

The monumental mysteries of Goodrich church

By ROSALIND LOWE

In 2016-7 the Goodrich parochial church council (PCC) successfully applied to the Heritage Lottery Fund for a grant to repair the fabric of St Giles, Goodrich and to improve public accessibility. One of the conditions was that heritage information should be provided for visitors - there was no church guide or heritage trail. I was approached by the PCC to provide the guide. This involved original research both into the fabric of the church and into documents such as the churchwardens' accounts. The heritage trail has been completed and is available in the church as well as online.¹

There are the usual wall-mounted monuments to local worthies but also a battered medieval altar-tomb and two medieval carved heads, projecting from the wall in the south-east corner high above floor level. This paper seeks to record them and to suggest their connection with personalities on the national stage.

1. INTRODUCTION

A short history of the church

Goodrich itself did not exist with that name before the Norman Conquest. In the 1086 Domesday Book the manor of *Hulla* was held by Godric Mappesone. Fortunately there is a copy of the Herefordshire Domesday in Oxford, where *Hulla* is identified as *Godrichescastle*, the name by which Goodrich manor was known for several hundred years. Goodrich manor was large, as it included the later parishes of Goodrich, Whitchurch, Ganarew and parts of Llanrothal and Llangarron.

About 1100 William fitzBaderon, lord of Monmouth and lord of Goodrich, granted to Monmouth priory the income of the church of Goderic's castle, apparently with the consent of Hadwise his wife and her two daughters Iveta and Advenia. This does not imply that the church was in the castle, as this was also the name of the manor. It probably does imply that he owned Goodrich in right of his wife. About 1144 the name *Egidus* [Giles] for the church at Goodrich was given when the previous charter was confirmed.

Probably the church was on the same site as it is today. There is a chapel in the castle but the parishioners needed a proper church, though this was at a time when parish boundaries were being drawn up. The earliest date given for the fabric of the church by the surveyors for the Royal Commission for Historic Monuments of England (RCHME) when they visited in 1927 is early 13th-century. This was for parts of the arcade between the nave/chancel and the north aisle. However in 1204 the manor was granted to William Marshal, Earl of Pembroke, so perhaps he rebuilt the original church. In the early 14th century the arcade was lengthened eastwards towards the altar and a chapel attached to the eastern end of what is now the north aisle, according to RCHME.² The arcade was lengthened westwards at some time—the arches are not the same as the new ones to the east—and maybe at the same time the north aisle was built.

The RCHME surveyors considered that the tower was added in the late 14th century. There is a bit of a mystery about this, as although the current door into the base of the tower from the church is small, the original opening was much larger as can be seen inside the tower. Maybe the original door was here and was covered over by the tower. A new door may have

been added where the main door is now, and a porch added in the late 14th century. Exterior steps to the belfry were added in 1844.

It is not known how much damage was caused during the Reformation or the Civil War, but the churchyard cross, font, altars and chapel may have suffered. Certainly damage was caused in the village by the Parliamentary troops.

The Church Plan

In 1927 the RCHME surveyors drew up a plan of the church and this has been used for the church heritage trail, as the general layout has not changed since. The full plan is given below—the numbers refer to different items on the heritage trail and can be seen on the church website—but the mystery items are 15 (the tomb) and 18 (the heads). The eastern stained glass windows (13 and 19) play their part in the story.

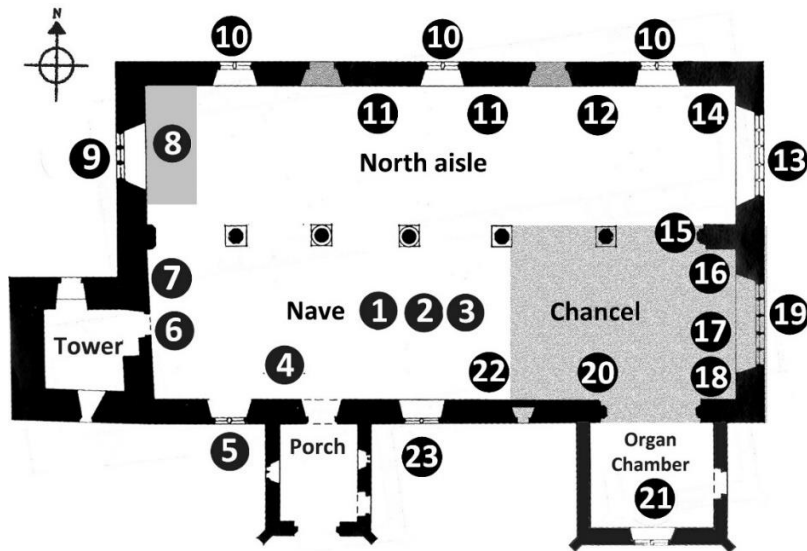


Figure 1. Plan of the church based on the 1927 RCHME version

2. THE ALTAR-TOMB

At the eastern end of the church, hard up against the last pillar of the arcade which runs east-west down the midline of the church, is the major part of a medieval altar-tomb or, more correctly, monument, because there is no evidence that it ever contained mortal remains. Figure 2 shows the south side of the tomb as it appeared in 1927, Figure 3 shows the north side as it is today.³ Relatively recently it has suffered the indignity of being painted grey, obscuring all but small traces of the *gesso* which covered the stonework prior to its original painting in colour.

RCHME describes the decoration thus: ‘cinque-foiled two-centred arches with trefoiled two-centred arches with trefoiled spandrels and attached shafts with simply foliated capitals and moulded bases with continuous upper members; moulded top slab, re-set upside down with W. end cut back, c.1280.’⁴ Its design is somewhat similar to a small altar-tomb in nearby Bridstow church dated to around 1300.⁵



Figure 2. South face of the tomb partly obscured by the altar rail, RCHME, 1927



Figure 4. The west side of the tomb from the south



Figure 3. North face of the tomb



Figure 5. The south side of the tomb looking west

Figures 4 and 5 illustrate some of the details of the tomb's carvings. The depth of the hoods and the best-preserved feet of the columns in Fig. 4, the mouldings of the hoods and the decorations of the heads of the columns, seemingly fruit and in one case perhaps the cross-section of a pomegranate in Fig. 5.⁶

In 1799 Bonnor published his engraving of the tomb before it was truncated to four bays of arches (Figure 6).⁷ One has to presume that Bonnor did not imagine how the tomb should have looked but reproduced it as it was. Even then the top was upside-down.

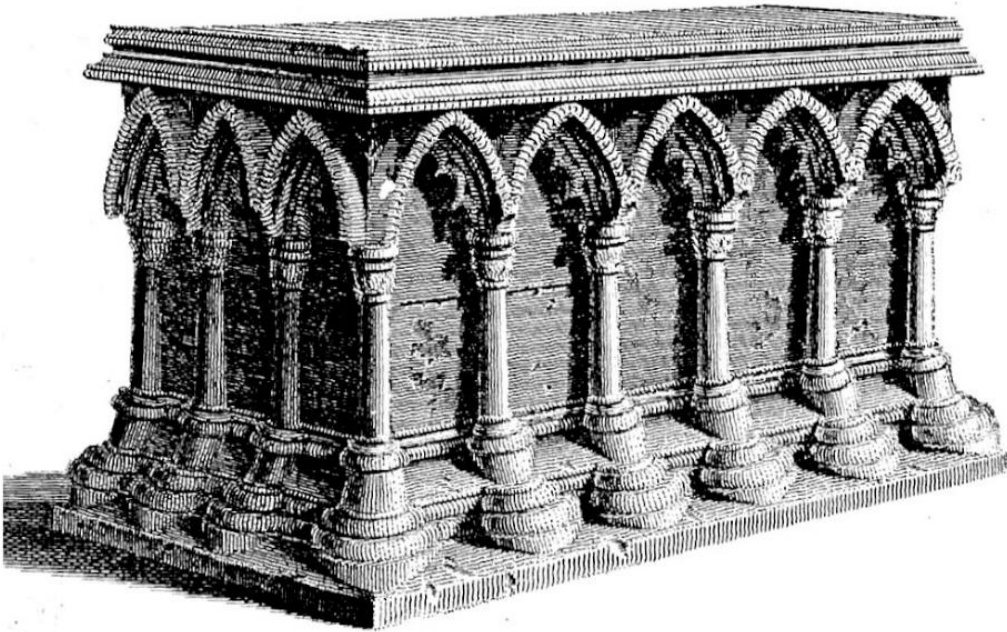


Figure 6. 1799 engraving of the altar-tomb by Bonnor

The culprit for the truncation of the monument is almost certainly Dr (later Sir) Samuel Meyrick. In 1829 he was constructing Goodrich Court and as a new building it had no pew allocated in the church. He persuaded the church authorities to let him alter or move the tomb in order for him to build a pew appropriate to his status. Unfortunately the tomb must have been damaged or, more likely, it had to be shortened to fit the space available, because he says 'I have sent my Clerk of Works with some masons and a cart to remove the remaining portion of the monument...'⁸

Probably it has not moved far from its original location, because in 1754 a faculty was confirmed to George White of Goodrich House for a 'seat' in the south corner of the chancel on the north aisle of the church, having a 'raised tomb that lay between two isles [*sic*] of the said church on the south part...'⁹

Based on the measurements of the surviving fabric, the full-sized tomb was approximately 1.85m. (6 ft.) long. The lid of the tomb is coffin-shaped, a fact not obvious from floor-level. The width of the underside of the lid, the original top, is 60cm. (2ft.) at the original eastern end and a calculated original 80cm. (31.4in.) at the west. The orientation of the tomb with the head at the western end was preserved. The coffin shape of lid passed out of fashion for freestanding burials inside a church during the 13th century, the actual coffin being enclosed with thin slabs of stone. These often were decorated with arcades with foiled arches and pillars, such this tomb and those of William de Valence (d. 1296) at Westminster and of St Thomas Cantilupe (d. 1282) at Hereford.¹⁰

Whose tomb?

Who does the tomb commemorate? It is rather early in style to be that of Richard Talbot, founder of Flanesford Priory in 1349, who died in 1356—his tomb is sometimes said to have been moved from the priory to the church at the Reformation.

Logically it should be one of the lords of Goodrich manor and patrons of the church or of his immediate family. The descent of the manor is clear. Although William Marshal, 1st earl of Pembroke (d. 1219), had five sons, all had died without legitimate heirs by 1245 and his great inheritance devolved on the heirs of his daughters, one of whom, Joan (1210-1234), married Warin de Munchensi and was succeeded by her only daughter Joan (1230-1307).¹¹ It was this Joan who married William de Valence (d. 1296), half brother to Henry III, and he became possessed of the manor of Goodrich in her right. From the presentments of clergy to churches in Goodrich manor we know that William de Valence was patron of Whitchurch in 1289, Joan de Valence of Goodrich in 1306 and Joan's son Aymer of Whitchurch in 1316. The span of dates for the tomb cover three likely people, therefore: William de Valence, his wife Joan de Valence and their son Aymer. Both William and Aymer are buried in Westminster abbey.¹²

There are a number of arguments in favour of Joan. Goodrich castle was one of her favourite residences¹³ and it is believed that she may have died there in 1307.¹⁴ On some evidence she is said to have been buried at Flaxley Abbey, as she left them some chattels to say her annual *obits*. At the time of her death the bishop of Winchester excused himself from another engagement saying he had to attend her 'internment' at a secluded place at Gloucester, which fits Flaxley. However, the burial may have been changed to Goodrich or, as there was no monastic settlement nearby, the *obits* alone may have been performed at Flaxley. As Aymer inherited her patronage of the churches in the manor it is likely that he commissioned the monument. One last point in Joan's favour is the decoration of fruit at the heads of the capitals, particularly a pomegranate, to symbolise fertility. Joan and William had seven children.

3. THE CARVED HEADS



In the darkest corner of the church on the south of the east window of the chancel, unreachable except by step-ladder, two carved heads protrude from the east wall (Fig. 7).¹⁵

Figure 7. The position of the two carved heads to the south of the chancel's east window

The heads are the same size 15cm. (6in.) in depth and width and 21cm. (8.25in.) high, though the extra depth into the wall is not known. They have been deliberately sculpted to face each other slightly and scribing marks on the tops show the careful preparation of the sculptor to confine them within the block shape. The RCHME surveyor considered that they are head stops re-used as brackets, but stylistically this seems somewhat unlikely. The representations are particularly lifelike and in no way caricatures. One is tempted to speculate that they are representations of real people as carving a moustache seems unnecessary unless it was significant. Because the heads are difficult to photograph these views have been deliberately chosen to illustrate the fine detail of the faces and accessories.



Figure 8a. Male head showing moustache



Figure 8b. Male head showing liripipe

The man wears a *liripipe*, a long tubular snood with a padded circular heading near one end and asymmetrical ornamental scalloping at the other. The shorter end of the tube is folded carefully on one side of the head, on the left in Figure 8a, and the longer end is thrown around the neck almost like a scarf. The liripipe remained in fashion for a number of years and is not easily dateable. It was worn at most levels of society occasions, though of course the material used and decoration would reflect the wearer's status. It can be seen pushed back over the shoulder of John Talbot, 1st Earl of Shrewsbury, when he presented Margaret of Anjou with the Talbot-Shrewsbury Book, one of the treasures of the Royal Collection held at the British Library (Plate 1).¹⁶ and when he was appointed Constable of France by Henry VI (Plate 2).



Plate 1. John Talbot presenting the Talbot-Shrewsbury book to Margaret of Anjou in 1445. © British Library Board, Royal MS 15 E VI f.2v

Margaret is shown hand in hand with her husband Henry VI and wearing her crown, but it is thought that the event took place in early 1445 in Rouen and that the illustration was commissioned there sometime earlier, well before she departed for her marriage in England. It is a montage, in fact Talbot is shown wearing his Garter robes—he was installed in 1424—but he does not disdain wearing his liripipe. The Rouen workshops were known for this type of work and Talbot may well have visited to supervise the operation. Note the headdresses of the

ladies in the background. There is another portrait of Talbot in the book (Plate 2).¹⁷ Here he is being appointed as Constable of France by Henry VI and the liripipe over his shoulder is very clear.¹⁸



Figure 9a. Female head



Figure 9b. Detail of coif over ears

The woman's carved head in Goodrich church shows her hair confined over the ears with a net covered by a mesh, probably made of precious metal (Figs. 9a and 9b). A scalloped cloth lies over the crown of her head and falls behind. The form of her necklace seems to signify a livery collar, as it is held together in the front by an ornamental trefoil known as a *tiret* or *toret* (Fig. 9c). No decoration is apparent in the links of the collar but it is possible that the links are of an 'S' form.



Figure 9c. Details of links in the collar

The style of the woman's headdress dates to around the middle half of the 15th century. Indeed, the ladies in Plate 1.1 are wearing similar heart-shaped headdresses though the carved head, being flattened, is not so exaggerated.

Another folio in the Talbot-Shrewsbury book shows a wider range of styles including some with a cloth over the head.¹⁹ The book dates from 1444-5; by the 1470s fashionable headdresses had become higher and more pointed so this gives a reasonable date range of day 1420 to 1470, though some women will carry on wearing the styles of the youth.

The inclusion of the illustrations from the Talbot-Shrewsbury book is not accidental, because for most of the 15th century the Talbots were lords of Goodrich and patrons of Goodrich church. John inherited Goodrich from Joan de Valence via Elizabeth Comyn, the niece of Joan's son Aymer, who married Richard Talbot, the second Baron Talbot in the 1320s.²⁰

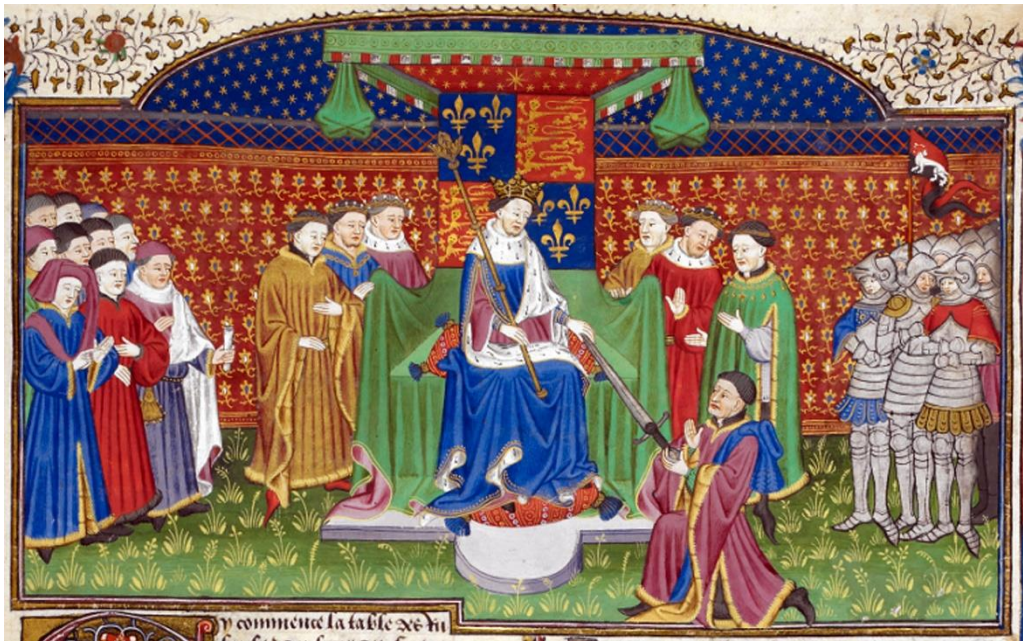


Plate 2. Henry VI giving a sword to John Talbot as Constable of France. © British Library Board Royal MS 15 E VI f.227r

Evidence of John Talbot 1st Earl of Shrewsbury in Goodrich church

There is very little early stained glass in the church, but the east window of the north aisle has some 15th-century remnants. The RCHME surveyor considered this window to be modern, but the experienced stonemasons who recently repaired it believe it is original (Plate 3).

Four armorial shields range across the middle of the window; the northernmost has not been damaged by later attempts to repair the glass (Plate 4). The earliest date of the armorial can be dated precisely as it shows the arms granted to John Talbot, 7th Baron, when he was installed as a Garter knight in 1424.

The two middle armorials are more recent. The leftmost of these shows the royal arms, which can be dated as sometime after 1816, very likely soon after Queen Victoria's accession to the throne in 1837. The Hanover arms have gone, but the form of the Irish harp is an older version (Plate 6).

The rightmost middle armorial shows the curious arrangement of three fleurs-de-lis overlain by the inverted leopards' heads which denotes the arms of the diocese of Hereford. It originated as the arms of bishop Thomas de Cantilupe, who died in 1282.

The southernmost armorial has been very clumsily repaired, but fortunately one of Sir Samuel Meyrick's friends, the herald Thomas William King, had previously painted it and it shows the arms of the L'Isles or Lises, ancestors of Margaret Beauchamp. Her son John by John Talbot was created Lord and Baron Lisle by Henry VI in 1444 and raised to 1st Viscount Lisle in 1451 (Plate 5). These two facts give the earliest date for this glass.

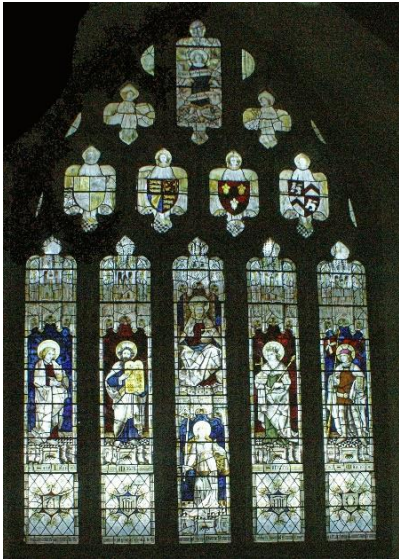


Plate 3. The east window of the north aisle in Goodrich church

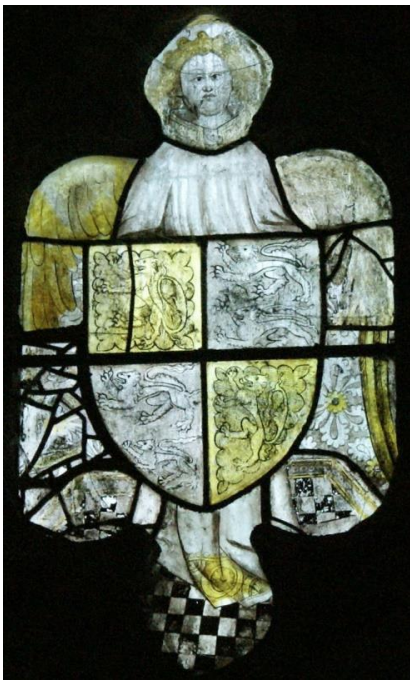


Plate 4. The Talbot arms granted in 1424 in the east window

The east window in the chancel was dated by RCHME to the late 15th century. It has no early glass as any surviving was replaced in 1879 as a tribute to the late vicar Charles Morgan. Meyrick considered that this window was put in by John Talbot 1st Earl of Shrewsbury who died in 1453, but whether there was any glass which gave him that impression we do not know.²¹ However, the fact that there would have been disturbance to the walls near the heads at that time as well as expert masons on site may be significant.

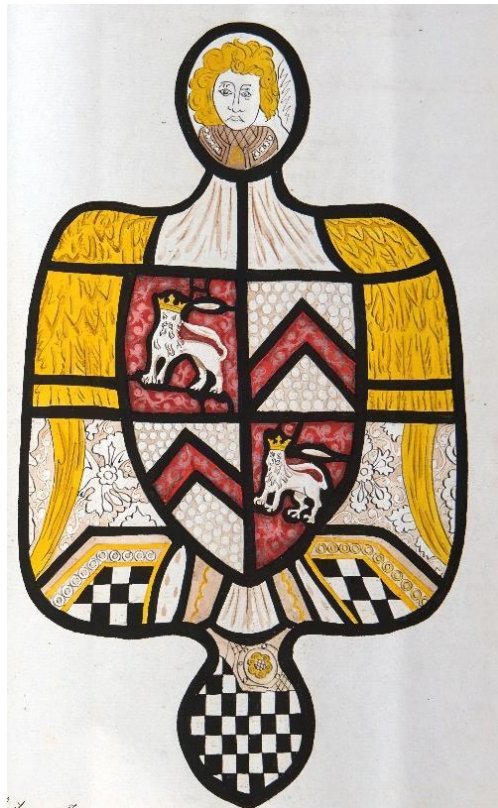


Plate 5. Thomas King's sketch of the Lisle arms in the east window of the north aisle at Goodrich. *College of Arms MS King, Heraldic Miscellanies vol 16, p. 492. Reproduced by kind permission of the Kings, Heralds and Pursuivants of Arms.* ©



Plate 6. The three southernmost angels in the east window of the north aisle at Goodrich

John Talbot, 1st Earl of Shrewsbury - the 'English Achilles'

John Talbot was a faithful servant to the Crown, remaining a Lancaster supporter and a sometimes favourite of the kings (Henry V and VI) that he served, though they could treat him in an underhand way. His life and military career has been documented in full.²²

His father died when he was eight and his mother Ankaret then married Thomas Neville, whose daughter and heiress Maud he married sometime before March 1407. They are believed to have had five children. Two died in infancy; of the others John survived to become the 2nd Earl of Shrewsbury. Maud died in 1422.

In 1424 John Talbot married Margaret Beauchamp, eldest of the three daughters of Richard 13th Earl of Warwick and his first wife Elizabeth Berkeley. Richard married again, had heirs and passed the Berkeley inheritance on to them instead to his three eldest daughters. This was the start of a bitter property feud which lasted for most of the century, bringing death and destruction to both sides.²³

Earl Richard died in 1439 in France. A new chapel was built at St Mary, Warwick to contain his spectacular tomb and after a number of years his body was transferred there.²⁴ Margaret and John had five children; another John Talbot who became 1st Viscount Lisle (b. 1430), Lewis, Humphrey, Eleanor and Elizabeth. Both Lewis (or Louis) and Humphrey eventually died without heirs.

Much of John Talbot's military service took him to France and as a result of his sometimes daring exploits he was created 1st Earl of Shrewsbury by Henry VI in 1442. In September 1452 he set out for France again with a large force, and it's possible that he had some sort of premonition that he might not return because he made his last will on 1 September 1452 at Portsmouth.²⁵ Although much of his property would go to his eldest son John by descent and is not mentioned in the will, he explicitly includes Goodrich in his only bequest to this John in his will. Perhaps this is because he made provision for John 1st Viscount Lisle by bequeathing him various properties he had purchased and also 'the Castle and Lordship of Pynyarde and the Manor of Credenhill ...and the Manor of Strangeford with the Lordship of

Irchenfield..’with remainder to Lisle’s brothers Lewis and Humphrey. In this he was attempting to divert these Herefordshire lands away from his successor to the earldom, though they should also have gone by descent to the elder John. In this his stratagems were ultimately unsuccessful after years of litigation.

Margaret’s eldest son, John 1st Viscount Lisle had married Joan, the daughter of Thomas Cheddar or Chedder, in 1443 when she was the widow of Richard Stafford. They had three children: Elizabeth, Thomas (b.c.1448) and Margaret. Lisle had often supported his father in various quarrels both private and national, and in late 1452 his father asked him to bring extra troops to France to reinforce the English army there. Before leaving, Lisle made a simple will in London appointing his mother Margaret as his executor and guardian to his young children.²⁶

After some initial successes John Talbot took part of the English force in a hasty attempt to relieve the besieged English garrison at Castillon. The main French force were camped nearby and, on 17 July 1453, Talbot rashly attacked without waiting for the rest of the main force. The result was a bloody rout in which both John Talbot, his son Viscount Lisle and Sir James Berkeley were killed, along with many others. The earl’s body was not recovered until the next day, when he was identified by his teeth, but Lisle’s body was never found. Shakespeare says that that Talbot had tried to send his son away from the battle but Lisle refused to go, and that Talbot later identified his son’s body.²⁷ There is no known foundation for this story, but the reverence shown to Talbot by both French and English is correct. His body was buried with honour nearby, but his heart was sent home and was buried in the church of St Mary, Whitchurch, Shropshire, where it was subsequently found buried under the threshold. Inside the church is a beautiful altar-tomb and effigy of him in armour.²⁸ Most surprisingly, in 1978 when work was being carried out at the church, his (presumed) bones were found inside the tomb though it is not known when they were returned from France.

The Shrewsbury and Lisle inheritances

As a result of his father’s death in 1453, a small boy, Thomas Talbot, was now the 2nd Viscount Lisle and under the guardianship of his grandmother Margaret. As one of the bitterest participants in the Berkeley feud she may well have imbued him with the same feeling which, after a period of relative peace, led to renewed fighting. As a minor Thomas’s wardship would theoretically have been given or sold to someone keen to make money from his possessions. However, his grandmother managed to retain it and indeed it was granted to her by Edward IV in 1461.²⁹ On her death in 1468 and that of his mother Joan in 1468 their dowers reverted to Thomas. His inheritance was granted to his father-in-law, William Herbert, 1st Earl of Pembroke, while he was a minor.

Matters did not fare well for Thomas’s uncle John, the 2nd earl of Shrewsbury, either. As a Lancastrian he fought against Edward IV at the battle of Northampton in July 1460 and was killed. He was succeeded as earl by his young son (another John) and the king enjoyed the available fruits of his wardship.³⁰ One important exception was made; the lordship of Goodrich, which had been granted by the king to the custody of the earl of Warwick in November 1460, was on 12 May 1461 taken into the King’s hands by Sir William Herbert, who held it until his death at the battle of Towton in 1469.

Now the story comes directly relevant to Goodrich, because Thomas Talbot married Margaret Herbert, the young daughter of Sir William Herbert sometime before he reached his majority in July 1469. The skirmishing between the Talbots and Berkeleys reached a crisis in March 1469/70, when Thomas was provoked enough to send a letter to Lord Berkeley

challenging him, in effect, to single combat to settle the matter early next morning. Both sides turned up with their followers and during the skirmish Thomas was hit in the eye with an arrow and was then killed. Thus ended the battle of Nibley Green in Gloucestershire, the last battle between private armies on English soil.³¹

At this time Margaret, Thomas's wife, was living at Wotton-under-Edge and was, apparently, heavily pregnant. Berkeley's forces attacked the house and the baby did not survive; Margaret did not sue for its inheritance. In fact, she accepted a life annuity of £100 *per annum* and married a Cornishman, Henry Bodrugan.³²

The mystery heads

I believe that the two sculpted heads are significant i.e. that they represent real people and were commissioned as part of a memorial probably to Talbot and/or Lisle family members. John Talbot the 1st Viscount Lisle who was killed in France has no known memorial, neither has one been found for Thomas Talbot 2nd Viscount Lisle as yet. At the time of Thomas's death his father-in-law was patron of Goodrich church and held the lordship of Goodrich. Both men were young when they died and could be represented as the moustachioed man. The woman - could she be Margaret Beauchamp? It's an intriguing thought.

As the east chancel window is thought to be late 15th-century, it is possible that the heads could have been part of the previous window. If re-used as brackets, what did they support? Probably we shall never know.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am very grateful for the help given by the College of Arms archivist Lynsey Darby and for permission to reproduce King's drawing free of charge. (College of Arms MS King, Heraldic Miscellanies vol 16, p. 491. Reproduced by permission of the Kings, Heralds and Pursuivants of Arms.) Thank you also to the British Library for allowing reproduction of the coloured illustrations from the Shrewsbury-Talbot manuscript and to Lambeth Palace Library for permission to reproduce the 1452 will entries for John Talbot the Earl of Shrewsbury and his son John Talbot Viscount Lisle.

APPENDIX 1 – The 1452 wills of the Earl of Shrewsbury and of his son 1st Viscount Lisle
 The wills are consecutive in Lambeth Palace Library (LPL), Reg. Stafford ff.311v to 313r.

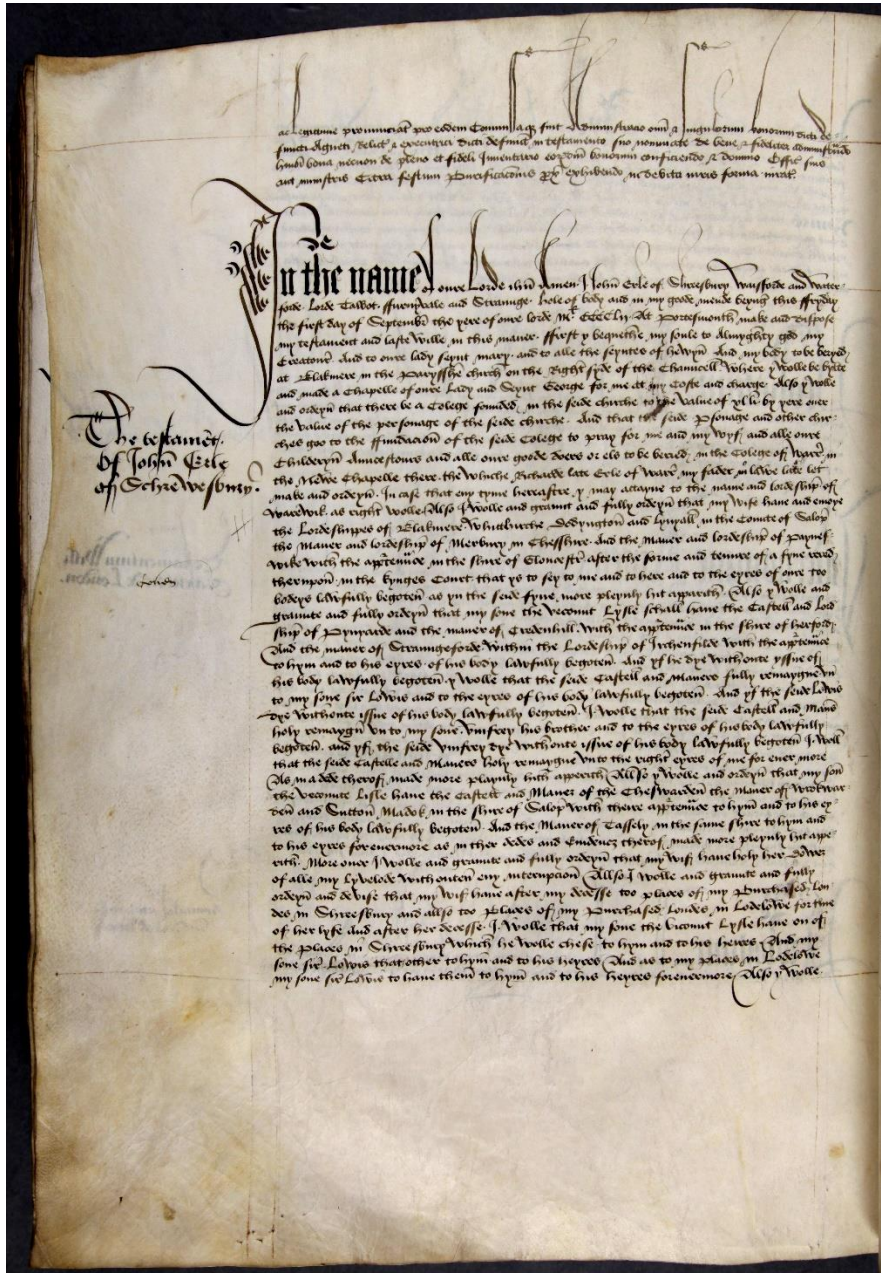


Plate 7. 1452 will of John Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury LPL Reg. Stafford f.311v

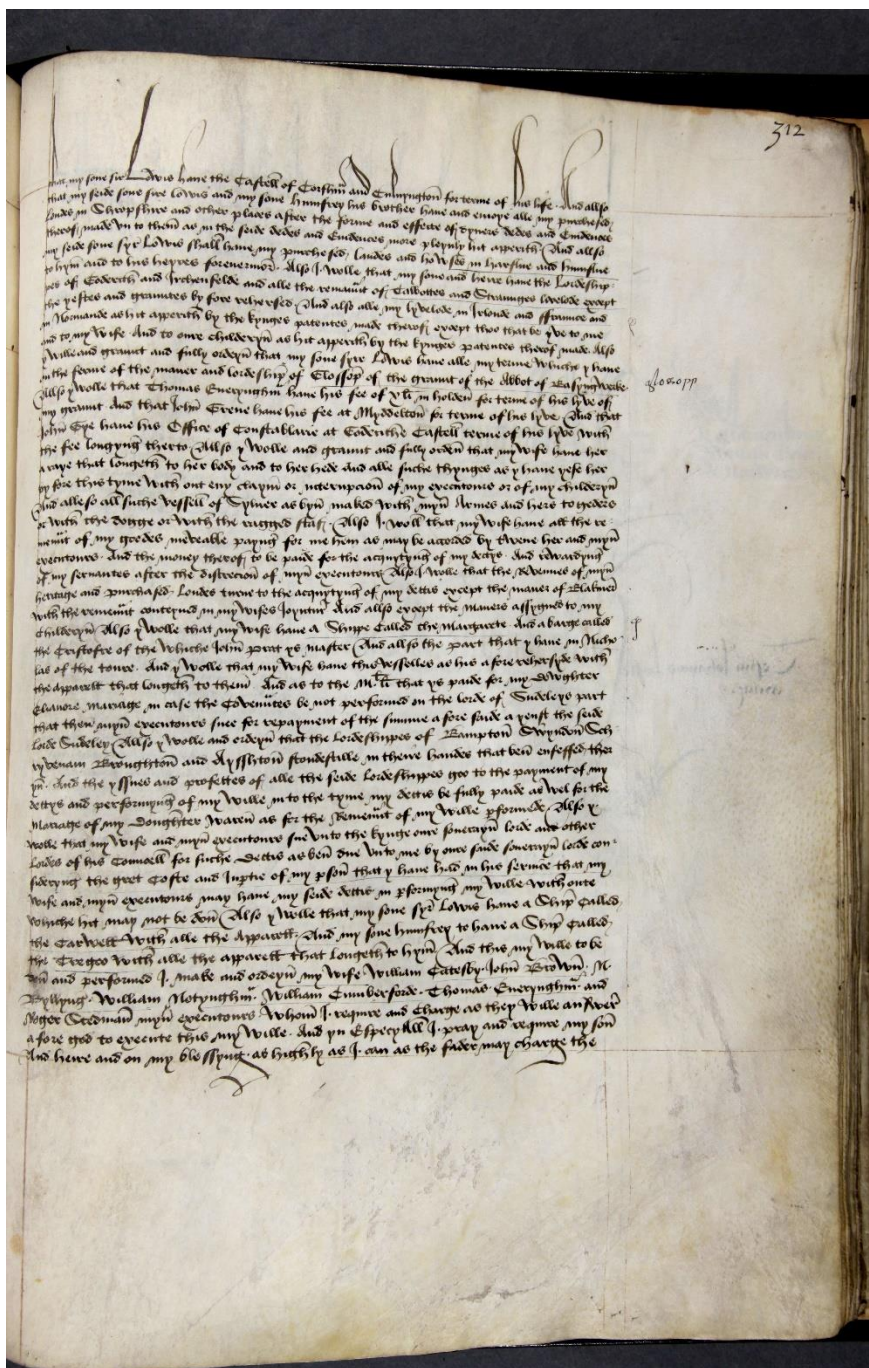


Plate 8. 1452 will of John Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury LPL Reg. Stafford f.312r

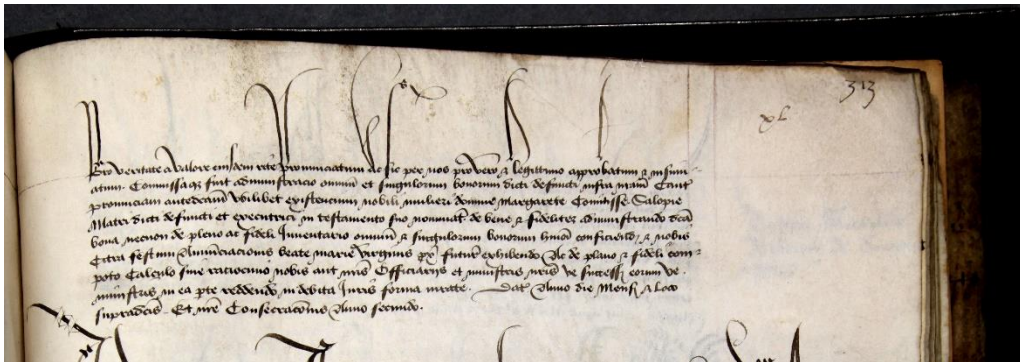


Plate 9. 1452 probate of will of John Talbot, 1st Viscount Lisle LPL Reg. Stafford f.313r

REFERENCES

¹ <http://www.goodrichchurchherefordshire.org.uk/>.

² On what evidence is not known.

³ Royal Commission for Historic Monuments of England (RCHME), Surveyors' Notebook, 1927.

⁴ RCHME, *Inventory of the Historical Monuments of Herefordshire*, Vol.I South-West, 1931, 74. Plate 44.

⁵ RCHME, *Inventory of the Historical Monuments of Herefordshire*, Vol.I South-West, 1931, 28-34, Plate 44.

⁶ The situation of the tomb necessitates flash photography to show detail.

⁷ Bonnor, Thomas, *Copperplate Perspective Itinerary*, V II, plate XI.

⁸ Herefordshire Archives (HARC), BF16/22, 9 Sep 1829.

⁹ Herefordshire Archives (HARC), HD10/32. This doesn't really make sense, as the seat couldn't be on the south side of the chancel and have a tomb between the aisles on its south side.

¹⁰ Crossley, *English Church Monuments*, p.42; download at <https://archive.org/details/englishchurchmon00cross>.

¹¹ The scale of her possessions can be seen in her

¹² See Crossley for illustrations and comments on their tombs.

¹³ See Woolgar, *The Great Household in late medieval England*, 1999, Yale UP for many details of her expenditure at Goodrich and elsewhere.

¹⁴ See Mitchell, *Joan de Valence: the life and influence of a 13th-century Noblewoman*, 2014.

¹⁵ The span of wall here from the window reveal on the left to the south wall on the right is 91cm (36in). The man's head on the left is 11cm. from the window reveal; both heads are about 15/16cm (6in.) wide and are separated by 34cm. (13in.), hence there is only about 16cm. between the woman's head and the wall.

¹⁶ See this plate online at http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=royal_ms_15_e_vi f.2v. This link opens the whole volume, so use the folio arrow on the right to scroll through the folio numbers. See also a description of the book in Kendrick, Lowden, Doyle, *Royal Manuscripts The Genius of Illustration*, 2011, 401-2, a catalogue of a British Library exhibition of royal illuminated manuscripts.

¹⁷ See it at http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=royal_ms_15_e_vi f.227r.

¹⁸ This is the British Library explanation of the ceremony in this miniature.

¹⁹ See this plate online at http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=royal_ms_15_e_vi f.403r.

²⁰ There is much material on line about Goodrich and the descent of the manor, but not always reliable. One has to be careful with dates because neither regnal years nor dates for events in Jan-Mar are not always correct.

²¹ College of Arms MS King, Heraldic Miscellanies vol 16, pp. 490-2. Page 492 reproduced by permission of the Kings, Heralds and Pursuivants of Arms.

²² Talbot, *The English Achilles The Life and Campaigns of John Talbot 1st Earl of Shrewsbury*, 1981; Pollard, 'The family of Talbot, Lords Talbot and Earls of Shrewsbury in the Fifteenth Century', PhD thesis Univ. of Bristol, 1968, sometime available online at https://research-information.bristol.ac.uk/files/34502954/488666_vol1.pdf and vol2 but now partially covered by Pollard, *John Talbot and the War in France 1427-1453*, 2005; Ross, 'The Accounts of the Talbot Household at Blakemere in the County of Shropshire, 1394-1425', Univ. of Canberra, 1970.

²³ The Talbot-Berkeley feud is a huge subject which cannot be covered here.

²⁴ A good image of the tomb can be found at <http://www.cornishchurches.com/Warwick%20Warwickshire%20-%20The%20Church%20of%20St.%20Mary/images/Warwick%20-%20Beauchamp%20Tomb.JPG>. It shows the side of the tomb with the male 'weepers', one of whom is John Talbot, though this is not a portrait. Talbot's wife Margaret Beauchamp is one of the female weepers on the other side of the tomb.

²⁵ His will is to be found at Lambeth palace, ref. Reg. Stafford f.311v. and f.312r and v. See Appendix 1. A transcription of the will in English is given in *The English Achilles*, 183-6.

²⁶ Lisle's will is also at Lambeth palace, ref. Reg. Stafford f.312v. and f.313r. See Appendix 1.

²⁷ Shakespeare, *Henry VI part I*, scenes V to VII. There is full account of events in France in Pollard, 2005.

²⁸ At https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_Talbot%2C_1st_Earl_of_Shrewsbury can be seen a sketch of John Talbot's effigy at Whitchurch in Shropshire.

²⁹ Berkeley Castle Muniments (BCM), BCM/A/1/1/57.

³⁰ See Pollard, 1968 90-1. The king's revenue was considerably lessened by dower and allowance arrangements.

³¹ The major reference for the matters at the time of the battle form part of the Berkeley archives. They were transcribed by Smyth, *The Lives of the Berkeleys*, Vol II. and further edited and published by Thomas Fosbroke of Walford in 1821. This book is available online.

³² Henry Bodrugan had his troubles and was exiled at one stage.

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