

TWO SIXTEENTH CENTURY GLOUCESTERSHIRE MEN

SIR NICHOLAS ARNOLD, KNIGHT and ARTHUR PORTER ESQUIRE

by Nancy Lockwood

INTRODUCTION

On Sunday, 30 June 1532, Richard Barrow was in Quedgeley church between nine and ten a.m. to hear Divine Service. The priest was saying matins and Richard was on his knees praying when Nicholas Arnold of Highnam, accompanied by his armed servants, burst into the church and demanded that Richard leave at once. Richard refused whereupon Arthur Porter of Quedgeley and Alexander Dobbys of Newent and their servants, likewise armed, joined Nicholas Arnold and between them achieved Richard's eviction.¹

What was the argument about? And who were these people who felt entitled to make a disturbance during a church service?

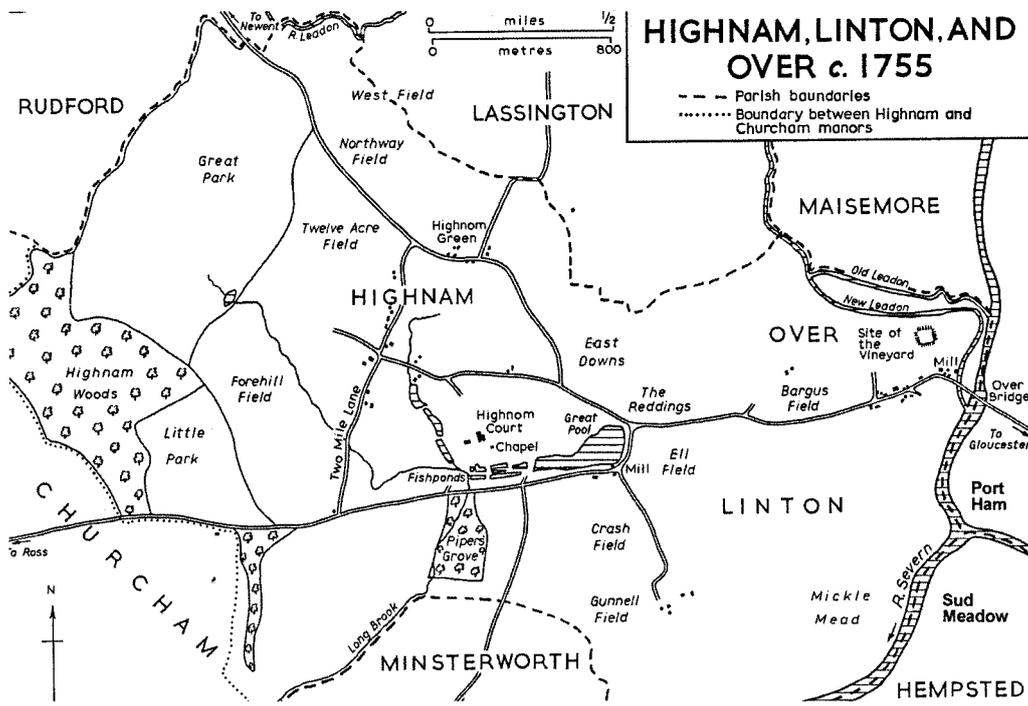
SIR NICHOLAS ARNOLD OF HIGHNAM

Nicholas Arnold was born about 1507, the eldest surviving son and heir of John Arnold of Churcham, Gloucestershire, protonotary and clerk of the Crown in Wales.² The Arnold family, though owning little land of their own, were none-the-less well connected to some of the major Gloucestershire families including the Berkeleys.³ John Smyth in his *The Lives of the Berkeleys* refers to Thomas Berkeley, the 5th of that name, as having married Cicely Rowden, widow, 'da. and coh. of apparently (--) Arnold of co. Gloucester'. By conjecture this would be John's father as Thomas, a sheep farmer, unexpectedly succeeded his father Maurice, to the title of Lord Berkeley without inheriting the estate and for a while 'sojourned with his wife, children and family with his brother-in-lawe Jno. Arnold at Hynam by Glouc'. The relationship was certainly close as in his will Thomas made bequests to both John's sons and his son-in-law as well as to John himself who he also made 'high steward of all his lands in England' and executor of his will.⁴

As well as his position for the Crown and stewardship of the Berkeley estates John in 1522 was described as steward of Dursley.⁵ Three years later as steward of the manor of Westbury he was granted an annuity of forty shillings for life by Thomas Baynham, member of another important Gloucestershire family.⁶ Though not a landowner John leased various estates. He paid two shillings per annum as a free man for the manor of Ledons Court and for which he was required to do suit of court at Highnam twice a year and give personal service to William, Abbot of Gloucester, on the feast of Saints Peter and Paul. For the latter he had to prepare a bowl of water in which the Abbot could wash his hands before dinner on that day. Abbot William, however, felt that the services were out of proportion to the size of the manor and for this and 'many benevolences and good considerations' John was released from all but the two shillings rent.⁷

From 1516 Nicholas's father held the manor of Highnam in the parish of Churcham on lease from the Abbey of Saint Peter's, Gloucester, until 1542 when it was granted to him at the dissolution of the monasteries.⁸ It would appear that much of Nicholas's life was spent at Highnam Court and the house that he knew would almost certainly be the one described in a survey undertaken in 1607 and typical of a medieval manor house. It had a hall (for general use, feasting and entertaining), a parlour (for daytime use by the family), a great chamber (for sleeping) and two atria or porches and was built of brick and stone. Outside were the brewhouse, hayhouse, oxhouse, stables and other buildings plus a dovecote – the latter being not only ornamental but the contents providing fresh meat when it was otherwise in short supply.⁹ The will of Nicholas's widowed mother suggests a comfortable style of living. Indeed, the fine pieces of silver gilt detailed in the document, including the great

chalice with gilt paten and the great standing cup called the Bell Cup with cover indicate wealth commensurate with the professional and social standing of the family.¹⁰



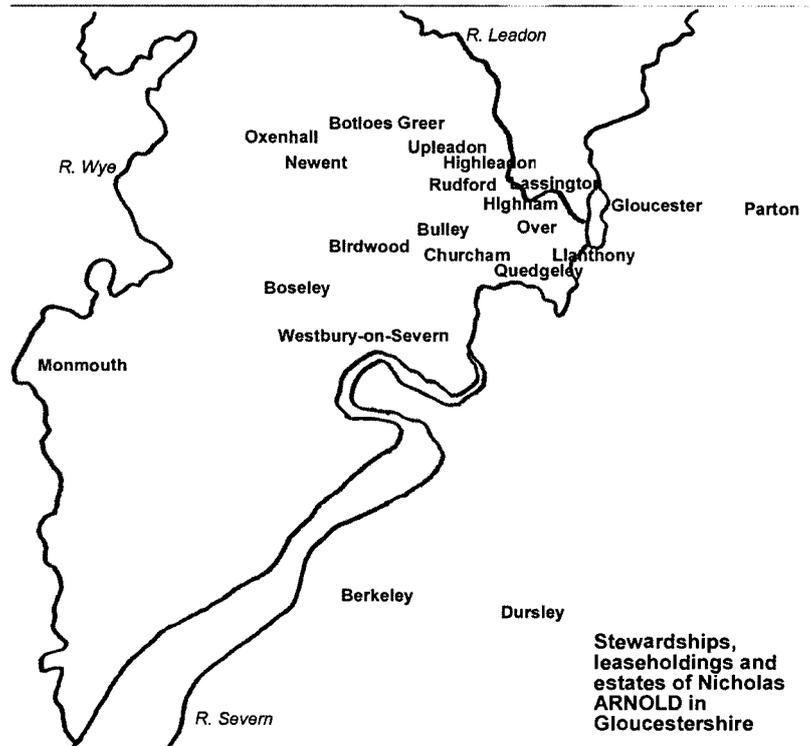
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After the Dissolution John was not only granted the manor of Highnam but also those of Linton and Over with a considerable amount of land. This included part of the mickle mead [Mickle Meadow] on the north side of the river Sever, an acre in the porteham [Portham] outside the west gate of Gloucester with the right to enclose it and build a house or mill on it and an acre of meadow in sudmede [Sud Meadow]. (Interestingly Portham and Sud Meadow can still be found marked on present day maps of Gloucester.) Also included

in the grant were fifty wagonloads of wood from the Birdwood in Churcham parish (which John had leased from Gloucester Abbey since 1530) and certain fishing rights on the river Sever. His entitlements as Lord of the Manors, i.e. rents from the tenants, fishing rights, wood, tithes, pannage, fines, heriots, strays, etc. were assessed at a yearly value of £79 11s. 11d. – a considerable sum of money in 1541.¹¹ The same year he was granted the farm of meadows and pastures in Quedgeley¹² which were subsequently bought by Arthur Porter¹³, his son-in-law. He also held property along the river Leaddon¹⁴ and was able to leave his son, Nicholas, ‘all termes in the manors of Lesyngdon, Upleydon, Hineleydon and Rudford held from the late Abbot of Saint Peter’s, Gloucester’. At the time of his death he leased land in Eastington and Northleach where he pastured four hundred and twenty sheep.

John’s death occurred in 1545/6 and it was his will to be buried in the parish church of Churcham if he should die within twenty miles of the same.¹⁵ This was presumably the case since a memorial stone in Churcham church recorded his interment there.¹⁶

The steward of an estate was usually a lawyer as he needed sound legal knowledge in order to undertake the duties of keeping the manorial records, holding the manorial court and dealing with the land transactions. John Arnold prepared Nicholas to follow in his footsteps by sending him to Lincoln’s Inn to be educated where he was admitted to the high chamber at the west end of the library which his father occupied at the time.¹⁷ Whilst there Nicholas was appointed to such extra-curricular duties as Master of the Christmas Revels.¹⁸



Stewardships, leaseholdings and estates of Nicholas ARNOLD in Gloucestershire

Nothing is known of Nicholas's early professional career until in 1537, by then aged about thirty years, he was in the service of Thomas Cromwell who on the instructions of King Henry VIII was masterminding the dissolution of the monasteries. The next year he entered the Royal Household as a member of the King's New Bodyguard.¹⁹

Nicholas was soon making a name for himself. He acquired property in Monmouth belonging to Llanthony Priory and attended the reception of Anne of Cleves in 1539; he was appointed King's Receiver of 'all possessions lately belonging to the Abbey of Saint Peter's, Gloucester'²⁰; he entered the army, successfully defending the garrison at Boulogneberg against a French attack and he stayed on at Boulogne as a member of the Council there.²¹ His support for the Protestant cause found favour with Edward VI during whose reign he was knighted.²²

During and following the Dissolution Nicholas was appointed to various Royal Commissions in Gloucestershire. For example, he was required to survey and create inventories of the valuable movable objects of religious houses, churches, etc.,²³ and to list all pensioners (abbots, monks, incumbents, etc.) who had died, those who still had their pensions and those who had sold or assigned them to others.²⁴ He was also now successfully launched on a career in politics during which he was returned as Member of Parliament for Gloucestershire four times, Gloucester twice and Cricklade once.²⁵

Nicholas's religious beliefs landed him in trouble during the reign of Mary and his opposition to her marriage to Philip of Spain led to an accusation of support for Wyatt's rebellion and his incarceration in the Tower of London and the Fleet prison. However, he was not brought to trial and was subsequently pardoned and released on sureties of the vast sum of £2000. The following year he was again imprisoned in the Fleet and Tower for his part in a conspiracy to drive the Spaniards from England. Again he was released this time on condition that he did not return to within ten miles of Gloucestershire. This rule was relaxed a year later.²⁶

His previous opposition to Mary stood him in good stead when Elizabeth came to the throne. He became an active Member of Parliament engaged in committee work and frequently taking part in debates.²⁷ He was appointed a Councillor in the Marches²⁸ and in 1562 was sent to Ireland to inquire into the public administration following this up with a further inquiry two years later. As a result of his report on the malpractice that he found there the Lord Deputy was given sick leave and Nicholas was appointed Lord Justice. Following accusations of his rough handling of the situation in Ireland he seems to have attended more to local matters, continuing his career as parliamentary representative, sitting on a variety of local commissions for law enforcement,²⁹ taking his turn as Sheriff of Gloucester and holding the position of Custos Rotulorum until his death.³⁰

Nicholas Arnold's first marriage took place in 1529. His wife, Margaret, was the daughter of Sir William Denys of Dyrham and grand-daughter of Maurice, fourth Lord Berkeley.³¹ Maurice's brother, Thomas, (the sheep farmer brother-in-law of Nicholas's father) was evidently pleased as he gave Margaret two hundred marks (£133 6s. 8d.) as a wedding present.³² This liaison no doubt gave impetus to Nicholas's circulation amongst the aristocracy so it comes as no surprise that his eldest son, Rowland, married the daughter of John Brydges, first Baron Chandos.³³ A second son and a daughter were born before Margaret's death after which he married Margaret Isham by whom he had another son.³⁴ Nicholas and his sister Alice had a younger brother, Richard, who had been bequeathed the land in Eastington and Northleach by his father together with the four hundred and twenty sheep.³⁵ His inheritance, however, was conditional and he contested the validity of the will resulting in bad feeling between the brothers, which rift was never properly healed.³⁶

It would seem that both men were of an argumentative nature. Richard was quoted to the Lord Treasurer by the parishioners of Bulley in a dispute over tithes in which he was being particularly aggressive³⁷ and on another occasion he was brought before the Ecclesiastical Commission following an affray with assault in Gloucester.³⁸ Nicholas was described as 'quarrelsome, arbitrary, credulous and deficient in personal dignity' or, somewhat more tempered as 'a man of resolution and industry who cared little for popularity and might be trusted to carry out orders'.³⁹ An example of his determination irrespective of the feelings of others came in 1554 when he had

difficulty in extracting tithes from his tenants in Newent. The situation deteriorated into a libel case which was unresolved by the Consistory Court and had to be taken to the King for secular settlement.⁴⁰ Though he disposed of the parsonage and manor of Newent⁴¹ his connection with the town continued at least until 1570 when in the Consistory Court he and Mr. Wintour were reprimanded for their failure to repair the glass, lead and roof of the church chancel.⁴²

But perhaps as family men they showed a different side to their natures. Richard was remembered in the will of Thomas, Lord Berkeley, and was asked by his niece's husband, Giles Codrington of Frampton to act as his trustee and after Giles's death was entrusted with the care of his children.⁴³ Nicholas, also, benefited from the will of the same Thomas whose wife, Cicely, referred in her will to 'my gift for a remembrance of my derlye beloved frinde and kinsman' of 'a goled Ringe called the Rocke Saphier'.⁴⁴ In his own will he remembered those household servants who were in his service on the day of his death leaving each a generous one and a half year's wages. He is clear, however, that no common dole is to be paid to beggars other than known to be honest tenants of his own, and which he specifies is to be delivered to their own houses by his executors.⁴⁵

No biography of Sir Nicholas Arnold would be complete without mention of his pastime of breeding horses. At the time of his death he had a two year old and three one year old colts and two everyday riding horses, to some of which he referred by name with evident affection. He is said to have bred the best in England and to have written about his methods though nothing seems to have survived.⁴⁶

True to his Protestantism to the end of his life it was his will to be buried 'without any great funeral pomp'.⁴⁷ His burial is recorded in Churcham parish register on 19 May 1580⁴⁸ and it is hoped that his wish was respected. His monument in the chancel was 'a small tablet of stone inlaid and bordured with alabaster' and shared with other members of the family.⁴⁹ It was a simple memorial to a public spirited man who lived in an age when to keep one's head when all around were losing theirs – literally – was perhaps the greatest achievement of all.

ARTHUR PORTER ESQUIRE

Arthur Porter, like Nicholas Arnold, was born into the minor gentry with good connections. The family had established itself in Gloucestershire in the middle of the fifteenth century from Somerset. Arthur was the son and heir of Roger Porter of Newent and his first wife Margaret, daughter of John Arthur of Clapton-in-Gordano, and estimated to have been born in or before 1504.⁵⁰ Through his mother he acquired an impressive pedigree which can be traced back to James 11th Lord Berkeley, Thomas Mowbray Duke of Norfolk and Thomas Fitzalan Earl of Arundel.⁵¹ On his father's side the line can be followed for six generations back to Sir Peter St. Poole, who in 1396 accompanied nine year old Isabella of Valois on her journey to England to become Richard II's wife.⁵²

What had brought the family to Gloucestershire? Was it perhaps Roger's uncle, John Hayward, who was Prior of Llanthony by Gloucester?⁵³ Whatever the reason they settled in Newent in the Place House (Porter's Place) in the south east corner of the Market Place.⁵⁴ Roger had two married sisters and a brother, William, who was destined for the Church graduating from Oxford University and subsequently being ordained in 1479. As well as holding the position of Warden of New College, Oxford, William went on to have a distinguished career in Lincoln and Chester dioceses before becoming Precentor and Canon of Hereford Cathedral. This he combined with the vicarage of Newent which he held until his death in 1524.⁵⁵

Roger, however, concerned himself with estate management. Like Nicholas's father he was not a great landowner but leased land. As Lord of the Manor in Great Bouldson in the parish of Newent, where the tithes belonged to the Porter family, he was assessed for land at £50 and goods worth £26 13. 4d. His goods at Apperley were valued at £6 13s. 4d. and he leased land from the King in Huntley and Bulley. He was also employed as steward to both the Earl of Northumberland at Oxenhall and Lord Latemer, Lord of the hundred of Bledisloe, in Awre.⁵⁶

Roger also took part in the running of local affairs in the County being appointed Justice of the Peace for Gloucestershire in 1508 and Justice of Gaol Delivery at Gloucester in 1511.⁵⁷ But in 1517 he was cited in Hereford Consistory Court accused of adultery.⁵⁸ The outcome is not recorded but if found guilty he and the woman in question would have been sentenced to do public penance and be publicly disgraced. Whether true or false, and despite what his brother and uncle may have thought, the episode seems to have done him no harm in the secular world as this appointment as Justice of the Peace continued unbroken to his death and he served a second term as Justice of Gaol Delivery.⁵⁹

Roger Porter made his last will and testament on 9 April 1523. He asked to be buried in the Lady Chapel of Newent church 'before the image of Our Lady at the altar's end' and his executors to provide bread, ale and two oxen on which his neighbours who attended his funeral were to feast.⁶⁰ His monument in Newent church consists of a brass attached to a marble stone on which is written 'of your charity pray for the soul of Roger Porter esquire which Roger deceased the 15 day of April the year of our Lord God 1523 on whose soul Jesus have mercy, Amen'.⁶¹

Roger was succeeded by his son Arthur.⁶² What siblings Arthur had, if any, is undetermined but there would be plenty to occupy him apart from his educational studies. Newent was a lively market town, its growth having been contributed to by the earlier presence of a small priory dependent on the Abbey of Corneilles in Normandy. It had been dissolved as an 'alien priory' in 1415 but before then had been responsible for acquiring grants and privileges for the town and thus attracting visitors. These earlier charters for two fairs and a market were renewed during the reign of Henry VIII.⁶³ The market place would therefore bustle with activity and could it be, since their fathers were friends, that Nicholas and Arthur formed their own friendship whilst roaming the stalls and sideshows as youngsters?

Arthur can have been little more than eighteen when his father died but already an alliance had been arranged between the Arnold and Porter families in the betrothal of Arthur to Nicholas's sister, Alice. Later that year Arthur was entered into the admission register of Lincoln's Inn destined for the legal profession. The next year, along with Nicholas, and now referred to as son-in-law of John, he was admitted to the chamber of John Arnold. Whilst Nicholas was attending to the serious business of organising the Christmas Revels, Arthur was indulging in some revelry of his own as it is recorded that he and two others were fined 12*d.* each for 'keeping the Constable's Court in the Hall and also revels in the autumn vacation'.⁶⁴

Arthur no doubt benefited from his connection with John Arnold and he was soon appointed to carry out the King's business. In 1526-7 he was escheator in the Gloucestershire and Welsh Marches attending to legal matters such as intestacies. Two years later he was collecting rents in his capacity as feudary in the Duchy of Lancaster, Gloucestershire and Herefordshire which positions he held again in 1559, the year of his death.⁶⁵ During the Dissolution he was appointed receiver of 'spiritual and temporal possessions' of the monastery of Llanthony concerning the Abbey of Tintern in the Marches of Wales⁶⁶ and, as an esquire, in the same year he, too, attended the reception of Anne of Cleves.⁶⁷ Perhaps he had also been among the City representatives who greeted Henry VIII and Ann Boleyn on Quedgeley Green on their travels through Gloucester in 1535 as in that same year he was holding the manor of Quedgeley.⁶⁸

In 1542 he was appointed Commissioner for Musters⁶⁹ and in 1544 he served in the army across the Channel against the French.⁷⁰ In the Muster Roll of 1539 both he and John Arnold were to provide a horse and harness for themselves and four men.⁷¹ Could Arthur be the Mr. Porter who is recorded in a letter from the Earl of Surrey to the King as having been co-leader of a cavalry charge in a skirmish in the defence of Bologne in 1544?⁷² Within a further two years he was home again. £48 13*s.* 4*d.* was paid to 'Arthur Porter Knight the King's Receiver....for the year's expenses of office' concerning the possessions of the late Priory of Llanthony by Gloucester at Quedgeley.⁷³ After Henry's death he was again a Royal Commissioner now dealing with chantries and relief for Edward VI.⁷⁴

Arthur was also active in local and national politics. Like his father he was Justice of the Peace. He was also nominated for Sheriff of the City of Gloucester three times which office he held once.⁷⁵ His excursions into Parliament were less notable than those of Nicholas Arnold. He was Member for Gloucester in Mary's reign but

was insufficiently influential in the city to maintain that position. Subsequently he was elected to Elizabeth's first parliament for Aylesbury which his son-in-law also represented.⁷⁶

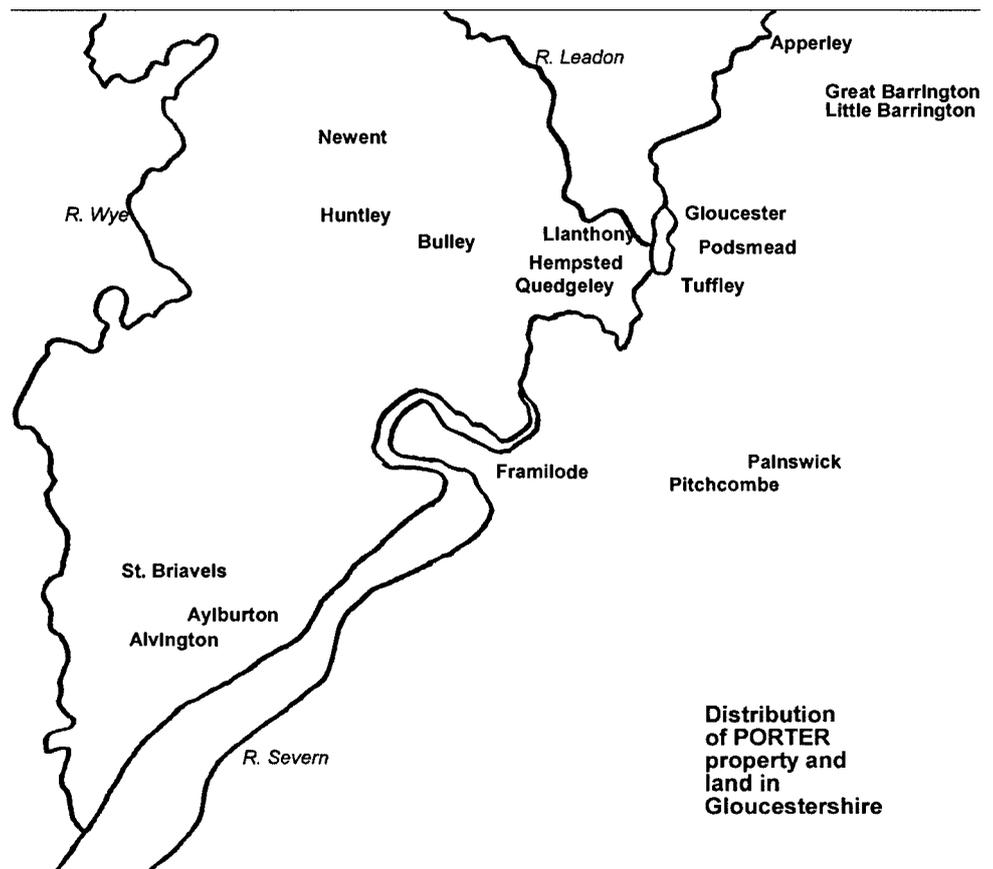
It is to the acquisition of property, however, that Arthur Porter seems to have devoted most of his time. As heir to his father, Roger, he had inherited the residue of the family estate.⁷⁷ Soon after, he was licensed by Gloucester Abbey to build a new house by Framilode weir which his father had leased from the Abbey for about 19 years. The weir, worth £20 per annum, was demolished in 1535 on the King's orders⁷⁸ at a time when we find Arthur beginning to amass a larger estate of his own. The dissolution of the monasteries came at the right time for him, and his work for the crown and friendship with Nicholas Arnold must have been greatly advantageous to him.

Arthur was already leasing the manor of Quedgeley when on 10 March 1538 the deed of surrender of Llanthony Priory in Wales, the cell of Llanthony by Gloucester and all its possessions was signed. But one week later the attendant survey of the demesnes was deferred as 'Mr. Porter and Mr. Nicholas Arnold said Cromwell was contented that they should have both according to the value certified for the payment of the tenths'.⁷⁹ Subsequently over the next few years much of Llanthony's Gloucestershire property was granted by the King to an evidently persuasive Arthur Porter aided by his friend Nicholas Arnold, himself a kinsman of the present Prior Richard Harte.⁸⁰

He was already leasing the manor of Quedgeley and had most probably lived in the manor house, a moated medieval building. At one time the Prior of Llanthony had held his court there in the parlour above the hall but it may have been Arthur who had 'modernised' it by replacing the hall with a new central block, perhaps to accommodate the increasing size of his family. Not only did he then lease out the two water mills on the estate⁸¹ but his own lease entitled him to rents of nine quarters each of barley and wheat from the tenants.⁸² Similarly he acquired for a rent of £13 6s. 4d. a parcel of land in Podsmead in the Lordship of Hempsted on which the tenants and farmers were to pay him rents of thirty quarters of wheat,

twenty of peas and twelve of barley plus twelve pigs, twelve capons and twelve geese. He was also to receive the tithes of grain and hay in the parish of Hempsted which had belonged to Llanthony Priory.⁸³ In 1540 he was granted the site of Llanthony Priory church and other lands which he purchased for £73 16s. 8d.⁸⁴ To this, the Newark Park estate, he added further land by the church and in Sudmede.⁸⁵ Described by Leland in about 1540 as a pretty stone house⁸⁶ The Newark, later called Newark House, became one of the family's main residences.

Arthur Porter's other main residence was Alvington Court. This had been granted to him in 1537 but without the Lordship of the Manor.⁸⁷ In January 1539 Richard Harte, late Prior of Llanthony, wrote a letter from his residence in Brockworth to Thomas Cromwell. In it he points out that before the Dissolution he had petitioned Cromwell that Mr. Porter have in fee the manors of Alvington and Aylburton. As he (Mr. Porter) had had



considerable expense of late 'by going down of the weirs' and the 'coming by' and building on the two manors Richard was requesting that Mr. Porter have the manors as in the original petition 'afterwards sent down to me by Mr. Nich. Arnolde, your servant'.⁸⁸ The bailiff's 1541 description of these premises indicates a large estate. Included are the site and main house of the manor of Alvington with its houses, building, dovecote, courtyards, gardens and orchards. These are followed by the demesne lands of the manor and twelve named pastures and meadows. Rents, tithes of grain and hay, two crofts, two water mills and more property, land (two farendalls, twelve acres and six selions or strips), lands and tithes in Aylburton come next together with buildings, lands and tithes in Aylburton and Saint Briavel's parish. For these Arthur was required to do service of one twentieth part of a Knight's fee.⁸⁹

As if this were not enough he leased from the Crown seventy seven acres of arable, seventy three acres of enclosed pasture, one hundred and seven acres of meadow and a further sixty four acres of pasture together with the coneygarth and relevant tithes in and around Gloucester.⁹⁰ This he subsequently purchased together with more land in the city and the right to free fishing in the Severn from a stand next to Gloucester Castle.⁹¹ All this together with crofts, an orchard and a pasture in Newent, Oxenhall and Bouldson should have kept him busy.⁹²

But Arthur was still not satisfied. He leased and later purchased further meadows and pastures in Quedgeley.⁹³ He was granted tithes of corn and hay from Llanthony's Painswick property⁹⁴; rents of wheat, barley, oats, geese and capons from the tenants and farmers of the manor of Brockworth⁹⁵; all small tithes of lambs and wool in Great Barrington⁹⁶ and tithes of all corn and hay in Little Barrington.⁹⁷ In the next year he was granted in fee thirty two acres in Tuffley which had belonged to Saint Peter's Abbey⁹⁸ and further tithes of hay and corn from twelve acres in the parishes of Hempsted and Saint Mary de Lode and where he also leased a further eight acres of pasture.⁹⁹ After a brief respite he felt the need for more property and in 1544 he acquired Pitchcombe Manor.¹⁰⁰

While still quite young Arthur had married Alice, daughter of John Arnold of Highnam and sister of his friend Nicholas. Alice, perhaps as a result of repeated childbearing, left Arthur a widower following which he took Isabel, Lady Berkeley as his second wife. Isabel, widow of Sir John Berkeley of Somerset, was the sister of Nicholas Arnold's first wife. By this liaison Arthur and Nicholas's relationship was further strengthened and a closer link with the Berkeley family was made. Arthur had a large family of at least fourteen children. Sadly, eight died as infants as is known from their memorials in Quedgeley and Hempsted churches. Three daughters were to marry comfortably into suitable Gloucestershire families viz. Baynham, Codrington and Oldsworth. Two sons, Arnold and Richard, had no issue also having probably died young so it was left to Thomas to carry on the name of this branch of the Porter family.¹⁰¹

But what of Arthur's character? Perhaps in his youth he was somewhat headstrong as indicated by his revelry in the Court at Lincoln's Inn. He was made executor of his father's will but with the provisos that the plate was held by his uncle William until all debts were paid and that he follow the counsel of the said William and his father-in-law, John Arnold, who Roger willed to 'aid succour and counsel' his son.¹⁰² Was this purely because of his youth and inexperience or did father suspect that his son might recklessly dispose of the plate before the debts were honoured? The impression given is that the bond of friendship of Arthur and Nicholas went beyond that of mere brothers-in-law. They were both Protestants,¹⁰³ also lawyers, and undertook many similar Royal duties and public offices, both local and national. The Porter and Arnold families were both armigers and Arthur, like Nicholas, had been knighted. In 1547, however, Arthur was named as 'one who had not been compounded for knighthood'¹⁰⁴ i.e. paying not to be dubbed and thus avoiding a knight's duties. Their kinship with priors of Llanthony by Gloucester together with Nicholas's position under Thomas Cromwell and Arthur's negotiating skills put them in an ideal position of mutual help in acquiring property at the Dissolution. Nicholas had given his full support to Arthur, and had even led the intrusion, in Quedgeley church. This event suggests, however, that Nicholas's was the stronger character else why should he have spearheaded the affray? He was a man of confidence and authority who lived in the fine country house of his father whereas Arthur was reared in a comparatively humble house and had lost his father when still quite young. Could there be a hint of rivalry or even jealousy in his prodigious acquisition of property, ultimately emulating Nicholas in his own manor house at Alvington?

Nearly all Arthur's vast estate had belonged to Llanthony Prior. But were the ordinary folk any better off under their new landlord? Did he treat his tenants fairly? Did he feed, clothe and pay his servants well? Did he minister to the sick, feed their spiritual needs and provide for the poor and destitute? Or did he merely line his own pockets? Unfortunately we have no answer to these questions and no will has been found which might have given some clues.

Arthur Porter, like his friend Nicholas Arnold, survived Mary's reign despite his Protestantism. Unfortunately he did not live long under Elizabeth, dying on 31 May 1559 just three weeks after taking up his position as Member for Aylesbury in her first Parliament.¹⁰⁵

CONCLUSION

Richard Barrow lived at Field Court. "Out of time of mind of man" his ancestors had worshipped in Quedgeley church as had he and his family for the past seventeen years, it being nearer than his own parish church of Hardwicke.¹⁰⁶ Arthur Porter also attended Quedgeley church but as a parishioner living at Quedgeley manor. A south aisle had been added in the 14th century¹⁰⁷ and it was the seating arrangements in this aisle that caused the violent argument, each claiming the right to the same seats.

Richard was able to appeal for a ruling directly to the King through the Court of Star Chamber. This he did, stating at length the actions of the three high-handed and exuberant young men.¹⁰⁸ Unfortunately the verdict is unknown. It would appear, however, that Richard and his family retained the right to continue their worship in Quedgeley church as twenty years later he was buried there and accorded a monument in the chancel as were some of his descendants.¹⁰⁹

There is a brass in the church dated 1532, the year of the outrage, in memory of two of Arthur Porter's children who died young. Six later infant deaths are recorded on a brass in Hempsted church. This suggests a transfer of his religious activity to accord with his residence in Newark House.

But for how long did the feud continue? Did Richard become an intolerable neighbour and drive Arthur away? He was certainly being a nuisance to Arthur three years later, in 1535, according to a letter calendared in the Letters and Papers of Henry VIII detailing a report of serious moral malpractice in Llanthony Priory at Gloucester.¹¹⁰ For their temerity in approaching Prior Hart on the subject a schoolmaster was put in the stocks for three days then banished abroad and a canon imprisoned! The chancellor of Worcester was appealed to but did nothing. Although subsequently recovered, some of the correspondence fell into the hands of Richard Barrow who probably intended to make known the immoralities to the King to discredit Prior Hart and his kinsman, Arthur Porter.

Was it at this point that Arthur decided that discretion was the better part of valour and withdrew? Alas we shall never know. Perhaps in the end the scores were even, the two men kept their distances and honour was satisfied all round.

Acknowledgements

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- ¹² *HA* Quedgeley 1541 24 Nov
- ¹³ *ibid.* 1542 4 May
- ¹⁴ R. Bigland, *Historical, Monumental and Genealogical Collections Relative to the County of Gloucester (Bigland)* Upleadon
- ¹⁵ NA PROB 11/31
- ¹⁶ *Bigland* vol. I p337 (the burial register for the period is missing and the church has since been destroyed by fire and rebuilt)
- ¹⁷ Lincoln's Inn Black Books 1897 vol. 1 folio 128
- ¹⁸ *ibid.* folio 170
- ¹⁹ *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, vol. XIII, part 2 nos. 1223, 1142
- ²⁰ *Bindoff* p.331
- ²¹ *Trans B.G.A.S.* vol. 9 p.121
- ²² *DNB supplement* vol. i
- ²³ *Trans B.G.A.S.* vol. 56 p.221
- ²⁴ *Trans B.G.A.S.* vol. 12 p.75; vol. 49, pp.110-111
- ²⁵ *Bindoff* vol. i, p330, *Trans B.G.A.S.* vol. 56, p.211
- ²⁶ *DNB supplement* vol. i
- ²⁷ *Bindoff* vol. i, p.330
- ²⁸ *Trans B.G.A.S.* vol. 56 p.211
- ²⁹ *DNB supplement* vol. i
- ³⁰ *Trans B.G.A.S.* vol. 56 p.211
- ³¹ *Smyth* vol. 2 p.178
- ³² *ibid.* p.186
- ³³ *DNB supplement* vol. i
- ³⁴ *Bindoff* vol. i p.330
- ³⁵ NA PROB 11/31
- ³⁶ GRO Diocesan Registry vol. 7 3 Feb p.213, 15 Feb p.224, 23 Feb p.229
- ³⁷ *HA* Churcham 1575
- ³⁸ *Commission for Ecclesiastical Causes within the Dioceses of Bristol and Gloucester 1574*, ed. Price
- ³⁹ *DNB supplement* vol. i
- ⁴⁰ *HA* Newent 1554
- ⁴¹ *ibid.* 1558
- ⁴² *ibid.* 1570
- ⁴³ *Trans B.G.A.S.* vol. 21 p.340
- ⁴⁴ *Trans B.G.A.S.* vol. 64 p.121
- ⁴⁵ NA PROB 11/62
- ⁴⁶ *DNB supplement* vol. i
- ⁴⁷ NA PROB 11/62
- ⁴⁸ GRO fiche PFC 83 IN 1/1 no.1
- ⁴⁹ *Bigland* Churcham
- ⁵⁰ *Bindoff* vol. iii p.136
- ⁵¹ *Trans B.G.A.S.* vol. 21 p.340
- ⁵² *Visitation of Gloucestershire 1623*, Harleian Society xxi
- ⁵³ NA PROB 11/21 Bodefelde 27 p.213
- ⁵⁴ S. Rudder, *A New History of Gloucestershire (Rudder)*, p.564
- ⁵⁵ A.B. Emden, *Biog. Reg. of University of Oxford to AD 1500* vol. 3
- ⁵⁶ *Military Survey of Gloucestershire 1522* B.G.A.S. record series vol. ii
- ⁵⁷ *Calendars of Patent Rolls (CPR) of Henry VIII & Edward VI, 1494-1509* p.641
- ⁵⁸ *HA* Newent
- ⁵⁹ LP Henry VIII, vol. i pp.476, 1537; vol. ii pp.190, 318; vol. iii p.396, vol. iv pp.168, 72
- ⁶⁰ NA PROB 11/12 Bodefelde 7 p.48
- ⁶¹ GRO D 5767/1 no. 36
- ⁶² *Bindoff* vol. iii p.136
- ⁶³ *Rudder* p.562
- ⁶⁴ Lincoln's Inn Black Books vol. i p.208 fol. 128 p.227

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- ⁶⁵ *Bindoff* vol. iii p.136
⁶⁶ GRO D1430 b/10
⁶⁷ *Bindoff* vol. iii p.136
⁶⁸ *V.C.H.* vol. 10 pp.216-217
⁶⁹ *Bindoff* vol. iii p.136
⁷⁰ LP Henry VIII, vol. xix pt 1 no. 273 p.154
⁷¹ NA E101 59/9. Transcribed in 1991/2, in GRO ref. ROL G4
⁷² State Papers Henry VIII vol. xi p.3
⁷³ Gloucestershire Collection RF 243.5
⁷⁴ *CPR* Edward VI, vol. ii p.135; vol. v p.354
⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. v pp.316, 328, 387
⁷⁶ P.W. Hasler, *The House of Commons 1558-1603*, vol. iii p.236
⁷⁷ NA PROB 11/21 Bodefelde 7 p.48
⁷⁸ *V.C.H.* vol. 10 p.157
⁷⁹ LP Henry VIII, vol. xiii pt 1 no. 530
⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, vol. xiv no. 641 p.248
⁸¹ *V.C.H.* vol. 10 pp.218, 221
⁸² *HA* Quedgeley 1538
⁸³ *HA* Hempsted 1538
⁸⁴ *Trans B.G.A.S.* vol. 13 p.148
⁸⁵ *HA* Hempsted 1544
⁸⁶ *John Leland's Itinerary* ed. Chandler pub. Alan Sutton
⁸⁷ N. Kingsley, *The Country Houses of Gloucestershire* vol. 1 (1500-1600)
⁸⁸ LP Henry VIII, vol. xix pt. 1 no. 167
⁸⁹ GRO D1430 b/10
⁹⁰ *HA* Gloucester City 1538
⁹¹ NA c66/700 m41
⁹² *HA* Newent 1549
⁹³ LP Henry VIII, vol. xvii no. 212
⁹⁴ *HA* Painswick 1538
⁹⁵ *HA* Brockworth 1538
⁹⁶ *HA* Great Barrington 1538
⁹⁷ *HA* Little Barrington 1538
⁹⁸ NA c66/700 m41
⁹⁹ *HA* Gloucester City 1541
¹⁰⁰ *Bindoff* vol. iii p.136
¹⁰¹ Visitation of Gloucestershire 1623, Harleian Society xxi
¹⁰² NA PROB 11/21 Bodefelde 7 p.48
¹⁰³ *Trans B.G.A.S.* vol. 92 p.116
¹⁰⁴ N. Saul, *Knights and Esquires*
¹⁰⁵ *Bindoff* vol. iii p.136
¹⁰⁶ GRO D5555 1/5
¹⁰⁷ *VCH* vol. 10 pp.218, 223
¹⁰⁸ GRO D5555 1/5
¹⁰⁹ Fragment of memorial stone now over the south door in Quedgeley church. (Recorded in Bigland)
¹¹⁰ LP Henry VIII, vol. ix p.373, no. 1081; *Trans B.G.A.S.* vol. 63 p.137

