

THE EARLY ARCHDEACONS OF SURREY.

By

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Introduction.

AN archdeacon was and is appointed by the bishop of a diocese to act as his deputy "quoad forum externum," and the office empowered the clerk collated to perform all offices and functions of a bishop, as though he were personally present, saving such acts as ordination and confirmation. A medieval archdeacon might or might not be in priest's orders: it was more important that he should be a trained lawyer and man of affairs, because of the jurisdiction he exercised and the administrative duties he discharged. A shrewd man of business was indeed invaluable to his diocesan. For the most part they were men of humble origin who after studying law at some University and obtaining the *corona benedicta* or the first tonsure, found employment in the king's chancery or exchequer courts or in the household of an ecclesiastical or baronial magnate. To the many his calling brought contact with his social superiors. To the few it opened a way to high judicial, diplomatic or ecclesiastical office.

It was an archidiaconal function to induct newly-instituted clergy to the temporalities of their benefice, to present pluralists and criminous clerks to the bishop; to clip clerks who allowed their hair to grow and conceal the tonsure; to examine the parochial clergy and ascertain that they were able to pronounce rightly the words of the canon and understood it rightly, that they knew the Decalogue; to inspect the fabric of a church and all pertaining thereto, also dilapidations in the parsonage and chancel: the supervision of what was necessary for the due celebration of the services and for the

vesture of the ministers. This they did, not by summoning the clergy to meet them at some central point, but by visiting the clergy at their homes and inspecting their churches at stated periods at least once a year, when, with a *suite* not exceeding five or seven persons in number with their horses forming a cortège, he was entitled to entertainment by the parish priest. An archdeacon then was the eye of his bishop, looking closely into every corner of the diocese.

Archdeaconries in the Middle Ages were lucrative pieces of preferment, varying in value according to the extent of the archdeaconry. Not that the increment invariably came up to expectation. William de Askeby, archdeacon of Northampton, complained in 1352 that if the procurations be paid in money, which rarely happens, he should receive 345 marcs; but if paid in meat and drink, he made no profit out of them. Archdeacons of Surrey, however, were fortunate in drawing a steady income from the rectory of Farnham (worth 25*li*, 14*s*. 2*d*. nett in 1291) annexed to their office and additional to the procurations receivable for the performance of their contractual obligations, which involved personal attendance for their reception. But in view of the multiplicity of offices held by some archdeacons there is reason to believe that their duties were frequently discharged by an Official or commissary acting in their stead. To stay the abuse, Pope Innocent IV on March 21, 1245, directed from Lyons a mandate to the English episcopate bidding them strictly inhibit the archdeacons of their dioceses from exacting procurations for the visitation of churches in their archdeaconries unless they personally visit them. Hence the rescript issued by his predecessor, to be found at the beginning of John de Pontissara's register, limiting the jurisdiction of the archdeacons of Surrey and due to the encroachment of their Official on functions properly episcopal. They were not to interfere with matrimonial or other great causes; they were not to be excessive in the fines or ameracements levied: attendance at chapters was not to be compulsory, should this involve neglect of parochial duties, and those who did attend should not be detained long. Litigation was to be discouraged, and if suits could be compounded, facilities must be given. Clerks suspended for crimes should be restored only with the bishop's approval, and offences

incurring excommunication were to be published in every church thrice a year.

Lastly there were supplementary sources of income, perquisites of office lawful or unlawful. Medieval propriety was not outraged by public officers receiving gratification in money or in kind from all who came to transact business with them. It was natural that recipients of a favour should pay a fee to the source of their gratification. We find that most religious houses regularly entered in their accounts the sums given to ministers to obtain their goodwill. Like charity the discreet term "curialitas" (courtesy) covered much.

In "The Frere's Tale," Chaucer gives an excellent summary of the judicial side of archidiaconal functions.

" Whilom ther was dwellinge in my contree
 An erchedeken, a man of high degree
 That boldely did execucion
 Of diffamation and avoutrye,
 Of chirche-reves, and of testaments,
 Of contractes and of lacke of sacraments,
 And eek of manie another maner cryme
 Which nedeth not rehercen at this tyme :
 Of usure and of symonye also.
 But certes, l'echours dide he gettest wo ;
 They sholde singen, if that they were hent ;
 And smale titheres weren foule y-shent,
 If anie person wolde up-on hem pleyne,
 For smale tithes and for smal offeringe,
 He made the peple pitously to singe ;
 For er the bisshop caught hem with his hook,
 They werin the erchedeknes book."

NOTE.—For an admirable study of the office and function of an English archdeacon, see A. Hamilton Thompson in the *Archæological Journal*, LXXII, pp. 233-84.

To avoid a repetition, which would be tedious, and to furnish a background to the period under review, the sequence of bishops of Winchester, mentioned in the text, with dates of their consecration and death, quoted from Stubbs's " *Registrum Sacrum Anglicanum*," may appropriately precede the narrative.

William Gyffard, cons. 11 Aug., 1107 : d. 25 Jan., 1128-9.
 Henry of Blois, cons. 17 Nov., 1129 : d. 9 Aug., 1171.

- Richard Toclive (or Ilchester), cons. 6 Oct., 1174: d. c. 22 Dec., 1188.
- Godfrey de Lucy, cons. 22 Oct., 1189: d. 11 Sept., 1204.
- Pierre des Roches, cons. 25 Sept., 1205: d. 9 June, 1238.
- William de Raleigh, cons. 1239: enthroned 20 Nov., 1244: d. 1 Sept., 1250.
- Aymer de Valence, elected 4 Nov., 1250, cons. 16 May, 1260: d. 4 Dec., 1260.
- John de Exon or Oxon., *alias* Gervais, cons. 10 Sept., 1262: enthroned Christmas Day 1262: d. 20 Jan., 1268.
- Nicholas de Ely, cons. 19 Sept., 1266: trans. to Winton 24 Feb., 1268-9: d. 12 Feb., 1279-80.
- John de Pontissara, cons. 14 June, 1282: d. 4 Dec., 1304.
- Henry de Merewell *alias* Woodlock, cons. 30 May, 1305: d. 28 June, 1316.
- John de Sandale, cons. 31 Oct., 1316., d. Oct., 1319.
- Rigaud de Asserio, cons. 16 Nov., 1320: d. 12 April, 1323.
- John de Stratford, cons. 26 June, 1323: Trans. to Canterbury 3 Nov., 1333: d. 23 Aug., 1348.
- Adam de Orleton, trans. to Winton by papal provision 1 Dec., 1333: d. 18 July, 1345.
- William de Edingdon, cons. 14 May, 1346: d. 7 Oct., 1366.
- William Wykeham, cons. 10 Oct., 1367: d. 27 Sept., 1404.

STEPHEN, first of these administrative ecclesiastics to be known and his immediate successors emerge from the darkness of a dark age by their attestation of contemporary diocesan documents. Entitled archdeacon (of Surrey) his signature appears on three charters executed by bishop William Giffard: (a) grant of the church of SS. Peter and Paul, Winchester, to Wlnoth the precentor for making books, in 1107 (*Winton Cartulary*,¹ No. IX.); (b) a charter appropriating the church of St. Giles, Stoke, to the monks of St. Mary Overy, Southwark (*Monasticon*, VI, 172); (c) the bishop's charter to

¹ Ed. A. W. Goodman, 1927.

Waverley abbey, 24 November, 1121 (*ibid.*, V, 531). Finally he attested Henry I's confirmation of the foundation charter of the Austin priory at Merton in 1121 (*ibid.*, 247).

ROBERT DE INGLESHAM, a clerk with a place-name indicative of birth in a Wiltshire village, for whose collation to the archdeaconry a date earlier than 1159 may be assigned. The patent roll of 4 July, 1317 recites attestation by Ralph archdeacon of Winton, Robert archdeacon of Surrey and Turstin,¹ sheriff of Hants, of Robert² de Port's grant to Henry of Blois of two mills before the bishop's house in Winchester. And from the frequency of his signature to episcopal documents, Robert can be reckoned among the cathedral dignitaries, who seem to have been closely attendant upon their diocesan and formed, as it were, his standing privy council. Episcopal charters numbered 3, 14, 33, 459 in *Winton Cartulary*: Henry II's confirmation of the restoration to the monks of St. Swithin's of certain lands wrongly detained by Henry of Blois (*ibid.* no. 26), and confirmation by the latter of William Giffard's grant of "a hyde of land called Hamle" to the monks of St. Andrew, a cell of the abbey of Tirun³ (or Tyrone), were all witnessed by "Roberto archidiacono Surrie." And from the Chapter House charters of the Cluniac priory of St. Pancras, Lewes, we learn of "H(enry of Blois) minister of the church of Winchester, confirming to the monks of Lewes, the churches of Blacingeleia and Galtona with the tithes: also one tithe of Eecham, two parts of the tithe of Reigate and Bethew, and the land that belonged to Baldwin. Testibus Rad' archid' Hantesia, Robt archid' Surrie cum aliis" (P.R.O. Ancient Deeds, A. 15430). His name also appears among the witnesses to the grant of Valerian, prior of St. Mary's, Southwark, in 1174, to bishop Richard Toclive at a yearly rent of 40s., "of all the conventual land on one side of the road opposite the entrance to their church and near the bishop's house" (*Winton Cartulary*, no. 457). Southwark manor, the London residence of the bishops of Winchester, in later times, was one

¹ Turstin, sheriff of Hants 1155 to 1159—clerk to William de Pont de l'Arche, Chamberlain of Henry I. See *The Ancestor*, VII, 59-66.

² Robert, 3rd son of Adam de Port of Mapledurham, Hants: lord of the Hundred of Kington (J. H. Round in *The Genealogist*, XVI, 9).

³ Tirun, a house of White monks (*Mon.* VI, 1049).

of the finest mansions on the Surrey side of the Thames. Portions of its walls are still to be seen built into the huge warehouses near the Borough Market, though these fragments must be mostly of a date later than the days of Robert de Inglesham.

In resuming the narrative we find his attesting signature attached to the episcopal confirmation of two appropriations made by Hamelin¹ de Warrene, which annexed the church of Dorking to the alien priory of Lewes (*S.A.C.*, VI, 270) and the church of Newdegate to St. Mary, Overy (Madox, *Formulare*, XC, 49). However, for reasons not disclosed, he appears to have transferred sometime in 1174, his services from the diocese of Winchester to the arch-diocese of Canterbury, and in attesting three instruments promulgated by Richard² archbishop of Canterbury, he is no longer styled Robert archdeacon of Surrey, but simply "Mag. Robert de Inglesham." (A) Confirmation of the appropriation of Thurnham church to Cumbwell³ abbey by Stephen, son of the founder (*Arch. Cant.*, V, 202). (B) Confirmation of a grant of Bewsfield⁴ church to the same house by the patroness, Dionisia daughter of Guncellin de Badlesmere and widow of Wielard de Salvedon (*ibid.*, VI, 195). (C) An archepiscopal charter annexing the church of Chileman⁵ to the monks of St. Bertin, a Benedictine house at St. Omer, in the diocese of Théroutanne (*P.R.O. Cal. of French documents*, I, no. 1340).

Just two more quotations and then a dull recital ends.

"Fine levied in the King's Court at Oxford, 33 Henry II, before Randolph the Justice, Hubert Walter dean of York . . .

¹ Hamelin, illegitimate brother to Henry II, both being sons of Geoffrey of Anjou: married in 1164 the Countess Isabel, childless widow of William de Blois, daughter and heiress of William 3rd Earl Warrene or Surrey. He adopted the family name of his wife, and died April, 1202, and was succeeded by his son William, 5th Earl. In the *Victoria History of Surrey* Hamelin is said to have willed in 1202, the churches of Leigh and Newdegate to St. Mary Overie (II, 10).

² Richard of Dover, cons. at Anagni by pope Alexander III, 7 April, 1174; died 16 Feb., 1184.

³ Founded as an abbey for Austin canons by Robert de Thurnham, Seneschal of Richard I, but owing to insufficient endowment, it was with consent of Stephen Langton (c. 1216) reduced to the less expensive dignity of a priory.

⁴ Bewsfield, now called Whitfield, near Dover.

⁵ Chileman, *i.e.* Dover.

Robert de Inglesham archdeacon of GLOUCESTER, touching the advowson of Ledeford" (Hist. MSS. Comm., *Wells Papers* [I2], I, p. 23, no. lxiii) "February, 1187. Final concord at Clarendon in the presence of the King and John his son, Ranulph de Glanville, Hubert dean of York, Ralf (Foliot) archdeacon of Hereford, Robert de Inglesham archdeacon of GLOUCESTER touching the grant of Over, co. Cambridge, to Geoffrey Peeche by Herbert the Abbot" (Rolls Series *Ramsey Cartulary*, I, no. xxxi).

AMICIUS. Of his beginnings nothing emerges, unless he be identifiable with the "Amic. archidiaconus" of Rouen in default for xxxs. owed towards the cost of building a chapter house, c. 1181 (P.R.O. *Cal. of French Documents*, I, no. 11). And it may be that his remove to England and subsequent collation in 1189 to the archdeaconry of Surrey can be attributed to amicable relations contracted while Richard Tocliffe, future bishop of Winchester, held the office of Chief Justice of Normandy and resided at Rouen. A conjecture, undoubtedly, from which there is no escape, unless there chanced to have been two clerks bearing the same name simultaneously holding archidiaconal office within the wide domain of Henry II. Be this as it may, his appearance on the clerical staff of the English Primate in 1182 should imply relinquishment of a hypothetical Norman dignity, for when archbishop Richard confirmed the charters¹ of his predecessors Theobald and St. Thomas of Canterbury, annexing the church of Throwley² with its chapels attached, to the monks of St. Bertin, Amicius, styled "a clerk" witnessed the instrument (*ibid.*, no. 1343). Apart from Le Neve's reference to him in 1189, an iron curtain conceals his career until (c.) 1200 when he is designated archdeacon of Surrey in Godfrey de Lucy's apportionment to the monks of St. Peter's Hyde, of a 40s. pension chargeable on the revenues of Alton church (*Winton Cartulary*, no. 393). In 1213, the Curia Regis Roll, Michaelmas Term, records litigation instituted by Amicius, archdeacon of Surrey, against certain men in a plea of dowry.

After a great fire in 1207 had devastated London and South-

¹ The three charters are printed in *Archæologia*, Vol. XXV.

² An alien priory of the abbey.

wark and destroyed the conventual church of St. Mary Overy, the canons founded a temporary church dedicated to St. Thomas the Martyr for the celebration of the divine service (Rolls Series, *Bermondsey Annals*, III, 451), and it may be the change of habitat was relevant to a Fine executed in 1214 between John le Chaloner and Grace his wife, and Amicius archdeacon of Surrey, Master of the Hospital (S.A.C., Extra Vol., I, p. 9). The Patent Roll of 25 April, 1305, recites an Inspeximus and confirmation of a chirograph dated 1215 between Martin the prior and the canons of St. Mary, Southwark on the one part, and A[micius] keeper of the Hospital of St. Thomas on the other part, witnessed by Richard and Peter, serjeants of the archdeacon. And with a record in *Bermondsey Annals*, III, 457, of the Hospital's removal in 1228 to the farm of Amicius the archdeacon, where the water is more plentiful and the air is cleaner, the iron curtain finally is rung down upon his activities.

While admitting there can be no finality in historic research, the present writer has found nothing inconsistent with Mr. Malden's solution of the problem arising from the inclusion of "P" on Le Neve's roll of the archdeacons. (See S.A.C., XVIII, 153).

LUKE DES ROCHES. Authority for the place-name apparently rests upon an entry in *The Book of Fees* (p. 1417) which runs, "The church of Hurstbourne Tarrant in the king's gift, which Luke des Roches has of Peter, bishop of Winchester." But it was not as a favoured fellow-countryman of Peter des Roches, but as chaplain to Hubert de Burgh the bishop's political rival, that Luke entered the stage of history. In 1217 when a French fleet under Eustace the Monk, a renegade cleric turned pirate, was sighted in the Channel carrying reinforcements to Louis ¹ of France "Hubert de Burgo, qui in castro de Dovre summus custos [fuit] ab alto speculanes de adventu tam formidabili certificaretur, advocavit Lucam capellanum suum, et confessus est, [et] acceptis disciplinis, sese viatico salutari praemunivit." (Rolls Series, *John de Oxenedes*, 141.) And henceforth in recording his earlier preferments, the scribes personalize Luke by his chaplaincy in the

¹ Afterwards Louis VIII.

household of the Great Justiciar, which incidentally illustrates a custom of Religious Houses in the middle ages of presenting to their best benefices influential clerks upon whose support they could rely, when in conflict with the crown or a bishop. From the register ¹ of Hugh Wells, bishop of Lincoln, we learn his presentation by the monks of Eynsham to the moiety ² of Lower Hayford church, co. Oxon: by the Prior and convent of St. Neot's to the perpetual Vicarage of Hemington, co. Hunts: and by the Benedictines of Cirencester to Oxenden, Northants. The validity, however, of this was doubted because the presentee was already beneficed, but Gualo, the papal legate, intervened and ruled that he might be instituted as he had been presented prior to the Lateran decree of 1215 forbidding pluralities (*ibid.*, I, p. 27).

Sometime before 1225 (Pat. R.) he had been created "King's Treasurer," doubtless by the good-will of Hubert de Burgh, and as emolument from ecclesiastical sources afforded the easiest and cheapest means for his sustenance, the king *sede vacante* appointed him Chancellor ³ of Lichfield Cathedral with the sinecure prebend of Alrewas attached thereto (Pat. R., 1223): and on the demise of Geoffrey de Bocland to the deanery ⁴ of St. Martin le Grand (*ibid.*, 13 September 1225), the great church from which curfew rung out to the citizens of London, a royal peculiar where the deans enjoyed immunity from both episcopal visitation and papal jurisdiction (Stow's *Survey*, I, 606). Moreover there was attached to the benefice "the church of Newport, co. Essex, in the king's gift" (*Book of Fees*, p. 1349). Meanwhile at a date unverifiable, but early in his career, Luke had acquired in addition to his deanery

¹ The various rolls of Hugh Wells, bishop of Lincoln, 1209, to his death 7 Feb., 1234-5, which constitute his register are arbitrarily numbered without regard to either sequence or date.

² The moiety in question was given about the year 1173 conjointly by Peter and (his son) Robert de Mara, who held the manor of March Baldon in Hayford of the Honour of Wallingford.

³ Henessey, *Nov. Rep.* quoting the patent roll of 14 Sept., 1225, designates Luke "Chaplain to the dean of Lichfield." The actual record runs:—"L. capellano, decano Lichfield."

⁴ "In St. Martin's Lane was of old time a faire and large Colledge of a Deane and secular canons or priests and was called St. Martins le Grand founded in 1056 as appeareth by William the Conqueror's charter dated 1068" (Stowe's *Survey of London*, 327, Ed. 1633).

and chancellorship, a dignity in the Cathedral church of Sarum. Under date 15 June, 1218, we read "Master Luke, canon of Sarum, witnessed a judgment determining a dispute between the bishop of the diocese and the Abbot of Malmesbury" (Rolls Series, *Sarum Charters*, p. 91). Again on 13 April, 1221, he served on a papal commission to effect a composition between the church of Farringdon and the Cistercians of Stanley, co. Wilts (*ibid.*, 107), and witnessed 17 January, 1222, Richard Poore's grant of Crudwell church, worth *xxili. vs. xd.*, to the Benedictines of Malmesbury (*ibid.*, 120). A canonry, however, in those days did not carry revenue, beyond a share in the common fund of the chapter distributed daily, and a voice at a chapter meeting, if he chose to reside. But the honour was redeemed from utter emptiness by the prospective reversion or possession of a sinecure prebend, such as that of Ruscombe,¹ which Luke was holding in 1223 when he granted $\frac{1}{2}$ an acre of the prebendal land to "Stephen fil Estmundi" (Rolls Series, *Reg. of St. Osmund*, I, 325). The stall, however, was relinquished in 1226 to another clerk, one Stephen de Eketon (Le Neve, *Fast*).

In 1225 further evidence of competency occurs. When a cathedral needed rebuilding or extensive repairs, a medieval bishop selected from his clergy a few "preachers of ability" and along with them sent a saint's shrine in which were enclosed relics, to be carried in procession by young clerks. On reaching a town these relics were forthwith taken to the church and left on one of the altars during the visit. The "Preacher" then spoke to the crowds who flocked thither, and those able and willing to do so, presented their offerings on the altar or shrine.² Accordingly in the year mentioned, the bishop of Salisbury deputed his canon "the King's Treasurer" to solicit alms in the diocese of Chichester for the Cathedral then under construction in New Sarum (*Reg. of St. Osmund*, II, Intro., cix). We are not told the results of the mission, but Luke's name appears on the roll of dignitaries present at the first service in the new Minster (*ibid.*, II, 38). A few days afterwards Henry III, escorted by Hubert de Burgh, arrived in

¹ A sub-dean prebend, endowed by Henry I, with lands in Berkshire : assessed in 1226 at 25 marcs (*Osmund Reg.*, lxxv).

² See Rock's *Church of our Fathers*, III, 481.

Salisbury to view the achievement, and the visit proved by no means unfruitful, for the king bestowed a grant of building material for the structure, also a gift of 10 silver marks and a costly piece of silk, while the Justiciar vowed a gift of a gold Text¹ set with precious stones and relics of saints for the service of the church. In fulfilment of the vow, a short time afterwards, Luke and Thomas Kent, styled "clerks of the Justiciar," brought the promised gift and formally laid it upon the high altar (*Sarum Charters*, II, 43, R.S.).

In the following year the capitular colleagues of Luke des Roches fined him a tenth for non-residence² (*Reg. of St. Osmund*, II, 77), a negligence not entirely without extenuating circumstances to a busy man of affairs. Not only was the actual choir attendance with its multiplied services and manifold repetitions a most onerous duty, but the pecuniary burdens of residence were also considerable. However, shortly after infliction of the fine, the chapter somewhat inconsequently ensured further absence by deputing "Mag. Lucas de Wintonia," one of their proctors, to attend a Council in London to consider a grant of a clerical subsidy for knighting Richard earl of Cornwall, the king's brother (*Reg. of St. Osmund*, 63). After much cogitation the clergy conceded a sixteenth, at the same time stipulating for its levy "according to the Taxation which had been made for the twentieth" (*Osney Annals*, 68, R.S.), *i.e.*, the 20th of Church revenues assigned for three years by the Lateran Council in 1215, to the crusade. On this occasion Luke had to pay 2½ marcs for his prebend of Blewbury, estimated to be worth XL marcs (*Reg. of St. Osmund*, 71). Likewise when the citizens of London were invited to contri-

¹ The Textus or Evangelarium, a codex containing the four gospels, whence the Anglo-Saxons called it "Christ's Book," was often magnificent. Sometimes not a few of the leaves were dyed purple whereon the writing was traced in gold or silver characters: sheets of gold studded with pearls and precious stones were not thought too good for its binding. Three months afterwards on Holy Innocents' Day, the king offered a gold cup together with a gold ring adorned with a ruby; commanding that the precious stone should be applied to the enrichment of the Justiciary's gift.

² Bishop Richard Poore's statute of 1222 enacted "consideratis gravaminibus quae sustinent canonici tam in ædificatione domorum quam in præstatione fabricae novae" that each canon for the seven next ensuing years should only have to reside forty days (see *Cath. Com. Rep.*, pp. 12, 370).

bute an Aid¹ for the same objective, they consented but on their own terms, embodied in a documentary agreement, and certified on behalf of the crown by "Luca, capellano, decano Sancti Martinis" (*Lib. Cust. London*, II, 36). For services rendered in the negotiations, the king, *sede vacante*, rewarded a tactful Treasurer with the archdeaconry of Norwich (Pat. R. 1226). The benevolent project, however, did not materialize. A certain John de Ferentino, under cover of a papal provision, established "to the king's hurt" a prior claim. Henry's second venture to requite the services of his minister had no better luck. Upon the death of Richard de Marisco, the prince-bishop of Durham, the king despatched Luke to the north country armed with a mandate bidding tenants of the See obey him, as bishop-elect in all things. But he journeyed in vain, for the monks of Durham rejected the royal nomination as uncanonical (*ibid.*, 1226). Better preferment, however, than succession to a diocese burdened with a debt of 40,000 marcs, a bequest of the deceased bishop, awaited a biddable and competent clerk. In 1229, Henry de Loundres, archbishop of Dublin, died, and then "intrusione Hubert de Burgo quondam justiciarii Hibernie, cujus Lucas extitit capellanus, in archiepiscopatum Dublinensium promovebatur" (Rolls Series, *Matthew Paris*, V, 431). And the king in a mandate confirming the dean and chapter's postulation with the light-heartedness characteristic of an impulsive if impecunious monarch, empowered the archbishop-elect to retain 260 marcs of the accrued income (400 marcs) towards the expense of a visit (the current euphemism to cover the presents made to oil the wheels of the machinery of the Curia) to obtain the *pallium* (Close Roll, 1229). Nor did the bounty of Henry end here. "Liberate to the king's tailor £55 3s. 6d. to pay for a cope, 2 chasubles, 2 dalmatics, 2 albs, 2 mitres, 2 pairs of sandals, and other pontificals for the consecration of the archbishop-elect (P.R.O. *Cal. of Liberate Rolls*, 3 March, 1230). A second but imperfect Liberate, 20 April, 1230, for £18 13s. 4d., spent in

¹ The right of the crown to an Aid was limited to:—(a) knighting the king's son; (b) marriage of the king's sister or eldest daughter; (c) payment of the king's ransom. Thus, strictly speaking, was ruled out the levy of an Aid to be expended on knighting the king's brother Richard earl of Cornwall, titular Count of Poitou, and on equipping an expedition to recover a nominal heritage.

purchasing a chalice 60s., 2 cruets 20s., a Text 6 marcs, 2 candlesticks 6 marcs . . ." (but here the parchment has perished) (*ibid.*). Luke was still detained at the Curia when the king, 12 January, 1229, wrote the pope to facilitate an early return as he was needed in Ireland, and in the same month Henry "released the archbishop from the trammels of the Court" (P.R.O. *Cal. Doc. Ireland*, 1171-1251, p. 248). In other words he was relieved of the duties adherent to an office defined in Dunstaple Annals as "Thesauarius regis" (70), *i.e.* the Treasurership of the Household and not of the national exchequer. But whatever the title may have connoted Luke had certainly been head of the Wardrobe and the accounting clerks had acted under his direction. This is clear from the submission of the Wardrobe accounts for 1227¹ to the exchequer "by the view and testimony of Luke, the chaplain, dean of St. Martin's, London." A formula which anticipates that of the later "Controller of the Wardrobe" (T. F. Tout, *Chapters in Administrative History*, I, 195-8). In 1231 a grant to the archbishop, calendared in the Close Roll, conferred the custody (*i.e.* administrative profits) of all bishoprics falling vacant within the ecclesiastical Province of Dublin. With one more exhibit a record of benefactions bestowed and relevant to his tenure of the Irish See, may close: "Mandate to the sheriff of Kent to suspend proceedings against the archbishop of Dublin for his debts" (*ibid.*, 1232) probably due to the English Exchequer and attributable to impecuniosity attendant upon payment of the exorbitant fees exacted by the Curia for validating his preferment.

A grievous political tragedy, however, was at hand. The third Henry, nebulous, inconsistent, uncertain, moved by the malign counsel of Peter des Roches, on 28 July, 1232, dismissed, despoiled and imprisoned the great Justiciar, a man of character, ability and energy, and of those befriended by his wise administration, only one stood by him, as it is written: "Post haec autem, Luca archiepiscopus Dubliensis, qui beneficia sibi ab eodem gratanter collata recognovit, eundem Hubertum in Domino consolatus, multis precibus impetravit a rege inducias Huberto, ut haberet tempus deliberandi, ut objectis commoda posset respondere" (Rolls Series, *Flores Hist.*, II,

¹ Printed by T. F. Tout, *Chapters of Administrative History*, I.

205). But his courageous importunity availed little beyond permission to visit the fallen minister in the Tower, to converse with him for the health of his soul and to hear his confession (*Cal. of Close Rolls*, 1232).

Happy as he was in the possession of an attractive personality, Luke's persistent loyalty to his friend and patron, did not impair his relations with either the king, from whom favours continued to flow, or with Peter des Roches, of whose will he was named an executor, and by whom on the death of Amicius sometime after 1228 and (presumably) before 1230 he had been appointed archdeacon of Surrey. At any rate, so he is entitled in the entry 13 Feb. 1230-31, of his presentation by bishop Bingham to the prebend of Burbage in Salisbury Cathedral (*Sarum Charters*, Vol. I), and likewise in witnessing a charter of Robert de Marmion to Peter bishop of Winchester, 27 July, 1233 (*Cal. of Charter Rolls*). Again it was "L. archdeacon of Surrey" who attested the confirmation of the bishop's will in 1238 (Pat. R.). And in 1239, removal, re-erection and dedication on a new site of the church of Frensham¹ is attributed to the aid and advice of Luke, archdeacon of Surrey (Rolls Series, *Waverley Annals*). Similarly designated he witnessed a composition between Elias de Derham² and the priory of Jumeaux in the diocese of Amiens touching the tithes of Lavington (*Sarum Charters*, 11 Aug., 1239).

Meanwhile, the death 9 June, 1238, of Peter des Roches, bishop, knight, political frondeur in his activities, having voided the bishopric of Winchester, the monks of St. Swithin's chose William de Raleigh in his stead. But as chance would have it, the relations between crown and convent being seriously strained at the time, the king disallowed the choice and advanced an alternative candidate, whereupon the monks, ignoring the royal nominee, postulated the translation of Richard Nevil, bishop of Chichester, to the vacant throne, a project in turn nullified by the Curia. The archdeacons of Surrey and Winton then taking a hand in the fray, instructed their proctor at the papal court to assert on their behalf a concurrent right in the election of a bishop. And when the

¹ Appropriated to the archdeacons of Surrey.

² Described "Rector" of the new church; an office probably corresponding with that of "Magister Fabricae."

monks protested against the claim, they were excommunicated by the archdeacons. Finally, a papal mandate commissioned Otho, legate in England, to relax the sentence and negotiate a settlement (*Cal. of Papal Letters*, I, 3 Jan. and 13 Feb. 1240). After much wrangling the king accepted William de Raleigh, who was consecrated in due course.

Solution, however, of a major contention did not relieve the tension between the archdeacons and the monks of St. Swithin. In 1243 the Convent complained to the Curia "that on a voidance of the priory, Andrew a monk in 1239, by force and assistance of the archdeacons intruded into the priory. He was therefore excommunicated by the late archbishop of Canterbury, but taking no account of this, with the aid of an armed band introduced into the cloister, he ill-used, bound and dragged off many of the brethren and kept them in prison, and caused the archdeacons to excommunicate the community: a papal mandate thereupon directed the priors of Rochester and Holy Trinity, London, to investigate the complaint and relax the sentence of excommunication" (*ibid.*, 6 October, 1243). In leaving the incident, it may be noted, that if Matthew Paris is correct, Henry III, a muddle-headed man with a positive gift for mismanagement, was the real villain of the piece.¹

Little more now remains for addition to the story of a clerk distinguished by the scribal author of Dunstaple annals as one of the "maiores de curia regis," beyond recording a papal dispensation in 1245, to hold three benefices and though by no means an old man as moderns reckon age, the disability of blindness had occasioned renunciation of his London deanery in 1244 (Pat. R.) and in or before 1247 the archdeaconry of Surrey. Dying 13 December, 1255, his body was buried in Christchurch, Dublin, in the tomb of archbishop Comyn (Cotton's *Fasti Hib.*, II, 41).

From the facts presented in the narrative, it will be seen that Luke's career was that of a prosperous secular clerk, a University man with a legal training, rising from the service of an influential minister to positions of trust under the crown, and in this particular instance, to friendship with the king. A

¹ See *Matthew Paris Chron. Maj.*, R.S. III, 622 and IV, 108. Also *Tewkesbury Annals*, I, 112, 132; also *Waverley Annals*, II, 323 (R.S.).

pluralist undoubtedly, but his life must be judged by the standards of his own day and in the light of the prevailing circumstances. Not a flaming personality, perhaps, yet as far as the records reveal his life he kept his hands clean in an age when modern ideals of probity did not apply.

Lastly with two contemporary clerks bearing the same name, it has not been easy to differentiate between them. But in the light furnished by the publication of the Wells Papers (Hist. MSS. Comm.), Le Neve's identification of Luke des Roches with Luke Chancellor of Wells in 1236, cannot be sustained. Also while instinctively hesitating to differ from a writer so learned as Professor T. F. Tout, the material gathered and garnered from sources many and diverse, does not countenance a hypothetical identification of Master Luke, archdeacon of Surrey, with Luke chaplain to Pandulph in 1213 and again 1219, and later entitled "the King's Sumpter" whose death is mentioned in the Close Roll of 1236. (*Vide Chapters in Medieval Administrative History*, I, note, p. 195.)

Master WALTER DE BRONESCUMB. His name occurs 15 February, 1247-8 as "Archidiaconus Surrie et Domini Pape, Capellanus" among some entries on a fly-leaf at the beginning of John de Pontissara's register (Vol. I). It also furnishes evidence of discord between bishop and archdeacon due to personal negligence exhibited by the latter in the fulfilment of his contractual obligations, which bore fruit in the episcopal ordinance of 1254, quoted in the introduction and significantly signed by a certain Peter de St. Mauro, of whom more anon. Apart from this incident, as his career has been traced by Prebendary Hingeston-Randolph in a preface to the published edition of Bronescomb's Exeter register, it need not be repeated here. For the moment, it will be sufficient to record that on Saturday 9 March, 1258, with the bishops-elect of Norwich and Coventry, he was ordained priest, and on the day following, Passion Sunday, consecrated bishop of Exeter by the Primate in Canterbury Cathedral (Lambeth MS., no. 497). And after some delay for reasons to be disclosed in due course he resigned the archdeaconry.

Master OLIVER DE TRACY, nephew of Richard earl of

Clare, by presentation of the king and institution by the archbishop of Canterbury, became archdeacon of Surrey with the church of Farnham, in the king's gift, the bishopric of Winchester being in the king's hands (Pat. R., 23 January, 1259). But after prolonged negotiations the Pope annulled the preferment, whereupon Oliver de Tracy retired to enjoy the fruits of benefices awaiting him in Devonshire. However, we meet him again in a letter interesting but too prolix for reproduction, directed by bishop Bronescomb to his executors relevant to some outstanding obligation to his supplanter, possibly connected with dilapidations, then as later a fruitful source of clerical disagreement.

Master PETER DE ST. MARIO or MAURO (Seymour), while envoy of Henry III at the papal court in 1260 (Pat. R.) when appointment to the Archdeaconry was in suspense, availed himself of a heaven-sent opportunity for satisfying his professional ambitions. Under date 15 April, 1263, the *Calendar of Papal Letters* (Vol. I) unfolds a tangled story. "Mandate to Peter de Sancto Mauro, papal chaplain, *archdeacon* of Surrey, rector of Farnham, into which Ademar bishop of Winchester, whose clerk he was, had inducted and instituted him. On being obliged to leave the realm with his bishop, Oliver de Tracey, a clerk in the diocese of Exeter intruded into these, but pope Alexander annulled all such intrusions into benefices held by the bishop's servants and ordered the archbishop of Tours and friar Velasco, papal penitentiary, to reinstate them. Upon Oliver's resignation the return of Master Peter was opposed by John of Pontoise, bishop of Winchester, who gave the benefices to Master Richard de Sancto, papal chaplain, which Master Peter implored pope Urban to cancel. This appeal was opposed because Walter, bishop of Exeter, obtained a papal indult to retain them: and Master Richard added that on the bishop's resignation, the king presented and the archbishop of Canterbury instituted Master Oliver, on whose resignation John the bishop gave them to Master Richard. The pope then decides that the benefices belong to Master Peter and directs a mandate for his admission to the archbishop of Canterbury and for Richard to hold his peace." A second mandate of 2 May, 1264, required the archbishop and the archdeacon of London to induct Master

Peter, and if necessary to call in the secular arm to defend him (*ibid.*) On 12 June, 1264, he obtained an indult to hold in plurality with the archdeaconry, the priory of Nartiac¹ in the diocese of Angouleme, given him by the prior of Seziniac, in the diocese of Poitiers, acting for Ademar (Aymer de Valence) late bishop of Winchester (*ibid.*).

Of this archdeacon's activities the records are strangely silent until 27 December, 1276, when the curtain is lifted by the appearance of a certain Henry de Dewgate (? Newgate) before a tribunal consisting of Nicholas de Ely, bishop, the archdeacons of Surrey and Winton, the prior of Hyde, praying relaxation of a sentence of excommunication, pronounced for maliciously defaming the bishop of Winchester in the king's court. Upon his undertaking not to repeat the offence and giving a bond of 1000 marcs, this lewd fellow of the baser sort obtained absolution (*Pontissara Reg.*, Vol. II, ed. Cant. and York Soc.).

In 1280, Peter is mentioned amongst the dignitaries present at the postulation (disallowed by the pope) of Robert Burnell, the great chancellor of Edward I, to the bishopric of Winchester (Rolls Series, *Waverley Annals*). And in the same year he began a protracted law-suit touching the tithes of Farnham and Frensham, with the convent of Waverley. The litigation after persisting many years was finally submitted, 6 April, 1295, to the arbitration of the bishop, the Abbot binding himself under a penalty of 100 marcs, payable to the archdeacon, to abide by the bishop's decision (*S.A.C.*, VIII, 179). But whatever the episcopal sentence may have been, it is not entered in the diocesan register. Meanwhile, Peter de Mario had been grievously insulted in the person of his archidiaconal Official and two of his apparitors in 1283, when "certain sons of iniquity" laid violent hands at Carshalton on Peter de Ewell, John and Thomas the clerks, up to bloodshed, threw Peter into a pond and almost drowned him. The perpetrators of the outrage with their aiders and abettors, were to be solemnly excommunicated in the churches of the neighbourhood each Sunday and Holy Day (*Pontissara Reg.*, p. 249).

In 1290, misnamed Peter de St. Maria, he occurs on the

¹ For a Religious community to be ruled by a secular clerk was a usage unknown in England.

roll of the canons of Salisbury by holding the priest-prebend of Major Pars Altaris, valued in 1291 at 10*li*, derived from a moiety of the oblations at the principal altars (W. H. Jones, *Fasti Sarisburiensis*, 400). And from a payment made this year by Peter, we learn that the bishops of Winchester were entitled to 20 marcs, a yearly charge upon the revenue of an archdeacon of Surrey (*Pontissara Reg.*). He died 23 June 1296 (MS. Cotton, *Faustina*, A., viii), and was buried in the church of St. Cross Hospital, where his tomb is still *in situ*. On the whole it can be said of an appointment originally unwelcome in England, that it commended itself with the passage of years to high authority, for the "Official of Canterbury" who sealed in 1282 the mandate directing the bishop of London to excommunicate Richard de Swinefield bishop of Hereford, was none other than Peter de St. Mauro (Rolls Series, *Peckham Reg.*, Vol. I). Moreover, significant testimony to his repute occurs in the Close Roll (Suppl.) of 2 March, 1297, "Order not to take for the use of prince Edward from the corn or goods of Master Peter de Sancto Marion, keeper of the house of St. Cross, Winton."

Of his testamentary dispositions we learn by the neglect of his executor, a disreputable namesake and nephew, rector of Coulsdon, Surrey (worth 16*li*. 13*s*. 4*d*. in 1291), excommunicated for failing to prove the will of his uncle and not even sending to the bishop a copy of the same. However, in 1299, relaxation of the sentence followed on payment of 100 marcs, arrears of the five years' pension due to the bishop, allowing for the sum of 200 marcs which the bishop had received on loan from the late archdeacon (*Pontissara Reg.*).

Master GEOFFREY DE SANCTO LEOFFARDO. From two independent sources a perplexing feature now occurs. The first appears under date 1344 in the *Calendar of Charter Rolls* (Vol. V), and reads *Inspeximus*, etc., of a charter by P. late bishop of Winton, declaring the chapel of St. Mary Magdalene, in the church of St. Mary Overie, is appurtenant to the said church. Witnesses Master Geoffrey, archdeacon of Surrey, Master Osbert the bishop's Official. The second is informative by giving the territorial name and occurs in archbishop Peckham's letter, 24 July, 1282, directed to Robert

Burnel. It mentions " G. de St. Leoffardo, officialem nostrum, archidiaconum Cantuariensem et archidiaconum Surr " (Rolls Series, *Letters*, 1, No. ccci).

Was the first a scribal and the second an archiepiscopal error? And we leave the intriguing problem at that.

Master THOMAS DE SKERNING (or Scarning), an ecclesiastical lawyer by profession with a flair for acquiring archidiaconal office and a place-name betokening birth in an East Anglian village. Collated by his brother Robert de Skerning (consecrated bishop of Norwich in 1265), to the archdeaconry of Norwich in 1272 and to the archdeaconry of Suffolk (c) 1275, he leaps into history a fully-fledged dignitary. The latter preferment he resigned ¹ c. 1298, but the former he apparently retained throughout his life. After the death of his episcopal brother 22 January, 1277, he left East Anglia to serve on the administrative staff of John of Pontoise at Winchester, and in witnessing the bishop's charters and other instruments, the title archdeacon of Suffolk invariably accompanies his signature (*Pontissara Reg.*). Similarly entitled he was granted in 1296 letters of protection for two years to journey overseas with the bishop and Master Philip archdeacon of Winton, on the king's business (Pat. R.), and when notification of Peter de Sancto Mauro's demise reached Rome, John of Pontoise, by letter, directed his Official and the prior of St. Swithin's to collate Thomas de Skernyng " a member of our household and table-companion " to the vacant archdeaconry (*ibid.*, 11 November, 1296). Upon returning to England, the first Edward, confident of his competence, appointed him an auditor of a Court created at Westminster to hear complaints against sheriffs, escheators, or any other ministers of the crown, an innovation that anticipated the Court of Requests, established by Henry VIII (Pat. R., 1296).

In the same year pursuant to a mandate directed to the archdeacon of Surrey he countersigned the appointment of a commission to investigate the antecedents of an English clerk who had applied to Boniface VIII for a benefice (*Pontissara Reg.*, 19 January, 1296). The process was due to a habit

¹ Bloomfield's *Norfolk*, III, dates the collation of his successor at Norwich in 1298.

developed during the later years of the thirteenth century, for young priests who had passed through a University, but had not obtained a benefice, to journey to Rome and supplicate for one by papal provision. In such cases the Pope nominated a commissioner to examine the candidates' history, whether he had been born in wedlock, where educated, whether he was sound in faith and morals. To these points, the applicant was required to present witnesses, upon whose testimony the commissioner would base a report.

A precise date for the death of this archdeacon cannot be quoted, though its occurrence sometime in 1300 can be conjectured from the appointment that year of his successor and from a quittance for 50*li.* in satisfaction of all his personal debts to the bishop, granted to his executor and brother Roger,¹ rector of Mapledurham, Hants, 23 May, 1301 (*ibid.*).

Master PHILIP DE BARTON, chaplain to the pope, collated 12 March, 1300, by the bishop to the archdeaconry of Surrey and rectory of Farnham, void by the death of Thomas de Skerning. So runs the record of the preferment of a clerk, whose place name through its frequency does not afford indication of the county from which he sprang. On the other hand the grant 25 May, 1269, of a messuage in Wetwang, Yorkshire, by Walter Giffard, archbishop of the Northern Province, to a Philip and Alice de Barton is suggestive of his possible parentage. (*Giffard register*, ed. Surtees Society). And from the same register we learn the payment on 14 November, 1270, of 12*li.* for good service rendered, to a Philip de Barton, an acolyte in the archiepiscopal household and others "quas nobis accomodaverunt in nundinis² S. Egidii Winton, ad negotia nostra ibidem expedienda." On 7 February, 1276, he obtained a papal dispensation to hold in plurality the rectories of Ulceby near Alford in the diocese of Lincoln worth in 1254 100*s.*, and Horningsheath in the diocese of Norwich worth in 1291 36*li.* (*Cal. of Papal Letters*,

¹ The patent roll of 1294 mentions Thomas as parson there. Presumably he resigned in favour of Roger.

² In 1110, Henry king of the English granted to William Giffard, bishop and the monks of St. Swithin's, a fair at the church of St. Giles on the eastern hill of Winchester . . . for eight whole days. Printed in the *Cal. of Charter Rolls*, III, 351.

Vol. I). However, like the last archdeacon, on the death of his diocesan in 1279, he ultimately transferred his services to the bishop of Winchester, who collated his recruit 11 July, 1292, to Meonstoke rectory, worth in 1291 216*li.* (*Pontissara Reg.*). In the same year in co-operation with the bishop he negotiated a composition which secured to the Vicar of Great Bookham, Surrey, all the altar offerings and small tithes, except hay and wool, appropriated to the Benedictines of Chertsey, and a house near the court once belonging to the rector (*V.C.H., Surrey*, III, 334). In the meantime, by industry, reasonable temper and administrative ability Philip had become a foremost clerk in the diocese, hence his appointment in 1293 by John of Pontoise to the dignity of "Official of the Diocese," an extremely important personage in the Middle Ages." The Official in every diocese was the acting head of the episcopal court, secretary for the bishop's public correspondence, keeper of the bishop's seal, for which in later ages he was called the bishop's chancellor. Whenever a presentation was made to a living, the Official held an inquest before the deanery chapter in a parish church within its limits to ascertain if the benefice was really vacant and for how long: its value: the true patron: the repute, character, education, orders, age and status of the clerk presented. A report, attested by the beneficed clergy present and sealed by the Official was then transmitted to the bishop for consideration. Thus it was that when John of Pontoise made an effort in his diocese to grapple with the evil of pluralism, a practice forbidden by decree of the Lateran Council of 1215, and later re-enacted by the Council of Lyons, he commissioned his Official to investigate cases of alleged pluralism in the Isle of Wight (*Reg.*, 14 June, 1293). Again on 21st October following, at a Court held in the episcopal manor at Southwark, "Brother Henry Merewell,¹ monk of St. Swithin's, proctor of the Convent, appeared and claimed from Master William of Essex, rector of Chiltecomb,² 2 marcs for each of the 3 years, he had been rector. William admitted the obligation, but said he had paid for his first year. Whereupon Master Philip, Official of

¹ A future bishop of Winton.

² In the deanery of Winton, with the chapels attached worth 6*li.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, but burdened with a pension to Chertsey abbey.

Winton, the judge, ordered payment of the balance to the Convent, without delay. Witnesses, Thomas de Skernynge, archdeacon of Suffolk, and others (*Winton Cartulary*, No. 39). Passing to 1 March, 1295, the diocesan register records when the death, probably in Italy, of Master Berard de Neapolis, a notary of the Apostolic See, vacated the prebendal church of Middleton, near Whitchurch, co. Hants, now called Long-parish, the bishop of Winton (the papacy being vacant) persuaded the abbess of Wherwell, a Benedictine nunnery near Andover, to prefer his Official, who entered upon peaceful possession of the same. But when the Curia alleging irregularity objected to the presentation, Philip, on the advice of his diocesan, withdrew the claim. In 1297 another illustration occurred of the evils attendant upon the appropriation of benefices to monastic houses. The monastery drew the rectorial tithes; the Vicar's portion was often ludicrously inadequate. On this occasion the "Official of Winton" secured to the Vicars of Effingham a reasonable portion of the endowments of the church hitherto enjoyed by the monks of Merton, Surrey¹ (*Reg.*, Vol. II, 13 September, 1297).

In the same year before leaving England "for distant lands," John of Pontoise constituted his Official and Henry Woodlock, then prior of St. Swithin's, "Vicars" (*i.e.* deputies) to act under the episcopal seal in transacting diocesan business. On reaching home again, the bishop confirmed their skilful solution of a similar dispute touching tithes in Barton Stacy, Hants, and quitclaimed Philip of all liabilities incurred up to 9 September, 1298 (*Reg.* and *Winton Cartulary*, nos. 387-91).

A month after collation to the archdeaconry the bishop of Winton directed the Precentor of St. Mary Overy to induct Philip to the stall of Leighton-Super-Bromswold in Lincoln Cathedral, by presentation of pope Boniface VIII (*Reg.*, 18 April, 1300). But under circumstances detailed elsewhere² the nominee had to resign a prebend reckoned among the wealthiest benefices in England. However, on 15 March,

¹ In 1317 Philip de Barton loaned 26*li.* to the Austin canons of Merton on the security of the tithes of corn and fruit and great tithes of Effingham for six years.

² Named by Philip in the foundation charter of his chantry in Chertsey abbey (Manning and Bray, III, 216).

1301, he was admitted to the prebend of Ealdlan in St. Paul's, London (Hennesey, *Rep.*, *November*).

In spite of many dignities acquired, Philip had not yet proceeded to Holy Orders proper, but when the Gilbertine canons of Mathersley preferred an acolyte to the church of Gamston, Notts, the northern Primate (17 June, 1303) struck and suspended institution pending the presentee's admission to the sub-diaconate at the ensuing Michaelmas ordination (T. de Corbridge, *Reg.*, ed. Surtees Society.) And after conforming with the archiepiscopal conditions he obtained institution and induction to the benefice on 20 September. But with a chilly gesture of contempt to a University graduate as the prefix "Master" connotes, he was given leave of absence for one year, not for the discharge of archidiaconal duties but in order "to study theology" at some Seminary. At the same time the archbishop granted letters dimissory for any English bishop willing to do so, to admit him to full Orders. It may be that he availed himself of the permits, as an iron curtain now hides Philip from view until his appearance in January 1304-5, among the diocesan dignitaries assembled in Winchester Cathedral for the postulation of Henry de Merewell in place of the deceased John of Pontoise. In 1307 Philip represented the new bishop at the parliament of Carlisle (*Rolls of Parliament*, Vol. I) to which the clergy of Surrey, presumably in a moment of mental exhilaration, chose as their proctor Richard de Wodeloc, a priest, who, in an age of compulsory clerical celibacy, boldly proclaimed a matrimonial adventure by presenting a petition "for squashing an indictment against him and his wife, while absent on the king's service" (*ibid.*). In 1313 Philip renounced the Lichfield prebend of Pipa Parva or Prees (worth *xlii. 6s.* in 1291) which he had enjoyed since 1293 (Le Neve).

Impelled by pity for the terrible miseries endured by a hapless population during the civil war between Edward of Carnarvon, and a turbulent baronage, the bishops of the southern Province in 1317, directed the archdeacon of Surrey and his fellows to urge the people within their respective jurisdictions to be assiduous at mass and in fasting and prayer, so that God in His divine mercy may guide and prosper the king and restore peace in the realm (Sandale *Reg.*, 18 August).

Moreover, the official activities of Philip at this time suggest ecclesiastical society equally infected with the spirit of disorder and probably accentuated by the impoverishment of the secular clergy. Frequently these were too poor to indulge in the luxury of a conscience, and when circumstances became too difficult or temptation too strong, the underpaid or harassed Vicar not infrequently ran away. For example, when Robert de Montefort, rector of Ashstead (worth 16*li.* 6*s.* 8*d.*), Surrey, proved unable or unwilling to liquidate certain financial obligations, his creditors, the rectors of Leatherhead and Fetcham, obtained sequestration of the benefice and the debtor disappeared. Whereupon the archdeacon admonished the culprit (or prodigal) to return to his parish and there reside, to sustain hospitality and other burdens of the cure (Sandale Reg., 16 March, 1317). On the other hand the archidiaconal relaxation of an interdict imposed upon the parish of Chaldon, Surrey, for the defaults of the rector, leaves an impression of a partly told tale (*ibid.*, 21 December, 1317). And an episcopal mandate of 25 October instructed the archdeacon to ascertain the whereabouts of Henry le Syere, a missing incumbent of Puttenham (worth V marcs), and cite him to appear before the bishop (*ibid.*). Also on the 29th of the month to conduct an enquiry concerning certain defects in West Horsley church (worth 14*li.* 13*s.* 5*d.*, less 5*li.* 11*s.* 8*d.* appropriated to Christchurch, Canterbury, and a pension of 5*s.* to Merton priory), "for which Roger de Berners (who had lately married and conceals the fact) unlawful detainer of the benefice is responsible" (*ibid.*). Yet another mandate required the archdeacon to cite the Cluniac prior of St. Saviour's Bermondsey to appear before his next Court to be held in St. Mary's Southwark, for interrogation as to the character of John Richards of Chippenham, a poor clerk with a papal provision for a benefice in the gift of the priory (*ibid.*, 12 November, 1317).

A rather pedestrian story now draws to a close. On 20 February, 1318, as an executor of the will of his brother Richard de Barton, he had to provide 23*li.* to meet the cost of repairing dilapidations in the chancel and parsonage of South Warnborough (*ibid.*). In the same year and month, when the executors had failed to prove the will of Lady Margaret, the Queen Dowager, Philip was instructed to

sequesterate her goods and chattels within his archdeaconry (*ibid.*). Finally as executor of the will of John of Pontoise (Pat. R., 1319-20) and as himself a testamentary benefactor of Chertsey monastery, there passes from the picture, a clerk, who, in his personal character and in his multifarious activities, reflected much that was best in his age, while he in no wise transcended it.

Master WILLIAM INGE. "Rex dedit et concessit Willelmo Inge, clerico, Archidiaconatum Surriensem in ecclesia Sancti Swithini Wyntonie, vacantem, et ad donacionem Regis spectantem racione Episcopatus Wyntoniensis vacantis et in manu Regis existentis: habendum cum omnibus suis pertinenciis quibuscunque. In cujus etc. Teste Rege, apud Westmonasterium, X die Aprilis. Per breve de privato sigillo."

So reads a writ dated 10 April, 1320, for the institution of an archdeacon whose stormy career is faithfully told by Manning and Bray (Vols. I, lxxviii: and III, 216-17, and summarized by Mr. H. E. Malden in *S.A.C.*, Vol. XVIII, 153-4. To these accounts there is nothing of historic value to add.

DOMINUS RICHARD VAUGHAN. D.C.L. From the *Calendar of Papal Petitions* (Vol. I) we learn the conditions under which, while Edward III's envoy at the papal court, he obtained the archdeaconry. "At Avignon, August 1347. Petition of Richard Vaughan for the archdeaconry of Surrey, void by the death at the Apostolic See, of William Inge. Granted 3 September, 1347, notwithstanding he holds the church of Saltwood¹ worth 22*li.*, and canonries in London and Abergwili, with additional clause providing for voidance in whatever way, according to the style of the Roman chancery." But the patent roll of 27 July which records the ratification of his estate in the archdeaconry is suggestive of reticence in disclosing to the Curia the actual number of benefices whereof he was at the time enjoying the fruits. Styled a king's clerk in the roll, he is said to hold in Kent, the church of Rucking worth 15*li.*, in St. Paul's by crown presenta-

¹ Exchanged in 1347 with Simon of Sudbury for the church of Herringswell worth 17*li.* 4*s.* 10*d.* at the Nich. Valor, but returned in 1283 as worth 64*li.* 8*s.* 7*d.* gross: Norwich dio.

tion the prebend of Hoxton worth 5 marcs, and the prebend of Royl in the collegiate church of Abergwili, Carmarthenshire. Also from the Calendar of Papal Letters we learn certain facts overlooked, inadvertently or otherwise, by the Curia, *viz.*, that by papal provision in 1346 he was entitled to the reversion of a canonry in Wells Cathedral with the annexed prebend of Warminster worth 40 marcs, and at Exeter the prebend of St. David's worth 6 marcs. Moreover, after admission to the archdeaconry he obtained a dispensation to retain therewith two benefices with the cure of souls (*Cal. of Papal Petitions*). Of course none of this would seem as wrong to his contemporaries as it seems to modern minds. Like other ecclesiastical lawyers who rose to distinction in the service of the king, he had to be paid. The cheapest way of doing so was by grant of church preferments, and when any bishop rashly sought to stay the scandal and enforce the decree of the Council of Lyons, by summoning non-residents to their cures, they were angrily warned off. The king would not have his clerks molested. (R.S., *Peckham Reg.*, I.)

He was appointed examiner of candidates for the office of public notary in England in 1348 (*Papal Letters*, III), a year in which began fraternization between this archdeacon of Surrey and the monks of Christchurch. Indeed a scribe of the house alludes to him as their "learned adviser and standing Counsellor" to whom in 1349 a grateful community assigned "a dwelling and a daily supply of food with an annual livery and gown" (R.S., *Lit. Cant.*, nos. 764, 769). And in 1350 jointly with John de Carleton, archdeacon of Wells, these doctors of law and public notaries, composed a discord between the Cathedral chapter and the monks of St. Martin's, Dover, a composition confirmed on 26 May, by archbishop Simon of Sudbury (Pat. R.). In 1352 Richard Vaughan renounced his preferments to become a professed monk in Christchurch, Canterbury, where he was still living in 1360. That he was pious and sincere may be admitted, though in his early conception of a spiritual office, he accepted the conventions of his age.

Intelligence of this renunciation appears to have reached Avignon in mangled form. For the *Calendar of Papal Letters* (Vol. III) recounts that in 1350 the Pope *motu proprio* provided

Raymond Pelegrini de Rapistagon, at one time nuncio in England (Pat. R., 11 November, 1347), with the archdeaconry of Surrey, void by the death of Dominus Richard Vaughan. The provision, however, never matured. For in the meantime the national irritation at the persistent provision of continental ecclesiastics to valuable benefices, and the drain of money from the realm to maintain the papal court living under French influence at Avignon, found expression in the Statute of Provisors (1351) which *inter alia* rendered all persons accepting a papal provision liable to imprisonment, and forfeited to the crown all preferments to which the pope nominated.

JOHN DE EDINGDON could not have been more than 22 years old when his uncle William de Edington, bishop of Winchester, collated him to the archdeaconry of Surrey (*Papal Letters*, III, 2 February 1352). However in view of Professor Hamilton Thompson's exhaustive review¹ of an unstimulating life, it need not be repeated here.

Master JOHN DE CAMPDEN, B.C.L., whose territorial name signifies Gloucestershire birth and possibly parentage, was collated 17 July, 1397, to the archdeaconry, void by the death of John de Edington (*Wykeham Reg.*), and though little more can be recovered than barren facts and dates, his career pictures the progress of a serious secular clerk, who rose in the service of a bishop and received the rewards of his profession. His employer, William Wykeham,² himself a business-man first and foremost, seems to have retained a certain number of the cathedral canons in his household. They moved in his retinue from place to place, and formed an inner council of clerks, who constituted an intermediate body between the bishop and the larger chapter to which they belonged. Of his beginnings nothing is known until presentation 28 October, 1366, by John de Heligan, to the Cornish rectory of Menheniot, worth *8li.*, void by resignation of William Wykeham, his future bishop. And it may be that the succession first brought the two clerks into contact (*Grandison*

¹ Associated Societies Pub., XXXV., p. 99.

² The list of his preferments occupies an entire page of the Winton register. At the Nicholas Valor he drew some £16,000 a year.

Reg., ed. Hingeston-Randolph). While rector of Menheniot, bishop Brantingham on 3 May, 1372, granted John Campden leave of absence for two years "et de dimittendo Ecclesiam ad firmam personis idoneis, prout decet," a permit clarified by a papal indult of 7 January, 1373 for three years absence while studying law at a University "the cure of souls not being neglected" (*Papal Letters*, IV). However in 1375, he exchanged his Cornish benefice for Loughborough rectory (worth 30*li.* at the Norwich Valuation and 44*li.* at the Nicholas Valor), patron Sir Nicholas Loraigue (*Brantingham Reg.*).

About this time a strange partiality for Cheriton rectory, worth 34*li.*, seems to have seized the archdeacons or potential archdeacons of Surrey. In 1351 Richard Vaughan had exchanged the Hampshire rectory of Morestead (worth 5*li.*) for Cheriton with John de Edingdon, who in turn exchanged the benefice on 12 October, 1381, with his destined successor for the church of Cliffe-Pipard, co. Wilts, patron the prior of Farleigh, a cell of the Cluniac (alien) priory of Lewes (*Wykeham Reg.*). In 1382 the bishop conferred on his confidential clerk the Mastership of the hospital of St. Cross vacated by the preferment of Nicholas Wykeham, his brother, to the archdeaconry of Norwich, and on 16 May, 1383, ordained John Campden priest (*Wykeham Reg.*). Moreover, acquisition of other sources of emolument as well as advancement in academical status is disclosed by the memorandum of a conclave he attended 14-16 November, 1384, in the convent of Southwark, when the recording scribe designates him LL.B. and canon of the collegiate church of Southwell (*ibid.*). The preferment is elucidated by the Patent Roll of 31 October, 1399, as carrying the prebend of Dunham previously held by Wykeham, who in 1366 had estimated its worth at 36*li.* p.a. However on 17 May, 1401, the stall was exchanged with John of York for the Surrey rectory of Compton, worth 13*li.* 6*s.* 8*d.* at the Nicholas Taxation (*ibid.*). In the meantime, by exchange with John Porter of Llanwenarth, co. Hereford, he had been, 2 May, 1395, instituted to the rectory of St. Botolph, Bishopsgate, London (*Braybrook's Reg.*); and on 14 February, 1401, presented to the church of Aldeburgh, "cum capella de Haslewood," worth 10 marcs, in the king's gift by reason of wardship (Pat. R.). But on the death of William Wykeham the

tide of preferment ceased to flow. In his will signed 27 February, 1403, the bishop named Campden among the executors, a company of otherwise competent lawyers who came to serious grief in the discharge of their stewardship. This we learn from an entry in the Patent Roll of 26 May, 1405, recording a pardon to John Campden, Nicholas Wykeham, John Wykeham, parson of Mapledurham, Hants, and other clerks for 40s. paid in hanaper for acquiring to themselves a moiety of the manor of Mickleham, co. Surrey, held in chief.

Apart from this mishap, there disappears from the records a clerk collated 13 July, 1397, to the archdeaconry of Surrey, on the death of John de Edingdon (*Wykeham Reg.*) and confirmed in his estate as archdeacon and parson of Farnham with the chapels of Frensham, Bentley, Elstead and Sele, 3 October, 1397 (Pat. R.). A man without vision or creative power, doubtless of decorous habits, but clearly one who acquired church preferments as a comfortable source of income, and who competently performed the functions for which he was paid. His death in the early years of the fifteenth century affords an appropriate opportunity for closing a supplementary notice of the early archdeacons of Surrey. In the glimpses we have seen of their lives and their acts, of what they did or might have done, of the insight we gain into the motives that guided or restrained their activities, there is left a mental picture, it may be, that the spirit which animated them was not one of the highest order. On the other hand, it is necessary to understand the characteristic views and the honest opinions of the period in which they lived, before we condemn its peculiar and prevailing immoralities. We must beware of scrutinizing too closely every grain of sand washed up on the shore of research.