

## Select documents XXXVII:

# The campaign against the Scots in Munster, 1317

### INTRODUCTION

The document printed below has been preserved, somewhat unexpectedly, among the series of Ministers' Accounts in the Public Record Office, London.<sup>1</sup> It is the account (or, more strictly, a record belonging to the process of auditing the account) of John Patrickchurch, clerk of wages on the expedition that Edmund Butler, the justiciar of Ireland, led in Munster between February and April 1317 against Robert and Edward Bruce and their Scottish army. The broad course of events during that critical period is well known.<sup>2</sup> The Scots came south during February, approached Dublin, but, lacking the capacity to take it, continued south and west, ravaging the famine-stricken countryside. They eventually arrived at Castleconnell, by the Shannon just north of Limerick, apparently in the hope of benefiting from an alliance with the O'Briens of Thomond, one faction among whom had been in touch with them in Ulster. The justiciar had moved south before the Bruces reached Dublin. He raised an army in Munster and proceeded to follow the Scots closely as they progressed through Tipperary. The royal army eventually encamped at Ludden, just south of Limerick. For some days the two forces confronted each other. Then Robert and Edward retreated. Their expectations of the O'Briens had proved vain; they were desperately short of supplies; and they may well have heard of the arrival of Roger Mortimer, the king's lieutenant, who had landed at Youghal, from where he set out on 11 April to join Butler and the army.<sup>3</sup> The document is of some interest for the light it can shed on military organisation and on the accounting procedures of the Irish exchequer. But it is worth printing in full above all for the detailed information it contains about one of the darkest yet most decisive episodes of the Bruce invasion.

#### *The document*

On 13 July 1332 Walter Islip, who had been treasurer of Ireland from 1314 to 1321 and again from 1322 to 1326, presented the document, together with an

I am grateful to Dr Philomena Connolly of the Public Record Office of Ireland, who guided me on questions of exchequer practice, and to Canon C. A. Empey, who helped me with the identification of placenames.

<sup>2</sup>See Orpen, *Normans*, iv, 189-93; Otway-Ruthven, *Med. Ire.*, pp 230-31; Robin Frame, 'The Bruces in Ireland, 1315-18' in *I.H.S.*, xix, no. 73 (Mar. 1974), pp 22-4, 34-6.

<sup>3</sup>*Chartul. St Mary's, Dublin*, ii, 300-1.

account of his custodianship of the liberty of Kilkenny between 1314 and 1316, at the English exchequer. As treasurer, Walter had been in charge of the Dublin exchequer throughout the Bruce invasion. It might be thought that his payment of 200 marks to John Patrickchurch would be of little concern to anybody fifteen years later: the payment is duly recorded on the Irish issue roll for Hilary 1317;<sup>4</sup> it had passed audit in England long since, when Walter had made his account for the years 1314-21;<sup>5</sup> in any case in 1319 the treasurer had received an indemnity for improprieties committed during the crisis of the invasion.<sup>6</sup> However, at the end of 1325 Walter was caught up in the disgrace of Alexander Bicknor, archbishop of Dublin, his predecessor as treasurer. During an embassy to the Continent, Bicknor, whose own account for the period 1308-14 was still being audited, had deserted Edward II and gone over to the exiled Queen Isabella. The English government proceeded to make the most of alleged forgeries and falsifications in his account; these involved Islip, who as a baron of the exchequer from 1308 to 1311 and as escheator from 1310 to 1313 had been one of the archbishop's closest colleagues.<sup>7</sup> Walter was dismissed from the treasurership in December 1325.<sup>8</sup> Although he extricated himself from the Fleet prison fairly rapidly,<sup>9</sup> like Bicknor he found the Westminster exchequer inquisitive about the details of his accounts.<sup>10</sup>

Among the items eventually challenged was the payment for the 1317 campaign. It was stigmatised as fraudulent, and said to be supported by a forged writ of *liberate* and a forged receipt, a charge which implied that Islip had purloined the sum. At the same time he was accused of concealing £754 received from the liberty of Kilkenny. The Dublin exchequer received a writ from its English counterpart asking for further information about both these matters on 12 May 1332. It extracted details of Patrickchurch's account from its records and sent them to England together with the account relating to Kilkenny. The two documents still remain together; they have been placed in the series of Ministers' Accounts (S.C. 6) where the Kilkenny account naturally belongs but where the military paymaster's account is an interloper.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>4</sup>P.R.O., E. 101/237/5.

<sup>5</sup>P.R.O., E. 372/166, m.25.

<sup>6</sup>*Cal. pat. rolls, 1317-21*, p. 269.

<sup>7</sup>See Richardson & Sayles, *Admin. Ire.*, pp 3-4, 47-8, 106, 126, and J. F. Lydon, 'The enrolled account of Alexander Bicknor, treasurer of Ireland, 1308-14' in *Anal. Hib.*, no. 30 (1982), pp 10-11. The political background is touched upon in Robin Frame, *English lordship in Ireland, 1318-1361* (Oxford, 1982), p. 169.

<sup>8</sup>*Cal. pat. rolls, 1324-7*, p. 197; *Cal. close rolls, 1323-7*, p. 432. He appears to have gone to England, leaving Roger Outlaw as his deputy, before this (Richardson & Sayles, *Admin. Ire.*, p. 101).

<sup>9</sup>He was pardoned, in return for a fine of 500 marks, as early as March 1326; the pardon was confirmed by Edward III in 1334. His rehabilitation can be followed in *Cal. pat. rolls, 1324-7*, pp 250-51; *Cal. memoranda rolls, 1326-7*, nos 1013, 1662, 2108-9; *Cal. pat. rolls, 1334-8*, p. 32.

<sup>10</sup>E.g. *Cal. memoranda rolls, 1326-7*, nos 771 (c), 772, 779, 782, 1111, 1305, 1829, 2062, 2064, 2153; *Cal. close rolls, 1327-30*, pp 174, 196, 197, 260.

<sup>11</sup>The writ seeking information from the Dublin exchequer, the Kilkenny account, and Patrickchurch's account are all together in P.R.O., S.C. 6/1239/13. S.C. 6 is an artificial collection assembled from various sources: see H. C. Maxwell-Lyte's preface

The document is a copy of a schedule (*cedula*) enrolled on the Irish memoranda roll on 5 November 1317 on the orders of Roger Outlaw, the acting treasurer. It consists of two parts: an extract from the view of John Patrickchurch's account (*visus compoti*); and the daily details of the wages that fell due during the campaign (*particule vadorum*). The *particule* show that the wages amounted to £458 19s. 6d.; the *visus* reveals that John had received 200 marks of this sum from the exchequer. It seems probable that the schedule had originally been enrolled at the request of Edmund Butler, who appears to have borne at least part of the remaining expenses of the expedition.<sup>12</sup> Now it was employed to exculpate Walter Islip, his colleague in 1317.

We are fortunate in two respects that this schedule has survived. It contains records which were undoubtedly kept by the Irish exchequer, but not at this period normally enrolled. The *visus compoti* is a form of entry increasingly common in the memoranda rolls of Edward III's reign, but it does not usually appear in those of the reign of Edward II.<sup>13</sup> *Particule vadorum*, recorded from day to day, were a familiar form of record-keeping; they were kept by paymasters in Ireland, who must have needed them when they faced the auditing of their accounts.<sup>14</sup> But they have not on the whole been preserved. The document thus provides a glimpse of the procedures and records that lay behind the formal final accounts of paymasters, which begin to appear in the Irish pipe rolls in the later years of Edward I. Secondly, the schedule compensates in some small degree for the disappearance of the memoranda rolls for 10-13 Edward II (1316-19) and the pipe roll for 11 Edward II (1317-18) long before the Irish Record Commission and the Public Record Office of Ireland began their work of cataloguing and calendaring the material that was to be destroyed in 1922. These losses mean that our knowledge of the financial, administrative and military history of the second half of the Bruce war is much more scanty than that of the campaigns of 1315-16.

### *The course of the campaign*

The document is straightforward and mostly self-explanatory; much of the information it contains may best be presented in tabular form (Table I). Its chief value is, of course, that it enables us to trace the movements of the justiciar and his force with some exactitude between 24 February, when the account opens, and 17 April, when the army finally disbanded. The brief commentary that follows is designed primarily to identify the successive phases of Edmund Butler's military operations and to relate these to what little is

of 1894 to the *List of original ministers' accounts*, i, reprinted as *P.R.O. lists and indexes*, v (New York, 1963).

<sup>12</sup>Assignments of a further 200 marks were at some stage made to Butler and not to Patrickchurch; Edmund received 50 marks of this amount from the revenues of County Limerick (P.R.O.I., R.C. 8/12, pp 650-51).

<sup>13</sup>See J. F. Lydon, 'Survey of the memoranda rolls of the Irish exchequer, 1294-1509' in *Anal. Hib.*, no. 23 (1966), pp 53-4, 65.

<sup>14</sup>See Philomena Connolly, 'An account of military expenditure in Leinster, 1308' in *ibid.*, no. 30 (1982), p. 3.

known — mostly from the Dublin annals — of the movements of the Scottish army.<sup>15</sup>

From 24 February to 6 March. These eleven days formed a preliminary to the campaign. Edmund left his manor of Carrick-on-Suir and travelled through Dungarvan and Tallow to Cork where he stayed for six days, bargaining (as we know from the justiciary rolls) with the men of the county for their service on the forthcoming expedition. He returned through Affane and Rathgormac,

TABLE I

Date	Place	Men-at-arms	Hob- el- ars	Foot	Wages		
					£	s.	d.
24 Feb.	Carrick-on-Suir (Tip.)	30	0	0	1	10	0
25 Feb.	Dungarvan (Wat.)	50	0	0		—	
26 Feb.	Tallow (Wat.)	80	0	0	4	0	0
27 Feb.-4 Mar.	Cork	80	0	0	24	0	0
5 Mar.	Affane (Wat.)	50	0	0	2	10	0
6 Mar.	Rathgormac (Wat.)	23	0	0		—	
	Carrick-on-Suir	47	0	0	2	7	0
9 Mar.	Ardmayle (Tip.)	80	200	0	9	0	0
10 Mar.	Thurles (Tip.)	80	200	0	9	0	0
15-17 Mar.	Ardmayle	80	200	0	68	12	6
	Newtownlennan/Clonmel (Tip.)	120	240	300			
18-19 Mar.	[Scots reach Cashel]		—			—	
20 Mar.	<i>Daire mór</i> (Tip.)	40	80	200	5	5	0
21-25 Mar.	Fennor (Tip.)	50	150	300	40	12	6
26-27 Mar.	Graystown (Tip.)	50	150	300	16	5	0
28-29 Mar.	Athassel (Tip.)	120	200	300	25	15	0
30 Mar.	? Cordangan (Tip.)	120	200	300	12	17	6
31 Mar.-1 Apr.	Vill of 'Craak' (? Lim.)	120	200	300	25	15	0
2-3 Apr.	Rathjordan (Lim.)	140	240	300	29	15	0
4-8 Apr.	Caherconlish (Lim.)	220	300	400	105	0	0
9-10 Apr.	Ludden/Caherelly (Lim.)	220	300	400	42	0	0
11 Apr.	Brittas (Lim.)	180	250	300	17	2	6
12 Apr.	Castle Deyncourt (? Tip.)	40	80	240	5	10	0
13-15 Apr.	Cashel/Graystown (Tip.)		—			—	
16 Apr.	Graystown	80	200	500	12	2	6
17 Apr.	'Caldermor' (? <i>Daire mór</i> )	80	200	500		—	
				Total	458	19	6

<sup>15</sup>Except where otherwise indicated, all further references to these annals are taken from *Chariul. St Mary's, Dublin*, ii, 300-1. (It should be noted that the dates supplied in the margins of the Dublin annals by their nineteenth-century editor are not always to be relied upon.) The sources for most other statements relating to the 1317 campaign in the paragraphs that follow are set out in Frame, 'The Bruces in Ireland', pp 34-6. For a map of the Scots' likely route, see P. McNeill and R. Nicholson (eds), *An historical atlas of Scotland, c. 400-c. 1600* (St Andrews, 1975), p. 169, map 61.

where he stayed while most of his troops returned to Carrick. Throughout this time he had an expanded retinue of men-at-arms, rather than an army, in pay. The period of preparation coincided with the departure of the Scots from the outskirts of Dublin and the first stage of their journey south through Leixlip and Naas to Castledermot, which they are said to have reached on 5 March. Edmund may merely have reacted to the landing of Robert Bruce, as he had responded to that of Edward Bruce in 1315, by seeking to mobilise the considerable military resources of the southern lords for service wherever they might be needed.<sup>16</sup> On the other hand it is possible that he was aware of the Bruces' intention of eventually linking up with the Irish of the south-west, and anxious to counter it.

*From 9 to 17 March.* On 9 and 10 March the justiciar, who had moved west to Ardmayle and Thurles in the heart of his own landed inheritance, took a more sizeable force into pay. The 80 men-at-arms and 200 hobelars may well have been from the immediate locality, where Butler would have had no difficulty in recruiting troops rapidly among his tenants and clients.<sup>17</sup> After that the force went out of pay for five days. During this gap the Scots are said to have reached Callan (on 12 March).<sup>18</sup> Edmund's reaction to their arrival suggests that he was concerned to protect his own lands, and possibly also that he was uncertain of the immediate direction the Bruces might take: from Callan, Clonmel, Carrick and Waterford were within easy reach. On 15 March he took his force of 280 mounted men into pay again at Ardmayle, but also dispatched his brother Thomas eastwards to Clonmel and Newtownlennan near Carrick with a larger contingent of 360 horse and 300 foot. Thomas's task (in the paymaster's retrospect at least) was to 'shadow and harass' the Scottish army as it moved towards Cashel. Both contingents remained in pay until 17 March.

*From 18 to 27 March.* On 18 and 19 March, the account tells us, the Scots reached Cashel. Oddly, no troops are recorded as being in pay on those two days. Then from 20 to 27 March we find the justiciar's force, considerably enlarged, operating north-east of Cashel, in the boggy region along the fringes of the Slieveardagh hills towards Urlingford. This confirms the accounts in the Dublin annals and other narrative sources, which have the Scots turning north from Cashel and moving on to Nenagh.<sup>19</sup> It is difficult to tell whether — if the Bruces had indeed planned ahead in detail — their intention had been to move directly west from Cashel and approach Limerick from the south (in which case the royal army deserves credit for diverting them into less wealthy

<sup>16</sup>Frame, 'The Bruces in Ireland', p. 26. Edmund had been in Dublin in mid-January (P.R.O.I., K.B. 2/8, pp 44, 49).

<sup>17</sup>Contracts of the mid-fourteenth century show the Butlers making arrangements with local Irish and Anglo-Irish lords binding them to military service *gratis* if they were able to return home at night and at the Butlers' expense if they had to go further afield (e.g. *Ormond deeds, 1350-1413*, nos 33, 36-7, 39).

<sup>18</sup>The Dublin annalist tells us that on 27 March news reached Dublin that the Scots were at Kells in Ossory and the magnates of Ireland (among whom the annalist usually counts the justiciar) at Kilkenny. This finds no direct support in the account. If the annalist was not misinformed, he must be referring to an event some time before 27 March; conceivably Butler had visited Kilkenny during this gap in the account between 10 and 15 March, when the Scots were indeed in the area of Callan and Kells.

<sup>19</sup>*Ann. Inisf.*, 1317.3; *Caithr. Thoirdh.*, ii, 117.

countryside), or whether they had always intended to approach the Shannon by the more northerly route.

*From 28 March to 15 April.* By 28 March the justiciar's force had returned towards Cashel and begun to move westwards; it reached Rathjordan, some ten miles south-east of Limerick, on 2 April. This movement, which was accompanied by a further increase in the size of the army, has an air of purpose about it. Edmund had now clearly realised that the Scots' goal was the Shannon. Rather than trying to dog the Bruces' footsteps, he moved rapidly to occupy the heavily-settled area south and east of the river, a strategy which had the advantage of keeping him in touch with the Anglo-Irish population centres of south Tipperary, Waterford, east Cork and Limerick itself. From 2 to 11 April his army remained on his own manor of Caherconlish and its dependencies, including Ludden which was to give the campaign its official name.<sup>20</sup> The Scots for their part moved down from Nenagh to Castleconnell, where they encamped;<sup>21</sup> in basing themselves at Castleconnell they occupied yet more of the imprisoned earl of Ulster's tattered inheritance. The Dublin annalist, who at this period had little time for the Anglo-Irish lords, leaves the impression that the royal army signally failed to come to grips with the enemy; his note of criticism has been picked up by later historians. In fact Butler behaved with a caution entirely typical of fourteenth-century commanders, and he had his reward when the Scots retreated without having achieved their purpose. The justiciar's force then withdrew eastwards on 11-12 April, the very point where the Dublin annalist places Roger Mortimer's instruction to Butler to take no action against the Scots until further orders.

*16 and 17 April.* The Bruces seem to have retreated to begin with along the same route by which they had come; for according to the account Edmund Butler, who must have ignored or failed to receive the lieutenant's order (if it existed), assembled his troops once more north of Cashel and attacked the Scots amongst the boglands of Eliogarty, to the east of Thurles. The annalist does not mention this pendant to the campaign; but again he gets his dates approximately right, telling us that the royal army went home during the week beginning on Sunday, 17 April.

Some general points arising from the account may be made in conclusion.

<sup>20</sup>Hand, *Eng. law in Ireland*, p. 231, has Butler holding pleas at Cashel on Friday, 8 April and then at Brittas on Monday, 11 April. The account has him at Brittas on 11 April, but at Caherconlish on 8 April. The session at Cashel in fact occurred on the following Friday, 15 April (that is, the Friday after the close of Easter); the confusion has arisen because the membranes of the roll of the justiciar's court are out of chronological order at this point (P.R.O.I., K.B. 2/8, pp 60, 65; P.R.O.I., M. 2750, p. 12).

<sup>21</sup>*Chartul. St Mary's, Dublin*, ii, 353; *Annals of Friar John Clyn*, ed. Richard Butler (Dublin, 1849), p. 13. *Ann. Inisf.*, 1317.3, say that the Scots intended to join the Irish of Thomond at Singland near Limerick, and portray them as moving to 'Grunna' (? Monbraher). *Caithr. Thoiridh.*, ii, 117, fancifully, says that the Anglo-Irish lords had placed Murrrough O'Brien (the enemy of Cian Brian Rua who were supporting the Bruces) in charge of the army, and intended a battle to be fought at Singland. King Robert is then made to retreat from Singland, by implication out of fear of Murrrough and Richard de Clare.

<sup>22</sup>See above, n. 12.

Edmund Butler based himself for much of the campaign on his own manors in Tipperary and Limerick. This is not surprising. The *modus operandi* of the Scots, as of all medieval armies, involved living aggressively off the land and deliberately putting pressure on the enemy population; the effects of these activities will have been exaggerated by the acute famine conditions that prevailed in the early months of 1317. The Dublin annalist speaks of the Scots 'completely burning and destroying the lands of the lord Butler' in the area of Nenagh. It was entirely natural that Edmund should seek to protect his own territories and dependants. Nor does this mean that he subordinated the public interest to his own interests. All armies were demanding and potentially riotous; the act of assembling even friendly forces on the Butler lands must have created strains and carried risks as well as offering benefits, not least because they had to be fed. The fact that the exchequer owed money for the campaign to Edmund as well as to Patrickschurch confirms that he and his lands bore part of the burden of maintaining the troops.<sup>22</sup>

Though the account is highly informative, it can mislead in that it tells us only about the forces directly in the justiciar's pay. It is important to realise that they did not form the whole of the resources mobilised against the Scots. A band of Ulster troops was living off the countryside; it had an official blessing and was commanded by a government-appointed captain, the earl of Kildare, who was the earl of Ulster's son-in-law. Moreover all able-bodied men, from great lords downwards, had the duty to serve in defence of their own areas at their own expense; we know that some, including Richard de Clare, did so. Thus the number of troops confronting the Scots at any given moment was by no means so small as the paymaster's account might suggest. Not only that, resistance to the Bruces did not start and stop in an abrupt manner as Butler assembled, discharged, and then re-employed his limited forces: they were only one element, though perhaps the most coherent and important element, in a general war effort. We should imagine a widespread mobilisation, with Butler taking a certain number of men into pay (and hence under his close control) when he required them.

The recorded figures of troops enlisted are interesting in two respects. The paid force contained a higher proportion of men-at-arms (heavy cavalry) in relation to hobelars and foot than was normal in Irish armies of the fourteenth century.<sup>23</sup> This may mean that the importance of the campaign was such that it drew to the king's service a large number of the gentry of the southern counties, well mounted and equipped. Secondly, although the numbers of those receiving pay rose and fell from day to day as we should expect, the daily totals are always recorded in round figures. This arouses the suspicion that a measure of fiction, or at least casualness, crept into the administrative proceedings. In view of the manifold pressures under which Butler and Patrickschurch were operating, too much should not be made of this: indeed a serious effort to deceive would probably have involved the avoidance of round figures.

The document illustrates above all the resilience of the much-maligned Irish government in the face of the Bruce invasion and the famine, both of which had now lasted for more than eighteen months. Despite quarrels among the

<sup>23</sup>Cf. Robin Frame, 'English officials and Irish chiefs in the fourteenth century' in *E.H.R.*, xc (1975), p. 758.

Anglo-Irish and undoubted financial problems, administrative procedures had not collapsed, military organisation remained intact, and the justiciar was capable of harnessing the reserves of loyalty and manpower in Munster. In 1317 the lordship of Ireland was a vigorous reality in a region far removed from the later Pale.

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TEXT

[P.R.O., S.C. 6/1239/13]

In rotulis memorandorum *scaccarii Dublinie*<sup>1</sup> de termino Sancti Michaelis anno regni Regis Edwardi filii Regis Edwardi undecimo

Memorandum quod quinto die Novembris anno predicto de precepto Fratris Rogeri Outlawe, prioris Hospitalis Sancti Johannis Jerusalem in Hibernia, custodis officii thesaurarii Hibernie,<sup>2</sup> et Baronum huius scaccarii irrotulata fuit hic quedam cedula in forma que sequitur — Memorandum quod, facto visu compoti in scaccario per Johannem de Paterikeschurche clericum domini regis assignatum ad vadia solvenda hominibus ad arma, hobellariis et peditibus in comitiva domini Edmundi le Botiller, justiciarii Hibernie, proficiscentibus ad expugnationem Scotorum inimicorum domini regis in partibus de Lodden,<sup>3</sup> compertum est xxviii<sup>o</sup> die Octobris anno predicto quod summa vadiorum predictorum se extendit ad — CCCClviii li. xix s. vj d., cuius summe particule remanent penes rememoratores scaccarii Dublinie, ultra viginti homines ad arma quos idem justiciarius tenet super feodum suum; unde predictus clericus recepit de denariis domini regis de thesauro &c. — CC marcarum quas solvit dicto justiciario &c.

Particule vadiorum predictorum patent in sequentibus

<sup>4</sup>[A]pud Carrykm<sup>6</sup>griffyn<sup>5</sup>

Die Jovis in festo Sancti Mathie apostoli xxiiiij<sup>o</sup> die Februarii anno regni Regis Edwardi filii Regis Edwardi x<sup>mo</sup>, idem clericus computat domino Edmundo le Botiller, justiciario Hibernie, eunti apud Cork ad concordandum et obsides capiendum de magnatibus parcium illarum pro Scotis unanimi assensu securius expugnandis, pro xxx equis ad arma, exceptis viginti hominibus *ad arma*<sup>6</sup> quos tenet super feodum suum, xxx s. per dietam, videlicet cuilibet homini ad arma per diem xij d. Summa xxx s.

[A]pud Dun[g]arvan<sup>7</sup>

Die Veneris xxv die Februarii anno ut supra, computat eidem domino Edmundo le Botiller pro L hominibus ad arma, set non computantur illo die in vadiis quia morabantur ibidem sumptibus domini Mauricii filii Thome.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Interlineated in MS.

<sup>2</sup>Outlaw was deputy treasurer during Walter Islip's absence in England in the winter of 1317-18 (Richardson & Sayles, *Admin. Ire.*, p. 100).

<sup>3</sup>Ludden, S.E. of Limerick, near Caherconlish, of which it was held (*Red Bk Ormond*, p. 156).

<sup>4</sup>This and the other headings are marginated in MS. Towards the beginning the MS has been cut away and certain letters are lost.

<sup>5</sup>Carrick-on-Suir, Co. Tipperary; granted to Edmund Butler by Edward II in 1315 (*Cal. Cart. rolls, 1300-26*, pp 284-5).

<sup>6</sup>Interlineated in MS.

<sup>7</sup>Co. Waterford.

<sup>8</sup>Maurice fitz Thomas, created earl of Desmond in 1329, was lord of Dungarvan.



[A]pud Tylaghrath<sup>9</sup>

Die Sabati xxvj die Februarii anno ut supra, computat eidem domino Edmundo le Botiller pro iij hominibus ad arma, iij li., capiendo per diem ut supra. Summa iij li.

## Apud Cork

Die Dominica xxvij<sup>9</sup> die Februarii anno ut supra, computat eidem domino Edmundo le Botiller pro totidem hominibus ad arma moram facientibus ibidem per sex dies sequentes, xxiiij li., capiendo per diem ut supra. Summa xxiiij li.

Apud Admethan<sup>10</sup>

Die Sabati v<sup>10</sup> die Marcii anno ut supra, computat eidem domino Edmundo le Botiller pro L hominibus ad arma, L s., capiendo per diem ut supra. Summa L s.

Apud Rathgormok<sup>11</sup>

Die Dominica vj<sup>10</sup> die Marcii anno ut supra, computat eidem domino Edmundo le Botiller pro xlvij hominibus ad arma euntibus ad Carrykm<sup>g</sup>griffyn, et dominus moram fecit apud Rathgormok cum xxiiij hominibus ad arma sumptibus Johannis filii Benedicti le Poer,<sup>12</sup> xlvij s., capiendo per diem ut supra. Summa xlvij s.

Apud Ardmayl<sup>13</sup>

Die Mercurii ix die Marcii anno ut supra, computat eidem domino Edmundo le Botiller pro iij hominibus ad arma, CC hobelariis, ix li., capiendo per diem pro hobelario vj d. et pro equo armato ut supra, qui venerunt ad prefatum justiciarium super premonitionem ad arestandum et gravandum Scotos inimicos &c. Summa ix li.

Apud Thurles<sup>14</sup>

Die Jovis x<sup>9</sup> die Marcii anno ut supra, computat eidem domino Edmundo pro totidem hominibus ad arma et totidem hobelariis, ix li., capiendo per diem ut supra. Summa ix li.

## Apud Ardmayl

Die Martis xv die Marcii anno ut supra,<sup>15</sup> computat eidem domino Edmundo pro totidem hominibus ad arma et totidem hobelariis, una cum vj hominibus ad arma, CCxi hobelariis et CCC peditibus qui fuerunt cum domino Thome le Botiller<sup>16</sup> versus partes de Loynnan<sup>17</sup> et Clonmell<sup>18</sup> ad supervidendum et gravandum Scotos, qui venturi erant versus Cassel,<sup>19</sup> et morabantur cum eodem domino Thome usque diem Veneris proximum sequentem, videlicet per tres dies, Lxviiij li. xij s. vj d., capiendo per diem ut supra, et cuilibet pediti per diem j d. ob. Summa Lxviiij li. xij s. vj d.

<sup>9</sup>Tallow, now Co. Waterford, S.W. of Lismore; the justiciar's court sat there in 1295 (*Cal. justic. rolls. Ire., 1295-1303*, pp 15, 71).

<sup>10</sup>Affane, Co. Waterford, E. of Lismore.

<sup>11</sup>Rathgormac, Co. Waterford, S. of Carrick-on-Suir. In 'The Bruces in Ireland' (p. 35), I confused it with Rathcormack, Co. Cork.

<sup>12</sup>John son of Benedict le Poer, lord of Rathgormac, was killed in 1328 (*Annals of Friar John Chyn.* p. 19).

<sup>13</sup>Ardmayle, Co. Tipperary, N.W. of Cashel; a Butler manor (*Ormond deeds, 1172-1350*, no. 99; *Red Bk Ormond*, pp 62-4).

<sup>14</sup>Co. Tipperary; caput of a Butler manor (*Red Bk Ormond*, p. 69).

<sup>15</sup>Here the force seems to have been re-employed after a spell out of pay.

<sup>16</sup>Brother of Edmund Butler. Thomas, traditionally reckoned first lord Dunboyne, was killed defending his wife's interests in Meath in 1329 (*Chartul. St Mary's, Dublin*, ii, 370-71).

<sup>17</sup>Or 'Leynman': Newtownlennan, Co. Tipperary, N. of Carrick-on-Suir, of which it was held (*Red Bk Ormond*, p. 121).

<sup>18</sup>Clonmel, Co. Tipperary.

<sup>19</sup>Cashel, Co. Tipperary.

Die Veneris et die Sabati, super feodum justiciarii,<sup>20</sup> quo die venerunt Scoti apud Cassel.

Apud Dermor<sup>21</sup>

Die Dominica xx die Marcii anno ut supra, computat eidem domino Edmundo pro xl hominibus ad arma, iij hobelariis et CC peditibus, Cv s., capiendo per diem ut supra. Summa Cv s.

Apud Fynoure<sup>22</sup>

Die Lune xxj<sup>o</sup> die Marcii anno ut supra, computat eidem domino Edmundo pro L hominibus ad arma, CL hobelariis et CCC peditibus, viij li. ii s. vj d., capiendo per diem ut supra. Summa viij. li. ij s. vj d.

ibidem

Die Martis xxij<sup>o</sup> die Marcii anno ut supra, die Mercurii, die Jovis et die Veneris sequentibus, computat eidem domino Edmundo pro totidem hominibus ad arma, totidem hobelariis et totidem peditibus, xxxij li. x s., capiendo per diem ut supra, videlicet per iij dies.<sup>23</sup> Summa xxxij li. x s.

Apud Greieston<sup>24</sup>

Die Sabati xxvj<sup>o</sup> die Marcii anno ut supra; computat eidem domino Edmundo pro totidem hominibus ad arma, totidem hobelariis et totidem peditibus, viij li. ij s. vj d., capiendo per diem ut supra. Summa viij li. ij s. vj d.

ibidem

Die Dominica xxvij<sup>o</sup> die Marcii anno ut supra, computat eidem domino Edmundo pro totidem hominibus ad arma, totidem hobelariis et totidem peditibus, viij li. ij s. vj d., capiendo per diem ut supra. Summa viij li. ij s. vj d.

Apud Athissel<sup>25</sup>

Die Lune et die Martis sequentibus, computat eidem domino Edmundo pro vj hominibus ad arma, CC hobelariis et CCC peditibus, xxv li. xv s., capiendo per diem ut supra. Summa xxv li. xv s.

Apud villa Oliver Haket<sup>26</sup>

Die Mercurii xxx<sup>mo</sup> die Marcii, computat eidem domino Edmundo pro totidem hominibus ad arma, totidem hobelariis et totidem peditibus, xij li. xvij s. vj d., capiendo per diem ut supra. Summa xij li. xvij s. vj d.

Apud villa Craak<sup>27</sup>

Die Jovis xxxj<sup>o</sup> die Marcii et die Veneris sequente, computat eidem domino Edmundo pro totidem hominibus ad arma, totidem hobelariis et totidem peditibus, xxv li. xv s., capiendo per diem ut supra. Summa xxv li. xv s.

<sup>20</sup>Presumably the army went out of pay on 18-19 March, apart from the household force supported by the justiciar's annual fee of £500.

<sup>21</sup>Probably *Daire mór*, N.E. of Cashel, which was held of the see of Cashel: *Ormond deeds, 1172-1350*, no. 414; Aubrey Gwynn and R. N. Hadcock, *Medieval religious houses, Ireland* (London, 1970), p. 33.

<sup>22</sup>Probably Fennor, Co. Tipperary; close to *Daire mór*, towards Urlingford.

<sup>23</sup>MS sic; but the dates given and the wages paid show that the numeral should be 'iij'.

<sup>24</sup>Graystown, Co. Tipperary; N.E. of Cashel, towards Killenaule (*Red Bk Ormond*, pp 94, 97).

<sup>25</sup>Athassel, Co. Tipperary; S.W. of Cashel.

<sup>26</sup>Probably the *tenementum Oliveri Haket*, cantred of Okonach, Co. Tipperary, mentioned in thirteenth-century charters; it may possibly represent Cordangan, just south of Tipperary town (*Reg. St John, Dublin*, nos 547-9). I owe this note to Canon C. A. Empey.

<sup>27</sup>Unidentified. Canon Empey has suggested to me that 'Craak' may be a corruption of 'Cradok'. A Henry Cradok appears as a juror in the cantred of Grean, Co. Limerick in 1331 (*Red Bk Kildare*, no. 133); the route of the army lay through Grean.

Apud Rath Jordan<sup>28</sup>

Die Sabati secundo die Aprilis in vigilia Pasche et die Dominica sequente in festo, computat eidem domino Edmundo pro vij<sup>xx</sup> hominibus ad arma, CCxl hobelariis et CCC peditibus, xxix li. xv s., capiendo per diem ut supra. Summa xxix li. xv s.

Apud Carkengly<sup>29</sup>

Die Lune iij<sup>io</sup> die Aprilis anno ut supra, computat eidem domino Edmundo pro CCxx hominibus ad arma, CCC hobelariis et CCCC peditibus, xxj li., capienti per diem ut supra. Summa xxj li.

## ibidem

Die Martis v<sup>io</sup> die Aprilis anno ut supra, die Mercurii, die Jovis et die Veneris sequentibus, computat eidem domino Edmundo pro totidem hominibus ad arma, totidem hobelariis et totidem peditibus. Summa iij iij li.

Apud Lodyn et Carelwy<sup>30</sup>

Die sabati ix<sup>io</sup> die Aprilis anno ut supra et die Dominica sequente, computat eidem domino Edmundo pro totidem hominibus ad arma, totidem hobelariis et totidem peditibus, xlij li., capiendo per diem ut supra. Summa xlij li.

Apud Bretagium<sup>31</sup>

Die Lune xj<sup>o</sup> die Aprilis anno ut supra, computat eidem domino Edmundo pro Ciiij hominibus ad arma, CCL hobelariis et CCC peditibus, xvij li. ij s. vj d., capiendo per diem ut supra. Summa xvij li. ij s. vj d.

Apud Castrum Deyncourt<sup>32</sup>

Die Martis xij<sup>o</sup> die Aprilis anno ut supra, computat eidem domino Edmundo pro xl equis ad arma, iij<sup>xx</sup> hobelariis [et<sup>33</sup>] CCxl peditibus, Cx s., capiendo per diem ut supra. Summa Cx s.

## Apud Cassel et Graieston

Die Mercurii xij<sup>o</sup> die Aprilis anno ut supra, die Jovis et die Veneris, super feodum justiciarii.

## Apud Greieston

Die sabati xvj<sup>o</sup> die Aprilis anno ut supra, quo die recollegebatur posse, idem computat eidem domino Edmundo pro iij<sup>xx</sup> hominibus ad arma, CC hobelariis et D peditibus, xij li. ij s. vj d., capiendo per diem ut supra.<sup>34</sup> Summa xij li. ij s. vj d.

Apud Caldermor<sup>35</sup>

Die Dominica xvij<sup>o</sup> die Aprilis anno ut supra, computat eidem domino Edmundo le Botiller pro totidem hominibus ad [arma<sup>36</sup>], totidem hobelariis et totidem peditibus, quo die insultum dederunt Scotis transeuntibus moram de Ely,<sup>37</sup> et ipso die recesserunt, et quia<sup>38</sup> non computantur in vadiis.

<sup>28</sup>Rathjordan, W. of Pallas Grean, Co. Limerick; held of Caherconlish (*Red Bk Ormond*, p. 156).

<sup>29</sup>Caherconlish, Co. Limerick; a Butler manor (*Red Bk Ormond*, pp 154-8).

<sup>30</sup>Caherrelly, Co. Limerick; S. of Caherconlish, of which it was held (*Red Bk Ormond*, p. 155).

<sup>31</sup>Brittas, Co. Limerick; N.E. of Caherconlish and also held of it (*Red Bk Ormond*, p. 157).

<sup>32</sup>Unidentified. It must lie between Brittas and Cashel, perhaps in the region of Donohill or Tipperary town.

<sup>33</sup>Omitted in MS.

<sup>34</sup>Repeated in error in MS.

<sup>35</sup>Unidentified. Probably 'dermor' again stands for *Daire mór* (above, n. 21). Could the name represent 'the causeway of *Daire mór*'?

<sup>36</sup>Omitted in MS.

<sup>37</sup>The bog of Eliogarty, N. of Cashel.

<sup>38</sup>MS *sic*.

Extracta. Summa totalis vadiorum predictorum a die Jovis xxiiij die Februarii anno ut supra usque xvj diem Aprilis proximum sequentem: CCCCLviiij li. xix s. vj d.

[On the dorse]

Hanc certificationem recepit Magister Robertus de Ayleston, thesaurarius,<sup>39</sup> sub sigillo scaccarii Dublinie per manus Magistri Walteri de Istlep, liberantis, xiiij die Julij anno sexto Regis Edwardi tercii post conquestum [1332].<sup>40</sup>

<sup>39</sup>Treasurer of England, 1332-4.

<sup>40</sup>Crown copyright material appears by permission of the comptroller of H.M. Stationery Office.