



William Brewster 1665–1715
(Print supplied by Hereford City Art Gallery.)

DR. WILLIAM BREWSTER OF HEREFORD (1665–1715)

A BENEFACTOR TO LIBRARIES*

by

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LITTLE has been written about Dr. William Brewster, who in 1715 bequeathed his then important library to be shared between the Bodleian Library and St. John's College, Oxford, and All Saints' Church, Hereford, with other books to be given to his friends.† He was a grandson of John Brewster, who was sheriff of Gloucester in 1612 and 1617, and mayor of the city in 1632. William was baptized at Eardisland on 9 November 1665, the only child of John Brewster of Burton Court, by his first wife, Margaret. By his second wife Blanche [Louth?] John had eight children. On the titles of several of his books in All Saints' Church he calls himself 'Pharmacopole Londiniensis'.¹ Apparently he left Gloucester, where he was born in St. Michael's parish, went to London and became a successful apothecary, though his name does not appear in the Register of the Apothecaries' Company. Before the birth of William he was living at Burton Court, Eardisland, and became lord of the manor there.²

John Brewster died in 1684 and was buried near his first wife in the centre of the chancel floor of Eardisland Church. To William he left in tail all his houses in Gloucester, including the *Sword* inn with all the goods and implements therein, and houses in Hereford which he had purchased from Thomas Luggar and Thomas Brace. In the event of William not having lawful issue then the property was to go to his half-brother Benjamin in tail. William was to have also some silver, including a cup with lid called the *Spanish Goddard* [goblet], other household goods, £1,800 in money, and his best horse, excluding his coach mares, which went to the widow.

One thousand pounds was to be paid to William by the overseers of the will when he attained the age of twenty-two, and the remainder when he became twenty-four, or earlier if he married with the consent of the overseers. The annual sum of forty pounds was to be allowed him until the earlier age, and afterwards he was to have fifty pounds. John's books were to be divided between William and his half-brother Benjamin, who seems to have succeeded to the Burton estate, as John's widow, on 29 August 1686, married Thomas De la Hay of Urishay Castle, Peterchurch, a widower.³ There were also various legacies to his daughters, to relatives in Gloucester, and to friends.

In John Brewster's will (at Somerset House) he urged his overseers to bring up his children 'in the feare of God and nurtrature and discipline according to

* A paper read to the Woolhope Club, Hereford, December 1963. This club, which is the Hereford Natural History and Archaeological Society, has recently established an annual 'F. C. Morgan Lecture' in recognition of Mr. Morgan's long services to local history and to the Society.

† He is not mentioned by W. J. Bishop in his comprehensive account of medical bibliophiles (*J. Hist. Med.*, 1949, 3, 229–62).

the orthodox religion of the Church of England', and to see that William was duly confirmed and well settled therein, and that they would 'direct him both as to his studies and educacon untill hee shall attaine unto the age of foure and twenty yeares and assist him in such wayes and employments as shall bee most suitable to his inclinacon and condition'. The will ends asking for forgiveness from anyone Brewster may have injured, seeking a like forgiveness for himself, and a loyal wish for the preservation of the King. 'Amen, Amen, Amen.'

John's wishes seem to have been successfully carried out. William Brome,⁴ one of the overseers of William's will, in a letter to Dr. Richard Rawlinson,⁵ the Oxford antiquary, dated 13 June 1738, records that Brewster was educated at the free [Cathedral] school, Hereford, when Joseph Harvey (who married Brome's sister) was headmaster. Unfortunately no early records of the school exist, but Brewster must have had unusual ability in learning languages, for Brome also says that he was 'a great master of the Greek and Latin tongues and well skilled in modern languages'; he was also well versed in divinity and would have made 'a considerable figure in any place'. Joseph Harvey had succeeded a Mr. Wakeman, who apparently had been discharged or had resigned owing to non-attendance at communion. The Act Book of the Dean and Chapter records that on 29 September 1670,⁶ Wakeman was ordered to do so on the first Sunday in the following February, but on 6 December the Dean, Thomas Hodges, wrote to Harvey conferring upon him the office of headmaster of the school with all rights and emoluments.⁷ He resigned the appointment in 1685, and the chancellorship of the choir and several other preferments in 1716, upon his refusal to take the Abjuration Oath. His opinions may have influenced William Brewster, who does not appear to have taken an active part in public life in Hereford.

From Hereford, Brewster went to St. John's College, Oxford, as a commoner in 1683—he would then have been eighteen years old—and took the degree of B.A. (1686/7), M.A. (1689), B.Med. (1692), and D.Med. (1697). He went afterwards to London under 'a Mr. Gibson'* to study anatomy for a year, and later moved to Gloucester and Brecon as a physician (Brome did not know to which place he went first). Not liking either, he settled in Hereford, where he became a successful practitioner.

The earliest correspondence relating to Brewster now remaining is a letter from George Piggott⁸ at Oxford in which is a lengthy, minutely detailed description of the genital organs of a boar. This is addressed to Brewster at Burton, and is dated 9 December 1688 (before he qualified).

By 1697 he had decided to practise in Hereford, for in December of that year he and John Maylord purchased for £1,610 the Blewhouse, then in the possession of Lady Throckmorton, and other properties in Widemarsh Street.⁹ Apparently he also bought adjoining houses for £444. These were demolished and a new house built on the site, said by Brome to be the most elegant house in the city.¹⁰ A painting of this shows it to have been a well-designed William and Mary residence with a double front and pillared entrance. It was

* Thomas Gibson (1647–1722), M. D. Leyden 1675; physician-general to the army 1719–22; author of *Anatomy of Humane Bodies epitomized*, 1682.

bequeathed to William's wife, Susan, for life, and afterwards to William, son of Francis Brydges of Gray's Inn. It remained in the hands of the Brydges family until 1763 when, with a house in Bewell Street, it was conveyed to the Corporation of the city (who then named it the Mansion House), in trust for providing funds for a minister of the Church of England to attend to the prisoners in the gaols.¹¹ Shortly after the new Town Hall was built in St. Owen's Street and opened in 1904, a cartway was made through the centre of the house and a small shop opened on each side of it. There was a bowling green, still in use, and a large garden at the back.

In this house Brewster lived until his death in 1715. Brome records several anecdotes about him. On one occasion he was accused of 'slaying' a patient during the absence of a rival physician by administering a purge for the 'Humour' which the latter had 'chained up by prescribing a cortex'. This led to an angry dispute with Brewster and the deceased's family, and to an argument between the doctors.¹² Brome, who apparently was present, states that Brewster baffled his opponent so much that he had not a word to say. The case was taken by Brome and a friend to Dr. Breech of Oxford, who approved of Brewster's action.¹³ However the 'Gemini' [unknown], whose acquaintance was coveted by Brewster, had nothing more to do with him, as it was their brother who died.

That Brewster was a kindly man is shown by two anecdotes mentioned by Brome who records that he 'askt me after your Rabbi Lees' circumstances', but before he could get an answer Brewster died or 'Dr. Lees had had 20 guineas'. Another story is that seeing meat in a butcher patient's shop going stale, he bought it and sent it to the poor; 'and his advice has been gratis'.¹⁴

Brome states that the doctor was middle-sized, lame and stump-footed, with a quick eye,¹⁵ but an oil painting depicting him clad in the robes of a Doctor of Medicine makes him appear as a good-looking friendly young man with dark eyebrows and well-shaped mouth. At first Brome avoided Brewster, who sought his acquaintance after the dispute between the two doctors, but later a firm friendship between them began. Before this Brome had believed him to be a 'sour ill-natured man, but found him very affable, obliging and facetious company'. Brome was a scholar and had been to Christ Church, evidently a link between the two men, but Robinson was mistaken in his statement that he translated eight books of the *Odyssey* for Pope, who gave him £500 and a hundred copies of the work.¹⁶ It was the Rev. William Broome, who apparently had no connection with Brome, who with Elijah Fenton assisted the poet.

Being a non-juror Brome was obliged to obtain a licence to travel above five miles from home. This, dated 9 May 1715,¹⁷ he received through Francis Brydges of Castle Street, Hereford, probably to enable him to go to Oxford on affairs relating to both John Urry and the doctor. At this time Brewster fell ill, for in April Brome wrote to Thomas Hearne¹⁸ to say he had visited his 'learned kind physician and dear friend' whom he found 'in a languishing condition' and despairing of recovery, 'his lungs are all over ulcerated'. He was settling his worldly affairs, including his fine collection of books. Some of these were to go for a parochial library,¹⁹ the remainder he gives to friends which are, 'Chosen to

suit their several Genius's'. His manuscripts he would leave where they would be of the greatest service, and he desired to know whether certain of these would be acceptable to the Public [Bodleian] Library.

On 18 May 1715, Brewster had written to Hearne that, 'The mite I throw in to y^r Treasury deserved not those acknowledgments w^{ch} I have received from you and Dr. Hudson [Bodley's Librarian], but all must be imputed to Mr. Brome's friendship.'²⁰ He had sent two catalogues²¹ which listed most of the books in his study and requested Hearne to put a mark against those worth acceptance, and to pass on the catalogue to Mr. Morse or anyone at St. John's. He asked for their return, 'regard being had to my state of health, w^{ch} is, I think, weekly decaying'.

Seven days later Brome wrote to Hearne to say he had waited on the doctor to superintend the conveyance of his MSS. [which included the *Leiger Book of Malmesbury Abbey*] by the Hereford carrier, with a catalogue of his printed books and a letter of instruction. On 13 May Hearne records that the doctor, having given the Bodleian five MSS., and having a design to give printed books, he had submitted to Brome his two catalogues²² of a good part of his study, which 'he had examined and marked with a B what he found wanting at Bodley; he put these into the hands of my worthy friend Mr. Brome . . . into whose hands the Doctor put the catalogues to be sent to me'. After Hearne returned them to Brome they were to be delivered to Dr. Hudson to look over, and then returned to Brome, he being in town on purpose to look after the affairs of Mr. Urry, whose executor he had become the previous March.

Brewster did not long survive, for on 14 June Ralph Thoresby wrote to Hearne to say he was dead and had left St. John's College £2,000 to purchase advowsons, besides a good number of books. He was buried in the east cloister of Hereford Cathedral church on 7 June; all trace of the memorial stone recorded by Havergal has disappeared.²³ In a letter to Rawlinson dated 6 October 1728²⁴ Brome gives an epitaph 'In Hope/of a/Blessed Resurrection/(Gods Kingdome come &/The number of his Elect accomplished)/Here lieth deposited/The Body of W^m Brewster/Doctor in Physic: who died/the fourth day of June/Añ Dñi 1715', which he says the Doctor wrote for himself. This does not quite agree with Havergal's version, for which he could not give his authority.

In his will William Brewster asked his wife to bury his body in a decent but frugal manner. He then bequeathed to his half-brother Benjamin of Burton Court the messuage called the *Sword* in Westgate Street, Gloucester, and a house in Butcher Row, Hereford. To Susan his wife he left for her life all his houses in Widemarsh Street, including the *Blewhouse*, occupied by Dr. Hampson, and an adjoining house inhabited by Francis Pitts, surgeon,²⁵ and the bowling green with the house belonging thereto. The painted pictures affixed to the walls of the residence were included in the bequest. Were some of these the thirteen family portraits now in Hereford Art Gallery? After the death of his wife the house, gardens and bowling green were to go to William Brydges of Gray's Inn, son of Francis Brydges of Hereford, in tail. In want of heirs to Brydges they were to go to Samuel Brewster,²⁶ formerly of Lincoln's Inn, the testator's

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cousin, in tail. The *Blewhouse* went to the said William, and the little brick house occupied by Pitts he left to Brome.

Brewster bequeathed:

unto the Church-wardens of the parish of All S^ts in the City of Hereford and to their successors to the intent and purpose that the Rector or Vicar of the said parish of All S^ts for the time being and his successors for ever may and shall have the use of the same All such my Books of Divinity Morality and History as I shall dye possessed of and as the overseers of this my last Will and Testament hereafter to be named or any two of them shall judge proper, And my Will is that the said Books shall be set up and kept in the Vestry or any other convenient place in the Church for the use of the said Rector or Vicar for the time being for ever, And my desire and Will is that the said Church-wardens and their successors shall order the well-keeping of the said Books for the ends and purposes aforesaid and shall not suffer any of the said Books to be removed out of the said Church upon any pretence whatsoever, and I do further appoint and direct that the usage and keeping of the said Books be subject unto the Visitation and direction of the Bishop or Ordinary of the Diocese of Hereford for the time being and his successors, And it is my Will and desire that my Executrix shall be at the charge and expence of building and erecting with the direction of my said Overseers or two of them such presses shelves Cupboards or Boxes as may be convenient for the keeping and preserving of the said Books for the uses aforesaid and this to be done at the direction of my Executrix and Overseers aforesaid at any time within the space of two Years after my decease.

The foregoing will was made on 8 May 1715. On the 28th of the same month Brewster made a codicil of which there is a copy in Hereford City Library.²⁷ In this he confirmed the bequest to St. John's College for the purchase of advowsons, and continued:

I have given directions to my said overseers that the said President and Schollars shall have a considerable share of my Books to be lodged and deposited in the publick library of the said College . . . and also another share of my Books shall be conveyed to and lodged in the Publick Library of the University commonly called the Bodleyan . . . and the charge of removing and placing as well the Books given to and to be placed in the said Library of St. John Baptist College shall be paid and defrayed . . . out of the interest and produce of the said Two Thousand pounds which shall first become payable. . . .

There are various lists of books among the Brewster collection of MSS. in Hereford County Library, which have been transcribed by permission of Mr. Shaw Wright, the County Librarian. The earliest and most important appears to be in the owner's hand and is headed 'A Catalogue of my Bookes, 1706'. It consists of 28 pages measuring 16 × 6 in., of which 26 are closely written upon. Although faint and difficult to decipher it has been copied, and is an interesting bibliographical document as it contains no less than 1,069 titles of books in various languages, roughly classified under the following headings: Divinity 220; Ethics and Morality 24; Law 13; Particular History and Miscellanies 84; Physic and Natural Philosophy 287; Humanities and Miscellanies 180; Miscellanies, Natural History and Philosophy, Geography 261. Many works are in more than one volume (one is in twenty-nine), but bound volumes of sermons, tracts on religious subjects and those on politics are counted as one title each. Some of these have up to thirty separate items. What a wonderful list for the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century this is! There is scarcely a subject of interest to any educated man of the period which is not fairly

represented. All the sad and useless religious disputes are dealt with from opposing sides. Works on medicine, a very important part, date from the sixteenth century to books published only a few years before Brewster's death. Most of the important medical works of Brewster's time are to be found here, including those by Lower (*De corde*, 1669), Willis, Sydenham, Mayow, Steno, Bartholin, Vieussens, Vesling, Mauriceau, Bontius, Tulp, and many others; as well as several English books on plague published in London in 1665. He certainly kept himself familiar with the progress of medicine. In geography and history almost every known country from Lapland to Turkey and from Russia to America is represented. There are works on astronomy, mathematics, gardening, agriculture, architecture, heraldry, medals, coins, gems, geology and other branches of science. But not all the works were serious tomes. Those of pure literature included Shakespeare's Fourth Folio (1685), Chaucer, Gower's *Confessio Amantis* (was this the Caxton edition?), Drayton, Ben Jonson, Cervantes in Spanish and in English, Milton, and others. In the margins of this list are symbols apparently to show where the books were to go after the owner's death. The letter 'B' for the Bodleian, and 'st.J.' for St. John's College are obvious, and may be in the hand of W. Brome, but a small 'x' after some titles and larger Roman and Arabic numerals before others are less easily explained.

Another list in Brewster's writing is headed *Librorum Catalogus vicinae Bibliothecae*. This is on 8 leaves measuring 13 × 4 in. The meaning of the heading is not clear. As the list is not dated it may be earlier than the foregoing, and may refer to a part of the library kept apart from the bulk of his medical works, though the titles of 50 of these are included. The titles are listed under Miscellaneous 66; Politicks 5; Heraldry 3; Architecture 2; Poems 8; Chivalry 3; School-Books 10; Plays and Romances 5; Divinity 178; History (with travel) 228; Law Books 31; Astronomy 10; Mathematicks 12; Philosophy 71; Physick 50; Chymistry 11; with a few odd titles at the end of the list.

The two copies of the catalogue previously mentioned which went to Oxford to be marked by the librarians of St. John's College and the Bodleian are in books of 20 quarto leaves, 7½ × 5¼ in. They are almost certainly in the handwriting of Brome and are well written. On the cover of No. 1 is 'CATALOG: RELATING TO THE DISPOSAL OF DR. BREWSTER'S BOOKS IN ALL STS. HEREFORD & ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, OXFORD. Such as have the letter B prefix'd to them are wanting in Bodley. Such as have this mark + prefix'd to them are wanting in St. John's College Library.'

Another list measuring 16½ × 6½ records on two leaves the books that went to the Bodleian, with the signed receipt for them given by J. Hudson to William Brome on 14 September 1715, and a 'Memorañd yt some of y^m/w^{ch} were in ye Publique Library, w^r sent to St. John College.' The receipt for these last is signed by M. Wyles and dated 13 September 1715. There are 199 volumes, some containing more than one work, in the list. The first 96 are medical treatises with dates of publication, the earliest being *Jac: Sylvij Libellus de Peste. Guinterius de Peste. Libanteius de remedijs. Ferrerius de morbo Gallico*, Paris, 1577. The latest is dated 1700, *Riedlinii Curarum Medicarum Millenarius*. The next 103

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are miscellaneous books of travel, politics, trials, and history. A large proportion are in Latin, but the dates are given for about half only.

The list of books sent direct to St. John's College is on 6 leaves, $16\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$. The first 115 volumes deal with medicine, mostly in Latin but with a few in Continental languages. Then follows a list of miscellaneous works, the first twenty-nine being numbered in the margin. They deal with gems, coins, philosophy, travel, classics, a good number of Robert Boyle's works, sociology, and other subjects. At the end is the signed receipt for the books given to Brome by M. Wyles (Moses Wiles), dated 13 September 1715. It has a supplementary list of twenty-one titles in thirty-eight volumes.

A list of 2 leaves, $16 \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, has the titles of 212 books without any note concerning their disposal. It seems to have been made during Brewster's life. The titles are again varied and range over many branches of literature. The works of Shakespeare, Jonson, Chaucer, Gower, Vignole's *Architecture*, and Evelyn's *Sylva*, are folios. The next 194 volumes are in quarto and octavo. Many of the titles are of the books sent to Oxford, but the Shakespeare and others of pure literature may be among those referred to by Brome in his letter to Hearne²⁸ which were to be given to Brewster's friends, 'Chosen to suit their several Genius's'. Is it fanciful to suggest that the plays and poetry went to Brome, who certainly was the only known suitable recipient?

There are two good lists of the books for All Saints' Church, but as the titles of these have been printed in Blades, *Books in Chains*, 1890, pp. 50–2, they need not be given here. Altogether there are now 327 volumes in the church library, including 31 volumes not in the before-mentioned lists of those to go there, which were written by Brome. Some 15 volumes contain the signature of John Brewster as a previous owner. One has, in addition to the father's, written as 'sum e libris Johis Brewster', that of his son Benjamin, written in an almost childish hand in three lines 'Beniamin/Brewster/his hand'. Only three volumes of pure literature are on the shelves, Milton's *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained*, 1705, and Cowley's *Works*, but the first issue of the first edition of Milton's *Litterae pseudo-senatus Anglicani Cromwelli* is worth mention. Many have William Brewster's autograph as owner, and these include some few published in the years 1683–8, while he was a student at Oxford. These are some of the many classical volumes that once belonged to him: Descartes, Aelianus, Plutarch, Theophilus, Surenhusius, Clement, Valesius, Barnabas, etc. In all his Latin books Brewster wrote his name in the Latin form.

The history of All Saints' library is well known to bibliographers—how it was sold by a local bookseller churchwarden named Head to Mr. Stibbs, a bookseller of Oxford Street, London, for £100. He took possession, chains and all, made a catalogue, and was about to sell it in bulk to an American dealer, but received an earnest request not to do so as the consent of the Dean and Chapter of Windsor, which ought to have been obtained first, had not been given. After some trouble, and to save a legal action, Stibbs gave up the books upon payment of £100 to cover his expenses.

This year (1963) the Pilgrim Trust has generously granted £100 for the repair of the books, many being in a bad condition, with loose or torn covers.

A full catalogue with index of authors and subjects has been made. As far as possible all bibliographical details, former owners, prices paid for the books, and other facts are given in the catalogue. It is hoped that this interesting library, one of the two largest collections of chained books in their original cases, will in future be well looked after and be of service to students. It contains so many of the religious publications of the seventeenth century that any searcher into controversial questions of a bygone age may meet a number of his requirements here.²⁹

From the foregoing facts it is evident that Dr. William Brewster was a man of considerable learning and that he was conversant with the progress of science in the seventeenth century, which saw great advances in scientific knowledge. His library—of books on medicine dating from the sixteenth century, and other subjects—was probably much the largest for many miles around Hereford. It was so varied in character that he must have been widely read; perhaps his lameness caused him to spend long periods in his study. Was this the panelled room with a moulded ceiling on the first floor at the south end of the street front of 'the most elegant house in Hereford'?

In her paper on 'The Medical Profession in the Eighteenth Century'³⁰ Mrs. Bernice Hamilton quotes Thomas Withers, M.D., physician to York County Hospital, who wrote:

The Character of a physician ought to be that of a gentleman, which cannot be maintained with dignity but by a man of literature. . . . If a gentleman engaged in the practise of physic be destitute of that charge of preliminary and ornamental learning, which is requisite . . . if he do not speak on any subject of history, or philosophy, [he] is immediately out of his depth . . . which is a real discredit to his profession.

This was published in York in 1794 but is said to have been written twenty years earlier. Brewster would have met amply all these requirements eighty years before. Hereford may be proud of a former resident, a native of the county, and perhaps a plaque on the house he built and lived in would help to keep his memory fresh.

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NOTES

1. Mrs. Hamilton (see ref. 30) mentions the struggle between physicians and apothecaries in the seventeenth century, and how the latter attained a higher status after the plague of London. On page 141 she records that they had been

considered as mere tradesmen and servants of the physicians, but the number of the poorer gentry and of the respectable middle class who became apothecaries increased their numbers alarmingly. It is said that there were as many as ten in some London streets and that no alley or passage was without 'the painted Pot'. (See R. Pitt, *The Antidote: or, the preservation of health and life*, 1704.)

Mrs. Hamilton also records that some apothecaries made enormous profits, and quotes Dr. Gideon Harvey, Physician in Ordinary to the King, as writing in 1670 that he had known one bill to be £50 for 30 weeks, though the ingredients could not have cost more than 40s. We cannot believe that John Brewster was guilty of such practices, but it would be interesting to know how he became comparatively wealthy. During the plague the apothecaries claimed that they stopped in the city to administer to the sick, but the physicians decamped into the country. The latter replied that their adversaries remained either to capture their practices, or they were too poor to move (p. 159). There were a number of pamphlets or books on cures for the plague in William Brewster's library, probably bought by his father.

Another note by Mrs. Hamilton reads: 'The small amount of money required to become an apothecary, the small apprenticeship fee, and the low rates for the purchase of stock, were attractive to needy gentry and to respectable middle-class families. Added to this was the chance of rising in the world and purchasing an estate, or of buying an M.D. and setting up as a doctor later in life.' (p. 161.)

2. Burton Court and manor became the property of, or was occupied by, John Brewster before 1665, and though it is not mentioned in his will it remained in the family until it was sold in 1863 to John Clowes by the Rev. W. E. Evans, whose father had married the co-heiress of the 5th John Brewster. The late Mrs. P. L. Clowes, who died in 1949, married John Clowes's grandson, and bequeathed the manor rolls and the family portraits to Hereford City Library and Art Gallery. There is a drawing in Thomas Dingley, *History from Marble*, plate CLIX, published by the Camden Society, which shows 'A sketch of Burton, a seat of John Brewster, Esq., taken from the road between it and Stretford Bridge, Herefordshire.' (C. J. Robinson, *Mansions and Manors of Herefordshire*, 1873, p. 104.)
3. The De la Hay family owned Urishay Castle, or Grange, for at least five hundred years. The house, which was not fortified, and the chapel nearby, are now in ruins. (See C. J. Robinson, *The Castles of Herefordshire*, 1869.)
4. William Brome was a commoner of Christ Church, Oxford, and son of William Brome of Withington. He matriculated on 18 March 1683/4, became B.A. 1687. He married Jane, daughter of Griffiths Raignolds, registrar of the diocese, in 1701, had a large family, and died in 1745, aged 81. In his fascinating book on *English Scholars, 1660-1730* (2nd ed., 1951, p. 83) David C. Douglas suggests that George Hickes, Dean of Worcester, expelled as a non-juror and hiding from the authorities, spent a year—later regarded as 'the best part of his Life'—in an 'obscure retreat' which was probably Brome's home. Brome was also a non-juror and is said by Douglas (p. 88, note 5) to have compiled the indexes for Hickes's *magnum opus*, *Linguarum veterum septentrionalium Thesaurus* (usually called Hickes's *Thesaurus*), a large work in three folio volumes which is still a standard work in Anglo-Saxon studies. Nichols in *Literary Anecdotes*, vol. 1, 1812, p. 197, says Brome was the executor of John Urry, editor of the worst edition of Chaucer, and helped to fulfil Urry's

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intention to give £500 to Christ Church towards the building of Peckwater Quad. (See also Duncumb, *Collections towards a History of Hereford, Broxash Hundred*, 1812, pp. 249–50.)

5. Bodleian Library, Ms. Rawl. J., fol. 2, f. 307.

6. *Act Book*, p. 281.

7. Harvey was elected by the Chapter on 6 December, *Act Book*, p. 288, and Cathedral Archive No. 1531. At the meeting when he resigned the Dean and Chapter ordered 'That a table [notice board] shall be inserted in the free schoole wherein shall be these orders, vizt:—1. That the Master and Usher shall wth what convenient speede they can, introduce the discipline of Westminster schoole. 2. That there shall no play days given . . . except it be by the appointment of the Bishop, or Deane, or Chapter.' (*Act Book*, p. 443.)

Had the discipline under Harvey been too lax? Westminster at this period was under the famous flogging headmaster Dr. Busby, and the Chapter may have thought it advisable to introduce stern measures to keep order.

8. Hereford City Archives L.C.7039. Piggott was the son of 'Francis Piggott of London, pleb.', and was baptized at St. Dionis, Backchurch, 1659. He matriculated at St. John's, Oxford in 1679, became M.A. 1686/7, B. Med. 1690, D. Med. 1693. (Foster, *Alumni*.)

9. Hereford City Archives L.C. 3594, 6684. Lady Throckmorton was daughter of John Monson, and granddaughter of Sir William Monson, Vice-Admiral of England in the reign of James I. She was the widow of Sir Francis Throckmorton, who died in 1680.

10. When bought by the Corporation the Mansion House was used at first for the accommodation of the judges during the assizes, and for the public use of the mayor. The annual sum set aside for repairs proved inadequate, and the house was sold in 1795 to John Sherburne for £1,514.13.4, and the money invested. The large garden is now built over by a jam factory; the servants' quarters, which the present owner of one of the shops remembers, and which had a network of wires to bells, are demolished. The south first floor room has a moulded ceiling with roses, acorns and oak leaves (was this a sign of the builder's loyalty?) and panelled walls. The remains of the original staircase from the first floor to the upper rooms are *in situ*. The rooms were used for Corporation offices until 1904.

11. There were two gaols in the city, the County, and the City gaol, and a bridewell. Howard, in his *Account of the Lazarettos in Europe* [etc.], 1791, describes the bad state of these two prisons and the sad condition of the prisoners.

12. Letter from Brome to Hearne (Bod. Lib. Ms. Rawl. J. fol. 307r. Dated 13 June 1738).

13. William Breach, son of G. Breach of London, gent. Matric. Christchurch 1670, aged 18. (Foster, *Alumni*.)

14. In 1511 the butchers were presented 'for ther Acte that they have made contry to the comon wele . . . that none of ther occupacon to kyll Freshe mete tyll they have sold ther stale mete by fore tho hit be in corporate and not holsome for mans body'. (Hereford City Archives.)

15. Letter from Brome to Rawlinson of 9 October 1728. Bod. Lib. Ms. Rawl. Letters, T. fol. 2, fol. 307r.

16. Robinson, *Mansions and Manors of Herefordshire* (1873), p. 307.

17. Hereford City Archives L.C. 3393.

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18. Ms. Rawl. Letters, vol. XIII, no. 137.
19. *Ibid.*
20. Ms. Rawl. Letters, vol. XIII, no. 105.
21. *Ibid.*
22. Ms. Rawl. Letters, vol. XXX-1.
23. F. T. Havergal, *Monumental inscriptions in the cathedral church of Hereford*, p. 22.
24. Ms. Rawl. Letters, vol. XXX-1.
25. Pitts was licensed by the bishop as a surgeon on 17 November 1702. (See Subscription book in the diocesan archives.)
26. Samuel Brewster is recorded by T. Hearne in his *Remarks and collections*, published by the Oxford. Hist. Soc., vol. VII, p. 80, who states: 'I have been told that Mr. Brewster, a Counsellor at Law, and formerly of Balliol College, was author of *Vox populi, vox Dei*, for w^{ch} Matthews was hanged. I have many times seen this Mr. Brewster. . . . He dyed, as I hear about last July [1719]. I think he was turned 50. The same Person told me he had a Hand in *The Spiritual Intruder*, and another book in defence of Dr. Welton against Dr. Shippen.' Plomer, in his *Dictionary of printers and booksellers, 1668-1725*, states that John Matthews, jun.—'This unfortunate man . . . spoken of as a poor youth'—was hanged in his eighteenth year because copies of *Vox populi, vox Dei* were found in his mother's printing house. His employer escaped to Wales, and as Samuel Brewster died about this time he was not implicated. Brewster was a barrister-at-law of Lincoln's Inn and a member of several societies for the propagation of the gospel. Rawlinson attributes two pamphlets and a broadside advocating parochial libraries to him. *Vox populi* had Jesuit leanings, hence the hanging of Matthews.
27. Hereford City Archives L.C. 2127.
28. Ms. Rawl. Letters, vol. XIII, no. 137.
29. Application to use the library should be made to the Vicar. The method of chaining the books is similar to that used in the cathedral with some improvements. The clips to which the chains are attached are inserted under the leather binding, thus saving the nails from scratching the adjoining covers, and the smallest books are on the bottom shelves, and therefore the shorter chains on these are less likely to cause them to fall off. Also the top shelves are more easily reached. For notes on the library see Blades, *Books in Chains*; Streeter, *The Chained Library*, and the small guide by the present vicar, the Rev. E. H. Mountney.
30. *Economic History Review*, 1951, 4, 141-69.