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civil power is not simultaneously removed, and that it may be better to bear the evils which we know, than rashly to bring upon ourselves evils which we know not of.

GEORGE HENRY SUMNER.

ART. III.—MEDIÆVAL LIFE AMONG THE NOBLES.

WE exceedingly civilized people, in this extremely superior nineteenth century, are apt to look back on our mediæval forefathers as at once more, and yet less, civilized than they really were. Human nature, and human needs, are alike in all ages: it is only the expression of them which differs. In some directions our ancestors surpassed us, and in other directions we have far outstripped them. In respect of materials for clothing, whether as regards variety, splendour, or endurance—in beauty of architecture, in plate and jewellery—they were decidedly our superiors; while in respect of home comforts, of houses and furniture, of cookery and travelling, we are much better off than they were. With regard to manners, we are at once less ceremonious and more refined than they. Young ladies no longer kneel on cushions in the awe-striking presence of their mothers, not daring to take a seat; but neither do they wipe their mouths upon the tablecloth, nor help themselves from a dish with their own spoons. Their brothers do not now wait at table upon the family and guests, nor walk bareheaded in a north-east wind when a lady is in the company; nor, on the other hand, are they habitually carried to bed drunk and helpless, neither do they regard their sisters and daughters as pieces of merchandise, to be disposed of to the highest bidder.

Between the style of life led by a noble and a commoner there was a vast gap in the Middle Ages. It must not, however, be forgotten that "nobleman" is a much more elastic word than "peer," and that all knights were reckoned among the nobles. Below them were squires, yeomen, and villeins or serfs. The squire might naturally look forward to becoming a knight, if he could distinguish himself sufficiently; the yeoman could not hope for such an honour, except in extraordinary circumstances. For the villein, unless manumitted and unaccountably favoured, the thing was an absolute impossibility.

Those who explore the by-ways of history become familiar with the personal history of many noble families, to an extent which would hardly be guessed by persons unacquainted with the study. For them, the dry bones of mediæval days become

instinct with flesh and life, and those who to the majority are mere names on a printed page, stand up and walk "in their habits as they lived." It is almost like entering the castle long since destroyed, and shaking hands with the man who lived five hundred years ago, when you dive into his private papers and behold him as he was. The prince of whom you only know that he fought this battle or passed that statute, may be a very uninteresting person; but go over the drawbridge and pass the portcullis of the past: see him buying a head-dress for his wife, or a gown for his daughter, superintending the education of his son, bargaining for a new horse, paying wages to his servants—and he becomes for you a living man like yourself, and no longer a mere figure cut out of dead stone or musty parchment.

Of all the mediæval families of rank, there are very few of whom such minute details have come down to us as of that of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster. This is owing to the fact that two volumes of his Register, and several compotuses of different members of his family, are preserved to this day among the State papers. We may take this household as a fairly representative one of that of a nobleman of the highest rank in the Middle Ages.[1]

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[1] John of Gaunt, the fifth son of Edward III. and Philippa of Hainault, reckoned in order of birth, but the third of those who reached manhood, was born at Ghent, in 1340; created Earl of Richmond, Sept. 20, 1342; Duke of Lancaster, Nov. 14, 1362; Duke of Aquitaine, March 2, 1390; and assumed, in right of his second wife, the title of King of Castile, March 1, 1372. He died at Ely Place, Holborn, Feb. 4, 1399, and was buried in St. Paul's Cathedral. He was thrice married: first, in the Queen's Chapel, at Reading, May 19, 1359, to his cousin Blanche, daughter and heir (of the estate, not the title) of Henry, Duke of Lancaster (she died at the Savoy Palace, Sept. 12, 1369, and was buried in St. Paul's); secondly, at Rochefort, near Bordeaux, about Nov., 1369, to Constance, daughter and coheir of Don Pedro I., King of Castile (she died at Leicester Castle, March 24, 1394, and was buried in St. Mary's, Leicester); thirdly, to Katherine, daughter of Sir Payne le Roet, and widow of Sir Hugh Swynford, who survived him, and died at Lincoln, May 10, 1403; she was buried in Lincoln Cathedral. His children were: 1. Philippa, born at Leicester, about March 31, 1360; married at Oporto, Feb. 11, 1387, Dom Joam I., King of Portugal; died at Coimbra, June 9, 1415; buried in Batalha Abbey. 2. John, born 1361-2; died infant. 3. Edward, born about Jan., 1363; died infant. 4. Elizabeth, born probably 1364-5; married (1) about May, 1380, at Kenilworth, John Hastings, Earl of Pembroke—divorced by mutual consent, 1383-4; (2) 1384, John de Holand, Duke of Exeter; (3) at York, 1401, Sir John Cornwall, Lord Fanhope; died Nov. 24, 1425. 5. John, born about March, 1366; died infant. 6. Henry IV., born at Bolingbroke Castle, April 3, 1367; married (1) at Rochford, about Feb. 1381, Mary, daughter and coheir of Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford and Essex (she died at Peterborough Castle, July 2, 1394, and was buried at Leicester); and (2) at Winchester, Feb. 7, 1403, Juana, daughter of Carlos II., King of Navarre

At the time when the Duke's Register begins, Jan. 1, 1372, the living members of the family consisted of the Duke himself, then aged thirty-two; the Duchess Constance, aged eighteen; the Lady Philippa, aged eleven; the Lady Elizabeth, aged about eight; and Henry Earl of Derby, aged three. But there were also a number of persons residing with the Duke, who did not strictly belong to the family, and yet cannot be reckoned among the servants. Among these were his wards, of whom half-a-dozen or more are on record, but only two are certainly known to have lived in the house, though the probability is that several did so. In this class also we must place the Duke's illegitimate children, who bore the name of Beaufort, and whose mother was Katherine Swynford, state governess of the Duke's elder daughters, and subsequently his third wife. These, who more or less left their mark on English history, and who were legitimatized for all purposes, Feb. 9, 1397 (the qualifying words "*excepta dignitate regali*" are not in the original draft), were five in number.[1]

We now come to the household. Highest among the officials were of course reckoned the priests—Don Juan Gutierrez, the Dean of Segovia; Friar Walter Disse, the Duke's Lollard confessor; Friar John de Benyngton, confessor of the deceased Duchess: and the existing Duchess must also have had one, whose name is not on record, for in noble mediæval families it was not usual for husband and wife to confess to the same priest. Walter Disse appears as confessor from 1375 to 1381; his predecessor in 1372 was Friar William Baddeby, and his successor in 1392 was Friar John Kenyngham. The Duke had also a chaplain, named Sir Walter Scott. Two priests, William Der-

(she died at Havering, July 10, 1437, and was buried at Canterbury); he died at Westminster, March 20, 1413, and was buried in Canterbury Cathedral. 7. Isabel, born 1368; died infant. 8. Katherine, born 1372-3; married at Burgos, about March, 1389, Don Enrique III., King of Castile; died June 2, 1418; buried at Toledo.

[1] 1. Joan, born about 1370; married (1) 1372, Robert, Lord Ferrers of Wemme, a ward of the Duke; (2) 1396, Ralph Neville, first Earl of Westmoreland; died Nov. 13, 1440; buried in Lincoln Cathedral. 2. Blanche, born about 1372; married 1380, Sir Thomas Moreaux or Morieux; was alive in 1384, but as she is not named in the patent of legitimation, had doubtless died before it. 3. John, born about 1374; created Earl of Somerset 1396, and Marquis of Dorset Sept. 29, 1397; married, about 1397, Margaret, daughter of Thomas de Holand, Earl of Kent (she died Dec. 31, 1440, and was buried at Canterbury); died in London, March 16, 1410; buried in Canterbury Cathedral. 4. Thomas, born about 1377; created Earl of Perche and Dorset 1411-2, and Duke of Exeter 1416-7; married Margaret, daughter and coheir of Sir Thomas Neville of Hornby; died issueless, Dec. 27, 1426; buried at Bury St. Edmunds. 5. Henry, born about 1379; at Cambridge in 1388, and Oxford 1392; Bishop of Lincoln 1398, and Winchester 1405; Cardinal of St. Eusebius, June 23, 1426; died at Winchester (where buried) April 11, 1447.

went and William Benge, were attached to the household of the Duchess; and one of these may have been her confessor, though it is not so stated. Hugh Herle was in 1376 chaplain to the Earl of Derby. The officials next in importance were the seneschal, or state steward, under whom was a working seneschal of the household, and under him a comptroller; the chancellor; the treasurer, who had a treasurer of the household and a keeper of the privy purse as his subordinates; the chamberlain, under whom was a chamberlain of the household, vice-chamberlains, knights and squires of the household, and knights and squires of the body; the keeper of the wardrobe, who had several clerks as his assistants; the receiver-general, to whom all moneys were paid, and who was head of a crowd of local receivers, every county in which the Duke had property having at least one to itself; the dispenser, or purveyor for the household; the almoner, who presided over charitable gifts and religious dues and oblations; the clerk of the council, who was legal adviser and keeper of documents; the clerk of the marshalsea, whose duties lay in the stables; the custodian of the privy seal, who was subordinate to the chancellor.

The meaner officials were legion. There were a clerk of the works, a guest-master, a jewel-keeper, heralds, minstrels (who, to judge from their names, were Flemings), varlets of the household, of the chamber, and of the robes; pages of the chamber and the wardrobe; huntsmen, falconers, ushers, messengers, and a mob of underlings of every possible description —cooks, butlers, footmen, running footmen, palfrey-keepers (grooms), sumptermen (baggage-porters), dairymaids, laundresses—with as many et ceteræ as the reader chooses. There were not, however, any chambermaids or housemaids, for their duties were performed by the squires of the chamber. But there were a private physician and barber-surgeon, a tailor, a furrier, an embroiderer, and a large retinue of scutifers, or esquire-soldiers. To these must be added the governor of the Earl of Derby, who in 1374 was Thomas de Burton, and in 1376 William Montendre; his wardrobe-keeper, chamberlain, and other officials similar to those of his father; and the officers of the royal ladies. The Duchess had her own chamberlain, treasurer, and wardrobe-keeper, a number of clerks, knights, and squires—the "squire of dames" was held in some contempt by his brethren who served the nobler sex—a tailor (there were no such persons as female dressmakers), a furrier, a broiderer, damsels of the chamber (corresponding to ladies of the bedchamber, and always married women), and damsels (corresponding to maids of honour, and always unmarried), who were also known respectively as chamberers and bower-

women. A "mother of the maids" kept the young ladies in such order as she could, and a mistress of the household was over them all. The name of the latter was Maria Diaz; of the damsels of the chamber the names of four are known, one of whom was Philippa Chaucer, wife of the poet, who had filled the same position with the deceased Queen Philippa so far back as 1366. Of the damsels proper, six were Spaniards: but at least four more English ladies were in the service of the Duchess, the exact nature of whose position is not specified. The young Princesses had their separate households: the state governess of Philippa and Elizabeth was Katherine Lady Swynford, mother of the Beauforts; the state governess of Katherine was Joan Lady Mohun of Dunster, whose name has descended to us as one of the most decided Lollards of her day. We read also of one damsel of the Lady Philippa, two of the Lady Elizabeth, and a Spanish damsel and a varlet of the chamber attendant on the Lady Katherine. The last-named Princess, being in right of her mother the heiress of Castile, had a larger and more superb establishment than her sisters: they appear in the Register as simply "*Philippe de Lancastre*" and "*Elizabet de Lancastre*," but she is "*ma dame Katerine d'Espaigne.*"[1]

The Savoy Palace was the town house of the Duke of Lancaster, and stood on the north bank of the river, immediately to the west of what is now Somerset House, and was then the site of the town houses of the Bishops of Chester and Worcester. The "liberty of the Duchy" stretched from Temple Bar to the Bishop of Carlisle's "inn," on the western side of the Savoy. The Duke's estates were scattered all over England; but those of his country houses at which he was a most frequent resident were the castles of Hertford, Leicester, Kenilworth, Knaresborough, and Lincoln.

From two to three stories was the usual height even for a nobleman's castle in the fourteenth century; but there was not unfrequently a "solar chamber"—the *entresol* of a modern French house—in addition. The banquet-hall usually ran the entire height of the house; the chapel was very often placed on the second story. The ground-floor always lodged the soldiers of the garrison; the middle-floor the family; the top-floor the attendants and servants. Every bedchamber of any person of note had its accompanying private sitting-room, often an antechamber beyond, and sometimes a little oratory.

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[1] It is remarkable that Katherine Swynford kept up a distinct establishment, as if she were one of the royal ladies. She had her own seneschal and chamberlain, and at least three ladies of honour, of whom two are described as damsels of the chamber.

In the antechamber a servant waited within hearing of the master's voice, for bells were a mystery of the future, except in the form of a little handbell occasionally used by ladies. The hall was the public sitting-room, the dining-room, and the ball-room. There was also in every castle a council-chamber, often an upper room, smaller than the hall, but much larger than the bedchambers. Our ancestors squeezed even their princes into very small spaces for the night.

Beyond the large courtyard where the garrison were paraded, there was usually a smaller court, known as the base-court; the towers in which ladies or royalty resided, opened upon this inner court. Ladies usually took exercise upon the leads of their towers, except when they formed part of a large company gathered for hunting or hawking.

The floors of the hall and sitting-rooms were spread with rushes in summer, with carpets in winter; a sick-chamber also was generally carpeted. The process of removing the carpet for the rushes was known as "rush-bearing"; that of replacing the latter by the former bore the suggestive name of "sweetening." When a dance was desired, some one shouted "A hall! a hall!" and varlets entered, who swept the rushes on one side, thereby evoking sights and scents which were scarcely those of a perfumer's shop.

Glass windows were common enough at this date in noble houses; and they were very often of stained glass. The fireplace was a large sloping projection from the chimney, and the hearth a mere paving of stone below, upon which the logs of wood were thrown.

The furniture of the hall consisted of curule chairs, surmounted by cushions, for royalty alone, and stools, settles, or forms for the use of less distinguished persons. Tables were set up when wanted; for they existed only in the shape of trestles and boards, and were carried away after a meal was over. To "set" a table is a term derived from this custom, and in like manner we still speak of "a hospitable *board*." The sitting-rooms were provided, like the hall, with forms and a few chairs. The bedrooms contained a bed of the tent or French form, with a pallet or trundle-bed in addition; a large chest at the foot of the bed, called a standard, wherein the owner kept such garments as were in constant use, and a lesser one termed a coffer, which held any small articles that he might wish to keep under his own eye, such as jewellery; a few forms or stools; and a mirror fixed to the wall, and too high up to give much encouragement to vanity. In the fireplace would be a fire-fork, or two-pronged poker. Cupboards were very frequent, and the deep recess of the window was usually cushioned as a seat, and sometimes formed a box. There were no washstands,

a silver basin and ewer being brought every morning and set upon the chest for use; and wardrobes were always kept in a room or rooms devoted to themselves.

The walls at this date were in a transition state. The old practice of painting them was out of date, and the new one of papering them had not arrived; and they were now left in a state of rough whitewash or panelled wood, and covered by tapestry hangings attached to hooks fixed in the wall. A set of these hangings was termed a "hall." John of Gaunt has left on record in his will, that he possessed a hall of cloth of gold; and in his Register he mentions a hall striped with white and blue, which probably belonged to his bedchamber, since he had a bed to match. Several beds are bequeathed in his will. To the high altar of St. Paul's Cathedral he left his "great bed of cloth of gold, the field powdered with golden roses upon staves of gold, and in every stave two white ostrich plumes; the curtains of taffeta of similar work, thirteen carpets (pieces of tapestry) woven to match." (This is the best sense that can be made of a confessedly difficult passage.) To his wife, Katherine Swynford, he left his bed of cloth of gold, with all appurtenances, "of which the ground is red, fretted with black lattice-work, and in every place where the fret is joined [is] a golden rose, in every one mascle of the fret a black M, in every other mascle a black leopard;" which doubtless means alternate letters and leopards in the openings of the lattice-work. This bed was bought from his cousin Margaret, Duchess of Norfolk. He also bequeaths to his wife, "my great bed of black velvet, embroidered with a circle of fetterlocks and garters, and a turtle-dove in the midst of the circle, with all the carpets and tapestry and cushions belonging to the said bed or chambers; and to her I devise all my other beds made for my body, called in English trussing (dressing) beds, with the carpets and other appurtenances." The trussing-bed, however, was not properly a bed, but was the ancestor of the modern sofa. Beside these, he left to her "twelve cloths of gold, of which the field [is] red satin rayed (striped) with gold, which cloth I had ordered to make a bed which is not yet begun." To his son he bequeathed a "great bed of camaca (a variety of silk), checked white and red, embroidered with a golden tree, and a turtle-dove sitting on the tree, with fourteen carpets of tapestry; and to him my great bed of cloth of gold, the field piers (an unknown word) wrought with golden trees, and by every tree a white dog tied to the said tree." To his daughter Elizabeth he devised "my white bed of silk wrought with blue eagles displayed, the curtains of white silk" to match, with fourteen pieces of tapestry.

The sacking bedstead was the kind now used. Upon the

sacking was placed a mattress, and over it a feather-bed—it was matter of etiquette that a nobleman should sleep on a bed; only common people lay on a mattress—the blankets were of fustian, the sheets of linen from Rennes, Champagne, or Flanders; the quilt would be of velvet, satin, tapestry, or fur, and if of velvet or satin, would be beautifully embroidered. Of pillows there were sure to be plenty, both large and small, and always of the softest down. In the pallet-bed, which ran on castors, and was pushed under the large one in the day-time, would sleep the squire of the body on duty, or in the case of the Duchess, a damsel of the chamber.

Let us next inquire into the finances of these illustrious people. Duke John of Lancaster was the wealthiest subject in the realm, but to state his yearly income might puzzle the most diligent student of his papers. He has, however, told us what, to use a modern term, was his banker's balance in 1392; in other words, what sum his treasury at Leicester contained. "Of florins of Florence and dokettes (ducats) of Jeen (Genoa), in two parcels, there remains in the treasury of my Lord, Leicester, 2,739 florins and dokettes; of doubloons of Castile, there remains in the treasury of my Lord, 12,189; of florens of Aragon, £1,169 7s. 3d." After 1389, when he and his wife resigned their claims on the crown of Castile, they received from the *de facto* King of that country a pension of 40,000 francs per annum for their joint lives, to be continued to whoever of them might be the survivor. The second payment of this money, which was made in gold, required forty-seven mules for the carriage of the chests containing it. From the Duke's Register and compotuses we gather the following items. For his personal expenses he assigned 1,000 marks per annum (£666 13s. 4d.), which must be multiplied by about eighteen to reach its value in the present day; to his Duchess he allowed £500 a year in 1372, increased in 1392 to 1,000 marks; to his son, 250 marks; and to each of his daughters, Philippa and Elizabeth, £100. The same allowance is made to Lady Mohun for Katherine, "for wardrobe, chamber, and all other expenses, and for bouche of court." This last item signifies, for such board as was suitable to her rank: for, as we shall further see, rank entered into everything. In 1392 the allowance of Sir John Beaufort was £100 per annum; of Sir Thomas Swynford, £40; while poor Lord Ferrers had to content himself with £5. The salaries and wages paid to the household ran as follows: Dean of Segovia, 1s. 3d. per day; governor of the Earl of Derby, £13 6s. 4d. per annum; chantry priests, singing mass for the deceased Duchess Blanche, from £5 to £10 per annum; wardrobe-keeper, £2 13s. 4d. per annum; knight, 1s. 8d. a day; esquire-soldier, £2 10s. per annum; dispenser, £2 per annum;

clerk (priest), £1 10s. per annum; damsels, from £1 to £11 3s. 4d. per annum, the Spanish damsels receiving also, for *chaussure*, £3 6s. 8d.; tailor, 1½d. to 4d. a day; furrier, 4d. a day; varlet of the chamber, £1 6s. 8d. per annum; page of the chamber, 6s. 8d.; palfrey-keeper, 13s. 4d.; sumpterman and kitchen knave, each 6s. 8d., all per annum.

The close of the fourteenth century was beyond others the era of magnificent apparel; and, strange to say, the gentlemen were far more superb than the ladies. With the exception of head-dresses, female costume may be said to have been in a very reasonable mood at this time; but surely never did men make such objects of themselves as during the period between 1360 and 1420. They wore long gowns which trailed about the feet, even when on horseback, occasionally varying them with short tunics, some of which barely reached the hips. Their sleeves were of enormous width, often turned back to show the lining, and cut into the form of leaves at the edge. Their boots had points which must have preceded the wearer into the room by more than a fourth part of his height. Their hats were sometimes little round wideawakes, at other times enormous erections more nearly resembling the Guards' bearskins than any other modern head-covering. This last form was known as the "copped hat," and came into use first about this time.

There are several portraits of John of Gaunt in illuminated MSS. The "Golden Book" of St. Albans represents him as kneeling at a desk, dressed in a white robe with a red pattern, red sleeves, and a gold collar. He wears a blue fillet adorned with gold bezants. The exquisite miniature in the "Portuguese Drawings" shows him in golden armour, with a blue tunic, bordered with pearls and edged with gold. All his English portraits represent him as a tall, spare man, with extremely light hair and forked beard. His son Henry IV. was very unlike him in every respect but height; he was of magnificent proportions, and handsomer than his father, with a fair complexion, but dark eyes, and hair only one remove from black. The Duchess Constance appears to have been tall, and of fair complexion for a Spanish lady. The Lady Philippa—if we may trust the "Portuguese Drawings," which is less certain than might be wished—was fair, with golden-brown hair, and of much smaller build than her father and brother. Her sister Elizabeth was considered one of the beauties of her century, and the best singer and dancer at court; but Philippa possessed a human heart, and Elizabeth did not. Katherine resembled her father in complexion, but differed from him in growing very corpulent during the latter part of her life.

We are told that the Duke possessed a coat of state, which

was so closely encrusted with jewels that before Jack Straw's rioters could divide the spoil, it was necessary to hack it in pieces with their swords; but this item of information comes from enemies who were anxious to discredit him in every way they could, and cannot, therefore, be received without hesitation.

He has told us very little about his wardrobe in his private papers. All that can be added from this source is that he possessed a gold collar, a gold girdle, two gowns of foreign baldekyn "*escroitz*"—which probably means woven, or embroidered with, little crosses—striped with blue and white silk; one of red baldekyn of gold of Cyprus; another gold girdle, "with letters of J and divers bars and mottoes." He bequeathed to his Duchess "my best collar with all the diamonds; my best hart with the good ruby; my two best ermine mantles, with the robes to match." The hart was doubtless the King's badge of the White Hart, which we usually find to have been made of gold and white enamel. The Duke's own badges were a golden antelope, a white greyhound, and an ermine ostrich feather with a golden quill. The wild boar, which he bestows in the form of buttons, may also have been one of his cognizances; but the fox's tail, and yet more the red rose, were probably adopted as badges of the House of Lancaster at a later date.

Of the costume of the Duchess we know even less than of the Duke. Her splendid figure in the "Portuguese Drawings" presents her in a dress of crimson velvet, edged with ermine, and a black border above; tight orange under-sleeves with black arabesque pattern, and ermine cuffs. The under-gown is a bright blue with a *chiné* pattern, and a black border. She wears the Syrian, or steeple cap, of crimson velvet embroidered in gold; a fret, or network of gold and pearls, confines her hair; and behind floats a yellow scarf. This figure has been engraved in Shaw's "Dresses and Decorations of the Middle Ages;" but the colours of the original are brighter, and the face younger and lovelier, than in the copy. The Register records but one gift from the Duke to his wife of anything but jewellery and plate. He orders the delivery of 183 large pearls, and 346 of undefined size, for a fret for her; and he bestows on her, chiefly as New Year's gifts, a circle and a buttoner (button-hook), both of gold and perry (goldsmith's work); 1,808 pearls of the largest sort, object not stated; a round barrel, garnished with gold and perry, to contain relics; a gold nouche (button, stud, or brooch), and a collar with balas (rose ruby), sapphires, diamonds, and pearls; 400 pearls, and sixty of the largest pearls—the Duke deals lavishly in these gems; a gold button (doubtless a solitaire), "in the shape of a wild boar, of gold and perry; an eagle

of gold enamelled white, and a baldekyn of double silk;" four "buttons of wild boars," of gold and perry; a nouche of two rows of gold and perry, with a balas ruby. The only entry concerning her wardrobe proper, is an order to deliver to Aline Gerberge, one of the damsels of her chamber, "all manner of things necessary and needful for the attire of the head of our beloved companion;" and to William de Stanes, "all cloths and furs and all other things belonging to the body of our beloved companion aforesaid."

Concerning the younger members of the family, rather fuller information can be given. For the Earl of Derby, "against the coronation of the Queen," were provided "one long tabard of blue damask, of the gift of the Lady Duchess, and one long gown of Cyprus and one slop of the same, of the gift of my Lord of Lancaster, and one short gown of [cloth of] gold, of the gift of my Lord Duke, and one slop of [cloth of] gold of Damascus, and one paltok of satin powdered with golden leopards, and one paltok of white and blue silk—all of the gift of my Lord of Lancaster."

A tabard and a slop were both short tunics, the former very loose; antiquaries differ as to whether the paltok were a cloak or a tunic. Let us hope that the Cyprus was well lined, for it is crape, and seems but an airy material for winter garments, the coronation having taken place on the 14th of January. Damask was a very rich silk, only inferior to baldekyn. The furriers were next summoned to exercise their craft upon these garments: and we read that they furred "one short slop of red damask, of the gift of my Lady of Lancaster; one long gown and one short one, of [cloth of] gold of Cyprus," which were presents from the Duke; one tabard of blue damask, the gift of the Duchess, was furred with *new* gris (marten's fur), which suggests the idea that old fur was thought good enough for the rest. But Earl Henry of Derby, at any rate in his youth, was a very stingy man, as nobody can doubt who reads his compotuses. Whence he derived this quality of mind is not easy to judge, but assuredly it was not from his father. He pays, during this same year, 1382, 1s. for "scouring ermines," and lays in eight pairs of spurs for his own use. His stepmother makes him a further present of a long blue and white gown, a royal robe, a short gown of scarlet, and a short slop of red damask, all of which he has furred. These articles were provided for him when a boy of fifteen. Ten years later, in 1391-92, we find him in receipt of the following: One baldekyn of gold of Cyprus; four ditto "of the gift of the Lady Duchess of Aquitaine, namely, two wrought with golden lions, and one wrought with crowns of gold of Cyprus;" two ditto, "the

ground *blodio*" (blue or blood-colour), "of the gift of the Duke of Aquitaine, my Lord's father."[1]

Prices of materials and garments ran as follows:—Baldekyn, by the piece, from £2 13s. to £4; baldekyn of Cyprus, which appears to have been a superior kind, £4 to £8; satin, about 4s. 6d. per yard; linen 1s. 6d. to 1s. 10d. per ell. Eighteen gowns, given to eighteen poor women on Maundy Thursday by Lady Derby, cost only 7s. 6d. Boots were 8d. a pair; low slippers, 6d.

The Lady Elizabeth having reached the mature age of about sixteen—decidedly a mature age for matrimony at a time when brides were not unfrequently from four to twelve years old—was married to John Hastings, Earl of Pembroke, at Kenilworth, in the spring of 1380. But alas! her father is not sufficiently considerate to tell us what she wore. He only informs us that he paid £13 13s. 4d. to Hermann Goldsmith for her wedding-ring, and that it was set with a ruby; that her offering at the mass was 6s. 8d.; and that he gave £10 to the officiating heralds, and £13 6s. 8d. to the minstrels who "made minstrelsy." A year later, in March, 1381, he pays 8 marks for the wedding-ring of Mary Bohun (the bride of his son Henry), only eleven years of age; this was also set with a ruby. The making of this ring, and of another ring with a diamond, cost £1 8s. 8d.

Some details concerning the bridal attire of these young ladies may be assumed with certainty. Each of them would wear a circle or fillet, with no other head-dress, and the hair would flow downwards from it, unrestrained by plait or curl. The dress would be cut low on the neck, quite irrespective of the season; but the arms would be covered with tight sleeves to the wrist, possibly finished by a cuff of fur or gold embroidery. The dress would have no frill or other finish at the neck, but the cote-hardie might be worn over it—a fur jacket

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[1] For the young Princesses we find provided the following: "Ten buttons of gold and of perry, bought of John Pallyng," for Philippa, and the same for Elizabeth; "to our dearest daughter, Dame Philippe, a fillet made of three balases received from Sir Johan Cheyne, and of 28 pearls received from Sir Johan de Bathe; to our other daughter, Dame Elizabeth, one fillet" similarly described, 1373. For three baldekyns of gold of Cyprus, bought for Philippa, Elizabeth, and Katherine, for Christmas, 1379, the Duke pays £20; and for three ditto, "the ground blue, given to Philippa and Elizabeth, and a knight of *Duche-londe*, £21. To Hermann Goldsmith, jeweller, of London, 21s. 7d. is paid for making two bottles and a turret (? *torrell*) of gold, made by him into a collar for Philippa; 6s. 8d. for making a silver hart, and a golden terrage, into a nouche for her; and 29s. 11d. for making eight *new* bars of silver gilt into two *old* girdles of silver for Philippa and Elizabeth." The scribe must surely have exchanged his adjectives.

without sleeves. As to the bridegroom, he would probably wear the long robe, of velvet, cloth of gold, or baldekyn, with white frills at neck and wrists, or perhaps at the neck only, made of rich lace; his heavily-plumed hat would be carried in his hand, and his boots would be a marvel of absurdity, requiring the toes to be well turned out before he could clasp the bride's hand. Both would be almost sure to wear a girdle, not round the waist, but close to the hips; and girdles at this date were so rich as to be rather articles of jewellery than of clothing. The favourite colours for both sexes seem to have been blue, red, pink, slate, and a very bright, light shade of apple-green. White and black are also much used. The patterns are mostly *fleurs-de-lis*, crosses, rings, rambling arabesques, or horizontal stripes; flowers and perpendicular stripes are less common. Violet and yellow are colours rarely seen. Any mixture of colours in the same garment was known as "motley." Taste would appear to have been somewhat at a discount in the matter of colour, for we find blue and apple-green, slate-colour and lilac, red, pink, and claret in the same costume.

The family of Duke John of Lancaster were highly educated for their day. He and all his children could read and write; autographs of Henry, Philippa, and Katherine are still extant. The education of gentlemen and ladies alike comprised music and dancing, hawking, heraldry, and etiquette, to which the gentlemen added military tactics and state-craft, the ladies cooking, distilling, carving, surgery, and needlework. Earl Henry of Derby went beyond this, for he was sent into Italy at the age of twenty-five to learn Italian. French was a matter of course, for only about 1370 did the English nobles begin to use their own tongue in ordinary intercourse. Both sexes had to be adepts in waiting at table when young. As to manners, the youth of the nobility were taught to speak low, and not until they were addressed by their elders; not to sit in the presence of their parents; and not to speak without the name of the person addressed. Boys were instructed never to wear a hat when a lady was of the party, not to feed dogs or cats at table, and in every way to yield precedence to a woman of their own rank or superior to it; but they were not desired to refrain from either drunkenness or profanity. Girls were taught not to bite their bread, nor put knives in their mouths, and were desired to brush their teeth every morning, and not to use the tablecloth in lieu of a pocket-handkerchief; they were also to drink their wine mixed with water. But neither were they warned to refrain from swearing, the only restriction upon which was that certain oaths were considered proper for ladies, and others were to be left to the gentlemen.

Of books for children and youths there were none but works on etiquette and school-books. There was plenty of poetry and fiction, but little of it was fit to read; there were didactic and devotional books, and lives of the saints in profusion. Some of these last were little more respectable than the other fictitious works. Latin Psalters and even French Bibles were not uncommon among the higher classes; and after 1382 there were English Bibles. We may be sure that the Bible was not unknown in the Savoy Palace, for the Duke, Lady Swynford, and Walter Disse were professed Lollards, though little sway were their opinions permitted to have over the actions of two out of the three. The Princess Katherine's governess, Lady Mohun, and Geoffrey Chaucer, the father of English poetry, both prominent Lollards of a truer type, were in the Duke's household; and Wycliffe himself was a personal friend. But on the other hand, the Duchess Constance and Earl Henry of Derby were determined enemies of the "new doctrine." The former, indeed, was not without excuse; for the side of Lollardism displayed to her was anything but a pious one. The mention of Chaucer induces me to add that in the Duke's Register the poet's name is usually spelt Chaucy. There is an interesting entry, under date of 1381, which would be more so if we were told the exact relationship, of the "expenses of Elizabeth Chaucy, at the time that the said Elizabeth was made nun in the Abbey of Barking." If she were Chaucer's daughter, as seems probable, she may have been in 1381 a girl of about fifteen years of age.

At this period, the chief meals of the day were two in number, dinner and supper, with three more which might or might not be usual in any household. These were breakfast—rarely taken by men unless aged or invalids; the void—a light meal of sweet wines, cakes, and spices, in the early afternoon, and generally restricted to the higher classes; and the rear-supper, a lighter edition of supper taken later in the evening. The usual hour for dinner was ten, and for supper four o'clock; and these were the customary hours for centuries. Our ancestors at this time rose about five, and were in bed by eight, or nine at the latest; so that midnight was to them really the middle of the night.

All ranks of persons in a household dined and supped together in the hall; the family on the daïs, at a table which ran across, and was called the high table; here the guests also were seated. The servants and retainers sat at one or more tables which ran lengthwise, at right angles to the high table, in the lower part of the hall. Forms, not chairs, were the seats; and the table, being made of boards laid on trestles for the occasion, was much narrower than ours, so that the waiters

could stand and hand the dishes across from the further side. The seat of honour was in the middle of the high table, facing the hall. At the table of the sovereign, every sewer (waiter) tasted the dish which he brought in, the officer of assay dipping a piece of bread in the gravy, which the waiter ate. This was done as a precaution against poison. Nobles always used gold or silver plate; it was thought very mean to eat in earthenware.

It was usual, during the former half of the Middle Ages, which ended about this time, for husband and wife to share one plate, and for a friend to offer a share of his plate was a special honour. Every person was provided with knife and spoon, but each had to help himself to the dishes with his own.

By no means an idle ceremony was that bowl of rosewater which was carried round before and after the meal for the guests to wash; and to offer the bowl in wrong order of precedence was an affront of the deepest dye. For a subject, uninvited, to wash in the bowl brought for royalty was also a most arrogant and impudent proceeding. With this exception, neither bowl nor towel was changed as it passed round the table.

In smaller, such as knightly houses, where only one table was set, the large silver salt-cellar was the divider of rank. The family and visitors sat above it; the servants below.

Extremely little information on this head can be gleaned from the Duchy of Lancaster papers. The Duke bestows sundry tuns of wine on various persons; he orders a tun of wine which was laid in at Kenilworth to be sent to his wife at Hertford "with as much haste as you can," because she "has great need of wine at this present," 1372; he sends four does from Melbourne Park to the officers of his daughter Katherine, 1375; he pays £2 13s. 4d. to Clement Lavender, fishmonger of London, for an erection in the Savoy Palace, "to keep the fishes in," 1376; he pays on account £80, "for our purveyance of salt fish and herring at Blakenby and Yarmouth," which supply he orders to be sent to Snayth, 1381; he provides a tun of Gascon wine and a vat of Rhine wine for the marriage of his son; he pardons William his "*charioter*" for "breaking and losing" two tuns of Gascon wine on the road from Knaresborough to Pomfret; and he tells us that he sustained the loss of eighteen tuns, one pipe, and three-quarters "of divers wine destroyed and lost in our manor of the Savoy, by the rebellious commons in the time of the great tumult (*i.e.*, the Wat Tyler riots), and one tun and one pipe and a quarter destroyed in our castle of Herts at the same time, and by the same rebellious commons." These are in 1382. In 1383 he issues an order to "catch salmons." For one vat of Rhine wine, in 1392, he

pays £3 13s. 4d.; its carriage to Lincoln, apparently from London, costs £2 6s. Earl Henry of Derby gives a "lagen" of Romeneye wine to his sister Philippa, it would seem as a birthday present, in 1382; and in 1394 he sends from London to his wife at Hertford, "*ostre, musculis, et sprottes.*"

In the absence of further information, the gap may be filled up by the *menu* of a dinner at which John of Gaunt was one of the guests, given by the Bishop of Durham in 1397.

The first course.—Venesone, with ffurmenty; a potage called viaundbruse; hedes of bores; grete fflessh; swannes rosted; pigges rosted; crustade lumbard in paste; and a sotelte.

The second course.—A potage called gele (jelly); a potage de blandesore; pigges rosted; cranes rosted; ffesauntes rosted; herons rosted; chekenes endored (larded); breme (a variety of pork); tartes; broke braune; conynggs (rabbits) rosted; and a sotelte.

The thirde course.—Potage bruete of almondes: lewde lumbarde; venysone rosted; chekenes rosted; rabettes rosted; partrich rosted; peions (peacocks) rosted; quailes rosted; larkes rosted; payne puff; a dissh of gely; longe frutos; and a sotelte.

It will be noted that the courses do not consist of various dishes as now, but that each is a dinner in itself, and that the sweet dishes are very few as compared with the meat. Some names cannot be translated, but "long fruits" were a kind of pancake. The "sotelte," with which every course concludes, was a fanciful ornament, which might or might not be of edible materials, such as a castle, a dragon, or a knight.

Two or three points are specially to be noted in old cookery receipts—their extreme vagueness; they direct you to "take milk," or "take hares," without a hint of quantity; their horrible mixtures—they mix cheese and honey, pork, almonds, and ginger, ale, vinegar, and wine; their excessively indigestible compounds—there is a dish termed mammenye, "after which the"—doctor; and the odd way in which whole fowls and beasts are only "for a lord," and must be cut in pieces for the eating of the commonalty.

The mention of the doctor brings him naturally on the scene, and his presence was likely to be wanted after a mediæval dinner-party. In the fourteenth century the ladies in noble families had well-nigh ceased to be the doctresses of their households, but the era of medical men as a separate order had scarcely come in. At this date all physicians were priests, and all barbers were surgeons. Illustrious houses kept one of each attached to the family. Prescriptions were about as curious as receipts. Medical herbs were in much use, and many of them probably did good service; but what benefit could be derived from pounded pearls, potable gold, live woodlice, viper broth, and many equally palatable-sounding compounds? Much superstition was mixed with the practice of physic; not

only were herbs to be gathered with reference to the ascendency of different planets, and medicine taken on days determined by the position of the signs of the Zodiac, but amulets were worn round the neck, and a hair of the beard of some saint was accounted a panacea for all imaginable diseases.

Carriages were at this date of two kinds—the litter and the whirlecote, the former being used mainly by ladies or invalids. For ordinary land-travelling, the general mode of progress was on horseback. The Duke purchased two horses for his own use during 1375-6; a courser, which cost £20, and a black trotter, for which he gave £12. A whirlecote was provided to convey the Duchess to the funeral of the Black Prince, new harness for which cost £8; it was drawn by six horses. A dun palfrey for the Duchess was bought at £10; and one for the Princess Philippa at £7. Saddles were very splendid and costly articles. The Duke gave £33 6s. 8d. in 1376 for saddles for the young Princesses and their governesses; and twenty marks in 1382 for another for the Princess Elizabeth, of velvet embroidered with gold. As to the costs of travelling, we find his daughter-in-law, Mary Countess of Derby, sending a man and three horses from Kenilworth to Ely at a cost of 4s. 3d.; and a man and horse from Kenilworth to Pleshy, in Essex, three days' journey, for 2s. Her own progress down the river from Fleet Street to St. Katherine, by the Tower, costs her 4s. From Coventry to London, a journey of five days, is 1s. 8d. The Duke pays 3s. 4d. to a strange bargeman who rowed him from Lambeth to the Savoy. For a new barge, built at Mortlake, he gives £13 6s. 8d.

Travelling by water was a very slow process. Nine months were once consumed by John of Gaunt in the Channel, in a fruitless endeavour to land at Calais. He allowed for travelling expenses 6s. 8d. per day to his chancellor, and 1s. 8d. to his seneschal. His own allowance from his father, when employed on embassies, was £5 per day, beside expenses.

It may be interesting to add a few miscellaneous items of expenditure. Masses for the dead were 1d. each; a missal cost about six guineas. The writing of a roll is on one occasion charged 12s., and on another £1 0s. 8d. Oblations (which in mediæval compotuses always signify gifts to the Church, as distinguished from the poor, and may consist of every imaginable thing beside money) range from the stingy 2d. of miserly Henry of Bolingbroke, to the regal £1 8s. 8d. of his father in 1379, at the obit of Sir John Arundel "and other bachelors, to God commanded by tempest in the sea." A chalice for his chantry chapel, built over the grave of his wife Blanche in St. Paul's Cathedral, costs the Duke £3 5s. 8d.; and the making of a new altar £5 0s. 8d. For the tomb he gave

the magnificent price of £486. Twenty-three loads of hay cost £5 15s.; and 427 lbs. of wax are worth £11 0s. 6¼d. For a falcon the Duke pays £3 to £8; and for a "trumpet for a hackney" £1 15s. 2d. A bed of blue worsted, bought by the Countess of Derby, cost £2 in 1388; a coffer for jewels, 50s.; and a standard or large chest for garments, 30s. Jewellery and plate form superb and costly items. About the highest-priced articles are an engraved gold pint-pot, "graven with crowns and written with a reason" (motto), £28 19s. 9d.; and "twelve gold buttons, round, in the form of a garter, written with a reason, and wrought with lilies and little bells," £55 15s. 7d. One hundred hanaps, or large cups, of gold and silver, were given by the Duke between 1371 and 1383. New Years' gifts, which were mostly of plate or jewellery, were a very heavy tax upon a mediæval Prince. For this item only the Duke paid in 1380, £155; in 1381, £194; and in a previous year undefined, £396.

The average duration of human life was far shorter in the fourteenth century than now. Men and women were considered, and conducted themselves, as grown up at an age when we scarcely expect them to have lost all their interest in playthings. Fifty was old age; and a man who passed sixty was regarded much as we now look upon one of ninety and upwards. "Old John of Gaunt, time-honoured Lancaster," never saw his sixtieth birthday. Yet he lived too long for his own comfort; lived to see his son an exiled traitor—of how black a dye few now realize; his daughters married, all but one in foreign lands; and nearly all his friends estranged. And then he seems to have thought it time to make his peace with God. But instead of taking hold of His strength, he leaned on the broken rush of his own doings. The friend of John Wycliffe might have known better. No stronger proof can be afforded of the fact that the Lollardism of the Duke of Lancaster was of a merely worldly and political type than the opening words of that last will, wherein the old man, conscious of his unreadiness to meet God, pitifully orders to burn around his bier "ten large tapers, in the name of the ten commandments of our Lord God, against which I have too evilly trespassed, supplicating the same our Lord God that this my devotion may be an expiation for me of all that against the ten commandments I have very often and too evilly done and forfeited: and beyond these ten, shall be set seven large tapers in memory of the seven works of charity, of which I have been negligent, and of the seven mortal sins: and beyond these seven, I will that there be set five large tapers in honour of the five principal wounds of our Lord Jesus, and for my five senses which I have most negligently expended, for which I pray God

for mercy; and notwithstanding these tapers, I will that there be three tapers in honour of the blessed Trinity, to whom I surrender myself for all the evils which I have done, praying for pardon and for mercy, for the mercy and pity which of His benign grace He has done for the salvation of me and other sinners."

The last few words sound more like a trace of Lollard teaching. So he died, commending his soul to God, "and to His very sweet mother Saint Mary, and to the joy of Heaven;" and there were trentals and obits and masses sung at the chantry altar, and a superb hearse in St. Paul's, which stood down to the time of the Great Fire; and the princely life was over than which never was seen one with more splendid opportunities of serving God and man. They were all thrown away. Yet, if we inquire what was this man's special sin, beyond that alienation of the heart from God which is the sin of all men, it will be found that his life was rendered vain and worthless, less by any deliberate wickedness or unparalleled temptations than by the moral indolence of a paralyzed will. Neither physical inertia nor mental inactivity was among his failings. Nay, compared with most men of his day, he was better rather than worse, for he had the grace to be ashamed of sins of which few men in his time ever thought of being ashamed, and to vow amendment. But when it came to the point, he could not prevail upon himself to give them up.

Those who have drawn their impressions of the character of this Prince from his private papers, and not from the charges brought against him by his enemies—some of whom were of his own household, and the worst of all was his own son—are likely to be of opinion that the favourite accusations brought against him—that of unbridled ambition, and that of dissolute life—are, the one completely disproved, and the other decidedly minimized. But the saddest charge of all is left untouched—that he knew his Lord's will, and did it not.

EMILY S. HOLT.

ART. IV.—"THE TEACHING OF THE APOSTLES."

WE have received the following letter from the Reverend Professor Swainson, D.D., Master of Christ's College, Cambridge:

Many of your readers will remember the excitement produced in England and on the Continent, about eight years ago, by the arrival of a volume, printed at Constantinople, containing a complete copy of the "Epistles"