibernie eidem domino regi impendit in scribendo indictamenta coram eodem Iusticiario in diuersis comitatibus terre Hibernie (E.101/244/6).



Period	Name	Appointment	References
23 Jan. 1362— 23 Jan. 1366	James of Pinxton <sup>1</sup> ..		E. 372/212, m. 43. E. 364/7, m. C. E. 101/244/10.
23 Jan. 1370— 23 July 1370	Pinxton .. ..		E. 101/245/3.
23 Jan. 1371— 23 Jan. 1374	Pinxton .. ..		E. 364/17, m. G.
Trinity 1374	Pinxton .. ..		E. 101/245/7. C. Chanc. R. Ire. 86, no. 26.
23 Jan. 1375— 23 July 1376	Pinxton .. ..		E. 101/245/8.

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Marnham was appointed on 13 February 1364 (C.P.R. 468), but without effect.

Period	Name	References
from Trin. 1337 ..	Richard le Marshall ..	47 D.K. Rep. Ire. 21.
from Jan. 1342 ..	Simon of Leiston ..	53 D.K. Rep. Ire. 27.
	Robert Baynard ..	
before 6 June 1377 ..	John of Pinxton ..	C. Chanc. R. Ire. 101, no. 62 <sup>1</sup> .

<sup>1</sup> Pinxton was said to have been appointed on Baynard's death by the chancellor, treasurer, barons and other ministers of the exchequer.

IRISH TREASURERS' ACCOUNTS





The circumstances in which the Issue and Receipt Rolls of the Irish Exchequer came to be deposited in England, to find a permanent home in the Public Record Office, have been explained above.<sup>1</sup> They were necessary for the audit of the treasurer's account, which, in its final form, was enrolled in the English Exchequer. To begin with, this enrolment was in duplicate, on both the Pipe Roll and the Chancellor's Roll; but from 1250 there was normally only one enrolment, at first on the Pipe Roll and then, from 1268 onwards, on the newly devised roll of Foreign Accounts. The process of audit took place at varying intervals, and many years might elapse between the termination of a treasurer's period of office and the enrolment of his account. Thus, to cite two extreme cases: Alexander of Elnor ceased to hold office in 1272, but his account appears on the Pipe Roll of 19 Edward I, i.e. that made up in the Michaelmas term 1282; similarly, Thomas Scring ceased to hold office in 1275, but his account is enrolled on the Pipe Roll of 12 Edward II, i.e. that made up in the Michaelmas term 1292. By the twelfth century, the enrolment containing the audited account was usually engrossed in duplicate and apparently by for some time detached, it might well happen that the same account was included in the Pipe Roll for one year and the Chancellor's Roll for another.<sup>2</sup> Such discrepancies are accidental and have no significance.

## IRISH TREASURERS' ACCOUNTS

Ideally there should have been preserved for every treasurer a complete series of Issue and Receipt Rolls subsidiary to one or more enrolled accounts. Inevitably there have been many losses over the centuries, but since the treasurer's rolls and the counter-rolls of one of the chamberlains were both sent to Westminster for the purpose of audit, gaps in the treasurer's series are largely made good by surviving counter-rolls.<sup>3</sup> In our instance the gap is made good by a counter-roll retained in Dublin, which survived until 1872 and was fortunately printed by the Irish Record Commission.<sup>4</sup> In cases where treasurer's rolls and counter-rolls have alike disappeared, the substance of both will be found in the enrolled account. This account summarizes the information in the original rolls, sometimes with extreme brevity; but it usually records the periods for which the servants of the Crown were paid and therefore for our present purpose is *prima facie* of equivalent value. For

<sup>1</sup> *ibidem*, pp. 20-6.

<sup>2</sup> The Roll of Richard I's account is enrolled on the Pipe Roll of 21 Edward I and a Roll of 22 Edward I on the Chancellor's Roll of 22 and 23 Edward I (roll of Foreign Accounts, 125).

<sup>3</sup> There may be differences between the treasurer's roll and the counter-roll: a striking instance is provided by the chamberlain's roll retained in Dublin (see *ibidem* p. 122, n. 12). The entries in the roll many times not included in the treasurer's roll reproduced in C.R.I. p. 22.

<sup>4</sup> C.R.I., *Sup.*, 1872-1873, 124-125; see list of these rolls, *ibidem*, pp. 277-280.





The circumstances in which the Issue and Receipt Rolls of the Irish Exchequer came to be transmitted to England, to find a permanent home in the Public Record Office, have been explained above.<sup>1</sup> They were necessary for the audit of the treasurer's account, which, in its final form, was enrolled in the English Exchequer. To begin with, this enrolment was in duplicate, on both the Pipe Roll and the Chancellor's Roll ; but from 1339 there was normally only one enrolment, at first on the Pipe Roll and then, from 1368 onwards, on the newly-devised roll of Foreign Accounts. The process of audit took place at varying intervals, and many years might elapse between the termination of a treasurer's period of office and the enrolment of his account. Thus, to cite two extreme cases : Alexander of Bicknor ceased to hold office in 1313, but his account appears on the Pipe Roll of 19 Edward II, i.e. that made up in the Michaelmas term 1325 ; similarly, Thomas Scurlag ceased to hold office in 1375, but his account was filed on the roll of Foreign Accounts for 13 Richard II. Since, until 1339 and at least occasionally thereafter, the membrane containing the audited account was specially engrossed in duplicate and apparently lay for some time detached, it might well happen that the same account was included in the Pipe Roll for one year and the Chancellor's Roll for another.<sup>2</sup> Such discrepancies are accidental and have no significance.

Ideally there should have been preserved for every treasurer a complete series of Issue and Receipt Rolls, subsidiary to one or more enrolled accounts. Inevitably there have been many losses over the centuries, but since the treasurer's rolls and the counter-rolls of one of the chamberlains were both sent to Westminster for the purpose of audit, gaps in the treasurer's series are largely made good by surviving counter-rolls.<sup>3</sup> In one instance the gap is made good by a counter-roll retained at Dublin, which survived until 1922 and was fortunately printed by the Irish Record Commission.<sup>4</sup> In cases where treasurer's rolls and counter-rolls have alike disappeared, the substance of both will be found in the enrolled account. This account summarises the information in the original rolls, sometimes with extreme brevity ; but it usually records the periods for which the servants of the Crown were paid and therefore for our present purpose is *prima facie* of equivalent value. For

<sup>1</sup> Above, pp. 57-8.

<sup>2</sup> Thus Richard of Barford's accounts are enrolled on the Pipe Rolls of 33 Edward I and 1 Edward II and on the Chancellor's Rolls of 32 and 35 Edward I (*List of Foreign Accounts*, 51).

<sup>3</sup> There may be differences between the treasurer's roll and the counter-roll. A striking instance is provided by the chamberlain's roll retained in Dublin and printed in *I.R.C. Rep.* 1810-1815, 166-174. This contains at the end many items not included in the treasurer's roll calendared in *C.D.I.* v. 71.

<sup>4</sup> *I.R.C. Rep.* 1810-1815, 124-131 : see List of Issue Rolls, below, pp. 217-20.



reasons which are not at present clear, there are some gaps in the enrolled accounts, and for a few years, in the absence of the original rolls, we lack details of salaries paid. The omission of audited accounts from many of the Chancellor's Rolls of Edward III's reign<sup>1</sup> suggests that there was some administrative change about the year 1340. Other gaps, however, may be due to inadvertence: the account may well have been engrossed but may not have been filed by the clerk responsible.

Although the enrolled account is an audited account and may sometimes be of superior authority, notably when particulars in the issue roll were fraudulent, the enrolment not infrequently contains errors and inconsistencies, and the entries must be critically examined before reliance is placed upon them. A single instance may suffice to bring home the lesson. The audited account of the treasurer, Thomas de Burgh, for 1331 to 1334<sup>2</sup> states quite plainly that Robert Power and Thomas Bagod received their fees as barons of the exchequer from Michaelmas 1331 to Easter 1334; but the Issue Roll for the Michaelmas term 1331 and the Hilary term 1332<sup>3</sup> records the payments differently. Thomas de Montpelier, it says, was paid as baron of the exchequer (although he was also paid as chancellor of the exchequer) for the Michaelmas term 1331; Thomas Bagod was paid for the Michaelmas and Hilary terms; and Robert Power was paid for the Hilary term. For the purpose of audit it could have mattered little who was paid, so long as there was not double payment for the same office during the same period. We have no doubt that the evidence of the Issue Roll should be preferred. This has been our general rule, and we have relied upon the Issue Rolls whenever these were available and have used the enrolled accounts only to supply gaps where the Issue Rolls failed. We should perhaps add that the great majority of entries on both series of rolls accord, apart from the errors which are embarrassingly frequent in the enrolled accounts. But we should make it clear that the enrolled accounts cannot be safely neglected, for they contain additional information, not relevant to our present purpose, which is essential for understanding the details of Irish finance.

A number of points may be noted for the guidance of students who desire to use the rolls. The relation of the enrolled account to the Issue and Receipt Rolls cannot be fully appreciated without reference to the Memoranda Rolls, which record the process of audit.<sup>4</sup> The enrolled account may, in some cases, not be a final account. Thus, the accounts of Alexander of Bicknor

<sup>1</sup> Between 13 Edward III and 25 Edward III there appear to be no such accounts on the Chancellor's Roll. There is an enrolment in 25 and 26 Edward III, but none thereafter (*List of Foreign Accounts*, p. 51). Much the same pattern is presented by the enrolment of other accounts.

<sup>2</sup> E. 372/179, m. 46.

<sup>3</sup> E. 101/239/24.

<sup>4</sup> This will be clear from docts. 12, 16, 18-23. References in the enrolled accounts may assist in tracing the relevant entries on the Memoranda Rolls.



and Walter of Islip show large deficits,<sup>1</sup> and we must have recourse to subsidiary rolls for a continuation of proceedings.<sup>2</sup> Again, the treasurer's account may not include expenditure on military operations. For this reason Walter Dalby rendered two accounts, one as treasurer and one as clerk of wages, which are separately enrolled though on the same membrane of the roll of Foreign Accounts.<sup>3</sup> In other cases an account of military expenditure was rendered by the chief governor.<sup>4</sup> For our present purpose the Issue Rolls and the corresponding entries in the enrolled accounts alone concern us ; but it is well to emphasise that the structure and personnel of the administration do not exhaust the information or interest provided by the treasurers' accounts. We need hardly say that the Receipt Rolls (or the summaries in the enrolled accounts) are essential to the understanding of the financial history of mediaeval Ireland, though they do not tell the whole story. The payments recorded on the Issue Rolls are likewise essential for understanding the relations of the Irish chiefs with the Dublin government. Even ecclesiastical history is illuminated by the payments made to the mendicant orders. But it would be idle to attempt to summarise all the subjects upon which the financial records of more than a century throw some measure of light.

Of the records for the years beyond that century, which ends in 1377, we can say but a few words, for their investigation must be left to others. As we have explained, soon after that year there were great changes in the nature of such audits as were thought necessary.<sup>5</sup> There are but twenty-five enrolled accounts for the rest of the Middle Ages after 1377 and, of these no more than eighteen contain treasurers' accounts.<sup>6</sup> Surviving Issue and Receipt Rolls are still fewer.<sup>7</sup> The loss of the rolls which once existed in Dublin for this period appears to have been almost complete by the end of the eighteenth century,<sup>8</sup> and the few survivors were destroyed in 1922. So far as finance was provided from England, there are other sources of information ;<sup>9</sup> but in contrast to the period with which we are concerned, Irish financial history from 1377 to the Tudor re-conquest must remain fragmentary.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> E. 372/171, mm. 31, 33.

<sup>2</sup> E. 101/259/11-13 ; see above, pp. 47-8.

<sup>3</sup> E. 366/7, m. C.

<sup>4</sup> *List of Foreign Accounts*, p. 52 ; see above, p. 61.

<sup>5</sup> Above, p. 6.

<sup>6</sup> *List of Foreign Accounts*, 51-52.

<sup>7</sup> *List of Various Accounts*, 159-60.

<sup>8</sup> *Guide to Public Record Office of Ireland*, p. 140.

<sup>9</sup> For some indication of the sources for this period see the footnotes to *Irish Parliament in Middle Ages*, pp. 151-9, 227-38.

<sup>10</sup> The sources for the period 1461-1588 have been surveyed and in part printed by D. B. Quinn in *Analecta Hibernica*, x. 3-69.



We print three lists : of Issue Rolls, of Receipt Rolls and of Enrolled Accounts (confining our references to the more complete series of accounts on the Pipe Rolls and the rolls of Foreign Accounts).<sup>1</sup> These lists are almost self-explanatory ; but we should perhaps make clear that, when in the final column of the two first lists there is a reference to the Enrolled Accounts, the reader should turn to the third list for the account covering the period indicated, though not necessarily limited to that period. We may add that the lists do not include ancillary and subsidiary documents. Where necessary we have already referred to some of them : some others are mentioned in the footnotes to the lists. For the most part they can be identified with little trouble in the printed *List of Various Accounts*.

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<sup>1</sup> References to the accounts enrolled on the Chancellor's Rolls will be found in the *List of Foreign Accounts*, p. 51. They should be identical with those on the Pipe Rolls, as appears from the procedure laid down in 1323 (*R.B.E.* 860). Sweetman made use of the Chancellor's Roll for 27 Edward I (*C.D.I.* iv. 183, 273, 346, 436, 565, 682), but apparently he did not refer to any other enrolled account.

ISSUE ROLLS<sup>1</sup>

Period	Treasurer	Chamberlain	References
1274 Mich.— 1278 Trin.	Stephen of Fulbourn, bishop of Waterford		E. 101/230/4 <sup>2</sup> (C.D.I. ii. 1038, 1294, 1389, 1496).
1278 Mich.— 1279 Trin.	Stephen of Fulbourn ..		E. 101/230/8 (C.D.I. ii. 1497, 1525, 1535, 1570).
1279 Mich.— 1280 Trin.	Stephen of Fulbourn ..		E. 101/230/14 (C.D.I. ii. 1587, 1634, 1650, 1688).
1280 Mich.— 1281 Trin.	[Stephen of Fulbourn]		E. 101/230/15 (C.D.I. ii. 1739, 1781, 1815, 1835).
1281 Mich.— 1282 Trin.	[Stephen of Fulbourn]		E. 101/230/19 (C.D.I. ii. 1860, 1892, 1907, 1935).
1282 Mich.— 1283 Mich.			E. 101/230/25 <sup>3</sup> (Cf. C.D.I. ii. 2034, 2075, 2098). <sup>4</sup>
		Thomas of Shrewsbury	E. 101/230/24. <sup>5</sup>
1283 Mich.— 1284 Trin.			E. 101/231/3 (Cf. C.D.I. ii. 2127, 2169, 2189, 2241).
1284 Mich.— 1285 East.			E. 101/231/1 (Cf. C.D.I. ii. 2310). <sup>6</sup>
1285 5 Aug.— 1291 28 July			See Enrolled Accounts.

<sup>1</sup> This list does not include the account of Hugh of Taghmon, which is described above, pp. 51, 53-4. It is not a member of the series, which begins with the account of Stephen of Fulbourn.

<sup>2</sup> This transcript of the Treasurer's accounts includes receipts as well as issues.

<sup>3</sup> This roll covers all four terms. It is headed 'prevalet. duplicatur'.

<sup>4</sup> The editor used E. 101/230/13: two rolls, the first of which ends with Trinity 1282 while the second begins with Hilary 1283. He consequently ignored Michaelmas 1282.

<sup>5</sup> This roll covers Michaelmas term only.

<sup>6</sup> The editor gives details for Michaelmas 1284 only, ignoring the entries for Hilary on E. 101/230/13.



Period	Treasurer	Chamberlain	References
1291 Mich.— 1292 East.	Ellis of Winchester, deputy treasurer		E. 101/231/29. <sup>1</sup>
1292 Trin.	Treasurer .. ..		E. 101/232/42 (C.D.I. iii. 1116).
1292 Trin.— 1293 Mich.			See Enrolled Accounts.
1293 Mich.— 1294 East.			E. 101/232/8 <sup>2</sup> (C.D.I. iv. 98).
1294 Mich.— 1295 East.			See Enrolled Accounts.
1295 Mich.— 1296 Trin.		Chamberlain ..	I.R.C. Rep. (1810-15), 124-131. <sup>3</sup>
1296 Mich.— 1297 Trin.	William of East Dean		E. 101/232/25 <sup>4</sup> (C.D.I. iv. 328, 360, 392, 413).
1297 Mich.— 1298 Trin.			E. 101/233/2 (C.D.I. iv. 438, 474, 508, 526).
1298 Mich.— 1299 Trin.	William of East Dean		E. 101/233/9 <sup>5</sup> (C.D.I. iv. 548, 589, 614, 634).
1299 Mich.— 1300 Trin.	Robert, bishop of Clonfert, deputy treasurer		E. 101/233/12 <sup>6</sup> (C.D.I. iv. 660, 706, 736, 749).
1300 Mich.— 1301 Trin.			See Enrolled Accounts.

<sup>1</sup> Two entries, concerning payments of wages to Welshmen and for parchment, relate to Trinity 1291.

<sup>2</sup> About half of the roll has rotted away through damp.

<sup>3</sup> The corresponding enrolled account is calendared in C.D.I. iv. 346.

<sup>4</sup> This roll is accompanied by a large file of writs of 'liberate', warranting payments.

<sup>5</sup> E. 101/233/8 is a file of subsidiary documents.

<sup>6</sup> The accounts end on 7 July 1300.

Period	Treasurer	Chamberlain	References
1301 Mich.— 1302 Trin.	Richard of Barford ..		E. 101/233/17 <sup>1</sup> (C.D.I. iv. 826; v. 3, 56, 71).
1302 Mich.— 1303 Trin.			See Enrolled Accounts.
1303 Mich.— 1304 Trin.	Richard of Barford ..		E. 101/233/20 (C.D.I. v. 128, 281, 303, 306).
1304 Mich.			See Enrolled Accounts.
1305 East. & Trin.	Thomas of Chedworth, deputy treasurer		E. 101/233/24.
		Henry of Walton ..	E. 101/233/25.
1305 Mich.— 1305 Trin.	Richard of Barford ..		E. 101/234/7.
		Richard of Oving ..	E. 101/234/8.
1305 Mich.— 1306 Trin.			See Enrolled Accounts.
1306 Mich.— 1307 Trin.	Richard of Barford ..		E. 101/234/17.
1307 Mich.— 1308 Hil.	Richard of Barford ..		E. 101/235/9 <sup>2</sup> .
		Richard of Oving ..	E. 101/235/10.
1308 Hil.— Trinity		Richard of Oving ..	E. 101/235/13 <sup>3</sup> .
1308 Mich.— 1309 Trin.		Robert of Whatton ..	E. 101/235/20.
1309 Mich.— 1310 Trin.		Robert of Whatton ..	E. 101/235/24.

<sup>1</sup> The corresponding chamberlain's roll, with many additional items, is printed in I.R.C. Rep. (1810-15), 166-174.

<sup>2</sup> The accounts end on 24 January 1308.

<sup>3</sup> The accounts begin on 24 January 1308. The roll is endorsed : ' probatur et examinatur '. No attempt has been made to indicate all such endorsements.



Period	Treasurer	Chamberlain	References
1310 Mich.— 1311 Trin.			See Enrolled Accounts.
1311 Mich.— 1312 Trin.		Robert of Whatton ..	E. 101/236/3.
1312 Mich.— 1313 Trin.		Robert of Whatton ..	E. 101/236/6.
1313 Mich.— 1314 Hil.		William de la March	E. 101/236/7.
1314 East. & Trin.	Walter of Islip ..		E. 101/236/11.
		Robert of Cotgrave ..	E. 101/236/13.
1314 Mich.— 1315 Trin.	Walter of Islip ..		E. 101/237/2.
1315 Mich.— 1316 Trin.	Walter of Islip ..		E. 101/237/4.
1316 Mich.— 1317 Trin.	Walter of Islip ..		E. 101/237/5.
		Robert of Cotgrave ..	E. 101/237/6.
1317 Mich.— 1318 Trin.	Walter of Islip ..		E. 101/237/8.
1318 Mich.— 1319 Trin.	Walter of Islip ..		E. 101/237/9.
		Robert of Cotgrave ..	E. 101/237/10.
1319 Mich.— 1320 Trin.	Walter of Islip ..		E. 101/237/12.
1320 Mich.— 1321 1 Aug.	Walter of Islip ..		E. 101/237/14.
		Robert of Cotgrave ..	E. 101/237/15.

Period	Treasurer	Chamberlain	References
1321 1 Aug.— 9 Sept.	Richard of Woodhouse, deputy treasurer		E. 101/237/16 <sup>1</sup> .
		Robert of Cotgrave ..	E. 101/237/17 <sup>2</sup> .
1321 9 Sept.— 1322 29 April	John Cogan .. ..		E. 101/237/19.
		Counter-roll <sup>3</sup> ..	E. 101/237/20.
		Counter-roll .. ..	E. 101/540/11.
1322 29 Apr.— Trin.	Walter of Islip ..		E. 101/238/1.
		Robert of Cotgrave ..	E. 101/238/2.
1322 Mich.— 1323 Trin.	Walter of Islip ..		E. 101/238/6.
		Robert of Cotgrave ..	E. 101/238/8.
1323 Mich.— 1324 Trin.	Walter of Islip ..		E. 101/238/12.
		Robert of Cotgrave ..	E. 101/238/13.
1324 Mich.— 1325 Trin.	Walter of Islip ..		E. 101/238/17.
		Robert of Cotgrave ..	E. 101/238/18 <sup>4</sup> .
1325 Mich.— 1326 20 Jan.	Roger Outlaw, deputy treasurer ..		E. 101/238/19.
		John of Balscott ..	E. 101/238/20.
1326 20 Jan.— 4 Oct.		John of Balscott ..	E. 101/238/26 <sup>5</sup> .

<sup>1</sup> These rolls include both issues and receipts.

<sup>2</sup> *Ut supra.*

<sup>3</sup> This roll is styled 'Contrarotulus Iohannis de Cogan, thesaurarii Hibernie'.

<sup>4</sup> At the end of this roll is stitched a schedule, giving the prices of the horses of 'valetti' and bearing a note: 'Memorandum quod dominus rex rediit apud Carliolum primo die Septembris de guerra sua Scocie et sequenti die omnes homines ad arma suprascripti vacant'.

<sup>5</sup> This roll is badly mutilated and the heading is defaced.



Period	Treasurer	Chamberlain	References
1326 Mich.— 1327 Trin.	John Cogan .. ..		E. 101/239/5 <sup>1</sup> .
		Robert of Wight ..	E. 101/239/4.
1327 Mich.	John Cogan .. ..		E. 101/239/7.
		Robert of Wight ..	E. 101/239/8.
1328 East.— 1330 Mich.			See Enrolled Accounts <sup>2</sup>
1331 East.		John of Balscott ..	E. 101/239/19 <sup>3</sup> .
1331 Trin.		John of Balscott ..	E. 101/239/22 <sup>4</sup> .
1331 Mich.— 1332 Trin.	Thomas of Burgh ..		E. 101/239/24.
		John of Balscott .. Walter of Combe (Trin.)	E. 101/239/25.
1332 Mich.— 1333 Trin.	Thomas of Burgh ..		E. 101/239/30.
		Walter of Combe ..	E. 101/239/29.
1333 Mich.— 1334 Hil.		Walter of Combe ..	E. 101/240/1.
1334 East. & Trin.	Robert Power, deputy treasurer ..		E. 101/240/5.
1334 Mich.			See Enrolled Accounts.
1335 East.		Robert of Salkeld ..	E. 101/240/8.
1335 Trin.— 1336 Hil.	John of Ellerker ..		E. 101/240/10.
		Walter of Combe ..	E. 101/240/11.

<sup>1</sup> In Edward III's reign payments seem to run as from 12 May 1327.

<sup>2</sup> There is a seventeenth-century transcript, providing only totals, in B.M. Titus B. XI., Part II, fo. 42-43. Cf. Enrolled Accounts.

<sup>3</sup> The barons of the exchequer at Dublin sent this roll to England on 2 May 1334 by the hands of Walter of Combe, one of the chamberlains, in answer to a writ from the English exchequer, dated 23 November 1333.

<sup>4</sup> *Ut supra*.

Period	Treasurer	Chamberlain	References
1336 East.— 1337 Hil.	John of Ellerker ..		E. 101/240/13.
1337 East.— 1339 Trin.			See Enrolled Accounts.
1339 10 Aug.— 1341 Trin.	Hugh de Burgh ..		E. 101/240/18.
		Robert of Salkeld ..	E. 101/240/17 <sup>1</sup> .
1341 Mich.— 1343 15 May	Hugh de Burgh ..		E. 101/241/6.
		William of Puriton ..	E. 101/241/5.
1343 Trin.— 1348 Hil.			See Enrolled Accounts.
1348 East.— 1349 30 Sept.	John of Burnham ..		E. 101/241/15 <sup>2</sup> .
		Walter of Combe ..	E. 101/241/16 <sup>3</sup> .
1349 Mich.			See Enrolled Accounts.
1350 20 Jan.— 15 Sept.	Nicholas Allen, bishop of Meath ..		E. 101/242/2.
		William fitz Thomas Lawless	E. 101/242/3 <sup>4</sup> .
1350 15 Sept.— 1352 Hil.	William of Bromley ..		E. 101/242/10 <sup>5</sup> .
		William fitz Thomas Lawless	E. 101/242/11.

<sup>1</sup> The barons of the exchequer at Dublin sent this roll to England in a leather bag, sealed with the exchequer seal, by the hands of Robert of Salkeld, one of the chamberlains: he delivered it to the English exchequer on 15 February 1342.

<sup>2</sup> This roll is incomplete and, for the whole period, the chamberlain's roll must be consulted.

<sup>3</sup> William fitz Thomas Lawless, a chamberlain, delivered this counter-roll under seal to the English exchequer on 9 June 1354.

<sup>4</sup> Lawless delivered this roll on 20 May 1353 as one of the then chamberlains.

<sup>5</sup> Lawless delivered this roll to the English exchequer on 30 April 1352. A pencilled note at the top states that 'the membranes composing this roll were found at various times and different places. Query if the roll is complete and whether the membranes are united in the original order'. The roll had eight membranes in 1352 and it has eight membranes now.



Period	Treasurer	Chamberlain	References
1352 East.— 1353 Hil.	William of Bromley ..		E. 101/242/14.
		William fitz Thomas Lawless	E. 101/242/15 <sup>1</sup> .
1353 East.— 1354 Hil.		William fitz Thomas Lawless	E. 101/243/3 <sup>2</sup> .
1354 13 April— 1355 20 April	William of Bromley ..		E. 101/243/6 <sup>3</sup> .
		William of Barton ..	E. 101/243/7 <sup>4</sup> .
1355 20 Apr.— 1356 3 Nov.	Nicholas Allen ..		E. 101/243/9. <sup>5</sup>
		William fitz Thomas Lawless	E. 101/243/8 <sup>6</sup> .
1356 3 Nov.— 1357 3 Nov.			Apparently no En- rolled Accounts.
1357 3 Nov.— 1358 10 Mar.		William fitz Thomas Lawless	E. 101/244/1.
1358 10 Mar.— 1359 21 April			See Enrolled Accounts.
1359 East.— 1360 11 Feb.	Nicholas Allen ..		E. 101/244/2. <sup>7</sup>
1360 11 Feb.— 1360 8 June			Apparently no En- rolled Accounts.
1360 8 June— 1361 1 April	Thomas of Badby ..		E. 101/244/6. <sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Lawless delivered this roll to the English exchequer on 20 May 1353.

<sup>2</sup> Lawless delivered this roll to the English exchequer on 9 June 1354.

<sup>3</sup> William of Watford as attorney for William of Bromley, the late treasurer, delivered this roll to the English exchequer on 13 May 1360.

<sup>4</sup> The barons of the exchequer at Dublin sent this roll to England on 20 April 1357.

<sup>5</sup> Robert Reve, clerk, as attorney for Nicholas Allen, the treasurer, delivered this roll to the English exchequer on 6 June 1357.

<sup>6</sup> The treasurer and barons of the exchequer at Dublin sent this roll to England on 6 June 1357.

<sup>7</sup> Francis Wyot as attorney of Nicholas Allen, the late treasurer, delivered this roll to the English exchequer on 24 April 1363.

<sup>8</sup> Badby, the treasurer, personally delivered this roll on 4 May 1363.

Period	Treasurer	Chamberlain	References
		William fitz Thomas Lawless	E. 101/244/7. <sup>1</sup>
1361 1 Apr.— 1362 14 Jan.			Apparently no En- rolled Accounts.
1362 14 Jan.— 1365 1 Feb.			See Enrolled Accounts.
1365 1 Feb.— 1366 25 Sept.	John Troye .. ..		E. 101/244/10. <sup>2</sup> E. 101/244/11. <sup>3</sup>
1366 Mich.— 1368 18 July			Apparently no En- rolled Accounts.
1368 18 July— 1375 30 Sept.			See Enrolled Accounts.
1375 1 Oct.— 1376 30 Sept.		Richard Walsh ..	E. 101/245/8.
1376 30 Sept.— 1384 29 Sept.			See Enrolled Accounts.

<sup>1</sup> Lawless delivered this roll on 24 April 1363.

<sup>2</sup> John of Clifton as attorney for John de Troyes, the treasurer, delivered this roll on 2 June 1367.

<sup>3</sup> This is an incomplete duplicate, written on parchment about two-thirds the usual width and providing no indication of any chamberlain with whom it was associated.



## RECEIPT ROLLS

Period	Treasurer	Chamberlain	References
1280 Mich.— 1281 Trin.	Stephen of Fulbourn, bishop of Waterford		E. 101/230/16 (C.D.I. ii. 1740, 1780, 1815, 1835).
1282 Mich.— 1283 Trin.			E. 101/230/28 <sup>1</sup> .
1284 Mich.— 1285 29 April	Stephen of Fulbourn ..		E. 101/231/2 (C.D.I. iii. 45).
1285 Mich.— 1286 Trin.	Nicholas of Clere ..		E. 101/231/6, roll 1 (C.D.I. iii. 149, 180, 215, 251).
1286 Mich.— 1287 Trin.	Nicholas of Clere ..		E. 101/231/6, roll 2 (C.D.I. iii. 271, 287, 309, 330).
1287 Mich.— 1288 Trin.	Nicholas of Clere ..		E. 101/231/6, roll 3 (C.D.I. iii. 341, 361, 371, 403).
1288 Mich.— 1289 Trin.	Nicholas of Clere ..		E. 101/231/6, roll 4 (C.D.I. iii. 434, 466, 475, 501).
1289 Mich.— 1290 Trin. <sup>2</sup>	Nicholas of Clere ..		
1290 Mich.— 1291 Trin.	Nicholas of Clere ..		E. 101/231/6, roll 5 (C.D.I. iii. 780, 842, 884, 918).
1291 Mich.— 1292 East.	Ellis of Winchester, deputy treasurer		E. 101/231/28 <sup>3</sup> . (C.D.I. iii. 965, 1020, 1078).

<sup>1</sup> This roll is imperfect at the beginning and badly mutilated. It was not used by the editor of the C.D.I.

<sup>2</sup> This roll is now missing. It once accompanied the five rolls that survive, for the large canvas bag in which they were put, and still remain, has a docket attached to it, giving a list of its contents: it held, among other documents, Receipt Rolls for 14-19 Edward I inclusive.

<sup>3</sup> This roll contains three items relating to Trinity term 1291.

Period	Treasurer	Chamberlain	References
1292 Mich.— 1293 Trin.	[Treasurer] .. ..		E. 101/232/5 (C.D.I. iii. 1148 ; iv. 4, 21, 41).
1293 Mich.			See Enrolled Accounts.
1294 Trin.	William of East Dean		E. 101/232/12 (C.D.I. iv. 139).
1294 Mich.			See Enrolled Accounts.
1295 East. & Trin.	William of East Dean		E. 101/232/16 (C.D.I. iv. 206, 226).
1295 Mich.— 1296 Trin.	William of East Dean		E. 101/232/18 (C.D.I. iv. 264, 279, 289, 300).
1296 Mich.— 1297 Trin.	William of East Dean		E. 101/232/24 <sup>1</sup> (C.D.I. iv. 329, 363, 391, 408).
1297 Mich.— 1298 Trin.			See Enrolled Accounts.
1298 Mich.— 1299 Trin.	William of East Dean		E. 101/233/7 <sup>2</sup> (C.D.I. iv. 550, 587, 613, 637).
1299 Mich.— 1300 Trin.	William of East Dean		E. 101/233/11 (C.D.I. iv. 658, 705, 735, 748).
1300 Mich.— 1301 Trin.			See Enrolled Accounts.
1301 Mich.— 1302 Trin.	Richard of Barford ..		E. 101/233/16 (C.D.I. iv. 825 ; v. 4, 58, 72).
1302 Mich.— 1304 Mich.			See Enrolled Accounts.
1305 East.— Trin.	Thomas of Chedworth, deputy treasurer		E. 101/234/2. <sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This roll is noted : 'examinatur'.

<sup>2</sup> This roll is noted : 'examinatur'.

<sup>3</sup> This roll is noted : 'examinatur et probatur'.



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Period	Treasurer	Chamberlain	References
1305 Mich.— 1306 Trin.	Richard of Barford ..	Henry of Walton ..	E. 101/234/1. <sup>1</sup> E. 101/234/9. <sup>2</sup>
		Henry of Walton (Michaelmas) John of Cirencester (Hilary) Richard of Oving (Easter)	E. 101/234/12.
1306 Mich.— 1307 Trin.	Richard of Barford ..		E. 101/234/16. <sup>3</sup>
1307 Mich.— 1308 Hil. <sup>4</sup>	Richard of Barford ..		E. 101/235/5.
		Richard of Oving ..	E. 101/235/7 and 8.
1308 Hil. <sup>5</sup> — Trin.	Alexander of Bicknor ..		E. 101/235/12.
		Richard of Oving ..	E. 101/235/11.
1308 Mich.— 1309 Trin.	Alexander of Bicknor ..		E. 101/235/18.
		Robert of Whatton ..	E. 101/235/19.
1309 Mich.— 1310 Trin.	Alexander of Bicknor ..		E. 101/235/22.
		Robert of Whatton ..	E. 101/235/23.
1310 Mich.— 1311 Trin.	Alexander of Bicknor ..		E. 101/235/25.
1311 Mich.— 1312 Trin.	Alexander of Bicknor ..		E. 101/236/1.

<sup>1</sup> *Ut supra.*<sup>2</sup> This roll is noted 'probatur'.<sup>3</sup> This roll includes also the gross receipts from 1 August 1307 (after information of Edward I's death had arrived) until the following Michaelmas.<sup>4</sup> The accounts cover the period up to 23 January 1308 when Alexander of Bicknor assumed office.<sup>5</sup> The accounts begin on 24 January 1308.

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Period	Treasurer	Chamberlain	References
		Robert of Whatton ..	E. 101/236/2.
1312 Mich.— 1313 Trin.	Alexander of Bicknor ..		E. 101/236/4.
		Robert of Whatton ..	E. 101/236/5.
1313 Mich.— 1314 Hil.	Walter of Thornbury, deputy treasurer		E. 101/236/8.
		Counter-roll <sup>1</sup>	E. 101/236/9.
1314 15 April	Walter of Islip ..		E. 101/236/10. <sup>2</sup>
		Robert of Cotgrave ..	E. 101/236/14 (1).
1314 East.— Mich.	Walter of Islip ..		E. 101/236/12.
		Robert of Cotgrave ..	E. 101/236/14 (2)
1314 Mich.— 1315 Trin.	Walter of Islip ..		E. 101/237/1.
		Robert of Cotgrave ..	E. 101/236/14 (3)
1315 Mich.— 1316 Trin.	Walter of Islip ..		E. 101/237/3.
		Robert of Cotgrave ..	E. 101/236/14 (4).
1316 Mich.— 1317 Trin.		Robert of Cotgrave ..	E. 101/236/14 (6).
1317 Mich.— 1318 Trin.	Walter of Islip ..		E. 101/237/7.
		Robert of Cotgrave ..	E. 101/236/14 (5).
1318 Mich.— 1319 Trin.		Robert of Cotgrave ..	E. 101/236/14 (7).
1319 Mich.— 1320 Trin.	Walter of Islip ..		E. 101/237/11.

<sup>1</sup> The Chamberlain's name is not given : it seems to have been erased.

<sup>2</sup> These are receipts from the keepers of the treasury of the exchequer at Dublin on 15 April when Islip assumed office.



Period	Treasurer	Chamberlain	References
1320 Mich.— 1321 1 Aug.	Walter of Islip ..		E. 101/237/13.
		Robert of Cotgrave ..	E. 101/236/14 (8).
1321 1 Aug.— 9 Sept.	Richard of Woodhouse, deputy treasurer		E. 101/237/16. <sup>1</sup>
		Robert of Cotgrave ..	E. 101/237/17. <sup>2</sup>
1321 9 Sept.— 1322 28 Apr.	John Cogan .. ..		E. 101/237/18.
1322 29 Apr.— Mich.	Walter of Islip ..		E. 101/238/3.
		John Balle (deputy for Cotgrave)	E. 101/238/4.
1322 Mich.— 1323 Trin.		Robert of Cotgrave ..	E. 101/238/7.
1323 Mich.— 1324 Trin.	Walter of Islip ..		E. 101/238/10.
		Robert of Cotgrave ..	E. 101/238/11.
1324 Mich.— 1325 Trin.	Walter of Islip ..		E. 101/540/12. <sup>3</sup>
		Robert of Cotgrave ..	E. 101/238/16.
1325 Mich.— 1326 16 Jan.	Roger Outlaw, deputy treasurer		E. 101/238/21.
		John of Balscott ..	E. 101/238/22.
1326 20 Jan.— 30 Sept.		John of Balscott ..	E. 101/238/27.
1326 4 Oct.— 1327 Trin.	John Cogan .. ..		E. 101/239/3.
		Robert of Wight ..	E. 101/239/2.

<sup>1</sup> This roll contains both issues and receipts.<sup>2</sup> *Ut supra*.<sup>3</sup> This roll is damaged.

Period	Treasurer	Chamberlain	References
1327 Mich.	John Cogan .. ..		E. 101/239/10.
		Robert of Wight ..	E. 101/239/9.
1327 19 Dec.— 1330 Mich.			See Enrolled Accounts <sup>1</sup>
1331 13 Mar.— East.	William of Rudyard, deputy treasurer		E. 101/239/18.
		John of Balscott ..	E. 101/239/20.
1331 Trin.	Thomas de Burgh ..		E. 101/239/21.
1331 Mich.— 1332 Trin.	Thomas de Burgh ..		E. 101/239/26.
		John of Balscott ..	E. 101/239/23.
1332 Mich.— 1333 Trin.	Thomas de Burgh ..		E. 101/239/27.
		Walter of Combe ..	E. 101/239/28.
1333 Mich.— 1334 Hil.	Thomas de Burgh ..		E. 101/240/3.
		Walter of Combe ..	E. 101/240/2.
1334 East. & Trin.	Robert Power, deputy treasurer		E. 101/240/4.
1334 Mich.— 1335 East.	Robert Power deputy treasurer		E. 101/240/7.
		John of Carlton .. (Hilary)	E. 101/240/6. <sup>2</sup>
		Robert of Salkeld .. (Easter)	
1335 Trin.— 1336 Hil.		Walter of Combe ..	E. 101/240/9.

<sup>1</sup> For this period there are also a roll of receipts from a biennial tenth, Hilary 1 Edward III to Trinity 4 Edward III (E. 101/239/14) and a roll and counter-roll of services proclaimed at Athassel, Trinity—Michaelmas, 4 Edward III (E. 101/239/16, 17).

<sup>2</sup> This roll lacks the portion for Michaelmas 1334.



Period	Treasurer	Chamberlain	References
1336 East. & Trin.		Walter of Combe ..	E. 101/240/12.
1337 East.		Walter of Combe ..	E. 101/240/14.
1337 Trin.— 1339 Trin.			See Enrolled Accounts.
1339 10 Aug.— 1340 Trin.	Hugh de Burgh ..		E. 101/240/15.
		Robert of Salkeld ..	E. 101/240/16.
1340 Mich.— 1341 6 Aug.	Hugh de Burgh ..		E. 101/240/19.
		Robert of Salkeld ..	E. 101/240/20.
1341 1 Oct.— 1342 Hil.	Hugh de Burgh <sup>1</sup> John of Balscott, deputy treasurer		E. 101/241/2.
		Robert of Salkeld ..	E. 101/241/1.
1342 East. & Trin.	Hugh de Burgh ..		E. 101/241/8.
		Robert of Salkeld ..	E. 101/241/7.
1342 Mich.— 1343 5 May	Hugh de Burgh ..		E. 101/241/9.
1343 Trin.— 1346 Trin.			See Enrolled Accounts.
1346 Mich.— 1348 Hil.	John of Burnham Nicholas Allen, bishop of Meath, deputy treasurer		E. 101/241/14. <sup>2</sup>
		Robert of Salkeld <sup>3</sup> ..	E. 101/241/12.

<sup>1</sup> Burgh was responsible from 1 October to 4 November 1341 and Balscott from 5 November onwards. For this period there is a roll and counter-roll of services proclaimed at Castledermot, Michaelmas 15 Edward III—Michaelmas, 16 Edward III (E. 101/241/3, 4).

<sup>2</sup> For this period there is also a subsidy roll and counter-roll, Michaelmas 1346—Michaelmas 1347 (E. 101/241/10, 11).

<sup>3</sup> For a much mutilated and undated receipt roll of Salkeld, see E. 101/246/8.

Period	Treasurer	Chamberlain	References
1348 East.— 1349 Mich.	John of Burnham .. Robert of Embleton, deputy treasurer		E. 101/241/17.
		Walter of Combe ..	E. 101/241/18.
1350 20 Jan.— Trin.	Nicholas Allen ..		E. 101/241/20.
		Walter of Combe ..	E. 101/242/1.
1350 Mich. <sup>1</sup>	William of Bromley ..		E. 101/242/7.
1351 ? Hil.			See Enrolled Accounts.
1351 Mich.— 1352 Hil.		William fitz Thomas Lawless	E. 101/242/12.
1352 East.— 1353 Hil.	William of Bromley ..		E. 101/242/13. <sup>2</sup>
1353 East.— 1354 Hil.	William of Bromley ..		E. 101/243/1. <sup>3</sup>
		William fitz Thomas Lawless	E. 101/243/2.
1354 21 Apr.— 1355 20 Apr.	William of Bromley John of Balscott <sup>4</sup> , deputy treasurer		E. 101/243/4. <sup>5</sup>
		Thomas of Bowes ..	E. 101/243/5.
1355 20 Apr.— 1356 3 Nov.	Nicholas Allen ..		E. 101/243/11. <sup>6</sup>
		William fitz Thomas Lawless	E. 101/243/10.

<sup>1</sup> This roll has only one membrane and does not extend beyond 15 October 1350.

<sup>2</sup> This roll is imperfect at the beginning.

<sup>3</sup> This roll was delivered into the English exchequer by Bromley on 9 June 1354.

<sup>4</sup> Balscott assumed responsibility from 24 May 1354.

<sup>5</sup> This roll was delivered into the English exchequer by William of Watford as Bromley's attorney on 13 May 1360.

<sup>6</sup> This roll was delivered into the English exchequer by Robert Revé as attorney for Nicholas Allen on 6 June 1357.



Period	Treasurer	Chamberlain	References
1356 3 Nov.— 1358 Hil.		William fitz Thomas Lawless	E. 101/243/12.
1358 ? East.— 1360 ? East.			See Enrolled Accounts.
1360 Trin.— 1361 Hil.	Thomas of Badby ..		E. 101/244/5.
		William fitz Thomas Lawless	E. 101/244/4. <sup>1</sup>
1361 East.— 1362 Jan.			Apparently no En- rolled Accounts.
1362 Jan.— 1365 1 Feb.			See Enrolled Accounts.
1365 1 Feb.— 1366 Trin.		John Scrope ..	E. 101/244/9.
1366 Mich.— 1368 July			Apparently no En- rolled Accounts.
1368 18 July— 1384 Mich.			See Enrolled Accounts.

<sup>1</sup> This roll was sent to the English exchequer on 24 April 1363 in answer to a writ on the file of writs of Easter term 1363.

LIST III  
ENROLLED ACCOUNTS

Period	Treasurer	Roll	References
29 Sept. 1278— 29 Apr. 1285	Stephen of Fulbourn ..	Pipe 19 Edw. I ..	E. 372/136, m. 33. <sup>1</sup>
29 Apr. 1285— 5 Aug. 1285			Apparently no Enrolled Account.
5 Aug. 1285— 28 July 1291	Nicholas of Clere ..	Pipe 22 Edw. I ..	E. 372/139, m. 9 d.
July 1291— June 1292	[Nicholas of Clere] ..		Apparently no Enrolled Account.
9 June 1292— 14 June 1294	William of East Dean	Pipe 22 Edw. I ..	E. 372/139, m. 9, continued on m. 5 d.
14 June 1294— 29 Sept. 1299	William of East Dean	Pipe 27 Edw. I ..	E. 372/144, m. 28 (C.D.I. iv. 183, 272, 346, 456, 565, 682: from Chancellor's Roll).
30 Sept. 1299— 7 July 1300	William of East Dean (by Robert, bishop of Clonfert, his deputy)	Pipe 28 Edw. I ..	E. 372/145, m. 26 d.
7 July 1300— 18 Apr. 1305	Richard of Barford ..	Pipe 33 Edw. I ..	E. 372/150, m. 40.
18 Apr. 1305— 23 Jan. 1308	Richard of Barford ..	Pipe 1 Edw. II ..	E. 372/153, m. 35. <sup>2</sup>
24 Jan. 1308— 15 Apr. 1313	Alexander of Bicknor ..	Pipe 19 Edw. II <sup>3</sup> ..	E. 372/171, m. 31 (m. j) <sup>4</sup> .
15 Apr. 1313— 1 Aug. 1321	Walter of Islip ..	Pipe 14 Edw. II ..	E. 372/166, mm. 25, 26 (m. ij seq.)
1 Aug. 1321— 9 Sept. 1321	Walter of Islip ..	Pipe 19 Edw. II ..	E. 372/171, m. 33 (m. iij).

<sup>1</sup> The numbers we have given to the membranes do not always accord with the printed list of Foreign Accounts.

<sup>2</sup> Besides the enrolment on the Chancellor's Roll an incomplete and blundered transcript will be found on Enrolled Customs Account, E. 356/1, m. 11 d.

<sup>3</sup> From 19 Edward II the practice began of compiling a separate roll of Foreign Accounts and, though this roll is attached to the Pipe (or Chancellor's) Roll, the membranes are separately numbered. This rule is not rigidly observed.

<sup>4</sup> From this point we give in parentheses the contemporary numbering, which is frequently useful in identifying the membrane required.



Period	Treasurer	Roll	Reference
9 Sept. 1321— 29 Apr. 1322	John of Cogan ..	Pipe 18 Edw. II ..	E. 372/170, m. 47 (m. iij).
29 Apr. 1322— 29 Sept. 1325	Walter of Islip ..	Pipe 19 Edw. II ..	E. 372/171, mm. 33, 34 (mm. iij, iiij).
29 Sept. 1325— 20 Jan. 1326	Walter of Islip ..	Pipe 19 Edw. II ..	E. 372/171, m. 34 d (m. iiij d).
20 Jan. 1326— 4 Oct. 1326	Adam of Herwinton ..	Pipe 19 Edw. III	E. 372/171, m. 32 (m. ij).
4 Oct. 1326— 19 Dec. 1328	John of Cogan ..	Pipe 1 Edw. III ..	E. 372/172, m. 46 (m. xj).
19 Dec. 1328— 31 Mar. 1331	Robert Power ..	Pipe 5 Edw. III ..	E. 372/176, m. 46 (m. ij).
31 Mar. 1331— 3 June 1331	Robert Power ..	Pipe 8 Edw. III ..	E. 372/179, m. 46 d. (m. xiiij d).
3 June 1331— 27 Mar. 1334	Thomas de Burgh ..	Pipe 8 Edw. III ..	E. 372/179, m. 46 (m. xiiij).
27 Mar. 1334— 7 June 1335	Thomas de Burgh ..	Pipe 9 Edw. III ..	E. 372/180, m. 45 (m. v).
8 June 1335— 15 Oct. 1337	John of Ellerker ..	Pipe 11 Edw. III	E. 372/182, m. 48 (m. xiiij).
15 Oct. 1337— 12 Aug. 1339	John Rees .. ..	Pipe 13 Edw. III	E. 372/184, m. 49 (m. xiiij).
12 Aug. 1339— 29 Sept. 1341	Hugh de Burgh ..	Pipe 15 Edw. III	E. 372/186, m. 49 (m. vj).
29 Sept. 1341— 5 May 1343	Hugh de Burgh ..	Pipe 17 Edw. III	E. 372/188, m. 54 (m. vij).
5 May 1343— 29 Sept. 1344	John of Burnham ..	Pipe 18 Edw. III	E. 372/189, m. 47 (m. v).
29 Sept. 1344— 29 Sept. 1346	John of Burnham ..	Pipe 20 Edw. III	E. 372/191, m. 42 (m. iij).
29 Sept. 1346— 30 Sept. 1349	John of Burnham ..	Pipe 26 Edw. III	E. 372/197, m. 46 (m. x)

Period	Treasurer	Roll	Reference
30 Sept. 1349— 19 Jan. 1350	Robert of Embleton ..	Pipe 27 Edw. III	E. 372/198, m. 31 [West- moreland].
19 Jan. 1350— 15 Sept. 1350	Nicholas Allen ..	Pipe 25 Edw. III	E. 372/196, m. 28 [Rut- land].
15 Sept. 1350— 8 Apr. 1352	William of Bromley ..	Pipe 25 Edw. III	E. 372/196, m. 43 (m. v.).
8 Apr. 1352— 24 Mar. 1353	William of Bromley ..	Pipe 26 Edw. III	E. 372/197, m. 26 d. [Rutland].
24 Mar. 1353— 13 Apr. 1354	William of Bromley ..	Pipe 26 Edw. III	E. 372/197, m. 19 d. [Nottingham and Derby].
13 Apr. 1354— 20 Apr. 1355	William of Bromley ..	Pipe 33 Edw. III	E. 372/204, m. 36 (m.v.).
20 Apr. 1355— 3 Nov. 1356	Nicholas Allen ..	Pipe 30 Edw. III	E. 372/201, m. 42 (m. viij).
Nov. 1356— March 1358			Apparently no Enrolled Account.
10 Mar. 1358— 21 Apr. 1359	Nicholas Allen ..	Pipe 33 Edw. III	E. 372/204, m. 41 (m. x).
21 Apr. 1359— 11 Feb. 1360	Nicholas Allen ..	Pipe 36 Edw. III	E. 372/207, m. 41 (m. iij).
Feb.—June 1360			Apparently no Enrolled Account.
8 June 1360— 1 Apr. 1361	Thomas of Badby ..	Pipe 36 Edw. III	E. 372/207, m. 46 (m. viij).
April 1361— January 1362			Apparently no Enrolled Account.
14 Jan. 1362— 9 April 1364	Thomas Mynot ..	Pipe 41 Edw. III	E. 372/212, m. 43 (m. xj).
9 Apr. 1364— 1 Feb. 1365	Walter of Dalby ..	Foreign 47 Edw. III	E. 364/7, m. C.
Feb. 1365— July 1368			Apparently no Enrolled Account.



Period	Treasurer	Roll	Reference
18 July 1368— 2 Sept. 1372	Stephen Vale ..	Foreign I Ric. II ..	E. 364/12, m. A.
2 Sept. 1372— 30 Sept. 1375	John Colton ..	Foreign 6 Ric. II ..	E. 364/17, m. G.
1 Oct. 1375— 30 Sept. 1376	Thomas Scurlagg ..	Foreign 13 Ric. II	E. 364/24, m. B.
30 Sept. 1376— 29 Sept. 1384	Alexander Balscott ..	Foreign 7 Ric. II ..	E. 364/18, m. F.

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## I. WRIT OF EDWARD, LORD OF IRELAND.

## PAYMENT OF IRISH REVENUE INTO WARDROBE AT BORDEAUX.

C. 64/1, m. 2.

C.D.I. ii. 381 (abstract).

*Pro Willelmo Picot, clerico, de thesauro Hibernie liberato in Garderoba.*

Edwardus dilectis sibi Ricardo de la Rokele, balliuo suo, et Iohanni de Burningfelde, receptori suo in Hibernia, salutem. Sciatis quod Willelmus Picot, clericus, liberavit in garderoba nostra apud Burdegaliā in Wasconia, die mercurii proxima post festum sancti Laurencii anno regni domini regis patris nostri xxxviii., Radulfo de Dunione, custodi eiusdem garderobe nostre, quingentas quinquaginta et quinque marcas de thesauro nostro de exitibus terrarum nostrarum Hibernie. Et ideo vobis mandamus quod ipsum Willelmum de predictis denariis quietum esse permittatis. In cuius etc. Datum apud Burdegaliā xiii. die Augusti.

12 August 1254

13 August 1254

## 2A. WRIT OF EDWARD, AUTHORISING PAYMENT AT DUBLIN EXCHEQUER.

C. 54/99, m. 7d. *in cedula*.

C.C.R. 1279-1288, 180-1 (abstract).

Edwardus, illustris regis Anglie primogenitus, dilecto et fideli suo Iohanni de Verdun, salutem. Sciatis quod assignauimus vos ad soluendum nomine nostro karissimo auunculo nostro, Galfrido de Lezingnan, et heredibus vel assignatis suis ipsas ducentas marcas annuatim quas nobis soluere tenemini de debitis quondam Walteri de Lacy ad eosdem terminos et locum quibus eas nobis soluere debuistis quousque ipsa debita plene fuerint persoluta, si prius ipsi domino Galfrido et heredibus vel assignatis suis aliunde in terra vel in redditu non prouiderimus, vt predictum est, ita quod prima solutio eis inde facienda sit ad festum sancti Michaelis proximo venturum. Nos autem predictam pecuniam, cum iam dictis Galfrido et heredibus vel assignatis suis aut eorum certo attornato solueritis, vt predictum est, per iusticiarium nostrum et thesaurarium nostrum Hibernie qui pro tempore fuerint, quibus super hoc litteras nostras patentes direximus, faciemus singulis annis irrotulari et vobis allocari acsi eam nobis solueritis. In cuius rei testimonium has litteras

29 September 1258



10 March 1258

nostras vobis mittimus patentes. Datum apud Lamh[ethe] decimo die Marcii anno regni domini regis patris nostri quadragesimo secundo.

2B. LETTER OF GEOFFREY DE LUSIGNAN, DEMANDING PAYMENT.

2 May 1258

Galfridus de Lezignan, frater illustris regis Anglie, dilecto sibi domino Iohanni de Verdun, salutem et dileccionem. Cum nobis teneamini in centum marcas persoluendas nobis vel certo attornato nostro ad hoc instans festum sancti Michaelis ad scaccarium Dublinie de debitis Walteri de Lascy de mandato domini Edwardi illustris regis Anglie primogeniti, prout in suis litteris patentibus quas vobis mittimus videbitis contineri, vobis mandamus quatinus eas latori presencium sine dilacione ad opus nostrum habere faciatis. In cuius rei testimonium litteras nostras vobis mittimus patentes. Datum in festo Assensionis Domini anno regni regis Henrici filii regis Iohannis quadragesimo secundo.

6 February 1282

*Memorandum quod die lune proxima post festum sancti Valentini anno regni regis Edwardi decimo venit Theobaldus de Verdun apud Shireburne in cancellaria eiusdem regis et ostendit predicta scripta non abolita, non cancellata nec in aliqua parte sui viciosa, vnum sigillo eiusdem domini Edwardi signatum et aliud sigillo predicti Galfridi signatum.*

3. RECEIPT BY STEWARD OF HUMFREY DE BOHUN OF PAYMENT BY KING'S ESCHEATOR.

C. 47/35/14, no. 36.

5 April 1258

Vniuersis Christi fidelibus presentes litteras visuris vel auditoris Iohannes de Hywis, senescallus domini Hunfridi de Boun in Hibernia, salutem. Noueritis me, die veneris proxima post clausum Pasche anno regni domini [Henrici]<sup>1</sup> regis quadragesimo secundo, recepisse centum marcas sterlingorum ad opus dicti domini Hunfridi, domini mei, de exitibus escaetarie domini regis in partibus Hibernie, per manus magistri Willelmi de Bakepuz, tunc escaetoris eiusdem domini regis, qui dictos denarios michi liberauit per mandatum domini regis predicti super hoc dicto escaetori suo directum<sup>2</sup>, per subscriptorum testimonium, videlicet,

<sup>1</sup> MS. omits.

<sup>2</sup> Cl. R. 1256-1259, 185 (12 January 1258).

venerabilium patrum Fulconis Dei gracia Dublinensis et Hugonis eadem gracia Ossoriensis episcopi<sup>1</sup>, domino<sup>2</sup> Alano la Zuche, tunc iusticiario Hibernie, Iohanne de Bruningfelde, tunc cancellario domini Edwardi in Hibernia, domino Waler[anno] de Wellesleg[a], Alexandr[o] de Notingham, tunc iusticiariorum itinerantium. In cuius rei testimonium presentibus litteris sigillum meum apposui.

4. KING'S WRIT TO TREASURER AND BARONS OF DUBLIN EXCHEQUER.  
AUDIT OF ESCHATOR'S ACCOUNT.

C. 47/35/14, no. 32.

Henricus Dei gracia rex Anglie, dominus Hibernie et dux Aquitanie, dilectis sibi thesaurario et baronibus de scaccario Dublinie, salutem. Mandamus vobis quatinus compotum dilecti clerici nostri, magistri Willelmi de Bakepuz, escaetoris nostri in Hibernia, de officio escaetorie nostre in Hibernia dudum sibi a nobis commisso audiatis a die scilicet quo compotum suum de exitibus eiusdem officii vobis reddidit in scaccario predicto<sup>3</sup>, quem quidem compotum nobis in Anglia vsque Kenilleworthe misistis, vsque ad diem sancti Hillarii anni regni nostri quinquagesimi primi, et audito compoto illo omnes allocaciones quas per mandata nostra, tam de feodo suo annuo percipiendo quam de aliis liberacionibus et expensis factis per preceptum nostrum, de exitibus predictis eidem Willelmo prout iustum fuerit fieri faciatis. Teste me ipso apud Westmonasterium xiii. die Ianuarii anno regni nostri li<sup>o</sup>.

13 January 1267

13 January 1267

5. KING'S WRIT OF AID IN FAVOUR OF MAURICE FITZ MAURICE, DEPUTY JUSTICIAR.

C. 66/90, m. 6.

C.P.R. 1266-1272, 674 (abstract).

Rex archiepiscopis etc. et omnibus aliis de terra Hibernie, salutem. Cum tenentes locum karissimi filii Edwardi primogeniti nostri in Anglia

<sup>1</sup> Treasurer.

<sup>2</sup> From this point the cases are inconsistent.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. C.P.R. 1258-1266, 422-3: writ of 6 May 1265.



deputauerunt dilectum et fidelem nostrum Mauricium filium Mauricii iusticiarium Hibernie quamdiu eidem filio nostro et dictis tenentibus locum suum placuerit, vobis mandamus quod eidem Mauricio tanquam iusticiario nostro Hibernie in omnibus que ad custodiam illam et custodiam terre predicte pertinent consulentes sitis et auxiliantes, intendentes et respondentes, sicut predictum est. In cuius etc.

8 August 1272

6A. PETITION OF THOMAS OF CHEDWORTH, REQUESTING INNOVATION OF LETTER OF EDWARD'S LIEUTENANTS AND OF KING'S WRIT.

S.C.I., vol. 8, no. 10.

Walterus Dei gracia Eboracensis archiepiscopus, Anglie primas, Rogerus de Mortuo Mari et Robertus Burnelle, archidiaconus Eboracensis, tenentes locum incliti viri domini Edwardi illustris regis Anglie primogeniti, dilectis sibi domino Hugoni eadem gracia Midensi episcopo, thesaurario Hibernie, et magistro Iohanni de Kenley ceterisque auditoribus compoti magistri Thome de Chedde[worthe], cancellarii Dublinie, salutem in Domino. Cum nos vice et nomine dicti domini nostri post ipsius recessum de Anglia versus partes Terre Sancte custodiam temporalium archiepiscopatus Dublinensis predicto magistro Thome commiserimus et eidem nomine feodi sui ratione dicte custodie quadraginta marcas de exitibus eiusdem archiepiscopatus singulis annis percipiendas a festo sancti Iohannis Baptiste anno Domini m<sup>o</sup>cc<sup>o</sup> septuagesimo quamdiu dictam custodiam habuerit assignauerimus, vobis mandamus auctoritate prefati domini quatinus predictas quadraginta marcas annuas eidem magistro Thome in suo compoto allocetis et, vt hoc securius faciatis, has litteras sigillo eiusdem domini quo vtimur in ipsius agendis eodem absente sigillatas vobis mittimus patentes. Datum Londoniis iiii. die A[u]gusti anno rengni regis Henrici patris domini nostri predicti L<sup>o</sup> quinto.

24 June 1270

4 August 1271

Hanc litteram prescriptam petit magister Thomas sub sigillo regio quo nunc vtitur innouari et corrigi. Quo ad illud articulum vbi dicitur anno Domini m<sup>o</sup>cc<sup>o</sup> septuagesimo ponatur plus, scilicet primo, quia illo anno obiit archiepiscopus in festo Inuencionis sancte Crucis et in festo sancti Iohannis Baptiste sequenti tradita fuit custodia magistro Thome.

3 May 1271

Edwardus Dei gracia rex etc., thesaurario et baronibus suis de scaccario Dublinie, salutem. Mandamus vobis quod rationabiles expensas

quas dilectus clericus noster magister Thomas de Chedde[worthe], custos noster archiepiscopatus Dublinensis, posuit in seruicio nostro, in veniendo in Angliam [ad] fideles nostros locum nostrum tenentes pro diuersis negociis nostris ibidem expediendis et inde redeundo, eidem Thome in exitibus archiepiscopatus predicti prout iustum fuerit allocetis. Datum per manum Walteri de Mertone, cancellarii nostri, apud Westmonasterium ix. die Aprilis anno regni nostri secundo.<sup>1</sup>

April 1274

Hanc litteram petit dirigi thesaurario sub nouo sigillo : ipsam tamen habet sub sigillo quo dominus noster rex vtibatur ipso absente postquam fuit rex.

Magister karissime, sicut vultis quod laborem pro vobis, fiant ista premissa negocia cum celeritate et mittantur michi lettere in Hiberniam per aliquem fidelem interuenientem proximum.

*Endorsed*—Magistro Simoni de Herforde.<sup>2</sup>

Negocia magistri Thome de Chedde[worthe] per magistrum Symonem de Herforde cum celeritate expedienda in curia domini regis Anglie de consilio et auxilio domini Roberti Dei gracia Batonensis et Wellensis episcopi.<sup>3</sup>

#### 6B. RESULTING WRIT.

C. 54/92, m. 10.

C.C.R. 1272-1279, 192 (abstract).

Rex thesaurario et baronibus suis de scaccario Dublinie, salutem. Cum fideles nostri locum nostrum in Anglia tenentes dudum commississent magistro Thome de Chedde[worthe], tunc cancellario scaccarii Dublinie, archiepiscopatum Dublinensem cum pertinenciis vacantem et in manu nostra existentem custodiendum et sibi concesserint quadraginta marcas de exitibus eiusdem archiepiscopatus singulis annis percipiendas ad expensas suas pro custodia predicta, videlicet, a festo sancti Iohannis Baptiste anno Domini m<sup>o</sup>cc<sup>o</sup> septuagesimo primo vsque ad idem festum proximo sequens, et sic deinceps singulis annis quadraginta marcas pro custodia predicta quamdiu ipsam habuerit ex commissione predicta,

4 June 1271

<sup>1</sup> This writ was not enrolled.

<sup>2</sup> Simon of Hereford, king's clerk, was later presented to a prebend in St. Patrick's, Dublin (above, p. 67).

<sup>3</sup> Robert Burnell, consecrated 7 April 1275.



vobis mandamus quod predictas quadraginta marcas annuas eidem magistro Thome in compoto suo ad scaccarium predictum de toto tempore quo habuit custodiam predictam allocetis, nisi idem Thomas inde allocacionem prius habuerit per aliud breue nostrum. Teste ut supra.

21 June 1275]

7. PETITION OF ROGER OWEN, KING'S SERJEANT.<sup>1</sup>

C. 47/10/13, no. 6.

C.D.I. ii. 930 (abstract).

*Peticio Rogeri Owein.*

Cum tempore domini Ricardi de Rupella, tunc Iusticiarii Hibernie, domini Fromundi le Brun, tunc cancelarii, et aliorum de consilio domini regis in Hibernia prouisum fuisset quod dictus Rogerus fuisset seruiens domini regis ad placita sua in Hibernia proseguenda et defendenda, pro quo seruicio dictus Iusticiarius et alii de consilio domini regis promiserunt predicto Rogero seruicium suum fideliter persolvere, et sic a tempore predicto semper hucusque predictus Rogerus per singulos Iusticiarios et alios de consilio domini regis placita domini regis est prosequutus, et semper promittunt eidem satisfacere et in nullis satisfaciunt vbi nihil recepit. Vnde petit predictus Rogerus, si placet domino regi, quod sibi racionabiliter prouideatur de tanto seruicio per tantum tempus domino regi prestito et quod hoc scribatur Iusticiario suo Hibernie, si placet, et quod sic domino regi per predictum tempus deseruiuit vult quod inquiratur si necesse fuerit.

Item cum dominus rex quandam terram habeat in tenemento de Tassagard iuxta terram guerre et predictus Rogerus quandam habeat terram manerio domini regis Noui Castri de Liuns aiacentem in terra pacis, que quidem terra comodior est domino regi quam alia, vnde petit dictus Rogerus, si placet domino regi, quod escambium sibi fiat secundum racionabilem estentam et hoc per manum Iusticiarii sui Hibernie, qui videat quod sit ad commodum domini regis, aliter non faciat.

*Endorsed* : Wall[ia]

8. PETITION OF HUGH OF TAGHMON, LATE TREASURER.<sup>2</sup>

E. 101/230/2, m. 5.

Cum Hugo Midensis episcopus, quondam thesaurarius domini regis in

<sup>1</sup> Addressed to Edward I, apparently after his return to England in August 1274. The petitioner was dead before the end of 1280 (C.D.I. ii. 1783). The date is probably late 1274 or early 1275.

<sup>2</sup> Since the audit of James of Audley's account did not take place before October 1280 (above, p. 51), the petition may have been presented late in that year or early in 1281. Hugh was dead before 6 February 1282 (C.D.I. ii. 1786, which is dated a year too early).



Hybernia, habuisset certos auditores per breue domini regis ad audiendum compotum suum de toto tempore quo idem extitit in officio thesaurarii de anno in annum, tandem idem episcopus, ordinato compoto suo tam per se quam per clericos de scaccario, in compoto ipso oneravit inter alios dominum Iacobum de Audelega coram auditoribus memoratis de toto tempore quo idem Iacobus fuit Iusticiarius Hybernie de MMM.CCC. vna libris xiiii. solidis iii. denariis obolo per certas particulas monstratas et sufficienter examinatas coram auditoribus supradictis preter breuia de allocate et liberate. Iam vero per octo annos et amplius post dictum compotum redditum veniens in Hyberniam dominus Willelmus de Audelega, filius et heres domini Iacobi predicti, per mandatum domini regis ad reddendum compotum pro patre suo predicto, cum videret in cyrographo facto super compoto memorato sub sigillis auditorum ipsorum patrem suum oneratum fuisse in predicta summa, petiit exhiberi predictas particulas per quas pater suus predictus in eadem summa fuerat oneratus, et cum particule predictae quesite essent et minime possent inueniri, amisse forsitan per incuriam vel per casum, dixit dictus dominus Willelmus patrem suum plus iusto oneratum fuisse de DC. xlii. libris xviii. solidis de quibus noluit nec debuit sine predictis particulis respondere, eo maxime quod in redditione dicti compoti nullus pro patre suo presens extitit qui posset pro ipso respondere aut eum in aliquo onerare aut onus assumere pro eodem, episcopo vero asserente in contrarium quod, licet predictae particule inuenta non essent, standum fuit et credendum summe predictae cuius particule sufficienter examinate fuerunt coram auditoribus dicti compoti et approbate per ipsos, sicut ipsi testificantur in cyrographo eiusdem compoti sigillis ipsorum auditorum signato. Quia igitur auditores compoti domini Willelmi predicti, non obstante cyrographo compoti dicti episcopi predicto, intendunt onerare ipsum episcopum contra Deum et iusticiam, sicut sibi videtur, de predictis DC. xlii libris xviii. solidis nisi super hoc per consilium domini regis celerius remedium adhibeatur, petit idem episcopus sibi iusticiam in hac parte per dictum consilium exhiberi. Et si quis heres vel alius suspectum habeat dictum episcopum de indebita oneracione vel de infidelitate aliqua excogitata in compoto vel commissa, concedit idem episcopus quod istud modis quibus domino regi vel Iusticiario Hybernie placuerit per quoscumque fideles plenius inquiratur.



9. KING'S WRIT TO RICHARD OF EXETER REQUIRING HIM TO ATTEND TO THE BUSINESS OF THE BENCH AT DUBLIN.

C. 66/101/, m. 5.

C.P.R. 1281-1291, 36 (abstract).

*De placitis in banco Dublinie tenendis etc.* Rex dilecto et fideli suo Ricardo de Exonia, uni iusticiariorum suorum itinerantium in Hibernia in diuersis comitatibus, salutem. Quia intelleximus quod presenciam vestram in banco nostro Dublinie est valde necessaria ad placita in eodem banco tenenda, vobis mandamus in fide et dilectione quibus nobis tenemini, firmiter iniungentes quod ad placita in dicto banco tenenda decetero diligenter intendatis donec a nobis aliud habueritis in mandatis. Et taliter vos habeatis in hac parte quod placita huiusmodi in banco illo tenenda amodo diligentius deducantur quam hactenus deduci consueuerint. Et ad placita itineris vestri in diuersis comitatibus terre predictae similiter oportunis locis et temporibus intendatis iuxta vobis prius inde traditam potestatem, taliter vos habentes in premissis quod circumspectionem et diligenciam vestram merito commendare debeamus.

27 September 1282] In cuius etc. Teste ut supra.

10. KING'S WRIT TO JUSTICE OF WEST WALES TO DISTRAIN LATE SHERIFF OF CORK TO APPEAR AT DUBLIN EXCHEQUER.

E. 368/64, m. 69.

*Roberto de Tybetot, iusticiario West Wallie.* Quia Thomas de Rupe miles nondum reddidit regi compotum de tempore quo fuit vicecomes comitatus Corkagie in Hibernia nec terras seu tenementa ibidem habet per que potest distringi ad predictum compotum reddendum, et testatum est coram rege quod habet terras et tenementa in West Wallia, mandatum est Roberto de Tybetot, iusticiario West Wallie, quod distringat ipsum per bona et catalla, terras et tenementa sua, que habet in balliuiis suis, ita quod sit coram thesaurario et baronibus de scaccario Dublinie a die sancti Michaelis in xv. dies, regi predictum compotum ibidem redditurus. Et quod super hoc fecerit scire faciat thesaurario et baronibus de scaccario regis apud Westmonasterium ad diem supradictum. Teste Iohanne de Cobeham etc. viii. die Iulii anno etc. vicesimo primo.

Ad quem diem nichil scire fecit nec breue predictum remisit. Ideo mandatum est eidem sicut alias, ita etc. in crastino sancti Hillarii, prout patet in quinto rotulo breuium pro rege de termino sancti Michaelis anni proximo sequentis.

Postea venit ad scaccarium predictus Thomas et inuenit manucaptores de predicto compoto reddendo.<sup>1</sup>

II. PETITION TO THE COUNTESS OF PEMBROKE OF ADAM DE LA ROCHE,  
STEWARD OF WATERFORD.<sup>2</sup>

E. 101/505/29.

Ceus sunt les peticiouns Adam de la Roche dunt il prie alouaunce, des queus sire Phelip Abbot ne lui vost fere alouaunce, ceo est asaver :

*Del an du regne reys Edward xxviii.*

Il prie allouance de xx. livres paez à Develin pur un amerciement qe la dame fust illoukes amercié en un bref de novel disseisin qe Phelip Brun porta.

E de xli. sous paez à Richard Cadel, nadguerez vic[onte], de son fee, de queuz le tresurer ad alouance sur son aconté.

Et de xl. sous paez pur estour achatez al eus le tresurer de Develyn pur respyt aver de aconté rendre e de x. sous donez al clers le dyt tresorer pur respit procurer.

E de xxvi. sous viii. deniers donez à Richard de Sahaam e William Devenes, baronz del' eschequer, pur respit aver du service de Dondalke, e de iii. sous donez a treys ussers illoukes.

E de xii. deniers donez à Richard de Comptone, clerk du banke, de certifier le sen[eschal] de la date de un bref purchassé sur la dame par Richard de Pennysseye.<sup>3</sup>

E de iii. sous vii. deniers de queuz un carkoys de un boef fut achaté et maundé à Robert de Lyttebery, justice du banke, pur estre tendris à d[eliverer] . . . [ainé] qe fut pris par un bref de faus jugement renduz en tenz Richard de Pennysseye.

<sup>1</sup> See C.D.I. iv. 88, 91.

<sup>2</sup> Joan of Munchensy, widow of William de Valence, died before 20 September 1307 (Cal. Inq. P.M. v. no. 56). The petition was presented to her presumably not long after the end of 31 Edward I, i.e. 19 November 1303.

<sup>3</sup> Richard of Pevensey, former steward.



E de c. sous pur lez despencez Adam de la Roche, senechal, demorant Develyn par xv. jours à comune parlement par bref le reys.

E de lx. sous de cez robez de cest an, qe sire Phelip ne ly alowe qe xl. sous, là yl deveit prendre c. sous.

E de xxviii. livres en divers despencez fetes en la Marche ceste an par comune gerre, dont si despence ne ust esté mys la terre ust esté perdu.

Summa lxii. li'. v. so'. iii d'.

*Les peticiouns meme cely Adam l'an xxix.*

Il prie allouance de iii. sous liverez à Thomas le clerke pur cez despencez demorant a Develyn par ix. jours pur certifier la justice e sire Geffrei de Genevyle de combien de dettes le rey poet estre respondu en le conté de Wesforde, dont bref fust mandé à fere tenir le sen[eschal].

E de xiii. sous iiiii. deniers pur lez despencis sire William le fiz Elys, tenant le leu le sen[eschal] tant cum il fust en<sup>1</sup> Engleterre, le quel William fust mandé à [Ar]dathe devant Guid' le Boeteler<sup>2</sup> par bref le reys.

E de lx. sous sustretes de cez robez ceste an cum pert l'an avant, là ou la dame ly promyst q'il prendereyt taunt cum nul seneschal prist avant ly.

Summa lxxvii. s'. iiiii. d'.

*Les peticiouns meme cely Adam l'an xxx.*

E il prie alouance de x. livres paez à sire Ealmer de Valence de devers la dame de creauce, dont la dame dyt autrefeez qe ele voleit qe la choce ly fut alowé.

E de c. sous pur un cheval perdu en service la dame à Kylpipe.

E de x. livres pur un atorné trover a Develyn pur la dame par deus ans, c'est asaver l'an xxix. e l'an xxx.

E de lxii. sous paez sur la eschekere de Develyn de la charge Richard Chaffe, jadis fust chargé pur ce ke le dist Richard n'aveit par quei poet estre destreint.

E de vii. sous iii. deniers donez pur bref le reys aver à la rente de Edydrym deliverer, qe fust pris en la mayn le reys.

E de ix. livres xvi. sous vii. deniers quart pur lez despencez Adam de la Roche, adonkes sen[eschal], demorant à Develyn sur le conte par treys symeyns et quatir jours e alaunt e revenaunt, e divers souz donez

<sup>1</sup> MS. 'e'.

<sup>2</sup> Sic for Edmund le Botiller.

à ceo ke pert par lez parcelez dont Hamond Peris tresorer ad là une part vers ly.

E de xxx. sous paez à Jon de Rystone, vic[onte] de Weysforde, de son fee pur demi an.

E de lx. sous sustretes dil<sup>1</sup> lez robez meme celi Adam cest an ausi cum pert l'an avant.

Summa xlii. li'. xv. s'. x. d'. q<sup>a</sup>.

*Les peticions meme cely Adam l'an xxxi.*

E il prie allouance de xvii. sous viii. deniers pur les despencez Thomas le clerke alant à Develyn en tenz qe la franchise fust pris en la mayn le rey à saver de cas l'encheson de la prise e à cercher lez roules pur cel play aver ; un autre feez quant yl fut pur ceo mandé ; e la terce feez alant à Develyn ove un bref le reys pur la franchise deliverer.

E de lx. sous soustretes ceste [an] à ceo ke pert lez ans avant.

E de lx. sous donez à tresorer de Develyn pur respyt aver dil estallement la dame.

E de xl. sous donez a William de Atly à demorer du consaill la dame e estre en eyde à lez assisis e lez pleez terminer tenir.

E de l. sous paez a mestir Jon de Cyrcestir pur estre atorné la dame par demi an.

Summa xi. li'. vii. s'. viii. d'.

Meme cely Adam demande xl. livres lez queuz la dame ly granta par sa lettre.

E xxxvi. sous vi. deniers pur cez despencez xiiii. jours demorant à Develyn, à reson par la justice pur lez servicez de Kylkenny nyent paeé.

E xlvi. sous viii. deniers pur treys peyrs de covertours de ceyl despenduz en la Marche en service la dame.

E de vii. livres pur cez despencez a Develyn demorant par v. symaynes devant sire Geffrei de Genevile, ausi com touz lez autres sen[eschauz] de Leynestere, par poer q'il aveit du reys de ly certifier de combien de dette le reys poet estre respondu en lour baillif'.

E lx. sous v. deniers obole pur cez despencez alant e revenant de la dame pur lez bosoygnez la dame e demorant son passage par viii. symeynys.

E vi. livres pur lez despencez Jon Wogan, justice d'Yrland, fetes

<sup>1</sup> MS. sic.



en la quinzyme de la Pasche, lez queuz la dame ly promyst autrefeez restorer.

E iiii<sup>xx</sup>. mars e x. par la reson qe vous, dame, promistis à meme cely Adam la prochen garde qe vous echeyste en le conté de Wesforde, e adonke vous acheyt la garde dil fiz e heyr Nichol de Staford, la quelle garde fust vendu à Walter Bondam de Wesforde pur iiii<sup>xx</sup>. mars et x.

E xl. sol pur un enstur achaté al eus la dame dont par sa lettre.

Summa cxxxvi li'. iii s'. vii. d'. ob'.

Summa totalis cclvii li'. ix. s'. viii. d'. ob. q<sup>a</sup>.

## 12. AUDIT OF ACCOUNT OF RICHARD OF BARFORD, TREASURER.

### A. WRIT TO BARFORD.

E. 368/78, m. 91d.

*Hibernia.* Mandatum est Ricardo de Bereforde, thesaurario de scaccario regis Dublinie, quod, assumpto secum vno camerariorum de scaccario predicto, sit coram thesaurario et baronibus hic a die Purificacionis beate Marie in xv. dies proximo futuro paratus compotum suum reddere de tempore quo thesaurarius extitit ibidem post compotum suum vltimo hic redditum. Et hoc nullo modo omittat. Teste Waltero Regin[aldi], thesaurario, xvi. die Nouembris etc.

16 February 1308

Postea venit sicut continetur alibi in his memorandis.

16 November 1307

### B. WRITS TO TREASURER AND BARONS OF DUBLIN EXCHEQUER.

E. 368/78, m. 98.

*Thesaurario et baronibus de scaccario Dublinie in Hibernia.* Rex thesaurario et baronibus suis de scaccario Dublinie, salutem. Cum nuper dedissemus diem dilecto clerico nostro Ricardo de Bereforde, nuper thesaurario Hibernie, quod fuisset ad scaccarium nostrum Anglie in crastino Ascensionis Domini proximo preterito ad reddendum nobis compotum suum nondum redditum de tempore quo fuit thesaurarius celebris memorie domini Edwardi nuper regis Anglie patris nostri et noster in Hibernia, et super illo quod ex parte ipsius Ricardi nobis datum erat intelligi quod ipse sine presencia magistri Thome de Chaddesworthe, decani ecclesie sancti Patricii Dublinie, qui per breue dicti patris nostri

27 May 1308

fuit locum tenens eiusdem Ricardi tempore quo idem Ricardus fuit in Anglia ad vltimum compotum suum reddendum, ad plenum computare non posset, mandassemus prefato Thome quod esset ad scaccarium nostrum Anglie ad eundem diem ad reddendum compotum suum vna cum prefato Ricardo de tempore quo fuit sic locum tenens. Cumque idem Thomas ad diem illum returnauerit ibidem se in Angliam pro debilitate corporis venire non posse ipsumque reddidisse compotum suum coram prefato Ricardo et baronibus de dicto scaccario Dublinie de tempore supradicto, ac prefatus Ricardus coram thesaurario et baronibus de scaccario nostro Anglie asseruerit ipsum magistrum Thomam nondum plenarie computasse de eodem tempore seque non posse sine eiusdem Thome presencia computare, propter quod reddicionem eiusdem compoti vsque a die Natiuitatis sancti Iohannis Baptiste proximo futuro in xv. dies fecimus prorogari, volentes eundem compotum ad eundem diem sine dilacionis vlterius incomodo plene reddi. Et ideo vobis mandamus in fide qua nobis tenemini, firmiter iniungentes quod venire faciatis predictum Thomam ad predictum scaccarium nostrum Anglie ad diem illum ad compotum suum de tempore suo vna cum predicto Ricardo reddendum, vt premittitur, vel aliquem instructum pro se ibidem ad diem predictum mittat pro quo respondere velit ad premissa facienda. Et hoc, sicut indignacionem nostram vitare volueritis, nullatenus omittatis. Et remittatis ibi hoc breue. Teste thesaurario xxiiii<sup>to</sup> die Maii.

8 July 1308

24 May 1308

*Thesaurario et baronibus de scaccario Dublinie.* Rex thesaurario et baronibus de scaccario Dublinie, salutem. Cum nuper mandassemus dilecto clerico nostro Ricardo de Bereforde, nuper thesaurario Hibernie, quod, assumpto secum Ricardo de Ouyngge, vno camerariorum dicti scaccarii, quod fuisset ad scaccarium nostrum Anglie in crastino Ascensionis Domini proximo preterito ad reddendum nobis compotum suum ibidem nondum redditum de tempore quo fuit thesaurarius celebris memorie domini Edwardi nuper regis Anglie patris nostri et noster in Hibernia, et idem Ricardus de Bereforde venit ibidem ad eundem diem et dictus Ricardus de Ouyngge non venit, nosque, tum propter absenciam eiusdem Ricardi de Ouyngge tum pro eo quod vos compotum eiusdem Ricardi de Bereforde sub sigillo dicti scaccarii Dublinie ad dictum scaccarium nostrum Anglie non misistis, reddicionem eiusdem compoti vsque a die sancti Iohannis Baptiste proximo futuro in xv. dies fecimus prorogari, volentes quod sine dilacionis vlterius incomodo tunc reddatur,

27 May 1308

8 July 1308



vobis mandamus in fide qua nobis tenemini, firmiter iniungentes quod venire faciatis eundem Ricardum de Ouyngē ad predictum scaccarium nostrum Anglie ad eundem diem [et]<sup>1</sup> mittatis ibidem contrarotulos receptarum et exituum de predicto scaccario Dublinie de tempore supradicto ac etiam rotulos de compoto prefati Ricardi de Bereforde de eodem tempore sub sigillo eiusdem scaccarii Dublinie, ita quod idem camerarius cum eisdem rotulis sit ad dictos diem et locum ad faciendum quod ad ipsum pertinet super compotum antedictum. Et hoc, sicut indignacionem nostram vitare volueritis, nullatenus omittatis. Et remittatis ibi hoc breue. Teste vt supra.

13. PROCEEDINGS AGAINST HENRY OF WALTON, CHAMBERLAIN OF THE DUBLIN EXCHEQUER.

A. KING'S WRITS TO JUSTICIAR.

K.B. 27/194, m. 102d.

25 November 1308

ADHUC DE QUINDENA SANCTI MARTINI.

Dominus rex mandauit Iohanni Wogan, iusticiario suo Hibernie, breue suum in hec verba :

23 February 1308

Edwardus Dei gracia rex Anglie, dominus Hibernie et dux Aquitanie dilecto et fideli suo Iohanni Wogan, iusticiario suo Hibernie, salutem. Quia mandauimus Ricardo de Bereforde, nuper thesaurario celebris memorie domini Edwardi quondam regis Anglie patris nostri de scaccario suo Dublinie, quod sit ad nos apud Westmonasterium a die Purificacionis beate Marie proximo futuro in tres septimanas nobiscum et cum consilio nostro super aliquibus negociis nos et ipsum Ricardum tangentibus colloquium habiturus, ac expediens est, vt accepimus, quod Galfridus de Mortone et Henricus de Waltone, nuper camerarii dicti patris nostri in scaccario predicto, tunc ad nos veniant ad informandum nos plenius super negociis memoratis, vobis mandamus quod eosdem Galfridum et Henricum sine dilacione premuniri faciatis quod ad dictos diem et locum personaliter sint ad nos ad informandum nos et consilium nostrum super premissis prout magis viderint expedire. Et quidem Henricus in prisiona nostra pro aliquibus que contra nos dicitur commisse, vt accepimus, detinetur, vobis mandamus quod, accepta ab eodem Henrico sufficienti

<sup>1</sup> MS. omits.

manucapcione de stando recto in curia nostra ad voluntatem nostram super hiis pro quibus captus et inprisonatus existit, eundem Henricum a priona predicta, si pro hiis que ad nos pertinent et non alia de causa detineatur in eadem, interim per manucapcionem illam deliberari faciatis, et habeatis ibi nomina manucaptorum et hoc breue. Teste me ipso apud Westmonasterium xvi. die Decembris anno regni nostri primo.

16 December 1308

Mandauit eciam dominus rex eidem iusticiario aliud breue suum in hec verba :

Edwardus Dei gracia rex Anglie, dominus Hibernie et dux Aquitanie dilecto et fideli suo Iohanni Wogan, iusticiario Hibernie, salutem. Quia super modo et causa capcionis et detencionis Henrici de Waletone quibusdam de causis volumus certiorari, vobis mandamus quod super modo et causa capcionis et detencionis predictarum nos sub sigillo vestro sine dilacione reddatis cerciores. Teste me ipso apud Cantuariam iii<sup>o</sup> die Ianuarii anno regni nostri primo.

3 January 1308

## B. RETURN TO WRITS.

Pretextu cuius breuis idem iusticiarius misit recordum inde coram eo habitum in hec verba :

*Placita de corona*<sup>1</sup> apud Dubliniam coram Iohanne Wogan, iusticiario Hibernie, a die sancti Hillarii in xv. dies anno regni regis Edwardi tricesimo quarto.

Ricardus de Bereforde, thesaurarius Hibernie, venit coram Iohanne Wogan hic etc. ad hunc diem et retulit eidem iusticiario quod Henricus de Waletone, nuper vnus camerariorum de scaccario Dublinie, cepit et asportauit de denariis domini regis existentibus in thesauro ipsius domini regis in hac villa quadringentas et tresdecim libras argenti, racione cuius transgressionis idem thesaurarius arestari fecit predictum Henricum iuxta formam cuiusdam processus inde habiti coram ipso thesaurario et baronibus de scaccario predicto, quem idem thesaurarius protulit hic etc. in hec verba :

27 January 1306

Memorandum quod post reditum Ricardi de Bereforde, thesaurarii Hibernie, de Anglia in Hiberniam in termino sancti Michaelis anno regni regis Edwardi tricesimo tercio, incipiente tricesimo quarto, idem thesaurarius in presencia camerariorum examinari fecit rotulos receptarum et exituum de tempore quo idem thesaurarius stetit in Anglia

1305

<sup>1</sup> Not on Justiciary Roll of 33-34 Edward I as calendared : for a related action see C.J.R. ii. 225-6.



ad compotum suum reddendum, in quibus compertum fuit quod iidem camerarii diuersas peccunie summas diuersis hominibus in Hibernia liberauerunt, nullas inde acquietancias capiendo ab eisdem, set inde onerauerunt predictum thesaurarium in iornali per quemdam rotulum quem Henricus de Waletone, vnus camerariorum, in termino Pasche proximo precedenti in recessu suo versus Angliam maliciose composuit et sociis suis camerariis in recepta remanentibus liberauit, ipso Ricardo thesaurario tunc in Anglia existente et hoc penitus ignorante. Propter quod dictus thesaurarius scrutari fecit omnes rotulos et memoranda in recepta predicta propter diuidendas et denarios qui esse deberent in deposito in thesauro ibidem. Et quia nulli denarii seu diuidende ibidem inuente fuerunt et camerarii presentes coram prefato thesaurario et baronibus super hoc allocuti, predictus Henricus, vnus camerariorum, dixit se debere de denariis illis et de diuidendis respondere et de hiis et aliis omnibus predictos thesaurarium et socios suos camerarios versus dominum regem et alios quoscumque acquietare et indemnos seruare. Et requisitus vbi dicte diuidende fuerunt que deberent esse in recepta, dixit quod ad domum suam propriam et die crastino eas portaret ad scaccarium, et manucepit ad dictum scaccarium omni die veneris et ibidem morari quousque omnia et singula predictum negocium tangencia inuenta sint et debito modo discussa. Et quia dictus Henricus per plures dies se elongauit et ad dictum scaccarium non venit, sicut manucepit, nec peccuniam neque diuidendas reportauit, predictus thesaurarius diligencius scrutari fecit omnes rotulos et memoranda in recepta predicta existentia, quibus scrutatis et examinatis, habito auisamento ad perclausum compoti thesaurarii predicti in Anglia redditu, compertum fuit per particulas quod debent esse in thesauro ccccxiii. libre.

16 December 1305

Postea sexto decimo die Decembris venit hic predictus Henricus et, super elongacione predicte peccunie allocutus, recognouit se debere tantam summam peccunie domino regi et inde predicto thesaurario respondere, et si plures particule peccunie per diuidendas vel aliquo modo postea reperiantur que de thesauro sint elongate, idem Henricus concedit se debere inde onerari pro predictis thesaurario et camerariis et inde de alto et basso submisit se gracie curie istius et thesaurarii predicti. Et petiit quod de gracia curie libere posset ire vsque in diem crastinum et inueniret domino regi sufficientem securitatem de predicta peccunia. Et thesaurarius et barones, perpendentes hoc esse ad comodum domini regis si securitatem de peccunia predicta inuenire posset, concesserunt



eidem Henrico quod infra villam Dublinie libere ire posset per securitatem quod non exiret muros ville predictæ.

Postea, decimo octauo die Decembris, predictus thesaurarius, in 18 December 1305  
presencia magistri Iohannis Cantoke, tenentis locum cancellarii Hibernie, Alexandri de Bikenore et baronum istius scaccarii, petiit a predicto Henrico restitutionem dicte peccunie a thesauro domini regis per ipsum Henricum elongate. Et quia non potuit peccuniam illam restituere nec securitatem inde inuenire, commissus fuit castro Dublinie donec etc. Et preceptum est maiori et balliuis quod omnia bona et catalla ipsius Henrici in manum domini regis capiant et vendicioni exponant etc. Et iusticiarius hic etc., perpendens quod capcio et asportacio peccunie predictæ est quasi feloniam et quod predictus Henricus, si inde sit conuictus ad sectam domini regis, erit ad voluntatem ipsius domini regis de vita et membris, terris et catallis etc., venire fecit postea coram eo predictum Henricum de Waletone. Et idem Henricus super capcione et asportacione denariorum predictorum, in presencia thesaurarii et baronum de scaccario predicto, iusticiariorum de banco Dublinie, et aliorum de consilio domini regis, coram prefato iusticiario Hibernie in pleno scaccario arenatus venit et non potuit dedicere capcionem et asportacionem denariorum predictorum, set bene cognouit capcionem et asportacionem predictas in forma superius expressa.

Postea iusticiarius hic etc., de auisamento predicti consilii, certis de causis noluit ad iudicium vite et membrorum contra predictum Henricum procedere, domino rege inconsulto, ideo predictus Henricus committatur gaule pro iudicio expectando etc. et catalla eius for [isfiant]. Catalla eius sexaginta tresdecim libre, octo solidi et tres denarii, unde Ricardus de Bereforde, thesaurarius Hibernie, respondebit, qui catalla predicta cepit in manum domini regis et vendicioni exposuit antequam predictus Henricus de transgressione predicta fuit conuictus coram iusticiario hic etc. Idem Henricus habuit liberam terram que valet per annum sex libras, nouem solidos et quatuor denarios, unde idem thesaurarius qui terram illam cepit in manum domini regis in forma predicta respondebit de anno in annum quamdiu terra illa in manu domini regis sic extiterit etc.

Retornum eciam idem iusticiarii : quo ad predictum primum breue sibi per dominum regem directum, quod breue adeo tarde sibi liberatum fuit quod predicti Galfridus de Mortone et Henricus de Waletone interesse non potuerunt ad diem in breui illo contentum, ideo idem iusticiarius premuniri fecit eos quod essent coram rege pro expedicione predicta a



28 April 1308

die Pasche in xv. dies proximo sequentis, et quod Adam le Latimer, Ricardus de sancto Olauo, Iohannes Stakepolle, Robertus Baret, Robertus Flynt, Henricus Flynt, Thomas le Whyte, Godefridus filius Rogeri, Robertus Ioye, Willelmus Frere, Robertus de Cauntetone, Iohannes Godgamen et Iohannes Matheu manuceperunt habere tunc ibidem corpus predicti Henrici de Waletone ad standum recto etc.

27 May 1308

Pretextu quorum premunicionis et manucapcionis predictus Henricus venit coram rege in Anglia in crastino Ascensionis Domini et committitur marescallo etc.

#### 14. LETTER IN FAVOUR OF HUGH CANON, JUSTICE OF THE BENCH AT DUBLIN.

S.C.I. vol. 31, no. 171.

11 November 1310

A soen seynur reverence et honur. Pur ceo, trescher sire, qe Hughe Canoun, moun ben amy, qui est un des justices du baunke en Irlaund et cely de tote la court qui plus sovent est chargie de autres diverses busoignes qi touchent le roi, e le quel la justice et le conseil unt chargie de la garde del escheaterie pus la mort mounsire Neel le Brun, nadgaires escheatour<sup>1</sup>, et oveke ceo de estre un des justices del eyre à Dyvelyn qi commence ore a la seint Martyn prochein avenir,<sup>2</sup> solom ceo qe la justice, le chaunceler et le tresorer nous maundunt, est par malice, a ceo q'est dit, enplede de sa terre qu'il ad en Engleterre . . . . .,<sup>3</sup> de qui le roi en avereit graunt defaute et graunt damage s'il venist ore en Engleterre pur sa terre defendre. Vous recoer, trescher sire, qe vous ly voilletz graunt proteccioun ove la clause 'duraunt tanqe à la Pasche', ou plus avant à vostre volunté, dedenz quel temps hom purra purver qe son aler ver Engleterre ne serra mie si damajous au roi come serreit à ore. E pur ceo, sire, qe la dite justice, le chaunceler, le tresorer et moi avoms graunt asseuraunce de vostre eyde en ceste busoigne, si ly avoms fait demorer pur graunt profit du roi, par quei, sire, ly voilletz faire le plus graunt grace, si vous plest. Tres cher seignur, me voilletz commander toutz jours vostre volunté come à cely qi prest est à fere le à soen poer. Nostre Seignur vous eit en sa garde. Escrit a Dyvelin le xx. jour de Septembre.

20 September 1310

<sup>1</sup> He died on 29 September 1310 (above, p. 126).

<sup>2</sup> The commission is dated 19 September 1310 (C. Chanc. R. Ire., 16, no. 41).

<sup>3</sup> Hole in parchment.

## 15. EXECUTION IN ENGLAND OF PROCESS FOR DEBTS DUE IN IRELAND.

E. 368/120, m. 21.

ADHUC COMMUNIA DE TERMINO SANCTI MICHAELIS ANNO XXII<sup>do</sup> REGIS  
EDWARDI TERCII.

1348

## ADHUC RECORDA

*Hibernia. De execucione facienda in Anglia pro debitis et compotis regi  
debitis in Hibernia.*

Memorandum quod, cum rex per breue suum de magno sigillo, cuius datum est quarto die Februarii anno regni sui xx<sup>o</sup>, pro eo quod sibi datum 4 February 1346 erat intelligi quod quamplures diuersa officia, balliuias et custodias in terra Hibernie per commissiones sub magno sigillo Anglie habentes, quorum quidam de exitibus et proficuis officiorum, balliuiarum et custodiarum suorum ad scaccarium Dublinie computarunt et in magnis arreragiis existunt et quidam alii qui compota inde reddere tenentur diffugiunt et ad loca extranea se diuertunt, et pro eo quod predicti terras seu tenementa aut bona et catalla de quibus dicta arreragia compotorum redditorum leuari deberent et per que illi qui computandi adhuc existunt distringi poterunt ad compota sua reddenda non habent, sicque rex dampnum non modicum incurrit et iacturam, mandasset thesaurario et baronibus ac camerariis suis de dicto scaccario Dublinie quod, scrutatis compotis huiusmodi etc., de nominibus illorum qui arreragia seu alia debita huiusmodi regi debent et terras et bona non habent vnde ea leuari poterunt et eciam illorum qui reddicionem compotorum et satisfaccionem debitorum regi diffugiunt et se ea occasione extra dictam terram elongant et non habent ibidem vnde distringi possunt, vna cum summis regi sic debitis et causis propter quas summe ille debentur, thesaurario et baronibus de scaccario Anglie sub sigillo dicti scaccarii Dublinie redderent cerciores, dictum breue ibidem remittendo, ita quod contra eos terras et bona in dicto regno Anglie habentes et eciam contra alios qui infra idem regnum inueniri contigerit procedi valeat prout etc. Et iidem thesaurarius, barones et camerarii de scaccario Dublinie retornassent hic modo in octabis sancti Michaelis dictum breue vna cum quadam certificacione super premissis eidem breui tachiata in hec verba :

Nomina illorum qui domino regi in arreragiis compotorum tenentur patent inferius :



Iohannes Dufforde nuper escaetor Hibernie debet Dccxiii. li'. xii. s'. ii. d. de arreragiis compoti sui de exitibus escaetrie predictae.<sup>1</sup>

Edmundus Hakelut, nuper escaetor ibidem, debet cccxix. li'. xiiii. s'. iii. d. q<sup>a</sup>. de arreragiis quarundem parcellarum terre in comitatibus Dublinie, Vriel', Midie, Waterfordie et Typerarie<sup>2</sup>.

Nicholaus Turuille, nuper vicecomes Midie, debet viii. li'. xvi. s'. x. d. de arreragiis compoti sui eiusdem comitatus.<sup>3</sup>

Dauid Cauntone, nuper vicecomes Corke, debet ccxix. li'. xv. s'. i. d. de arreragiis compoti sui eiusdem comitatus.<sup>4</sup>

Willelmus de Astone, clericus ad vadia domini regis soluenda assignatus, debet cii. s'. iiii. d. de arreragiis compoti sui.<sup>5</sup>

Nomina illorum qui domino regi in compotis reddendis tenentur patent inferius :

Willelmus Benet, nuper custos magne noue custume domini regis in Hibernia, debet compotum de exitibus custume predictae a xxiii<sup>o</sup> die Maii anno regni regis nunc vndecimo vsque xi. diem Aprilis anno regni regis eiusdem xiiii<sup>o</sup>.<sup>6</sup>

Thomas de Etone, nuper escaetor Hibernie, debet compotum de exitibus escaetrie predictae a iiii<sup>to</sup> die Marcii anno regni regis nunc quartodecimo vsque xviii. diem Maii anno regni regis eiusdem quinto-decimo.<sup>7</sup>

Thomas, episcopus Herfordensis, debet compotum de extenta temporalium episcopatus Ossoriensis a vi<sup>to</sup> die Augusti anno regni regis nunc duodecimo vsque secundum diem Decembris proximo sequentem.<sup>8</sup>

Magister Iohannes Rees, clericus, debet compotum de extenta omnium terrarum et tenementorum cum pertinenciis in Waspaillestone in comitatu Dublinie que fuerunt Galfridi le Botiller defuncti a primo die Septembris anno regni regis nunc duodecimo, sicut plenius continetur in eisdem breui et certificacione que sunt in custodia huius rememoratoris inter breuia exactoria pro rege de hoc termino.

Postea, facta execucione versus prefatum Iohannem Dufforde super leuacione dicti debiti ab eo exacti per breue directum vicecomiti Norff' et Suff', idem vicecomes retornauit hic in crastino Animarum hoc termino

<sup>1</sup> Norff' in margine.

<sup>2</sup> Heref' in margine.

<sup>3</sup> Bed' in margine.

<sup>4</sup> Heref' in margine.

<sup>5</sup> Salop'. In rotulo xxvii<sup>o</sup>. in margine.

<sup>6</sup> Glouc' in margine.

<sup>7</sup> Salop' in margine.

<sup>8</sup> Heref' in margine.

23 May 1337

11 April 1340

4 March 1340

18 May 1341

6 August 1338

2 December 1338

1 September 1338

3 November 1348

quod fecit returnum breuis . . ., balliuo libertatis episcopi Eliensis, qui nullum inde dedit responsum. Super quo dominus rex mandauit hic breue suum de priuato sigillo suo, quod est inter communia de hoc termino, in hec verba :

Edward, par la grace de Dieu roi d'Engleterre et de France et seigneur d'Irlande, as tresorer et barons de nostre eschequer, saluz. Por ce que nous auons entenduz qe briefs sont issuz hors de nostre dit eschequer à nostre visconte de Norff' et Suff' de fair lever une certeyne somme de deniers des terres et chateux nostre cher et foial Johan de Ufford chivaler, supposant qe le dit Johan ad esté nostre eschetour es parties d'Irlande, par la ou nous sumes certainement enformez qe le dit Johan n'estoit unqes en dit office, vous mandons qe, si la dite demande soit faite par la cause susdite et nemie par autre, facez surseer de meisme la demande à fin qe le dit Johan en soit quitement deschargé sanz estre plus grevé ou molesté par celle cause. Doné souz nostre privé seal à Westmostier le viii. jour de Novembre l'an de nostre regne d'Engleterre vintisme primer et de France oytisme.<sup>2</sup> 8 November 1347

Pretextu cuius breuis non fiat executio vlterius versus prefatum Iohannem de Vfford in hac parte, salua accione regis versus dictum Iohannem Dufforde, nuper escaetorem Hibernie, quando etc.

Et quo ad prefatum magistrum Iohannem Rees clericum, facta execucione pro dicto compoto ab eo exacto de extenta omnium terrarum et tenementorum cum pertinenciis in Waspaillestone in comitatu Dublinie que fuerunt Galfridi le Botiller defuncti a primo die Septembris anno xii<sup>o</sup> regis nunc et deinceps sicut superius continetur, idem magister Iohannes attachiatus fuit essendi hic in crastino clausi Pasche hoc anno ad compotum etc. Et idem magister Iohannes venit per Willelmum de Bradewelle attornatum suum, et non dedit quin habuit custodiam terrarum et tenementorum predictorum in Waspaillestone per certum tempus, videlicet a predicto primo die Septembris anno xii<sup>o</sup> vsque xx. diem Octobris proximo sequentem, per quod tempus dicit se computasse et satisfecisse regi ad scaccarium Dublinie de eadem extenta iuxta ratam eiusdem que se extendit ad x.li'. viii.s. per annum, vnde vocat rotulos eiusdem scaccarii Dublinie, asserens idem magister Iohannes quod rex eodem xx. die Octobris anno xii<sup>o</sup> per litteras patentes de magno sigillo suo Anglie commisit Waltero de Coumbe custodiam terrarum et tene- 1 September 1338  
28 April 1348  
1 September 1338  
20 October 1338

<sup>1</sup> MS. *sic*. The gemipunctus was used to show that the name was unknown and that the holder of an office (and not a particular person) was indicated.

<sup>2</sup> This date cannot be reconciled with the term in which the proceedings purport to have taken place.



mentorum illorum habendam vsque ad legitimam etatem heredis predicti Galfridi le Botiller pro extenta inde per annum reddenda ad dictum scaccarium Dublinie, vnde vocat rotulos huius scaccarii etc. Quibus scrutatis compertum est in originalibus de predicto anno xii<sup>o</sup><sup>1</sup> quod rex per litteras suas patentes dato supradicto, xx. die Octobris eodem anno, commisit Waltero de Coumbe custodiam omnium terrarum et tenementorum cum pertinenciis in Waspaillestone et Creuache in dicto comitatu Dublinie que fuerunt Walteri le Botiller defuncti, habendam ab eodem xx. die Octobris vsque ad legitimam etatem heredis predicti Galfridi, reddendo inde per annum ad scaccarium Dublinie extentam terrarum et tenementorum predictorum iuxta verum valorem eorundem factam vel faciendam, vnam videlicet medietatem ad scaccarium Pasche et aliam medietatem ad scaccarium sancti Michaelis, qui quidem Walterus restat onerandus de extenta predicta pretextu commissionis sue predictae a predicto xx. die Octobris quamdiu etc. Set quia non constat curie hic vtrum dictus magister Iohannes computauerit et satisfecerit regi ad dictum scaccarium Dublinie de extenta dictorum terrarum et tenementorum in Waspaillestone per dictum tempus quo dicit se inde habuisse custodiam necne, nec ad quam summam dicta terre et tenementa extenduntur, concordatum est quod mandetur thesaurario et baronibus dicti scaccarii Dublinie quod certificent hic inde antequam vlterius etc. Et mandatum est eis in forma predicta, ita etc. in crastino sancti Michaelis. Et idem dies datus est prefato magistro Iohanni ad faciendum et recipiendum inde quod etc.

30 September  
1348

Ad quem diem predictus magister Iohannes venit per dictum attornatum suum, et predicti thesaurarius et barones Dublinie non retornant breue. Ideo mandatum est eis sicut alias, ita etc. a die Pasche in xv. dies, et idem dies datus est prefato magistro Iohanni ad faciendum et recipiendum inde quod curia etc., sicut continetur in memorandis anni sequentis inter dies datas et breuia retornabilia de termino sancti Michaelis.

#### DORSE.

Postea, continuato processu predicto versus predictum magistrum Iohannem vsque a die Pasche anno xxvi<sup>to</sup> regis nunc in xv. dies, predictus magister Iohannes venit. Et thesaurarius et barones de scaccario Dublinie retornant hic dictum breue sibi directum super premissis indorsatum sic :

22 April 1352

Thesaurarius et barones de scaccario Dublinie respondent quod,

<sup>1</sup> See Abbreviatio Rotulorum Originalium, ii. 125.

scrutatis rotulis et memorandis scaccarii predicti, non inuenitur quod magister Iohannes de Rees, clericus, computauit seu satisfecit domino regi ad scaccarium Dublinie de extenta omnium terrarum et tenementorum cum pertinenciis in Waspaillestone a primo die Septembris <sup>1 September 1338</sup> anno xii<sup>o</sup> regis nunc vsque xx. diem Octobris tunc proximo sequentem, <sup>20 October 1338</sup> prout inferius continetur. Inspectis tamen magnis rotulis de dicto scaccario Dublinie, inuenitur quod Walterus de Combe, cui dominus rex commisit custodiam terrarum et tenementorum predictorum, a predicto xx<sup>o</sup> die Octobris et deinceps, pro tempore quo custodiam inde habuit ad idem scaccarium computauit et domino regi inde satisfecit.

Ideo preceptum est vicecomiti Herefordie quod distringat dictum magistrum Iohannem Rees per terras etc., ita etc. in crastino Purificacionis ad computandum, sicut continetur in memorandis de anno xxvi<sup>to</sup> inter breuia retornabilia de termino sancti Michaelis. <sup>3 February 1352</sup>

## 16. AUDIT OF ACCOUNT OF WILLIAM OF BROMLEY, TREASURER.

### A. PRELIMINARY AUDIT.

E. 368/124, m. 250<sup>d</sup>.

*Hibernia.* Audito compoto Willelmi de Bromlegh' clerici, thesaurarii regis Hibernie, de exitibus terre regis Hibernie a xv<sup>o</sup> die Septembris <sup>15 September 1350</sup> anno xxiii<sup>to</sup>, quo die recepit officium predictum, vnacum rotulis etc., de fratre Nicholao abbate sancti Thome Martiris iuxta Dubliniam, thesaurario regis ibidem ante ipsum Willelmum, per indenturam, vsque festum Pasche, videlicet viii. diem Aprilis hoc anno xxv<sup>to</sup>,<sup>1</sup> scilicet, de xv. diebus <sup>8 April 1352</sup> predicti anni xxiii<sup>ti</sup> vltimis, anno xxv<sup>o</sup> et primo die anno xxvi<sup>to</sup>, per contrarotulamentum Walteri de Coumbe et Willelmi Laweles, camerariorum, a quo quidem festo Pasche idem Willelmus alias est inde computurus

Debet	ciiii <sup>xx</sup> li'. xiii.s'. viii.d'.
De quibus soluit	cxli li'. xv.s'. vii.d'.
per ii. tallias quarum i. leuatur xx. die	
Iunii anno xxv <sup>o</sup> et continetur	cxxxiii. li'. vi.s'. viii.d'.

<sup>20 June 1351</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Recte xxvi<sup>to</sup>.



44 May 1352

et altera xiiii. die Maii hoc anno xxvi.  
et continetur

viii. li'. viii.s'. xi.d'.  
iii.s'. ix.d'.

Et

16 May 1352

per vnam talliam leuatam xvi. die Maii hoc anno.  
Et restant ei allocandi pretextu breuis de magno  
sigillo inter communia de hoc termino  
de illis c. s'. quos soluit vni clerico scribenti sum-  
moniciones extractorum omnium placearum regis  
in terra Hibernie pro feodo suo.

lx. s'.

Residui vero

xl. s'.

allocantur ante summam dicti thesaurarii in  
compoto suo predicto.

Et petit sibi allocari pretextu breuis de  
magno sigillo inter communia de hoc termino  
quos dicit se soluisse Roberto de Emeldon'  
capellano in partem satisfactionis bonorum et  
catallorum suorum nuper in manum regis capt-  
orum pro diuersis feloniis et criminibus vnde  
indictatus fuit et de quorum bonorum et  
catallorum precio dicit Nicholaum abbatem  
sancti Thome Martiris iuxta Dubliniam, nuper  
thesaurarium Hibernie, super compotum suum  
quem redditurus est de eadem thesauraria velle  
et debere regi respondere, vnde ostendit breue  
regis thesaurario et camerariis scaccarii Dublinie  
directum de restituendo dicto Roberto terras  
et tenementa, bona et catalla sua predicta,  
et litteras acquietancie ipsius Roberti de receptis  
et vnde non fiet ei allocacio quousque dictus  
abbas computauerit et onerauerit se de precio  
bonorum et catallorum predictorum

xxxvii. li'. iii.s'. iiii.d'.

Et debet

li. s'.

de quibus restant ei allocandi

l. s'.

pro feodo dicti clerici scribentis summon-  
iciones per tempus predictum vltra videlicet  
c. s'. supradictos per dictum breue inde superius  
memoratum.

Et debet

xii. d'.

pro quibus fiet execucio per summonicionem.

Et datus est ei dies ad alias computandum de exitibus thesaurarie predictae a die Pasche anno futuro in xv. dies.<sup>1</sup> Et mandatum est prefato abbati quod sit hic ad eundem diem ad computandum de tempore suo. Mandatumque est iusticiario Hibernie quod distringat ipsum abbatem per terras etc., ita etc. ad dictam quindenam. Mandatum est insuper baronibus de scaccario Dublinie quod vnum de camerariis eiusdem scaccarii cum contrarotulis de temporibus predictorum abbatis et Willelmi sub sigillo dicti scaccarii Dublinie mittant hic ad dictam quindenam ad onerandum ipsos abbatem et Willelmum super receptione sua predicta et unde dictus Willelmus habet diem ad computandum ad dictam quindenam, sicut continetur in memorandis anni sequentis inter dies dati de termino sancti Michaelis. 7 April 1353

#### B. KING'S WRITS FOR FURTHER AUDIT.

E. 368/124, m. 208.

*Dublin.* Rex baronibus de scaccario suo Dublinie, salutem. Cum prefixerimus diem Willelmo de Bromlegh', thesaurario nostro Hibernie, et fratri Nicholao abbati sancti Thome Martiris iuxta Dubliniam, nuper thesaurario nostro Hibernie, essendi ad scaccarium nostrum Anglie a die Pasche proximo futuro in xv. dies ad reddendum nobis compotum separatim de exitibus thesaurarie predictae de temporibus quibus fuerunt thesaurarii nostri, ut premititur, et non computarunt, vobis mandamus quod vnum de camerariis nostris dicti scaccarii nostri Dublinie, cum contrarotulis de recepta et exitu eiusdem scaccarii de temporibus predictis sub sigillo eiusdem scaccarii consignatis, mittatis ad dictum scaccarium nostrum Anglie apud Westmonasterium ad dictam quindenam ad onerandum predictos Willelmum et fratrem Nicholaum super compotos suos predictos et ad ulterius faciendum quod ad officium contrarotulatoris pertinet in hac parte. Teste thesaurario xvi. die Maii. 7 April 1353

Per rotulum memorandorum de eodem anno xxvi<sup>to</sup>  
Pasche visus compotorum post summam compoti  
prefati Willelmi. 16 May 1352

<sup>1</sup> For writs see below.



7 April 1353

*Hibernia.* Rex dilecto sibi in Christo fratri Nicholao abbati sancti Thome Martiris iuxta Dubliniam, nuper thesaurario nostro Hibernie, salutem. Mandamus vobis firmiter iniungentes quod in propria persona vestra sitis<sup>1</sup> coram thesaurario et baronibus de scaccario nostro Anglie apud Westmonasterium a die Pasche proximo futuro in xv. dies, cum rotulis, breuibus, talliis et omnibus aliis compotum vestrum tangentibus, ad reddendum nobis compotum de exitibus thesaurarie dicte terre nostre Hibernie de tempore quo fuistis thesaurarius noster ibidem, et compotum inde nondum reddidistis. Mandauimus enim . . . . baronibus scaccarii nostri Dublinie quod vnum de camerariis nostris ibidem, cum contrarotulis suis de recepta et exitu eiusdem scaccarii Dublinie de tempore vestro predicto sub sigillo eiusdem scaccarii consignatis<sup>2</sup>, mittant ad dictum scaccarium nostrum Anglie ad dictam quindenam ad onerandum vos super compotum vestrum predictum et ad vltius faciendum quod ad officium contrarotulatoris pertinet in hac parte. Teste thesaurario xvi. die Maii.

16 May 1352

Per rotulum memorandorum de eodem anno xxvi<sup>to</sup>  
Pasche visus compotorum post summam compoti  
Willelmi de Bromlegh nunc thesaurarii Hibernie.

14 May 1352

*Hibernia.* Mandatum est iusticiario Hibernie quod distingat fratrem Nicholaum, abbatem sancti Thome Martiris iuxta Dubliniam, nuper thesaurarium Hibernie, per terras etc., ita quod etc. a die Pasche proximo futuro in xv. dies cum rotulis, breuibus, talliis etc. ad reddendum regi compotum de thesauraria predicta de tempore quo etc. Teste thesaurario xiiii<sup>o</sup> die Maii.

Per rotulum, etc. [*as above*].

# 17. EXECUTION IN ENGLAND OF PROCESS FOR DEBTS DUE IN IRELAND.

## A. KING'S WRIT.

E. 368/124, m. 208 d.

*Dublin'.* Rex thesaurario et baronibus de scaccario Dublinie, salutem. Quia datum est nobis intelligi quod diuersa debita et compota ac arreragia compotorum et firmarum nobis debentur ad scaccarium predictum per

<sup>1</sup> MS. scitis.

<sup>2</sup> MS. assignatis.

diuersos qui nichil habent in terra nostra Hibernie vnde debita et arreragia predicta leuari seu per quod debitores illi pro compotis, debitis vel arreragiis illis nobis reddendis et soluendis iusticiari valebunt, set quod satis habent in terra nostra Anglie vnde nobis satisfieri poterit in hac parte, nos vtilitati nostre prospicere et leuacionem debitorum et arreragiorum ac reddicionem compotorum predictorum maturari volentes, vt est iustum, vobis mandamus quod, scrutatis rotulis et memorandis dicti scaccarii nostri Dublinie premissa tangentibus, de omnibus huiusmodi debitis, compotis et arreragiis nobis sic debitis et de nominibus ea debencium singillatim, prout debentur, necnon de temporibus pro quibus dicta debita, compota et arreragia sic debentur et ex quibus causis separatim, thesaurarium et barones de scaccario nostro Anglie apud Westmonasterium a die Pasche proximo futuro in xv. dies sub sigillo dicti scaccarii nostri Dublinie distincte et aperte reddatis certiores vt execucionem vltierius pro debitis, arreragiis et compotis predictis versus debitores eorundem fieri faciamus prout decet. Teste thesaurario xvi. die Maii.

6 May 1352

Per consilium.

## B. RETURN BY DUBLIN EXCHEQUER AND PROCESS THEREON.

E. 368/125, m. 44.

ADHUC COMMUNIA DE TERMINO SANCTI MICHAELIS ANNO XXVII<sup>o</sup>  
REGIS EDWARDI TERCII.

## ADHUC RECORDA.

*Anglia. De execucione facienda ad scaccarium Anglie pro debitis et compotis que regi debentur ad scaccarium Dublinie.*

Memorandum quod, cum pro eo quod datum fuerat curie intelligi quod diuersa debita et compota ac arreragia firmarum et compotorum regi debebantur ad scaccarium Dublinie per diuersos qui nichil habent in terra Hibernie vnde debita et arreragia predicta leuari seu per quod debitores illi pro compotis, debitis vel arreragiis illis regi reddendis et soluendis iusticiari poterant, set quod satis habent in Anglia vnde regi satisfieri poterit in hac parte, mandatum fuisset thesaurario et baronibus de dicto scaccario Dublinie per breue huius scaccarii, cuius data est xvi. dies Maii anno xxvi<sup>to</sup> huius regis, quod, scrutatis rotulis et memorandis

16 May 1352



dicti scaccarii Dublinie premissa tangentibus, de omnibus huiusmodi debitis, compotis et arreragiis ac de nominibus ea debencium singillatim, prout debebantur, necnon de temporibus pro quibus dicta debita, compota et arreragia sic debebantur et ex quibus causis separatim, thesaurarium et barones hic modo a die sancti Michaelis in xv. dies sub sigillo dicti scaccarii Dublinie distincte et aperte redderent cerciores vt executio vlterius pro debitis, arreragiis et compotis predictis versus debitores eorundem fieri posset prout etc., sicut continetur in memorandis de dicto anno xxvi<sup>to</sup> inter breuia retornabilia de termino Pasche.

Et ad eandem quindenam predictam thesaurarius et barones de dicto scaccario Dublinie retornauerunt hic dictum breue indorsatum sic :

Mittimus vobis in quadam cedula huic breui consuta nomina quorundam qui arreragia compotorum domino regi debent et terras seu bona non habent in terra Hibernie vnde debita illa leuari poterunt, ac eciam quorundam qui in compotis domino regi reddendis tenentur nec habent in dicta terra Hibernie per que distringi possunt ad dicta compota reddenda secundum quod istud breue requirit etc. Sic respondent thesaurarius et barones scaccarii Dublinie.

Et tenor cedulae de qua fit mencio in dicto returno sequitur in hec verba :

Scrutatis rotulis et memorandis scaccarii Dublinie de nominibus illorum qui arreragia compotorum domino regi debent in terra Hibernie iuxta formam brevis compertum est quod :

Iohannes Dufforde, nuper escaetor Hibernie, domino regi debet Dccxiii. li'. xii.s. ii.d. q<sup>a</sup> de arreragiis compoti sui de exitibus escaetrie predictae.

Edmundus Hakelut, nuper escaetor ibidem, debet domino regi ccciiii<sup>xx</sup> xviii. li'. ii.s. vi.d. pro Alexandro, nuper Dublinensi archiepiscopi, de exitibus quarundem parcellarum terrarum et tenementorum in comitatibus Dublinie, Vriel, Midie, Waterfordie et Typerarie.<sup>1</sup>

Nicholaus Turville, nuper vicecomes Midie, debet regi viii.li'. xvi.s. x.d. de arreragiis compoti sui eiusdem comitatus.

Dauid de Cauntone, nuper vicecomes Corke, debet domino regi ccxix. li'. xv.s. i.d. de arreragiis compoti sui comitatus predicti.

Willelmus de Astone, clericus ad vadia domini regis soluenda assignatus, debet domino regi cii.s. iiii.d. de arreragiis compoti sui.

Magister Iohannes Saundforde debet cci. li'. de pluribus debitis

<sup>1</sup> in rotulo xxxi<sup>o</sup> in Heref' in margine.



suis, sicut continetur in magnis rotulis scaccarii Dublinie de anno regni regis Edwardi filii regis Henrici xxx<sup>o</sup>.

Et Willelmus de Monte Acuto, nuper comes Sar[esberie] et dominus libertatis Cathirlaghie, debet domino regi m<sup>le</sup> liiii. li'. xi. s. viii. d. q<sup>a</sup> in diuersis particulis, sicut continetur in magnis rotulis scaccarii Dublinie de anno regni regis nunc xxiii<sup>o</sup>.

Thomas Pek, clericus ad vadia domini regis soluenda assignatus, debet domino regi cix. s. v. d. de arreragiis compoti sui, sicut continetur in magnis rotulis scaccarii Dublinie de anno regni regis nunc xx<sup>o</sup>.<sup>1</sup>

Nomina illorum qui compota domino regi debent et non habent vnde in terra Hibernie per que distringi possunt ad compota sua reddenda, videlicet :

Willelmus Benet, nuper custos magne noue custume domini regis in Hibernia, debet domino regi computum de exitibus custume predicte a xxiii<sup>o</sup> die Maii anno regni regis nunc xi<sup>o</sup> vsque xi. diem Aprilis anno regni regis eiusdem xiii<sup>o</sup>.

23 May 1337

11 April 1340

Thomas de Etone, nuper escaetor Hibernie, debet computum de exitibus escaetrie predicte a quarto die Marci anno regni regis nunc xiii. vsque xviii. diem Maii anno eiusdem regis xv<sup>o</sup>.

4 March 1340

18 May 1341

Magister Iohannes Rees, clericus, debet domino regi computum de extenta omnium terrarum et tenementorum in Waspayllestone in comitatu Dublinie que fuerunt Galfridi le Botiller defuncti a primo die Septembris anno regni regis nunc xii<sup>o</sup> vsque xii. die Octobris anno supradicto, scilicet de vno termino, que terre et tenementa tunc valuerunt per annum xii. li'. xi. s. ix. d.

1 September 1338

12 October 1338

Magister Willelmus de Epworthe debet computum de quodam subsidio domino regi concesso per prelatos, viros religiosos, magnates et totam communitatem terre Hibernie in quodam tractatu apud Kylkenniam die lune proximo post quindenam sancti Michaelis anno regni regis nunc vicesimo conuocato de communi consensu in subsidium guerre regis ad maliciam diuersorum Hibernicorum felonum et inimicorum domini regis contra ipsum dominum regem de guerra insurgencium obuandam, scilicet de qualibet carucata terre in Hibernia duos solidos, de qualibet dimidia carucata terre duodecim denarios, de quolibet possessore bonorum et catallorum ad valenciam sex librarum si dimidiam carucatam terre non optinuerint duos solidos, iuxta quantitatem possessionis vnus cuiuscumque communitatis predicte, videlicet in comitatibus Corke, Kery, Lymerici, Typerarie et Waterfordie.

16 October 1346

<sup>1</sup> In R<sup>o</sup> xxix<sup>o</sup> in Canc' per ro<sup>m</sup> m<sup>d</sup> de a<sup>o</sup> xxix<sup>o</sup> etc. inter Recorda *in margine*.



Robertus de Clyntone debet compotum de exitibus exclusarum et gurgitum aque domini regis Lymerici ac piscarie ibidem, de quibus dominus rex per breue suum de cancellaria Anglie precepit thesaurario et baronibus scaccarii Dublinie litteras regis patentes eiusdem scaccarii sibi inde fieri et consignari ac illos pro extenta inde ad dictum scaccarium reddenda sibi committi et liberari, videlicet a vi<sup>to</sup> die Octobris anno regni regis nunc xxiii<sup>o</sup>, quo die iidem excludere, gurgites et piscaria sibi liberati extiterant, vsque quintum diem Maii anno regni regis eiusdem xxvi<sup>to</sup>, qui quidem excludere et gurgites et piscaria extenduntur per annum ad xxxiiii. li'.

Prefatus magister Willelmus de Epworthe debet compotum de exitibus temporalium episcopatus Corkagensis a quarto die Iunii anno regni regis nunc xxi<sup>o</sup> vsque xx<sup>m</sup> diem Ianuarii anno regni regis nunc xxi<sup>o</sup>.

Andreas de Gildforde debet compotum de extenta cuiusdam prati iuxta Waterfordiam vocati le Kyngesmede quod fuit comitis Dessemonie a xxv<sup>to</sup> die Ianuarii anno regni regis nunc decimo nono, sicut continetur in magnis rotulis huius scaccarii de eodem anno, vsque xxii. diem Octobris anno huius regis xxvi<sup>to</sup>.

Iohannes de Exonia et Andreas de Gildforde debet compotum de extenta omnium terrarum et tenementorum que fuerunt Walteri de Maundeuille in partibus del Arde et Lescalle in Vltonia a x<sup>o</sup> die Ianuarii anno regni regis nunc xix<sup>o</sup>, sicut continetur in magnis rotulis huius scaccarii de eodem anno, vsque xxii. diem Octobris anno huius regis xxvi<sup>o</sup>.

Magister Willelmus de Epworthe, clericus, debet compotum de extenta omnium terrarum et tenementorum cum pertinenciis in Balysax in comitatu Kildarie a quarto die Iunii anno regni regis nunc xx<sup>o</sup> vsque xxii. diem Octobris anno eiusdem regis xxvi<sup>to</sup>.

Et recitata dicta certificacione coram thesaurario et baronibus hic concordatum est quod fiat inde executio versus dictos debitores, videlicet de compotis reddendis per breuia de magna districcione, et de debitis predictis per breuia de fieri facias.

[*There follows a recital of proceedings taken against master William of Epworth and other debtors.*]

E. 368/125, m. 45.

Postea, videlicet xiii. die Iulii de anno xxx<sup>o</sup>, prefatus magister



Willelmus, inuentus hic in curia, committitur prisone de Flete pro contemptu, compotis et debitis predictis.

Postea, quia dictus magister Willelmus de Eppeworthe dicit per sacramentum suum quod quidam magister Willelmus Cogan, adhuc superstes, et idem Willelmus de Eppeworthe assignati fuerunt per commissionem sub sigillo scaccarii Dublinie coniunctim et diuisim ad recipiendum de collector[e] de subsidio in Hibernia subsidium illud, qui quidem magister Willelmus Cogan compututarius est inde simul cum magistro Willelmo de Eppeworthe ad dictum scaccarium Dublinie, si per ipsum magistrum Willelmum Cogan nondum sit inde computatum ibidem, iniunctum est eidem magistro Willelmo de Eppeworthe quod accedat ad dictas partes Hibernie et sequatur quod dictus compotus reddatur ibidem. Et mandatum est thesaurario et baronibus de dicto scaccario Dublinie quod dictum compotum necnon compotum de exitibus temporalium episcopatus de Corke et de extenta dictarum terrarum in Balisax audiant et admittant vltcriusque faciant quod natura compotorum exigit et requirit et certificent hic in crastino sancte Trinitatis, videlicet anno xxxi<sup>o</sup>, de facto suo in hac parte vt execucio pro arreragiis compotorum illorum, si forte in dicta terra Hibernie leuari non poterint, versus ipsum magistrum Willelmum de Eppeworthe in Anglia fieri valeat prout etc. Et datus est dies eidem magistro Willelmo de [m. 45d] Eppeworthe hic ad dictum crastinum sancte Trinitatis, videlicet anno xxxi<sup>o</sup>, per manucapcionem Iohannis de Wyndesore, rectoris ecclesie de Clyue, Wigornensis diocesis, [*and seven others*]. 5 June 1357

[*Further proceedings follow, with a final adjournment to the quinzaine of Easter, 33 Edward III.*] 5 May 1359

Ad quem diem iidem dicti thesaurarius et barones retornauerunt breue et mandauerunt quod predictus magister Willelmus de Epworthe tempore aduentus eiusdem breuis non computauit de extenta dictarum terrarum et tenementorum cum pertinenciis in Balysax in comitatu Kildarie, per quod ipsum magistrum Willelmum per corpus suum pro compoto illo reddendo attachiari fecerunt, et sic sub arresto ea de causa adhuc detinetur. Mandauerunt eciam quod idem magister Willelmus computauit ad idem scaccarium Dublinie de temporalibus episcopatus Corkagensis a primo die Iunii anno xxi<sup>o</sup> vsque xx<sup>m</sup> diem Ianuarii proximo sequentem, et oneratur de xiii. li'. xix. s. iiii. d., de quibus nondum satisfecit, nec habet terras, tenementa, bona vel catalla in terra Hibernie que capi possunt in manum regis. Mandauerunt insuper, quoad dictum compotum de subsidio, quod dictus magister Willelmus protulit ad idem 1 June 1346  
20 January 1347



scaccarium Dublinie quasdam particulas oneris sui de recepta sua de subsidio in comitatibus Corke et Kery prout tunc ad memoriam reducere potuit et ad compotum illum per sacramentum suum est admissus, prestito sacramento quod omnia memoranda que penes ipsum habuit per que se deberet super compotum illum ad plenum onerare per infortunium ignis et aque amisit, set tanto de quanto potest recolere adtunc vel in futurum se recepisse in suis comitatibus in dicto breui contentis per sacramentum suum se onerabit absque concelamento, et quia plus recepit quam ad presens potest ad memoriam reducere et prout se esse paratum et fore in futurum ad plenum super dictum compotum suum erga regem se onerare cum per collectores inde in comitatibus in breui contentis contigerit ipsum magistrum Willelmum onerari, qui quidem collectores recepta ipsi Willelmo de eodem subsidio penes se habent indentata, vt idem magister Willelmus asserit, pro quibus receptis ipsi . . thesaurarius et barones miserunt [m. 46]<sup>1</sup> pro eodem magistro Willelmo onerando, que breuia tempore returni istius breuis non fuerunt retornata. Set, cum retornentur et ipsi . . thesaurarius et barones scaccarii Dublinie ipsum magistrum Willelmum de receptis suis onerauerint, certificabunt ad scaccarium hic de dicto compoto subsidii et onere ipsius Willelmi inde. Ipsique thesaurarius et barones scaccarii Dublinie mandauerunt similiter quod non miserunt hic ad presens corpus dicti magistri Willelmi ad audiendum iudicium suum etc., eo quod sic super dicto compoto suo ad scaccarium Dublinie existit et nondum computauit.

Et viso returno illo, per . . barones concordatum est quod fiat executio tam versus ipsum magistrum Willelmum quam omnes dictos manucaptos suos de supradictis xiii. li'. xix. s. iiii. d. leuandis, si de eodem magistro Willelmo leuari non poterint, necnon versus omnes illos manucaptos ad audiendum iudicium suum, videlicet versus dictos primos manucaptos de eo quod non habuerunt corpus dicti magistri Willelmi hic ad dictam quindenam Pasche anno xxx<sup>mo</sup> ad dicta tria compota reddenda, et versus dictos vltimos manucaptos de eo quod non habuerunt hic ad dictum crastinum sancte Trinitatis anno xxxi. corpus ipsius magistri Willelmi ad satisfaciendum de arreragiis dictorum trium compotorum vel ad eadem tria compota tunc regi reddenda iuxta formam manucapcionum predictarum.

[*There follows a recital of proceedings against mainpernors.*]

Mandatum est insuper prefatis thesaurario et baronibus scaccarii Dublinie quod eadem duo compota de prefato magistro Willelmo de

<sup>1</sup>This membrane is headed : Adhuc de processu tangente magistrum Willelmum de Eppeworthe.

Eppeworth celeriter audiant et admittant vltcriusque faciant quod natura compotorum in hac parte exigit et requirit et quid inde fecerint necnon de arreragiis compotorum illorum, de quibus arreragiis idem magister Willelmus ad dictum scaccarium Dublinie propter insufficienciam suam in dicta terra Hibernie satisfacere non poterit, certificent hic ad eundem crastinum<sup>1</sup> vt executio fiat hic inde prout etc., et mittant tunc hic corpus dicti magistri Willelmi ad audiendum iudicium suum de duobus contemptibus predictis.

30 September 1359

[Further proceedings follow, including a reminder to the Dublin exchequer; but it does not appear that Master William of Epworth finally accounted or received judgment at either exchequer.]

# 18. AUDIT OF ACCOUNT OF ROBERT OF EMBLETON, TREASURER.

## A. PRELIMINARY PROCEEDINGS.

E. 368/126, Trinity Record, m. 7.

*De Roberto de Emeldon', thesaurario Hibernie, attachiato pro compoto de exitibus thesaurarie regis Hibernie.*

*Hibernia.* Dominus rex mandauit hic breue suum de magno sigillo quod est inter communia de hoc termino in hec verba :

Edwardus, Dei gracia rex Anglie et Francie et dominus Hibernie thesaurario et baronibus de scaccario, salutem. Transcriptum cuiusdam commissionis nostre, sub data xvii. diei Marcii anno regni nostri Anglie vicesimo tercio, dilecto clerico nostro Roberto de Emeldon' de officio thesaurarii scaccarii nostri Dublinie facte et in rotulis cancellarie nostre irrotulate vobis mittimus presentibus interclusum, mandantes quod transcriptum predictum in rotulis extractarum dicte cancellarie nostre de anno predicto in scaccario predicto residencium irrotulari et vltcrius inde fieri faciatis quod pro nobis de iure fore videritis faciendum. Teste me ipso apud Westmonasterium vi<sup>to</sup> die Iulii anno regni nostri Anglie vicesimo octauo regni vero nostri Francie quintodecimo.

17 March 1349

6 July 1354

Et transcriptum commissionis,<sup>2</sup> de qua in dicto breui fit mencio, sequitur in hec verba :

<sup>1</sup> Of Michaelmas 33 Edward III.

<sup>2</sup> C.P.R. 1348-1350, 261.



Rex omnibus ad quos etc., salutem. Sciatis quod commisimus dilecto clerico nostro, Roberto de Emeldon', officium thesaurarie scaccarii nostri Dublinie, cum omnibus ad officium illud pertinentibus, custodiendum quamdiu nobis placuerit, ita quod percipiat ad idem scaccarium nostrum quamdiu steterit in officio illo feodum consuetum et quod de exitibus eiusdem thesaurarie nobis respondeat et inde compotum suum ad scaccarium nostrum Anglie nobis reddat. In cuius etc. Teste rege apud Langele xvii. die Marci anno xxiii<sup>o</sup> regis nunc. Per breue de priuato sigillo.

17 March 1349

16 July 1354

Et super hoc prefatus Robertus de Emeldon', inuentus in curia xvi. die Iulii hoc termino, inuenit manucaptos, videlicet Willelmum de Ertlyngborgh' de comitatu Norht' et Nicholaum de Crakhale de comitatu Eboraci, qui presentes etc. manuceperunt, quilibet videlicet eorum corpus pro corpore, habere coram baronibus hic a die sancti Hillarii proximo futuro in xv. dies corpus prefati Roberti ad computandum in premissis et ad faciendum et recipiendum vlterius quod etc. Et mandatum est baronibus scaccarii Dublinie per breue datum xvi<sup>o</sup> die Iulii hoc anno xxviii<sup>o</sup> quod vnum de camerariis eiusdem scaccarii mittant hic ad dictam quindenam cum contrarotulis etc. ad onerandum dictum Robertum super compotum suum predictum et ad vlterius faciendum quod etc. Quod quidem breue liberatur prefato Roberto eodem die ad deferendum etc.

27 January 1355

16 July 1354

1 July 1355

Ad quem diem predictus Robertus de Emeldon' non venit nec barones scaccarii Dublinie retornauerunt breue seu miserunt hic camerarium siue contrarotulos etc., quod quidem breue liberatum fuit dicto Roberto deferendum sicut supra continetur. Idemque Robertus reddicionem compoti illius diffugit in contemptum regis et dampnum etc. Ideo mandatum sit thesaurario et . . baronibus dicti scaccarii Dublinie quod attachient dictum Robertum et manucaptos suos predictos per corpora etc., ita etc. in octabis sancti Iohannis Baptiste dictum videlicet Robertum ad audiendum iudicium regis et ad computandum in premissis et predictos manucaptos de eo quod non habuerunt corpus ipsius Roberti iuxta formam manucapcionis predictae. Et interim capiant in manum regis omnia terras, tenementa, bona et catalla ipsius Roberti nomine districtionis et saluo custodiant ita quod de exitibus etc. donec aliud etc. Et certificant hic ad dictas octabas quid etc., sicut continetur in memorandis de anno xxix. regis nunc inter breuia retornabilia de termino sancti Hillarii.



Postea, videlicet antequam dictum breue emanauit, predicti manucaptores inuenti in curia hic committuntur prisone de Flete pro contemptu predicto. Et postmodum fecerunt finem cum rege pro contemptu illo, sicut continetur in memorandis de anno xxix<sup>o</sup> inter fines de termino sancti Hillarii. Et pretextu finis illius deliberantur a prisona. Set quoad predictum Robertum de Emeldon' sit executio vt supra.

Et postmodum, videlicet ante dictas octabas sancti Iohannis Baptiste, predicti barones scaccarii Dublinie miserunt hic Willelmum filium Thome Laweles, vnum de camerariis eiusdem scaccarii, cum contrarotulis predictis sub sigillo eiusdem scaccarii Dublinie consignatis, qui sunt in custodia huius rememoratoris. Et predictus Robertus de Emeldon' venit similiter, et committitur prisone de Flete pro contemptu predicto, moraturus quousque etc. Postea idem Robertus inuenit manucaptores, videlicet magistrum Willelmum de Eppeworthē et Willelmum de Emeldon' clericum, qui presentes manuceperunt, vterque videlicet eorum corpus pro corpore, habere corpus dicti Roberti hic de die in diem quousque idem Robertus computauerit de exitibus thesaurarie Hibernie de tempore quo dictus Robertus fuit thesaurarius ibidem necnon fecerit finem cum rege pro contemptu predicto, alioquin, si idem Robertus superstes fuerit, ipsi manucaptores computabunt et satisfacient pro eo. Et pretextu manucapcionis illius dictus Robertus deliberatur a prisona. Postea percomputauit, sicut continetur in memorandis de anno xxix<sup>o</sup> inter visus compotorum de termino sancte Trinitatis, vbi continetur quod satisfecit regi de arreragiis eiusdem compoti. Postea idem Robertus fecit finem cum rege pro contemptu predicto, sicut continetur in dictis memorandis de anno xxix. inter fines de termino sancte Trinitatis. Ideo dicti manucaptores de manucapcione predicta recedant quieti.

#### B. AUDIT.

E. 368/127, Trinity. Status et Visus Compotorum, m. 3.

*Hibernia.* Audito compoto Roberti de Emeldon', clerici, de exitibus terre Hibernie a xxx<sup>o</sup> die Septembris anno xxiii<sup>o</sup>, quo die recepit officium predictum de magistro Iohanne de Burnham et ante quod tempus idem magister Iohannes de exitibus eiusdem terre alias computauit, sicut continetur in rotulo xxvii<sup>o</sup> rotulo compotorum, vsque xix. diem Ianuarii proximo sequentem, quo die idem Robertus cessit officio et rex commisit fratri Nicholao Aleyn, abbati sancti Thome Martiris iuxta Dubliniam,

30 September 1349

19 January 1350



officiū predictum cum omnibus ad officium illud pertinentibus custodiendum, a quo quidem die idem abbas alias inde computauit in rotulo xxv<sup>to</sup> rotulo compotorum per contrarotulamentum Walteri de Coumbe, vnius camerariorum dicti scaccarii per idem tempus, scilicet de vno quarterio et xx<sup>ti</sup> diebus.

Debet

xlvi. li'. ix. s'. i. d'. ob'. q<sup>a</sup>.

Postea factis quibusdam allocacionibus in rotulo debet tantum, de quibus respectuantur

vi. li'. xiii. s'. iiii. d'. ob'. q<sup>a</sup>.

ei vsque a die sancti Hillarii

proximo futuro in xv. dies

vi. li'. xiii. s'. iiii. d'.

quos dicit se soluisse Willelmo

de Warr', seruienti regis ad arma,

in partem solucionis xxxiiii. li'. xix. s'. ix. d'. in quibus rex tenetur prefato Willelmo de vadiis suis guerre et hominum suorum secum existencium in partibus Francie per breue huius scaccarii eidem Roberto inde directum et litteras acquietancie ipsius Willelmi recepcionem dictorum vi. li'. xiii. s'. iiii. d'. testificantes, que quidem breue et acquietanciam prefatus Robertus ostendit, et vnde dicit quandam talliam huius scaccarii leuatam sub nomine ipsius Roberti continentem predictos xxxiiii. li'. xix. s'. ix. d'. remanere in dictis partibus Hibernie. Ideo dictum est eidem Roberto quod dictam talliam habeat hic ad dictam quindenam ostendere si etc. Et debet ob'. q<sup>a</sup>, de quibus fiat execucio per sumonicionem.

19. AUDIT OF ACCOUNT OF NICHOLAS ALLEN, BISHOP OF MEATH,  
TREASURER.

PROCEDURE AT DUBLIN.

Add. MS. 4790, fo. 11b-12.

(Irish Memoranda Roll, 32-33 Edward III.)

Edwardus, Dei gracia rex Anglie et Francie et dominus Hibernie, baronibus suis de scaccario Dublinie, salutem. Licet nuper per breue nostrum mandauerimus venerabili in Christo patri Nicholao eadem gracia episcopo Midensi, thesaurario nostro de scaccario predicto, quod esset coram thesaurario et baronibus nostris de scaccario nostro Anglie apud Westmonasterium in quindena Pasche vltimo preterita ad reddendum compotum de exitu terre nostre Hibernie de tempore quo thesaurarius

27 January 1356

5 May 1359

noster ibidem fuit et ad faciendum et recipiendum quod iustum fuerit in hac parte, pro vno tamen camerariorum dicti scaccarii nostri Dublinie ad veniendum coram dictis thesaurario et baronibus nostris de dicto scaccario nostro Anglie cum contrarotulis de recepta et exitu thesaurarie nostre Dublinie ad onerandum ipsum thesaurarium nostrum Dublinie super compotum suum in hac parte mittere distulimus, sine quo quidem camerario idem thesaurarius noster de dicto scaccario Dublinie super dictum compotum suum debite onerari non potest, nos pro comodo nostro reddicionem compoti predicti accelerari volentes, vt tenemur, vobis mandamus quod vnum de camerariis dicti scaccarii nostri Dublinie cum contrarotulis de recepta et exitu thesaurarie predictae ad ipsum thesaurarium de scaccario Dublinie, vt premittitur, onerandum ad dictum scaccarium Anglie celeriter mittatis et hoc breue. Teste Iacobo le Botiller, comite Dormondie, iusticiario nostro Hibernie, apud Dubliniam xxviii<sup>o</sup> die Maii anno regni nostri Anglie xxxiii<sup>o</sup> regni vero Francie xx. 28 May 1359

Memorandum quod tercio die Iunii anno regni regis nunc xxxiii<sup>o</sup> 3 June 1359 venit hic Willelmus filius Thome Lawles, vnus camerariorum huius scaccarii, et exhibuit coram baronibus in scaccario hic de tempore ipsius Willelmi, camerarii eiusdem scaccarii, contrarotulos subscriptos de tempore videlicet predicti thesaurarii, vnum videlicet contrarotulum de grossa recepta eiusdem scaccarii de termino Pasche anno regno regis nunc xxxii<sup>o</sup>, videlicet a die lune in crastino clausi Pasche anno supradicto, 9 April 1358 vnde summa termini illius cxlviii. li. v. s'. vii. d'. q. Item exhibuit alium contrarotulum de tempore ipsius Willelmi camerarii de grossa recepta eiusdem scaccarii de termino sancte Trinitatis proximo sequente de tempore predicti thesaurarii, videlicet ab octabis sancte Trinitatis anno supradicto, vnde summa termini illius mcccxxviii. li'. xix. s'. iii. ob'. 3 June 1358 Item exhibuit alium contrarotulum de tempore ipsius Willelmi camerarii de grossa recepta eiusdem scaccarii de termino sancti Michaelis proximo sequente de tempore videlicet predicti thesaurarii, videlicet a xxx<sup>o</sup> die Septembris anno supradicto, vnde summa termini illius ccccccvii. li'. 30 September 1358 ii. s'. vi. d'. Item exhibuit alium contrarotulum de tempore ipsius Willelmi camerarii de grossa recepta eiusdem scaccarii de termino sancti Hillarii anno supradicto de tempore predicti thesaurarii, videlicet a xiiii<sup>o</sup> die Ianuarii anno supradicto, vnde summa viii<sup>c</sup> iiii<sup>xx</sup> iiii. li'. vii. d'. ob'. 14 January 1359 Summa totalis recepte supradicte per tempus supradictum mmix<sup>c</sup> xviii. li'. viii. s'. i. d'. q<sup>a</sup>. Item idem Willelmus camerarius huius scaccarii exhibuit coram baronibus de scaccario hic vnum contrarotulum de

<sup>1</sup> Either this figure or the figure following is £50 too little.



liberacionibus, misis et expensis ac exitu eiusdem thesaurarie, vnde summa exitus de tempore predicto MMMciii. li'. xvi.s'. ob'. q.

Et memorandum quod predicto tercio die Iunii predicti barones processerunt ad returnum dicti brevis faciendum in forma que sequitur :

Mittimus ad scaccarium Anglie Willelmum filium Thome Lawles, vnum camerariorum scaccarii Dublinie, cum contrarotulis tam de recepta quam de exitu thesaurarie domini regis ibidem per Nicholaum episcopum Midensem, thesaurarium Hibernie, de tempore quo fuit thesaurarius ibidem et non computauit, in quadam бага sigillo dicti scaccarii consignata, secundum formam huius brevis.

Et sciendum quod eodem die breue predictum indorsatum in forma predicta sub sigillo huius scaccarii, vnum contrarotulis predictis in predicta бага consignata sub eodem sigillo, liberati fuerunt<sup>1</sup> predicto Willelmo filio Thome Lawles, camerario, ad scaccarium Anglie differendum.<sup>2</sup>

## 20. AUDIT OF ACCOUNT OF THOMAS MYNOT, ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN, TREASURER.

### A. PRELIMINARY PROCEEDINGS.

E. 368/139, Easter Record, m. 5.

*De rotulis de recepta et exitu thesaurarie Hibernie hic liberatis per Iohannem Scrope, attornatum Thome Mynot, archiepiscopum Dublinensem.*

*Hibernia.* Memorandum quod, cum mandatum fuit per breue huius scaccarii thesaurario et baronibus de scaccario Dublinie quod vnum camerariorum dicti scaccarii Dublinie ad hoc scaccarium Anglie, cum rotulis de recepta et exitu thesaurarie predictae de tempore quo Thomas Mynot, archiepiscopus Dublinensis, fuit thesaurarius ibidem et non computauit, mitterent et ad ulterius faciendum quod ad officium contrarotulatoris pertinet, et mandatum fuit prefato Thome quod esset hic ad reddendum regi compotum de exitu thesaurarie predictae de tempore quo etc. vel quod mitteret hic aliquem de suis in quo confidit ad computandum pro eo etc., sicut continetur in ligulis breuium de hoc termino.

<sup>1</sup> MS. *sic*.

<sup>2</sup> MS. *sic*.

Et modo ad crastinum Ascensionis Domini predicti thesaurarius et barones retornauit quod miserunt hic Iohannem Scrope, vnum camerariorum dicti scaccarii Dublinie, cum contrarotulis tam de recepta quam de exitu thesaurarie regis Hibernie, de tempore quo predictus Thomas fuit thesaurarius regis ibidem, in quadam бага sigillo dicti scaccarii regis Hibernie consignata. 28 May 1367

Et idem Iohannes Scrope venit in propria persona sua et liberauit curie quendam contrarotulum Willelmi filii Thome Laweless, capitalis camerarii dicti scaccarii Dublinie, de grossa recepta eiusdem scaccarii a xiiii<sup>to</sup> die Ianuarii anno xxxv. vsque nonum diem Aprilis anno xxxviii<sup>o</sup>, et quendam alium contrarotulum predicti Willelmi filii Thome de liberacionibus, misis et expensis dicti scaccarii Dublinie factis per tempus predictum. Et predictus archiepiscopus certificauit quod, virtute mandati regis sibi directi, quod personaliter interesse non potuit propter occupationem diuersorum negociorum regis in consilio ipsius regis pacem dicte terre Hibernie tangencium, set iuxta formam eiusdem mandati constituit Iohannem Scrope, clericum, attornatum suum ad computandum pro eo in premissis. Et idem Iohannes venit ad eundem diem et exhibuit curie quoddam breue de magno sigillo, quod est inter billas de hoc termino, in hec verba : 14 January 1362  
9 April 1364

Edwardus, Dei rex Anglie, dominus Hibernie et [dux]<sup>1</sup> Aquitanie, thesaurario et baronibus suis de scaccario Hibernie,<sup>2</sup> salutem. Sciatis quod venerabilis pater Thomas, archiepiscopus Dublinensis, attornauit coram nobis loco suo Iohannem Scrope ad compotum archiepiscopi de tempore quo fuit thesaurarius noster in dicta terra Hibernie pro eodem archiepiscopo coram vobis in scaccario predicto reddendum et ad omnia alia que reddicionem compoti illius concernunt facienda. Et ideo vobis mandamus quod ipsum Iohannem loco predicti archiepiscopi ad hoc admittatis. Teste me ipso apud Westmonasterium xx<sup>o</sup> die Ianuarii anno regni nostri quadragesimo. Exhibuit eciam curie vnum rotulum vocatum pellem recepte scaccarii Dublinie de tempore predicto continentem xxxiii. membrana et quendam alium rotulum vocatum rotulum de exitu continentem nouem membrana. Et eciam exhibuit curie duas litteras sub sigillo Leonelli filii regis thesaurario et baronibus huius scaccarii directas, quarum tenor vnus sequitur in hec verba : 20 January 1367

Leonelle filz au noble roi d'Engleterre, duc de Clarence, counte

<sup>1</sup> MS. omits.

<sup>2</sup> Recte Anglie.



d'Ulvester et seigneur de Connaght as tresorer et barons de l'eschequer d'Engleterre, saluz. Nous vous faceons assavoir qe Roger Berde, par l'ordinance de nous et d'autres au<sup>1</sup> conseil nostre dit seigneur et piere es parties d'Irlande, à temps q'il estoit conestable du chastel de Trym, paia pur la sustenance McMorgh et Duoald Renagh, demorant en sa garde dedeins le dit chastel, chescun jour dousze deniers, comenceant le vynt et septime jour de Feverer l'an du regne [nostre]<sup>2</sup> dit seigneur et piere trente sisme et continuant tanq' al douszisme jour de May proschein ensuant acompté et pur la sustenance du dit McMorgh del treszisme jour de May l'an suisdit tanq' al vyntisme quint jour de Juyn adonqs ensuant, l'un et l'autre jour acomptés, chescun jour sys deniers, et pur leur autres necessairs par le temps suisdit vynt et sys souldz oet deniers. Doné souz nostre privé seal à Londres le tiers jour de Juyl l'an du regne nostre dit seigneur et piere quarante primer.

Et tenor alterius in hec verba :

Leonelle filz au noble roi d'Engleterre, duc de Clarence, counte d'Ulvester et seigneur de Connaght, as tresorer et barons de l'eschequer d'Engleterre, saluz. Nous vous faceons assavoir qe, par l'assent de nous et d'autres du conseil nostre tres redoté seigneur et piere as parties d'Irlande, commissioun souz le grant seal<sup>3</sup> illoques estoit faite à Thomas Mynot, clerc, de l'office du tresorer d'Irlande le qatorszysme jour de Januer l'an du regne nostre dit seigneur et piere trente quint. Doné souz nostre privé seal à Londres le tierce jour de Juyl l'an du regne nostre dit seigneur et piere qarante primer.

Et petit quod admitti posset ad compotum illum reddendum pretextu premissorum, et admissus est etc.

Et prestitit sacramentum de fideliter computando, et Laurencius de Allerthorpe, vnus auditorum huius scaccarii, assignatur ad compotum illum audiendum. Et compoto predicto inaudiendo vsque finem termini, quia compotus ille durante termino predicto peraudiri non potest, datus est dies prefato Iohanni Scrope a die sancti Michaelis in vnum mensem ad percomputandum in premissis. Ad quem diem predictus Iohannes venit et ob causam predictam adiornatur vlterius vsque a die Pasche in xv. dies. Ad quem diem predictus Iohannes venit et computauit in

<sup>1</sup> MS. *sic*.

<sup>2</sup> MS. omits.

<sup>3</sup> MS. 'sea'.

premissis, sicut continetur in memorandis de anno xlii<sup>o</sup> inter visus compotorum de termino Pasche.<sup>1</sup>

## B. AUDIT.

E. 368/140, Easter Status et Visus Compotorum, m. 9.

*Hibernia.* Audito compoto Thome Mynot, clerici, nuper thesaurarii regis Hibernie, computantis per Iohannem Scroupe, attornatum suum, de exitibus eiusdem thesaurarie a xiiii<sup>o</sup> die Ianuarii anno xxxv<sup>to</sup> finiente 14 January 1362  
vsque ix<sup>m</sup> diem Aprilis anno xxxviii<sup>o</sup>, quo die idem Thomas officium 9 April 1364  
predictum liberauit Waltero de Dalby, clerico, a quo quidem die idem Walterus alias est inde computaturus, debet ccxlviii. li'. xxii d'. ob'. q<sup>a</sup>, de quibus petit allocacionem sibi fieri de xxxv. li'. xvii. s'. quos dicit se soluissse Bartholomeo Dardys, secundario iusticiario de banco Dublinie, de feodo suo a retro existente quod de rege percepit pro officio suo predicto excercendo, videlicet l. s'. iiii. d'. a xxvii. die Ianuarii anno xxxiii<sup>o</sup> vsque xxvii. diem Ianuarii proximo sequentem, videlicet per 27 January 1359  
vnum annum, et xxxiii. li'. vi. s'. viii. d'. a predicto die Ianuarii anno xxxiiii<sup>to</sup> vsque xxvii. diem Aprilis anno xxxv<sup>to</sup>, scilicet per vnum annum 27 April 1361  
et vnum quarterium, per breue regis de magno sigillo Hibernie predictis thesaurario et camerariis regis ibidem directum ad summas predictas perfato Bartholomeo soluendas, cuius tenor sequitur in hec verba :

Edwardus, Dei gracia rex Anglie et Francie et dominus Hibernie, thesaurario et camerariis de scaccario Dublinie, salutem. Cum nuper quibusdam certis de causis certiorari volentes quantum a retro est dilecto et fideli nostro Bartholomeo Dardys, secundario iusticiario nostro de banco Dublinie, de feodo suo de toto tempore quo ipse sic iusticiarius noster ibidem extiterat, vobis mandauimus quod, scrutatis rotulis et memorandis scaccarii predicti premissa concernentibus, de eo quod inde inueneritis nos in cancellaria nostra Hibernie sub sigillo dicti scaccarii distincte et aperte redderetis cerciores, ac vos nobis retornaueritis quod, scrutatis rotulis et memorandis predictis, compertum est quod a retro sunt predicto Bartholomeo de feodo suo predicto, videlicet a vicesimo septimo die Ianuarii anno regni nostri Anglie tricesimo tercio vsque vicesimum 27 January 1359  
septimum diem Ianuarii proximo sequentem, videlicet per vnum

<sup>1</sup> See the following document.



annum, quinquaginta solidi et quatuor denarii, et quod aretro sunt eidem Bartholomeo de consimili feodo suo, videlicet a predicto vicesimo septimo die Ianuarii anno eiusdem regni nostri tricesimo quarto vsque ad vicesimum septimum diem Aprilis anno eiusdem regni nostri tricesimo quinto, videlicet per vnum annum et vnum quarterium anni, triginta et tres libre, sex solidi et octo denarii, vobis mandamus quod predicto Bartholomeo dictas pecuniarum summas de thesauro nostro liberatis. Teste Leonello comite Vltonie, filio nostro carissimo locum tenente nostrum in terra nostra Hibernie, apud Dubliniam xvi. die Ianuarii anno regni nostri Anglie tricesimo quinto regni vero nostri Francie vicesimo secundo.<sup>1</sup>

Et de l. marcis quas dicit se soluisse Simoni de Brokebury, constabulario Noui Castri de M'kyngan, in partem solucionis feodi sui, videlicet cc. marcarum quod de rege singulis annis quamdiu [steterit]<sup>2</sup> cum rege in officio supradicto a quinto die Decembris anno xxxv<sup>o</sup> vsque quintum diem Marcii proximo sequentem, videlicet per vnum quarterium anni, per breue regis de magno sigillo Hibernie prefatis thesaurario et camerario directum, cuius tenor sequitur in hec verba :

Edwardus, Dei gracia rex Anglie, dominus Hibernie et [dux]<sup>2</sup> Aquitanie, thesaurario et camerariis suis de scaccario Dublinie, salutem. Liberate de thesauro nostro dilecto nobis Simoni de Brokbury, constabulario Noui Castri nostri de M'Kyngan, quinquaginta marcas a quinto die Decembris proximo preterito vsque quintum diem Marcii proximo sequentem, videlicet per vnum quarterium anni, in partem solucionis feodi sui ducentarum marcarum quod de nobis percipit singulis annis quamdiu nobiscum steterit in officio supradicto. Teste Leonello comite Vltonie, filio nostro carissimo locum tenente nostrum Hibernie, apud Dubliniam xvii. die Ianuarii anno regni nostri tricesimo quinto.<sup>3</sup>

Et [de] x. li' quas dicit se soluisse Rogero Euyas, constabulario castri de Trym, in partem solucionis feodi sui, videlicet xx. li'. , quod de rege percipit singulis annis quamdiu cum rege steterit in officio supradicto, a xii. die Maii anno xxxv<sup>to</sup> vsque xii. diem Nouembris proximo sequentem, videlicet per dimidium annum, per breue regis de magno sigillo Hibernie

<sup>1</sup> The late use of the double regnal date here and in the writ of 15 January below should be noted. It appears to have been dropped in the English chancery late in 1360.

<sup>2</sup> MS. omits.

<sup>3</sup> The omission of the double regnal year may be accidental : but it may be that the style was changed in the Irish chancery on this day.



prefatis thesaurario et camerariis directum, cuius tenor sequitur in hec verba :

Edwardus, Dei gracia rex Anglie et Francie et dominus Hibernie, thesaurario et camerariis suis de scaccario Dublinie, salutem. Liberate de thesauro nostro Rogero Euyas, constabulario castri de Trym, decem libras a duodecimo die Maii proximo preterito vsque xii. diem Nouembris proximo sequentem, videlicet per dimidium annum, in partem solucionis feodi viginti librarum quod de nobis percipit singulis annis quamdiu nobiscum steterit in officio predicto. Teste Leonello comite Vltonie, filio nostro carissimo locum tenente nostrum in terra nostra Hibernie, apud Dubliniam xv. die Ianuarii anno regni nostri Anglie tricesimo quinto regni vero nostri Francie vicesimo secundo.

12 May 1361

12 November 1361

15 January 1362

Vnde summa est lxxix. li'. iii. s'. viii. d'. De quibus non est processum ad allocacionem superius petitam eo quod soluciones predictae non inseruntur in rotulis de exitu scaccarii Dublinie neque in contrarotulis eiusdem hic missis sub sigillo scaccarii Dublinie per quos compotus predictus redditur neque per rotulos seu contrarotulos predictos recordantur, ita quod ad allocacionem inde sine certificacione predictorum baronum, thesaurarii et camerariorum Dublinie de iure procedi non potest, per quod consideratum est quod mandetur prefatis baronibus, thesaurario et camerariis ad certificandum, scilicet si predictae summe particulariter predictis hominibus ex causis predictis in forma predicta sint solute. Et mandatum est thesaurario, baronibus et camerariis scaccarii Hibernie quod certificent hic inde a die Pasche in xv. dies.

15 April 1369

Et petit sibi allocari x. marcas quas dicit se soluisse Rory Omolmoy de termino Apostolorum Philippi et Iacobi in partem solucionis xx. marcarum quas idem Rory percipit de rege ad duos anni terminos ad festa Apostolorum Philippi et Iacobi et Omnium Sanctorum per equales porciones per breue regis de magno sigillo Hibernie, quod ostendit curie in hec verba :

1 May

1 November

Edwardus, Dei gracia rex Anglie dominus Hibernie et [dux]<sup>1</sup> Aquitanie, thesaurario Hibernie vel eius locum tenenti ac camerariis suis de scaccario Dublinie, salutem. Liberate de thesauro nostro Rory Omolmoy x. marcas de termino Apostolorum Philippi et Iacobi proximo preterito in partem solucionis decem marcarum quas de nobis percipit per annum ad duos anni terminos, videlicet ad festa Apostolorum Philippi et Iacobi et Omnium Sanctorum per

1 May 1369

<sup>1</sup> MS. omits.



equales porciones. Teste Leonello comite Vltonie, filio nostro carissimo locum tenente nostrum in terra nostra Hibernie, apud Kylderalbyn in Offaly xx<sup>o</sup> die Augusti anno regni tricesimo septimo.

Pretextu cuius brevis non est processum ad allocacionem de dictis x. marcis eo quod in eodem continetur quod ipse thesaurarius liberasse debet x. marcas prefato Rory de termino Apostolorum Philippi et Iacobi in partem solucionis x. marcarum percipiendarum annuatim ad dictos duos anni terminos, quod est contrarium in se. Supponitur per curiam quod ipse Rorus percipere debet nisi tantum x. marcas per annum ad terminos predictos et quod dictum breue erronee emanauit, sine assercione quarum visum est curie non esse procedendum ad allocacionem etc. Ideo concordatum est quod mandetur prefatis baronibus, thesaurario et camerariis Dublinie ad certificandum inde etc. Et mandatum est eis quod certificent hic ad predictam quindenam Pasche.

Et debet clxii. li'. iiii. s'. x. d'. ob'. q'. Set soluit maiorem summam, videlicet clxxviii. li', per duas tallias, quarum vna leuatur xxx. die Nouembris anno xli<sup>o</sup> et altera leuatur xxv. die Maii anno xlii<sup>o</sup> regis nunc. Et datus est dies prefato nuper thesaurario hic ad xv<sup>am</sup> Pasche supradictam ad faciendum et recipiendum super premissis quod curia etc. Ad quem diem predictus Thomas non venit, nec predicti thesaurarius et barones certificarunt in premissis. Ideo mandatum est eisdem thesaurario et baronibus quod de terris et catallis ipsius Thome in dicta terra Hibernie leuari faciant debitum predictum quod se extendit ad iiii<sup>xv</sup>. li'. xvii. s', sicut continetur in memorandis de anno xliiii. regis nunc inter breuia retornabilia de termino sancti Hillarii.<sup>1</sup>

Postea, videlicet in crastino sancti Michaelis anno xliiii<sup>o</sup> finiente, predicti thesaurarius, barones et camerarii retournauerunt supradictum breue de certificacione eis directum indorsatum sic :

Pretextu huius brevis, scrutatis et diligenter superuisis contrarotulis Petri de Okebourne, nuper vnus camerariorum scaccarii Dublinie, de liberacionibus et expensis scaccarii predicti a xliiii. die Ianuarii anno xxxv<sup>o</sup> regis nunc vsque ix<sup>m</sup> diem Aprilis anno xxxviii<sup>o</sup> de tempore Thome Mynot, thesaurarii Hibernie, etc., ac aliis memorandis eiusdem scaccarii, bene liquet quod xxxv. li'. xvii. s'. de feodo Bartholomei Darditz, secundarii iusticiarii domini regis de banco Dublinie infracontenti, et quod x. li'. de feodo Rogeri Euyas, nuper constabularii castri de Trym infracontenti, prout in breui limitatur particulariter, soluti fuerunt, de quibusdam summis

<sup>1</sup> See document 20 C : below p. 269.



predictus Thomas Mynot, nuper thesaurarius etc., debitas acquietancias coram nobis ostendit etc. Et quoad quinquaginta marcas de feodo Simonis de Brokebury, nuper constabularii Noui Castri de McKenegan infracontenti, predicti contrarotuli testantur solucionem inde, prout infra in hoc breui similiter limitatur, factam fuisse etc. Tamen predictus Thomas Mynot, nuper thesaurarius, etc. nullas acquietancias dicti Simonis de solucione dictarum quinquaginta marcarum coram nobis ostendit etc., nec aliquas litteras acquietancie in dicto scaccario inde reperimus etc.

Et, visis premissis per barones, consideratum est quod predictus Thomas, nuper thesaurarius, de predictis xxxv. li'. xvii. s'. solutis Bartholomeo Dardys et de predictis l. marcis solutis Simoni de Brokbur et de predictis x. li'. solutis Rogero Euyas, vnde summa totalis est lxxix. li'. iii. s'. viii. d', pretextu breuium et certificacionis predictorum, non obstante quod dicta certificacio facta fuit post dictam quindenam Pasche anno xliii<sup>o</sup> regis nunc, habito respectu ad pericula marina inter Angliam et Hiberniam et quod transitus hominum hinc et inde in breui fieri non potest. Et debet xxxiii. s'. iii. d'. ob. q<sup>a</sup>. Ideo mandatum est thesaurario et baronibus de scaccario suo Hibernie quod de terris et catallis predicti Thome in dicta terra Hibernie leuari faciant debitum predictum, sicut continetur in memorandis de anno xlvi<sup>to</sup> regis huius inter breuia retornabilia de termino sancti Michaelis. 15 April 1369

Postea predictus Thomas quietus est de predictis xxxiii. s'. iii d'. ob. q<sup>a</sup>, sicut continetur in magno rotulo de anno xlv<sup>to</sup> in *Item London' et Midd'*. Ideo non fiat hic vlterius execucio.

### C. KING'S WRIT<sup>1</sup>

E. 368/142: Hilary. Brevia retornabilia, m. 2d.

*Hibernia.* Rex thesaurario et baronibus suis de scaccario [Hibernie],<sup>2</sup> salutem. Mandamus vobis quod de terris et catallis Thome Mynot, clerici, in dicta terra Hibernie leuari faciatis iiii<sup>xxv</sup>. li'. xvii. s'. quos nobis debet de remanencia compoti sui nuper ad scaccarium nostrum Anglie redditus de exitibus thesaurarii dicte terre Hibernie, ita quod denarios illos habeatis siue mittatis ad dictum scaccarium nostrum Anglie apud 28 April 1370

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 268.

<sup>2</sup> MS. omits.



Westmonasterium a die Pasche in xv. dies nobis ibidem soluendos. Et mittatis ibi tunc hoc breue. Teste etc., quarto die Februarii.

4 February 1370

Per rotulum memorandorum de anno xlii<sup>o</sup> regis nunc, Pasche visus compotorum rotulo ix<sup>o</sup>.

Ad quem diem predicti thesaurarius et barones non retornarunt breue. Ideo mandatum est eis sicut alias etc., ita etc. a die sancti Michaelis in xv. dies. Ad quem diem predicti thesaurarius et barones non retornarunt breue. Ideo mandatum est eis sicut pluries, etc., sicut continetur in memorandis anni sequentis inter breuia retornabilia de termino sancti Michaelis rotulo xliii<sup>o</sup>.

## 21. AUDIT OF ACCOUNT OF WALTER DALBY, TREASURER.

E. 368/139, Easter Record, m. 21 d.

*De onerando Walterum de Dalby de compoto thesaurarii Hibernie.*

*London'*. Comperto in originalibus de anno xxxiiii<sup>o</sup> regis nunc rotulo primo<sup>1</sup> quod rex decimo die Februarii eodem anno commisit Waltero de Dalby, clerico, officium thesaurarii scaccarii Hibernie habendum cum omnibus ad officium illud spectantibus, ita quod idem Walterus de exitu terre predicte ac omnibus aliis ad officium illud pertinentibus regi responderet et fidelem compotum inde regi redderet ad scaccarium Anglie. Assignauit eciam idem rex prefatum Walterum ad vadia guerre hominibus ad arma, hobelariis et sagittariis et aliis quibuscumque super expeditione guerre regis in eadem terra morantibus et moraturis de exitu terre illius, iuxta auisamentum cancellarii terre predicte et aliorum de consilio regis ibidem, soluenda, quamdiu bene et fideliter se gesserit in officiis predictis, percipiendo in officiis illis c. li'. per annum quamdiu officia habuerit antedicta, quo pretextu mandatum fuit thesaurario et baronibus Dublinie quod vnum camerariorum de camerariis regis dicti scaccarii Dublinie ad hoc scaccarium cum rotulis de recepta et exitu thesaurarie predicte de tempore quo idem Walterus fuit thesaurarius ibidem et non computauit mitterent et ad vlterius faciendum quod ad officium contrarotulatoris pertineret. Et mandatum fuit prefato Waltero quod esset hic ad reddendum regi compotum de exitu thesaurarie predicte de tempore quo etc. Et modo ad crastinum Ascensionis Domini predicti thesaurarius et barones retornarunt quod miserunt hic Iohannem Scrope,

10 February 1364

28 May 1367

<sup>1</sup> See *Abbreviatio Rotulorum Originalium*, ii. 280.

vnum camerariorum scaccarii Dublinie, cum contrarotulis tam de recepta quam de exitu thesaurarie regis Hibernie de tempore quo predictus Walterus fuit thesaurarius regis ibidem, in quadam бага sigillo scaccarii regis Hibernie consignata.

Et ad diem predictum predictus Walterus venit et exhibuit curie vnum rotulum vocatum pellem recepte scaccarii Dublinie de tempore predicto, continentem viginti et vnum membrana, et quendam alium rotulum de exitu liberacionum, misarum et expensarum dicti scaccarii Hibernie per tempus predictum, videlicet a ix<sup>o</sup> die Aprilis anno xxxviii<sup>o</sup> vsque primum diem Februarii proximo sequentem, continentem tresdecim membrana. Et dicit super sacramentum suum quod prestitit quod recepciones, liberaciones, mise et expense in rotulis predictis contente vere sunt et legales et debito modo apposite et facte.

9 April 1364

1 February 1365

Et predictus Iohannes Scrope venit in propria persona sua et liberauit curie sub sigillo scaccarii Hibernie quendam contrarotulum predicti Iohannis Scrope, capitalis camerarii scaccarii Dublinie, de grossa recepta eiusdem scaccarii per tempus predictum, et quendam alium contrarotulum ipsius Iohannis Scrope de liberacionibus, misis et expensis dicti scaccarii Dublinie factis per tempus predictum. Et predictus Walterus de Dalby prestitit sacramentum de fideliter computando in premissis. Et predictus Iohannes Scrope prestitit sacramentum de fideliter onerando ipsum Walterum in hac parte. Et Laurencius de Allerthorpe, vnus auditorum huius scaccarii, assignatur ad compotum illum audiendum etc. Et omnes rotuli predicti liberantur prefato auditori.

Et compoto predicto inaudiendo vsque finem termini, quia compotus ille durante termino peraudiri non potest, datus est dies prefato Waltero a die sancti Michaelis in vnum mensem ad percomputandum in premissis. Ad quem diem predictus Walterus venit et habet diem vlterius vsque octabas Purificacionis. Ad quem diem predictus Walterus venit et ob causam predictam habet diem vlterius vsque a die Pasche in xv. dies. Postea, quia predictus Walterus mortuus est, fit executio pro compoto predicto sicut continetur in memorandis de anno xliiii. regis nunc inter manucapciones de termino sancti Hillarii.

27 October 1367

9 February 1368

23 April 1368

## 22. EXONERATION OF THOMAS MYNOT IN RESPECT OF THE ACCOUNT OF WALTER DALBY, AS CLERK OF WAGES.

E. 368/144, Trinity Recorda, m. 5.



*De Thoma Mynot, nuper thesaurario Hibernie, exonerando de xlv. li'. xii. s'. iiii. d'. leuatis de terris comitisse Dormondie.*

*Hibernia.* Memorandum quod, cum continentur in rotulo xl<sup>o</sup> regis nunc rotulo compotorum, in compoto videlicet Walteri Dalby<sup>1</sup>, nuper assignati tam ad vadia marinariorum nauium pro passagio Leonelli, nuper comitis Vltonie, Radulfi, comitis Staffordie, Radulfi de Ferrariis, Iohannis de Carreu et quorundam aliorum fidelium regis ac hominum et equorum suorum in obsequium regis ad partes Hibernie pro saluacione parcium illarum in magno numero hominum ad arma et sagittariorum adtunc profectorum ordinatorum et pro repassagio earundem nauium ac misis et expensis<sup>2</sup> pro eskippamento equorum predictorum quam ad vadia octingentis sagittariis<sup>3</sup> cum dictis dominis profectoris, ac eciam ad vadia latomorum et carpentariorum in dictis operibus in obsequio regis pro castris in dicta terra Hibernie iuxta auisamentum consilii regis ibidem reparandis per visum et testimonium predicti Radulfi de Ferrariis et Thome de Dale militis seu eorum alterius soluenda<sup>4</sup>, quod idem Walterus computat inter cetera se soluisse Iacobo le Botiler, comiti Dormondie, ad opus comitisse Dormondie, matris sue, xlv. li'. xii. s'. iiii. d'. pro tot denariis de dominicis, terris et tenementis eiusdem comitisse in dicta terra Hibernie per thesaurarium regis ibidem ad opus regis leuatis per breue regis de magno sigillo thesaurario et baronibus hic directum, in quo continetur quod, cum nuper domini, mulieres et alii laici dominia, terras et tenementa in Hibernia habentes et in Anglia conuersantes, coram rege et consilio suo vocati, valorem et proficuum dominiorum, terrarum et tenementorum suorum in terra predicta per biennium a xxix<sup>o</sup> die Iunii anno xxxvi<sup>to</sup> venturo in subsidio expensarum guerre terre illius regi concesserint, rexque mandauerit tunc iusticiario, cancellario et thesaurario regis Hibernie quod proficuum dominiorum, terrarum et tenementorum predictorum per dictum biennium leuari et denarios inde prouenientes prefato Waltero de Dalby, receptori denariorum regis pro expensis guerre ibidem ordinatorum, liberari facerent in auxilium expensarum earundem soluendos, postmodumque rex, nolens quod Alianora, nuper comitisse Dormondie, de contribucione ad dictas expensas facienda de dominiis, terris et tenementis que ipsa tenuit in terra predicta aliququaliter oneraretur aut quicquam de eisdem

<sup>1</sup> This should apparently be xlvii<sup>o</sup>, that is Foreign Accounts, 47 Edward III (E. 364/7), where, on membrane C, Dalby's accounts appear.

<sup>2</sup> MS. 'misarum et expensarum'.

<sup>3</sup> MS. *sic*.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. C.P.R. 1361-1364, p. 61.



dominiis, terris et tenementis ratione concessione predictae leuaretur, mandauit prefato Waltero quod id quod de exitibus dominiorum, terrarum et tenementorum predictae comitis in auxilium expensarum predictarum receptum fuit eidem comitis vel eius in hac parte attornato liberari faceret.<sup>1</sup>

Ac iam prefatus Walterus regi supplicauerit quod, licet ipse denarios aliquos de exitibus et proficuis dominiorum, terrarum et tenementorum predictorum non leuauerit nec receperit, ipse tamen, pro eo quod thesaurarius Hibernie coram ipso Waltero recognouit se quadraginta et quinque libras, duodecim solidos et quatuor denarios de dominiis, terris et tenementis ipsius comitis in dicta terra Hibernie recepisse, prefato Iacobo, comiti Dormondie, filio predictae comitis, ad opus eiusdem comitis, de denariis regis eidem Waltero per prefatum thesaurarium pro solutione vadium dictorum hominum ad arma et sagittariorum ad scaccarium Dublinie in grosso liberatis, quadraginta et quinque libras, duodecim solidos et quatuor denarios, virtute dicti mandati regis, soluit, prout per litteras acquietancie ipsius comitis, quas idem Walterus penes se habet, plenius poterit apparere. Per quod rex, volens eidem Waltero dictas quadraginta et quinque libras, duodecim solidos et quatuor denarios in compoto suo allocari, mandauit thesaurario et baronibus quod, si per sacramentum ipsius Walteri eis constare posset prefatum thesaurarium Hibernie quadraginta et quinque libras, duodecim solidos et quatuor denarios de dominiis, terris et tenementis dicte comitis, virtute concessionis predictae, recepisse et ipsum Walterum in recompensationem eorundem denariorum alios quadraginta et quinque libras, duodecim solidos et quatuor denarios prefato comiti ad opus eiusdem comitis, virtute dicti mandati regis, soluisse, tunc eidem Waltero eosdem quadraginta et quinque libras, duodecim solidos et quatuor denarios in compoto suo ad scaccarium predictum allocari et predictum thesaurarium de illis quadraginta et quinque libris, duodecim solidis et quatuor denariis per ipsum de dominiis, terris et tenementis predictae comitis sic receptis erga regem ad dictum scaccarium onerari faciant, recipiendo ab eodem Waltero mandatum ac litteras acquietancie supradictae. Et per considerationem baronum annotatam in memorandis de anno xli<sup>o</sup> regis nunc inter recorda de termino sancti Hillarii, de quibus quidem quadraginta et quinque libris, duodecim solidis et quatuor denariis per dictum thesaurarium Hibernie de dominiis, terris et tenementis ipsius comitis sic receptis, vt dictus Walterus dicit super

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. C.C.R. 1360-1364, p. 451.



sacramentum suum, idem thesaurarius, videlicet Thomas Mynot, est regi responsurus, quo pretextu supradicti xlv. li'. xii. s'. iiiii. d'. ponuntur in execucione per summonicionem huius scaccarii ad leuandum ad opus regis de predicto Thoma, sicut continetur in magno rotulo de anno xlv<sup>o</sup> regis nunc in *Item London' Midd'*.

Et modo in octabis sancte Trinitatis prefatus Thomas Mynot venit coram baronibus in propria persona sua et queritur se grauiter districtum esse per vicecomites Londoniarum pro predictis xlv. li'. xii. s'. iiiii. d'. regi soluendis et hoc minus iuste. Dicit enim quod ipse alias super compotum suum redditum hic de exitibus dicte thesaurarie Hibernie oneratur et satisfecit regi de eisdem xlv. li'. xii. s'. iiiii. d'. infra quamdam summam mcccvi. li'. x. s'. vi. d'. ob'. de subsidio predicto, videlicet pro valore et proficuo manerii de Turuy, quod quidem manerium est prefate comitisse in dicta terra Hibernie, quod dicit satis liquere posse curie per compotum suum predictum, vt intelligit. Et petit quod compotus ille videatur et fiat ei vlterius quod iustum fuerit in premissis. Et scrutatis rotulis, compertum est in rotulo xli<sup>o</sup> rotulo compotorum, in compoto videlicet prefati Thome de exitibus thesaurarie Hibernie a xiiii<sup>o</sup> die Ianuarii anno xxxv<sup>o</sup> regis nunc finiente vsque ix<sup>m</sup> diem Aprilis anno dicti domini regis xxxviii<sup>o</sup>, quod idem Thomas oneratur et respondit inter cetera de mcccvi. li'. x. s'. vi. d'. ob'. receptis de subsidio regi pro expedicione guerre in eadem terra concessio. Viso eciam rotulo de particulis compoti predicti hic in thesauro existentibus<sup>1</sup>, compertum est in eodem quod idem Thomas oneratur et respondet inter cetera de xlv. li'. xii. s'. iiiii. d'. de subsidio predicto de valore et proficuo manerii de Turuy in diuersis particulis. Et quia non est mencio in dicto rotulo de particulis de prefata comitissa, quesitum est ab eodem Thoma qualiter velit informare curie quod dictum manerium consistit prefate comitisse. Ad quod idem Thomas dicit quod manerium illud consistit prefate comitisse et quod eadem comitissa non habet aliqua alia terras neque tenementa in dicta terra Hibernie de quibus dictum subsidium leuari debuit. Et hoc pretendit verificare qualitercumque curie etc. Ideo concordatum est quod mandetur thesaurario et baronibus de scaccario Hibernie quod, scrutatis rotulis et memorandis dicti scaccarii Hibernie et aliis viis et modis legitimis quibus viderint expedire, diligenter se informent super premissis et quod certificent hic inde a die sancti Hillarii in xv. dies. Et mandatum est eis in forma predicta ita etc. ad predictam xv<sup>am</sup>. Et

30 May 1372

14 January 1362

9 April 1364

27 January 1373

<sup>1</sup> MS. sic.



idem dies datus est predicto Thome ad audiendum et [m. 5d.] faciendum quod etc. Et interim habeat respectum etc.

Ad quem diem predictus Thomas Mynot venit per Iohannem de Tamworthe, attornatum suum. Et predicti thesaurarius et barones non retornauerunt breue. Ideo mandatum est eis sicut alias ita etc. in crastino Ascensionis Domini. Et idem dies datus est prefato Thome Mynot ad audiendum et faciendum quod etc. Et interim habeat respectum. 27 May 1373

Ad quem diem predictus Thomas Mynot venit per dictum attornatum suum. Et predicti thesaurarius et barones de scaccario domini regis Hibernie retornauerunt breue predictum indorsatum sic :

Pretextu huius breuis, scrutatis rotulis et memorandis scaccarii Hibernie, compertum est per quoddam rentale de manerio de Turuy infracontento factum apud Luske die mercurii in festo sancti Clementis Pape anno regni regis nunc xxxvi<sup>o</sup> coram Petro de Okebourne, nuper vno camerariorum scaccarii predicti, per commissionem domini regis assignato ad omnia dominia, terras, redditus et tenementa quorumcumque dominorum seu dominarum in Anglia commorancium dominia, terras, redditus et tenementa in comitatibus Dublinie, Cathirlaghie, Kildarie, Midie et Vriel habencium et in manu domini regis virtute concessionis infrascripte existencium fideliter extendenda, quod idem manerium tunc temporis captum extitit in manu domini regis occasione absencie Alianore infracontente, adtunc domine eiusdem, extra terram Hibernie, virtute ordinacionis predictae, quod dictum manerium prefate comitis existat. Et compertum est similiter in rotulis ad receptam scaccarii predicti de terminis sancti Michaelis et Hillarii anno regni regis nunc tricesimo sexto de tempore Thome Mynot, clerici, nuper thesaurarii Hibernie, quod solutum est regi de redditibus et exitibus manerii predicti ratione absencie prefate comitis a terra Hibernie predicta xlv. li'. xii. s'. iiiii. d', de quibus idem nuper thesaurarius erga dominum regem oneratur. Set comperiri non potest in rotulos seu memorandis scaccarii predicti quod prefata comitissa aliqua alia terras seu tenementa in dicta terra Hibernie habuit de quibus subsidium infracontentum leuari potuit. 23 November 1362

Ideo consideratum est quod predictus Thomas Mynot, nuper thesaurarius Hibernie, de predictis xlv. li'. xii. s'. iiiii. d'. exoneretur et quietus existat pretextu premissorum, salua accione regis si alias inde loqui voluerit.



23. ACCOUNT OF RICHARD MITFORD, BISHOP OF CHICHESTER, TREASURER,  
AND HIS SUB-TREASURERS.

E. 368/170, Easter Record, m. II.

*De Ricardo, episcopo Cicestrensi<sup>1</sup>, nuper thesaurario Hibernie, occasionato pro compoto reddendo de officio thesaurarii predicti et executoribus testamenti Iohannis Melton' et abbatis beate Marie Dublinie; nuper sub-thesaurariorum predicti nuper thesaurarii inde similiter onerandis.*

*Sussex'*. Memorandum quod compertum est in originalibus de anno xviii. regis nunc, rotulo videlicet xxx<sup>o</sup>, quod idem dominus rex nunc, per litteras suas patentes de magno sigillo suo<sup>2</sup> datas apud Westmonasterium quinto die Octobris dicti anni xviii<sup>o</sup> recitando quod, licet ipse nuper commiserit venerabili patri Ricardo, episcopo Cicestrensi, officium thesaurarii sui Hibernie habendum quamdiu eidem regi placeret, percipiendo in officio illo feodum consuetum, de gracia sua speciali concessit eidem episcopo quod ipse de reuencionibus terre dicti regis Hibernie aut de aliquibus denariorum summis per ipsum et officarios suos ad receptam scaccarii predicti recipiendis vel deliberandis pretextu officii sui predicti, penes dictum regem nunc computabilis non existet nec per eundem regem nunc vel heredes suos seu ministros suos quoscumque inde impeteretur, inquietaretur, molestaretur in aliquo seu grauaretur, prouiso semper quod, si aliquas pecuniarum summas prefato episcopo pro defensione dicte terre regis Hibernie aut aliis de causis per dictum regem nunc aut per thesaurarium suum Anglie pro tempore existentem solui et liberari contingeret, tunc idem episcopus de summis illis extra regnum Anglie sic deferendis penes dictum regem nunc computabilis foret et inde dumtaxat, prout iustum foret, oneraretur. Per quod prefatus Ricardus, episcopus Cicestrensis, attachiatus fuit essendi hic ad plures dies preteritos, et tandem in crastino clausi Pasche hoc termino, ad reddendum regi compotum de omnibus denariis per ipsum receptis pro defensione dicte terre Hibernie vnde nondum computauit.

Et ad predictum crastinum clausi Pasche<sup>3</sup> predictus Ricardus, episcopus Cicestrensis, venit in propria persona sua et detulit hic breue regis de magno sigillo suo thesaurario et baronibus huius scaccarii directum, quod irrotulatur inter breuia directa baronibus de hoc termino, rotulo videlicet sexto, cuius tenor sequitur in hec verba :

<sup>1</sup> Richard Mitford was translated to Salisbury on 25 October 1395 : this is ignored.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. C.P.R. 1391-1396, p. 584, and see above pp. 59-60.

<sup>3</sup> This date is incompatible with that of the writ which the bishop proceeded to exhibit.



Ricardus, Dei gracia rex Anglie et Francie et dominus Hibernie, thesaurario et baronibus suis de scaccario, salutem. Cum quarto die Octobris anno regni nostri xviii. per litteras nostras patentes commiserimus venerabili patri Ricardo, episcopo Saresbiriensi, tunc episcopo Cicestrensi, officium thesaurarii nostri scaccarii nostri Hibernie habendum quamdiu nobis placuerit, percipiendo in officio illo feodum consuetum, ac postmodum quinto die Octobris tunc proximo sequenti per alias litteras patentes de gracia nostra speciali concessimus eidem episcopo quod ipse de reuencionibus [*ut supra, mutatis mutandis*], prout in litteris predictis plenius continetur, vobis mandamus quod ipsum episcopum contra tenorem dictarum litterarumstrarum sibi predicto quinto die Octobris, vt pre-mittitur, factarum non molestetis in aliquo seu grauatis. Teste me ipso apud Westmonasterium primo die Maii anno regni nostri vicesimo primo.

4 October 1394

5 October 1394

1 May 1395

Et super hoc predictus Ricardus, episcopus Cicestrensis, prestitit sacramentum de fideliter computando in premissis, videlicet a predicto quarto die Octobris dicto anno xviii<sup>o</sup> dicti regis nunc vsque supradictum quintum diem Octobris tunc proximo sequentem. Et dicit incontinenti coram eisdem baronibus quod ipse nichil ad opus domini regis per idem tempus percepit nec habuit. Et quia videtur curie huiusmodi compotum non fore acceptabilem absque certificacione tunc thesaurarii et camerariorum dicti scaccarii regis Hibernie, concordatum est antequam vlterius etc. quod mandetur prefatis thesaurario et camerariis etc. ad certificandum curie si prefatus episcopus reciperit aliquas denariorum summas ad opus regis per tempus compoti sui predicti etc. necne. Et mandatum est eis in forma predicta etc. ita etc., a die sancti Michaelis in xv. dies. Et idem dies datus est prefato episcopo Cicestrensi ad finaliter computandum etc.

4 October 1394

5 October 1394

13 October 1398

Et licet dictus dominus rex nunc concesserit prefato Ricardo, episcopo Cicestrensi, quod ipse de reuencionibus dicte terre Hibernie aut de aliquibus denariorum summis per ipsum et officarios suos ad receptam dicti scaccarii Hibernie recipiendis seu deliberandis pretextu officii sui predicti penes dictum regem nunc computabilis non existet nec per dictum regem nunc vel heredes suos seu ministros suos quoscumque inde impeteretur, inquietaretur, molestaretur in aliquo seu grauaretur, idem tamen episcopus dicit quod, tempore quo ipse fuit in officio predicto, quidam Iohannes Melton' iam defunctus et post ipsum abbas ecclesie beate Marie de Dublinia fuerunt ministri sui, videlicet



subthesaurarii sui Hibernie, et petit processum versus executores testamenti predicti Iohannis Melton', videlicet Willelmum Blithe, Willelmum Henny, Iohannem Newlond' et Iohannem Corynham, et versus prefatum abbatem, dictos videlicet executores ad computandum pro predicto Iohanne Melton' in premissis de toto tempore quo idem Iohannes Melton' fuit subthesaurarius predicti episcopi in dicta terra Hibernie, videlicet a supradicto quinto die Octobris et deinceps, et predictum abbatem ad computandum in premissis de toto tempore quo ipse fuit subthesaurarius predicti episcopi in dicta terra Hibernie et non computavit. Et nichilominus predictus episcopus petit ipsummet de compoto in premissis ab eo exacto a supradicto quinto die Octobris et deinceps exonerari pretextu brevis predicti. Et visis premissis per barones habitaque deliberacione inter eosdem, consideratum est quod predictus episcopus quoad compotum in premissis ab eo exactum a supradicto quinto die Octobris et deinceps eat ad presens sine die, pretextu brevis predicti et aliorum premissorum, salua semper accione regis si alias inde loqui voluerit. Et concordatum est quod executio fiat versus prefatos executores testamenti predicti Iohannis Melton' et prefatum abbatem ad computandum etc. Et preceptum est vicecomiti Sussex' quod venire faciat prefatos executores hic in crastino sancti Iohannis Baptiste ad computandum etc. Et mandatum est Rogero de Mortuo Mari, comiti Marchie<sup>1</sup>, locum tenenti regis in dicta terra Hibernie, vel eius iusticiario ibidem quod venire faciat hic ad predictum crastinum prefatum abbatem ad computandum etc.

[No return is made to the writs by the Dublin exchequer, the lieutenant or justiciar or the sheriff of Sussex. There are successive adjournments until the Morrow of Hilary 3 Henry V (14 January 1416), when William Hanney, one of the executors (and presumably the only survivor) appears by attorney and produces a pardon from the king, dated 1 December 1415. Hanney asks for judgement in his favour. There are no further entries.]

<sup>1</sup> He died 20 July 1398. Thomas Holand, duke of Surrey, was appointed lieutenant on 26 July (C.P.R. 1396-1399, p. 402).

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