

The Early History of Hardwick by Whitchurch.

By The Rev. A. H. COOKE, Sc.D.

The small manor of Hardwick, ¹ which lies on the Thames between Whitchurch and Mapledurham, is not mentioned in Domesday. This is probably because it is included, with its larger and adjacent neighbour Whitchurch, in the holdings of Milo Crispin.² But the name occurs in a document which is at least as old as Domesday, and may be a few years older. The 'Liber Albus' of John Arundel, in the 'erary' of St. George's College, Windsor, contains a copy of a confirmation by William I of grants of tithes made by Milo Crispin, lord of the Honour of Wallingford, to the Abbey of Bec in Normandy. Immediately after 'apud Wicchechurch idem Milo concessit decimam in annona, agnis, caseis, etc. . . . ' follow the words, 'Apud Herdewicham idem Milo concessit decimam in annona.'³ This is the first known notice of Hardwick, and it is long before we get another. When Mrs. Climensson states⁴ that 'the Manor of Hardwick was amongst the list of 28 lordships given by William the Conqueror to his favourite Robert D'Oyley, on his marriage with Aldith, the daughter of Wigod, Thane of Wallingford,' and that Maud their daughter 'carried the manor in marriage to Miles or Milo Crispin,' she is mistaken. The Hardwich held by Robert de Oilgi in Domesday (p. ix, col. b. of the facsimile) is the Hardwick near Bicester, with $7\frac{1}{2}$ hides of land, an amount far beyond the area of our little Hardwick, which did not pass to Milo Crispin on his marriage, because he possessed it already as part of Whitchurch.

¹ There are four Hardwicks in Oxon alone, and several more in the rest of England: special caution is therefore needed in dealing with the early records.

² 'If a knight held two adjacent manors, it is not uncommon that in Domesday they are entered under one name.' H. E. Salter, *Engl. Histor. Rev.*, xl, p. 77 (1925).

³ H. E. Salter, *ut sup.*; A. H. Cooke, *Early History of Mapledurham*, pp. 82-3.

⁴ *Passages from the Diaries of Mrs. Philip Lybbe Powys*, pp. 99-100.

The name of the manor signifies 'the place of the herd,' and specially the grange or stable of a small manorial settlement where milk or cheese are produced,⁵ a description closely according with the situation of Hardwick on the upper edge of the rich river meadows. In early days, the manor was no doubt much smaller than the present estate, which numbers about 1,200 acres and extends 'up hill' from the river as far as Goring Heath and Crays Pond. A significant entry in what used to be called the Testa de Nevill, now the Book of Fees (I 315), under date 1220, suggests the possibility of recovering the name of the original Norman owners on whom Hardwick was probably bestowed by one of our early Norman kings. In a list of the carucages paid by manors belonging of the Honour of Wallingford, under 'Comitatus Oxonie Honor' is—and it comes significantly next after Witchurche—'De Radulpho de Bruncoste ijs. pro j carruca.' The small amount of the tax, and the single plough (the only case in the whole list of so small an entry), correspond well with the then small size of the Hardwick Manor. When the obviously French personal name was, if ever, exchanged for the Saxon territorial must remain obscure.

The extant records of the manor and of the de Herdewicks appear to be as follows:—

1255. Reginaldus de Albo Monasterio (in Salop) tenet de hereditate Havysie uxoris sue in Herdewik . . . duas carucatas terre . . . de Radulpho Davers, et est de honore Walingeford per servicium trium parcium dimidij feodi militis et valet per annum C solidos.⁶

c. 1260-1272. Ralph de Herdewyk witnesses a lease of a virgate of land in Mapledurham from Geoffrey de Chausey to William Page.⁷

⁵ Vinogradoff, *English Society in XI Century*, pp. 284, 369; G. B. Grundy, *Berks, Bucks & Oxon Archæol. Journ.*, xxvii (1923), p. 194. Not as Canon Slatter in *Hist. of Whitchurch*, p. 39, the 'hard spring.'

⁶ *Rot. Hundred*, II, p. 42.

⁷ *Early History of Mapledurham*, pp. 68, 183.

1279. William de Herdewyk is one of the twelve jurors who make oath to the entry in the Hundred Rolls for the hundred of Langtre.⁸

1279. "Willelmus de Herdewicke tenet duas partes dimidij feodi libere de Radulpho de Anvers in capite, etc. . . ." ⁸

1279. Among the 'liberi tenentes de domino de Witch' in capite, William de Herdewik holds of the lord in chief two virgates of land 'in liberum maritagium' and performs suit of court and foreign service. Walter de Herdewik holds half a virgate of land of William de Herdewik for service of 2s. annual rent, except foreign service, of the aforesaid fee of the said William.⁸

c. 1289. Ralph de Herdewyk witnesses a grant made by Lady Juliana de Gurney to her sons Roger John and William Bardolf.⁹

1292. Ralph de H'dewyke witnesses a quitclaim by John, son of Geoffrey Marmyon of Chakendene, to John, son of William Marmyon his brother.¹⁰

1294. Ralph Hordewyk witnesses a grant of land from Gilbert Bulluc to John Marmyon of Chakendene.¹⁰

1295. Ralph de Herdewyk witnesses a grant, Hugh Bardolf to Roger Bardolf of Mapledurham.¹¹

1308. Ralph de Herdwyk is fined in the hundred Court at Binfield.¹²

1313. Ralph de Herdewyk is one of the twelve inquisitors on the death of Sir John de Chausy.¹³

1321. William de Herdewyk, see below.

1340. William de Herdewyk is one of the inquisitors for Caveresham under the Nonarum Inquisitiones.¹⁴

⁸ *Rot. Hundred*, II, p. 776.

⁹ Blount MSS. *Early History*, p. 21.

¹⁰ *Borstall Cartulary (Checkenden)*, fo. xi, xii.

¹¹ Blount MSS., *Early History*, p. 21.

¹² M. T. Pearman, *The Chiltern Hundreds*, *Oxf. Archæol. Soc. Trans.* 1890.

¹³ Blount MSS.; transcript of Inquis. p. mortem.

¹⁴ *Non. Inquis.*, p. 136.

1346. William de Herdwik is a sworn juror for the collection of an auxilium for the King in Ewelme half-hundred.¹⁵

1349. William Bayleff de Herdewik witnesses a grant of pasture by Sir John Bardolff of Mapledurham to Henry de Graystok, clerk (Blount MSS.).

An entry in the Parliamentary Writs enables us to understand this rather curious title. An action was brought in 1321 against Willielmus de Herdewyk, Bailiff of the Chiltern Hundreds, for refusing to assess the expenses of a knight of the shire.¹⁶

1355. William de Herdewyk witnesses a feoffment, John de Dagenhall to Sir John de Chaussy of Mapledurham Chazey.¹⁷

c. 1350-60. William de Herdewyk witnesses a grant of land by William Sullam of Radyngge to Thomas Milward of Mapledurham.¹⁷

1369. John Hardewik witnesses a transfer of land in Clopcote by Wallingford.¹⁸

1370. John Hardewik witnesses a grant of land by James de Coudray of Gatehampton to John Britewell and others.¹⁸

1384. William Harlingrugge of Checkendon has granted to John Hardewyke, senior, and Agnes his wife all his messuages, etc., called Roudens.¹⁹

1395 Mar. 12. Inquis. p. mort. on Johannes Herdewyk, taken at Caversham, Monday before St. Gregory the Pope 18 Ric. II . . . The jurors (named) say on oath that he died seised in his demesne as of fee of 1 messuage 60 acres of land and 2 acres of wood in Whitchurch, which are held of the king of the manor of Whitchurch as of the honour of Walyngford by service of iiij s. a year and suit of court, etc.²⁰ . . . also of 1 messuage, 114 acres of land and 6 acres of meadow. In Goring, of 2 acres of land, 5 of wood : of Stokkingchurche Manor : in Kingsston

¹⁵ *Feudal Aids*, iv, p. 176.

¹⁶ *Parl. Writs* (Palgrave), II, pt. iii, p. 997.

¹⁷ Blount MSS., *Early History*, pp. 96, 74.

¹⁸ *Borstall Cartulary*, fo. xviii (Clopcote), fo. iii (Gatehampton).

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, fo. xix (Checkenden).

²⁰ Mrs. Climençon, *ut sup.*, p. 101, prints this as 111 (one hundred and eleven) shillings!

(probably Kingston Blount, near Aston Rowant), of 1 messuage, 24 acres of land: in Newenham Moreyne and Mungewell, of 1 messuage and 40 acres of land: in Stoke Maleys,²¹ of 2 messuages, etc. . . . He died seised of the reversion of lands, etc., after the death of John Herdewyk senior and Agnes his wife, to the said John and his heirs. The said John died Tuesday before the feast of St. Katherine the Virgin [24 Nov.] last past, and John Herdewyk his son is his heir aged 18 years on the feast of the Purification of the Virgin last past [2 Feb., 1395].²²

From the above material certain tentative deductions may be made. It seems that in 1255 Reginald de Albo Monasterio was holding of Ralph d'Anvers a portion of Hardwick Manor in virtue of a marriage with Hawisia, who may or may not have been a de Herdewyk. The Ralph of 1260-72 may be the father or elder brother of the William and Walter of 1279, when William holds $\frac{1}{3}$ of a knight's fee of the same (or another) Ralph d'Anvers, with 2 virgates besides, and lets half a virgate to Walter. The Ralph of 1289, 1292, 1294, 1295, 1308 and 1313 may be William's son, and father of the William of 1321, 1340, 1349, 1355 and 1350-60. William's son and successor will be John Herdewyk, senior, of 1370, husband of Agnes (1384), and father of the John who dies in 1394 with somewhat extensive holdings in Co. Oxon. He in turn leaves a son John, who is 18 in Feb., 1395.

Hence, perhaps

Ralph, c. 1260-1272.

William, 1279.

Walter, 1279.

Ralph, 1289-1313.

William, 1321-1360.

John, 1369.

John, 1394.

John, aged 18 in 1395.

²¹ Can this be a variant of the very variable Stoke Meoles (Moeles, Molis, Moles, Muelis, Mueles, Meles), which lay between Stoke Bassett and the liberty of Stoke Row?

²² 18 Ric. II, file 84/22: folio ed., p. 181.

With this third John Herdwick the record surprises us by stopping for a century and a quarter, no evidence whatever being forthcoming. The next event in the history of the manor may be given in the words of Mrs. Climenson²³ :—‘ At the death of Richard de Herdewycke in the reign of Henry VIII, Hardwick passed by the female line to the family of Crochefelde, and tenure was reaffirmed by inquisition of 12 Hen. VIII (1521) on the death of William Crochefelde, therein styled “cousin and heir to Richard de Hardewycke.”²⁴ In 1526 Hardwick was sold by “William Davy and Allys his wife (late wife of William de Crochefelde), and Allys Preston (cousin and heir of the same William Crochefelde) to Richard Lybbe, originally of a Devonshire family from Tavistock, but then settled at Shinfield, in Berkshire.’ It here becomes necessary to explain who this William Crochefelde was. The Cruchefield (or Crochefelde) family derives from a small holding, afterwards enlarged and dignified with the name of a manor, which lay on the southern border of the parish of Bray (Berks). The name probably means ‘the field of the cross,’ from the custom of so marking the turf, or a particular tree, at certain points on the beating of the bounds of the parish. Early notices represent the place as a ‘vaccaria’ or dairy, belonging to Henry III, whence the name ‘Lord’s lands,’ by which it, or part of it, was known as late as 1918.²⁵

1212. ‘Henricus filius Galfridi de Baggessite tenet quantum vaccariam in Cruchesfeld per XXV s[olidos], quam Alanus de Nuville fecit et tradidit Galfrido avo predicti Henrici.’²⁶ The origin of the family was humble. The first known de Cruchefield

²³ E. J. Climenson, *ut sup.*, p. 101.

²⁴ Here Mrs. Climenson was misinformed. Inquisitions post mortem do not reaffirm tenure, and in this inquisition not a word is said about William de Cruchefelde being ‘cousin and heir’ of Richard de Herdewycke, whose name is never mentioned in the document (see p.). *Consanguinea*, the adjective applied to Alice Preston, must not be taken to imply anything more definite than ‘next of kin.’

²⁵ One William Goddard, who died in 1609, bequeathed Lord’s land farm to the Fishmongers’ Company, who, in 1918, sold it to Mrs. Saunders of Maidenhead. Another portion of the so-called Manor of Cruchefield was purchased by Mrs. Henderson about 1894: her descendants still live in ‘Cruchfield House.’

²⁶ *Book of Fees*, I, p. 107.

was raised from a state of villeinage to free tenancy in 1248, by Geoffrey de Beggeshete, who conferred on him a holding of a messuage and 24 acres in Cruchefeld at a rent of 10s. (afterwards lowered to 7s. 6d.), free 'ab omni Nativitate et seculari servitute in perpetuum,' in return for which William gave Geoffrey a hawk in her first plumage (unum spervarium sorum).²⁷

1220. Rotulus de caruagio assiso et collecto. Bray : Robertus de Cruchefeld cum parconnarijs j car'.²⁸

1250/1, 1256/7. Henry Lovell, 'cocus regine,' receives a grant of Crichefeld (Cruchefeld) in the parish of Bray.²⁹

1275/6. The jurors of the hundred of Bray say that Henry Lovel holds one hide of land in Crussefeld, which was wont to be a dairy of the Lord King pertaining to the aforesaid manor in the time of his father King Henry.³⁰

1333. John de Crucchefeale is fined iij*d.* because three of his beasts have been found in Estcrofte.³¹

1340. John de Crucgheffelde is one of a jury which reports on the value of the rectory of Bray.³²

1340. Order to cause a coroner for Berks to be elected in place of John de Cruchesfeld, who has not sufficient lands in the County to qualify him for that office.³³

1345. John de Cruchefeld is witness to a deed dated at Braye 29 Oct. 19 Ed. III.³⁴

1368. Thomas Cruchefeld dies, leaving a son Thomas not yet of age.³⁵

1375. Order of the Sheriff of Berks to cause verderers in the King's forest of Wyndesore to be elected in stead of Thomas Cruchefeld, who is dead (and three others).³⁶

²⁷ *Feet of Fines*, Berks, Case 8, file 16, No. 12, 24 June (about) 32 Hen. III.

²⁸ *Book of Fees*, I., p. 302. Plough tax was levied at 2s a plough : *parconnarius* (*parcenarius*) means joint-holder, co-partner.

²⁹ *Cal. Rotul. Chart*, pp. 69, 86.

³⁰ *Hundred Rolls*, I, p. 12.

³¹ *Bray Court Rolls*, Sept., 7 Ed. III.

³² *Nonarum Inquis.* 'Braye,' p. 1.

³³ *Cal. Close Rolls*, 1340, p. 507.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 1345, p. 677.

³⁵ *Bray Court Rolls*, 41-42 Ed. III.

³⁶ *Cal. Close Rolls*, 1375, p. 137.

1376. Thomas Cruchefeld is tenant of lands belonging to Thomas de Lollebrok and Isabel his wife.³⁷

1422. Thomas Cruchefeld is appointed Collector of King's rents for the lands called Shobenhangres.³⁷

1423. Thomas Cruchefeld and eleven others are *exacti ad reddendum veredictum* whether is a certain tenement is in the decenaria of Twychyn or in that of Cruchefeld: they return their verdict in the same year.³⁸

1423. Thomas Cruchefeld, with many others, pays, at the October Court, the usual fine of xij*d.* for *secta sua relaxata*.³⁸

1431. Thomas Cruchefeld heads the list of the sworn jury in Court.³⁹

1454. Will of John Crysshefeld, citizen and skinner of London: proved 1 July, 1454. 'I bequeath to the Church of Bray, Co. Berks, where I was christened, xxs. . . . to my son John, at his age of 21, £10, to my daughter Alice, at her lawful age or marriage, £10.' His wife Alice is one of his executors, and to each of five relatives he bequeaths 'a fur.'⁴⁰

1455. Thomas Cruchefelde is one of the two '*afferatores*,' and is also on a jury of twelve who swear that the pannage of pigs this year has been well and truly rendered by the tenants and that they have concealed nothing.⁴¹

1473. John Cruchefyld is a witness to a release given by William Stephens of Ovyrton to Joan Iwardby, late wife of Wm. Lynde, in respect of certain lands in Mapled. Gurney called Drovers.⁴²

1486. John Cruchefelde witnesses a grant of land in Mapled. Chausey by John Avery of Purle to John Hows.⁴²

1494. Inquis. p. m., held 20 Apr., 1494, states that John Cruchefeld died 24 Sept., 1493. George Cruchefeld aged 12 and more is his '*consanguineus*' (*i.e.*, grandson) and next heir. He enfeoffed Morgan Kydwelle, William Hesle, Robert Fowler

³⁷ *Bray Court Rolls*, quoted by C. Kerry, *Hundred of Bray*, p. 107.

³⁸ *Ibid.* Feb. and Mar., 1 Hen. VI.

³⁹ *Ibid.* April, 9 Hen. VI.

⁴⁰ Somerset House, P. C. C. Rous, 11.

⁴¹ B.C.R., Jan. and Feb., 43 Hen. VI.

⁴² Blount MSS.

(of Water Oakley) and Henry Staverton [of Bray] of a messuage, a cottage and 200 ac. land in Horethorne, and a messuage, 3 cottages, 100 ac. land, 4 a. wood and 3 a. meadow in Braye, worth 5 marks.

1499 and 1500. The 'tenentes nuper Johannis Cruchefeld' appear in lists of the names 'illorum tenencium qui petierunt licenciam pro curia respectuanda anno sequenti,' and pays *xijd.* fine therefor.⁴³

1567. The 'tenentes terrarum Georgij Cruchefelde' pay a similar fine. George has now come of age and let his lands.⁴⁴

1513. William Cruchefeld pays a similar fine. George must have died in the interval, and his father has come into the property.⁴⁵

1515, 1516, 1518. William Cruchefeld pays similar fines.⁴⁶

1519. Inquis. p m. on William.

By an Inquisition⁴⁷ taken at Guyhall, Oxford on 31 May, 1520, it was found that William Crochefelde the day he died was seised in his demesne as of fee of a messuage, 3 cottages, 100 acres of land, 20 acres of wood, 7 acres of meadow with appurtenances in Hardewyke; and of one messuage, 60 acres of land, 3 acres of wood, 4 acres of meadow, and also of one messuage and 60 acres of land, and thus seised enfeofed Thomas Lanxton, Esquire (and four others) who reinfefed the said William Crochefelde and Alice his wife and the longer liver of them and their issue. The said premises in Hardewyke are held of the Lord Prince [*i.e.* Henry VIII] as of the Honor of Walyngford in socage by rent of 3s., and are worth yearly beyond reprises £4. The one messuage, 80 (*sic*, but clearly in error for 60) acres of land, 3 acres of wood, and 4 acres of meadow in Stoke, and the other messuage with 60 acres of land, etc., in Eppisden are held of the heirs of the lord of Denham in socage by rent of 25s., and are worth yearly beyond reprises 49s. William Crochefeld died 4 July, 1519, and Alice his wife

⁴³ B.C.R., Oct., 15 and 16 Hen. VII.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.* Oct., 23, Hen. VII.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.* Oct., 5 Hen. VIII.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.* Oct., 7, 8 and Sept., 10 Hen. VIII.

⁴⁷ *Chanc. Inquis. p.m.*, Ser. II, Vol. 35, No. 81.

Nothing seems to have come of Henry Crochefelde's complaint, for in 1526 William Davy and Alice his wife are in secure possession of Hardwick. In that year there is a conveyance of the Manor to Richard Lybbe and others, which must be quoted in full:—

'Richard Lybbe, William Beryton and John Howell jun. by their attorney claim against William Davy and Alice his wife the Manor of Hardwyke and 8 messuages 400 acres of land 40 acres of meadow 100 acres of pasture 40 acres of wood 100 acres of furze and heath and 10s. rent in Whitchurch, North Stoke, Ippesden, Goring, and Benson as their right and heritage, and they say they were seised thereof in their demesne as of fee. The said William Davy and Alice came by their attorney and defended their right and called thereof by warranty Alice Preston, widow, to appear the morrow of St. Martin [Nov. 12]. And summoned in the said County by the Auxiliary Court, etc. . . . Both parties have a day, etc. . . . '49

A good deal of uncertainty settles round the personality of Alice Preston. The inquisition on William Crochefelde says she was his next of kin and heir; C. Kerry,⁵⁰ that she was his sister; Miss Hollings⁵¹ suggests (i) that she was his niece and (ii) that she was the daughter of Alice Davy. It seems quite clear (i) that she was the daughter of John Preston, for there is⁵² a 'final agreement made on Hilary day in 15 days, 16 Henry VIII (1525) between William Holgill clerk, Edmund Holgill, and Emma Stanylandys widow, plaintiffs, and William Davy and Alice his wife and Alice Preston, dau. of John Preston, defendants,' the latter selling to the former for £80 the 'Manors of Shobenhangers and Crouchfeld alias Horethorn, etc.' John Preston may have married a sister of William Crochefelde, in which case Alice will be William's niece. It is clear (ii) that she was 16 (and probably unmarried) in 1520, and

⁴⁹ Common Pleas, Plea Roll, 1051, Trin. 18 Hen. VIII, m. 436 d, Oxford.

⁵⁰ *Hundred of Bray*, p. 110.

⁵¹ *Victoria History of Berks*, III., p. 106.

⁵² *Feet of Fines*, Bucks, Berks, Henry VIII., 1525, No. 22, 2/8.

that she was a widow, reverting to her maiden name, in 1526, in which year she was a partner in the sale of Hardwick to Richard Lybbe.

Alice Davy was beyond doubt Alice Crochefelde née Herdewyk. On no other supposition can she have been seised of Hardwick Manor. When her first husband died, she, as the longer liver, with no children, had a life interest in that manor, and subsequently married William Davy, between 1519 and 1526. Alice Preston, as niece of William Crochefelde and next of kin, is concerned in the sale both of the Berks and Oxon property. Nothing is known of William Davy, except that he was 'of Turweston, Co. Berks.'^{52*} It may be significant or only a curious coincidence, that a William Davy, who might have been this man's father was a 'supervisor' of the will of the Richard Lybbe who died in 1504, and resigned the vicarage of Tavistock in the same year.⁵³ William Justice, father-in-law of the Richard Lybbe who purchased Hardwick, was a distinguished citizen of Reading. There were many Justices of Stoke Marmion (Little Stoke) and Stoke Bassett (North Stoke) about 1250,⁵⁴ and Robert le Justice was a *libere tenens* of Hempton in 1279.⁵⁵ It is recorded of 'William Justice mercator' that on 8 Oct., 1509, he 'dat de fine ad intrandum Guildam Mercatoriam—(blank),' apparently in succession to Richard Justice, who may have been his father. As Mayor of Reading in 1514 he provided j bow and ij men (and no one provided more) for the King, and on the death of Thomas Bye, Mayor in 1517, during office, he was elected in his place for the rest of the year. He seems to have died soon after, as his name is not on the burgess-list for 1519. Possibly it was this same Willelmus Justyce who with Ricardus Cleche was elected 'Burgensis pro Parlamento domini Regis' in 1509. Another

^{52*} Powys-Lybbe MSS.

⁵³ The name Crochefelde (Cruchfielde, Crutchfield, Critchfield, Crichfield) is common in the Whitechurch Registers, from about 1600 onwards. One was Churchwarden in 1780. They were small farmers and, later, woodmen on the Hardwick estate at the present day.

⁵⁴ *Borstall Cartulary* (Checkenden), fo. xi., xii.

⁵⁵ *Rot. Hundred*, II, p. 788.

William Justyce, with two others, presented, in 1527, Thomas Justyce, Capellanus, to the living of Checkenden, holding the advowson by grant of Sir William Rede.⁵⁶

We now turn to the history of the Lybbes. 'Richard Lybbe, 'of Taston, Co. Devon, gent. m. Bridgett dau. and one of theires 'of Justice of Reading. Arms, Ermine, a bend between 2 lions 'rampant, gules. Crest: On a wreath an arm embowed in 'mail, holding a halbert erect, proper.'⁵⁷

Records of the Lybbe family in Tavistock are plentiful during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. There is a John Lybbe, 'prepositus of the town,' in 1403⁵⁸; Richard (warden) 1407; William pays the churchwardens' arrears 1423: making the deed (*carta*) of John Lybbe's garden given to the warden costs viij*d.*, and 'ale drank when seisin was given' *jd.*, 1426/7; Thomas is one of a number of parish feoffees 1460; John's tenement is mentioned in a lease, he is son and heir of Thomas, 1468, and pays 10*s.* rent of assize 1470/71; John 'junior' occurs (with John) in a quit claim 1469. John and Richard are mentioned in a grant 1476, and Richard in 1491 and 1497; at the latter date he is 'maior of Tavystock.' John's name occurs in a conveyance 1500, together with those of Richard and Richard junior. From the Abbey Survey of 1488 or thereabouts it appears that Richard the Mayor owned not a few gardens and houses in the borough. His son Richard was elected M.P. for the borough 1515.⁵⁹ John and Thomas Lybbe occur in a conveyance of 1525, and in 1554 there is a lease by the 'eight men of Tavystoke' to Thomasin Lybbe, widdow, and Thomas her son, of a little meadow in her tenure. This Thomas is constantly mentioned from 1568 onwards, when he is one of the 'eight men'; in 1573 he buries a son, in 1597 he is Thomas 'thelder,' in Nov., 1598, he is on the jury who hold the inquisitio

⁵⁶ Guilding, *Records of Reading*, I, pp. 112-141; M. T. Pearman, *Oxf. Archæol. Soc.* 1893, *Notices of the Parish of Checkenden*, p. 27.

⁵⁷ *Visitations of Oxon, Harl. Soc.* (1574), p. 174.

⁵⁸ J. J. Alexander, *Devon Assoc. Trans.*, xlv, p. 160, explains the term as meaning bailiff or governor, and not quite the same as the subsequent portreeve.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 162-3.

post mortem on Sir Francis Drake,⁶⁰ in 1603 he is described as 'gentleman,' and must have died in that year or directly after.⁶¹

Here is material for the construction of perhaps five or six generations. We confine ourselves to what we know, which is, that the Richard Lybbe who was Mayor of Tavistock in 1497, and father of the Richard junior of 1500, died 1504, leaving a Will, a copy of which is still extant.⁶² From it we gather that he had four sons, Richard, John, William and Robert, and that his wife's name was Joanna. The Will (dated 30 July, 1504, proved at Lambeth 11 Dec., 1504) is worth transcribing:—

"Ego Ricardus Libbe . . . In primis lego animam meam deo omnipotenti Corpus vero meum sepeliendum in ecclesia sancti Eustachii in Tavestoke. Item lego militari gilde eiusdem ecclesie iij*l*d. Item lego Ricardo Libbe filio meo unum sarcum de Tavestoke . . . Johanni Libbe filio meo unum sarcum de Tavestokes . . . Willelmo Libbe filio meo unum sarcum de Tavestokes . . . Roberto Libbe filio meo unum sarcum de Tavestokes. Item lego Johanni filio meo unum le bale mader vel centum solidos . . . Item post decessum Johannis uxoris mee volo quod Ricardus Libbe filius meus habeat unum sal-sarium et unum ciphum argenti vel vj*l*i. viijs. viij*l*d. Residuum vero omnium bonorum meorum non legatorum post debita mea soluta do et lego Johanne uxori mee, ipsam ordino et facio meam veram executricem per presentes . . . Supervisores ordino Dominum Willelmum Davy et Willelmum Laych: Hiis testibus domino Johanne Sargent, Waltero Browne, Hugone Frankelyne et alijs.'

A remarkable Will, in several points. The four sons appear to be under age, and the testator leaves practically all his property to his wife. To each son he bequeathes 'a Tavistock sarcus,' to John alone a bale of madder as well, or its equivalent value. Richard Lybbe must have been a manufacturer of woollen cloth, and was probably a dyer as well. The word *sarcus* is

⁶⁰ Lady Eliott-Drake, *The Family and Heirs of Francis Drake*, I, 149.

⁶¹ R. N. Worth, *Calendar of Tavistock Parish Records*, pp. 7-16, 77-91.

⁶² Somerset House, P. P. C. Holgrave, 21.

rare and means a roll of cloth of a definite width and length. A leading authority on the medieval wool trade in England⁶³ holds that *sarcus* probably means serge (locally known as 'sarge'), and that 'a sark of Tavistock' means a roll of Tavistock rough cloth, 12 yards in width by 1 yard breadth. These cloths were usually known simply as 'Tavistocks,' 'Tauntons,' 'Dunsters,' etc.

Joanna Lybbe afterwards married Nicholas Yeo of Heanton Sackville, and had by him two sons, John and Leonard.⁶⁴ John Lybbe, second son of Richard, was educated at Oxford, became Bachelor of Canon Law 19 Feb., 1528, rector of Great Cheverel, Wilts, 1529, and rector of Moretonhampstead 1554-1559.⁶⁵ His brother Richard left him his 'two best gownes, that is to say oon furred with boge and another lyned with Chamlet . . . all my shepe that Richard Garard hath in keeping, my gray gelding, my leese that I have in the parsonage of Ildesley Est,⁶⁶ and xls. in money to help to paye for the detts he is indetted in Oxenford,' and made him his executor. By his Will, proved 3 May, 1559,⁶⁷ John left property to poor folk in Cheverell Magna, Stoke, and East Lavington, and the residue to his executors (of whom Leonard Yeo was one) 'for the welthe of my soul.' William Lybbe, the next brother, died 1526. By his Will⁶⁸ (proved by his brother Richard at St. Paul's Church, London), he left ten pounds each to his brothers John and Robert, and, after assigning 'to Orram Brown, servant with Mayster Butler, my Curtall horsse and my newe saddill,' gave the rest of his goods to his brother Richard, who did not live long to enjoy them. Of the fourth son, Robert, nothing appears to be known except that he survived his brothers Richard and

⁶³ Mr. R. P. Chope of Fosfelle, Hartland: see *Devon Assoc. Trans.*, xliv, pp. 568-576.

⁶⁴ Burke, *Landed Gentry*, 1906, p. 1872. Leonard became Mayor of Totnes in 1558 and 1570 (J. J. Alexander, *Devon Assoc. Trans.*, xxxii, 1900). John's descendants, through the female line, were the ancestors of the Rolles of Heanton and of the Trefusis family (*idem* in litt.).

⁶⁵ Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses*, p. 951.

⁶⁶ East or Market Ilsley, 9 miles north of Newbury.

⁶⁷ Consistory of Sarum, I, 18.

⁶⁸ Somerset House, P. P. C. 11 Porch.

John, both of whom remembered him in their Wills, Richard to the extent of leaving him his 'fourth best gowne.' There was also a daughter, name unknown, who married John Soroll, and had a son John.

Richard, the eldest of the four brothers, presents several problems. He had interests away from Devon, for he was connected with London, Shinfield, Englefield and East Ilsley, and he retained property both in Devon and Cornwall.⁶⁹ As M.P. for Tavistock, he would naturally visit London.⁷⁰ What his exact relations were with the parishes of Shinfield and Englefield must remain uncertain; from Englefield, if he lived there, he might have cast his eye on Hardwick. He would appear not to have owned land in either village, for his name does not appear in the Lay Subsidy Rolls of 1525.⁷¹ And yet he was buried in Shinfield, where a brass in the chancel marked his resting place,⁷² and he left legacies both to Shinfield and Englefield.

The principal provisions of Richard Lybbe's Will,⁷³ (dated 7 Oct., 1527, proved in the Church of St. Paul's, London, 7 Feb., 1527/8) are as follows:—

'I bequeath to the Church of Englefelde iijs. iiij*d.*, to the Catholic Church of St. Peter in Exeter xx*d.*, to the parish Church of St. Eustace in Tavestoke . . . where I was borne vjs. viij*d.*

⁶⁹ His son, Richard Lybbe of Chakendon, by a temporary conveyance of property, made over to two men of Reading and one of London 'all his property in Redinge, New Wyndesor, Old Wyndesor, and Esthamstede, and all his other property in Co. Berks. Also all his property in Whit-churche, Ippesden, and North Stoke, and all other his property in Co. Oxon. Also all his property in Tavestocke, Tamerton, and Lamerton in Co. Devon, and all his other property in Co. Devon. Also all his property in St. Domenic and in Kellington . . . and all other his possessions in Co. Cornwall.' Date 18 Oct., 1569 (Lybbe-Powys MSS.).

⁷⁰ The general returns for the Parliament of 1515 are wanting; but Tavistock possesses a fragment of the counterpart indenture of the 'maior et ballivi' to the Sheriff of Devon, from which it appears that Richard Lybbe and John Amadas were elected Members for the borough on — Jan., 6 Hen. VIII. See J. J. Alexander, *Trans. Devon Assoc.*, xlv., pp. 162-3.

⁷¹ *Lay Subsidy Roll*, 15 Hen. VIII (Berks), Englefield, begins: 'Thomas Englefield ar' in terr. ccli . . . xli; Thomas Tropenell in terr cli . . . vii.' The wives of both are mentioned in Richard's will.

⁷² 'Orate pro anima Richardi Lybbe de Tavestoke in Com. Devon Gen. qui obiit 7^o die Octobri A^o Dni XVcXXXVII^o c. a. p. d.' Ashmole, *Antiqu. of Berks* (1719), II, p. 369. The church was 'restored' about 90 years ago, when many brasses disappeared, Lybbe's among them.

⁷³ Somerset House P.P.C. Porch 28.

To Master Blome, Master of the Temple, in satisfaction of my tithes wilfully withholden and forgotten . . . vjs. viij*d.*, to Sir Thomas Lathom, parson of Englefelde, to pray for my soule, vjs. viij*d.*, to the vicar of Shenynghfelde, to pray for my soule vjs. viij*d.*, to the Charterhouse beside London . . . xs., to the freres observantes of Richemount⁷⁴ . . . xs.' After a bequest of liijs. viij*d.* for a dirige and mass to be said at the place of his burial and at St. Eustace, and for charitable purposes, he continues :—' Item I bequeath to my brother John Soroll for the payn and labor that he hath taken for me in tyme past my thride best gowne and in money xxs. . . . Item I bequeath to Brigitt my wife all such plate as I had of the gifte of William Justice her father, . . . my best velvet doblet and my tawnye jakett of Chamlet . . . Item I bequeath towards the mariage of Mary my daughter fourty marcs sterling . . . a pair of silver beads that were my mother's that be in my wife's keping, this to be delivered to maisters Trepenell's keping till the wench be of full age. Item I bequeath to Elizabeth my daughter to her mariage fourty marcs to be delivered at the full age of hir. Also I will that they be married when they be of the age of xix or xx yeres at the furthest.' He bequeathes ' to my maistres Elizabeth Englefelde my great Ryng with a sapher,' and ' to maistres Trepenell my two Rynges with two Turkeyses,' and ' to Alice Preston 20 marcs.' He directs that ' the Recorders of my manour of Hardwyke . . . the feoffees of my Londes and Tenements in Stoke and Yppensenden ' are to make provision out of these estates for his wife's jointure, the lands to be kept repaired and the overplus delivered to his son Richard ' when he shall come to the age of oon and twenty yeres.' Thomas Englefelde and Walter Purton of Reading are his executors, and John Lybbe, clerk, and Elianora Trepenell are among the witnesses.⁷⁵

⁷⁴ ' The only new Observant House established in the 15th cent. was Richmond in Surrey . . . probably founded in 1500, when Henry VII rebuilt his "lodging" at Shene and changed its name to Richmond.' A. G. Little, *Proc. Brit. Acad.* XI, 1923, p. 91. Observants were a kind of reformed Franciscans.

⁷⁵ Sir Thomas Englefield died 28 Sept., 1537, and was buried in Englefield Church; his wife, Elizabeth, is buried with him, but there is no date of her death.

It only remains to mention a few details from the Wills of Richard Lybbe the third and of his wife Joanna Carter of Checkenden.⁷⁶ Of his eight daughters, six, Marie, Dorothe, Katherine, Elizabeth, Anne and Suzan (he no doubt mentions them in order of seniority) were unmarried at the time of his death : he left them each £100, to be given them on their marriage. He gave to his wife his 'capitale messuage of Hardwick,' with lands and tenements in Whitchurch and Goring, for the term of her life. To his son John Libbe, 'begotten by him on his wife before espousals,' he left the farm of Uplambourn, Berks.⁷⁷

When Joanna's Will is made in 1612, the following developments have taken place. Richard Lybbe, her one legitimate son, now in his 30th year, has a son Richard and a daughter Anne ; her eldest daughter, Mary Norden, has two sons, the elder of whom is named Richard ; her second daughter, Brigett, who married William Howse of Goring,⁷⁸ has four daughters and a son Richard ; her daughter Anne has married Robert Noyes, and has two daughters and a son Robert ; Dorothe has married Thomas Adams and has two daughters ; Katherine has married Thomas Payne, and has three daughters, one of whom is named Anne ; Elizabeth has married Griffin Payne, perhaps a brother of Thomas, and has a son Richard ; Mabil, who married William Lybbe (and who he may be is quite uncertain) before her father's death, and had three daughters by him, has now married Hobbs ; Suzan, who alone of her children is not mentioned in the Will, has probably died unmarried. Her son Richard is her residuary legatee and sole executor, and her 'lovinge sonne John Libbe' is one of the overseers thereof.

⁷⁶ Somerset House 75 Kidd (dated 1 May, 1599) ; 44 Lawe (dated 31 Oct., 1612, proved 18 May, 1614). The register of Whitchurch Parish Church records their burials as follows : 21^o Augusti 1599 Richardus Lib gen. sepultus est Dominus de domo ac manerio hardwickiae : 1613 Dec. 26 Joanna Lybb uxor Richardi Lybb generosi fuit sepulta.

⁷⁷ Mrs. Climenson's pedigree of the Lybbe family, at the end of '*Passages from the Diaries*,' makes John appear the youngest of the ten children. The monument in Whitchurch places him after Richard.

⁷⁸ They had 13 children in all. W.H. was commemorated by a tablet in Goring Church. He died 5 November, 1617. *Parochial Collections* (Oxfordshire Record Society). F. N. Davis, II, p. 154).