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**Old Catholic Families of Gloucestershire II. The Staffords
and Howards of Thornbury**

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OLD CATHOLIC FAMILIES OF GLOUCESTERSHIRE

II. THE STAFFORDS AND HOWARDS OF THORNBURY

by J. N. LANGSTON

THE male line of the De Clares, Earls of Gloucester, who owned Thornbury for 200 years, ended when Gilbert, the twenty-two year old son of Earl Gilbert by his wife, the Lady Joan Plantagenet (daughter of King Edward the First), was killed at the Battle of Bannockburn in 1314, 'pierced by a score of Scots' lances.' The De Clare inheritance was partitioned among the Earl's three sisters, and the manors of Thornbury, Glos., and Tonbridge in Kent, devolved upon Margaret, the second sister. She was first married to the notorious Piers Gaveston, beheaded in 1314, by whom she had no surviving issue; and secondly, to Hugh de Aldithley or Audley Baron Audley, by whom she had an only daughter and heiress, Margaret. She became, in 1324, wife of Ralph de Stafford, second Baron Stafford, and so carried the manors to the Stafford family. Ralph, made Earl of Gloucester, *jure uxoris*, was a soldier of no mean order and held a principal command at the Battle of Crecy. For his services to Edward III, diplomatic as well as military, he was created Earl of Stafford, and invested as one of the original Knights of the Garter. He died at Tonbridge in 1373, aged sixty-seven, and was succeeded by his second son, Hugh, as his eldest son, Ralph, husband of Maud, daughter of Henry Earl of Derby and Duke of Lancaster, had predeceased him without issue.¹

Hugh, 2nd Earl of Stafford and a Knight of the Garter, was serving in the French wars when he was seventeen, and four years later was in the retinue of the Black Prince. He added the south aisle of the parish church of Thornbury, and formulated a 'Customs of the Manor of Thornbury.' His wife, Lady

Philippa, was the daughter of Thomas Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick. Their handsome and attractive son, Ralph, who accompanied his father on an expedition to Northumberland as page to the Queen, Anne of Bohemia, was barbarously murdered there by the King's half-brother, Sir John Holland. The Earl, grief-stricken, left England to join the Crusades, and, on his way home in 1386, died at the Island of Rhodes. His body was brought back and buried at Stone in Staffordshire with that of his wife. According to an old manuscript, 'He did manie noble dedis under Edward III and Richard II, as well in Scotland, as in other places.' He was succeeded by his three surviving sons successively, Thomas, William and Edmond.¹

The three Stafford brothers were wards of the Duke of Gloucester, Thomas of Woodstock, sixth son of Edward III, whose wife was Humphrey de Bohun's daughter, Eleanor. He arranged a marriage between his daughter, the Lady Anne Plantagenet, and Thomas, the young Earl, while they were yet children, but Thomas died quite young in 1392, and was buried at Stone. His brother, William, was only fourteen when he succeeded, and died three years later. Edmond, fifth Earl, was made a Knight of the Bath at the coronation of Henry IV, and later a Knight of the Garter. He was granted a special licence by the king to marry the Lady Anne, who had been betrothed to his elder brother and was also heir to her brother, Humphrey, Earl of Buckingham. Edmond commanded the van of the royal army at the Battle of Shrewsbury in 1403, where he fell fighting against Henry (Hotspur) Percy, who also lost his life there. He was buried in the choir of the church of the Augustine Friars at Stafford.¹ His widow, 'the most noble Lady Ann, Countess of Stafford, Hereford, Northampton, Buckingham, and Countess of Brecon,' who also survived her second husband, Sir William Bouchier, was a great benefactress of the Priory of Lanthony Secunda. By her will, dated 16 October 1438, the year of her death, she asked 'to be buried in the Chirche of Lantony beside Gloucestr in the place wher I have befor ordeyned and do mad my tombe.'²

Edmond's son, Humphrey, who was only two years old when he succeeded as 6th Earl, also inherited the estates of his maternal uncle, the Earl of Buckingham, besides Maxstoke Castle in Warwickshire. On account of services rendered in France, as well as his close relationship to the royal family, he was created Duke of Buckingham in 1444, and made a Knight of the Garter. A faithful adherent of the Lancastrian cause, he fell fighting at the Battle of Northampton in 1460, where Henry VI was defeated by the Duke of York, and his body was found among a heap of slain near the tent of the vanquished king. His son, Humphrey, by his wife, Lady Anne Nevill, daughter of the 1st Earl of Westmoreland, had already died of wounds received five years earlier at the Battle of St. Albans, when the Lancastrians were routed, and their leader, Edmund, Duke of Somerset, was killed and Henry VI taken prisoner, so that the Duke was succeeded by his grandson, Henry Stafford, whose mother was Margaret, the Duke of Somerset's daughter.¹

Henry, second Duke of Buckingham, who was placed, with his young brother, Humphrey, under the care of Anne, Duchess of Exeter (sister to Edward IV), later married Katherine Wydville, daughter of the Earl of Rivers and sister to Edward IV's Queen. Such close ties with the royal family brought little but misfortune to the Staffords during all those troublous times. The Duke, whose father and grandfather had given their lives in the Lancastrian cause began by helping to place Richard III on the throne for which he was rewarded with the Constablership of England and a grant of the forfeited estates of Bohun of Hereford. When summoned to Court, however, he was 'struck by remorse of conscience' for his wife's nephew, Edward V, and answered Richard's summons by raising troops against him in Wales and the west of England. Since the river Severn was in flood, the English and Welsh troops were prevented from joining forces, and became so disheartened that they forsook their leader and returned to their homes. The Duke became a fugitive, with a reward of £1000 on his head. He managed to reach his Castle of Maxstoke, where he concealed himself in the cottage of a trusted retainer named Bannister,

but the temptation to acquire so large a sum of money proved too great for Bannister. He basely betrayed his master to Richard III, and the Duke was discovered hiding in an oak chest. He was despatched to Salisbury, where 'High-reaching Bukkyngham' was summarily beheaded without any form of trial in the year 1483. His widow afterwards married Jasper, Earl of Pembroke and Duke of Bedford, after whom some rooms at Thornbury Castle were named the Bedford rooms.¹

Two years later King Richard, who had reigned for little over two years, died on the field of Bosworth. The new Sovereign, Henry VII, in 1486 restored to Henry's son, Edward Stafford, born in 1477, all his father's estates and titles, and he became third Duke of Buckingham, Earl of Hereford, Stafford and Northampton. In 1491, the king gave to this boy of fourteen in marriage, Lady Alianore Percy, daughter of the late Earl of Northumberland, whose executors were, in consequence, called upon to pay from the dead Earl's revenues £4000 to the royal coffers. In the following year the young Duke successfully assisted in crushing the revolt of Perkin Warbeck, and was made High Constable of England and a Knight of the Garter.¹ The Duke, 'Bounteous Buckingham, The mirror of all courtesy,' entertained extensively; evidence of his lavish hospitality is found in the 'Stafford Household Book.' At Thornbury on Christmas Day, 1507, there dined at the Duke's cost, 95 gentry, 107 yeomen or valets, and 97 garçons or grooms; and supped 84 gentry, 114 valets, and 92 grooms. At the feast of the Epiphany there dined 134 gentry, 188 valets, and 197 grooms; and supped 126 gentry, 176 valets, and 98 grooms. On this latter occasion the guests included Lord Stafford and the Lady Anne (the Duke's brother and sister), Sir Robert Poyntz, Sir Edmond Gorges, Sir John Rodney, Maurice, Richard and James Berkeley, Anthony Poyntz, William Kingston, and others, all of whom appeared attended by retainers. Entertainment was provided by four players, two minstrels, six trumpeters, and four waits, while the liturgical functions of the day were performed by the Abbot of Kingswood, who brought with him six of his monks, the Duke's chaplain, and the choir of 18 men and 9 boys.³

On the accession of Henry VIII (1509), the Duke became the constant companion of the young king. He accompanied Henry to France, and he fought in the Battle of the Spurs (1514), which broke the might of France and restored freedom to the Papacy. He had already begun to rebuild Thornbury Castle on a scale of great magnificence, his 'New Buildings,' as the Duke called them, containing windows of very great beauty which recall those in Henry VII's Chapel at Westminster. On the stone entrance were carved the words: 'This Gateway was begun in the yere of our Lorde God 1511, the 2nd yere of the Reigne of Kynge Henry VIII by me, Edward, Duc of Bukkyngham, Erle of Hereforde, Staforde, and Northampton.' Other scrolls were inscribed: 'The Duke's Worde,' 'Dores-enavant' (*Dores-en-avant*, an old French word signifying 'Henceforward' or 'Hereafter.')¹ In the second year of Henry's reign, he had licence to impark a thousand acres of land at his lordship of Thornbury. A survey of his lands taken at the time of his death describes 'a proper garden' on the south side of the inner ward, with a two-storied gallery leading from the principal rooms both to the chapel and the parish church; another 'goodly garden to walk in closed with high walls embattled' on the east side of the castle, beside which was 'a large and a goodly orchard full of young grafts, well laden with fruit, many roses, and other pleasures,' containing 'many goodly alleys to walk in openly,' and others 'with resting places covered thoroughly with white thorn and hazel.' There were three parks containing more than 1,550 fallow and red deer: the New Park, recently made, 'containeth nigh upon four miles about'; close by but separated from it by a highway, was Marlwood Park, 'containing nigh 3 miles'; and Eastwood Park 'within two miles of the castle, containing about seven miles.' The survey added that land enclosed for the New Park included 'divers men's lands as well of freehold as copyhold, and no recompense as yet is made for the same.'³

In 1520 the Duke had to accompany the King to the Field of the Cloth of Gold. On his way to embark at Dover, he broke his journey at his castle of Tonbridge, where he found mounting

animosity against his land steward or surveyor, Charles Knyvett, whom he removed from office, an act that thereby sealed his own doom. The dismissed steward, a cousin of the Duke's, was a son of Sir William Knyvett by Lady Joan Stafford, daughter of Duke Humphrey. He revenged himself by recounting in high places some 'hot and indiscreet words' uttered by the Duke in a temper; and it is said that Cardinal Wolsey, jealous of the Duke's influence over the King, made use of his careless words to turn the King against him.¹ The King was in any case already uneasy about his lack of an heir, and the Duke of Buckingham stood first in blood as in power among the English nobles; he was the descendant of Edward III's youngest son, and if the Princess Mary's succession were denied, he stood heir to the throne.⁴ Such a dangerous subject, and one with so ominous-sounding a motto as 'Henceforward,' must needs be eliminated. A writer in the *Saturday Review* (19 June 1884), says that the popular opinion that the Duke's downfall was due to Wolsey is based, not so much upon historical authority, as upon Shakespeare, who derived his facts from Holinshed. That chronicler literally translated 'that old libeller and maligner Polydore Vergil,' the only witness for Wolsey's animosity towards Buckingham, and has been unsuspectingly followed (as remarks Mr J. S. Brewer) by Lord Herbert and later historians. It appears that the Duke and the Cardinal were still on good terms after the return from France, for in November 1520, the former, styling himself the 'mighty Prince Edward, Duke of Buckingham,' instructed his chancellor to have a goblet of gold made for a New Year's gift to the King, a pomander and chain of gold for the Queen, and a cup of gold with a cover for the Cardinal.⁵

When the Duke returned to England he retired to Thornbury, forbearing to appear in London and taking no part in political matters. To judge from his papers, he employed himself in such harmless pursuits as superintending the work on his castle and the laying out of gardens, in training horses and purchasing dogs and falcons. Every holy-day he made religious offerings at one or other of the numerous shrines thereabouts—

to the Holy Blood at Hailes, to Our Lady of Kingswood, to St. Aldhelm at Malmesbury, to St. Ann in the Wood, to Our Lady of Belhouse, Bristol. He also took an interest in 'little Francis,' a poor child whom he was bringing up as a scholar at Oxford. He found amusement in poets, harpers, minstrels, players and tumblers, whose performances never went unrewarded. Once, in May, he gave 8d. to three maidens of Kainsham 'for bringing hawthorns to my lord's grace when he was in his orchard.'⁶ But this gentle dalliance was soon to end. On 8 April 1521, the king's messenger arrived to summon him to London. He at once set out, on his week's journey to the capital unconscious of the true purport of the summons. At Reading he made an oblation of 6s 8d to the 'child of grace'; to Our Lady of Eyton, near Windsor, on the 14, 6s 8d; and as a Knight of the Garter he presented the keeper of the garter robes at Windsor with the sum of 20s. It was only here that the duke realised that he was in truth a prisoner, and that death awaited him. Two days later, as he reached London, he was arrested and lodged in the Tower on an absurd charge of high treason, though the indictment rested exclusively on the depositions of his own servants, Delacourt, Gilbert and Knyvett. At the trial, which began on 13 May, and was presided over by his two sons-in-law, the Duke of Norfolk and Lord Abergavenny, he was found guilty and condemned to be hanged, drawn, and quartered. On 17 May he was led to Tower Hill, and, in the words of Mr J. S. Brewer: 'Among the sobs and tears of the spectators, the duke, led by two sheriffs, mounted the scaffold with a firm and composed step. Turning himself to the crowd, he requested all men to pray for him, "trusting," he said, "to die the King's true man; whom, through his own negligence and lack of grace, he had offended." With this brief request, he kneeled at the block. There was a sudden glimmer for an instant in the air, then a dull thud, and the head rolled heavily from the body. The headsman wiped his axe: the attendants threw a cloth over the headless trunk, to conceal the blood which streamed in torrents over the scaffold and dripped through the platform on the grass beneath. In rough frieze, barefooted and

bareheaded, six poor Augustinian friars, shouldering a rude coffin, emerged from the shuddering and receding crowd. Gathering up the remains of the once mighty Duke of Buckingham—for the king, satisfied with his condemnation, had commuted the last extremities of the sentence—they carried the corpse to the church of the Austin Friars. The duke in his lifetime had been kind to poor religious men, and this was the last and only office they could render him.’⁶

After this flagrant act of injustice, the king confiscated all the duke’s lands, appropriating to himself the castle of Thornbury, which remained a royal demesne for 33 years (1521-54).¹ The ‘degradynge’ of Duke Edward took place in St. George’s Chapel at Windsor on 8 June. The order was read by the Garter King-at-Arms, standing by the desk in the choir, and when he came to the words, ‘expelled and put from among the Arms,’ the Somerset Herald, says an old manuscript, ‘violently cast down into the quire his Creste, his banner, and his sworde . . . And when the publication was all doone, the officers of arms, spurning his sayde hatchment with their fete out of the quire into the body of the churche; first the sworde, and then the banner, and then was the crest spurned, out of the sayd quire through the church out of the west doores, and so to the bridge where it was spurned down into the ditche and thus was the sayde Edward Duke of Buckingham fully disgraded of the order.’³

The unfortunate duke’s elder son, Henry Stafford, had married, in 1518, Ursula Pole, daughter of Sir Richard Pole, K.G. and Margaret Plantagenet, daughter of the Duke of Clarence, brother of Edward IV. In the year following his father’s execution, he was restored in blood by Act of Parliament. On 20 September of the same year, certain of his father’s manors were granted to him and his wife, by the name of Henry Stafford and Ursula his wife. The castle and manor of Thornbury were withheld and remained in the king’s hands despite an unsuccessful petition by Henry Stafford for the restitution of all his lands and titles. His letter of 25 May 1533, asking Thomas Cromwell to move the king for such evidences as concerned his

lands at Thornbury, shows that the manorial records were still in the castle: 'The evidences of Thornbury are many cartloads, and will be put in great disorder if removed. If brought up to London much time will be lost. If the king will send one of his Council I will defray the cost, and take all the evidences belonging to my lands.' The magnificent but unfinished castle was the occasional residence of the Princess Mary, daughter of Katherine of Aragon, when she was eleven or twelve. The king paid a visit there in 1535, and four years later he and Anne Boleyn stayed there for ten days. After that the castle seems to have been left deserted and neglected. Building had ceased; the walls were allowed to fall and the roofs to decay, while stones were carried away for other buildings, and the stone mullions were pulled out and built into neighbouring houses or cottages; some tiles bearing the Royal Arms went into the church at Littleton-on-Severn.¹

Meanwhile the Staffords were reduced to such poverty that Henry and Ursula, with their seven children, were forced to find refuge in a monastery, where they were boarded for four years at the expense of the community. While he was there Henry, 'a person of great vertue and learning, translated some pieces of divinity.'¹ In the first year of Edward VI's reign (1547), Henry was created Baron Stafford and summoned to Parliament.⁷ He petitioned for the restitution of the Dukedom, but Parliament declared that his poverty unfitted him to be a Duke.¹ When Queen Mary came to the throne (1553) Lord Stafford lost no time in forwarding a letter pointing out his distressed condition, and reminding her of the services of his father, the Duke of Buckingham, to her mother.⁷ So, on 10 July 1554, the Queen granted back to him the castle and manor of Thornbury to hold to him and Ursula and his heirs, by the same rents and services as they were held of Henry VIII before the attainder of his father, with issues from Lady Day last. The grant set out the following properties: the castle, lordship, manor, borough and bedellary of Thornebury, Marlewood park, the warren of Mylborne Hethe, the woods of Fynall or Fylmer, Estwood park, 'le Holme parke' or 'le Newe parke,' and all

lands called 'lez demeane landes' in Inland in Thornbury and in Kingshill, Longefurlonge and Valeslond, co.Glouc.; all lands known as 'Crawle,' 'Colcroftez,' 'Horscrofte,' 'Morlewood,' 'Fordynge,' 'Reveacre' and 'Worthylake,' watermills, etc. called 'Newmylles,' and in Wolforde, co.Glouc.; the lordships and manors of Mars, Estyngton, Alkarton, Rendcombe and Northcerney; the borough of Newenham, co.Glouc.; lands called 'Barrys' in Estington; all formerly parcel of the lands of the said duke of Buckingham.⁸ The manor of Newnham had been vested, during Henry IV's reign, in Edmond Stafford, in right of his wife, Anne Plantagenet, daughter and coheir of Eleanor de Bohun. Henry V, upon the petition of Anne, gave her the manor as her purparty in the Bohun estates, and it continued in the Staffords until the attainder of Duke Edward.⁷

Henry Lord Stafford died on 30 April 1563, and was buried at Worthen, Salop.⁹ His son, Henry, succeeded but died without issue and probably unmarried on 8 April 1566. His next surviving brother, Edward, became 3rd Baron Stafford of the new creation.⁹ On 23 January 1568, Queen Elizabeth confirmed to him the grant of 1554,¹⁰ and later she gave him power to alienate some of his lands (but excluding Thornbury castle) for the benefit of 'Dorothy Stafford (his daughter who married Gerveis or Jervis of Chadsden) and her sons in taile, 1584.'¹ His wife, whom he married about 1570, was Lady Mary Stanley daughter of the Earl of Derby by his first wife, Dorothy Howard, daughter of the Duke of Norfolk.⁹ After his death, 18 October 1603, aged 67, his widow was imposed upon by a dishonest steward, and a suit was instituted by 'Marie Lady Stafford, Lady of the Mannor of Thornbury, against John Baber, who had been steward of the mannor, and who was alleged to have carried off the Court Rolls.¹ She was buried, 4 September 1609, in Thornbury church⁹ where there was at one time a monument on the east wall of the chancel bearing the following inscription:

Here lyeth the Body of the Right Hon'ble Mary, Baronesse Stafford, sometime Wife of Edward, Lord Stafford, who was Grandson to the potent and excellent Prince Edward, Duke

of Buckingham; this Good Lady after the Death of her Husband passing the rest of her days a widow in this Town, and having in the Course of her life tasted of both Fortunes, deceased the 3rd day of September, 1609, about the LXX Year of her Age. She was the Daughter to the Most Noble and pious Edward, Earl of Darby, by the Lady Dorothy, his wife, Daughter to the high and Mighty Prince Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk. Her Body was committed to this Earth; and her Soul lyeth at the Mercy of our sweet Saviour.⁷

Administration of her estate was granted, 26 February 1611, when she was described as, 'of Morton, co.Glouc., widow.'⁹

Their only son, Edward, 4th Baron Stafford, was born in 1573. Nothing seems to be known of him beyond the fact that, soon after his coming of age, he chose for his bride, Isabel Forster, whose home was in Tonge, Salop, and who was in his mother's service; in a letter of 22 November 1595, Rowland White informed Sir Robert Sidney that 'my lord Stafford's son is basely married to his mother's chambermaid.' He died, 25 September 1625, aged 52, and administration, dated 21 January 1626, was granted to his sister 'Dorothy Stafford alias Jervis, widow,' his widow renouncing.⁹ The only child of the marriage, the Hon. Edward Stafford, predeceased his father at the age of 21 and was buried, 6 April 1621, at St. Andrew's, Holborn, 'out of Thomas Shearratt's house, tailor, Fullwood Lane.' He left two children, Mary, born 1619, and Henry, born posthumously, 24 September 1621, by his wife, Anne Wilford of Newnham Hall and Quendon in Essex.⁹ The State Papers record the 'Petition of Anne, widow of Edward Stafford, son and heir of Lord Stafford, to the Commons for reference to the judges of a cause between herself and the copyhold tenants of the Manor of Oldbury, parcel of the Manor of Thornbury, as to the charge of building the sea-walls there. She protests against the decree that she should build them, as she holds only 10 acres within the level, and they hold 1600.'¹¹ Her administration, as 'the Hon. Anne Stafford, of High Holborn, Midx., widow,' was granted, 21 March 1649, to 'Henry Wilsford

alias Wildford, of Ridley Hall, co.Essex. Esq.,' for the use of Mary Viscountess Stafford, daughter of the deceased.⁹

Henry, 5th Baron Stafford, succeeded his grandfather in 1625, and as he and his sister Mary were minors, they were placed under the guardianship of their relative, Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel and Surrey, the first great art-collector of England. A grant of 22 December 1625, gave to the earl the wardship of the body and lease of the lands of Henry, Lord Stafford, during his minority, together with Lord Stafford's fine in the Court of Wards of 500 marks.¹² Henry was only sixteen when he died in October 1637, and his sister inherited the estates. The title should have gone to his cousin, Roger Stafford, who, having failed to gain the consent of Parliament, submitted his claim to Charles I, who decided that 'Roger Stafford having no part of the lands or inheritance of the Staffords should surrender to his Majesty the said Barony of Stafford.'¹ This he did in December 1639, and the barony of 1547 became extinct. Mary Stafford's guardian, Lord Arundel, arranged a match between her and his own fifth (but third surviving) son, William Howard, and a marriage licence was issued in London on 11 October 1637,¹³ when Mary was eighteen and her fiancé twenty-two. Her brother's death in the same month left Mary possessed of the Stafford estates, which passed by her marriage to the Howards, and this branch of that family retained Thornbury for ninety years.

William Howard was grandson of the Ven. Philip Howard, Earl of Arundel, and uncle of Thomas Philip, Cardinal Howard. He was brought up as a Catholic, although his father, a year after his birth on 30 November 1614, yielding under pressure, had received the Sacrament at the Chapel Royal. After two years' service in the household of the bishop of Norwich, William, aged 9, entered as a Fellow Commoner at St. John's College, Cambridge, where he graduated two years later, and left at Easter, 1624. At the coronation of Charles I in 1626 he was made a Knight of the Bath, though only thirteen years old. In Mary Stafford he found a wife of exceptional qualities whom he loved to the end. The considerable estates that

passed with her compensated for his lack of them, for, as he said, being a younger son, he was 'borne to noe other inheritance than that which every free borne have of the laws of the land.'¹⁴ On 12 September 1640, he and his wife were created Baron and Baroness Stafford,⁹ and, two months later, he was made Viscount Stafford, taking his seat in the House of Lords for the first time on 12 November.¹³

At the outbreak of the Civil War, Stafford withdrew to Antwerp and, in 1642, was attending the exiled royal family and his parents.¹⁵ Stafford Castle, which had been garrisoned for the king, was besieged by General Brereton who demanded surrender, but Lady Stafford refused, and he wrote, 'We spent much time in this traitie, but it was vain and fruitless.' Additional forces were moved up later and the castle was forced to surrender. It was demolished in 1644.¹ The Staffords were both royalists and recusants, and all their estates were sequestered. The list of papists in Gloucestershire dated 23 March 1648, shows that the lands of Viscount Stafford and Anne Stafford (his mother-in-law) at Thornbury, Falfield, Oldbury, &c., valued at £244 10s 7d yearly, were let, as to two-thirds, at £130.¹⁶ In 1652, the Middlesex Commissioners were ordered to inquire as to the estate, and seize two-thirds, of David Massey, who had a chamber at Tart Hall, near St. James's, and was an ancient servant to Lady Stafford, a recusant, because he positively refused to take the oath of abjuration.¹⁶

After his father's death in 1646 Stafford was involved in long feuds with his kinsfolk. His brother, the new Lord Arundel, sought to set aside his father's will by perjury, and began a series of unjust lawsuits against his mother, whom he practically robbed of her dowry and denounced as a recusant; Stafford, acting as his mother's representative, upheld the will. His honesty and justness only served to inflame his relatives and other interested parties, who continued to write bitterly of him. For instance, Evelyn wrote: 'Lord Stafford was not a man belov'd, especially of his own family.' In 1652 he went to Heidelberg, where he was arrested on a vague charge of scandalous immorality, though details were not published.

Although he was not apparently brought to trial and the charge was never proved, he was tortured and kept in prison for thirteen months. Nicholas, writing to Hyde at the time, asserted that 'the charge against Lord Stafford is very slight.' It seems more than likely that he was the victim of attempted blackmail. He was in Amsterdam in 1655 when his wife had the bailiffs in her London house, Tart Hall.¹⁴ In January following he was again arrested in Utrecht on some insulting and vexatious charges of which particulars are not now available, but he was acquitted and his honour vindicated.¹⁵ He went to Frankfurt and became 'Chamberlain to the Sacred Majesty of the Emperor Ferdinand III, and commissary to His Serene Highness Leopold, Archduke of Austria, and afterwards to the Swiss.' By 1659 he was back in England, and 'wholly devoted to your Majesty's service, as far as his power and interest can enable him,' so it was reported to the king. A little later he crossed over to Holland to offer the king, on behalf of the Catholics, £100,000 for the removal of the Penal Laws.¹⁴

After the Restoration in the next year, Stafford recovered his lands, though he failed in his petition for the restoration to his wife of the ancient earldom of Stafford 'as if Edward, Duke of Buckingham, had never been attainted.' For the time Catholics 'had connivance and indulgence (i.e. that Mass could be said) in their private houses,' and Stafford 'lived in peace, plenty and happiness, with a most virtuous lady to his wife, and many pious and dutiful children,' to the number of eight. He laboured constantly and arduously for the welfare of Catholics, not only of his own children, who were sent abroad to be educated in a Catholic atmosphere, but also of Catholic settlers in Staffordshire, that they 'be given free exercise of their religion without being persecuted or molested by any penal laws.' He became a Fellow of the Royal Society, and in 1672 a member of the Governing Body.¹⁴ In 1670 he and his wife received a grant of all markets and fairs of Thornbury for ever,¹ and the same year an agreement was made between Viscount Stafford and Lady Mary Stafford his wife, lord and lady (in her right) of the manor of Thornbury, and divers

copyholders and customary tenants of the manor, one provision being that Falfield and Oldbury, then distinct manors, should be reunited to Thornbury. Three years later the agreement was confirmed by Act of Parliament.⁷ On 18 May 1670, John Evelyn found Stafford dining at Goring House, and noted a curious incident in his Diary: 'Lord Stafford rose from the table in some disorder because there were roses stuck about the fruite when the discert was set on the table; such an antipathie, it seems, he had to them as once Lady Selenger (St. Ledger) also had . . .' One of Stafford's happiest missions, if a dangerous one, was to conduct his nephew, the saintly Dominican, Philip Howard, to receive the cardinal's hat in Rome in 1675.¹⁵

Three years later the infamous Titus Oates, proclaimed the existence of his bogus Popish Plot and falsely accused Lord Stafford of complicity in it. On 25 October 1678, Stafford was committed to the Tower, his third and longest period of imprisonment. After eighteen months detention without trial, his health and his eyesight broke down, and he demanded bail or immediate trial. 'Upon the 30th November, 1680,' he wrote, 'being the feast-day of the holy Apostle St. Andrew, on which day I was sixty-eight years, I was brought to my trial in Westminster Hall.' Against him were 'ten or twelve of the greatest lawyers and ablest judges of the nation' as Managers of the Evidence on behalf of the House of Commons. One of these Managers unashamedly disclosed the true purpose of the proceedings: 'I look upon the cause of this day,' he said, 'to be the cause of the Protestant religion . . . When we have your judgment we doubt not but we shall drive Popery out of the English world.' No attempt was made to appraise the evidence, which was blatantly false, contradictory, and given by notoriously perjured men. Evelyn, who attended the six days' trial, said, referring to Oates: 'Verily I am of his lordship's opinion that such a man's testimony should not be taken against the life of a dog.' But the outcome was a foregone conclusion, and Stafford was found guilty by a majority of twenty-four. As twenty Catholic peers were precluded from voting because of their refusal to take the Test, among them the Duke of

Norfolk, the verdict lay with the remaining eighty-six peers. Intimidated by the clamours of the populace, fifty-five voted against him, including, it is sad to record, all his kinsmen but one: that one, however, Lord Mowbray, Norfolk's apostate son, who had been concerned in the feuds already mentioned. On hearing the verdict Stafford raised his voice in praise to God, for it was evident that his religion was his offence, and he realized that he was called to face martyrdom for the Catholic Faith. He wrote: 'I conceive this sentence is fallen upon me, on account of the religion that I am of. If I had a multitude of lives, I would lose them all, rather than forsake the Church that I am of. I do with my whole heart forgive those men that swore so falsely against me . . . Thou hast said, O Lord, "He that loves father and mother, etc., more than Me is not worthy of Me." I acknowledge, most dear Lord, that I love my wife and children as much as a loving husband and tender father can love a most deserving wife and dutiful children. But to show that I love Thy Divine Majesty more than them and my own life to boot, I willingly render up and forsake both, for love of Thee, and rather than offend Thee, though by the contrary I may have life and all worldly advantages both for myself and them.'¹⁴

His remaining days were spent setting down his thoughts, composing his speech on the scaffold, talking with those friends who visited him, writing farewell letters, and preparing to meet his death. It has rightly been said that his last letters and speeches are marked by a quiet dignity and a simple heroism, which present a high idea of his character and his piety. His fellow-prisoner and confessor, Fr. Corber, O.S.B., remarked that 'he was ever held to be of a generous disposition, very charitable, devout, addicted to sobriety, inoffensive in words, a lover of justice.'¹⁵ One letter was for his daughter, Delphine, a nun in the convent at Brussels founded by her godfather, the Cardinal of Norfolk. To Lady Stafford he wrote: 'My most dear, and loving, and beloved wife, It hath pleased God of His infinite Mercy to bring me to the condition I am in. I take it for a mercy much greater than I could deserve or

expect . . . God preserve you and ours, and send us a happy meeting in heaven, which is the hearty prayer of him that forty years had the honour to bear your name, and now is returned to the name of, My dear Mistress, your most affectionate loving husband, William Howard.' His final letter to her was penned early in the morning of the day of his execution, dated 'St. Thomas of Canterbury's Day, 1680, past six in the morning.' Four hours later he was summoned. Bidding his friends not grieve for him on the happiest day of all his life, he walked behind his coffin to the scaffold 'extremely unconcerned and rather like a spectator.' He read his last speech and distributed copies, then knelt and prayed. Rising he said a few last words to the crowd protesting his innocence and forgiving all concerned in his death. He refused the ministrations of an Anglican minister, bared his neck, made on himself the Sign of the Cross, and knelt down.¹⁴ As Hume said: 'He died with firmness, and the populace, who had exulted at his condemnation, were melted to tears at the fortitude he displayed on the scaffold.'¹ The king had mitigated the sentence from hanging, drawing and quartering, to one of simple beheading. The headsman, holding aloft the severed head, cried at each corner of the scaffold, 'Here is the head of a traitor! Here is the head of a traitor against the King!' But the crowd was subdued and made no acclamation at the sight of it.¹⁴ William Howard is now honoured among the 'Beati' of the Catholic Church under a decree of Pope Pius XI dated 15 May 1929.

His first son, Henry Stafford-Howard, born 1648, succeeded, and in consideration of his father's sufferings and noble descent, James II created him Earl of Stafford, 5 October 1688, when he assumed the name of Stafford before that of Howard. His mother was also created Countess of Stafford. She died 23 January 1694, in her 74th year, and was buried in Westminster abbey. The new Earl was Colonel of a Regiment of Foot during November and December 1688, but on the king's abdication in the latter month, he and his brother John accompanied the exiled monarch into France. On 3 April 1694, at St. Germain-en-Laye, he married Claude-Charlotte,

daughter of Philibert, Comte de Gramont, by Elizabeth ('La Belle Hamilton'), eldest daughter of Sir George Hamilton, Bart.⁹ The Count was the well-known historian of the Court of Charles II and author of the celebrated *Memoirs*. The Earl seems to have found his marriage a costly matter, for he was compelled to raise a large sum of money on his Thornbury estates, and during the four years, 1695-9, all the manorial dues were paid to his creditors.¹ As a 'papist' he registered his lands, with their annual values, under the Act of 1715, as follows: Estate of Thornbury, Bitton, and Newnham, Glos., £350 14s 0½*d*.; Stafford House, formerly called Tart Hall, and garden in St. Margaret's and St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, Middlx., £34 13s 4*d*.; Manor of Shiffnel, &c., Salop, £1053 14s 7*d*.; and Manors of Stafford, &c., entailed, with site of the castle of Stafford and of the Free Chapel of St. Michael within the castle, £877 19s 3*d*.¹⁷

The Earl died childless, 27 April 1719, and was buried, 12 May, in Westminster abbey.⁹ In his will dated 2 February 1699, and proved 2 July 1719, he reviled his wife and her parents in an astounding manner: 'I give to the worst of women, except being a wh--e, who is guilty of all ills, the daughter of Mr Grammont, a Frenchman, whom I have unfortunately married, 45 brass half-pence which will buy her a pullet to her supper, a greater sum than her father can often make, for I have known when he had neither money nor credit for such a purchase, being the worst of men, and his wife the worst of women in all debaucheries; had I known their character, I had never married their daughter, nor made myself unhappy.'¹⁸ On the other hand, Lord Hervey, in his *Memoirs*, calls Lady Stafford 'An old French Lady, who had as much wit, humour and entertainment in her as any man or woman I ever knew, with a great justness in her ways of thinking and very little reserve in her manner of giving her opinions of things and people.'⁹ The Earl of Ailesbury, writing in his *Memoirs* (about 1729) of Lord Stafford's life in Brussels, recounts that he 'saw nobody nor any came to him, he stood upon great chairs and other nonsense, and so kept home, and he was angry with me for abasing myself . . . his estate was forfeited, and he at last

being in great want treated with K. William's growing favourite at Loo, and got his estates again, paying that Lord £7000 and £500 to the person that undertook it.'⁹

The title and estates went to his nephew, William Stafford-Howard, born about 1690, the eldest son of his brother, the Hon. John Stafford-Howard, by Mary, daughter of Sir John Southcott, of Merstham, Surrey.⁹ John, like his brother, Henry the Earl, had lived mostly in France, and all his children were born at St. Germain. He died in Paris in 1714.¹ Two of his daughters, Louisa and Xaveria Beatrix, were nuns of the English convent of the Conception in the Rue Charenton at Paris. They made their professions together, 28 November 1720, and Louisa was chosen abbess for a term of three years, 20 September 1732, continuing in that office by re-election for nearly twenty years. She died 30 September 1764, aged 66, and was buried, at the request of her niece, Madame de Rohan Chabot (a great benefactor of the convent), in the cloister garden. Her sister, Xaveria, died 20 December 1770, and was buried in the cloister near the entrance of the house.¹⁹ Another of the Hon. John's daughters, Mary, became the wife of Francis Plowden, of Plowden, Salop.

In 1718, William, second Earl, married his first cousin, Anne Holman, who was the younger daughter and coheir of George Holman by the Lady Anastasia, fifth daughter of the ill-fated William Howard and Mary Stafford.⁹ George Holman, a convert to Catholicism, lived for many years in Paris, and it was there that he met Lady Anastasia whom he married about 1687. They came to England and lived regularly at Warkworth, which soon became by far the most important Catholic centre in Northamptonshire.²⁰ There was a chapel in the house and the resident chaplain was the well-known controversial writer, the Rev. John Gother, apostle of the London slums, who died at sea in 1704 on his way to become President of the English College at Lisbon. Shortly before leaving Gother had, after instruction, received into the Catholic Church a lad who was destined to become the leading figure of English Catholicism during the greater part of the 18th century, and eventually

Bishop and Vicar Apostolic of the London District. He was Richard Challoner, whose mother was housekeeper at Warkworth to Lady Holman, and had previously held a similar position at Firle, near Lewes, the seat of the Catholic family of Gage.²¹ Another chaplain at Warkworth was the Rev. Alban Butler (1716-73), author of the well-known *Lives of the Saints*.²⁰

In 1727 the Earl sold his castle and manor of Thornbury, for £24,000, to his cousin, Thomas Howard, 8th Duke of Norfolk, thus ending the connection of the Staffords with Thornbury which had lasted 400 years.¹ Dying in France in January, 1734, he was buried in the church of the Augustin nuns at Paris, but his heart was deposited in the choir of the convent church of the Conceptionist nuns there in the June following.¹⁹ His wife, Anne, who had pre-deceased him, 21 May 1725, was buried in Warkworth church.²⁰ There were four children of the marriage: an only son and heir, William Matthias, and three daughters, Mary Apolonia Scholastica, who became the wife of the Comte de Rohan Chabot, brother to the Duc de Rohan, and Anastasia and Anne, both Conceptionist nuns at Paris.¹⁹ The Lady Anastasia made her profession, 19 March 1740, and was chosen abbess, 3 June 1773, being re-elected three years later. The following particulars are recorded in the Convent Obituary: 'On the 27 April 1807, died, at Paris, our venerable dear mother, Mary Ursula (alias Anastasia Stafford) in the 85th year of her age and the 67th of her religious profession. Mother Ursula was deprived of her mother (the Countess of Stafford) at a very early age of infancy. She went with her two sisters, attended by a nurse, to the school at Hammersmith, and at six years of age, her elder sister being eight, and the other three years, they went over to the convent of Poor Clares at Rouen, to be brought up in their school . . . In July 1735, being in her thirteenth year, she was placed, with her younger sister, in our school, the Earl of Stafford being desirous his daughters should be under the tuition of their aunt, who was his sister . . . At 18 years of age she gave up all the advantages of birth and fortune to make herself the humble spouse of Christ . . .' She died 27 April 1807, aged 84. Lady Anne

Stafford made her profession 18 April 1743, and, dying 6 May 1792, she was buried in the cloister garden.¹⁹

William Matthias Stafford-Howard, 3rd Earl of Stafford (styled Lord Howard until he succeeded to the peerage) was born on St. Matthias' Day (24 February), probably 1719. He married, July 1743, Henrietta Cantillon, daughter of a Paris banker, of whom Horace Walpole wrote: 'She is as ugly as he.' The Earl died in Jermyn Street, 28 February 1751, aged about 32 years, and was buried at Arundel.⁹ As he left no legitimate heir, his uncle, John Paul, succeeded as 4th Earl of Stafford, being next brother (of the whole blood) to the 2nd Earl. By his death, without issue, 1 April 1762, the Earldom of Stafford became extinct, as did also the right to the (attainted) Viscounty of Stafford, but the right to the Barony of Stafford devolved (subject to the attainder of 1678) on the heirs general of the body of the grantee. These in the first instance were the daughters of his eldest brother, the 2nd Earl, who all died, without issue, before 1807, but, in the second, were the descendants of his only sister, Mary, (wife of Francis Plowden) to one of whom, as her representative (Sir George William Jerningham, 7th baronet), the Barony was allowed in 1825.⁹ Sir George's grandfather had married Mary, the first daughter and eventual sole heir of Francis Plowden and Mary Stafford.

'A Register Book for Popish Estates in the County of Gloucester pursuant to the Statute of the 1st of King George, 1716,' obliging papists to register their names and real estates, and kept by the Clerk of the Peace, is in the custody of the County Records Officer. The registration of Henry, Earl of Stafford, signed by him on 21 August 1717, was subscribed in open Sessions on 8 October following, and the following particulars are extracted from it :

The HONOUR OF GLOUCESTER with a long list of rights, etc., including rents of mesne lords and freeholders amounting to 5s 10d a year. Jurisdiction extended over the following places: Thornbury, Kington, Oldbury-upon-Seaverne, Moreton, Mars and Falfield otherwise Mars of Falfield, Philpotts, Saltmarsh,

Rowles, Buckover, Hope, Rangworthy, Tidrington, Iron Acton, Charfield, Dodington, Marshfield, Mangotsfield, Upton Cheyney, Beech, Barrs Court, Oldland, Hannam, Doynton, Gauntz Ircott, Over, Tookington, Coates, Truesbury, Oxenton, Alderton, Ashton, Boddington, Hampton Masey, Hollyrood Ampney, Walton Cardiffe, and Kemerton.

The HONOUR OF HEREFORD with a similar list of rights, and rents amounting to £3 a year. Jurisdiction extended over the following places: Stroude, Bisley, Pakenhill, Winston, Over and Nether Lipiatt, Harscombe, Estington, Stonehouse, Stanley, Didmarton, Bolesdon, Frampton, Culperton, Ashbrooke, South Cerney, Wiggold, Hurnhill, Alkington, Dunteshourn, Bleisdon, Westbury, Blechindon, Dedington, Brockthorpe, Shipton Pilly, Shipton Sollers, Leighterton, Elmore, Boxe, Ashley, Bawdington, Wigwood, Langford, Chenecote, Quaddon, Morcote, Brandesley, Dodingdale, Seisincote, Moreton Valence, Horsemorley, Alkerton, Amiscourt, Bidfield, Siddington, and Newland.

The MANOR OF THORNBURY with its rights, etc., including rents as well of Free as of Copyhold and Customary Tenants of Inheritance of the manor amounting together to £135 5s 11½d a year, and 20s a year common fine for each of the tythings of Kington, Moreton, and Oldbury-upon-Seaverne within the manor. Mention is made of the Wast grounds called Milborough Heath, Duckhole Common, Freneight and Moorfletts Green, and the places of Thornbury, Kington, Cowhill, Oldbury-upon-Seaverne, Moreton, Mars and Falfield otherwise Mars of Falfield, Whitefield, Buckover, Hope, Oldland, Philpotts, Saltmarsh Court, Kingstons, Raingworthy, and Gantsircott; all in his own possession.

The ancient ruined Castle or Scite of the Castle of Thornbury, the castle courts, orchards and gardens belonging, and land and closes used or letten with the said castle in the tything of Kington, in the possession of Edward Webb, at the yearly rent of £25.

The Freewarren of Milborough Heath otherwise Milborough Heath Warren, and the liberty of keeping, feeding and killing

of coneyes there, a messuage called the New Lodge, and another called Bisses Tenement with the garden belonging and a piece of ground adjacent (in tything of Kington), in possession of William Wisse under lease dated 1 January 1712, for seven years, at reserved rent of £20.

The following field names, etc., and tenants' names are mentioned :—

Tything of Kington: Staffords Knott otherwise the Terrest House, Toveys Hay, Crendalls Moor, Greys Paddock, Poultry Brook Leazes, Shewleywell Leaze, Quarry Leazes, Oakleaze, Westmarsh, Gorelands, Pound Grounds, Churnfield, a pit by the churchyard now or heretofore called the Church Pool.

Tenants: Thomas Lewis, Samuel Richards (under lease granted to Livewell Read by Mary Baroness of Stafford, 31 December 1685), Robert Marsh, Thomas Prewast, Sarah Tayer widow, John Scamell, Christopher Scamell (1690), John Corsley, Thomas Goldney, Patroclus Parmister (under lease granted to Walter Webb by William Viscount of Stafford and Mary Viscountess his wife, 10 May 1665, and another lease granted to Daniel Weare by Mary Countess of Stafford, 4 December 1693), John Hopkins, Joseph Hopkins (1684), William Raymond.

Tything of Morton: Dodcroft, Home Closes, Cow Croftfield, Bannutt Tree Hay, Whitefield, small decayed house formerly used for a Dy-house in Buckover. *Tenants:* Thomas Harvest, Joseph Peirce, Thomas Lawrence, Richard Gwynn, Joseph Whelham, Robert Thurston the elder (1693), Thomas Webb, Joseph Webb (1683), Nathaniel Burrows.

Tything of Falfield: messuage near Falfield Chappell. *Tenants:* Arthur Prout, Anthony Westfield (1670), John Morse, Thomas Webb the elder (1692), Mary Pullen widow, John Withers.

Tything of Oldbury: Worthy Perry, Forthay, Long Marle, Priesthouse Paddock, Butt Hay. *Tenants:* Sarah Parmiser widow, Daniel Thurston (1683), John Collins, John Adams (1683), Thomas Barrow, Thomas Linse the younger (1683). Five weares in the River of Seaverne in possession respectively of Richard Harwood, at 10s yearly, Thomas Davis, at 6s 8d, John Hancock, at 6s 8d, Joseph Drayton (2), at 15s.

The liberty to gather, carry away and burn the Kilps growing on the wast grounds of the Severn within the manor of Thornbury, rented by William Grove, from Michaelmas 1716, for three years, at 10s a year.

The BOROUGH OF THORNBURY with its rights, etc., and chief rents or burgage rents amounting to £7 os 7*d* a year. The Boothall Market-house and Upper and Lower Shambells, and the standings in the same shambles, in the Borough or Town of Thornbury, in his own possession. The profits and tolls of the markets and fairs (other than of the standings in the Shambells aforesaid) to be had or taken in the Borough, let to Mary Whitfield widow, at a yearly rent of £5. Other tenants were John Thurston, who held two shops under the Boothall, Thomas Walter (another shop there), John French (a messuage called the Glaziers otherwise the Saw Pit House), Charles Cosham (a garden called Blakes), and Philip Mansell (a cart-house).

The HUNDRED OF THORNBURY, with the rights, etc., in the places of Thornbury, Gainsircott, Titherington, Iron Acton, and Marshfield, in his own possession.

The MANOR OR LIBERTY and FEE OF OLDLAND, with the rights, etc., and Chief Rents of freeholders amounting to 2s 8*d* a year, in Oldland and the parish of Bitton. Part of the wast ground, royalty and common, from the Grange in Payells Lane to the lower part of his Liberty adjoining to the Liberty of William Player, Esq., on the north, to dig and land coals in the same wast or common, was leased by Indenture dated 21 March 1715, for seven years, to Francis Woodward and John Bater jointly, 'paying therefor unto me 2s out of every 20s worth of coals that shall be so landed and digged.' Other tenants were Henry Jones (cottage leased 10 February 1701), Susanna Page (cottage leased 10 January 1701), Overseers of the Poor (cottage rented at 2s 6*d* a year), Walter Say, Widow Smith (cottage at Grimsbury in parish of Bitton), Amos Hawkins (cottage at Grimsbury near unto Barrs Court), John Lashly, and John Robins.

'The Liberty licence and authority to convey the water underground for the benefitt of the Cole-works in a ground

called Cowles from a Brooke at the lower end of Cadburys Heath adjoining to Siston through Hoe Lane to and athwart a lane called Cowdrons Hill Brooke within the Liberty and Fee of Oldland aforesaid in the occupation or possession of Mister Francis Woodward and partners by or under a Gift or Grant made thereof by me unto Samuell Greeneway by Indenture dated 29 November 1701, from the day of the date thereof for and during the term of twenty years upon which Gift or Grant there is reserved the yearly rent of 1s and there was paid the Fine or sum of ten Guineas in Gold.'

The BOROUGH OF NEWENHAM with long list of Rights, etc., including royal fishes, shipwrecks and other wrecks of sea, flotsam and goods thrown up by water on the strand or wasts, in his own possession. The Court house and Market house, a store-house, a place inclosed with a stone wall called a pen upon the strand near the pill, a yearly payment called Smoake Groates, and all advantages that may arise from the setting up of any sign within the borough or town of Newenham, in his own possession. Mary Mount widow, held a house under a lease granted by William Viscount of Stafford and Mary Viscountess his' wife to John Wilcox, gent., by Indenture of 16 September 1670. William Waters was in possession of a meadow called the Lords Croft, the benefit of loading and unloading of goods, anchorage, moorage of vessels and stake pence, and also the toll and pitching pence of the markets and fairs in the borough. Robert Jones held a storehouse with liberty to weigh iron on the strand. Joseph Teacle held another storehouse.

A message in BISLEY was in the possession of Thomas Parsons under a lease granted by Viscount William and Mary his wife to Thomas Parsons senior, by Indenture dated 12 May 1670.

In all the foregoing (except Bisses Tenement with the garden and adjacent piece of ground) the Earl had an estate for the residue of a 99 years term which commenced from and immediately after the decease of his late mother, the Countess of Stafford (who died on or about 13 January 1693), and was determinable upon his death without impeachment of wast, and with a power for him to limit part of the premises comprised in

the same term, and of lands in the county of Stafford, not exceeding £500 a year, for the life or lives of any woman or women he should marry for her or their Jointure or Jointures, and also to charge the same premises or any part thereof for raising portions for daughters or younger children with any sum of money not exceeding £2000 in the whole, and with a further power for him to make leases of the same premises or any part thereof in possession for a term of years not exceeding 21 years or for any longer term determinable upon up to three lives, at the utmost and most improved rents and values. The Earl had also the reversion in fee of all the premises in Gloucestershire comprised in the same 99 years term expectant upon several intermediate limitations for life and in tail male to several other persons subject to a mortgage for 500 years made thereof, together with lands in Staffordshire, by his mother for a considerable sum of money, which mortgage is forfeited and unsatisfied. In the excepted Bisses tenement, etc., the Earl was seized in fee simple.

¹ R. Ellis, *Hist. of Thornbury Castle* (1839); R.A.G.H., 'Records of an Eng. Manor' (*General Mag.*, 1901, IV); *Thornbury Castle and its Owners* (compiled by R.A.G.H.)

² *Trans. Bristol and Glos. Archaeol. Soc.*, LXIII (J. N. Langston, 'Priors of Lanthony by Gloucester').

³ *Archaeologia* (1833), XXV, 311.

⁴ J. R. Green, *Short Hist. of Eng. People* (1898), 324.

⁵ *Glos. Notes and Queries* (1887), III, 491.

⁶ *Ibid.*, III, 544 (Extract from Brewer's *Reign of Hen. VIII*, I, 382-404).

⁷ Bigland, *Glos.* (Thornbury).

⁸ *Cal. Patent Rolls*, 1553-4.

⁹ *Complete Peerage of Eng.* (ed. G. E. C(okayne), 1887-98).

¹⁰ Translation of exemplification of grant 10 July, 2 Mary (Glouc. Pub. Lib.)

¹¹ *S.P. Dom.* 1623-5.

¹² J. L. Sanford and M. Townsend, *Great Governing Families of Eng.* (1865), II.

¹³ *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, XXVIII.

¹⁴ M. Trappes-Lomax, 'Blessed William Howard' in *Great Catholics* (1938).

¹⁵ *Cath. Ency.*, VII.

¹⁶ *Cal. Committee for Compounding*, 1643-60.

¹⁷ E. E. Estcourt and J. O. Payne, *Eng. Cath. Nonjurors of 1715* (1885).

¹⁸ J. O. Payne, *Records of Eng. Caths. of 1715* (1900).

¹⁹ *Archaeologia* (1840), XXVIII.

²⁰ *Trans. Bristol and Glos. Archaeol. Soc.* LII (G. McNeil Rushforth, 'Warkworth').

²¹ Rev. Gordon Albion, 'Bishop Challoner' (*Cath. Truth Soc.*).

