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978-1-10804-936-8 - A Roll of the Proceedings of the King's Council in Ireland: For a Portion of the Sixteenth Year of the Reign of Richard the Second, A.D. 1392-93

Edited by James Graves

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### A Roll of the Proceedings of the King's Council in Ireland

James Butler, Third Earl of Ormond and Lord Justice of Ireland, headed Richard II's Council in Ireland in the late fourteenth century. These records of the Council are a particularly important source for Irish administrative history, owing to the destruction of a considerable portion of Irish public records over the centuries. The 214 items primarily consist of petitions to the Council and council replies. The roll was calendared, edited and translated from the original French by James Graves (1815–86), a founding father of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, and first published in the Rolls Series in 1877. An appendix of twelve further items (in Latin, French and English) is included, while an appendix to the introduction includes a translation of ordinances of a later great council held by Thomas Fitzgerald, Seventh Earl of Kildare, in 1455.

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*For a Portion of the  
Sixteenth Year of the Reign  
of Richard the Second, A.D. 1392-93*

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RERUM BRITANNICARUM MEDII ÆVI  
SCRIPTORES,

OR

CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS OF GREAT BRITAIN  
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DURING

THE MIDDLE AGES.

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**THE CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS**  
OF  
**GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND**  
DURING THE MIDDLE AGES.

PUBLISHED BY THE AUTHORITY OF HER MAJESTY'S TREASURY, UNDER  
THE DIRECTION OF THE MASTER OF THE ROLLS.

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On the 26th of January 1857, the Master of the Rolls submitted to the Treasury a proposal for the publication of materials for the History of this Country from the Invasion of the Romans to the reign of Henry VIII.

The Master of the Rolls suggested that these materials should be selected for publication under competent editors without reference to periodical or chronological arrangement, without mutilation or abridgment, preference being given, in the first instance, to such materials as were most scarce and valuable.

He proposed that each chronicle or historical document to be edited should be treated in the same way as if the editor were engaged on an *Editio Princeps*; and for this purpose the most correct text should be formed from an accurate collation of the best MSS.

To render the work more generally useful, the Master of the Rolls suggested that the editor should give an account of the MSS. employed by him, of their age and their peculiarities; that he should add to the work a brief account of the life and times of the author, and any remarks necessary to explain the chronology; but no other note or comment was to be allowed, except what might be necessary to establish the correctness of the text.

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The works to be published in octavo, separately, as they were finished; the whole responsibility of the task resting upon the editors, who were to be chosen by the Master of the Rolls with the sanction of the Treasury.

The Lords of Her Majesty's Treasury, after a careful consideration of the subject, expressed their opinion in a Treasury Minute, dated February 9, 1857, that the plan recommended by the Master of the Rolls "was well calculated for the accomplishment of this important national object, in an effectual and satisfactory manner, within a reasonable time, and provided proper attention be paid to economy, in making the detailed arrangements, without unnecessary expense."

They expressed their approbation of the proposal that each Chronicle and historical document should be edited in such a manner as to represent with all possible correctness the text of each writer, derived from a collation of the best MSS., and that no notes should be added, except such as were illustrative of the various readings. They suggested, however, that the preface to each work should contain, in addition to the particulars proposed by the Master of the Rolls, a biographical account of the author, so far as authentic materials existed for that purpose, and an estimate of his historical credibility and value.

*Rolls House,  
December 1857.*



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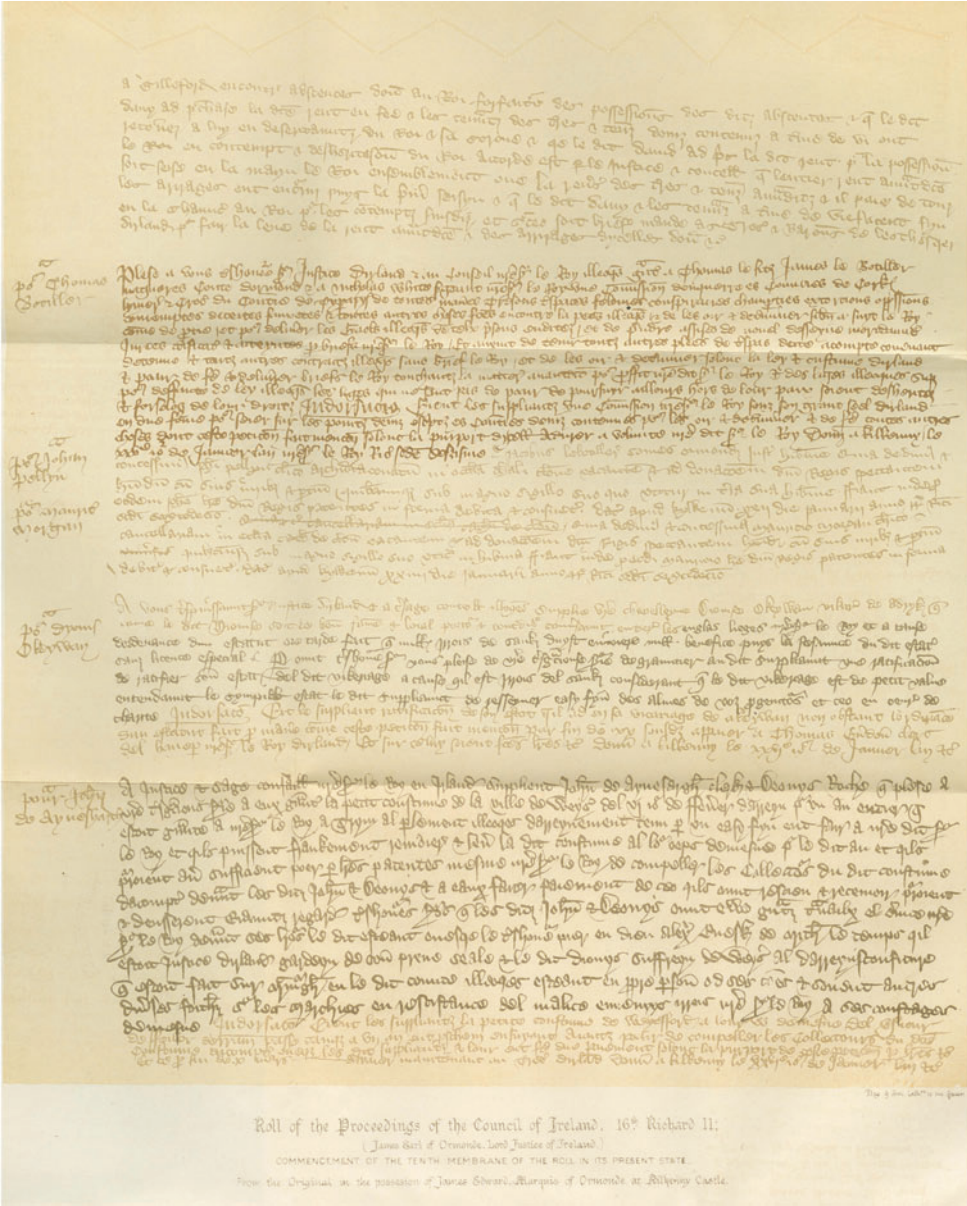
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A ROLL OF THE PROCEEDINGS  
OF THE  
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A.D. 1392-93.



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FOR A PORTION OF THE SIXTEENTH YEAR  
OF THE  
REIGN OF RICHARD THE SECOND,  
A.D. 1392-93.

WITH AN APPENDIX.

EDITED  
BY  
THE REV. JAMES GRAVES, A.B., M.R.I.A.

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## INTRODUCTION.

To account for the existence and establish the authenticity of the manuscript (evidently a Public Record, yet now preserved amongst the private muniments of the Marquis of Ormonde) which forms the principal subject of the present volume, it is requisite that the connexion of his ancestors with the Government of Ireland at the period should be clearly shown. For this purpose, there is no need to trace them from their advent to Ireland in the reign of Henry II. It is enough here to state that from Theobald FitzWalter,<sup>1</sup> who acquired the territory of Ormond or East Munster, was Lord of Arklow and had other lands in Leinster, and Chief Butler of Ireland, descended James le Boteler, Earl of Ormonde, surnamed<sup>2</sup> "the Noble." He was the only son of James second Earl

<sup>1</sup> Walter is the commonly accepted form, but. Hervey, and his son (the first settler in Ireland) and grandson, in their extant charters, use the genitive form—"Herveus Walteri," "Theobaldus Walteri"—which can only mean nepos or filius Walteri, *i.e.*, FitzWalter. This patronimic soon fell into disuse, the surname Le Boteler taking its place.

<sup>2</sup> His father was called by the

Irish the "Stammerer," and he himself the "Chaste," and his son James, the fourth Earl, "the White," or "Fair;" as in subsequent times Thomas, the tenth Earl, received the sobriquet of "the Black," and the eleventh Earl was designated "Walter of the beads and rosaries." James "the Noble" Earl of Ormonde was so called on account of being the great-grandchild of Edward the First.

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of Carrick<sup>1</sup> and first Earl of Ormonde, by Eleanor, eldest surviving daughter of Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford and Essex, Constable of England, and his wife, Elizabeth, the seventh daughter of King Edward I. His sole sister Petronilla was married to Gilbert Lord Talbot, grandfather of the famous Sir John Talbot, Lord Furnival, and afterwards Earl of Shrewsbury. The "Noble" Earl was seven years old at his father's death on January 6th, 1338, and his wardship was first granted to Maurice FitzThomas, Earl of Desmond. By his opposition to the Royal authority that Earl lost the wardship of Ormonde, which was conferred, March 24, 1346, on Sir John Darcy the Elder, of Platten, to whose daughter Elizabeth he was ultimately, in consequence, married.<sup>2</sup> The only son of this marriage was James, fourth Earl of Carrick and third Earl of Ormonde, who on his father's death Oct. 18, 1382 was a minor. The exact year of his birth is not known, but immediately after his father's decease, he unduly entered on, and turned to his own use, the rents and profits of his manors and lands.<sup>3</sup> He was most likely of age before 1384 as he was then appointed Deputy to Philip de Courtenay, the Lord Lieutenant, which post he held until 1385, and on November 12th in the former year he had been associated with Alexander, Bishop of Ossory, Lord Treasurer of Ireland, to treat with Mac Murrough, who complained that although he was at peace, Sir Maurice FitzEustace, Edmund Perers, Robert Tame, and others of the Lord

<sup>1</sup> The earldom of Ulster being now in the Crown, the Marquis of Ormonde, as Earl of Carrick, is premier earl in Ireland.

<sup>2</sup> Carte, "Life of James, Duke of Ormonde," Introduction, p. xxxiv. Richard Lawless, in his Manuscript Pedigree of the House of Ormonde, says, "she was a very

honorable and wise lady and much esteemed by the Earle her husband."

<sup>3</sup> This appears by the answer of the Escheator of Ireland, who in the 19th Ric. II. was called to account in the Exchequer. Lawless, *ubi supra*, gives a full abstract of the pleading.

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Lieutenant's retinue had seized over sixty cows belonging to the said Mac Murrough's tenants. On the 26th of the same month, Sir Patrick de la Freigne was granted 100s. for treating with the Earls of Ormonde and Desmond relative to the great feuds which had arisen between them. This conference, which lasted fifteen days, took place at Clonmel, and resulted in concord being restored for the time being, to the great peace and ease of the lieges of Munster.<sup>1</sup> This Earl of Desmond had married Ormonde's sister. In 1385 we find him engaging another brother-in-law, Tiegue O'Carroll, in the King's service to resist O'Brien of Thomond, who had confederated with many of the Irish of Munster, Leinster, and Connaught to destroy the faithful lieges of the two former provinces.<sup>2</sup> On the 12th of the subsequent July, Earl James, together with the Bishops of Ossory and Lismore, and Gerald Earl of Desmond, was deputed by the Lord Lieutenant, Philip de Courtenay, to continue a Great Council, summoned to meet at Kilkenny on the Monday after the feast of St. Margaret next following, the Lord Lieutenant being busied in the wars with the Mac Murroughs, O'Nolans, O'Byrnes, and O'Tooles.<sup>3</sup> In 1387 the Earl of Ormonde was again at variance with the

<sup>1</sup> Rot. Claus. 8 Ric. II., 22, 28.

<sup>2</sup> This engagement was ratified in the Irish form by the King presenting O'Carroll with a steed, and we learn incidentally from the enrolment that the value of the horse was 40 marks, a large sum in those days. Rot. Claus. 8 Ric. II., 31. The Rental Book of Gerald, Earl of Kildare, temp. Hen. VIII., shows that "a chief horse" was the usual retaining fee given by the great Anglo-Norman

lords to the Irish chiefs when they wished to obtain their aid and alliance. The custom was essentially Irish, and the acceptance of such fees was an acknowledgment of subjection to the giver, as may be seen from "The Book of Rights," published by the Celtic Society. Tiegue O'Carroll, Prince of Ely O'Carroll, married Ormonde's second sister, Joan, who died of the plague in 1383.

<sup>3</sup> Rot. Pat. 9 Ric. II., 1.

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Earl of Desmond, and the Marquis of Dublin, as Lord of Ireland, appointed the Earl of Kildare to try and bring about a permanent reconciliation between them;<sup>1</sup> in the May of the next year Ormonde was at Clonmel, the chief town of his Palatinate or Liberty of Tipperary,<sup>2</sup> and on the 12th of the following August he obtained license to absent himself, with three servants, from Ireland,<sup>3</sup> when it is likely he went to attend on the King in England. The O'Kennedys of Upper Ormond had in his father's time taken the Earl's chief fortress, the castle of Nenagh, and expelled all the English gentlemen and freeholders of that district. This seems to have caused the third Earl to reside chiefly on his property in the county of Kilkenny, where, at Gowran, he built a castle,<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Rot. Pat. 10 Ric. II., 220.

<sup>2</sup> As a specimen of the palatinate jurisdiction enjoyed by the Earl of Ormonde in this district the "Pardon," which follows almost verbatim the royal instruments of the same nature, is here printed:—

Jacobus le Botiller, Comes Ermonie, Dominus Libertatis Typpariensis, Omnibus ballivis et fidelibus suis ad quos presentes litere pervenerint salutem. Sciatis quod de gratia nostra speciali pardonavimus Roberto Prendergast, de Novo Castro, sectam pacis, quæ ad nos pertinet, et de omnibus transgressionibus, felonis, sedicionibus, extorcionibus, confederacionibus, falsis alleganciis, receptamentis et abettamentis feloniorum, adherenciis inimicis et aliis falsitatibus et gravaminibus quibuscumque, per ipsum usque ad hunc diem infra Libertatem predictam qualitercumque perpetratis, incendio, raptu, forstallo, et thesauro invento, duntaxat exceptis; ac etiam utlegariis, si que in personam ipsius

Roberti occasionibus predictis fuerint promulgate; et firmam pacem nostram ei inde concedimus. Ita tamen quod stet recte in Curia Libertatis predictæ, si quis inde versus eum loqui voluerit, et quod de cetero se bene et fideliter gerat erga Dominum nostrum Regem, nos, heredes et ministros nostros, pacem, et fidelem populum nostrum. In cujus rei testimonium has literas nostras fecimus patentes. Teste me ipso apud Clonmell, xxix. die Maii, anno regni Regis Ricardi Secundi post conquestum Anglie undecimo.

(Seal lost.)

From the original, amongst pardons granted by the Earls of Ormonde, Lords of the Liberty of Tipperary, preserved in the muniment room, Kilkenny Castle.

<sup>3</sup> Rot. Pat. 12 Ric. II., No. 195.

<sup>4</sup> This castle, which stood an obstinate siege against the forces of Cromwell in 1649, is now utterly destroyed. Earl James also built

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whence he was often called "Earl of Gowran." In September 1392 he purchased, from Sir Hugh le Despenser, Kilkenny Castle and that portion of the great De Clare seigniorship of Kilkenny acquired in the early part of the reign of Edward II. by an earlier Hugh le Despenser, in right of his wife Eleanor eldest daughter of Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester and Hertford and Lord of Kilkenny.<sup>1</sup>

In the meantime Richard had made his favourite, De Vere, Marquis of Dublin and Duke of Ireland, and conferred on him "with a glad heart, and as much as in him lay, the entire land and dominion of Ireland." The sole reservation in the Patent (excepting some pre-existing rights) was the King's feudal superiority. The new Lord of Ireland was empowered to coin money in his own name, use his private arms<sup>2</sup> on the Great Seal, and emblazon them on his banner which was to be carried in battle, and before the troops, instead of the King's; and "Robertus Marchio Dublinii" displaces the accustomed "Ricardus Rex" in the Patent Rolls of Ireland. On the downfall of de Vere in 1387, the government was administered by Alexander Balcot, Bishop of Meath, Lord Chancellor of Ireland, and Richard White, Prior of Kilmainham; and in 1388 Balcot was censured for still using De Vere's seal in public documents, and advancing his banners and pennons in military operations.<sup>3</sup> In 1389 Sir John Stanley was appointed Lord Lieutenant by the King for three

the castle of Dunfert (now Danesfort), in the county of Kilkenny.

<sup>1</sup> The original deeds of purchase, release, and attornment, are preserved at Kilkenny Castle. The sum originally agreed to be paid by Ormonde was 1,000*l.*, but on his relinquishing certain claims, le Despenser gives Ormonde a full release on

the payment of 200*l.* in the New Temple, London.

<sup>2</sup> These, which were specially devised by the King in honour of de Vere's new dignity, and embodied in a Patent, were azure three crowns or within a border argent.

<sup>3</sup> "Quia datum est nobis intelligi, quod vos sigillo Roberti de Veer,

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years.<sup>1</sup> About this time Ormonde forwarded to England a "message" from the Commons of Ireland, and wrote concerning it to the Dukes of Surrey and Exeter, the King's Council, and the Earl of Marche, urgently representing that Richard's personal presence in Ireland was greatly desired.<sup>2</sup>

In 1393 the Earl of Ormonde was made Lord Justice of Ireland, by Patent dated May 31,<sup>3</sup> for one year from the following 24th of June, and by indenture between

nuper ducis Hiberniæ, sub nomine Marchionis Dublinii, cui nuper dominium et regimen terræ predictæ concessimus . . . erronice usi fuistis, ac vexilla et penuncellos ejusdem Roberti contra aggressus et invasiones hostium et rebellium nostrorum Hibernicorum similiter erigi, levare et displicari fecistis in nostri dedecus et vituperium manifestum, Nos . . . injungimus et mandamus quod, sigillo vexillis et penuncellis præfati Roberti, in dicta terra habitis, et pro tempore usitatis, sine dilatione amotis penitus et deletis, omnia et singula . . . sigillo nostro, quo per antea inibi utebamur, quod in thesaurario nostro ibidem existit . . . consignari, nostraque vexilla et penuncellos . . . erigi et displicari faciat. Teste Rege apud Westmonasterium, iv. die Aprilis [1398]."

<sup>1</sup> Gilbert's "Viceroys of Ireland," 253, &c.

<sup>2</sup> This message from the Commons is assigned to the early part of the reign of Hen. IV. (though with some doubt) in the "Proceedings, &c. of the Privy Council of England," Vol. II. p. 43. But both the Earls of Marche were dead before Richard's second expedition to Ireland, and Edmund, the son of Earl Roger,

was too young in the beginning of Henry's reign to be written to by Ormonde on matters of State, even were he not the son of the man acknowledged by Richard to be the heir to the Crown which Henry had just assumed. The period is also fixed by the mention of the [half] brothers of Richard II.

<sup>3</sup> The Patents of Ormonde's appointment (the first of which belongs to the 15th although enrolled in the 16th year of the King) are as follows:—

Pro Comite Dormondie.

Rex omnibus ad quos, etc. salutem. Sciatis quod nos de fidelitate circumspicione et industria dilecti et fidelis nostri Jacobi Buteler, Comitis Dormondie, plenius confidentes, commisimus ei officium Justiciarie nostre Hibernie et terram nostram Hibernie cum castris et aliis pertinenciis suis, habendum et custodiendum per unum annum integrum in festo Nativitatis Sancti Johannis Baptiste proximo futuro incepturum, juxta formam cujusdam indenture inter nos et ipsum Comitem inde confecte. In cujus etc. T. R. apud Cantuariam, xxxj. die Maii. Et mandatum est archiepiscopis, episcopis, abbatibus, prio-

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himself and the King was granted for his entertainment as Lord Justice 3,000 marks a year.<sup>1</sup> On July 25th the term of office was extended during the King's pleasure, and on the same day Richard wrote to the Council of Ireland, informing them that he had made the Earl of Marche Lord Lieutenant, in place of his uncle the Duke of Gloucester, and appointed the Earl of Ormonde to fill the office of Lord Justice until the Earl of Marche should go to Ireland.<sup>2</sup> There is also a Letter under the Privy Seal dated July 25th, addressed to the Earl of Ormonde by the King, thanking him for his diligence and loyal service, and the labour he had undergone in the safeguard of the land, informing him that he had made him Lord Justice of Ireland, and had sent over with the Archbishop of Dublin, whom he had appointed Lord Chancellor of Ireland, a force of men-at-arms and archers, and a sum of 2,000 marks to be expended along with the revenues of Ireland, in the government thereof.<sup>3</sup> The King enjoins him also to act with the advice of the Lord Chancellor, the Bishop of Meath, and the others of his Council there.

ribus, comitibus, baronibus, militibus, liberis hominibus et omnibus aliis de terra nostra Hibernie, quod eidem Comiti tanquam Justiciario nostro terre predictae in omnibus que ad officium Justicie predictae pertinent intendentes sint et respondentes sicut predictum est. In cujus etc. T. ut supra.

Per ipsum Regem et Consilium.

De Justiciario Hibernie constituto.

Rex omnibus ad quos, etc. salutem. Sciatis quod nos de fidelitate et circumspicione dilecti consanguinei nostri Jacobi le Boteler, Comitis Ormundie, plenius confidentes, constituimus ipsum Justiciarium nostrum terre nostre Hibernie, habendum quamdiu nobis placuerit, percipiendo

in officio illo feodum consuetum. Damus autem universis et singulis archiepiscopis, episcopis, abbatibus, prioribus, comitibus, baronibus, militibus, liberis hominibus et omnibus aliis de terra predicta tenore presentium firmiter in mandatis quod eidem Comiti tanquam Justiciario nostre terre predictae in omnibus, que ad officium predictum pertinent, intendentes sint et respondentes prout decet. In cujus, etc. T. Rege apud Wyndesore, xxiiij. die Julii. Per ipsum Regem.

Patent Roll, 16 Ric. II., pars 1, 22, and pars 3, 9. Public Record Office, London.

<sup>1</sup> Harris's "Ware," Vol. I., p. 96.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 255 *infra*.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 258 *infra*.

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The Patent and this Letter under the Privy Seal were transmitted by the hands of John Elyngham, Sergeant at Arms, and reached the Earl at his castle of Carrick-on-Suir on Thursday, October the 8th.<sup>1</sup> He immediately wrote to the Bishop of Meath announcing his appointment, and requesting that, as he had to attend a parley with Mac Murrough at Tillaghin Offelmythe (Tulloo, co. Carlow) on the Monday following, the Bishop would summon a Great Council to meet at Castledermot in order to consult about the public safety, feeling that the burden of Governor imposed on him was a heavy and difficult task on account of the miserable condition of the land. At this Great

<sup>1</sup> Amongst the Ormonde manuscripts at Kilkenny Castle is preserved the letter which Ormonde wrote to the Bishop of Meath on receipt of the King's Letters and Patent. It is written on a strip of parchment measuring 14 by 4 inches. The seal, originally attached to a narrow strip cut from the parchment, is lost, and the letter, which has suffered from damp at one margin, is as follows:—

Reverent Pere en Dieu et tres honoure Seignour. Nous vous salvons de entier cuer, et plesse vous assavoir que iceo Marsdy derrain passe ceste assavoir le viii<sup>e</sup> iour Doctobre [Johan] Elyngham Sergeant darmes notre Seignour le Roy vynt a nous a notre chastel de Carryke portant et surmettant a nous vn Patent destre Justice Dirland oveque autres Lettres donnees sus le Privie Seel notre dit Seignour le Roytouchant icelle matiere. Et que nous deussions parmye votre avys et lavys de tresreverent Pere en Dieu Larchevesque de Dyvelyn et autres de Conceille notre dit Seignour le Roy en cestes parties ordener le

meulz que nous pourroions entour le governance de la terre, la quelle charge nous semble trop dure, ne sumes nous capable de le prendre en tel estat comme la dite terre est mis a present, ne savons en nulle maner comment nous le pourroions soustenir sans grant deshonneur et anientisement de notre pauvre et simple estat. Pour la quelle cause sibien comme a cause de ceste parlement assis a Tillagh en Offelmyth parentre nous et McMorrough nous nous vullons destre illeques [ . . . ] le Lundy prochein avenir. Pour quoi, Reverent Pere en Dieu et treshonneur Seignour, nous vous conseillons et prions que vous y ordenez et assignez vn Conseille a Tristledermot ou aillours a votre honorable plesir, et que tous ceux du Conseille du Roy et autres des meillours homes des Conties et Cites dycelle parties soient illeques pour prendre [ . . . ] vn entier purpos, sibien sur les matieres desusdites comme pour la savacioun de la terre. Reverent Pere en Dieu et treshonneur Seignour, le Seint Esprit vous ait tous jours en sa



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Council, which was attended by the Archbishop of Dublin as Lord Chancellor, the Earl of Ormonde was sworn into office,<sup>1</sup> and shortly after defeated a strong party of the Irish<sup>2</sup> who had invaded the county of Kilkenny. The Council Roll now printed and the Patent Rolls of Chancery enable us trace the Lord Justice's itinerary from day to day. On October the 30th 1392, (which is the date of the first entry on the Council Roll,) he was at Dublin, where he remained until December 3rd, on which day he went to Trim. The Lord Justice was at

sante et save garde. Escript a  
notre dit chastel de Carryke le ix<sup>e</sup>  
iour Doctobre.

Le votre le Conte Dormonde.  
(*Dorso*)

A Reverent Pere en Dieu  
Seignour Levesque de Myth[. . .]

## [TRANSLATION.]

Reverend Father in God and most honourable Lord. We salute you with all our heart, and please you to understand that on this Tuesday last past, that is on the 8th day of October, there came to us to our castle of Carryck John Elyngham, Sergeant-at-arms of our Lord the King, bearing and transmitting to us a Patent to be Justice of Ireland, and other Letters given under the Privy Seal of our said Lord the King touching that matter. And that we ought with your advice, and the advice of the most reverend Father in God, the Archbishop of Dublin, and others of the Council of our said Lord the King in these parts, to ordain as best we could about the government of the said land; which charge seems to us very difficult, nor are we at all able to undertake it, in the condition that the said land is in at present, neither do we know how we can bear it with-

out great dishonour and destruction to our poor and simple estate. For which reason, as well as on account of this parley fixed at Tillagh in Offemyth between us and McMorrough, we wish to be there on Monday next. Wherefore reverend Father in God and most honoured Lord, we counsel and pray you to order and appoint a Council to meet at Tristledermot or elsewhere at your honourable pleasure, and that all who are of the King's Council, and others, the more considerable persons of the Counties and Cities of these parts, be there to take [counsel] on the whole case, as well on the matters above mentioned as for the safety of the land. May the Holy Spirit have you, reverend Father in God and most honoured Lord, always in his most holy and safe keeping. Written at our said castle of Carryck, the 9th day of October.

Yours, the Earl of Ormonde.

To the Reverend Father in God,  
the Lord Bishop of Meath[. . .]

<sup>1</sup> See p. 42 *infra*.

<sup>2</sup> All the Annals call them the "Mac Moynes," which must be a corrupt form probably for the "Mac Murrroughs," who were particularly formidable at the period to the Government.

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Clane on 5th of that month, and at Kilkenny on the 9th. He remained at Carrick-on-Suir from the 11th to the 15th, on which day he went to New Ross, and from thence by Waterford back to Carrick-on-Suir on the 16th, and at his castle there spent his Christmas. The Earl was at Waterford on the 31st December, and remained there until January 12th 1393. We find him at Kilkenny on the 21st, at his newly acquired Castle, where a Parliament was assembled about the 27th of that month, which detained him there for some time as he did not leave until February the 20th. By March 2nd, the Lord Justice had reached Trim, and was at Drogheda on the 11th and 12th. He was at Dublin on the 16th, and again at Trim on the 18th of the month, and remained to the 27th, on which day we find him again at Drogheda, remaining until the 30th. The 1st of April found the Lord Justice at Trim, and he was there until the 16th; from the 23rd to the 25th he was at Dublin, and again at Drogheda on the 29th of that month, as appears by an entry which is the latest in date, although not the last, on the Roll. The Patent and Close Rolls of Chancery show that the Earl was at Kilkenny on the 26th of April, at Naas May the 12th, at Carlow on the 16th and 18th, and at Naas again on the 22nd. As Lord Justice he attests records at Dublin on the 29th and on June the 3rd; he was at Naas on the next day, and back to Dublin on the 12th of that month.

In July 1393, Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester, had been appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, but as he never came over, the Earl of Ormonde continued to act as Lord Justice. He was at Kilkenny on November the 19th in that year, where he tested a writ directed to the Seneschal of the Liberty of Wexford, stating that he purposed to spend the ensuing Christmas at Ross, and ordering the Seneschal, under the penalty of one hundred pounds, to provide the supplies needed for his lodging

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(hospicium suum)<sup>1</sup> there. That the Earl of Ormonde held office until Richard's arrival in person seems almost certain.<sup>2</sup> He summoned a Parliament at Kilkenny on February the 14th 1394, but the King's affairs requiring his presence at Munster it did not meet, and there is proof that he was Lord Justice up to March 1st.<sup>3</sup> It is, however, stated that Sir Thomas le Scrope was appointed Deputy in July.<sup>4</sup>

Richard II. landed in Ireland on the 2nd of October 1394, accompanied by many of the highest nobles of England, and with an army of 4,000 knights and esquires, and 30,000 archers. The Earl of Ormonde joined the King at Waterford, immediately after his debarcation at that port;<sup>5</sup> and conducted an unsuccessful expedition against the O'Connors of Offaly. Nearly all Ireland, outside Leinster, excepting the seaport and principal corporate towns, may be said to have been at this time independent of English rule. Of the conquering Anglo-Norman leaders amongst whom Ireland was divided two centuries before, and who had dislodged the Irish from the plains and fertile lands, there remained represented in the male line but the Earls of Ormonde, Kildare, and Desmond. Even in Leinster Art Mac Murrough, assuming the kingly title, openly defied the English power. But though Richard, at the head of an army almost equal to that which conquered at Crécy, was unable to recover what was lost by the resurgence of the natives, yet he won a seeming submission from their chiefs, who felt his power, and

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<sup>1</sup> Gilbert's "Viceroys," &c., p. 566.

<sup>2</sup> Carte, "Life of Ormonde," Introduction, p. xxxvi.

<sup>3</sup> This is proved by a document (printed in Gilbert's "Viceroys," p. 557), which is tested at Dublin on that date by Ormonde as Justice of Ireland.

<sup>4</sup> "Ware." Table of Governors.

<sup>5</sup> Froissart says, "On the other hand, there was in Ireland a very valiant English knight, called the Earl of Ormond, who, like his predecessors, held lands in that country."—"Chronicles," John's edition, vol. II., p. 568.

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acknowledged him as Sovereign, or, in the Irish sense, "Ardriagh." Richard laid aside the standard of England and raised the banner of Edward the Confessor. This "was very pleasing to the Irish . . . who paid their homage in like manner as was done to Saint Edward." "Four of the most potent kings in Ireland" and many chieftains submitted to the English monarch, "but more from love and good-humour, than by battle or force." Ormonde, "who understood and spoke Irish well," and was known to O'Neill, O'Brien, O'Connor, and Mac Murrough both in peace and war, took infinite pains to induce these provincial Kings to come to Dublin. Richard offered to knight them, and they assented; although, as they said, being king's sons, they were knights already from their boyhood. Henry Castide—an English squire, who some years before, on an expedition led by the Earl against the Mac Murroughs, was taken prisoner, had married the daughter of his captor, a chief of that sept, and long dwelt amongst them more from liking than from force—was appointed their attendant; and Ormonde himself prepared them for the order of knight-hood which Richard conferred on them after they had complied with all the rules of chivalry.<sup>1</sup>

It appears by the tests in the Irish Patent and Close Rolls of the 18th year of his reign, that Richard was frequently at Kilkenny in the spring of 1395. The Earl of Ormonde was amongst those summoned to a Great Council held there shortly after Easter in that year,<sup>2</sup> and it was probably on this occasion that the King stood sponsor to Ormonde's second son, who was named Richard<sup>3</sup> after his Royal godfather.

The King returned to England in May 1395, leaving the next in succession to the Crown, Mortimer, Earl of

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<sup>1</sup> Froissart, "Chronicles," Johne's edition, vol. II. pp. 578, 582.

<sup>2</sup> Rot. Pat. and Claus. 18 Ric. II.

<sup>3</sup> This Richard is the direct ancestor of the present Marquis of Ormonde.

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Marche, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. In 1397, Ormonde accompanied the Lord Lieutenant against the O'Byrnes, whose country they wasted, and took the principal house of their chieftain; but the Earl of Marche was shortly after slain in a fray with them and the O'Tooles at Kellistown, in the present county of Carlow. At the time of Richard's second expedition Ormonde was in England and accompanied him when he landed in Ireland on June 1, 1399.<sup>1</sup>

Henry IV., in the third year of his reign, made the Earl of Ormonde Constable of Ireland. In 1404, he was elected to the Justiceship by the Council on the sudden departure of Sir Stephen Le Scrope, the Lord Deputy,<sup>2</sup> and in this office, notwithstanding his request

<sup>1</sup> "Chronique de la Traïson de Richart deux," p. 170.

<sup>2</sup> Amongst the Cotton MSS. in the British Museum is preserved the following letter written to the English Council by Ormonde after his election to the office of Lord Justice:—

CORR. MS., TITUS B. xi., fo. 18°.

Tres honoures Seigneures, jeo moy recomant a vous si entierement come jeo say ou puis puisse en toutes maners et honours entendaunts. Tres honoures Seigneures, touchaunt lestate de la terre Dirland, moy et toutes les [. . . .] illeoques sumes en graunde discomfort et disease pur le partier de moun treshonoure Seigneur Thomas de Lancastre, fitz a notre tres souveraigne Seigneur le Roi, Seneschal Dengleterre, et Lieutenaunt [. . . . .] a cause que Monseigneur Estephan Lescrope, soun Depute illeoques, departist si sodeignement hors de la dit terre. saunz avys del Counseill nostre Seigneur le Roi avaunt dit illeoques

et ceo quils disoient, relinquent le dit terre voide et desolate de gouvernaunce, dount les Iroyes ennemys furount graundement conforties, et plusours troubles et grevauncez comenserount sourdier as diverses partiez de la dit terre. Sur quoy le saige et honourable Counseill nostre Seigneur le Roy illeoques soi assemblerount a un Comune Counseill illeoques, ou lez meillours et greindres Prelatez, Seigneures, et Comunes de mesme la terre, et de lour comune avys, considerauntz lez graundes meschiefs et perelles de la dit terre, surmisterount sur moy loffice del Justiciarie et la gouvernaunce de la dit terre, maugre le mesme, sur lomage et foi que jeo doit avoir tres souveraigne Seigneur le Roi avaunt dit; quele charge jeo ne purai my eschuer ne refuser pur les causes susdites, tout foi jeo povere nounable et nounsuffisaunte de tielle charge supportier pur les graundes costaiges queux jay mys et susteign, ceo en arriere si avant

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to be relieved therefrom, he was confirmed by Patent dated the 24th of June following, and retained it to his death on the 7th of September 1405. In the previous April he

en<sup>1</sup> temps nostre Seigneure le Roi  
 qor est, come en le temps le Roi  
 Richard souu predecessour, outre  
 moun simple poar; et les poveres  
 lieges illeokes si febles, et riens en  
 le Tresorve pur le dit<sup>2</sup> pur le dit  
 charge susteigner, a graunde dis-  
 ease et anientisement de moy et de  
 moun estate. En suppliaunt que plaise  
 a vous treshonoures Seigneures a  
 ceo avoier consideracioun et de ex-  
 citier nostre tres souveraigne Seigneur  
 le Roi hastiement dordeigner suffi-  
 samment pur le governaunce de  
 la dit terre et moy ent dischargier.  
 Et le Benoit Trinyte vous eit tous  
 jours en sa seintisme garde. Es-  
 cript a Waterford le xvij. jour  
 de Marcs.

Le Count Dormound.

[TRANSLATION.]

Most honoured Lords, I commend  
 me to you as entirely as I know or  
 am best able in all ways and due  
 respects. Most honoured Lords,  
 touching the estate of the land of  
 Ireland, I and all the [liege people]  
 there, are in great discomfort and  
 evil case on account of the absence  
 of my most honoured Lord Thomas  
 of Lancaster, son of our most sove-  
 reign Lord the King, Seneschal of  
 of England and Lieutenant[ . . .  
 . . . ] by reason that my Lord  
 Stephen Lescrope, his Deputy there,  
 took his departure from the said  
 land so suddenly, without the advice  
 of the Council of our Lord the King

<sup>1</sup> The word *vre* is here struck out in  
 orig.

<sup>2</sup> Sic in orig.

aforesaid there and hearing what  
 they might say, leaving the said  
 land devoid and bereft of govern-  
 ment, whereby the Irish enemy  
 were greatly comforted, and many  
 troubles and grievances began to  
 arise in various parts of the said  
 land. Whereon the sage and hon-  
 ourable Council there of our Lord  
 the King assembled at a Common  
 Council there, where the more emi-  
 nent and greater Prelates, Lords,  
 and Commons of the same land, by  
 their united advice, considering the  
 great mischiefs and perils of the  
 said land, imposed on me, against  
 my wish, the office of the Justice-  
 ship and government of the said  
 land, on the homage and faith  
 which I ought to bear towards our  
 sovereign Lord the King aforesaid;  
 which charge I could not eschew  
 or refuse for the causes aforesaid,  
 although I [am] poor, unable and  
 insufficient to support such a charge  
 on account of the great expenditure  
 which I have made and sustained,  
 as well lately in the time of our  
 Lord the King that now is, as also  
 before that, in the time of King  
 Richard his predecessor, beyond  
 my simple power; and the poor  
 lieges there so feeble, and nothing in  
 the Treasury to bear the said charge,  
 to the great injury and ruin of my-  
 self and my estate. Thereon pray-  
 ing that it would please you most  
 honoured Lords to take this into  
 consideration, and to stir up our  
 most sovereign Lord the King  
 quickly to take order in sufficient  
 manner for the government of the