



TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

Bristol and Gloucestershire

Archæological Society

FOR

1899.



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Edited by Rev. C. S. TAYLOR, M.A.

VOL. XXII.

BRISTOL:

PRINTED FOR THE SOCIETY BY J. W. ARROWSMITH, QUAY STREET.

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TRANSACTIONS OF THE
Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society.

PROCEEDINGS AT THE SPRING MEETING IN THE
NAILSWORTH DISTRICT,

On Wednesday, May 24th, 1899.

THE Spring Meeting of the Society was held as above, the arrangements having been made by a Local Committee, consisting of the Rev. W. H. SILVESTER DAVIES, Chairman, Messrs. A. J. MORTON BALL, E. BENJAMIN, R. CALCUTT, W. J. CLISSOLD, H. DENNE, A. E. DICKENSON, W. A. EAST, Revs. E. W. EDWARDS, E. W. EVANS, Mr. J. GARLICK, Captain HOLFORD, Messrs. E. KIMBER, W. LEIGH, S. MARLING, H. B. McCALL, A. PLAYNE, E. POLLOCK, Q.C., Rev. G. M. SCOTT, Mrs. SELBY, Dr. SHETTLE, Messrs. C. H. STANTON, Rev. W. SYMONDS, Miss TABRAM, Major WILLIAMS, Messrs. G. LOWSLEY WILLIAMS, and R. WILSON. Messrs. A. E. SMITH and A. H. PAUL acted as Local Secretaries.

A large party of members and associates assembled at Nailsworth Station at 11.0, where a number of brakes and other conveyances awaited them. Among those present were: Sir JOHN DORINGTON, President; Mr. G. M. CURRIE, Treasurer; Rev. W. BAZELEY, General Secretary; Mr. A. T. MARTIN, Editor of the *Transactions*; General ELLIOT, Colonel ARCHER, Dr. OSCAR CLARKE, Revs. G. S. MASTER, S. E. BARTLEET, D. L. PITCAIRN, Messrs. F. FOX, MORTON BALL, A. E. HUDD, F. TUCKETT, W. SETH SMITH, E. S. HARTLAND, F. A. HYETT, H. MEDLAND, H. W. BRUTON, C. H. DANCEY,

H. KENNEDY SKIPTON, J. BRYAN, W. J. STANTON, E. P. LITTLE, F. B. DE SAUSMEREZ, most of the members of the Local Committee, and many ladies.

Some little time elapsed before a start could be made, as, owing to the unfavourable state of the weather, several members who had intended cycling thought it more prudent to ride in the carriages, and it was only by dint of great exertions by the General and Local Secretaries that seats could be found for all. At length, all being ready, the lengthy procession moved off, and went by the Bath Road to

CALCOT BARN,

in the Parish of Newington Bagpath. The following notes on the places visited were prepared by the General Secretary for the programme of the Meeting: "The barn, according to Bigland, is 130 feet long, and is capable of holding 900 loads of corn. Its principal interest, however, lies not in its great size, but in a stone tablet inserted in the wall, bearing the following inscription—'ANNO GRE MCC HENRICI ABBATIS XXIX FAIT DOM H EDIFICATA,' from which we learn that this barn, which belonged to Kingswood Abbey, was built by Abbot Henry, in the time of Edward I., six hundred years ago. There is another tablet which records that the barn was partly destroyed by fire in 1728, and was rebuilt by John Pill, carpenter, at the expense of Thomas Estcourt, Esq., the lord of the manor. There is also a carved stone, which appears to be the top of a Roman legionary monument, with the figure of a soldier on horseback carrying a round shield, and followed by men on foot."

After various ingenious suggestions had been made with regard to the subject of the carving, the party proceeded to

BEVERSTON CHURCH,

where they were welcomed by the Rector, the Rev. E. W. EVANS.

"The church consists of a west tower, a modern porch, a nave 40 ft. by 19 ft., a narrow south aisle, a chapel

at the north-east end of the nave, known as the Berkeley chapel, and a chancel 28 ft. by 14 ft. The church is said to have been rebuilt in 1361 by Thomas, Lord Berkeley, who also restored the adjoining Castle. The tower has two stages, the lower of which is quite plain on the north and west; on the south side are two narrow, round-headed windows, and a piece of sculpture, earlier than the tower itself, has been inserted in the wall. This has been thought to represent S. Andrew. The upper stage is battlemented and pinnacled.

The arcade between the nave and south aisle is Transitional Norman, or late 12th century, and consists of three pointed



BEVERSTON CHURCH FROM S.W.

arches resting on two round capitals with round shafts, and on two returns of a similar character. The ornamented capitals are excellent examples of Transitional work. The south door belongs to the same period. An arched canopy in the south aisle is unfortunately hidden by the organ. The upper part of the pulpit is Decorated or Edwardian. There is a passage, which, perhaps, at one time was only a squint or hagioscope, connecting the Berkeley chapel with the chancel. On the south side of the chancel

are two very beautiful two-light 14th century windows, with quatrefoil and trefoil cusped compartments in their heads, and hood-moulding ornamented with ball-flowers. There is a priests' door with ogee hood-moulding and crocketed finials. The 15th century piscina resembles a piscina in the lower chapel of the adjoining Castle."

In the course of some interesting particulars about the church, the Rector said that previous to the so-called restoration in 1844, there were some wall paintings visible,



WESTERN RETURN OF ARCADE,
BEVERSTON CHURCH.

one of which represented the literal transubstantiation of the consecrated wafer into the Body of Christ, with Pope Gregory the Great kneeling in adoration before the altar. This, he thought, was in the chancel. Another represented the Last Judgment; and there was also a picture of S. Christopher. These paintings had been covered over, and the font — originally beautifully carved — had been ruthlessly cut away

by the London architect who took in hand the restoration (?) to make it more *shapely*.

The parish, Mr. Evans mentioned, had been without a resident rector at various times, and it was during one such period that the ancient rood screen was taken down, and eventually found its way, in a very mutilated condition, into the rectory garden, where creepers were trained over it. He had sent a cartload of the wood to Gloucester, where Mr. Frith, under the superintendence of Messrs. Waller & Son, had managed to restore the screen as they saw it, and he thought they would agree with him that the result was extremely satisfactory.

The party, having passed a vote of thanks to the Rector, on the motion of the PRESIDENT, seconded by the Rev. W. BAZELEY, then proceeded to inspect the various features of interest in the church, particularly admiring the careful way in which the screen had been restored.

Arrangements had been made for luncheon in the school-room; but as the party was too large to be accommodated at one time, it was necessary to divide it into two, and while one half refreshed exhausted nature the other proceeded, under the guidance of the Rev. W. Bazeley and the Rev. E. W. Edwards, to

BEVERSTON CASTLE,

which had been kindly thrown open to them by Mr. Garlick.



VIEW OF CASTLE FROM BEVERSTON CHURCHYARD.

“The Castle appears to have been built at two distinct dates—by Maurice de Gaunt, c. 1225, and by Thomas, Lord Berkeley, c. 1356-61,—but there was probably a fortress on

the same site before and after the Norman Conquest. The building, when completed, is said to have been quadrangular, with four towers, a barbican, and a surrounding moat with drawbridge. The remains of a circular tower have been discovered in the rectory garden, outside the Castle moat. This tower may have been part of an outer defence, or may have belonged to an earlier fortress.

At the present time there remain a large tower, which



SOUTH TOWER, BEVERSTON CASTLE.

would have formed the south-west angle, 34 feet long by 30 feet wide and 60 feet high; another tower, set diagonally at the north-west angle, 24 feet square; a curtain or wall connecting these towers, containing various rooms and galleries, about 65 feet long; and a barbican commanding the entrance. The great hall, occupying the south side of the quadrangle, seems to have been used as a dwelling until the beginning of the 17th century, when, Mr. Blunt thinks,

it was destroyed by fire. A farmhouse was built on its site, but this was burnt down about 1791, when the present house was built. According to Bigland, the Castle was also devastated by fire in the latter half of the 17th century. An engraving in his *Gloucestershire Collections* shows the north-west tower with a part of the north curtain attached to it, but no part of the Castle now remains between this tower and the barbican.

The south-west tower, which is entered by a flat-headed doorway on the east side, consists of three storeys. The

basement, probably a guard-room, has a plain 13th century groined roof and an ogee-headed window in very perfect condition. An octagonal turret has been so insecurely attached to the east side of the great tower that it has been



GENERAL VIEW OF CASTLE FROM N.W.

found necessary to secure it with bolts and a chain. It contains a newel staircase, by which access is obtained to the upper part of the building. A large room on the first floor, which probably was originally used for domestic purposes, was set aside in the 15th century as a garrison chapel. This is shown by the sedilia and piscina of that date. What remains of the 14th century east window shows

that it must have been exceedingly graceful. Another large room occupies the third floor, and next to it in the curtain is a small chapel, which served for religious worship until the 15th century. This earlier chapel could contain very few worshippers, but a large number of people occupying the adjoining rooms could see the priest through the squints, of which there are two on either side.

From the top of the tower, on which the Union Jack was flying in honour of Her Majesty's birthday, a good view was obtained of the church, village, and surrounding country.



THE BARBICAN, BEVERSTON CASTLE.

A gallery with a narrow passage on its west side, occupying a great part of the first floor of the curtain, is now used as store-rooms for the farm. The north-west tower is entered from the courtyard behind the dwelling-house. The room on the basement retains its groining, but those above have lost their floors. Various fireplaces and windows enable one to reconstruct in imagination the rooms which were probably occupied by the lord's family. There are no traces of the north-east and south-east towers, if they ever existed. The barbican commands the

chief entrance and the drawbridge over the moat, its outer and inner walls being pierced for gateways. Near it is a picturesque barn said to have been built to accommodate pilgrims on their way to Malmesbury.

In 1051 Beverston was the scene of a great gathering of the retainers of Earl Godwin and his sons, Harold and Sweyn. After the Norman Conquest Beverston, being a manor dependent on the King's Hundred of Berkeley, was granted to Roger de Berkeley, Lord of Dursley. On account of his devotion to King Stephen, this and most of his other manors were taken from him by Henry II., and conferred on Robert Fitzhardinge. On Robert's death it passed to his third son, Robert, surnamed Weare, who was the ancestor of the Gaunts, Gournays, and Ap Adams, its subsequent possessors. Thomas Ap Adam sold it to Thomas, Lord Berkeley in 1331, and he rebuilt it. From the Berkeleys the manor and Castle passed in succession to the Poyntzes, Fleetwoods, Earstfields, Hickses, and the present proprietors, the Holfords.

The most interesting period in the history of the Castle is the year 1644, when it was besieged by the Parliamentary forces under Colonel Massey, Governor of Gloucester. It held out successfully under Colonel Oglethorpe, its Royalist governor; but a little later on, when Oglethorpe had been taken prisoner, it was surrendered to Massey by its despondent garrison. Colonel Henry Stephens, a kinsman of the late owner of Chavenage, then held it for the Parliament."

When the second division of the party had finished lunch the carriages were again entered, and a short drive brought the excursionists to

CHAVENAGE HOUSE.

"This interesting manor house, which lies in the parish of Horsley, about two miles north-west of Tetbury, was built in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and altered at the end of the 17th and at the beginning of the 19th century. Like many other houses of the same date, it was originally built in the

form of the letter **E**. It contains many windows of 14th century work, which were doubtless brought from Horsley Priory, a cell belonging to the Priory of Bruton, in Somersetshire, which formerly stood on the south side of the parish church of Horsley.

Chavenage was part of the manor of Horsley, which was granted in 1542 to Sir Thomas Seymour, and, on his attainder, to Sir W. Denny, of Dyrham, whose son Richard



EAST VIEW OF HOUSE.

Stephenses of Eastington. The representative of that family in the reign of Elizabeth was Edward Stephens, who married Joan, daughter of Richard Fowler, of Stonehouse. Their initials E.S. and I.S. are to be seen

on the labels of the hood-moulding of the porch, also the date 1576, which is probably the date of the building of the house.

The arms of Stephens, *per chevron azure and argent, in chief two falcons rising or*, and their crest, *a demi-eagle displayed or*, appear in many parts of the mansion. The Fowler arms, *quarterly azure and or, on the first quarter a hawk's lure and line of the second*, may be found on the mantelpiece of the hall.

In 1891 Chavenage was purchased by Mr. G. Lowsley Williams, by whose kind permission the Society visited it.

On the party, or rather a portion of it, assembling in the hall, Mr. SETH



SOUTH VIEW OF CHAVENAGE HOUSE.

SMITH gave a description of the chief architectural features



VIEW OF NORTH SIDE.

of the house, illustrating his remarks by a plan which he had prepared; afterwards the members dispersed throughout the house, visiting with much interest various

rooms associated with the names of Sir Philip Sidney, Lord Leicester, Oliver Cromwell (this room contains some excellent tapestry), General Ireton, Lord Essex (general



DINING ROOM FIREPLACE, CHAVENAGE HOUSE.

of the Parliamentary forces), Colonel Stephens, Sir Hugh Cholmondeley, Queen Anne and her prime minister, (Harley, Earl of Oxford.) In Queen Anne's room is a beautifully-carved oak bedstead, two

chairs of her date, and some Flemish glass representing Adam and Eve and the Judgment of Solomon.

After spending some time in and around the house, the members betook themselves to their carriages, and after a pleasant drive arrived at

AVENING,

where they were courteously welcomed by the Rector, the Rev. E. W. EDWARDS, who asked them before entering the church to sing the national anthem, it being Her Majesty's birthday, a request which was, of course, willingly complied with. The Rev. W. BAZELEY then described at some length the most noticeable features of the structure.

"The Church of the Holy Rood is approached from the north by an ancient bridge spanning the Avon, a streamlet

which gives its name to the parish. A view of the church in Bigland's *Gloucestershire Collections*, taken from this point, shows a road skirting the churchyard wall, and a man with two pack-horses in the foreground, which quite bears out the local tradition that the Bath road originally ran between the churchyard and the Avon.

A valuable report of the church, drawn up by Messrs. Carpenter and Ingelow, architects, will be found in the 14th volume of this Society's *Transactions*. The church consists of a nave with north porch and north aisle, a central tower with north and south transepts, and a chancel.



VIEW OF CHURCH FROM S.W.

The west wall of the church appears to have

been rebuilt in the 18th century, when the 14th century west door was shortened and blocked up, and a classical west window of two lights was inserted above it.

On the south side the two-light windows, one with a cusped sixfoil head and the other with a quatrefoil head, are Decorated or 14th century; the buttresses and middle window are a century later. There are traces of a south door, which was stopped up when the Perpendicular window was inserted.

The south transept dates from the 13th century. It has a Decorated window at the south end which has lost its original

tracery, a blocked-up Perpendicular three-light window on the east, and a modern doorway on the west. The lower part of the tower is Norman, the upper stage and the battlements are Perpendicular. The original Norman windows of the belfry are seen above the roof of the nave. Three square-headed Perpendicular windows have been inserted on the south-east and north sides of the belfry. There is a staircase leading to the belfry on the south side of the tower, the original entrance to which was within the chancel. The chancel is



VIEW OF CHURCH FROM S.E.

twice as long as it was originally; the western half is the eastern Norman, and Decorated. The latter was probably built as a Lady Chapel when the earlier Lady Chapel was destroyed by fire. A 14th century wall-plate with characteristic ball-flower ornament runs along the

whole length of the chancel wall. There is a two-light 14th century window on the south side. The mullions and transoms of the east window are modern insertions. The original sill remains. On the north side of the chancel the foundations of the east wall of the Early English Lady Chapel remain, and a round-headed piscina. One of the original Norman windows appears high up on the north wall, and beneath it is a 14th century window of a flamboyant

character, which was inserted when the 13th century doorway, leading from the chancel into the older Lady Chapel, was blocked up.

The north transept was also built in the 13th century, but has undergone more alterations than the south transept. The beautiful east and north windows were inserted in the 14th century. The tracery of the latter was renewed in 1888, but the hood-moulding with its rose and ball-flower terminations is original. In the west wall of this transept may be seen the remains of a Norman doorway. If this is in its original position, there must have been a 12th century transept or some other building on the site of the present transept.

The porch is of two dates. When constructed in the 13th century it had only one storey, the roof of which was clear of the Norman arch of the north door; but in the 15th century it was divided into two storeys, the upper one serving as a parvise or priest's chamber. A square-headed doorway, having its spandrels filled with delicately carved oak-leaves was inserted in the 12th century arch and a hood-moulding with square terminations, ornamented with foils. The Norman arch fortunately survives the 13th, 14th and 15th century restorations, to say nothing of the many later ones. The capitals, which rest on twisted shafts with circular and square bases, are carved on the east side with two lions, the heads of which appear to merge into a human face, and on the west with the braided work characteristic of Runic or Saxon crosses. The head of the arch is now enshrined in the Parvise. The tympanum is gone and a plain stone occupies its place. In the east wall of the parvise is a doorway with a lintel resting on chamfered brackets. There are no traces of an internal staircase in the porch, and the approach to the parvise may have been from the rood-loft stairs through a chamber over the north aisle.

On entering the church, a curious piece of carved stone is seen in the east jamb of the doorway. It looks like the side

of a Norman font, and contains three pairs of figures. A fragment of this stone is also built into the external jamb.

The main walls of the nave are Norman, but the south windows are 14th and 15th century insertions. The roof has a higher pitch than the ordinary 12th century roof; at the east end above the timbers may be seen the Norman doorway which led from the belfry into the space above the Norman ceiling. On the north side of the nave a mutilated



VIEW OF INTERIOR.

Norman arcade of two round arches, resting on a shaft with a round cap, separates it from a narrow aisle rebuilt in the 14th century. The roof of the aisle was reconstructed in the 17th century. It is evident that there was a rood-screen across the east end of the nave, for the pillars of the west arch of the tower have been cut away to receive it. The doorway at the top of the once existing rood stairs remains. A 13th century pointed arch occupies the place of the

original Norman arch in the west wall of the tower. On the south side of the tower arch is a recess with a segmental Norman arch, ornamented with chevron moulding. Here, no doubt, stood the altar of the Holy Rood, the piscina of which still remains in the south wall.

The groining of the tower is Norman, and has two diagonal square ribs resting on shafts fitted in the four angles, and there are two deeply splayed Norman windows above the north arch. The tower appears to have been built with solid north and south walls, but these were cleverly pierced with pointed arches in the 13th century. The eastern arch of the tower is fairly perfect and consists of a plain segmental head resting on massive capitals with inverted-cone moulding and half-round shafts.

Messrs. Carpenter and Ingelow, in their report, call attention to a square opening, or hagioscope, in the north-west pier of the tower, which was apparently filled in when the Early English arches were pierced in the north and south walls, and also to a low chamfered jamb in the angle of the tower buttress. These, they think, may indicate the existence of a recluse's cell similar to that mentioned on the Clopton brass at Quinton, in this county. (See *Transactions*, vol. xiii. 168.) But for the jamb the opening would have been called a leper's window. It will be seen that the edge of the tower arch has been chamfered to enable the person using the window to see the priest officiating at the altar of the Holy Rood. The roofs of the transepts were altered in the 17th century and the old cross braces removed. The mortices remain.

The south transept has been used as a burial chapel by the Driver family, of Aston, near Cherington. There are four of their monuments on the walls. One of them depicts John Driver, who died in 1687. A pedigree of the family is given in the *Heralds' Visitation of 1682-3*, p. 59. The heraldic bearings of the family were: *Per pale indented argent and azure two lions combatant counter-charged.*

In the north transept is the monument of Henry Bridges, fourth son of John, Lord Chandos of Sudeley, who died January 14th, 1615. Henry Bridges, we learn from Mrs. Dent's *Annals of Winchcombe and Sudeley*, in his early days led the life of a freebooter, "indulging in deeds of lawlessness and robbery almost surpassing our modern powers of belief." He left the county for a time and dwelt in Kent, but he eventually married the eldest daughter of Samuel Sheppard, Esquire, of Gatcombe, lord of the manor of Avening, and



DRIVER MONUMENT IN S. TRANSEPT.

settled down in this retired spot. Sir E. Bridges says that in his time (*circa* 1815) traditions of his maraudings still hung about the Gloucestershire village where he lies buried.

The groining of the chancel is extremely good, the 14th century moulded ribs harmonising well with the round diagonal ribs of the 12th century. The later work has carved bosses at the intersections; the earlier none. A 14th century piscina remains on the south side of the sanctuary, and there are

two blocked-up Norman doorways, one leading to the belfry and another, as has been already mentioned, connecting the chancel with the earlier Lady Chapel.

The belfry is now reached by an external doorway and by a staircase built against the south wall of the tower. A doorway from the belfry leads into the space above the groining of the chancel, which is lighted by a small quatrefoil window in the east wall. It is possible that there was at one time a priest's chamber here as at Elkstone, where

it was converted into a culver or pigeon-house, but there are no traces of floor beams.

There are five bells—three cast in 1628, another cast by Abraham Rudhall, of Gloucester, in 1756, and a fifth with the names of the churchwardens cut out. For a brief time there was a sixth bell, for about 1830 the Avening ringers conceived the bold plan of transferring the treble bell of Cherington to their own belfry to complete their peal, believing that if it were once there it would belong to the church. The theft was successfully accomplished, but the magistrates soon showed them that their law was faulty, for they ordered the bell to be replaced at Cherington, and punished the culprits with six months' imprisonment. In Ellacombe's *Church Bells of Gloucestershire*, pp. 144-6, are two copies of verses on "The Rape of the Cherington Bell."

Avening has had two well-known rectors: Robert Frampton and George Bull. Robert Frampton, who was Dean of Gloucester from 1673 to 1681, and Bishop of Gloucester from 1681 to 1691, held Avening, as well as Standish, with his bishopric till 1685. He was deprived of his bishopric in 1691, after the accession of William III., because he refused to take the oath of allegiance and supremacy. On his resignation, George Bull, rector of Siddington and prebendary of Gloucester, was presented to Avening by Mr. Philip Sheppard. He built a rectory-house, lived amongst his people, and overcame their aversion to his faithful teaching by his loving ministrations. In 1705 he was appointed to the see of S. David's, but died in 1709.

Avening was one of the many manors possessed by the unfortunate Brictric, son of Algar; and it is said in the Domesday Book that he had a hawks' eyry there. After the Conquest Brictric was deprived of his estates and thrown into prison. Avening was bestowed on Queen Matilda, and she gave it to the Abbaye aux Dames which she had founded for nuns at Caen. In the reign of Henry V., when the alien priories were dissolved, the manor of Avening was appropriated to the Bridgetine Convent of Sion, founded by

him in 1414. At the dissolution of the monasteries the manor was granted to Andrew, Lord Windsor, who sold it to the Sheppards."

Before the members left the church, it was mentioned by the Rev. W. BAZELEY that the building was in a somewhat dangerous condition, and that it was proposed to undertake certain repairs, but he was convinced that nothing would be done to destroy its ancient features.

The RECTOR said that the parishioners were proud of this old church, and the necessary repairs would be carried out in a very conservative spirit. They did not aim at such a restoration as was carried out in some churches, where very little was left of the old building.

The party then proceeded to the grounds of the New Rectory to visit, by the kind permission of Mrs. Selby, some pre-historic stone chambers. They were removed there in 1806 from a long barrow, 165 ft. long and 59 ft. wide, which then existed in a field near Avening Court. Two chambers were discovered, in one of which were eight and in the other three skeletons. The circular entrance roughly cut in the two front stones of one of the dolmens is very similar to that



VIEW OF CHAPEL AND PRIEST'S HOUSE, NAILSWORTH.

found in the Rodmarton barrow. See *Transactions*, vol., v. p. 99; and *Archæologia*, vol. xvi., p. 362, where a plan of the interior is given.

A lovely drive down the Longfords valley brought the party to Nailsworth, where, by the kind invitation of Miss Tabram, they inspected the very interesting ancient chapel and priest's house at the Bannuts. Until recently, this part of Nailsworth was a chapelry of Avening, and, no doubt, in mediæval times one of the priests of the Parish Church lived here and ministered to the inhabitants. For many years the chapel has been put to secular purposes, and at one time was even used as a stable! A portion of it is now utilized as a museum of interesting relics, which were collected by the late Mr. Tabram, to whom we are indebted for his care of these ancient buildings.

After tea in the National Schoolroom, lent for the purpose by the Rev. G. M. Scott, the vicar of Nailsworth, the party repaired to the railway station for their various destinations.

TRANSACTIONS OF THE
Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society,

AT THE ANNUAL SUMMER MEETING AT FAIRFORD,

*On Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday, August 9th, 10th,
and 11th, 1899.*

THE Twenty-third Annual Meeting of the Society was held at Fairford on the above-mentioned dates, and as the weather was beautifully fine it proved to be most successful and enjoyable. Upwards of a hundred members were present. That comfortable angling hostelry, "The Bull Hotel," was made the headquarters, and Mr. and Mrs. Busby's excellent arrangements and unremitting exertions for the comfort of the large number of guests committed to their care gave complete satisfaction. The meeting was admirably organised by the General Secretary, the Rev. W. BAZELEY, whose comprehensive illustrated *Guide* to the places visited was highly appreciated; while the necessary and multifarious local arrangements were excellently planned and carried out by Mr. F. B. BULLEY, who kindly undertook the arduous duties of Local Secretary. Mr. GARDNER S. BAZLEY, as President for the year, entered on his duties in the course of the first day of the meeting, and his notable Presidential address on the subject of stained glass—a peculiarly appropriate topic to be selected for treatment at Fairford—was one of the not least striking features of a highly interesting and enjoyable meeting. The following were the Local Committee, and most of them were present during the whole or a portion of the meeting: Rev. F. R.

CARBONELL (Chairman), Mr. E. A. ABBEY, Lieutenant-Colonel D. ARCHER, Mr. H. C. BARKLEY, Rev. F. D. BATEMAN, Earl BATHURST, Rev. G. H. BARRETT, Mr. C. H. BLOXSOME, Mr. C. BOWLY, Rev. A. H. BROWNE, D.D., Rev. L. B. BUBB, Rev. J. A. B. CARDUS, Major CHAMBRES, Rev. A. CLEMENTSON, Rev. D. G. COMPTON, Messrs. R. D. COOPER, R. DAUBENEY, R. DIMSDALE, Rev. R. P. DAVIES, Mr. R. ELWELL, Rev. J. A. FORD, Messrs. A. HUSSEY FREKE, H. MARTIN GIBBS, Sir M. E. HICKS-BEACH, Bart., M.P., Rev. W. P. HAND, Messrs. A. HENDERSON, M.P., A. HITCHMAN-ILES, Rev. C. C. JOHNSON, Messrs. J. JOICEY, J. JONES, Captain KENT, Mr. A. U. KENT, Rev. W. S. LEONARD, Mr. C. LEWIS, Rev. C. M. R. LUCKMAN, Mr. G. L. MACGOWAN, Rev. J. MAC KAYE, Mr. H. J. MARSHALL, Rev. F. C. MASTER, Mr. T. BUTT-MILLER, Rev. H. J. MORTON, Colonel PORTER, Rev. H. P. SKETCHLEY, Rev. C. E. SQUIRE, Mr. G. SLOPER, Rev. F. R. STEAVENSON, Mr. J. THORNTON, Captain W. F. TOSSWILL, Rev. G. J. WOODWARD, Rev. W. H. WRIGHT, and Mr. S. P. YATES. Among others present were: Sir JOHN DORINGTON, Bart., M.P. (President for 1898-99), the Revs. J. S. SINCLAIR, W. BAZELEY, G. S. MASTER, F. E. BROOME WITTS, BAGNALL OAKLEY, Messrs. CHRISTOPHER BOWLY, F. F. FOX, A. J. MORTON BALL, H. W. BRUTON, G. M. CURRIE, ST. CLAIR BADDELEY, G. H. WOOLLASTON, J. S. PRITCHARD, S. H. SWAYNE, J. BAKER, F. F. TUCKETT, F. R. V. WITTS, F. J. TARR, P. WERE, H. E. NORRIS, DE SAUSMEREZ, LEIGH, LLOYD BAKER, &c. The gathering included a large number of ladies.

On Wednesday morning, starting from Fairford, or Cirencester, as the railway service was to each most convenient, the party assembled at Ampney Crucis, where they were received at the Church of the Holy Rood by the Vicar, the Rev. J. C. JOHNSON. The following account of Ampney Crucis, as well as of the other places visited, is taken mainly from the *Archæological Notes* which had been prepared by the General Secretary, the Rev. William Bazeley, for this meeting:—

"The present parish of Ampney Crucis is made up of no fewer than seven manors called Omenie at the time of the great survey, A.D. 1086. There was a priest with a church possessing half a hide of land and four

acres of meadow here at that time, and the Church of the Holy Rood is mentioned a few years later. Three manors in Omenie were held by Turstin Fitz Rolf, Humphry the Chamberlain, and Baldwin, which had been held in the days of the Confessor by Tovy, Elwy, and Alwyn respectively. Humphry's manor and the church were conferred by William II. on Tewkesbury Abbey, and this grant was confirmed by Henry I. At the Dissolution the manor was obtained by the Pleydells who held it till the 18th century, when it passed by marriage to John, Viscount Downe. He sold it in 1765 to Samuel Blackwell. The church, which is cruciform, without aisles, may be called a 13th century building, though it contains portions of an earlier one. The chancel arch with its zig-zag moulding and a walled-up doorway and deeply splayed window on the north aisle of the nave are Norman. In the 13th century the nave, transepts, and chancel appear to have been rebuilt. The south door, the western tower, the arches of the transepts, with their dog-tooth moulding, and the transept windows all belong to this period. In the 15th century the pitch of the nave roof was lowered, as may be seen by the drip on the east side of the tower, and embattled parapets were added to the nave and tower. The east window of the south transept is a good example of Perpendicular architecture. In the angle between the south transept and the chancel is a projection which once contained the stairs of the rood loft. The entrance to these in the transept is now walled up. There is a sanctus bell-turret on the east gable of the nave.

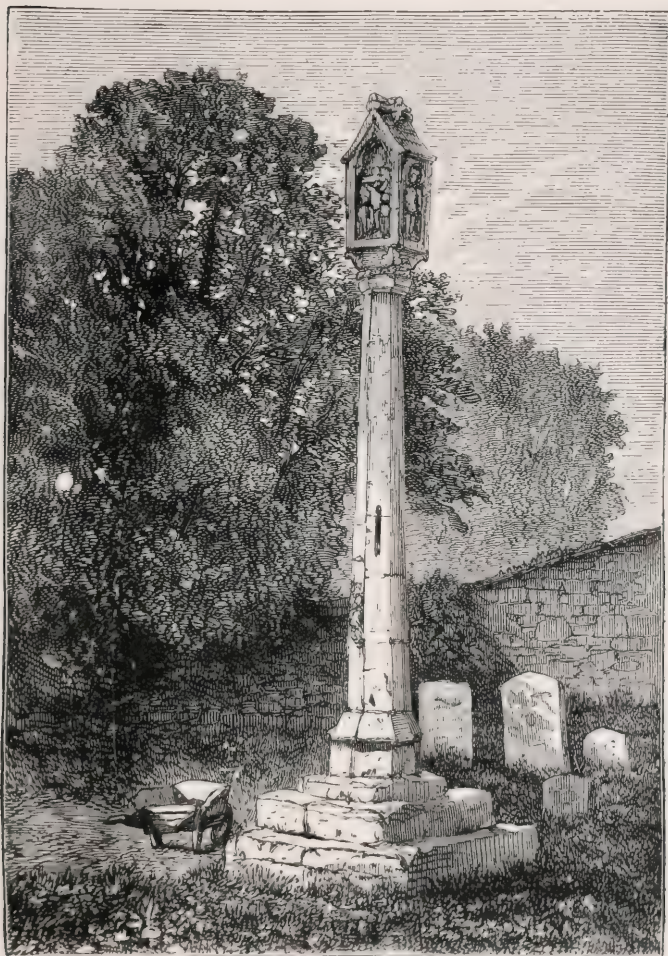
The church contains several memorials of the Pleydells, and a monument to Viscount Downe, who commanded the 25th Regiment of Foot at the battle of Minden, and who was mortally wounded at the battle of Camperdown in 1760. There is also a freestone monument with the figures of a man, his wife, and sixteen children, which Atkyns, relying on an heraldic coat of arms, assigns to George Lloyd, once lord of the manor, ancestor to the Lloyds of Whitminster.

The Churchyard Cross, of which we give a view from Savory's *Visitors' Guide to Cirencester*, was restored thirty-five or forty years ago, under the superintendence of Canon Howman, Rector of Barnsley. It has a gabled head, octagonal shaft and base and square steps. It is not clear that all these parts belonged originally to one and the same cross. The total height is 13 ft. 8 in. The head has four sides, those on the east and west being wider than those on the north and south. In the trefoiled niche on the east side is a complete rood, *i.e.* a figure of the crucified Saviour with St. Mary on His right hand and St. John on His left. The feet of the dead Saviour are crossed and fastened by a single nail. The only garment is a loin cloth.

On the west side are St. Mary and the Holy Child. St. Mary, who holds the Child on her right knee wears a closely-fitting kirtle, laced in

front, and over this a long mantle fastened by a brooch. A small portion of her crown remains.

On the north side on a pedestal stands a headless soldier in plate



CHURCHYARD CROSS, AMPNEY CRUCIS.

Lent by Messrs. Savory & Cole, Cirencester.

armour, with a lance in his right hand. He wears a breast-plate, quatre-foil pallettes, a skirt of taces with a baldric or tranverse belt, gauntlets, genouillières or knee-plates, and sollerets. He holds in his left hand a

round object that may be the handle of a dagger, but it would be the wrong hand for it. Around his neck is a collar of roses. He probably wore a bascinet. Pooley suggests that this figure represents Robert Fitz Hamon, founder of Tewkesbury Abbey, in the beginning of the 13th century; Sir Henry Dryden thinks it is the donor of the cross. Perhaps it is Longinus, who pierced our Lord's side with a spear, and, so tradition says, became a Christian.

The baldric or transverse belt, Haines says, does not appear on monumental effigies after 1418, whereas the skirt of taces was introduced about that time; so the date of the cross should be about 1410.

The figure on the south side, which Pooley calls Geraldus, the first abbot of Tewkesbury, is undoubtedly St. Lawrence, for he holds in his right hand a gridiron and wears a deacon's robes, an alb, and a dalmatic."

A bird's-eye view of Ampney Crucis, given by Atkyns, includes the church and a fragment of the cross. Ampney House, the residence of E. W. Cripps, Esq., contains a fine Elizabethan chimney-piece.

At the adjacent manorial residence, Ampney Park, the party were received by Mr. William Cripps, and inspected with much interest the handsome mantelpiece in the drawing-room, erected by Robert Pleydell in 1625, and also the beautiful ceiling in the same room, the work of the French and Flemish plasterers brought over by James I.

Leaving Ampney Crucis, the party had a peep at the well-nigh deserted Church of St. Mary, Ampney, which consists of a nave and chancel, with a bell-cot on the east gable of the nave, and a priest's door on the south side of the chancel. The chief object of interest is the doorway on the north side of the nave, now blocked up. A sketch of it and some notes by Sir Henry Dryden are given in our *Transactions*, vol. xvi., p. 131.

The Domesday representative of this church must have been served by the priest of Reinbald's manor of Omenie, but almost all the land of this manor must lie in Ampney Crucis. Durandus' manor of Esbroc and Humphrey's manor of Estbroce represent Ashbrook or Ampney St. Mary.

MEYSEY HAMPTON

was the next stopping place, and at the church the party was received by the rector, the Rev. J. A. Ford, and one of the churchwardens, Mr. J. L. Burgess, being welcomed with a peal on the bells. This manor was held in the time of Edward the Confessor by Leueric. In 1086 (D.S.) it was the only Gloucestershire possession of Roger de Montgomerie, the great Earl. His son Hugh being banished for treason, his lands were seized by Henry I. Hampton Meysey then became part of the honour of Gloucester. The Knights Templars appear to have farmed the manor in the time of Henry III., since they held Court Leets. They were also patrons of the living.

" Sir Richard Atkyns tells us that Robert de Meysey, Sheriff of the County in 1255, was then lord of the manor. His son and heir, William, was succeeded by a son, John, who died leaving an only daughter, Eva or Eleanour. This Eva was married to Nicholas, son and heir of Lawrence de St. Maur, of Rode, Somerset, who was summoned to Parliament as Baron St. Maur in 1315, and died in the following year, leaving by his first wife, Eva de Meysey, a son, Thomas, and by Helen de la Zouch, his second wife, a son Nicholas. Thomas died (s.p.) and his half-brother, Nicholas, was summoned to Parliament as Baron St. Maur from 1350 to 1360. He married Muriel, daughter and heir of Lord Lovel of Kari, and was succeeded by his son Richard, who married Ela, daughter of Sir John de Loo, and died about 1400.

His son and heir, Richard, married Mary, daughter of Thomas Peyner, and, dying in 1408, was succeeded by his only daughter, Alice, born posthumously. She married William, 5th Lord Zouche of Harynworth, and their son William became 6th Lord Zouche and Baron St. Maur. He died in 1466, leaving John, his son and heir, 7th Lord Zouche. He sided with Richard III. against Henry VII., and was attainted after the battle of Bosworth Field. Atkyns tells us that the manor of Meysey Hampton passed by the marriage of the daughter of William, Lord Zouche, to William Saunders, who was lord of the manor in 1534, and levied a fine of it to Edmund, Lord Chandos.

In 1608, Sir John Hungerford held the manor, and, late in the 17th century, Mr. Barker, of Fairford, obtained it from Sir Matthew Hale in exchange for the manor of Alderley. Amongst the principal residents have been the Jenners of Marston, the Bedwells, and Forshews.

The plan of the church, which is dedicated to S. Mary, is cruciform, and comprises a nave with south porch, a central tower, north and south transepts, and a chancel. The church was probably built by the Knights Templars or the de Clares early in the 13th century, and the chancel was altered and greatly beautified in the 14th century by the Meyseys or St. Maurs, two of whose tombs are still preserved, and one has been only recently destroyed. *

On the left side of the doorway of the porch is a bracket for the figure of a saint. We should have expected to find it above the arch, but the porch seems to have been built with a view to placing it where it is.

There is a good Early English window at the west end of the nave, having two lower trefoiled lights and a quatrefoil above.

The windows of the nave and transepts are single or double lancets with dripstones or hood mouldings, and a string course below. There is an entrance to the tower staircase on the outer east wall of the transept, which was made for the use of the ringers about 1850.

The chancel has a two-light window on the north side and a modern

vestry. The geometrical east window is a beautiful example of 14th century work. The double border of ball-flower ornament gives it a very rich appearance. It would seem, from a sketch taken by Mrs. Lee, daughter of the Rev. W. Holmes, a former rector of this parish, that this window has been recently shortened, which is truly to be deplored. Bigland says the window in the chancel is of curious architecture, of the Norman style, ornamented with nail-head moulding. I do not know that any window of the chancel has been destroyed since 1786. Can he be speaking of the east window? Mrs. Lee's sketch, which she has kindly allowed us to reproduce, shews a little low window close to the two-light window on the north side of the chancel. This we shall find when we



MEYSEY HAMPTON CHURCH FROM N.E.

From a Sketch by Mrs. Lee, c. 1851.

enter the chancel has been removed farther east. The buttresses of the east wall, which are similar to those of the tower, have simple slopes as set-offs, and are characteristic of 13th century, or Early English, masonry. On the south side of the chancel are three 14th century windows, a priest's door, and a projection, the object of which will appear when we enter the chancel.

The tower has a round-headed two-light window on each side. The plain embattled parapet was probably added in the 15th century. The Jacobaeen lectern and a chain for securing the Bible which rested on it, with the inscription "Christian Jacketts, 1622," is more curious than beautiful. We were unable to find the name of Jacketts in the register, so

probably he was the maker. Perhaps James Vaulx was the donor. The tower has four plain chamfered arches resting on octagonal caps, shafts, and bases, and is supported by massive buttresses.

In the south transept is a handsome Jacobean monument with the effigies of James Vaulx, his wives, Edith Jenner and "Philip" Horton, and sixteen children. This monument was formerly in the chancel affixed to the north wall. Rudder tells us that Doctor Vaulx's reputation was so great that King James I. thought of making him his own royal physician, but wisely enquired how he had obtained his knowledge of the healing

art. The reply being "By practice," his majesty rejoined: "Then by my saul thou hast killed mony a man, thou shalt na' practise upon me." In the south transept there is or was a memorial stone to Margaret Griswald ("a pearl of price") who died at Marston, whither she had gone for Dr. Vaulx's advice!

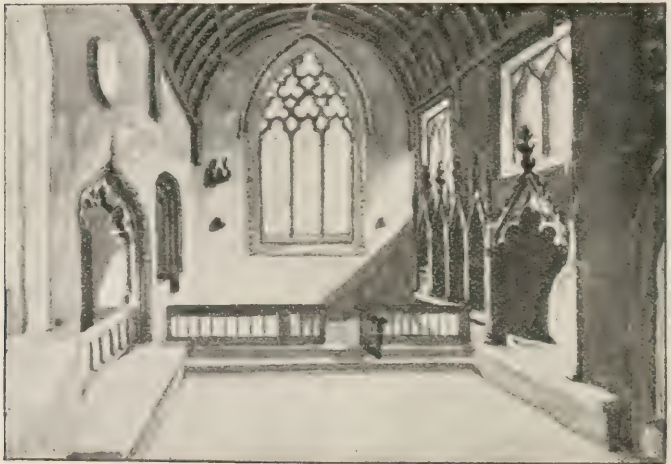


LECTERN IN MEYSEY HAMPTON CHURCH.

On the north side of the Chancel, where the founder's tomb should be, is a beautiful altar-tomb, of the same date as the east window, with a trefoiled canopy, ball-flower ornament, and seven shields from which the heraldic bearings have been obliterated. This tomb I am inclined to assign to Eva the last of the Meyseys, first wife of Nicholas, Lord

St. Maur. If so, its date is about 1310. The arms of St. Maur were *Argent, two chevrons gules, a label azure*. The arms of Meysey were, I believe, *Argent a fesse between three cinquefoils sable, pierced of the field*. The arms of de la Zouche are *argent bezanted*. The slab which covered the tomb has been removed and the dust of the noble dead has been swept away. In 1860, another tomb occupied the place of the founder's tomb, and was then described as being "much altered and cut off at the top and now a plain arch." In another sketch of Mrs. Lee's, which we give, this second tomb

appears in its original position. The Vault monument in Bigland's time was in the chancel, and Mrs. Lee tells us that it completely hid the beautiful 14th century tomb, and was therefore removed to its present position in the south chancel. The decorated tomb had then as now the hagioscope, in the shape of a little window, at the back of it. In the time of the Rev. W. H. Ranken, Rector from 1869 to 1884, the plainer tomb was taken away and the richer one placed where it now is, in order that a door might be constructed into the new vestry. Every endeavour should be made to find this tomb and replace it in the church. The mouldings might give us a clue to its date and thus possibly to the name of the person who lay in it. The opening behind the tomb suggests the question: Was this originally what is known as a leper window, or was it a



INTERIOR OF MEYSEY HAMPTON CHURCH.

From a sketch by Mrs. Lee.

hagioscope? If the latter, then on the site of the present vestry there was once a chapel or an anchorite's cell to which access could only be obtained from the churchyard.

Bigland tells us also that in one of the windows of the chancel were the arms of de Clare, which are *three chevrons gules*. Perhaps this was a mistake and they were really the *two chevrons gules* of St. Maurs.

There are some fragments of 14th century glass still remaining, and it would be well to search carefully for traces of the Meysey and St. Maur arms. Mrs. Lee's sketch shows a bracket for a statue on either side of the altar, and part of one canopy.

On the south side of the chancel are four beautiful 14th century

niches with crocketed canopies, one of which, that furthest east, contains a piscina and a credence: the three others are sedilia. Next to these is an altar-tomb, somewhat later than that on the north side, but of the same date as the sedilia. As the wall was not thick enough for a recess, the projection, we saw outside, was constructed when the tomb was made; it may be the dust of one of the St. Maurs still rests here. Next to the tomb is a priest's door, and on its right, inserted in the wall, is a very ancient poor's box roughly hewn out of a tree and bound with iron hoops. Mrs. Lee's sketches are of great help in ascertaining the architectural history of this interesting church. Would that such existed of every church in the country which has been similarly restored."

The next move was made to Fairford, which Cobbett, in his *Rural Rides*, described in his usually outspoken manner. He said: "Fairford is a pretty little market town, and has one of the prettiest churches in the kingdom. It was, they say, built in the reign of Henry VII., and one is naturally surprised to see that its windows of beautiful stained glass had the luck to escape not only the fangs of the ferocious good Queen Bess, not only the unsparing plundering of the minions of James I., but even the devastating ruffians of Cromwell." Before, however, the church was inspected, there were two important functions demanding observance. First luncheon was laid out at "The Bull Hotel," and after the morning ride and visits to several villages, the fare provided was duly appreciated. Luncheon over,

THE ANNUAL MEETING

of the Society was held in the Crofts Hall, kindly lent by Mr. W. C. Arkell. Sir JOHN DORINGTON presided, and called upon the Rev. W. BAZELEY to read the Report of the Council, as follows:—

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL OF THE BRISTOL AND GLOUCESTERSHIRE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY FOR 1899

THE Council of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society present the following Report for the year ending August, 1899.

There are at present 321 annual members, 83 life members, and 3 honorary members on the Society's list, giving a total strength of 407.

The income for the year ending December 31st, 1898, including a balance of £414 10s. on the 1st of January, 1898, was £637 14s. 2d., and the expenditure £244 4s. 8d., leaving a balance of £393 9s. 6d. in the Treasurer's hands on the 1st of January, 1899. From this sum must be deducted the cost of the *Transactions* for 1898 and the Index to Vols. I.—XX, which is drawing near completion and ought to be in the members' hands before the close of this year.

The Society held its Summer Meeting for 1898 in London, under the presidency of Sir John Dorington, Bart., M.P. The programme included

visits to many places of national interest in and near the metropolis and to many others to which, except on such occasions as these, few persons obtain access. The attendance of members was perhaps greater than at any previous meeting, and the weather was all that could be desired. Marked courtesy and kindness were extended to the Society by the Lord Mayor of London, by the Masters and Wardens of the following City Guilds—the Brewers, Armourers and Braziers, Drapers, and Barbers; by the Library Committee and Librarian of the Guildhall; by Mr. G. W. Birch, Custodian of the Soane Museum; by the Master of the Temple, and many others.

Amongst those who acted as guides and described the places visited the Council would mention especially Mr. G. W. Birch, who was indefatigable in his exertions on behalf of the Society, although far from well; Mr. Welsh, the Librarian of the Guildhall; Mr. Aston Webb, the Rev. H. V. le Bas, Mr. Ernest Law, the Rev. A. Povah, D.D., Viscount Dillon, Mr. S. W. Kershaw, Mr. Guy Dawber, Mr. J. D. Micklethwaite and Mr. St. John Hope.

To Mr. W. H. Seth Smith and Mr. G. M. Currie, who acted conjointly as Local Secretaries; to Mr. Charles Bathurst, Mr. R. A. S. Macalister, the Rev. J. W. Robbins, and Mr. C. Turnor, who acted as stewards, the hearty thanks of the Council are justly due. Indeed, without such able assistance it would have been impossible to carry out, without a hitch, the somewhat ambitious programme which had been prepared. The only drawback to the pleasure of the members was the absence of the President, Sir John Dorington, during the earlier days of the meeting, owing to a family bereavement. His place was, however, ably filled by Mr. G. B. Witts, President for 1897-8.

On May 24th, 1899, the Society held a meeting at Nailsworth, and visited Beverston Church and Castle, Chavenage House and Avening Church. No less than 112 members attended this meeting, a number far exceeding any previous record.

The thanks of the Council are due to Mr. Lowsley Williams for his kind permission to visit his interesting residence, Chavenage House, and to the Rev. E. W. Evans, Mr. Garlick, the Rev. E. W. Edwards, and Miss Tabrum for receiving the members at Beverston, Avening, and the Bannut Tree, Nailsworth, respectively.

The following works have been presented to the Society's library during the past year: *Memorials of London and London Life, Calendar of Letters from the Mayor and Corporation of London, The Guildhall of London: Its History and Associations, London and the Kingdom, Roll of Fame of London*. All these were presented by the Library Committee of the Guildhall. *The Perverse Widow* was presented by Sir Brook Kay, and a second copy by the author, Mr. Crawley-Boevey. A very interesting MS. of Archdeacon Furney's, by

Mr. J. Norton ; 15 vols. of *Archæologia*, by the Rev. S. E. Bartleet ; and various valuable works by Mr. Mullins, of Cirencester.

The Council has presented copies of the Berkeley MSS., 3 vols. 4to, edited by Sir John Maclean for this Society, to the Library of the Guildhall, London, to the Master and Wardens of the Drapers' Company, to Mr. G. W. Birch, and to the Bureau of Ethnology, Washington. Offers of copies have also been made to the Corporation of Bristol, to the British Museum, and to the Bodleian Library, Oxford, but it was found that they already possessed the work

The Council would be glad to receive for the Society's Library works of reference on the various branches of Archæology.

The Congress of Archæological Societies was held at Burlington House, on July 12th, 1899, under the auspices of the Society of Antiquaries, London, and the presidency of Viscount Dillon. The Congress was attended by delegates from nearly all the Archæological Societies of Great Britain and Ireland. Of the two delegates from this Society, Mr. J. E. Pritchard and the Rev. W. Bazeley, only the latter was able to be present.

The following subjects were discussed :—

The General Index of Archæological Papers, 1682—1801, edited by Mr. Gomme.—The Council have subscribed for this useful work, which will be published by Messrs. Constable.

The Safe Custody of Wills, Parish Registers, and other Records.—The Congress resolved to recommend the Government to appoint a Royal Commission to enquire into the subject of the better preservation and arrangement of such Records, with a view to rendering impossible such practices as have been lately revealed in the Shipway trial. This Council are opposed to any suggestion to remove Parish Registers and other Records from the parish to which they belong, but they are of opinion that transcriptions should be made, deposited in a central County Registry, and be available for research; and that the need of carefully preserving the originals against loss, fire, and unprincipled searchers should be impressed on the parochial clergy, churchwardens, and other parochial authorities.

A National Catalogue of Effigies.—This Council has obtained promises of help in cataloguing the effigies of Gloucestershire; but the work is being sadly delayed by the fact that the directions to be drawn up under the auspices of the Congress are not yet forthcoming. In the meanwhile, the Council will gladly accept through the Secretary photographs, drawings, and descriptions of Gloucestershire effigies, and will preserve them in portfolios with a view to a catalogue.

The National Portrait Catalogue—This Council regrets that so few members, possessing family portraits, have applied to the Secretary for

the forms provided by the Congress for cataloguing such treasures. The Congress propose to petition the Government to lower or forego the death duties on collections of family portraits as long as they remain unsold.

The Victoria Series of County Histories.—The Congress passed the following resolution: "This Congress is glad to hear of the project of a complete series of County Histories, and hopes that every assistance will be rendered by the various Archæological Societies." This Council on their part will gladly render assistance in promoting the excellent work taken up by the publishers, Messrs. Constable and Co. They will also endeavour to learn what is being done in the matter by kindred societies.

The Council considers that the hearty thanks of this Society are due to Mr. Ernest Hartland, who for many years past has skilfully controlled the finances of this Society as Treasurer, and has lately resigned. Mr. G. M. Currie, who has already done much good service to the Society as Local Secretary for Cheltenham and as Local Treasurer for several General Meetings, has consented to act as General Treasurer.

During the year the Council issued the following Circular with regard to the ruins of Hailes Abbey:—

Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society.

An Appeal for Funds to Explore the Site of Hayles Abbey, and Preserve the Ruins from further Destruction.

THIS Abbey was founded by Richard, Earl of Cornwall, in 1246, and dedicated on November 5th, 1251, in the presence of King Henry III., and his queen, Eleanor of Provence, together with a vast assembly of ecclesiastics and barons.

In 1271, fire consumed a large portion of the monastic buildings, and Earl Richard, then King of the Romans, devoted 8,000 marks to its restoration.

Again, in the 15th century, it would seem, from internal evidence, that the monastery once more fell a prey to an extensive conflagration, and a restoration became necessary which transformed the cloisters from Early English to Perpendicular. In 1539 the Abbey, with all its possessions and buildings, was surrendered by the last abbot, Stephen Seager, and his monks, to the commissioners of Henry VIII., and all but the Abbot's House, standing on the west side of the cloisters, and the kitchen, butteries, and larders, on the south-west, were condemned as useless. For the third time there came a devastating fire; and the cloisters and the chapter house, with their beautiful vaulting, became a prey to the flames.

From this time forward, until the close of the 17th century, the Abbot's House was used as a residence by the Viscounts Tracy, and the Abbey Church and monastic buildings, with the exception of the cloisters, lay concealed below the surface.

For three hundred years Hayles Abbey has been treated as a quarry. Most of the ashlar work has been stripped from the walls, and the arches

which once led from the cloisters into the church and conventual buildings have been crumbling to decay. The Abbot's Lodgings, portrayed by Kip, Buck, and Lysons, have well-nigh disappeared, and a mere heap of stones marks the site of the lordly abode of the Tracys. Much, however, remains that is full of interest for students of history and architecture. Within the entrance to the chapter house has been found evidence that the whole of the Early English vaulting, dating from 1271—1277, although prostrate on the ground, remains fairly intact. Two richly-carved bosses, with conventional foliage, have been extracted uninjured, and there is good reason to believe that several more of these lie amidst the heap of moulded and carved stones.

The Council of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society have obtained permission to excavate the site of the Abbey, with a view to making a plan of its buildings and of saving the remaining cloister-arches from collapse. When this is done, the owners will construct a fence to protect the ruins. Under the direction of the Secretary of the Society and St. Clair Baddeley, Esq., a member of the Council, the cloister-walks are now being cleared, and the walls are being excavated to their bases, revealing many architectural features which have been hitherto concealed. The arches and other parts of the buildings, which have been in imminent danger of falling, are being rendered secure.

The fact that this Abbey was built at a period when English architecture was most beautiful in its simplicity, and that few other Cistercian abbeys of the same date remain, will render a study of its ground-plan and details exceedingly interesting.

The Council of this Society desire to raise a fund of about £200, so as to be enabled to excavate the site in the following order: (1) the cloisters and claustral buildings; (2) the church; (3) the infirmary; (4) the gateway and other detached buildings.

It has been suggested that a local museum should be formed on the spot in order to contain objects of interest found during the exploration of the ruins. The lavatory lends itself to this purpose temporarily, if it is not found necessary to erect a special building.

An Autumn Meeting of the Society will be held at Hayles, on Thursday, September 7th, the programme for which will be sent to the members of this Society and to any others who may desire to attend.

In addition to the Society's grant of £20, the following contributions have been already given or promised: Mrs. Dent, £10; The Rev. W. D. Stanton, £5; St. Clair Baddeley, Esq., £10; Miss Whalley, £1 1s; T. Dyer-Edwardes, Esq., £5; The Right Rev. The Master of Pembroke College, Oxford, 10/-; Mrs. Wedgwood, £2.

To this appeal is attached a form, which should be filled in and sent together with any contribution to the Treasurer of the Society and of the Excavation Fund, G. M. Currie, Esq., 26 Lansdown Place, Cheltenham

WILLIAM BAZELEY,

Hon. Gen. Sec

MATSON RECTORY, GLOUCESTER,
August 9th, 1899.

The Society has sustained a very serious loss by the death of Sir Henry Barkly, K.C.B., whose papers on the Berkeleys of Dursley and Coberley, on Testa de Nevill, and Kirby's Quest are amongst the most valuable and interesting that the *Transactions* contain. Sir Henry Barkly was President of this Society in 1886, at the Dursley Meeting, and won all hearts by his courtesy and learning.

The Council would also record their regret at the loss by death of Mr. C. R. Baynes, of Minchinhampton, who hospitably received the Society in 1880; of the Rev. A. W. C. Hallen, an eminent genealogist; and Major-General Vizard, always a welcome attendant at the meetings of the Society.

The Council, in accordance with the powers conferred on them by the scheme for holding the property of the dissolved Corporation of Chipping Sodbury, have appointed Mr. F. F. Fox one of the Trustees.

The Council proposes for re-election, the President of Council, the Vice-Presidents of the Society, and the Local Secretaries; and for election as Vice-President, The Right Rev. the Bishop of Bristol.

The following Members of Council retire by rotation, but are eligible for re-election: Messrs. A. E. Hudd, A. T. Martin, S. H. Swayne, P. O. Prankerd, Christopher Bowly, H. W. Bruton, E. Sidney Hartland, and H. G. Madan.

The Council has held six meetings during the past year, and desires to express its acknowledgments to the Mayor and Corporation of Bristol for the use of a room at the Guildhall, Bristol.

The Council cannot close this Report without recording their high estimation of the very valuable services of their Hon. Secretary, Mr. Bazeley, who has always been indefatigable in carrying on the work of the Society, and arranged most admirably the different meetings of the Society, especially the London Meeting.

On the motion of Mr. LLOYD BAKER, seconded by Mr. LEIGH, the Report was adopted.

The retiring members of the Council having been re-elected, on the motion of the Rev. F. E. BROOME WITTS,

The PRESIDENT proposed the re-election of the President of the Council, Sir Brook Kay, Bart., the Vice-Presidents, and the Local Secretaries, with the addition of the Bishop of Bristol to the list of Vice-Presidents, and this was carried by acclamation.

Mr. CHRISTOPHER BOWLY moved a vote of thanks to Sir John Dorington, the retiring President, remarking that he had discharged the duties with his usual ability and diligence, and he was an exemplification of the fact that if they wanted work done they must go to the busiest man to do it.

This was seconded by Mr. TUCKETT, and carried with applause.

Sir JOHN DORINGTON briefly acknowledged the compliment, and said he would make way for the new President and the most entertaining address which he believed he had prepared.

The PRESIDENT then read his address, which is printed separately.

Mr. HYETT, in moving a vote of thanks to the President, said two things were evident—first, that Mr. Bazley's claim to indulgence was superfluous, and, secondly, that Sir John Dorington, when he beforehand described the address as "most interesting," must either have had a private look at the notes or else he occupied the unusual rôle of a true prophet. He was sure that the great majority in that room would now appreciate much more thoroughly and intelligently the Fairford windows which they were about to inspect than they would have done had they not heard Mr. Gardner Bazley's admirable address.

Mr. de SAUSMAREZ, in seconding the vote, said Mr. Bazley was like Mrs. Malaprop's "Cerberus"—"several gentlemen at once"—for he was an apt student, an accomplished artist, and an admirable lecturer.

Mr. BAZLEY briefly replied, and a move was then made to the church, and

THE FAIRFORD WINDOWS

were inspected under the direction of the Vicar, the Rev. F. R. Carbonell, who probably knows the windows better than anyone else now living; and therefore a more accomplished guide could not have been desired. Mr. CARBONELL prefaced the tour of the windows with some interesting general observations, dealing first with the inevitable and apparently insoluble problem, "By whom were the windows designed and painted?"—as to which, he said, they must come to the conclusion that nothing whatever was certainly known. He reviewed Mr. Holt's well-known arguments in favour of the Durer authorship, and pointed to many conclusive reasons and proofs against that theory. Another tradition he also effectively combated; viz., the theory that John Tame, the founder of the church, in 1501 or 1502, took the windows from a Flemish ship on the high seas, and then built the church to fit them. He remarked that Tame was a Cotswold wool merchant, and not a privateer; and it was absolutely certain that the glass was designed for windows and tracery exactly similar to that in Fairford Church, and for a church of exactly that size and form, which size and form corresponded identically with the older church which Tame's church replaced. The general plan of the windows was then indicated, and they were afterwards examined in detail. Mr. Carbonell was cordially thanked for his able address and explanation of the windows.

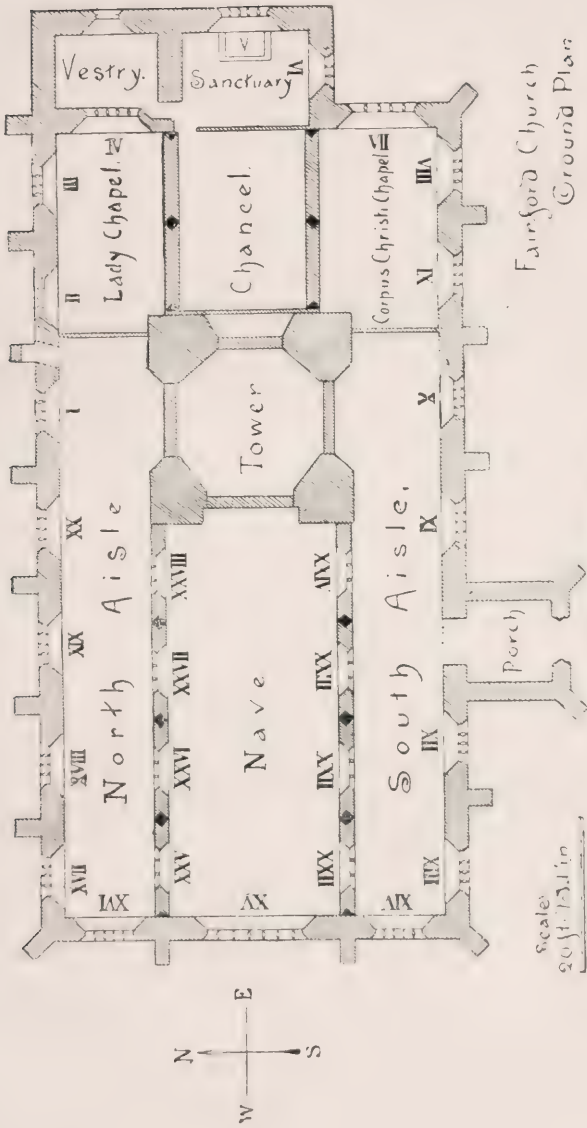
The following Notes on Fairford were written for the programme by the General Secretary:—

"Fairford derives the latter part of its name from a ford over the Colne.

Its position gave it an importance in Saxon times, and the discoveries of Mr. Wylie in 1852 prove that there was an important colony here soon after the conquest of Britain by our English forefathers. Many beautiful objects discovered in the Fairford graves—glass vases, fibulæ, drinking vessels, weapons of bronze, and amber beads—may be seen in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. The earliest mention of the place is in a Charter of Confirmation, purporting to have been granted by Burgred, King of the Mercians, in 872, which, however, in its present state, cannot be genuine, in which it is stated that Burgred gave the land of ten cassates at Fagranforda to the Church of St. Peter at Gloucester.

In the days of the Confessor, Fairford formed one of the many manors of Brictric, son of Algar. The story of Queen Matilda's early love for him and her subsequent hatred because he refused her has been too often told to need re-telling; but, in fairness to the queen, let us remember that E. A. Freeman, one of our best historians, throws discredit on the whole tradition. Brictric suffered only as well-nigh every other Saxon landowner suffered the loss of all his heritage to enrich his rapacious conquerors. Fairford had belonged to Queen Matilda, but in Domesday it appears as a possession of the King. It descended to William II., by whom it was given to Robert Fitzhamon, as part of the endowment of the Honour of Gloucester. And thus it shared the fortunes of Tewkesbury, passing from Robert Fitzhamon to the de Clares, the Despencers, the Beauchamps, and the Nevilles, till it came into the hands of Henry VII. He granted it to John Tame, a London merchant, and in his time and his son's, Sir Edmund, it flourished as it had never done before. John Tame found here a noble 14th century church built on the site of one far more ancient, and he levelled it almost to the ground that he might construct a sacred picture gallery, where the highest mysteries of the Christian faith might be set forth (much as they are in the Ober Ammergau Passion Play), by representations of our Lord's life on earth, and future judgment; by scenes from the Old Testament symbolical of the Gospel History; and by the likenesses of holy men who, before and since the coming of the Saviour, have written or contended for the faith. By way of contrast, twelve Christian martyrs and confessors in the clerestory windows face twelve of their persecutors. It is this marvellous series of painted windows that makes Fairford so attractive to those interested in mediæval art: but apart from these, the church has many attractive features; and churchmen of to-day may well revere the spot where Keble was born and spent his early years. His parents' tombs are in the churchyard. His own noblest monument, *The Christian Year*, may have derived its first inspiration from the windows with which he was so familiar.

The plan of S. Mary's Church comprises a nave with clerestory, two



Fairford Church
Ground Plan

From the Rev. Carbonell's Guide

Scale
20 ft. = 1 in.

aisles, which extend to within 14 feet of its easternmost limits, a central tower, chancel and vestry. It will be seen on examining the walls and buttresses of the chancel that they rest on the plinths of an earlier church. There are, moreover, remains of early 14th century work, with the characteristic ballflower, embedded in the two western piers of the tower. Mr. Joyce seems to think that John Tame, when he removed the transepts, allowed the lower tier of the tower to remain.

The south porch has a flat arch of three members, with quatrefoils and trefoils in the spandrels and a square hood terminating in the figures of angels. Above the arch is a niche with font-like pedestal on which once stood a statue of our Lady. There is a sameness about the windows such as we might expect in a church built all at one date. They are of three, four, and six lower lights, with many quatrefoils in their heads, and round-headed arches. The embattled parapets are rich with gargoyles, and the tower is covered with heraldic arms and devices, amongst which will be noticed the Despencer fret, the Beauchamp chevron on a ground chequy, the lion and dragon of the Tames, and such well-known cognisances as the chained bear and ragged staff of the Earls of Warwick, and the Yorkist fetterlock.

The general style of the church may be compared with such contemporary buildings as Henry VII.'s Chapel at Westminster, the Lady Chapel at Gloucester Cathedral, and Bath Abbey—some of our latest examples of Gothic architecture. It was stated by Dr. Parsons, Chancellor of Oxford, at the close of the 17th century, that John Tame built the church as a receptacle for some Flemish glass which he had previously obtained. Many treatises have been written to prove or disprove the assertion, said to have been made by Vanduyck to Charles I., that Albert Dürer had designed the paintings.

Mr. Joyce, in his superb monograph on the windows, came to the conclusion—for reasons which will no doubt be given us on the spot—that the windows were made for the church, and he is decidedly opposed to the Dürer theory. The glass fills 28 windows, and may be divided into three principal groups: I. The Gospel History, in eight windows within the chancel-screen, introduced by four typical studies from Old Testament History in a window just outside; II. The History of the Faith, in sixteen windows of the nave, aisles, and clerestory; III. The Last Judgment, in the three windows at the west end. The order of the history is somewhat disturbed by the insertion of the Assumption of the Virgin over the altar of our Lady in the chapel at the east end of the north aisle, and by the insertion of the Transfiguration over the altar of the Corpus Christi Chapel, in the chapel formerly used for the reservation of the Holy Sacrament, in the corresponding chapel on the west side,

Let us then commence with the window in the north aisle just outside the screen.

1. Four Old Testament Symbols, *i.e.*, The Fall, Moses at the Burning Bush, Gideon and the Fleece, and the Queen of Sheba's visit to Solomon.

The history of our Lord's mother in the three windows of the Lady Chapel :

2. Joachim and Anna at the Golden Gate, the Birth of the Virgin, the Self-dedication of St. Mary and her Espousal to Joseph.
3. The Annunciation, the Nativity, the Adoration of the Magi, and the Presentation in the Temple.
4. The Assumption of St. Mary, the Flight into Egypt, the Massacre of the Infants, Christ in the Temple with the Doctors.
5. East Window. The Passion and Death of our Lord.
6. The Descent from the cross, the Entombment, Christ in Hades.
7. The Appearances of our Lord to Mary Magdalene and the other women, the Transfiguration.
8. The Supper at Emmaus. The Unbelief of St. Thomas.
9. The Appearance of Christ at the Sea of Tiberias. The Ascension, The Descent of the Holy Ghost at Pentecost.

The twelve Apostles reciting the Creed :

10. St. Peter, St. Andrew, St. James, St. John.
11. St. Thomas, St. James the Less, St. Philip, St. Bartholomew.
12. St. Matthew, St. Simon, St. Thaddeus, St. Matthias.

The Fathers of the Church :

13. St. Jerome, St. Gregory, St. Ambrose, St. Augustine.
14. The Judgment of David.
15. The Last Judgment.
16. The Judgment of Solomon.
17. The four Evangelists: St. Matthew, St. Mark, St. Luke, and St. John.

Twelve of the Prophets, adducing proofs of the Creed from their own writings :

18. Jeremiah, David, Isaiah, Zacharias.
19. Micah, Malachi, Daniel, Obadiah.
20. Hosea, Amos, Sophronias, Joel.

In the windows of the Clerestory, south side, beginning from the west :

21. A Pope between two Cardinals.
22. An Emperor between two Kings.
23. Fragments, St. Margaret, a Bishop.
24. St. Dorothy, St. Sebastian, St. Agnes.

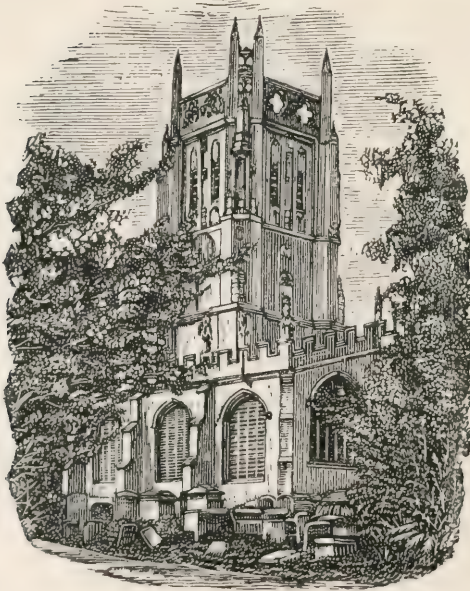
On the north side of Clerestory, beginning at the west :

25. Annas, Judas Iscariot, Caiaphas.
26. A King, an Emperor, Herod the Great.
27. Herod Antipas, a figure in armour.
28. An Archer, two armed figures sadly mutilated.

In the Lady Chapel is a good brass with the effigies of Sir Edmund Tame and dame Alice, his wife. Between the Chancel and the Lady Chapel is the altar tomb of the founder of the church and donor of the glass, John Tame, and his wife, Alice, with their effigies. The altar tomb of Roger Ligon and his wife is also in the chancel. The monument of Sir William Oldisworth, who died in 1689, reminds us of the debt of gratitude we owe this worthy knight for taking out and concealing the glass when the Puritan soldiers were marching upon Fairford and would have destroyed it. Of course, when it was replaced, after the Restoration

of Charles II., some mistakes were made and many pieces were lost, but when the glass was releaded a few years ago, the present vicar, with much ability and untiring zeal, replaced, sought out, and restored to their proper places all the pieces which had been wrongly placed.

Authorities on the Fairford Glass: *The Fairford Windows; A Monograph*; by the Rev. J. G. Joyce; published by the Arundel Society, 1872. *A Handbook to Fairford Church and its Windows*, by the Rev. F. R. Carbonell, 1893; price 6d. *Remarks on the Fairford Windows*, by



FAIRFORD CHURCH.

From the Rev. F. R. Carbonell's Guide.

the Rev. J. G. Joyce; *Trans. B.G.A.S.*, vol. ii., pp. 53—91.

See also papers on the Dürer controversy by Messrs. Russell, Waller, Holt, Planché, a list of which is given in *The Manual of Gloucestershire Bibliography*, by F. A. Hyett and W. Bazeley, a few copies of which remain and may still be subscribed for."

After dinner at "The Bull Hotel," at which there was again an overflowing attendance, so that one party at least had a pleasant *al fresco* meal in front of the hotel, a

CONVERSAZIONE

was held in Crofts Hall, the ladies of Fairford having very kindly received the Society to tea in the grounds attached to Mr. W. C. Arkell's residence, a tent being erected for the purpose. Hailes Abbey, Winchcombe, which, as already noted, is now affording such a pleasant field of exploration for the Society, occupied a large share of attention at the conversazione, Mr. ST. CLAIR BADDELEY reading an exhaustive paper on "Richard, Earl of Cornwall," its founder, and the Rev. W. BAZELEY giving an interesting account of the discoveries already made, and constructing therefrom a conjectural description of the great abbey and conventual buildings. Sir JOHN DORINGTON mentioned that the roof of Bisley Church, which had to be removed some years ago, and which obviously was not made for the church, was traditionally said to have come from Hailes Abbey. It had to be pulled down, as it had become unsafe, but some of the timbers were preserved in a keeper's lodge which he erected about the same time.

The Rev. W. H. T. WRIGHT read a paper on the connection of Eastleach Martin with Great Malvern Priory, and gave an attractive account of the beauties of the secluded parishes of Eastleach Martin and Turville, and of the two interesting churches of SS. Michael and Martin and S. Andrew, but a hundred yards apart, and separated but by the river Leach and the roadway. He mentioned that both of those parishes were for a time served by John Keble, whose signature frequently appeared in the registers, and it was said that his beautiful evening hymn was composed in the Rectory garden of Eastleach Martin. Mr. GUY DAWBER afterwards read a paper on old Gloucestershire houses.

On Thursday, in beautiful weather, a four-mile drive brought the party to Lechlade. "This place derives its name from a lode or ford that flows into the Thames below St. John's Bridge. Two other tributaries join that river near Lechlade: the Coln and Barker's Brook. It is stated in Domesday Book that Siward Bar held the manor of Lechlade in the time of the Confessor. Siward was apparently a great-nephew of King Edward. He took part in the rebellion of Hereward the Wake in 1071, and was imprisoned till September, 1087, when on his deathbed the Conqueror released him. William I. conferred the manor on Henry de Ferrars, and his descendants held it till the time of Henry III. It formed part of the vast estate of Richard, Earl of Cornwall, King Henry's brother, founder of Hailes Abbey, who was succeeded by his son, Edmund. Later on it followed the fortunes of Barnsley and was held by the Despençers, by the Earls of Kent and of March, and by Richard, Duke of York, and the Duchess, Cecily. It formed part of the dower of Queen Elizabeth of York and of Queen

Catherine of Arragon. Then it was granted to Dennis Toppes and Dorothy, his wife. At the close of the 16th century it passed into the Bathurst family, who retained it for two centuries. About 1220, Isabel de Ferrars and her husband, Peter Fitz Herbert, founded a hospital near the river, and dedicated it to St. John the Baptist. A few years later St. John's Bridge was built over the Thames. This is one of the oldest stone bridges we have, for though it has often been repaired it still retains much of the original design and work. Richard, Earl of Cornwall, and his wife Sancha enlarged the hospital and made it a Priory of Augustinian Canons. In 1472 the Duchess Cecily obtained permission to dissolve the Priory and use its endowments for the foundation of a chantry dedicated to S. Mary in the parish church, which about this time, Bigland says, was being rebuilt by the vicar, Conrad Ney. When Leland paid Lechlade a visit in



LECHLADE FROM UP THE LAKE.

Lent by Mr. Alden, Fairford.

1534, he saw a chapel at the very end of St. John's Bridge, on the right hand, in a meadow, and a great enclosure of stone walls. He also mentions "a pretty pyramis" at the west end of the parish church. Soon after this

William Kyrbee was ordered to pull down an old church and use the materials in repairing the bridge. This was probably the chapel Leland saw near the bridge.

It was a tradition many years ago that the curious sculpture, on the south wall of Inglesham Church, of our Lord and His Mother came from the Priory Church.

The church of St. Lawrence consists of a nave, north and south aisles and north porch, a western tower, a choir with aisle of the same width as those of the nave, a chancel, and a vestry. The church looks as if it had been built, or rather rebuilt, at one period. I could find no traces of anything earlier than the 14th century, not a sculptured fragment of Norman or Early English work.

The west stage of the tower has a fine vaulted roof of stone. At the

intersection of the ribs are four shields, parted per pale. Two are charged with a lozenge voided. The west windows, like the Tudor windows at the east end of the church, appear to be later than the rest. The graceful hexagonal spire, with its ribbed work and double band of quatrefoils, seems to have been added to the tower early in the 16th century. The north and south doorways with square hood-moulding have excellent oak-leaf carving in the spandrels of their arches. The north porch blocks up one of the windows of the nave. It has a groined ceiling; I do not think that there was a parvise. The windows of the nave, aisles, and chancel are all alike, with three lower lights and eight-foiled heads.

The battlement of the chancel is pierced with trefoils and has



LECHLADE CHURCH.

Taunt, Oxford, ph.

crocketed finials. On the middle finial at the east end is a figure of the patron saint, St. Lawrence, robed as a deacon with alb and dalmatic, and holding in his hands a book and a gridiron, the symbol of his martyrdom. A finial or turret at the east end of the nave has been at one time pierced for a sanctus bell.

The vestry on the north side is of the same date as the chancel, and has a highly decorated battlement of similar character.

The nave has two arcades of four arches each and a clerestory containing eight 15th century windows of four lights. There are three arches at the east end of the nave, those on the north and south sides separating the aisles from the chantry chapels. On the north wall of the

nave is a sculptured stone, much defaced, representing a bishop baptizing a child, and behind him an animal of some kind and a Norman Church. On a scroll which issues from his mouth are written the words "In Nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti, Amen." The pulpit has a 14th century base. The entrance to the roodloft remains. The altar of St. Blaise stood at the east end of the south aisle. The altars of St. Mary and St. John the Baptist stood respectively in the north and south chapels of the choir.

The chancel has a flat 15th century roof with carved bosses, resting on six large and twelve smaller corbels. There are two almeries and a piscina in the chancel. In the north chapel of the choir will be found eight steps of the staircase leading up to the roodloft.

Bigland gives a view of Lechlade Church from the north-east, and drawings of the two brasses which still remain. On the south side is the brass effigy of John Twinyhoe, merchant, founder of the Chantry of St. Blaise, and on the north side are two figures—a merchant and his wife.

The effigy of John Twinyhoe's wife is gone; it was missing in 1786. John Twinyhoe died about 1510. His arms were *Argent a chevron between three lapwings sable, or*, as some read them, *3 poppingays proper*.

The second brass has lost its inscription, but Dr. Parsons, who made some valuable notes in the 17th century, has handed down to us the fact that it was in memory of John Townshend, merchant and woolman, who died in 1458. There are some fragments of stained glass in the Clerestory windows, with the badges of Edward IV. and his mother, the Duchess



LECHLADE FROM THE BRIDGE LEADING TO INGLESHAM.

Lent by Messrs. Savory & Co.,

of York. There is also one of the Twinyhoe poppingjays. Shelley's beautiful poem, "A Summer Evening, Churchyard, Lechlade, Gloucestershire," was written in 1815. The late Mr. Achin Williams wrote a history of Lechlade which was excellently printed by E. W. Savory, of Cirencester. The frontispiece, giving the upper bridge, and Lechlade in the distance, has been produced in this programme by Messrs. Savory and Cole's kind permission. The brasses have been well described by one of our members, Mr. Cecil Davies, Librarian of the Wandsworth Public Library, and also by the late Mr. Haines. Mr. Hichin says that in the rectory garden is the statue of a woman wearing a crown with a sword piercing her breast. It is probably an image of our Lady of Pity. There is a fine brass Georgian Candelabra in the nave."

The ancient parish church of S. John the Baptist, Inglesham, in the adjacent county of Wilts, was next visited. The vicar, the Rev. G. W. SPOONER, received the party. On January 25th, 1205, King John gave the Manor and Church of Inglesham to the Cistercian Abbey of Beaulieu, in the New Forest, which he had founded. At the Dissolution the estates of the abbey were granted, in the 30th year of Henry VIII., to the Earl of Southampton; in the reign of William III. they passed by marriage with the heiress of the Wriothesleys to Ralph, Lord Montague, and have since passed by marriage to the Duke of Buccleugh.

"The church possesses a nave with north and south aisles, a south porch, and a chancel. It is very small, being only 49 feet long and 36 feet wide. The anti-restorer will find little to complain of here; all that has been done in the present century has been to restore the roof of the nave and to put a drain at the feet of the walls. A fund is now being raised to restore the roof of the chancel, under the guidance of J. T. Micklethwaite, Esq., and the Society for the Protection of Ancient Monuments, and it deserves support. I am indebted to Mr. Micklethwaite's *Report*, made in 1886, which he has kindly sent me, for much information about this interesting little church.

The porch, the floor of which is far below the level of the churchyard, looks as if it had been rebuilt; but it contains a 13th century niche. The south aisle has been extended to half the length of the chancel, and the walls of both aisles have been raised and covered with flat roofs. The chapel at the east end of the south aisle contains a little Norman window, probably brought from another part of the church; all the other windows of the aisles are 15th century insertions. The chancel has a 13th century east window of three lights. The bell-cot at the west end of the gate of the nave is pretty, and looks like 14th century work.

But the chief interest of the church lies in its interior. We enter it by a very early 13th century south doorway. The church was evidently commenced late in the 12th century, for the south arcade of the nave, the

pillar of the north arcade, and the lower part of the north wall of the chancel are of this date. In the early part of the 13th century the east and south windows of the chancel were constructed. Mr. Micklethwaite considers that at least half a century elapsed between the commencement and completion of the church, say from 1180 to 1230.



INGLESHAM CHURCH.

Taunt, Oxford, ph.

The chancel roof is an early example of 13th century timberwork. It is of plain trussed rafters, and the eastern half over the sanctuary has a boarded ceiling with light transverse ribs.

The wall-plate cuts into the drip and inner arches of the earlier windows on the north side, but fits the east and south windows.

The eastern part of the aisles has been screened off for chapels. There is a good 15th century font and a Jacobæan pulpit. The cill only of the rood screen remains. An hour-glass is affixed to the pillar of the north arcade. The pews, cumbrous as they are, should not be removed, as they are interesting relics of the 17th century. There is the matrix of a late 14th century military brass in the chancel. The colouring on the walls is not later than the 17th century. Some original 13th century glass remains in the south window of the chancel. A curious piece of sculpture has been imbedded in the south wall, representing St. Mary and the Holy Child. St. Mary wears a kind of turban. From the right corner a hand appears pointing to the Child (S. Matt. iii. 17). Below the figure of our Lord's Mother are the remains of a sundial, showing that this sculpture

was long ago, as now, on the outer south side of some building. The figures are badly drawn, and appear to be very ancient—earlier, Mr. Micklethwaite thinks, than any part of the existing church. There is a 15th century churchyard cross, with steps, base, and shaft. It is to be hoped that the head of this cross will be found and restored, as at Ampney Crucis and Ashleworth."

Proceeding to the village of Little Farrington, the quaint church was inspected under the guidance of the Rector, the Rev. W. F. ADAMS.

"Little Farrington, formerly in the county of Berks, is now in Oxfordshire. It was granted by King John to the Abbey of Beaulieu at the same time with Inglesham. The dedication of the church is not known. The plan comprises a nave, with north aisle and south porch. There is a gabled bell-turret, with two bells, at the west end. The nave had formerly a south aisle, but this has been destroyed. The clerestory



LITTLE FARRINGTON CHURCH.

Taunt, Oxford, ph.

remains, and also one of the arches of a 14th century arcade, into which has been inserted a window of perhaps 17th century date. In this window is some Flemish glass with "Ia Cornelis Vanden Berch, 1605" and a trade mark. There is also some good Early English glass, with white conventional flowers on a ruby ground. The Early English north arcade consists of three round arches, with octagonal capitals and bases, and round shafts. The conventional foliage on the capitals is well carved. Over the centre of each arch, and between every two arches at the junction

of the hood-moulding, is a small round head. The roof of the nave rests on plain corbels, on several of which appears a shield bearing three annulets, and on one a lion rampant. A north doorway has been stopped up.

At the west end of the nave is a round-headed window, deeply splayed, and above it a square-headed 15th century window, with two lower lights and six quatrefoils. It has some old glass.

The chancel arch is late 12th century. The chancel has two deeply-splayed lancet windows at the east end, and two round-headed windows on either side. There is a 14th century piscina on the south side, with an almyer in the east wall.

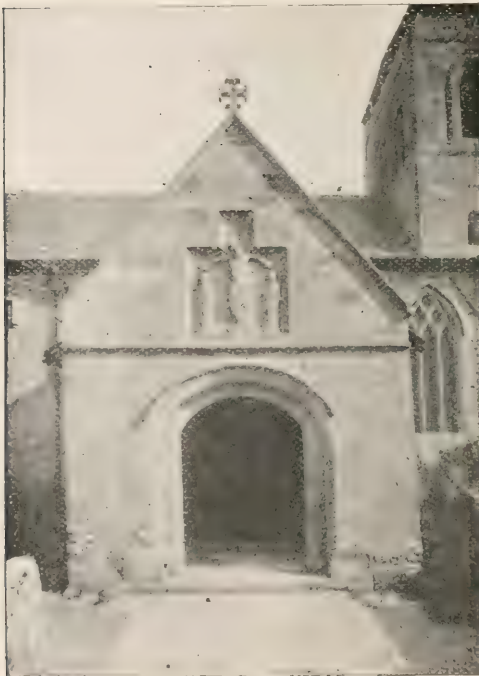
There is a holy-water stoup on the east side of the south door."

At Langford, where the party were received by the Rev. C. G.

Wodehouse, the Rector, another interesting church, St. Matthew's, was visited.

"The plan of the church comprises a nave, with north and south aisles (which extend eastwards half the length of the tower), a central tower, and a chancel.

In the outer wall of the porch, above a plain doorway with segmental arch and hood-moulding, is a recess into which has been inserted a carving of the Crucifixion. It will be seen that the arms of the dead or dying Saviour have been reversed, and are inclined downwards. I doubt whether the recess is high enough



PORCH OF LANGFORD CHURCH.

Taunt, Oxford, ph.

to allow them to be placed in their proper position. If so, we may conclude that this rood was originally above the eastern arch of the nave, and was removed when roods were ordered to be taken down or destroyed.

The attendant figures of St. John and St. Mary have also been reversed, for instead of gazing upon the Crucified One, they look outwards.

The principal figure is in high relief, and is carved on four separate stones. The head inclines towards the right shoulder, and behind it is a nimbus, with a cross in relief. The loins are clad in a kilt which only reaches the knees. SS. Mary and John have each a nimbus.

On the east side of the porch has been inserted another crucifix, the head of which is missing. The Crucified One is dressed in a long cassock, which is girt around with a cincture. The artistic treatment is one which



CRUCIFIX AT LANGFORD.

From a Photograph by Taunt, Oxford.

belongs to the pre-Norman period, and is very uncommon in England. The figure is perfectly upright, as though alive, and there are no wounds in hands, feet, or side. The feet are separate. It is probable this sculpture may have been removed hither from behind the high altar of a Saxon chancel.

In the two crucifixes here and the crucifix on the churchyard cross at Ampney Crucis we have examples of the treatment of this most sacred of all subjects by the sculptors of the 10th or 11th, 12th, and 15th centuries. They should be compared with the early sculpture at Daglingworth, so

well described by Mrs. Bagnall-Oakeley in our *Transactions*, vol. xiii., pp. 260—267.

Inserted in the middle pilaster of the tower, on the south side, is a projecting block on which are carved the figures of two men, with bare heads, clad in short kilts and close-fitting tunics. They support over their heads a disc or sundial, of which the gnomon is gone. They appear to be contemporary with the crucifix above the porch.

In the porch are two portions of a coped coffin-lid with floriated cross.

If we pass round the church outside it will be seen that the roofs of the nave and chancel have been raised many feet, thus dwarfing the fine Norman tower and hiding its lower windows on the east and west sides.



ELIZABETHAN BUTTRESSES, LANGFORD.

The west end of the nave has two tower-like pinnacles crowning the Norman buttresses and an inserted window of a debased character. On the north side the wall is supported by two flying buttresses, bearing the inscription — "Anno Dmi., 1574 Ao Regni Elizabeth Reginae Decimo Septimo." I cannot remember any similar Elizabethan buttresses. In the north wall are a 15th century window, an Early English doorway, a 14th century window of flamboyant character, and a little square-headed window.

The Norman tower has two large round-headed windows on each side, two smaller ones in addition on the south side, and one on the north side. On the north side is a gabled staircase turret leading to the belfry, which is both picturesque and uncommon. The tower is strengthened by pilasters or flat buttresses on the north and south aisles.

The chancel has been unmercifully treated by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners' architect, Mr. Christian, and has lost its former simple religious character. The addition of a diamond-shaped light to each pair of lancet windows is, I venture to think, no improvement. The Early English doorway on the south side must have been placed in its present position by restorers. It is too far east to have served as a priest's door.

On entering the church we see that the nave is separated from its aisles by arcades of three wide and lofty arches with circular shafts and bases. The upper part of the capitals is cruciform and the lower part round, with conventional foliage deeply undercut. The west arch of the centre tower is semi-circular, with plain chamfered abaci. Above the arch is a doorway which led from the belfry into the chamber above the flat roof of the nave. A similar doorway led into a chamber above the chancel. The easternmost window of the south aisle of the nave has a beautiful inner frame. There is a Jacobæan pulpit. There are no tower arches on the north and south sides, showing that the so-called transepts are merely prolongations of the nave aisles. The chancel contains an almery of six compartments of unusual character, a 13th century credence, and the remains of a piscina. In the south wall are remains of the staircase which led up to the parvise. "This church possesses a pre-Reformation chalice." Some property in Langford was granted by King John to the Abbey of Beaulieu.

Leaving Langford, where luncheon was served, Southrop was visited, where, under the guidance of the Vicar, the Rev. C. E. SQUIRE, the Church of S. Peter was inspected.

"There were four manors described in Domesday Survey, 1086, under the name of Lecce: Northleach, Eastleach Martin, Eastleach Turville, and Southrop, the south village.

Walter FitzPonz, who with his four brothers, Drogo, Simon, Richard, and Osbert, took part in the Conquest of England, held ten hides at Southrop, which belonged, in the time of the Confessor, to Earl Tosti. On Walter's death, s p., the heirs of his brother Richard succeeded to his estates. The de Clares, Earls of Gloucester and Hertford, seem to have been subsequently the chief lords of the manor, for we find Earl Richard confirming a grant of the church by Alice de Clermont to the Knights Hospitallers in the 13th century. Various families in succession held the manor, none of them greatly distinguished, till the reign of James I., when it was acquired by Wadham College, Oxford. Rudder says that the two effigies, now in the chancel of the church, without an inscription, represent Sir Thomas Conway, once lord of the manor, and his lady, the arms being *sable on a bend cotised argent a rose proper between two annulets gules*. The costume is Elizabethan. The manor house adjoining the church contains the remains of a very early dwelling, perhaps that of the Fitz-

Ponzes, or of the parish priest, early in the 12th century. The cellars have deeply splayed narrow lights, and there is a Norman doorway with zigzag moulding, in a good state of preservation.

The Church of S. Peter consists of a nave (without aisles), north porch, south transept and chancel.

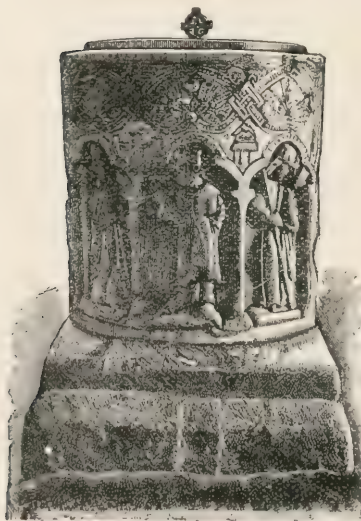
A priest is mentioned in 1086, so probably there was a church at that period. The north doorway, the two round-headed lights deeply splayed, and the eastern arch of the nave are all Norman. The herring-bone work in the north and south walls is evidence of their great antiquity. Two pseudo-Norman windows have superseded in modern times an original Norman light on the north side and a large square-headed window, similar to that in the transept, on the south side.

The chancel and south transept were built in the 13th century. Probably there was a small Norman apse previously. I cannot guess the purpose for which a small light was inserted below the westernmost window on the south side of the chancel. No one in the churchyard could see through it the high altar. There is another low window in the

west wall of the transept, opposite the site of an altar. This may have been a so-called leper window or hagioscope of an anchorite's cell. The north doorway of the nave is Early English.

Interior.—The abaci of the chancel arch are ornamented with rope moulding, and on the south side with a lozenge pattern; otherwise the arch is quite plain, and has no shafts or bases. Steps have been inserted in the church, raising the floor of the chancel far above its original level, as may be seen from the position of the 13th century piscina—the arch and bowl of which remain, though separated.

As at Langford, there is a diamond-shaped recess above the two 13th century east windows of the chancel. This was pierced



THE FONT, SOUTHROP.

Lent by the Vicar.

some fifty years ago to make a quatrefoil light. There are the Conway effigies alluded to above, an altar-tomb on the north side of the chancel, and a monument to the Keble family, dated 1670, the arms being: *argent, a chevron*

engrailed gules, on a chief azure three mullets or. The Keble family, descended from Sir Henry Keble, Lord Mayor of London in 1510, held the manor of Eastleach Turville for many generations.

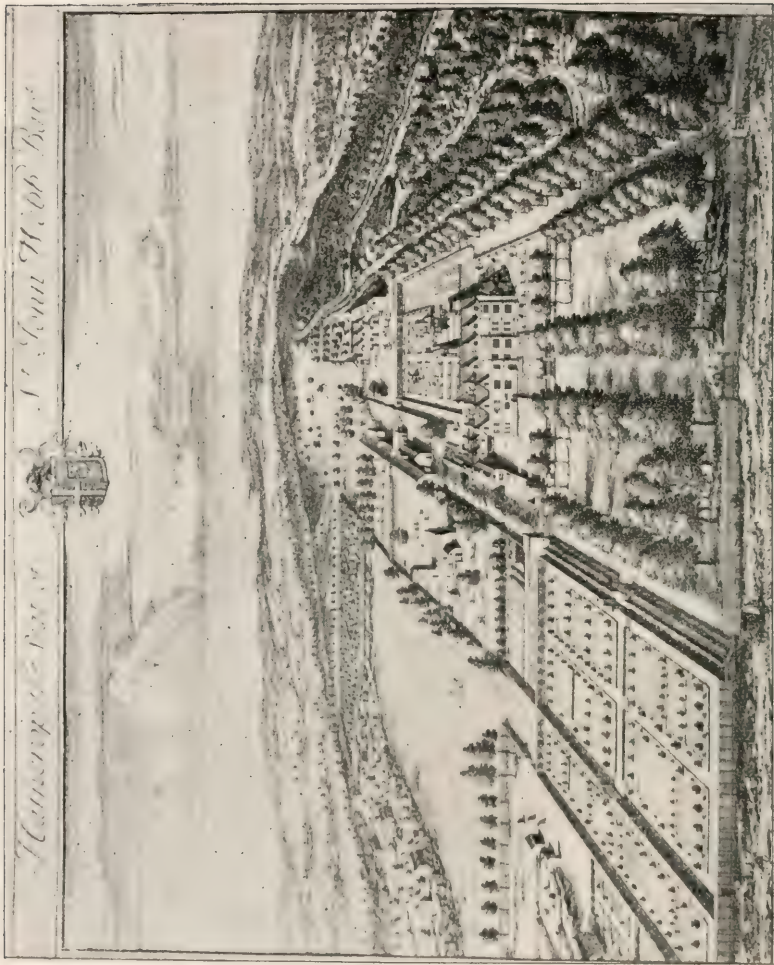
There are three almeries in the chancel. High up in the chancel arch is a square opening with six quatrefoils pierced in its ceiling.

The most interesting fitting of the church is an early 13th century font somewhat similar to the font of Stanton Fitzwarren, drawn for Paley's *Fonts*.¹ The upper part is ornamented with beaded interlacing and the acanthus leaf. Within eight trefoil-headed arches, above the shafts of which are eight conventional churches, castles or towers, are eight figures:—(1) Moses, with horns on his head, holding the two tables of stone and stretching out his right hand; he turns his back on (2) Synagoga, who holds a broken shaft, the pennon of which has knocked off her crown and blinded her eyes; her crown is falling off, and the jar or lamp which she holds upturned is losing its contents; but he looks approvingly at (3) Ecclesia, who holds upright a staff with pennon and Maltese cross in her right hand and a chalice in her left. The remaining five figures—soldiers with heater-shaped and round bossed shields alternately—represent five virtues trampling on five vices:—(4) Pity on Envy, (5) Temperance on Luxury, (6) Benevolence on Avarice, (7) Patience on Anger, (8) Modesty on Drunkenness.”

Driving through the villages of Eastleach, and glancing at their churches already mentioned, Hatherop was reached, and at his stately residence, Hatherop Castle, the President and Miss Bazley received the members to afternoon tea, and later on Fairford was reached in time for dinner.

“In the days of Edward the Confessor, Dunning and Ulward held the two manors of Hatherop. Dunning's manor was given by the Conqueror to Roger de Laci, and he held it of the King in 1086. Ulward's manor was given to Ernulph de Hesding, who, in the time of Serlo the first Norman Abbot of Gloucester, gave the advowson of the Church of Hatherop, &c., to that Abbey. Atkyns thinks that later on Hatherop was held by Walter d'Evreux, a grandson of one of the Conqueror's companions, of the same name. Walter d'Evreux and Sybilla de Chaworth his wife, founded the Priory of Bradenstoke, in Wilts, and were buried there. Their son, Patrick, the first Earl of Salisbury, slain 13 Henry II., was succeeded by William the 2nd Earl. Ela, his daughter and heiress, married William Longespe, son of Henry II. by Fair Rosamond. She survived her husband, and bestowed the manor on the nuns of Lacock Abbey, who held it until the Dissolution. Edward VI. granted it to Sir W. Sherington, and in 1559 it came into the possession of the Blomers. Mary, the daughter and last surviving heir of John Blomer,

¹ *Illustrations of Baptismal Fonts*, London, 1844.



Gloucestershire Park
The Town of Stroud
From Atkyns' "Gloucestershire"

From Atkyns' "Gloucestershire."

who died in 1640, married Sir John Webb, the 2nd Baronet of that name, of Canford, Dorset, who died in 1700. Sir John Webb, 3rd Baronet, married Barbara, daughter of John, Lord Belasyse, and died in 1745. Sir Thomas, 4th Baronet, died in 1763, leaving Sir John Webb, 5th Baronet, son and heir. He had an only child, Barbara, who married in 1786 Anthony, 5th Earl of Shaftesbury, by whom she had an only child, Lady Barbara Ashley. This lady married, in 1814, William Francis Spencer Ponsonby, who in 1838 was created Baron De Mauley by revival of a title in his wife's family. In his time the old house, of which a bird's-eye view by Kip is given in Atkyns' History, and reproduced here, was partly taken down, and rebuilt, as Hatherop Castle.

Amongst the traditions of the place, for the truth of which we will not vouch, are (1) the visit of Charles I. and his queen, Henrietta, who are said to have held a court here, and (2) the affecting farewell of Lord Derwentwater and his wife, Anna Maria, daughter of Sir John Webb, the 3rd Baronet, before he joined the Pretender in 1715. This, however, must certainly be placed at Dilston, near Hexham. Lord Derwentwater lost his head on Tower Hill, on February 24th, 1716.

In connection with the old Yew Tree Avenue, there are tales of a white lady seen at midnight.

Hatherop Castle was purchased by the trustees of Maharajah Duleep Singh in 1862, and by the present Sir Thomas Sebastian Bazley in 1867."

A concluding meeting of the Society was held at Fairford on Friday, August 11th, under the presidency of G. S. Bazley, Esq.

The following votes of thanks were unanimously passed:—

1. That the thanks of this Society be given to the Chairman and Members of the Local Committee for the assistance which they have given to the General Secretary in drawing up the programme for the Meeting.

2. To Mr. F. P. Bulley, the Local Secretary, for his untiring energy in carrying out the arrangements.

3. To Mrs. Carbonell and the other ladies of Fairford and the neighbourhood, who so kindly entertained the members of the Society and their friends at the *Conversazione* on the 9th.

4. To the Incumbents and Clergy-in-charge of Ampney Circus (Rev. T. C. Johnson), Meysey Hampton (The Rev. J. A. Ford), Fairford (The Rev. F. R. Carbonell), Lechlade (The Rev. A. Clementson), Inglesham (The Rev. G. Spooner), Little Farringdon (The Rev. W. F. Adams), Langford (The Rev. G. Wodehouse), Southrop (The Rev. C. E. Squire), Eastleach (The Rev. W. H. Wright), Hatherop (The Rev. R. P. Davies), Quenington (The Rev. F. Steavenson), Bibury (The Hon. and Rev. F. Dutton and the Rev. J. A. B. Carches), Barnesley (The Rev. J. D.

Compton), and Cirencester (The Rev. J. Sinclair); and to the Churchwardens of Ampney St. Mary (R. Darboney, Esq., and H. Cole, Esq.), for so kindly receiving the members at their interesting churches.

5. To E. W. Cripps, Esq., the President (G. S. Bazley, Esq.), Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, R. B. Cooper, Esq., Mrs. George Gibbs, W. Wykham Musgrave, and Wilfred T. Cripps, Esq., C.B., for their courteous invitations to Ampney Park, Hatherop Castle, Coln St. Alwyn Manor House, Bibury Court, Ablington Manor, Barnsley Park, and the Walnut Trees, Cirencester, respectively.

6. To the Rev. F. R. Carbonell, who so lucidly described to the members the beautiful series of stained-glass windows in Fairford Church.

7. To the Ladies and Gentlemen of Fairford and the neighbourhood who have so hospitably received the members of this Society at their houses during the meeting, and also to Mrs. Carbonell, F. Bulley, Esq., and A. Hitchman Iles, Esq., who have acted as a Hospitality Committee.

8. To the President for his able address; St. Clair Baddeley, Esq., the Rev. W. H. Wright, Guy Dawber, Esq., and the General Secretary, for the excellent papers prepared by them and read at the *Conversazione*.

9. To the Rev. G. Wodehouse, for allowing the Lunch Tent to be erected in his field at Langford, and to the Rector, Churchwardens, and Bellringers of Meysey Hampton for the merry peal of welcome on their arrival in that picturesque village.

10. That the selection of a place of meeting for the Annual Meeting of 1900, and the election of a President, be left in the hands of the Council.

11. The Society wishes to record their entire satisfaction with the way in which Mr. Busby, of "The Bull Hotel," Fairford, has carried out his contract for luncheon, dinner, and carriages; Mr. Coombes, of "The New Inn," Lechlade, his contract for lunch. They feel sure that the same was felt with regard to Mrs. Woodman's arrangements for lunch at "The Swan," Bibury; and also of the Motor Car Syndicate's conveyance of passengers and luggage under exceptional difficulties.

The excursion which followed was fully as successful and enjoyable as its predecessors. It was pleasantly occupied with a carriage excursion through some of the most charming of the Cotswold country—that part, in fact, to which the late Mr. J. A. Gibbs has so delightfully introduced the public in his book, *A Cotswold Village*. The route lay along the course of the Coln, and the first stop was at the little village of Quenington, where the Rev. F. R. Steavenson, the Rector, showed the party over the interesting little church of St. Swithin.

Rudder thinks that the name was formerly written "Colnington" and signifies a village on the river Coln.

"At the time of the Survey, A.D. 1086, "Quenintone" was held by Roger de Laci, son of Walter de Laci, who, taking part in the conquest of England in 1066, and in the defeat of Earl Roger in 1074, was rewarded by William I. with a vast fief of 116 manors, including 27 in Gloucestershire. Walter died from a fall, at Hereford, in 1085, and was buried in the Chapter House at Gloucester.

He was succeeded by his son Roger, who was banished by William Rufus for siding with Duke Robert, and his possessions were conferred on his brother Hugh, who in the time of Abbot Serlo, 1072—1104, gave the Church of Quenington to Gloucester Abbey. This is the earliest mention of the church, but, as there was a priest in 1086, in all probability there was a Saxon church.



QUENINGTON.

From a Drawing by Lysous, A.D. 1792.

In the present fabric we have the remains of an early 12th century church, probably built by Hugh de Laci or the monks of S. Peter's, Gloucester. The county histories tell us that the de Laci family, assisted by the de Maras and the de Leys, founded and endowed a preceptory of Hospitallers here. We should expect to find that the manor was in the first place given to the Templars, and that at their suppression it passed into the hands of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, known as the Hospitallers. They were seized of it in the ninth year of Edward II. At the Dissolution the manor was granted to Sir Anthony Kingston, and passing through the families of Vachell, Powell, Ireton, Forrester, Mackworth Praed, and Blackwell, it came at last to the ancestors of Sir Michael Hicks-Beach.

The Court Farm, which stands on the site of the Preceptory, retains its ancient entrance gate and a portion of the moat which once surrounded it and the church. At the end of the 17th century the Preceptory, Chancellor Parsons says, was still standing.

The Church of S. Swithin consists of a nave and chancel. If we compare the present building with the drawings of it made by Samuel Lysons in 1792, we shall realise how much it has been altered in this century.¹ The nave appears to have been lengthened westwards, while the west window and the bell-turret are modern. Atkyns says that there was formerly a spire between the nave and chancel. If so, it must have been a small Early English campanile or bell-turret. The north and south doorways, the most interesting features of the church, several pilasters, a string course, two deeply-splayed windows, and various parts of a chancel arch and a corbel table similar to that at Elkstone, and carefully preserved by being built into the wall of the nave, are all relics of the 12th century church.

The chancel arch has been rebuilt in the style of the 13th century. The east window was inserted in the 15th century. I am of opinion that for three hundred years previously there was no window in the east wall, as was the case in so many Gloucestershire churches before the restorations of modern times. The floor of the chancel appears to have been on a level with that of the nave, as in many Norman churches. It has been lately raised by four steps. The position of the almary shows this. There are two corbels, one on either side of the modern reredos, which probably held statues of saints—St. Swithin and another.

The north doorway, which is the more richly carved of the two, has for the subject of its tympanum the Triumph of Christ over Death and Satan. Three souls are rising from Hades, symbolised by a whale, and are adoring their Saviour. Satan lies on his back, bound hand and foot, pierced through the mouth by the staff of our Lord's cross. The figure of the sun may represent the First Person of the Holy Trinity; more probably it is simply the sun, which, with the moon, frequently appears in representations of the Crucifixion. Above the doorway is a ram's head much mutilated.

The subject of the tympanum of the south doorway is the mythical Coronation of the Virgin Mother, which, when thus treated, was considered to be symbolical of the Church Triumphant. The Second Person of the Holy Trinity is placing a crown on the head of His mother, who holds a dove, the symbol of purity and also of the Third Person. On either side are two symbols of the Evangelists: on the right the Angel of St. Matthew and the Lion of St. Mark, on the left the Bull of St. Luke and the Eagle of St. John. There are, moreover, two angels, one with

¹ Reproduced from his paper on Quenington, in *Archæologia*, vol. x., pp. 128—130.

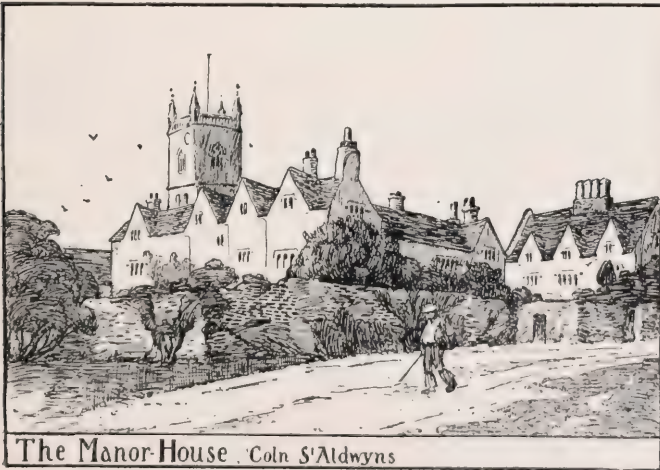
two and another with four wings, representatives of the denizens of heaven above whom Mary is exalted. On the extreme right is a Norman building of three stories, with a square tower and a gable, representing the Church militant here on earth, or perhaps more probably the Holy Jerusalem, as on the tympanum at Autun and elsewhere.

At the east end of the church is a stone which I thought might be the pedestal of a crucifix, but archæologists have declared it to be a "treasure-stone," signifying the concealment or discovery here of something of great value."

Proceeding onwards, the party arrived at the picturesque village of Coln St. Aldwyns. Here, in addition to the nicely-kept church, the party were able to view the beautiful old Manor House, now the residence of the Lord of the Manor, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, which contains a fine old oak staircase, and many other relics of the Elizabethan age. Sir Michael has recently restored it for his own occupation, the family mansion at Williamstrip being let.

"This parish derives its name from the river Coln, and from Aelhun or Aldwyn, Bishop of Worcester, A.D. 844; or perhaps more probably from Aldwine, Bishop of Lichfield, 716—727.

In 1086 the manor was held by S. Peter's Abbey, Gloucester, to which church it had been given, according to the Abbey Chartulary, by Aldred, Subregulus of the Huiccians, 757—780, and it continued in the possession of the monks till 1540, when it was granted to the new Dean and



THE MANOR HOUSE, COLN ST. ALDWYNS.

[Kindly lent by Mr. Murray from "A Cotswold Village."]

Chapter of Gloucester. They still hold the manor and the advowson of the living.

There is, however, another manor of which Sir Michael Hicks-Beach is lord, consisting of lands in Coln St. Aldwyns and Williamstrip. This was held in the 14th century by the Handelos, and in the 15th by the Applebys. In the time of Charles II. and William III. it was held by Henry Powle, Speaker of the House of Commons. His only daughter married Henry Ireton, who was lord in 1712. Williamstrip House was built in the time of George I., and came to the family of the present owner in 1784.

Mr. Gibbs, in *A Cotswold Village*, says: "The beautiful gabled house close to the Norman Church of Coln St. Aldwyns is the old original manor house.' "

Next the party proceeded to the still prettier village of Bibury, with whose beauties, together with those of the adjacent hamlet of Ablington, readers of Mr. Gibbs' *A Cotswold Village* must be familiar. In addition to the striking church, with its remains of Saxon work and many interesting architectural problems, the visitors were able to inspect the beautiful manor house, Bibury Court, built in 1623, and now occupied by Mr. R. B. Cooper, and also the manor house at Ablington, where Mr. Gibbs spent the last five years of his life, and of which he speaks with such rapture. It was built by John Coxwell in 1590. Luncheon was served at the "Swan Hotel" by Mrs. Woodman.

Between 721 and 743, Wilfrith, Bishop of Worcester, granted five cassates out of fifteen cassates by the river Cunuglae or Colne to the Earl Leppa for the term of his life and that of his daughter Beaga; the five cassates were afterwards known as Beaganbyrig or Bibury, the remaining ten cassates as Eadbaldingtun or Ablington.

It is likely enough that Beaga founded a minster on her estate, the site of which is now occupied by the parish church.

"In 1086 (D S) the manor of Bibury, then called Bechberie, was held by St. Mary's Priory, Worcester, and contained 21 hides of land. There was a priest, and, no doubt, also a church. In 1130 John Pagan, Bishop of Worcester, assigned the tithes to the monastery of Osney, founded at Oxford for secular canons by Robert d'Oily. From this time until the Dissolution the monks of Osney presented to the living of Bibury and supplied clergy to perform the services. The church was formerly a peculiar, before the Dissolution under the Convent of Osney, since that time under the lord of the manor. Concerning this matter, it is stated in Ecton's *Thesaurus*, ed. 1742, p. 187: "The jurisdiction of Biberie contains Biberie with Winston Chap. Barnsley R. and Aldsworth Chap, which, as to Visitations, are only subject to the chief Officer of their Peculiar: the Bishop and the Archdeacon having no more to do with them



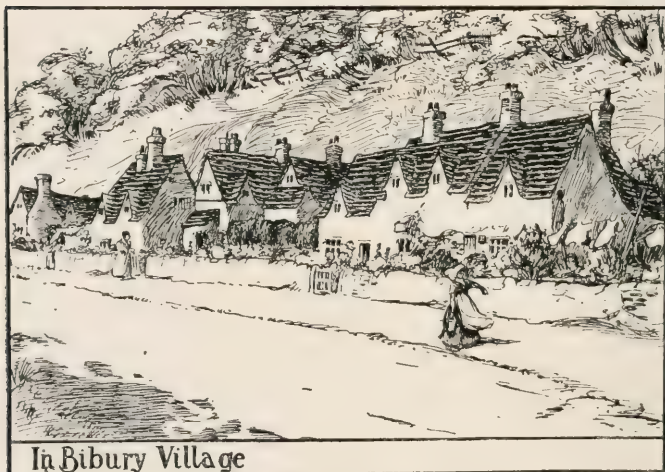
BIBURY COURT.

Kindly lent by Mr. Murray from "A Cotswold Village."

after their admission." After the Reformation, this peculiar jurisdiction was disputed by some of the Bishops of Gloucester, but the ground on which they rested their contention is not clear.

In the time of Edward VI., the manor was alienated from the See of Worcester and granted to John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, who was tried, and, being found guilty of treason, was beheaded.

In 1608 W. Westwood was lord of the manor. In 1708 Henry Sackville, then high sheriff, held it. The manor is now vested in Lord Sherborne. The beautiful manor house, known as Bibury Court, of which, through the courtesy of Mr. Murray, a view is reproduced from Mr. Gibbs *Cotswold Village*, was built in the time of James I. by Sir



Kindly lent by Mr. Murray from "A Cotswold Village."

Thomas Sackville. The date, 1623, appears on the front of the Manor House.

The plan of the parish church comprises a nave, 75 ft. by 24 ft.; a south aisle, half the length of the nave and 14½ ft. wide; a north aisle with a tower at its west end; a chancel, 44 ft. by 15 ft., and a south porch. The original Norman church had probably a nave and short apsidal chancel. Late in the 12th century the south wall was taken down and a Transitional arcade of three arches and a south aisle were constructed. Later on, the north side was treated in the same way. In the 13th century the nave was lengthened westward from the point where the 12th century arcade comes to an end. At the west end of the nave and on the south side are lancet 13th century windows, one being lower down than the others;

above which is a circular window, splayed inside and out like the windows thought to be Saxon or even British at Abury. It has been a matter of considerable doubt to what period this window belongs. Was it part of the church of 1086? Its position is very unusual and requires explanation. Was there at one time a chamber above the nave which it lighted?

The chancel was rebuilt or enlarged in the 13th century. There is some stonework in the wall, just where the earlier church would have ended eastward, which may be Saxon.

The windows of the north aisle are Decorated or 14th century, and there is a Perpendicular window in the south aisle.

There are two piscinæ with credence shelves, and four almeries or cupboards for communion table, &c., in the chancel.

This church is exceedingly interesting, but full of architectural difficulties.

The village of Bibury runs parallel with the river Coln, and is a favourite haunt of fishermen.

In the neighbourhood a Norman villa was discovered a hundred years ago, and many antiquities were taken out of it."

" ABLINGTON

was a manor in the time of King John, when a moiety of it was purchased by Ralph de Willington and Olympias, his wife, of Willington Court Sandhurst, near Gloucester. This good couple built and endowed the Early English Lady Chapel of the church of Gloucester Abbey, now the Cathedral. Their descendants held Ablington till the 15th century, when the Beaumonts possessed it. Lord d'Aubeny died seized of it in 6 Henry VIII., and Edward, Duke of Somerset, in the reign of Edward VI. In the reigns of Mary and Elizabeth the Bassets held it. When Atkyns wrote his *History of Gloucestershire* Mr. Coxwell owned the manor and dwelt in the Manor House.

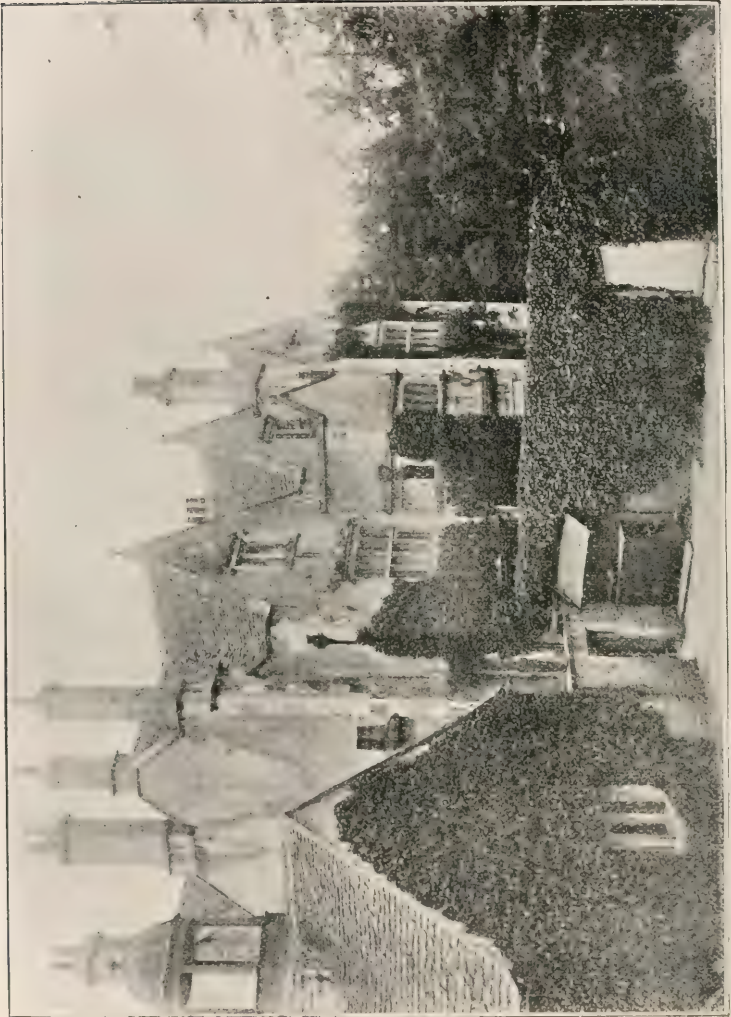
Over the doorway of the porch is the following inscription :

" PLEAD THOU MY CAUSE OH LORD
BY JOHN COXWEL ANO DOMENEY 1590."

This was evidently the name of the lord of the manor who built the house, and the date when he built it. Underneath this inscription are five heads, which, Mr. Gibbs thought, were representations of Queens Mary and Elizabeth and Kings Henry VIII., James I., and Philip of Spain. Over the solid oak door are the words—

" PORTA PATENS ESTO, NULLI CLAUDARIS HONESTO."

The old oak in the hall, Mr. Gibbs says, was brought here when it was turned out of Bibury Church. The house contains portraits of the Coxwells, amongst others of John Coxwell, who employed Cornelius



ABLINGTON MANOR HOUSE.
Kindly lent by Mr. Murray from "A Cotswold Village."

Jansen to build the house. Over one of the windows is "*Post tenebras lux.*" The garden, with the river Coln running through it, is delightful; and we can realise, when we see it basking in the August sunshine, how Mr. Gibbs loved it, and how he looked forward with delight to the prospect of spending many years in this charming hermitage. But it was otherwise ordered. In the spring of this year, after a brief illness, he was taken away from his many friends amongst rich and poor, leaving as a legacy, not only to us, but to Anglo-Saxons everywhere, his delightful notes on country life and pursuits in the Cotswolds. We are greatly indebted to



The Old Manor House

Kindly lent by Mr. Murray from "A Cotswold Village."

Mr. Murray for allowing some of the charming illustrations from his work ¹ to be reproduced here."

It was intended that a halt should be made at Barnesley, where the church would have been shown by the Rector, the Rev. D. G. COMPTON, and permission had been obtained to visit also Barnesley Park, belonging to Mr. Wykham-Musgrave, built by Henry Perrot, early in the 18th century in the Italian style, but this was found impossible.

"Barnesley was part of the Bishop of Worcester's Manor of Bibury, and was held in 1086 (D.S.) by Durand and Eudo. In the time of King Stephen it formed part of the possessions of Milo, Earl of Hereford, and it passed in moiety with Margery and Lucy, his daughters, to the De Bohuns and Fitz Herberts. Subsequently, it was held by the Despencers, by the Earls of Kent, one of whom was beheaded at Cirencester in the

¹ *A Cotswold Village*, by J. Arthur Gibbs; London: John Murray, 1898.

first year of the reign of Henry IV., by the Earls of March, by Richard Duke of York and his widow the Duchess Cecily. Henry VII. granted it to Thomas Merton, and it passed with his grand-daughter, Dorothy, to Ralph Johnson, who sold it to William Bouchier. This family still held it in 1712. Soon after this it came by marriage with an heiress of the Bouchiers to Henry Perrot, of Northleigh, Oxfordshire, who built Barnsley Park, in the Italian style prevalent in England during the reigns of George I. and George II. His two daughters were unmarried, the survivor, Cassandra, leaving the manor by will to James Musgrave, who held it in 1807.

The arms of Bouchier are: *azure a chevron or between three martlets argent, a crescent for difference.* The arms of Perrot are: *gules, three pears or; on a chief argent a demi-lion rampant sable.*

The plan of the parish church comprises a nave with north aisle and porch, western tower, and choir with vestry and organ chamber. The upper part of the tower appears to be later than the rest, and was perhaps rebuilt in the 17th century. The chancel has a good corbel table with heads of men and beasts. The nave contains a small Norman light which was brought from Daglingworth. The Norman horse-shoe chancel arch is probably of two dates. The chancel has two good 14th century windows and a new east window.

The font is an exact copy of one which was turned out of Broadwell Church, Oxfordshire, which lay desecrated in a builder's yard for some ten years, and was then bought and given to Barnsley. After a time the parishioners of Broadwell awoke to a sense of their loss and begged to have their font back again. Canon Howman, then rector of Barnsley, very generously acceded to their request on condition that he might have a copy made of it for his church."

Cirencester was reached in the afternoon. Here Mr. Wilfred Cripps, C.B., and Mrs. Cripps (Countess Bismark) very kindly received the members to tea at the Walnut Trees; and Mr. Cripps's museum was inspected, where much attention was directed to the recent valuable finds in Ashcroft."

Mr. Cripps contributed the following notes to the programme of the Meeting:—

"The museum contains all that has been found of Roman remains of recent years, and is carefully arranged and labelled to make its contents of general interest. It is opened to the public on certain occasions, and always on proper application. The cases contain a large collection of Samian ware, and also of Anglo-Roman pottery from Durobrivæ, Upchurch, and other potteries in England; also mortaria, some of them inscribed with the names of the makers. The Samian ware gives the names of some 200 potteries, many of them identified with the potteries

at Arles and other places in the South of France. Other cases contain bronze implements and ornaments, enamelled fibulæ, rings, keys, styli, a perfect series of bone pins, bodkins, counters, and other objects made of the horn of the red deer, coins, iron objects, horns of red deer sawn into lengths for making handles—architectural fragments, columns, capitals, reliefs, &c., &c.

The altar and reliefs found in April, 1899, at Cirencester, are of special interest owing to the curious way in which they connect themselves with a similar altar previously found at Bath and described in Hübner and by other authors.

The altar at Cirencester is dedicated to the *Sulevæ*, goddesses like the *Deæ Matres*—and, by some antiquaries, thought to be the same—but to



SULEVÆ OR DEÆ MATRES, IN MR. CRIPPS' MUSEUM.

whom few inscriptions have been found in England. Only two have hitherto been published, and of these one is dedicated by the very same individual as this recently found at Cirencester.

The *Sulevæ* were seldom called "mothers," but usually *Sulevæ* only; and it is, in point of fact, not known for certain whether they were the

usual goddess mothers under another name, or were cognate divinities, distinct though somewhat similar. About a century and a half ago a votive altar to the Sulevæ was found at Bath, known as well in Roman times as in our own for its famous medicinal springs; this altar had been erected in their honour by one Sulinus, the son of Brucetus, who described himself upon it as a *scultor*, or carver in stone. Nothing was then known about these Sulevæ, and nothing has been known, till the discovery of the stones we are now describing, of their worshipper, Sulinus son of Brucetus. But in the course of building operations conducted by Messrs. Saunders and Co., at Ashcroft, in Cirencester, the present stones have been found, throwing, after this lengthened interval, some little light upon the older discovery. They consist, to mention the more important pieces, of an altar and two sculptured reliefs, the former bearing an inscription which identifies the unknown Sulinus of Bath as an inhabitant of Cirencester. The inscriptions are almost identical, for both at Bath and at Cirencester describing himself as Sulinus the son of Brucetus, he adds at Bath, where he perhaps would be less well known, that he was a sculptor by profession. The large quantity of carved stone, pedestals, reliefs, portion of statues, and the like found near and around the altar justifies the belief that they were part of his stock-in-trade and of his own workmanship. And it is more than probable that the similar dedication at Bath to the one found at Cirencester owed its origin to the simple fact of the honest stoneworker of Corinium receiving relief from his gout, rheumatic pains, or what not at Bath, and erecting there to the divinities who had so blessed the Bath waters to his use a similar altar to the one he maintained to their honour at his own home. No doubt at Bath he found it convenient to add a note of his occupation to that of his parentage, being comparatively a stranger there, but it is a very interesting addition, especially from the point of view of those who had already imagined that they had discovered a Roman stonemason's yard, before the coincidence of finding the owner actually describing himself as such. There can be no mistake in the identity of the dedicator. The inscription is as follows:—

SVLEIS
SVLIN^{VS}
BRVCETI
VSLM

"Dedicated to the Suleæ by Sulinus, the son of Brucetus." The Bath inscription is:—

SVLEVIS SVLINVS SCVLTOR
BRVCETI F SACRUM
F. L. M.

The slight difference of the spelling of the names of the divinities honoured as SVLEÆ and SVLEVÆ is of no importance; sometimes

the spelling is **SVLEVIÆ**. The two reliefs of the goddesses which we now proceed to describe are in many ways even more interesting than the altar itself. There is nothing actually to prove what divinities the reliefs represent—they would be well described as *Deæ Matres*—but it is fair to conclude from their being found with an altar such as that discovered with them in Cirencester that they represent the *Sulevæ* rather than the *Deæ Matres* or any other similar triads. One of these reliefs represents the goddesses, if goddesses we can call them, sitting on a sort of bench in a row under a canopy, and holding the baskets of fruit and other gifts to men, with which they are usually represented. The stone is from the local oolite, and notwithstanding its crumbling nature the figures are in wonderful, indeed perfect, preservation, as fresh as when left by the hand of the artist, and it may be doubtful whether any example of Romano-British work is in a similar state of perfection at the present day. The other relief is of a different character, but even more interesting in its way. It represents the divinities as seated in various attitudes on a bench, accompanied by three children grouped with them, and the centre figure has a small animal, either lamb or kid, reposing in her lap, together with some fruit. The whole represents the attributes of fertility and bounty. This relief is not so stiff and conventional as the other, and is carved in an altogether higher style of art, but it is less perfect, the canopy which had once covered the figures in a kind of alcoved seat being wanting, and with it the upper part of the heads of each of the adult figures, which had been formed out of the missing stone. The tops of these heads are therefore cut off in a straight line, together with the missing arches of the canopy.

We may gather from these reliefs confirmation of the opinion that though distinct from the *Deæ Matres* the attributes of the *Sulevæ* were almost exactly the same; but it does not solve for us the natural query as to how they ever came to be distinguished from each other. Mr. F. Haverfield inclines to the belief that the *Sulevæ* were first confused with the *Deæ Matres*, rather than that they were at first identical and subsequently distinguished. Mr. Haverfield has also pointed out how plainly both reliefs, though in different degrees, show an attempt to rise above the conventional. Even the more stiffly treated relief shows a careful difference in the treatment of the dress of each figure and of the fruit in each different lap; whilst the freedom of design shown in the less perfectly preserved relief places it on quite a high level of art and one worthy of a classical origin, although there is nothing to show that it is necessarily of a different period to that of the more conventional example. It may be added that there is no good reason for connecting the *Sulevæ* specially with Bath. The prevailing god at Bath had the somewhat similar sounding name of Sul-Minerva; but there is no known connection

between them, except the perhaps accidental similarity in the sound of the name. There is only one example of a dedication to them found at Bath, and one at Colchester, whilst there are some twenty on the Continent of Europe, of which no less than eleven are found in Rome itself. It may be mentioned in passing that these eleven seem to have been dedicated by soldiers coming from the Rhine, and not by natives of the capital. It is probable that Sulinus adopted these Sulevæ as his patron divinities owing to his name, just as in later days a child would be named after one or more saints of the church, whom he would naturally venerate and specially invoke; and just as an altar to the above-mentioned god Sul-Minerva dedicated by another Sulinus, this last Sulinus being the son of one Maturus, would be equally suggested by the similarity of name."



ST. JOHN'S CHURCH, CIRENCESTER.
FROM THE EAST.



VIRTUES, BY SIR J REYNOLDS, NEW COLL., OXFORD.

PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS ON "STAINED AND PAINTED GLASS."

By GARDNER S. BAZLEY, Esq.

Ladies and Gentlemen,—A study of the presidential addresses which have been delivered from time to time at your Annual Meetings discloses not only the eminence of the gentlemen who have hitherto been selected for that office, but also the diffident and apologetic tone in which they have respectively approached the task before them. But what is to be said when an archæologist of only three months' standing ventures to address a learned Society on one of their special subjects (Stained and Painted Glass), his own acquaintance with that subject being of extremely recent origin? I think that such an undertaking can only be warranted by the confidence that the circumstances justify, to an unusual degree, an appeal to your indulgence.

Let me disclaim, however, any intention of anticipating the extremely valuable and interesting lecture on the Fairford windows which will shortly be given by the Vicar, to whose energy and enterprise the windows may be said to owe their preservation, and who is, therefore, better qualified to speak on that subject than any living man. But it may be interesting simply as an introduction to the subject if we refresh our memories on one or two points. First, in the history of stained and painted glass; and secondly, in the modern art of making a window.

Another way to describe the subject is: "How a Stained Glass Window differs from a Picture"; for to the uninitiated I think that a stained glass window is apt to appear a somewhat roughly-drawn and crudely-coloured *picture*, disfigured by staring black lines as if it were badly-mended china. But when one discovers the meaning of such expressions as "brilliancy" and "translucency" applied to

early glass, it becomes evident that the art in question has certain special qualities, as well as special limitations, all of which are more easily understood after acquiring some knowledge of the technique. It has been well remarked, "In order to appreciate windows one must have developed a *glass eye*." Now, as to the history of the art, Pliny's story of the discovery of glass by certain fishermen will always be attractive; but there is another theory, for which we are indebted, not to Pliny, but to *The Times'* reprint of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. It is, that straw and reeds contain in a crude form the chief component parts of glass; that when a rick is burnt down lumps of coarse glass are occasionally found in the ashes, and that the ancient Egyptians who used much fuel in the shape of reeds for their smelting furnaces, may have thus made the discovery of glass.

However, once discovered, colouring in imitation of precious stones was a natural step. A well-known instance is that of Aventurine glass, which was made by Venetians in very early times in imitation of the stone of that name, and the effect of which is due to the reflection of crystalline spangles of oxide of copper, produced by exposing glass treated with copper to a reducing agent. Again, blue glass in windows was for centuries known as "sapphire," and red glass is still technically called "ruby." So the origin of coloured windows may have been due to the idea of jewellery, set in plaster or stone instead of in gold.

Or the idea may have been taken from Cloisonné enamel, an art which was practised as early as the eighth century. As Mr. Westlake says, "Place a cloisonné enamel vertically, substitute lead lines for the copper cloissons, and transparent for opaque glass, and you have a coloured window." But whatever may have been their origin, the world is ultimately indebted for them to Western civilisation, for in the Italian churches side windows were unnecessary, owing to the very different quality of light in those latitudes (thus one sees how in the Pantheon at Rome a small circular opening in the roof lights the whole vast interior), and the opaque mosaic

pictures of Italian churches were naturally replaced by coloured windows in more northern climates.

Now, if we watch, in imagination, the methods of a glazier about a thousand years ago, we see that he has before him a number of small pieces of coloured glass (for it was as yet produced only in small pieces) of about seven different colours only, and that he fits them together like a puzzle, each colour, or even shade of colour, being represented by a separate piece, and joins together the whole with lead strips. He has two chief difficulties to overcome: first, to prevent, so far as possible, the lead lines from interfering with the design, and secondly to avoid weak points in the construction. For instance, if any piece of glass had to be cut into the shape of an hour-glass, it would be strengthened by a lead joint at the waist. It has been said that the earliest glaziers "thought in lead, and designed in lead." And as an Irishman once defined a net as "a number of holes, joined together with pieces of string," so an early window consisted, in the artist's mind, of a number of coloured spaces connected with lead lines.

In following the history of coloured windows, we ought to trace the course both of design (or treatment) on the one hand, and of technique, or workmanship, on the other. In other arts, such as painting and sculpture, the enquirer is, in a manner, solely concerned with the design. The materials and the methods employed are, I believe, of comparatively slight importance in determining the date of any particular work of art; but in glass painting the possibilities of variation in design are naturally very limited. Such variations have been due, generally speaking, to the influence of the contemporary schools of painting and of architecture. For instance the costumes of the figures and those representations of a stone canopy which are usually seen in the upper part of windows followed the current fashions in dress and in architecture; or, to speak more strictly, as the glass-painters were a conservative race, they often copied a style which had become old-fashioned. Thus glass of the

“Early Perpendicular” period would show a “Decorated” spirit in its architectural details.

To quote a few salient points in the history of style :

In the thirteenth century the design is very flat and conventional, in fact archaic; also medallion windows (a name which explains itself) may be generally ascribed to this period.

In the fourteenth century the drawing is already somewhat improved; there is more life and action in the figures, and conventional ornament is dying out.

In the fifteenth century we find less colour in windows; white glass often preponderates; also this period is often recognisable by the exaggeration of the canopies. (To the end of this period belong the Fairford windows—about 1500. Regarding their authorship, one may just notice the statute passed in 1483, “on the petition of the glaziers of London and other large towns,” against the importation of painted glass.—2nd Richard III., cap. 2.)

In Renaissance windows (about the sixteenth century) the subjects are frequently extended across several lights, disregarding the mullions; also, instead of the severity of early ornament, this style is often distinguished by festoons of flowers, ribbons, cupids and similar devices. Of the seventeenth century style, it may be enough to say that it became more and more like a picture and less like a window.

Now, as to the history of technique. At first, as has been said, the artist confined himself to piecing together bits of glass, each of one colour throughout (this has always been known as “pot-metal,” from being coloured by the addition of certain substances while in the melting-pot). But he soon began to call in the aid of a certain brown enamel—not by any means as a pigment, but, in the first place, for drawing outlines, such as the eyes and nose (for which purpose the lead strips were not only too clumsy, but, if used to outline, say, the fingers of a hand, the narrow enclosures they caused would soon be choked with dust); also to obstruct light where shading was required, as in folds of drapery; and,

lastly, to correct, or, as photographers say, "retouch," the rough outlines given to the glass by his chipping-tool.

This enamel was, and is, composed of metallic colouring matter (iron, manganese, or copper) mixed with pounded glass. The effect was that on placing a piece of glass so painted in a furnace, the pounded glass fused, and the surface of the solid glass itself becoming slightly softened, the enamel was, as it were, welded to the surface, and therefore indestructible.



The shading required was produced, in different periods, by different modes of applying this brown enamel, such as stippling, scratching-out, and cross-hatching; but the general principle soon became "to take out lights instead of putting in darks"—like the system of line-engraving as opposed to mezzotint.

The next improvement in technique was the introduction, early in the fourteenth century, of a new process, called yellow stain. By painting the surface of glass with a solution of silver (either oxide or sulphuret) and firing it in the kiln, it was found that a delicate yellow tint was produced in the part so painted, and not only on the surface but *in* the glass, and absolutely permanent. Lapse of centuries has shown that this stain has also the great advantage of preserving the glass. It will be noticed how the outside of the Fairford windows is honeycombed almost all over with thousands of little pits (due to the gradual dissolution of the alkali in the glass by the action of the weather). Now, one of the specimens of early glass kindly lent by Mr. Bazeley from his collection shows in a most interesting manner how

the portions of glass which were treated in this way are practically free from pits. I fancy, however, that this result is either entirely confined to, or much more marked in, cases where the stain was applied to the back of the glass. This was generally done where much brown enamel was used on the front, otherwise the two applications would "run" into one another.

Now this new process, neither an enamel nor a pot-metal colour (and it can generally be distinguished from pot-metal yellow by its cooler and purer tint), was a godsend to the glass-painter, for it enabled him for the first time to have two colours next to each other without a strip of lead between. One has only to look at the halo of a saint, and the hair of almost all figures in windows, to see what awkward lead lines were thus avoided. Again (though this discovery came later), blue glass could thus be stained green, and red glass orange, etc., enabling, for instance, the foliage of a tree to be represented on the same piece of glass as the blue sky, or green grass against the edge of a blue robe, without the necessity of a separate piece of glass for each colour.

A third great resource, also discovered in the fourteenth century, was due to the use of "coated" or "flashed" glass. Ruby and blue pot-metal were often made with a backing of white glass. The ruby, especially, is so intense and deep a colour that if it went right through the effect would be almost black: so ruby glass is only white glass veneered with red. As Mr. Day describes it, "The colour is only the jam upon the bread." Now, an ingenious person discovered that by grinding away the film of red, a white spot of light showed through, which could be enlarged, of course, to any size. (This is illustrated by another of Mr. Bazeley's specimens, where white pin-holes appear in red glass—the ruby film evidently being in this case on the *back*, and attacked by "pitting.") So, where the glazier wished to represent, say, pearls on a red robe, or a white centre in a scarlet flower, he could accomplish it without "leading in" the white separately from the red; if he chose, he could go

a step further, and after abrading a patch of the ruby coating, he might apply the yellow stain to part of the white ground so obtained, thus actually producing three separate colours with a single piece of glass, instead of three pieces joined together, which his predecessors would have used. It is obvious that other variations would result from using, say, ruby glass "backed" with blue, or yellow "backed" with purple. Modern glaziers escape the tedious abrading process by the use of fluoric acid, which dissolves away the coloured film like magic.

Here the legitimate methods at the disposal of the glass-painter end, and they are practically those in use at the present day. But it is plain that all these improvements tended in one direction—namely, dispensing with the leads; and whereas the early makers of windows designed primarily in lead-work, which by itself, without any colour at all, would give a fair idea of the picture, the glaziers after the fifteenth century began to consider leading as a necessary evil to be avoided as far as possible. Forgetting the special qualities of glass and the purpose of windows, they tried to make them resemble oil-paintings, and with this object introduced a wholly new and most pernicious method—the use of coloured enamels, which were necessarily opaque or nearly so. It became the practice towards the end of the sixteenth century to glaze windows in large rectangular panes, to discard all coloured glass, and deliberately to set to work to paint a picture on the



window. It is evident that this method, known as the "Enamel Method," is as different as possible from the "Mosaic Method" hitherto described, and it had three great defects:

First.—The lead strips, being no longer used for the outlines of the drawing, now became ugly black bars running across it, and making the figures look as if they were in a cage; and as the bars were kept as far apart as possible (to make them less obtrusive) the glass was less strongly supported than in the old method. *Secondly.*—The glass lost its special quality of translucency or brilliancy, it assumed a dull, cotton-woolly aspect, all the "jewelled" effect was gone, and the light struggled through in one monotonous blurr. *Thirdly,* and worst of all, the colours rapidly deteriorated and decayed; they flaked off, sometimes in large pieces, and visitors have been known to gaze reverently at a much-dilapidated window, thinking it is old, whereas it is comparatively modern, but instead of growing mellow, like early glass, has merely become shabby.

Perhaps the most striking instance is that of the well-known designs by Sir Joshua Reynolds in the great west window of New College, Oxford. Comparing these exquisite but rather woolly figures, disfigured by the straight black lines of the lead-work, with the rich and lustrous effect of the fourteenth century windows on either side, it is sad, on the one hand, to think of valuable window-space so unsuitably filled, and, on the other hand, to see such beautiful designs wasted by being executed in such a perishable medium and exhibited in such an ineffective manner.

It may be asked, Why should these coloured enamels flake off, if the old brown enamel was permanent? The answer is, that the early artists were not afraid to use good hard enamel, and a fierce heat to fuse it to the glass; whereas the user of coloured enamels feared to risk his delicate tints in a very hot furnace, and so was tempted to use borax as a flux, whereby the enamel fused more easily, but was imperfectly welded to the glass. Windows are naturally

exposed to extremes of temperature, under which the glass slightly expands and contracts; now, these coloured enamels not being so hard as the glass to which they adhered, had a different rate of expansion and contraction, and, so to speak, the paint and the canvas sometimes pulled in different directions, so the paint had to crack off. It may also be remarked that when brown enamel *did* perish it was not so noticeable.

Thus we find several rough-and-ready tests for criticising a window and determining its date, in workmanship alone, quite apart from the evidences of style; such are, brown enamel and the different methods of shading; yellow stain; abrasion of coated glass; and also the thickness of the film itself, which has varied from $\frac{1}{8}$ th of an inch in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries to about $\frac{1}{100}$ th of an inch in the present day; and, lastly, the use of coloured enamels.

[Since this address was delivered a further test for age in glass has been suggested to me by Mr. F. F. Tuckett, F.R.G.S., whose interesting paper, "On Some Optical Peculiarities of Ancient Painted Glass,"¹ deals with the curious fact that whereas modern windows throw patches of colour on the floor or walls of a building, early glass fails to do so.]

As regards the modern process of window-making, it may be interesting to notice that the glass used (crown and sheet glass) is still made by hand, with few more appliances than were in use two thousand years ago; consequently we get certain imperfections which are not found in mechanical processes, but which are most valuable artistically; as, for instance, variations in thickness, and therefore (in coloured glass) in depth of tint. These naturally-shaded pieces are much prized by the glazier, who sooner or later finds a use for every irregularly-tinted bit. In "coated glass" especially the film is liable to taper off, giving a range from dark red to palest pink on one piece of glass. An excellent example of this is the representation of the "Soul in Hell," at

¹ *Proceedings of the Clifton Antiquarian Club*, 1887 8.

Fairford, the red-hot bars rising to an almost white heat in the centre of the picture. Similarly, in King's College Chapel, a beautiful marbled effect is produced by using a piece of "spoilt ruby" in the representation of certain columns. There is *one* valuable quality in early glass which obviously cannot be reproduced; namely, the growth of lichens, which in the course of centuries gradually spread over the surface, and which undoubtedly contribute a soft and mellow effect. One is reminded of the question which is ascribed to an American tourist, as to the secret of the perfection of English lawns, and of the reply of the old gardener: "We rolls it and we mows it, and we waters it—for hundreds of years."

In the production of the different pot-metal colours, again, modern science has not very materially improved upon early methods. The fine sand, before it goes into the melting-pot, is saturated with the required metallic solution (such as copper for red, iron for yellow, cobalt for blue, gold for pink, manganese for violet) and then dried, leaving the metal in the sand. "Coating" is simply effected by dipping the white-hot bulb of glass, before it is blown, into a pot of coloured glass in a liquid state. And here may be noticed a somewhat new departure, of recent date, originating in America. Mr. Tiffany, whose exhibition this summer (1899) at the Grafton Gallery, in London, attracted much interest, carries the dipping process above described a step farther. In his method, the molten bulb is "charged" or dabbed with spots of colour of various shades and sizes; then, as the bulb is expanded by blowing, these patches of colour expand with it into streaks and veins of every conceivable form. It is claimed that by this means can be produced every marking and outline required for foliage and flowers, sea and sky, and that the use of brown enamel is unnecessary, and is, indeed, wrong in principle, for Mr. Tiffany considers that a window should be composed of glass in the state in which it leaves the glassblower's hands. With this object in view, when the leadwork does not suffice

for all the outlines required, he resorts to such devices as modelling in the glass before it hardens by cooling, producing a kind of bas-relief; by this means he represents, for instance, folds and wrinkles of drapery; or he joins several thicknesses of glass together, sometimes to a depth of two or three inches, in such a manner that the edges of the inner pieces, when seen from in front, show a faint outline through the outer surface. It may, however, be objected that by the use of this variegated and opalescent and extra thick glass much light is lost, and that a church with such windows would be extremely dark; and though in theory the use of brown enamel may be wrong, still it appears to actually enhance the brilliancy of glass by the force of contrast. In other words, shading "throws up" the light parts. Nevertheless, Mr. Tiffany's windows are the only ones which resemble the earliest glass, in that they are strictly neither "stained" nor "painted."

We are now, perhaps, in a position to say something about what can and what cannot be done in this art; in other words, how a coloured window differs from a picture.

Plainly, the *material* is different: glass derives its effect from transmitted, not from reflected, light; indeed, a building should have all its windows coloured or none, since reflected light kills the glass.

And the method of *production* is different, for in windows the range of colour is limited and they must be constructed like a mosaic, whereas a picture is painted all in one piece.

And the *purpose* is different, since the function of a window is, or should be, to admit light; here, therefore, are further limitations as to amount of shading and deep colour, and also as to size and shape, which do not apply to a picture.

And the *position* is different, for windows are seldom "hung on the line;" often, as in the case of the clerestory, they are "skied," so what is wanted is a rich or, as it is often called, kaleidoscopic effect, at a distance.

If I may say so, the fault of many modern windows is that their subjects are too conspicuous, often to the point of



aggressiveness; their figures are too distinct, and stand out too sharply from the background. Thus such windows lack the mystery and the dignified reserve of early glass; they are in such a hurry to tell their story that they seem to shout it at you as soon as you enter the church. Much of the charm of windows like those at Fairford consists, I think, in "the pleasure of surprise." There is almost the fascination of a child finding faces in the fire or castles in the clouds. One is always discovering some new feature, some new fancy of the artist (often merely indicated by symbol); and meanwhile, even if one makes no effort to interpret their story, the colour-effect is both satisfying and restful. On the other hand, certain modern windows seem to assert themselves and challenge attention almost like a pictorial advertisement in a London thoroughfare; and whatever may be the qualities most appropriate to a church window, surely it should not resemble a poster!

And if it be objected that the windows at Fairford are "grotesque," the answer would be that so are the gurgoyles, and that a certain rude force and monumental character are more in keeping with the severity of Gothic architecture than to the more ornate and florid beauty which distinguished later schools of glass painting.

NOTE.—The materials for this address are largely borrowed from the works of Judge Winston, Mr. Westlake, and Mr. Lewis Day, to whom I am much indebted; and I have to thank Mr. B. T. Batsford of 95 High Holborn, for the four illustrations from *Windows*, by Mr. Lewis Day.—G. S. B.

RICHARD, EARL OF CORNWALL, AND HENRY
OF ALMAINE, 1209—1272.

By ST. CLAIR BADDELEY.

BORN at Winchester, January 5th, 1209, Richard Plantagenet was six years of age at the signing of Magna Charta, and seven when his brother, Henry III., succeeded to a kingdom which was practically being governed by William Marshal, Earl of Pembroke. His education was entrusted to Peter de Manley, at Corfe Castle. As he survived until his sixty-third year, and died in 1272, his life was contemporaneous with a period of exceptionally grave moment in English history; and even if, as an individual character, there be found in him a certain lack of solidity, on the other hand, as compared with the King, his brother, this defect would not be manifest. But neither his high position, as for some years heir to the throne, nor his continuous contact with several of the greatest men of a great age—such as Frederick II, Robert Grosteste, and Simon de Montfort,—nor his immense fortune (for he became the foremost millionaire of his time), contrived to render him a really impressive figure. Nevertheless, position and fortune, not unassisted by a certain average adroitness, enabled him to bear a conspicuous part in the political life of England during her long and precarious struggle for popular freedom, and this could not but confer upon him an unmistakable significance. I am, however, here concerned with him, not merely as a political personage, but as the founder of Hayles Abbey and a Royal figure intimately connected with Gloucestershire by many and various ties, especially as the father of four princes and the husband of one Queen, whose bones still lie beneath the quiet pastures around the remains of the Abbey.

And the first question in this connection which arises must be, How came there to be a Crown property at

Hayles upon which Richard might eventually build his Abbey of S. Mary? It is certain that in the large field north of the parish church of Hayles, in 1225, there stood a castle, then held by John de Julin—a castle which can be traced back to the possession of Ralph de Worcester, in the reign of Stephen. At the owner's death in that year it passed with its lands to the Crown. King Henry almost immediately discharged the inhabitants of Hayles from the Hundred of Winchcomb, and conferred the property with its belongings upon his brother, probably on the occasion of knighting him, and when he was also created Earl of Cornwall. This done, Earl Richard and his uncle, William Longespée, Earl of Salisbury, and Philip de Albini, sailed to Gascony, where they spent a year or more, afterwards incurring grave perils at sea on their way home. This visit thither of Richard was productive of a deputation of the nobles of Gascony, Aquitaine, and Poitou, who, headed by the Bishop of Bordeaux, waited on King Henry at Oxford in 1229, where he was spending Christmas, and begged him to come over sea to them in order that they should help him to recover his rights, and win back English predominance in Aquitaine, which had been lost by King John. "But when Hubert [de Burgh] the Justiciary heard this he postponed the matter to a future time, till a more favourable opportunity should arise. And the messengers, receiving no other reply, returned to their own country, like men deceived." However, this was made the motive for a heavy requisition upon the Clergy of all orders, from the city of London, and from the Jews, on the strength of which the King set out with an expedition to Brittany that ended most ignominiously, and led to the fall of Hubert de Burgh.

Among those who died in Brittany was Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester and Hertford, leaving behind him his widow Isabel, daughter of William Marshal, Earl of Pembroke (d. 1231). This lady, scarcely twenty years of age, so completely attracted the admiration of Earl Richard that he married her, with the King's consent, in the following April

(1231), and with her he enjoyed Sundon, in Bedfordshire, which later passed to her son, Richard de Clare. On this occasion the King granted Richard the Crown property of Wallingford Castle and a number of other manors. Still heir-presumptive to the throne, what with his rich estates and the development of his Cornish mines, he was on the way to become as distinguished for his wealth and the conserving thereof as King Henry was already become for its dissipation. It was doubtless no difficult matter for those about the Court to contrast the two brothers, and perhaps to flatter Richard for his prudence.

After three years of matrimony, Earl Richard was led to doubt whether he could longer remain in lawful matrimony with Isabella owing to someone having informed him that he had been related to her first husband in the fourth degree. He therefore wrote to Gregory IX. concerning the matter, and from him received a reply from Perugia in July, 1235, to the effect that he was to lay aside all doubt and remain in matrimony. On the following November 5th Isabella gave birth at Hayles Castle to a son, who was baptized in Hayles Church with the name of the King. He was afterwards to become known as Henry of Almaine.

At the same period we find Richard taking serious interest in the monastery of Beaulieu, in Hampshire, a Cistercian house which had been founded by his father, King John, in 1205, and a daughter of Citeaux in France. Among other causes, bitter antagonisms that had begun to manifest themselves between the popular, but rival, orders of Dominic and Francis were tending to accentuate the especial favour with which the Cistercian Order was now being regarded. Beaulieu, although its church had not yet been finished, enjoyed an annual rental of £1,000, and, being situated in a lonely spot, it needed little money for the purposes of hospitality. The Abbot, however, found himself engaged in litigation with the rector of S. Keveren, in Cornwall, to recover moneys due to his Abbey from that living,¹ for the patronage of which it was indebted to Earl Richard.

¹ *Cal. Papal Registers*, vol. i., p. 155.

In the following year, the Earl, with his kinsman Gilbert Marshal, Earl of Pembroke, and others, assumed the cross with the intention of setting forth together to the Holy Land; and Matthew Paris tells us that Richard cut down much timber in order to raise funds for that purpose. He had, in fact, been spending vast sums upon Wallingford and Berkhamstead, and perhaps, also, upon Hayles Castle. But though his wish to join the Crusade was unquestionably sincere, he was the next heir to the throne, and this circumstance gave pause to the advisers of the Crown, especially to the Pontiff himself. The dangers at home as well as abroad were manifold. The King, who had put aside a vow of celibacy, had at length married Eleanor, daughter of Raymond Berenger, Count of Provence, and sister of the Queen of France, in January, 1236. The sudden increase of French influence—already far too powerful in the eyes of Englishmen—around the King, and the absence, as yet, of offspring from the King's union, made it imperative the Earl should remain in England. Consequently, we find special Papal mandates addressed both to him, to Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, and to William, Earl of Salisbury, forbidding them to set forth, under pain of losing the Indulgence granted to Crusaders, owing to "their councils being very necessary to the safety of England." The wisdom of this precaution becomes fully apparent when, in the wave of indignation caused by the King's new exactions, Richard makes himself a popular mouthpiece, and actually reproaches Henry with occasioning so much desolation throughout the kingdom, and with allowing himself to become the mere puppet of the Legate and his Consort's relations. Consequently, the Earl and his illustrious friends and kinsmen postponed their enterprise, although at the same time carrying on active correspondence with the Emperor Frederick II. (who had lately married his sister Isabella) relative to the practical ordering of their future undertakings in the Holy Land.

This postponement brought other important matrimonial

events to the front, especially the marriage, in 1238, of the Earl's younger sister, Eleanor (widow of William Marshal, Earl of Pembroke), with Simon, Earl of Leicester, and that of Richard de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, with Matilda, daughter of John de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln, both of which unions proved not only extremely displeasing to Earl Richard and to the people generally, but nearly led to violence. The King, in fact, had secretly obtained dispensations from Rome for these marriages, omitting to consult either his brother or his nobles. In acting thus he had deliberately broken a former pledge to them. In consequence, Earl Richard, much to his credit, "rose against the King, and was joined by Gilbert, Earl of Pembroke, together with all the earls and barons of England, and the citizens and people in general. It was then most confidently hoped that Earl Richard would release the country from the wretched slavery with which it was oppressed by the Romans and the other foreigners; and all parties, from the old man to the boy, heaped blessings upon him. The King, in finding how matters stood, both felt and showed his alarm, and sent messengers to each of the nobles of the kingdom, making earnest enquiries if he could rely on them for assistance; to which they all, and especially the citizens of London, answered that what Earl Richard had begun was brought about with a view to their own honour and the advantage of the whole kingdom, though he, the King, did not approve of his proceedings, and that therefore they would not oppose his designs. The Legate, Otto (Cardinal of San Niccolo in Carcere) on finding this to be the case, saw that danger was imminent, and applied himself with the utmost diligence to reconcile the King to his natural subjects, secretly advising Earl Richard, who was the chief promoter of this discord, to desist from his purpose, *promising that the King should confer on him still larger possessions*, and that the Pope would afterwards confirm the grants of these; adding also, that, although the entire realm should rise against Henry, he, who was his brother, ought patiently to stand by him against all men."

To this Earl Richard replied with a vigorous defence of his position and a peremptory rejection of the terms offered. Whereupon the Legate and the Bishop of Winchester (Peter de Roches) went to the King, and their persuasions led to a convocation of nobles in London, which, unfortunately, resulted in a compromise, owing to Simon de Montfort and the Earl of Lincoln having meanwhile effected reconciliation with Earl Richard. "By these irregular proceedings" (writes Matthew Paris) "the whole business was in a great degree impeded, and the miseries of the kingdom in great degree prolonged; moreover, they clouded the reputation of Earl Richard, who thus came to be an object of suspicion, when he had been regarded as the staff of strength." Simon de Montfort made a temporary and adroit absence from England and visited Rome, in order to obtain a Pontifical ratification of his union with Eleanor. On his return later on, however, he was affectionately received by the King, and soon became his chief councillor. Moreover, Kenilworth Castle was assigned to him for a residence.

In 1239, on the 17th June (late at night) was born to the King and Queen, at Westminster, a son, "and he was called Edward, which name he received after the glorious King and Confessor, Edward, whose body rests in the Church of St. Peter at Westminster." At his baptism, four days later, by the Legate, Earl Richard and the Earl of Leicester were present in person as sponsors.

It is manifest that Richard had missed a great opportunity. He had resisted the blandishments of the Legate, whose words, as given by the chronicler above, were addressed clearly to his financial proclivities; but he had given way to the flattering self-humiliations of Simon de Montfort and of the powerful De Lacy, Earl of Lincoln. Had he at this moment led the Baronage in a whole-hearted manner, and backed it with his great resources, the King and his alien magnates must have given way. The birth of an heir to the throne increased his distance from it at the same time

that his reconciliation with De Montfort and King Henry distanced him from the baronage and the affections of the people.

In the following year, 14th January, 1240, Isabella, Countess of Cornwall, died in childbed at Berkhamstead while the Earl was in Cornwall. Matthew Paris writes that a son was then born, to whom was given the name of Nicholas; but he also died. "The noble lady Isabella, Countess of Gloucester and Cornwall, was taken dangerously ill of the yellow jaundice, and when her time arrived she became insensible; and after having had the ample tresses of her flaxen hair cut off, and having made a full confession of her sins, she departed to the Lord, together with a boy to whom she had given birth." The Earl, who, as has been already observed, was intimately associated, as a patron, with Beaulieu Abbey, over-ruled her expressed desire to be buried at Tewkesbury, and meaning to be buried beside her when his own time should come, he caused her body to be buried before the high altar at Beaulieu,¹ her heart in a silver cup to be interred before that of Tewkesbury, while the intestines went to a similar resting-place with the monks at Missenden.²

All these circumstances, it may be conjectured, combined in determining the Earl to postpone no longer his departure for the Holy Land, and being made ready he came from his castle at Wallingford to Reading, where he met the Archbishop of Canterbury and some of the Bishops, to whom he bade farewell, leaving his children and possessions protected by a special Papal indult, but nevertheless with little comfort

¹ In 1862 her tomb was discovered at Beaulieu Abbey by means of a horse accidentally putting its leg into a hole in the meadow beyond the cloisters. The sculptured and inscribed slab was then found, and beneath it lay her skeleton, some of the above-mentioned hair being still attached to the skull. Her effigies are crowned, and the inscription bears traces of lead-ing (*Cf. Archaeological Journal*, 1863, p. 107.) By kind permission of Lord Montagu, the writer has been allowed to examine these relics.

² Arms of Marshal: Party per Pale, or and vert; a lion rampant gules, armed and langued, azure.

at heart. "The prelates, when they saw this, all burst into tears, and said: 'Why, Earl, our only hope, do you abandon us? or, for whom do you desert us? We shall be desolate without you. In your absence rapacious foreigners will invade us!' The Earl, then, in tears, replied to the Archbishop of Canterbury: 'My father and Lord, of a truth, even had I not assumed the cross, yet would I go, and absent myself so that I might not behold the evils of our people and the desolation of the kingdom, which 'tis believed I am able to prevent, although I cannot really do so!'" And so he departed.

He had not been long gone when King Louis IX., taking advantage of his absence and the weakness of Henry III., conferred upon his brother, Alphonse, the Earldom of Poitou, which belonged to Earl Richard. With the latter, however, affairs prospered, both on his journey and in the Holy Land. Nothing effectual had been achieved against the Saracen for several years. Papal authority had sent abroad throughout Christendom an army of Dominicans and Franciscans, ostensibly to procure funds for a fresh crusade, but the chief result had been an extraordinary enrichment of both those orders so especially vowed to poverty, as well as of the Roman treasury. Another conspicuous means of raising these riches is made apparent by the Papal registers. Crusaders were encouraged to take vows and buy indulgences for the protection of their families and heirs during their projected absence, or in case of their deaths. Thereafter they were forbidden to go, and induced to purchase commutation of their vows. At the meeting of Earl Richard and his comrade barons and knights at Northampton, however, they swore to God and each other at the altar, that they would no longer be hindered by the Church from fulfilling their honourable vows, nor allow their arms to be diverted for service in Europe against the merely personal enemies of the Pontiff. The French Crusaders had preceded their English colleagues, but having fallen out with the Templars, and having

suffered a severe defeat near Gaza, they now returned discomfited to France.

The Earl acted with worthy decision and rapidity, and having demanded in vain from the Emir of Karat fulfilment of his agreement to liberate the Christian captives, he marched with his English host to Jaffa. This movement was followed by immediate and remarkable results. The captives were liberated, and the Sultans of Cairo and Damascus opened negotiations with him. From them he contrived to obtain a restoration of the territories lost to the Latin kingdom, and an absolute cession of Jerusalem, on whose walls he presently planted the banner of Christendom. (*Cf. Sanudo*, lib. iii., xi., c. 15. *Matt. Paris. Ad. Annum.*) And thus he brought the sixth Crusade to a successful issue, due in great part, doubtless, to his having acted upon the advice of his brother-in-law, the Emperor Frederick II.

On his return journey he landed at Trapani, in Sicily, and, being received with great honour, journeyed to Naples, where he rested for some time as the Emperor's guest. "He was received in the various cities through which he passed with the greatest joy and honour, the citizens and their ladies coming to meet him with music and singing, bearing branches of trees and flowers, dressed in festal array, &c. When at length he did reach the Emperor, he was received by him with all honour; and after mutually embracing one another, amidst the applause of all the Imperial attendants, they indulged in long-desired converse and various sorts of consolation, and enjoyed themselves as friends for many days. The Emperor, moreover, ordered him to be gently and mildly treated with blood-letting, baths, and divers medicinal fomentations to restore his strength after the dangers of the sea; and at the end of some days, by the Emperor's permission, he enjoyed a free and lengthened conversation with his own sister, the Empress [Isabella]. . . After some days had thus passed in repose from his toils, the Emperor sent Earl Richard, in whose fidelity and prudence

he had learned to confide, to the Court of Rome, in order to cement peace between the Pontiff and himself. The Emperor likewise, in addition to the honours he had already conferred on the said Earl, gave him a document, sealed with the Imperial seal, binding himself to abide by his decision on whatsoever conditions peace should come to be re-established by him. On the Earl's arrival in Rome, however, he was received with insult and contempt; and he found the Pontiff so inexorable and adverse to peace that he would agree to nothing the Earl could propose, and, on the contrary, the Pontiff insisted that at all events the Emperor should submit unconditionally to his own will and pleasure, abide by the commands of the Church, and, furthermore, should take oath so to do. But to this the Earl would not agree; and after seeing and hearing many things which rightly displeased him, he went away, having effected nothing. Having thus discovered the tergiversation of the Roman Court and city, the Earl returned to the Emperor, and told him his experiences. The Emperor then replied: 'I am glad that you have learned personally the truth of those things which we have heretofore spoken to you verbally.' After remaining about two months with the Emperor, as a son with his father, and enjoying much converse with him, the Earl departed, loaded with costly gifts."¹ Later in the year Isabella, the Empress, died in childbirth, leaving a son and a daughter.

We follow Earl Richard on his return, accompanied by many of the French nobles and knights whom he had liberated in the East and by special attendants provided for him by Frederic, and find him joyfully received at Cremona, where one special feature of his entertainment was the Imperial elephant with its howdah, in which sat a band of musicians "playing on trumpets and clapping their hands."

Earl Richard arrived in England at Epiphany-tide of 1242, and found London decorated to receive him upon the feast of S. Agnes, the meeting of the King and his brother proving

¹ *Cf.* Matt. Paris, A.D. Ann. 1241.

to be of a most cordial description. The first question which arrested their political attention related to the county of Poitou and its recent seizure by King Louis; for the Count de la Marche had urged King Henry to come without delay to defend the rights of the Poictevins. These solicitations had so worked upon the King that he was determined to take aggressive measures. Now, however, the barons, feeling galled by his exactions and those of his Ministers, refused him needful supplies. As, nevertheless, they had not yet been able to thoroughly compact themselves under a single strong leader, the King, by persuasions carefully addressed to each one individually, finally succeeded in obtaining means to equip an expedition. Accordingly, on May 15th, 1242, they set out; the Poictevins anticipating their arrival by commencing hostilities against Louis. The King and Earl Richard, seven other earls, and three hundred knights reached the mouth of the Gironde and went to Pons and Saintes, where they were received by Reginald, Lord of Pons. The French King was meanwhile marching with four thousand men-at-arms to repel the "invasion" (as it was regarded), and in good sooth to win the campaign, greatly at the expense of English prestige. No doubt his forces were increased before he reached Tailleburg, on the other side of which the English army arrived too late to prevent its surrendering. In the events which rapidly followed, Earl Richard played a more prudent and dignified part than King Henry, and by grasping, before it was too late, the utterly false position in which he now found the English forces to have gotten themselves—partly owing to the double-dealings of the Count de la Marche and his Countess,¹—he may even be said to have made the best of a bad situation, albeit it involved the disgraceful flight of his kingly brother and himself. Discovering, then, the Poictevin treachery, and addressing recriminations to the said Count, who was King Henry's stepfather, Earl Richard laid down his sword, and, taking a

¹ Isabella, widow of King John, and called "Jezebel" by the Poictevins themselves.

staff, went over to the French camp to try and arrange a truce. He was received, we learn, with marked respect, in regard for his having freed so many French captives in the Holy Land. But King Louis only granted a truce until the morrow, saying to him: "My Lord Earl, I have granted this truce to last for to-day and to-night, so that you may meditate what may be best to be done; for night brings counsel with it." The Earl replied: "On that account I asked for the truce." He then returned and informed Henry of their imminent peril of capture, in consequence of which the King and his army at once retreated in disorder begotten of panic, and Henry did not draw rein until he reached Saintes. Next day the French closely followed them, and a considerable skirmish took place, in which Simon de Montfort and John Mansel distinguished themselves. It is not surprising to find among the results of this disaster that the Count de la Marche immediately set about procuring his own reconciliation with King Louis, who, moreover, had already captured two of his sons. But Henry and Richard were not permitted to remain at Saintes. Louis intended to surround and besiege them there. The main result of the French plan becoming known to Richard while staying there, was a further ignominious flight to Blaye. The whole of Poitou was then turned against Henry, and a lasting truce between French and English was only brought about owing to a decimating outbreak of pestilence in the French army.

The King had been twice in actual danger of capture, and we may be sure that Earl Richard was heartily ashamed of the whole expedition. It would appear, however, that he and Henry soon quarrelled very seriously in regard to the Earl's rights over Gascony, which Henry had attempted to take from him and confer upon Prince Edward. The Earl, after taking refuge in a convent at Bordeaux, made his way home from that city alone in October, 1242. Caught in a gale, however, his vessel with difficulty made one of the Scilly islands. In gratitude for his escape, the Earl regis-

tered a vow to build an abbey for the Cistercian Order on his estate at Hayles, in Gloucestershire.

It is not a little curious to observe that, at the same moment, King Henry was laying pitfalls for the Cistercian Order throughout England, so as to extract money from them, by the instrumentality of Boniface, Archbishop of Canterbury. This prelate, therefore, convened all the English abbots of the Order, or met them "with anxious entreatings and fair words." The reply of the abbots might be placed fittingly in the mouth of a representative Quaker: "We are not permitted to assist anybody in carrying on war, in which blood, especially Christian blood, is spilled, lest by so doing we depart from the rules of our Order, which has a great horror of blood. But we will willingly help our Lord and patron in efficacious and indefatigable prayers, charities, and other pious works." They, therefore, quietly refused the King his demand of the year's wool from their flocks, and retired.

The following year, 1243, was destined to prove eventful in the domestic as well as the political career of the Earl. He had learnt to sympathise with his brother-in-law, Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, and with the baronial tendency to exercise patriotic resistance towards the King, to the Provençal party, and to the Court of Rome which was working behind these. The weight of his position, energy, and wealth were become of extreme value to the barons, just at a time when a most untoward event occurred, namely, a second marriage, which was negotiated between him and Sanchia de Provence, sister of the Queens of France and England. In fact, Beatrice, Countess of Provence, brought her daughter in great state to England, and on S. Clement's day she and Richard were united at Westminster in circumstances of surpassing splendour. But in spite of the merry feasting and unbounded prodigality of the occasion, there were men who took part in it with bitter hearts, who perceived that this union would both commit the Earl to the unpopular, or Court, party, as well as import a further batch of Provençals into the country. This was a moment,

probably, when the Saxon and Norman elements in England looked each other full in the face, not as heretofore, hostile to one another, but rather as acquaintances united by a common calamity. Well does Matthew Paris exclaim: "How contemptible and transitory are such joys! how shadowy and deceptive, this world, when the morrow's dawn dissipated like a cloud all these great and varied doings!"

Meantime there had arisen a new Pope in the person of Sinibaldo Fieschi, styled Innocent IV., who lost no time in asserting, with the combined ingenuities of his Genoese nature and legal education, his intention of grinding the last penny from the English people; so much so, that letters—"such as might have softened hearts of iron"—were addressed to him and his Cardinals by both the King, Earl Richard, and the Magnates of the realm; but to little purpose. The agent sent by the Pope found that he might, as a last resort, freely use Excommunication as a process for extracting ore from most unpromising materials. He suspended English prelates, in all directions, from their benefices, until the Church, as well as the people, groaned.

Up to the year 1246, Earl Richard had taken no steps to fulfil his vow, made three years before, of building a Cistercian abbey. The reason seems to be forthcoming in circumstances attending the dedication of the Abbey Church at Beaulieu. That abbey, begun in 1204, had, for some yet unexplained reason, not been dedicated, although the monks had been able to use their church as early as 1227. In the middle of June, 1246, however, we find Beaulieu visited by the Royal family, including Earl Richard and his Countess—the Abbot, moreover, entertaining the Bishops of Bath, Exeter, and Chichester. Shortly after the festival, Earl Richard took thirteen monks and some 'conversi,' or lay brethren, from the abbey, with probably the architect, Frater Johannes Cementarius, and his workmen, to his Gloucestershire estate of Hayles, and there proceeded to lay the foundations of another royal abbey. That it must have risen with unusual rapidity seems certain, owing to the fact that on

November 5th, 1251, it was dedicated. The author of the *Chronicle of Hayles* cannot resist the opportunity offered him by the name of Hayles to make play on it: "Heylis, quod sanus es, vel est, intelligitur. Et hoc ipsum nomen in Monasterium primum sua morte fere septennis, Frater Johannis Cementarius, die Lunæ Rogationis, presente Comite, confirmavit."¹

Although reconciliation over the matter of their personal differences, and above all the marriage of the Earl to the Queen's sister, had drawn Richard nearer to Henry, we find him with Simon de Montfort, Grosteste, Walter de Cantelupe and William Marshall, Earl of Pembroke, heading the committee of twelve at Westminster who were now appointed to effect reform in the Royal expenditure and regulation in the King's conduct. The instability of the King, incurable as it had become, had so far not infected his brother.

Money was being arduously collected during the ensuing years for the purposes of another Crusade, and both political parties were to some extent united in this pious purpose, Earl Richard himself collecting six hundred and more pounds. In 1247, however, the King received from one of the Templars a crystal vase containing some drops of the Holy Blood which had been shed from the side of the Redeemer, to which was attached a certification, with seals of the Patriarch of Jerusalem, the Grand Master, and other ecclesiastical dignitaries. In October of that year, having invited his magnates to London, the King carried this sacred relic from St. Paul's to the newly-rebuilt Abbey Church of Westminster, when Walter de Suffield, Bishop of Norwich, preached a sermon exalting the virtue of this wonderful treasure, concerning which, by report of his words, it is evident that not a little scepticism obtained. This grand festival was held purposely on the anniversary of the sainted Edmund Rich, formerly Archbishop of Canterbury, whose remains had

¹Arms of Hayles.—Arg: A BEND. A CROSIER gules surmounted with a lion rampant of the last. All within a Bordure Bezantée.

recently¹ been translated² at Pontigny with great honours, in the Cistercian Abbey there. Regretting his absence from the great ceremony of the translation at Pontigny, the Earl is reported to us to have used these words: "Alas, that it was not ordained on high for the King and myself to have been present at this glorious and solemn translation! For he was *our* Saint by birth, education, and promotion, although, owing to our sins, he withdrew from England. However, what I was not present to do there, I will do absent—I will pay due reverence and honour to him." And from that time he began to love the Saint more sincerely, and to honour him more devoutly. Happening to be oppressed by a severe and secret illness, endangering his life, he invoked his assistance, and was happily freed from his ailment; wherefore, in gratitude to God and the Saint, he took upon himself to build a fourth part, that is, the front of the shrine (*cf.* Matt. Paris, A.D. 1247). This is not without considerable bearing, it will be seen, upon the building and endowing of Hayles Abbey, and, moreover, accounts for the rapidity of its erection and completion. Two years later we find him paying a visit to Pontigny for the purpose of devotion at the Saint's tomb, and not only this, but he christens a son, whom Countess Sanchia bore him at Berkhamstead (1250), Edmund, in his honour, as did likewise King Henry, in naming his second son Edmund, surnamed Crouchback, afterwards titular King of Sicily.

The Cistercian Order was now at the height of its popularity. Many of the most splendid abbeys in the kingdom were in its possession, including Tintern, presently rebuilding, Melrose, Waverley, Netley, Fountains, Flaxley, Whalley, Furness, Rievaulx, and Croxden. Nevertheless, the powerful Dominican and Franciscan Orders affected to regard the White Monks with contempt, or at least with indifference, as being devoted to a simpler life than themselves, and especially as being agriculturists, albeit this side

¹June 6, 1247.

²His remains suffered frequent "translation." To be a Saint in those days connoted disturbance of one's remains, not to speak of pilfering.

of their life was for the most part delegated to lay-brethren. Consequently, we learn of the endowing of Schools at Paris and elsewhere, for the study of Theology and Canon law, "so that they might not appear inferior to the other Orders."

On his way back from Pontigny, Richard contrived, while at Paris, to purchase from the Abbot of S. Denis his rights over the Priory of Deerhurst, with several villages pertaining thereto. A little later on he procured, during a visit to the Roman Court at Lyons, ratification of this purchase, and on returning to Gloucestershire he expelled the monks thence and took possession, according to Matthew Paris, in a somewhat violent manner. "He also determined to build a castle there, on the river Severn."

On the occasion of his visiting Innocent IV. at Lyons, he was accompanied by Sanchia and his son by his first countess, Henry, now a lad of fifteen. They were richly attended by a retinue of forty knights, three bishops, and five loaded waggons. Innocent had desired to see the Earl, probably for several reasons. The French King was fallen in great difficulties at Damietta while leading a crusade, and on the very day that Earl Richard was feasting with the Sovereign Pontiff, it happened that he and his brother, Charles, Count of Anjou, and Alphonse, Count of Poitou, were taken prisoners by the Sultan, and their army was more than decimated. But this fact was, of course, not known until some time later, when Richard had reached London, in August. The Emperor Frederick continuing under excommunication, his throne of Naples and Sicily had been declared vacant, and the arrogant Pontiff was looking about for a candidate to place upon it. In his eyes no one could seem so well fitted for such a post as the rich and pious Earl of Cornwall, whose wife was the ambitious sister of two reigning Queens. Prudence, fear, and, perhaps, silent respect for Frederick, dictated his refusal of the proffered honour. Furthermore, the German throne was similarly declared to be vacant; and England, being regarded with good reason as the Virgin's Dower, the Mexico of Rome, Innocent desired to obtain

information *viva voce* regarding the actual conditions of parties there; as to where pressure could be exerted fruitfully, and where it could not be, as well as particulars respecting both the King's sons and those of the Earl, in view of their possible candidature for puppet-monarchies. In fact, there was almost an embarrassment of choice, for, besides these Princes, and Earl Richard himself, there was Charles of Anjou, who had married (1246) Beatrice of Provence, the last daughter of the House which had given Earl Richard, King Henry, and King Louis IX. their respective wives.

In the following December (1250) the great Hohenstaufen Emperor succumbed to disease, and the struggle with the Papacy only increased in intensity in the hands of his excommunicated heirs.

But by this time the quiet Cotswold vale beyond Winchcomb, the inhabitants of which had only been used to the black Benedictines of Winchcomb Abbey, had become accustomed to the appearance among their fields of the white monks and their throngs of workmen, under whose energetic hands had already arisen far toward its completion a splendid church and convent within three hundred yards of the little Norman church and Castle of Hayles. This Parish Church of Hayles, together with Hagley in Worcestershire, had been recently confirmed to the new Royal Monastery by the Pontiff (4 non. Jan., 1248, *Kal. Papal Registers*). By the following November all was sufficiently complete and in order for the great Dedication, which it was arranged should take place on the anniversary of St. Leonard's Day and the birth of his son Henry, afterwards of 'Almaine.' The wealthy Earl, to whom the King, his brother, was now become deeply in debt for moneys lent, confessed to have spent as much as 10,000 marks (£1,600 of that day) upon the building. The King and Queen reached Winchcomb, where they stayed a few days, on Saturday, November 4th, 1251. On Sunday the Abbey of Hayles was dedicated, twelve bishops—Ely, Lincoln, Worcester, London, Norwich, Salisbury, Exeter, Chichester, Bath and Wells, St. David's,

Rochester, and St. Asaph (*cf.* Landboc, *Reg. Monast. de Winchelcomba*, vol. i., p. xx.)—taking part in the ceremony, besides the Abbot of Hayles. Matthew Paris says there were thirteen, “who celebrated mass, each at his own altar, while the Bishop of Lincoln (Grosteste) solemnly chanted mass at the High Altar. This was a Sunday (first after All Saints), and the nobles feasted sumptuously in company with the bishops and others, who ate meat, whilst the religious men took their places, and refreshed themselves with large quantities of fish of divers kinds. There were present also more than three hundred soldiers; indeed, if I should describe in full the splendour of that solemn and festive gathering, I should be thought to be exceeding the bounds of truth. When I, Matthew Paris, desired to be informed upon the matter, in order that I might not insert falsities in this book, the Earl, without hesitation, informed me that when all expenses were reckoned up, he had laid out ten thousand marks in the building of that church; adding this venerable and laudable speech: ‘Would to God I had expended what I have laid out on the Castle of Wallingford in as wise and salutary a manner.’”

In such a manner, therefore, Earl Richard had now fulfilled his vow to the Virgin. We are not told with what Holy Relics the Abbey was presented, but that, at a later period, it possessed several, including a fragment of the Cross, is certain. Moreover, it was destined, like Westminster, to be enriched in 1270 with a Relic of the Holy Blood, by Edmund, the Earl’s son by Sanchia of Provence, which came to be known as the “Blood of Hayles.”

In the troubles which ensued regarding Simon de Montfort, his brother-in-law, who had been governing unruly Gascony for four years, and against whom the Gascons lodged bitter complaints, the Earl took Simon’s part, and thus made his weight felt. It is, however, certain that although Earl Richard was conspicuous for his piety,

and had earlier in life been looked up to with sincere respect by the people, he had now become regarded as untrustworthy, and devoted to the accumulation of wealth. This was in part attributable to the mystery which had been observed in regard to his visit to the Pope, at Lyons. It was also known that the King was financially involved, and had given him, in consequence, a general concession over all the Jews in England, so that he might assist the King further, as well as himself. Nevertheless, it sufficiently appears that although Richard extracted money from them, like most princes of the day, he behaved with conspicuous humanity, being apparently moved by the desperation of their poverty. He lent the King a further sum of 8,000 marks, and received from him security "in gold."

In the year 1255, Richard is found making a pilgrimage to the tomb of his lately-deceased friend and fellow-traveller, Robert Grosteste, Bishop of Lincoln, whose resting-place had already become associated with miracles. Meanwhile, Innocent IV. died, and was succeeded by an inferior imitator, in the person of Alexander IV., who pressed King Henry to accept for his second son Edmund the crown of Naples and Sicily. Henry was offered, indeed, exemption from his vow to go on the Crusade if he would lead an army into Italy against Manfred, to whose successful arms Naples had opened her gates. Innocent IV. had, in fact, already acknowledged Edmund as titular King of Sicily, and his imbecile father was now flaunting the boy before the public in England in an Italian costume. But in all this Henry gained no favour from his brother.

Earl Richard was, none the less, occupying his own mind with a scheme not unconnected with the wearisome struggle between the Hohenstaufen and the Holy See. The German Empire had been again rendered vacant through the death, in battle with the Frisians, of William, Earl of Holland and Vriesland, upon whom its throne had been papally conferred. The election of Conradin, the infant nephew of Manfred, to the throne was vetoed by the Pontiff, and the seven electors

were compelled to look abroad among the various princes of Christendom for a candidate. Their eyes without difficulty lighted upon Richard, Earl of Cornwall, and having elected him among themselves, they sent envoys to Westminster, where the King was spending Christmas, in 1256, in order to beg the Earl's compliance with their wishes. The Archbishop of Cologne wrote further to Richard, assuring him that never had there been known so spontaneous and unanimous an election among them. The united solicitations of the King, the Bishop of Winchester, and Sanchia, his countess, prevailed over the Earl's grave misgivings, and he at last used a solemn form of acceptance of the honour and responsibility, which gave great satisfaction to the envoys. We are told, however, by the clever and picturesque chronicler, Matthew Paris, that a satirist exclaimed, "The money cries, For *my* sake, Cornwall is married to Rome!" He also records that a valuation of the Earl's wealth at this period of his life was made, and it was found to be "that he could furnish a hundred marks daily for ten years, without counting his daily augmenting profits arising from his revenues in England and Germany."

Accordingly, in May, 1257, we see him in company with Florenz V., Lord of Holland, Zeeland, and Vriesland, the Bishop of London (who was his Agent-General), his Countess Sanchia, and his son Henry, with the almost incredible sum of seven hundred thousand pounds, "which were blood-stained by many crimes, besides his daily increasing revenues in England," setting forth from Harwich for Aix-la-Chapelle. With him he took likewise a new crown and sceptre, which are perhaps among the somewhat mended ones still preserved there in a building called the Curia of King Richard. Both the Earl and Countess were duly crowned by Conrad, Archbishop of Cologne, with magnificent ceremonies, followed by a banquet which excited the wonder of the Germans. On the following day he knighted his son Henry, to whose career, in connection with the desperate condition of English affairs and with the story of Hayles, the narrative must now pass.

Henceforth, Richard is known as King of the Romans, "Semper Augustus"; and his son by Isabel Marshall, as Henry of Almaine.

PART II.

The young Lord Henry was four years senior to his cousin Edward, and two years senior to Henry, the eldest of his five De Montfort cousins. They had all been brought up witnesses of the obstinate but vain struggle of the baronage, to secure the right administration of Magna Charta at the hands of their uncle, King Henry. They had seen the tide of national exasperation at the wholesale exactions both of the Pope and the foreign relations of the Queen rising ever higher and higher, until it veritably threatened to overwhelm the Kingdom. Although there was no lack of divisions and jealousies among the more powerful of the barons, the conduct of the King and his intimate favourites tended to give them the sorely needed cohesion, and their mouthpiece was to be none other than Simon, Earl of Leicester, now backed by the city of London. Even Edward found it necessary to espouse the cause of the Wine-merchants of Bordeaux in opposition to his father. Robert Grossteste was in his grave; Earl Richard had become a foreign Royalty and a money-merchant, on a large scale.

The Provisions of Oxford in 1258 placed the power of the Crown in the hands of fifteen barons, who soon attempted to enact a drastic scheme of reformation. Edward, and Henry of Almaine, found themselves, in spite of their affection for the King, carried away by the overwhelming force of this risen tide: and swearing to the Provisions, they acted in entire accord with their uncle, Simon de Montfort. During the next five years the agonized but not despairing country witnessed the repeated attempts of the King to undermine and throw over the Provisions. Earl Richard, who had returned to England in 1259 and reluctantly taken the oath to maintain the Provisions of Oxford, at the hands of Richard de Clare, Earl of Gloucester,

found himself in an awkward position, and perhaps gladly revisited Germany the following summer. In 1264 Civil war had actually broken out, and Henry of Almaine was found on the Baronial side.

The first glimpse in it which we have of Henry is finding him engaged in pursuit of the fugitive Minister and favourite, John Mansel, who had crossed the channel in order to escape the wrath of people and barons, 'fearing for his skin.' A French Knight, Ingelram de Fiennes, however, made him prisoner near Boulogne, by contriving (it was believed) of Queen Eleanor. His father Richard, in consequence, made an effectual outcry, threatening to throw his weight entirely on the side of the barons unless his son was immediately released. Henry was presently set free by his captor, and duly returned to England.

Edward, more and more finding himself inevitably bound to his father, although determining his own course beneath the current of his policy, now induced his cousin Henry likewise to forsake the side of the Barons, and their De Montfort cousins. It is reported that he stimulated his decision by giving him the Manor of Tickhill, in Yorkshire. His father, Richard, who was become the King's chief creditor, had likewise drifted completely away from the National cause. Henry of Almaine, therefore, wrote to Earl Simon, and said: "My Lord Earl, I cannot any longer fight against my father, against my uncle, the King, and my other relatives. With your consent, I will leave you; but I will never bear arms against you." To which the great leader replied: "Lord Henry, it is not on account of the loss of your sword that I grieve, but for the inconstancy which I see in you." At the same time Hamon L'Estrange, Roger de Clifford, and others, broke the allegiance they had formerly sworn to the barons.

After a Royalist success at Tonbridge Castle, in which was captured Alicia de Clare, Countess of Gloucester, the struggle culminated to a crisis in the battle of Lewes, although the Barons had tactfully offered to compromise

with the King by giving him 50,000 marks for alleged damages done to his property. On this occasion, Richard appeared in his full-blown financial capacity, and demanded that same sum from them for his personal compensation alone. The Baronial party, in vengeance for the Earl's desertion of the National Cause, had plundered and burned his Manor of Isleworth. This incident is somewhat derisively commemorated in one of the contemporary songs :—

"The King of Almain, by my loyalty,
Thirty thousand Pounds, ask't he
For to make peace in the countree,
And so he did more."

From general Referee and Arbitrator, he had now drifted into a speculative middleman; and he paid a heavy price for his degeneration, leaving arbitration in the hands of his brother-in-law, King Louis of France.

At the battle, Richard had with him not only his eldest son, but Edmund, his son by Sanchia of Provence, who was but fourteen years of age. Many of the Gloucestershire barons, such as John de Haresfield and Gifford of Brimsfield, were with their enemies. Suffering, as he was, from the seizure of certain of his properties by the Barons, he himself sent them a defiant message.

In the fight which ensued then, the King of the Romans with his two sons commanded the left wing of the Royal army, which was opposed to the force led by their cousins, the sons of Simon de Montfort. Moreover, Richard seems to have set himself the ambitious achievement of capturing the great Earl. The latter, however, by masterly tactics, so completely out-manceuvred him that his force was thrust over upon King Henry's in great disorder, leaving in its wake as prisoners de Bohun, Fitz Alan, Percy, and several Scottish chieftains. The baronial troops, pressing their advantage home over Lewes Downs, finally surrounded the fugitive Richard, who had entered a windmill ("with

sayles'') toward the coast. The soldiers now made free to jest on his sorry situation by such exclamations as, "Come out, you bad miller!" "You mill-master, 'Semper Augustus'!" The *Song of the Battle of Lewes* sufficiently accentuates the point.

The Royal fugitives, later in the day, surrendered to Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, and Sir John Bess; but Henry of Almaine was not taken, though his half-brother Edmund was, and shared the five months' detention suffered by their father at Kenilworth Castle. In the negotiations which followed the defeat, however, Edward and Henry of Almaine were surrendered as hostages to the Barons for their respective fathers. Richard then found his estate put under sequestration, and he was made to disgorge £17,000, and £5,000 in gold.

In March, 1265, Henry of Almaine was sent from Dover into France in order to treat with King Louis, and there he remained still treating, or else breaking parole (for he had departed conditionally), till August, when there befell the culminating battle of Evesham. So that then he returned to England to share in the triumph of his uncle, King Henry, and the downfall of the De Montforts, the remnant of whom found themselves forced to release Richard from Kenilworth and flee the country. When the news of the death of Earl Simon and his eldest son and the captivity of the wounded Guy reached the younger Simon and Richard de Montfort, at Kenilworth, the soldiers on guard there were for killing the King of the Romans in revenge. It was much to Simon the younger's credit that he prevented the deed. It, however, renders perhaps only more mysterious the terrible vendetta perpetrated on Henry of Almaine, at Viterbo, six years later, by both Simon and Guy, who had become commanders of repute in the army of Charles of Anjou, King of Naples and Sicily.

We next hear of Henry of Almaine being despatched with a force to confront Robert de Ferrers, Earl of Derby, in the North, whom he defeated at Chesterfield and brought

in fetters to London, "acquiring for himself much glory."¹ (Matthew of Westminster, A.D. 1266.) He was likewise rewarded with the Manor of Cringley, near Canterbury, which had belonged to William de Furnival. In 1269 he married, at Windsor, Constance, widow of Alfonso of Aragon, and daughter of Eskivat de Chabannois, Count of Bigorre, and Agnes, daughter of the Count de Foix. In 1270 he joined his cousin Edward, and set forth with him to the Crusade at Tunis. Arrived there, they found that the King of France, their uncle, and Tristan, his brother, were dead of the plague, and ignominious truce with the Moslem had been concluded. Edward, therefore, determined to proceed to Acre; but he sent Henry back to Gascony by way of Italy, under protection of Charles of Anjou, in order that he might adjust various difficulties which had arisen there. In consequence, he joined the funereal procession of Charles and Philip III. of France, carrying the remains of the deceased Princes to Rome and Viterbo, on the way to France.

They at length reached Viterbo, where the Conclave then sitting seemed to require the presence of Charles in order to arrive at the election of a new Pontiff in place of Clement IV. These princes took up their lodgings at different palaces of the nobles in that city, on March 9th, 1271. It is probable that Henry of Almaine was lodged in that of the powerful family of Di Vico, hereditary Prefects of Rome, hard by the parochial church of San Sylvestro. In those days the piazza of that church (now del Jesù) was the seat of the municipality.

On the morning of March 10th, while the two monarchs, his kinsmen, attended mass in the church of S. Francesco,² Henry of Almaine went to that of S. Sylvestro. He was kneeling before the altar, at the moment of the elevation,

¹ NOTE.—It is not unworthy of remark that tiles bearing the arms of this De Ferrers, but within a Bordure, have been lately found in the north aisle of the Presbytery of Hayles Abbey. His son may have ended his days a prisoner at Hayles.

² Not in San Lorenzo, the Duomo, as is usually stated.

when Guy and Simon de Montfort, advancing towards him, shouted to him: "Henry, you traitor, you shall not escape us!" and undeterred by the deacons, who vainly endeavoured to defend the Prince, they commenced hacking at him with their swords. Clinging to the altar, four of his fingers were left adhering to it. One of the deacons was killed. Aldebrandino Rosso, Count of Anguillara, father-in-law of Guy, and William de Baskerville, who had fought at Evesham, took part in the murder. The former was afterwards cited to appear in answer to the charge by Pope Gregory X.; the latter was presently outlawed for his participation, and he put in the plea, when summoned, that he could not be tried for a deed committed in a foreign country. The murder done, the De Montforts rode away from the town with the Count and their accomplices to the castle of Soana. Later, fearing the emissaries of Edward, they took refuge in the Cistercian Abbey of Galgano, towards Siena.

The body of the unfortunate Prince was treated in accordance with a barbarous usage obtaining in that day, the origin of which is probably to be attributed to the vicissitudes of the Crusades. I refer to divisional, or tripartite, sepulture: that is to say, the securing of the prayers of three separate congregations by means of distributing important members of a corpse among them. As crusading Princes desired their remains to be sent back to their family sepulchres in Europe, it became necessary to embalm, or preserve them in some other manner. King Louis and his brother Tristan, who had recently perished, had been boiled in wine and separated into flesh, bones, and heart, each of which was destined to a different Shrine. *Cf.* the indignant prohibition uttered by Boniface VIII. ("Detestanda feritatis abusum") of the custom. This prohibition, however, was in vain, and the custom has continued, by Papal licence, down to our own century. The case was not otherwise with Henry of Almaine. His body was boiled; while his flesh was buried in the Cathedral of Viterbo, between the remains of two popes. His heart, however, was placed

in a golden vase and sent to the Benedictines at Westminster, who consigned it to the shrine of Edward the Confessor. Dante refers to this in the well-known passage wherein he describes De Montfort as a lonely spirit plunged up to the throat in hot blood, and shunned even by other murderers, as having smitten in the church "the heart which still bleeds for vengeance, beside the Thames" (*Inf.* xii. 119). The bones of the murdered Prince were brought to London and thence carried to Hayles, where they were interred in front of the then high altar, on May 21st, with the utmost solemnity. We hear of a funeral mass, performed in his honour, at Norwich as late as July 22nd. His arms were: Or, an Eagle Displayed, sable. Armed Gules.

A picture representing the murder is recorded by contemporary chroniclers to have been painted at Viterbo, to which certain descriptive verses were appended. These will be found in Matthew of Westminster. Another picture, perhaps a copy of this fresco, was extant in S. Sylvestro until thirty years ago, and Signor Caposalvi, an architect of that city, relates that he and others still living well recollect it. It is possibly yet extant as a "curio" in the hands of someone, who may be unaware of its significance.

Simon de Montfort, the younger, perished by accident at Siena, within a year of the murder. Guy, whose abundant correspondence with the Pope respecting it I have obtained, underwent certain serious penances, but survived until 1288, when he was captured at sea by Ruggiero di Loria, the Aragonese admiral, then fighting against Charles of Anjou for the possession of Sicily. He died in a Sicilian prison.

Earl Richard, whose health had been fast failing, at the date of the murder of his son, in September (1271), learned of the partial destruction of his abbey at Hayles by a fire, and being attacked by paralysis while at his manor of Berkhamstead in December of the same year, he presently lost his reason. He lingered until February of the following year, when he died. He was buried beside

his queen, Sanchia,¹ at Hayles. His son, Edmund (Earl of Cornwall), re-built and extended the church for the monks, re-dedicating it in 1277, and enriching it with the famous relic known as the Blood of Hayles. It is to him the Abbey owed the fine polygonal Apse lately uncovered. Richard left behind him a third wife, Beatrice, daughter of Dietrich von Falkenstein, niece of Conrad, Archbishop of Cologne, reputed an exceedingly beautiful woman, whom he had married in 1269, and another son, Richard, who was killed at Berwick in 1296, and likewise buried at Hayles.²

¹ Sanchia of Provence died in 1261, and was buried November 9th at Hayles, whither her body had been brought from Berkhamstead by Boniface, Archbishop of Canterbury, Peter of Savoy, and two Bishops. Her arms are—Or, four pallets, gules.

² Richard had other issue:—

Richard, buried at Hayles in 1246,

Philip, in Holy Orders 1248,

Isabella, buried at Reading Abbey,

John, died at Marlow, and buried at Reading Abbey,

besides a natural son, Richard, to whom Edmund, Earl of Cornwall, gave the manor of Thunnack, co. Lincoln, A.D. 1280. Ancestor of the Cornwalls of Burford.

NOTES ON THE PARISHES AND CHURCHES OF EASTLEACH MARTIN AND EASTLEACH TURVILLE.

BY THE REV. W. H. T. WRIGHT,
Curate-in-charge of Eastleach.

ON the edge of a spur of the Cotswold Hills lie the twin villages of Eastleach Martin, or Burthorpe, and Eastleach Turville. The former, a collection of scattered houses and cottages, finding a home for most of its people in the little hamlet of Fyfield; the latter, as described in the Society's programme, a picturesque village. Perhaps in all Gloucestershire there is scarcely a less known spot—a spot which should attract the artist and lover of the beautiful in Nature, and at the same time furnish matter of interest to a learned Society. What I am endeavouring to put before you should be called a few notes on the Parishes of Eastleach Martin and Turville, rather than Eastleach Martin and its connection with the Priory of Great Malvern.

According to Fosbrooke, both parishes take date from about the same period, between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries. According to Domesday, Drogo Fitzpons held the Manor of Eastleach Martin, being one of five brothers of that name who came over with the Conqueror. Of these brothers, Richard Fitzpons, or son of Puncius, was a great benefactor to the parish. In the latter part of the eleventh or beginning of the twelfth century the Church was built, the founder being the said Richard, and the deed of gift on his part of the Church of Lech to the Priory of Malvern is attested by his two brothers, Simon and Osborn, among others. The original of this deed may be seen in the British Museum. In a small volume entitled *The Church and Monastery of Mochel Malvern*, by Mr. Jas. Nott, will be found a photographic representation of the original deed, together with a translation. The deed sets forth that

Richard, son of Puncius, for the good of his own soul, of that of his wife Mathildis, and the souls of other members of his family, gave the Church of Lech with five virgates of land, free and quit and absolved from all service, and with the whole tithing of his demesne and of the court of the same vill, and with all things appertaining to the said Church of Lech: to God, and to St. Mary, and to St. Michael of Malvern, and to the monks there serving God: and further grants to the aforesaid monks and to their clerks for the service of their Church of Lech full common of the whole of his vill and land.

Taken in connection with this, the Charter of the Dedication of the Church granted by Simon, Bishop of Worcester, shows again the influence of Malvern in the parish. To this charter is affixed the seal of Thomas, Prior of Malvern, thought by Mr. Nott to be perhaps that of Thomas de Wick, who was Prior in 1217: this date, however, seems too late, as Simon was consecrated Bishop of Worcester in 1125. The Prior Thomas in question may possibly have succeeded Walcher in that office in 1135. This date would of course coincide with the period of Bishop Simon's episcopate. Since Gilbert Foliot, Abbot of Gloucester, appears one of the witnesses, we know that the dedication must have taken place between June 11th, 1139, the date of his benediction as Abbot, and September 5th, 1148, when he was consecrated to the See of Hereford. As Bishop of London, he became one of the chief opponents of St. Thomas of Canterbury. The seal is a pointed oval in a niche under an early form of canopy, the Virgin seated holding the Infant Saviour, between St. Michael the Archangel on the right, and a Saint on the left. Now the Priory Church of Great Malvern is dedicated to St. Mary and St. Michael, and until Mr. Nott's book came into my hands it was supposed that the dedication of the Church of Eastleach Martin was also to St. Mary: such has been the title always used, and appearing in the Ordnance Survey Map; it will be altered in the new issue of the map, as the facts of the

case were brought before the officers engaged in surveying the district last year. There must have been some reason for the dedication being assigned to the Blessed Virgin: possibly at some early date the niche in the eastern gable of the chancel may have been filled with a group similar to that on the Malvern Seal, representing St. Mary, SS. Michael and Martin; and from the prominence of the central figure, the dedication may have been assigned to St. Mary—or perhaps the transept was dedicated to her, and the old names of the church gradually dropped out. The following extract refers to that portion of the charter dealing with the dedication of the Church at Eastleach Martin: “To all the sons of Holy Mother Church, Simon by the grace of God, Bishop of Worcester, greeting. By the anxious care of the office which has been committed to us we are bound to corroborate with the diligence of Episcopal authority those things which are delivered to Churches and divine places by the gift of the faithful, in order that they may obtain firm stability. Therefore let the whole body of those who now exist, and posterity which is about to succeed in future times, know that in the dedication of the Church of St. Michael and of the Blessed Martin of East Lech, which was celebrated by our ministration at God’s disposition and by the petition of our beloved children R——, the Prior and the brethren of Malvern . . . Therefore to the end that it may stand settled for ever and unassailed we fortify with the impression of our seal the text of this present document and commend it to public knowledge. These being witnesses: Gilbert, Abbot of Gloucester, Richard, Archdeacon of Gloucester, Patrick and Ralph, Monks of Gloucester, Ernisius and Hugh, Monks of Malvern, &c.”¹

The dedication, therefore, took place on the petition of the Prior and Monks of Malvern. The Abbot of Gloucester granted land in Fithida. He also confirmed with the gift of the land the privileges accorded in the parish by Richard the son of Puncius. The Monks of Malvern also gave a

¹ British Museum, L.F.C. xviii. 2, A.D. 1139—1149.

hide of land which they held in Sudthrop (Southrop), with all the liberties and customs which they themselves held in the vill of Eastleach. The charter also notes the offering, on the part of the parishioners, of the parochial things which are due to a church. In 1144 Walter de Clifford, a descendant of Drogo Fitzpons, exchanged this manor with the Monks of Gloucester, and up till quite recently it was the property of the Dean and Chapter of Gloucester. In the minister's accounts (Great Malvern) for the years 1541—1543 there appear amongst other names,—Estleche Merton *alias* Brondruppe, Coteland, the latter being apparently the same as Prior's Cotes, the name still remaining in Cote Mill and Farm.

Tradition assigns to Cote Farm the site of a religious house; and beneath the road from Southrop to Eastleach was a large stone vault, traditionally called the Monk's Cellar (the slope is now called Cellar Hill), which was filled up, and an entry to that effect made in the *Parish Register*, 1748, October: "This month also was buried a large, strong, stone-built vault under an hill in this parish called Cruel Hill; and this memorial of it is made to the intent posterity may not be imposed upon." Some very good specimens of flint arrowheads have been found in the parish, and may be seen at Fyfield Manor.

The Church of SS. Michael and Martin consists of nave, chancel, north transept, with a low western tower, and south porch. The doorway and shafts and capitals of the chancel arch are Norman, the arch itself being of much later date; transept, fourteenth century. The windows in the church being of various dates. There are the remains of a bell cote on the chancel arch. In the nave, some ancient oak seats very roughly worked. In the churchyard, the ruins of the churchyard cross.

Separated from the Church of SS. Michael and Martin by the river Leach and the roadway, stands the sister Church of St. Andrew, Eastleach Turville, an interesting building. The south doorway is Norman. In the centre of

the tympanum, a representation of our Lord seated with the hand raised, on either side an angel adoring; the decoration above is zigzag.

The Church shows evidence of having been at some time a larger building, there being three arches on the north side of the nave and one on the north side of the chancel; of these, all except that opening into the north transept have been filled in. The original windows have disappeared, but there are two two-light windows, apparently of the Decorated period, in the cellar of Fyfield Manor, which are supposed to have been removed thither from this Church at some time. The chancel is of Early English work, and the three-light lancet window in the east end is very beautiful. It is to be hoped that the Society will give some information concerning this window. Mr. Prior, who accompanied the Society, pronounces it to be a very fine specimen of Early English architecture. There is a canopied tomb in the north transept, with floriated cross on the lid of the stone coffin; the ornamentation of this has been much damaged, and the shafts of the chancel arch have suffered much from being cut to accommodate the pews. The tower is saddleback. In the churchyard is the base only of the churchyard cross. The De Lacys held the manor for some time after the Conquest, and in the reign of King John, Almain, Earl of Gloucester, gave land here to the monks of Bruerne, near Chipping Norton.

Land was granted in the reign of Edward III. to Osbern d'Alitor, then parson, to enlarge his manse. The vicarage house has entirely disappeared, though it remained in the form of cottages until quite recently, some of the oak work being of considerable age. The parish of Eastleach Turville seems to have been joined with Eastleach Martin under the name of Long Turville when the abbeyes of Gloucester and Bruerne divided the parish.

The Blomer family bought the manor in Queen Elizabeth's time. The name Blomer yet remains in Blomer's Mead, a meadow on the bank of the Thames at Lechlade, which






is still a portion of the Eastleach estate. Through this family, by intermarriage, the manor passed on through the Webbs to the Ponsonbys. Both parishes were at times served by John Keble, whose signature appears often in the Register: and whether rightly or not, his beautiful Evening Hymn is claimed to have been composed in the Rectory garden of Eastleach Martin. He lived at Southrop from 1823, when he permanently left Oxford, until October, 1825, when he settled at Hursley as Curate. Among his pupils or visitors at Southrop during this period were Robert Wilberforce, Isaac Williams, and Hurrell Froude.

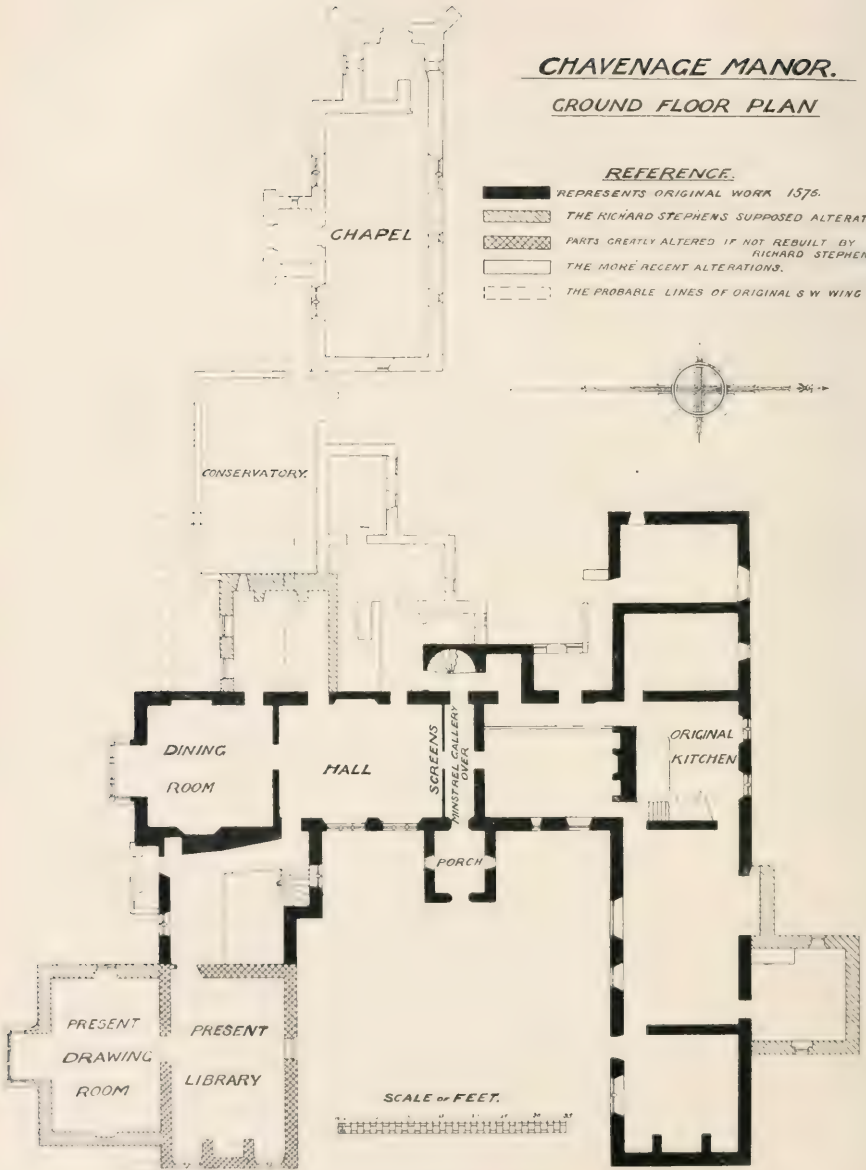
If by these few imperfect notes some members of the Society are encouraged to spend a short time in the viewing of our churches, the object of this paper will be accomplished, which is to create some interest in parishes so unusually situated as to have two ancient churches within one hundred yards of each other. The information with regard to Eastleach Martin and Great Malvern is entirely taken from Mr. Nott's book on *Great Malvern*.

CHAVENAGE MANOR.

GROUND FLOOR PLAN

REFERENCE.

-  REPRESENTS ORIGINAL WORK 1575.
-  THE RICHARD STEPHENS SUPPOSED ALTERATIONS.
-  PARTS GREATLY ALTERED IF NOT REBUILT BY RICHARD STEPHENS.
-  THE MORE RECENT ALTERATIONS.
-  THE PROBABLE LINES OF ORIGINAL S W WING



CHAVENAGE HOUSE.

By W. HOWARD SETH-SMITH.

WE have in Chavenage House a very good example of an Elizabethan house of its class.

Chavenage is quite free from the eccentricities of plan so commonly found in this period. It shows the usual developments of the fifteenth century with the great hall in the centre, the kitchen and its offices forming a wing at one end, generally to the north, in order to leave the more sunny aspects for the parlour or dining-room and the family and guests' apartments at the opposite or south end of the hall. The main peculiarity of the Elizabethan planning is the effort at symmetry which is the essence of classic work. This symmetry was probably almost perfect at Chavenage in the first instance, as will be seen by a glance at the plan on which has been shewn the existing walls of the original house (dated on the label termination of the porch 1567) in solid black, the probable plan of the original house by a dotted line, and the additions made probably by Richard Stephens in 1684 by diagonal scoring. The unhappy patchings of 1803 I have merely outlined.

Oftentimes this effort at symmetry resulted in the sacrifice of convenience to dignity, but by no means always. The H form of the plan is an admirable one. The guests' lodgings, or sometimes estate offices, occupied the north-east wing, and the scullery, dairy, &c., the north-west. The family apartments were generally in the south-east range.

The high-pitched gable is another distinctive feature of the Elizabethan period, and replaces the fourteenth and fifteenth century battlemented parapet as at Haddon Hall. Simpler chimneys and chimney caps also take the place of the Tudor elaboration in brickwork.

In Elizabethan days the functions of the architect were

generally confined to supplying the plan and a sketch of the elevations, and it was left to the masons, carpenters, joiners, and plumbers to supply the details of their respective departments; but with more general culture came the demand for more knowledge of style and its more refined and accurate expression, hence the evolution of the modern architect out of his prototype the craftsman.

In Chavenage House it is very interesting to note the local preservation of the Gothic work in the details. The section of the window mullions and jambs is hollow, instead of round as was so commonly the case. The labels are all Tudor in section, but this is only what we should expect in a rural district and in a house of modest scale.

EXTERIOR.

There can be little or no doubt that the date 1576 on the label of the porch lintel is that of the erection of the early Elizabethan house by Edward Stephens. The porch doorway has been mutilated, not so many years ago, for insertion of the modern door, and the porch windows were also then inserted for lighting the vestibule thus enclosed.

On a quoin-stone on the south wall of the porch and also on the west of the house are seen the initials of Richard Stephens, which probably mark the date of the extensive alterations in 1684.

The Decorated two-light Gothic windows and plaque over the doorway, as well as various other similar features about the house of the same date, appear to have been brought by Richard Stephens from Horsley Priory, which, having passed by exchange into the possession of Bruton Priory in 1371 after the dissolution of that house, was granted to Sir Walter Dennis in 1553. The many fourteenth century features would excuse one's attributing the house at the first glance to an earlier date, were it not for the abundant evidence of its Elizabethan origin, which a closer view reveals and which is confirmed by history. I am strongly of opinion that

Richard Stephens was responsible for the insertion of all these relics of Horsley Priory.

Set in the Tudor-like splayed stone arch is the original external door of the house. It is in oak, the cross-boarding being riveted together, and the nail-heads forming an ornamental feature externally. We notice in addition to the lion knocker a very beautiful fourteenth century door ring and plate of pierced iron, probably from the Priory. The hinges too are excellent in proportion and design,—in fact the ornamental ironwork on the old doors throughout is one of the most delightful features of the house.

The *demi-eagle displayed*, which forms a graceful gable-finial over the porch and one of the west gables, is the crest of the Stephens family. The Renaissance plaque below it is dated 1702, and is probably from some mural tablet from a church. Mr. Bazeley says: "On the left of the shield is a chevron or, perhaps part of the arms of Catherine Stephens *née* Beale."

The flat lintel to the porch door, with its lozenge ornaments in the panels, is the only piece of original Renaissance design to be found externally. Two small lions' heads and a crown have been inserted under the labels of the window and painted black.

Turning now to the south of the porch, notice the evidence in the masonry that the three-tier window of hall, the lower lights of which were originally of equal length, have been lowered about two feet as was so frequently the case. This was probably done by Richard Stephens. The reason most likely was that the hall, later on, became less the dining than a reception room, and a view out and more light within were necessary.

It is interesting to speculate on what has happened on the north wall of the original south-east wing. I believe there was a doorway opposite that on the north-east wing, as at Ashton Hall and elsewhere. Extensive alterations to the staircase have undoubtedly been made; probably this south-east wing was rebuilt by Richard Stephens.

The east gable of this south-east wing would seem to support this theory, for the positions of its windows are irregular and their proportion and character out of keeping with the Elizabethan house. The south room, which so completely violates the symmetry of the plan, is probably part of the same alteration, and originally consisted of a ground and first floor like the rest of the house, but has more recently been opened up to the roof and the present ceiling formed. The high windows on the south are mysterious, as they are too low to have served an upper storey. I think they were inserted when the room was heightened, probably at the end of the last century, to prevent the upper part being gloomy, but the want of a look-out on to the lawns led to the insertion afterwards of the square bay-window in the debased Gothic revival type of the end of the eighteenth century.

Note the curious enriched caps of the chimneys, circular on plan over a square shaft.

In the west wall of this addition is another fourteenth century Ecclesiastical window, brought from Horsley Priory. The head and sill are original, but much of it has been restored.

The south-west wing is, I think, also part of the alterations made by Richard Stephens in 1684: the rose-moulded chimney cap again appears, and the even-jointed coping of the gables favours this view. It is, moreover, corroborated by the internal details. The poor bay-window is of course an insertion of the same date as that to the south addition.

The central chimney-stack was originally like the others, but has been spoilt by being rebuilt square.

On the north elevation all is original excepting the large external chimney-stack, probably added when the accommodation of the original kitchen was found insufficient, and the larger apartment in the north-east wing was devoted to this purpose.

The upper two-light window next this chimney-stack was doubtless once a three-light, corresponding to that to the

west of the gable. Its hood-moulding has been cut to build up the chimney-stack, and the quaintly cusped heads to its lights are of a later date than the original house.

The destruction of the early symmetrical plan has happened also on this side of the house by the building out of a room, which appears to be an addition of Richard Stephens' time.

There are no windows in the north-east gable, nor any signs of any having previously existed. We might pretty safely infer that the original south-east gable matched it in this respect.

We notice particularly that there are no rain-water pipes, which with their ornamental cast lead heads generally form such beautiful features in Elizabethan houses. They were probably removed when the present box gutters were formed to carry the rain water (so precious on the top of the Cotswold Hills, where the wells have to be sunk hundreds of feet) to the storage tank; unfortunately these gutters now cross the gables in the most damaging manner.

The interior has been even more altered than the exterior: but if it has lost something in beauty, it is all the more interesting to endeavour to trace the changes which have taken place. To the right as one enters were originally the butteries, and to the left as usual comes the hall; the former have been much altered, but the latter comparatively little. In the fine hall the panelling is of the Elizabethan period, but it has been cut away to form a door into Richard Stephens's south-west wing, and also to insert the later Jacobean screens. The parts so removed one will find somewhat carelessly fitted round the entrance passage. Mr. Bazeley thinks the screens and minstrel gallery belong to Col. Stephens's time, but they appear to me to have been made up later of odd pieces of old work, and never to have been designed as a whole for their position. There is no record when this was done, but I incline to think within the present century. I am informed that the tapestry and much of the glass now in the hall windows were found by the last

owner, Major Chaplin, stowed away in boxes in the attics; some of the glass probably came from the priory, as it is earlier than the house.

The chimney-piece in the hall and that in the drawing-room are extremely fine examples of their style, and would alone make the house well worthy of a visit. They are later than Elizabeth's reign, and were probably added by Col. Stephens. That in the hall bears the Fowler arms, *quarterly azure and or on the first quarter a hawk's lure a and line of the second*. The one now in the drawing-room doubtless once occupied the original room of the south-east wing; it is of the same height as that storey.

The arms of the Stephenses appear in various places; they are *per chevron azure and argent in chief, two falcons rising, and their crest a demi-eagle displayed*.

The coved ceiling of the minstrel gallery is beautifully panelled, as was the hall itself, in all probability, in its earliest days.

We now enter the original dining-room, the panelling of which is dated 1627. This was probably done at the same time as the chimney-pieces were erected. The room has suffered less change than any other on the ground floor: note especially its chimney-piece, which must have been brought from elsewhere, as it is distinctly Tudor in style, and very fine indeed; its panelled over-mantel is still older, and may have been brought from the Priory. The inner jambs and lintel, which give it a heavy appearance, are obviously late additions to accommodate the modern register grate. Possibly no staircase existed in the original south-east wing, that at the end of the screen serving for family and guests to gain access to the upper floors.

Upstairs, we note the woodwork and other details on the south-east and south-west wings, corresponding in date (late seventeenth century) with Richard Stephens's alterations; also the plaster-vaulted priest's cell over the porch, with its carved cornice and armoured door between it and the bed-

room adjoining. There is another fine chimney-piece in Sir Philip Sydney's room.

The chapel I believe to have been built by Richard ; if so, this will go far to explain the curious assemblage of odds and ends probably brought from the Priory, and built in or perched in all sorts of odd positions in the tower and elsewhere.

Persons residing in the neighbourhood recollect the west door under the tower being used by the public, the south porch giving access to the family seats which were immediately within it.

NOTES ON CHAVENAGE AND THE STEPHENS FAMILY.

BY THE REV. W. H. SILVESTER DAVIES, M.A.,
Vicar of Horsley.

THE interesting manor house of Chavenage was built in the reign of Elizabeth, in the year 1576, by Edward Stephens, a member, Debrett says, of a "very ancient and honourable Gloucestershire family" who then owned the manor. We find his initials and those of Joan, his wife, as well as the above date, on the labels of the hood-moulding on either side of the principal door.

Edward Stephens, who was also lord of the manors of Eastington and Alkerton, would seem to have been very fond of building, for he is said to have built the manor house at Eastington in 1578, *i.e.* only two years afterwards. A plate of the house at Eastington appears in Fosbroke's *Gloucestershire*. It was burnt down in the last century, and levelled to the ground in 1778, and the materials dispersed and sold. In this fire most of the family papers were destroyed. I must mention that there is a tradition among the descendants of the Stephens family that Chavenage was built by Queen Elizabeth's favourite, the Earl of Essex, to receive his royal mistress in on one of her progresses. I venture to think, however, that this can hardly have been the case, as, independently of the testimony of the initials above stated, there is no evidence of Essex ever having owned this property. Possibly he may have persuaded Edward Stephens to build the house with a view to entertaining the Queen, but so far as I can gather Elizabeth never came here. Had she done so, we may be sure that in a house where so many rooms are associated with notable people the room occupied by her would be identified. The Lord Essex whose name appears on one of the doors upstairs was probably the

parliamentary general of that name, and not the "noble traytour," Elizabeth's favourite.

While on this subject it may be well to state that the names of the distinguished persons on the doors of some of the rooms, *e.g.* Sir Philip Sidney, Lord Leicester, Oliver Cromwell, General Ireton, Queen Anne, and others, have been placed there in recent times. Oliver Cromwell never was at Chavenage. A picture of him used to hang in the room which now bears his name, but the room itself was formerly called the "tapestry room." Queen Anne, too, so far as is known, never honoured Chavenage with her presence, but the beautifully carved bedstead and coverlet in the room called after her were given by the queen to her physician, Sir Edward Hannes, whose wife was descended from the Stephens family.

Chavenage was part of the manor of Horsley, which belonged to the priory of Bruton in Somersetshire. There was a cell of this monastery at Horsley, on the south side of the parish church, but of which there are now no remains above ground. It seems to have been a very small foundation, and long before the dissolution of monasteries was without prior or brethren. The manor, however, remained in the possession of the priory of Bruton until the great religious upheaval in the reign of Henry VIII., when it was granted in 1542 to Sir Thomas Seymour, and on his attainder to Sir Walter Denys, of Dyrham, in this county, in 1553, whose son, Richard, sold it to the Stephenses.

This family claimed descent from one Fitz Stephen, the captain of the vessel which brought William the Norman to our shores. His son was captain of the "White Ship" in which the children of Henry I. were drowned.

In the reign of Henry II., Ralph Fitz Stephen and his brother William were joint high sheriffs of Gloucestershire for four years, beginning in 1171, and William Fitz Stephen was high sheriff in 1175, "and so continued thirteen years together."¹

¹ Rudder's *Gloucestershire*.

Another Fitz Stephen, Robert, perhaps a brother of the foregoing, accompanied Strongbow in his invasion of Ireland in 1172.

The pedigree, however, is imperfect until we come to Henry Stephens, in the 16th century, variously described as of Frocester¹ and of Eastington.²

He married Alice, the daughter and co-heiress of Edward Lugg, of Lugwardine in Herefordshire, and had issue Edward Stephens, who bought the manors of Eastington, Alkerton, and Horsley, and, as already stated, built houses at the first and last-named places, in 1578 and 1576 respectively.

He married Joan, the daughter and heiress of Richard (or Edward)³ Fowler of Stonehouse. Her arms (*quarterly azure and or, on the first quarter a hawk's lure and line of the second*) may be seen on the mantelpiece of the hall.

Edward Stephens, who died 22nd October, 1587, had, besides several daughters, three sons: Richard, lord of the manors of Eastington, Alkerton, Fretherne, and Horsley; James, a clothier of Eastington, and Thomas, of the Middle Temple. Thomas, who was attorney general to Prince Henry and Prince Charles, purchased the manor of Lypiatt in 1610 of John Throckmorton, and, by his wife Elizabeth, daughter and co-heiress of John Stone of London, became the ancestor of the Stephenses of Sodbury, Lypiatt, and Cherington. Lypiatt, now the property of Sir John Dorington, Bart., M.P., remained in the Stephens family for five generations, and the tombs of many of them are in Stroud parish church and churchyard.

But to return to Richard, the eldest son of Edward Stephens. By his wife Margaret, daughter of Edward St. Loe, of Kington, Wiltshire, he had, besides other issue, Nathaniel, the member of the Stephens family around whom so much of the historical or (shall I say?) legendary interest of Chavenage is gathered.

This Nathaniel Stephens was born in 1589, and was ten years old at the death of his father. He was M.P. for

¹ Fosbroke. ² Rudder. ³ Rudder

Gloucestershire in 1628-9, and from 1640-48, and on the outbreak of the civil war zealously espoused the cause of the Parliament, and used all his local influence on that side, raising a regiment of horse, of which he was colonel.

It has been said that the families of Cromwell and Ireton, his son-in-law, were related by marriage to the Stephens family, but I have not been able to discover that this was so, at least until some time after the Restoration, when a Hester Stephens, of the Lypiatt branch of the family, married a first cousin once-removed of the Lord Protector.

The late Rev. R. W. Huntley, of Boxwell, published in 1845 a poem called *Chavenage*, in which he describes Colonel Stephens as giving a reluctant consent to the execution of the King. As many of the members of our Society may not have seen the poem, I will give a brief outline of the story as narrated by Mr. Huntley in the preface to his work.

It happened that Colonel Stephens was keeping Christmas, 1648, at Chavenage, and in the midst of the festivity Ireton arrived at the house to press his instant attendance in Parliament to support by his vote and influence the intended measures against the King. His sister is said to have urged him to withhold his consent, and to have foretold the extinction of his line, should he become implicated in the murder of Charles.

Ireton, seconded by Robert Stephens, the colonel's brother, spent the night in entreating him to comply; and at length, though Nathaniel's feelings were in accordance with his sister's arguments, he allowed himself to be overruled, and, giving a reluctant assent, departed with Ireton.

In the following May he was seized with a lingering sickness, of which he died in the very year of the restoration of Charles II., 1660, after expressing his regret for having participated in the King's death.

Thus far circumstances have the semblance of fact; but upon these a legendary tale has been founded.

When all the relatives had assembled for the funeral, and their several well-known equipages were crowding the court-

yard, the household were surprised to observe that another coach, most splendidly ornamented and drawn by black horses, was approaching the door with great solemnity. When it arrived, the shade of the Colonel clad in his shroud glided into the carriage, and the door instantly closing upon him the coach rapidly withdrew from the house, not, however, with such speed but that there was time to perceive that the driver was a beheaded man arrayed in royal vestments, with the Garter upon his leg, and the Star of that illustrious Order upon his breast. No sooner had the coach arrived at the gateway of the manor court than the whole appearance vanished in flames of fire.

As to the latter part of the story I shall say nothing. Of course Chavenage must have its ghost, like every house laying claim to a respectable antiquity. And certainly it is far better that the ghost should drive away in a carriage and pair than roam about the rooms and passages of the house.

But the historical, or what purports to be the historical, part of the story rests on too slender a foundation to be accepted without question. For I am bound to say that there seems no evidence to show that Nathaniel Stephens had any share in the King's death; indeed, the evidence points rather the other way.

In the first place, we find him, in a speech delivered by him in his place in Parliament only a few months before, speaking of the decapitation of the king as "a strange cuer." He says: "Some speake of a strange cuer: they would cutt of the heade to save the body; but as that is impossible in the naturall body, so it is unlikely in the politicke body."

Again, in a book published in 1660—the year of the Restoration—called *England's Black Tribunal* giving an account of the King's trial, Stephens' name does not appear on the list of the members of the court that tried him, nor amongst those who were present when sentence was passed.

Further, we find that his eldest surviving son married in 1654 a daughter of Sir Hugh Cholmondeley, of Whitby Hall,

Knight and Baronet, M.P. for Scarborough, who was a staunch royalist.

Sir Hugh had, at first, espoused the cause of the Parliament, but, once convinced that the principles of the Reformation were in no danger, he returned to his allegiance to the King, was made governor of Scarborough, and held the castle for more than a year against the parliamentary forces, his wife attending to the wounded. In 1645, through want of ammunition, he surrendered on most honourable terms and went into exile till 1649, when his brother, Lord Cholmondeley, of Vale Royal, in Cheshire, interceded with the "rulers of the kingless kingdom" and he was restored to his forfeited estates. In June, 1654, Sir Hugh and his lady went to London—no inconsiderable journey in those days—to attend the wedding of their daughter Anne with Richard, the eldest son of Nathaniel Stephens.

It is almost inconceivable that one who had earned for himself the name of "the heroic cavalier" should have sanctioned by his presence such a union, at a time, too, when political feeling ran so high, had Nathaniel Stephens been a regicide!

I am inclined, then, to think that there is grave reason to doubt the historical accuracy of Mr. Huntley's poem, and that if, as has been said, Ireton ever was despatched "to whet the colonel's almost blunted purpose," he returned to London after a fruitless journey.

Nathaniel Stephens married Catherine, daughter of Robert Beale, of Priors Marston, Warwickshire, "clerke of the councele to Queen Elizabeth"—her arms, *sable, on a chevron, between three griffins' heads erased argent, three estoiles gules*, are on the mantelpiece in the hall which was probably erected by her husband.

They had a numerous family—Henry, who predeceased his father and was unmarried; Richard, who succeeded to the family estates; Robert, a serjeant-at-law, who died unmarried; and several daughters, one of whom, Abigail, married, as his second wife, Sir Edward Harley, of Brampton

Byan, Herefordshire, and was the mother of Queen Anne's minister, Robert Harley, first Earl of Oxford, whose room is still to be seen at Chavenage.

Nathaniel Stephens' eldest surviving son, Richard, as already stated, married Anne, eldest daughter of Sir Hugh Cholmondeley, of Whitby, in July, 1654, and died in 1678, aged 58, leaving a large family.

He was succeeded by his eldest son Nathaniel, High Sheriff of Gloucestershire in 1698, who married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Francis Pemberton, Lord Chief Justice of England, and died in 1732.

Nathaniel Stephens left a numerous family and was succeeded by three of his sons in succession, none of whom left any issue: Richard, who died in 1775; Robert, Rector of Eastington; and Henry, who married Ann, daughter of the Rev. Richard Huntley, Rector of Boxwell, Gloucestershire.

Henry, the last of the Stephens family in the direct male line, died at Chavenage, 25th January, 1795, and was buried in Eastington Church, where there is a mural monument erected by his widow.

He left his possessions, after his widow's death, to the descendants of his aunt, Elizabeth Packer, a daughter of Richard Stephens and Anne Cholmondeley.

Elizabeth Packer had married her cousin, John Packer of Shellingford Manor, Berks, whose mother was a Stephens, and their only daughter, Anne, married Sir Edward Hannes, of Westminster.

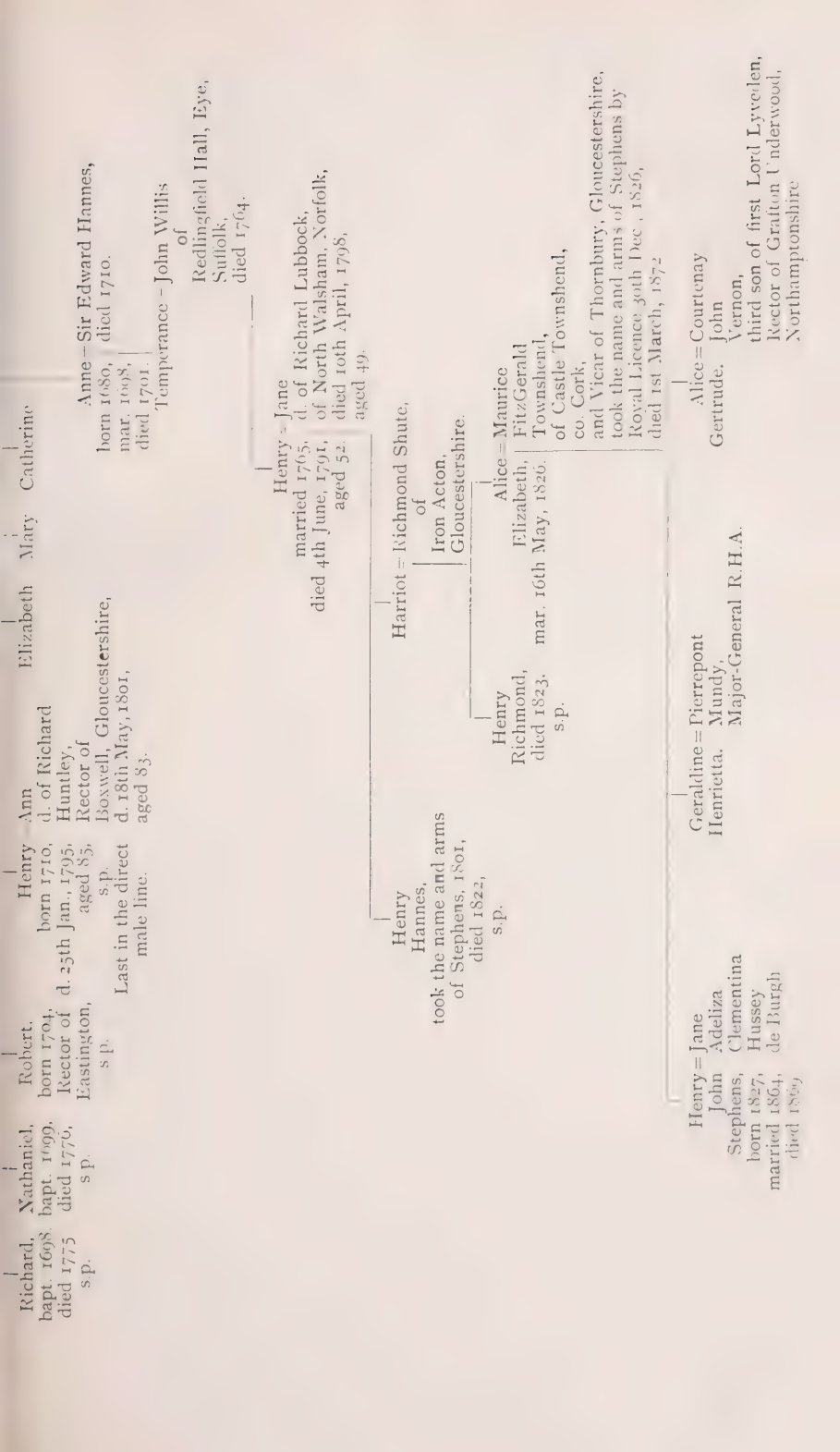
The sole issue of this marriage, Temperance, a ward in Chancery, eloped with John Willis, of Redlingfield Hall, Eye, Suffolk. This escapade gave rise to a remarkable legal decision, for the Chancellor held that he could not punish the gentleman because, as he rode behind his *fiancée* and on her horse, *she eloped with him, and not he with her!*

Their only surviving son Henry, who first entered the Royal Navy, but was afterwards ordained and became Rector of Little Sodbury and Vicar of Wapley, Gloucestershire, married Jane, daughter of Richard Lubbock, of North

Walsham, Norfolk. They had a numerous family, and their son, Henry Hannes Willis, inherited Chavenage on the death of Henry Stephens' widow in 1801. In accordance with the provisions of his cousin's will he had to drop his own name and arms, and adopt those of Stephens only. He became a monk and died at La Trappe, Normandy, in 1822, making the children of his sister, Mrs. Richmond Shute, his heirs. The manor went first to his nephew, Henry Richmond Shute, who died unmarried in the following year, and then to his niece, Alice Elizabeth Shute, who married the Rev. Maurice Fitz Gerald Townshend, J.P. and D.L., of Castle Townshend, co. Cork, and Vicar of Thornbury, in Gloucestershire. Mr. Townshend took the name and arms of Stephens by Royal License, 30th December, 1826. They had issue a son, Henry John, and two daughters. Chavenage, however, passed into the hands of Mr. Holford, of Weston Birt, and was sold by him in 1891 to Captain Lowsley Williams, its present owner, by whose courtesy our Society was lately enabled to visit it.

Until 1869, the house was full of the old furniture, tapestries, pictures, and china, with other valuable relics and curiosities, but a deplorable sale in that year scattered most of these memorials of bygone times.

One may be allowed to be thankful that, if the manor was to pass from the possession of the family which were its owners for some three hundred years, it should have for its present owner one who thoroughly appreciates the historical memories which cluster round the old house. I cannot finish this short and imperfect account of Chavenage and the Stephens family without expressing my grateful thanks to Mrs. Pierrepont Mundy for her kindness in furnishing me with many particulars about her family and the home of her childhood.



Richard, bapt. 1698, died 1775, s.p.

Nathaniel, bapt. 1799, died 1776, s.p.

Robert, born 1704, Rector of Eastington, s.p.

Henry Ann, d. of Richard Huntley, Rector of Boxwell, Gloucestershire, d. 18th May, 1801, aged 83.

Elizabeth Mary Catherine

Anne - Sir Edward Hannes, born 1680, mar. 1698, died 1710.

Temperance - John Willis of Reddingfield Hall, Eye, Suffolk, died 1764.

Henry = Jane married 1765, d. of Richard Lubbock, of North Walsham, Norfolk, died 4th June, 1791, aged 52.

Harriot = Richmond Shute, of Iron Acton, Gloucestershire.

Henry Hannes, took the name and arms of Stephens, 1801, died 1822, s.p.

Henry = Maurice FitzGerald, Townshend, of Castle Townshend, co. Cork, and Vicar of Thornbury, Gloucestershire, took the name and arms of Stephens by Royal Licence 30th Dec., 1826, died 1st March, 1872.

Henry = Jane Stephens, Clementina, born 1827, married 1864, de Burgh, died 1869.

Geraldine = Pierrepoint Henrietta, Major-General R.H.A.

Gertrude, John Vernon, third son of first Lord Lyveden, Rector of Grafton Underwood, Northamptonshire

HERALDRY OF THE DIFFERENT CHURCHES, &c.,
VISITED BY THE
GLOUCESTERSHIRE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY
DURING THEIR VISIT TO FAIRFORD,
AUGUST 9TH TO 11TH, 1899.

By F. WERE.

AMPNEY CRUCIS.

N. Transept: "Or three fusils (may be lozenges) in fess gules," *Bakeley Freeman* (generally "Az. & or.") Impaling "Azure a chevron between three suns or," *Hinson*.

Query panels of a tomb let into wall: Quarterly, 1 and 4, "(Azure) a lion rampant within an orle of roses (or)." *Bowen*, Oxfordshire. 2 and 3, "? (Gules) three Bowen's knots. 2 and 1 ? (Argent)": query *Ap Owen*. (Bowen has a chevron between; Evan ap Owen of Pentre Evan, early 15th century, took the name of Bowen.)

"? (Gules) a chevron ermine between three pheons ? (or.)," *Arnold*.

Quarterly, 1 and 4, "quarterly (or. & az.) four roebucks statant (counterchanged)," *Lloyd*. (Atkyns says Floid and gives wrong coat.) 2 & 3, "(Argent) a quiver (gules) banded and filled with arrows or., feathered of the 1st between three pheons (sable)," *Lloyd* (query Lloyde ap Gronow): dimidiated with *Bowen* above: impaling tierce—

1.—"Per pale (azure & gules) three lions rampant (argent)," *Herbert* (borne by several families, Vaughan amongst them). 2.—Quarterly. 1st, "(Sable) three boys' heads couped at the shoulders (argent, may be proper) each wreathed about his neck with a snake ? (proper)," *Vaughan*.

2nd, "(Sable) a chevron between three spearheads (argent) embued (gules)," ? *Watkins*. 3rd, "(Azure) three cocks 2 & 1 (argent) armed, jelloped and crested, (or.)," *Uchdryd*. 4th, "? (Argent) a lion rampant (sable)," *Vaughan*, may be *Morgan*. 3.—As *Arnold* above. Crest, partially defaced: Stag's head erased (Glos. Vis. "or.," Fairbairn "sable") charged with a crescent (Glos. Vis. ermines, Fairbairn ermine), *Lloyd*. On helmet above, query Dragon's head erased, *Watkins*. (Glos. Vis., 105, George Looyde of Holley Roode Ampney = Ann, d. of Richard Watkin al's Vaghan.)

S. Transept: 1.—"Gules three query pitchforks, one in pale, two in saltire, points upward argent enfiled with a coronet in fess ? or., on a wreath (torse)." M. says Swithini *Adee*, 1729 (this crest-like charge is not Adey, which is "Arg. on a bend az. three leopards' faces or.," the nearest crest I can find is Webb), impaling "Argent on a bend sable three leg harnesses (legs couped at thigh and erased at ankle) of the 1st," *Blagrove*. 2.—*Blagrove* impaling ? *Adee* (the crest-like charge looks more modern, but I cannot find the alliances).

Mural panels: "(Argent) on a bend (gules) between two birds ? (Cornish Choughs) may be Plovers (proper) six gouttes (d'eau) a chief chequy (sa. & arg. or or.)," *Pleydell*.

MR. CRIPPS' DRAWING ROOM.

Pleydell, quartering (Gules) a lion rampant (or.) between four crosses patty (vair), *Reason*. (William Pleydell ob. 1556 = Agnes d. & coheirress of John Reason of Corfe Castle.) *Pleydell*, impaling "? (Per chevron arg. & sa.) three elephants' heads erased 2 & 1 (counterchanged)," *Saunders*. (Robert Pleydell of Holy Rood Ampney Susan, d. of Edward Saunders of Brixworth, Northamptonshire.)

MEYSEY HAMPTON CHURCH.

S. Transept: M. 1.—"(Azure) three covered cups 2 & 1 (or.), *Fenner* (without swords). 2.—Quarterly, 1 & 4,

"? (Argent) a bend countercompony (may be chequy) or. & gules," *Vaux*. 2 and 3, "? (Sable or Azure) a Pelican in piety ? (arg. or or.)," ?*Lynde*. Crest: Eagle's head erased sable collared and studded or., *Hodie et non cras*. 3.—Quarterly, 1st, "Sable three bends engrailed argent a canton or.," *Horton*. 2nd, "(Argent) a bend (sable) a label of three (gules)," *St. Lo*. 3rd, "(Gules) a fess chequy (or. & azure)," *Whittington*. 4th, "? Sable (semy of crosses croslet) a lion rampant (argent)," *Hauteville* (for quarterings, see *Glazebrooke's Worcester Heraldry*, page 300).

"Argent on bend gules between three ogresses 2 & 1, as many swans close proper," *Clarke*. Crest, Swan.

Glass exhibited in Croft's Hall, Fairford: Quarterly, 1 and 4, "Argent on a bend sable three bulls' heads coupéd of the 1st," *Heton*, Bishop of Ely. 2 and 3, "Argent a Moor's head wreathed between three fleurs de lys sable; a cinque-foil pierced for difference of the last," *More*.

FAIRFORD CHURCH.

S. Aisle: "Argent an anchor between two dolphins haurient respecting each other, all proper," *Alexander Colston*, 1775.

"Argent three crosses croslet 2 & 1 sable on a chief gules a lion passant guardant ? or.," *Redy*. (Sarah = 1st, Thomas Townsend of Sudely; 2nd, Alexander Redy, 1731.)

Chancel. S.E.: "Or in dexter chief an escallop sable between two bendlets gules," *Tracy*. Impaling "Argent a chevron between three escallops sable," *Lyttleton*. Above Viscount's coronet. Robert T. = Bridget L. E.: "Gules on a fess argent three lions passant guardant ? purple," *Oldisworth*. Crest: Lion sejant guardant (gules) resting dexter paw (Fairbairn) on carved shield (Glos. Vis.) on scroll or.

Oldisworth, impaling "Argent on a fess between two chevrons sable three long crosses croslet ? or.," *Austin*. (I cannot find this alliance.) On lozenge, *Oldisworth*, 1680.

Tomb Brasses: "(Argent) a dragon segreant (vert) combatant a lion rampant (azure) crowned (gules)," *Tame*: impaling "(Argent) a chevron between three lapwings close (sable)," *Twyniho*. (Lines are not correct, only shadings.)

N. Aisle. E.: "(Argent) two lions passant with double queues in pale (gules) armed and langued (azure)," *Lygon*: impaling quarterly: 1st, ". . . a bend engr. between three leopards' faces jessant de lys 1 & 2 . . .," *Dennis*. (This coat is nearly everywhere blazoned false, and it seems to me to have arisen owing to misreading "Arg. and az.;" *Glos. Vis.*, page 49, says: "Gu. a bend engr. az. between two leopards' faces jessant de lis or." *Atkyns*. "Gu. a bend engr. az. between three leopards' faces 2 & 1 or. jessant de lys of the 2nd," but I have plates of Gloucestershire coats, 1792, where it is "Gu. a bend engr. arg. between three leopards' faces jessant de lys 2 & 1 or.;" this I believe to be right, but it differs from the Fairford one in that the faces are 2 and 1.) 2nd, "(Argent) a raven within bordure (sable) roundelly (bezanty)," *Corbett*. 3rd, "(Argent) on a chief (gules) three roundles (bezants)," *Russell*. 4th, "Lozengy (or. & azure) a chevron (gules)," *Gorges*. (William Dennis = Margaret Corbett. Sir Gilbert Dennis = Margaret Russell. Sir Theobald Russell = Eleanor Gorges. *Glos. Vis.*, 51 William Lygon = Eleanor Dennis.) Crest: Lion as in arms (this is quite different from the usual Lygon crest).

Brass: Dexter defaced impaling "(Sable) on a cross engrailed (or.) five roundles (ogresses)," *Grevill*, 1534. (*Glos. Vis.*, 260, query Thomas Tame . Jane, 2nd daughter of . . . Grevill.)

Brass against wall: 1.—*Tame* with crescent for difference impaling *Grevill* as above. (Sir Edmond Tame, knt. 1st, Agnes, d. of Sir Edwd. Grevill); 2nd, Elizabeth Tyringham.) 2.—*Tame* impaling "(Azure) a saltire engrailed (argent)," *Tyringham*.

S.E. Churchyard Tombs: Quarterly, 1 and 4, "(Argent)

a griffin segreant (sable)," *Morgan*. 2 and 3, "(Gules) a fess vair between three unicorns' heads coupéd (or.)," *Bigland, Savory*. Crest: Reindeer's head coupéd (or.).

LECHLADE CHURCH.

S.E. M. Central Sheld: Quarterly, 1 and 4, "Argent a chevron between three cocks' heads erased gules," *Coxeter*. 2 and 3, "? Sable two bars & in chief three crosses patty or, a label of 3 ? argent for difference," *Bath^eurst*. Crest: Out of mural coronet a cock's head gules crested and jelloped or., 1699. (George Coxeter = Mary Bathurst.)

Coxeter, impaling "Gules three swords barwise, points to the dexter proper, pomels and hilts or. within orle of mullets of the last, on a canton per fess argent & ? vert a lion of England," *Chute* (the lion is on the argent, ought to be on the vert). (I cannot find this alliance.)

Bathurst, impaling "Or a fess between two lions passant gules," *Cooke*. (Laurence Bathurst = Susanna Cook.)

Chancel: "? Argent a (quarter-pierced) cross moline sable between three crescents (gules)," *Milward*, impaling "Argent a cross fleur de lisy at the sides between four mullets (pierced) sable," *Athyns*. Crest: Between two wings azure a bear's paw erased sable armed or., holding a sceptre in bend sinister of the last entwined by a sprig of oak proper. Nec temere nec timide.

Window: "Gules a falcon volant or within an orle ? (wavy) arg," *Knox*, Earl of Ranfurly.

Knox, impaling "Vert a chevron argent between three garbs or," *Amyand*. Moveo et propitiior. (I cannot find this alliance.)

M.: "Argent ? bend sa. between two ? roses gules," *Simons*, 1769. Query, "Arg. a bend engr. az. between two fireballs sa," *Symons*.)

N. Aisle, M.: "Azure a chevron ? arg., really ermine, between three crosses patty argent," *Ainge*, impaling "Or six amulets 3, 2, 1, ? sable," *Loder* (generally "Sa. & Or."). 1778, a knight's helmet. (I cannot find this alliance.)

LITTLE FARINGDON.

"Per fess argent & gules a fess engrailed per fess azure & or between in chief a cross humetty ? ermine enclosed by two helmets sable & in base one of the latter or.," *query*.

Impaling, "? Or three crescents 2 & 1 sable on a canton of the last a ducal coronet of the 1st," *Hodges*. Crest: On wreath, five fleurs de lys conjoined barwise in front of demi ? hind salient regardant holding between forelegs an arrow, *query*.

W. Window: *Plantagenet* Royal coat with label of 3, crowned, surrounded by garter motto, "Honi," &c.

LANGFORD CHURCH.

S. Aisle: "Gules three rams' heads coupéd 2 and 1 or," *Hamersley*. Impaling "Argent a cross ermines between four millrinds sable," *Turner*, 1694.

"Barry wavy of six . . . & . . . on a chief a ducal coronet between two spearheads erect" (possibly a dimidiated coat, and the coronet intended for the crest, as) M. says *Saphina Broderwick*, which is "Argent on a chief vert two spearheads erect of the 1st embrued gules" impaling "(Gules) two chevrons (or)," *Fettyplace*. (Francis Broderick : : Sophia Fettyplace.) Also *Broderwick*, and crest, a spearhead (argent) embrued (gu.) out of ducal coronet. 1700-12.

Brass, Chancel: "(Or) a lion rampant (azure) on a chief (of the last) an ostrich feather (of the 1st) between two others (argent)," *Prunes*, Walter, 1619. Crest: ? Lion's gamb holding three ostrich feathers ? as in arms. Also *Prunes*, impaling Quarterly 1 and 4 *Pleydell*. 2 and 3 *Reason*, see page 139, but the crosses in *Reason* are azure.

“(Argent) a cross moline (sable) with crescent for difference,” *Copley*. Impaling “Per chevron (azure) & ermine (generally argent) in chief two falcons displayed (or),” *Stephens*, 1592.

SOUTHEROP CHURCH.

Lying on S. choir window sill: “Or a chevron engrailed gules on a chief sable, three mullets of the field” (generally Argent). Crest: On helmet on wreath: Elephant’s head coupé sable (may be proper), *Thomas Kebla (Keeble)*, 1670.

Chancel: Quarterly, 1 and 4, “(Sable) on a bend (argent) cotised (ermine) a rose between two annulets (gules), *Conway*. 2 and 3, Azure a cross of the field double voided or,” *Creuikere* (see *Warwickshire Visitation*, p. 26). Crest: On helmet on wreath Moor’s head sidefaced coupé (proper) wreathed (argent and azure).

S. Transept, E. window: ? Azure three fishes naiant dexterways in pale argent a bend ? sable, query (without bend *Roche*).

HATHEROP HOUSE AND CHURCH.

House, Porch: Quarterly, 1 and 4, “(Gules) a chevron between three combs (argent),” *Ponsonby*. 2 and 3 “. . . lion rampant guardant a chief engrailed.” *Query*. (*Query*, a mistake for “Sa. a lion pass. guard. arg. a chief engr. or.,” *Margetson*, one of the usual quarterings of Earl of Bessborough). Inescutcheon: Quarterly, 1 and 4, “(Argent) three bulls passant (sable) unguled and armed (or) 2 & 1,” *Ashley*. 2 and 3, “(Gules) a bend engrailed between six lions rampant (or),” *Cooper*. Crest: Out of a ducal coronet (or) three arrows, points downwards, one in pale two in saltire banded with a snake nowed, all (proper). Pro rege, lege, grege.

“(Gules) a cross between four falcons (or),” *Webb*. Inescutcheon: “(Gules) on inescutcheon (argent) a lion rampant (of the 1st) within a bordure (or),” *Blomer*. (Glos. Vis. 21 gives this false, Atkyns right. Mary Blomer = 2ndly Sir John Webb).

Church, Chancel: *Blomer*, as above. *Blomer*, as above, impaling. "(Sable) three lions passant in bend between two double cotises (argent)," *Browne*. (I cannot find this alliance.)

On lozenge: *Webb*, as above, with inescutcheon, *Blomer* with bordure ermine, impaling *Blomer* with bordure ermine. (This seems to be a way of explaining the *Blomer* impaling to be an heiress; the coat ought to be *Webb* with inescutcheon *Blomer*, the bordure a variety.)

Window: *Webb* with Baronet's escutcheon, ? *Blomer*. "Or a bend sa.," *Mauley*.

QUENINGTON CHURCH.

Nave, central passage: "(? Azure) a fess ermine between three lions rampant ? (or) a crescent for difference," *Powle*. Crest: On helmet on wreath Unicorn passant (az.) horned and maned (or), (Rt. Hon. Henry Powle, Master of the *Rolls*, 1692). (Papworth says the lions passant.) "Ermine a bend ermine," really "Ermine two bendlets gules," *Ireton*. (Some say "Erm. a bend voided gu.," this may have caused the mistake.) With inescutcheon, *Powle* above; impaling, *Powle*. (This seems to be the way of showing, as in *Webb* above, that the impaling was an heiress.) Crest: A squirrel sejant holding nut in forepaws, all proper. (Henry Ireton = Catherine, d. and h. of Henry Powle. Atkyns, 322.)

N. wall: "Azure on a fess engrailed or between three swan's heads erased argent ducally gorged ? gules as many cinquefoils of the last," *Baker*, Rev. Mr. George, 1767.

COLN ST. ALWYN'S.

House, Hall: Quarterly, 1 and 4, "Vair (argent & gules) on a canton (azure) a pile (or)," *Beach*. 2 and 3, "(Gules) a fess wavy between three fleurs de lis (or), a crescent for difference," *Hicks*, and Baronet's escutcheon. Crests, 1: Demi lion rampant (argent) ducally gorged (or) holding in paws the canton as in the arms, *Beach*. 2: Buck's head

couped (or) gorged with a wreath of ? oak (proper), *Hicks*.
Tout en bon heure.

Church, Chancel, brass: "Sable a chevron or between three escallops ? (^{arg.} or), *Mitchell*; impaling Hicks-Beach.
Crest: On wreath a Garb (vert.)

S.E. Tower, over door: ". . . cross . . . surmounted by a crown," query *de Burgh*.

Tower, N. side: "A fess between three birds," query *Hobby*.

BIBURY CHURCH.

"? (Argent) a bend wavy between six cocks 3 & 3 (gules)," *Coxwell*. Impaling "(Sable) a chevron ermine between three unicorns' heads couped (argent)," *Head*. (Charles Coxwell = Eleanor Head, of Winterborn, Berks.) Crest: On esquire's helmet on wreath a dragon's head (argent) between two wings of the same expanded (gules). 1699.

On flat stones in nave a great many *Coxwells*.

"Argent crusily crosetts three talbots' heads erased sable," *Hall*. Cura quietem, 1824.

Chancel: "Quarterly or & gules a bend vairy (really vair)," *Sackville*.

Quarterly, 1 and 4, "Gules on each of three plates a squirrel sejant of the field," *Cresswell*. 2, "Argent (really ermine) on a chief indented gules three estoiles or," *Estcourt*. 3, "Per fess embattled (arg. and sa. really) sable and argent six ? crosses patty 3 & 3 counterchanged," *Warneford*. Inescutcheon: "Argent a saltire (really engrailed) between four mullets sable," *Wotton*. (Richard Cresswell of Sidbury = Elizabeth, d. and h. of Sir Thomas Estcourt, knt., of Pinkney. Thomas Estcourt Cresswell = Anne, d. and h. of Edmund Warneford, by Elizabeth, d. and h. of Henry Sackville. Thomas Estcourt Cresswell the 2nd = Mary, d. and h. Samuel Wotton, Devon.)

Warneford, above, "arg. & sa." Inescutcheon, *Sackville*, "bend vair."

Baker, as in *Quenington*, page 145.

ABLINGTON HOUSE.

Coxwell, as before.

BIBURY COURT.

(For the following I can find no reference books, so I am indebted to G. E. C. Clarenceux, and Collins' *Baronage* for making them out, but I believe them to be correct.)

Porch: Quarterly of 12. 1, "Quarterly (or & gu.) a bend vair," *Sackville*. 2, "Fretty." Argent fretty ($\begin{smallmatrix} \text{vert} \\ \text{gules} \end{smallmatrix}$). *De Den*. (Sir Jordan Sackville = Hela, d. of Ralph de Den and coh. to her brother Robert of Buckhurst.) 3, "Fleur de lys." "Gules a fleur de lys argent," *D'Aguillon*. (Sir Jordan Sackville, ob. 1273 = Margaret, d. and coh. Sir Robert de Aguillon). 4, "A cross engrailed." "Argent a cross engrailed gules," *Dalingruge* (Sir Thomas Sackville = Margaret, sister and coh. of Sir John Dalingruge) and *De la Lynde* (Margaret's great-grandfather = Joan, d. and h. of Walter de la Lynde, who = Joan de Nevill, d. of Hugh and h. of Philip Neville.) 5, "Lozengy" (or. and gu.) a canton dilletty (really ermine), *Neville*. 6, "Three eagles displayed," query crowned. Arg. three eagles displayed gules (generally crowned or.), *de Courcy*. (Hugh de Neville = Alice, d. and h. de Courcy.) Impaling: 1, *Hungerford*. 2, *Heytesbury*. 3, *Hussey*. 4, *Peverel*. 5, ? *Cornwall*. 6, *Courtenay*. Crests: 1, A ram's head erased (sable) armed (or.), *Sackville*. 2, Out of a ducal coronet (or.) a garb between two sickles (ppr.), *Hungerford*. Above $\begin{smallmatrix} S \\ T \\ B \end{smallmatrix}$ and the date, 1633. See *Glos. Vis.* 1623, 89. (T)homas (S)ackville al's Toots = Barbara Hungerford, and the date 1633.

WYNCHCOMBE CHURCH.

"? Argent a chevron between three cocks gules on a chief sable as many spear heads of the 1st (really embrued of the 2nd)," *Williams*. (Vis. Glos. 1682, 202, gives this as "Sa. a chev. between three spearheads arg. embrued at the points on a chief of the 2nd as many cocks gu.") Impaling: "Per pale and per chevron three martlets argent and sable, all counterchanged," *Reushaw*. (No tinctures given by Burke or Papworth) *Williams*, also on flagon.

Canopy of piscina: "2 bends," query *Tracy*. "(Az.) sword in pale point downwards on two keys in saltire (or.)" See of Gloucester up to 1689 *Transactions*, xvii. 2, 286 and plate. "On lozenge on saltire a cross." Query "Azure in a quarter pierced saltire or a cross (generally patty) of the 1st," *Winchcomb*.

S. Aisle, E.: "Azure a fess wavy between three lions passant or., a crescent for difference," *Hawes*.

"Gules on a bend between two castles or. three fusils sable," *Baylis*. (I cannot find this anywhere; the Gloucestershire Baylis, according to a plate, 1792, bore: "Erm. a chev. az. between in chief two trees vert & in base a lamb ? or. resting dex. foot on a ? billet gu." This also I cannot find elsewhere.)

(1) Defaced. ? "Argent a cross between four roses gules seeded or.," *Trotman*. Impaling: "Or. three mullets between double tressure flory gules," query intended for *Murray*. (2) *Trotman*, as above. Crest: Garb between two ostrich feathers.

HAILES ABBEY.

Bosses: (1) Quarterly, 1 and 4, "(Or.) five fusils in fess (az.)," *Pennington*. 2 and 3, "Barry of six (arg. & gu.) a bend (az.)," *Moncaster*. The Rev. W. Bazeley, our Secretary, thinks this quartered coat to be Percy, when it would be 1 and 4, "(Az.) five fusils conjoined in fess (or)," *Percy*.

2 and 3, "Barry of six or and vert a bend (gu.)," *Poynings*. (2), "(Gu.) fretty (arg.)," *Hodelston*. (Sir W. Hodelston = Bridget Pennington.) (3), *Hodelston* impaling: "(Arg.) a lion rampant queue fourchee (sa.)," *Barynton*. (Sir Anthony Hodelston = Mary Barrentyne.) (4), Quarterly, 1 and 4, *Hodelston*. 2 and 3, "Barry of six (arg. & az.)," *Grey*. Impaling: "(Gu.) a lion rampant (or.)," *Grey*. (Ferdinand Hodelston = Jane, d. of Sir Ralph Grey, who = Isabel, d. and coh. of Sir Thomas Grey of Northumberland.)

Quarterly, 1 and 4, "(Sa.) a lion passant guardant (or.) between three esquires' helmets (arg.)," *Compton*. 2 and 3, (Shirley, 265; Hutchins, i. 454), "(Arg.) a chevron (^{azure}vert) within bordure (^{vert}sa.) roundelly (bezanty)," *Compton*. (Augmentation grant, Hen. VIII.) "(Az.) a chain and two handcuffs chevronwise between three mitres with labels 2 and 1 (arg.)," *Evesham Abbey*.

PLEAS OF THE CROWN AT BRISTOL,
15 EDWARD I.

BY THE REV. E. A. FULLER, M.A.

INTRODUCTION.

THE following pages contain a translation of that part of the Assize Roll for Gloucestershire at the Paschal Circuit of the year 15 Edward I., *i.e.* A.D. 1287, which concerns the Pleas of the Crown for the City of Bristol, as dealt with by the justices, Saham and Metingham. A separate roll in the case of Saham (No. 283), another part of the roll (No. 282) in the case of Metingham, contains the report of the trial of civil actions, pleas between man and man; but what is here printed is mainly the review by the King's justices of all cases, which had occurred since the last similar circuit of the justices, which appertained to what were called Pleas of the Crown. These would be cases of death whether by murder or by misadventure, cases of transgression against the assize of cloth and wine, withdrawals of suit and service to the hundred or royal manors, encroachment on the King's highway, and attempts to levy new duties or customs by local officials, &c. The records of the local courts of justice and of the coroners' courts had to be produced, and the officials of these courts had to justify their procedure therein. Then the English system of social life, fundamentally shown as a rule in the enrolment of every adult in some tything,¹ by which the folk of a neighbourhood were made answerable for the good conduct of their neighbours, was extended to their responsibility for all deaths by violence in their district,

¹ There were no tythings in Bristol. (*See* No. 3.)

unless they could prove innocence, and that they themselves had done their best to discover the murderer and arrest him. So also with regard to their duty to arrest robbers, if the theft took place in the daytime; again, had they fulfilled their duty in aiding the coroner at his inquest? Every failure or excess of duty was visited by a fine; and in the margin of the roll, by way of index, was in such cases entered *mia*, *i.e. in misericordia*, *i.e. in mercy*, the technical phrase for a fine for breach of duty, the amount of which was at the will of the Crown through the justices, but which the Crown in its mercy did not exact to the extent of ruining the defaulter. The amount of the fine was settled in the presence of those who would know the circumstances of folk, and the list was entered at the end of the roll. Where special fines were entered in the roll of fines for special offences, I have entered the amount of such fine against the case involved. The various offences of the borough of Bristol through its officials were not separately assessed, but were all comprehended in one item of assessment: "From the whole borough of Bristol, as a fine for many transgressions, and for the transgression of the twelve jurors, except Henry Horncastel, 40 marcs," *i.e. £26 13s. 4d.*

Of course, these fines were a source of some profit to the Crown; and this minute examination of the work of local officials, and of mercantile transactions with the consequent fines, was felt to be oppressive, so that protests were made against it, and it became the accepted rule that there should be an interval of at least seven years between these Crown circuits of the Royal justices. There was a greater chance of small transgressions being passed over, and offenders might have had the luck to die. (*See No. 44.*) For some reason this circuit was the first in the reign of Edward I., so that at least fifteen years had elapsed since the previous one; and as a case of death (*see No. 2*) is considered which occurred as far back as 53 Henry III. (1269), there had apparently been no such review for eighteen years. From the Pipe Roll of 16 Edward I., it appears that the amount

of the amerciaments levied by Saham and Metingham in this circuit was for Gloucestershire £1281 3s. 8d., and for Bristol £115 3s. 3d., these amounts including the value of the chattels of felons.

Another frequent judgment is entered in the margin concerning felons who had fled, "*exig' et utlag'*," *i.e.* "*exigatur et utlagetur*," *i.e.* "let him be exacted, that is summoned five successive times in the County Court, and on non-appearance be outlawed." An outlaw had lost all civil rights, carried a wolf's head, as was said, and might be slain by anyone with impunity. A woman not being in any tything could not be outlawed; but she might be waived (*see* No. 75), and left derelict, "a waif whom no man could warrant and no prince protect." Of course, if a man was guilty, but managed to escape, his chattels were confiscated. Nor was an innocent man in a better plight, if through fear he had at first fled from justice. For though he might afterwards, on better thought, return, stand his trial, prove his innocence and be acquitted on the charge of felony, yet his chattels were equally confiscated because he had fled from justice at first. (*See* Nos. 18 and 53.)

Another frequent marginal entry of judgment is "*abjur'*," *i.e.* "*abjuravit regnum*;" that is, "has abjured the kingdom." It was open to any criminal to take sanctuary in some church, if he could reach it, and there in the presence of the coroner to own his felonious act, and abjure the kingdom. There is an instance in No. 29 of a fine upon the coroner for receiving the abjuration in a private house which had on right of sanctuary, and another instance in No. 26 of a fine upon the bailiffs of Bristol for usurping the office of coroner in receiving an abjuration. Originally, the felon could choose his own port of departure; but gradually the coroner assigned a port, Dover as a rule, and there are instances in this roll, Nos. 59 and 74, of the coroner being fined for allotting a wrong port to the criminal. The felon, bearing a wooden cross, with only a coat on, bareheaded and barefooted, had to go by the most direct way to the port of departure, or he

ran the risk of being beheaded as an outlaw. There is an instance of this in the roll of this circuit, under the head of Berkeley Hundred, membr. 23 d.

“The jurors present that John the Frankleyn killed William de Lench in the Township of Erlingham,¹ and afterwards, at the suit of one Letitia Lench, was outlawed in the County Court; and afterwards returned to the country and placed himself in the Church of Cirencester and owned his crime before the coroner; and after he had abjured he went out of his way and again returned to his country, and was pursued by the township of Erlingham, and in his flight was beheaded. His chattels were worth 40/-, for which the Sheriff has to answer.”

Occasionally, the ominous **S** appears,—that is, “*suspendedetur*,” or “let him be hung.” But with the opportunity of escape by flight, or by abjuring the kingdom, there were relatively few executed in proportion to the cases for which death was the penalty. With regard to the review of the action of the local courts, there are two instances of fines, No. 66, a case where the court proceeded to hang without making a proper inquisition, and No. 68, where the court had a criminal hung without waiting for the arrival of a witness called for the defence.

In the review of the coroner's rolls the judgment and marginal entry is really, in all cases where the death was not imputed to violence, “*Infort*,” *i.e.* “*Infortunium*,” or “Misfortune.” It is noteworthy that there is only one case during these eighteen years of suggested suicide, with the verdict of *felo-de-se*;² and that was shown afterwards to be a mistake, as suspicion attached to some person of having killed the deceased; No. 52. The point of difference between those days and our own time is the practice then and afterwards of forfeiture of the thing—whether living, as horse, &c., or without life, as boat, cart, &c.—which was the

¹ Arlingham.

² In the Crown Roll of the Assize for 5 Hen. III., *i.e.* 1221, there is only one case of suicide in the whole County of Gloucester.

unconscious instrument in causing death. This forfeiture was exacted in an irregularly assessed value of the thing forfeited; but this assessed value does not appear to have been at any time necessarily the real full value of the chattel. Thus in this roll, membr. 4, under the head of the Township of Winchcomb, is the case of a man killed by the falling upon him of the bell of the great bell-tower of the church, and the value of the bell for deodand was assessed at 12 pence. This forfeit thereupon, being paid as a fine to the Crown, was by the Crown, through the justices, given to some pious use. It was said to be given to God, and so was called a Deodand. There is an instance in this roll, No. 41, of a fine inflicted on a person who had appropriated a deodand without warrant. This system of deodands, as fines to the Crown, continued till the era of serious railway accidents, when it began to be felt that a fine of some part value of a railway engine and train was not an adequate mulct on a company through whose default, by their own insufficient precautions, or their servants' neglect, a bad accident had happened. Moreover, the sufferers or the relatives of those killed were without redress. In A.D. 1841 there was a disastrous accident near Twyford on the G.W.R. to a mixed train, by which eight persons lost their lives, and seventeen were severely injured. The coroner's jury returned a verdict of "Accidental death," and assessed a deodand of £1000, on the engine, tender and trucks, which was due to the lord of the manor under a grant from the Crown by James I. At last, in A.D. 1846, an Act of Parliament was passed which did away with the old system of deodand, gave the Crown a criminal action against a proved defaulter in duty, and provided for the sufferers and the dependent relatives of those killed a civil action for damages against the company.

The untrustworthiness of trial by combat is shown by No. 77, where on review the local court was fined for causing a witness to prove his truthfulness by combat; the only person who by law had thus to prove his truth being an

approver—that is, an informer. In this case there was a clear miscarriage of justice, a truthful witness being hung because he did not conquer both of the accused in the combat.

No. 46 is a case of money clipping. The felon was sentenced by the local court to be drawn asunder, and on review the officials were fined because they proceeded to have him hung.

No. 75 is a case of murder of a husband by a wife, with the judgment of death by burning.

There is an interesting entry at the beginning of the Gloucestershire Roll as to the presentation of Englishry. Membr. 2:—"The whole county records that no Englishry is presented in that county, nor was ever wont to be presented, but that it is altogether unknown what Englishry is, because they had never heard it spoken of. And because it has been found from the rolls of the preceding circuit, that is to say, the circuit of Richard de Midelton and his companions, justices itinerating in that county, that Englishry is presented in that county by two on the part of the father, and by one on the part of the mother, concerning felonies alone, and both concerning males and females, except the children being under seven years of age; and it has been found by the same rolls that Englishry was not wont to be presented in the hundreds and townships in the western part beyond the water of Severn, neither again in the hundred of Berkeley, nor in the borough of Berkeley, but in the eastern part in all hundreds, therefore the whole county is in mercy."

Midelton's Roll is not now in existence, but his death in A.D. 1272 would make a period of fifteen years since his circuit. It has been shown above, however, that it must have been at least eighteen years since he went on a circuit in the county. With regard to the claim itself, *Murdrum* was the fine inflicted, after the period of the Norman Conquest, upon the hundred or other separate liberty in which a murder had been committed, concerning which it could not be proved that the murdered person was an Englishman. The fine was not abolished till 14 Edw. III., 1340.

It does not appear from the roll itself what the object of this claim of the non-presentation of Englishry thus made was. If the non-existence of the presentation of Englishry had been equivalent necessarily to freedom from the murder fine, it would be easy to understand that the county wanted to establish a right by custom to such freedom. But practice varied much in the English counties. In his preface to the *Early Somersetshire Assize Roll*, which Mr. C. E. Chadwick Healy, Q.C., edited, he gave some specimens of these variations as recorded by the counties. Thus, Yorkshire: "No Englishry presented in this county, therefore no murder fine." Warwickshire: "Be it known that in this county Englishry is not presented, therefore there is no murder fine." Lincolnshire: "No Englishry is presented in this county; yea, the whole county says that if anyone is found slain it is murder."

In respect to Gloucestershire, in the *Pleas of the Crown for Gloucestershire in 5 Hen. III.*, 1221, edited by Mr. F. W. Maitland, it is said, with regard to a case of death by violence, f. 98: "The county records that beyond the course of the water of Severn, as long as the county of Gloucester endures, there is no murder reckoned; therefore there is nothing (no fine) in this case." And Mr. Chadwick Healy quotes from the same assize roll for Gloucestershire, under the head of Westbury Hundred: "In that hundred there is no murder fine, because it is beyond Severn;" and in the case of a death by violence, "No murder fine, because it is beyond Severn." It might have seemed therefore, apart from the detailed evidence of this roll, that the idea of the county was to claim the extension over the whole county of this relief from the murder fine which existed beyond the Severn; and that they hoped the eighteen years which had elapsed since the last circuit might avail to make this claim pass current without further enquiry. But the evidence of the cases recorded in this roll shows that the entry *Nulla Englisheria* did not carry with it the exemption of the hundred from the murder fine. On membr. 20, in the Hundred of Westbury,

occurs a case of violent death at Brydewode,¹ with the entry, "No Englishry; judgment, murder upon the hundred;" and on the same membrane is a case of violent death at Minsterworth, in the same phrase, "No Englishry; judgment, murder upon the hundred;" and on membr. 22, a similar entry about a violent death at Dymok, in Bottelaw Hundred. The Hundred of Berkeley is declared, as above, to be under the same rule of the non-existence of the presentation of Englishry; but entries in the roll, membr. 23 d. and 25 d., show there equally "No Englishry," followed by "judgment, murder," either upon the hundred, or upon the town as not participating with the hundred. In fact, there is no difference in the entries of judgment for violent death in these districts said to be under the special rule of no presentation of Englishry, and the entries in ordinary hundreds, such as Cirencester and Bradley. In all it is "No Englishry; judgment, murder upon the hundred." It does not appear, therefore, what the idea was in making this claim.

Of course a separate liberty might, by Royal grant, have the franchise of being quit of the murder fine, *quietus de murdro*. Thus in No. 70, "No Englishry," in the case of a death by violence on St. Michael's Hill, is followed by "judgment, murder upon the Borough of Bristol." Whereupon there was produced to the justices a Royal charter granting the borough quittance of the murder fine.

In transcribing the roll, I have numbered the cases for facility of reference.

ASSIZE ROLL No. 284, 15 EDWARD I.—GLOUCESTERSHIRE.
PASCH.

Membr. 35. Pleas of the Crown of the borough of Bristol, which appears by twelve men. (Their names, given on membr. 34 d., are—Gilbert Cissor de Banes, Robert de Monemue, John Bruselaunce, Adam de Siston, John Seynt

¹ Birdwood, in Churcham parish.

de, Stephen Turtle, Robert la Ware, William Dale, Everard Fraunceys, Ralph Romeneye, Henry Horncastel, John de Cardiff.)

These were mayors in the borough of Bristol since the last circuit; namely, Reginald de Panes, John Wyssey, Symon the Clerk, and John de Lydherd, who are dead; and after them, Thomas de Hameldene and Everard le Franceys, who survive,¹ and Richard de Mangodesfeld, who now is mayor and who answers.

These have been coroners since the last circuit; that is to say, Ergleys, John Tresour, William le Rus, who are dead; and Ralph le Tanur, Richard de Bercham, Roger le Taverner, and Gilbert le Spicer, who survive and who answer.

These have been constables since the last circuit: John de Muscegros and Bartholomew le Jofne, who are dead; and Hugh de Turbeville, and Peter de la Mare, who now is (constable) and who answers.

These have been bailiffs since the last circuit; that is to say, Sanekyn Reveward, Ralph Beauflur, William Beauflur, and Walter de Berham, who are dead; and Symon Adrian, Walter Fraunceys, Henry le Waleys, Richard le Draper, and Geoffrey Agodeshalve, who now are bailiffs and who answer.

1. The jurors present that Richard de Clerk fell from a bridge and was drowned. The first finder and the four who were nearest are all dead. Misfortune. Price of the bridge 1s. 6d., for which the sheriff has to answer; and because the twelve jurors made no mention in their verdict of the pledges of the first finder, therefore they are in mercy.

2. Richard Hyne fell off his horse into the Frome, and was drowned, in 53 Henry III.² The first finder, &c. Misfortune. Price of the horse 6s., for which the sheriff, &c.

¹ According to Ricart's *Calendar*, the names and dates were these:—

1271. Radulphus Paldene.	1278. Johannes Lydeyarde.
1272. Johannes Wissy.	1275. Thomas de Hamelesden.
1277. Symon de Bardeney.	1276. Gerardus le Fraunces.

² 1269.

3. Alan Bereman and Roger Byndedevel killed William de Mangodesfelde in 54 Henry III., and forthwith after the deed placed themselves in the Church of St. Peter, and owned to the deed, and abjured the kingdom, in the presence of the coroner. They had no chattels, nor were they in a tithing, because there are no tithings in that borough. And because the borough of Bristol did not arrest them, therefore it is in mercy.

4. John, the son of Robert Brid, was crushed by a certain wall. The first finder, &c. Misfortune. Price of wall 1s.

5. John le Tanur, in the Church of St. John de la Redeclyve,¹ owned himself a robber, and abjured, &c. His chattels were worth 6d., for which the borough of Bristol has to answer. And because the B. of B. did not arrest him, therefore it is in mercy.

6. Alice, the wife of Peter the Crossbowman, cut the throat of her son William and threw him into her cesspool, and abjured, &c., in the Church of St. Peter. She had no chattels.

7. William de Yvenck fell from a boat into the Frome, and was drowned. The first finder, &c. Misfortune. Price of the boat 2s. 6d. And because the twelve jurors concealed the said deodand in their verdict, therefore they are in mercy.

8. Walter le Cornmangere placed himself in the Church of St. Mary de la Redeclyve, 54 Hen. III., and owned himself a robber, and abjured, &c. No chattels. And because the borough of Bristol did not arrest him, therefore it is in mercy. And the wards of Holy Trinity,² of All Saints, of Redeclyve, of St. Owen's, and St. Mary did not come fully to the inquest before the coroner, therefore they are in mercy.³

¹ The Hospital of St. John the Baptist in Redcliff Pit, where the Friends' Burial Ground now is

² The present Christ Church.

³ We see from this entry that though the Lords of Berkeley still had their prison in Redcliff Street (*see* No. 24), already by 1270 Redcliff was reckoned by the Crown to lie in the Borough of Bristol.

9. Richard de Credewell owned to robbery, and abjured, &c., in the Church of St. James. His chattels were worth 5s, for which the B. of B. answerable. And because the B. of B. did not, &c., therefore it is in mercy.

10. Adam Olyver killed Gilbert Pistare in the town of Bristol, and forthwith placed himself in the Church of St. James, and owned the fact and abjured, &c. His chattels 3s. 4d., for which the B. of B., &c. And because the ward of Holy Trinity did not arrest him, and the matter happened in the daytime, therefore the ward is in mercy.

11. Margery, the daughter of Alice Laceby, was crushed by something that fell from the roof (*de quodam stillicidio*) in Bristol. The first finder, &c., are dead. No one is suspected. Misfortune. The value of what fell 8d., for which B. of B., &c.

12. Nicholas de Weston killed Aaron the Jew and straightway fled. Let him be exacted (*i.e.* summoned in the County Court) and outlawed. No chattels. And because the B. of B. did not arrest him, and the thing happened in the daytime, therefore the B. of B. is in mercy.

13. Simon Pipereman killed Nicholas le Hunte and straightway fled. Let him be summoned and outlawed. No chattels. And because the ward of Holy Trinity did not answer fully at the inquest before the coroner, therefore it is in mercy.

14. Margery, the daughter of Adam le Comare, fell into a caldron full of boiling water, and was scalded to death. The first finder, &c., dead. No one is suspected about it. Misfortune. Price of the caldron 6s. 9d., for which B. of B., &c.

15. John de Calne fell off his horse into the Frome and was drowned. Misfortune. Price of the horse 6s. 8d., for which B. of B., &c.

16. John the Fatte thrust William Wellop into a caldron of boiling water, so that he was scalded and died at once. John the Fatte fled and is suspected. Let him be summoned and outlawed. Price of the caldron 2s., for which B. of

B., &c. And because the ward of Holy Trinity did not, &c., therefore it is in mercy.

Membr. 35 dors.—

17. Philip le Kemeys killed John Gourde, and was at once caught and hung for that deed. Chattels 10s., for which B. of B., &c. And because the ward of All Saints put a false value upon these chattels before the coroner, therefore it is in mercy.

18. Juliana de Anford appealed Robert de Newent, chaplain, concerning the death of her son John. And Robert now comes and says that he is a clerk and ought not to make answer to the charge here. And upon this comes the Dean of Christianity of Bristol, and by letters patent of the Bishop of Worcester claims him as a clerk. But that it may be known what kind of a man is thus delivered up let the truth of the matter be enquired into by the twelve jurors of the B. of B., and the jurors say upon their oath that the said Robert is not guilty of the said death. Therefore he himself is quit of that. And let the said Juliana be committed to gaol for false appeal. And the jurors testify that when the said John was dead the said Juliana raised a hue against Robert, and the said Robert in fear fled to the Church of the Holy Trinity and kept himself there for two months, and afterwards gave himself up to the peace. Therefore let his chattels be confiscated for his flight. They are worth 13s. 4d., for which B. of B., &c.

19. Thomas Brun and William Paternoster killed Robert le Cu (Keu) and fled. Let them be summoned and outlawed. W. P.'s chattels 4s. 4d., for which B. of B., &c. T. B. had no chattels. But because the ward of All Saints did not arrest them and this, &c., it is in mercy.

20. John le Lokere and Walter le Cotiler killed John Macy by night in B. of B., and fled. Let them be summoned and outlawed. W.C.'s chattels 5s., for which B. of B., &c. J. the L. had no chattels.

21. John Bonsergiant, arrested on suspicion of robbery, was taken and imprisoned by the bailiff of John de

Muscegros, at that time farmer of the borough, in the borough prison. J. B. broke prison and fled. Let him be summoned and outlawed. The executors of John de Muscegros have to answer for this escape, and are fined £5 os. od. One John de Tolsede was attached for having aided and abetted this escape, and was attached by Richard Heued, John Beel, Elias of Pokelchurche, John the Clerk of the Market, John Dode, and Simon the Smith, and John Waryn. John de Tolsede does not appear, nor is he suspected; therefore they are in mercy.

22. Simon Guager and Stephen Cuclake were imprisoned in the borough prison, and escaped, and then in St. James' Church owned this prison-breaking, and that they were robbers, and abjured, &c. B. of B. in mercy for this escape. Fined £10 os. od.

23. Sampson, the son of Agnes de Haleweye, fell from a boat into the Frome and was drowned. The first finder, &c., not suspected. Misfortune. Deodand 3s. 6d., for which B. of B., &c.

24. Roger Bat and Nicholas Bagge killed William Lof of Taunton and fled. They are believed to be guilty. Let them be summoned and outlawed. No chattels. And because the ward of St. Owen did not arrest them, therefore it is in mercy.

24. William Dikere was imprisoned on suspicion of robbery by the bailiffs of Thomas de Berkeley, in his prison in Redeclyve Street, and escaped. He is believed guilty. Let him be summoned and outlawed. No chattels. And because of this escape, Th. de Berkeley is in mercy. Fined £5 os. od.

25. John Godchild, Seward of Clifton, and Nicholas de Ras were in a boat on the Frome. Seward and Nicholas threw John into the water and he was drowned. They fled, and are believed to be guilty. Let them be summoned and outlawed. No chattels. And because the ward of St. Owen did not arrest them, and this happened by day, therefore it is in mercy.

26. William Whiteheved, Peter de Tomasse, and Margaret Maniword were imprisoned in Bristol prison, and broke prison and killed Walter de la Haye the gaoler. Peter and Margaret fled to St. Peter's Church, and owned and abjured, &c. No chattels. William was at once taken and hung. No chattels. B. of B. in mercy for the escape, and fined £10 os. od. The jurors testify that John Dollyng and Agnes his wife were also in prison on suspicion of robbery; they also escaped, and were consenting to Walter's death. Being brought before Bartholomew le Jofne, then constable, since dead, John de Lydechert, then mayor, since dead, and the bailiffs, by that Court John was hung, and Agnes in full court abjured, &c. And because the said bailiffs assumed the office of coroner and made the said Agnes, a burglar, thus abjure, therefore judgment passes upon the whole borough and the bailiffs. John's chattels 20s., for which B. of B., &c.

27. Robert de Combe Martyn fell from a boat into the Frome and was drowned. The first finder, &c. Misfortune. Deodand 4s., for which B. of B., &c.

28. William Beauchamp fled to the Church of the Brethren of Mount Carmel,¹ and owned himself a robber, and abjured, &c. No chattels. And because this happened by day, &c., therefore B. of B. in mercy.

Membr. 36—

29. The jurors present that Robert, a servant of Robert Fromund, was pursued by a man of Mynedep in the county of Somerset, and for fear placed himself in the house of William Litegrom of Bristol, which is of the tenure of the Prior of St. John of Jerusalem in England. And he kept himself in that house until Richard de Berkham, the coroner, came there and caused to be summoned before him the five wards of that borough. And the said Robert owned that he had killed a man on Mynedep, and that he was a robber, and he abjured, &c. No chattels. And because the said coroner caused the said felon to abjure in the said place where was

¹ The House of the White Friars, where Colston Hall now is.

no sanctuary, and this was plainly against the crown of the King, therefore judgement passes upon the coroner (fined £1 os. od.) and the whole borough.

30. William Page fell from a boat into the Avon and was drowned. The first finder, &c., Misfortune. Deodand 6s. 8d., for which B. of B., &c.

31. Robert Berman killed Robert, the son of Mariota the water-carrier, and fled. He is believed to be guilty. Let him be summoned and outlawed. And because Roger the Taverner, the coroner, did not attach the next neighbours, therefore he is in mercy. Fined £2 os. od.

32. Lyo de Stamford, a Jew, Ryke his wife, and Covesleye his son, Abraham Levy, and Mossy, son of Leo le Mire, killed Juliana, daughter of William Roscelyn, in the town of Bristol. Lyo and Ryke fled, and are believed to be guilty. Let them be summoned and outlawed. Chattels 33s. 6d., for which Hereward le Boteler and Roger le Rus have to answer. Abraham and the others were taken and hung for that deed. Chattels 40s., for which as above. It was afterwards found by the coroner's jury that Agnes, wife of Reginald Wake, had appealed these men in the Bristol Court for the death of the said Juliana her sister, but had not prosecuted her suit beyond one court only. Therefore let her be arrested, and let her pledges for prosecution, to wit John, the son of Nicholas Iggelbert le Ireys, Master Ralph le Myre, and Richard le Ku, are in mercy.

33. The said Agnes had also appealed in the same court Robert de Stafford, cutler, for aiding and abetting the same murder. Robert did not appear, and is believed to be guilty; therefore let him be summoned and outlawed. No chattels. And because the said Agnes did not &c., (as before), therefore her pledges, Thomas de Lyuns and William Dunning, are in mercy. Afterwards Reginald le Rous, who with the heir of Adam le Botiller had to answer for these Jews' chattels, came and said that they were unjustly charged with them, as by the King's command they had, together with the sheriff, who was dead, arrested all the Jews in

Bristol, and seized their goods, and delivered them to John le Fauconner and William Braybrok appointed to receive such goods of the Jews, among them being the chattels of these murderers. The jurors say that this is so; therefore they are quit.

34. Robert de Ferleye, a robber, had abjured in the Church of St. Werburge. Chattels 6d., for which B. of B., &c.

35. Robert de Sebentone, a robber, had abjured in the Church of St. Augustine the Less. Chattels 6d., for which B. of B., &c.

36. Ralph Osmund fell from a boat into the Frome and was drowned. The first finder, &c. Misfortune. Deodand 1s. 4d., for which B. of B., &c.

37. John the son of Reginald the Woolbeater, a robber, had abjured in the Church of St. Mary Redeclyve. No chattels.

38. Peter Cof de Senyse, a companion of the great military order (*magne milicie*) of the Temple in England, killed Robert de la Pole. Peter fled. Let him be summoned and outlawed. Chattels 1 marc; the master of the Temple to answer for them.

39. Richard Bolre of Wynchelse killed David of Kermardyn. Richard fled. Let him be summoned and outlawed. No chattels. And because the B. of B. did not arrest him, and this happened by day, therefore B. of B. in mercy.

40. Matthew de Barton, a robber, had abjured in the Church of All Saints. No chattels.

41. Hugh le Ennyse, wishing to oil his mill, was crushed between the wheel and axle, so that he died at once. The first finder appears. The four neighbours are dead. No one is suspected. Misfortune. The value of the wheel and axle and the running mill 6s. 8d., for which B. of B., &c. And because the master of St. Marc of Bristol¹ took the

¹ St. Mark's Hospital in College Green.

said deodand without warrant, therefore he is in mercy. Fined £1.

42. John Stok fell from a boat into the Avon, and was drowned. The first finder, &c. Misfortune. Deodand, 2s. 7d. And because Walter de Warewyche had taken the said deodand without warrant, therefore he is in mercy.

43. William de Lacy, who was imprisoned in Bristol Castle in the time of Peter de la Mare, the constable, had escaped, and while fleeing to the Church of St. Philip and St. Jacob had been caught and beheaded. Therefore judgment passes on the said Peter for the escape. But Peter produced a Royal pardon. Therefore he is quit.

Membr. 36 d.—

44. Robert, the Mower of the Prior of St. James, Bristol, killed Robert de Leye in the town of Bristol, and straightway fled, and is believed to be guilty. Let him be summoned and outlawed. Chattels 1s. 6d., for which B. of B., &c. Robert belonged to the household of the Prior, who has him not now to stand the justice of the court. Therefore the Prior is in mercy. Afterwards evidence was given that the said Prior is dead. Therefore nothing here about him being in mercy.

45. The B. of B. is answerable for the chattels of Robert le Boltere, Roger le Ireys, and Sely le Berman, robbers, who have been hung. Chattels 4s.

46. William de Boys of Netlynton¹ was arrested for clipping money to the value of 5d., and was put in prison for that deed in the time of Peter de la Mare, constable of Bristol Castle, and afterwards before the said Peter and the bailiffs of Bristol denied the said felony, and for good or evil put himself upon the jurors of the said town. And the jurors said upon their oath that he was guilty. Wherefore it was considered by the said court that the said William should be drawn asunder (*detraheretur*). No chattels. And because the said constable and bailiffs proceeded to have

¹ Nettleton in North Wilts.

him hung, therefore judgment passes upon the said Peter and the whole borough. Afterwards Peter comes and produces a writ of our lord the King, dated June 5th, 1285, bidding the justices on circuit not to trouble Peter about this matter, as the King had pardoned him this his trespass.

47. Robert Selyman killed John le Hare of Scotland, and fled. He is believed guilty. Let him be summoned and outlawed. Chattels £4 os. od., for which B. of B., &c. And because the B. of B., &c., therefore it is in mercy.

48. Richard Wombestrong accused Robert Brid the elder, Randolf his son, and Thomas the Cornishman, of assault. They put themselves upon the jurors of Bristol, who upon their oath declare that these men are not guilty of any assault. Therefore they are quit. Richard is sent to prison for false appeal, but afterwards he is pardoned.

49. The same borough has to answer for the chattels, 10s., of John le Ford, a robber, who was hung; and the chattels, 3s. 6d., of John le Waters, a robber, who was hung.

50. Maurice de Ingelby placed himself in the Church of St. John de Bradeforde¹ in Bristol, and owned himself a robber, and abjured, &c. Chattels 6d. So did Humfry le Joglur in the Church of St. Peter. Chattels 6d. For both these B. of B., &c. So did David of Ireland in the Church of St. Mary. No chattels.

51. Walter Blakers killed Henry Leverych and fled. He is believed guilty. Let him be summoned and outlawed. The jurors declare that Edith Stoker, a harlot, held Henry while Walter killed him. She had abjured in the Church of St. James. No chattels.

52. Eva la Fornere wilfully threw herself into the water of Avene and was drowned. The first finder and the four neighbours came. No one suspected. Judgment, *Felo-de-se*. Chattels 6d., for which B. of B., &c. Afterwards it was testified by the jurors that one John le Grant had fled on

¹ There is nothing known about this Church, said to be in Bristol.

account of that death, and is believed guilty. Let him be summoned and outlawed. No chattels.

53. Saphyret, the wife of Mossy of Kent, appealed in the Court of Bristol Mabilia la Noyare for the death of her daughter Basse, and Saphyret now does not appear nor prosecute her appeal. Therefore let her be arrested, and her pledges to prosecute—viz., Hake le Evesque and Samuel, son of Samuel le Myre—are in mercy. And it is testified by the jurors that the said Mabilia had withdrawn herself because of the death of the said Basse, but she is not believed to be guilty of the murder. Therefore let her return if she will; but let her goods and chattels be confiscated, because of her flight. 7s. 4d., for which B. of B., &c.

54. Walter the baker of Gloucester, imprisoned on suspicion of robbery, escaped from prison, and owned and abjured in the Church of St. James. Judgment passes upon the B. of B. for this escape. Fined £5 os. od.

55. Simon Hok of Bristol killed Hugh Belchere and fled. He is believed guilty. Let him be summoned and outlawed. Chattels 1s., for which B. of B., &c.

56. Robert le Ware fell into a caldron of boiling water and died. The first finder, &c. Misfortune. Deodand 8s. 2d. for which B. and B., &c.

57. Adam de Howille of Crokerne's Pulle killed Philip Archer of Kerry, in Ireland, and fled. Let him be summoned and outlawed. No chattels.

58. John de Southwyk, a robber, abjured, &c., in the Church of St. John de Redeclyve. And because the B. of B. did not, &c., therefore it is in mercy.

Membr. 37—

59. William Flambord in the Church of St. Thomas owned himself a thief and abjured, &c. Chattels 6d., for which B. of B., &c. And because the coroner, Richard de Bergham, gave him the port of Lyme, therefore judgment passes upon Richard.

60. Richard Frankeleyn of Belmynton owned himself a robber, and abjured, &c., in the Church of the Brethren of

the Sack (*fratres sacci*)¹ in the town of Bristol. No chattels. So did Richard Gendlac in the Church of St. James. Chattels 6d., for which B. of B., &c. So did Philip le Noble in the Church of St. Martin.² No chattels. So did William the Carpenter in the Church of St. Augustine the Less. No chattels.

61. Geoffrey le Hore in the daytime killed Richard Cake, and fled. Let him be summoned and outlawed. No chattels. And because the B. of B. did not, &c.

62. Milo de Webley and Matilda de Donhurst were arrested at the suit of John South, the valet of Dame Margery Mayn, in possession of a bench that had been stolen, and other goods to the value 10 marcs; and at the suit of the said John they owned the robbery. Wherefore it was considered by the said Court (of Bristol) that the said Milo should be hung, and that the said Matilda should abjure the kingdom as being a woman. Their chattels 8s. 8d., for which B. of B., &c. And because this was done contrary to the laws and customs of the kingdom, therefore judgment passes upon the bailiffs and the whole borough.

63. Walter the Carpenter for robbery abjured, &c., in the Church of St. Augustine the Greater. No chattels. And because the B. of B. did not, &c., therefore it is in mercy.

¹ Tanner, *Notitia*, preface, page xiv., tells us that Friars of the Sac appeared in England in A.D. 1257. Their right style was Friars of the Penance of Jesus Christ. They were more commonly called Friars of the Sac from their habits being either shaped like a sack or made of that coarse material called sackcloth. They seem to have had their first house near Aldersgate, London. But their order was very short-lived here, being put down by the Council of Lyons A.D. 1307. At page v. he tells us that in the reign of Hen. III. there were founded six houses of Friars de Sacco. And elsewhere he says that altogether they had eight houses. Where the house was in Bristol there is no knowledge. Dugdale gives a short account of them vi. 1605-1608; he mentions houses as existing in England at London, Cambridge, Leicester, Lincoln, Lynn, Newcastle, Norwich, Oxford, and Worcester, but nothing is said about any house in Bristol.

² The chapel in the outer ward of the Castle was, like Battle Abbey, dedicated to St. Martin. Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, who founded the castle, had shriven the Normans the night before the battle of Senlac, and had fought in the battle.

64. The B. of B. has to answer for chattels, worth 6s. 8d., of William Pende of Godseth, a robber.

65. Ralph the Cook of London in the Church of St. Mary owned to robbery, and abjured, &c. So did William Hale of Dodyngton, and Isabella his wife, in the Church of the Friars Preachers; and Richard of Malmesbury in the Church of St. Philip and Jacob. Their chattels 3s. 11d., for which B. of B., &c.

66. Richard the Hayward of Norton Malreward was arrested with a stolen piece of blue cloth, at the suit of Ralph Bammeswet, and was brought before the court of Thomas de Berkeley at Radecluye; and being charged by the said bailiff with robbery of the said cloth, both denied the fact, and called to warranty Margaret, the wife of Ralph atte Slype, who was present in the court, and entirely denied having sold and delivered the said cloth. Wherefore the suitors of the said court, for defect of his warranty, proceeded to have him hung without any inquisition. And because the suitors of the said court delivered their judgment against the law and custom of the kingdom, therefore judgment passes upon the suitors of the said court. Afterwards the said suitors paid a fine of £2 os. od. for false judgment by the pledges of Robert de la Stone and Nicholas of Aperle.

67. Adam Best fell from a boat into the Avon and was drowned. The first finder, &c. No one suspected. Misfortune. Deodand 2s. 3d. B. of B.

68. Margaret, the wife of Rykon of Yate, was arrested in the town of Bristol with a stolen ox at the suit of Thomas Gurney, and was brought into the full court, and there called one Walter de Smetheleye her husband to warranty about the said ox. And the said bailiffs would not wait for her warranty, but had her hung. Therefore judgment passes upon the said bailiffs and the whole court. No chattels.

69. William the Parchment-maker was crushed between the wheel and shaft of a water-mill at Tremleye. First

finder, &c. No suspicion. Misfortune. Deodand 4s., for which B. of B., &c.

70. A stranger was found slain upon St. Michael's Hill. No one knows who killed him. The first finder comes and is not suspected, therefore he is quit. No Englishry. Judgment, murder upon the borough of Bristol. Thereupon came the burgesses of Bristol and produced a charter of the present King,¹ which testifies that they are quit of murder. Therefore nothing here of that.

71. The B. of B. has to answer for the chattels, worth 6d., of John Roddyng, who was hung.

72. Richard Fox of Sydemure killed William of Ameneye and fled. He is believed guilty. Let him be summoned and outlawed. No chattels. And because the B. of B. did not, &c.

73. Robert Gurnard, barber, in the Church of St. Thomas owned to robbery, and abjured, &c. Chattels 1s. 6d., for which B. of B., &c.

74. William Barbe killed Luke Wall in the town of Bristol; and the said William forthwith placed himself in the Church of St. Mary de la Redeclyve, acknowledged the crime and abjured the kingdom before the coroner. No chattels. And because Gilbert le Especar, the coroner, allowed him the port of Portesmue, therefore judgment passes upon him; and because Redeclyve Street did not arrest the said William, and the crime was committed by daylight, therefore it is in mercy.

Membr. 37 d.—

75. Robert of Bristilton was found slain in his house in Bristol, in the fourteenth year of the present King; and it is testified by the jurors that Alice de Blakeford, wife of the said Robert, and Joan de Bannebyre killed the said Robert, and immediately after the deed fled away. The said Alice was afterwards caught and brought back. She now comes, and being asked how she would acquit herself of the said

¹ Previous charters of Hen. III. and John had contained the same franchise.

death, says that for good or evil she puts herself on the twelve jurors of the Borough of Bristol. And the jurors say upon their oath that she is guilty of the said death. Therefore it was considered that she should be burnt. Her chattels are worth 13s. 8d., of which the same borough will answer for 4s. 8d. and Master Nicholas de Salford for 9s. And the said Joan de Banneyre immediately fled and is believed guilty. Let her be summoned and wayved. No chattels. And it was testified by the jurors that Adam Colle, Margery Baker, and Felicia de Lacy were, on another occasion, impleaded for the said death. Now they come, and being asked how they would acquit themselves of that death, they say that elsewhere before Richard de Ripariis and his fellow-justices for gaol delivery they had been acquitted and let go. And since, on searching the rolls of R. de R., &c., this was found to be so, they were quit of the charge. And because the said Master Nicholas of Salford took the said chattels without warrant, therefore he is in mercy.

76. Elena, who was the wife of Adam Togod, appealed in the Bristol Court Richard de Bercham for the death of the said Adam her husband. She now comes and withdraws her appeal. Therefore let her be committed to gaol, and her pledges for prosecution—viz., David the Carpenter and William de la Marine—are in mercy. But for the keeping of the peace of our lord the King, let the truth of the matter be enquired of through the jurors of the B. of B., who say upon their oath that Richard is not guilty. Therefore he is quit.

77. Peter le Grey and John le Melemuth were arrested by the bailiffs of the B. of B. on suspicion of the theft of three measures of salt, worth 2s., which they had stolen. Being brought into court before the said bailiffs, and being asked how they would acquit themselves of the said robbery, they said that they had come into possession of the said salt well and faithfully, and they called to warranty about it one Richard Tykys, who was present in court, and declared that

he had nothing to do with the said salt, and denied handing over and delivering the said salt, and said that he never knew anything about the said salt; and this he offered to defend against them by his body as the court might consider. And the said Peter and John offered to prove their truth against him by their bodies. Wherefore it was considered by the same men, and by the counsel of the same court pledges of battle were given between them; and battle was waged so that the said Richard conquered the said Peter, wherefore the said Peter was hung. No chattels. And the said Richard and the said John fought in their turn the next day, and Richard proved recreant and was hung. His chattels were worth 6d., for which B. of B., &c. And the said John was taken back to prison until he should find pledges for his faithfulness. This he refused to do, but owned the said robbery, and was therefore hung. No chattels. And because the said court considered that the said Richard, who had been called to warranty by the said John and Peter, ought to defend himself by his body, which is contrary to the law and counsel of the kingdom, therefore judgment passes upon the said court and bailiffs.

78. Robert the Carpenter was crushed by a log of wood, so that he died at once. The first finder, &c. Misfortune. And one Silvester the Carpenter was attached because being present he did not come, and he is not suspected. And he was attached by John, the cook of the Abbot of St. Augustine, and Jordan¹ of the malthouse; therefore they are in mercy.

79. Margaret the Fatte fell into a caldron of wort, and was so scalded that she died. The first finder, &c. No one suspected. Misfortune. Deodand 5s. 4d., for which B. of B., &c.

80. John, the son of Richard Eversone, in the Church of St. Leonard owned a robbery, and abjured, &c. Chattels 4s., for which B. of B., &c.

¹ The name of Jordan in connection with the Abbey is noteworthy on account of the existence of St. Jordan's Chapel in College Green, the tradition being that he was a companion of St. Augustine.

81. John of Bruges appealed Henry de Fynet, a seller of woad, for that he, on St. Gregory's day, in the fifteenth year of the present King,¹ had after curfew come to the house of the said John wickedly and feloniously, and had burgled it, and had abducted Clarice the wife of the said John, and took away his goods to the value of 40s. And that the said John² did this wickedly and feloniously he offers, &c. And the said John³ comes and defends all the felony, and demands judgment on his appeal, because the said John does not in his appeal say anything about the circumstances of the place, nor of what kind were the chattels taken away. And this being allowed him, it was considered that as to that appeal he may go free, and that the said John should be committed to gaol. However, for the keeping of the King's peace, let the truth of the matter be enquired of through the jurors of the B. of B. And the said jurors say upon their oath that the said Henry is not guilty; therefore he is quit concerning it. And the said Henry de Fynet claims, since he is acquitted by his country, that his damages should be taxed according to the form of the last issued statute of their present lord the King at Westminster, and that the said John should be kept in custody till he makes satisfaction, &c.

82. Concerning serjeanties, they say that Richard the Taylur holds a serjeanty called La Maryne in the town of Bristol, by the will of the present King, and that the serjeanty is worth £4 os. od. a year.

83. Concerning encroachments, they also say that Edward le Fraunceis⁴ has narrowed the King's highway near the Tower Arras⁵ by a certain dyke, newly raised, 46 feet long and 6 feet wide; and Geoffrey de Lung has narrowed a certain common pathway which is called Pile Lane⁶ by two dykes; and brother Stephen,⁷ the Master of the Hospital of St. John,⁸ has

¹ March 12, 1287.

² A mistake for Henry.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Fined 6/8.

⁵ At the end of the city wall on Temple Back.

⁶ Pile Street.

⁷ Fined £1.

⁸ In Redcliff Pit.

made a certain encroachment by newly erecting a certain gate where there ought to be a common passage; and John de Portesheved¹ has made an encroachment by a wall raised on Avene Marsh six perches in length and six perches in breadth; and William, the Vicar of St. Augustine the Less,² has made an encroachment on the King's highway by a certain wall raised 20 feet in length and 14 feet in breadth; and Simon the Clarke, who is dead, has made an encroachment on the water of Avene by a plantation of trees 200 feet in length and 10 feet in breadth; and Richard Bell³ has made an encroachment on the king's highway by a certain house raised up 10 feet in length and 5 feet in breadth, to the injury of the whole borough. Therefore the Sheriff is ordered to cause to be thrown down and amended, at the cost of the raisers, anything which by the jurors at their view should be found to be injurious, and Edward and the others are in mercy. Afterwards comes the said William the Vicar, and seeks that his wall may stand, as it is not injurious, and the jurors testify so. Therefore it is granted by the justices that the said wall may stand, and it is rented at sixpence to the ferm of the B. of B., &c.

Membr. 38—

84. Concerning cloth sold against the assize, they say that Thomas de Weston, Ralph Wyneman, William de Glastyngbyre, Richard le Draper,³ Henry de Berewyke, Henry de Sytheston,³ Gilbert le Plumer, John Bryselance, Ralph le Prude, William de Hampton, John le Clyvare, John le Ley, Hugh de Uphill, John de Seynde, William Tyard, William de Powell, John de Kerdif,³ John le Clerk, Jordan le Lung, John Tropyne, Thomas le Wolbetere, Adam de Brinton, Robert le Bret, Roger le Taverner, Walter Pype, and William de Farleye have sold cloth against the assize. Therefore they are in mercy. They are fined various sums from 5s. to 2 marcs.

¹ Fined 6 s.

² Fined 13/4.

³ Fined 6/8.

The names of these men have the pen run through them in the roll of fines, and no fine is assessed on them.

85. Concerning wines sold against the assize, &c., they say that

John Koke has sold	40	casks of wine.	Fined	2	marcs.
Peter Otry	50	"	"	40s.	
Robert le Taverner	10	"	"	$\frac{1}{2}$	marc.
John le Clerke	20	"	"	1	marc.
Henry de Berewyke	6	"	"	$\frac{1}{2}$	marc.
Richard le Draper	20	"	"	$\frac{1}{2}$	marc.
Richard le Roper	25	"	"	20s.	
Everard le Fraunceis	15	"	"	$\frac{1}{2}$	marc.
William de Eston	9	"	"	10s.	
Hugh le Hunte	6	"	"	5s.	
Richard Osmund	23	"	"	1	marc.
Henry de Sytheston	33	"	"		
John le Cheddre	6	"	"	5s.	
John Martyn	9	"	"	5s.	
John Tovey	10	"	"	10s.	
John Brun	22	"	"	1	marc.
Matthew le Pakkere	46	"	"	2	marcs.
Geoffrey Godeshalve	45	"	"	1	marc.
William de Bruges	25	"	"	1	marc.
Richard de Calne	6	"	"	5s.	
Peter le Fraunceis	33	"	"	40s.	
William Dale	3	"	"		
Robert de Kilmaynam	15	"	"	$\frac{1}{2}$	marc.
Ralph Dunnyng	11	"	"	$\frac{1}{2}$	marc.
Nicholas Gange	13	"	"	$\frac{1}{2}$	marc.
Ralph Wyneman	18	"	"	1	marc.
Simon Adrian	62	"	"	40s.	
Walter Beauflur	7	"	"	10s.	
Roger de Leycestre	12	"	"		
Stephen Turtle	5	"	"	40d.	
Richard le Fraunceis	21	"	"	1	marc.
William le Welric	3	"	"		
John le Forester	11	"	"		

Therefore they are in mercy.¹

¹ The names of those against whom no fines are written have the pen run through their names on the roll of fines.

86. Concerning new customs levied, they say that John Champayne, gatekeeper of Bristol Castle, takes by extortion undue tolls; viz., from every foreign cart going out of Lafforde's Gate $1d.$, and from every home cart $\frac{1}{2}d.$, where there used not to be taken any money. And the said John cannot deny this. Therefore he is in mercy; and it is forbidden him, under the forfeiture of $40s.$, hereafter to make any such extortions. (No fine assessed.)

87. Concerning withdrawals of service, they say that Geoffrey, Bishop of Worcester, owes suit to the King's Hundred of Bristol; that he has not appeared, and is now six years in arrear, they know not by what warranty. The Bishop says by his attorney that his bailiff of Henbury does suit for him. The jury say that the Bishop is bound to appear personally. They tax the six years in arrear at $6s.$ The Sheriff is ordered to distrain the Bishop to appear in future, and the bailiffs of B. of B. are to answer for the $6s.$ of arrears; and the Bishop is in mercy for unjust withholding of service.¹

88. John de Aston has withheld service in the hundred for seven years; so has John Giffard for six years, and also Fulco Fitzwarin for six years. The Abbot of Kyngeswode has withheld service due in the market of Bristol for twenty-two years, and the Prior of Farley has withheld service in the hundred for fifteen years. They are all in mercy, and fined at the rate of $1s.$ a year. The Sheriff is ordered to distrain to compel service in future, and the B. of B. to answer for the arrears.

89. Also they say that John of Leygrave holds a tenement of the King for $4\frac{3}{4}d.$, but has not for some years made the proper payment, only $2\frac{3}{4}d.$, they know not by what warrant. The Sheriff is ordered to make him appear. John appears, and produces his warrant. So he is quit.

¹ In the roll of fines, the Bishop's name is entered, but no fine is assessed, a marginal note of "Baro" explaining the reason. He was a Peer of the realm. There is the same note against the names of J. Giffard and F. Fitzwarin.

GAOL DELIVERY OF THE TOWN OF BRISTOL.

90. Peter le Sley arrested for the death of Geoffrey, the son of William le Hore, and Joan Beumund arrested for stealing 40s. from the purse of Nicholas le Kuttede, come and defend, &c., and for good or evil place themselves on the jurors of the B. of B., who say upon their oaths that they are guilty. Therefore let them be hung. The chattels of the said Peter are worth 1s. 4d., for which the township of Stapleton is answerable. Joan had no chattels.

91. Walter Mydewinter, Henry the son of John de Bath, John le Coverturwrythe, Roger Mansel, Cristina the wife of Richard le Cornwaleis, Mabel the servant of Henry de Sitheston, Emma de Wytehulle, Juliana de la Foreste, Alice Cosyn, Nicholas Truant, Elena his wife, Philip de Wynton, Emma his wife, Leuina de Baa, John Cobbler, John de London, Matilda le Holte, Sarra de Portesheved, John the son of Martin le Pescur, and Richard Maryot, were arrested on suspicion of robbery and other misdeeds. They come and defend all, &c., and for good or evil place themselves on the jurors of the B. of B., who say on their oath that they are not guilty. Therefore they are quit of this.

92. These remain coroners in the B. of B., namely, Simon Adrian, John le Clerke, and John de Dene; and the others, who formerly were coroners, were removed.

Dors.

93. Reginald de Horsefeld, chaplain, and William le Clerke, dwelling in the Priory of St. James, were arrested for the murder of the master of the Hospital of St. Bartholomew. They pleaded their clergy, and the Dean of Christianity in Bristol claimed them on behalf of the Bishop of Worcester as Clerks. The truth of the matter being enquired into, the jury of the B. of B. declared that they were guilty. They were handed over to the Bishop of Worcester. Their chattels were worth 3s. 10d.

DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE CISTERCIAN
MONASTERY OF ST. MARY, KINGSWOOD,
IN THE POSSESSION OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE SOCIETY.

TRANSCRIBED AND PREPARED FOR THE PRESS

BY MR. V. R. PERKINS, of Wotton-under-Edge.

THE documents which follow were translated by Mr. J. H. Jeayes, of the Manuscript Department of the British Museum, from originals now in the possession of Mr. F. F. Fox of Yate House. The history of these original documents is given in a letter written to Mr. V. R. Perkins of Wotton-under-Edge, by Sir Henry Barkly, at a time when the manuscripts were for sale at Sotheby's in 1895: "They were once the property of Mr. Cholmondeley of Conover as the representative of John Smyth, and a list of them is to be found in the fifth volume of the Historical Manuscripts Commission. At Mr. Cholmondeley's death they were sent up for sale; but a few of the most ancient and interesting had been abstracted, and Quaritch had only the forty-eight now in the book. Quaritch asked £40 for them. When sold at Sotheby's in 1895 they fetched £45." They passed into the possession of Mr. F. J. Mockler of Wotton-under-Edge. Three years later they were again offered for sale, when Mr. Perkins made a bid for them, and subsequently purchased them for our worthy president, Mr. Fox.

They are of very great interest, as illustrating the history of one of the less known of the large religious houses of the Shire, for Dugdale gives but few original documents in his account of Kingswood Abbey. We find in the grants the whole method of the relations of a wealthy abbey with its neighbours set before us. No gift was too great for a

monastery to receive, and nothing was too small. Many gifts of land and rents there are; but St. Mary of Kingswood did not disdain to receive and record an annual gift of a cartload of hay, or a few pence, as willingly and as carefully as the larger gifts. To an embarrassed family, the monks would grant a loan on the security of an estate for a term of years, or they would buy it outright. To those who desired a provision for their declining years, the monks would grant a corrody or annuity for life in return for a gift of land. We find the convent making a road at Ozleworth, and obtaining power to make a better course for its conduit in the park of Hawe.

We find little mention of strife and contention, and it is clear that in the 13th century, to which period most of the documents belong, the monastery grew and prospered with the goodwill of its neighbours; and as it was constantly helped by them, no doubt it was a source of help in return. The rolls of accounts are specially interesting, for they give the price of almost every article of stock and plant on the farms, and they state also the amount of stock on each farm. Moreover, they throw a good deal of light on the life of the convent.

The Cistercian monasteries were closely affiliated to each other; Kingswood Abbey had been colonised from Tintern, and Waverley Abbey was the oldest Cistercian House in England, so we find the Abbot frequently travelling to Tintern, and sometimes to Waverley. Cistercians were great sheepmasters, so we not only find frequent mention of sale of wool of different kinds, but payment is made for rams bought in Lindsey, showing not only that Lincolnshire was even then famous for its sheep, but that due care was taken in the selection of breeding stock; moreover, it is especially stipulated in one case that if it should be necessary to distrain on the property of the Abbey, the sheep should be exempt from distraint. The Cistercians were exempt from paying tithe, but a question arose as to the period at which the exemption began to run, and more than one of the

documents is devoted to assertions of the right of the case. There is a payment for a palfrey for the Abbot, and also for the Ambler who taught the colts, that so the Abbot's palfrey should be easy and correct in its paces. We find that at any rate at Culkerton in 1243 the common fields were cultivated on the two-course system, and that in 1262 gold of the weight of five shillings was valued at the sum of thirty-five shillings and sixpence, giving a ratio of about seven to one.

Anyone who carefully studies these documents will find that he has learned a good deal, not only about the life and work on the estate of an abbey, but also about country life in Gloucestershire in the 13th and 14th centuries.

The Society is indebted to its President, Mr. F. F. Fox, for permission to publish the documents, and to Mr. V. R. Perkins of Wotton-under-Edge for his care and labour in transcribing them and seeing them through the press.

No. I.

To all to whom the present writing shall come Isabele de Longocampo daughter of Henry de Mineris greeting in the Lord. Know ye that I have given and granted and by this my present charter have confirmed to God and the Church of St. Oswald of Gloucester and the canons there serving God all my land in Culcreton which falls to me by hereditary right for the salvation of my soul and the souls of all my ancestors in pure and perpetual alms with all its appurtenances and liberties and customs namely that virgate of land and eight acres which belong to the capital court with all its appurtenances, and the aforesaid capital court, and that virgate of land which William Prepositus (the steward) held with its appurtenances, and that virgate of land which Walter son of Henry held with its appurtenances, and that half virgate which Richard Balle held with its appurtenances, and the messuage which Richard Mei held with its appurtenances. Wherefore I will that the aforesaid canons may have and hold the aforesaid land with all its appurtenances from me and my heirs freely, and quietly, and honorably for

ever free from all services and secular demands which may exist or may possibly arise except the royal service pertaining to such land. Moreover I the aforesaid Isabelle de Longocampo and my heirs will warrant the aforesaid land to the aforesaid canons against all men and women. And that this my donation and grant may remain ratified and firm in the time to come I have fortified the present writing by the appending of my seal.

Witnesses Ralph Musard, Henry de Estoria, Peter de Eggeswere, Ralph de Tiene, Clement de Musardere, Geoffrey de Langel', William de Rudmartun, and many others.

No. II.

To all the faithful in Christ to whom the present writing shall come William by the grace of God Prior of St. Oswald Gloucester and the convent of the same place greeting in the Lord. Let your university (*i.e.* whole body) know that we by our common counsel and will and with the assent and will of the venerable father the Lord Walter, Archbishop of York, Primate of England¹ have sold for £100 sterling and have quit-claimed for ever, all the lands and possessions with all appurtenances which we have held in Culkerton, to the monks of St. Mary of Kingeswood. To have and to hold to the said monks for ever freely quietly wholly and peaceably by performing to the capital Lords the royal services which we were accustomed and bound to perform for all services. In testimony of which, both the Lord Archbishops and we ourselves have appended our seals to this writing.

Witnesses William de Putot, sheriff of Gloucester,² Peter de Eggewurth, Bartholomew La Banc, William de Rudmarton, Nicholas de Culkerton, Adam de Cherleton, Roger Baret, and many others.

Made on the 14th of the Kallends of April (19th March) in the year of the incarnation of our Lord 1230—(1231).

¹ Walter de Gray, Bishop of Worcester Oct. 5, 1214, translated to York 1215, died May 1, 1255.

² Held the office, 1222—1228. Rudder, 51.

No. III.

Let all present and future know that I Adam de Cherletune¹ for my soul and for the soul of my father and for the souls of all my ancestors and successors have given and granted to God and the Church of the Blessed Mary of Kingswood and the monks there serving God in pure and perpetual and free alms one virgate of land in the vill of Cherletune, namely, that half virgate of land which Richard de Ductune² held from me, and that messuage and that half virgate of land which William Cuif held from me, these two half virgates of land thus lying scattered over the fields. In the north field lie two half acres to the east of the aforesaid messuage which I gave to the same monks, one acre in Garstona,³ half an acre in the north part of the smith's garston, half an acre at Curtenecrundle, half an acre at Gretethorn, half an acre beyond Meddene which leads towards the field of Beuerstone, half an acre at Seppestall, and half an acre at Hareburne, half an acre at Hadenhulle, two half acres at Cleihulle, one extends towards the west the other towards the north, half an acre at Wenscerd, a fourth part of an acre beyond Olledene, in Froggaputtessfurlang half an acre, half an acre in Westlangfurlang, half an acre at Brodesierd, half an acre in Buledene, a fourth part of an acre on Olledune, half an acre in Hareburn, half an acre in the garston of Everard on the north side, half an acre in Ochoure, half an acre in Ochoure on the north side, half an acre which stretches towards the land of Osbert in Ochoure, half an acre in Gretethorne, half an acre which stretches to Beversalevelde, half an acre beyond Meddene, half an acre from Hevedlond on the north side, half an acre on Stenethulle, half an acre on Curtenecrundle, half an acre in Hareburna, half an acre at Westlandesforlanggesend, three parts of acre in Dichforlang, three parts of an acre towards Buledene, in the south field half an acre, in . . . (half) an acre

¹ Charlton in Tetbury. ² Doughton in Tetbury

³ Old English Gærstun: a grass-enclosure, meadow.

in Breri garston, half an acre at Rixwell, half an acre in Hiwoldesdene beyond the way which goes towards Bristol, half an acre at Blakingroue, half an acre at Langfurlang, half an acre at Langfurlang which rises on to the carriage way, half an acre in Puseforlang, four half acres in Dichforlang, the fourth part of an acre in Olledene, half an acre in Bradstonesforlang, the fourth part of an acre on the west side of Abbewei, half an acre in Beidunesslade, half an acre on the eastern side of Brodesierd, half an acre in Olledune, the fourth part of an acre stretching towards Ruccadene, the meadow which William Cuif held and which lies at the head of Prusteland, one acre in Brerigarstone which is rather to the east, one acre in Riforlang which is rather to the west, half an acre in Wuung,¹ half an acre near the . . . of Ductun and then turns itself towards Prusteland, half an acre in Langforlang, half an acre near the road at Heilmundestre, half a capital acre at Langforlang, half an acre which goes on to the meadow of John de Tetebire, the more southern acre in Riseforlang, two acres on the east of Br(od)esierd.

This aforesaid message and this aforesaid virgate of land I have given to the aforesaid monks in pure alms. To hold and to have from me and my heirs with all appurtenances free and quit of all service and all secular demands in meadows and pastures in roads and paths and all liberties and free customs as free and pure alms. And I and my heirs will warrant to the said monks the land with the message and all appurtenances against all men. Witnesses William Camerarius (Chamberlain), Geoffrey de Chauisi, Roger de Almundestre, William Scai, Adam his son, Robert de Ductun, Henry de Culkretun, John de Tetebir', William Buteuilain, Adam Barete, Alured Barete, Nicholas de Kingeswode, and many others.

No. IV.

Let present and future know that I Henry de Ribbeford for the love of God and the salvation of my soul and of the

¹ The Old English Wong or Wang means "a field."

soul of Tristram my brother have granted and given to God and the Church of St. Mary of Kingeswode and to the Monks there serving God in pure and perpetual and free alms, a virgate of land in Cherletune, and two messuages which Mabilia and Thurid sometime held, and six acres of meadow which turn on to Niddrewelleslade, and pasture for two hundred sheep, and other two messuages which Richard Kibbel¹ and Ragenilda sometime held, with the appurtenances of all the aforesaid. Which virgate of land with the aforesaid four messuages and six acres of meadow and pasture of 200 sheep and all other appurtenances Adam de Cherletune had given to the aforesaid Tristram my brother and his heirs for his homage and service from which Tristram, by hereditary right the same virgate with all the aforesaid appurtenances descended to me and of which virgate of land with its appurtenances the said Adam de Cherletune my lord, after the death of the said Tristram my brother, received my relief and homage and made seisin. To hold and to have the said virgate of land with the aforesaid messuages and meadows and pasture and all other appurtenances to the aforesaid monks of Kingeswode for ever wholly, peaceably, and freely, and honorably, as pure and perpetual and free alms quit of all services and customs and demands to me or my heirs belonging, saving one penny annually at the feast of St. Michael to the said Adam de Cherletune and to his heirs in his court of Cherletun to be paid, and saving royal service, as much as belongs to one virgate of land in the same vill as the said Tristram my brother and I were bound and accustomed to perform. And because I wish that this my alms may be firm and perpetual I have fortified this charter with the imposition of my seal. Witnesses Bartholomew (Le) Banc, Oliver de Berkeley, William de Rodmerton, Laurence de Lascelos, Adam de Cherletun, Nicholas son of Henry de Culcretun, Walter de Uptune, Roger de (Ductune), Philip de Tettebur', Geoffrey

¹It is interesting to find this name so near to Fairford in the thirteenth century.

Custance, Roger Barette, Walter Bernard, William son of Elias, and many others.

No. V.

Let all present and future know that I Roger son and heir of Adam de Cherletune for the love of God and the salvation of my soul have granted and by the present charter have confirmed to God and the Church of St. Mary of Kingeswode and the monks there serving God in pure and perpetual and free alms all the grants in lands and meadows and messuages with all appurtenances and liberties and free customs which the said Adam de Cherletune my father, and Henry de Ribbesford, gave to the said monks in Cherletune.

To hold and to have to the same monks with all appurtenances for ever freely peaceably, wholly, honourably, and quit from all services, customs, and demands, accidents, and issues, whatsoever may arise as the charters of the donors witness because I and my heirs are bound to acquit the said monks of all the aforesaid things, and to warrant the said lands with all appurtenances to the same monks against all mortals, saving an annual rent of one penny to be paid on the feast of St. Michael to me and my heirs from that land which the same monks have of the grant of Henry de Ribbesford, and saving the payment of the royal service from the same land, as much as pertains to one virgate of land in Cherletun. And that this my confirmation and grant may remain firm and stable for ever I have appended my seal to this writing in the year of our Lord's incarnation one thousand two hundred and thirty two, on the purification of the Blessed Virgin. Witnesses Bartholomew La Banc, Oliver de Berkeley, Geoffrey de Chausi, William de Rodmartun, Laurence de Lasceles, Nicholas son of Henry de Culcretun, Walter de Uptune, Roger de Ductun, Philip de Tettebur', William son of Elias, Geoffrey de Custance, Roger Barette, Walter Bernard and many others.

No. VI.

Otto by divine mercy Cardinal Deacon of St. Nicholas in Carcere Tulliano legate of the Apostolic See, to all who shall inspect these present letters, greeting in the Lord. Know ye that we have inspected the letters of our Lord Pope Honorius¹ of blessed memory, under this form, Honorius, Bishop, Servant of the servants of God, to our venerable brethren Stephen Archbishop of Canterbury, Cardinal of the Holy Church of Rome, and to the Archbishop of York and their suffragans, and to our other beloved sons the prelates of Churches throughout the provinces of Canterbury and York, appointed, greeting and apostolic benediction.

Whereas the Abbots of the Cistercian Order at the time of the General Council² on the advice of I(nnocent III.) Pope, our predecessor of happy memory, determined that for the future, the brethren of that order (so that they should not be further molested in respect of their privileges of the Church) should pay tithes of *other people's lands*,³ and lands which might be from time to time acquired, if they cultivated them by their own hands or at their own expense, to the churches to which they were before accustomed to be paid before that time as taxation unless they should think that composition should be made with those churches. Our same predecessor (because he was hopeful that the prelates would be more eager and efficient in exhibiting to those of their own evil-doers the compliment of justice and would observe their privileges more diligently and perfectly) having gratified and ratified the said statutes⁴ has willed and ordered that the same should be extended to other regular orders who enjoy like privileges. But (and we relate it in grief) the thing has turned out contrary, for as we have frequently heard from pressing complaints of the Abbots of that order, some of the church prelates and others their clerks rashly

¹ Honorius III., 1216—1227. ² Lateran, November, 1215.

³ Terra aliæna.

⁴ Statutum hujus modi gratum habens et ratum.

despising the privileges and striving mischievously to pervert their understanding, disquiet the same in many ways. For whereas indulgence was granted to them, that from the new lands which they cultivate with their own hands, or at their own expense, or from the gardens, and shrubberies, and from their fisheries, or from food for their beasts, no one of them should presume to exact or extort tithes, certain men pretending a perverted intellect saying that these things cannot and ought not to be understood except from those (possessions) which were acquired before the General Council, weary the same with manifold exactions. We therefore wishing in our paternal solicitude to provide for the repose of the same, firmly enjoying your university (*i.e.* whole body) by apostolic writings, command that you altogether preserve unharmed the Abbots and brethren of the same order from levy of tithes, equally from possessions held before the General Council, as from new lands acquired either before or after the Council, which they cultivate with their own hands or at their own expense as well as from gardens shrubberies meadows pastures woods groves mills salt-pits and fisheries and from food for their beasts restraining objectors by ecclesiastical censure, putting by appeals. Dat—The Lateran VII. Kal July (25 June, 1222) in the 6th year of our Pontificate. In witness whereof to this transcript we have caused to be diligently inspected with the original on the prayer of the Abbot and convent of Kyngeſwood of the Cistercian Order we have appended our seal.

Dat Waltham Non. Julii (7 July) in the year of the Pontificate of our Lord Gregory IX. Pope¹ the . . .

No. VII.

Let present and future know that the following agreement was made in the year of our Lord's Incarnation One thousand two hundred and thirty-nine on the feast of St. Philip and St. James between the monks of Kingeswode on the one part, and William Maunsel on the other, namely that the said

¹ Gregory IX., 1227—1241.

William Maunsel has granted and leased to the said monks of Kingeswode on the said year and day, all his lands in Culcretun with villeins and their followings in demesne and villenage and possession,¹ and rents and all easements and appurtenances to the aforesaid lands belonging, without any retention at his need or the need of his heirs. To hold and to have the said lands freely and quietly well and in peace for a term of twenty years ensuing for fifty marks of silver which the said monks have paid to the said William Maunsel into his hands for his great and most urgent business. But the said monks will acquit the Royal service from the said lands during the said term to the Chief Lord as William Maunsel was accustomed to do, and will pay to the said William Maunsel and his heirs annually one penny at Kingeswode at the feast of St. Michael for all services suits and complaints and secular demands when forsooth the said William Maunsel or his heirs shall send their letters patent besides the said penny to Kingeswode. But when the twenty years are passed, all the said lands with appurtenances shall revert to the said William Maunsel or to his heirs freely and quit from all contradiction of the said monks, saving the crop of the following autumn, which the monks shall keep, and gather, and have, without any claim dispute hindrance and contradiction of William Maunsel or his heirs. Moreover the said William Maunsel and his heirs shall warrant all the said lands with the appurtenances and all the said agreement to the said monks during the said term against all mortals. And if the said William Maunsel or his heirs in anything come against the said agreement so that the said monks for deficit of warranty within the said term suffer loss in any way that loss shall be made good to them by view of honorable men provided on both sides whether in lands or in chattels before that William Maunsel or his heirs receive the said lands. But if William Maunsel shall die within the said term his heirs shall firmly and faithfully keep all the said covenant to the end of the term and if they are not

¹ Tenementum

able to keep it they shall make an exchange with the said monks in the land of La Lippiette to the value of four marks for every year of the back term by view of honorable men provided on both sides. The said monks, moreover, have received the said lands altogether bare and unploughed nor in any way worked by the said William or his heirs, and so shall restore them when the term expires. And they pledge that this covenant shall be kept without trick or mischief, etc.

In witness of which thing the seal of William Maunsel has been appended on the one part, and that of the Abbot and monks on the other. Witnesses Oliver de Berkeley, Robert de Rocheford, Robert Dean of Kenepel,¹ William de Mineriis, Bartholomew La Banc, Roger de Ductun, Walter de Upton, Philip de Teteburi, Colin de Culcretun, Geoffrey Custance, Nigel de Osleworth, and many others.

No. VIII.

Let present and future know that the following covenant was made between Thomas the Abbot and the Convent of Kingeswode on the one part and Adam son of Henry de Chirintun² on the other, namely that the said Abbot and convent of Kingeswode by common counsel and consent have granted to the aforesaid Adam son of Henry de Chirintun and his heirs for ever all the land with all the appurtenances that the aforesaid Henry father of the aforesaid Adam held from the aforesaid Abbot and convent in the Vill of Chirintun, and in addition that croft which was Walter de Bertun's, and all the land which lies below the Mill of Smallcumbe. To hold and to have to the aforesaid Adam and his heirs for ever from the said abbot and convent and their successors freely and quietly paying for it each year to the same Abbot and convent and their successors eight shilling at the four terms, viz. at Christmas day two shillings, at Easter two shillings, at the nativity of St. John Baptist two shillings, at the feast of St. Michael

¹ Kempley. He was probably Rural Dean of the Forest Deanery.

² Cherington.

two shillings, for all services. But that this covenant may remain firm and stable, the seal of the Abbot and convent has been placed on the portion (of the indenture) of Adam, and the seal of Adam has been placed on the portion of the Abbot and convent. Witnesses William de Rodmortune, Robert Passelewe, Ralph Hereward, Laurence de Lasceles, William de Westrop, Hugh son of Nigel, Henry parson of Rodmarton, Henry de Culcretun, Roger Barette, Geoffrey son of Constance and many others.

No. IX.

Let present and future know that I Henry de Culcretuna for my soul and for the souls of all my ancestors and successors have granted and by the present charter have confirmed to God and the Church of the Blessed Mary of Kingeswode and the monks there serving God all the grant of William Butevillain, namely sixteen acres of land in the Vill of Culcretun of my fee, to wit nine acres in one field and seven acres which the same William Butevilain gave to the aforesaid monks with their appurtenances in pure and perpetual and free alms . . . quit of all service and secular demand. And neither will I nor any of my heirs vex the said monks concerning the said acres and liberties in any way. And if the aforesaid William Butevilain or his heirs shall vex in any way the said monks concerning the said lands and liberties I and my heirs within our power will distrain them from doing any molestation or vexation to the said monks. And that this my confirmation may be made known (manifest) to all present and future, I have fortified this charter with the impression of my seal. Witnesses William Camberlanus, William de Rodmertun, William parson of Tetbury, Adam de Cherletun, Robert de Ductun, John de . . . , Henry son of Bernard, Alured Barette, Robert Muschet, Nicholas de Kingeswode, and many others.

No. X.

Let present and future know that I Alured Barete for love of God and the salvation of my soul have given and

granted to the Monks of Kingeswode in pure and perpetual alms two acres of land in the Vill of Culcretun, whereof one lies at Stanmereswei, and the other in the field Del West at Brethe which is the "head" acre. To have and to hold from me and my heirs free and quit from all services and secular demands. And I and my heirs will acquit them from royal services, and all services, and will warrant them against all men and women. Witnesses Henry de Culcretune, William Scai de Tresham, Adam his son, Henry son of Bernard, Nicholas de Kingeswode, Geoffrey son of Constance, Adam de Cherletun, William Butevilain, and many others.

No. XI.

Let all present and future know that I Robert de Rocheford for love of God, and the salvation of my soul, and for the souls of all my ancestors and successors, have given and granted in pure and perpetual and free alms to the Abbot and Monks of St. Mary at Kingeswode such liberty in Osleworthe from me and my heirs for ever. As if by chance they should be drawn into plea by me or my heirs, or by any other man or woman in my court, and if they should *fall into mercy* (i.e. if they should be fined) of me or my heirs then the Abbot and Monks shall be altogether acquitted of that amercement towards me and my heirs so often as it shall happen for ever. Also I have given and granted for me and my heirs for ever in pure and free alms to the said monks the following liberty, that their sheep or other cattle shall never by any fault or forfeit of the said monks or their men be emparked or molested by me or my heirs or by our servants or men, unless by chance those sheep or cattle should be found in my corn or enclosable meadow. But if the monks or their men should be delinquent in any way, then the monks must be cited and summoned according to the law of the land to give satisfaction in our court, or to hold their own court and there to give satisfaction to the complainants if judgment should go in their favour and then if they do not do this and it should be necessary they must

be compelled through their cattle, but never through their sheep. And because I wish that these liberties may be inviolably kept by the said monks for ever, I wish and grant that whoever of my heirs or if I myself come in any manner against those liberties which I have granted to the monks let him *be in mercy* (*i.e.* be fined) of the Sheriff of Gloucester to the sum of twenty shillings of silver. Witnesses Oliver de Berkeley, Nicholas Ruffus, Wm. de Bradele, Nichs. Mingnot, Roger Petipas, Colin de Culkertun, Wakelin Tysun, Robt. le Stabler, and many others.

No. XII.

§ Arrears of W. cellarer of Kingswood at the feast of St. Peter ad Vincula (August 1) in the year of grace 1240 £11 9s. 1d.

§ Received from the above written term and subsequently at the feast of St. Andrew £8.

Sum total £19 9s. 1d.

Expenses from the above written arrears and receipts :
Two servants Wallingford 12d. In cheese 28s. 4d. at Pridie.¹
For two oxen 17s. 8d. there. Also for one ox 6s. 10d. In cord 19d. In canvas 8d. In dried conger 14s. 9d. In expenses at Pridie 1s. 8d. In herrings 20d. Tetbury. For one horse 8s at Callcot. To Simon and W. Knicht 1d. for seeking a horse. For wheels 14s. 10d. Ozleworth. In expenses 4d. to Westbury.² To the boys of the Abbot of Flexley 1d. At Tetbury 1s. for carriage in the autumn. In Hulle 4½d. In hay³ 2s. from Colewich. To Stephen de Wica 9s. 6d. for carriage of hay (or iron). In boards 20s. Ozleworth. For pittance of the Lady Mul(vain?) 4s. 9½d. eels. To W. de Call(cot) 18d. for labour. To brother Odo 6d. for seeking one bretasch⁴. To Thomas de

¹ Pridly on Mendip, the fair was held on the feast of St. Lawrence, August 10th

² Westbury-on-Severn, on the way to Flaxley Aboey.

³ Or Iron, "ferro"

⁴ This word has much puzzled me. Godefroi Roqueford, &c., give it "a stockade."

Ozleworth 3d. for work. To a certain thresher 3d. In expenses of the Court at Culcreton 5s. 7d. One weigh-beam 8d. For labour two weeks. For Flaskins¹ 10d. B. Labanc. R. Marescale Bristol 2d. ("the Marshal of Bristol"?). To servants at Bristol 4d. ("the Sergeants of Bristol"?). In conger 14s. with portage. In expenses of horses 3d. In wine 4d. In nails for the bakehouse 8d. For one barge 8d. In a load of herrings 22d. In one horse collar 8d. In fish 22½d. Tetbury. Also in fish 14d. Malm(esbury). For three white skins 4s. 6d. For timber for wheels 3s. one sacristan. At Haselden 14d. for the Abbot of Tinterne. At the market of Bristol "In alemand" 4s. ("almonds"?). In cinnamon 3s. In saffron 1s. 6d. In pepper 7s. 3d. In linen web 17s 2d. In cloth for sacks 5s. 9d. In canvas 1s. 6d. In wollen cloth for harness 7s. 8d. In other cloth 6s. 6d. In a pan 1s. 4d. In spices 1s. 3d. In small cloth for a horse coverlet 6d. In the same for belts 6d. To Brother A. lay brother at the lower grange 12d. To a lay brother at Ozleworth 2d. for labour. In expenses of horses and to the young men 8d. In one white skin 28d. "Hancis" 5d. for timber. For one pot 5s. 7d. In beams 25d. The Grange at Call(dicot) 6d. for necessities. To the Prior of 'Lanthony' 2s. for tithes. To the quarrier 3s. three weeks about a road. To the threshers at the lower grange 4d. For wax 6d. for sick horses. For fish 16d. Tetbury. Also in fish 8d. Cirencester. In companage² for the threshers 9d. at Norhall. At Haselden 4d. for 1 Abbot's guest. In fish 3s. 3d. at the feast of All Saints. In eels 8d. At Callcot and Haselden 8d. for expenses. For one young heifer 3s. 6d. To John Nepos 4s. for a maimed cow. In logs 5s. 2d. for timber. To Brother G. 6d for drink and pittance. In one say 26d. (Sagus = a say or woollen cloth) In hake 6d. Tetbury. In roofing houses 15d. Tetbury. In sieves 3d. Haselden. In two small shoes 32d. In Mapscipe (?) King 6d. To the quarrymen about a road 26d. In shoes 16d. In roofing houses at Ozleworth 8d.

¹ Flaskin—"a small portable cask."

² Companagium = "anything eaten with bread."

In cloth for a cape for Humphrey 4s. 10d. To the quarryman 18d. about a road. At Haselden 10d. five days' expenses. At Callcot 10d. in labour. Tetbury 8d. in labour. At the lower grange 13d. in labour. In red herrings 12d. In a white skin 2s. To Brother R. at Haselden 1d. for beer. For three bolts 16d. At Ozleworth 6d. for the ox-house (boveria).

Sum £13 18s. 9d.

Also in autumn gloves and autumn drink in the beginning of the writings 39s. 6d.

Sum total of expenses £15 18s. 3d. up to the feast of Saint Andrew of the year '40. Arrears £3 10s. 10d.

Also received from the feast of St. Andrew 1240, £7 up to the feast of the Purification; also up to the feast of St. Peter ad Vincula (August 1) 1241, £17.

Sum £24 besides arrears. Sum with arrears £27 10s. 10d.

Also in gloves 6s. 8½d. In autumn drink 18s. 9d. to the feast of St. Mary¹ Also after the feast of St. Mary 10s. 2d. In geese 3s. 10½d. Sum 39s. 6d.

Expenses from the feast of St. Andrew in the year 1240. In drink throughout the Grange in Advent:—Haselden 3s. 7d. Tetbury 18d. Caldicote 2s. Ozleworth 11d. Upper Grange 22½d. Lower Grange 18d. Charteshull 15½d.

Sum of drink of the Lay brethren 12s. 8d.

Also in drink of the servants at Christmas:—Haselden 3s 2d. Tetbury 14d. Calcot 15½d. The Beaters² 3½d. Sum 5s. 11d.

Sum total of drinks of the Lay brethren and servants
23s. 7d.

Also expenses in other things from the feast of St. Andrew 1240:—To Brother A. of the lower grange 8d. To Brother W. of Tetbury 6d. In repairs of the granary at

¹ The Assumption, August 15, or Nativity, September 8.

² "Batoribus." I cannot settle this word; Du Cange has "batitor"—batator, &c --"Qui frumentum flagello excutit"—that is, a thresher; but elsewhere triturator is used for this. Babitoria is also a fulling mill.

Calcott 6d. To one carter who departed 10d. Wippehail 12d. over his wages. In wheat¹ 26d. from Ozleworth. For a certain assart 8d. in Thurinlund. At Cherletune 2s. for scutage to the Earl.² To Brother Richard at Haselden 3½d. for bolts. To Brother Reiner 3½d. for sieves. In Hake 8½d. Tetbury. Also in fish 2s. 5d. In cloth for Robert Gaudy 43d. In cloth for shoes 8d. In boots 16d. T. Seneschal of Malm(esbury). At Ozleworth 15d. for labour. In eels 10d. Tetbury. In oblations at Christmas 3½d. In fish 7s. salmon and oysters *contra min.* At Ozleworth 3s. for a crowbar(?) and other utensils. In herrings 48s. 7d. In locks and strlll³ 4d. Gloucester. In spurs and halters 14d. For two seats 16d. Egge.⁴ To Will Sumeri 12d. for a roll. To the porter 8d. for a prisoner. In expenses at Gloucester 20d. To Roger the beater 13d. on departure. To W. Carter of the upper grange 4d. sim. In expenses at Gloucester last time 3s. 5d. For chains 3d. Roger de Ductune 2s. For salmon 8d. Bristol. In expenses there 13d. In expenses to Gloucester 20d. for a dead man. In wine 9d. there *viċ* (*sic*) for the Sheriff. In expenses of Master Henry 16d. Gloucester. To Brother E. 3½d. for carting hay. To the carters 13d. For crobis(?) Ozleworth. For two axes 16d. for R. Ductune and R. Upton. To Brother T. Carter 6d. towards Bristol. To Brother Roger de Cherteshull 5d. for labour. To Adam Flambard 2s. by the Abbot. To Brother A. of the lower grange 5½d. for labour. To W. de Chalelege 13d. on departure. For pease 13d. Tetbury. For two Howis(?) 10d. For Honey 3d. for a stable(?) (marescale.) To a certain boy ½d. to Tetbury. For herrings 16s. 4d. Cirencester. For 1 axe 8d. for B. La Banc. In expenses at Haselden 5½d. from Cirencester. In sieves 2d. at Haseld'. In white hides 40d.

Memorandum.—In the road and quarry at Ozleworth from the feast of St. Andrew to the feast of St. Hilary —sum of expenses 15s. 8d.

¹ "Siligo." ² Or county "com." ³ Scrapers (?). ⁴ Eda, cf. Ducange.

For pease for seed 18d. Ozleworth. To Adam de Lache-ford 1d. for herrings. In herrings 2d. Caldicote. For hay 14d. Cirefeld. To Roger Sclat 5d. for shoes; For a boy freed. For Stockings 8d. at Tetbury grange 6d.; In works. At the county of Gloucester 14d.; For coulter and ploughshare at Ozleworth 12d. To Hugh Dagan 12d. In mackerel 3d. (megaris). To the Harrowers 6d; In herrings and fish 8d. Tetbury. In conger 2s.; In cloth 4s. 5d. In expenses of the Abbot of Callecot 3s. 2½d. Also to the harrowers 6d.; To a beater Tetbury 6d. for emolument.¹

On Monday after Palm Sunday: In fish, 19s. 5d.—100 milvin and 200 hake. W. Upehull Item 100 milvin 11s.; Item 11s. in fish. Item in canvas 10s.; Item in fish 7s. 1d. Item in fish 13d.; In boards 8s. 3d. To Laurence de Lasceles 2s.; In expenses at Bristol 6d. At the lower grange 6d. in labour. Expenses at Bath and Bristol 18½d.—Easter week. To Brothers H. and W. Halseld' 8d. by order of the Abbot. In lime 6d. Haseld'; To a beater there 4d. condiment. To W. the Baker 13d. Tetbury; To a certain boy 4d. by the Prior. For Maundy² 45d.; To a certain boy 6d. by the Abbot. In oblations 4½d. Easter.; In nails 5d. On *quasi modo* Sunday³ two days Gloucester 16d. For a bit 7d.; To the wheelwright 6d. For a certain boy running with the Cellarer for Homkⁿ 4d. At the upper grange 8d. in labour. Lower grange 4d.; To the beater there 1½d. for emolument. Tetbury 4d. for emolument to a Harrower, 12d. Haseld'. For white salt 1½d.; For enclosure at Estleya 3½d. In casu 22d.

Expenses in drink of the lay brethren by the granges in Lent: Haseld' 7s., Tetbury 3s. 4½d., Callecote 3s. 6d., Ozleworth 2s., Upper Grange 4s. 4d., Lower Grange 32½d., Cherteshule 32½d. Sum 26s. 8d.

¹ Evantagium = avantagium: (1) prescriptive right, (2) profit or emolument.

² *Ad Mandatum*.

³ 1st Sunday after Easter, April 7.

Item in the wall of Ozleworth: First week 40d., second week 23d., third 8d., fourth 13½d., fifth 18d., sixth 20d. Sum 10s. 2½d.

To the beaters for emolument 3d. For custody of fowls 8d. Item for emolument 3d. To Richard the beater 6d. for emolument.¹ Item to another thresher 2d. To Brother A. de Lacheford 1d. For one crennoch² of salt 12d. For Master H. the Clerk 8d. Gloucester. For digging the curtilage of Dame Petronella 4d. At Heseld' 5d. for Master H. Expenses at Bristol 33d. for the Cellarer and Andrew and N. the Smith. To a certain boy at Ozleworth 6d. Item there 16d. for labour. At Callicote 16d. for labour. To Brother T. carter 4d. to Bristol. On Monday before Whitsunday 14d. expenses of the County (?). In cloth for Hugh Clerk for stockade(?) 30d. In cloth for W. Clerk of the Sheriff 34d. In two hides 3s. In fish 16d. Tetbury. At Heseld' 3d. in beer. Expenses for the Cellarer in heath 5d. Cull(cretone). To Colin de Culcreton 4s. for quitclaim of spurs. Expenses at Malmesbury 2d. In one white hide 2s.

In two oxen Osleworth 22s. 9d. In three oxen there 33s. 8d. Expenses at Gloucester 5s. 2d.—minus Com̄ (*sic*). In a tool for the carter 5s. 8d. For one meadow 3s. Wortel(ey). To Roger de Cherteshulle 6d. for labour. To Brother Godfrey 4d. In an enclosure 3d. Osleworth. To Peter de la Mare 10d. for wine. For one white roll³ 29d. for the use of the Abbot. In fish against the injunction 3s. In expenses at Tetbury 5d. To Brother Ernald 3s. for threshing. For a sickle 6d. For the Abbot 14½d. Callicote, for the parson of Tetbury. In expenses of the Court at Culcreton 26d.; At Osleworth to a hoer 14d. For the meadow of N. de Osleworth 3s. 3d. For the meadow of H. de Holacra 32d. Item for a meadow 14d. for oxen at Osleworth. For a meadow

¹ N.B.—These two entries seem to prove that "bator" is the same as triturator.—I.H.I.

² Crannocum—a measure, a basket. ³ An alb would be *alba*, not *albo*.

at Wortel(ey) 11s. 1d. for stable. For hoers and other labourers 2s. 4d. Tetbury. To the Lady of Osleworth half a mark for a lease. In rope Osleworth 4d. In broad nails 19d. for the house (hospitium). For a ploughshare for the carter 5s. 5d. At Gloucester 5s. 3d. before the Justices. For oats 26d. besides "O" expenses (*sic*). In expenses at Gloucester 12s. 8d.—nine days. For a cart 5s. to the Lord the King. In victuals¹ for the beaters and servants Osleworth 6s. 9d. . From the feast of Pentecost to the feast of St. James . Item For emolument to the beaters for the same term 3s. 10d. To a certain Thresher 10d. on his departure. In hay 3s. 1d. T. Bareball. Also in hay 22d. R. Franceis—setes (?). Item at Wick 25d for hay. In expenses at Gloucester 20d. To the beaters and servants at Osleworth 13d. for victuals. To the Ambler² 3s. who taught the colts.

Sum £19 15s. 9d. Arrears £3 9s. 5d.

Sum total on both sides of the roll £24 1s. 5½d. up to the feast of St. Peter ad Vincula in the year 1241.

No. XIII.

Arrears of the Bursars of the House of Kingswood in the year of grace 1241 on the feast of St. Peter ad Vincula (August 1) from all receipts of the House £120 and £15 5s. 0½d. all the wool and fleece wool being counted together and 20 pounds from arrears of wool of the year '42.

Received from the same term and then up to the feast of St. Andrew of the same year: From fleece wool of the year '42 5 marks in arrears. From rents at the feast of St. Michael £6 9s. 9d. with arrears. From sale of sheep £5 7s. 4d. From debt of corn 4s. 6d. From sale of Rocwood 34s. 3d. From money borrowed for the bell 2 marks. From debts paid and money collected £6 5s. 5½d. From the

¹ Campanagium.

² Ambulator, an Ambler—a horse that ambles.

Ambula=instrumentum in quo equi discunt ambulare (?) Whether this entry is in reference to the breaking-in of colts.

Lady of Tetes £4 loan. From debt of cider¹ 3½d. From pannage of Kingswood 8s. From entry of land 20s.

Sum received £31 5s. 5½d.

Sum total received with arrears £166 10s. 6d. up to the feast of St. Andrew.

Sum of expenses from the said feast of St. Peter ad Vincula of the year 1241 up to St. Andrew by parts: In gathering fruits £35 17s. 0½d. In hay for sheep £17 7s. 10d. Item for carting the Abbots and the Household Hay 25s. 4d. For rams bought in Lindesay² 25s. 4d. To the Cellarer for expenses £11. To the Sub-cellarer 12s. 6d. To the shepherds for expenses 2½ marks. To the Lord Abbot 36s. To the Baker 10s. 8d. In fish £7 19s. 0½d. In salt £3 13s. 8d. In oats £8 9s. In pensions and annual rents £4 7s. 8d. In pay of mercenaries to the feast of Saint Michael £24 16s. 7d.

In edificio—In wine, 3s.; In cheese and tallow 28s. 5d.; At Call' 18s. 2d. about the grange; In the monks infirmary 6s. 9½d.; In buildings in the cow shed 8s. 1d.; In the bakehouse and cloister 10s. 3½d.; In boards and lead there, 16s.

In gold, jewels, and gifts, £4 12s. 2d. In farms and lands £4 10s. 10d. In pleas 17s. 2½d. In other useful things of the house £12 7s. 9d. Borrowed 13s. 8d.

Sum total of expenses from the feast of St. Peter up to St. Andrew £153 14s. 9d. Arrears £12 15s. 9d. (or otherwise £16 os. 3d. less).

Item received from the feast of St. Andrew up to the feast of St. Peter ad Vincula of the year 1242: From sheep sold £3 2s. 6d. From rents at Christmas £4 4s. From rents at Ladyday £5 3s. 4½d. From rents at Midsummer £4 7s. 3d. From the better wool 40 marks at Hokeday. From corn sold £46 4s. 3d.—19 sacks, price of a sack with profit³ 14 marks. From better wool £137, ½ a mark 1 sack 10k. From 1 sack of middle wool £6. From 5 stone of better wool 31s.—6 sacks 16 stone and a-half. From 10k⁴

¹ Cicero=cider; cicera, a kind of pulse fit for fodder.—Ainsworth.

² Lincolnshire. ³ Evantagium=avantagium.

⁴ Lok—Inferior wool, collected at the shearing, fleece wool.

£24 18s. 7d. Besides 1 sack of profit of pet (good) wool and 6 stone and a-half of lok. From entry of land and from freedom 21s. 8d. From pigs in the piggery 100s. 6d. From debts paid £7 and 35d. From 1 servant 20s. as a gift. From a horse sold 7s. From pannage of Osleworth 20d. From the mill of Osleworth 35d.

Sum total received £290 7s. 3½d. with arrears £16 from the feast of St. Andrew up to the feast of St. Peter of the year '42.

Expenses by parts from the feast of St. Andrew above written up to the feast of St. Peter of the year 1242: To the Cellarer £18. To the Sub-cellarer 21s. To the Shepherd¹ £3 8s. 8d. To the Baker 10s. In oats £9 2s. 2d. Also in oats for seed 3 marks. In fish £16 3s. 0½d. To the work of the Church 10 marks—gift. In the building of the new hospice £18 0s. 0½d. Item in other buildings 18s. 10d. In pay for mercenarys at Hokeday £15 0s. 1d. In one cask of wine 3 marks 40d. Also in wine 6s. In soap and cheese 10s. In salt 33s. 1d. In rents and payments £3 7s. 4d. In gifts and gold £3 16s. 8d. In farms and lands 3 marks 4s. In hay 20s. 9d. In pleas 8s. In other minute things £8 3s. 10½d.

Sum total of expenses £115 10s. 2½d. up to the feast of St. Peter ad Vincula of the year 1242. Arrears to the same term £174 16s. 11d.

Sum of expenses in fish by the hand of the Sub-Prior £24 24½d. besides buildings.

Also expended in fish computed in the house building 3 marks 2s. 7d.

NO. XIV.

Let present and future know that I John del Egge have granted and given and by this present charter have confirmed to God and the Church of the Blessed Mary of Kingeswode, and the monks there serving God, all my land which Gillebert my Father held, and which descended to me by hereditary

¹ ? Bercarius.

right, with the wood and all its appurtenances at La Egge in the manor of Simundeshale in perpetual exchange of all the land which the said monks held in Rocwood in the parish of Biseleye with the wood and all its appurtenances. To hold and to have to the said monks for ever freely and quietly wholly and honorably well and in peace in woods, in plains, in meadows, and pastures, and in all other things and places, with all liberties and free customs which can possibly belong to the said land, saving the service which I was accustomed and bound to perform for the same, to the chief lord. And I and my heirs or assigns will warrant to the said monks all the said land with wood and all appurtenances and liberties for ever against all mortals. But if they are unable to warrant all the aforesaid land of Rocwood with the wood and all its appurtenances the said monks shall freely seize it again without any contradiction of me or of my heirs or assigns. And that this my grant and gift may remain ratified and stable I have appended my seal to this writing.

Witnesses Peter de Eggeworth, Oliver de Berkeley, William de Troham, Richard de Abbenes, Robert de Mulecot, Henry de la Strode, Roger Petipas, and others.

Done in the year of grace 1243 at the feast of Saint Martin.

No. XV.

Let present and future know that I John del Egge have given and granted and by the present charter have confirmed to God and the Church of the Blessed Mary of Kingeswode and the monks there serving God all my land which Gillebert my Father held and which descended to me by hereditary right with wood and all its appurtenances at Le Egge in the manor of Symundeshale in perpetual exchange of all the land which the said monks had at La Rocwde in the parish of Byseleye with the wood and all appurtenances. To hold and to have to the said monks for ever freely and quietly wholly and honourably well and in peace in woods plains meadows and pastures and in all other

things and places with all liberties and free customs which can pertain to the said land saving the service which I was accustomed and bound to perform to the Chief Lord. And I and my heirs or assigns will warrant to the said monks all the said land with wood and all appurtenances and liberties for ever against all mortals. But if we should not be able to warrant the whole of the aforesaid land of Rocwde with wood and all appurtenances the said monks shall freely seize it again without any contradiction from me or my heirs or assigns. And that this my gift and grant may remain ratified and stable I have appended my seal to this writing. Witnesses Peter de Eggeworth, Oliver de Berkeley, William de Troham, Richard de Abbenesse, Robert de Mulecote, Henry de la Stride, Roger Petipas, and others. (1243).

No. XVI.

Let present and future know that I Roger Barette for love of God and the safety of my soul have given and granted to God and the Church of St. Mary of Kingeswode in pure and perpetual and free alms a message "on the spring" with curtilage and other appurtenances in the Vill of Culcretun. To hold and to have to the Monks of the said Church of Kingeswode for ever as pure and perpetual and free alms quietly and freely from all customs and issues and services which can possible at any time issue. Because I and my heirs will altogether quitclaim the said message with curtilage and appurtenances and will warrant it to the said monks for ever against all mortals. In witness of which thing I have appended my seal to this Charter. Witnesses Bartholomew La banc, William de Rodmertune, Nicholas de Culcretun, Thomas de la Planke, Roger de Calfhage, Geoffrey Custance, Walter Bernard, John Cusin, Walter de Fromtune, William de Bradeley, Henry de Bradel', Robert Passelewe, and many others.

No. XVII.

Let present and future know that I William Bretun for the love of God and the salvation of my soul have given to

God and the Church of St. Mary of Kingeswd and the monks there serving God in pure and free alms one cotceld (cotcelda=land attached to a cottage) of land in Osleworth with all appurtenances which Alice Toki sold to me for five marks. To hold and to have to the said monks of Kingeswd for ever, as pure and free alms as far as pertains to me and my heirs. Paying for it annually, to the said Alice and her heirs on the same land, one pair of gloves at Easter, or one penny whichever they prefer. And to the Chief Lord one pound of cummin at the feast of St. Michael. And the royal service which pertains to so much land in the same Vill. And I and my heirs will warrant the said land with appurtenances to the said monks for ever against all mortals. In witness of which thing I have appended my seal to this Charter. Witnesses Geoffrey de Chausi, Oliver de Berkele, Bartholomew La banc, Nicholas Ruffus, John le New, Nigel de Osleworth, Henry de Linez, Walter, clerk of Hillesley, William de Bradeleye, and many others.

No. XVIII.

This is the covenant made between Roger Baret of the one part, and the Abbot and Monks of Kingeswode on the other part, namely that Roger Bareth in the year of grace 1243 at the feast of St. Michael leased and granted to the said Abbot and Monks two acres of land in the fields of Culcretun, that is to say in Westfelde the acre in la Buchine, and in Estfelde the Head acre under Stanhulle, so that the said Monks may hold the said two acres up to the end of ten years next ensuing, that is to say, until they have received five crops entirely from the one acre and five from the other¹ except *enclosed pieces* ("exceptis inhokis"),² if by chance any shall be made in the same vill. But they have received the first crop from these two acres in the autumn of the year of

¹ Thus the common fields were cultivated on the two-course system.

² *Inhokum*=any corner of a common field ploughed and sowed and sometimes enclosed with a dry hedge in that year wherein the rest lies fallow.—Jacob.

grace 1244 wherefore they will have the last crop in the autumn of 1253 besides the crops from the "inhoka" as often as there shall be any. But for this lease and grant, the said Abbot and Monks have given him six shillings sterling into his hands. When however the said Monks have held the said acres to the end of ten years, the said acres shall return to the said Roger or to his heirs without any contradiction of the said Monks. But the said Roger and his heirs will warrant to the said Monks the covenant up to its term against all mortals, and will quitclaim it of all services and secular demands which may ever issue from it. And that this covenant may be firmly held it has been fortified by the seals of both parties. Witnesses William de Rodmerton, Laurence de Lasceles, Robert Passelwe, Geoffrey Custance, Nicholas de Culcreton, Walter Bernard, Henry Bernard, and many others.

No. XIX.

Let present and future know that this is the covenant made between the Abbot and Monks of Kingeswde of the one party, and Luke de Chirintune of the other party, namely, that the aforesaid Abbot and Monks by common counsel and will have leased to the same Luke de Chirintune all that land with messuage and all appurtenances in Chirintune which was Walter de Brachele's, which land the same Walter gave to the Monks of Bethlesdene,¹ and the Monks of Bethlesdene sold to the said Abbot and Monks of Kingeswde. To hold and to have to the same Luke and his heirs for ever freely and quietly paying therefore annually to the said Abbot and Monks of Kingeswde six shillings sterling, at the four terms of the year namely at the nativity of our Lord eighteen pence, and at Easter eighteen pence, and at the nativity of St. John Baptist eighteen pence, and at the feast of St. Michael eighteen pence, for all services customs and . . . saving the royal service that is to say as much as pertains to half a virgate of land in the same vill. But for this covenant and grant the same Luke de Chirintune has

¹ *Lat.* Bechledene.

given to the said Monks of Kingeswde eight marks of silver for acknowledgement. And let it be known that the said Luke de Chirintune or his heirs shall not be able either to sell or pledge the same land without license and assent of the Monks of Kingeswde his lords. And that this covenant may be made firm between them and stable for ever the seal of the Monks has been placed to the portion of Luke, and Luke's seal to the portion of the Monks. Witnesses Bartholomew Labanc, Roger de Duchtune, Thomas de Rodeburwe, William de Rodmertune, Henry Hardewine, Nicholas de Leppegete, Geoffrey Custance, and many others.

No. XX.

Let present and future know that I Roger de Newentun son of Philip de Berkeley for love of God and the salvation of my soul have given and granted to God and the Church of St. Mary de Kyngeswde and the Monks there serving God in pure and perpetual and free alms an acre of land with all its appurtenances in the tenure of Newinton which lies on the eastern side of the grange of Callicote and tapers one head on to Le Rugeweie, and the other towards the grange of Callicote, near the two acres which the Monks have of the gift of Philip my father. To hold and to have the said acre to the said Monks with all appurtenances freely and quietly well and in peace as pure and free and perpetual alms. And I and my heirs will warrant to the said Monks the said acre with all appurtenances for ever against all mortals. And we will quitclaim it from royal services, and from all suits and demands and customs and services which can ever issue. In witness whereof I have appended my seal to this writing.

Witnesses Peter de Ywelega, Symon son of Nigel de Haselcote, Adam de la Home, Richard le Duck, William de Westcote, and many others.

No. XXI.

Let present and future know that I Roger de Newentune for God and the salvation of my soul have given and granted

and by the present charter have confirmed to God and the Church of the Blessed Mary of Kyngeswode and the monks there serving God in pure perpetual and free alms all the land of Bollecote with pasture and all appurtenances which lies between Yweleg' (Uley) and Egge near Le Ros in the manor of Newnton. To have and to hold to the said monks and their successors, and to the aforesaid Church, freely and quietly and honourably well and in peace, in all things and places, with all appurtenances and all liberties pertaining to the said land, as pure perpetual and free alms for ever so that they be responsible to no one except for prayers only. Moreover they the said monks have granted to the said Roger and his heirs that they may have entry into the wood of Bollecote, and there take of the wood whenever and whatever they wish, so long as it be done without damage to the corn and pastures of the said monks. But I and my heirs will warrant the aforesaid land with all its appurtenances and liberties belonging to the said land to the said monks and their successors and to the said Church of Kyngeswode for ever against all mortals, and we will acquit them of suits of courts, and of all services which may therefrom arise for ever. And that this my grant and gift may be ratified and stable for ever, I have appended my seal to this writing. Witnesses Lord Geoffrey de Chausi, Henry de Linez, Peter de Yweleg', Walter de Neylesworth, Hugh de Kyllecote, Robert de Uptune, and others.

No. XXII.

Let present and future know that I Nicholas de Newnton, son of Roger de Newynton, have granted quitclaimed for me and for my heirs and by this present charter have confirmed to God and the Church of the Blessed Mary of Kyngeswod and the monks there serving God, all the donations of Roger my father namely all the land of Bollecote (Bowcot?—V.R.P.) with all its appurtenances and all other lands rents houses and tenements which the said monks have of the grant of Roger my father within the manor of Newynton or elsewhere.

To have and to hold all the aforesaid freely and quietly according as (the charters) of the said Roger my Father made to the same more freely, more fully, and better, bear witness. But I and my heirs will warrant acquit and defend all the aforesaid, to the aforesaid monks and their successors as is aforesaid against all mortals for ever. And that this my grant, quitclaim, and confirmation of the present writing, may remain ratified and stable for ever I have fortified the present writing with the impression of my seal.

Witnesses Milo de Langthol, Bartholomew de Olepenne, Robert de Stone, Robert de Bradestane, Ralph de Camme, John de Olepenne, and others.

No. XXIII.

Let present and future know that I Roger de Newentun for God and the salvation of my soul have given and granted and by the present charter confirmed to God and the Church of St. Mary of Kyngeswode and the monks there serving God in pure perpetual and free alms all that land of Bollecote with pasture and all appurtenances which lies between Yweleg' and Egge' near Le Ros which I sometime held in the manor of Newentune. To have and to hold to the said monks and their successors and to the aforesaid Church freely and quietly, well and in peace, wholly and honourably, in all things and places, with all appurtenances and all liberties pertaining to the said land as pure perpetual and free alms for ever so that they be responsible to no one except in respect of prayers. But the said monks have granted to me and my heirs that we may have entry into the wood of Bollecote, and there take, whenever, and as much as we like from the wood, provided however that this be done without damage of corn or pasture of the said monks. But I and my heirs will warrant the aforesaid land with all its appurtenances and aforesaid liberties to the said monks and their successors and to the aforesaid Church of Kyngeswode for ever against all mortals and will acquit them of suits of courts, and

hundreds, and of all services which may issue therefrom for ever. And that this my grant and gift may be ratified and stable for ever, I have appended my seal to this writing. Witnesses Dom. Geoffrey de Chausi, Henry de Linez, Peter de Yweleg', Walter de Neylesworth, Hugh de Kyllecote, Robert de Uptun, and others.

No. XXIV.

Wages of the House of Kingswood in the year of grace of our Lord 1255

WAGES OF HOCKDAY (*i.e.* 2nd Tuesday after Easter).

UPPER GRANGE.—Three ploughmen 6s. Four drivers $\frac{1}{2}$ mark. Carter and Harvestman 4s. Horseman and Cook and Cowherd 4s. 6d. Sum 21s. 2d.

LOWER GRANGE.—Four ploughmen 8s. Four drivers $\frac{1}{2}$ mark; a fifth 2s. Carter and harvestman 4s. Horseman Cook and Cowherd 4s. 6d. Sum 25s. 2d.

HASELDENE.—Four ploughmen 7s. 4d. Three ploughmen 6s. Five ox drivers 7s. 6d. Three horse drivers 5s. Carter and 2 harvestmen 6s. To another Carter 20d. Horseman 18d. Cook and boys of the Grange barn 3s. 4d. Cowherd 18d. Cook's boy 9d. Swineherd 18d. Sum 42s. 1d.

TETBURY.—Horse ploughmen 2s. Two drivers 3s. 2d. Carter and Harvestman 43d. Horseman Cook and Cowherd 4s. 6d. Sum 13s. 4d.

CALECOTE.—Horse ploughman 2s. Another 22d. Two Drivers 3s. Horse driver 18d. Carter 22d. Horseman Cook and Cowherd 4s. 6d. Sum 13s. 9d.

OSLEWORTH.—Two ploughmen 44d. Three drivers 4s. 6d. Carter and Harvestman 43d. Horseman Cook and Cowherd 4s. 6d. Sum 16s. 4d.

EGGE.—Two ploughmen 44d. Three drivers 4s. 6d. Carter and harvestman 3s. 8d. Horseman 18d. Cook and Cowherd 34d. Sum 16s. 2d.

CHERTESHULL.—Ploughman and driver 20d. Horseman 2s. Cook and Cowherd 3s. Sum 8s. 8d.

BAGGESTON.—Master 2s. Ploughman 20d. Driver 18d. Cowherd 17d. Horseman 18d. Sum 8s. 1d.

BAKERY.—Baker and brewer $\frac{1}{2}$ mark. Baker and miller 5s. Sifter¹ ? and boy for the Brewery 4s. Swineherd 18d. Also two swineherds of the Cellarer 3s. Sum 16s. 10d.

? CURTILL.—Two ditchers 4s. Laundryman (laven-darius) 2s. Carter 22d. Sum 7s. 10d.

Shepherds 49s. 1d. Eleven threshers 20s. 2d. A twelfth 18d. because he came at the feast of All Saints. Five Carters 9s. 10d. Five boys of the Abbot 7s. 6d. At the Cowhouse 22d. Sum £4 9s. 11d.

IN THE ABBEY.—John Haystabularius 2s. Forester 22d. The Cellarer's boy 18d. The sub-cellarer's boy 20d. The skinner . . . Sum 8s.

Sum total of wages £14 11s. 2d.

UPPER GRANGE.—Three ploughmen 9s. 2 drivers 6s. 4d. Two other drivers 5s. Carter and harvestman 6s. Horseman and Cook 5s. Cowherd 30d. Sum 32s. 10d.

LOWER GRANGE.—Four ploughmen 12s. Driver "con-versus" and a second driver 5s. 4d. on account of Morwellese, three others 7s. 6d. Berkeley 2s. Carter and harvestman 6s. Cook and Cowherd 5s. Horseman 30d. Sum 15s. 4d.

HASELDENE.—Three Horseploughmen 20s. 6d. Four others 14s. Three horse drivers 8s. Three others going to Mor'lese 8s. Two others 5s. Carter 3s. Another carter 34d; a third 30d. Two harvestmen 6s. Cook and Boys of the grange 5s. 2d. Cowherd 29d. Cook's boy 2s. Swineherd 30d. Sum 73s. 11d.

TETBURY.—Horseploughman 3s. 2d. Carter and harvestman 6s. Two drivers 3s. 4d. Horseman and cook 6s. 2d. Cowherd 29d. Sum 22s. 2d.

CALLICOTE.—Horseploughman 3s. 2d. Another ploughman 3s. Three drivers 7s. 10d. Carter 3s. Horseman and

¹ Buletare—to sift meal.

cook 5s. 2d. Cowherd 29d. Cook's boy 20d. Swineherd 14d.
Harvestman 3s. Sum 30s. 5d.

OSLEWORTH.—Two ploughmen 6s. Three drivers 8s.
Carter 3s. Horseman cook and cowherd 7s. 9d. Harvest-
man 3s. Cook's boy 8d. Sum 28s. 5d.

EGGE.—Two ploughmen 6s. Two drivers 5s. 8d.; a
third 30d. Carter and harvestman 6s. Horseman 31d.
Cook and cowherd 4s. 4d. Sum 27s 1d.

CHERTESHULL.—Ploughman 3s. Driver 32d. Horse-
man 3s. Cowherd 29d. Cook 31d. Sum 13s. 8d.

BAGGESTONE.—Master 3s. Ploughman 3s. Driver 32d.
Cowherd 2s. Sum 10s. 8d.

BAKERY.—Baker and Brewer $\frac{1}{2}$ mark. Miller and
Baker (oven man?—V.R.P.) 6s. Sifter¹ 30d. Swine-
herd 2s. Brewer's boy 20d. Sum 18s. 10d.

CURTILL.—Two ditchers and laundryman 9s.
Carters 34d. Sum 11s. 10d.

PAG'.—Thirty-five shepherds and seven peasants
£4 14s. 4d. Ten Threshers 30s.

Four carters and a cutter of brushwood 14s. 10d.
Five boys of the Abbot 6s. At the Cowhouse 32d.
Sum 23s. 6d.

Cellarer's boy 18d. Stableman 3s. Forester 3s.
Sub-cellarer's boy 28d. Skinner 2s. Sum 11s. 10d.

Sum total of wages £23 4s. 9d.

At the Upper Grange	...	£4 16s. 9d.
At the Lower Grange	...	£4 16s. 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.
At Haseld'	...	£13 8s. 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.
At Tetbury	...	£3 17s. 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.
At Kallicote	...	£3 18s. 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.
At Ozleworth	...	59s. 10d.
At Egge	...	59s. 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.
At Charteshull	...	26s. 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.
At Baggeston	...	29s. 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.
At Hull	...	22 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.

Sum total £39 13s. 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.

¹ Cribrator

The sum of all the sums both in wages and harvestings of the whole year £77 9s. 4½d.

ON THE BACK.

Wages of the House of Kyngeswood in the year of grace 1256 at the feast of . . .

WAGES AT HOCKEDAY.

UPPER GRANGE.—Three ploughmen 9s. Two drivers rising at the morning watch 5s. 4d. Two other drivers 5s. Carter and harvestman 6s. Horseman and cook 5s. Cowherd 29d. Also a ploughman at the plough newly raised (*levatum*) 2s. 6d. Also a driver for the same 2s. Sum 37s. 3d.

LOWER GRANGE.—Four ploughmen 12s. Two drivers rising at the morning watch 6s. 4d. Three other drivers 7s. 6d. Berkeley (?) 2s. Carter and harvestmen 6s. Cook and cowherd 5s. Horseman 30d. Sum 15s. 4d.

EGGE.—Two ploughmen 6s. Two drivers 5s. 4d. A third driver 2s. 6d. Carter and harvestman 6s. Horseman 2s. 6d. Cook and cowherd 4s. 4d. Sum 26s. 8d.

CHARTESHULL.—Ploughman and horseman 6s. Driver 2s. 8d. Cowherd 29d. Cook 2s. 6d. Sum 13s. 7d.

HASELD'.—Three horse ploughmen 9s. 6d. Four others 12s. Three horsedriers 8s. Three others rising at morning watch 8s. Two others 6s. Carter 3s. Another 34d. A third 2s. 6d. Two harvestmen 6s. Cook and boy of the grange 5s. 2d. Cowherd 2s. 5d. Cook's boy 2s. Swineherd 2s. 6d. Sum 68s. 11d.

TETBURY.—Horse ploughman 3s. 2d. Carter and harvestman 6s. Driver 5s. 4d. Horseman and cook 5s. 2d. Cowherd 29d. Sum 22s. 1d.

OSLEWORTH.—Two ploughmen 6s. Three drivers 8s. Carter 3s. Horseman cook and cowherd 7s. 9d. Harvestman 3s. Cook's boy 8d. Sum 28s. 5d.

CALLICOTE.—Horse ploughman 3s. 2d. Another 3s. Three drivers 7s. 10d. Carter 3s. Horseman and cook

5s. 2d. Cowherd 29d. Cook's boy 20d. Swineherd 14d.
Harvestman 3s. Sum 30s. 5d.

BAGGESTON.—Master 3s. Ploughman 3s. Horseman 3s.
Driver 2s. 8d. Cowherd 2s. Sum 13s. 8d.

SHEPHERDS.—33 shepherds and 5 peasants (?) £4 6s. 6d.
(pag').

BAKERY.—Baker and brewer 6s. 8d. Miller and baker 6s.
Sifter 2s. 6d. Swineherd 2s. Brewer's boy 2s. 6d. Sum
19s. 8d.

CARTERS.—Four carters namely three for corn and a
fourth for brush with a cutter and a carter of stones 17s. 10d.
Each carter 3s. The cutter 2s. 10d. Sum 17s. 10d.

Nine beaters 27s.—that is to each 3s. Also two beaters
3s. 6d. Five boys of the Abbot 7s. 6d. Adam de Vaccar 32d.
Sum 41s. 8d.

CUTHILL.—Two ditchers and laundryman 9s. Carter 34d.
Sum 11s. 10d.

IN THE ABBEY.—Stableman 3s. Forester 3s. Cellarer's
boy 3s. Sum 9s.

No. XXV.

Receipts from Michaelmas term 1262:—From rent in
Montan' (?? in amount) 48s. 4d. Also from the same
rent from term of St. John Baptist (midsummer) 42s. 4d.
From the gift of Robert le Greye 2s. From Ygete for two
terms 21d. From Ralph le Bank 12d. From Witflur 8d.
From the widow of Gregory sub bosco (Underwood) 15d.
From a Knight's widow 12d. From the Widow Thurkild
12d. From Tredelaz for two terms of Midsummer and
Michaelmas 7s. 6d. From rent of land La Skay for
Easter and Michaelmas terms 7s. From Symon sub bosco
2s. 10d. From Roger Hok 6d. From Walter Cook Mid-
summer and Michaelmas terms 30d. From Thomas Everard
Midsummer and Michaelmas terms 12d. From Thomas
Everard for John de Ductun 6d. From Robert Harding for
Midsummer and Michaelmas 10d. From rent of Bulcard
7s. 8d. From Pochampton 5s. From William de Taunton

of Bath 3s. Arrears 4s. From widow Le Furmer 18d. From Richard Hope 3s. From Richard de Haselcote 5s. From rent of Richard de Gloucester 5s. From John Le Wayte 3s. From Reginald Pelliparius (=Skinner) from arrears and for the Michaelmas term 4s. From Loriner 6s. Arrears 3s. 6d. Sum £7 14s.

Receipts from other things:—From the Vicar of Frocester for $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter of corn . . . From Richard Le Nevou for $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter of corn . . . From due of corn from Tetbury . . . From pannage of the wood of Kyng' . . . From Dom. Sampson de Brunegrove . . . From the Fuller . . . £36 . . . £16 . . . From pence of Brother W. Pilewyne £5 . . . From the Sacristan 40s. From Brother Alexander . . . From the Precentor . . . From Roger Russell 9s. From Hugh de la Ford $\frac{1}{2}$ mark. From Walter Jacob 4s. From William Whiting 2s. From John Crisp 12d. From the Granger of Charteshull 1 mark for 1 ox. From Brother W. Knyht for pigs sold 30s. From the Swineherd 40s. From old sheep sold £10 . . . From the Refectorius 50s. Sum £38 14s. 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. Sum tota of receipts £67 3s. 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.

Expenses from the term as above:—To the Prior of Lanton' 20s. To the Church of Oseneye 20s. To the Church of Wottun 10s. To the Church of Nywentun 8s. To the Church of Olepenne 3s. To the parson of Tetbury $\frac{1}{2}$ mark. To Humphy. de la Barre 10s. In rent of Mister H. de Bilesby from Michaelmas term 2 marks. In rent of Nicholas de Culkertun 1 mark. To Cecile de Rocheford 9s. 6d. To William Hayrun 6s. 8d. To John Culling for his rent 2s. In rent of Dame Joan de Wottune 2s. Sum £6 16s.

Expenses in other things:—In the first payment for Osleworth £50. To the Shoemaker £10. In one horse bought for the granger of Osleworth 14s. 1d. In another horse bought from William Spilemon 15s. To the Abbot of Cirencester for amercement $\frac{1}{2}$ mark. In eight quarters of Corn bought at Alred' 32s. To the sub-cellarer going to

London 20s. In Lead 42d. In 17 quarters of Oats bought from R. de New . . . 25s. 6d. For Gaudichun̄ (? sic)¹ of Robert le Nevouz 2s. 6d. In victuals of Robert le Nevou from the feast of St. Lambert to the Circumcision of our Lord 4s. In victuals of the Smiths from the Sunday before Michaelmas to the Sunday next after the Epiphany 6s. 3d. In expenses of Brother R. de Cumbe going to London 5s. In expenses of the same to Northampton 9s. 7d. For meat for 9 Shepherds 6s. For provends for . . . Shepherds 1 mark. To the Abbot for Alms 12s. for 2 terms. In one palfrey for the Abbot's use 20s. In 10 quarters of Beans 33s. 4d. For oats of W. de Rocheford from Christmas term 40s. In cloth namely eleven rods 9s. In beer at Osleworth 6s. In beef at Osleworth 3s. 10d. In partridges there 13s. In flesh of Sheep bought . . . In meat for 9 Shepherds at . . . 27d.—each 3d. For meat for 22 Shepherds . . . 34d.—each 1½d. To the young men of the Abbot of Flexl' 12d. To the clerk of the Sheriff and his young man 5s. 7d. To the Charcoal-burner at Horsley . . . In expenses of the Prior to Tintern . . . In meat . . . In handles . . . In straw . . . To Dame Katherine . . . In gaudichun̄ (sic)¹ of the Abbot's boys . . . In expenses of the sub-cellarer at Gloucester . . . In expenses of Brother W. de Bisel' to Tintern . . . To the Mower at Cherefeld . . . To Brother Richard de Cumbe and Brother Thomas to Northampton . . . To the Bailiff at Chippenham 6d. In Gold weight of 5s.—35s. 6d.² To the young man of W. de Monte 4d. To the young man of the Vicar of Berkeley 2d. To the young man of Peter de Waunchau 6d. To the Nephew of Master H. de Bilesby 2s.

¹ Probably a gift or payment of money or food.

² Ruding, *Annals of the Coinage*, p. 11, ed. iii., gives the ratio of value of gold to silver as 1 to 9 in 1105, 1156, 1207 and 1226; 1 to 9½ in 1257; and 1 to 10 in 1230 and 1278. The figures are derived from the fineness of the metals in the coinage, and the ratio current in business transactions would no doubt vary from this. The transactions mentioned in the accounts—"in auro—pondus V sol XXXVs. VIId." would give a ratio of only 1 to 7½.

In expenses of Brother Roger to Tintern 3d. To a certain young man sent with letters to the Abbot of Waverley 10d. To a young man of Tintern who brought salmon 3d.

COLUMN II.

Receipts from Christmas term:—(The items of rents) 18 in number, are for the most part missing owing to the ruinous state of the parchment.) The sum of all the rents is £4 16s. 6½d.

Receipts from other things:—From old stock sold at Egge 22s. From Richard le Messor of Cherletun for entry of land 2s. From relief of land Custaunce 16d. From the Abbot of Malmesbury received for old sheep £9. From Peter de Wike for sheep 20s. Sum £12 4s. 10½d.

Sum of all receipts £18 2s 4d.

Expenses from same term:—To Humphrey de La B . . . 10s. To Cecile de Rocheford 9s. 6d. For the Lamp of Ozleworth 7s. To the Lady of Wotton 8d. To Adam de Berkeley 27d. To William de Rocheford from Christmas . . . From Easter term 18s. 4d. Sum 47s. 9d.

Expenses in other things:—In 20 quarters of Oats bought at H . . . 33s. 4d. In one cask of wine 55s. 2d. In a horse 24s. In another at Haseld' 12s. To Master H. for 8 quarters of corn 8 quarters of oats 5 quarters of beans 62s. 2d. To Robert le Skay for corn viz. 15 quarters meslin (*i.e.* wheat and rye mixed) 9½ quarters of barley 45s. 2d. To Henry de Cumb for one quarter of barley 28s. In 2 weys of cheese 16s. In cloth for the Abbot's use 20s. To Dom Jordan le Warr 1 mark. In expenses of Robt. le Veel to London 28s. To Richard of St. Augustine's 6s. 8d. To Walter, Clerk of Cirencester 13s. 4d. In expenses of the Abbot at Gloucester 31s. For pasture of Suthelay 8s. For pasture at Northay 5s. To Roger Baret for pittance from the . . . of St. John Baptist to feast of St. George . . . To Robert le Nevouz for pittance from Circumcision of our Lord to the feast of S . . . In victuals of the

smiths from 1st Sunday after Epiphany to Easter . . .
 To W. de Rocheford for his *firewood* (?) from Easter term 15d.
 In an iron cross at Egge 12d. To the boy of Henry de
 Dursey 3d. In expenses of Brother W. de Bristoll 6d.
 To W. Dimmok and John de Sorstan . . . Cokyn (?)
 (cokinus=an inferior servant) 4d. in 1 furur (?) for the head
 for the use of . . . In expenses of W. Rop to Flexley.
In caudel paris faciend (?) (*sic*). In expenses of Brother H. de
 Hortun at Bagge(stone) . . . In expenses of the Abbot
 to Waverley . . . To the young man Nonni I. de Tyng-
 hurst . . . To the young man of Master H. de Bilesley
 . . . In lead . . . To the young man of the Vicar of
 Berkeley 3d. To the young man of Dom J. la Warr 6d.
 In wax for the Charters 3d. To John de Framptun 5s. To
 Henry de Cumb 2s. In expenses of the Abbot to Gloucester
 and Tynterne 5s. In one acre of land for sowing bought 7d.
 To John de Sorstan at the schools 12d. In expenses of
 Brother Waismer 5d. For tiling the house of W. de Roche-
 ford 4d. In expenses of Brother Llewelin 16d. In expenses
 of the Abbot to the Bishop 3s. 10½d. For sewing belts 13d.
 To the plaisterers at the new house 6d. To the Abbot for
 alms 15½d. To Bartholomew de Olepenne for his loss from
 sheep bought by us 6s. 8d. In meat for the shepherds on
 Shrove Tuesday 12d. (*die Martis ante cap*). To the com-
 panion (?) (*socius*) of Peter de Waucham 18d. To the young
 men of Peter de Waucham 18d. To John de Actun for
 tiling the new house 4s. In expenses of Brother R. de
 Cumb at Baggeston 3½d. In 30 lbs. of figs and 12 lbs. of
 raisins 4s. In expenses of the Abbot to Cirencester 2s. 10½d.
 To the 2 beadles of Grumboldshof¹ 18d. To the Abbot for
 the use of John de Meysy 4½d. To Philip the carpenter for
 wages 3s. To the hoers 18d. To Hapulf 15d. To the
 warrener of Tetbury 6d. To the beadle of Wallingford 6d.
 To the messenger of the Lord Edward 4d. To 2 cokyns
 (inferior servants, *v. supra*) 4d. To the charcoal burner of

¹ Grumbold's Ash. The beadles were officials of the Hundred called by that name.

Horsley 9d. In 12 carcasses of mutton 5s. To the cellarer £4. To the sub-cellarer 40s. To . . . for an agreement 6s. 8d. Sum £29 14s. 4½d.

All the next part to the foot of the second column is so mutilated that it is impossible to decipher it. It is apparently the account for Fish,—Herrings, Salmon, Ray, Conger, Minnows and many other kinds being mentioned.

ON THE BACK OF THE PARCHMENT.

The Heading is missing and the items of the Rent receipts are for the most part missing. The sum (of the rents) is 34s. 5½d.

Receipts from other things :—From payment of wool at Hockday £50.

Sum total £51 14s 5½d.

Expenses from the same term :—To the Prior of Lanton' 20s. To the Church of Wotton 10s. To Cecile de Rocheford 8s. 6d. To Humphrey de la Barre 10s. To William de Rocheford . . . To Master H. de Billesby 15s. To Adam de Berkeley . . . To the sister of Richard le Nevouz for rent 6d. Sum 73s. 4d.

Also expenses in other things :—In one cask of wine for use of the Abbot of Cirencester 4 marks 5d. Also in wine 5s. 9d. In hay bought at Tortworth 20s. In hay at Thornbury 40s. 4½d. In pasture in Wast' 2s. 6d. In pasture in Sapertun 12s. In pasture in Styptun ½ mark. In pasture of lambs 6s. . . . 33s. 4d. for . . . ; . . . for cheese 4s. . . . quarters of oats bought of R. de Skay 33s. 4d. . . . Rochford, for his oats from Easter term 6s. . . . Wottun £25. The servants' wages at Hockday £9 15s. 3d. . . . de Nevouz a gift 10s. To Dame Katherine 2s. To Jordan de Aula 12d. In expenses of Brother W. de Culcretun and Brother J. to Bath 6d. In linen cloth 9d. In . . . pair of spurs 6½d. . . . Hosley 12d. . . . de Olepenne 12d. . . . Tynterne 2s. . . . of the Abbot 12d. . . . Wyk to London 12d. . . . 9d.

. . . to Oxford 1½d. . . . who brought two lamps 2d.
 . . . Tynterne 18d. . . . the charcoal-burner from Easter
 to Sunday feast of St. Philip and James 3s. . . . the
 charcoal-burner for three weeks 9d. . . . by Richd. de
 Cumb 21d. To the young man of the Vicar of Berkeley 2d.
 To one Hoer 3d. In the passage of Brother W. de Bisel'
 2½d. In the monument of W. de Maunsel 3s. To John de
 Actun for roofing the new house 4s. To the charcoal-burner
 12d. In expenses of the sub-prior to Bristol 3½d. In the
 King's writs 12d. To the King's messengers 6d. To the
 Prior's nephew 6d. To the cheirographer 4s. To Richard
 de Boilond 4s. To W. de Rocheford for leggings 20d. In
 cloth for the use of R. de Veel 8s. 8d. To the boy of Elias
 of Cumb 4d. To the boy of G. de Burtun 4d. In pigs
 22s. 8d. In the Abbot's expenses in London 37s. To the
 boy of Robert Wallrand 4d. To the Abbot for alms 12d.
 To the Assarters 3s. 8d.¹ In beer for the use of the Abbot at
 Kallicotte 13½d. In expenses of Brother R. de Cumb 3½d.
 To the Esquire (?) of Mathew de Bisile 12d. To Thomas
 Clerk of Besill for a cup bought 2s. In expenses of John
 de Haseld' and his companions to London 5s. 7½d. In beer
 for the use of the Abbot at Tetbury 4d. To John Hapuly
 for 4 weeks 12d. To W. de Rocheforde in hand from
 Midsummer 21s. To one dubbetot (? duthator) 2s. To the
 stoncutters about the gate 12d. . . . 8d. In gifts 12d.
 In the Abbot's expenses "ad dies amoris"² at Gloucester 8s.
 To the King's Messenger 4d. In eggs by Brother H. de
 Tetbury 2s. 1½d. In 12 gallons of wine 4s. In one
 quarter of beef 2s. In the Abbot's expenses at Gloucester
 8s. 9d. To Robert de Nevouz from feast of St. George to
 the feast of S.S. Gervase and Prokasmus 2s. To Walter
 de Wymberville 4s. Sum £60 15s. 2½d. with the Cellarers
 and the sub-cellarers. . . .

(Here at the bottom of this column follows the fish
 account, very mutilated.)

¹ Assart=a woodland grubbed up for cultivation.

² Dies amoris = dies ad controversiam amice conferendam.—Du Cange.

COLUMN II. ON BACK.

Receipts from Midsummer term A.D. 1263 :—From rent in “ montan ” in (? amount) 42s. 4d. From John le Blund of Acton 3s. 9d. From Walter Mahel for the whole year 2s. From rent of Osleworth 31s 0½d.—owed to this 9d. From Bulcard 8s. From Pockhampton 5s. From rent of Land de Skay 3s. 6d. From Yegte (?) 10½d. From Robert de Buxwell 6d. From Thomas Jacob 20d. From Roger Fforester 12d. Sum 71s. 3d.

Also receipts for other things :—From Brother W. de Cnigt for pigs £8. From . . . dead 13s. 4d. . . . 41s. . . . 7½ marks. In victuals . . . carpenter 10s. Sum £12 3s. 4d.

Also from payment of wool at the feast of St. Peter ad Vincula A.D. 125—£154 os. 4d.

Sum total of receipts £169 17s. 11d.

Expenses for the same term :—To Cecile (de Roche)ford 15s. 6d. To William Hayrun 40d. To Adam de Berkeley 18d. for 2 terms. To Dame Agnes de Kyngton 5s. To Richard le Nevouz for his rent 3s. 4d. For a meadow of Tetbury 6s. 8d. Sum 35s. 4d.

Expenses in other things :—To the Lady of Wottun £25. To John Giffard £10. In hay bought for use of the sheep £22 18s. Also in hay for the Abbot's stable 5s. In hay bought for the guests' stable and the carter 20s. Also in hay bought from Badminton of R. le Veel 8s. In servants' wages at Michaelmas £9 18s. 6d. In corn bought of W. le Maunsel £10 16s. 8d. In reaping at the Upper Grange 3s. 2½d. In reaping at the Lower Grange 15s. 0½d. In reaping at Tetbury 6s. 3d. In cloth for Caps 60s. (Note no account.) In cheese 17s. In one horse bought of P. Caperun 40s. Also in another horse 20s. In one mare bought of the granger of the Upper Grange 12s. 3d. In another mare 12s. In one cask of wine at Bristol bought 3s. Also in wine there 12d. Also in another cask there 3s. Also in 12 gallons of wine there 2s.

Also in wine there 3s. In wine 22½d. Also in wine at Tetbury 14d. Also in wine at Sodbury 22½d. In cloth for use of J. the Priest (Vicar of Berkeley) 15s. In fourteen crannocks of salt bought at Corsham 14s. 3½d. For oats to W. de Rocheford 7s. 6d. To the same for his firewood (? busca) 15d. For the house of W. de Rocheford 6s. To Nicholas de Culkertun for his pittance from the feast of Purification to the feast of St. Mary Magdalene 2s. 5d. To Roger Baret for his pittance from the feast of St. George to the feast of St. Calixtus 4s. To Robert le Nevouz for his pittance from the feast of SS. Gervase and Prothasius to the feast of St. Dionysius 4s. In expenses of the Abbot to Bristol 6s. 10¾d. To the Prior for his fishpond 12d. To Peter de Stabulo to London 9½d. To Brother W. de Margan 6d. In expenses of the Abbot at Gloucester when he spoke with J. Giffard 5s. In harness and hides for the use of Master H. 8s. 7d. In meat 6d. For a fine of our men at Culkerton 10s. To John de Haseld' and his companion to London 2s. 2d. In expenses of the Abbot to Tintern 6d. For eggs delivered to the sub-cellarer 12d. In alms 3½d. To John Le D . . . 2s. To the Esquire (? Scutario) of Master H. 12d. To Peter who was at the Abbot's stable 12d. For eggs delivered to the sub-cellarer and his young man 22d. To the cellarer's brother 2s. To the Abbot for alms 2s. Item in eggs 11d. In expenses of R. de Cumb to Bristol 13½d. In mowing of the land Bulcard 33d. To the Abbot going to the Chapter 2s. In one ptce (?) for the use of I. priest . . . 18d. To William le May to Wa . . . 12d. In tithes of sheep at . . . 2s. In tithes of sheep at . . . 2s. In tithes of sheep at . . . for 2 years 4s. To John Hapulf 8d. To a certain workman 6d. To John de Cha . . . of a certain meadow 6d. To a servant . . . for victuals 4d.

(The rest much too mutilated to translate.)

No. XXVI.

Imperfect at Top.

In expenses of the Abbot going to Tintern 8d. In leather for making belts 16d. In "alimel" (= lamine = blade of a knife or sword, *v.* Roquefort) 2s. In expenses of Brother S. going to Charthuse (?) 3d. In parchment bought for use of R. de Chirechesdun 3d. In firewood (?) W. De Rocheford 15d. In one bridle for the use of the Abbot 2s. In spurs 3½d. In girdles 11d. In physic of the Monk of Elemos (Almshouse?) 8d. The King's messenger 6d. To the clerk of Siptune 6d. In four gallons of wine 4s. To the cellarer £6 10s. To the sub-cellarer 20s. Sum £83 19s 8½d.

In 200 herrings two fresh salmon and eels bought against the arrival of the under-sheriff 6s. In 400 herrings 2 pike 250 herrings 11s. 5d. In 9 hake 1 milvin 200 herrings 400 barun=(fish) 5s. 8¾d. In 500 herrings 3 milvin 3 hake 1 fresh conger and minnows 11s. 3¼d. In 600 herrings 10 fresh milvin 10 fresh hake 12 bren=bream one pot of raye 22s. 5d. In 18 conger 500 herrings 300 mackerel 7 milvin 15 haddock 20s. 5d. In 1 pike and minnows . . . herrings 3 hake 20s. 11½d. In fresh hake 3 salted conger 24 bren=bream 1 fresh milvin 11s. 1d. In 29 hake half a bundle of herrings 20 salted salmon . . . fresh mackerel 14s. 8d. In 30 hake powdered and one hake fresh 4 milvin 4 conger 15 hake 18s. 5d. In 30 salted conger 2 bundles of herrings 22s. 1d. In 12 fresh conger and 4 salted conger 1 bundle of white herrings 500 red herrings 3 fresh milvin 14s. 7d. In 62 conger salted 12 fresh milvin 16 fresh hake 36s. 9d. In 1000 red herrings 3 bundles of white herrings 6 bundles of pilchards 61 hake 25s. 3d. Sum of all the fish £11 13s. 2d. Sum total of expenses £202 8s. 6d. And expenses exceed receipts £35 5s. 4d.

2ND COLUMN.

Imperfect at the Top.

In 1 sum of conger and haddock 5s. 6d. In 1 sum of raye and 1 sum of conger 7s. 10d. In vino? (? alive) 17 conger and 8 milvin 11s. In 1 bundle of herrings 2 fresh conger 13 powdered conger 8s. 6d. In 15 conger 20 milvin powdered 11s. In 14 salmon 20 milvin 3 ling 6s. 6½d. In 1 bundle of herrings 20 milvin 2 conger 10s. 5d. In 20 milvin 2 conger 16 ling 8s. 8d. In ½ a 100 milvin, ½ a 100 ling 35s. Sum of all the fish £15 6s. 4d. Sum of all the expenses £54 12s. 10d. And expenses exceed the receipts by £36 10s. 6d.

In 9 conger salted 8 milvin 5s. 10d. In 2 quantities of fish 16 salted conger 24 milvin and ling 8s. 3d. In 15 conger salted 20 milvin and ling 4 hake 9s. 10d. In 15 conger 63 milvin and ling 11s. 6d. In 30 milvin 30 ling and herrings 8s. 9d. In 40 milvin and ling and one quantity of fresh conger and plaice 13s. 2½d. In 6 powdered conger 6 milvin and ling 5s. 11d. In 7 powdered conger 12 plaice 7 fresh milvin half a hundred mackerel 10s 7½d. In 100 mackerel 42 milvin and ling 10s. 7d. In 4 fresh conger half a hundred mackerel 30 ling 24 milvin and ling 16s 4½d. In one salmon at Gloucester 3s. 7d. To the Cellarer £3 10s. To the sub-cellarer 56s. Sum of all the fish £16 15s. 2d. Sum total of expenses £81 6s. 4½d. And expense exceeds receipts £29 11s. 11d.

In 20 conger 1 bundle of senderlings 13s. In 28 conger 200 herrings 10 cheeses (?) 11s. 6d. In ½ quantity of senderlings and ½ quantity of conger 7s. In 1 bundle of senderlings 5 conger 4s. 7d. In ½ bundle of herrings 4 conger 4s. 8d. In 8 hake 5 fresh conger 5 salted conger 100 herrings 8s. 4d. In 27 hake 30 salmon 10s. 8d. In one bundle and a half and 1000 pilchards 30 hake 19s. 11d. Sum of all the fish £8 1s. 3d. Sum of all the expenses £158 11s. 8d. And the receipts exceed the expenses £11 6s. 3d.

No. XXVII.

To all the faithful of Christ to whom this present writing shall come. Maurice de Berkeley son and heir of Dom Thomas de Berkeley greeting eternal in the Lord. Know ye that I have granted and given and released and for me and my heirs for ever have quitclaimed to the religious men the Abbot and Convent of Kyngeswode all right and claim which I had or in any way can have in a certain annual rent of ten pence issuing from his lands at La Egge within the manor of Symundeshalle which lands indeed the said religious men have sometime held of the grants of the late Thomas de Berkele uncle of the aforesaid Dom. Thomas my father.

I have given also granted remised and for me and my heirs for ever quitclaimed to the above-mentioned religious men a certain rent of the Capons issuing from the lands which the said religious men have sometime held in the Ville of Pokhampton within my manor of Hyneton¹ of the gift of the late Robert de Berkeley brother of the late Dom. Thomas, grandfather of Dom. Thomas, my father.

To hold and to have all the aforesaid rents with appurtenances by name of perpetual exchange to the said religious men and their successors from me and my heirs freely and quietly for ever. So that neither I nor my heirs nor any other in our name shall be able to exact or claim any right or claim in the aforesaid rents or in any of their appurtenances for ever but that the said religious men may possess the said rents with their appurtenances issuing from the aforesaid lands and may for ever enjoy the same rents for ever as free pure and perpetual alms more freely and purely to be held and considered for ever. I have granted also for me and my heirs to the aforesaid religious men and their successors that whenever it shall please them to remove their conduit of water from our park of Hawe within which park it lay on the day of the making of this writing enclosed,

¹ Hinton in Berkeley.

to another competent place elsewhere outside the park, we will cause to be dug and uncovered their said conduit at our own expense, and in another place outside our said park as far as that park extends and forty perches beyond, wherever they like, and where it shall be agreeable to the same religious men, to place the conduit more conveniently and more directly without contradiction or impediment of any one in as good a condition or better as it now lies in, together with the house at the aforesaid conduit to be repaired cleaned and examined as often as it shall be necessary and as they shall wish, notice however having been given of a month or three weeks at least concerning the removal of the said conduit. And after that the aforesaid conduit as is aforesaid, has been removed we and our heirs will warrant the same to the said religious men and their successors beyond our lands and the lands of our men children or servants as far, that is to say, as our said park extends and forty perches more beyond as is aforesaid and we will defend them from all hardships hindrances and claims whatever, which may be laid on them by our said men or any of our bailiffs by occasion of the said conduit. So however, as all men on whose lands the said conduit may happen to lie may be able to plough and sow freely and be preserved unharmed. In witness whereof I have appended my seal to the present writing. Witnesses Dom Nicholas son of Ralph, John de Sancto Laudo, Thomas de Berkeley son of Dom Thomas de Berkeley, William de Wautone, knights; Robert de Bradeston, Henry de Camme, Thomas de Swanlungre, and others.

No. XXVIII.

Let present and future know that I Nigel de Kyngescote for God and the salvation of my soul and the souls of Petronella my wife and of Walter de Mortone have given and granted and by this my present charter confirmed to God and the Church of the Blessed Mary of Kyngeswode and to the Monks there serving God in pure and perpetual

alms, one acre of my land on the field of Nywenton, and one head of it abuts on the road leading to Callicote towards Kyngeswode, and the other on the pit where the said Monks are accustomed to water their cattle. To hold and to have the said acre with its appurtenances to the said Monks and their successors from me and my heirs for ever, freely and quietly, well and in peace, wholly and honorably, and in all things and in all places as pure and perpetual alms. But I and my heirs will warrant the said acre with all its appurtenances to the said Monks and their successors for ever. And because I wish that this my grant and alms may remain ratified and stable I have appended to this writing my seal. Witnesses William de Lasseberg, Thomas de Rocheford, Peter du Ywele, Elias du Cumbe, Geoffrey Caperun, and others.

No. XXIX.

In the year of our Lord 1280 on the feast of St. Mark, Evangelist, it was so agreed between the religious men the Abbot and Convent of Kyngeswode on the one part, and Brother Adam, Prior of the Hospital of St. Bartholomew Gloucester and the Brethren of the same place on the other part, that the said Abbot and Convent have given and for them and their successors have leased and granted to the said Prior and the Brethren aforesaid five acres of land with appurtenances, whereof an acre and half lie at Acche-cumbe towards Olepenne namely between the wood of the said Prior and Brethren of Lotegareshale, and the land of Robert de Benecumbe at the head of which acre lies another half-acre on the south side between the land of the aforesaid Brethren on the east side and the land of William de Tettepenne on the west side. And one ferendel (*i.e.* $\frac{1}{4}$ of an acre) of land lies between the land of William de Tettepenne on the north side and the land pertaining to the Church of Symondeshale on the south side and abuts on the road of Wodewelle to the west. And a half acre and a ferendel of land lie between the land of the Lord of Olepenne on the

south side, and the land pertaining to the Church aforesaid on the north side, and abuts on the aforesaid road of Wode-welle on the west side. And one acre lies between the land of Gilbert Clappe of Newenton on the north side, and the land of Gilbert Holcroft of Symondeshale on the south side, and abuts on the road which is called Standingeston on the west, and on the land of the aforesaid Gilbert on the east. And a ferendel lies between the land of the said Gilbert Holcroft on the south, and the land of Wm. de Tedepenne on the north, and abuts on the wall of Tedepenne on the east. And one ferendel of land lies between the land of the Lord of Olepenne on the east, and the land of Adam de Tedepenne on the west, and abuts on the hedge of the aforesaid Adam on the north, and on the land of Walter le Southurne of Baggepath on the south. And a half acre lies between the land of the said Brethren of St. Bartholomew on the north, and the land of the Rector of the Church of Newenton on the south, and abuts on the road to Tetbury westward, and to the land of Wm. de Tedepenne on the east. To have and to hold the said five acres of land to the aforesaid Prior and his said Brethren and their successors freely and quietly well and in peace from the aforesaid religious men for ever.

But for this grant, lease, and concession, the said Prior and his Brethren abovesaid have given and for themselves and their successors have leased and granted to the said Abbot and their successors in name of a perpetual exchange five acres of their land whereof three acres lie in the south field of Caldecote, between the land of the Lord of Newentun on the south side, and the land of William de Tedepenne abutting on the road from Cottenhulle on the north side. And one acre lies between the land of Walter Petyth on either side abutting on to the muleweye towards the west, and on to the land of the said Abbot and Convent on the east. And one acre lies between the land of Andrew Miller, and the land of John Richer de Kyngescot, and abuts on the land of the same Abbot and Convent to the north, and on the Bath road to the south.

To hold and to have the said five acres of land with appurtenances to the said Abbot and Convent and their successors freely quietly well and in peace from the said Prior and the Brethren of the same place and their successors for ever. But the said Abbot and Convent for themselves and their successors, to the Prior and Brethren of the same place and their successors, as also the said Prior and Brethren for themselves and their successors, to the same Abbot and Convent and their successors, will warrant acquit and defend for ever the aforesaid lands with their appurtenances thus alternately exchanged. And if it should happen that the above mentioned parties shall be unable to alternately warrant the aforesaid lands with their appurtenances as is aforesaid, or if they shall be hindered by royal or chief Lords, or by any other, in reason whereby the said exchange, as is described above, cannot hold, it may be lawful for both parties to revert to their own lands as they were before the exchange and to hold them as they had them before without any claim or contradiction of the parties predecessors or successors. In witness whereof the above named parties have appended their seals alternately to this hand-written deed. Given in the Monastery of Kyngeswod in the year and day above mentioned.

No. XXX.

In the year of our Lord 1280 on the feast of St. Michael it was thus agreed between the religious men the Abbot and Convent of Kyngeswode on the one part, and Thomas de Haselcote son and heir of the late Richard de Haselcote on the other part, namely that the aforesaid Abbot and Convent have given and for themselves and their successors have leased and granted unto the aforesaid Thomas two acres and a ferendel of land with appurtenances in the fields of Kyngescote, whereof three ferendels lie in the vale of Kyngescote along the land of the Rector of Beverston Church on one side, and on the other, near the land of William son of the late Richard and Amice de Kyngescote.

and one acre is called Blakenaker in the same field lying between the land of Nigel son of the late Richard Lord of Kyngescote on the east and the land of the late Henry de Mathcumbe on the north, and one half acre lies in the same field between the land of the said Thomas on either side, namely between the Croft and meadow of the same. To have and to hold the said two acres with the abovesaid ferendel to the aforesaid Thomas and his heirs or assigns freely quietly well and in peace from the aforesaid religious men for ever. But for this grant, lease, and concession, the said Thomas has given and for himself and his heirs or assigns has leased and granted to the aforesaid religious men and their successors by name of an exchange two acres and a half of land in the field of Newyntun, whereof one acre lies at the Wynch of the said religious men, between the lands of the same on either side. And the other lies in the cultivated land of Popethorn, between the land of the late Andrew Muller on the east, and the land of the above-named Thomas on the west, and half an acre lies at Fiscleshole between the land of the late John Richard on the east, and the land of the aforesaid monks on the north. To have and to hold the aforesaid two acres and a half of land with appurtenances to the aforesaid religious men and their successors freely quietly well and in peace from the aforesaid Thomas and his heirs for ever. But the said religious men for themselves and their successors to the often-mentioned Thomas and his heirs or assigns, and the aforesaid Thomas for himself and his heirs to the same religious men, will warrant acquit and defend the aforesaid lands with their appurtenances mutually exchanged in the above-mentioned manner for ever. And if it should happen that the above-named parties are unable mutually to warrant the aforesaid lands with their appurtenances as is aforesaid or even should be reasonably hindered by royal or chief lords or by any others whereby the said exchange as is described above cannot hold, it may be lawful for either party to revert to their own lands as they were before the exchange and to

hold them as they held them before, without any claim or contradiction of the parties or of their successors or heirs. In witness whereof the often-mentioned have mutually appended their seals to this manuscript writing.

Given on the year and day above mentioned in the Grange of the said Monks of Caldecote.

No. XXXI.

In the 10th year of the reign of King Edward on the day of St. Cyricus and St. Julita (16th June) it was thus agreed between the Abbot and Convent of Kyngeswod on the one part, and Henry Passelewe of Rodmarton on the other, namely that the Abbot and Convent have leased and for themselves and their successors have granted to the said Henry for term of his life four acres of land in the field of Rodmarton which indeed they had by grant of the late William de Rodmarton, called Le Knyth. Whereof, to wit, two acres lie in the north field at La Seyorthforlong between the lands of John Brachel on the south side, and the lands belonging to the lamp of St. Mary in the Abbey of Cyrencester on the north side, and two acres lie in the south field between the lands of John Brachel on the east, and the lands of Richard In la Lane on the west, and extend on to the wall lying near the road from Rodmarton towards Bristol. To have and to hold the said four acres with all their appurtenances to the said Henry for term of his life from the said Abbot and Convent freely quietly well and in peace. So that after term of life of the said Henry, the said four acres, without hindrance from the heirs of the said Henry, shall return peaceably to the said Abbot and Convent, excepting however the crop of the aforesaid land if it should be at that time sown, to the heirs or assigns of the said Henry. And that this agreement may remain ratified and stable all the aforesaid term the parties have mutually appended their seals on the chirographic writing.

Witnesses John le Bruth Lord of Weston, Philip de la

Hulla of Snyptone, William, Lord of Rodmarton, James Folyoth, Henry Constaunce, Henry le Feeman, and others. (1282.)

No. XXXII.

Let present and future know that I Henry Passelewe of Rodmerton for God and the salvation of my soul have given granted and by this present charter have confirmed to God and the Church of St. Mary of Kyngeswude and the Monks there serving God in pure free and perpetual alms three acres and a half of arable land in the field of Culcretun, whereof two acres extend on to Stonhulle and lie between the land of the said Abbot and convent on the north, and the land of Richard Launcing on the south, and one half acre at La Butine lies between the land of the late Walter Bernard on the south, and the land of the late Walter Suth on the north, and another half acre is at Smalthorne, and lies between the land of the said Abbot and Convent on the west, and the land of the late John Suth on the east, and one half acre is in the same furlong and lies between the land of the late Walter Suth on the west, and the land of the late Henry Peris on the east. To hold and to have the said three acres and a half with all their appurtenances to the said Abbot and Convent and their successors and to the said Church of Kyngeswude from me and my heirs freely quietly well and in peace as pure and perpetual alms as far as pertains to me. So that they never be answerable to any man for the same, but to God alone in prayers, saving one penny payable yearly on the feast of St. John Baptist to Roger Le Freman of Culcretun and his heirs for all services, secular exaction, or demands. And I Henry and my heirs will warrant acquit and defend by the said service the said 3 acres and a half with all their appurtenances to the said Monks and their successors against all mortals for ever. And that this my gift grant and confirmation of my present charter may be ratified and stable for ever I have appended my seal to this writing.

Witnesses John de Hamekyntone, Elias Kokerel, William de Rodmertun, Roger de Bley, James Foliath, John Neel, Roger de Lonwesmere, and others.

No. XXXIII.

Account of Brother William de Cumb, Warden of the Grange of Charteshull, of Baggestone, of Hull, of Aldrinctun, at Christmas 1289.

And received £8 10s. 9d. for 18 oxen. Also received 30s. for 4 cows. Also received 69s. for 16 stone of wool. Also received 36s. for 24 sheep. Also received 8s. for a Bull. Also received 18d. for 5 calves. Also received for 1 stone of cheese 8s. Also received 18d. for 3 casks of butter. Also received 6s. for 10 horse skins. £17 14s. 9d.

Then in 19 oxen £10 6s. 10d. Also in 4 Cows 15s. 2d. Also in 4 bullocks 12s. Also in 1 heifer 4s. Also in 24 sheep 48s. Also in 42 ewes 42s. Also in Hay 24s. Also to the sub-cellarer 11d. Also in my expenses and my gifts thro' the autumn to the Monks 3s. 6d. Also in wages for Hibrdun 3s. Also in increase of wages for Kele 10d. Also in wages for E. Nereford 20d. Also in wages for E. de Sti . . usenton 3s. Also in table for the lay-brothers 4s. 6d. Also in pittances for servants against Christmas and against the feast of Pancras 3s. 3d. The expenses exceed the receipts at Chartishull by 27s. 10d. In the year 89.

Oxen at Ch(ertishull) 16 at Baggestone 13 at Hull 7—
price for each 13s. 4d. Sum £24 13s. 4d.

At Alarintun.—Oxen 8 price each 10s. Sum £4.
Cows 22 price each 5s. Sum 40s(?). Two bulls price 10s.
1 bullock of 3 year's price 6s. 8d. And 3 . . . 7 price 28s.
Bullocks of 2 years 2 male and 1 female price 6s. Bullocks
over a year 5 remaining price 5s. Calves 5 price 3s. 4d.
Mares 5 price 45s. Brood mares 9 price 9s. Sheep 90
price £4 5s. Lambs 20 price 10s. Total price dues being
extracted £44 14s. 4d.

State of Baggestone.—Oxen 11, and bullocks 2, cows for

the yoke 4, bull 1, bullocks 7 of 4 years, bullock male 1 of 3 years, bullocks male 3 of 2 years, female 1 of 2 years, and female 1 of 1 year, heifers 2.

State of Charteshull.—Oxen 14, and bullocks, 2 yoke cows 17, bull 1, bullocks male 2 of 2 years, female 1 of 1 year, calves 3—2 male and 1 female, heifer 1.

State of Hull.—Oxen 7, bullock 1, yoke cows 2, bullocks 3 of 2 years, bullock 1 of 1 year, calves 2, heifers 2.

State of Aldrinctun.—Oxen 8, 1 cow at the sheephous, 1 cow at the cowhouse, 1 calf.

ON THE BACK.

Account of Brother William de Cumb of the Grange of Charteshull, of Baggestone, of Hull, of Aldrinctun, in the year of our Lord 1288.

Items.—Received from 7 oxen of his own sold 60 (£5). and 12s. Received also from 1 heifer of his own sold 6s. 6d. Also from 7 oxen "horned"¹ 51s. 7d. Also from 7 cows sold 38s. 9d. (41s., *sic*). Also from 2 heifers 15s. 6d. Also received from 8 calves sold 4s. Also received from 4 pigs 8s. Also received from 2 brood mares 4s. Also received from 1 wey of cheese 8s. Also from 4 casks of butter 16d. Also from 4 cowskins and from 1 oxskin of 2 years and 1 calfskin . . . Also received from 4 mareskins 5s. 6d. Also from 8 stone of wool 32s. Sum £13 13s. 9d.

Then in 2 mares bought 16s. Also in 4 oxen bought 44s. 6d. Also in 8 oxen bought for fattening 31s. 9d. Also in 3 (? 5) cows bought for calving 22s. 9d. Also in 5 cows bought for fattening 22s. 4d. Also in 1 bullock of 3 years 4s. 4d. Also in 3 bullocks, 1 of 3 years, and 1 of 2 years, and 1 of 1 year, 6s. (? 8s.) Also in 3 heifers 2 for fattening and 1 for calving 10s. 6d. Also in four

¹ *Crochunct*. I have suggested horned from the old Latin word *crocha*, a hook; but perhaps the old French word *crochere* : *joug*,—"morceau de bois courbé' du l'on attache les bœufs" (*s.v.* yoke) (Roquefort's glossary)—is the foundation of the word. Hence the meaning yoke oxen. But I have given in other parts yoke oxen as the equivalent of *boves adjuncti* (*conf.* Du Gange).

pigs bought 6s. Also in 20 sheep and 31 ewes 61s. 8d. Also in servants' wages in various places 34s. 4d. Also in table of lay Brothers 4s. 2d. Also in "Colours" 2d. Also in "Beches" 4d. Also in gifts to servants 6d. Also to Robert de Yet 12d. Also to the sub-cellarer 12d. Also for the meadow of . . . vel 3s. 6d. Also in my expenses in the Autumn and in gifts throughout the Grange 3s. 2d. Also in wages for Hebed 2s. 4d. Also in wages for Nereferd 2s. 6d. Also for Monks and sick lay brothers and in my expenses throughout the place 2s. 9d. Also in rents 5s. 6d. Sum £14 7s. 4d. (? 15s. 7d.) And the expenses exceed the receipts 21s. 7½d.

Memorandum of 3 mares dead at Baggestone and of 1 cow dead at Charteshull and of 2 bullocks of 2 years and of 1 calf the same. Also memorandum of 3 cows delivered for the Larder.

State of Charteshull &c. at Christmas 1288.—Charteshull 12 oxen, Baggestone 11 oxen, Hull 7 oxen, Aldrington 7 oxen, 2 bulls price 8s. 24 cows, namely at Charteshul 14, at Baggeston 6, at Hull 2, at the sheepphouse 2. Bullocks of 3 years 7—namely at Baggeston 3, at Charteshul 2, at Hull 2. Heifers of 3 years 7, bullocks of 1 year 4, and heifers of 1 year calves 5, mares 6, brood mares at Baggestone 19, ewes 31, sheep 20. Bullocks of 3 years 2.

These are the debtors of Brother W. de Cumbe at Christmas 1288:—Walter Wytink and Henry de Bredebrug' 32s.—and Walter Cook 12s. 2d. and his brother "conversus" swineherd with Master John C . . . 9s. A lay brother of Charteshul 12s. William Kniht of Hull 12s. 6d. Robert Sale 16s. Cristina de Cumb 3s. William de Bruggeant 3s.

No. XXXIV.

Let present and future know that I Ralph Mucator of Solbir (Sodbury) for God and the salvation of my soul have given granted and by the present charter confirmed to God and the Church of the Blessed Mary of Kyngeswode and to the monks there serving God in perpetual and free alms that

burgage with all its appurtenances in the borough of Solbir, which lies between the land of Walter son of Nicholas, Clerk on the west side near the bridge which is towards the house which was Ralph de Rupe's on one side, and that bank which flows into in the fishpond from the said bridge on the other side in the same vill. To have and to hold the same burgage with all its appurtenances and liberties and free customs pertaining to the aforesaid land, to the said monks and their successors freely and quietly, wholly and honorably, well and in peace, for ever. Paying for it annually to me and my heirs on the feast of St. Michael one pair of gloves of the price of one penny for all services, suits of court, and hundreds, and all secular demands. But I and my heirs will warrant to the said monks and their successors, and to the said Church of Kyngeswod, the aforesaid land with all appurtenances and before-named liberties against all mortals and will acquit them of all services which may issue from the same for ever. And that this my grant and concession may remain ratified and stable. I have appended my seal to this writing. Witnesses John de Actune, William de Frompton, Adam Pistor, Benedict de Dodintun, Thomas Carpenter, Henry Bunz, Henry Cokhil, and others.

No. XXXV.

Let present and future know that I Jordan de Budeford for God, and the safety of my soul, have granted and by the present charter have confirmed to God and the Church of the Blessed Mary of Kyngeswode and the monks there serving God in pure and perpetual alms the grant of Geoffrey de Budeford my father by his charter confirmed to the said monks containing these words: "Let present and future know that I Geoffrey de Budeford for love of God and for the salvation of my soul have given and granted to the monks of Kyngeswud in pure and perpetual alms, one cartload of hay from my meadow of Auckesbury.¹

¹ Hawkesbury.

So forsooth that when I or my heirs have made hay of our meadow and wish to carry our hay, the aforesaid monks by their servants shall come with one cart, and fill that cart with our better hay, and take it with them whither they wish. This aforesaid gift I have granted and given to the aforesaid monks of Kyngeswud with the consent of my heirs for love of God to be received from me or my heirs every year for ever. And I and my heirs will make known each year to the aforesaid monks when we wish to carry the hay of my meadow, that they may come and receive their hay. And let it be known, that though our meadow which we have for the time, be turned into arable land the aforesaid monks shall receive the rent of hay in the better place in which we have a meadow." Wherefore I Jordan de Budeford wish and grant for me and my heirs and confirm that the aforesaid monks may receive freely every year the aforesaid cartload of hay, as by the grant of Geoffrey my father was aforesaid. And that the aforesaid charter may obtain strength of confirmation I and my heirs will warrant and defend the said gift to the said monks for ever, against all men and women. And that this my confirmation may remain ratified and stable I have appended my seal to the present writing. Witnesses Dom William Le Maunsel, John De Waunton, Robert le Veel, Knights; Elias de Cumbe, Yvo de Cumbe, Thomas le Archer, Richard de Colewiche, and others.

No. XXXVI.

In the year of our Lord 1302 on the feast of St. Michael it was thus agreed between the religious men the Abbot and Convent of Kyngeswode on the one part, and Laurence de Brome on the other, namely that the aforesaid Laurence by consent and wish of Agnes his wife has given and for himself and his heirs has leased and granted to the said Abbot and Convent and their successors twelve acres and a half and a ferendel of his land with appurtenances lying in the fields of Caldecote in various parcels, of which forsooth certain

portions lie in the North field, namely one portion near La Leyhtonacre on the south part, and two other portions whereof one lies in the eastern part of the land of the Lord of Lasseberewe, and the other in the west part of the same land. And one portion lies near Le Homelonde in the south part. And on two other portions Hyldebrondesslad extends. And one portion lies at Wowelande near the land of the aforesaid religious men, which they sometime held from Walter Petyt in exchange, in the western part And one portion lies on Slepareshulle abutting on the path leading from Caldecote towards Kyngescote from the land of the then Lady of Newenton. And one portion lies at Haselgrovethornes stretching one head on Le Rugweye and another on the Lower Haycroft. But other portions lie in the South field whereof forsooth one lies at the Tumbrell of the said religious men, near the land of the same, abutting one head to the north another to the south And a second lies against Godescroft stretching one head from the western part on to the path leading from Newynton towards Caldecote. And a third portion lies at Popethorne which is called Gorbrolond. And a fourth portion lies at Slauhterslade which similarly is called Gorbrolond, and abuts from the west on to the Kings Street, leading towards Bath. To have and to hold the said twelve acres and a half and one ferendel of land to the said Abbot and Convent and their successors freely quietly well and in peace from the chief Lords of the fee for ever. But for this gift, lease, and grant, the said Abbot and Convent have given and for themselves and their successors have leased, and granted, to the aforesaid Laurence and his heirs by name of exchange, twelve acres and a half and one ferendel of land with appurtenances in the North and South fields of Baggepath lying also in various parcels, of which certain portions indeed lie in the South field of Baggepath, namely between Baggepath and Yrcumbe. One portion lies in Stepforlong extending towards the north on Hungersforlong And a second portion lies in the same Stepforlong, extending like the other northward, which

portions indeed, an acre of someone else's separates. And one portion lies in Hungersforlong, stretching one head towards Baggepath, and another towards the meadow of Newenton. And one portion lies in Brokeleyesflad so called. And one portion lies in another field of Baggepath, namely in the furlong at Fragnum, extending on the vill of Baggepath, And one portion lies in Hosmareleyeclive, in a third field of Baggepath, namely under the same vill between the land of the aforesaid Laurence on both sides extending northwards on to the croft of the aforesaid Laurence. And another portion lies on the croft of the aforesaid Laurence at Tonewelle. And one portion lies in the same field under two crofts of the same Laurence lengthwise at the aforesaid Tonewelle. To have and to hold the aforesaid twelve acres and a half and a ferendel of land with appurtenances, to the aforesaid Laurence and his heirs or assigns freely quietly well and in peace from the chief Lords of the fee for ever. Moreover the said Abbot and Convent for themselves and their successors, to the said Laurence and his heirs or assigns, as also the said Laurence for himself and his heirs, to the aforesaid religious men and their successors, will warrant acquit and defend for ever all the said lands with their appurtenances mutually exchanged in the manner above-mentioned. And if it should happen that the aforesaid parties should be reasonably hindered by the royal or chief Lords or others, whereby the said exchange as is set forth above, cannot hold, let it be lawful for either party to revert to their own lands as they were before the exchange, and as they before held them, without any claim or contradiction of the parties or their heirs. In witness whereof the often-named parties have mutually appended their seals to this chirograph writing. Witnesses William de Dene Lord of Lassebreme, Nigel de Kyngescote, Walter Petyt, Thomas de Haselcot, Robert Trylly, and many others.

Given in the Monastery of Kingswood on the year and day above mentioned.

No. XXXVII.

Petition to the King and the Council from the Abbot and Convent of Kingswood for redress against John de Anesleye who by coverture of the Lady of Chirinton whom he had espoused, holds himself to be Lord of Chirinton and in spite of a composition made of old time between the said Abbey and the Lords Chirinton concerning certain common of pasture, has erected a fence and enclosed part of the common to the serious grievance of the said Abbey and the Abbey's sheep and cattle. Undated. Tem. E. III.

No. XXXVIII.

This indenture, made at Berkeley on Monday the Feast of St. Mary Magdaline, in the twenty-seventh year of the reign of Edward the third after the conquest, between William brother and heir of Thomas de Swonhunger of the one part, and John Seriaunt the younger of the other. Witnesseth that the aforesaid William and John have made the partition and division of all the tenements lands and rents which they held in common on the day of the making of these presents in the vill and hamlets of Ham, Cam, Stinchcomb, Kingscote, and Haselcote, except the fishery in Severn which is excepted from this partition, and will remain in common, that the said William shall have and hold to him and his heirs all the tenements, lands, and rents, in Kingscote and Haselcote severally, that is to say five shillings of annual rent to be taken from the land of William Thomas, and two crofts called le Rocdecroftes in Kyngescote, and half a rod of land in Haselcote. And the said John shall have and hold to him for his whole life as tenant by the courtesy of England in law the heritage of Joan daughter of the said John all the tenements lands and rents and reversions in Ham, Cam, and Stinchcomb, that is to say, the services and two shillings of annual rent to be taken from the land of William son and heir of John Passemir with wards marriages escheates and all other appurtenances and eight shillings rent to be taken

from the land of William Le Longe together with the reversion of the fourth part of a rod of land after the death of the said William *as it shall fall* in Cam, and Stinchcomb, and one parcel of meadow lying near the meadow called Le Longemed in the vill of Ham. In witness whereof the above-named parties have interchangeably put their seals to these indentures. Witnesses John Capel, John Purlewent, John Draicote, Stephen Kyneltre, and others.

These indentures written on the year and date above. (July 22, 1353.)

No. XXXIX.

This is the covenant made at Berkeley the first day of May in the year of King Edward the third after the conquest the third, between John son of John de Swonhungre and Alice his wife of the one part, and John son of John Le Seriaunt and Joan his wife on the other part, daughter and heir of Thomas de Stone, that is to say that John the son of John de Swonhungre and Alice his wife have . . . and released for themselves and for their heirs for ever to the said John son of John le Seriaunt and Joan his wife, all their right and claim which they had in all the messuages lands and tenements in Olverstone, Netterstone, and Woodford, which belong to them of the heritage of the aforesaid Thomas de Stone as in messuages, lands, meadows, pastures, commons, woods, fisheries, and rents, together with all the reversions of all the tenements which the tenants hold for term of their life, and the heriots and other profits arising from the said tenants with all their appurtenances.

To have and to hold all the aforesaid messuages, lands, tenements, meadows, pastures, commons, woods, fisheries, and rents, together with all the reversions of all the tenements which the tenants hold for term of their life, with the heriots and other profits of the said tenants with all the appurtenances to the aforesaid John son of John Seriaunt and to Joan his wife and to the heirs of the said John for ever, without any retention, except the rent of Thomas le Whyte together with the reversion of the particular tenements which he holds in

Stone, and in Woodford, of the heritage aforesaid, *as it shall fall*, of the chief Lordships of the fee by the rents and services which pertain to the aforesaid tenements. And the aforesaid John son of John le Seriaunt and Joan his wife will and grant for themselves and the heirs of the said Joan, that they be charged to perform their rents and services which pertained to the chief Lordships of the tenements which the said Thomas le Whyte holds in Stone and in Woodford. And by this grant and release the aforesaid John son of John le Seriaunt and Joan his wife have granted and released to the aforesaid John son of John le Swonhungre and to Alice his wife all their right and claim which they had in all the messuages lands and tenements in Wanswell which belong to them of the heritage of the aforesaid Thomas de Stone as in lands meadows pastures commons woods fisheries rents and reversions and all the appurtenances, except all the land which lies in Burifeld, in Calchushull, Ricardescroft, and fourteen acres of land in Wyndmullefeld, in all the meadow in Longemed, and in Eghammore, together with forty shillings rent issuing from a virgate (?) of land which William de Swonhungre holds for term of his life, with the reversion of the said "virgee" of land after the said William's death *in proportion as it shall fall* with all the appurtenances. To have and to hold all the aforesaid messuages lands and tenements as in lands meadows pastures commons woods fisheries rents and reversions with all the appurtenances to the aforesaid John son of John de Swonhungre and to Alice his wife and to the heirs of the said Alice for ever, except all the land in Buryfield, Calcheshulle, Ricardescroft fourteen acres of land in Wyndmullefeld, and all the meadow of Longgemed, and in Eghammore, together with forty shillings rent issuing from a "vergee" of land which William de Swonhungre holds for term of his life, with the reversion of the said "vergee" of land after the said William's death as it shall fall then with all the appurtenances. The which lands meadows rents and reversions with all the appurtenances shall remain to the aforesaid

John son of John le Seriaunt and Joan his wife and the heirs of the said Joan for ever paying for them yearly to the chief lordships . . . for all services and demands. And the aforesaid John son of John de Swonhungre and Alice his wife will and grant for them and for the heirs of . . . which to the chief lordships belong of all the land in Calchushulle, Richardescroft, fourteen acres of land in Wyndmulfefeld, and the whole meadow of Longgemede, and in Eghammore. So nevertheless that all the land, rents, and reversions, which Elyanora de Stone mother of the aforesaid Alice and Joan held in Kyngescote, remain entirely to the aforesaid John son of John de Swonhungre and Alice his wife and John son of John le Seriaunt and Joan his wife and to the heirs of the aforesaid Alice and Joan by reasonable portion for ever. In witness whereof the seals of the parties are interchangeably put to this indenture. Witnesses John Capel, William Capel, John Wynch, John de Egeton, Robert de Asshelworth, William Gylemyre, Thomas de Crawlegh, and others.

Given at Berkeley on year and day above named.
(May 1, 1329.)

No. XL.

(Mutilated.)

Memorandum.—That Dom. Roger de Berkeley Lord of Dursley gave to Thomas de Rocheford the manor of Osleworth by charter containing these words: "Let present and future know that I Robert de Berkeley have granted and by this present charter confirmed to Thomas de Rochefford, for his homage and service, the manor of Osleworth. To have and to hold," &c.

Afterwards, Thomas de Rochefford granted to Henry de Billesbi the same manor by his charter containing these words: "Let present &c. know that I Thomas de Rochefford have granted . . . all that tenement in Osleworth with all right and lordship which falls or may fall to me after the death of . . . To hold and to have to the said Henry and his heirs or assigns, or to whomsoever he may

assign or bequeath the same—with reliefs, wards and all other escheats &c. — freely and quietly from all pleas, complaints, aids, demands, and customs, &c. Paying for it annually to me and my heirs one pair of gloves, or one penny, at Easter for all services, suits, customs, and demands, excepting foreign service, pertaining to the aforesaid tenement.

Afterwards Master Henry de Billesby gave the aforesaid manor of Osleworth to the Abbot and Convent and Church of the Blessed Mary of Kyngeswod. To have and to hold by the same service altogether by which the said Master Henry held it.

Afterwards the aforesaid William de Rochefford brother and heir of Thomas de Rochefford confirmed the whole gift of the said Henry of the said manor to the Abbey Convent and Church of Kyngeswod in free pure and perpetual alms. And as for him, so for his heirs, he remitted and quitclaimed the annual rent of one pair of gloves of the value of one penny, or one penny to the aforesaid Church Abbot and Convent. To have and to hold the same as free pure and perpetual alms for . . . customs and demands, saving however foreign service.

Afterwards Dom. Henry de Berkeley . . . confirmed the said manor to God and the Church of the Blessed Mary . . . free and quit of all services and customs saving foreign service . . .

William de la Home gave to the Church . . . the tenement of La Home with all its appurtenances in free pure and perpetual alms which tenement the said William de la Home (had from) Jordon de la Warre Lord of Cnolle and his ancestors for the service of one pound of pepper for all services. Which pound of pepper the said Jordan has remitted, and confirmed the said tenement of La Home from himself and his successors in pure and perpetual alms to the said Church for ever. Moreover Dom. John de Berkeley son and heir of Henry de Berkeley has confirmed all the lands and possessions in free

pure and perpetual alms which the same Abbot and Convent have in the tenure of Newynton.

XLI.

Account of the Cellarer of Bagg in the year of our Lord 1311:—In purse namely 4s. 6d. And received of 42s. for two oxen sold. And of 16s. for one Bull sold. And of 6s. 6d. for 5 calves sold. And from 6s. 6d. for cheese sold. Sum £4 5s.

Then in 2 oxen bought 39s. 6d. And in hay bought 16s. And in wages for cowherd 3s. 5d. And in pittance and gloves 6½d. And in geese bought 4s. Sum 63s. 5½d. And the receipts exceed the expenditure 22s. 6½d. Then for 12 oxen remaining in the last account and from 2 above bought, sum 14s. Then in above sold 2 and remain 12 value 13s. 4d. Sum £8.

Also received from 12 cows remaining and from 1 yolk-cow sum 13. Then in 1 killed and remain 12 value per head 5s. Sum 60s. The same received from 1 bull remaining and from 1 for the yoke sum 2 and 1 remains. Value 6s. 8d. The same received for 3 yearlings and two remain value 3s. each. Sum 6s. The same received from one bullock remaining and a bull is added above and nothing remains. The same received for 3 calves and there remain now 1 male yearling and two female value 6s. The same received from 1 female bullock (heifer) and is added above. The same received from 1 bull remaining and value remains as 9s. and 3 colts value returned xx. The same received from 7 calves from issue. Then in 5 above sold and in murrain one, and 2 remain value 2s. And from one foal from issue . . . s.

Sum of the whole estate with what remains in purse £14 8s. 2½d.

HULLE.—Also the account of the same for Hull and there remains in purse 48s. 6½d. From 2 oxen sold and 16d. from 1 calf sold sum 44s. 10d. Sum £4 11s. 3½d. Then in 2 oxen bought 44s. 10d. And in increase of wages

6d. And in pittance and gloves 6½d. Sum 45s. 10½d. And in gifts 85s. 5d. Sum £4 11s. 3½d. The same received from 8 oxen remaining—value per head 13s. 4d. Sum 106s. 8d. The same from 2 cows value 13s. 4d. Also 1 heifer value 6s. 8d. The same received from 2 yearlings value 4s. The same received from 2 mares remaining. There is one with murrain and there remains 1 value 10s. The same received from 1 colt (foal) remaining value 10s.

Sum of the whole estate £7 10s. 8d.

And from what remains in purse (= cash in hand) 56s. 1d.

The Account of the same from the Cowherd.—And received from £6 10s. from 9 oxen sold. And from 20s. from 1 bull sold. And from 11s. 4d. from 8 calves sold. And from 48s. 10d. from wool sold. And from £6 10s. from corn sold in sheaf of Osleworth. And from 1 foal sold 10s. Sum £21 6s. 3d. Then in 11 oxen bought £6 10s. 3d. And in sheaf (corn) bought at Osleworth £6. Also 46s. 8d. for the present year's tithes. And in 32 lambs 16s. And in hay bought 18s. And in forage for the cowherd 6s. And in wages for the Cowherd 2s. 8d. And in wages for the cowherd's boy 12d. And in grease and tar 3s. 10d. And in gifts to various bailiffs 5s. And in my own expenses 10s. And in pittances and geese (?) 8d. Sum £18 12s. 1d. And the receipts exceed the expenditnre 54s. 2d. And for 1 Heriott "Tredelaz." The same received from 11 oxen above bought of them 9 sold above. And in . 2s. . 2 and in 1 delivered at Culkerton and none remain. Sum 12 and 2. The same received from 17 cows remaining and from 1 added¹ (for yoke). Sum 18 of them—2 killed for the larder and 16 remain value 7s. Sum 112s. The same received from 1 bull remaining and from 1 added sum 2. Of them in 1 sold above and 1 remains value 7s. The same received from 2 mares q. sup. adjung' and nothing remains. And received from 5 bullocks remaining and 1 as a gift and there remain 2 male and 2 female value per head 4s. Sum 8s. Then in 8 sold above and 2 in murrain

¹ Adjunct.

sum 2. And 5 remain value 12d. each. Sum 5s. The same received from 120 sheep 22 remain and black. Then in gifts 2 and in murrain 1 sum 3 And 48 remain value 6d. each. Sum 23s. 6d. The same received from 2 foals remaining and from 1 given sum 3 Of them in 1 sold above and 2 remain value each 10s. Sum 28s.

On the back of the deed : Sum extracted owed £4 3s.

No. XLII.

Account of the Cellarer from the feast of St. Lawrence in the year 1315 to the feast of St. Michael next following¹ :—
 Received : 36s. 3d. paid for 43 sheep sold. And 36s. for six quarters of barley sold. And £6 os. 8d. for 52 quarters 2 bushels of oats sold. And £15 from cash (de bursa=purse). And 53s. 4d. received from the smith, a lay brother (conversus). And 6s. 8d. received from the grange at Osleworth. And 10s. for heriot of Richard Lancyng. And 7s. from the goods of Adam le Droys. And 4s. from wood sold.
 Sum £28 13s. 11d.

In wages of servants both of the Abbey and of the grange £10 10s. 5d. And on the part of harvest cutting of all the granges £17 2s. 8d. And in 2½ quarters of salt 21s. 9d. And paid for green wax 4s. 6d. And in payment to the sub-cellarer 8s. 6d. And in pittances of various servants 9s. 6d. And in expenses about a man killed (?) (occisum) 14s. 6d. And in expenses of a boy to Le Wych (Droitwich?) "pro sale sub-arrando"² 12d. And in expenses at Osle(worth) about the Clerk 6d. And in linen cloth 17d. And in his own expenses for travelling 22½d. And in gifts 2s. 7d. And in stockfish 9s. 1d. And expenses of David in looking for Richard de

¹ In the autumn of 1315 there commenced the worst famine ever recorded in England : in 1316 wheat sold for 16s. a quarter, the average price from 1261 to 1540 being 5s. 11½d. Compared with the prices in No. XXXIII., the value of sheep had already fallen considerably ; but it is unfortunate that the account ends at Michaelmas, for the full effects of the famine which arose from excessive wet were not felt till the following year. (Rogers, *Six Centuries of Work and Wages*, pp. 215, 218, Ed. 1884.)

² Sub arare : to plough up. Sub arrare : to espouse, to give a pledge.

Rodeneye 10d. And in expenses of 2 boys travelling 4d. And in expenses about the Abbot and Prior and their companions at the Grange 16d. And in hay bought 6s. 8d. Sum £31 7s. 1d. And the expenses exceed the receipts 53s. 2½d.

And in task of the threshers 14s. 6½d. And in gloves and autumn (?) gloves of the same 19d. And in pittance of the thresher 10d. And in gloves for servants 3s. 6d. And in gloves for the monks 4s. And in pittance for the thresher being in arrear 14d. And in expenses of the Prior in the grange 4s. 5½d. And in leather (coriaco) work (?) one skin 7d. And in 1 augur 2d. And in furniture one horn at Haselden 4d. And in payment of the plumber for work 8d. And in alteration of one saddle 6d. And in gathering seed for corn at the lower grange 7d. And in nails 3d. Sum 34s. 2d.

No. XLIII.

On Saturday in the feast of Faith (6 Oct.) in the year of the reign of King Edward the thirteenth It was so agreed between the religious men Dom. Richard by the grace of God the Abbot of the Church of the Blessed Mary of Kynggeswode and the Convent of the same place on the one part, and Hugh Lanfford on the other part, namely, that the aforesaid religious have leased and granted to the aforesaid Hugh and his wife which he shall first marry after the making of these presents, one toft in the vill of Culkertun situated between the tenement of William le Cartere on the one part, and the tenement of Roger le Reue on the other part and twenty-four acres of land with appurtenances in the fields of Culkertun, whereof four acres lie at Beettesest near the land of Walter atte Mere, and one acre at Salt-harpewey, and two acres and a half lie at Oldehull, and one acre and a half at Barlynghull, and two acres lie at Rotherewey, and one acre lies in the same field, near the land of Richard West, and four acres lie at Ffernhamthorne near Fosse, and one acre and a half lie at Lyncheforlang, and three

acres near the way which leads towards Tettebury, and one acre at Culkerbrugge, and two acres and a half lie at Wadberewe. To have and to hold the aforesaid toft with the afore-mentioned land with all other appurtenances as in roads, paths, meadows, fields, and pastures, from the said religious and their successors to the aforesaid Hugh and his wife freely wholly well and in peace for all their lives only. Paying therefore annually the said Hugh and his wife, and the one of them who shall survive the other, to the said religious and their successors six shillings and eight pence at the four terms of the year, namely at the feast of St. Michael the Archangel twenty pence, and at the feast of St. Thomas Apostle twenty pence, and at the feast of the Annunciation of the Blessed Mary twenty pence, and at the feast of the Nativity of St. John Baptist twenty pence, the term beginning at the feast of St. Michael Archangel next ensuing after the date of the presents, for all servile services pertaining thereto to the aforesaid religious saving suit at the court of the said religious in the vill of Culkerton, as often as it shall happen to be held after reasonable summons, and the service of our Lord the King if any be due therefrom. Moreover the aforesaid Religious and their successors will warrant and defend the aforesaid toft with all the land aforesaid, together with all their appurtenances, during the whole life of the aforesaid Hugh and his wife as is aforesaid. It is also agreed between the aforesaid parties that the aforesaid Hugh and his wife shall build on the said toft at their own expense, except that the said Religious shall find the big timber the virge (=yard ? laths) and straw for one house. In witness whereof the aforesaid parties have alternately appended their seals to this indented writing. Witnesses John Burdon, Stephen Clencham, Robert Passelewe, John Bernard, Henry Constance, Thomas le Fremon, William le Duk and all others. Dated at Kyngeswode on the day and year above-mentioned. (October 9, 1339.)

No. XLIV.

In the year of the reign of King Edward the third from the conquest the twenty-fourth on the feast of St. Martin Bishop it was so agreed between the religious men the Abbot and Convent of Kyngeswod on the one part, and Richard Ardarne and Matilda his wife on the other, namely, that the said Abbot and Convent have granted and leased to the aforesaid Richard and Matilda all that their tenement, together with one virgate of land and a half, and with all other appurtenances in Colkerton which indeed tenement Jacobus de Lambard formerly held in the same place, of which land indeed two acres and a half lie at Smalthorn between the lands of Henry Passelewe and Roger Banewell, and one acre lies at Le Garstonghede, near the land of John Wylecryk, and one acre lies at Swetenhullested, near the land of Henry West, and half an acre lies at Lynch between the lands of Roger Banewell and Henry Passelewe, and one acre and a half lies at Asschemeslad which Walter Le Launsyng formerly held, and four acres lie beyond Asschemerseye, and a half acre lies at la Sandputtes between the lands of William Constance and Henry West, and one acre lies at La Butine which is called Le Hedacre which Walter de Launsyng formerly held and one acre lies at Smalthorn between the lands of Thomas Neel and Edith la Reue, and one acre and a half at Le Gores lies between the lands of John Bernard and the land which Walter de Launsyng formerly held, and one acre lies at Middleforlong between the land which Walter atte Mere formerly held and the land of Edith Le Reue, and half an acre near Smythesweye lies between the land of Henry West and Thomas Neel, and one acre lies at Middleforlong between the land of Walter Le Geg and William Constance, and two acres lie beyond Smythesweye between the land of Roger Perus and John Banewell, and one acre which extends on Le Fosse, and one acre near Smythesweye, lie between the lands of William Constance and William Arnald, and one acre lies

at Rondoune between the lands of Roger Barewel and John Bernard, and one acre lies at Sweltenhulleshide, between the lands of Henry West and Edmund La Reue, and one acre and a half lie at Asschemeslad near La Rythie, and one acre and a half lie near his close and near the lands of Henry West, and one acre lies at the head of the said land near the land of John Wilecryk, one half acre lies at la Butine between the land of Henry Passelewe and Edmund La Reue, and one half acre lies at Templersquarer which is called Le Hedacre, and two acres lie at La Brech between the land of John Bernard and Thomas Down, and one acre lies at le Brech between the land of John Bernard and Launsyngeslond, and extends over Chiryeinedoun, and three acres lie in Le Girston before his gate, and half an acre lies beyond Wokemeweye between the land of John Bernard and John le Reue, and one acre lies at Le Wawes between the land of John Bernard and Henry Passelewe, and two acres lie at Le Lokforlong between the lands of Roger Perns and Edmund La Reue, and one acre lies at Barlychhulle near the land of Henry West, and one acre lies near Le Rucherweye and the land of Henry West, and one acre lies at Stonhull between the land of Henry West and Walter atte Mere, and one acre lies at Stanmere near the land of Roger Perus, and half an acre at Stanmerlies near the land of William Constaunce, and one acre lies at Annesdene between the land of Roger Perus and Roger Barnewell, and one acre lies at Le Quarer' between the lands of Henry Passelewe and John Le Reue, and one acre lies at Le Lokfforlong between the lands of Roger Perus and Edmund Le Reve, and one acre and a half lie at Lokforlong near the land of Thomas Neel, and half an acre lies at Smalthorn between the lands of Roger Barnewell and Edmund La Reue, and an acre lies near Le Rycherweye, and an acre lies at Stonhull near the land of Thomas Neel, and one acre lies at Le Riccherweye between the land of Roger Perus and John Rubel, and two acres lie at Wodemannesthorn between the land of Henry Passelewe and Henry West, and one acre

lies at Hordeston between the land of Roger Perus and Thomas Neel, and one acre lies at Saltharperweye between the land of John Wilecryk and Walter atte Mere, and half an acre lies at Le Riccherweye between the land of Henry Passelewe and Alice Bernard, and one acre lies at Salt-harpeweye near the land of Henry Passelewe, and one acre lies at Mixenhull between the land of Henry West, and one acre lies at Stepenhull near the land of Thomas Neel and Roger Barnewell, and one acre lies at Stepenhulleslad between the lands of Henry Passelewe and John Wilecryx, and one acre lies at Oldenhull near the land of Henry West, and one acre and a half lie at Le Publilond between the lands of Walter Le Geg and Thomas Neel, and one acre lies at Oldenhulleslad and is called Le Hedacre, and one acre lies at La Rylond between the land of William Constance and Thomas Down, and one acre lies at Oldenhull near the land of Roger Banewell, and three acres lie at Le Gores between the lands of Roger Perus and William Constance. To have and to hold all the said tenement with all the said land and with all their appurtenances aforesaid to the said Richard and Matilda his wife to the end of their lives, and the life of the longer liver, from the said Abbot and Convent and their successors freely quietly well and in peace. Paying for the same annually to the aforesaid Abbot and Convent and their successors, sixteen shillings sterling, at the four principal terms by equal portions for all services and secular demands, saving suits of their court and royal service, namely, as much as pertains to such tenement and land in the same vill. And heriots when they shall fall in. But the said Richard and Matilda shall duly keep at their own expense the said tenement with all its appurtenances whatsoever, in as good a state or in a better state as that in which they received it. Nor shall it be lawful to the said Richard and Matilda at any time or in any way to give, sell, or alienate, the said tenement with its appurtenances without their special licence first asked for and obtained. And the said Abbot and Con-

vent and their successors will warrant and defend the said tenement and lands with all the above-named appurtenances to the said Richard and Matilda his wife for the term of their lives, and the life of the longer liver, against all mortals by the aforesaid service. In witness whereof they have alternately placed their seals to these presents.

Witnesses Richard de Cherletun, Henry le Wariner, William Macherlyng, William Constaunce, Henry Passelewe, and others.

Dated at Kyngeswod on the year and day above-mentioned. (November 11, 1350.)

No. XLV.

Account of Brother Walter, Granger del'EGge:—And received 53s. for 3 oxen sold. And 17s. for 1 ox sold. And 14s. for 1 bull sold. And 10s. for 1 cow sold. And 4s. for a young ox sold.¹ And 7s. 1d. for 4 calves sold. And £3 received from corn. And 38s. for 13 pigs sold. And 6s. for 1 heifer² sold. And 3s. for wax and honey sold. And 3s. for a cowhide sold. Sum £11 15s. 1d.

Then in debts repaid £4 9s. 11d. Item in 2 oxen bought 41s. 6d. Item in 1 ox bought 21s. Item in 1 ox bought 18s. Item in 1 cow bought 13s. 3d. Item in 1 sow bought with 7 little pigs³ 14s.

Item in servants' wages for gifts "ad communium" 23s. 2d. Item in wages for Cowherd 3s. 3d. Item in wages for Swineherd 2s. And in food for the swine 5s. 6d. Item in "ref" 10s. Item in tallow⁴ and (unct?) grease 5s. Item in horseshoes and harness 2s. Item for a hoop 2s. Sum of expenses £12 11s. 7d.

On the back: Below remains unpaid 45s. Oxen 50. Cows 13. Bull 1. Bullocks 3, 1 male 2 female. Yearlings 6. Calves 4 price 4s. Mares (jumente) for carts 2 price 20s. Mares (jumente) for pasture 2 price 10s. Sows 3 price 3s 6d.

¹ Boviculus mas. ² Bovicula feminina. ³ Porcellis.

⁴ Cepo pro sepo.

Hogs 4 price 5s. Pigs 6 price 16s. Little pigs 16 . . .
 propter. . . . pre.

No. XLVI.

Enquiry is to be made in what way the Abbot and Convent of Kyngeswood hold those 2 acres of land and the tenement which were sometime Thomas le Archer's at . . . They were not of the land of the said Aylward . . . In pure perpetual and free alms. [The following 12 lines are so rubbed and so illegible that nothing connected can be got from them.] . . . And although a second charter of Robert de Berkeley makes mention of 1 virgate of land at Swineheye and the mill of Byfford they indeed understand that John le Skey of Nybbeley holds that virgate of land in chief of the Abbot of Kyngeswode. And that 1 messuage and 1 virgate of land of which mention is made in the charter of Thomas de Berkeley is now in the hand of John Crennel at La Southende.

Also to enquire how one croft above Aleynghurst near the hedge of Hawe Park is held.—In free pure and perpetual alms.

Also how the tenement of William Tudenham is held. It is held similarly.

Also how the grange "del Egge" is held, for they indeed say that those ten pence rent of which the charter of the said Lord Maurice de Berkeley makes mention as above were due for that wood near Bradpen. All in pure and perpetual alms.

Also to enquire who enfeoffed the Abbey of the well and the position of the conduit.

No. XLVII.

This deed consists simply of the names of eighty-seven donors of gifts, in money, and kind, for the use of the Church. There is nothing to fix the date of it.

No. XLVIII.

To all the faithful of Christ to whom this present writing shall come, Brother John,¹ Prior of the Cathedral Church of St. Mary of Worcester and the Chapter of the same place greeting in the Lord Everlasting.

We have received the letters of the Reverend father and Lord . . . (Thomas) Bishop of Worcester in these words: To all the sons of Mother Church to whom the present letters shall come, Thomas² by divine permission Bishop of Worcester greeting in the Saviour of all men. Whereas our most excellent prince the Lord Henry, by the grace of God Illustrious King of England and France, and Lord of Ireland, by his letters patent at the request of our beloved in Christ the Abbot of Kyngeswode suggesting that he and the whole religion of the Cistercian order have been from ancient times privileged and exempt from all manner of ordinary jurisdiction, (so that no one except only our Lord the supreme Pontiff and the Court of Rome or his conservators should have jurisdiction over them) and that the same convent within the said Abbey holding the parish Church has not pension, portion, lands, or rents, wherewith to sustain them and their servants sufficiently to support their burdens, has granted to the said Abbot, that he and his successors the Abbots of the aforesaid place, should not be assigned or burdened with any tithe or other tax to be granted to our aforesaid Lord the King or his heirs by our lord the supreme Pontiff, or the clergy of the realm of England, but that they shall be quit and exonerated therefrom for ever, notwithstanding any assignation or order by us the lord Bishop or our successors to the same Abbot or his successors for being collectors of any such tithe or subsidy hereafter to be made, as in the letters our Lord the King abovesaid more plainly appears. We, considering the pious intention of our aforesaid Lord the King in this particular, wishing to graciously

¹ John Fordham, 1415—1438.

² Thomas Peverell, consecrated to the See of Ossory in 1397, translated to Llandaff in 1398 and to Worcester in 1407; died March 2, 1419.

follow with our favour the said Abbot by sight of the premisses and contemplation of Thomas Lord of Berkeley patron of the said Abbey, but especially through reverence of God, and the observance and continuance of the worship of the most blessed Virgin Mary in the aforesaid Abbey, have granted for us and our successors to the same Abbot that he or his successors and the Abbots of that place may not be assigned or burdened by the said Bishop or his successors with any tithe or other subsidy which may in any way be granted to our Lord the King of England, or his heirs the Kings of England, by our Lord the supreme Pontiff, or the clergy of the realm of England, at the collection of such subsidy in any way, but that the said Abbot and his successors may be for ever quit and exonerated therefrom except this, that the aforesaid Abbot or any of his successors may be in any way burdened and assigned at the collection or levy of any title, quota, or subsidy to be granted to our Lord the King of England or to any of his heirs in the form aforesaid, to be made by us or our successors. In witness whereof we have caused our seal to be appended. Given at our House within the parish of the blessed Mary de la Stronde outside the bar of the New Temple London, on the 8th day of February in the year of our Lord 1412 and in the 6th year of our Translation. But we the Prior and Chapter aforesaid contemplating the benign will of our said Lord the illustrious King, and on account of reverence of the letters of Thomas Lord of Berkeley patron of the said Abbey directed to us in this particular, and also wishing that the servants of God of the Abbey aforesaid may serve their Creator more freely and quietly, do corroborate and confirm the aforesaid grant of our Lord the Bishop aforesaid, and all and singular the things contained in the said letters as far as in us lies and pertains to us for us and for our successors. In witness of all which things our common seal has been appended to these presents.

Given in our Chapter House at Worcester . . . octavo
1415.

No. L.

Mr. Knewton's notes as I take yt :

I finde that William Berkeley Lord of Dursley was founder of the Abbey of Kingswood, who had issue Roger Berkeley of Dursley in the time of Kinge Henry II. in whose (which) name they continued lords thereof till Richard II. daies, in whose time John (Berkeley) Lord of Dursley had issue Elizabeth married to Richard Chelder who solde the foundation of the said Abbey. D 83.

Kinge Henry I. graunted to the Abbot and Monks of Kingswood the manor of Athold in such sorte as Roger Berkeley had formerlie given it to them.

More. I have not yet seene this Monastery of Kingswood.

William Berkeley Lord of Dursley giveth to the Abbott of Tenterne his manor of Acholte which now is named Kingswood To edefie and build an Abbey of the Order of Cistercians. And Maude the Emperesse confirmed it. The Abbott and the convent received the said William Berkeley sonne and heire Lord of Dursley in their Chapter House founders there. Now cometh Roger Berkeley sonne and heire to William Berkeley and confirmeth the guifte of his Father, and Henry the Second the Emperess' sonne confirmeth the guift of Roger Berkeley, and soe Berkeleys of Dursley continued unto King Richard II. time.

TR 6 E II. or E III. and Tyntarne Monastery. I Reigenold's olde clarke of Mr. Osbornes Worne's office.



CHAPTER HOUSE, HAYLES ABBEY.

THE ABBEY OF ST. MARY, HAYLES.

BRIEF SKETCH OF ITS HISTORY, AND REPORT OF THE
EXCAVATIONS IN 1899 AND 1900.

BY THE REV. WILLIAM BAZELEY, M.A., *Hon. General Secretary.*

THE Cistercian Abbey of Hayles, near Winchcombe, Gloucestershire, was founded in 1246 by Richard, Earl of Cornwall, brother of Henry III., and he transferred thither from the Abbey of Beaulieu, in Hampshire, twenty monks and ten lay brethren.

A short chronicle of Hayles, in the British Museum, tells us that the church was finished in 1251, together with dorter, cloisters and frater, at a cost of 8,000 marks. The ruined arches of the cloisters, on the outer side, are of this date. On the 9th of November in that year the church was dedicated to God's service. Henry III. and his Queen, Eleanor of Provence, and Earl Richard and his second wife, Sanchia, sister of the Queen, were present. Thirteen bishops, whose names and dioceses are given in an ancient manuscript preserved in the library of Wells Cathedral, said mass, each at his own altar, Grossetête, Bishop of Lincoln, consecrating at the high altar. Besides these were an innumerable host of nobles, clergy, and common folk, who crowded thither to do honour to the founder.

The first abbot is said to have been Jordan, a monk of Beaulieu. The lists of abbots hitherto given are not to be depended upon. Hayles has been confused with the Præmonstratensian abbey of Hales Owen, on the borders of Worcestershire and Shropshire.

In 1256 Richard was elected King of the Romans, and he and his wife were crowned at Aix. Queen Sanchia died in 1261, and was buried at Hayles, near the high altar. In the same year, Richard, an infant son of Earl Richard, is said to have died at Grove Myle, near Hayles, and to have

been buried in the Abbey. The founder's eldest son, Henry, had been born in the Castle of Hayles, and baptised in the church in the year 1237. This castle and church were built by Ralph de Worcester in the reign of King Stephen. Only the earthworks of the castle remain, but the little parish church is intact. In 1267 Richard married, as his third wife, Beatrice von Falkenstein, the beautiful niece of Conrad, Archbishop of Cologne.

In the same year, the chronicle tells us, Edmund, the second son of the founder, purchased in Germany some of the Holy Blood of Jesus. A portion of this he gave to Hayles on the festival of the Exaltation of the Cross, September 14th, 1270, and it was accompanied by a certificate from Urban, Patriarch of Jerusalem, afterwards Pope.

On March 12th, 1271, Henry of Almayne, eldest son of Richard, was cruelly murdered in the little church of San Sylvestro, at Viterbo, during the saying of mass, by his cousins, Guy and Simon de Montford, sons of the great patriot Earl. The flesh of the ill-fated prince was buried between the tombs of two pontiffs in the church of Santa Maria dei Gradi; his heart was placed in a golden vase and enshrined in the tomb of Edward the Confessor at Westminster. His bones were conveyed in a leaden coffin to Hayles, and buried in the Abbey Church before the high altar. Richard, broken-hearted at the untimely and terrible death of his son, had a seizure, from which he died on April 2nd, 1272. He was buried in the presbytery beside Queen Sanchia, and his widow, Beatrice von Falkenstein, placed above him "a noble pyramis" or raised tomb, which was ruthlessly broken in pieces at the Dissolution.

Richard was succeeded as Earl of Cornwall by his son Edmund, who in 1272 married Margaret, sister of Gilbert, Earl of Hertford and Gloucester. In 1277 "the new work at Hayles, together with the shrine in which was deposited the precious Blood of Christ, were dedicated by Godfrey Gifford, Bishop of Worcester." In 1280 Hugh is mentioned

as Abbot. In 1292 the Infirmary and the buildings attached to it were commenced. In 1295 Edmund gave to the Abbey a golden cross containing a portion of the true cross of Christ. In 1299 the boveria or oxhouses were begun and finished.

On October 31st, 1300, Edmund, Earl of Cornwall, died at Ashridge, and his bones were buried at Hayles in the presence of Edward I. and a great company of bishops abbots, and knights. Hugh, Abbot of Hayles, is mentioned in the Patent Rolls as one of the executors of the Earl's will.

Hugh appears to have been succeeded by John, who was still ruling the Abbey in 1332, though of great age.

On the vigil of Corpus Christi, 1337, about the hour of Vespers, a great flood of water burst upon the Abbey, and caused much loss and destruction. The situation of the Abbey in the lowest part of the valley, between two high hills, has always laid it open to such visitations. Very little has been recorded about the Abbey during the long and eventful reign of Edward III. and the reigns of his immediate successors; but we know that the plague raged at Hayles in 1361-2, and nearly exterminated the monks, regular and lay. The last entry in the chronicle tells us that on Sunday, October 31st, 1364, some "satellites of Satan" broke into the sacristy and carried off many of the sacred vessels. In the same year many other English monasteries were similarly robbed. Robert Alcester, Abbot of Hayles, is said to have been buried at Dowdeswell, near Cheltenham, about 1420. He was succeeded by William Hendley, a native of Gloucester. I have found a deed amongst the muniments of the Corporation of Gloucester, dated 1426, bearing his signature and the Abbey seal. John appears as Abbot in 1463, and Richard in 1465. William Whytchurch, whose name as Abbot appears in 1466, has the credit for rebuilding the cloisters in the Perpendicular style, and converting the cellarium, or house of the lay monks, on the west side of the cloisters, into the Abbot's lodgings.

A document has been found amongst the Vatican papers, dated 1458, in which Pope Callixtus III. exhorts all the faithful to assist the monks of Hayles in repairing their ruined Abbey. Whytchurch was at one time Vicar of Didbrook, a parish adjoining Hayles. He rebuilt the church and had it reconciled in 1471, after the sacrilegious murder of some fugitive Lancastrians from the fatal field of Tewkesbury. He is said to have been buried in the church; and there are remains of painted glass in the east window with an inscription to his memory as founder of the church.

The name of John de Clitheroe, as Abbot of Hayles at the close of the 15th century, is given in a list of monks of Whalley Abbey. Two sets of 16th century tiles, of which we found fragments in the Chapter House, bear the initials, name, or rebus of Anthony Melton and Anthony Stafford as abbots. These cannot be earlier than the beginning of the 16th century, as companion tiles bear the Tudor Rose, Pomegranate, and Portcullis.

The last Abbot of Hayles was Stephen Sagar, also called Whalley, because he was educated as a monk of that abbey. He was made King's chaplain in 1537, and obtained a pension of £100 and the use of Coscombe House for his lifetime after the surrender of the Abbey to the King's Commissioners in December, 1539. He was buried with his brother in Warmfield Church, near Halifax, and the following inscription was placed over their grave:—"We be two brothers, I pray you let us rest, Stephen Sagar, some time Abbot of Hayles, and Otho Sagar, Vicar of this parish."

At the Dissolution the late Abbot's lodging, extending from the church to the frater southward, with pantry, buttery, kitchen, larder, cellars, and the lodging over the same, the baking and brewing houses and garner, the gate-house, the great barn, two stables, the oxhouse, and the sheepphouse were assigned to remain undefaced. The church with aisles, chapels, and steeple, the cloister,



DOOR OF UNDERCROFT OF DORMITORY, HAYLES ABBEY

Kindly lent by the Society of Architects.



DOOR OF MONKS' PARLOUR, HAYLES ABBEY

chapter house, dorter and frater, the infirmary with chapels and lodgings to them adjoining, the prior's chamber and all other chambers lately belonging to the officers there, were deemed to be superfluous. Most of the possessions of the Abbey were granted to Admiral Seymour, and, on his attainder, to William, Marquis of Northampton, who leased them to Henry Hodgkins. Queen Elizabeth renewed this lease in 1565, and the manor passed by marriage to William Hobby, who restored the parish church, and was buried there, at the age of 103, in 1603. His son died in the same year, and the manor was sold to Sir John Tracy created in 1642 Viscount Tracy. His grandson, John, third Viscount Tracy, died at Hayles in 1686, after which time the house does not appear to have been used as a residence by the Tracys. Views of Hayles given by Atkyns (1712), Buck (1732), and Lysons (1794) show the process of ruin.

REPORT OF THE RECENT EXCAVATIONS AT HAYLES ABBEY.

It was for many years the wish of Mrs. Dent, of Sudeley Castle, whose death, early in 1900, all her many friends deplore, to arrest the unceasing destruction of Hayles Abbey, but the opportunity was lacking.

In 1899, by the courteous permission of the present owners, the Economic Assurance Society, and the tenants, the Toddington Orchard Company, the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society were enabled to commence an examination of the site and the repair of the broken arches. The superintendence of the work was confided to me as Secretary of the Society, and with me was associated one of the members of our council, Mr. St. Clair Baddeley, an expert in Italian history and architecture. After consultation with Mr. St. John Hope, we determined in the first place to clear the cloister walks and remove the soil which had accumulated at the bases of the walls and arches. We felt that this would help visitors to understand the plan of the conventual buildings which surrounded the cloister garth and add to their interest. The abbey church, with the

exception of its south wall which forms the north wall of the cloister, has entirely disappeared, and what little remains of the foundations lies two feet below the turf.

We commenced work with four labourers and a stonemason on July 20th, and soon found the north-west angle of the inner wall of the cloister. The masonry is Perpendicular, of the same date as the remaining three arches of the west cloister walk.

We found traces of two fires, one earlier than the rebuilding of the cloister, and another considerably later than the Dissolution for the stratum of ashes lay a foot above the original floor line. It is probable that Lord Tracy's house, which stood on the site of the western range of buildings, was damaged or destroyed about 1775 by a conflagration.

The cloister walks are 132 feet long and 12 feet wide. The garth is about 100 feet square. The foundations of the inner wall have for the most part been destroyed. The base of the north-west doorway into the church remains. We found it blocked with Perpendicular stonework.

The five arcades in the north cloister walk are not carrels, as suggested by the late Mr. Loftus Brock, for a stone bench which he did not see runs along in front of them. Our mason restored the level of their floor line with dry walling, and we deposited there various interesting relics:—six heraldic bosses discovered in the west walk; the head of the doorway leading into the chapter-house, found where it had probably fallen¹; some window mouldings, which we found in taking the dimensions of the church; and a vaulting rib of the presbytery. The largest piece of moulding, which we believe to be the central portion of the great east window of the presbytery, we found buried in front of the shrine of the Holy Blood of Hayles. The curves, when produced, give us a three or a five light window, with trefoils, cinquefoils, and a quatrefoil in its head.

We found part of a carrel filling up the north-east doorway. The carrels were evidently in the same position

¹ These are now in the Abbey Museum.

as at Gloucester, in the inner wall of the cloister walk. A corbel carved as an angel with outspread wings, and the termination of the vaulting ribs resting on it, in the N.E. corner of the cloisters, are, we believe, the work of Abbot Whytchurch, about 1466; but Sir Arthur Blomfield, whose death has been a sad loss to us, thought they might be as late as the beginning of the 16th century, which is certainly the date of the vaulting bosses found in the west walk. All the arches on the north, east, and west sides of the cloister seem to be the work of the Early English builders in 1246—1251, though many of them have Perpendicular work inserted to carry the vaulting ribs.

The arch leading into the sacristy seems to have been fairly perfect in 1856 when the British Association visited Hayles. Half of the trefoiled and quatrefoiled head is now irreparably gone, but we found and replaced the blue lias base and part of the shaft. The eastern wall of this room is of considerable thickness. The vaulting was supported by two sets of shafts in a line with those of the chapter-house. The northern wall is completely gone. Ivy of long growth has been destroying and at the same time supporting the broken arches. We pruned the long branches, and have dealt more severely with it this year.

Next to the sacristy is the chapter-house, with its three arches. The sills of the side openings have been restored with dry walling, but a foot of soil has yet to be cleared away from the cloister walk before the original level will be reached.

We thoroughly cleared the chapter-house, which was 35 feet wide and 48 feet long, and found the four Early English bases of the columns, which divided it into three alleys and nine compartments.

Amongst the rubbish which covered the floor to the extent of nearly eight feet we found most of the vaulting ribs, many fragments of blue lias bell-shaped capitals, painted red as a ground for gold, six beautiful bosses almost perfect, and a trefoil shaft lying near its socket in the stone bench at the

east end, part of one of the responds of an arch. We found also some mouldings which probably formed part of the east window inserted after the fire of 1270. Many fragments of tiles of early 16th century date were also found, similar in every respect to the Hayles tiles at Southam-de-la-Bere.

The original position of the bosses in the vaulted roof may be ascertained from the number of vaulting shafts which sprang from them. One boss represents Samson rending the lion. The other bosses are ornamented with the stiff-leaved foliage peculiar to the thirteenth century, and are deeply undercut. We consider them to be the original work of 1250.

The doorway of the monks' parlour, to the south of the chapter-house, has been underpinned with Perpendicular work, and ruthlessly cut through to insert the corbel from which sprang the wall ribs of the groining. This room was about 32 feet long by 12 feet wide, and had a plain barrel-vaulted roof.

The doorway leading to the vaulted undercroft of the dormitory is semi-circular headed, and has no later insertion. There are two cupboards in the wall on the eastern side.

The broken arch at the south-east corner of the cloister leads to a flight of steps which were covered by the roots of a large ash-tree. This tree has been cut down and the dormitory staircase exposed.

The doorway of the warming-house has a trefoil-shaped head.

The lavatory was set in a deep recess with a flat 15th century arch and panelled soffit. The corbel from which sprang the wall rib remains. It is not in the centre of the arch. Part of the trough may be seen at the east end of the lavatory.

The doorway of the frater, with its seven orders of mouldings, its clustered shafts and conventional foliage, must have been a splendid example of Early English architecture. When the fifteenth century "restorers" inserted their plain arch they appear to have hidden the



BOSS FROM ROOF OF CHAPTER HOUSE, HAYLES ABBEY

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DOOR OF FRATER, HAYLES ABBEY.

Kindly lent by the Society of Architects.

earlier work with plaster. We found an Early English capital in a drain about two feet below the floor line of the frater. West of the doorway inside is a large cupboard, with two arches and a groove for wooden shelves. Adjoining it are remains of the usual hatch. The kitchen, butteries, and pantry have completely disappeared. On the east of the doorway are two smaller cupboards and traces of a table. We have only as yet excavated the frater to the extent of three feet south of the wall.

Three only of the inner arches of the cloister remain, on the west side. In clearing the floor of the west walk we found six bosses and a large quantity of late Perpendicular vaulting, also some tracery of the arches.

The heraldic bearings on the bosses are as follows:—

- (1) *Fretty*, for Huddleston of Melholme, Cumberland. Sir John Huddleston, second son of the Lord of Melholme, was governor of Sudeley Castle, two miles distant from Hayles, and also of Gloucester Castle, during the reigns of Richard III., Henry VII., and Henry VIII. He died January 15th, 1513, and was buried, as was his widow, Dame Joan, at Hayles Abbey.
- (2) *Quarterly*, 1 and 4 *fretty* (for Huddleston), 2 and 3 *three bars gemelles* (for Fitz-Alan) impaling a *lion rampant* (for Stapleton). Sir John Huddleston's father, John Huddleston, married Joan, co-heir of Sir Miles Stapleton, of Ingham, and Joan, his wife. Sir Miles Stapleton was the son of Gilbert Stapleton and Agnes, his wife, daughter and heir of Brian Fitz-Alan of Bedale.
- (3) Huddleston impaling Stapleton, or, if this boss be proved to be of later date than the other five and to have been inserted in the vaulted roof after the Dissolution, Huddleston impaling Barrantyne. Anthony Huddleston, grandson of the governor of Sudeley and son of Sir John Huddleston III.,

who built Southam-de-la-Bere, married in 1541 Mary, daughter and heir of Sir William Barrantyne, of Great Haseley, Oxfordshire. The tail of this lion is queued.

- (4) *Quarterly, 1 and 4, five fusils in fess* (for Percy), 2 and 3, *three bars gemelles, over all a bend* (for Poynings). Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, was the grandson of Eleanor, sole heiress of Robert, Lord Poynings, and in her right he was Lord Poynings, Brian, and Fitzpaine. It was probably through the influence of Christopher Urswycke, Almoner of Henry VII., that the Earl of Northumberland became a generous patron of Hayles.
- (5) *Quarterly, 1 and 4, a lion passant gardant between three helms* (for Compton), 3 and 4, *a chevron within a bordure*. This was the ancient bearing of the Compton family, and commemorated some gift to Hayles Abbey by Sir William Compton, ancestor of the Marquises of Northampton. The lion was an augmentation granted to him by Henry VIII., in the fourth year of his reign. Sir William Compton succeeded Sir John Huddleston in 1513 as governor of Sudeley Castle, and by his will he left 20 marks to Hayles Abbey. He died in 1529.
- (6) *A chain with a shack-bolt at either end, between three mitres*. The chain and shack-bolt refer to a legend of Egwin, third bishop of Worcester, the founder of Evesham Abbey in 702, and were used as arms by that Abbey.

On the 22nd of March, 1900, I laid these facts and many drawings and photographs of the chapter-house tiles and the ruins, &c., before the Society of Antiquaries at Burlington House. On the following day, I had an interview with the representatives of the present owners, the Directors of the Economic Assurance Society, and this led to their very generously repairing and placing at our disposal an ancient barn as a Museum.

This year (1900) we have been examining the site of the Abbey Church with most interesting results. Many of the facts recorded in the Chronicle of Hayles (mentioned above) have been verified by recent discoveries. The church, as shown by the mouldings of the stonework, is distinctly of two dates; viz., Early English of c. 1250, and Transitional Early English of c. 1275. The older church ended eastward with a straight wall behind the high altar. In 1271-7, the new work, an eastern apse, was constructed with five polygonal chapels, two semi-circular ambulatories, and a structure, eight feet by ten, from a point in which radiated all the rest. This structure is, without doubt, the base of the shrine where rested for 260 years, together with the piece of the true Cross, the Holy Blood of Hayles. This, the most sacred spot at one time in the county of Gloucester, was visited by thousands of pilgrims annually from all parts of England and Wales. We can picture to our minds a shrine like Edward the Confessor's at Westminster, or like those of St. Albans, Ely, Durham, and Canterbury—an ark-like structure with gabled roof, and carved with canopied figures of saints. In 1533, the last Abbot, Stephen Sagar or Whalley, begged Thomas Cromwell that the case which contained "that feigned relic of Christ's Blood, which standeth where it did IN THE NATURE OF A SHRINE, may be put down, every stick and stone, and so leave no remembrance of that forged relic." At another time he is willing, he says, to suffer the most shameful death if ever the Blood were trifled with; and he speaks of an old monk, eighty years of age, who has had care of the sacred relic for forty years, and will certify the same.

Fortunately the matrix of a beautiful seal was found some years ago in Yorkshire with the figure of a monk, perhaps this very monk of whom Sagar speaks, holding in his right hand the phial containing the Holy Blood, and in the other the *aspergès* (Lat. *aspergillus*) with which he sprinkled with holy water the pilgrims kneeling before the shrine. It bears the following inscription: "Sigillum fraternitatis monasterii

beatæ Mariæ de Hayles." Probably Abbot Sagar, when he went some years later to his brother Otho Sagar, vicar of Warmfield, to die and be buried in his church, took the seal with him, and it was subsequently lost. A copy of this seal, as well as of another from the muniments of the Corporation of Gloucester, is in the Hayles Museum.

It is a marvel, when we consider that the site of the church has been twice dug over for material to build a home for the Tracys at Toddington, and again and again to build farmhouses, cottages, and barns, that the base of this sacred shrine should remain intact. The beautiful apse in which it stood reminds us of the choir of Westminster Abbey, which was completed in 1269. The apse at Hayles was built to be, as it were, a crown on the head of the cruciform church.

We found several yards of plinth, bases of shafts, and portions of the inner walling *in situ*, and many vaulting ribs, shafts, caps, mullions of windows, and one boss lying among the *débris*. The two chapels of the eastern apse on the north and the two on the south were floored with late 13th century encaustic tiles bearing the royal arms of England (three lions passant), King of the Romans (an eagle displayed), Queen Sanchia (a paly of eight), Earl of Cornwall (a lion rampant, with a bordure bezanty), and De Clare (three chevrons). The central chapel was refloored in the 14th century with large, thick tiles ornamented with natural foliage, etc. Examples of all these tiles have been desposited in the Museum at Hayles.

Westward of this beautiful apse is the Presbytery, with north and south aisles, ten and a half feet wide. On the north side of the high altar, the floor of which remains, or immediately in front of it, was, probably, the "pyramis" of the founder and his wife, Queen Sanchia, and, perhaps, on the south side, the tomb of Edmund, Earl of Cornwall. Of Richard's tomb we found a few fragments, one ornamented with a human head of the Edwardian type. Moreover, we found parts of the effigies of a mailed warrior and his lady, as well as the heads of the lions which lay

at their feet. The lower part of a heater-shaped shield bearing the foot of a lion and a bordure bezanty is just the evidence we could have desired to enable us to assign the tomb to the founder and his Queen. Lying *in situ* on the floor of the north aisle of the Presbytery, we found many scores of late 13th century tiles, bearing the arms of Ferrers, Peverell, Badlesmere, Warren, Stafford, &c. The floor of the central gangway of the Presbytery was relaid with tiles in the last quarter of the 14th century. This is shown by the heraldic bearings on some of them :—

- (1) *Fretty, on a canton a cross fleury*, for Henry Wakefield, Bishop of Worcester, 1375 to 1395.
- (2) *A fess between six crosslets*, for Thomas de Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, impaling *seven mascles* 3.3 and 1. for his wife Margaret, daughter of William de Ferrers of Groby. He died in 1400.
- (3) *Barry of six, an escutcheon, on a chief three pales gyroned*, for Mortimer.
- (4) *A fesse between six martlets*, for Beauchamp.
- (5) The same *quartering a maunch*, for Hastings or Toney.
- (6) *Semée of fleur de lys*.
- (7) *A chevron*, or perhaps *two chevrons, between three wheels* : and many others.

In front of the Presbytery steps we found a beautiful row of early 14th century tiles :—(1) the Despencer fret alternate with (2) a queer bird with two heads and a long neck, and (3) many border tiles with the castle of Eleanor of Castille and the fleur de lys of Margaret of France, Queens of Edward I. Specimens of all these tiles will be found in the Museum.

Between the Presbytery and its aisles on either side were four arcades and a connecting wall or screen, probably about ten feet high, as at Tintern. This arrangement is always found in the naves and aisled Presbyteries of Cistercian churches. Immediately in front of the high altar we found a round stone vessel, three feet in diameter at the

top and one foot four inches at the base, and near it we found masses of lead intermixed with clay. Mr. St. John Hope, Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries of London, believes this to be a vessel for melting the lead sold at the Dissolution. Westward of the Presbytery is the monks' choir, occupying the crossing and one bay of the nave. Beyond the choir are the pulpitum or screen and the retro-choir. The easternmost bays of the north and south aisles of the nave were cut off by stone screens, forming them into chapels. In the chapels of the south aisle we found traces of two tombs, between the pillars of the arcades, and hundreds of fragments of two 15th century monuments. In the north aisle we found a beautiful 13th century carved bracket with three dragons devouring one another. To the right and left of the choir are transepts, each with three eastern chapels, as is usual in Cistercian churches. There are traces of a central tower as at Tintern. The church, with the apse, is about 320 feet in length, as long as Gloucester Cathedral without the Lady Chapel.

The Church has now been covered in again. Next summer we hope to examine the remains of the abbot's lodgings, the frater, the warming house and the infirmary.

Mr. Harold Brakspear, Architect of Malmesbury Abbey, a well-known expert in Cistercian architecture, has made a careful ground plan of all that has been uncovered. This plan, with subsequent additions, will be reproduced in these *Transactions*.

While searching for some stained glass said by Rudder to have been removed from the Abbot's lodgings to old Toddington House we discovered, in a box, twenty-one mosaics of beautifully painted glass with the following inscription on a piece of white glass:—"This window was new glazed and the figures from Hailes Abbey placed here by Thos. Chas. Lord Visct. Tracy in 1789."

The owners having courteously given us permission to place this glass in the Museum at Hayles, it has been carefully reled under the immediate direction of one of the

members of this Society, Mr. C. H. Dancey. Nine mosaics represent the Apostles SS. Andrew, James the Greater, John, Philip, James the Less, Thomas, Bartholomew, Matthew, and Simon. SS. Peter, Matthias, and Thaddeus are missing. S. Andrew repeats the second clause of the Apostles' Creed, "Et in Jesum Christum Filium ejus unicum Dominum nostrum," and the rest continue it as far as "Remissionem peccatorum." As in the beautiful glass at Fairford, the Prince of Wales' feather appears in nearly all these nine mosaics, which are apparently of 15th century workmanship. Seven others are composed of fragments of glass of similar date. The remaining five belong to the Renaissance period; the designs of these last are—two angels, two cupids, and the arms of the Founder as well as of the Abbey.

The ruins of the Abbey and the contents of the Museum have been vested in five Trustees:—Sir Michael Hicks-Beach and Mr. C. Wise, appointed by the owners; Mr. St. Clair Baddeley and the Rev. W. Bazeley, appointed by this Society; and the Rev. C. H. Stanton, Vicar of Toddington, Didbrook, and Hayles, appointed by the owners and this Society conjointly. The Trustees held their first meeting on the 3rd of September, 1900.

More than 800 visitors were received at the Abbey last summer and autumn, and lectures on the history of the Abbey and contents of the Museum were given by Mr. Baddeley and myself on Thursday afternoons.

The Excavation Fund, for which no special appeal was made in 1900, is well-nigh exhausted; but the work is of such thrilling interest, that we feel sure fresh subscriptions will be forthcoming from the members of this Society and other friends.

G. M. CURRIE, Esq., 26 Lansdown Place, Cheltenham, is Treasurer of the Fund.

SOME CURIOUS INCIDENTS IN BRISTOL HISTORY.

By J. LATIMER.

AMONGST many remarkable documents entered in the Great Red Book of the Corporation of Bristol, at present almost unknown to the public, is an account of an extraordinary occurrence during the reign of Edward IV., which created great excitement at the time, and which gives modern readers a vivid picture of city life in the middle ages, yet which local historians have thought worthy only of the baldest record. The chief actor in the affair was one Thomas Norton, an officer in the Royal Court holding the important post of Customer of Bristol, and the owner and occupier of the Great House in St. Peter's Churchyard, so well known to archæologists. Before narrating his outrageous proceedings, it is requisite to give a short account of that mansion and its previous owners.

The house, or an earlier one on the same site, belonged in 1401 to one John Corne, and it was sold in that year to Thomas Norton, the ancestor of the above Thomas, who had come into a great fortune bequeathed to him by Elias Spelly, mayor of Bristol in 1390-1, and who himself was elected mayor in 1413. (Corne's charter, given at length in *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1852, part ii., p. 274, disposes of the statement in some local works that the Nortons built a dwelling on the site in the 12th century.) In 1435 the house was in possession of the purchaser's sons, Thomas and Walter, who divided it into two dwellings for their independent residences; but the double ownership had come to an end in 1458, when Walter was sole proprietor. That gentleman had two sons, both named Thomas, and two daughters, married to wealthy Bristolians, Robert Strange (thrice mayor) and John Shipward, jun. (mayor 1477-8).

For some unexplained reason, Mr. Norton determined to convey the bulk of his estates to his younger son, then a boy; and by a feoffment, dated October 12th, 1458, he assigned all his real property in Worcestershire and Bristol to his two sons-in-law (Shipward is called Sheppard in the deed, but the same misspelling occurs in other documents) and to Richard Bartfield, described elsewhere as his servant, directing them as feoffees to reconvey the estate, except one moiety of the Great House, to his younger son, "in order that he should not be vexed or troubled by Thomas, his elder brother," who appears to have been the boy's senior by several years. The delay that occurred before this direction was fully carried out is somewhat surprising. It was not until three years later that the feoffees executed two deeds, one of which demised the Worcestershire estates and extensive house property in Bristol (all acquired from Spelly), together with the eastern portion of the Great House and its garden, to Walter Norton and Isabel his wife for life, with remainder to their younger son, Thomas, and his heirs, remainder to their elder son and his heirs, and further remainders to their two daughters in succession. The second instrument demised the western part of the Great House and its garden, after the lives of Walter and his wife, to their elder son, Thomas, with remainder, failing heirs, to Thomas the younger and his two sisters, as in the former deed. Another delay of two years and a half took place before these feoffments were legally completed by the appointment, in October, 1463, of an attorney to take seisin on behalf of Walter and his wife. Finally, two years and a half later still, in June, 1466, Walter, whose wife was then dead, at length brought all the above documents to the Council House, and requested their enrolment according to the custom of the city in order to assure their validity. Not content with this formality, Mr. Norton requested the mayor, sheriff, and other dignitaries to accompany him to St. Peter's Churchyard, which was accordingly done, and there the old gentleman delivered possession of the eastern

end of the mansion to his younger son in the name of all the estate, declaring that he relinquished all title to and interest in the property for evermore, and adding that he had already given up his jewels and household stuff to his youthful son "to make him sure thereof in his life." (These proceedings took place before William Spencer, then mayor, a fact to be borne in mind in connection with subsequent events.) Six days before this singular scene took place Mr. Norton executed his will, by which he left his eldest son only a silver cup, some hangings and cushions in the hall of his dwelling, and "the standing bed in the great chamber with its tester and curtains"; whilst he bequeathed to the boy several pieces of plate (amongst which was a standing cup and cover called "a Grype is Eye"), the stained bed and hangings, some Arras work, cloth, linen, and blankets, "all the steyned cloth of the life of King Robert of Cecyle which hangeth in my parlour," saucers, pottingers, platters, pewter chargers, five brass pots, "and all my fee simplé lands in Bristol and elsewhere," the last bequest being probably made in apprehension that something might have been omitted in the feoffments. The remainder of his household goods and chattels, jewels, &c., was also bequeathed to the younger son, to be disposed of for the good of testator's soul.

As in that age men rarely made their wills until they were in dread of imminent death, it may be surmised that Walter Norton was then seriously indisposed. If such were the case, however, he recovered, and with recovery came regret over the relinquishment of all his belongings and a desire to recover them. The next document in the Great Red Book bearing upon the case is of ten months later date—April 2nd, 1467,—and is a declaration by William Canynges, mayor, and John Gaywoode, sheriff, certifying that Thomas Norton, junior, who was still a minor, had come before them and their brethren at the Tolzey, "lamentably declaring" that in spite of the feoffments recited above, under which the complainant had taken the profits of the

estate, his father, by the sinister labour of ill-disposed persons, had published and noised in various countries that he had placed his younger son in possession only for his (Walter's) own use, and that he intended to make a re-foffment of the estate, make void the existing deeds, and disinherit the complainant, "against all right and conscience." The applicant therefore prayed the civic officials to make known what they knew respecting the matter. Thereupon the mayor, the sheriff, with John Shipward, William Spencer, and other members of the Common Council, "inasmuch as it is one of the highest duties of charity to bear witness to the truth and to appease controversies," solemnly affirm that they were witnesses to Walter Norton's demand for the enrolment of the deeds, and to his delivery of seisin to his son in the manner and terms related above. This declaration was then formally engrossed, and the seals of the mayor and the other worshipful witnesses were duly appended, with a view to its production in a judicial court.

There is no evidence that Walter Norton persisted in his threatened measures. The date of his death is not recorded, but the will of 1466 was enrolled in the Great Red Book, and does not appear to have been contested; and there is no mention of further feoffments. But twelve years after the declaration made by Canynges and his brethren, in the third mayoralty of William Spencer, an extraordinary document was entered in the Great Book under the following title:—

"Here followeth a Remembrance never to be put in oblivion, but to put in perpetual memory of all the true burgesses and lovers of the town of Bristol of the Innatural demeaning and the inordinate behaving of Thomas Norton, of Bristol, gentleman, against the noble, famous, and true merchant, William Spencer, being the third time mayor of the town of Bristol aforesaid, that is to wit, in the year beginning at the feast of St. Michael, the eighteenth year of the reign of our most dread sovereign lord King Edward

the Fourth. Gathered and compiled by John Twynyho, the recorder of the said town, Which in the same advised, counselled and assisted the said mayor in his most true and hearty manner."

This portentous Remembrance occupies twenty-nine closely-written folios, and if copied verbatim would extend over about as many pages of this volume; but by eliminating legal tautology, and omitting uninteresting details, all the chief facts may be brought within a reasonable compass. As far as possible, the language of the document has been retained, but it has not been thought necessary to reproduce the eccentricities in orthography.

On Friday, the 12th March, 19 Edward IV. (1479), when the mayor and John Skrevyn, sheriff, were sitting in the Compter, hearing complaints according to old custom, Thomas Norton, gent. and water holder, appeared at five o'clock in the afternoon with William Banner, yeoman, desiring to speak with them secretly; but the mayor stated that the inner chamber was then occupied by divers brethren deliberating on great matters, and desired Norton to sit down by him and state why he came. Having sate down, Norton said secretly, "I must speak heinous words." He then stood up and took out of a box a sealed writing, which he read in as low a voice as he could. The writing began by asserting that he (Norton), one of the King's household, appealed the mayor of high treason for reasons he would declare to the King, protesting that this was not done because of any dispute depending between him and the mayor, but because of the latter's rotten and traitorous heart towards the King. If permitted by the latter, he would make this good upon the mayor's wretched person, or on that of any co-burgess who would offer to defend him. And this to perform, he cast to the mayor a glove attached to the writing, sealed with his arms. To which the mayor answered that the charge was false, as he should prove himself; whereupon Norton gave the appeal to the sheriff, charging him on

the King's behalf with the person of the mayor on pain of 24 marks, and so departed.

Next day the mayor summoned the sheriff, recorder, and Council to the Council House to state the above facts, and they, knowing the loyalty and virtue of the mayor, marvelled, and discussed the matter long, and gave him much counsel, for which he thanked them, but said he could not remain in office until he had cleared himself of the charge. He then delivered up the sword, charged the sheriff and Council to govern the town well, and gave himself up to the sheriff, requiring him to convey him to Newgate until the King was informed of the case. The Council, approving of this course with weeping eyes and sorrowing hearts, chose eight of their body to be coadjutors in governing the town, which they did most discreetly. The mayor was conveyed by all his brethren through the open Saturday market to gaol. The masters of the various crafts were next summoned, informed of the facts, and enjoined to see that the King's peace was faithfully kept. Next day (Sunday) the sheriff delivered the appeal and glove to Thomas Asshe, yeoman of the King's Chamber and Comptroller of the Port, to be given to the King, which he did at Eltham on Tuesday, accompanying them with a letter from the sheriff. This missive stated that Norton had retained divers riotous and idle persons by oath and otherwise [the hiring of retainers was then a high misdemeanour], and that five of these retainers on the previous Sunday had assaulted the bailiff of Temple fee and left him for dead, whereupon the mayor had ordered the arrest of the rioters, and three of them were committed to gaol. Hearing of this, Norton came to the mayor and recorder, and praised them for their action, renouncing the prisoners as his servants and promising to assist as a good burgess in repressing riots. On the Friday following the prisoners were indicted at the sessions; but in the afternoon Norton, in spite of these promises, came to the Compter and appealed the mayor of treason. The sheriff, in conclusion, asks for the King's pleasure.

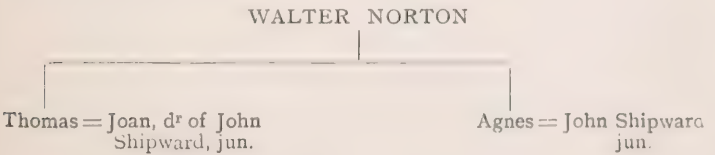
On Monday, the 15th, the sheriff, with John Druez and Richard Bond, bailiffs, and the rest of the Common Council, forwarded an account of Norton's conduct, sealed with the common seal, to the King and Privy Council. This statement is more lengthy than the sheriff's, but to the same effect. It adds that Spencer was 63 years old, and that Norton had declared before witnesses that his worship was the best mayor Bristol had ever had within living memory, excepting perhaps Canynges. It further states that Spencer had that year prevented a great rise in the price of wheat by his care and diligence; had cherished the suites of the King, Queen, and Prince when resorting to the town; had done many charitable deeds; had new made the quere and body of the Grey Friars' church, and repaired their house and those of divers chantries; revived an almshouse; given large sums weekly to prisoners, bedridden and infirm, and much clothing and blankets; spent much in making bridges and highways, and in fine was God's servant and the King's liege man. The document then proceeds: And since the Council are now driven to open Norton's unlawful and riotous proceedings, which has been long forborne because he is one of the King's household, they now declare that he has retained riotous persons, is a common haunter of taverns, where he drinks and rails with his followers until midnight, not associating with honest company; lies in bed till nine or ten daily, avoiding divine service; spends sermon time in the afternoon at tennis and frivolous sports, and generally promotes mischief. Moreover, for divers years he unnaturally warred with and troubled his father and mother, who often gave him Christ's curse, and he has broken their wills since their death. His father gave divers lands and tenements to his younger brother Thomas, but he put his brother out of the estate, vexed him with many actions, kept him a prisoner in the Savoy, and at last drove him out of the country to Spain, in the voyage to which he was drowned. By the mediation of Sir Richard Chok, justice, and the recorder, he agreed to pay a yearly rent to his

brother's widow, and to provide a living for his nephew Richard; yet by his might and strength he has withdrawn from this undertaking and not paid the rent. He has one sister, a good and worshipful gentlewoman, but he un-naturally hates her, and forbids her from his presence; and had, moreover, greatly troubled a worthy merchant, John Shipward, deceased, who was father unto his wife,¹ inasmuch as, when, after Tewkesbury fight, the King ordered him to seize the lands of the Earl of Warwick in Somerset, he, by colour thereof, alleged he had authority to smite off Shipward's head, his father-in-law, and threatened so to do unless Shipward would deliver up the deeds relating to his younger brother's lands; in dread whereof Shipward consented, and in his trouble died soon after. The letter concludes by praying the King that directions may be taken so that the common policy and sad rule of the town be not overthrown by the malice of Norton and his adherents. The town is not only the King's own, but is also the Chamber of the Queen, and the inhabitants are most faithful subjects.

The record goes on to state that on Sunday, the 14th, Norton, perceiving the mayor's discreet demeanour, took horse in haste to lay his charges before the King; yet he did not reach the Court, at Sheen, until Thursday, the 18th. Asshe, with the town's deputies, had preceded him there, and had laid their case before the King and Privy Council, and when Norton appeared the King's look was so estranged from him that he at once departed to "Braneford," the whole Court having him in such loathing that no creature made him any cheer.

On the 19th the sheriff and recorder held a session at

¹ The relationship between the two families was somewhat peculiar, and will be best explained as follows:—



Bristol (the mayor being still in ward), and eighty-six of the most notable burgesses from the five great wards being assembled, four several juries were sworn, and Norton was indicted for having illegally kept thirty retainers for eighteen months and more. According to which charge, if Norton were found guilty, he would forfeit £5 a month for each retainer, or £2,900 in all.

And although Norton appeared before the King on the 18th, yet he did not on the 19th appear again to maintain his appeal. Whereupon the town deputies prayed the King that Norton should be commanded to appear, which was done. So on the 20th Norton came before the King and Privy Council, when he was asked to show the speciality of the mayor's treasons. And God, the searcher of hearts, made him so feel his own untruth that he could unnethe [neither] look, speak, nor keep his countenance, but deemed [demeaned?] himself as a person ronne in to fronsy, as the King afterwards said to the recorder. And as he could allege no special treason against the mayor, nor yet any offence, the King, after good deliberation with the Privy Council, like a right wise sovereign, dismissed the mayor of all accusations, and held him as a true subject, commanding the sheriff to set him at liberty. The royal letters to that effect—one to the sheriff, another to the mayor, and a third to the sheriff and commonalty—were brought to Bristol by the deputies on the 24th, when a Common Council was at once held, and the whole municipal body, with thousands of people, joyfully went to the gaol, delivered the mayor, gave him the sword, and with great gladness brought him to the Guildhall. There the King's comfortable letters were read by the recorder to the great consolation of the multitude. (The documents are then given verbatim. In that directed to the sheriff, the King directs that officer to send up to Court one William Wilkyns, upon whom Norton "groundeth the matter of his accusation.")

On the 27th the sheriff, bailiffs, and Common Council drew up a paper directed to the Privy Council, which was sent

up by two deputies, to whom was also committed the prisoner, John Wilkins, butcher. After returning thanks for the King's gracious treatment of the mayor, the writers state that the prisoner's Christian name is John, not William, and that he is the terror of the King's subjects, a night walker, a breaker of the peace, always ready for commotion and rebellion, and, according to report, a man queller (murderer) in Wales, for which he came to dwell in Bristol. Six cases are cited to prove his riotous and murderous disposition, a man being slain in one outrage, and twice the bailiffs were in danger of death. In the previous October, when in gaol for one of these crimes, he had threatened to accuse the mayor of having £400 of the goods of the Duke of Clarence [attainted in 1478, when he held the Somerset estates of his father-in-law, the King-maker] and £300 of the goods of the Earl of Warwick [the King-maker himself, killed in 1471]. Wilkins afterwards confessed on oath that these charges were false, but was kept in goal for want of sureties to keep the peace. On the day after Norton had appealed the mayor, Norton made great efforts to speak with Wilkins, sending the gaoler his signet, and desiring that the prisoner be brought to his house secretly by night. The gaoler refusing, Norton sent divers messages by Wilkins's wife. Then, as though he were capital governor of the town, having authority surmounting the justices, Norton ordered the gaoler, on pain of 500 marks, to take off Wilkins's irons, though in fact Wilkins wore no irons until he committed an outrageous assault upon another prisoner a few days before. The King's consideration of these facts is therefore prayed.

In addition to the above letter, the sheriff and Common Council addressed others to the Marquis of Dorset, Lord Rivers, my Lord Richard the Queen's son, the Bishop of Worcester, and Lord Dacre, praying for the continuance of their favour. Armed with these documents (and probably furnished with pecuniary means to gratify the cupidity of underlings), the deputies carried up Wilkins to Court, and the prisoner was no sooner brought before the King in

Council than he confessed the falseness of his accusations. Norton was also examined, and could allege nothing against the mayor, whereupon three more royal letters were sent down to the same effect as the previous ones, and Wilkins was sent back to gaol.

Norton, however, was not yet silenced. In a "Bill" presented to the King, in which he styled himself Customer of Bristol, he complained that the mayor, to avenge his old malice against the writer, had caused him and other lovers of the King to be "indicted of retainours," although this charge had been already heard and dismissed. He (Norton) by virtue of his office had appointed two men to search all cloths carried by land out of the town uncustomed, which was never done before his time, to the great loss of the Crown. These searchers seized nine cloths belonging to the mayor that were being secretly conveyed away, and when Norton refused a hogshead of wine proffered as a bribe by the mayor, the latter took a malice against the searchers, and indicted them for wearing Norton's livery, though he had merely given them two gowns for their wages. Wherefore he prayed that justice should be done. He further alleged that, owing to the tides of the sea at Bristol, ships came up every hour of the night as well as by day, taking advantage of which the merchants craftily shipped off much goods uncustomed, having wild and unruly seamen to help them; that Norton had sought to prevent this by getting other lovers of the King to help him; and that thereupon the subtle mayor had indicted him and the said King's lovers for illegal night watching. Taking advantage, too, of a simple night affray in the fee of St. John [Temple Street], by which the bailiff there and another man got broken heads, the mayor had gone with great power into the fee, taken the innocent lovers of the King out of their beds, haled them to prison, and had now indicted them for riot. Their discharge from this malice is also prayed for.

Hearing of this charge, the recorder journeyed to Windsor, and found the King good and gracious, and

taking no consideration of Norton, but ordered that the grudges should be appeased. On May 21st the recorder returned to Bristol, bearing a letter from the King to the mayor, stating that, by the advice of his Council, he had dismissed Norton's accusations and retained the mayor in his good will, but required the grudges to cease—all which he had showed at length to the recorder, who was also "general attorney to our dear son the Prince," and whom he appointed to sit in his name for a final conclusion of the matter. Norton, it was added, had received a similar command, and if he or any other, "boldly by cover of our service," hereafter offended against the laudable laws of Bristol, the mayor and his successors were directed to proceed to their lawful punishment without delay.

Nevertheless, says the civic record, though the mayor was ready to comply with the King's request, and the recorder gave due attendance to carry it out, Thomas Norton, drowned in presumptuous obstinacy, set aside the King's commandment, and came not to Bristol until the following Michaelmas, of which the recorder informed the King, "and it is like that convenient remedy will thereupon be purveyed."

The "Remembrance" thus closes, somewhat abruptly, and no further mention of Thomas Norton is to be found in the city records. Possibly some reference to him may turn up in the State Papers of the period, but they are still uncalendared. It may be surmised that he retained the valuable office of Customer and his place at Court, as his dismissal would scarcely have failed to be noted by the civic scribes. William Spencer lived in high honour and respect for several years after his persecution, and one of his last acts of liberality, long cherished by civic dignitaries, is also recorded in the Great Red Book. At a meeting of the Common Council on October 5th, 1492, "the right worshipful William Spencer, merchant, remembering the great charges borne by the mayor and bailiffs in their offices," gave the

Corporation the sum of £87 6s. 8d. (equivalent to about £1000 in modern currency), £20 of which were to be delivered to every mayor, and £67 6s. 8d. to the bailiffs upon their entering office, on their giving good security for the repayment of the loan on the following Michaelmas Eve. In consideration of this boon, the bailiffs were required to pay two shillings weekly to the chaplain of St. George's Chapel in the Guildhall, which he was to distribute amongst the poor.

Almost contemporary with the proceedings of Thomas Norton, another event occurred in the city of a sensational character. Early in the century, a youth, named William Bird (often spelt Byrde and Brydd), migrated from a parish near Gloucester to Bristol, and having in the course of a few years become a prosperous merchant, he was elected a member of the Common Council. In 1463 he was chosen one of the bailiffs, a post, as has been seen, involving considerable personal outlay; in 1469 he was appointed sheriff; and in 1475 he was elevated to the chief magistracy. But in the closing months of 1481, whilst living in the enjoyment of general esteem and respect, the citizens were astounded by the announcement that he had been, or was about to be, claimed as a "villein" by Lord de la Warre, who threatened to recover him by action, like a runaway beast, and who, if the claim could be established, would be entitled to take possession of his property, and degrade his wife and children into serfs. Measures, however, were speedily taken by the worthy merchant and his friends to disprove the allegations of the great landowner's agents, and on the 18th March, 22nd Edward IV. (1482), another remarkable entry was made in the Great Red Book. In substance, it reads as follows:—

A Remembrance never to be put in oblivion, but to be had in perpetual memory for a president (*sic*) to all slanderous persons having their tongues more prompter to speak wickedly than to say truth. Some such have maliciously of late

slandered the worshipful person William Byrde, merchant, alleging him to be a bondman born, and of bond birth (extraction) and by descent a natifis (*nativus*) of Lord de la Warre as of one of his manors in Gloucestershire, to the shameful vilipendie of the said worshipful man. Howbeit the contrary is evidently proved by the testimonial sent to Bristol by certain kinsmen, lovers, and friends of Byrde, which was read this day in the Compter before the mayor (John Forster) and his brethren.

The "testimonial" referred to is dated December 16th, 1481, but the collection of the signatures doubtless occupied several subsequent weeks. It bore the autographs of Sir Simon Mountford, William Berkeley, Esq., William Byrmyingham, Esq., lord of Byrmyingham, twelve other esquires, five yeomen of the Crown, the master of the guild of Byrmyingham, and other residents there, and a number of persons living in Worcester, Coventry, and other places. The signatories certify that Phelepott Byrde, grandfather of William, was born in Birmingham, and had a free place in the same town by lineal inheritance of his ancestors; that Phelepott in his youth, having committed a certain offence, fled to Bridleyp (Birdlip), Gloucestershire, in the days of Richard II., and there wedded, and had divers children; but that the other Byrdes remained at Birmingham, and had done so time out of mind, as free men.

The threatened action was never raised. Mr. Bird died in 1484, and was interred in the crypt of St. Nicholas, to which church he bequeathed a rich cloth of gold; and twenty-one priests, with twenty-four men in frieze coats, bearing torches, attended his funeral. He left a considerable estate to his family, including a very large quantity of woad, then a valuable article of commerce, and much silver plate.

THE TRANSACTIONS OF THE SOCIETY.

BY THE EDITOR.

THE present state of the Transactions of the Society cannot be considered altogether satisfactory. The volumes are in arrear, members complain that they do not obtain the volumes to which they are entitled, and secretly or openly they talk about the Editor. The Editor, on the other hand, finds himself in the position of the Israelites under the Pharaoh of the oppression, desired to produce results without a due supply of the necessary material. On the one side is the impression—"Ye are idle"; on the other, the obvious answer lies ready to hand—"The fault is in thine own people."

And the evil is no new one. When the present Editor first undertook the charge of the Transactions about five years ago, the volumes were in arrear, and there was a great lack of suitable material for publication; so much so, that it had become necessary to publish large extracts from the "*Pedes finium*" in the Record Office. But this again was far from being a satisfactory arrangement, the material itself was more suited for a Record Series, and it gave a very dry and uninteresting appearance to the Transactions.

The truth is that our Society is failing to accomplish a very important part of the office which it was formed to fulfil. The number of members who are so far interested in its work as to help practically by contributions to the Transactions is far too small. Members seem to fail to realise that if they wish for volumes of Transactions they must themselves contribute the necessary material for publication. *Ex nihilo nihil fit*. It is not enough to send subscriptions to the Treasurer without also sending contributions to the Secretary or the Editor.

One reason for this condition of things no doubt lies in

the fact that the Society is now passing through one of the testing points of its history. It was formed at a meeting held at the Bristol Museum on April 22nd, 1876, nearly a quarter of a century ago; and though some of those present at that meeting are still with us, such as the Lord-Lieutenant, who took the chair, the Venerable Bishop of Gloucester, Sir Brook Kay, and the Rev. E. A. Fuller, most of those who took an active part in local Archæology at that time have passed away: such as Sir W. V. Guise, the first President of the Society; Sir John Maclean, whose care and skill as Editor made the Transactions what they were; Archdeacon Norris; Bishop Clifford; Messrs. S. H. Gael, John Taylor, J. H. Nichols, W. George, and others. The old men—the pioneers and founders—have passed, or are passing, and there seems to be difficulty in finding younger people to supply their places.

Moreover, it may seem that much of the more obvious work of the Society has been done. Most of the places of chief Antiquarian interest in the two shires which form the district of the Society have been visited, not a few more than once. A reference to the lists of contents of the volumes of the Transactions would seem to show that much interesting ground has already been covered, not a little of it by writers who would leave but scant gleanings for those who would follow them. But there are periods and subjects and places which are almost untouched.

For periods, those of the Wars of Stephen, the Black Death, the Wickliffite Movement, the Wars of the Roses, and the Reformation would well repay careful study, and not one of them has as yet been at all adequately treated from a local point of view.

For subjects, little has yet been done with regard to the systematic study of the Architecture of the two shires. Yet how much might be learned and recorded in a district where the tenth-century church at Deerhurst is still in use; and which is so rich, not only in remains of great churches, but also in small churches of unusual interest, especially on the

hills. Though Somerset far surpasses Gloucestershire in the magnificence of its village churches, this very magnificence has been dearly purchased at the cost of much that was ancient and must have been beautiful: the little Cotswold church possesses in its lowly Norman doorway a thing of beauty which its greater neighbour to the south has too often lost. The way is still open for someone to do for the Gloucestershire and Bristol churches what Mr. Freeman did for the churches of Somerset. Gloucestershire affords at any rate far greater variety of style.

So with the castles of the district; there is no good account in the Transactions either of Bristol or Gloucester Castle, though the former was one of the mightiest fortresses in the kingdom. Berkeley Castle has been well treated; but there is still room for good work with regard to the smaller fortresses.

There is no really good paper as yet on the speech of the Cotswolds. Of course, the subject of the West Saxon tongue has been treated generally in many books and papers; but there is room for a paper by a resident of the hills who knows their speech as his mother tongue. The northern boundary of this speech is an interesting question. My impression, drawn from school work, is that it did not cover the extreme north of the shire. Is it gaining ground, or is it receding to the south? Is it dying out altogether before the efforts of Her Majesty's Inspector, or do the children only become bi-lingual?

For centuries the growth of wool was the mainstay of the population of the hills, and the cloth-trade the main industry of the valleys. When and under what circumstances did these industries grow up? How far were they dependent in the first instance and subsequently on the immigration of foreigners?

Our Society has existed for a quarter of a century without any clear answer being returned to these questions; will not some member from the wool or cloth districts work out the matter and supply an answer?

Domesday Gloucestershire contained a larger proportion of serfs than any other English shire; and as late as 1574 Queen Elizabeth issued a commission "to enquire into the lands and goods of her bondmen and bondwomen in Gloucestershire and the shires to the south-west of it, in order to compound with them for manumission."¹ Is it possible to trace the process of emancipation?

With regard to places, very little has yet been done to throw light on the history of the smaller towns in the shire. Cirencester is a notable exception, chiefly owing to the work of the Rev. E. A. Fuller; and the paper by Mr. Russell James Kerr on the "Borough and Manor of Newnham" shows how very much may be learned and told in a most interesting and helpful way about these small towns, if only people will undertake the work.

Tewkesbury must have a history at least as interesting as that of Cirencester. Will no one arise to do for the abbey and town of Tewkesbury what Mr. Fuller has done for Cirencester? Tetbury and Thornbury, Chipping Sodbury and Winchcombe, would no doubt yield as interesting a story as that of Newnham. There are plenty of members of the Society living near those towns, will they not undertake the Antiquarian duty that lies nearest to them? Sparta was but a mere collection of villages, yet the old proverb had its force: "*Spartam sortitus es, hanc orna.*"

It is no excuse for members of the Society to say they are too busy to undertake any extra work. Mr. Fuller was Vicar of a large and poor Bristol parish when he wrote his earlier papers; and Mr. Russell Kerr was Chairman of Quarter Sessions when he wrote his paper on Newnham.

The truth is that an outside interest like Archæology instead of being a hindrance to a man in his life-work is a very real help to him. It is well known that Sir John Maclean took up the study of Archæology late in life as a relief under very heavy official work. He was advised by his doctor that the best relaxation for him would be, not

¹ *Encyc. Britt.*, Ed. VIII., Vol XX., p 320

cessation from work, but change of work. I well remember that a candidate for holy orders, twenty-seven years ago, was strongly recommended by Dr. Woodford, then Vicar of Leeds, afterwards Bishop of Ely, always to have some regular work on hand, apart from his ministerial duties, to keep his mind fresh.

But if the men-contributors to the Transactions are few, the women-contributors are fewer still. Yet the Transactions have been enriched during many years past by a series of papers written by the hand of a lady in the Forest of Dean, which for accuracy of description and interest of style are surpassed by none in our volumes. We have within our district, in the Ladies' College at Cheltenham, one of the very best girls' schools in England, and there are other similar schools of almost equal repute which must be sending forth year by year numbers of well-educated women, some of whom might well take an interest in the history of the district in which their lot is cast. Considering the important place which the teaching of history now occupies in women's education, it is not too much to hope that some of this teaching will in the future bear fruit near home.

Another point in which the Transactions do not fulfil their purpose is this, that they do not supply year by year a record of discoveries of Antiquarian interest in the district. Things are found and are lightly examined, or are not really examined by any competent authority at all, and are forgotten.

Or excavations are made, and no proper record is prepared and left of what has been seen, and an opportunity is irrecoverably lost. Cases in point are afforded by Mr. Medland's paper on the remains found in 1893-4 on the site of the Wilts and Dorset Bank at the Cross in Gloucester, and the paper by Mr. Wilfred J. Cripps on the Roman Basilica at Cirencester. In each case the digging revealed objects of very great interest, which if they had not been seen and described at the moment by a competent observer could never have been described at all. There are local

Secretaries of the Society at Bristol and in all parts of the county, and it would be well if members and others who may be interested in antiquities would always inform the local Secretary of the district of any discovery of antiquarian interest which may be made. And it would be most helpful also if the local Secretaries would regularly send reports of discoveries of general interest to the General Secretary or the Editor for insertion in the Transactions. It is to be feared that at present not a few things which ought to be recorded escape notice.

Articles relating to the Archæology of the district will always be welcome, which either set forth new facts or throw new light on things already known; the one thing absolutely necessary is accuracy, and as far as possible clearness of statement. There must be many members of the Society who have not yet contributed to the pages of the Transactions, but who are quite capable of doing really good work. It is most desirable, from every point of view, that the number of working members of the Society should be increased; and it is much to be hoped that the beginning of a new century, and of the second quarter-century of the life of the Society, will be marked by a revival of interest in its work, and that a real effort will be made to secure a wider range of contributions to the Transactions. This, however, can only be done by the efforts of the members generally; there is plenty of good work yet to be done, and it cannot be doubted that there are people quite capable of doing it, if only they would set their hands to the task. We may not claim to be the equals of our Founders, but we ought at least to try to follow in their steps.

Notices of Publications.

ANNALS OF BRISTOL IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

By JOHN LATIMER. Bristol: WILLIAM GEORGES' SONS. 1900.

Mr. Latimer has continued his most useful work as Centuriator of the Annals of Bristol, and has now reached a point where both in its likeness and its unlikeness the story affords a most interesting parallel to the life of the city of to-day. The setting of the picture is the ancient city that we know so well: the same churches; the same streets; the same city officials; for the most part also the same branches of trade and commerce; but with just enough unlikeness to prevent the tale from being dry and monotonous. It is quite possible for one who has known the city well to put modern names on the ancient characters, and to see them fulfil their parts in the slightly altered scene with life-like exactness. With regard to the points of difference, the first thing that claims attention is the very great power and influence of Master Mayor and his brethren. Nothing was too high for their control and nothing too small for their interference. From the provision of sermons in the parish churches to the removal of dungheaps, all things came under their ken. In 1681 the Council desired that their chief magistrate should develop into a lord mayor: that official has recently had that high honour thrust upon him; but it is quite certain that, though he may have gained something in dignity, he is hardly equal in practical importance to his predecessor of two centuries ago. That ancient mayor was clad with modified magnificence: a hat of crimson velvet trimmed with gold lace was provided for him in 1621, and two robes of scarlet and fur were provided for the new and old mayors at a cost of £25 14s. and £14 in 1633; but about the same time a bequest of £150 for the purchase of a gold chain was refused by the Council, and it was resolved that "in lieu thereof £100 for the poor was more requisite." His salary varied from £40 in the early part of the century to nothing in 1644, but for the greater part of the century the salary was £104 and double during a second year of office.

The industries of the city were under the direct control of the Council. "No shopkeeper could deal in goods made by men of other trades. No carpenter could work as a joiner. No butcher could sell cooked meat. No victualler could bake bread for sale. No one but a butcher could even slaughter a pig. The hours of work, the rate of wages, and the number of journeymen employed by a master were preemptorily fixed." A "foreigner" was a person to be promptly suppressed; if he traded with another foreigner,

the goods were confiscated; he could only trade with citizens at Back Hall; if he opened a shop, his windows were nailed down. But the freedom was given on easy terms to strangers exercising arts unknown in the city, who would therefore be useful to the community. Towards the end of the century, however, it evidently became difficult to enforce this exclusiveness, and in 1676 the Council was scandalised by the conduct of one who had been nominated by the mayor for a gift of the freedom, but who afterwards in saucy and impertinent language contemned and despised the same; and though fines for admission to the freedom were exacted till quite the end of the century, in 1703 the by-law against the intrusion of foreigners was omitted from the city code. Mr. Latimer seems to under-rate the average standard of comfort of the citizens in the period under review; certainly the many large sums raised during the period 1640—1660 would seem to imply a considerable diffusion of wealth, and the rapidity with which prosperity returned and luxury arose would seem to show that the community was by no means impoverished. But the place must have been inconceivably filthy: the advent of Queen Anne of Denmark was the signal for a general removal of dunghills from the streets; in hard times one of the first economies was the suppression of the salary of the scavenger, never a highly paid official; it became so frequently necessary to open the water-pipes for the removal of dead cats which stopped the supply, that in 1679 the springhead of the Quay pipe was covered in. There is no wonder that visitations of the plague were frequent and sharp.

The most notable phases of ecclesiastical life were the poverty of the clergy and the disputes of which the cathedral was the centre. These disputes in the early part of the century raged around a gallery which had been set up in order that the councillors and their wives might hear the sermons, and afterwards on the question whether the mayor's sword should go in procession standing up or lying down. An attempt by the Chapter to withdraw the cathedral precincts from the jurisdiction of the city was no doubt a result of these squabbles. Nearly all the city churches had been appropriated to religious houses, and after the Reformation, when masses and offerings ceased, there was no sufficient income for the ministers. At various times during the century attempts were made to obtain an Act of Parliament to rate the citizens for the support of the clergy, and it is a very remarkable thing that the only attempts which were successful were made under the Commonwealth. Acts of Parliament were passed for the purpose in 1650 and 1657, but they could not be worked. Mr. Latimer thinks, no doubt correctly, that the Presbyterian ministers were not illiterate men as they have been represented by some local historians. Indeed the Presbyterian and Independent ministers numbered many learned men in their ranks, and apart from the disturbance caused by the Civil Wars, learning at the Universities does not seem

to have suffered. On June 3rd, 1679, while the Baptist congregation meeting at Broadmead were still subject to interruptions in their worship, Mr. Edward Terrell gave a considerable amount of property in lands and houses, the income to be applied, £50 annually to ten poor persons, the remainder for the "use and subsistence of a holy learned man, well skilled in the tongues, to wit Greek and Hebrew, . . . as a pastor and teacher to the congregation aforesaid," and for the maintenance of poor students for the Baptist ministry. And he thus laid the foundation of the endowments which make Broadmead Chapel one of the wealthiest places of worship in the city. He also gave a "study of books," 200 in number, of Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and English authors, for the use of the minister and students. It is a very great mistake to suppose that the founders of Protestant Nonconformity despised either endowments or learning. Judging from the Wardens' accounts of St. Thomas the Martyr the fabrics of the churches were kept in sound repair, though such things as "tables," surplices, and organs fared badly. Bristolians of to-day will find this a most interesting book. And perhaps they will not find themselves far from home as they read of the good old muddly Bristol of two hundred years ago; with its wealth and its untidiness; its comfort indoors and its dirt without; its good fellowship and its squabbles; its party spirit and its real efforts after the public good. At any rate, they will find clear evidences of the vigour and industry which have made Bristol for the last eight hundred years ever a greater city at the end of the century than it was at the beginning, and which we trust will not fail to maintain the same steady growth in prosperity for the time to come.

THE COMMUNE OF LONDON AND OTHER STUDIES. By
J. H. ROUND, M.A. Westminster: ARCHIBALD CONSTABLE AND CO.
1899.

THIS is a collection of fifteen papers on various subjects ranging from the settlement of the English to the fourteenth century, and as Mr. Round is within the period which he has made his own they are well worth careful study. The ghost of Mr. Freeman does not often appear, but Mr. Oman bids fair to take his place. The two papers which seem to be of most general interest are the first on the "Settlement of Sussex and Essex," and the one which give its name to the volume. The first is really a valuable contribution to the study of place-names. Mr. Round finds that the *-hams* in Sussex follow the course of the rivers, while the *-tons* are on the uplands, and he draws the conclusion that the district was settled by people who ascended the streams in boats, that the *-hams* are the earlier settlements, and that the *-tons* are later in date. He does not, however, mention the meaning of the word *ham* in such forms as "Keynsham hams," where it is applied to land by a riverside, and of which Canon Taylor

writes thus:—¹ "It means primarily the ham or knee of an animal, and seems to be also used to denote the bend or curve of a river. Where, in the bends of a winding river like the Ouse near Bedford, we find a number of villages with names ending in *-ham*, which are hemmed in by successive curves of the stream, there is a presumption that this may be the meaning." We have not many *-hams* in this district, but Conham, Hanham, and Keynsham, Newnham and Arlingham, if not Tidenham, Churcham, Highnam and Cheltenham, would fall under Canon Taylor's presumption: at any rate they are all riverside places, though we know that this district was not settled from the west, but by invaders from the east after the battle of Dyrham. There is nothing to show that the suffix *-ton* in Gloucestershire denotes a late settlement. Rather the distribution is local. Such names occur, on the west of Severn, north of a line from Gloucester to Northleach, along the Wiltshire border and south of Thornbury; there are hardly any between Gloucester and Thornbury. The district west of Severn includes the Forest of Dean, and that south of Thornbury was occupied by the forests of Kingswood and Horwood, and settlement in these parts was very likely late, but the explanation does not cover the whole of the shire. No doubt there was some reason, but it is not apparent. Mr. Round gives two very useful words of counsel with regard to the study of place-names. First, that all names in a district should be considered, and not only those of villages and parishes; for example, Henbury, Shirehampton and Westbury would imply a purely English district, but a more careful study would discover in Penpole, Penpark, Coombe, and the "pills" along the Severn shore, a considerable survival of British names. Secondly, that the existing forms of the names must be critically considered and probably corrected before they can be used for purposes of comparison; for example, Calmsden is a name with no apparent meaning, but the form Calmundesden shows that it meant Calmund's valley: Barnsley, near Bibury, is shown to be Bearmod's lea, while the form Bituinæum, "the place between the eas" or rivers Severn and Avon, is now Twining.

The paper on the "Commune of London" is interesting, as possibly throwing light on the obscure question of the way in which a mayor came to Bristol. Mr. Round could find no mention of a mayor of London before the spring of 1193. The first mayor of Bristol appears in 1217. Henry III. was crowned at Gloucester on October 28, 1216, and held a council at Bristol on November 11; it is likely enough that the burgesses seized the opportunity to obtain liberty to choose a mayor, and that the constitution of the City of London was followed; at any rate, in later days Ricart, Town Clerk of Bristol, wrote thus:—"Forasmoch as this worshipfull Toune of Bristowe hath alweis used comenly to execute his fraunchisez and libertees accordinge in semblable wise as the noble Citee

¹ *Names and their Histories*, ed. 1896, p. 370.

of London hath used, and a grete part hath take his president of the said Citee in exercising the same," therefore Ricart made copious extracts from the constitutions of the City of London, which are contained in the Camden Society's edition of his Calendar, pp. 93—113. In the article on "Bannockburn," Mr. Round gives a much needed caution with regard to the inflated numbers stated by Mediæval Chroniclers. The Index is full and well arranged.

THE ENGLISH CHURCH IN THE FOURTEENTH AND FIFTEENTH CENTURIES. W. W. CAPES. London: MACMILLAN AND Co. 1900.

This is the third volume of a projected history of the Church of England, which is to cover the whole period from its foundation to the beginning of the nineteenth century, in seven volumes, each by a different writer. The first volume, covering the period before the Norman Conquest, appeared some time ago, the second has not yet been published, and the third appears before it. The incident marks both the strength and weakness of composite work of this kind; there may be more special knowledge of each period on the part of the writers, but there cannot be the same unity of design and purpose. The book covers the period from the Accession of Edward I. to that of Henry VIII., and the failure of Volume II. to appear becomes a great and lamentable breach of continuity. For instance, we very soon come to the refusal of the clergy, under the influence of Archbishop Winchelsey in 1296, to grant an aid towards the expense of the King's French war. The reason alleged was the publication by Pope Boniface VIII. in the preceding February of the Bull— "Clericis Laicos," in which he forbade the laity to exact or the clergy to pay secular charges on Church property. But it would be quite safe to say that it would never have entered the mind of an Archbishop of Canterbury before the Conquest to refuse aid to the King on such a ground; there is a whole world of difference between the position of the Pope with regard to the English Church at the earlier and the later period, and the difference is, so far as the present work is concerned, as yet quite unexplained, a condition of things has grown up which is quite unaccountable. Again, the present volume covers a period which is on the whole one of moral and spiritual decay, ending in the generation which produced in the statesmen who ruled under Henry VIII. and Edward VI. the vilest crew to whom the destinies of the English people have ever been committed. And there is nothing to show how the English Church had reached the position which she occupied under Edward I., for the golden period of Lanfranc and S. Anselm, of S. Thomas of Canterbury and Stephen Langton, lies in the omitted volume. So far however as Mr. Capes' own volume is concerned, it can honestly be said that he has done his work thoroughly well. He

does not deal with his subject in chronological order, but as a series of subjects, taking one after another various incidents and aspects of Church life and work, such as "The Black Death," "The Mediæval Bishop and his Officials," "The Cathedral Chapters and their Staff," "The Clergy and Parish Life," "Schools and Universities," and so forth. So that a careful reader will form a very clear idea of what the Church said and did in her relations with the people. It was a period of much outward magnificence; all that is beautiful and noble in Decorated and Perpendicular architecture belongs to it, and the bare walls as we now see them give but a faint idea of what the buildings were when they were clothed with the most beautiful ornaments which English wit could devise or English wealth could buy. But the King's daughter was not all glorious within, though her clothing was literally of wrought gold: the more carefully the period is studied, the worse, morally and spiritually, it will appear; it was a time of decay. The book does not often touch on local matters, though Bristol is mentioned with Oxford, London, and Leicester as one of the chief centres of Wycliffite influence in the last year of the Reformer's life. No reason is given for the power of the movement in this district, and the origin and nature of the connection of Wycliffe's influence with Bristol and Gloucestershire have yet to be worked out. He was only Canon of Westbury College for a fortnight. The book is carefully written, and gives a life-like picture of the work of the Church in all its relations, from the Church ales and the guild meetings of the parishioners, or their carving of the rood screen as at Yatton, or as we know the screen at Banwell was carved by a parishioner, to the life of the monastery or nunnery or Bishop's household: it tells of the rise and discipline of the Universities, and of the discipline and organisation of the Mediæval Diocese, and all in a very interesting way. There is a satisfactory Index, and at the end of each chapter is a list of authorities for the period or subject which has been under consideration.

THE RIGHT TO BEAR ARMS. London: ELLIOT STOCK. 1899.

This book is really the case for the Heralds' College put shortly from the College point of view; no other point of view is regarded as worth a moment's consideration. But as giving a clear and concise statement of the case for the College, it is of great value from a popular point of view, and all the more because it gives a series of documents, with translations for the benefit no doubt of the ignoble bearers of bogus coats of arms: relating to the foundation and prerogatives and methods of procedure of the College and its officials. From an historical point of view the most interesting fact that emerges is the very short-lived existence of the Heralds' Office as a court of control of coat-armour. The earliest document issued by a king of England regulating the general use of arms

was a writ of Henry V., dated June 2nd, 1417; it is addressed to the sheriffs of counties, directing them to compel all persons who bore arms to justify their use before officers, to be appointed by the King, on pain of having the arms and coat-armours stripped off and broken up.

In the reign of Richard III. the heralds, of whom Norroy is mentioned as far back as the time of Edward I., were incorporated into a college, under the presidency of the earl marshal; the first regular visitation was held in 1528, the last in the reign of James II., and there were three principal visitations throughout the whole of England, about 1580, 1620, and 1666. After the Revolution, the coercive powers of the earl marshal's court fell into disuse, and the period during which visitations were held only extended over about 160 years. A form of summons is given, issued by Thomas May, Esq., Chester Herald, and Gregory King, Rouge Dragon, to the Bailiffs of the Hundred of Crowthorne and Minety, commanding them to summon certain baronets, knights, esquires, and gentlemen, who were named, and any others of like degree, to appear at the Swan Inn in Cirencester, before 9.0 a.m., on August 18th, 1682. If, however, any of those named could not conveniently bring their evidences, the earl marshal's official would repair to his house as soon as he conveniently might. There seem to have been no precise rules to guide the heralds in these visitations, and nothing except the omission of arms from the heralds' register happened to anyone who stayed away. He was excommunicated from the society of the Herald's College, but excommunication had begun to lose its power, and if he was a man of assured position in the county it is not likely that anyone thought worse of him. Certainly no instance can be produced of the infliction of a money penalty. Still there is no doubt that the evidence of the heralds' visitations for the period which they cover is of great positive value; if a man is entered as entitled to bear arms, there is little doubt that the verdict was founded on good evidence. But many people would think that the converse is by no means equally true, and that it is likely enough that the lists do not exhaust the number of those entitled to bear arms. Again, the main contention of the book is without doubt correct, that a coat of arms is an estate of inheritance which no man can assume, that it is as much a man's possession as a field or a house, so that no one may take another man's arms, and that if a man wants a coat of arms he can only get it from the fountain of honour, the sovereign acting in this instance through the earl marshal and his subordinates. It is a purely artificial system of no great antiquity, and the book will by no means convince the gainsayers. The British Philistine will continue to revert to the original type of seven centuries ago, and assume such bearings as seem to him good; further, if he thinks about the matter at all, he will say he pays the Queen for them every year like an honest man on his tax-paper. The writer of the book

hints only too delicately that the Duke of Norfolk, Clarencieux, Rouge Dragon, and the rest are willing in the fulness of the powers committed to them to confer (for a consideration) coat-armour, nobility and gentility upon all and several. He would have done much to further his purpose if he had stated the amount of the consideration. Many of the Philistines are not poor, and only need clear instruction; they would do the right thing in the matter if they only knew the way to do it.

In Memoriam.

MRS. DENT, OF SUDELEY.

Mrs. Dent, who died on February 22nd, 1900, at the age of 77, was a daughter of Mr. John Brocklehurst, of Macclesfield, and she married, in September, 1847, Mr. John Croucher Dent, of Severn Bank, Worcester. She found a beautiful heritage awaiting her. Messrs. John and William Dent, uncles of her husband, had purchased the Sudeley Castle estates from Lord Rivers and the Duke of Buckingham, and restored the main fabric of the castle. Mr. and Mrs. Dent went to Sudeley in 1857, on the death of their last uncle, and at once began the restoration of the chapel, under the direction of Sir Gilbert Scott: it was re-dedicated to the service of God by the present Bishop of Gloucester in August, 1863. In 1877 she published a most interesting book, *Annals of Winchcombe and Sudeley*, to a very great extent an outcome of the loving and reverent care with which she had watched and guided the work of the completion of the castle, and of gathering the collection of treasures which it contains. In 1885 her husband died, and henceforward the lady of Sudeley lived alone, for she had no children. But hers was not a life that could be self-contained. In 1887 she provided at her own expense a water supply from St. Kenelm's Well for the town of Winchcombe, and afterwards a swimming bath. She was a thoughtful and munificent contributor to the work of beautifying the parish church of Winchcombe, of which she was patroness. At the west end she placed a stone screen and statues of Kings Kenulf and Henry Vith, and she placed a new clock in the tower; and at the east end she placed a fine oak screen within the choir. She gave also a new pulpit and font cover, and restored the churchyard cross. At her expense the site of Winchcombe Abbey was explored, and the position of the church was ascertained; and here she erected a cross in the centre of the tower. She took a lease of the land surrounding the barrow at Belas Knap. and built a wall so as to secure the barrow against dilapidation. The two Roman villas on her estate, those at Spoonley and in the Wadfield, were excavated at her expense; she built substantial sheds over the tessellated pavements, and surrounded the Wadfield villa with a wall. Among

other good works for the town of Winchcombe, she preserved from destruction the beautiful Jacobean house which is one of the ornaments of the place, she enlarged the almshouses and heated them throughout, and built a large class-room for the girls' school. The closing years of her life were saddened by partial failure of sight; but this did not check her interest in her beautiful home, or her care for the welfare of those around her. Her health had failed about six months before her death, which followed at last on an attack of influenza.

MR. C. J. MONK.

By the death of Mr. Monk another of the founders of our Society has passed away. He was present at the Inaugural Meeting at the Bristol Museum, on April 22nd, 1876, as M.P. for the city of Gloucester, and as Chancellor of each of the dioceses of Bristol and Gloucester. He proposed the resolution nominating the various officers of the new Society, about fifty in number, and after reading the names he observed that in his opinion they had been chosen with great judgment and care. Mr. Monk was best known as M.P. for the city of Gloucester, for which constituency he was first elected in 1859, and which he represented also in the last Parliament, declining re-election when that Parliament came to an end, only six weeks before his death. He was born at Peterborough, of which cathedral his father was Dean from 1822 to 1830, and he was educated at the College School, Gloucester, at Eton, and at Trinity College, Cambridge, where he graduated in 1847, after a most brilliant University career. He was called to the Bar at Lincoln's Inn in 1850. During the whole of his long and honourable career, Mr. Monk showed the greatest interest in all that concerned the welfare of the city of Gloucester. He began the movement which resulted in the building of St. Catherine's Church. When the College School was revived he gave £1000 for the endowment of Scholarships in his old school; and he was a most liberal benefactor to the Cathedral Restoration Fund, the School of Art, the Infirmary, and to other local charities. Mr. Monk, who was a life member of our Society, died of heart seizure on November 9th, 1900, in his 76th year.

MR. WILLIAM GEORGE.

Mr. William George, one of the promoters and founders of this Society, died at his residence in Durdham Park, Bristol, on the 10th January, 1900, within a few days of completing his 70th year. He was a native of Dunster, to which his family had removed from Hampshire in the previous century. Having lost his father when a boy, he was sent to Bristol by Mr. T. Fownes Luttrell, of Dunster Castle, and was apprenticed to his uncle, Mr. William Strong, of College Green, at that time the most extensive bookseller in the city. Through the death of that gentleman before his term of servitude had expired, the youth was thrown upon his own resources, and forthwith commenced business on his own account in Bath Street, where he soon acquired repute amongst book collectors. He subsequently removed to more extensive premises in Park Street, and eventually retired from an active career about twenty-five years ago, owing to failing health. From an early period Mr. George was a keen and indefatigable student of the history and bibliography of Bristol and the adjoining counties, in which pursuits he was aided by a memory of facts, dates, names, and family connections that was often the marvel of his friends, and he left behind him a vast store of valuable manuscript material and many literary and artistic rarities. As his peculiar talents became known, appeals for information flowed in upon him from inquirers in all parts of the kingdom, as well as in Canada and the United States, and the labour he ungrudgingly bestowed in responding to such demands made inroads on his time that seriously interfered with his own literary projects. A devoted admirer of Chatterton, he had planned a work intended to deal exhaustively with the unhappy poet's life in Bristol, and to throw much light on his local contemporaries; but after a few preliminary sheets had passed through the press the design was abandoned. Besides his contributions to the Transactions of this Society, Mr. George was an occasional contributor to the Transactions of the Somerset Archæological Society, and more frequently to the *Athenæum*, *Notes and Queries*, *Gloucestershire Notes and Queries*, and the Bristol and Somerset newspapers, and the information thus afforded was always novel and often valuable.

Some of these essays were the fruits of long research, and were printed in a pamphlet form for distribution amongst his friends. He also supplied many items, directly or through others, to the *Dictionary of National Biography*. His best known production, "Some Account of the Oldest Plans of Bristol," originally appeared as a contribution to the fourth volume of this Society's Transactions, and was subsequently published separately in an extended form, accompanied by three rare illustrations. By his first wife Mr. George left three sons and a daughter. His second wife, who survives him, is childless.

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