

# **Abstract and Illustrations.**

THE title of this document, announcing that it contains an account of the household expenses of Richard, Bishop of Hereford, drawn up by John de Kemeseye, his chaplain, from Friday, the morrow after the feast of Saint Michael, 1289, to the said feast, 1290, presents several matters for inquiry and explanation.

Before we enter upon its details, it may be observed, that the style of living and scale of expenditure here exhibited obviously suggest some investigation as to the origin of those means by which such an establishment was supported. The information to be obtained upon this subject is far from ample, but may be sufficient to afford a cursory view of this bishopric at a remote period, and some of the various changes it had undergone in arriving at the condition in which it existed under Richard de Swinfield.

As in every stage of society man must derive his primary sustenance from the earth and the waters, so in early and uncivilised times they were the most advantageously circumstanced who enjoyed the widest range of field, forest, and river; and princes, whose territories were wide in proportion to their population, made ample gifts to those whom they desired to establish in consequence and dependence. This was especially the case with regard to the Church, where Christianity prevailed, for they were influenced by the belief that what they conferred upon it was given to God and for their own eternal welfare.

The lawyers of the time of Edward III. in their statute *de provisoribus*, have delivered the following emphatic judgment on the general question of episcopacy in this island, its establishment and ends, chiefly in contravention to the attempted claims of Rome. "That the holy Church of England was founded in the estate of prelacy by the ancient kings of England, and by the earls, barons, and nobles of the realm, to inform them and the people of England in the law of God, and to do hospitalities, alms-deeds, and other works of charity, in the places where churches were founded, and that certain ample possessions were assigned to the prelates of that Church

by the founders for the good purposes aforesaid.”\* In conformity with this declaration, the condition of the Church of Hereford, at the æra of which we are treating, gave clear testimony to the liberal piety of its founders by the extensiveness of its lands. The diocese itself was richly endowed by nature and enviably situated. Those of Saint Asaph, Lichfield, Worcester, Llandaff, and Saint David’s were its neighbours. On the north it stretched from where the Severn enters Shropshire to where that river is joined on the south by the influx of the Wye. From the west to the east perhaps its greatest width might have been found from a point where the latter river, near Hay, leaves the counties of Radnor and Brecon, by a line drawn to the bridge at Gloucester. It embraced portions of the counties of Radnor, Montgomery, Salop, Worcester, and Gloucester, and touched upon that of Brecon. It included the town of Monmouth, with four parishes in its neighbourhood. The Severn environed its upper part: almost midway it was traversed by the Teme, and the Wye pursued its endless windings through the lower district. A region altogether remarkable for its variety, fertility, and beauty, abounding in woods and streams, rich pastures, extensive forests, and noble mountains. In several of the finest parts of it episcopal manors had been allotted, furnishing abundant supplies to the occupiers of the see.

The bishopric of Hereford, at the time to which the Roll refers, is commonly believed to have been established upwards of six hundred years; but its true origin seems lost in remoter antiquity. The Welsh, indeed, have asserted a claim antecedent to all others, and affirm that a Bishop of Hereford was among the prelates who attended at a conference with Augustine in the former part of the seventh century, when they disowned the authority of that missionary and of the Pope.† Should this be questionable, it is at least a curious fact that the bishops themselves, long after the Norman Conquest, derived their title to the chase on the western slope of Malvern Hill from one of the native princes of Britain, at a time when this territory formed part of their domains;‡ and if such had really been the case, it was but the re-establishment of it as a separate see that was effected by the Saxons; when upon the great increase of converts to Christianity

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\* Statutes of the Realm, 25 Ed. III. Madox, *Hist. of the Exchequer*, 4to. i. 304.

† Bede, *Eccl. Hist.* b. ii. c. 2. Iolo MSS. p. 588.

‡ Reg. Trefnant Episc. Heref. ff. 131 b, 132 a.

among the pagan inhabitants in this extremity of western Mercia, at a council held under Theodore Archbishop of Canterbury, it was one of five into which the enormous diocese of Lichfield was divided. This occurred about the year 676;\* and Putta, a Bishop of Rochester, who had been expelled by stress of war, became the first of the Saxon series of the diocesans of Hereford.† It appears but just that Eadilred, King of Mercia, whose victorious arms had expelled him when he ravaged Kent, should have afforded Putta such a compensation by permitting him to settle anew in his own dominions.

No particulars are now extant relative to its original establishment, but a few scattered notices point out certain donors, and mark its possession of certain estates, so that, even from slight memoranda of what had been occasionally lost and restored, it may be inferred how richly it had been once endowed. Besides the Chase under Malvern Hill, the earliest gift of which we have any intimation, Offa, who died in 796, bequeathed to the church a part of his lands round the city of Hereford; and Brompton, who wrote about the reign of Edward I. says it enjoyed them to his day.‡ Egwin, a contemporary chieftain, gave Ledbury North with all its appurtenances;§ and Edmund Ironsides, in 1016, left to it the valuable manor of Ross.¶ Of Ethelstan, the twenty-fifth bishop, it is related that he

\* Beda, l. iv. c. 12. By others it is placed at A.D. 680. Collier, *Eccl. Hist.* 8vo. i. 252.

† Bede's account is, that Putta went to Sexwulf, Bishop of the Mercians, and having received of him a certain church and a small spot of land, ended his days there in peace.

‡ Chron. in X. Script. Twysden, c. 754.

§ This noble Saxon who, according to the historian, had been relieved of a paralytic affection at the shrine of Saint Ethelbert, and in consequence gave this manor, did not resign it to the church without strong expressions of natural feeling and pious gratitude. Health, which more than any thing under heaven he coveted, had been restored to him; and therefore this, which of all earthly possessions he loved best, he consecrated to God and the martyr. The writer has apparently preserved the precise words of the deed. *Quia rem sub celo quam maxime desiderabam, sanitatem scilicet, contulit mihi martyr insignis, re a me ideo quam in terris plus dilexi, Lidburia videlicet, dignus est perpetuum remunerari.* It was the first offering of the kind that had been made since Ethelbert had become the patron saint. *Hæc autem prima terrarum omnium, ut asserunt, fuit, quæ Ethelberto collatæ fuerunt.* Id. c. 753.

¶ G. Mapes de nugis curialium. *Camd. ed.* Wright, p. 207.

deceased at his manor of Bosbury in 1056. After the death of Leofgar, who was bishop only for a few weeks, and was slain in an irruption of Gryffydd and Bleddyn, princes of Wales, there was an avoidance from 1056 to 1059, and in the confusion and struggles that prevailed there can be no doubt that the lands in general were desolated, and some alienated. From Domesday it is certain that Walter, who succeeded Leofgar, had been unjustly deprived by Harold of the manors of Eaton, Colwall, part of Ledbury, Coddington, Hampton, and Sugwas, the whole of which the Conqueror restored.\* Most of these damages had therefore probably been repaired. Geoffrey de Glyve, chaplain to Henry I. who died in 1119, is said to have brought all the buildings and landed estates into good order, wasted and spoiled as they had been in the time of his predecessors.† Some amends were also afterwards made by Roger Earl of Hereford, a great benefactor, who among other grants gave back the *Hayes* or woods of Ross, which were probably included in the gift of Edmund, and, as he affirmed in his charter, had been lost.‡ The injuries inflicted upon the see might have been the reason why Gerard, who had placed the crown upon the head of Henry I. and was the immediate predecessor of Glyve, was dissatisfied with Hereford, though the king offered to make it more valuable than the archbishopric of York.§ But that was the post to which he aspired, and which he subsequently obtained.

It cannot be concealed that amidst the natural advantages that have been alluded to, and the occasional restorations and augmentations that it had experienced, the very situation of this bishopric, lying so much among the ferocious Marchmen, and exposed to the inroads of the Welsh and the ravages of border hostilities, rendered its possessions and the persons of the temporary occupants highly insecure, especially in stormy times. During the agitation in Stephen's reign, and afterwards during the Barons' wars, under John and Henry III. the bishop was occasionally compelled to

\* Domesday Book, ff. 181 b, 182 a.

† Godwin, ed. 1615, p. 454.

‡ *Hayas de Ros, quas ante tempus meum amiserat, cum omni plenitudine et dominio venationis, et aliarum rerum ecclesie ipsius (sc. episcopi) restituo.* Reg. Swinf. f. 15 a. The bishop was Gilbert Foliot, who was preferred to this see A.D. 1149, and governed it about 12 years.—Godwin.

§ G. Mapes, ut supra, p. 224.

seek his safety in flight or concealment. In what had happened during the times of Betun, in the former century, and afterwards in those of Bruse, Aquablanca, Breton, and Cantilupe,—the three latter within little more than 40 years preceding the consecration of Swinfield,—may be seen how much had been suffered from aggression and persecution. Betun, a timid character, was weary of his charge, and hid himself for a while, and Bruse was expelled the realm.\* Aquablanca, a foreigner, patronised by Henry III. who sat from 1239 to 1268, though he was of a roving disposition, eager for change, and inclining rather to the mere ecclesiastical than truly sacerdotal character, had in truth no great reason to be attached to Hereford, or any of his residences on the borders. Like others of his rank he had canonically pledged himself to personal attendance on the duties of the mother church as well as of the see. But, looking at the man and the circumstances of the times, it ceases to be matter of wonder that he should have failed in this respect. Party ran high. In politics he was on the royal side; but Simon de Montfort and his adherents were in arms against the king, and he had great reason to dread them. One of these nobles in particular, John FitzAlan, Lord of Arundel and Clun, was a dangerous neighbour to Bishop's Castle, an episcopal mansion on the confines of Wales.

On April 15, 1263, Prince Edward, then at Shrewsbury, addressed a letter to his father requesting him to command Aquablanca to abide in his castle of Ledbury North for the better security of the March in that quarter.† Whether the King took the hint and issued the order or otherwise, the Bishop was apparently too wary, or wanted resolution, to comply with it; he was neither resident in his castle nor near his cathedral; for when Henry came to the city during the following June, he addressed a letter of sharp rebuke to him upon this score. He told him that, upon his arrival in Hereford, to take order for disposing of the garrisons in the Marches of Wales, he found neither bishop, official, nor dean, to exercise any spiritual function in the church; and that the canons, who were wont to serve therein day and night, and ought to exercise works of charity, had forsaken it, and led their lives at a distance: he commanded him, therefore, all excuses apart, to repair thither, and assured him that, upon his failure to do so, he would take into his hands all the temporal goods belonging to the

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\* *Anglia Sacra*, p. ii. p. 314.

† *Royal Letters in Tower of London*, No. 64.

barony, which his forefathers had, with godly devotion, given and bestowed for spiritual exercises there.\* The threat was not in vain, and appears to have recalled him; but, as it fell out, the execution of part of that threat devolved upon others. The temper of the contending parties was such after all that neither Hereford nor his fortress at Bishop's Castle could afford him any shelter. He was seized by the Barons in the cathedral, robbed of his moveable goods and treasure before his eyes, and long confined in the castle of Eardisley.† In the meantime the fate of Bishop's Castle may be learned from a contemporary estimate of losses incurred at that place, which shows very expressively the disordered state of the country.

“On the Thursday next after the translation of the blessed Saint Thomas the Martyr, in the 47th year of the reign of King Henry, Sir John Fitz-Alan, Lord of Arundel, coming to Bishop's Castle, took there the said castle, and the constable was treacherously slain. Item, in the said castle they found 13 beeves, 2 wagons, and 2 carts, and one white mare. Item, they found 32 horse-loads of wheat, which the Lord Bishop sent thither, and all the produce of one year from 2 plough-lands in the barn, and the crop of the second year fit to cut upon the land. Item, of armour 6 hauberks, one of them without a hood, 6 skull-caps of iron, one pair of housings, and an iron surcoat belonging to the Bishop; 6 cross-bows, sound and good, with bawdricks, and a tierce of quarrels, and the constable's horse. The damages aforesaid are valued at 200 marks. Item, the damage of houses destroyed at the castle and Ledbury, and of timber that lay at the back of the castle, is valued at 200 marks. Item, the destruction of woods is valued at 100 marks. Item, the issue of the manor for six years, excepting six weeks, during which time the castle and land were in the hands of John Fitz-Alan, is valued at 560 marks. The sum is 1060 marks over and above the death of the constable.”‡

Another lawless baron, Hamon Lestrangle, who had espoused the King's cause, and was made castellan of Salop, Bridgnorth, and Montgomery,§

\* Wilkins, *Concilia*, i. p. 761.

† Stowe, *Chron.* in an. 1263.

‡ Reg. Swinf. f. 25 a. The singular makeweight of the death of the castellan, inserted among damages, may call to mind the pecuniary mulcts that were of old exacted for personal injuries and murders. No portion of this valuation was probably ever paid; but it stood upon record as a bad debt to the see.

§ Dugdale, *Baron.* i. p. 664, c. b.

under the cloak of authority, in the following year (1263), seized upon Chastrok, Aston, and Muleton, three villis appertaining to the Bishop's manor of Ledbury North, which he pretended were part of the honour of Montgomery.\* Thus they became alienated, if not entirely, at least for many years, and at length fell into the hands of Llywelyn, the last Prince of Wales.† His occupation of them was opposed by Cantilupe, who repeatedly applied to him by letter, and called in the Archbishop of Canterbury to his aid. The Welshman, however, pleading long possession, while with a show of candour he proposed his willingness to submit to inquiry, continued to defer and shuffle till he was threatened with excommunication.‡ It is doubtful whether he ever resigned them: the war that ensued, and the fatal day at Builth, put an end to that and every other question with his life.§

In the same exposed quarter during the misrule of Henry III. another attempt at spoliation had been made. This Cantilupe had however corrected. Henry Corbet had taken possession of one hundred acres of meadow land belonging to the see, in Wentnor, adjoining to his lordship of Caus, which Peter, his son, was compelled in 1276 to restore.|| But, among all these attacks upon their territorial privileges, that was not the least aggressive which took its rise in the rapacity of Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester. As though his almost countless manors¶ were not sufficient for his ambition or his pleasures, he must lay claim to that chase of Colwall and Eastnor,

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\* Reg. Swinf. ut supra.

† In Dors. p. 153, this seizure is referred to about 1275; but it must have occurred prior to that time, and the prince mentions them in a letter of 6 kal. Sept. 1275, as *tres villæ a diu retroactis temporibus sub dominio nostro*. Reg. Cant. f. 4 a.

‡ He restored some property that belonged to the see of Saint Asaph under threat of excommunication; and Cantilupe reminds him of it in his fifth and last letter, *Gratum haberemus admodum, et acceptum, si scriptis facta, vestra vellet nobilitas compensare, restituendo nobis et nostræ ecclesiæ dictas villas, sicut nuper domino Episcopo Assavensi bona et jura, quæ abstuleratis ab eo, liberaliter sicut decuit, reddidistis, excommunicationis laqueum formidantes*. Id. f. 15 b. Some of the tenants of these villis, who committed certain outrages, were actually excommunicated. Id. ff. 30 b, 31 a.

§ All traces of this attempt at negotiation disappear after about 1276. Llywelyn was slain 11 Dec. 1281. Hist. of Wales, 8vo. 1775, p. 396.

|| Reg. Cant. ff. 22 a, et seq.

¶ See a list of them as taken at his decease in 24 Ed. I. Cal. Inquis. post mortem, pp. 131, 132, 133.



above Ledbury, whence the bishops, in its season, drew a great part of their necessary and acceptable supply of game. And it is a proof of the daring temper of that chieftain, already near in wealth and power, and soon to be drawn nearer by alliance, to the throne, as well as of the apparent supineness of Bishop Breton, who seems to have offered no serious opposition to him, that Cantilupe in the first year of his government found him master of that district, and sending his foresters through it as though it had been his own. This chase is frequently to be alluded to, for it is no unimportant feature in the Roll, and as often as it recurs may suggest the recollection of this recent controversy: had it proved unsuccessful on the part of the Bishop, the stock of venison that was brought into Swinfield's larder at Bosbury\* would have been transferred to the castle of Hanley, the earl's occasional abode. But, in the inflexible resolution of Cantilupe, Gilbert met with an antagonist every way worthy of him. The cause was referred to the law; and such was the determination of the Bishop, that, according to the sanctioned usage of the times, he had prepared a champion to withstand him in the lists had the matter warranted an appeal to judicial combat.† The Earl pleaded that his father had possession during the times of Bishops Maydenstane and Aquablanca, but this was denied. Probably both father and son had so long trespassed upon the lordship that the latter thought he could assert a right to it. After much dispute Sir Ralph de Hengham and Sir Walter de Helyun, the justices commissioned for the trial, summoned to the spot a jury equally composed of men from the counties of Hereford and Worcester, who decided in favour of the church; and that enormous trench of separation between the two possessions was thrown out by the disappointed Earl along the ridge of the hill, where it remains a memorial of the contest to the present day.‡ These later instances of aggression and

\* Roll, pp. 15, 16, 17, 19, 20.

† Dors. p. 125, and App. No. I.

‡ This affair was closed April 12, 1278. Ann. Eccl. Wig. Angl. Sacra in anno. The fosse was made in the year 1287, to prevent the deer from straying into the Bishop's preserves, and *vice versa*. But in so doing the Earl trespassed upon the Bishop of Worcester's land, who in turn defended his right; and it was finally agreed by way of composition, that the Earl and Countess and their heirs should furnish annually to Godfrey, Bishop of Worcester, and his successors, from their chase of Malvern, at his manor of Kemsy, by the hands of their constable of Hanley, two brace of bucks and does on the vigil of the Assumption and Christmas eve. Reg. Godfr. Giffard, Ep. Wig. ff. 311 a, 453 a. Antiquit. Prior. Maj. Malv. 8vo. Lond. 1725, pp. 159, et seq.

invasion have been the more dwelt upon as of comparatively recent occurrence; for the present such attempts had ceased.

The importance of this episcopal barony when, as now, it was, perhaps, in its most flourishing condition, may be inferred, not only from the manors attached to it, but from the number and consequence of its feudal retainers clustered around it. These shew how much it had been in the first place indebted to the crown, or to generous donors who derived from that source the lands which they consigned to the church on the same terms as they had themselves obtained them. Himself holding of the king in chief, this prelate could produce a list of tenants, including some of the principal families in the country, that did homage to him, and performed suit and service when required;\* among these the names of De Bohun, Braose, Clifford, Gifford, Mortimer, Pauncefot, Tregoz, Valence, and others appeared. By his oath of fealty and loyalty the Bishop had sworn "to truly acknowledge and freely do the services which belonged to the temporalty"† which he thus claimed to hold. The number of knights' fees for which he was answerable amounted in the whole to fifteen; but only five were summoned at a time, and when scutage was demanded he paid for only fifteen,‡ though his list exhibits a larger number. Many of these tenants served in person or by substitutes for Cantilupe and afterwards for Swinfield during the campaigns of Edward I. in Wales and Scotland;§ and the demand

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\* For an instance of homage recorded see APP. No. XIV. Liber nig. Scacc. Hearne, I. p. 150, contains a catalogue of tenants at an earlier period. The existing roll of Swinfield's tenants is in APP. XV.

† Statutes of the Realm, i. 249.

‡ *Sciendum est quod nullus unquam episcopus Herefordensis fecit servitium militare in exercitu domini regis nisi per .V. milites. Licet scutagium solvere consuevit pro quindecim, quando scutagium sine guerra fuit assisum ad pecuniam.* Reg. Swinf. f. 149 a. It was complained that demands of scutage were frequently attempted to be made from the exchequer many years after the service had been performed and allowed; for this reason care was taken to preserve the official discharges. The sum paid for scutage was 40s. for a whole fee, half a mark for a whole hide, and twenty pence for every virgate of land. APP. XV. A regular commutation or compensation was introduced for knight's service in the following reign. Id. f. 121 b.

§ See APP. XVI. for details respecting those who were in the last campaign against Llywelyn, and afterwards in Scotland; and the apparent attempts on the part of the exchequer to exact scutage for services that had actually been performed.

of service still continued to be put in force, but was ere long to cease. A slight notice of scutage is all that appears in the register of Bishop Orleton during the ensuing reign. It suited men of a wandering and predatory taste, when the realm was disturbed; but was attended frequently with much inconvenience and expense. The tenure was an honourable but often proved a troublesome one, and liable to abuses. Those who held by it might begin to look forward to a change; they might well think there was little satisfaction in turning out from their homes to go with horse and arms in the King's host, they knew not whither, on distant and perilous enterprises. The tenants of Saint Edmundsbury and Peterborough abbeys had become refractory, and many of the latter refused to serve unless their expenses were paid.\* But though there is no proof of a like temper in those of this barony, there can be little question that in this and other usages the feudal system was on the decline.

There were also privileges which, adding in some degree to the revenue of these prelates, contributed, perhaps, more to their local authority. When Swinfield was cited to appear upon a writ of *quo warranto* before the justices in eyre at Gloucester so lately as the summer of 1287, he came into court by his attorney, and proved by his muniments in the customary way, that he and his successors and their men were entitled to all the advantages and indulgences which the pious affection of the heads of the state had ever in times past granted to those that had preceded him; that he had free warren in all his manors; that he had markets, and fairs, and was quit of suits of shires and hundreds, tollage, pontage, carriage, and many other services; that he had *sok, sak, toll, and theam, infangenetheof* and *utfangenetheof*, and all rights and exemptions which the crown had bestowed on those who came before him from the earliest days, and which had been confirmed to them from reign to reign as they were to him upon that occasion.†

The most satisfactory estimate of his revenue, and the actual condition and value of his temporals, is obtained from the report drawn up at this period by the Commissioners appointed to collect a tenth from the clergy

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\* Chron. Jocel. de Brakelonda, Rokewode, Camd. Soc. 1840, pp. 48, 49, 63. Chron. Petroburg. Stapleton, Camd. Soc. 1849, p. 24.

† Reg. Swinf. f. 43 a.

for the relief of the Holy Land.\* The following is an alphabetical list of his manors in the diocese: most of them are mentioned in the Roll. Barton, Bishop's Castle (Salop), Bishop's Frome, Bosbury, Bromyard, Colwall, Cradley, Coddington, Eastnor, Eaton, Grendon, Hampton, Hereford, Ledbury, Ledbury North (Salop), Ross, Ross Foreign, Shelwick, Sugwas, Tupsley, Upton, Whitborne. The above, with only two exceptions, were in the county as well the diocese. Another, and almost the best, was at Prestbury, near Cheltenham, in Gloucestershire; and he had also some land in the counties of Wilts and Worcester. In the city of Worcester he had a house, and in London another, in which he lodged when summoned to attend episcopal congregations or parliaments.† Attached to his manors were thirteen mills, at which tenants were usually compelled to grind their corn,‡ and he had fisheries on the river Wye. In spirituals he had also by Papal bulls the appropriations of the great tithes of certain churches:§ and exemption from any payment of tithes upon his own cultivated lands;|| so that without going minutely into the question of his receipts, which, as to temporals alone, are given in original drafts of the survey, in one place at somewhat more than 520*l.* per annum, and in another, including the whole of his property, at upwards of 790 marks;¶ it may be observed that

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\* This has been printed by Willis in his *Survey of the Cathedral of Hereford*, p. 828, from the MS. in *Bibl. Cotton. Tiberius, C. x. f. 76*, and by the Record Commission under the title of "*Taxatio Ecclesiastica Angliæ et Walliæ, auctoritate P. Nicholai IV.*" fol. 1802, to which we shall have frequent occasion to refer.

† *Reg. Swinf. f. 33 a, b. APP. V.*

‡ A grant or lease of the mill at Upton-Bishop from Hugh Foliot, (bishop from 1219 to 1234,) to Walter de Horlesdon contains this clause, *Volumus et præcipimus quod ballivi nostri de Ros et de Upton distringant omnes homines et feminas villæ de Upton ad sequendum et exercendum molendinum nostrum de Upton cum omnibus molluris suis, et ibi morari usque dum possint perficere.* *Reg. Swinf. f. 49 b.*

§ *Ledbury and Bosbury. Reg. Cant. f. 37 a.*

|| *Reg. Swinf. f. 24 b.*

¶ *Id. ff. 78 a, 86 a.* The statement published by Willis differs very little from an original copy inserted in the Episcopal Register; that which is included in the General taxation varies materially from them, and appears in error. For, whereas it professes to give the sum total of the profits in and out of the diocese conjointly at 449*l.* 1*s.* 5*d.* the others set the temporalities in the diocese of Hereford alone at that sum, and afterwards bring forward items from other quarters which advance the whole to upwards of five hundred pounds. *Reg. Swinf. ff. 77 b, 78 a.* The estimate appears to have been based upon a rateable rather than an actual value. The Pope was aware that this might be done, and by a bull dated

his income, considerable in those days,\* was evidently sufficient to enable him to support the dignity and consequence of his baronage, to be liberal in rewards, to exercise hospitality to his neighbours and strangers, and charity towards the poor: but among his occasional outgoings must not be forgotten the heavy expenses to which he was subject by suits and applications at the court of Rome.

Though a part of the income of this see was derived from fluctuating and incidental sources, baronial and manorial privileges, rents of assize, fairs and markets, wardships and marriages, it was substantially maintained by the land. The principal and most necessary charges of the household will be perceived to have been borne by the profits and produce of the estates in money or in kind. Bailiffs placed in them had servants to cultivate the farms, and were answerable every quarter to a head steward, (*senescallus*,) for the proceeds. In their management they were sometimes assisted by members of the household, who were sent out, as they were wanted, on board-wages to help in collecting the hay or corn-harvest.† As to the sale of the produce, when anything was disposed of, whether to the Bishop himself or in any other quarter, the value of it was recorded upon a tally. Each *prepositus* on a farm, and the head of every department in the house, had his tally, and those of the clerk of the household and the head steward checked them all. Thus, whatever was had for the consumption of the family abroad or at home by the purveyor, the baker, the butler and brewer, the groom and

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4 Id. Jan. 1289-90, required that the collections should be made according to the true value. Rymer, *Fœdera*, ii. pp. 459, 460. It is impossible to ascertain which of the two methods was generally adopted; but the former appears the more probable. The taxations of Carlisle and Llandaff are stated to be at the true value, and that of St. Asaph *ad verum valorem modo*, as if it had not been so in the first return. There are others called *novæ taxationes*, which looks as though some of them had been revised. Tax. P. Nich. pp. 278, 285, 318.

\* Swinfield, in a letter to Geoffrey de Genvile, lord of Ludlow, at the beginning of his career, excusing himself for declining to give a prebend to his son, then a mere child, promises to allow him ten marks a-year out of his wardrobe till he could hold preferment; although, he observes, his bishopric was one of the smallest in England. No doubt he thought so. *Tut eye ioe une des mendres evesches de Engleterre*. But the conclusion seems formed in a general way. According to the returns, Worcester, Coventry and Lichfield, Exeter, and Rochester were below it in value.

† Dors. ||46 a, et seq.

farrier, was accounted for by mutual reckonings.\* Nothing was purchased in the market, brought in from the farm, or served out of the stores, without this process: neither wine nor beer, nor corn nor malt, nor articles for culinary purposes; neither bran, nor even grass for the horses, nor meal for the hounds, nor old iron for the forge, passed without its distinct entry, and this mode of proceeding is observable throughout the diary. If the Bishop, during an occasional residence at either of his manor-houses, was supplied with an article, the value of it was carefully noted, at as fair a price, probably, as it would have brought in the market; and it was allowed to the bailiff at the usual time of settling his accounts.†

Every family of rank or consequence, consisting of many dependants, was at this time provided with a person, whose office was to keep an exact record of everything that had been bought in, consumed, or was remaining after the meals and business of the day were over. The particulars he ascertained by calling the principal servants before him, and entering their several reports on his roll. According to the author of *Fleta*, this seems in royal and noble houses to have been done by the chief steward or his deputy the treasurer of the wardrobe, or *camera*.‡ In the present instance, though the Bishop had a seneschal to hold his courts and collect his rents and dues, the management of his finances as to the general receipt and disbursement of his money, and certainly as to that which was employed in his housekeeping and private concerns, had long been confided to one of his chaplains, a clerk of great integrity, whose roll, a specimen of which is now before us, was submitted to the inspection of auditors § at the expiration of every year.

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\* See an instance in *Dors*. p. 169.

† From Cantilupe's instructions to his seneschal, J. de Bradeham, in Nov. 1276, it appears that the bailiffs were required to make up their rents quarterly, beginning from the feast of St. Andrew. The money was paid into the wardrobe, and no bailiff was allowed to deliver out corn, animals, or any stock from his bailiwick unless a reasonable price had been set upon it. Great abuses had existed in the management of the stock and revenue in Bishop Breton's time. *Reg. Cant.* f. 33 a.

‡ He describes the duties of the treasurer of the king's wardrobe, an office which was discharged by clerks alone. In France it was called *camera clericorum*. Two rolls were kept, one for receipts, another for expenses. *Fleta*, l. ii. c. 14. The seneschal and his duties are given at length in c. 72.

§ *Dors*. ||37.

The Bishop's immediate retainers and personal servants were in proportion to his means. Their supply of provisions and places of abode are here minutely noticed. Wherever he went the greater part went with him; wherever his chimney smoked they found their daily fare. If sent out of commons (*extra domum*) by his orders, board-wages, in addition to their stipends, were always allowed them. Most of them were clothed twice in the year. For one in his service who was sick while the family were stationary, help was obtained till he recovered: another, who fell ill on a journey, remained at nurse till my lord's return. A favourite waggouer, who accompanied him on visitations, and was injured, was not forgotten by his master.\* Only two or three in the course of the twelvemonth left their employer, two farriers that went into Kent, and Hardy, the huntsman's page; and for this the causes are unknown.† Helpers were occasionally hired, but it was usual to be cautious on admitting any one to a situation of responsibility. The writer of Fleta advises security to be required with regard to shepherds, "*Inveniat securitatem quilibet quod in iis, quæ officium suum tangunt laudabiliter se habebit.*"‡ And Cantilupe took it in the instance of a forester, John de Berkyng, whom he employed in 1275 at Ledbury North. This person, though he came recommended by the Bishop of Bayeux, brought forward two citizens of London, John Hardel and Roger de Garschirche (*Gracechurch?*) to be bound for his good behaviour;§ and Swinfield, in 1291, hiring Alan, a farrier, in the room of two who quitted him on the day of the Seven Sleepers (July 27), received a formal undertaking from several Londoners of the same calling, as to his future diligent and faithful service.|| In the same year Roger de Clehangre, admitted as a messenger, took an oath of fidelity, and found bondsmen besides.¶ To attend to these securities, which exceeded our modern recommendations of character, was a part of the duty of the head steward.

Distinction of rank was strictly observed in this house. The list of paid attendants, omitting occasional helpers, amounted on an average to forty persons.\*\* It is divided into four classes: squires (*armigeri*), serving

\* Roll, p. 59, note a; 105, note b. Dors. ||49.

‡ C. 79, de pastoribus.

|| Dors. p. 195.

\*\* Dors. ||42, 62.

† Dors. ||63 g, l.

§ Reg. Cant. f. 8 b.

¶ Reg. Swinf. f. 74 a.

valets (*valletti* or *vadleti de ministerio*), inferior servants (*garciones*), and pages (*pagii*). At the head of the first, in the post of honour, is a relative of the late Bishop Cantilupe, whom Swinfield seems to have retained out of affection to his own beloved predecessor and master;\* for it is not discoverable that the individual, who might be somewhat advanced in life, did anything to make himself useful during the whole year, nor is he noticed as being in his place as squire; for his name in connection with that of Swinfield is hardly ever found among the attestations and official acts in the Episcopal Register during this and the following years. The names of the others often appear in the roll, and Marines, Baseville, Deynte, and Adam, the head groom, are discovered to be agents and directors in many important concerns. The average of their usual wages varied from a pound to a mark per annum. Clerks of the chapel take precedence in the next section of the waiting valets or varlets; then come the carters, the larderer, falconer, porter, stable-groom, farriers, butler, chamberlain, huntsman, and messenger. Among these Harpin, the falconer, had been specially patronised by Bishop Cantilupe, who gave him a house in Ross, on the slope of the bank opposite Wilton, near the high road leading to the Wye.† He was occasionally employed as a purveyor, and was an experienced sportsman in his own department. John, the courier, was seldom at home, his business lay elsewhere; he was familiar with the continent, and was the bearer of despatches and remittances to Rome. The wages of this class were from eight shillings and eight-pence to a crown. The third division of stipendiaries comprises an inferior attendant in the chapel, the kitchen servants, the cook and his helpers, the baker, thresher, sumpterer, and under-groom, one who waited upon Stephen, my lord's brother, and another who was attached to that most active man of business, Thomas de la Dane. They received from three to four shillings annually. The fourth and lowest in degree were working pages, ordinary helpers of upper servants in the stable, bakehouse and kitchen, sumpterers' boys, and others that went with the hounds. Foliot, however, must be excepted from among them. He, whose ancestors had sent forth three Bishops to the see,‡ was but the humble messenger of my lord. Like John

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\* Dors. p. 167.

† Dors. p. 169.

‡ In the Roll, p. 16, note b, only *two* are alluded to. They were *three* in all;



the foreign courier he was ever moving to and fro, and frequent mention is made of his labours. The wages of these underlings were higher in summer than in winter. Some of them received no more than sixpence in the winter half-year. The highest allowance was six shillings per annum.

But the summer and winter lists of domestic pensioners are far from comprehending all who ministered to his necessities or state. Churchmen of rank moved in a circle of officials and ecclesiastics who assisted in their temporal affairs as well as spiritual concerns, and were variously partakers of their bounty. Chaplains and clerks in orders, whom Swinfield kept about him, and supplied with incumbencies, which helped to remunerate them, were Thomas de la Dane, Stephen de Thanet, Bartholomew de Gatesdenn, John de Scelving, Nicholas de Reygate, Stephen de la Felde, and John de Kemeseye, the writer of this roll.\* Besides these were sundry lay persons: Stephen, who, for aught that appears to the contrary, was my lord's only brother, and Reginald de Boclond. Two youths were passing their boyhood in the family, a son of the above Stephen, and Walter Durr', (*Donne ?*) the heir of a deceased feudal tenant at Chilston in the Golden Valley, whose wardship and marriage the Bishop had lately made over to his brother.† These seem to have been companions, and were supplied with necessaries by my lord. They were as permanent guests in his house, and it might be thought that Stephen, who should by his lease have been in the receipt of all the rents and profits of the Chilston estate, could at least have afforded to clothe these boys; but it falls upon the Bishop, and it may be concluded altogether that the whole party were at this time maintained by him. It was a custom that orphan wards, when they were old enough, should be taken into the family of their guardian.‡ The expenses of edu-

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Gilbert 1149, Robert 1174, Hugh 1219. The Editor in this part of the work avails himself of an occasional opportunity of supplying an omission or correcting an error that may have occurred in the notes and commentary upon the Roll and Endorsement.

\* Particulars respecting these persons may be found by reference to the Index.

† Dors. p. 132. Walter did homage for certain of his lands to the Earl of Hereford, March 12, 1302. Reg. Swinf. f. 38 b.

‡ This was not always done. In one instance a ward, who was of too tender an age, was returned to the custody of his female relations. The treatment of the little heir of Walford, near Ross, is a pleasing illustration of the paternal consideration of the Bishop, and of the simple manners of the age. || *Waleford. || Item memorandum quod die*

cating and maintaining two other youths at Oxford, poor scholars of the name of Kingessuod, came out of the same liberal purse. They were regularly inquired after and attended to by messengers, and once or twice in the year were allowed to pay him a visit of respect and pleasure.\* Among such as received salaries, but whose duties might for the most part require their absence from him, may be reckoned, for example, Sir William de Mortimer, his head steward, descended from one of the noblest families in Herefordshire, who would be occupied in holding courts, inspecting bailiffs, and receiving rents,†—Robert de Furches, and Gerard de Eugina, chief bailiffs of the important manors of Ledbury and Prestbury. Every subordinate bailiff of every manor subsisted by his means or upon his pay, and owned him as lord.

In the ecclesiastical and civil courts at London he had his advocates and managers (*narratores*).‡ Warin de Boys and John de Cantuaria undertook for him in the Court of Arches, and Richard de Pudlesdone with associated Italian proctors at Rome. Roger Caperun was his attorney at Westminster. But last of all, though he stands foremost in the record among his feed pensioners and defenders (*feoda diversa*),§ must be produced Thomas de Bruges, his doughty champion, whose office was, perhaps, at this time, a sinecure; || yet it might not be unadvisable in Swinfield still to retain him. The Church had much landed property exposed to fraud or

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*beatorum apostolorum Philippi et Jacobi, anno domini supradicto (1303), venit Johannes Comyn ad dominum ad Bosebur', et adduxit Johannem heredem de Waleford, puerum sex annorum et parvum amplius, et predictum puerum domino tradidit, sicut domino feodi, custodiendum. Quem Johanni predicto in fide sua dominus retradidit, per matrem pueri et aviam ejusdem pueri fovendum, donec dictis aliter ordinaret de eo.*  
Reg. Swinf. f. 138 b.

\* Dors. ||8, p. 117.

† Mortimer was, however, a clerk, and held several preferments in the diocese. Roll, April 13, p. 74, and Dors. p. 188.

‡ Dors. p. 112. Under this general head are included by Fleta all who acted in the Court of King's-bench, p. 87, l. 2, c. 37. *De Narratoribus. In curia autem Regis sunt servientes, narratores, attornati et apprenticii.* Serjeants, counsel, attorneys, and clerks, all under the title of *narratores*. The analogy of the term *conteur* is obvious. *Conteur est que aucun establit pour conter pour lui en cort.* Le grand coutumier du pays et duché de Normandie, c. 64, f. 75 b.

§ Dors. pp. 125, 126.

|| Thomas Bodenham, so late as in the reign of Hen. VIII., received an annual stipend of 4s. 6d. as armour-bearer to the Bishop of Hereford. Duncumb, i. p. 511.

violence, and wager by battle for trial of the truth was still allowed by the law of the land. This mode of deciding difficult questions in the last resort, civil as well as military and criminal, was a custom of very ancient date among barbarous nations.\* It had been sanctioned in France † and England ‡ of old. In cases of dishonour or felony the duellist was not allowed to fight by proxy, and if vanquished was hanged.§ In civil causes a substitute was allowed. Henry II., in disputes about property, had introduced the wise alternative of the great assize. According to this an appellee had his choice of trial by inquest or wager of battle. Thus

\* Blackstone, Comm. b. iii. c. 22, v.

† Saint Louis, by an ordinance in 1260, had endeavoured to suppress wager of battle in his own court, but could not succeed in removing it from the seignories of his barons, and it was afterwards re-established in 1306. The words of the ordinance by which it is restored are highly expressive: *Qui se plaint, et justice ne trouve, la doit-il de Dieu requérir, que si pour intérêt, sans orgueil et mal talent, ains seulement pour son bon droit, il requierre bataille, jà ne doit redouter engin, ne force, car Dieu nostre Seigneur Jesus-Christ, le vrai juge, sera pour luy.* Le Livre de Justice et de Pleis. Rapetti et Chabaille. Documents Inedits, 4<sup>o</sup>. 1850, Pref. pp. viii. ix.

‡ The Welsh never adopted it. This was sworn to upon competent evidence at the inquest held on their laws at Montgomery, 10 Edw. I. *Iuor ap Tetwaret Eynat, Wallace, Judex, Latine juratus et examinatus dicit, quod coram domino rege et suis iusticiariis magnates Wallici consueverunt jus suum optinere . . . Addit etiam, quod ubi rei veritas de facili non potuerit inquiri, per legem Kenerith solebat loquela deduci; quæ quidem lex Kenerith, quia in Wallia duellum non solet invadiari, quasi loco duelli solebat placitum terminare, &c.* Rot. Walliæ in Turr. Lond. 10 Edw. I. m. 4.

§ An instance had occurred in Herefordshire (8 Hen. III.) about 66 years before. Walter de Furno (*Fourneaux* or *Furney*) assassinated Robert Mainard, who had come out of a tavern in company with his brother Walter Mainard. The latter appeared in court and challenged De Furno. They fought on the morrow. De Furno was vanquished and hanged. *Walterus filius Mainardi appellat Walterum de Furno quod sicut ipse et Robertus frater ejus recesserunt de quadam taberna apud Ros, venit ipse Walterus de Furno et nequiter et in feloniam, et ipso vidente, percussit Robertum fratrem suum quodam culltello in ventrem, ita quod plaga illa obiit, et quod ita sit offert derationare versus cum per corpus suum sicut curia consideraverit. Et Walterus de Furno venit et defendit mortem illum per corpus suum; et ideo Walterus de Furno det vadium defendendi; et Walterus filius Mainardi det vadium probandi; et veniant armati die crastina. Plegii. Wallerus filius Mainardi, Robertus Peuk, et Simon præpositus de Adellone (Alton?) et Hugo Enoct. Et Walterus de Furno victus est et suspensus.* Rot. Itin. 8 Hen. III. in Turr. Lond. Plac. de term. Sti. Mich. a. 8<sup>o</sup>. Hen. III. The last appeal of murder was made in 1817, in the case of Ashford against Thornton.

it was that Gilbert de Clare, in the famous cause of the chase, neutralised the preparation of Cantilupe's champion, though he lost the day. The parties had joined issue upon a writ of right, and the defendant had his option of calling for a special jury: he did so, and their verdict proved adverse to his claim. Any one might appoint a champion, but churchmen and females would of course avail themselves of the privilege, and sometimes, like Cantilupe and Swinfield, they kept one in their pay. Henry de Ferneberg, in 42 Henry III. covenanted for thirty marks fee to be champion to Roger abbat of Glastonbury;\* and valiant Thomas de Colville, hired by the lady Percy, in the reign of Ed. III. soon settled the quarrel between Thomas de la Mere, the prior of Tynemouth, and his oppressive antagonist, Sir Gerard de Woderyngton, only by standing up, and declaring his readiness to fight.† In the year 1275 two questions respecting church property in the county of Worcester came under a decision of this kind; one on June 25, in Hardwick meadow, for the church of Tenbury, which was adjusted, after all, without duel in favour of the Abbat of Lyra; a second on July 9 was for the bailiwick of Hembury (Hanbury?), and here the Bishop of Worcester's champion vanquished the champion of Philip de Stok.‡ A statute in the reign of Ed. I. which corrects a legal fiction in the champion's oath, confirms the frequency of these appeals in writ of right. Bishop Cantilupe agreed with Thomas de Bruges to pay him six shillings and eightpence annually, while he was able to serve him. Swinfield appears to have advanced his salary. For this he was to be always in readiness, and a fresh bargain as to pay and maintenance was to be made whenever he might be called upon to discharge his duty. He was engaged by oath to fight against Gilbert Earl of Gloucester and Hertford,§ or any one else, when required, excepting only the lords to whom he might previously have been bound. This written engagement bears date at Westminster, in November, 1276, while the controversy was pending. No trace has been discovered of Thomas de Bruges beyond 1290, and with him probably the office of Bishop's Champion, as a permanent appointment, expired. The

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\* Jacob, *New Law Dict. v. Champion.*

† Gibson, *Hist. of Tynemouth Monast.* I. p. 156, II. pp. 45, 46.

‡ *Annales Eccl. Wigorn.* in a. 1275. Wharton, *Angl. Sacra*, I. p. 501.

§ *APP. No. 1*, where *Hertford* is misprinted *Hereford*.

duel which he would have to fight was not so bloody as that of the soldier in court-martial, nor that of the criminal on appeal of felony, but that which Spelman and Du Cange describe *cum fuste et scuto*;\* and yet even this required no ordinary resolution and physical powers, to hold on with staff and shield, unwearied and unyielding, from sunrise till the evening stars appeared.

Another branch of expenditure in this episcopal household was the clothing distributed among his dependants. Indeed many that were not in regular attendance upon him wore his suit or livery (*secta domini*).† Its striped pattern (*pannus stragulatus*) was seen in the courts in London; his prædial agents, his distant connexions, wore it. In the household itself the garb of each individual was according to his rank. From the details here supplied we may be assisted in conjecturing how a prelate of Hereford in the thirteenth century appeared in his everyday suit ‡ among his people.

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\* Gloss. in vv. *Campus. Duellum*. Du Cange, in v. *Campio*.

† It is not certain whether this applies to form or colour, perhaps to both.

‡ His official vestments find no place in this record, except in a very few instances, such as only relate to those of the simpler kind. Fine linen was bought for his rochets and a surplice; the mending or making up of a rochet and a *capa chori* is carried to account<sup>a</sup>; there is not a word of the richer robes and pontifical ornaments, but some notion of them may be formed from his register. It has been already remarked that the see was plundered of its valuables in the time of Aquablanca, but all was not then lost. Henry III. gave to the church a mitre set with precious stones, and when Cantilupe entered upon his charge this and another that had belonged to Bishop Ralph Maydenstane, a pastoral staff and ring of Bishops John Breton and Giles Braose, still remained among its stores. These pontificals gradually augmenting, and handed down from prelate to prelate, appear, like the regalia to the crown, a sort of heir-loom to the see. They were held in trust for it by the dean and chapter, and lent successively to each diocesan for the time being upon an undertaking that they should be restored. Cantilupe, while he was bishop elect in 1275 (Reg. f. 2 b), gave an engagement that his executors, within one month after the day of his decease, should give up those already described, which he borrowed for his use during his life; but no vestments are named in the writing. At Swinfield's accession, however (Reg. f. 3 a), the stock was increased by another mitre, a pontifical, and several articles of dress and plate, the whole of which were more than doubled in number and value when Orleton succeeded him. In this respect, and perhaps not in this alone, Swinfield left the see far better than he found it. Orleton's bond exhibits the following inventory: *Habvimus ex accommodato, &c. Unam mitram de perljs cum vollis deauratis et amalatis plenis lapidibus pretiosis quam bonæ memoriæ dominus Johannes de Swyñfeud quondam Episcopus Herefordensis*

<sup>a</sup> Dors, pp. 138, 190, 192.

At any rate here is the quality, if not the exact cut, of his apparel, as a guide. The Bishop, in common with his superior clerks or chaplains, was clad during winter \* in Keyneith, a strong cloth for ordinary wear. He had a surcoat (*supertunica*) trimmed or made with doe-skins, he had hoods of miniver, and a mantle; he also wore a furred cap; so that he must have been well secured against the cold and rain. Among his clerks Roger de Sevenak † was distinguished by apparel more nearly approaching to that of my lord than the rest, and he had a cloth mantle and furred hood like his master. Others had doe-skin hoods and trimmings of fur to their dresses. Clerks of the chapel, squires, bailiffs, and lawyers wore striped cloth and so did the serving-men; the footmen and pages seem to have borne the same livery. Thomas de la Dane, Reginald Boclond, and my lord's brother, had hoods and trimmings of lamb's fur, and the squires and chapel-clerks were allowed no other. The best furs appear to have been garnished with squirrel-skins. Stephen and Bartholomew de Gatesdenn ‡ had the layman's tabard, a coat resembling that which forms the dress of a herald at the present day. The cloth of Foliot's garment was of a mixed quality. In summer a part of the family had a lighter change. § The materials in which the Bishop, his brother, Boclond, and the clerks

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*emit a magistro Willielmo de Kyngescote quondam canonico Herefordensi, pretii quadraginta librarum. Item, duos pannos aureos de una secta cum griffonibus in latis circulis de rubeo serico per totum, pretii .x. marcarum. Item, unum par sandalium cum griffonibus consutis cum jocularibus lapidibus intextis, pretii quadraginta solidorum. Item, unam casulam de rubeo sindone linita (sic) de carda crocea, pretii quadraginta solidorum. Item unam casulam cum tunica et dalmatica de albo samito ex parte una et rubeo sindone ex alia, pretii decem librarum. Item, tertiam casulam de serico de India linita (sic) de carda viridi cum tunica et dalmatica duplicatis, videlicet, de rubeo sindone ex parte una et de sindone de India ex alia, pretii quadraginta solidorum. Item, unum libellum processionalem, pretii duorum solidorum. Item, unam casulam, tunicam et dalmaticam cum capa de samito albo et de sindone rubeo, nova et recentia de eadem secta; unum baculum pastoralem, sandalias et sotulares episcopales de panno serico de gennia (genoa velvet?); et alios sotulares de serico sanctæ memoriæ domini Thomæ de Cantilupo de armis ejusdem. Item duas mitras, quarum una est alba cum aurifrigiis, et alia est de (samito?) cum aurifrigiis et lapidibus pretiosis; albam et manipulum omictum cum stola ejusdem sectæ broudatæ cum perlis? magnis, et duo paria cirothecarum et pontificalium. Reg. Orleton, f. 12 a.*

\* Dors. p. 111, et seq.

† Roll, April 11.

‡ Dors. p. 120.

§ Dors. p. 183, et seq.

were then dressed are called *bluett* and *sindon*. The squires still appeared in stripes. Stephen was supplied with another tabard of mixed cloth, and little Durr' had a liberal allowance of the same quality. Fur trimmings were used, but more sparingly; they consisted of budge and lamb-skin. Hoods were worn, and Durr' had a little *chapeau* (*capellus*) in addition, probably to keep off the sun. This is merely a brief collective view of the principal summer and winter habiliments of the household. Most of the materials for these and for making them up were bought by Thomas de la Dane in London, where he was present twice upon this errand in the course of the year; but a great variety of articles of dress, interspersed among the miscellaneous entries, were distributed at different times to objects of my lord's bounty and compassion, and cannot be particularly enumerated here. The Scelungs or Shelvings, a Kentish family, apparently connected with him, came in for a large share. Heloisa Shelving, with her daughters, and the niece of John Shelving, with certain other females, received presents of furred dresses and linen, of which article no mention has hitherto been made, because it is not brought under one view in the accounts. The proportion of it, taken all together, of body-linen, table-linen, sheets, or towels, is small compared with that of woollen. It will be seen, with regard to the latter, that before it was made into clothes, it underwent the operation of shearing or clipping (*in pannis retondendis*) after it had passed into the buyer's hands. The clipper was a person of no less importance than the tailor, unless, indeed, the tailor undertook both offices. But, though it was furnished in the rough and submitted to this process when new, the same was sometimes repeated to refresh it after it had been worn awhile, and ladies of the highest rank, on grand occasions, appeared in turned and retrimmed robes of state.

But to return to the more immediate inmates of this society. The absence of one feature in the group that has passed in review before us is too striking to be overlooked. Among the variety of attendants not a female is discoverable in regular service; not one who is designated by a permanent office or a name. No woman appears in the chamber, kitchen, or scullery. Once a dairymaid is, as it were, accidentally discovered at one of the farms,\* and the help of the *bruwyf*, as she is called by Piers Ploughman,

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\* March 24, at Sugwas in manerio.

(for the process of brewing was always more or less managed by women,) is sought on some occasions to make ready against the Bishop's arrival at his manors.\* House-cleaning, another of these preparations, is often adverted to; but it is paid for as an extra expense, and it is not certain by what hands this was performed. The washing, to use a domestic expression, was *put out*, and entered as a separate charge.† Such exclusion of the

\* Dec. 22, March 24, 31. They are called *braciatores*; but it is plain by the expression *in stipendiis earundem*, that they or the helpers were not of the masculine gender.

† There is reason for believing that even among the higher ranks of society in this age the virtue of cleanliness was not pushed to any fastidious excess; and the following statement, if it may be admitted to refer to the whole household, will go but a little way towards establishing an impression of extravagance, or the frequency of a change of linen. The washing-bills for a twelvemonth in a family of this class, during the reign of Edw. I. must be allowed to be a rarity. They are here brought together, as was proposed in p. 131, in a connected form, out of different parts of the Endorsement, to exhibit the general cost under this head. The dates are chiefly supplied from the diary.

	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
At Sugwas, about St. Luke's day, Oct. 18 . . . . .	3	4
Bosbury, All Saints and up to Christmas . . . . .	6	8
Prestbury at Christmas . . . . .	1	0
Reading, the beginning of January . . . . .	0	8 $\frac{3}{4}$
Bedfont, first week in do. . . . .	0	6
London, second week in do. . . . .	0	9
Kensington, Jan. 13, 14, 15 . . . . .	0	1
Earley, do. 18 to 22 . . . . .	1	3
Prestbury, February . . . . .	3	9
Ledbury, do. latter end . . . . .	1	3
Wollastone, March 10, 12 . . . . .	0	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
Ross, do. 14 to 17 . . . . .	1	1
Sugwas, against Easter . . . . .	1	6
Colwall, about Easter . . . . .	1	6
Cradley and on the road, April 10, et seq. . . . .	0	3 $\frac{1}{2}$
Kinlet, do. 16, et seq. . . . .	0	9
Bitterley, April 25 . . . . .	0	5 $\frac{1}{2}$
Stoke-say, do. 27 . . . . .	0	3
On the road, Festival of St. John Port-Latin, May 6 . . . . .	0	9 $\frac{1}{2}$
Do. on the Shropshire visitation 2d and 3d week in May . . . . .	2	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
At Pembridge, May 23 . . . . .	0	8
Sugwas, about June 11 . . . . .	3	0
Bosbury, June 14, et seq. . . . .	0	11
Whitborne, in summer . . . . .	5	6
Colwall, before the Assumption, Aug. 15 . . . . .	4	6
	<hr/>	
	£2	3 2 $\frac{3}{4}$

Curiosity is baffled as to the nature of these charges, whether they are moderate for



sex was not peculiar to Swinfield's establishment. The austerity of Cantilupe in this matter towards his nearest relations is commended by his biographer;\* and, if it had not been a rule, founded on the celibacy of the clergy, the practice of his predecessor, whose example he held in the profoundest veneration, might have sufficiently determined Swinfield. Throughout the Roll and Endorsement Heloisa Shelving and Lady Matilda de Mortimer are the only distinguishable female names that proceed from the pen of John de Kemeseye.

It is not possible, within the limited compass of this Abstract, to embrace more than a few of the curious incidental expenses which are presented to the reader in the original, and are for the most part attempted to be explained in the notes and commentary. It must therefore be confined chiefly to the gross divisions of outlay, with some of their subordinate items as they arise. Nor let the attempt be deemed superfluous because preceding writers have given details and expositions of this kind with reference to the thirteenth century. It is by comparison of contemporary records that we arrive at a more complete acquaintance with the character and habits of a remote age.

The daily consumption of this family drew heavily upon the purse of its master. In recording it, after stating the place and day of the week or festival by the calendar, the clerk began his list with bread, wine, and beer; he next took down the quantity and sorts of fish, if it were a day of fasting or abstinence; if otherwise, he noted the flesh or fowl that had been bought in or remained from a previous day, or had been consumed or reserved to another occasion; every article had its price affixed; he inserted what presents, if any, had been received, what quantity of salted stock had been taken out for use, and in the salting season what had been killed and

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the time or otherwise. The Court laundress in 28 Edw. I. undertook the linen of the royal chapel, of the chamber and family towels, for two marks per ann. *Liber Quotid. Garderobæ, Topham, p. 84.* And at Michaelmas in the same year, Alice Pope was paid *1l. pro lotura pannorum* of Elizabeth, Countess of Holland, the king's daughter; and it seems to have been a yearly undertaking. *Id. p. 72.*

\* "He shunned the conversation of women, even his own sisters, as much as could stand with common civility; not permitting them to lodge above one night in his palace, and then his custom was to leave it himself, and divert to some of his manor-houses." *Life and Gests, &c. c. 24, p. 307.* See Collier, *Eccles. Hist. II. 539.* 8vo. ed. London, 1840.

laid up; he then descended to minutiae employed in cookery and domestic economy, milk, eggs, condiments, the produce of the garden, marketings, porterage, horse-shoeing, work, and things of various descriptions, of which no connected catalogue can here be given; concluding sometimes with food for the hounds, invariably with provender for the stable.

BREAD. Of the fineness of their bread no judgment can be formed; they separated the bran, bolting the meal and dressing fine flour (*flour*) for pastry and culinary purposes. The expression *panis* heading each day's bill of fare signifies in general ground wheat:\* *frumentum* expresses its unground state: *de manerio* shews that it was taken from the farm. We gain no further insight into its lightness than into its other qualities. Yeast (*gestia*) was used, but does not appear so often as might be expected. Baking-days are always suggested by the marginal *furn'*, but this is hardly ever met with when the family are moving about, for then they bought their loaves. Roger the baker and his little page † must evidently have had full employment to feed so many mouths, and it is not surprising that he fell ill in the heat of summer.‡ The home consumption has some regularity in it. At Sugwas, for instance, in October, a batch of two quarters would last from two to three days; while, on the other hand, three quarters were sometimes consumed in two days; this, however, might be occasioned by the presence or absence of visitors. Their great entertainments are signalled by bakings extraordinary. The reader who is interested in this branch of inquiry will accept these reports as useful in establishing the relative prices of grain during this critical period, and will remark the striking variation between the metropolitan and provincial markets. It is to be regretted that the comparison extends but to a few days, and it will be borne in mind that where wheat is quoted so extravagantly high in proportion at London, it might have been affected by the then great influx of strangers. Throughout October it was at 2*s.* 6*d.* the quarter, and in the first week of November it rose to 3*s.* after which it again sunk to 2*s.* 6*d.* In the first week of December it advanced to 3*s.* and so continued till they

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\* Sometimes it may express bread or a loaf. It is used in both senses in the statute *De Pistoribus*. Stat. of the Realm, i. p. 201.

† Dors. §§44 h, 45 b.

‡ July 17, p. 105.

went to London. Of its value in the different counties through which they passed no account is preserved, for the reason above given, that they bought their bread in loaves. In London the price was more than doubled, being 6*s.* 1*d.* At Earley, on the way back, Jan. 20, it was 5*s.* When they were afterwards at Prestbury, Jan. 24, it was at 3*s.* 4*d.* On Feb. 4 it fell to 3*s.* on the 6th they paid 3*s.* 4*d.*; on the 23rd and till the 1st of March 4*s.* Here it is lost sight of till the 15th of that month, when it continues the same. From this period till the second week in July it varies \* between 3*s.* 4*d.* and 4*s.* till, as the harvest approached, always in former times the dearest season of grain among the country people, it reached to 5*s.* This was paid for it in the Ledbury market, the family being then at Colwall, and here the roll is closed. Thus it appears that wheat was advancing in price during the whole of the time, and that it became worth double within ten months, beginning at Michaelmas with 6½*d.* and ending in July at 1*s.* 0½*d.* per bushel.† And this agrees with the representations of historians. "This yeare," according to Holinshed, "on S. Margaret's even,‡ that is the 9 daye of Julie, fell a wonderfull tempest of haile, that the like had not beene seene nor heard of by any man then living. And after there insued such continuall raine, so distempering the ground, that corne waxed very deare, so that whereas wheat was sold before at three pence a bushell, the market so rose by little and little that it was sold for two shillings a bushell, and so the dearth increased almost by the space of 40 yeares, till the death of Edward the Second, insomuch that sometime a bushell of

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\* With only one exception, April 8.

† The quarter of London was eight bushels. Assisa de Pond. et Mens. Ed. I. Statutes of the Realm, p. 204. A not improbable difference between this and the provincial quarter, like that between the standard bushel and customary bushel, would disturb any estimate based upon these facts. But it may be presumed that, if such difference existed in the buying and selling of the country, it would have been noted; for Kemeseye has not omitted in certain purchases to mark the difference between the long and short hundred. Roll, March 27, et alibi.

‡ Walsingham, from whom this is taken, says it was *nocte S. Margarete*. Ypod. Neustriæ, p. 72. Thunderstorms frequently happen about this time. Even the new style has not rendered the country proverb less applicable than it might have been under the old, that "St. Margaret washes her handkerchief on her day." Fleetwood, Chronicon Preciosum, ed. 1707, pp. 79, 80, was apparently perplexed by the want of precision in some historians, and assigned this event to 1286.

wheat, London measure, was sold at ten shillings.\* Barley is hardly ever mentioned; once at a brewing in December, when it was two-thirds the price of wheat.† Rye does not occur; so that we look in vain for the excellent bread called Monkcorn, consisting of a mixture of that grain with wheat, a favourite in the monasteries, from which it derived its name. They gave bran to their horses, and bread or mashes of flour (*panis*) to them when they were sick. The same *panis*, whichever it might be, was given to dogs. The common food of the hounds was oatmeal. Poultry were fattened on flour of wheat and oats.‡

WINE was of two sorts, red and white, the red imported, the white chiefly, if not altogether, home-made. Early writers celebrate the vineyards of Britain, but they do not lead us to conclude that these were general throughout the island,§ and those that once flourished in the more genial parts of it exist now but in name. Up to this time, however, the culture of the vine was, to some extent, in certain districts, attended with success. The leisure and means of churchmen caused them to be the principal promoters of every kind of agricultural improvement, whether in inclosed or open ground; and many towns on this side of England, especially where great religious establishments had been formed, could boast of vineyards in their neighbourhood. Worcester, Gloucester, Tewkesbury, Hereford, and Ledbury can still point to their ancient sites. The prolific vines that cover

\* Chronicles, I. p. 284, c. 2, in a. regis Ed. I. 17, 1289. Walsingham, ut supra, observes of the fertility of the preceding year that wheat was sold in some places for 1s., in others for 1s. 4d. and 1s. 8d. per quarter. *Sed superbiente populo et ingrassato, mutavit altissimus fortunam illam, ita quod in secundo anno sequente, scilicet millesimo .CC°. nonagesimo, vendebatur quarterium frumenti pro .xii.s. sterling, et in locis aliquibus pro marca et ultra.* Trivet gives the same account of it. Macpherson, Annals of Commerce, i. 449, points out that Stowe places it much lower: that in the west and north parts of the country it was sold for eight pence, being a farthing the peck. Thus the subsequent advance was rapid indeed. Might not the value of money have united with the season in bringing about and continuing this change? The Worcester Annals indicate it as a concurrent cause of the cheapness of grain, setting it at a rate still lower than any above quoted. Anno 1228 (Maius), *Tanta fuit copia frumenti et raritas monetæ, quod quarterium vendebatur pro sex denariis.* Angl. Sacra, i. 510.

† Roll, p. 32.

‡ Roll, pp. 8, 31, 78, 79, 106.

§ *Vineas etiam in quibusdam locis germinans.* Bede, Monumenta Hist. Britan. fol. 1848, p. 108. *Vinæ fertilis est, sed raro.* Hea. Huntingdon. id. p. 693.

the cottages in the counties of Worcester, Gloucester, and Hereford have frequently been observed by strangers; and it might fairly be inferred that the climate that brings the apple and pear to perfection, would not be unfavourable to the grape. Cantilupe planted or renewed the vineyard which Swinfield now had at Ledbury,\* and it yielded seven pipes (*dolia*) of white wine, and nearly one of verjuice, in the autumn of 1289.† But this was only a portion of the general stock expended in the course of the ensuing twelvemonth. From Bristol, the great mart of foreign wine for this part of the island, they procured, at two several times, in all twelve pipes and one barrel;‡ they also laid in a small tun (*tonellus*) for their use in London; and as vintners dwelt in most towns, they bought it repeatedly, when they had occasion, on their journeys. The excellent historian of the middle ages has remarked concerning the gentry in the reign of Edward I. that “they drank little wine,”§ and this, no doubt, as respected housekeepers, is mainly true; still where there were taverners there must have been customers, and in the houses of the nobles and dignified clergy there are proofs that it was a daily beverage. Very few days passed, whether of ordinary diet or abstinence, feast or fast,|| that in Swinfield’s hall it was not seen upon the board.¶ The daily quantity consumed is found to have varied from half a sextary to as high as eleven, and even upwards, according to the character of the entertainment or the attendance of guests.\*\* It was bought according to the Assize of 51 Hen.

\* In the letter to his steward already quoted, he remarks, *De modo faciendi vineam nostram de Ledehyr’ vobis apertius scribemus; sed quia tempus non adest in brevi eandem faciendi, distulimus de factura ejusdem plus ista vice mandare.* Reg. Cant. f. 33 b.

† Roll, March 2, p. 59.

‡ Id. Dec. 3, p. 25; July 11, p. 103.

§ Hallam, *State of Europe during the Middle Ages*, iii. 451, ed. 2, 1819.

|| Good Friday, March 31, must be excepted.

¶ The lighter wines of France were now chiefly in demand. It may be concluded that the Bishop never could have suspected the pathological fact detected by acuter medical observers of more modern times, that such a liquor would be injurious in promoting and aggravating the frequency of those nephritic attacks under which he suffered at intervals. He had a cup of wine by him during one paroxysm, and was relieved for the time by drinking it. See Dors. p. 139.

\*\* At the great fish day in Ross, March 15, the company were supplied with no less than thirteen sextaries.

III. and 13 Ed. I. which provided that it should be sold at one shilling the *sextarium*. This is the standard to be applied to the larger vessels enumerated in the roll,\* the barrel (*barillus*) and the pipe or tun, smaller or larger (*tonellus*, *dolium*, these two are used as convertible terms). The measures of this period have baffled some acute antiquaries. Certain useful notices may, however, be gathered from this roll. But any critical attempt founded upon the materials here supplied, to reconcile the prices with the exact capacities of the above-mentioned vessels, would needlessly occupy the room of that which will probably be more interesting to the general reader. We have the authority of Fleta † for the fact, that fifty-two sextaries were contained in every *dolium* of genuine wine. Below the sextary, by which of course the sale of the smallest as well as largest quantity was regulated, comes the gallon (*lagna*), four of which constituted a sextary, and lower still the bottle (*potellus*), six of which made up the sextary.‡ This is the lowest wine measure with which we are made acquainted. In spite of the prohibition of the statute, by which it was enacted that the doors of those vintners should be shut up who exceeded the shilling in their demand, it is plain that they made an illicit profit upon it in remote country towns. In London, Middlesex, and some parts of Gloucestershire, may be traced the observance of the Assize; but in other parts of the latter county, and in those of Berks, Worcester, Salop, Radnor, and in the towns of Hereford § and Monmouth the charge was higher. The prices are only recorded when they are moving about from place to place, their consumption at the manors being from the stock purchased in Bristol, which is entered in two parts of the roll,|| and from the produce of the vineyard at Ledbury. They drew it, as cider is now drawn, from the wood, and sometimes it was long on tap.¶

\* Pp. 25, 39, 103.

† *Dolium vini quinquaginta duo sextaria vini puri debet continere et quodlibet sextarium quatuor jalones.* Pp. 73, 74, lib. 2, c. 12, § 11.

‡ This is seen by the scale of prices, Jan. 4, p. 37.

§ It may, however, be observed, in justice to the vintners of Hereford, that Henry III. upon two occasions, when he was in that place in the eleventh year of his reign, granted them the privilege of selling their wines contrary to the assize, owing to a scarcity of wine there; and directed his judges of assize not to fine or molest them on that account. Rot. Litt. Claus. 11 Hen. III. p. 202 b.

|| Dec. 3; July 11.

¶ Roll, pp. 32, 56, 96.

The mention of this last liquor may suggest a passing thought of surprise that it should form no part of the store of these Herefordshire cellars. It certainly was not unknown in England at the time,\* but hither it had not as yet extended, and the era of its introduction is at present unknown. Once only they tasted mead, as they were travelling in Shropshire. It cost no more than  $10\frac{1}{2}d.$  and if many partook of it, unless it were very cheap, this would, perhaps, be but a taste.

BEER or ALE occupies the next place. One word only, *cervisia*, is used to describe it. As no distinction of sort † is expressed, the conclusion is probable, at least with regard to that in the roll,‡ that it was made in the manner technically called by country brewers *one way beer*. If the entries of Kemeseye under this head do not literally, in Shakespeare's phrase, "chronicle *small beer*," neither do they convey any relative notion of its strength. In the ingredients from which it was extracted there was a wide difference from the modern practice of compounding it. Three several brewings occurred § at Prestbury, Sugwas, and Bosbury; in the two latter malt of wheat and oats, in the former malt of wheat, oats, and barley were employed.¶ Destitute of the aromatic and conservative bitter of the hop, and drugged, as it is known to have been, with spices, this fermented mixture must have been, in its best condition, as heavy on the palate and as inferior to that which now by excellence bears the name of ale, as it was

\* It occurs in the roll of the Countess of Leicester; but, so early as the 6th of King John, a. 1205, Robert de Evermue was found to hold his lordship of Redham and Stokesly in Norfolk by petty serjeantry, the paying of 200 pearmaines and four hogsheads (*modios*) of wine made of pearmaines into the exchequer on the feast of St. Michael yearly. Blomefield's Norfolk, 4th edit. xi. p. 242, quoted by Cullum, Hist. and Antiq. of Hawsted, p. 117, note.

† But two sorts were made for sale in the next reign. Fleetwood, p. 91. Stowe, a. 1315, mentions three sorts.

‡ There is nothing to prove the contrary; and as to that which was bought, the general correspondence of the sums with the number of sextaries furnishes evidence of it. Where an irregularity can be detected between them, it may be reconciled by the notion that in such a purchase there were two sorts of beer.

§ Dec. 22; March 24, 31. The last is entered at Colwall, but it took place at Bosbury. See Apr. 9.

¶ Wheat was forbidden to be used in 1315 and 1316. Fleetwood, ut supra.

afterwards in the days when to drink it thick, according to an old rhyming proverb, was considered a wholesome luxury.\* As all in the household could not have been served with wine, and those to whom beer was allowed were probably the largest number, the daily consumption involved no trifling expenditure. When they brewed at home they drank it, as may be seen, as soon as it was ready; indeed, from its character, it does not appear fit for keeping any length of time. But the greater part of it was bought. Like wine, its price was settled by Assize, and rose or fell with the price of corn.† No notice is furnished of its being sold by the cask. The measure differed from that of wine; the sextary contained twelve *lagenæ* or gallons.‡ It was to be had in every town, and at alehouses by the road side. A frequent entry is *in potu per viam*. When trifling services called for remuneration to strangers, it was often paid in this kind, *in potu dato famulis* or *in potu garcionum*.§

FISH. The viands come next under review, and as days of abstinence or fasting, Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday in every week, Ember days and those of Lent, exceed the others,|| the varieties of fish then eaten are repeatedly

\* The writer can well recollect being told in very early life by a country gentleman who lived to an extreme age, and had been at the University of Oxford towards the latter part of the reign of George the First, that the strong beer then in vogue at the colleges was so glutinous that, when it had been spilt, the cup would in some degree adhere to the table.

† A difference was made between the sale in the town and country. In the assize of bread and ale it is enacted that, when a quarter of wheat is sold for 3s. or 3s. 4d., and a quarter of barley for 1s. 10d., and a quarter of oats for 1s. 4d., the brewers in towns may well afford to sell two *lagenæ* of beer for a penny, and out of town three or four gallons for a penny; and when in a town three gallons are sold for a penny, out of town they ought and are able to sell four. *Quando in burgo venduntur tres lagenæ ad denarium, extra debent vendi quatuor, et bene possunt*. The roll affords no evidence of compliance with this rule, though it exhibits some of these prices.

‡ *Galona* and *lagenæ* are used indiscriminately. Fleetwood, pp. 100, 101, does not seem to have been aware that twelve *lagenæ* of beer measure formed a sextary, and hence appears to have ventured upon a correction in error by reducing them to quarts.

§ Roll, Dec. 21, 30; Jan. 4, 7, 16, et alibi.

|| The canonical days are seldom infringed upon. See, however, Roll, Dec. 28, 30; Jan. 4, 25.



presenting themselves. There is no miscellaneous day in which both fish and flesh appear together; the meals are entirely of the one or the other. From the sea, the rivers, and the stagnant waters they had the following sorts: salmon, sturgeon, herrings in shoals, cured red and white, cod, haddock, hake, gurnet, ling, plaice, ragan, mackerel, barr, shad, sprats, stockfish, eels, from the elver to the conger, bream, pike, tench, trout, minnows; no shell fish but oysters and welks. The catalogue would have been increased, if the details had been furnished of what are generically classed as fresh-water fish (*piscis aquæ dulcis*), perch, roach, dace, gudgeons, &c. The tenants of the wear at Sugwas paid a rent (*angrou*\*) of salmon and eels; and bream and pike were caught in the large pool (*in magno vivario*) at Ross.† Pike and tench were kept in a stew at Ledbury.‡ Great part of the above sorts, fresh or salted, were to be met with, according to the season and circumstances, in the markets of London, Gloucester, Bristol, and Hereford, and were sometimes laid in by horse-loads.§ Salted eels, salmon, and herrings were to be bought in most towns. Some sorts are wanting that are found in the Countess of Leicester's roll, but she had freer access to the sea.

**MEAT.** This falls within a smaller compass. Carcasses and half carcasses of beef, mutton, veal, and pork occur in profusion. Joints or parts less than a quarter, subdivisions of a later date, are left unnoticed.¶ The house-steward seems to have been abhorrent of the word *agnus*, lamb; and has left it to be inferred that every age and condition of the sheep is included in the general latinised Norman term *multon*. Swine's flesh was in great request, from the brawny boar and bacon hog down to the sucking pig and its trotters. Kids were eaten in spring and summer when they were on the borders of Wales.¶ There was, however, one delicacy, the excellence of which, combined with the pleasure of obtaining it, has rendered it a favourite with every race and generation of the families of mankind from patriarchal

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\* Feb. 27; March 9, 12.

† March 17, 27.

‡ Feb. 26, 28.

§ Feb. 15, et alibi.

¶ Those of venison are distinguished, the side or flitch, the haunch and the rump. Roll, pp. 40, 41. Stowe, a. 1533, has preserved a memorandum of the commencement of the London butchers' retail trade by weight.

¶ In April and May.

times. It is true that "hunting had ceased to be a necessary means of procuring food, but it was a convenient resource on which the wholesomeness as well as luxury of the table depended."\* Venison of both kinds, in its due season, red and fallow deer (*cervus, damus*), fresh or preserved with salt, was always to be found in their larder. Occasionally they had the roe (*capriolus*). This produce of the chace and parks cost nothing but the care of the keepers,† the toil of the huntsmen, and the maintenance of the hounds, and therefore the estimate of its value, which in the gross could not have been inconsiderable, enters not into the account. A great portion of it, as well as of the other meats, was salted, and proved of essential service at times when stock was lean or scarce. It is remarkable that the smaller game with which the manors should have abounded, hares and rabbits, are totally passed over. Partridges are punctually recorded, but they are never prized.

POULTRY and WILD-FOWL. The table on flesh-days was never spread without a due proportion of poultry or birds of some kind, and it was evidently a rule observed if it were only by a dish of larks or pigeons. But the varieties expressed are comparatively few. Fowls of every size, capons, mallards (not often), geese (great favourites), and larks. The birds classed as *volatiles* might be more numerous. The domestic fowl was dressed in large quantities. To have counted twenty in one day might seem sufficient as one among so many other articles of provision, but days at Christmas and New-year's-tide may be pointed out in which they amounted to forty and upwards,‡ once to fifty-four,§ with no memorandum of any remaining. Though Adam Harpin the fowler is industrious among his nets and the young falcons,|| he does not contribute to keep down the cost of this branch of housekeeping so much as John the huntsman and his fellows in their department. Harpin might bring in many a brace of partridges, but we miss larger and other kind of wild-fowl from the wood and river, the moor and the open plain. Here, as at the board of the Countess of Leicester,¶ neither heron, nor swan, nor bittern, woodcock, snipe, nor plover, curlew nor quail, make their

\* Hallam, State of Europe, iii. 363.

† Fodder might, indeed, have been given to the deer in winter, when the does in particular were fattened in the parks, and said to be *de firmatione*. Roll, Nov. 1, Dec. 26. But this would belong to the bailiff's accounts.

‡ Roll, Dec. 25, 27; Jan. 3.

§ Jan. 8.

|| Pp. 15, 93.

¶ Manners and Household Expenses.

appearance by name. It may be suspected that their falconry was not, and reason may be given why it might not be, conducted in the highest style of the art;\* but it might be very successful in capturing the *volatiles* above mentioned, and we know not how many of the smaller sorts of birds might be among them. Pheasants were not yet common, though to be had in the London market.† The omission of the peacock is not strange; it was, perhaps, ever confined to state solemnities and extraordinary banquets of the great.

As we proceed towards the end of these daily details trifling entries will be observed falling in after the more substantial articles. Among them eggs are at all events numerically important. Fourteen hundred were provided for Easter-day, and yet more were bought on the following day.‡ FRUITS and VEGETABLES are few. Of the latter, onions, leeks, garlic, peas, beans, and potherbs, and in one instance salted or pickled greens.§ Fruits were chiefly foreign, and of the dried sorts, adapted to the fasts; figs, almonds and raisins, and nuts. The lemon and apple are just mentioned.|| No gardener is enrolled among the servants. Gardening and the training

\* The household books of Edward I. exhibit his passion for the sports of the field, and particularly for falconry. The nobility, and all who could afford to indulge in it, followed his example. The king had eleven falconers *ad duos equos*, and six *ad unum equum*. Rot. de Denar. Liberat. &c. a. 18 Ed. I. Carlton Ride. Amidst all his anxious schemes and active measures, he paid great attention to his hounds and hawks. The charges for attendance upon sick birds are curious, for watching and keeping them warm, and offering at shrines for their recovery. Edward ordered an offering for one of them to be made at the shrine of St. Thomas de Cantilupe in Hereford cathedral. *Thomeino filio Simonis Corbet* (the Corbets of Shropshire were great sportsmen) *pro uno quarterio carbonis empti ad arandum per .iiij. dies pro uno girfalcone regis infirmo .xvj.d.* *Eidem pro oblationibus quas fecit ad feretrum Sancti Thomæ Herefordensis et ad feretrum Sancti Thomæ Cantuariensis pro dicto falcone infirmo per preceptum regis .xj.d.* Rymer, Add. MSS. Mus. Brit. 4574, f. 239. A waxen image of the falcon was offered for the bird at the tomb at Hereford, and a journey made to bring him thither. *Eidem pro cera empti ad faciendum similitudinem girfalconis ad offerendum pro ipso ad Sanctum Thomam Herefordensem et pro aliis oblationibus factis ibidem pro eodem girfalcone .xviij.d.* *Thomeino Corbet existenti extra curiam per preceptum regis, primo per .viij. dies eundo de Dounameneye usque Sanctum Thomam Herefordensem peregre cum girfalcone regis, &c.* Id. ff. 253, 260.

† Jan. 10.

‡ Apr. 2, 3.

§ Mar. 17.

|| Dors. p. 134, Jan. 8, 12.

of orchards had made advances elsewhere in England, but no proof is offered in this document that they had done so in Herefordshire. According to William of Malmesbury kernel-fruits, as our countrymen term the wild ungrafted apple,\* had long before flourished in Gloucestershire. In both of these counties the Bishop held lands where grafted trees have since borne fruit in abundance. It will, however, be observed that in this very year he planted an orchard in Kent.†

Amidst all the parade of viands it would have helped much to fill up the picture if anything could have been detected immediately indicating their "form of cury." Pastry is now and then indulged in; once furmety.‡ Pottage and gruel bespeak the necessity of cups with covers, and saucers, often renewed to make up for losses by breakage.§ Spices were lavishly employed, not only to season their dishes, but in their beer and wines. In the store at Sugwas and in the purchases made at London|| may be observed aniseed, cinnamon, carraways, coriander, cubebs, cummin, draget (buck wheat), galingal, ginger, gromil, liquorice, pepper, and saffron, some of them in large quantities. These, with wax and sugar, were bought at the same time as the clothing. In all accounts of this kind sugar is classed with the spices, and appears to have been kept by the same dealers. The quantity used in this family proves that it had already partially usurped the place of honey. It was to be had in loaves or by the pound, and was sold in Hereford and Ross.¶ The stock laid in was issued (*de camera*) as it was wanted for the use of the cook, who kept a spice-box and a saffron-tub of his own.\*\* Strength and pungency of flavour were most to their taste in seasonings, and hence mustard was repeatedly in demand. As refinement was not a characteristic of the times, the coarse abundance of a well supplied diet is all that must be looked for, and in these pages it will indisputably be found.

Yet the review of this ample provision, however instructive, and it may be hoped intelligible, as far as it extends, leaves something wanting towards

\* *Non insitiva manus industria, sed ipsius solius hami natura.* See Archæol. Journal, v. 302.

† Dors. †11.

‡ Dec. 17; Jan. 3, 8, 9, 12; May 29; June 28.

§ Nov. 30; Jan. 27; July 15, 19.

|| Oct. 3; Dors. †5, 6 a, b.

¶ Mar. 16, 26.

\*\* Oct. 23; Dec. 25; Jan. 12.

a thorough realisation of the form, the manners, and customs of their meals. Little is to be learned from the illuminations of contemporary manuscripts. Mediaeval limners are usually very unsuccessful in treating such subjects; they are mannerists, and they do it in a stiff, conventional way. Behind a long board covered with a white cloth that displays with mechanical exactness the folds of the laundry, sit two or three formal personages in a row facing the spectator. Before them is a dish with a single fowl or fish, another with something like a hare or rabbit, and a third with a few apples or nondescript fruits. Here and there is a solitary knife put down at random. One or two servants at the sides are bringing in small dishes. In general there is nothing to convey an adequate representation of the profusion of such a table as this, or of such an attendance as must have been present at it, or have assisted in serving it. In our graphic record we are still somewhat at a loss. We have the food and great part of the gastronomical apparatus attached to it; the dishes, plates, and platters, by scores and hundreds, cups, saucers, and drinking cups, and the buttery tankards to fill them.\* That the whole of the eatables was ultimately disposed of there is convincing proof, but the reader who may be sitting down in idea to one of these entertainments may reasonably enquire as to the distribution of it; he may, perhaps, look round for the knives, forks, and spoons so indispensable to modern hands and mouths. Particulars of far less consequence are given in the roll, while these are for the most part passed over in silence. A single knife may be detected twice or thrice as belonging to the kitchen or pantry,† but nothing like the table-knife appears. A knife was an important personal possession.‡ A pair of them in this reign was a present from a princess to her father,§ a king. The Countess of Leicester had a pair. Each individual seems to have been provided at least with one. The fork was not unknown || as its companion, though the habitual adoption of it is universally referred to a

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\* Nov. 30; Jan. 9, 27; Mar. 25; May 5; Apr. 1; June 10.

† Dec. 3, 24; Feb. 26. - ‡ *Lives of the Princesses*, ii. 365.

§ *Lib. Quot. Contrarot. Gard. 28 Edw. I.*; Topham, p. 343.

|| *Unum par cultellorum cum manicis argenti aymellat' cum uno furchetto de cristallo* occur among the *jocalia* of the royal wardrobe. These were a gift to Edward I. from Mary of Bretagne, Countess of St. Pol.

much later period. The spoon (*scutellum*) was certainly in use, but the few that are here read of are of silver,\* and as such appropriated, it may be believed, to the high table.

It has been shewn that joints are never noticed, but there can be no risk in assuming that a first dissection into joints took place in the larder or kitchen; and then it may be asked, where were the secondary and immediate carvers for so many? We naturally look to the squires. Chaucer tells us of such an one in after times, that he

“ Kerfte before his fader at the table.”†

And here certainly were enough of them for that or any other office that became a squire. But by whatever hands this operation was performed on behalf of any or the whole of the numerous party, the probability is, in the case of meat, that every one unsheathed his own knife, whether within or without the hall, and that the process was completed by the aid of skewers and fingers. This, in part, accounts for the use of the lavatory in one of the halls.‡

Other passages shew some of the economy of domestic arrangements. The dresser and penthouse or covered way (*dressorium, penticia*), between the door of the larder and that of the hall, over against the kitchen at Prestbury,§ bespeak a precaution that the dishes should be properly set out and protected in their transit from the kitchen to the hall. The fuel for cookery was charcoal and smaller wood, cut, burned, and fagotted by the bailiffs in the woods and coppices (*carbo, busca*).|| There are the fire-places for roasting (*astra in coquina*),¶ the furnace and pots of different sizes for boiling (*fornax, cacabi*),\*\* the flue or chimney (*caminus*),†† the sink? (*stannum*),‡‡ the skimmer (*scumarius*), the dredger or chopping knife (*micator*),§§ canvas for strainers (*canabacium*), and fine linen for

\* Dors. ||62 q.

† Prol. to Canterb. Tales, The Squier, 2.

‡ P. 180.

§ Dec. 25.

|| Oct. 11, 20; Dec. 20, 29, et alibi. Fleetwood states that sea-coal was not in common use in London before about the middle of the sixteenth century. Chron. Prec. p. 118. No trace of the Forest of Dean coal is detected in the Roll.

¶ Oct. 11; Apr. 9.

\*\* Dec. 25; Dors. ||41.

†† Dec. 25.

‡‡ April 9; June 16.

§§ Jan. 12.

sieves or safes to protect the meat in summer from the flies (*linea tela*).\* The benches covered with mats in the hall at London (*scanni cum natis*),† and the rushes (*scirpi*),‡ with which the floors were strewed in the country, are the accommodations of a rude style of society, while the expensive silver plate and enormous single table-cloth § bought during this year, are tokens of a sumptuous and hospitable age.

If, tempted by these observations arising out of the recital of the household expenditure, the editor has slipped aside too far into conjecture, or wandered too tediously among trifles, it will be more than time to return.

The expenses of the roll include almost daily those of the HORSES, very frequently those of the HOUNDS. The latter were not idle appendages, nor inconsistent with the ecclesiastical character of the owner. On the contrary they were more than allowable, since they were highly useful and even necessary in collecting and turning to profit the wild stock upon his manors, and thus contributing to his annual resources. They may be truly said to have earned their oatmeal (*avena ad pastum canum*).|| To them he owed the venison so often cited in the diary. It has already been remarked that a great portion of it passed through the salting vat; and thus became a convenient standing dish at home or on travel all the year round. Our predecessors of this æra were critically expert in all matters relative to deer-hunting, and were closely observant of the appointed seasons. That for the hind or doe began on Holy-wood day.¶ Accordingly the huntsmen are out in October. From that time, throughout Martinmas, when the household moved from Sugwas to Bosbury, in the neighbourhood of some of the best hunting ground, and up to Christmas, when the Bishop again shifted his quarters to Prestbury, great havock was made among the female deer. This season lasted till Candle-

\* July 10. † P. 129. ‡ Oct. 11, 20. § Dors. ||59, 60 q.

|| Richard, huntsman of the Bishop of Ely in 1216, had two horses and four grooms, fifteen greyhounds, and a pack of thirty-one hounds. These had an allowance of bread or meal when necessary, and were wont to hunt in the Bishop's chase for flesh. Rot. Litt. Claus. p. 251. If this were on their own account, it seems to have been an extravagant way of maintaining them. But the see itself was in a neglected state. Robert of York was Bishop elect for five years, but was never consecrated, from 1214 to 1219. Godwin in Ely.

¶ Manwood, Forest Laws, p. 103.

mas, and that of the hart or buck began at Midsummer. At that time they are found renewing their sport with vigour,\* and one of the last entries on the roll shews the care taken of the dogs, and a charge for drink supplied to the men while they were out under a July sun in the chase.† Though the Bishop was sometimes annoyed by the depredations of poachers, he appears careful not to have permitted his own pack to offend his neighbours,‡ and an instance occurs of his paying damages when injury had been done by them.§ No mention is made of a kennel; the hounds were put out at walk in the vill among the inhabitants while he was at Whitborne;|| and he was so far from coming under the satirist's censure of riding to his manors with "an hepe of houndes"¶ at his heels, that they are never observed in attendance upon him during official journeys; and it appears doubtful whether, when he took his way to Bishop's Castle, where, it is believed, there were deer of his own, and fresh venison was brought to him

\* June 20, 29; July 1, 16.

† July 21.

‡ Feb. 23.

§ Dec. 16.

|| July 19.

¶ Vision of Piers Ploughman, *passus sextus*. Antony a Bek, the active contemporary Bishop of Durham, confidential friend, adviser, and favourite of Edward I. was, according to his biographer, *in nullo loco mansurus, de austro in boream; et equorum, canum et avium sectator*. Rob. de Greystanes, *Hist. Dunelm. in Anglia Sacra*, i. 746. Hunting was canonically disallowed to the clergy *voluptatis causa*, but not *recreationis* or *valeitudinis gratia*, which was permitted *etiam episcopo*. See Reliquiæ Spelmannicæ, Answer to Apologie for Archbishop Abbott, p. 109, where that writer has discussed the unfortunate case with his usual ability and learning. The abbat and monks of St. Alban's were permitted to have free warren in 1240, "for it was lawful, as appeareth in the Clementines, *Tit. de statu monast.* || *Porro a venatoribus*; but it is there expressly forbidden that either they should hunt in it themselves, or be present when others do hunt, or that they should keep *canes venaticos aut infra monasteria seu domos quas inhabitant, aut eorum clausuras*." Id. p. 207. The biographer of Sampson, Abbat of St. Edmundsbury, touches this point tenderly and in a pleasing manner. *Plures parcos fecit, quos bestiis replevit, venatorem cum canibus habens; et, superveniente aliquo hospite magni nominis, sedebat cum monachis suis in aliquo saltu nemoris, et videbat aliquando canes currere, sed de venatione nunquam vidi eum gustare*. Chron. Joc. de Brakelonda, p. 21. Among the offences of John Geraud, Prior of Leominster, brought forward at the visitation and correction of that house in 1287, it was alleged that *Idem prior vitam deserens religiosam cum canibus, avibus et personis inhonestis indifferenter, dum ibi erat, venationem saltuosam exercuit et clamosam, viris ecclesiasticis et maxime religiosis prohibitam omni jure*. Reg. Swinf. f. 43 b.



during his sojourn,\* he had any other than common watch-dogs with him.† It must, however, be added that this was during the *mortua seysona*, when no game of that kind should have been caught. Upon the death of a Bishop his hounds were due, at common law, as a mortuary to the king.‡

Considering the unsettled life that they led, a strong stud of horses seems to have been equally essential to him. Those that are daily charged to account were not probably in all instances his own; they might receive additions from visitors, or be borrowed or hired. The average amount when he was halting at Sugwas, Bosbury, Colwall, or Whitborne, appears to have been between thirty and forty, and it was nearly the same during visitations. The journey to London, in the depth of winter, required more. At all times there were scarcely fewer than twenty in the stable, generally a greater number; and on feast-days, as at Christmas fifty-five, and at Easter, and once in Ross,§ they were as many as seventy. The expense in oats alone, therefore, must have been very considerable. They had hay from Michaelmas 1289, to June 17, 1290; were shifted to grass from that day till July 10, when they were again brought back to hay, and so continued up to the period where the roll concludes. While they were upon green meat they never were without their feed (*præbenda*): thus they would be always ready and in condition to work. They consisted of draught-horses, sumpters, nags, and palfreys. The stable furniture is distinctly exhibited in various places, saddles, bridles, cart and sumpter-saddles, with different articles of harness. Grooms, drivers, sumpter-pages, and farriers accompany the frequent removals, all under the direction of the stud-groom (*marescallus*). They had several vehicles, the chamber|| and kitchen carts,

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\* May 11. † P. 87, note f. ‡ Whitaker, *Hist. of Whalley*, p. 171. § Mar. 15.

|| The *carecta camera* or wardrobe carriage had a *præequitator* or postillion; and it is not improbable, neither does it derogate from the Bishop's horsemanship, that he might occasionally have indulged in the relaxation of a ride in it, for it may not be unworthy of remark that seats and cushions are in one place associated with it (Dors. ||51.) though the writer has not specified the exact purpose to which they were applied. Such a mode of travelling might be uncommon, but was not unknown. A specimen of a coeval carriage of this kind, with a postillion, is exhibited in more than one instance in the remains of the Painted Chamber at Westminster. *Vetusta Monumenta*, VI. plates xxxi. 3, xxxiv. 10. The latter in the story of Naaman is very elegant; but the driver in both cases is represented on the off instead of the near horse, according to the most approved modern mode.

the short and long cart or waggon, and these, with the quantity of luggage that they contained, would require the strength of able horses to drag them through such roads as they often traversed in that wet and miry year. It will hardly admit of a doubt that, notwithstanding his habitual infirmity, the Bishop performed the greater part of his long excursions at this time on the saddle. His horse was apparently disabled before the commencement of the roll, and inquiry was made in many quarters, in Hereford and Gloucester, and different places whither they resorted, for a fresh one some time in vain. Several of his friends, among them the Abbat of Gloucester,\* were unsuccessful in their endeavours to suit him. At last he had the good fortune to meet with a bay horse that had been the property of Sir Gilbert le Sauvage, deceased, for which he paid 100*s.*† For a colt for his own riding he gave a larger sum.‡ It may be inferred that his squires were mounted, from the circumstance of his having found a nag for Baseville, in the room of one that he had lost the first year of coming into his service.§ If so, it will scarcely be believed that his chaplains in waiting went on foot, or that this was the case with the *marescallus*, or the huntsmen, who would have had little chance with the deer. A horse was bought for Simon, one of the Scelungs,|| to travel into Kent, or take abroad; and Thomas de la Dane was constantly upon the road between Herefordshire and London, London and Kent. A trainer was hired for colts, and had spurs to break them in.¶ The maintenance of horses, attached as they were at all times to the household, is one of its perpetual sources of expense in every situation. Many are the places of resort or temporary abode to which the diary refers, while it shews how the master and his servants and animals fared at each of them, how each supplied their wants while they stayed there, and how what was lacking in one manor was brought from another. That stay, however, was often of no great duration. The Bishop, indeed, seems to have wanted no earthly advantage but that of a more fixed habitation. The short but expressive sentence, “*nulli certa domus*,” that an Italian prince caused to be placed over the entrance of his palace, might, in general with incontrovertible propriety, be inscribed upon every manse ecclesiastical, whose occupants are

\* P. 146.

† Dors. ||47 a.

‡ Id. ||60 o.

§ Id. ||47 a.

|| Id. ||10.

¶ Id. ||50.

constantly changing; but it would have derived increased and peculiar force from its application to the condition of a Bishop of Hereford in those days. It is almost impossible to touch upon this point without once more adverting to the country in which his lot was cast.\* If he had so preferred, or had been permitted to select a more permanent resting-place, he had ample choice in the beauty and fertility of the land before him. That scriptural passage that he would frequently have had to recite, *Funes ceciderunt mihi in præclaris: etenim hæreditas mea præclara est mihi*,† would have been most applicable to his case. He had residences more than enough for security and pleasure, on fine rivers and in fair parks, Sugwas and Ross on the Wye, and Whitborne on the Teme, Bosbury, Colwall, and Prestbury, amidst corn and meadow land, graced with timber, and backed by the slopes of Malvern, or the hills that rise from the vale of Gloucester. And yet a great part of his time he was migratory as a Tartar or an Arab; but not this year alone, nor he alone. The prelates of these days were ever moving to and fro. Could they all have been thus itinerant by choice, though some might have been so inclined by mere love of change, they might have justly shared in the reproof of the satirist frequently cited.‡ But it arose rather from the character of their position and their professional duties; from the condition of a charge that as to property and pastoral superintendence required frequent, long, and laborious travelling, and from canonical obligations, which often called for local and personal inspection in remote parts of extensive dioceses. Be this as it may, the effect in Swinfield's case is visible. Looking at his wanderings as set forth in his registers and in this roll, and the many roofs beneath which he sheltered, it is difficult to answer the question, which was really his home?

Some separate notice may now be taken of the endorsement. This is drawn up in sections, each headed with a marginal title, but often com-

\* See p. xviii.

† Psalm xv. 6.

‡ The attack of the Ploughman of Malvern is rather directed against the regular clergy.

Ac mený day men telleþ. boþe monkes and chanouns  
 Han ride out of a ray. hure ruel revel holde  
 And priked a boute on palfrais. fro places into maners.

Visio, passus sextus.

The places are *loci*, religious houses.

prising particulars that might hardly be looked for under it, inserted, as appears, merely from the necessity of finding a place for them somewhere. It were unfair towards the keeper of these accounts to deny that arrangement has been attempted; and though this has not been always satisfactorily carried out, it was, no doubt, such as proved at the time sufficient for practical purposes. The endorsement has two principal divisions of winter and summer, and some of the references by dates connect it very usefully with the inner part of the roll, but they are so distributed and overlaid as to give it an air of greater confusion than really exists. Much of the information communicated in this part has already been incorporated into the preceding statements; and, as most of it is explained in the commentary, and as it will be occasionally used in illustrating the diary, a brief and tabular view of it may be all that is requisite here.

Sections ||1 to 6 inclusive. Expenses of winter clothing of the Bishop and his dependants. Spices and wax bought by Thomas de la Dane.

||7 to 9. Expenses of youths educating at Oxford, and other charges relating to the University.

||10 to 13. Moneys laid out by De la Dane for travelling and apparel to sundry persons in Kent, and for the construction of buildings at Womenswold in that county.

||14, 15. Salaries to the Bishop's champion and his advocates.

||16. Expenses of messengers and proctors at the Roman court.

||17, 18. Repairs and improvements of the Bishop's inn at St. Mary Montalt in London, and the premises attached thereunto.

||19, 20. Advances made by money-lenders of Sienna in London, for equipping Gilbert de Swinfield, Chancellor of Hereford, the Bishop's nephew, on his going abroad.

||21. More, through the same hands, for the use of John de Swinfield, Archdeacon of Hereford, another of his nephews, residing at Paris.

||22 to 30. The winter *camera* or wardrobe account, a most undigested heap of materials. The commentary offers some clue for tracing them.

||31 to 35. Gifts, a more intelligible section than the preceding, bearing upon the prelate's cast of mind and the habits of the age, viz. donations to dependants, needy students, friars, messengers, musicians, gratuities for services, and charities to the poor.

||36. Discharge of a debt relating to the purchase of some land at Womenswold.

||37. An allowance to John de Kemeseye, shewing the feeling of his master towards him, of which more will be seen hereafter.

||38. Purchase of a small property in Ledbury, and consideration paid in adjustment of a controversy between the Bishop and the Prior and convent of Lantony nigh Gloucester.

||39. Presents to the king and queen and certain court favourites at Westminster. Cost of entertaining the Countess of Gloucester and Abbat of Reading while they were travelling.

||40. Arrears of Peter-pence paid to the clerk of the pope's chamber, followed oddly by

||41. The purchase of kitchen cauldrons.

||42 to 45. List of the household, with their winter wages.

||46. Charges for works of husbandry.

||47. For horses.

||48 to 52. Summer *camera* or wardrobe account, as immethodical and adverse to disentanglement as the former, ||22 to 30.

||53. A special allowance to the high-steward for disbursements on a mission to the king at Rockingham to defeat the encroachments of the citizens of Hereford on the rights of the Bishop's tenants in the forest of Haywood.

||54. Summer clothing for the Bishop and his household.

||55, 56. More laid out at Womenswold by Thomas de la Dane before Whitsuntide.

||57. Cancelled.\*

||58. More allowed to the high steward towards his Rockingham expedition.

||59. Cost of a large table-cloth, charged separately by way of distinction.

||60, 61. Two panells or sections of miscellaneous entries for purchases in which friar J. de Wormsley was employed as agent. Some of these are curious, and among them, thrust as it were into an obscure corner, are three pieces of cloth for the use of the poor.

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\* See pp. 186, 187, Commentary, where 62 l. is in error for 63 l.

¶62. A second and concluding list of the persons composing the household, with their summer's half-yearly wages.

Perhaps it will not escape observation that the sums total of the roll and the endorsement, though the former is incomplete, amount collectively to nearly double the income returned in the taxation. It is well for an editor that he is not obliged to reconcile every difficulty arising from his subject. Had Swinfield's episcopal profits in temporals and spirituals been all that he had to depend upon, and had every year resembled that of 1289-90, he must, at any rate, have been incurring a very heavy debt. We may, however, be satisfied, according to the suggestion previously offered,\* that his income, as given in to the Commissioners, was estimated rather upon a rateable than an actual value; and moreover that he might have accidental profits not therein recorded, or annual private resources in other quarters.

It must not, however, be overlooked in the balance of 1289-90, that the buildings and alterations going on at Womenswold, and the new-year's

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\* P. xxvii. This may derive some additional confirmation from three several returns of the issues of the episcopate made by the receivers for the crown, during the three avoidances that occurred prior to the consecrations of Bishops John le Breton, Thomas de Cantilupe, and Richard de Swinfield. They are inserted in Reg. Swinf. f. 222 b, among sundry articles of the year 1316.

|| *De vacationibus episcopatus Herefordensis.*

|| *De exitibus episcopatus Herefordensis, a .x<sup>o</sup>. die Decembris anno liij<sup>o</sup> regis Henrici usque .xxj. diem Aprilis anno prædicto antequam liberaretur Johanni le Bretun .CC.lxx.li'. xiiij.d'. ob'. In computo Reginaldi de Acle. In rotulo tertio rotulorum computorum per .xix. septimanas.*

|| *De exitibus ejusdem episcopatus Herefordensis ab .xj<sup>o</sup>. die Maii anno tertio usque .xxvij. diem Junii anno eodem antequam liberaretur magistro Thomæ de Cantilupo .CC.liij.li'. xv.s'. iiij.d'. ob'. In computo Hugonis de Kendale. In rotulo iiij<sup>o</sup>. rotulorum computorum per .xj. septimanas et quinque dies.*

|| *De exitibus ejusdem episcopatus a festo Sancti Bartholomæi anno decimo ante, quam liberaretur magistro Ricardo de Swjneffeuð, usque octavum diem Januarii anno .xj<sup>o</sup>. CCC.lxxi.li'. ij.s'. v.d'. ob'. In computo Walteri de Rudmerleje. In rotulo .xij<sup>o</sup>. rotulorum computorum per .xix. septimanas et iiij<sup>o</sup>. dies.*

In the sheriff's instructions respecting issues (*exitus*) they are thus defined: *Sciat vicecomes quod redditus, blada in grangia et omnia mobilia præter equitaturam, indumenta et utensilia domus continentur sub nomine exituum.* Stat. of the Realm, 13 Ed. I. c. 39.

presents at Court, are to be classed under the head of charges extraordinary, not to recur every year.

The title of the roll, which at the opening of this abstract was taken as a guide, has led to the preceding discussion upon the bishoprick, its means, their application to the existing household, and the mode of living adopted among them. It now brings us to the Bishop himself, his chaplain-clerk, the character of the eventful year in which this document was compiled, and lastly an illustrated view of the contents of the diary.

The family of Swinfield, Swynefeld or Swynefeud, according to the then uncertain orthography of proper names, are said to have derived their origin from the parish of Swinefield, now Swingfield, five miles north of Folkestone, in the county of Kent. In that county, if not in that immediate part of it, Richard Swinfield is generally believed to have been born.\* Of his parentage and the earlier circumstances of his life no memorials have been found. Greater part of the youths who were destined for the Anglican church began their course of academic studies at the schools of the different fraternities established more particularly in the University of Oxford,† then in high repute, and were members of their orders. The two powerful bodies of Franciscans and Dominicans in the latter half of the thirteenth century were in open rivalry, and eagerly contended for pre-eminence.‡ Upon the whole the former were most popular, and had secured the highest patronage.§ Pope Nicholas III. who died in 1280, made more bishops|| from among them than from any

\* Hasted, *Hist. of Kent*, III. 350, affirms he was born there.

† The most fashionable mode of finishing an ecclesiastical education, with those who could afford it, was to send the student to Paris (*Pegge's Life of Grosseteste*, 4to. p. 13) or Orleans. The primates Kilwardby and Peckham, as well as Bishop Cantilupe, had passed through this course, and Swinfield sent his nephews Gilbert and John to France for that purpose. (*Dors.* ||10.) Master Peter de Cors, nephew of Aquablanca, dean of Hereford, a portionist of the church of Bromyard, had licence from the Bishop, dated Oct. 12, 1290, to study for one year at Orleans. *Reg. Swinf.* f. 68 a. Licences of this sort were frequently granted to incumbents who had not completed their academical education.

‡ *Dors.* p. 33.

§ Wadding, *Annales Minorum*. Romæ, 1733, fol. t. V. p. 227, a. 1289, observes that Nicholas IV. conferred many privileges upon them in this year.

|| *Raynaldus, Annal. Eccl.* in a. 1280, No. 27. Saint Louis divided his patronage between them, and had a confessor of each fraternity.

other order, and they could boast of many persons of eminence\* in character, ability, and station. At the time immediately under consideration, the reigning pontiff, Nicholas IV.† the late and present Archbishops of Canterbury, with other churchmen of rank, were Minorites.‡ There is some probability, though the evidence on which it rests is rather inferential than direct, that Swinfield himself may have been of that order; for it is plain that he shewed them tokens of marked attention. As they permitted their members, according to the will of their founder, to be employed to a certain extent in manual labour.§ a friar, one J. de Wormesley,|| who served Swin-

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\* Bacon and Duns Scotus, with his scholar Ockham, were of this order, and belong to this century. Henry, *Hist. of Engl.* 4<sup>to</sup>. 1781, IV. pp. 482, 483. Wadding, *ut supra*, p. 240, has collected other names, but they are less known.

† He was General of the Franciscans. Matthew of Westminster, *Flores Hist.* a. 1292, with no friendly feeling towards this reigning Pope or the Franciscans, preserves a sarcastic epitaph composed upon his death in the above year.

*Gloria, laus, speculum fratrum, Nicholae, minorum,  
Te vivente vigent, te moriente cadunt.*

And afterwards describes their conduct at this period in terms of jealous reprobation. *Cujus tempore fratres de ordine Minorum papam pro sole habentes, lunam archiepiscopum Cantuariensem nominantes, cæperunt sua cornua erigere in universum orbem, nulli parentes ordini vel honori in provincia Anglicana; nam monachos et professores patris Benedicti Wigornie et Westmonaster. opido (sic) immisericorditer per potentiam et audaciam infestabant.*

‡ Kilwardby and Peckham. Godwin is a little confused about the former, styling him in one place a Minorite, and in another the provincial of the friars preachers, a term commonly appropriated to the Dominicans, though no less applicable to the others. Much of the popularity of the Franciscans arose from their zeal in preaching the Crusade, for which preparations were now on foot. It caused them to be abhorred of the Saracens, and at the capture of Acre every one of them that could be found there was put to the sword. Raynaldus in a. 1291. Their convent stood not far from the breach by which the enemy entered. See the plan of Acre from Sanutus. *Gesta Dei, Bongars, II.* in *Archæologia*, XXI. 142.

§ The words of the will of Saint Francis are said to have been, "I wrought with my hands, and I will expressly that all the brethren apply to some honest occupation." Saint Foix, *Essais Hist.* II. 207, in Blakeway and Owen, *Hist. of Shrewsbury*, II. 446.

|| Dors. p. 188. He was not a domestic on hire, but had presents of what was necessary or useful to him; and this corresponds with the rules of the order.



field, is for that reason believed to have been one of them; and while the Bishop in two instances bestowed pittances upon the Austin friars at Ludlow, and the friars preachers in London, he sent presents of the same kind altogether to a greater amount to the Minorites of Bridgnorth, London, and Hereford.\* What is still more pointed, he selected them in preference to other religious houses then in Hereford to honour them as his hosts on Palm Sunday,† the only day on which he is recorded as having dined in that city during this year. Besides, among the few qualities by which he has been hitherto described, is one common to the Minorites, of having been a preacher. More than five centuries and a half have elapsed since those eyewitnesses who could have related the story of his earlier life are departed, and the veil which conceals it is only lifted about the year 1264, when, according to his own account, he entered into the service of Thomas de Cantilupe, eleven years previous to the advancement of that prelate to the see of Hereford.‡ This event therefore must have occurred in 1275. It is not very clear in what capacity he was first attached to him; but if he began in that of chaplain, he certainly afterwards became his secretary, and that his character and conduct were such as to have secured his favour is shewn by several proofs that he gave of it. During the years 1277 and 1279 he collated him successively to two prebendal stalls in his cathedral. In the latter instance both Swinfield and Martin de Gayo, who held the prebend, and was dangerously ill, were abroad in the diocese of the Bishop of Lausanne; and Cantilupe wrote to him requesting and empowering him upon the expected vacancy by the death of de Gayo to collate Swinfield to it, whom he commends as a person in many respects signally distinguished for his moral qualities and acquirements (*moribus et scientia multipliciter insignitus*). This was in April, 1279, and he caused him to be inducted by proxy at Hereford in the middle of May following.§ No further notice is taken of his having obtained any other promotion in the diocese of Hereford during the life of Cantilupe; but he was now, perhaps, on the road to preferment in another quarter, if, indeed, he had not already acquired it. A remarkable memorandum appears in the register of 1280, 15 kal. May,|| exhibiting

\* Dors. pp. 148, 152. Thomas de Swinfield was warden of the Friars Minors at Bristol. Reg. Swinf. f. 62 b.

† Roll, Mar. 26.

‡ Reg. Swinf. f. 64 b.

§ Reg. Cant. f. 44, 52 b.

|| Id. f. 20 b, an irregular entry cancelled.

the earnest desire of Cantilupe to advance him. James, or as he is elsewhere styled John, de Aquablanca, had both resigned and had incurred sentence of deprivation with respect to his archdeaconry of Salop; and Swinfield, at this time also absent, and described as Chancellor of Lincoln, was collated to it by proxy, with a singular proviso, "if he can accept it."\* The sentence of Aquablanca and his resignation, together with the arrangement in favour of Swinfield, did not however take effect; but in the meanwhile he continues rising in the Church, and in 1281 and 1282 is the prebendary of Saint Pancras and archdeacon of London. The latter was an appointment of much honour and responsibility, for it gave him precedence over every other archdeacon in that diocese, with jurisdiction over all the parishes of London and its liberties, which so lately as in the reign of Richard I. had amounted to 110 churches. His stall was on the left side of the cathedral choir, opposite to that of the dean; and the church of Saint Leonard, Shoreditch, was probably in Swinfield's day attached to the office.† Such was his ecclesiastical position when Cantilupe, harassed by his dispute with Peckham, who in a most vindictive spirit had excommunicated him, as well as by vexatious suits at the court of Rome, set out for Italy never more to return. On this expedition he took Swinfield with him in his retinue, described by his biographer as the "chief manager of his affairs, his secretary, first in authority above the rest, a prelate of great parts and virtuous conversation." The journey was attended with disastrous consequences, and Swinfield had the grief to see his honoured master expire in a foreign land. At an inn at Monte Fiascone, near Civita Vecchia, and in the Florentine territory, Cantilupe was detained on his return by a fever that put an end to his anxieties and his life. He died August 25, 1282, aged 63,‡ and the care of his remains immediately de-

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\* The haste with which this was done might have been in bar of some Papal provision, a subject that will be more fully explained hereafter.

† Newcourt, Repertorium, I. 59, 97.

‡ *Life and Gests*, pp. 208, 209, 262. His obit was established by Swinfield, with consent of the dean and chapter of Hereford, on the morrow of St. Bartholomew the Apostle, the day of his death, and it was to be first kept in 1288. *Reg. Swinf.* f. 45 b. His festival was afterwards ordered by Papal bull to be observed Oct. 2. *Reg. Orleton*, f. 39 a. *Raynaldus*, *Ann. Eccl.* t. XV. 46, in an. 1320. *Bullarium Roman.* I. 223, ed. 1673.

volved upon Swinfield. His flesh, the integuments of his body, with their contents, all but the heart, were deposited with much solemnity in the chapel of a religious house at Santo Severo, near Florence, Jerome d'Ascoli, a cardinal, afterwards Pope Nicholas IV. delivering a funeral discourse there.\* His heart and bones, brought home by his faithful secretary and executor,† were consigned, the former to the college of Bons-hommes at Ashridge in Buckinghamshire, the foundation of his devoted friend and admirer Edmund Earl of Cornwall; the latter to a tomb in his cathedral of Hereford, whither, at the very time of which this is written, crowds of pilgrims and invalids were resorting from all parts of the kingdom, and presenting such an abundance of offerings that the wax alone became an object of contention between the treasurer and the prebendaries of the church, which was only settled in the chapter-house by a formal deed of agreement and apportionment under the hands of the disputants.‡

Three months and six days of vacancy elapsed, during which the see was in the hands of the king. Richard de Swinfield, S.T.P. was then chosen to succeed to it; his election bears date Dec. 1, and his confirmation Dec. 31. On Jan. 8, the temporalities were restored, and he was consecrated at Gloucester March 7, 1282-3. He sat thirty-four years, and dying March 15, 1316,§ was buried, it is said, in the cathedral, where a mural monument beneath an arch in the north wall of the eastern transept is still shewn as the place of his sepulture. || His age is unknown. At his decease he left

\* Life and Gests, p. 202. Reg. Swinf. f. 64 b. Mosheim, Eccl. Hist. III. 184, ed. 1825.

† The other executors were William de Montfort, some time precentor of Hereford and dean of St. Paul's, London, and Sir Walter de Rudmarleye. Reg. Cant. f. 65 b.

‡ APP. No. X.

§ Godwin. Other authorities place his death in 1317, and on the 12th of March. It was in March 1316-17. The last entry in his Register, f. 208 a, is dated March 4, 1316, at Bosbury, where in all likelihood he died. The first entry in Orleton's Register bears date July 2, 1217. The obit of Swinfield was provided for by the dean and chapter in his life-time by an instrument dated in the chapter-house on St. Margaret's day, 1302. Four marks were to be annually distributed out of the proceeds of their church of Stanton Long (Roll, p. 77), three to the canons and one to the vicars on the anniversary of his decease. Much good feeling pervades the expression of this deed, in which they acknowledge the many benefits they had experienced at his hands. APP. No. XVII.

|| It is marked No. 13 in Britton's ground-plan of the church. Hist. and Antiq. of Hereford Cathedral.

several valuable ornaments, vestments, and books to the episcopal chapel.\* Two clauses, all that have probably been preserved of his will, detail this and another bequest, and, together with a bond and release given by his successor to the executors, afford some insight into the state of his affairs. The scanty provision for due celebration of divine service, which he confesses had proved a source of annoyance to him, he had thus remedied; and in consideration of the cost of these purchases, and what he had laid out in expensive repairs of his buildings, particularly the castle,† he expressed a hope that his executors and heirs might be exonerated from the charge of dilapidations. He also provided that the sum of 500 marks, that he himself had, according to ancient usage,‡ received on his accession to the see, should be paid over to the next Bishop. But so prosperous was the condition of

\* The expression *in capella* seems to be confined to the private episcopal chapel, and not to extend to the cathedral. APP. No. XVIII.

† The endorsement ||17, contains evidence of his attention to the inn at St. Mary Montalt, and the oaks that he procured from Garganus in the Welsh country point to their application in repairs at Bishop's Castle. Id. ||34.

‡ *Ab antiquo*. The earliest account that has been found of this arrangement is given in an *Inspecimus* of Stephen (de Shorne), dean of Hereford, and his chapter, reciting a deed of Ralph de Maydenstane declaratory of what had passed between him and Hugh Foliot, the preceding Bishop, and enjoining the usage, so far as in him lay, upon every future holder of the see.—APP. No. XIX. A sum of money was paid over to each incoming prelate from the executors of his predecessor for seed to sow upon the manors in case the ground should not have been cropped at the time, otherwise the crop itself was to be taken. Besides this a certain number of heads of stock, with carriages and implements of husbandry, was transferred successively from the one to the other. A schedule was kept, and any deficiency was to be made good. This rule was observed by the king when he held the temporalities during any avoidance.—Prynne, *Papall Usurp.* III. 311. In p. 21 of the roll is a panel or list referable to this custom; and the following is a schedule of live stock passed on from Maydenstane to Aquablanca. ||*Memorandum de bobus receptis a Radulpho quondam Episcopo Herefordensi per manum domini Petri quondam Episcopi Herefordensis. Apud From' .xj. boves. It' de Upton .x. boves .j. equum. Item de Estenor' .xij. boves. Item de Ledebury .xij. boves .j. equum. Item de Prestebury .xxx. boves .iij. equos. Item de Sevenhampton .viij. boves. Item de Barton juxta Herefordiam .xvj. boves .v. equos. Item de Topesley .viij. boves .iiij. affros. Item de Sugwas .xij. boves .vj. affros. Item de Ros .vj. boves. Item de Whȳteburn' .vj. boves. Item de Bosebury .xij. boves .j. affrum. Item de Colewell .vj. boves .j. affrum. Item de Hompton .viij. boves .iiij. affros. Item de Ledebury North .xxx. boves .ij. affros. Reg. Swinf. f. 25 a.*

his manors that Orleton, who came after him, engaged to take from the executors' hands the surplussage of stock, crop, and utensils, Swinfield's private property, at a valuation of 744 pounds sterling, besides granting them a release from any demand for repairs of Bishop's Castle, or any other of the episcopal buildings whatever,\* a striking proof of the increased value of his temporals since the estimate of them returned under Pope Nicholas, at any rate an indication of the good management of his private concerns.

The information offered by Godwin respecting him is very defective in character and incident; he tells us no more than that he was "a Kentish man born, one very eloquent, and a great preacher," and this in part he had probably gathered from some panegyric that, when he wrote, appears to have been attached to his tomb. That tomb, now much decayed, exhibits him in his episcopal habit, with mitre and pastoral staff;† but the half-obliterated inscription, that in letters of some antiquity is just legible under the arch of the recess in which it stands, gives merely his country, his office, and his name. "Ricardus, dictus de Swynfeld, Cantuariensis diocesis, quondam Episcopus Herefordensis." However, since he is not without what may be termed literary remains in the registered acts of his episcopate, these auxiliaries to the illustration of the Roll may contribute something towards an estimate of him as a prelate and a man.

\* APP. NO. XX.

† He holds in his left hand a small model of a turreted edifice, and this is known to be designatory of a founder, one who has added to or restored an ecclesiastical fabric. But in what way it applies to this Bishop with reference to his church of Hereford is yet to be ascertained. This was a glorious era of church architecture, and apparently about the time of Swinfield, though the period is not exactly given, an attempt had been made to restore a part of the cathedral. The dean and chapter had taken the advice of experienced architects as to the safety of the old foundation, and upon their assurance had expended upwards of twenty thousand marks in building upon it. The ill-advised attempt proved a failure, and in Orleton's time the new work threatened to fall to the ground. It is not improbable that Swinfield had assisted them handsomely in this ineffectual endeavour at restoration. See the "Statement of the condition and circumstances of the Cathedral of Hereford in the year 1841," by the late Dean Merewether. 8vo. Hereford, 1842, p. 71, where a bull of Pope John XXII. is given stating these facts.

So far as can be collected from these and other sources, Bishop Swinfield was a consistent upholder of the doctrines and discipline of the Church in which he held this high appointment, and a firm but temperate champion of her rights and privileges. Many abuses had crept in; adverse claims and lawless infringements upon her property called for continual vigilance. Though he was not so stirring a reformer as his master had been, and did not involve himself in so many disputes, he had many controversies forced upon him by others rather than of his own seeking, in dealing with which he proved himself a healer of differences and a man of peace. In matters that required correction he would sometimes with the reasonable remonstrate, and appeal to canons of the Church; sometimes with the rude and refractory he would have recourse to excommunication; but that latter arm, so scandalously wielded in quarrels ecclesiastical, and on trivial occasions by those in supreme command during this century, he was not too forward to employ, though where he deemed it necessary he did not withhold it. In several questions that required delicate management and patient investigation he appears to have been selected with others of approved discretion to hear and determine points of difficulty. In 1286 he was summoned by Archbishop Peckham to a council in which the errors and wranglings of the Mendicants were checked and censured.\* In 1289, during the sharp struggle between the masters of Oxford and their diocesan and visitor the Bishop of Lincoln, about the mode of presenting a chancellor, he was one of those mediators that were called in to adjust the disagreement, brought back the masters who had withdrawn from their chambers, and restored the deserted university to study and peace.† When the clergy, in 1296, had incurred the king's displeasure, he was sent with Ralph, Bishop of Norwich, as a deputation from Archbishop Winchelsey and his suffragans to bear letters credential to his majesty, and represent to him the state of the Church.‡ But his infirm health proved a bar to his taking so active

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\* Reg. Peckham, f. 120, in Ant. à Wood, Gutch, I. 325, 328.

† Wikes in Gale, II. 118, *providis et discretis mediatoribus*. Ant. à Wood, I. 326-7. Rot. Parl. 18, 19, Ed. I. No. 2, pp. 16, 22. The Oxford men always looked up to him with respect, and in subsequent difficulties condescended to solicit his pecuniary aid.

‡ Concil. Magn. Brit. et Hib. Wilkins, II. 220.

a part in public affairs as his talents and experience would have qualified him to bear, and he frequently wrote letters of excuse, still extant, for non-attendance upon episcopal congregations and consecrations, though it is manifest from the roll that he made a journey to London to attend both at a parliament and a congregation in the present year.

The circumstances under which a prelate of this age in England was called upon to discharge his office rendered it peculiarly anxious and laborious, and it was not less so in this diocese than elsewhere. The losses that the see had sustained under some of his predecessors, and the irregularities that had taken root of old, had been very imperfectly repaired by Cantilupe with all his diligence and love of order and discipline. The pope and the king were often at variance, and such embarrassments as a divided allegiance has ever had a tendency to promote placed the subordinate governors of the Church, at this distance from the Vatican, in an unenviable position. The enormous cost of appeals to Rome was a perpetual cause of complaint, while the interference of the pontiff with the right of presentations was provoking both to clergy and laity, and kept all patrons in feverish alarm. Whenever a canonry or other benefice became vacant, especially if it were a valuable one, the person who had the disposal of it could never be certain that his turn of presentation had not been sold, or furtively set aside in favour of a claimant unexpected or a foreigner unknown. Of such occurrences, and of the manner in which they were met by Swinfield, an example may be seen in the case of Richard de Pudlesdone, his faithless proctor;\* and we shall have to shew another, perhaps in some respects still more curious, though not quite so unprincipled, in that of Pontius de Cors, during the month of May in the present year. In his ordinary diocesan administrations he was a stanch protector of the revenues and persons of his clergy. If they were oppressed by abstraction of tithes, or uncanonically imprisoned, he threw himself into their cause and redressed their grievances. The Church asserted an independent authority that would not endure the interposition of the civil power, and many were the jarrings to which this gave rise when her immediate servants or ordained members became delinquent. The king, according to Bracton and Fleta, could not try or degrade a clerk, nor take

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\* Dors. ||16, APP. No. IV.

cognisance of his offences till they had been submitted to ecclesiastical inquiry, and even then the punishment was not always committed to his hands. In the internal management of his diocese one of Swinfield's chief troubles was occasioned by the opposition and misrule of certain religious houses, those in particular of Leominster and Wigmore; the former of these resisted his authority and sheltered herself under the great Abbey of Reading, a royal foundation, to which she was a cell; and to correct the disorders of the latter his mandates and visitations proved frequently of no avail. Enough has been left to shew that if the annals of Wigmore had been written with as much freedom and fidelity as those of Saint Edmundsbury by Jocelin de Brakelond, they would have exhibited a sad picture of the cabals and uneasiness of cloistered life, the fair hypothesis of which is so captivating to many who have been weary of the world.

A few extracts from his letters and documents will justify some of the preceding representations.

In the first year of his consecration certain dependents of Sir Peter Corbet, lord of Caus, had, on the death of the incumbent, taken forcible possession of the sequestrations of the church of Worthin. The conciliatory but resolute manner in which Swinfield addressed that baron on this subject gives a favourable impression of his talent and temper. His communication is in the fashionable French of the day,\* and may be thus translated: †

‡“ To his dear friend in God, Sir Piers Corbet, Richard, by the grace of God, Bishop of Hereford, greeting and dear friendship with the grace and benediction of our Lord. Sir, know that we will willingly do your prayer in respect to the business of the parson of the church of Worthin, and in respect to all other reasonable things that you shall demand of us, according to our lawful ability, for we shall be much pleased to do anything that pleaseth you and were to your honour. And moreover we hope that you will do it for us, if it please you, and particularly in a matter that may turn to your honour and to the health of your soul. And therefore we pray and require you authoritatively, that for the honour of God and holy Church, you will no more suffer your people to do wrongs nor

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\* The historian of the literature of Europe during the middle ages has justly observed, vol. i. pp. 63, 69, that a sudden change in letter-writing from Latin to French took place soon after 1270, a fact that is confirmed by several instances in these episcopal records.

† Several of the ensuing documents are translated for the convenience of the general reader. The originals, except the first, are in Latin.

‡ ‖Domino Petro Corbet pro sequestro apud Worthin violato. Reg. Swinf. f. 3 b.



grievances to people of holy Church who are dwelling nigh unto you. We pray you that you cause your people to amend the trespasses that they have committed against the church of Worthin, for we have been informed that they take there by force the offerings and the tithes which ought in reason to appertain to the executors of Edmund Bagot, who was parson there, according to the right of the bishoprick of Hereford, seeing he died therein after the feast of St. David in the present year. Wherefore they are manifestly restricted to God and to all those who are guardians of holy Church. And therefore we pray you that you would hold them back for awhile\* and until they have amended their trespass and are absolved from excommunication. This, Sir, I entreat you for God's sake that you would inquire by such persons as are of the bishoprick of Hereford, how our lord the king of England and lord Edmund his brother, and other the great lords of England who have advowsons of churches in the bishoprick of Hereford, behave by themselves and their people towards those who are parsons of their churches, and towards the goods of holy Church; and you shall find that they intermeddle not, little nor much, with their offerings, nor with their other goods appertaining to holy Church, neither by seizure nor by escheat,† unless by leave of them and their ordinaries. And also we pray you that you command your people that they permit holy Church to have her franchises that she hath throughout the world, in the place where she is in your advowson and your vicinity. For, although we be your friend and well-wisher within our little power, we can no longer refrain from doing that which the right of holy Church demandeth against these trespassers. May God for ever have you in his keeping. Dated at Ledbury the Sunday before the feast of St. Michael."

A second letter expresses the mode in which he made application to a lady of high rank upon the incarceration of one of his clergy.

‡“ To the noble lady and beloved in Christ, Lady Matilda de Mortimer, Richard, by divine mercy Bishop of Hereford, with benevolence and grace of the Saviour. We have heard from those who are worthy of credit that certain persons, unmindful of their own salvation, to the prejudice of the liberty of the Church and of that which is granted to persons ecclesiastical, have taken or caused to be taken, for personal transgression maliciously laid to his charge, William Ingelraund, an acolyte of our diocese, and have imprisoned him in your castle of Radnor, and in defiance of the requisition of the Church, herein committing sacrilege, still continue to detain him in captivity. Wherefore we require and ask of your ladyship that you cause our clerk aforesaid to be delivered up to our dean of Leominster, advising the said transgressors of the Church that they make satisfaction to God and the Church in the premises. Otherwise, though unwillingly, they shall be proceeded against according to law. Farewell. Dated at Earley, the ides of April, in the first year of our consecration.”

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\* Obscurely written in the original.

† *Ne par prise ne par echast.* Orig.

‡ ||Pro Willielmo Ingelraund clerico. Reg. Swinf. f. 52 b.

A third is an application to the king on account of the violation of sanctuary.

\*“ To the most excellent prince and dread lord, &c. Richard, by divine permission, &c. May it please your excellency, we report with great grief of heart, that whereas John Le Bern', clerk, lately fled for his life to the church of the friars of the order of St. Augustin, nigh Ludlow, in our diocese, there to seek shelter by ecclesiastical liberty and immunity, men of Ludlow pursuing him, breaking in upon the immunity of the Church, dragged that clerk from that church, inflicting many injuries upon him, confined him horribly in the town of Ludlow, and afterwards, the coroner being his father, loosed him, so that he has now been sent thence to Salop (Shrewsbury), where he is kept in the castle in bonds, without our diocese, contrary to the liberty of the Church. Wherefore we most humbly beseech your pious excellency that, for reverence of the most high God and his holy Church, you would command . . . the sheriff of Shropshire, by your writ, that he restore the aforesaid clerk to the church, from which as is aforesaid he was dragged by violence, that the liberty of the Church that has now been injured may, by the clemency of your royal dignity, be restored. Dated at Bosbury, 16th day of the month of August, in the year of our Lord, &c. (1299).”

As it sometimes happened that the censures of the Church were not in the first instance attended to, they were followed up by other measures constituting a part of the same system of correction. The lord of Lenhales, Sir William Devereux, had incurred sentence of excommunication for having detained the tithes of his manors, but he disregarded it. The Bishop therefore wrote to the king's justiciaries not to admit him to appear as plaintiff before them till he had made satisfaction to God and the Church for his offence. This proved effectual, and his absolution was formally pronounced at Bosbury, Nov. 7, 1290.†

Other offences against right and property he visited in the like summary manner, and occasionally with the addition of such public exposure as was suited to restrain a coarse and lawless population. The church of Ross is seated in an elevated and graceful position; literally it is founded on a rock, and from time immemorial seems to have been decorated and sheltered by trees. Whatever grew ‡ in a cemetery was under the control of the

\* *Litera Regi directa pro clerico de Lodelawe.* Reg. Swinf. f. 125 b.

† Reg. Swinf. f. 66 b.

‡ One of the constitutions of Peckham, published at Reading in Oct. 1279, || *De crescentibus in sacris locis*, forbids parishioners to intermeddle with even grass or roots in consecrated ground. The composer of it, whoever he might be, framed the prohibition

rector of the place, and the protection of the canon law. The rector of Ross had therefore just cause of complaint when in 1289 the vicar and several of the principal parishioners felled nine ash-trees around the church without his knowledge or leave. Whether ignorance or defiance were the cause of this outrage, his right was maintained by his diocesan; and the offending parties, disgraced and humbled by temporary exclusion from religious privileges, were also brought to submission at Bosbury, where they received formal absolution on the vigil of Saint Bartholomew in the episcopal hall.\* But the property of the Bishop himself was no less

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as to trees with an eye to the picturesque, as well as the inviolability of sacred rights. *Quæ quidem arbores, cæmeteria ipsa, et loca juxta ecclesias et capellas, ubi plantatæ fuerant, non modicum condecorant.* This description of them is true with respect to Ross. Poets have seized upon it as a pictorial feature of the place. The Man of Ross, a great planter, has at least the traditionary credit of having renewed the elms upon that graceful spot. Besides the constitutions above mentioned, those of Stephen at Oxford, ||1, in 1222, of Othobon, ||*Ad tutelam* §ult. in 1267, and of Quivil at Exeter, c. XIV. a. 1282, had cast the shield of protection around them. Lyndwood. Wilkins, Conc. II. 140. A statute, or rather proclamation, 35 Ed. I. a. 1307, shews this to have been a repeated subject of dispute in parishes, and not only restricts the trees to the rectors, but rectors themselves to the right employment of them, whenever it should become necessary to cut them down. John Atho shews they might belong to vicars. Lyndwood, III. tit. 28, p. 267.

\* Reg. Swinf. f. 120 a. These halls were places in which solemn questions were adjusted. They resembled petty courts of judicature. The Bishop had a chair in which he sat on grave occasions. There *sedens pro tribunali*, as it is frequently expressed, in official state, he received the homage of tenants or the submission of offenders, pronounced sentence or absolution, and determined such cases as fell within his jurisdiction. Curious customs of legal import were sometimes observed in their halls. When John de Bestan, on his way from Rome, surrendered the archdeaconry of Salop to the Archbishop of Canterbury, about the feast of Saint Peter ad Vincula, in 1290, he came to him in his hall at Wrotham, and, in token of resignation, placed his cap in the hands of that prelate as he sat in his chair. Reg. Swinf. f. 62 b. Still more singular was the ceremony observed by Cantilupe, when in the Saint Asaph cause he challenged the judges who had been appointed by the Court of Rome to decide upon it; and from their suspected partiality appealed to the apostolic see, and the protection of that of Canterbury, or the principal judges. This he did in all due form in the presence of many witnesses, John de Kemeseye being one, on the day after the feast of Saint Gregory, 1278. First he read the appeal in Latin, and afterwards expounded it to them in French, and was careful to have it recorded that this was done in his hall at Bosbury

exposed to depredation in that quarter. His woods to the east and south-east of the town stretched over the hills beyond Penyard and the Chase to the purlieu of the royal forest of Dean. Such ranges of woodland are usually infested by petty thieves. Of a very different class must those have been, sixteen in number, who on the night of Wednesday, in Whitsun week, June 9, 1305, entered the wood of Ross, and in spite of the Bishop's servants felled and carried off his trees. Immediate ecclesiastical censure of course followed this atrocious act. They were denounced by name in the churches of Walford, Hule (?), Ruardean, Weston, Castle Goodrich, and Hope Mansel on every Sunday ensuing; nor were they again received into the communion of the Church till they had made oath that they would transgress in this manner no more, and would make satisfaction for damages to the utmost of their power, and had submitted to the exemplary punishment of walking once round the church of Ross in their shirts on a Sunday, and once round the market on a market-day. Thomas and John Clarkson, brothers, ringleaders of this gang, were additionally sentenced to bring into the churchyard of Ross the trees so felled and removed, about the feast of Saint Mary Magdalene, and to repeat the aforesaid processional penance on a Sunday and a market-day.\* Such punishments might for awhile alarm, but did not always deter offenders of this description. Accordingly they were

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before dinner. *¶ Provocatio. ¶ Timentes ne Archidiaconus de Karmardyn et Prior de Wembrug', iudices a sede apostolica delegati in causa appellationis inter nos et episcopum Assavensem nimis faventes contra nos, non citatos legitime, non monitos, nec confessos, processum ullum faciant, aut aliquam censuram ecclesiasticam in nos ferant; sedem apostolicam, et tuitionem sedis Cantuariensis, aut iudices principales, si commissarii eorum attemptaverint, provocamus et appellamus in hiis scriptis. ¶ Testes istius provocationis. ¶ Isti interfuerunt huic appellationi. Cancellarius Herefordensis. Thomas, vicarius de Bosebury. Hugo, capellanus de eadem. Ricardus de Bodeham, clericus. Robertus de Boneshull, clericus. Magister Rogerus de Sevenak', canonicus Herefordensis. Magister Lucas, Thesaurarius Herefordensis. Magister Robertus de Gloucestria. Magister Gilbertus de Hejwode. Willielmus de Ffaukeburn', capellanus, Johannes de Kemeseje, clericus, et Bartholomæus de Suntjngg', clericus. ¶ Memorandum. ¶ Præscriptam provocationem fecit dictus dominus Herefordensis apud Bosebury in aula sua ante prandium, et legit eam primo Latine, deinde Gallice eam exposuit coram prædictis, die Martii proximam post festum beati Gregorii, anno domini M<sup>o</sup>.CC<sup>o</sup>.lxx<sup>o</sup>.vii<sup>o</sup>. Reg. Cantil. f. 56 a.*

\* Reg. Swinf. f. 147 a.

occasionally varied. Three brothers named Irreby, with two accomplices, came to the Bishop's chapel in Ross, March 8, 1306, and, fearing excommunication, confessed before William his official, Sir John de Kemeseye, and certain clerks and laymen, that they had been guilty of the same transgression in the wood near Hope Mansell, and they offered to submit to such penance as should be imposed upon them. Their sentence after absolution was this: that they should make oath to visit the church of Hereford on foot, and there devoutly offer before the images of the blessed Virgin and Saint Ethelbert, patrons of the same, whose liberties they had violated in their wood at Ross; do as much good in person as they had done harm to that wood; restrain, as much as in them lay, all others from injuring it; and pay to the Bishop, whenever required, five hundred shillings, to be levied upon them according to their future behaviour, and applied to the fabric of the cathedral.\* These incidents, too tempting to be passed over, are, it must be admitted, somewhat less characteristic of the Bishop than of the country and the age.

But contempt of authority among the priesthood called forth at times a sterner tone of rebuke. The disorders and insubordination of religious houses have been adverted to. How faithfully he could act in reproving them, and how little they sometimes regarded it, is disclosed in a monition addressed a second time to the prior of Chirbury, calling upon him to correct the brethren of his convent.† He tells him that he has been informed of their rebellious behaviour, contrary to their rule of Saint Augustine, and charges him, in virtue of his obedience, to reduce them to order. His language is strong. *Ipsi fratres vestri, ut audivimus, tam sunt vani, litigiosi, garruli, vagi, et profugi super terram, quod nec Deo nec vobis, neglectâ regularis observantiâ disciplinæ, obediunt ut deberent.* Hence all the affairs of the house are going to ruin. He writes to him with anxiety and surprise; insists upon his amending this, and, should he meet with any opposition, directs him to send him the names of the rebels before the feast of Saint Michael ensuing, wherever he may chance to be in his diocese; for that he, having the Lord before his eyes, will take such measures of expulsion and castigation as he shall see expedient for the good of their own souls and the quiet of others. "And do not forget," he adds,

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\* Reg. Swinf. f. 155 b.

† Id. f. 50 b.

“ that when I visited your convent, I ordered all these things, and some others, to be amended.”\*

Severity of censure seems, however, to have been rather forced upon him. He was apparently reluctant to call to account his own dean Aquablanca, who was almost always at Rome, and had uncanonically set out the proceeds of his office and all his clerical emoluments in the diocese to farm † Aquablanca had a tedious suit against Avenbury,‡ an anti-dean, and this, with other litigations at that court, lasted him several years. Swinfield himself, at the beginning of his episcopate, was carrying on several processes at Rome, yet they were less of his own seeking than of what had been left on his hands by his predecessor; these he dispatched with as much speed as could be attained, consistently with the movements of that dilatory and then rapacious judicature. The expenses were heavy. One of his proctors, Richard de Pudlesdone, was unprincipled, and proved a trial to his forbearance.§ But in this, as well as other instances, he displayed that tranquil force of character that subdues annoyance, and by endurance ends it.

Though he employed an advocate, proctor, and attorney at regular salaries,|| to watch his interests in the ecclesiastical and civil courts, in two cases that are left upon record he preferred arbitration and compromise to forensic decision. Simon Morin, lord of Swindon, appeared before the Justices in Eyre at their assize at Gloucester, to shew that he was entitled every week to as many thorns as a man could carry, and every year to three oaks out of the Bishop's wood at Prestbury. These he affirmed his grandfather used to receive and have, but the Bishop would not now allow them. Both parties came into court, and entered into an agreement, by which Simon quit-claimed to the Bishop for himself and his heirs for ever all this right, as well as all that meadow which the Bishop held in the manor of Swindon, reserving only to himself and his heirs a common right of pasture in the said meadow, after the hay had been carried, as had been customary

\* Dated at Bosbury on the day of St. Botolph, Abbat, 1286.

† The Archbishop called upon Swinfield to correct him. He then summoned him to appear and answer to the charge, and on his confession inflicted what is styled “statutable punishment” upon him. July, 1310. Reg. Swinf. f. 169 b.

‡ Dors. p. 146.

§ 1d. p. 128. App. IV.

|| Dors. ||14, 15.

in times past. This agreement was ratified before witnesses at Gloucester, Tuesday, the eve of Saint Bartholomew the Apostle, 15 Ed. I.\*

His compromise with the prior and convent of Lantony in 1289-90, upon a debate about forlote-land, may be seen in the Endorsement and Appendix.†

Twice in the Roll and Endorsement he is found sending his high steward to the royal court on business, when the king was upon his progresses, once to Woodstock and afterwards to Rockingham;‡ the latter is ascertained to have been on a legal account, and it reflects upon the former a probability of its having been of the same kind.

He had some trouble and test of patience from Anianus II. Bishop of Saint Asaph. The black friar of Nanney, *Y brawd du Nannau*, as his contemporary countrymen used to call him, was of a litigious disposition, and in his time had drank deeply of the waters of strife. He was with Edward I. in the Holy Land, and on his return was placed where he could not but witness—how could he refrain from feeling deeply for?—the ineffectual struggle of his home-born prince. As Llywelyn had claimed a part of the Bishop of Hereford's possessions on the borders, so Anianus asserted his spiritual jurisdiction over several parishes belonging to his diocese, in a tract called Gordwr, at the north-western extremity of it. Cantilupe endeavoured fruitlessly to settle this controversy, and the cause had been carried to Rome, where it remained at that prelate's decease, but was referred subsequently for determination by competent judges on the spot. After some epistolary correspondence between Swinfield and Anianus, commissioners and a jury of both nations were appointed, and met there. The business was conducted with great solemnity, and the award was in favour of Hereford. This ceremony took place on Nov. 25, 1288, when the true and ancient boundary of the diocese was determined to run down the *flum* or mid-stream of Severn, from the ford called Rhÿd-wÿmma, where the river divided the lands of Sir Reginald de Montgomery and those of Sir Peter Corbet, to the ford of Shrawarden. On the morrow Swinfield came from Bishop's Castle to Chirbury, and on the next, Saint Catharine's, day he entered on horseback the ford of Rhÿd-wÿmma to the middle of the river,

\* Reg. Swinf. f. 42 a, b.

† Dors. ||38. APP. No. XI.

‡ Dors. ||29, 53, 58.

and took possession of all places and vills within the bank adjudged to him, with all the offices of visitation, preaching in them, absolving penitents, granting indulgences, and confirming youths of both sexes in great numbers. The clergy of the different parishes tendered their obedience, and all this might have been thought sufficient to settle the point. But the childish temper of Anianus could not brook the defeat, and he wrote to Swinfield with a vain hope of protracting the question. The reasonable and expository reply of that prelate is much to his credit; he complained that his brother of Saint Asaph should have lent an ear to those who wished to disturb the peace between them, which he was determined to keep. Whereas he, Anianus, knew that the whole of Gordwr was claimed by his predecessor Cantilupe; that a suit had been instituted between them at the Court of Rome, and that the award had been referred to commissioners and a jury whom they had chosen; that these had given it in favour of the church of Hereford, and that the award had been confirmed by the chapter of Saint Asaph; why should all this now be dissatisfactory to him, and cause his anger? "He is doing injury to no one," said Swinfield, "who is exercising a right of his own." He told him once more in conclusion that he feared some persons had been tampering with him to destroy their mutual regard, and added plainly that he should not re-open the dispute.\*

From the diary and its accompaniment a sufficient notion may be formed of the every-day tenor of his private life. If hospitality were exercised in his absence,† it is not drawing too much upon the imagination to admit a thought that many must have been welcomed where he held his temporary abodes. As to his charities,‡ the sections entitled *Dona*,§ it is conceived, very im-

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\* Reg. Swinf. f. 58 b. Godwin in St. Asaph. Concilia Mag. Brit. et Hib. II. The cause had lasted more than ten years, the first move in it having been made in 1277. Reg. Cantil. f. 40 a.

† Dors. ||39, c. 60 p.

‡ *The maintenance of the young Kingessuods at Oxford was no more than what was expected in those days from an ecclesiastic of his rank. But there was something in the method and measure of his patronage that was kind and encouraging when he sent so often to make payment for them and learn of their welfare; and, instead of keeping them at a distance, allowed them to come to him at Earley, on his way to London, and had them awhile with him in their vacation at Whitborne and Colwall. Dors. ||7, et seq.*

§ Dors. ||31, et seq.



perfectly represent them. His gifts form an imposing article among the expenditure, but they were most miscellaneous. Some were for convenience, others for courtesy and state; and yet little scattered hints of benevolence are not wanting. These were not the days of compulsory rates or voluntary contributions in aid of poverty, but there were unrecorded household charities—charities of the gate;\* and it is no more than an extension of a branch of that principle by which such actions are prompted, to believe that many a left hand at this period was unconscious of what its fellow did. Kings and bishops had their eleemosynaries,† who distributed duly by the way-side, and Swinfield never goes abroad on travel but his course is marked by the oft-recurring *in eleemosyna*, alms. If such distributions should be looked upon as conventional, and attached to his condition, we still are not without proofs that he had a heart. This needs not to be taken upon trust, or at second-hand. It were an injury to his memory not to admit it upon his own shewing. The following then are indubitable tokens of the fact:

‡“ 1. Richard, by divine mercy, Bishop of Hereford, to his sons beloved in Christ . . . . the dean and chapter of Hereford, greeting, &c. Yesterday, as we were passing through the parish of Holmer, the parishioners of that church represented to us with tears that you allow them not to bury the corpses of that ecclesiastical parish in the cemetery of Holmer, as they were accustomed of old. Indeed, we should ourselves have there performed the office of burial over a poor woman deceased, had we not

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\* W. de Wycumba notices this usage in the life of De Betun. He had been driven from his home by civil commotions, and on his return, *redeunt ad januam ejus pauperes Christi*. Wharton, *Angl. Sacra*, II. 314.

† Such was the practice when the king travelled. The royal household book of this year has entries that shew the exact sum at his almoner's disposal at such times to have been four shillings a-day. *Domino Henrico eleemosynario regis, percipienti quolibet die quando rex itinerat .iij. solidos sterlingorum, pro eleemosina danda per viam, &c.* Lib. Hospit. 18 Ed. I. in Turr. Lond. *Januarius. Maius*. The section entitled *Eleemosyna* in the roll of his 28th year presents a large sum, 1166*l.* 14*s.* 6*d.* It was distributed not only in weekly doles to the poor, but in offerings at shrines, and masses, and in presents to mendicant friars. The numbers of indigent persons stately relieved were usually 636, and these were greatly increased, sometimes by thousands, on intervening saints' days. In the week commencing with Sunday, Dec. 27, there was an additional number of 3,300. In that beginning with April 23, 2,200. Lib. Quot. Contrarotul. Gard. 28 Ed. I. pp. 16, et seq.

‡ Reg. Swinf. f. 3 a. ††Pro parochianis de Holmare.

thought proper to defer to your honour. And therefore we sent two or three men of the said parish to report to you on our behalf their need of this pity, and ask your permission for such funeral. These receiving no satisfactory answer from you, have brought us word that ye will by no means allow any of the dead of the parish aforesaid to be buried in the said cemetery, except beggars, and such as die in the streets and open places. Now we, calling to mind how we treated this matter in your chapter, have reason to be surprised, more than we can express in writing, with what face they who at that time so earnestly intreated us to do them a favour, do now, as we have heard, under what influence we know not, deny our compassionate request proceeding from mere charity alone. And although, to our regret, that hath happened which we feared, yet once and again we request that ye would permit the body of the deceased aforesaid to be buried in the said cemetery, since she neither hath nor could have had means whereby she ought or could be conveyed to the church of Hereford. And be pleased to send us an answer by the bearer of these presents, what hope as to this and other particulars, by us laid before you, we ought to entertain for the time to come. Dated at Bosbury, the 13th of the kalends of November, in the first year of our ordination."

\*"2. Richard, by divine mercy, Bishop of Hereford, to his son beloved in Christ, Sir John Legat, chaplain, health, grace, and blessing. Considering that he who is not in his right mind can neither cherish nor take care of others, nor even manage his own affairs as he ought, although he may enjoy lucid intervals at times, we commit to you by the presents, until we shall see fit to order otherwise, the care, custody, and guardianship, as well of the person as of the goods whatsoever, of Sir Reginald, vicar of Ledbury, now afflicted, as we have learned from credible eye-witnesses and legal inquest, with a certain infirmity of phrensy or madness, whom we compassionate in the bowels of charity; commanding, in the meanwhile, that you cause divine service to be performed in every respect as it ought in the said church of Ledbury; provided also, that you study in such wise to manage the care and custody aforesaid, wherewith, by the admission [on the receipt?] of these presents, we wholly charge you, as you will in any case precisely answer for them, not allowing the said vicar to wander about the streets or open places, or enter the church, until by the help of divine grace he shall have been restored to his former soundness of mind. Farewell. Dated at Colwall, the 3rd of the kalends of August, in the fourth year of our ordination."

To these traits in the character of Swinfield may be added his grateful affection and veneration for his master. One of the leading objects of his latter life, from the time of his advancement to the see as successor of Cantilupe, was to obtain the canonisation of him whom he revered perhaps as much as any mortal with whom he had ever held intercourse. During the present year he will be seen as the first mover of the process that led to

\* Reg. Swinf. f. 34 b. || Tutela vicarii de Ledebury.

it, and for at least sixteen years he spared neither pains nor expense in his endeavour to obtain it. But he was not permitted to witness the accomplishment of this end, and the long-cherished hope of it descended with him to the grave.

The little that can be ascertained concerning John de Kemeseye, chaplain, house-steward, and keeper of the roll, is soon told, but redounds to his honour. Receiver and discharger of all the Bishop's dues, and manager in general of his finances, he appears, if the comparison may be allowed, to have held under Swinfield that post of unlimited trust that the favoured Hebrew of old occupied under his lord the Egyptian; for nothing can be more literally true than that "he found grace in his sight, and he served him, and he made him overseer of his house, and," in this sense, "all that he had he put into his hand."\* So seldom in the secular concerns of receipt and payment did the good prelate of Hereford interfere, while he had such a confidential assistant to depend upon. And if this picture be deemed overdrawn, the Bishop himself must take the blame, who ought best to have known one on whom he thus implicitly relied, and to whose integrity he has borne most direct testimony in a release that he granted him twenty years after the date of the roll, and caused to be inserted in his register that it might be handed down to posterity.

† "To all sons of holy mother church, to whose notice the present letter shall come, Richard, by divine permission, Bishop of Hereford, salvation everlasting in the Lord. Whereas it appeareth to us of a truth ‡ that Sir John de Kemeseye, priest, now treasurer of the church of Hereford, hath, in the receipt and disbursement of the whole of our money, almost from the time of our consecration, laboured faithfully in our service according to his ability, and hath hitherto rendered us faithful account of such receipts

\* Genesis, c. xxxix. v. 4.

† Reg. Swinf. f. 178. † Literæ concessæ Johanni de Kemeseye de non reddendo computum.

‡ In the original *verisimile*. According to the French adage *le vrai n'est pas toujours le vraisemblable*, and in this view the expression *verisimile* might insinuate the reverse of a commendation, or even a compliment. But the use of the word in a positive sense is not singular, and it is intended to describe a *bond fide* confidence in the individual to whom it is applied. See APP. XI. 2, p. 216, where it evidently signifies *likely*. A similar testimony from the King to the probity of Walter de la Haye, one of the ancient Herefordshire stock of the De la Hayes, his escheator in Ireland, opens, however, in a far more cordial strain. *Cum de plano scimus*, &c. Rot. Pat. 18 Ed. I. in Turr. Lond.

and expenses as is usual, and we very firmly believe that the said Sir John will for the future, during his continuance with us in such office, as aforesaid, without offence of Almighty God, faithfully receive and expend our money, from whatsoever quarter proceeding, and the residue thereof will wholly deliver up to us, our assigns, or executors: We, by the tenor of the present letter, exonerate and quit claim now and hereafter him the said John de Kemeseye, his heirs, and executors, for us, our heirs, and executors of our will, and our assigns, from the incumbrance of giving in a reckoning or account of the receipt, administration, and expending of the whole of our money which shall have or for the future shall come into his hands by any means whatsoever, and from the arrearages of the whole of his accounts, which he hath rendered concerning the receipt and administration of our money before auditors by us thereunto assigned. Nevertheless, the said Sir John hath faithfully requested of us, that so long as he shall interfere in the administration of our money for the time to come, he shall yearly, at the end of every year, deliver tallies and rolls touching such administration to the auditors of our accounts, and shall to them exhibit the whole of our money remaining, or shall even deliver it up to them at the pleasure of us or our executors. Not that we would by this that any impediment or prejudice should be occasioned to the aforesaid Sir John, his heirs, or executors, as touching our acquittance and discharge aforesaid granted to him; but that in all and every the aforesaid, credit should be given to the simple assertion of the said Sir John, without the incumbrance of another proof, and without judicial enquiry. In witness whereof, the impression of our privy seal hath been appended to these presents, in the presence of Stephen de Thanet, rector of the church of King's Pyon, Hamon de Sandwich, rector of the church of Whitborne, Nicholas de Aka, vicar of Stretton and Ashperton, of our diocese of Hereford; and Adam de Dilýneton, notary public, for this purpose specially convened. Dated at Bosbury, on the 7th day of the month of May, in the year of our Lord 1309, and the twenty-seventh of our ordination."

But Kemeseye and Swinfield had been in the service of Cantilupe from about the same period. A proctor of that name was employed by him in a suit against Sir Hervey the dean, and the chapter of Saint Paul's in 1275;\* and, whether he be the identical person of whom these notices are collected, or otherwise, it will hardly admit of a question that our John de Kemeseye was in the household and retinue of that Bishop at intervals, if not permanently, from about that time to the death of Cantilupe. At Michaelmas 1276 he was an acolyte, having the custody of the church of Little Wenlock committed to him. In the following January he is found among those who were present at a visitation of the priory of Leominster, and two years after, in 1278, he was one of the witnesses at a remarkable protest made in

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\* Reg. Cantil. f. 6 b.

the hall of Bosbury respecting certain judges in the Saint Asaph cause. He was incumbent of Ullingswick about 1279, and of Michel Dean in 1280.\* His advancement then fell into the hands of Swinfield, who in the early stage of their connection was not backward to express his approval of him. In 1283 he was rector of Eastnor, and in the same year was collated to Colwall. In 1285, probably also before, he was a chaplain to the Bishop, but he continued to hold Colwall till 1297, when he became rector of Ross, and on the death of Nicholas, the vicar, about that time, the vicarage and rectory were united in his favour. In 1302 he was made prebendary of Moreton Parva, which he resigned within a twelvemonth for that of Barton nigh Colwall. On the death of Nicholas de Reygate in 1308, he appears to have given up Ross, and accepted of the treasurership of the church of Hereford, which he continued to hold as long as any mention is made of him or his patron in the episcopal annals. As a final act of kindness and reward for services not merely acknowledged in words, or by the privileges of the legal release of 1309 already cited, the Bishop, in 1313, put him in possession of an estate, under circumstances and terms intended to be gratifying to himself and his heirs. The land, with a house and appurtenances, was in Colwall, and had been in the hands of a Gilbert Barri; it was conveniently situated both with reference to Swinfield and his steward. The Bishop himself drew more and more towards Bosbury during the latter part of his life, as his registered memorials prove, and they were probably never much apart. Kemeseye is a witness to instruments executed at that place in the spring of 1316, but soon after both he and his master disappear almost simultaneously from the records of the see.† Another treasurer of Hereford comes forward in May 1317. If Kemeseye survived to withdraw to his estate on the demise of his benefactor, it was apparently but to make way for his heirs. He has been traced no farther. In process of time it should seem that this property in Colwall, or a part of it, reverted to the see. In the sixteenth century, when the bishoprick of Hereford was despoiled of its best manors, the name of the household steward was not utterly forgotten in that quarter; and he who drew up a survey of them

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\* Reg. Cantil. ff. 26 b, 56 a, 64 b.

† Reg. Swinf. ff. 5 a b, 29 b, 120 a, 136 b, 141 a, 161 b, 183 a, 198 a, 199 b.

has left this observation, that there was then good timber growing upon what was still denominated *Kemeseye's land*.\*

A copy of the original deed of enfeoffment to this estate was registered under the year in which it was granted, and may be thus rendered:—

†“To all sons of holy mother Church to whose notice the present letters shall come, Richard, by divine permission Bishop of Hereford, salvation everlasting in the Lord. Know ye, that we have given, granted, and by this our present charter have confirmed to our beloved in Christ, Sir John de Kemeseye, treasurer of Hereford, for his homage and service, all that land which Gilbert Barri sometime held in Colwall of our predecessors, bishops of Hereford, with a messuage, buildings, and all other things to the said land appertaining, woods, parks, feedings, and pastures, ways, paths, and all other easements, to have and to hold to him and his heirs and assigns freely, quietly, well, and peaceably, and by inheritance for ever, paying thereout yearly to us and our successors one mark sterling, and doing the service thereupon due and accustomed. Provided nevertheless, that when relief shall happen to be paid to us or our successors, bishops of Hereford, the said John, and any one of his heirs or of his assigns, be not burdened with more than half a mark, nor any more money be exacted of him under pretext of the yearly rent of one mark aforesaid, whereas the aforesaid Gilbert and the tenants his predecessors of the aforesaid land, with its appurtenances, were not accustomed to pay more of yearly rent than half a mark, nor for relief when it occurred more than half a mark. In witness whereof we have thought fit to confirm this our present charter with the protection of our seal. Witnesses, Sir William de Mortimer, our then high steward, Sir James de Henley, canon of Hereford, John de la Pffelde, our then bailiff, Walter le Chaumberlaÿn, Robert de Masÿnton, A. de la Hull', of Cradley, William de Schireburn', Warin de Chevenham, Roger Raye, Godfrey, clerk, John de Stannord, Ivo de Dane, and many others. Dated at Bosbury, the 28th day of the month of March, in the 31st year of our ordination.”

To this is appended a letter of attorney addressed to John de la Coumbe, bailiff of Colwall, to put John de Kemeseye in possession of the estate.

The family of Kemeseyes were, however, by no means an obscure set of persons in these parts. A Robert de Kemeseye had been retained by Bishop Cantilupe in 1274 as proctor in his cause against Gilbert de Clare.‡ Walter of that name was instituted to the vicarage of Lindridge in July 1277, and presented, in Nov. 1292, by the convent of Worcester, to the church of Saint Martin in that city. Thomas was ordained at Reading by

\* Butterfield MS. Survey, taken in 1577 and 1578, f. 71 a.

† Reg. Swinf. f. 183 a. ||Carta data domino J. de Kemeseye de terra Barri.

‡ Reg. Cantil. f. 48 a.

Bishop Swinfield in Advent, 1287.\* But another Thomas must take the precedency of these churchmen. He was the contemporary abbat of Tewkesbury, who received the benediction from Godfrey Gifford, Bishop of Worcester, on Trinity Sunday, 1282, and was at this time ruling that house. He died in 1328.†

Kemsey, or sometimes Kempsey, according to modern spelling, the place from which they took their name, is in the county, and between four and five miles south of the city of Worcester. The bishops of that diocese had a palace there, at which Henry II. held his Court, and Simon de Montfort, with his royal prisoner, Henry III. lodged previous to the battle of Evesham. The writer of this roll, besides what has been related of him as to the parish of Colwall, was long remembered in the church of Kemsey, where he founded a chantry well endowed for masses at the altar of the blessed virgin, for his welfare in life, his own soul, those of his parents and benefactors, and of all the faithful departed. He left rents for a taper to burn before her altar, and in his grants for these purposes took special heed to secure the respectability of such as should officiate at those services, by regulations drawn up with the minutest care. The instrument, which is of great length, has been printed by Nash.‡ It bears date at Bosbury, Feb. 4, 1315. The seal of Swinfield was attached to it, and among the witnesses may be recognised the name of Robert de Kingessuod, rector of the church of Cradley, whom with his brother Richard, incumbent of Colwall, as we have seen, the Bishop had sent to be educated at the University of Oxford. §

The only particular in the title of the roll that remains undiscussed is its reference to the years in which it was written. And here a few observations upon certain subjects that in the course of them occupied the minds of men, and shed an influence upon society in this realm, may be serviceable

\* Reg. Cantil. in a. 1277. Ann. Wigorn. Angl. Sacra, I. 514. Reg. Swinf. f. 47 a. One Richard occurs as a messenger bringing news to the king of the death of Isolda de la Hide, Abbess of Hoges, near Dublin. Prynne, Pap. Usurp. III. 382.

† Bennett, Hist. of Tewkesb. 8vo. 1830, pp. 117, 118.

‡ Hist. of Worc. II. 31, 32, 33.

§ Dors. ||7; 8, 9. So late as Aug. 1313, Richard had a dispensation for absence till Christmas, *vacare scolasticis disciplinis, et ecclesie sue et suis negotiis*. R. Swinf. f. 184 b.

towards a further illustration of the following pages, and help to connect the reader with the occurrences and feelings of the time.

The years 1289 and 1290 with respect to England were, in a natural view, of no ordinary cast, the close of the one and the opening of the other being memorable for the deranged condition of the atmosphere and disturbance of the seasons. They were such as baffle the expectations and defeat the operations of the husbandman. Something has been already shewn of this in describing the state of the markets from later authorities;\* but it is more vividly set forth by a contemporary, who, to all appearance, received his impressions from what he has thus detailed. "From the feast of Saint Michael,"† says Wikes, "to the feast of the Purification of the blessed Mary there was little or no frost, nor once any snow to cover the ground. Day and night without ceasing there was such an abundant fall of rain that hardly a ray of sunshine even for a moment glanced upon the surface of the land; but day after day throughout the whole of the aforesaid period passed away in that sort of twilight which foreruns the rising or the setting sun. In that same year, on a night between the feast of Saint Andrew the Apostle and the birth-day of our Lord, very terrible thunder was heard, and violent flashes of lightning were seen to dart through the air, such as have seldom happened at this time of the year, probably designed as a presage of something to come to pass. After the Purification the outpouring of rain ceased, and through the spring a milder air succeeded and a most delightful serenity of sunshine, so that during the month of March there was hardly any rain."‡ The effects of this irregularity were, however, felt immediately, and continued to be felt during a whole generation. It fully accounts for the fluctuations and ultimate advance in the price of grain observable in our diary; and, if we may descend to pick up a proof from an obscure corner, for that condition of the oats which so frequently required to be passed over the kiln before they could be rendered dry enough to be ground

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\* P. xlii.

† Almost the whole of the preceding July was windy and rainy according to the Worcester annalist. *A VI. Non. Julii usque ad III. Cal. Augusti pro majori parte tempus pluviosum extitit et ventosum.* Ann. Eccl. Wigorn. Angl. Sacra, I. 510.

‡ Wikes in Gale, II. 120.



into meal for the hounds (*in siccatione avenæ ad canes*),\* a thing apparently trivial in itself, but, like many trifles, exalted into some importance when taken as confirmatory of the graver representation of the historian. A similar proof of the coming scarcity turns up in the royal household book of the same year. John, the otter-hunter, is allowed from Christmas to the end of February, one halfpenny per day for each of his dogs, on account of the dearness of corn at London.†

This disorder of the elements was really typical of what had existed in the civil and moral condition of the country. Some remarkable incidents present themselves to notice at this juncture, more or less implicated with the subject of this document, and chiefly within the limits of its date. The reign of Edward I. was strikingly replete with project and action, and this part of it was peculiarly so, not only in England, but throughout the Christian continent of Europe. Ever since the capture of Jerusalem by Saladin, a hundred years before, the power of the Christian occupants of the Holy Land had been on the decline; and now they had been pushed by the Saracens more closely to the coasts of Syria. Dissolute in manners and divided by factions, they could no longer hold out against inveterate enemies, and their affairs were reduced to the lowest ebb. Tripoli, in 1288, had been taken with great slaughter; no Christian city, no prince of Palestine had come to its aid,‡ and just fears were entertained that all their possessions in that country would soon be lost. The reigning Pope, in his anxiety to awaken a crusade, wrote to remind the king of England of a vow he had some time made to return to the Holy Land in arms, and from his former gallant bearing in those parts all eyes were directed towards him. Edward had so far encouraged the notion as to have proposed certain conditions preliminary to his collecting and embarking a force. He wanted

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\* Oct. 20, Dec. 16, Feb. 22, 27, April 9, July 19.

† *Oterhunte*. || *Quarto die Martis Johanni le Oterhunte pro putura canellorum suorum a 25 die Decembris, videlicet a natale Domini usque ultimum diem Februarii, utroque computato, per 66 dies, quolibet cane percipiente per diem obolum pro caristia bladi Londoniæ*. Lib. Hosp. 18 Ed. I. in Turr. Lond.

‡ Michaud, *Hist. de Croisades*, II. p. 448. In his Bull of Oct. 7, 1289, the Pope calls it *dolorosam captivonem et destructionem Tripolitaniæ civitatis*. Rymer, I. p. ii. 714.

sinews for the war, and requested a grant of a three years' tenth \* of the revenues of the clergy throughout England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland. A correspondence had been and was still going on between them; and the survey for the purpose of this levy, which exists among our national records, † was at this time on foot, and carrying on by Commissioners in the several dioceses. By it the value of every species of ecclesiastical property, spiritual and temporal, for the time being is ascertained, and frequent references are made to it in the course of our illustrations.

To form some notion of what the state of society had been and still in some degree continued to be, we must go back to the departure of Edward for France in 1286. He made vigorous attempts to settle the internal affairs of the kingdom before he went abroad. The statute of Winchester, passed in 1285, represents England as a scene of outrage and confusion. It admits that murder, theft, and arson abounded more than they had heretofore. The hundreds were therefore made answerable for robberies. ‡ No one, unless his host would be responsible for him, was allowed to lodge in the suburbs, or without a town, from nine o'clock in the evening till break of day. From the feast of the Ascension till Michaelmas six men at every gate, in every city, twelve in each borough, and six or four, according to its size, in each smaller town, were to watch all night, and if any stranger passed by he was to be detained till morning. Highways to market-towns were to be widened; that there might be neither ditch, tree, nor bush, whereby a man might hide himself to do mischief within two hundred feet on either side of the road. § Every male between fifteen and

\* Edward asked for six years in all: three to be paid previous to the passage, and three after it had taken place. *Id.* p. 705.

† See ante, p. xxvi.

‡ See in Madox, *Firma Burgi*, pp. 157, 158, a curious case of two merchants of Northampton, who were robbed by a numerous gang of thieves in a wood in Gloucestershire, 21 Edw. I. The delinquents continued their depredations, and half a year after were caught and beheaded at Norton, near Evesham. The merchants sued the hundred where the offence was committed, upon this statute in the Court of King's Bench, and recovered damages. One of the thieves was a Herefordshire man. *John le Tailleur de Ledbury*.

§ In 1305 a murder was committed by unknown hands upon one Walter Swyft as he was passing through the Bishop's wood, called Brinkestye or Brinxstie, lying in the

sixty years of age, according to his lands or goods, was to be provided with harness to keep the peace after the ancient assize. He that had fifteen pounds in land, or forty marks in goods, must have a horse, hawberk, sword, and dagger. He that had ten pounds must find the same, excepting a horse. Others of less ability were to have bows, swords, and knives; and a view of armour was to be taken twice in the year by proper officers, constables, and justices.\* With a particular eye to the security of Herefordshire and the parts adjacent, the King, relying upon the fidelity and diligence of the sheriff, Henry de Solars, committed that county and castle to his special care, that he should use his best endeavours to keep the peace, nor suffer any suspected persons to harbour or hold meetings in the city, or any where within his bailiwick, but to arrest and detain them in safe custody till further orders.† Scarcely could the statute above cited have taken full effect when Edward embarked for France. Its provisions were either imperfectly attended to or were insufficient to answer their end.‡ Though the bush might be cleared, and the towns watched like garrisons, the traveller and merchant could hardly have been safe in the highways, and where these

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parishes of Bromyard and Whitborne, in the road through the said wood, *que non fuit elargita secundum formam statuti*. An information was accordingly laid against the Bishop, but the road was proved to have been sufficiently wide, and the prosecution was dropped. Reg. Swinf. f. 148, a. b. Dors. ||38 b. Butterfield MS. ff. 133, 134.

\* Stat. of the Realm, pp. 96, 97, 15 Ed. I.

† Madox, Hist. Exch. c. 23, II. n. e.

‡ Proof of the infliction of minor punishment, and of the disgrace attached to it, may be extracted from the following anecdote. Hugh, the son of John Herrof of Saint Ives, whose anxiety as to his personal appearance bespeaks him a gentleman, had the misfortune to lose part of his left ear by the bite of a horse. It was therefore considered necessary that he should be provided with a patent, certifying that his blemish arose purely from that accident and from no other cause. ||*Pro Hugone filio Johannis Herrof de quadam parte auriculæ suæ amissa*. ||*Rex omnibus ballivis, &c. salutem. Quia ex testimonio fidedignorum pro certo intelleximus quod Hugo filius Johannis Herrof de Sancto Ivone quadam partem auriculæ ejus sinistrae casualiter ex morsu cujusdem equi amisit, et non alia de causa: Nos veritati testimonium perhibere volentes, ne de ipso occasione morsus prædicti sinistra suspicio habeatur, eidem Hugoni has litteras nostras inde fieri fecimus patentes. T. R. apud Westm. 10 die Junii. Rot. Litt. Pat. 18 Ed. I. in Turri Lond.* The taking out of this patent offers the natural inference that some were going about without ears.

passed through forests must have been doubly insecure,\* when bands of ruffians were strong enough in broad day to defy all authority and law. A most atrocious act was committed at Boston in Lincolnshire. At a great fair, and during the expected gaities of a tournament, when dealers from all quarters had collected their wares for sale, one of these gangs, disguised

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\* Foresters were in general an impudent and abandoned race. Those of Feckenham, in Worcestershire, where the King had a palace or hunting seat, incurred his particular displeasure by their depredations. He dealt summarily with them in the spring of 1289-90, when he progressed there, by committing them to prison. In the following autumn they insulted the prior of Worcester, near Herforton, as he was travelling along the road, robbed his servants of their bows and arrows, and sounded their horns on all sides against him. Ann. Wigorn. ut supra, I. 511. But the monk does not tell us what may be learned elsewhere, and was perhaps one cause of the insult, that his own prior had been a trespasser in the said forest, and was fined for it. Rot. Litt. Pat. 18 Ed. I. in Turri Lond. In cases of trespass by hunting or border hostility the foresters and others used to shout and blow their horns, to bring in the country to their aid. Hence the northern border-tenure of cornage. Blount, Tenures, ed. Beckwith. 4to. Lond. 1815, pp. 96, 447. Llywelyn complains to the King that he was treated disrespectfully in this way by his servants while he was chasing a stag in Merioneth, in 7 Ed. I. *Excellenti domino meo domino, Edwardo, Dei gratia, regi Angliæ et domino Hiberniæ et duci Normanniæ, devotus ejus vassalus L. princeps Walliæ, dominus Snaudon', salutem et paratam ad beneplacita voluntatem. Cum nos cum venatoribus et juvenculis nostris alias eramus apud Merionyth in venando, quidam cervus effugit ante venatores et brachetos nostros per amnem de Dyvi usque terras vestras de Genevylghun et ibidem fuit inventus per dictos venatores nostros, ministrales vestri de partibus illis et alii devenerunt ad eos, et statim cum clamoribus et cornibus hanniæverunt ad se fere omnes de patria, sicut acrius faciebant in guerra. Nostrum equidem cervum abduxerunt a nostris venatoribus, et eosdem male tractaverunt, quod quidem fuit inauditum prius. Unde regiam majestatem vestram exoramus et requirimus cum affectu, quatenus intuitu justitiæ ac nostræ, si placet, amore, plenam amendam nobis in premissis fieri faciatis, et vobis vindictam, si placet, a dictis transgressoribus capiatis, ne de cetero audeant taliter nos pertractare. Datum apud Havot y Ilan, 13 die Augusti.* Royal Letters in the Tower, No. 1328, 7 Ed. 1. The result is unknown: this occurred in happier days, when the King and Prince were upon the best terms. But, as there had been a sort of Chevy-chase scuffle, the communication might have been made to obviate any malicious report that the boundary had been crossed in a hostile manner, and the peace had been broken; whereas he had only been in pursuit of game on his own side of the Dovey, as he says, treating it lightly, "with huntsmen and lads of ours" (*cum venatoribus et juvenculis nostris*), when the hart crossed the river before the hounds into the King's territory. Does not even the diminutive *brachetos*, little hounds, show his wish to soften down the affair?

as monks and canons, under the direction of a desperate leader, attacked the unsuspecting multitude, rifled the stores, and amidst fire and bloodshed carried off an immense booty.\* One cause of such disorders suggests itself. An armed population, unless counterbalanced by salutary restrictions, is a two-edged weapon of state. A great proportion of the existing race of Englishmen had been cradled and nurtured during intestine broils. Many were still living, and in the flower of their age, who had fought with Edward and against him in the battles of Lewes and Evesham,† and imbrued their hands in the blood of their brethren. Many, like the tenants of Cantilupe, had served at his feudal summons and followed him through the wild campaigns of Wales. Habits of just and honourable soldiership once established are not easily forgotten, much less those of lawless rapine; and, above all, the effects of the cancer of civil war are most difficult of extirpation among a rude people. It would have been some consolation to the peaceable amidst scenes of violence if, while the government was weak, the administration of justice had been pure.

In concert with this was the spirit of discord always festering in the Welsh borders. It had never been thoroughly appeased. Private quarrels were pushed to fatal extremities. In the irritable land of Ewyas, beneath the Black Mountain, where men so often went armed, and where ready weapons‡ hung over the hearth of almost every substantial householder, even to the time of our immediate forefathers, here and in the many parishes and manors of Englechere and Walechere,§ that ran along on either side throughout the marches, there lurked too often an avenger of blood. Churches and their sacred inclosures were not always a safe resort for the fugitive. || The

\* Knighton places this in 1285, but Wikes and Trivet assign it to 1288. Macpherson, *Ann. of Commerce*, i. 443.

† Lewes, fought May 14, 1264; Evesham, Aug. 4, 1265.

‡ Representations of some of these weapons may be seen in *Duncumb. Collections*, II. p. i. 315.

§ *Dors. ||34, and Commentary.*

|| Those of Saint Briavels, Ludlow, and Clun had witnessed sanguinary outrages during the episcopate of Swinfield, and some had been reconciled according to the established rites. *Reg. Swinf. ff. 1 b. 125 b. 175 a.* At Turnaston, in the Golden Vale, in 1298, an armed party, instigated by Hugh Devereux and Richard Dansey, took forcible possession of the church, the chapel of St. Leonard, and the houses of the incumbents;

same vindictive spirit rankled in the breast of the nobles and of the people. A bitter quarrel pending between the Earls of Gloucester and Hereford ravaged Breconshire in 1290, swept away flocks and herds, and was attended with loss of life on either side. It was a genuine border feud led on by the men of the Earl of Gloucester with his emblazoned banner displayed, *cum vexillo de armis ipsius comitis explicato*: the shares of the booty were coolly adjusted by ancient border usages, and one-third went to that chieftain, "as it is fit the lord should have in time of war, and according to the custom and law of the march." It was aggravated by subsequent forays of thieves and vagabonds, "*eskettors*," from the land of Morgannon, in the same direction, into the land of Brecknock, who pillaged and carried off the chalice from the church of Penyderin, and committed much wanton depredation in the territory of the Earl of Hereford.\*

Jealous chieftains wrangled about the extent of their authority and the exercise of their power, though the prerogative of the King was supreme throughout the marches.† Edmund Mortimer, of Wigmore, got into a difficulty with Bogo de Knowille, constable of Montgomery Castle, in the neighbourhood of Bishop's Castle, and bailiff for the King in that quarter. A man belonging to the Bishop of Hereford having been killed about this time, the assassin fled into the land of Mortimer, who arrested, tried him in his court, and executed him; instead of remanding him to the King's jurisdiction of Montgomery, as he had been repeatedly required. Bogo complained of the interference, and Mortimer was declared by this act to have totally forfeited his liberty of Wigmore. It was restored to him, however, by special royal favour, upon his compliance with the terms of his sentence,

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and the Bishop intreated the King to command the sheriff to remove them, that the ministers might exercise their sacred offices in peace. Id. f. 124 b.

\* The Earl of Gloucester seems to have been the aggressor. The cause was brought into Court on a special commission at Abergavenny. Among others the bailiffs of Grosmont, Skenfrith, and White Castle assisted at the inquest; and at the conclusion of the trial the Earls were sentenced to imprisonment and a fine of 1,000 marks apiece. The imprisonment appears to have been little more than matter of form. Rolls of Parl. I. 70, et seq.

† The doctrine of the day as to the marches was thus laid down during the trial of the above mentioned important cause. *Nullus in hac parte potest habere marchiam domini regis, qui pro communi utilitate per prerogativam suam in multis casibus est supra leges et consuetudines in regno suo usitata.* Riley, *Placita Parliamentaria*, p. 77.

a part of which was the payment of one hundred marks. The remainder of it, gravely determined upon by the King in council, is a barbarous mixture of the serious with the ludicrous, which, in spite of its having been *per ipsum dominum regem et concilium consideratum*, seems to have been conceived and carried out almost in the spirit of ridicule. The man was dead and doubtless buried; but he must be re-executed by proxy. Mortimer was commanded to deliver to Knowlton an effigy of him in his name; and this was hung up as a representative of the offender.\*

The King's return from France was expected with great anxiety: he landed at Dover, Aug. 12, 1289, just seven weeks before the commencement of our Roll. Instead of hastening immediately to the capital, he took a circuit to the northward, and subsequently hovered about for some time in Surrey and Hampshire. His journeys, apart from warlike operations, were never without their appropriate motive; but were often combined movements, made up of business, recreations of the field and forest, and devotions at shrines in pilgrimage. This was probably a tour of inquiry, precursive of an important measure in agitation. About Michaelmas he came to London. Reports had reached him from many quarters of the gross injustice of which his corrupt judges and law-officers had been guilty while he was abroad. The correction of so monstrous an evil was one of the great features of this eventful year. For redress of this and other abuses he called a parliament at Westminster after the ensuing feast of Saint Hilary; and in the mean time issued writs to the sheriffs of the different counties, commanding them to proclaim, that all who had any complaint to make against his magistrates, judges, foresters, and functionaries in general, for misbehaviour in his absence, should appear at Westminster on the morrow after the feast of Saint Martin (Nov. 12), there to shew their grievances.† Previous to the assembling of parliament the King kept his Christmas in great pomp and festivity at Westminster, where his prelates and nobles assembled around him with gratulations and gifts. On this occasion Bishop Swinfield travelled to London to present himself and his offerings to

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\* Rolls of Parl. 18 Ed. I., I. 45. Riley, pp. 63, 64. Yet, after all, it was in better taste than those disgusting gibbetings that were exhibited authoritatively on the restoration of Charles II.

† Rymer, I. p. ii. 714.

their Majesties at the court. He also attended at a congregation of bishops then sitting; but cannot be said to have taken his seat in parliament. He remained in London only five whole days, during three of which he was at Westminster, and on the feast of Saint Hilary he set out on his return home.\* Other parliaments were held during 1290, as at Easter and Trinity; but at neither of these was he present, for at these seasons he was at Colwall and Almeley occupied with his diocesan duties. From some inexplicable cause much obscurity prevails as to the history of parliaments during the years 1289 and 1290; and it has been remarked that their records hitherto published do not contain any evidence respecting transactions which appear to have excited much attention amongst the contemporary historians.† This is remarkably true as to the proceedings against the unjust judges. Little has been handed down except the names of the delinquents, and a general statement of their offence, their plunder, fines, and fate.‡ Only two upright men among the whole, according to the usual accounts, could abide the ordeal, John de Metingham and Elias de Beckingham.§ There remains no chance|| of correcting so sweeping a statement.

\* Roll, pp. 39 et seq. Dors. ||39.

† Palgrave, *Parl. Writs*, I. 14. *Chron. Abstract*.

‡ Nothing gives a better insight into the sentiments and manners of a period than the reports of judicial proceedings and the examinations of witnesses. There is room to believe that the records of the commission for this inquiry, the petitions and depositions, as well as inventories of these unrighteous gains, must have been of a very curious description. If they have not been deliberately cancelled out of respect for the dignity of that office which it is so much the interest of all to revere and uphold; or if time and neglect have not placed them beyond reach of the antiquary, whenever their hiding-place may be explored, a mine of information will probably be opened, which will confirm the necessity of the measure then adopted to remove a most enormous oppression, as well as help us to understand the true condition of the time. We are recently indebted to a correspondent in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, March and Dec. 1852, for some interesting information on this subject, and he has promised more. Affairs must have been in a strange state on both sides when a judge could have the effrontery to tell a poor suitor, as Ralph de Hengham did, that "he would not stir out of his house at Westminster for a carucate of land."

§ So *Carte*, II. p. 206. Wikes only mentions them as elected to fill the places of the offenders. *Gale*, II. 121.

|| Since the passage in *Dors*. p. 182 was written, the editor has seen reason to abandon the hope that Sir Giles de Berkeley there mentioned might have been among the very few judges "faithful found among the faithless." For this conviction he is indebted to



The commentary on the endorsement ventured to suggest one, but a better authority has caused it to be laid aside.

the learned author of "The Lives of the Judges," and thanks Mr. Foss for having shewn him, satisfactorily, that Sir Giles could only have been a man of some eminence in the country employed on a special commission with a regular justiciary in a matter of private reference not to be heard in Court; and that he was not a justiciary in the ordinary sense. This incident in our national history is a glaring exposure of the dangerous practice of giving and receiving presents, then in use between suitors and judges, and others officially connected with courts of judicature, which, in spite of the check thus given to it, was afterwards revived. Edward prince of Wales resorted to private applications for bespeaking favour, if he did not actually tender bribes. See his letters in vol. II. of *Sussex Archæolog. Collections*. Mr. Gunner, in his *Extracts from the Bursars' Accounts of Winchester College*, produces instances in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries of an admiral of England, King's justices, and an Archbishop of Canterbury, accepting gifts to secure good offices; and he charitably hints that, when this was in vogue, it probably "did not much interfere with the course of justice." *Archæolog. Journal*, VIII. 82, 83. The hope that it may have been so is, however, not only balanced by the fear, but outweighed by the fact, of its having too often been otherwise. At any time the custom involved a snare. The laxity of moral tone on this head during the century in question infected the church at its topmost source, and persons of the highest rank and reputation adopted this mode of putting forward their suits in appeals to Rome, where the Cardinals and the Pope himself were notoriously accessible by money or the valuable equivalent of a horse or a jewel. The Pope, in the early part of the century, by his nuncio at Westminster, had unblushingly owned the scandal, but justified the custom of thus receiving presents by the poverty of the see; and proposed by way of bargain to discontinue it with respect to England, provided a certain amount of church patronage were put into his hands. Collier, *Eccl. Hist.* in a. 1226. Archbishop Peckham stooped to this practice of gratuities. Writing to his agents about a remittance for certain purposes, he uses very unmistakeable language. *Mittimus autem .ccc. marcas pro communi servitio domini papæ et cardinalium. Mittimus etiam .cc. marcas communicato consilio fratris Matthæi et magistri Johannis de Pontisar per vos taliter dividendas, ut videlicet assignarentur domino Benedicto .xxx. marcæ, dominis Matthæo Albanensi, J. de Sabello, Jordano Cardinali, cuilibet .xx. marcæ sub palefridi nomine vel jocalium.* Wilkins, *Conc. Mag. Brit. et Hib.* II. 78. But a private communication of Bishop Cantilupe to his proctors on a like occasion is still more explicit, and betrays a struggle between his sense of the supposed necessity of the act, a qualm about it, and a sort of feeling of honour as to the method of proceeding in it. It will be recollected that this eminent person had been sometime, though but for a little while, Chancellor of England; and is said to have been himself incapable of receiving, though here he is seen tendering what was all but, a bribe. When he made this offer, in the year 1281, he had several appeals pending in the Roman Court, and in one of these suits was cast in damages, after his decease, to a ruinous amount. The letter, of which the following is an extract, was

The energy of this active and intelligent King and his able advisers brought forward, in the parliaments of 1289, 1290, many remedial measures

strictly private and confidential, not intrusted to the pen of a secretary, as it seems, to make a duplicate, but written with his own hand; and yet by a strange simplicity it is entered among his records. The delicate term *visito*, which he employs, was used in the sense of making a present, (as in Ann. Eccl. Wigorn. Angl. Sacra, I. 476, *visitavit conventum de pitantia*), and was of course well understood when applied to such negotiations. The secrecy and caution of the letter is remarkable. He alludes in the outset to a despatch that had already been sent, in which more liberal presents had been proposed. These, however, are now withdrawn, and an economical scheme is substituted. It shows very plainly that without fees of this kind all business would have been at a stand. *Memorandum.*<sup>a</sup> *Et memorandum quod ipsa vice dominus propria manu sua scripsit magistris W. Brun et Johanni de Buterleje quædam secreta quorum non habebantur transcripta.* *Procuratoribus in curia Romana morantibus.*<sup>b</sup> *Magistris W. Brun et Johanni de Buterleje salutem. Licet inter nos sermo exstiterit aliquis, et postmodum super eodem fuerit subsecuta relatio litteralis, scilicet de visitando omnes et singulos Cardinales; postmodum tamen deliberato consilio perpendimus quod hoc gravamina debitorum et episcopatus exilitas non permittunt: verum quia intelleximus imo scimus quod negota in curia minime promoventur, nisi in generali vel speciali fuerint visitata; propterea ad nostra negotia expedienda per literas mercatorum Pistoriensium vobis mittimus centum libras sterlingorum, in sterlingis vel grossis denariis recipiendas. Cujus pecuniæ summa, etsi modica videatur, prodesse tamen poterit cautius distributa, quod judicio quorundam fieri poterit in hunc modum: videlicet, quod dominus Hugo, Anglicus Cardinalis, habeat .xx. marcas; dominus Gerardus, Cardinalis, auditor noster .x. libras, et sua familia v. marcas; dominus Mattheus Rufus, Cardinalis .x. marcas; dominus Jord(anes?) Cardinalis .x. marcas; Vicecancellarius .x. libras; Auditor contradictorum .x. marcas; B. de Napoli, et alius Notarius magis excellens et domino papæ magis specialis .xx. marcas pro equali portione; Cubicularius domini papæ .x. marcas; Hostiarius domini papæ .x.s. sterlingorum. Aliis videtur quod a summa Vicecancellario deputata possunt detrahi v. marcæ, ita quod habeat .x. marcas tantum. A duobus Notariis et Cubiculario papæ possunt subtrahi .vij. marcæ et dimidium. Ita quod quilibet istorum habeat tantum .c. Et ita remanebunt de .c. libris .xxxiiij. marcæ et dimidium. Aliis videtur quod bonum esset respicere qu<sup>c</sup>, . . . cui est familiaris Archiepiscopus,<sup>d</sup> a quo appellatur, in .xl. vel .l. marcis, tot prius subtrahendo quot essent to . . . summæ pecuniæ recepturi. Nobis siquidem videtur, quod media via est magis proficua et honesta, dum tamen si necessitas urgeat, papa in aliquo respiciatur quod sibi placeat, a quo omnis gratia*

<sup>a</sup> Marginal.

<sup>b</sup> Marginal.

<sup>c</sup> The dots express the decayed places at the edge of the parchment.

<sup>d</sup> Archbishop Peckham.

and wholesome statutes; while he himself was in secular concerns discharging in several parts of the country\* the same duty as Bishop Swinfield in matters ecclesiastical throughout his diocese, visiting, seeing, and ascertaining for himself, what had passed and was occurring that demanded his attention. Yet Edward I. amidst all his public cares found time, as a son, for affectionate attendance on his mother, a nun at Amesbury in Wiltshire,† advanced in years and declining in health; and as a parent to provide for the marriage of his third and fourth daughters. Of the queen dowager, and Joan of Acre, the elder of these daughters, a slight mention is found in our record. After her marriage (April 30, 1290) with Gilbert de Clare, Joan

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*dinoscitur dependere. Hoc tamen quod de papa . . . nobis non est cordi, nisi in defectum illius facti causa nostra contra Assavensem<sup>a</sup> et alia nostra negotia in periculo existerent mani(festo) . . . Quo(circa?) cautum bene vellemus, quod prefato domino .xl. vel .i. marcas vel marcatus in jocalibus presentetis.* Other directions are added in the same strain, concerning a different distribution to some of the cardinals, intermixed with able instructions for the government of his agents in managing the suits: but the passages quoted are ample evidence of the corrupt practices prevalent in the then highest court of ecclesiastical appeal in Christendom, and the debased moral tone that they engendered. A singular contrast arises out of the following resolution breaking forth among these passages, and worthy of a better association. *Nolumus subterfugia querere turpia et suspecta, quibus possimus animi iudicis commovere, vel talia que erga eundem redderent nos suspectos.* Reg. Cantil. f. 68 a.

Robert of Gloucester (q. the historian?), the official of Bishop Swinfield, in his management of a controversy between that prelate and the monks of Leominster and Reading, took a higher stand. In his report he expresses a conviction that they would be glad to make it up by bribes, which he has rejected. *Libenter tamen dicti monachi facerent vobiscum pacem, dando vobis pecuniam, sed hoc non est ad honorem vestrum, quia dictum negotium coram regni majoribus extitit jam tractatum; mihi enim pro benevolentia mea habenda offerri fecerunt per Absolonem subvicecomitem Herefordensem in nundinis Leominstræ decem marcas ad unum palefridum, quas admittere recusavi.* Reg. Swinf. f. 13 a.

\* The monkish annalist of Worcester, describing the parliament at Woodstock, gives a spirited sketch from the life of his ready dispatch of business, and the effective manner in which his presence was felt, and his power exercised, both among the clergy and laity. See Ann. Wigorn. ut supra, I. 511.

† Dors. ||32, p. 149.

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<sup>a</sup> Anianus, Bishop of Saint Asaph.

accompanied her husband on a visit to his manors. Hanley, with its castle, near the Severn, in the vale to the east of Malvern hill, was one of them; and it is not improbable that the costly present of bread, wine, and fish,\* befitting such travellers, was prepared for her somewhere during that tour. The extraordinary revelry attendant upon the nuptials of Margaret, her younger sister, who espoused John of Brabant (July 8, 1290), was mournfully contrasted by the distress of the Jews, irrevocably doomed about this time in mass to quit the kingdom. The sufferings of that persecuted people excited no adequate sympathy; and therefore, like the delinquency of the judges, have been slenderly recorded. If this event originated in part from the resolution of the king to replenish his exchequer with their confiscated goods, it was mainly facilitated by the footing that the Italian merchants and money-lenders had gained here. We see how Swinfield had recourse to them in remittances to foreign parts, to Paris and Rome. In peace or war, from the equipment of an army to the sale of the wool of a convent, these bankers and usurers were the agents now universally employed. Thus were the Jews supplanted, whose avaricious conduct had increased the popular prejudice against them in proportion as their influence declined. While their assistance was necessary they were alternately detested and tolerated, tormented and caressed. High in favour with Henry III. during the early part of his reign, they increased in wealth and numbers both in Gloucester and Hereford. He even affected a personal regard for them. In a writ addressed to the Sheriff of Hereford † he freed them from the liability of being sued in spiritual courts; and in particular informed that officer that the Bishop had no business with his Jews.‡ He was not always equally

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\* Id. [39, c. p. 164. The Bishop was on his visitation during the whole of May, when they were on this bridal excursion. They afterwards retired for awhile to Tunbridge. Green, Lives of the Princesses, II. 331.

† 19 June, 2 Hen. III. Anglia Judaica. Tovey. 4<sup>o</sup>. Oxford, 1738. pp. 77, 78.

‡ *Eis firmam pacem nostram dedimus, non obstante aliqua prohibitione inde facta ab Episcopo Herefordensi, quia nihil ad eum pertinet de Judæis nostris.* Id. But the late Mr. T. Hudson Turner, in an able article on this subject in the Athenæum, Aug. 11, 1849, judiciously observes, that, according to the ancient law of England, the Jews and their possessions had always been at the absolute disposal of the sovereign. In expelling them he only exercised his recognised prerogative; for "it is undeniably true," he concludes, "however unpalatable the fact may be, that their legal estate, down to the

kind to them. His successor received them for a time under his protection; but they were not satisfied till they had forfeited it by clipping and counterfeiting the coin, for which they were severely mulcted.\* In Hereford and elsewhere they were distinguished from the other inhabitants, pursuant to the statute *de Judaismo*, by a badge of yellow taffeta, six fingers long and three broad, upon their upper garment. Under certain restrictions they were permitted to trade and live by labour, and purchase houses and lands. Their commercial diligence and connexions could not but have been useful to the inhabitants of the places where they were settled; and that they had of late ingratiated themselves with their neighbours in Hereford, and shewed a disposition towards making converts, is proved by the zealous part that Swinfield took against them. Though he was not inclined to harsh measures in general, his horror of these people induced him to interfere with an unusual degree of indignation against the Christians who kept up an intercourse with them. One of the rich Jewish families in the city was about to give a splendid nuptial entertainment in August 1286, and had publicly invited their Christian acquaintances. Swinfield was at Bosbury when he heard of it; he immediately issued a stringent prohibition, through the chancellor of the diocese, against all who should presume to attend upon such detestable banquetings, and threatened them with the heaviest ecclesiastical censure. But there was apparently a plentiful board and a hearty welcome. There were displays of silk and cloth of gold, horsemanship or an equestrian procession, stage playing, sports and minstrelsy. Such temptations proved irresistible when opposed to the Bishop's mandate, and all who were present incurred sentence of excommunication.† In the same year, but subsequently ‡ as is indicated by comparison of dates, the Archbishop

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period of their banishment by Edward I. was simply that of absolute slaves of the crown."

\* All of them throughout the kingdom were seized on the same day and hour, Nov. 18, 1278, and thrown into prison. Part of them were hanged, with many Christians, their accomplices, in the year following. *Annal. Wigorn. Angl. Sacra*, I. 503. A curious Hebrew inscription was found in an old vault at Winchester, recording, that all the Jews in this nation were imprisoned in the year 5047, which answers to 1287 of the Christian era. Tovey, p. 150.

† Reg. Swinf. ff. 35 b, 36 a.

‡ Swinfield's documents are dated in September; the bull of Honorius in November;

of Canterbury, and his suffragans, received from the Pope a bull of reproof and instruction founded upon this familiar association of Christians with Jews, forbidding it, rebuking them for having neglected it, and commanding them to take effectual and earnest care that it may be remedied. But the most complete remedy was in the hands of the King; and on his return from abroad he set the question at rest by the summary confiscation of their property and the expulsion of the whole race. Proclamation was made that passports would be granted them on a certain day.\* And accordingly with wives and children, and what they could collect of their moveables, they quitted the kingdom in a body estimated at between 15 and 16,000,† to seek new homes wherever in the wide world, among persecuting Christian, Mohammedan, or heathen nations, a refuge could be found. If, as is generally understood, this was entirely a compulsory emigration,‡ it must have been a woeful day when the existing generation of those ancient wanderers, unpitied too probably by those who exported them, bade the shores of England a long farewell. They embarked at the Cinque Ports; and seem to have gone on board at different periods between the close of July and All Saints day.§

As to the conduct of the people of Hereford in defying his prohibition with regard to the Jews, though the number of the refractory is not made known, it did but correspond with their general behaviour towards him in other instances. In secular affairs their principal burgesses were prone to set the example of resistance, and had cherished an aggressive disposition against their Bishop. It may be discerned for a long time prior to the

and it seems to have been occasioned by what had occurred at Hereford. It is in Raynaldus in a. 1286, No. 25, and in Rymer.

\* Rymer, I. pt. 2, p. 736, dated July 27, 1290.

† Matthew of Westminster, Flores Hist. in anno, gives the computed number with some minuteness at 16, 511.

‡ The opinion of Sir Edward Coke that they were self-banished, because they were no longer allowed to lend upon usury, seems opposed to historical evidence, probability, and the character of the people, who were for the most part rich, and had settled themselves comfortably in the country. This is a point that wants to be cleared. Neither Madox nor Tovey give any satisfactory insight into it. Collier, B. 5, in anno.

§ All those of London took shipping on the morrow after St. Denys' day, Oct. 10. Red Book of the Exchequer. Tovey, 232.

episcopate of Swinfield. The Bishop in Hereford was possessed of more than mere ecclesiastical power. Nearly one half of the city, with a considerable portion of the suburbs, formed a district entitled the Bishop's fee; and his authority, on particular occasions, superseded that of the civil magistrate by extending over the whole.\* Within his fee he administered justice, and committed offenders to the charge of his own officers, and to his own prison within the palace. His tenants were excused from customary burdens. At a yearly fair, held for nine days, his power to regulate transactions and to collect tolls was paramount, and the city keys were surrendered to his bailiffs for that time.† The civil authorities regarded these privileges with a jealous eye; clashings and heartburnings arose: they were on the watch to tease him. There was hardly a right that they were not prepared at some time or other to dispute; and when in self-defence he was compelled to restrain them, their chiefs came in like children penitent upon correction, and promising never to be guilty of the like again—till another opportunity arose. In this temper they went on to the last year of his life.‡ Such a state of things was far from conciliatory. The roll does not testify to any close intercourse existing between these parties; for, whatever might have been the cause, Swinfield does not appear from any of his records to have been much among them, but to have rather frequented his country residences. This year they vexed his tenants. In the Hay of Hereford (Haywood), a forest that the burgesses rented of the king, existing now only in name, the swine of the citizens and of the Bishop's men were allowed to run for mast and acorns during the season of pannage. In the autumn of 1290 the latter were excluded by the burgesses; and Swinfield sent his high steward, Mortimer, to the court then at Rockingham to obtain legal redress.§ The truth lying at the

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\* Duncumb, Collections, I. 293.

† Thus the tolls of a fair held at Caen in Normandy, for several days before and after Trinity Sunday, belonged to the lady abbess, who sent her own officers to collect them; and during that time the military governor of the place was under her command. Green, Lives of the Princesses of England. I. 11.

‡ They began in 1285 to dispute his right to arrest and imprison offenders, and were forced to submit. Reg. Swinf. ff. 28 b, 29 a. The last attempt at encroachment in Swinfield's time occurred in 1316, f. 199 b.

§ Dors. ||58.

root of these proceedings was this, that the feudal system was now on the wane, and the greater towns were every where struggling to shake off the domination of their ancient lords.

From these notices of events, by which the years 1289 and 1290 were rendered memorable, we may proceed perhaps with more advantage to the particulars which the Diary sets before us.

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### DIARY AND ITINERARY.

John de Kemeseye observes the custom of ecclesiastical accountants, bursars of monasteries, and others, by beginning his roll at Michaelmas. It is kept in the usual well-known style, the form of which has been more than once alluded to and partly described.\* But an example or two here introduced in translation, at the risk of appearing tedious, may be of service to our illustrations. The first thing that meets the eye in the margin on the left hand, kept as a receptacle for little notes and remarks, is the place at which the family are passing the day or have arrived to rest during the night. The Bishop had previously been some time at Ledbury, and in that neighbourhood, and is now residing

At SUGWAS, from Sept. 30 to Oct. 21, inclusive.

It is on a Friday: the contents of Fridays, Saturdays, and Wednesdays, shew them throughout to be days of abstinence; and the items of articles bought and consumed in their meals of breakfast, dinner, and supper, or of such as remained on hand, with miscellanies of the household and expenses of the stable, all collected from the reports of servants in each department, are arranged in the following order.

||Sugwas. ||On Friday aforesaid, at Sugwas, for the consumption of my lord's household. Bread, already accounted for. Item, two sextaries of wine. Beer, already accounted for. Item, 200 herrings, 1 stick † of fresh eels, 3 sticks of salted eels, half a salmon, 4 cod, already accounted for. ‡ In 300

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\* Pp. x. xl.

† The eels were stuck by the head upon a stick.

‡ "Laid out," is understood here.